# BEYOND THE FIFTH SUN: NAHUA TELEOLOGIES IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

By

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**Abstract**

After the surrender of Mexico-Tenochtitlan to Hernán Cortés and his native allies in 1521, the lived experiences of the Mexicas and other Nahuatl-speaking peoples in the valley of Mexico shifted radically. Indigenous elites during this new colonial period faced the disappearance of their ancestral knowledge, along with the imposition of Christianity and Spanish rule. Through appropriations of linear writing and collaborative intellectual projects, the native population, in particular the noble elite sought to understand their past, interpret their present, and shape their future. Nahua traditions emphasized balanced living. Yet how one could live out that balance in unknown times ahead became a topic of ongoing discussion in Nahua intellectual communities, and a question that resounds in the texts they produced.

Writing at the intersections of Nahua studies, literary and cultural history, and critical theory, in this dissertation I investigate how indigenous intellectuals in Mexico-Tenochtitlan envisioned their future as part of their re-evaluations of the past. I am concerned with indigenous teleological thinking under unprecedented colonial circumstances. The term teleology refers not to the notion of external intelligent design, but rather to how Nahuas chose to live, adapting their traditions in order to influence their future. I argue that Nahua intellectuals appropriated alphabetic writing and, by assuming linear temporalities, formulated alternative approaches for extending their traditional ways of balanced living into the years ahead of them. Close readings of the *Florentine Codex* (1578), the *Anales de Juan Bautista* (1582), and the *Crónica mexicayotl* (1609) reveal Nahua writers' efforts to promote the future importance of native healing practices, ritual, and indigenous mediatorial roles in the economic and political arenas of central Mexico.

By understanding how Nahua intellectuals used their writing to recommend actions that promoted futures different from —and a times critical of— the Spanish teleologies of religious conversion and exploitative economic relationships, we gain insight into their agency and their key role in shaping culture. While the memory of traditional cyclical time survived, the imposition of Western linear time meant that these pivotal agents of cultural hybridity had to look beyond their traditional understanding of repeating cycles of cosmic change. We shall see that there was no single Nahua answer to the questions that the unknown future posed. However, with their pens they preserved textual representations that reveal complex negotiations and philosophical reflection concerning what the future should be like. These writings served also as guides to their native readers on how to take action to promote future balanced living in Central Mexico.

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## Chapter One:

## Nahua Time, Experience, and Intentional Teleologies in Mexico-Tenochtitlan

After the conquest Nahua scribes used their writing to propose paths toward futures different from those that the Spanish were attempting to impose through conquest and colonization. Colonial native writers drew on the depth and complexity of their traditional view of reality as resources for reflecting on the nature of time, the cosmos, and their actions under the unprecedented challenges of colonialism. A longstanding tradition that informed indigenous writing in Central Mexico in the colonial period was that of the *tlamatinime*, the keepers of wisdom. The *tlamatini* (sing.), a "wise person, sage [and] scholar" (Karttunen, 281), was the principal didactic figure before the conquest in Central Mexico (Carrasco, *Religions* 99). A tlamatini could be male or female and, as Elizabeth Hill Boone explains, embodied "the wisdom contained in the painted books" (*Stories* 25). The tlamatinime taught in the *calmecac* schools, devoted to the formation of Nahua nobles in each locality, or *altepetl*. The basic political and territorial unit of the altepetl (pl. *altepeme*) forged a link between vivifying water (*atl-*) and a local hill (*-tepetl*) or high place (Chávez par. 6).[1] The tlamatinime meditated on reality as they understood it, which included interpreting the past and present, and anticipating the future (León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought* 22-23). Through song-poems (*in xochitl in cuicatl*, "flower and song") they explained how the apparent multiplicity of beings and objects in the world disguised the singular dynamic energy underlying the cosmos. They called this energy *teotl*. *Teotl* is not a transcendent deity, nor does it inhabit or infuse all things. Rather, all things and beings are

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[1] James Lockhart explains its organization and how an *altepetl* could relocate (*Nahuas* 14-58). Marcelo Ramírez Ruiz and Federico Fernández Christlieb review the historical development of the *altepetl* (31-113).

identical with *teotl* according to the Nahua pantheistic view of the universe (Maffie, *Aztec* 23; Monaghan 26).[2] The wisdom of the tlamatinime consisted of practical advice on how to live in balance with *teotl* through harmony with one's natural and social surroundings (Maffie, "Aztec" sec. 3. b.).

After the conquest, Franciscan friars established schools in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the most prominent of which was the Colegio Imperial de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. There, members of the religious order introduced an alphabetic version of the Nahuatl language that they used for indoctrinating Nahua elites and learning about their culture in order to enhance proselytization (Cortés, "Colegio" 87; Zepeda 48). The friars designed these schools in order to facilitate the conversion of high-status Nahuas, the majority descended from nobles (Baudot, *Utopia* 90-91). However, through dialogue and writing the Franciscan schools also inadvertently provided natives with opportunities for keeping alive practices and beliefs from prior to the conquest (Klor de Alva, "Nahua Colonial" 30). Alongside Christian symbols and observances, these educational settings allowed the cultural memory of the tlamatinime to thrive.

Traditional wisdom was inextricable from the ancestral knowledge of pictorial representation. Nahua elites carried their background of pictographic communication and ancestral wisdom with them into new colonial institutions. Members of mendicant orders indoctrinated them in churches and taught them letters and arts in specially designated schools according to Renaissance models of education (discussed in Chapter Two). The friars' liberal arts could not avoid evoking the residual presence of the *tlacuilo*, the traditional codex painter.

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[2] The principle of the Nahuas' worship of one sacred essence in many gods has been called *teyoism* (Klor de Alva, "Aztec Spirituality" 7), and "polytheistic monism" (Burkhart, *Slippery* 37). James Maffie elaborates on the metaphysics of *teotl* (*Aztec* 21-35).

This artisan's name comes from the Nahuatl root, *icuiloa*, the act of writing or painting (Karttunen 97). Prior to the conquest, the *tlacuiloque* (pl.) were specialists in the pictorial representation of song-poems in codices that the tlamatinime kept in the *calmecac* (León-Portilla, *Filosofía* 227-28). The tlamatinime were the custodians of the codices, due to their shamanic-priestly authority, while the tlacuiloque painted pictorial accordion-folding codices (*amoxtli*) and murals under the sages' direction (Boone, *Stories* 24). The tlamatinime raised philosophical questions and offered answers through public performances of song-poetry with musical accompaniment (León-Portilla "Filosofía" 23). Thus, the tlamatinime and the tlacuiloque shared the role of imparting wisdom concerning the nature of reality. After the Spanish conquest and the Franciscan introduction of alphabetic writing, the Nahuas continued to use the term tlacuilo to denote a painter or writer (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 326; Molina, 120r.). The proliferation of the term with its double meaning in Nahuatl texts from the colonial period indicates that he or she was a painter-scribe who addressed a variety of topics, including history and metaphysics.[3]

### *Writing Nahua Postconquest Futures*

We are increasingly aware of how Nahuas relied on their preconquest traditions in order to elaborate intricate, strategic, and intentional approaches to cultural preservation during the colonial era. Native writers in Mexico-Tenochtitlan drew upon their ancestral cosmovision as their various purposes for writing —including but not confined to the liturgical, legal, economic,

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[3] Similar to the tlamatinime, the tlacuiloque were male or female. The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (fol. 30 r.) shows a female tlacuilo (Quiñones, *Codex* 63; Rabasa, *Tell* 3). Chapter Two, which examines the *Florentine Codex*, highlights the multiple skills of colonial Nahua "painter-scribes" who combined pictorial and alphabetic codes and worked in a European-style scriptorium (Boone, "Multilingual Bivisual" 137-66).

and historical— all contributed to the city's intellectual culture (Rabasa, *Tell* 4).[4] Enrique Florescano has described the importance of the oral culture that native elites sustained after the conquest, and which informed Nahua scribes (*Memory* 100-04). Traces of orality in the written word appeared in discourses in Nahuatl. This oral heritage interspersed in the recently appropriated written word revealed the durability of traditional beliefs about reality and what it meant to be human. The genre of religious theatre is one vivid example of how a written text and a public oral performance could allude to Nahua playwrights' particular interpretations of Christianity.[5] In Mexico-Tenochtitlan traditional views of reality continued to inform groups including the Mexica, who were from the city and the other Nahuatl-speaking groups from Central Mexico who resided there. Within scholarly interventions that highlight how the past influenced the colonial era, the focus here is the understudied aspect of teleological thinking in the writing of native scribes.

This dissertation centers on how colonial Nahua scribes used writing to confront difficulties resulting from the Spanish replacement of native institutions with the viceregal administration and the Church. Colonial Nahua scribes familiar with traditional painting and Western writing inherited the philosophical tradition of the tlamatinime and had knowledge of the pictorial representation of the tlacuiloque (Boone "Aztec Pictorial" 50-76; Lockhart, *Nahuas*

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[4] López Austin has emphasized the centrality of the Nahua cosmovision for understanding their cultural production ("Cosmovisión" 268-74). Similarly, David Carrasco has underscored the importance of the alignment of Nahua architecture, ritual and worldview (*City* 109-11).

[5] Louise Burkhart has shown how Nahua religious theatre helped facilitate the continuation of traditional monism (*Aztecs* 15-21; *Holy* 55). See also Jonathan Truitt's discussion of the Nahua appropriation of didactic music and theatre with and without clerical supervision (326, 330).

*and Spaniards* 22; León Portilla, et al, *Aztec Image* 75). Consequently, these writers provide crucial links for understanding how Nahuas, in light of their traditions, interpreted their own actions as shaping their future circumstances, often in distinct ways from imperial and ecclesiastical designs for the years ahead. Their approaches to the challenges of colonialism forged lifeways based on their deep metaphysical reflection and desire to live in cosmic balance.

Before approaching the term teleology, it is worthwhile to address the suitability of the categories of Western philosophy for studying the wisdom traditions of indigenous peoples, such as the Nahua scribes. Applying the epistemological frame of this discipline outside of Europe has incited controversy. Some have contended that non-Western metaphysics are incompatible with "philosophy." Edmund Husserl deemed non-Western philosophy an oxymoron (Gupta and Mohanty xi). Emmanuel Levinas described non-biblical and non-Greco-Roman philosophies as "dancing" (qtd. in Drabinski 5). Richard Rorty claimed philosophy is exclusively Western (qtd. in Zhang 11).[6] Others hold that the metaphysical reflection of groups around the world and shared concerns of ultimate meaning demonstrate that philosophy already has broad, inclusive connotations. Viola Cordova asserts that humans' impulse to interpret their experiences leads to culturally specific philosophies (28). Enrique Dussel has pointed out that all people have cultural variations of philosophical thought ("Introducción" 19). Elaborating on this phenomenon in one region, Eduardo Mendieta has explained that prolonged cultural contact in Latin American has generated distinct approaches to philosophy, which he terms "New World thinking" (2).

[6] Amerindian scholars have also expressed eversion to evolutionist models (*e.g.*, "primitive" to "advanced") that continue to influence the debate on indigenous philosophy (Maffie, *Aztec* 4-8; Cordova 32).

It is the latter view that resonates with my reading of native colonial scribes' textual production. Prior to the conquest, as we shall see, the Nahua had developed complex philosophical concepts that helped explain reality, their own experiences, and provided a means to understand the significance of their actions. Even with the Spanish destruction of native institutions, Nahua scribes inevitably turned to their ancestral worldview as they reordered their activities in response to the European institutions of the Spanish empire and Christendom. The Nahua scribes thus inherited the resilient monism of their traditional philosophy, which echoes in their texts even in the midst of Christianization and pressures from Spanish administrators.

Preconquest Nahua songs (*in xochitl in cuicatl*) reflect a concern for understanding human actions in the midst of transitory experience.[7] A number of rulers dedicated themselves to the search for wisdom through sacred song.[8] For instance, the fifteenth-century Nahua ruler and tlamatini Aquiauhtzin, meditated on the ephemeral nature of existence and the search for Ipalnemohuani (the Giver of life) (León Portilla, *Quince* 299). In a song-poem, Aquiauhtzin describes the world as *tlacuilocalitec*, "the house of paintings" (314-15).[9] The tlacuilocalitec links the art of the tlacuilo with Nahua philosophy. The house (*calli*) in which a tlacuilo painted

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[7] Lockhart preferred the term "songs" due to the different conventions they obey as compared to Western poetry (*Nahuas* 393-94). Joosong Lee has translated the genre more literally as "flowers/songs" (153, 164, 167), and Angel María Garibay as "*flor y canto*" (*Llave* 116) Here I use the terms songs and song-poems.

[8] Joosong Lee's *The Allure of Nezahualcoyotl* provides an overview of *in xochitl in cuicatl* as a means for metaphysical reflection (151-72). León-Portilla's gives biographical information and examples of song-poems attributed to tlamatinime from altepeme in Central Mexico (*Quince*).

[9] All translations in this dissertation are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

stood for the universe where the *cuicani* (chanter-singer) searches for the wellspring of life.[10] According to the traditional Nahua view, Ipalnemohuani is the "Giver of Life" and yet ultimately a manifestation of teotl and subject to the same transient existence as the cuicani who sings. The tlacuilocalitec as a reference point implies the existence of collected codices and murals concerned with understanding the cosmos and human action. This space for storing profound cultural knowledge also highlights the importance of the metaphysical reflection of the tlamatinime and the tlacuiloque. The piece shows how the chanting of Nahua philosophy through *in xochitl in cuicatl* and the echoes of traditional monism remained with native scribes through the conquest and into the colonial period.

European colonizers brought radical changes to the Nahua world. Epidemics decimated indigenous populations. The Spanish imposed Christianity and their laws in place of dismantled native institutions. These crises shook the foundations of what has been called Nahua "time-place." According to James Maffie, Nahua time-place is "heterogeneous, not homogenous. It is plural, not singular. … Instead of speaking of time *per se*, therefore, we should speak of times … just as we speak of the qualitatively different times of a person's life" (*Aztec* 419-20, 422-23). For the Nahuas, the contours of time varied like topography between locales. Thus, the Mexica of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, marked time with a calendar specific to their time and place, and organized around cycles of fifty-two years (García Escamilla 9-14; Hassing, *Time* 27-28). While advancing forward toward the end of the age of the Fifth Sun, Nahua cyclical time was cumulative in that the future was embedded in the past so that repetition was guaranteed

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[10] Alonso Molina provides seven entries deriving from *cuicatl* (chant/song), including *cuicani*, which he translates as *cantor* (chanter) (24 r.). In Aquiauhtzin's song-poem, the voice identifies itself as "*nicuicanitl*," "I the chanter" (León Portilla, *Quince* 315).

(Tedlock, B., *Time* 177; Tedlock, D., *Popol* 64; Burkhart, *Slippery* 72). Spanish colonizers (clergy and administrators) introduced Western linear time, anchored not in local events, but in the Spanish empire and Christendom. As Spanish colonialism worked to displace Nahua time-place, colonial native scribes partook of the West's view of time as chronological and universal. The newness of these events shifted the authority to interpret reality away from the tlamatinime and the *tlacuiloque* and towards an emerging group of colonial painter-writers.

In light of these considerations, I argue that colonial Nahua scribes communicated teleological thinking in their texts in order to explain how they could live in harmony with the cosmos despite the new challenges of colonialism and an uncertain future. Although Spain's projects of universal Christianization and economic domination influenced native writing, they were not central to Nahua teleological thinking. Close readings of texts from the colonial period reveal that post-conquest indigenous writers appropriated Western linear time, yet continued to view reality as an unfolding cosmic process with local particularities. Spanish imperialism catalyzed Nahua writers' teleological thinking. In light of their cosmovision, even the conquest was an operation of teotl. The unfolding of the cosmos in previously unknown ways led the Nahua scribes to compose written guides for maintaining balance by accepting European religious beliefs on Nahua terms, prescribing traditional healing practices, making economic negotiations, and promoting ancestral forms of education. As shall be explained, native teleological thinking in Mexico-Tenochtitlan arose from colonial experience while Nahua writing subjects upheld the ancestral imperative to live in balance with the universe. Nahua teleologies were necessarily plural since they emerged from the scribes' multiple experiences of Spanish colonialism. These processes led to parallel temporalities that agreed with the West that

humans' present actions play a decisive role in the future, but did not imagine time as a singular universal continuum.

By studying Nahua teleologies, it is possible to understand how native scribes formed key components of their rhetoric during the colonial period. Since future paths for individuals do not yet exist, it is necessary to convince an audience of the proper actions needed to attain a desired future. This is precisely what Nahua teleologies do. It is in the act of convincing that their texts reveal the assumption of a linear temporality and the notion of a future unmet aim that requires human action. Three texts that native writing subjects produced in Mexico-Tenochtitlan form the material for the study of Nahua teleologies in this dissertation: the *Florentine Codex* (1578), the *Anales de Juan Bautista* (1582), and the *Crónica mexicayotl* (1609).

Spain's goals of Christianization and economic control in Central Mexico depended on the sequential logic of Western linear time. Scholars have pointed out the "epistemic violence" (Gayatri Spivak's term) that the imposition of Eurocentric ideologies had in Mesoamerica, particularly with regard to the notions that the purpose of human history was to espouse Christian morality (Mignolo, "Preamble" 15), and to imitate European culture (Quijano 190). With the *Reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula and papal support, Spain's leaders began to view their country as the protagonist in a providential mission for Christianizing the globe. Enrique Dussel has explained that the Moorish occupation of Spain led to a blending of medieval feudalism with Islamic theocracy that produced an ideology in early modern Spain "akin to 'temporal messianism' in which the destiny of the nation and the destiny of the Church were believed to be united. Hispanic Christianity … was unique in that the nation had been elected by God to be the instrument for the salvation of the world" (*History* 38). Papal bulls facilitated Spanish colonialism by conferring special authority upon the Spanish Crown. Of particular

relevance in Central Mexico are *Exigit sinceras devotionis affectus* (1478), which gave the Spanish monarchs control of the Inquisition in their territories and *Eximiae devotionis affectus* (1510), authorizing royal agents to collect tithes to fund missionary activities, a system later called the *Patronato real* (J. Schwaller, *History* 46-48; Dussel, *History* 38-40).[11]

The twelve Franciscan friars who arrived in 1524 intensified this providentialism with the belief that their evangelization of Central Mexico would catalyze the Second Coming. Certain Franciscan enclaves promoted the views of Joachim de Fiore, whose apocalyptic expectations of the coming of the age of the Holy Spirit fueled Portuguese and Spanish colonialism (Florescano, "Concepciones" 319).[12] Native scribes who were in contact with clergy and colonial administrators were thus exposed to ideologies that posited the *telos* of a worldwide Spanish Christian utopia. The universal timeline that Spanish imperialism presupposed contrasted with the Nahuas' understanding of reality as a vast unfolding process with no exterior agent to determine its purpose.

### *Extending the Path: Postconquest Nahua Teleological Thinking*

Nahuas after the conquest reflected on how to live while recognizing that their former approaches to human action could not fully explain their experiences. The conquest posed decisive challenges to native ways of thinking about the cosmos, as well as to how to live in

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[11] See *Inter caetera* (1493), which divided where Spain and Portugal could trade and evangelize, and *Regimini Ecclesiae Universale* (1508), which allowed the Spanish Crown to appoint clergy.

[12] See John Phelan for a discussion of the Franciscan polemics surrounding De Fiore's theology (*Millennial* 44-58), and Delno West for an overview of the pamphlet wars over millenarianism in the order's houses in Spain and Italy ("Medieval" 311-13). Frank Graziano also provides a useful overview of millenarianism in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal (16-52).

balance on the precarious path toward an unknown future. Native elites and the Spanish —clergy and colonial administrators— engaged in complex exchanges, discussions, and clashes concerning the role of human intentions and actions.[13] Teleology, by definition the study of explanations of the natural functions of things and the aims of human actions, was pivotal for the Nahuas and the Spanish in the colonial period. This definition is based partly on etymology —*telos* (τελος), the end, or aim of a thing, and *logos* (λογος), study— (*Blackwell Dictionary* 680), and partly on Andrew Woodfield's categories of teleology (external and internal, described below).[14] Here teleology is of interest as a window for understanding how colonial Nahuas viewed the meaning of human actions and how their writing conveyed those perspectives.

As pertains to the situation of the Nahua colonial scribes, it is crucial here to draw a distinction between two uses of the term teleology, one external (metaphysical), and the other internal and concerned with ethics. By metaphysics I mean the branch of philosophy that inquires into the nature of being (*Routledge Dictionary of Philosophy* 248-52). By ethics, I mean the study of thought systems concerning the best way humans can act, based on duty

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[13] See Díaz Balsera (*Pyramid* 125-45), and Gruzinski ("Confesión" 171-215) for how friars used the sacrament of Confession as a means of forming a Christian view on intentionality and moral infractions. See Klor de Alva, ("Sahagún's" 83-88), John Schwaller, ("Heaven" 391-400), and Maffie ("Double" 63-67), for the profound differences in the views of tlamatinime and the friars on correct belief and action in Sahagún's *Coloquios*.

[14] See Michael Winter's description of teleologies as "systems of explanation of the natural world" (33). For how human agency interacts with circumstances, see Gary Pendlebury's "teleology of action" (41, 150). See Mark Perlman ("Modern" 3-51) and Michael Winter (33-45) for overviews of approaches to natural (external) teleology.

(deontological ethics) or the value of an action's outcome (consequentialist ethics) (125). In his analysis of the concept, Woodfield has distinguished between external teleology, which posits a designer with goals outside of things (105), and internal, or "imminent" teleology: "This means that the source of a thing's end-directed movement is to be found within the nature of the thing itself, not in some external agency" (6). Human intentions and actions fall under the rubric of internal teleology. In view of the emergent, impersonal, monistic nature of teotl explained above, external (*e.g*. metaphysical/natural) teleology is incompatible with the traditional Nahua cosmovision. In their pantheistic view, the cosmos does not exist in order to fulfill the purposes of an external agent, in contrast to Western monotheism (Levine 179; Maffie, *Aztec* 119-20). The texts I examine in subsequent chapters take for granted that the movements of things and people reveal how the universe self-arranges and not why or for what end all things exist.

While Nahua metaphysics does not allow for external teleology, postconquest texts that Nahuas produced reveal the importance of internal teleologies emphasizing intention and action in harmony with the cosmos. In the mental space between the imbalances that one perceives and the equilibrium one seeks, there emerges an intention that is teleological. Woodfield agrees that the act of "keeping,"—*e.g*., "balancing a ball, staying upright on a tightrope, and maintaining a steady temperature,"— is "goal-directed behavior" (161). The ball wobbles, and the hand corrects. The tightrope walker's knees shake, and she re-centers them. The bathwater is too cold, so we add hot water. In such cases, translating one's intentions into actions involves a deliberate choice, with an emphasis on achieving and maintaining balance. For Nahuas, this involved a continuous *in medias res* approach to their actions. As Nahua scribes grappled with postconquest challenges, their intentions and actions concerning right living gained new relevance.

The colonial Nahua scribes' circumstances after the conquest were not altogether new, yet their situation had changed to the point that traditional wisdom alone could not provide satisfactory explanations of their lived experience. Without the tlamatinime—the traditional keepers of wisdom on right living and of Nahua calendars—native scribes took on the task of adapting their ways of life to the demands of colonialism as they approached an uncertain future. Their colonial circumstances resonate with those of North American native groups that have experienced colonialism as a cosmic imbalance and have sought to restore equilibrium through rituals (Champagne 344). It was by way of their internal teleologies in writing that Nahua scribes responded to what Spain viewed as objective external teleologies of religious conversion and economic control. Understanding differences between the external teleology of the Spanish and Nahua intentional teleologies of balance focuses us on their interpretations of colonial life and how they constructed new approaches to the future.

***The Movements of Teotl***

Nahua monism is not static. According to the ancestral view, the universe is in constant movement that reveals the dynamic energy and workings of teotl. Preconquest and colonial-era sources show that teotl moves in three basic ways: *ollin*, *malinalli*, and *nepantla* (Maffie, *Aztec* 172). Ollin is the back-and-forth energy of cyclical completion associated with the sun's movement across the sky (Aguilar-Moreno 208; Pharo 282-84) This daily motion orders the cosmos and links to human rituals via heart sacrifice (Read, *Time* 26, 115; McKeever, 13-14). Ollin also allots individuals' destinies through the amount of solar energy each person receives at birth (López Austin, *Human Body* I: 58-60; McKeever, 35-37) These patterns formed the basis of the *tonalpohualli*, the 260-day ritual calendar that shaped individual fate, as discussed later. Ollin is part of a linguistic complex that has to do with undulating, pulsating movement, such as that of

a beating heart or a bouncing rubber ball (Molina 76, 135-37; Karttunen 178; Maffie, *Aztec* 187-89). Eduard Seler, in his commentary on the *Codex Borgia*, concludes that the Nahuas viewed ollin movement and the sun as one and the same (I: 150).

Given the consistency and predictability that ollin motion and the Sun maintained, the two fused together as the heart of the age of the Fifth Sun. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* (10), and the *Legend of the Five Suns* (*History and Mythology* 150-51) confirm this identification by foretelling the destruction of the Fifth Age as an earthquake. Ollin sheds light on the traditional interdependence of cyclical and linear time. The sun's daily and annual movements resemble cosmic weaving: time advances while it oscillates between two equinoxes (Aveni, *Skywatchers* 148-52, 235-44).[15] The postconquest reality of the Nahua did not mean the end of humanity. However, circumstances forced colonial scribes to look beyond a traditional understanding of the Fifth Sun. In order formulate proper actions without the support of the tlamatinime, they needed to discern how ollin would operate into the indefinite future.

The cosmic energy of ollin provides the necessary conditions for life. However, it is malinalli, the twisting, turning, and conveying cosmic force, which represents growth, fertility, and regeneration (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 117-19). Malinalli unifies apparent binaries (*e.g.*: hot/cold, day/night, life/death, etc.) into organizing, complementary processes of creation and destruction (Maffie, *Aztec* 263; López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 112). Between the layers of the cosmos as the Nahuas' ancestors imagined it, malinalli works like lifeblood and establishes links

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[15] See Carrasco for a discussion of how the sun's rising and setting on the equinoxes, as well as architectural and ritual symmetry were crucial to the New Fire Ceremony (*City* 96-98), and Sahagún's description of the altar in a festival for Tlaxochimaco as "circular like a spindle whorl" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 2: 61).

of energy that connect different realms of reality (Klein, "Woven" 25; Maffie, *Aztec* 329). Rituals from prior to the conquest placed humans in a pivotal role for re-igniting and restoring cosmic processes of life, prominently in the New Fire Ceremony (Read and González, 120). In the wake of the conquest, after the initial death tolls, the survivors had to make sense of the destruction. The shock of the conquest could have been interpreted as a hitherto unknown twisting of the cosmos.

Colonial scribes' interpretations of their experiences had recourse to components of their traditional beliefs, including the roles of deities. Quetzalcoatl, for example, was important for his patronage of the tlacuiloque and the tlamatinime. Though not proclaimed in public, this trace of earlier belief would have echoed in their collective memory. Robert Haskett has described the cultural heritage of indigenous writing subjects who were members of the native elite: "They were the heirs of the tlacuiloque, the painters of the brilliant glyphic texts of the precontact era, and the tlamatinime, the scholars whose knowledge filled those codices … [and] … heirs of Quetzalcoatl, the divine creator of the knowledge of writing and thus patron of scribes and scholars" (*Visions* 6). A striking aspect of Quetzalcoatl's clothing and accouterments are spiraling and twisting shapes that recall the spinning and swooping motions of malinalli. Malinalli movement was necessary to paint the images of codices and murals in the aforementioned tlacuilocalitec, the traditional house of paintings.

I submit that although Christianization was well underway by the time the Nahua scribes put pen to paper, malinalli movements still informed their view of reality and their writing. Quetzalcoatl's relationship with the Nahua wisdom tradition and the art of codex painting brought with it the emblems of spirals and conch shells that adorned his garb (Florescano, *Quetzalcoatl y los mitos* 246), his temples (Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl* 123,132), and the calmecac

(León Portilla, *Filosofía* 69). In fact, it is quite possible that the spiraling, twisting shapes of alphabetic letters could be understood in terms of malinalli movement. Thus, the colonial scribes could interpret change with motions that mirror the twisting of roots and cornstalks, and the spun thread that mimicked the malinalli observable in nature (Tedlock and Tedlock, "Text" 121-46). Thus, even into the colonial period malinalli helped the colonial Nahua scribes make sense of their situation as a gyration and twisting that fit into patterns of universal movement already familiar to them.

Nepantla, the remaining movement of teotl explains how the cosmos self-adjusts toward balance. The traditional idea of nepantla was non-teleological in an external, metaphysical sense; hence, the tlamatinime imagined nepantla as a non-agentive operation of teotl (Maffie, *Aztec* 355-418). However, the human dimension of nepantla, concerned with proper conduct, entails agency and the necessity of making choices, which reveals the operations of nepantla as processes in which humans can participate (403). Louise Burkhart has demonstrated the importance of nepantla as an ethical category that shaped Nahua responses to Christianity (Burkhart, *Slippery* 87-129; 170-83). In the vast metaphysical scheme of things, nepantla was non-linear and non-teleological. Yet in the realm of human experience, nepantla was emblematic of the Nahuas' constant efforts to deal with everyday problems before and after the conquest.

According to traditional wisdom, being born into the world places a person in a precarious place: in fact, *tlalticpac*, the Nahuatl word for the world, means "on the point or summit of the earth" (Burkhart, *Slippery* 58; Launey, *Introducción* 126). For that reason, the consensus of Nahua sages was that the middle way of self-control that avoided extreme attitudes

and behaviors was the best road through life.[16] Bernardino de Sahagún recorded the advice of Nahua elders: "They went saying that indeed on a jagged edge we go, we live on earth. Here is down, over there is down. Wherever you go out of place to the side, wherever you take off to the side, there you will fall, there you will throw yourself over the precipice" (*Florentine* 6: 125). The metaphors of the middle path and balanced walking are axiological. Conducting one's life in those terms of equilibrium in the constantly moving cosmos requires intention. Hence, as inheritors of ancestral lifeways, Nahua colonial scribes' intentional balance-seeking continued to provide guides to living that responded to the shifting social terrain.

Yet there is more. Their teleological thinking had a day-to-day emphasis and concerned finding harmony between circumstances, intentions, and actions. Nepantla also entails active mutual exchanges, based on the related adverb *nepanol*, which denotes reciprocity (Campbell, *Morphological* 212; Karttunen, *Analytical* 169; Busto, "Predicament" 7-21). Thus, as Maffie observes, "nepantla-processes" do not "merely place the participants in the middle. They metaphysically transform fish and fowl into something novel, into a *tertium quid*— that is, something neither fish nor fowl yet at the same time both fish and fowl (*Aztec* 364). For the colonial native scribes, this transformative action likely involved attempting combinations of ancestral wisdom and their own knowledge to cultivate ways of life that would most benefit them. I suggest that native scribes in colonial Mexico found that using ancient precedents to maintain nepantla did not always produce the desired effect. Thus, the experiences of natives became important as means to continually inform their nepantla-seeking.

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[16] Louise Burkhart has observed that colonial Nahua ethics prefer the steady, proper way for humans to the erratic ways of the deer and rabbit ("Moral Deviance" 107-10).

It is important to note that in the preconquest worldview, only actions that attained the *nepantla* middle were efficacious. If an action aimed at penance or proper ethics failed to achieve its goal, it lost meaning, as if it were never performed, and did not earn merit for the individual: good intentions alone did not suffice (Maffie "Aztec" sec. 6). Part of the role of the priests was to ensure that ritual actions were effective. For example, immediately drawing out a sacrificial victim's heart and offering it up transferred its nourishing power directly to the sun (Carrasco, *City* 156). Similarly, people tended to perform ritual confession at the end of life in order to ensure the complete expiation of ritual contamination before death (Soustelle 104; Holmer 69). A concern for maximizing the effectiveness of ritual action served as a precedent for Nahuas in the sixteenth century onward. I would suggest that Nahua teleologies in writing likewise assumed that effective intentions and actions are unified and that both should not stray from their centering pathway.

In summary, Nahua philosophy fuses knowledge and action in distinction to the Western tendency to compartmentalize the two. Examining the writing of colonial indigenous scribes shows that they emphasized practices over abstract knowledge. Knowledge and beliefs were not collections of abstract propositions, but were always tied to concrete practices. Knowing how the cosmos operated meant knowing how to conduct oneself in the world. Their attention to the ollin movements of the cosmos and the malinalli turns and adaptations they set down in writing helped them to live in nepantla balance. Given the intentionality involved with following Nahua lifeways, and the dynamic movements of the cosmos just described, I submit that Nahua teleologies in colonial texts arose from the convergence of three interdependent and non-hierarchical aspects of Nahua culture in Central Mexico:

1. Nahua teleologies aim at maintaining nepantla and extending the roads of life on which the scribes already found themselves in the midst of their dynamic reality. Their texts contain guides for intentional living to help Nahuas walk in balance.

2. Nahua teleologies appropriate Western linear time and writing and assert that present actions can influence future circumstances. Parallel native temporalities assume that the future is not cyclical and predictable, but open to unknown events that have not yet taken place. The pervasiveness of linear time reduces the influence of the concept of the oscillating ollin motion of the cosmos, but does not eliminate its echoes.

3. These intentional teleologies rely on colonial Nahua experience to interpret reality. The texts portray the scribes as fulfilling the roles of the tlamatini and tlacuilo traditions and thus as qualified to adapt Western culture for native use. Native writing subjects here embody malinalli movement in their role as cultural and symbolic mediators.

These characteristics of Nahua teleologies—nepantla, linear time and writing, and colonial experience—constitute the analytical frame of this dissertation. Each one merits a closer look before proceeding.

***Nepantla***

A native understanding of their agency is at the heart of Mesoamerican lifeways, which eschewed teleological explanations of the universe and emphasized individual and collective ethical integrity. Amerindians do not construe correct action in terms of a goal external to reality, but as a conscientious and centered path through life (Hester, "American Indian" 602; Hester and Cheney 319-25; S. Pratt, *Native* xi-xv, 78-106). As Yazzie Burkhart observes, native philosophies hold that the universe is "normative" as it exists: thus, by asking, "what is the right road for humans to walk?" they are more concerned with a way of life than with an aim for life

("Coyote" 17). Similarly, for the Nahua colonial scribes who inherited the tradition of their predecessors, good living did not depend on proper belief, but on walking on a path of action in harmony with their surroundings (Burkhart, "Moral Deviance" 107-12; Burkhart, "Doctrinal Aspects" 134). Nahua philosophy before and after the conquest thus included an ethical consideration of the future. Maffie explains, "Nahua tlamatinime reflect critically upon current events and future actions using 'histories,' 'stories,' 'myths,' and ceremonies with an eye towards creatively applying them towards extending the path" ("Double" 75). Taking the variability of life as a given, colonial native scribes sought to forge new ways of maintaining nepantla into the years ahead.[17]

For humans to live by nepantla entailed maintaining equilibrium with the cosmos through proper actions. Prior to the conquest, individuals sought personalized advice on how to achieve balance in their own lives. The specific details of how one could aim for nepantla depended on the particular workings of teotl in a person's life as revealed through the 260-day tonalpohualli solar calendar (Berdan, *Aztec* 199). Based on his/her date of birth, an individual received a certain portion of the sun's *tona* (heat, warmth), which carried with it a destiny and set of personality traits (Soustelle, *Daily* 112-13). These parameters were built into an individual *tonalli*, a seat of identity located in the head (Carrasco, *Religions* 203; McKeever, *Natural* 79). The tonalpohualli effectively set the bounds of individual agency. The choices that a person was able to make built upon the energy of his or her tonalli.

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[17] The problem of maintaining nepantla also concerns contemporary Nahuatl speakers. In the Huasteca region, Nahuas' responsibility to maintain reciprocity with the cosmos is collective (Sandstrom, *Corn* 320-22). There, good living means "walking well" (*cualli nehnemi*), which compares unfavorably with not walking well (*ahmo cualli nehnemi*) (Knab 15, 32).

One of the resources that the tlamatinime depended on for understanding time, interpreting the *tonalpohualli* calendar, and recommending proper actions was the *tonalamatl* genre, or pictorial books of divination. The tonalamatl pictorial genre consisted of practical guides to living read according to one's date of birth and were concerned with everyday balance, not ends external to immediate circumstances (Boone "Guías" 35-54, 152-53).[18] These guides for action allowed the tlamatinime to give advice for living well in the present and preparing for things to come (Quiñones, *Representing* 263-64).

Nahua painter-writers in the colonial period inherited the role of the tlamatinime of keeping and interpreting calendars, and were aware of the tonalli.[19] In the wake of the Spanish destruction of indigenous educational institutions, the Western calendar replaced the tonalpohualli for organizing the passage of the seasons and marking rituals.[20] However, in a manner similar to their predecessors' composition of tonalamatl action guides, Nahua colonial scribes' intentional teleologies provided ways to extend conscientious living into the future.

### *Linear Time and Writing*

Nahua cyclical time anchored society to an established trajectory and provided a pre-determined range of actions and events in each person's life. By contrast, Western time carried

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[18] Like the *I Ching*, the tonalamatl gives practical life advice (R. Townsend, *Aztecs* 126).

[19] As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* and the *Crónica mexicayotl* use the Julian and Mexica calendars. See Brotherston's analysis of the *Codex Mexicanus*, in which native writers identified parallels between the Julian calendar, the tonalpohualli, and the European zodiac (Brotherston, "America" 25-35).

[20] Traditional educational institutions are examined in Chapter Four, including the *telpochcalli* school of warriors, the calmecac school of rulers, and the *cuiyocan* school of song and dance.

the assumption of unpredictable outcomes for human actions, which opened up possibilities for deliberate acts meant to influence an open future. The disappearance of native houses of learning and the tlamatinime as keepers of ancestral calendars, together with the influence of Christianity and alphabetic writing, meant that native scribes relied increasingly on the Western calendar (Quiñones, *Codex* 134-35). This calendric change entailed an emphasis on the future as one of open possibilities contingent on present human actions. Ross Hassig has described the conventional Western view of linear time: “Originating in a religious concept of a beginning and an end, and later harnessed to the Enlightenment notion of progress, change for the West is ongoing, continuous, and cumulative but not repetitive” (*Time* 1). Western linear time considers that even though the future “is an outgrowth of the past, it is not deterministically embedded in it” (2). Linear time as the Nahua colonial scribes encountered it had its origins in Christianity, but its influence extended into secular areas, an effect that underscores the role of human actions in shaping the future.[21] Linear time proposes that humans can achieve their goals, only not yet. This temporal disjuncture provides a logical gap that teleological intentions and actions may fill.

Since Nahua colonial scribes could not count on the repetition of events embedded in the past, they faced the future in a new way. Nahua writing during the colonial period conveyed guides for balance seeking, echoing the preconquest tradition of the tonalamatl, but imagining a range of human activity no longer based exclusively on tonalli destiny. Western linear time

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[21] See Lockhart (*Nahuas* 416), and Rebecca Horn (102) on the rapid Nahua adoption of the Western calendar in legal texts. Early Nahua confraternity charters reflected the use Julian calendar (Molina, *Nahua Confraternities* 28). See also Hayden White’s explanation of how Medieval European annals recorded local events with only vague reference to the Christian undergirding of the Julian calendar (*Content* 9).

accompanied Catholic moral doctrine based on free will, moral obligation, and future judgment (Maher, "Free Will"). Thus, Klor de Alva has noted that as "Christian elements were assimilated into native ritual life, attempts to foretell and manipulate the effects of the tonalli frequently employed Christian paraphernalia" ("Aztec Spirituality" 185). Native scribes continued the tlacuiloque tradition of ordering events on paper (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 398; C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 645-46; Farriss 574). However, under the influence of the Western calendar they arranged events in open-ended chronological schemes.

Native scribes used their own notions of local time-place as they evaluated Western assumptions about time and the future. Native appropriations of Western linear time placed local events on parallel timelines and did not posit one universal history. The local specificity of Nahua time-place modeled the content and perspective of native annals before and after the conquest. Prior to the conquest, tlacuiloque used the pictorial genre of the *xiuhpohualli* (yearly account) to keep records of important events in their altepetl (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 378). Narrative perspectives in the xiuhpohualli were collective and rotating between tlacuiloque (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 626-27). The correlation between locale and the xiuhpohualli genre reminded residents of a locality of their participation in the landscape and the cosmos (Cortés, *Nahuatlato* 1). Reverberations of the *xiuhpohualli*—in localized times—appear in postconquest texts that natives painted and wrote (Reyes 24; Lockhart, *Nahuas* 378-80).[22]

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[22] See Berdan and Anawalt's analysis of the portrayals of Mexica daily life in the *Codex Mendoza* (ca. 1541) as novel postconquest indigenous self-representation (xii). See also Camilla Townsend's observations on how the compiler of the *Codex Aubin* (ca. 1578) integrated the Mexica and Western calendars to show the "ancientness and durability" of Tenochtitlan

In summation, for the Nahuas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the future became problematic. The shift from the traditional notion of cyclical time with a predictable future to appropriations of Western linear time with an open and unpredictable future prompted native re-evaluations of time without negating the specificity of place. Spanish institutions and organizations now provided a network for balance-seeking, a situation that led natives to write innovative action guides for their own futures.

***Nahua Colonial Experience***

The trauma of the conquest and the imposition of Western linear time could not displace the influence of ancestral metaphysics in Nahua interpretations of their experiences. Since the cosmos still existed, their lifeways continued. Nahua monism tended to facilitate appropriations of European cultural forms on native terms (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 203). Lockhart famously observed that a "general principle of Spanish-Nahua interaction is that wherever the two cultures ran parallel, the Nahuas would soon adopt the relevant Spanish form without abandoning the essence of their own form" (*Nahuas* 243). This tendency led to inaccurate interpretations on the part of Spanish and Nahuas of each other's actions and intentions, what Lockhart later called the "double mistaken identity" (445). Uncovering how Nahuas constructed intentional teleologies in writing also involves understanding where the two cultures did not "run parallel."

Collaborative projects between friars and Nahua scribes brought these teleological issues to bear. For example, due to the inclusiveness of Nahua monism, clerical requests to provide a narrative of the defeat and subjugation of natives produced unexpected results (Rabasa, *Tell* 193-94). José Rabasa has drawn due attention to folio 46r of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*. There a

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("Glimpsing" 638). See Aveni and Brotherston's commentary on how multiple calendars in the *Codex Mexicanus* (ca. 1584) undermine Spanish imperial claims to universal history (199-203).

*tlacuilo* painted an image of a friar holding a confession manual and directing his stare toward a native penitent, who responds with a quizzical look on his face. The frontal representation of both figures allows them to look directly at the Dominican readers who commissioned the text as if to question the effectiveness of their proselytization (*Tell* 1-5; Quiñones, *Codex* 95, 237-38). Nahua ways of knowing complicated successful completion of this research as part of the evangelical project. Rabasa contends that native epistemologies, "*elsewheres*," demonstrate an ambivalence that meant the friars could not take native conversion at face value (5, 35). While the clergy took their project of native conversion as an external (divine) teleology, the Nahua painters-scribes they proselytized were more concerned with balanced actions that would help them avoid dangers on the road of life (Burkhart, *Slippery* 63).

At first glance, the notion of *elsewheres* as separate, protected native epistemologies appears to offer the advantage of inaccessibility to Westerners (Rabasa *Tell* 7, 195). However, as we have seen, the Nahuas did not separate ways of knowing (epistemologies) from ways of acting (ethics). Thus, without attention to how the Nahuas' ancestral cosmovision informed their epistemologies, *elsewheres* run the risk of fixing attention on Western observers, highlighting remorse for the conquest and "the will for mastery and dominion from within the tradition of Western thought" (5). I agree with Rabasa that "multiple-world-dwelling" informs the Nahua colonial scribes' textual production (*Tell* 65, 156), since their linear temporalities coexist with each other and Western linear time. However, the oppositional nature of *elsewheres* toward the Spanish differs profoundly from the Nahua scribes' perspective. The decisive factor for their writing was not hegemony verses counter-hegemony—*per* Raymond Williams (*Marxism* 116)—but of the absorption of all power-related binaries into the unfolding action of the cosmos (Maffie, *Aztec* 172). In sharp distinction to the anachronistic Marxism Rabasa and I allude to,

Nahua teleologies do not project a utopian end for history, only actions taken to influence specific circumstances.[23] Nahua teleologies did not have to form in opposition to Spanish goals but were adaptable to circumstances and favored balanced living, local conceptualizations of linear time, and native experience.

Under Spanish influence, colonial native scribes' interpretations of human action incorporated indigenous concepts regarding the operation of the cosmos. At the same time, their intentional teleologies relied on their innovative *praxis* to meet future challenges. *Praxis* here refers to its basic sense of the preference for action over theory (*Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* 731). The practical orientation of Nahua teleologies shares the notion of patterns for behavior emerging from collective lifestyles, as entailed in Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* (*Logic* 53). However, in distinction to the habitus, I contend that native scribes acted deliberately when they provided guides for action and did not assume a universal timeline (Rabasa, *Tell* 17). Talal Asad's concept of "training" is similar to Nahua teleological thinking in its emphasis on the correspondence of intention and action, but different in that Asad's training is based on iconic models of sanctity, such as saints (*Genealogies* 63). Yet Nahua teleologies take as a given the constant movement of the cosmos. Nahua teleologies come from an action-driven philosophy, adept at multiple forms of being and communication. The tradition of practical balance-seeking equipped the scribes for the challenges of colonial life.

[23] See Fausto Reinaga's criticism of Marxism for setting limits on Amerindians' autonomy by absorbing them into an agrarian or industrial proletariat (*Revolución* 358-59), and Johansen and Pritzker for how native scholars challenge Marx's taxonomy of "primitive" cultures that evolve toward (European) "civilization" (3: 782-83).

Nahua colonial writing subjects served in mediatorial roles, as subsequent chapters will show. Whether providing information for colonial administrators, clergy, or for natives, the painter-writers after the conquest kept lines of communication open between the Nahuas and Spanish. The success of all involved would in turn help the Nahua writers to thrive. As Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo has observed,

> A mediator is sensitive to both parties and is concerned that neither of the two will succumb to the other. However, each party will have to sacrifice something; in the result of the mediation, neither of the party will see himself as he was in the beginning. … both parties must recognize themselves in the solution; they must see … a third route, a new sphere, whose past is derived from two roots. (191)

In spite of the limitations of positing only two sides in processes of mediation, Escalante Gonzalbo's incorporation of sacrifice and identity resonates with what we have seen of the characteristics of nepantla. Since the extremes of a negotiation were never entirely fixed, then neither could the intermediary take the middle ground as steady and predictable. Just as nepantla was considered a process, leading to a *tertium quid*, a new way of walking on the path of life, so too did the cultural brokerage of native intermediaries constantly find new ways of problem solving.[24] Therefore, intercultural negotiations during the colonial period, though never clear cut, were consistently transformative of their participants, and left no one in stasis. In the midst of

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[24] Yanna Yannakakis's examination of seventeenth and eighteenth-century native intermediaries in Oaxaca demonstrates how negotiation mitigated colonial oppression up until the Borbon reforms restricted their rights (*Art of Being* 162-65). See also Frances Kartunnen's analysis of the mediatorial role of Malintzin in (*Between Worlds* 1-23, 305-07).

that constant flux, Nahua writers, as mediators, maintained dynamic balances, through their teleological thinking, now set in linear time.

***Writing in Balance Between the Lines***

Colonial institutions and their policies are crucial for understanding the emergence of Nahua teleologies. The Spanish Inquisition and Franciscan schools for native elites were two key colonial institutions that exerted pressure on Nahua intellectuals to believe and behave according to Christian and European models. The Spanish policies of monetized tribute (Romano), and forced resettlement via *congregación* weakened the leadership of native nobles and destabilized regional economic and ecological practices (Ruiz, *Mexico's Indigenous* 91-96; Lockhart, *Nahuas* 44-47). These institutions and policies transformed indigenous life in Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the midst of the pressing reality of the indigenous demographic crisis (Gibson 136-43). We cannot overstate the importance of catastrophic changes as catalysts to Nahua approaches toward extending their lifeways into the future.

The Inquisition in Mexico was first under the authority of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, who held the position of Inquisitor General from 1536 to 1543. In 1541, his superiors relieved him of his duties in the wake of a case that sent shockwaves through the communities of native elites in the Valley of Mexico and the Franciscan order in Spain: the trial of Don Carlos Ometochtzin of Texcoco (Greenleaf 67; Don 175).[25] The Inquisition influenced Nahua colonial scribes by introducing the threat of physical violence for writing ideas contrary to Christianity (Lavrín, "Foreword" xiv). The Inquisition also influenced their textual production since they wrote under the supervision of those directly involved with the Holy Office, such as Bernardino

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[25] Other important inquisitorial cases against native leaders include: Martín Ocelotl, Andrés Mixcoatl, and Miguel Pochtecatl Tlayotla (Don).

de Sahagún, who was an interpreter during the Ometochtzin case (Don 134). Don Carlos was tried for publically speaking against Christianity and trying to convince people to return to worshipping Tlaloc (Jaffary, Osowski, and Porter 89). Ometochtzin's *auto de fe* happened on Sunday November 23, 1539 in the Zócalo. Before the executioners put him to the sword, he recanted his nativist preaching activities that the Inquisition had condemned. However, his confession was too late and authorities burned his body at the stake (Greenleaf 73). Afterwards the Franciscan order replaced Zumárraga as Inquisitor General with Alonso Montúfar, whereby the Inquisition in Mexico drastically reduced the use of torture to extract confessions and relaxations to the secular arm for execution (Nesvig 110-11). As a key precedent for how the Holy Office would carry out its activities in New Spain, the Ometochtzin trial led to Phillip II's 1571 decree, which reorganized the Spanish Inquisition in New Spain and removed indigenous peoples from the Holy Office's jurisdiction (Chuchiak 11; Edwards 106).

In practical terms, even after the natives' exemption from the Inquisition, juridical pressures existed that would discourage Nahua scribes from overtly opposing Spanish policies and Christian doctrine in writing. The Church and the Crown wished to avoid another auto de fe in the Zócalo. Yet the scribes could still be tried under the laws of the *república de indios* and by the bishop ordinary of their diocese (Lea I: 201-11; Tavárez, *Invisible* 63). Moreover, in the wake of the smallpox epidemic of 1576, Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras sought to extend the reach of the policy of *congregación* (Tavárez, *Invisible* 66), the practice of the mandatory relocation of natives in the countryside into settlements for taxation and religious instruction (Gerhard 27). However, as the secular priest Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón demonstrated in his reconnoitering of the Atenango region, Nahua beliefs displayed a strong traditional character well into the seventeenth century ("Prefatory Letter" 39-41; Díaz Balsera, *Pyramid* 225) Even

with these circumstances, Nahua colonial scribes continued to rely on their philosophical background to form teleological approaches for their survival and flourishing.

If the Inquisition was preoccupied with monitoring textual content and ritual actions (Tavárez, *Invisible* 67-68), the educational efforts of the Franciscans were concerned with natives' conversion through indoctrination and study. Pedro de Gante, a Flemish Franciscan brother who arrived in Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1523, founded the first Catholic school for native elites in the Americas, La escuela de San José de los naturales, opened in 1526 (MacAndrew 370-1). Pedro de Gante played an important role as a mediator-mentor figure for a group of painter-scribes in the southwest quarter of Mexico Tenochtitlan.  This group authored the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, examined in Chapter Three. These *Anales* reference Gante's work as a preacher, teacher of choral arrangement, and negotiator with Spanish authorities over the polemical issue of indigenous tribute (Reyes, *Cómo* 164, 186, 288-90). Gante established the use of education and alphabetic writing for native conversion, a touchstone for the "apostolic twelve," who arrived in 1524 (Ricard 212, 224; Cortés, "Colegio" 88). By associating learning and alphabetic writing, Pedro de Gante paved the way for Franciscan educational endeavors that would provide the conditions for the further elaboration of Nahua teleologies in writing.

Drawing upon Gante's educational model and strategic references to the calmecac itself, the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco would prove the most elaborate Franciscan educational endeavor in Central Mexico during the sixteenth century. Beginning with greater funding than San José de los naturales (Zepeda 89), a wider offering of subjects, and collaboration between clergy members, the Colegio made a lasting mark on proselytization and Nahua textual production (Baudot, *Utopia* 111-12). As discussed in Chapter Two, the Colegio in Tlatelolco taught a Renaissance Humanist liberal arts curriculum, into which Nahua elites

merged their traditional knowledge (Cortés, "Colegio" 91). The Colegio served as a forum wherein natives articulated their knowledge of traditional culture through linear writing and painted images. Those expressions represent important evidence of Nahua teleological thinking.

Bernardino de Sahagún's research on preconquest Nahua culture culminated in the text known today as the *Florentine Codex*, which the Franciscan compiled from interviews with his native collaborators. Recalling Sahagún's role as a tribunal interpreter for the Ometochtzin trial, it is reasonable to assume that the Nahuas who provided the Franciscan friar with information and worked in Tlatelolco's scriptorium would have done so with caution (Klor de Alva "Sahagún's" 46; Lockhart, "Introduction" 28). Sahagún's links between Tlatelolco and the Inquisition were deeply enmeshed: Don Carlos Ometochtzin may have been a former student of the Colegio (Zepeda 98), and at minimum had received a Franciscan education as a boy in Texcoco (SilverMoon 227-29). However, in spite of the potentially turbulent connotations of Sahagún's career for his native collaborators, their education and participation in Franciscan research allowed them to record information on their traditions using alphabetic text and pictorial representations (Klor de Alva, "Nahua" 30; Escalante, "Painters" 169). Sahagún gathered information on Nahua culture and worked to catalog and Christianize his findings, he encouraged the painter-scribes he worked with to envision futures in which information on their cultural forms would survive.

The Nahuas' enrollment at San José de los naturales and the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco obliged them into learning European intellectual traditions. They did so, but without losing sight of their ancient path-seeking worldview. The Nahua concept of living in balance did not mean that good would always prevail, as the friars supposed, but that good and evil would coexist in fusions of creation and destruction (Read, *Time* 35; Beck, Walters, and Francisco 15;

Kidwell, Noley, and Tinker 46). In spite of the dissimilarities of the friars' and indigenous nobles' worldviews, Spanish piety and education resonated with Nahuas (Gruzinski, *Man-Gods* 112-13). By way of this encounter with the clergy, painter-writers appropriated linear writing by which they would articulate teleological approaches for extending their lifeways within unfamiliar institutions and into an uncertain future. The universe remained in motion: although their references to the calendar of the Fifth Sun waned, via their teleologies, scribes began to represent cosmic motion as indefinitely linear (Magaloni-Kerpel, "Visualizing" 197-200).

To recapitulate my main argument, sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Nahua scribes, due to the destruction of the native institutions their predecessors had depended on and the pressures of Spanish colonialism, re-evaluated how to harmonize their intentions and actions with the cosmos. Since the practical "living out" of their cosmovision occurred within previously unknown colonial circumstances, native writing reflected the ancestral concern with cosmic order and balance re-situated under the colonial regime. I submit that significant philosophical shifts followed. The scribes began to imagine the back-and-forth cosmic motion of ollin as more linear than cyclical. The employed the twisting and turning motions of their writing as malinalli forces capable of regenerating their ways of life. In the face of the pressures of life under Spanish colonialism, the scribes produced nepantla-seeking writing, which drew from native and European cultural forms in order to live in harmony with the cosmos. Scribes who kept the path required ongoing intentional teleologies that could only be Nahua.

### ***Scribal Paths: Nahua Teleologies in Action***

Nahua teleologies arose organically, but they were no accident. The pragmatic emphasis of Nahua knowledge about the cosmos met with colonial situations that elicited innovative path-extending approaches to living. Nahua teleologies arose both from the cosmic balance that the

scribes *pursued* and from the forward-looking thought that *ensued* through their negotiations with Western culture. In some cases, resistance played a part in native teleological writing. However, opposition to the Spanish was not the central aim, but rather maintaining cosmic balance regardless of who governed. I will demonstrate how Nahua colonial scribes expressed their intentional teleologies through close readings of three alphabetic texts they wrote under the influence of colonial institutions.

Chapter Two focuses on sections from the *Florentine Codex* that communicate Nahua teleologies of healing by promoting traditional, shamanic approaches to health and wellbeing. Bernardino de Sahagún used interviews with Nahua physicians and the help of native painter-scribes in his research and compilation of this material.[26] Of particular interest are sections of books X and XI of the *Codex* that Sahagún did not translate into Spanish. Compared to the text as a whole, this editorial inconsistency allowed the painter-scribes to express views of a group of Nahua physicians on the human body, healing practices, and balance. I argue that these sections present a native conceptualization of the human body as a pathway of teotl's energy that required human efforts to maintain and regenerate it. Thus, the sections in Book XI cataloging herbal remedies are action guides for the care of bodies-as-conduits in balance with the cosmos. In light of these precedents, I also argue that the narrative of the conquest in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* incorporated the notion of the body-as-the-pathway outlined in Books X and XI. Painting and writing play an important role as malinalli motions that present guides for continuing Nahua lifeways concerning wellbeing. Under Sahagún's purpose of producing a compendium on Nahua

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[26] Shamanic refers to practices of healing and divination through trance states of altered perception, often via a specialist's use of psychotropic plants (C. Pratt, *Encyclopedia* 2.430-35; Namba and Neumann xxi, 137).

culture to help instruct fellow clergy, the native physicians and painter-scribes who provided information avoided inquisitorial censure. However, Sahagún would later face that same penalty in 1578 when Philip II confiscated his manuscripts.

Chapter Three moves from Tlatelolco to San Juan Moyotlan, the southwest quarter (*calpolli*) of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. There, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* detail how native scribes, through representations of a Nahua leadership crisis, articulated their intentional teleologies in response to Spanish religion, economics, and the law. A group of Nahua scribes, charged with keeping a census of tribute payments, followed the xiuhpohualli tradition and expanded the content of their text to include various events in mid-sixteenth-century Mexico-Tenochtitlan. In reporting the happenings of their day, the native scribes conveyed intentional teleologies. Thus, a religious rebellion aims at restoring ancestral beliefs, and a riot attempts to resolve inequalities stemming from the Spanish monetization of tribute. Near the close of the *Juan Bautista* text, the return of the spirit of Moteuczoma to Mexico-Tenochtitlan addresses imbalances in the Nahua hierarchy. [27] I contend that in the absence of pre-conquest institutions that supported Nahua religion, economics, and law, the scribes empowered themselves to reestablish order in the city and regenerate native society. They employ malinalli motions present in their own linear writing in order to set things right. As a textual project without direct clerical supervision, the *Anales de*

[27] This is the spelling of the ruler's name corresponds more closely to its older pronunciation, and is the default form I use in this dissertation. Domingo Chimalpahin used the spelling "Moteucçoma" in his copy of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, and in the *Florentine Codex* Bernardino de Sahagún and his aides used the similar "Motecuhzoma" (813). See also, Lockhart, *We People* (70-80, 94-96). In Hernán Cortés' *Fourth Letter*, he at first attempted the Nahuatl orthography but gradually shifted toward the Hispanicized "Montezuma," which he evidently preferred.

*Juan Bautista* walks a fine line. The scribes juxtaposed native views critical of colonial directives while they keep their own authorial voices at a safe distance from possible censure.

Chapter Four focuses on teleological discourses linked to the noble families of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. My argument is that the *Crónica mexicayotl* proposed a Nahua teleology of education in order to compensate for the destruction of native houses of learning, particularly the *calmecac*, which focused on preparing Nahua elites to govern. The text represents many voices. Yet I side with scholarship that emphasizes the role of the Mexica noble Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, whose early redaction of the Crónica mexicayotl was didactic: he wished to convince future Mexica elites of the twin importance of their unity and leadership through serving in mediatorial roles between Nahuas and the Spanish. The content of the *Crónica mexicayotl* (*e.g*., the Mexica journey from Aztlan to Lake Texcoco, rulers' genealogies, and deities' interventions) represents a pedagogical endeavor to restore balance to the training of the Mexica and other Nahuas. I contend that curiously overlapping roles of Nahua and Christian supernatural beings make it clear that traditional Nahua pantheism lies below the text's Christianized veneer. Teotl's operations in linear writing are central to the educational endeavor of the *Crónica mexicayotl*. Examples of native mediators in the text, including Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and Antonio Valeriano—a graduate from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz—emphasized the importance of nepantla. The malinalli action of the pen is again a key factor that launches this native teaching project meant to re-blaze a fading path of ancestral knowledge and extend it into the future.

Chapter Five reviews how the dissertation's main argument—that Nahua pragmatism fired under coloniality motivated native scribes' teleologies—expands our understanding of the texts examined. Nahua teleologies highlight the central role of native agency in cultural

formation in Central Mexico during the colonial period. Ways in which Nahua colonial writers ascribed importance to furthering their lifeways beyond their own time on earth offers insight into contemporary native efforts to promote their healing practices, economic activities, education, and beliefs.

The *Florentine Codex*, the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, and the *Crónica mexicayotl* are three key texts where one can find Nahua teleologies. My readings of this triad of Nahua writings will enrich our understanding of Mesoamerican philosophy in the colonial period. Moreover, insights in these pages explain the workings of native cultural agency. Nahua teleological thinking in the colonial period entailed a meeting of native writing and the practical implications of their cosmovision. By revealing the path-extending aims of native writing subjects, this teleological approach explains how Nahuas used writing to apply their metaphysics to colonial situations in order to influence their futures. They intentionally refashioned their culture, working from within the pressures of colonial institutions and going beyond the boundaries the Spanish imposed. My reading of Nahua teleological responses to the crises of conquest emphasizes native desires and linear temporalities as central to their cultural adaptations in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Nahua writers actively forged cultural paths relying on traditional knowledge of teotl's operation and how human intention and action participate in teotl's continuous unfolding.

## Chapter Two:

## "My Heart Is Tormented": Nahua Teleologies of Healing in the *Florentine Codex*

> El médico no puede Acatadamente aplicar las medicinas al enfermo sin que primero conozca de que humor, o de que causa proçede la enfermedad. De manera que el buen médico conuiene sea docto en el conocimiento de las mediçinas y en el de las enfermedades, para aplicar conueniblemente a cada enfermedad la mediçina contraria. Los predicadores, y confesores, medicos son de las ánimas, para curar las enfermedades espirituales (*sic*) (Sahagún, *Florentine* 1: 45).
>
> [The physician cannot advisedly administer medicines to the patient without first knowing of which humor or from which source the ailment derives. Wherefore it is desirable that the good physician be expert in the knowledge of medicines and ailments [in order] to adequately administer the cure […] [P]reachers and confessors are physicians of […] souls for [the] curing of spiritual ailments.].[28]

Bernardino de Sahagún's metaphor of the priest as a spiritual physician represents the intersection of metaphysics, medicine, and Nahua lifeways in the prologue to his compendium on Nahua history and culture, known today as the *Florentine Codex* (1578). In describing his ministry in Central Mexico, the friar also reveals the importance of humoral medicine (described below) in Renaissance Europe, and as an ideological aspect of colonization. Questions surrounding the Nahua view of the body, Western medicine, and indigenous healing practices come to bear particularly in Books X, XI and XII of the *Codex*. This chapter focuses on Nahua references to illness and wellbeing, as they appear in the *Florentine Codex* in tension with the spiritual-medical themes that Sahagún evokes in his prologue. Under the pressures of the military

[28] The insertions and elisions in Anderson and Dibble's translation are mine.

conquest, epidemics, and the new presence of Western medicine and *hospitales*, the Nahua scribes of the *Florentine Codex* convey their understanding of the human body, and what qualified a specialist to identify ailments, to cure them, and to recommend actions for maintaining one's health. Their efforts were intentional and hence teleological: at stake was the future of Nahua healing practices. As I argue in this chapter, close readings of the information that Nahua writing subjects provided concerning native ways of maintaining one's wellbeing reveal Nahua teleologies of healing active in the face of imposed Spanish institutions, including the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, the Inquisition, and Spanish laws on the healing arts.

Linguistic clues from early modern Spanish usage shed light on the occupations of the priest and the physician, according to the sixteenth-century European understanding. The terms *médico* [medical doctor] and *medicina* [medicine] resonate with today's vernacular. Médico derives from the Latin *medicus*, and the verb *mederi*, which Juan Corominas defined as "*cuidar, curar, medicar*," [to care for, to cure, to medicate] and refers to a professional activity (363). Sebastián Covarrubias considered *físico* [physician] and *doctor* [doctor] as synonymous with médico, a fact that draws attention to the material and this-worldly orientation of a physician's practice (544). Covarrubias also defined medicina as "*la facultad que el médico profesa y los remedios que aplica al enfermo*" [the medical doctor's professional knowledge and the remedies he applies to the sick], along with two related adjectives: "*medicinal, lo que contiene en si virtud para sanar* [medicinal, that which contains the ability to heal], and "*medicable, lo que es curable* [treatable, that which is curable]" (544).

The foregoing definitions reflect a conventional understanding of Western medicine that gained momentum after the decision of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to separate priests' and physicians' duties: the former would attend to spiritual matters, and the latter to the body

(Porter 75-76).[29] Penned over three hundred years later, the spiritual physician in Sahagún's prologue is a rhetorical figure meant to convince other clergy to study Nahua culture in order to enhance their efforts to convert native populations (Sahagún, *Florentine* 1: 45-46; Cortés, "Colegio" 90). However, as will become apparent, Sahagún's metaphorical physician deploys an implicit allusion to the information that the *Codex* contains regarding Nahua views of the human body and its harmonious operation. Thus, Covarrubias' definition of "medicable" as referring to curable illnesses implies that even from a Western perspective, medicine could not cure all ailments, and was, then as now, an expanding field of knowledge.[30]

The *Florentine Codex* is the culmination of a lifetime of writing on Nahua culture Sahagún carried out in Central Mexico beginning with his *Primeros memoriales* in 1558, and passing through a number of revisions and additions until its completion as twelve volumes, which the friar intended to call the *Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España* (Browne 103-4). Bernardino de Sahagún was part of the second generation of Franciscans in New Spain who reoriented their efforts from heading massive conversions to instructing the Nahuas in Christian doctrine and practice. He understood that the task required profound knowledge of Nahua language and culture. Thus, for his most extensive writing project he sought the assistance of native amanuenses trained in alphabetic writing and familiar with ancient pictorial

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[29] For a survey of the history of confession and medical metaphors used to describe that sacrament, see Natalie Brigit Molineaux's *Medici Et Medicamenta: The Medicine of Penance in Late Antiquity* (33-74, 241-80).

[30] For the history of the rise of medicine as a science in early modern Spain, see Bjorn Olkom Skaarup's *Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain*, chapters one, five, and nine. See also López Piñero's *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (339-70).

representation. Although he has been called the "first anthropologist" (León Portilla, *Bernardino*), or a "pioneer ethnographer" (Klor de Alva, Nicolson, and Quiñones) these labels belong to a time not their own and should be used with caution (Browne 8). Sahagún sums up his evangelical purpose for writing about Nahua culture. "*[A] mí me fue mandado por sancta obediencia de mi prelado mayor que escribiese en lengua mexicana lo que me pareciese ser útil para la doctrina, cultura y mantenencia de la cristiandad de estos naturales de esta Nueva España y para ayuda de los obreros y ministros que los adoctrinan*" (*Florentine* 1: 53). [I was ordered, by the holy command of my highest prelate, to write in the Mexican language that which seemed to me useful for the indoctrination, the propagation and perpetuation of the Christianization of these natives of this New Spain, and as a help to the workers and ministers who indoctrinate them] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). He drew from Renaissance Humanism's emphases on the intrinsic value of all peoples, and the usefulness of conversation for research and pedagogy (León Portilla "Bernardino" 9). Sahagún's humanistic orientation served as a means to his end of the Christianization of the Nahuas, yet also allowed the contributing *titicih* and scribes a certain range of written expression they may not otherwise have enjoyed.

The emergence of the commonplace dichotomies of body-soul and physician-priest partly explain the polyvalence of sixteenth-century Western medicine. Multiple interpretations of the body, its organization, and functions were possible, including Nahua interpretations. The fact that Western medicine could not cure every sickness within the Nahua worldview left epistemological gaps that the ancestral view of *teotl*, the body, illness, and healing would fill in the *Florentine Codex*. Bernardino de Sahagún was concerned with what he saw as spiritual remedies, which entailed the suppression of traditional beliefs and the preservation of those that did not contradict Christianity (Cortés, "Colegio" 90; Burkhart, *Slippery* 3). Sahagún gathered

information on Nahua culture by way of interview questions posed to elders in Tepepulco, and later to students at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (Roa de la Carrera, "Translating" 71-72; Baudot, *Utopia* 114; J. Schwaller, Introduction *x*). Because of the separation between the priesthood and medicine in Europe, the Franciscan friar's investigation of Nahua healing practices had to rely on the information that natives provided him. Given the lack of licensed Spanish physicians in Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the sixteenth century (Lanning 32), colonial authorities were not able to suppress Nahua healing traditions (Tavárez 13), a fact that added relevance to Sahagún's documentation of native healing practices.

For the task of documenting indigenous healing practices for his fellow clergymen, Sahagún solicited the help of sixteen traditional Nahua healers called *titicih* (sing. *ticitl*).[31] Compared to Spanish médicos, the titicih took a "magico-religious" approach to healing (Huguet-Termes 362). Alonso de Molina defines a *ticitl* as a "*medico o agorcro y echador de suertes*" (*sic*) [a medical doctor or diviner and caster of lots] (113r) The Franciscan grammarian closely pairs the ticitl with his practice of ticiotl, the "*arte de medicina, o cofa de medicos, o adiuinacion por agueros, agoreria de echar fuertes*" (*sic*) [the art of medicine, the field of

[31] Book X, Chapter Twenty-eight, lists the eight *titicih* who verified the content. "Juan Pérez, de San Pablo. Pedro Pérez, de San Juan. Pedro Hernández, de San Juan. José Hernández, de San Juan. Miguel García, de San Sebastián. Francisco de la Cruz, Xiuitonco. Balthasar Juárez, de San Sebastián" (Sahagún, *General history* 3: 113v). Book XI, Chapter Seven lists eight more collaborating native healers: "Gaspar Matías, vecino de la Concepción; Pedro de Santiago, vecino de Santa Inés; Francisco Simón y Miguel Damián, vecinos de Santo Toribio; Felipe Hernández, vecino de Santa Ana; Pedro de Requena, vecino de la Concepción, Miguel García, vecino de Santo Toribio y Miguel Motolinía, vecino de Santa Inés" (3: 180v-181r).

medical doctors, or divination through the reading of signs, augury by casting lots] (113r) Frances Karttunen defines the ticitl as, "physician, prognosticator, healer" (240). These definitions describe the ticitl as one who diagnoses illness through divination. He or she must read the body and the cosmos to determine the malady and the remedy (Soustelle, 194-95; Berdan, *Aztec Archaeology* 250-51).

Given the importance of Nahua monism, outlined in Chapter One, the titicih did not divide an individual into a body and soul, but saw a unity of corporeal and metaphysical aspects, with no separation between a person and the rest of reality (Ortiz de Montellano, "Body" 191). Accustomed to keeping watch for indigenous elements at variance with Christianity, one may conjecture that Sahagún was at times reluctant to translate the Nahuatl content of the *Codex* into Spanish.[32] This phenomenon occurs in Books X and XI where the friar leaves a number of gaps in his Spanish glosses and comments neither on Nahua knowledge of the body nor on their traditional healing practices. As we shall see, these considerations were pivotal for understanding Book X, Chapter Twenty-seven, which concerns the Nahua view of the human body, and Book XI, Chapter Seven, which provides information regarding ailments and their remedies.

Factors beyond Sahagún's control imbued the Spanish glosses of the final copy with haste, as the pressures of the smallpox epidemic of 1576 gripped the city. Earlier that year, Sahagún and the Collegians began a final copy based on over thirty years of the friar's research

[32] He omitted the *teocuicatl* (songs to deities) that his aides provided for Book II (*General History* I: 137r-144v). Sahagún's main objective was to inform clergy of Nahua beliefs, and he perhaps considered the chants too detailed or arcane to translate (León Portilla, *Bernardino* 176).

in Central Mexico.[33] This task became a race against time as the smallpox plague ravaged the city and the painter-scribes began to die (Magaloni, "Painters" 49-51), a fact that Sahagún notes in a Spanish gloss in Book XI (*General History* 3: 390r). Concerns for ensuring the pastoral effectiveness of his *Historia* may have also come to bear. After all, he had been an interpreter for the Inquisition and showed trepidation toward textual evidence of traditional beliefs on the part of the Nahua scribes (Browne 151). Perhaps he reasoned as well that his translation omissions would protect the text from the Inquisition by allowing him closer control of the content. Taken together, the smallpox outbreak and Sahagún's decision not to translate controversial material help explain why his Spanish glosses account for less than one-third of the finished text (Gimmel 176). While not one of these observations can provide a complete explanation as to why Spanish glosses are absent from portions of Books X and XI, our attention to detail here opens rather than restricts interpretive possibilities. Without Spanish glosses on large sections of body parts and native herbal treatments, an understanding of these passages in the light of traditional Nahua metaphysics was certainly a thinkable for indigenous collaborators in the sixteenth century. It is that possibility with regard to the function of the human body that I shall investigate more closely.

The net effect of the threat of inquisitorial censure, Sahagún's ambivalence toward Nahua culture, and Spanish laws on the practice of medicine (discussed below) was to draw attention to

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[33] In the prologue to the *Codex*, Sahagún provides the names of the trilingual Collegians (Spanish, Latin, and Nahuatl) who revised and compiled the friar's work. They were Antonio Valeriano, Martín Jacovita, Alonso Vegerano, and Pedro de San Buenaventura. In the same section, Sahagún mentioned the scribes of the final copy of the twelve volumes: Mateo Severino, and Diego de Grado and Bonifacio Maximiliano (*Historia general* 74).

the *Codex's* native descriptions of the physical human and healing practices, both of which signal the native body as a contested space in Central Mexico. As Gabriel Giorgi has observed, "the body has been a principal terrain where colonial relations are made visible" (36). In the midst of the indigenous demographic crisis, exacerbated by the smallpox epidemic of 1576, the native body took on particular importance in the *Florentine Codex* due to the writers' preoccupation with providing remedies and health advice for survivors of the smallpox outbreak. The Nahuas held that three soul-like life forces animated the human body: the *tonalli* (head), the *yollotli* (heart), and the *ihiyotl* (liver).[34] The list of body parts in Book X assumes the presence of these three entities, which I will refer to as animating conduits. [35] Likewise, Book XI carries the implicit understanding of the future effectiveness of the remedies for ailments that it offers. Other European herbals at the time —and the *Codex de la Cruz Badiano* (discussed below)— organized illness and cures from the head and moving downward toward the body's extremities (Gimmel, "Reading Medicine" 171). I suggest that this organization in part protected the text from Sahagún's close scrutiny. Both a European and Nahua reading of the function of body parts in the text were possible. Yet it was not how one remained healthy but why one did so that led to different teleologies of wellbeing between the two cultures.[36]

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[34] See McKeever Furst's *Natural History of the Soul in Mexico* and López Austin's *Human Body and Ideology* for studies of the tonalli, yollotli and the ihiyotl.

[35] B. Ortiz de Montellano calls them "animic forces," that give life to bodies from without ("Body" 191, 199-204). Per Maffie's emphasis on teotl's flowing, dynamic nature (*Aztec* 100-13), I conceptualize the *tonalli*, *yollotli*, and *ihiyotl* as conduits linking the body with the cosmos.

[36] Maffie examines the "practice oriented" emphasis of indigenous knowledge ("In the end" 57).

In light of these considerations, I contend that the Nahua descriptions of the human body and healing plants in Books X, XI, and XII of the *Florentine Codex* —passing through Sahagún's uneven editorial filter— communicate intentional path-keeping teleologies. First and foremost, the description of the body and its treatment provided by the *titicih* assume that a human's intrinsic function is that of a pathway for the cosmic energy of *teotl* (Maffie, *Aztec* 195, 271-72). By prescribing ways to ensure that energy can flow unimpeded through the *tonalli*, the *yollotli*, and the *ihiyotl*, the Nahua healers imply that the body is a conduit and that one can take actions to keep it straight, clean, and in balance with the landscape and other people. As will become clear, the traditional shamanic practices of Nahua healers in the *Codex* form a part of an Nahua teleology for keeping the body as a path of wellbeing, leading into an unknown future.

While indigenous knowledge in Books X, XI, and XII promote the body as a path, the appropriation of Western linear writing to record that knowledge signals another native practice. The Nahua scribes, whom Sahagún referred to as *gramáticos* and students of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (*Historia general* 74), relied on their own traditions and their experience studying with the Franciscans in order to mediate and adapt ancestral knowledge to the demands of colonial life. This effect comes from the Nahua appropriation of alphabetic writing, which soon allowed them to use this European technology for their own aims (Klor de Alva, "Nahua" 26). By cataloguing body parts and remedies that the *titicih* provided, the scribes appropriated linear writing to communicate their recommendations to posterity. Native writing thus becomes an integral aspect of a lifeway of wellbeing set forth on a local, linear chronology. By offering their aid to Sahagún in documenting Nahua healing traditions, the *titicih* and scribes worked to ensure that ancestral knowledge of healing practices would survive beyond their own

deaths. Writing becomes a means to safeguard Nahua healing practices through the written word, in images, and in healing practices from deterioration.

My examination of Nahua teleologies of healing in the *Florentine Codex* begins with the list of body parts in Book X and selections from Book XI's compendium of plant remedies. Book X, Chapter Twenty-seven catlogues body parts in Nahuatl that Sahagún did not include in his Spanish translation. The omission draws attention to the Nahua understanding of the three life forces that animated the body. In Book XI, Chapter Seven, native healers submitted 150 entries, each describing an illness, an herbal treatment, and how to prepare the plants as drinks or poultices. I argue that the first thirty-one of these entries were problematic to Sahagún, as some of them assumed the validity of the Nahua conceptualization of the body as a path, and proposed the diagnostic value of hallucinogens. I will then focus on sections of the Nahuatl narrative of the conquest in Book XII to show the teleological implications of traditional conceptions of the human body and healing practices in the account. Through close readings of key passages from Books X, XI and XII of the *Codex*, I look for ways in which the Nahua understanding of sickness and health departed from European humoralism.

### ***Pantheism and the Nahua Sense of "Humor"***

Humoralism refers to the system of medicine in Europe, the principles of which date from Greco-Roman antiquity, based on the notion that one could maintain good health by balancing four bodily fluids or humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile (choler) and black bile (Porter, *Greatest* 9).[37] *Methodus medendi,* a classic text of Claudius Galenus, contains an

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[37] For an introduction to humoralism from Greco-Roman antiquity to the eighteenth century and its contemporary cultural resonances, see Vivian Nutton's "Humoralism." See also "Humours" in the *Oxford Reference Online*.

alphabetical index of infirmities, explanations of their origins as imbalances of bodily fluids, and treatments to correct them. During the Middle Ages, Arab scholars, such as the influential Avicena, preserved manuscripts of Galenus' books, which formed a basis for scholars and translators in the sixteenth century, such as Andreas Vesalius, Phillip II's court medic and the author of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543). Humoralism dealt in internal causes of disease, and in general disregarded the possibilities of "spirit possession or sorcery" (Porter "What is Disease?" 92). Thus in terms of diagnosis, humoralists tended to look for the origin of a patient's condition in her or his body, and not in the cosmos.

Nahua monism differs significantly from Western dualism, which holds that matter and spirit are distinct from each other, as noted in Chapter One. The Nahua concept of the body follows this metaphysical distinction, and selfhood is inextricably bound to the cosmos (McKeever 122; Ortiz de Montellano, "Body" 191).[38] The self, according to this conceptualization, is not a singular, immortal entity whose existence continues after the demise of the body. As Thomas Csordas has observed, in the Amerindian view, "there is no such 'thing' as the self. There are only processes, and these are orientational processes" (276). For the Nahuas, bodily conduits of energy constitute a locus of individuality, which, in the end, is not separate from its surroundings, but that directs the flow of cosmic energy for a time. As James Maffie explains,

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[38] This monistic conceptualization of personhood is comparable to the ontological principles Livia Kohn describes in *Daoist Body Cultivation*. See also Sudir Kakar's discussion of the body's chakras and healing in Tantric Hinduism in his *Shamans, Mystics, and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and its Healing Traditions* (151-90).

> At the earth's surface is the only time-place where the three vital forces comprising human beings—tonalli ('inner heat,' 'vitality,' 'potency,' and 'innate personality') concentrated in the head, teyolia ('that which gives life to someone,' 'that which moves someone') concentrated in the heart, and ihiyotl ('breath,' 'wind,' 'respiration') concentrated in the liver— are fully integrated, and hence the only time-place where humans enjoy the potential for well-being. ("Pre-Columbian" 18)

Consequently, with the individual and cosmos as aspects of the same continuum of *teotl*, the body becomes humans' principal means for seeking nepantla in the midst of cosmic processes. In the Nahua view, all things are one. Thus, the body is one of teotl's myriad forms and not a contact point between a spiritual self and the physical world.

The interweaving of body and cosmos in Nahua philosophy carries with it an importance of the collective effects of the conquest experienced in native bodies. Native American scholars have commented on how physical and epistemic violence and the demographic impact of epidemics are bitter reminders of shared indigenous experience throughout the Americas. Suzanne Crawford O'Brien has commented on connections between the embodied experience of first peoples and how the legacy of colonialism echoes in their psychological, spiritual and bodily illnesses (5). Similarly, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart offers the notion of "historical trauma" as "the cumulative trauma over both the lifespan and across generations that results from massive cataclysmic effects" (111). As a social body, Nahuas had to deal with the memory of the conquest and realities of colonial life. After the conquest, Nahuas who suffered from illnesses sought the advice of healers in order to re-establish and maintain their own balance with the cosmos. The traditional healing practices of the titicih in the *Florentine Codex* represent the body as a path for wellbeing. Likewise, the scribes considered writing as a lifeway to preserve healing

knowledge and build native solidarity through nepantla-seeking curing. The foregoing considerations show that Mesoamerican beliefs about the body distanced Nahua teleologies of healing from humoralism. The Nahua specialists contributed to the manuscript, whose work reflects a different understanding of the body, provided future readers with knowledge of healing practices that humoralism could not substitute.

By the sixteenth century, the body/soul duality had a long tradition in the West, and informed Sahagún's preparations for pastoral work in Mexico. Plato's philosophy had influenced Christian theology in this regard, positing the soul as eternal and immortal and surviving the death of the temporary body (McKeever 6). Augustine of Hippo affirmed this separation (Maher and Bolland). Yet Augustine had also clarified that nature is good as a divine creation, viewing unfavorably the Manichean notion that the soul is good and the body evil (*Manichean* 70). Thomas of Aquinas, followed Aristotelian thought, claiming that the soul is a characteristic of the body, averring, "the soul is a substance, but an incomplete substance, *e.g.*, it has a natural aptitude and exigency for existence in the body, in conjunction with which it makes up the substantial unity of human nature" (Maher and Bolland). Yet with earthly life as a testing ground in preparation for eternal life (Gilhus 147), the body performs an important role as a vehicle for salvation (S. White, 295-96; Elm 379-80). While for the Nahuas, the life of the cosmos moved through a person, according to the Western view of the soul, the true self moved through life embedded inside of or enmeshed with a body.

Sahagún's metaphor of the priest-as-physician in the prologue to his *Historia* depended on an understanding of the body as a temporary conveyor of the soul toward eternal spiritual reality. Sahagún viewed the body and nature as good, though fallen, due to his focus on "curing spiritual ailments" (*Florentine* 1: 45), a view distinct from the Nahua perspective of the unity of

personhood with the cosmos. Before his 1529 arrival to Mexico, Sahagún attended the University of Salamanca, where his studies had scholastic (Browne 63-64) and Renaissance Humanist influences (León Portilla, *Bernardino* 43-44) After his ordination, he joined the "*Custodia del Sancto Evangelio*" ["Custodia" of the Holy Gospel], a portion of the Franciscans that promoted adherence to the teachings and asceticism of their order's founder (J. Schwaller, Introduction *xi-x*). The organization of the *Florentine Codex* and Sahagún's later writings on the theological virtues suggest that he consulted Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* (Ríos, "Translating" 34), a copy of which the Colegio de la Santa Cruz kept in its library (Mathes 63). These influences suggest that Augustinian and Thomistic views of the soul were part of his intellectual background. As will become evident, the Nahua view of the body as a pathway and the Western view of the body as a vehicle and testing ground for the soul commingled in Sahagún's cultural research projects.

***Healing Paths Converge in Tlatelolco***

The writing that Sahagún's scribes conducted in the scriptorium at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, reveals that Nahua teleologies of healing arose from this Franciscan institution where "multiple backgrounds coexist[ed]" (Rabasa, *Tell* 163). There, the flexibility of trial-and-error built into Nahua healing practices served as a precedent for innovation and change (Soustelle 192). The space dedicated to preserving indigenous knowledge at the Colegio recalls the living quarters reserved for titicih in Tenochtitlan before the conquest (López Austin, *Hombre-dios* 72-75). The cooperation between the titicih who provided information that the scribes recorded suggests that the practices they described were conventional within Nahua culture, which, as we have seen, echoed their ancestral pantheism (Wautischer 119; Dow and Sandstrom 266). However, by employing alphabetic writing to capture the knowledge of healing

specialists, the Nahua scribes forged a new way of connecting the past with the future. Recalling the power of malinalli energy to direct the flow of teotl, (Treviño, *Historia* 259; Maffie, *Aztec* 267-70), the twisting, spiraling movements of linear writing evoke traditional cosmology and help connect the wisdom of healing herbs with readers of the text in years to come. The parameters of the cooperation between the Nahua healers, the scribes, and Sahagún allowed natives to discuss the body and wellbeing in a culturally hybrid workplace.

The native healers and the scribes were well equipped to synthesize their traditional and Western healing knowledge. Ecclesiastic hierarchies accepted humoralism as harmonious with Christianity. Medical doctors could heal the body while priests treated the soul, since salvation did not depend on physical health.[39] However, within Nahua monism, the proper functioning of the body forms a component of a pantheistic view of reality. For the Nahuas, body and vital forces are bound together. As the body ages, its animic energy declines until a point when a dim post-mortem ember recycles itself back into the cosmos.[40] The eventual expiration of the body and its animating conduits was a foregone conclusion. Within the larger emphasis on *nepantla*-seeking, the art of the *ticitl* maintained the balance of cosmic energy in the body.[41] The native

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[39] This notion can be found in Christianity long before the Lateran Council's separation of the activities of priests and medical doctors. For example, "Even though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day" (II Cor. 4:16).

[40] McKeever Furst explains the idea of monistic aging among speakers of Uto-Aztecan languages (175-83).

[41] James Maffie calls the process of knowledge formation through practice a "way-seeking" epistemology and describes these systems as more focused on proper actions and attitudes rather than beliefs or theories ("Double" 57).

healer's shamanic knowledge was integral to providing remedies within this larger metaphysical system. I recall here that the shamanic and shamanism refer to practices of healing and divination through trance states of altered perception, often by way of the use of psychotropic plants (C. Pratt 2: 430-35; Namba and Neumann xxi, 137). While the soul in the West is the unitary locus of individuality and the vehicle for immortality, its condition does not necessarily reflect that of the body (McKeever 20). Consequently, it is possible to have all or part of an animating conduit ("soul") lose its proper contact with the body, becoming "lost or stuck" outside of the natural flows of energy (C. Pratt, 2: 458). Extending that act of balancing along an unknown timeline, via linear writing, became a cooperative teleological endeavor in the Colegio in Tlatelolco. In order to continue to practice their healing arts while accommodating European medicine, the *titicih* and scribes generated an implicit qualification for the kind of curing specialists that indigenous Mexico needed for the years ahead: healers grounded in the tradition of wellbeing as a balance of energies in the body.

Examining the *Florentine Codex* in light of European medicine and Nahua views on healing reveals that the contributing *titicih* and scribes intentionally covered areas of wellbeing that humoralism does not address. In Books X, XI and XII, the points at which the traditional healing knowledge of the *titicih* differs from humoralism point to distinctly Nahua teleological thinking. Nahuas have tended to see the causes of diseases as external to the body, while humoral medicine seeks to add or purge fluids from inside the body. Focusing on the regulation of cosmic energy flowing through the body predominated in Nahua healing practices before the conquest (Treviño, "Formación" vi-v). Hot-cold binaries present in contemporary Nahua healing practices have led to conjectures that preconquest approaches to disease were consistent with humoralism (López Austin, *Textos de medicina* 16, 26). However, the earliest textual attestations of

humoralism in Mexico date to the sixteenth century, when religious orders from Spain introduced it through the *hospitales* and informal treatments they recommended (Guerra 185; Schendel *et al*. 186). Contemporary Nahua groups continue to seek metaphysical causes for disease. Alan Sandstrom has commented on disease treatment in the Huasteca region: "The major immediate cause of disease for these Nahuas are *ehecatl* spirits, which are usually sent by sorcerers or which are attracted by envious neighbors, anger, gossip, or saying bad things. All curing rituals have as their objective the removal of the spirits and these rituals are not directly concerned with reestablishing hot-cold balance" (qtd. in Foster 164). Therefore, Nahua healing practices have consistently sought to attain equilibrium between one's life forces and the cosmos.[42] For the *titicih*, treating a person suffering from an illness entailed the opening and amplification of their senses in order to discern to what extend the body's vital conduits were out of line with the cosmos.

The notion of personhood as a confluence of cosmic processes shaped native ideas on the causation of ailments and their treatment. A *ticitl* as a healer-diviner contrasts with the sixteenth-century Western medical doctor, who treated ailing bodies with minimal reference to metaphysics. Rather than a dispenser of medicines and other treatments based on a person's symptoms, the native healer used divination to find diagnostic data outside of the patient's body (Sotomayor and Cuéllar-Montoya 50). Linguistic examples from prior to the conquest and the early colonial period represent the native physician reading the body as a dynamic component of the cosmos. In preconquest times, a *ticitl* conducted his or her diagnosis by throwing *colorín*

[42] See also Patrisia Gonzales *Red Medicine: Traditional Indigenous Rights of Birthing and Healing*, especially Chapter One on the importance of shamanism and psychotropic plants (13-35), and Chapter Four on the importance of ceremonies including sweeping (90-119).

seeds, and casting spells (Soustelle 192), or through the use of psychotropic plants and visions (194-95). Once divination provided a diagnosis, the treatment came in the form of a liquid that one ingested, explaining why *patli* (medicine) derives from the verb root *pati* “to dissolve and melt” (Kartunnen 188).[43] According to the Nahua view of the human body, individuals lived in an ongoing relationship with their surroundings. The connection between wellbeing the individual and his/her environment perhaps encouraged exchanges between Nahuas and the Spanish on the topic of herbal remedies.

During Sahagún’s final compilation of the *Florentine Codex*, the Colegio de la Santa Cruz had already gained a reputation for cataloging regional herbs as treatments. In 1552, the Nahua healer Martín de la Cruz finished *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis* an illustrated compendium of native plant remedies with the assistance of Juan Badiano, a Nahua scribe who translated De la Cruz’s work from Nahuatl into Latin (Zetina, Falcón, Arroyo, and Ruvalcaba 221).[44] Martín de la Cruz, whose Nahuatl original of *Libellus* is now lost, had been a *ticitl* in Mexico Tenochtitlan before the conquest (Treviño, *Historia* 274). His text serves as a window into preconquest healing practices, in spite of European influences in its composition (López

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[43] The seventeenth-century idolatry extirpator Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón in his Sixth Treatise also explains how a *ticitl* diagnoses his patient and provides a remedy with incantations, herbal drinks, and on occasion the use of peyote and other hallucinogens. (157-61).

[44] For a Spanish translation of the *Codex De la Cruz-Badiano*, photographic comparisons with the plants the text identifies, and bibilographic analysis, see Xavier Noguez’s special issues of *Arqueología mexicana*.

Austin, *Textos* 40).[45] Even though Juan Badiano died in during an epidemic in 1554 (Garone 164) this textual precedent provided reference points for the scribes as they wrote Chapters X and XI of the *Florentine Codex*.

As explained in Chapter One, the Nahuas did not conceive of the cosmos as hierarchically organized with divine beings on top and nonliving matter at the bottom, but as an emergent monistic process. However, the Western hierarchical structure of the universe has left its stamp on the *Florentine Codex.* Books I through XI describe the Nahua cosmos and social world beginning with deities and ending with herbal remedies in book XI. This organization of the content likely comes from Aristotle's *Logica* (Mathes 49), and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* (67); both of which were available in the Colegio's library for the scribes to use as models. The circulation of Johann Von Cube's *Hortus sanitatus* and Dioscorides' *De materia medica* in Franciscan monasteries may have influenced depictions of plants, animals and minerals in Book XI of the *Florentine Codex* (Escalante 175-76). We shall see that in spite of the catalogue formatting of European textual influences, the scribes and *titicih* provided a compendium that communicates Nahua teleologies of healing.

***Textual Commissions and Omissions***

Sahagún's Spanish translations in the left-hand columns of the *Florentine Codex* were usually paraphrases of the Nahuatl (Lockhart, *Of Things* 187). In the same column, painters would often provide illustrations to supplement the scribes' content. However, Chapter Twenty-seven of Book X contains neither Spanish glosses nor images in the left-hand columns, which instead Sahagún used to provide an account of his ministry in New Spain. Sahagún's reflections

[45] For scientific analysis of samples of herbal remedies in the *Cruz-Badiano Codex* and the *Florentine Codex*, see Bernard Ortiz de Montellano's article "Empirical Aztec Medicine."

on his life's work among the Nahuas center on his admiration for the moral rigor of preconquest Nahua education and a lament of the moral decadence that the Spanish military conquest and fragmentary evangelization had caused (*Historia general* 579-80). This commentary in Spanish on his activities in Central Mexico does not fill the entire section dedicated to body parts, and he left the remaining columns blank (fig. 2.1). By Sahagún's account, he was unable to finish all of his Spanish "*escolios*," "*por falta de ayuda y de favor*" [due to a lack of help and of favor] (21), perhaps a subtle critique of the confiscation of his manuscripts. Yet what Sahagún lacked in support does not address the lacunae in his knowledge concerning the Nahua conceptualization of the body. To the contrary, as the blank columns he left in Book X and the Spanish text he added imply, his aides followed instructions to gather information on healing practices. Yet, paradoxically, in Chapter Twenty-Seven of Book X, Sahagún is more concerned with justifying how his work concluded in Mexico, instead of finding an opportunity in the list of body parts to gain a deeper understanding of Nahua conceptions of the body. Sahagún thus supervised the compilation on Nahua healing without full knowledge of the cosmovision underlying it. Recalling his metaphor from the prologue to the *Florentine Codex*, he became a physician of the soul, without consideration of his patients' view of the body.

However, Sahagún's approach to this material is consistent with the overall purpose of his activities in New Spain. Certainly not lacking the vocabulary to refer to common parts of the body in Nahuatl, Sahagún's decision not to gloss the catalog of plant-derived treatments reveals his prioritization of bringing Christianity to Mexico over documenting native knowledge.[46] As

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[46] Book VI of the *Florentine Codex* abounds with examples of Sahagún's fluid use of vocabulary relating to parts of the body: see Chapter Nineteen on how a father exhorts and educates his

Millie Gimmel has observed, “Sahagún’s willingness to forego careful translation or commentary on the Nahuatl text is a telling example of his attitude toward the natural world. European culture frequently takes precedence over indigenous nature in his portion of the *Codex*” (176). While ostensibly running out of time due to his age, reeling from the smallpox epidemic of 1576, and dealing with the pending confiscation of his manuscript, Sahagún’s decision not to translate even common body parts he uses with ease in other parts of the *Codex* reveals a preference for the evangelical and westernizing goals of the text.

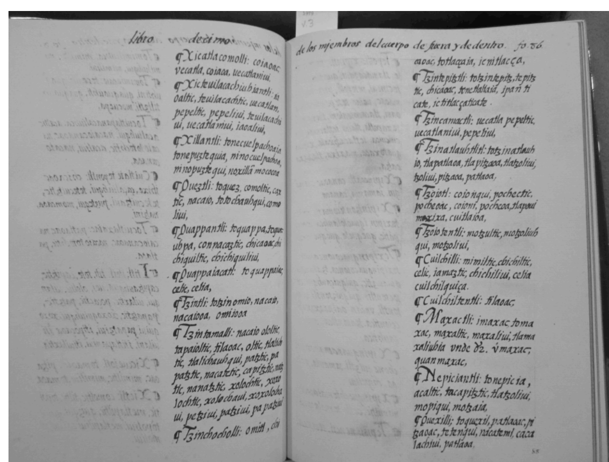

Fig. 2. 1: Folios 55v and 56r are examples of the left-hand columns where Sahagún did not write Spanish glosses in Book X. Folio 56r contains direct references to the functions of the *ihiyotl*, as discussed later. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

However, by choosing not to translate these body parts Sahagún veiled metaphysical concepts from readers who could access the text through his Spanish glosses alone, allowing the Nahuatl passages to remain available for future native readers. The Franciscan friars preserved the largest collections of colonial Nahuatl vocabulary on the human body (López Austin, *Human Body* 1: 29). Although other dictionaries, such as Alonso de Molina’s, included body parts, there

daughter; Chapter Twenty-seven, which explains how women sought the services of midwives (female *titicih*); and Chapter Twenty-eight, which details how a midwife assists at a birth.

is no indication that the friar grammarian interviewed native healers (Parodi, "Indianization" 40-43), which was key to Sahagún's research for Books X and XI (Sahagún, *Florentine* 1: 47). In light of Sahagún's interviews with Nahua healers and his experiences with Mesoamerican vocabulary of the human body, his decision not to include his Spanish translation places greater emphasis on the Nahuatl text. The silence of the blank columns highlights the Nahuatl voice, which provides clues to the teleological thinking entailed in the written preservation of the Mesoamerican understanding of the body.

***The Head, Heart, and Entrails of the Matter***

In Book X, the terms that Nahua healers provide related to the tonalli, the yollotli and the ihiyotl reveal their preoccupation with soul-loss. Since the body's cosmic channels were not firmly attached, interactions with others and the environment could affect these three entities (McKeever 109). A lost soul does not indicate a separation of spirit from matter, since Nahua monism assumes the unity of all reality (Hunt 55-56). What is at stake is the harmonization of an individual's energies with the cosmos: through training, as Edith Turner has observed, shamans are able to visually detect this discordance (Turner 28-29; C. Pratt, *Encyclopedia* 1.159). The precarious balance of the animating conduits was constantly under threat in the Nahua world. Before the conquest, a number of specialists treated soul-loss, especially in children (López Austin, *Textos de medicina* 37). The presence of ritual uncleanliness (*tlazolli*) from fright or violence could incur soul-loss (Burkhart, *Slippery* 98).[47] Nahuatl-speaking groups in Central Mexico have associated strong winds with soul-loss since the colonial period (McKeever 145).

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[47] Priests and native penitents negotiated a Nahuatized version of Christianity that reinterpreted the concept of sin by placing a greater emphasis on protecting oneself from evil through ritual purity (*tlazolli*). See chapter seven of *The Slippery Earth* (184-93).

This view of disease causation has continued into more recent years (Gonzales, *Red* 213; Sandstrom and García 276). Consequently, ways in which the *titicih* organized their descriptions of body parts in Book X show their concern for representing humans as pathways for cosmic energy to their contemporaries and for future readers.

Examining the list of parts from the Nahuatl columns of the Codex in Chapter Twenty-seven of Book X shows the text's emphasis on a traditional understanding of the human body, via allusions to their ancestral cosmovision. The *titicih* provided this information in order to extend their lifeways into the future. The list begins with the top of the body, described in metaphysical terms: "*Tzontecomatl* [head], / *totzonteco* [our head]; / (*quitoznequi, ilhuicatl*) [(that is to say, the celestial part)]" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 11: 99).[48] Here the head references the flow of energy from the sun into the body at one's birth, discussed in Chapter One. I would also point out that the curvature of the head parallels the sun's path in the sky, linking individuals with the cosmos via the human body. The list affirms the traditional belief in the person's link with the cosmos through solar energy (*tona*). Below the opening entries, the list further describes the head's qualities.

> "Ilhuicatl [the celestial part]
> quitoznequi, totzontecon [that is to say, our head],
> tlalnamiquini [the rememberer],
> tlamatini [the knower],
> tlancaiutl [achievement, destiny],[49]

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[48] Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of body parts are from Anderson and Dibble.

[49] Alfredo López Austin, and Thelma and Bernard Ortiz de Montellano translate *tlancaiutl* as "end" (*Human* 2: 81).

tzonquizcaiutl [conclusion, fate],

mauiziotl [honor],

mauiztioani [venerable] (Sahagún, Florentine 11: 99).[50]

Since one's tonalli enters the body from above, the double mention of the head as a celestial part alludes to the cosmic origins of the life force that illuminates the body and brings with it a specific destiny (Peña 151; Burkhart, *Slippery* 50). The tonalli maintains a flow of energy characteristic of a person's first day in the sunlight, out of the womb: he/she can thus "remember" that day in subsequent years. Recalling from Chapter One the term tlamatini and its cultural importance, as the traditional Nahua sage and teacher in the calmecac, here we see the same term applied to the location of the tonalli in the body, implying that the head should lead and teach the body, imparting the wisdom from the universe. The term *tlancaiutl*, which Anderson and Dibble translate as "achievement," and Ortiz de Montellano as "end," shows how the sum of one's actions occur within the limits set by the proportion of energy received from the sun on one's day of birth (Maffie, "Aztec" sec. 3. b.). *Tzonquizcaiutl*, which Anderson and Dibble along with Thelma and Bernard Ortiz de Montellano render as "conclusion," also signals the notion that one's life recapitulates what the tonalli has allowed. One could address his/her tonalli with "honor" (*mauiziotl*) and as a "venerable" (*mauiztioani*) entity since the Nahuas believed that certain days of birth stored forces capable of inflicting trouble on people, such as illness (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 41-42). By starting the list with the head, the titicih and scribes have prioritized the tonalli as the conduit of cosmic heat and used writing to further their understanding of the cosmic implications of the cranium for Nahuas in years to come.

[50] An alternate translation of *mauiztioani* is "worthy of honor" (*Human* 2: 81). The Nahuatl quoted from the *Florentine Codex* retains its original orthography.

This linguistic information, in light of the traditional Nahua cosmovision, reveals a number of insights. The position of the head as the "celestial part" implies the preeminence of the tonalli as a part of lifelong bodily economy of cosmic energy. An animic conduit in the past and present, the tonalli also holds future possibilities: the proper functioning of the head would allow a person to be in tune with teotl. Consequently, the terms that Nahua physicians have offered here regarding the head comprise more than a list of vocabulary: by privileging the head for the importance of the tonalli, the list alludes to a metaphysical view of wellbeing. The tonalli functions as a path of wisdom for guiding one's actions and extending native ways of healing into the future, represented here as a normative Nahua perspective.

Book X's description of body parts also highlights the importance of the *yollotli* (heart) as a channel of cosmic energy. Recalling Chapter One's discussion of the linguistic relationship of the heart to the ollin motion of teotl in the sun's path through the sky, deeper meanings of the yollotli in Book X become apparent. Here, a number of items elaborate on the importance of the *yollotli*: "*toiollo* [our heart], / *ololtic* [round], / *totonquj* [hot], / *nemoanj* [that by which there is existence]" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 11.130). The roundness, heat and vital nature of the heart recall the energy released from sacrificial victims, which helped regulate the flow of energy from the earth to the sun (McKeever 179; Aguilar-Moreno 173). The list continues and confirms the linkages between the *yollotli* and life itself: "*ioliliztli* [life], / *teioltia* [it makes one live], / *tenemjtia* [it sustains one]" (11: 131). As a key example of ollin energy, the beating of a heart represents the dynamic and life-sustaining action of teotl in the human body, information that the titicih and scribes preserve for future readers. Each human heart thus mimics, is fed through, and can participate in cosmic ollin movement.

The view of the heart as a conduit of life energy appears elsewhere in the *Florentine Codex* in an image of a man with a hummingbird's head (fig. 2.2), a likely representation of Huitzilopochtli (Gimmel 175). No Spanish gloss accompanies the hummingbird man, which allows the text to explain the role of this being in the absence of commentary. The text explains that when falcons drink blood at dawn, noon, and dusk, they feed Huitzilopochtli and the sun: "Yoan in iehoatl tlootli: qujiollotiaia in vitzilobuchtli. Ipãpa ca qujtoaia: in iehoantin tlotlhotin, injc espa tlaqua in cemjlhujtl: iuhqujnma catlitia in tonatiuh, yoan ipãpa: in jquac catli eztli, moch qujtlamja" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 44). ["And this falcon gives life to Uitzilopochtli because, they said, these falcons, when they eat three times a day, as it were give drink to the sun; because when they drink blood, they consume all"] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). In this case, the scribes assumed that the body functioned as a path for the reciprocal transfer of *yollotli* energy between the sun and humans, a relationship to which they did not foresee a terminus. The preservation of this passage and illustration concerning how large birds of prey transferred energy from the earth to the sun indicates the native appropriation of linear writing as a means to explain the operations of *teotl* to future readers.

While a properly functioning heart circulates vivifying cosmic energy through the body, a sick heart discourages life. The yollotli section of the list reflects the notion of the heart as a conduit of life and an indicator of balance. The list also contains expressions of poor health, based on the heart; including, "*njiolpoliuj*" and "*njiolmjquj*," which Anderson and Dibble translate as "I am troubled," and "I faint," respectively (11: 131). I would suggest that more literal translations of these terms —*njiolpoliuj* [my heart perishes], and *njiolmjquj* [my heart dies]— further illuminate the centrality of the yollotli as a conduit of cosmic energy. For the Nahuas, physical and emotional strain or fatigue affects the yollotli, draining it of the energy it

needs in order to remain in balance with the sun and infuse the body with warmth and vitality (Chevalier and Sánchez Bain 23; Ortiz de Montellano, *Aztec Medicine* 159). As we shall see, these expressions are similar to one that emperor Moteuczoma Xocoyotl uses in Book XII upon learning that Cortés and his men were advancing toward Mexico-Tenochtitlan. For the moment, the scribes recapitulate the yollotli portion of the list with the affirmation that "*qujcemjtquj in iollotli*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 11: 131), [the heart rules all] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). The identification of the yollotli with human life, for the Nahuas, was total. Consequently, keeping the heart in proper working order by protecting it from stress was part of a Nahua teleology of healing set in motion toward future audiences through linear writing.

Fig. 2.2: This painting in Book III, f47v depicts the hummingbird man and larger meat-eating birds transferring reciprocal energy between the earth and the sun. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

Representations of the yollotli in the list of body parts in Book X at once refer to the past and indicate assumptions of the future validity of the native understanding of the body and the cosmos. Sahagún's silence in the Spanish columns accompanying the Nahuatl list of body parts and the image of Huitzilopochtli, represented as a hummingbird man, allowed the teleological dimensions that the list embodied to remain. From the head to the vital core of the body, the

titicih have employed linear writing in order to project forward their view that the body connected to the cosmos through conduits of energy.

While the tonalli regulates the flow of teotl into the body from the sun and the *yollotli* kept the body alive and allowed for a reciprocal transfer of energy between the body and the celestial regions, the third conduit fulfilled a more expiatory role. The ihiyotl was thought to reside in the liver (Carrasco and Sessions 61; Gonzales, *Red* 204), but also had a relationship with the digestive system, including the intestinal track (McKeever 170). The ihiyotl depended on the rectum as an eliminator of waste (*tlazolli*) and connector to the rest of the cosmos, via the landscape (156,175-76). The anus alludes to Nahua mythical narratives of human origins. Surviving myths in the Uto-Aztecan language groups of Mexico and the U.S. Southwest tell that the gods used fire drills to carve out the rectums of the first humans (69).[51] In the mid-twentieth century, Nahuas in Matlapa (San Luis Potosí) told how the first humans were incomplete until the corn god carved out their rectums so they could rid their bodies of waste (Croft 328-30). Examples taken from the forty items in Book X describing the body's lower-most sphincter reference its mythological aspects:

> Tzoiotl [Anus],
>
> coinqui [bored],
>
> pochectic [smoky],
>
> pocheoac [smoky],
>
> coioni [it is bored],

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[51] For analysis of native cultural objects that depict cycles of energy through the elimination of waste and its reincorporation into the cosmos, see Cecilia Klein's article "*Teocuitlatl*, 'Divine Excrement': The Significance of 'Holy Shit' in Ancient Mexico." (20-27).

pocheoa [it smokes] (Sahagún, *Florentine* 11: 122; trans. Anderson and Dibble).

The necessity to eliminate bodily waste also forms a key part of teotl's life cycle in humans and animals: excrement is recycled back into the cosmos (Maffie, *Aztec* 280). Other associations between the human body and the landscape in Nahua culture confirm their mutual roles in a common cycle of processing and shedding energy that ultimately leads to new life. A dark smoky place commemorating the creation of human beings echoes accounts of the emergence of the Nahuatl-speaking Mexica from the seven caves of Chicomoztoc.[52] Nahuas also perceived the activity of the ihiyotl as flames igniting in the night (possibly swamp gases), showing the presence of the dead among the living (McKeever 172). Thus, as an important component of Nahua vision of the body, knowledge concerning the ihiyotl could move forward through the medium of linear writing. As a step in a cosmic process of energy renewal, this corporal gate commemorates human origins and affirms the role of elimination as required in order to feed cycles of cosmic energy. Since the value of one's viscera is built into the body, the teleological implications of this knowledge would have been apparent to native readers: the body connects one with the land and processes of death and regeneration.

Beyond explaining how individual humans help complete a cycle of cosmic energy through the ihiyotl, the conduit also establishes conditions for the proper future operation of the

[52] The preconquest *Codex Xolotl* (ca. 1450) depicts the emergence of the Mexica, the Nahuatl-speaking group of Tenochtitlan from Chicomoztoc and their migration toward central Mexico. Post conquest renditions of this origin myth that draw on the *Xolotl* include the *Codex Mendoza* (ca. 1553), the *Codex Acaztitlan* (ca.1550-ca.1650), and the *Crónica mexicayotl* (1609). See Elizabeth Hill-Boone's overview of the linkages between pre- and postconquest pictorial codices in *Stories in Red and Black*.

body. By referencing the gyrating, spinning motion of primordial fire drilling, the descriptions of the anus in Book X also evoke the malinalli energy involved in life cycles (Bernal García, "Dance" 83), and activated in the healing practices of the titicih (Holmer 83). The twisting shape of malinalli grass and, by association, all plants recalls that nourishment from the ground is necessary for organic growth and transformation (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 110-11,117; Maffie, *Aztec* 266). Plants with roots and stalks that span different levels of reality parallel the twisting and turning motions associated with human reproduction, and sexual activity in general (Maffie, *Aztec* 292). Pete Sigal has pointed out that the cave-like connotations of the lower body allude to the *temazcal* (sweat lodge) (188). For the Nahuas the temazcal was a therapeutic place, but for the Spanish the building had connotations of "promiscuity, sodomy, and cross dressing" (88). In the list of terms related to the ihiyotl, the present tense use of the verb coioni [it is bored] would allow readers to interpret sweat lodge activities as contemporary to the text's composition and suggest the possibility of the continuation of temazcal practices. Descriptions of the ihiyotl in the *Florentine Codex* reflect the Nahua healers' assumption of the future validity of the body-as-a-pathway for eliminating and recycling cosmic energy. Life cycles and the malinalli energy flowing between the body, the landscape, and cosmos also come to bear in the array of plant cures in the *Florentine Codex*.

### ***Hortus Mexicanus***

In addition to the list of body parts in Book X, in Chapter Seven of Book XI the titicih and scribes of the *Florentine Codex* provided a catalogue of 150 healing plants with explanations of the ailments they treat: these remedies disclose Nahua teleologies of healing. Sahagún did not comment on the first thirty-one of these remedies in his Spanish translation, again suppressing native content in the *Codex* before his Spanish-reading audience. Fifteen of the plant remedies

that Sahagún left without Spanish commentary (comprising ten percent of the herbal cures in Book XI) treat fevers in the head where the tonalli dwells. As Jill McKeever Furst has noted, excessive heat in the head indicates a dislodged tonalli, that is, soul-loss (109-10). In the column usually set aside for Spanish translations, the scribes have included paintings of the plants they recommended as remedies for fevers. The fifteen herbs catalogued as therapies by their numbered entries are: 4. *centli ina*, 6. *tlanoquiloni*, 7. *eloxochineloatl*, 9. *tlalcacauatl*, 10. *eloquiltic*, 11. *chichipiltic*, 14. *coatli*, 15. *tzipipatli*, 19. *coayielli*, *tememetla*, and *tesuchitl*, 22. *xoxouhcapatli*, 29. *teonanacatl*, 30. *peiotl*, and 31. *toloa* (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 141-47). These fifteen plants spaced in entries 1-31, by providing the means to lower fevers and ensure that the tonalli remained attached to the head, reveal that Nahua healing practices upheld traditional assumptions about the metaphysical character of disease. The threat of soul-loss here shows how the healers not only preserved ancient practices past the conquest, but also by entering them in the compilation, recommended them for times ahead. Nahua teleologies of healing appear in the text as treatments that operate in a paradigm of practice outside of humoral medicine and Christian metaphysics. In order to put into effect that the remedies the *titicih* recommended, the scribes projected the expertise of these Nahua healers forward as a present and future lifeway.

The first fever-reducing plant in Book XI, *centli ina*, “hidden corn” communicates a double meaning (fig. 2.3). *Centli* (corn) as a metonym refers to the nutritional and caloric value of all food, while *ina* (hidden) recalls the specialized knowledge of titicih who could prescribe the healing roots of the plant. Precisely because corn is the foundation of the Mesoamerican diet, the titicih considered its healing properties worth preserving and promoting for times ahead. In an entry typical of the 150 plant remedies the Nahua healers contributed, the text reads: “Tlanelhoatl, iztac, mjmjltic: in jxiuhio cujtlanextic, iuhqujn xivitl ic mochioa quauhtla in

muchioa. Ic pati in aqujn motlevia: in cequjn çan mjxcavia in conj, in jquac omotez: cequjn qujneloa in iztac patli tepitoton, yoa iztac patli pitzoac: moteci, conj, in cocoxquj, amo tzoionj" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 142). ["The root is white, cylindrical; its foliage is a faded ashen color. It grows like an herb; it grows in the forest. He who has a fever is cured with it. Some drink it just alone, after it has been ground. Some mix it with the small and […] slender *iztac patli* herb. It is ground. He who becomes sick drinks it. It is not cooked"] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). The Nahua writing subjects here assign to this particular centli sustaining and healing powers greater than those present in maize as food.

As a crucial viaduct for solar energy, corn energizes the tonalli. The grain, in fact, stands for humanity. The Nahuas in Central Mexico at the beginning of the sixteenth century referred to corn as *tonacayo*, "our flesh," and so established a link between their bodies and the basis of their diet (Ortiz de Montellano, *Medicina, salud* 61), from which they derived an estimated eighty percent of their daily calories (101). In the Mayan zone as well in the colonial period, the centrality of the same grain as a metaphor for humanity is apparent in the men of corn who populated the present age in the *Popol Vuh* (Christenson 193-96). Thus, the power that the sun imparts to each person comes through corn. This belief has been crucial for colonial and contemporary Nahua communities. As Alan Sandstrom puts it,

> energy is carried in the blood (*estli* in Nahuatl), and is renewed when we consume food, particularly corn. Without corn, the *tonali* (*sic*) or head-soul loses energy, weakens (that is, cools), and the person eventually dies. Corn, then, is the physical and spiritual link between human beings and the sun, the life-giving substance that ties people to the sacred universe. This system of beliefs adds yet another layer of meaning to the Nahua saying, corn is our blood (Sandstrom, *Corn* 247).

Not gaining enough nourishment is the primary indicator of a lack of corporal balance. Hence, by its association with the foregoing ideas, centli ina amplifies the nourishing power of corn (centli). Beyond what maize for daily consumption provided, centil ina, the "hidden corn," possessed an even greater efficacy for reducing fevers and re-anchoring the tonalli. The information the *Codex* provides on centli ina, takes for granted that the body is a path for cosmic energy from the sun, and that this written information will fill an important need for future suffers of soul-loss. Here the native experience of millennia joins linear writing in order to anticipate the nepantla-seeking needs of future readers.

Fig. 2.3: Centli ina, as a treatment for head (tonalli) fevers implies an exchange of energy between food, the body, and teotl (Sahagún, *General History* 3: 140r).

While a head fever indicates a poorly attached tonalli, temperature changes in the chest signal a troubled yollotli (Foster 167). *Tlacoxochitl* (fig. 2.4), an herb for treating excessive heat in the body, appears three times in Book XI. Selections from the triple prescription of tlacoxochitl in Book XI describe a strong-smelling drink with cooling effects. Entry fifty-five reads, "*ic cevi in jnacaio. In jaaio ixamopaltic xiuhhiia*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 154-55) [Some drink it, thereby cooling the body. The water of the plant is purple, strong smelling] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). Entry 104 further describes the herb: "*Auh in jnelhoaio, achi ixtliltic im panj: eoaiotilaoac, in jiollo iztac, nenecutic*" (12: 168). [its root is somewhat black on the surface, thick-skinned; it is white in its interior. It is sweet.] (trans. Anderson and Dibble).

Lastly, entry 120 indicates the symptoms calling for the use of tlacoxochitl: "*In aqujn in cenca mococoa inacaio, in totonja, in icica, in ic cenca patzmjqui in toiollo: qujcevia in totonquj*" (12: 176) [One who is very sick of body, feverish, panting, hence faint of heart, [with this] lessens the fever] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). In sum, sufferers of heat in the chest can drink the odoriferous, sweet, purple-colored juice of the tlacoxochitl roots as a means to cool the *yollotli* and re-establish the body's equilibrium of cosmic energy.

Reviewing how this information was compiled sheds light on the teleological implications of the natives' writing on centli ina, tlacoxochitl, and the other 148 herbal remedies they have preserved in Book XI. By providing three separate entries on tlacoxochitl, the titicih emphasize its importance as a means to prevent the loss of the yollotli. The collaborating painter-scribes, who recorded information from the titicih, used their writing to effectively convey this knowledge to future readers. As we shall see, the liquid form of this cure and the grape-wine color of its concoction in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* are important details in representations of sickness and health in the Nahua recounting of the conquest. Were it not for the text's confiscation, Sahagún's abstention from writing glosses would have protected the information for the Nahua audiences. Sahagún's incomplete translations pass over the intentional teleological thinking that the titicih and the scribes produced regarding future healing practice: in the same unglossed section this tendency continues with plants that *titicih* took to alter their perception of reality and aid the diagnosis and prescription of remedies.

Fig. 2.4: A probable image of tlacoxochitl from Book XI (Sahagún, *General History* 3: 148v).

***Shamanic Perceptions of Wellbeing***

The section of the Nahuatl that Sahagún omitted in his Spanish translation culminates with a triad of hallucinogens listed as remedies for head fevers: *nanacatl*, *peiotl* [*e.g.*: peyote], and *taloa*. Paleopathology has determined that Mexico holds the greatest number of natural hallucinogens that traditional healers have used to diagnose and treat ailments (Sotomayor and Cuéllar-Montoya 52). As cures for the afflicted tonalli, these plants recall the shamanic role of the *ticitl* in diagnosing soul-loss via communication with the spirit world, or amplification of the senses in order to influence "the patient's relationship to the web of energy that connects all life and effect a cure" (C. Pratt 2: 346). The fact that the scribes made illustrations identifying the plants and showing how to ingest them points to the value Nahua practitioners placed on these psychotropic substances. Each Nahuatl briefly explains the preparation of these three psychotropic plants. However, the accompanying paintings reveal the desire of the titicih and the scribes to inform future generations concerning the metaphysical significance of these cures.

The representation of peyote in Book XI as a remedy for fevers proposes an extension of a shamanic lifeway of healing into the future (fig. 4.5). Providing information on how to find and prepare peyote, the titicih who aided Sahagún tell how to procure the cactus for times ahead: "*inin peiotl iztac: auh çan yio vmpa in mochioa in tlacochcalcopa, in teutlalpã in mjtoa mjctlanpa*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 129). [This peyote is white and grows only there in the northern region called Mictlan] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). Peyote today grows in Mexico's

northern deserts, but the text here also alludes to the north as the entrance to Mictlan, the place of the dead (Tavárez, *Invisible* 91; León Portilla, *Filosofía* 98-99). The recommendation of peyote as a cure for fever presupposes the intervention of a ticitl, who would best know where to find the herb and its correct dosage (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 147). Nahua titicih used psychotropic plants including *picietl*, *ololiuhqui* and *peiotl* (peyote) in combination with ritual language to diagnose and cure a patient (Fellowes 315-16). A common native healing practice outlined in the *Florentine Codex* and Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón's contemporaneous *Tratado* (1629) is the *ticitl* as the restorer of a lost tonalli soul (Pharo 197-98).[53] Favoring the use of peyote in times ahead indicates teleologies of healing including the future use of regional cures and the key leadership role of the *ticitl* as qualified to access the unseen world and locate missing souls. While the text documents the teleological valuation of the well-known peyote, further psychotropic substances remain in the section of Book XI that Sahagún did not accompany with Spanish glosses.

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[53] In Ruiz de Alarcón's manual, *picietl* appears frequently. In his first treatise, he explains the use of the herbs picietl, ololiuhque, and peiotl as talismans in domestic altars (50-51). See Viviana Díaz Balsera's "*Atando dioses y humanos: Cipactónal y la cura por adivinación en el Tratado sobre idolatrías de Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón*." for an examination of shamanic practices and hallucinogens in Ruiz de Alarcón (321-349).

Fig. 4.5: Illustration of peyote and its ingestion as a cure for a head fever in Book XI, Chapter Seven of the *Florentine Codex*. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

From peiotl, the shamanic cactus of the north, the titicih documented the fever-reducing effects of the mushroom *teonanacatl* (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 147), which is found in the forested and mountainous areas of central and southern Mexico (Rai, et al. 476). Due to its proximity to Tenochtitlan, one would surmise that the use of teonanacatl would be more common than that of peyote, or at least that a number of options existed for *titicih* in the Valley of Mexico for treating soul-loss. The image of teonanacatl (fig. 4.6) shows a bipedal hummingbird-like figure hovering above a cluster of mushroom tops. This anthropomorphic representation recalls the earlier depiction of the transfer of yollotli energy to the sun, a process associated with Huitzilopochtli (Gimmel 174-75). I would suggest that the appearance of the bird-man and the prefix *teo*- (sacred) reinforces the belief that the use of the plant would allow one, through a trance state to see the workings of teotl in the body and how that cosmic energy linked one with all things (Stone 47-48). The inclusion of the mushroom teonanacatl indicates an established tradition for ensuring the body's proper maintenance as a site of the confluence of cosmic forces. Here, linear writing and the illustration serve to help posterity identify and continue using the psychotropic mushroom in their healing practices.

Fig. 4.6: Illustration of teonanacatl and the avian transferor of cosmic energy in Book XI, Chapter Seven of the *Florentine Codex*. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

Toloa, the remaining hallucinogen from among the plant cures with no Spanish gloss in Book XI, is a species of datura, a vision quest plant used throughout Mesoamerica and Uto-Aztecan North America (Keoke and Porterfield 21-22; Brock and Diggs 112). Close attention to the passage and the illustration in the *Florentine Codex* describing the use of toloa reveals the teleological intention of extending the value of the practice and authority of the titicih into an unknown future, via linear writing. Entry thirty-one reads "Toloa: çan no atonavizpatli cencan auhtic in mj: auh in canjn onoc coaciviztli, oncan ommoteca, oncan ommaloa; qujcevia qujtopeoa, qujquanja: amo mjnecujz: amo no mjhio anaz" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 147). [Toloa: It is also a fever medicine; it is drunk in a weak infusion. And where there is gout, there it is spread on, there one is anointed. It relieves, drives away, banishes [the pain]. It is not inhaled, neither is it breathed in.] (trans. Anderson and Dibble). Similarly to centli ina and teonanacatl, toloa is a plant with multiple meanings. Frances Kartunnen explains that the transitive verb *tōloā* means "to lower, bend down one's head" (244), in distinction to the intransitive *toloā*, meaning "to swallow something" (244). From the illustration accompanying the unglossed entry, it is clear that the contributing titicih have emphasized the former etymology (fig. 4.7). A gout sufferer crouches and inclines toward a ticitl, who applies the toloa poultice described in the

passage. Justina Olko offers the interpretation that the patient's bowing refers to Nahua appropriations of Christian displays of reverence that resonated with their own (166). Bernard Ortiz de Montellano has contended that toloa is a warm remedy meant to counter the "cold" effects of gout (*Aztec Medicine* 156-57). However, in light of the teleological content of this section, I submit that the reverence the bowed figure displays primarily represents the respect of the patient for the expertise of the ticitl. The innovative use of linear writing and pictorial representation show that in addition to its contemporary use, the *titicih* and scribes foresaw a future need for toloa and the requirement of qualified practitioners to know whether to prescribe toloa as a drinkable infusion or to apply it topically, as the ticitl has done in the painting.

Fig. 4.7: Toloa in Book XI, with its appearance and topical application as a grout treatment by a ticitl. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

Whether the terrain was theological or social, clergy tended to oppose Nahua healers' use of hallucinogens. Healing became a sensation among the clergy of the Inquisition, first those of religious orders (Tavárez, *Invisible* 20-21), and later secular priests (274-75). Due to native healers' flexible use of demonstrable herbal cures and the vision trances through which they made their diagnoses "in the ministers' minds, Nahua medical practitioners became […] suspected of dealing with demons" (Pardo 173).[54] One source of the clerical concern stemmed

[54] See Fernando Cervantes's analysis of native healing practices in private settings and their overlap with Spanish religiously-informed healing in *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of*

from the conflictive public dimensions of shamanism. Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón opposed the diagnosis of disease through vision trances because of the feuds that came from accusations of sorcery (64). Nahua healers diagnosed diseases by consuming the peyote, teonanacatl, toloa and others. Through these visions the plants induced, they would learn the identity of parties responsible for spells that caused illnesses. The accusations that titicih made led to disruptive hostilities between families. The prospect of the knowledge of these treatments surviving into the future and influencing the actions of Nahua healers is met with silence from Sahagún. His lack of editing forestalled the confiscation of the text, and conveyed Nahua teleologies of healing.

The adaptation of the oral and cyclical ancestral knowledge to the format of linear writing required teleological thinking on the part of the titicih and Sahagún aides in Books X and XI of the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún's lack of Spanish glosses draws attention to the Nahua notion of the body as a path for the flow of cosmic energy to the animating conduits of the tonalli, the yollotli, and the ihiyotl. By positioning cintli ina early in the list of herbal remedies, the titicih prioritize the tonalli as animic conduit in need of regular sustenance. Maize —and by extension all food— would help keep the three souls aligned with the cosmos. The roots of the tlacoxochitl plant also offer repeated entries assuring readers of its application as reducer of head fevers. Since humoralism could not treat soul-loss, writing here becomes a method for preserving a native of lifeway emphasizing the balance of cosmic energy in a monistic universe. The turning motion of malinalli energy has particular relevance in Books X and XI, as recalled in body parts referencing fire drilling origin myths of humanity (McKeever 65; Palka 55), the movements of

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*Diabolism in New Spain*, Chapter Two, "The Indian Response" (40-74).

growing plants (Aguilar-Moreno 181; Maffie, *Aztec* 261-62), and, as I suggest, in the spiraling, twisting characters of linear writing. [55]

In the same unglossed section of healing plants, the hallucinogens of teonanacatl, peiotl, and taloa are described as tonalli-anchoring fever reducers. These plants help healers find equilibrium, according to the Nahua view, by opening the senses to unseen aspects of the cosmos (C. Pratt, *Encyclopedia* 1.50-52; McNeill and Cervantes *xix*). That contemporary Huichol *peyoteros* call peyote "the flesh of the gods," although referring to the cactus peiotl described above (Clendinnen, *Aztecs* 341; Carrasco and Sessions 139-40), is consistent with the etymology of the mushroom teonanacatl ("sacred flesh") in Book XI of the *Florentine Codex*. By implication the Huichol affirm the importance of hallucinogenic plants for shamanism among Nahua groups and their neighbors. In light of the preceding, the Nahua teleologies of healing in Books X and XI of the *Florentine Codex* provide native healers with ways to extend their *nepantla*-seeking into the future. The sixteen titicih who contributed to the list of body parts and the compendium of plant cures were a living link to their predecessors and recorded their understanding of the body and herbal remedies for an uncertain linear future.

***Gunfire, Broom Dust and Cosmic Cleaning***

While Books I-XI of the *Florentine Codex* are concerned with information on Nahua culture, Book XII shifts to a narrative recounting the conquest from a Nahua perspective. In the case of the Tlatelolcan scribes who penned Book XII, their distance from the center of Mexico-Tenochtitlan influenced their perspective of the conquest (Lockhart, "Sightings" 235; C. Townsend, "Burying" 658-60). The conquest narrative culminates the *Florentine Codex*, and the

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[55] Maffie has noted that the "Aztecs named their religious school calmecac (calli [house] plus mecatl ["cords, ropes, whips"]), that is, "house of whips or penitence" (*Aztec* 277).

account draws on a worldview and practices the scribes presented in the previous books, including native conceptualizations of the body, disease, and healing.

In the summer of 1519, Moteuczoma felt uneasy, despite his wealth and authority over the thriving empire he led as men of an unknown origin entered his territory. According to native accounts preserved in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*, Moteuczoma's initial response to Cortés and his men was to send an envoy of messengers with luxurious gifts in order to persuade the Spanish to leave. Examining the text reveals a representation of the reactions of Moteuczoma and his messengers to the Spaniards' approach as ailments with treatments. Interpretations of the *Codex*, although taking into account the importance of prehispanic cultural elements, have not dedicated sufficient attention to Nahua teleologies of healing embodied in Book XII's economy of ritual and corporal purity.

Given the amount of material dedicated to the Nahua understanding of the body and healing in the *Florentine Codex*, it is no accident that same compendium provided treatments to counteract the ritual damage the Spanish conquest inflicted on the residents of central Mexico. The episodes of Book XII show natives' corporal reactions to the presence of Cortés and his men, a fact that reveals how the Nahuas interpreted the events of the conquest in terms consistent with the body-as-a-path for cosmic energy. The perspective of the scribes who worked with Sahagún in Tlatelolco influenced the content of Book XII, with an historical bias favoring their view of the Spanish conquest, based in part on material from the *Annals of Tlatelolco* (Lockhart *We People* 42). Their bias came from their desire to settle a score: the Mexicas of Tenochtitlan had conquered Tlatelolco in 1473, and these scribes sympathized with their forbearers (Cortés,

"Colegio" 92).[56] My examination of Book XII shows that the cosmological understanding of wellbeing that Nahua scribes communicated in Books X and XI informs their retelling of the conquest. The scribes of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz's scriptorium used narrative in order to demonstrate the relevance of the complex ideas on plants and wellbeing recorded in Books X and XI. Two scenarios reveal Nahua teleologies of healing in Book XII: the encounter between the Spanish and the messengers Moteuczoma sent to their ship, and the emperor's own reaction to the newcomers.

When Moteuczoma sent his messengers to Cortés' ship to give them gifts and ask the foreigners to leave, the Spanish took them onboard. They fettered the hands and feet of the messengers and as a show of their military might, discharged a firearm. At this, the messengers, who had never seen or heard a gun-powder explosion before, "*iolmjcque, yoan çoçotlaoaque, vehuetzque, nenecujliuhtivetzque, aocmo qujmatque*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 13.16). [fainted[57] and swooned; one after another they swayed and fell, losing consciousness] (trans. Lockhart *We People* 72). While priests had various measures for protecting themselves from negative ritual energy, a *macehual* (commoner), such as a messenger, did not have the same safeguard (Burkhart, *Slippery* 101). The smoke of the firearm gave off a fetid smell, which along with the loud blast combined to frighten the messengers with overwhelming filth and ritual impurity.

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[56] On the importance of the decades of interposed perspectives in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* as an early record of mestizaje, see Stephanie Wood (*Transcending* 8-9), and Susan Kellog's "Depticting mestizaje." For considerations on the effects of hybridity in communications among the scribes of the *Florentine Codex*, see Enrique Florescano's "Sahagún y el nacimiento de la crónica mestiza."

[57] As commented earlier, a more literal translation would be, "their hearts died."

In light of the signs of soul-loss and the herbal treatments previously discussed, the threat of a dislodged yollotli appears in Book XII. The manner in which Spanish soldiers' respond to the messengers' fainting assumes that their troubled yollotli souls required a restorative treatment. As the *Codex* explains, "*españoles qujmeehuq qujmeecoatitlalique, qujmonjitique vino: njmã ie ic qujntlamaca, qujntlaqultique, ic imjhio qujcujque, ic oalihiocujque*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 13: 16) [the Spaniards lifted them into a sitting position and gave them wine to drink. Then they gave them food, fed them, with which they regained their strength and got their breath back] (trans. Lockhart, *We People* 72). Recalling the sweet-tasting, strong-smelling, purple drink made from the ground roots of the tlacoxochitl plant in Book XI for reducing a chest fever (Sahagún, *Florentine* 12: 176), it becomes apparent how wine could resemble that traditional liquid cure. The fact that the wine revives the messengers offers proof of its healing effects. Also, in giving Moteuczoma's envoys food, the text recalls the need for nourishment in order to keep the body's animating conduits firmly attached (Ortiz de Montellano, *Medicina, salud* 61; Sandstrom, *Corn* 246-47). Hence, the messengers perceived healing qualities similar to those of regional herbal treatments in the dark wine the Spaniards gave them. The scribes have narrativized a traditional herbal remedy, based on the presentation of body parts in Nahuatl and cures in Books X and XI. The logic of native curing also underlies Moteuczoma's responses to the advance of the Spanish toward Tenochtitlan.

When the messengers return to Moteuczoma and report the Spaniards' determination to stay, the ruler becomes weak and refuses to eat and regain his strength. Moteuczoma complains, "*tlein ie topan muchioaz, ac nel icac, ha ieppa nehoatl, vel patzmiqui in noiollo, iuhquin ma chilatequilo, vel toneoa*" (Sahagún, *Florentine* 13: 17). [What is to come of us? Who in the world must endure it? Will it not be me? My heart is tormented, as though chile water were

poured on it; it greatly burns and smarts] (trans. Lockhart, *We People* 78). Seeking to restore the teetering balance of his anguished yollotli and the life of the city's center, his response to the situation is ritual: he orders priests to sacrifice several prisoners. This ritual approach to his physical affliction highlights features of the traditional view of the physical person and the cosmos. As we have seen, the notion of the life force of the heart, the yollotli, as fundamental to the rising and setting of the sun had been the Mexica belief that justified the wars they made to obtain sacrificial victims. Human sacrifice was part of a larger ritually-driven complex of military action—including the *xochiyaoyolt*, or flower war, which waged campaigns in order to gather prisoners to serve as sacrificial victims on the altar of Huitzilopochtli—to which Moteuczoma's sacrifices allude (Mann 133; Soustelle 101).[58] While Moteuczoma's ritual interventions did not succeed in making the Spaniards leave, here the text reflects the monarch's expectations of the future validity of the Nahua understanding of the body and the cosmos.

The ritual measures taken to counteract the Spanish offensive continue in Book XII. An important part of the ceremony in the Templo Mayor, just before the infamous Spanish massacre of Mexica dancers, is a ceremonial attempt to expiate malignant forces from the city. This was accomplished by building a statue made of amaranth seeds for the god Huitzilopochtli to inhabit. When the massacre started, some armed Mexicas retaliated against the Spaniards (Lockhart, *We*

[58] For an explanation of the political concerns that motivated the flower wars beyond the cosmic understanding of sacrifice the royal adviser Tlacaelel started, see Ross Hassig's *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control*, especially chapter 4, "Declaration, Preparation and Mobilization" (48-62).

*People* 126-36).[59] The Mexicas then succeeded in routing the first Spanish attack on the city, and forced the soldiers to flee along the causeway to Tacuba, what Hernán Cortés dubbed, "La Noche Triste." According to Book XII, the priests of Mexico-Tenochtitlan then climbed atop the temples to sweep them clean and reestablish the ritual purity of the city (176). The malinalli motion of sweeping was crucial for expelling ritual filth (tlazolli) from living quarters and temples (Maffie, *Aztec* 279-82; Burkhart, *Slippery* 121). The sweeping of the pyramid of Huitzilopochtli thus represents an attempt to ward off negative energy that the violence of Cortes' men had brought upon the city. However, it was too late, for smallpox had already taken root even after they had forced the Spanish to flee (Lockhart, *We People* 180-82). Here, the Tlatelolcan perspective would not allow the Mexicas' ritual measures to succeed, recalling the traditional belief, discussed in Chapter One, that inefficacious ritual acts obtain no merit.

Books X and XI of the *Florentine Codex* present the Nahua body and healing practices as efficacious means for coping with cultural change and approaching an unknown future. Moteuczoma's response to his internal turmoil—ordering human sacrifices and a sweeping of the temple of Huitzilopochtli— recalls indigenous beliefs about ritual purity (Burkhart, *Slippery* 118). Hence, embedded in the narrative of the conquest are representations of ailments in native bodies. Consistent with the practice of keeping the three animating conduits clean and aligned with the flowing energy of teotl, the text draws on the treatments the *titicih* provided. This articulation between cosmovision and healing comes to the fore in Book XII, particularly in the treatments to restore the dislodged yollotli souls of Moteuczoma and his messengers to Cortés. Here indigenous remedies and ritual purity, juxtaposed with the conquerors' violence, reveal the

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[59] See Rex Koontz's analysis of the ritual meaning of the amaranth-seed statue of Huitzilopochtli in "Performing Coatepec: Raising of the Banners Festival among the Mexica" (371-82).

native use of linear writing as a lifeway to communicate a teleological urgency that future generations understand the capture of the Mexica capital as a result of ritual impurity.

***At the Side of the Petlatl***

The first postconquest smallpox epidemic of 1521 depicted in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* further demonstrates the Tlatelolcan scribes' emphasis on the Nahua understanding of disease and offers a window into native agency regarding health and wellbeing, including the role of women healers. The first and second smallpox epidemics strained the healing resources of natives and friars alike, as the illustration in Book XII suggests (fig. 4.8). Since the scribes compiled the bilingual version of the *Historia universal* during the second smallpox epidemic of 1576 (Sahagún, *General History* 3: 390r), the depiction of the first outbreak and their own experience of the second combined to form a traumatic experience that called for healing actions. The smallpox epidemic of 1576 killed one-quarter of the native population in the Valley of Mexico (Gibson 138), and finalized the overall indigenous demographic collapse to one-fifth of the preconquest population (141). The smallpox crisis led the scribes to represent ways in which they treated the disease. The cosmos moved through the human body in unprecedented ways, and the scribes to responded by writing Nahua teleologies of healing.

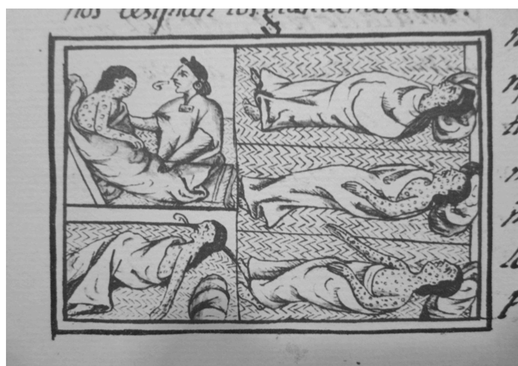

Fig. 8. A female *ticitl* attends smallpox sufferers, in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*. Rpt. in *El gobierno de la república… Códice florentino…* (Mexico City, 1979).

The image of smallpox victims in Book XII suggests an important role for women titicih during the first smallpox epidemic, in the wake of the conquest. The decrease in the number of male healers due to demographic decline may have led to the greater participation of women (Tavárez, *Invisible* 89), which builds on the preconquest precedent of the participation of both genders in the healing arts (Kellogg, *Weaving* 35; López Austin, *Juegos* 111). Elsewhere, the sahaguntine corpus emphasizes the importance of the work of female titicih, who also performed the services of midwifery (*Primeros memoriales* 142 n21, 254; *Florentine* 7: 203-4). The complementarity of both genders in the healing arts before the conquest stands in contrast with Philip II's laws governing medical practice. As a component of the *Protomedicatos* of Mexico and Lima, the king's legislation was concerned with maintaining the standards of humoral medicine and regulating apothecaries (Lanning 245). Gender policies and social hierarchy were included in his 1588 mandate: both médicos and apothecaries had to be "male citizens of the Spanish Empire with credentials to prove their *pureza de sangre*" (M. Muñoz 1: 13) Before Spanish law diminished women's public activities in the 1580s (Kellogg, *Law* 119-20), Nahua women titicih would have cared for smallpox sufferers, employing their knowledge of the body, the cosmos, and healing practices.[60] If an increase in the work of women titicih in the wake of population loss was a reality, then the illustration reveals what the text does not make explicit. Although no woman ticitl appears in the lists of healers who provided information in Books X and XI, the illustration in suggests their public role as healers during the smallpox outbreak after

[60] See Anna-Britta Hellbom's *La participación cultural de las mujeres indígenas y mestizas en el México precortesiano y posrevolucionario*, especially her summary of women's labor in the *Florentine Codex*.

the conquest. Nahua teleologies of healing in Book XII thus include the imaginary of the future with women serving as titicih, in spite of the pressures of the Spanish colonial regime.

In the illustration of the woman healer, if European beds were substituted for the native *petlatl*, the room would resemble those of the sixteenth-century Franciscan *hospitales*, where female titicih may have also worked. There is sparse evidence that women worked in the hospitals in the sixteenth century, excepting auxiliary roles (Muriel 62, 66), or as a sentence for crimes (Haskett, "Doña" 153). This situation was partly due to the fact that women were not admitted into religious orders until 1724 (Díaz, 7-8). However, the scene in the *Florentine Codex* resembles a hospital, modeled after the European centers of lodging and food for pilgrims and care for the sick (Muriel 33). This image thus could allude to activities of women titicih in that shared space, even without Spanish approval. As inquisitorial records of cases involving women healers accused of sorcery suggest, by the second smallpox epidemic, indigenous women's healing practices had become, by and large, clandestine (Gonzales, *Red* 78). Magdelena Papalo Coaxochitl, arrested in 1584 under suspicion of sorcery, typifies a woman ticitl under examination at the time (Tavárez 70-71). At the opening of the seventeenth century, Ruiz de Alarcón also questioned fifteen women healers (82-85). Noteworthy during the same period is the arrest of Mariana, a ticitl from Iguala for her involvement in shamanic curing (99-100). Trepidations about female healers working in public may also stem from the ambiguous cultural attitudes toward women in early modern Spain: they were capable of tempting men, but also of inspiring humility and service, after Marian models (Lavrín 86; Rubial García 194). The array of healing practices of women titicih, ranging from assisting births to comforting the dying, would make them particularly valuable for perpetuating Nahua life cycles in crisis times. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the painter-scribes of Book XII would choose to depict a woman ticitl as the

healing companion of smallpox sufferers and emblematic of native healing lifeways. By including this image, the scribes recognize the contributions of women titicih, and anticipate their future participation in the healing arts as a Nahua teleology of healing.

The metaphysical connotations of disease for the Nahua meant that the smallpox epidemic came as the outcome of the imbalances of the conquest. The Nahua understanding of the conquest highlights a concern to explain the changes of the sixteenth century not in terms of divine retribution for wrongdoing. Rather, this account assumes that the contaminating presence of the Spanish invasion disrupted the balanced flow of cosmic energy (teotl). This metaphysical view, which reads human wellbeing as a function of nepantla, helps explain Moteuczoma's anguish in this account. Despite the demographic losses, the scribes of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco set forth a lifeway for native healers in years to come. The image of smallpox sufferers in Book XII begs questions for the future of native healthcare in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Who would be the most qualified to administer cures that would encourage nepantla in years to come? Who are the most qualified to work in the Spanish hospitales in their particular context in Central Mexico? Given that the *Florentine Codex* provides its compendium of knowledge, the answer would depend on who would follow the advice set forth in Books X and XI on healing practices. Whether male or female, a ticitl would require the profound knowledge of regional plant cures, metaphysical diagnosis, and the animic pathways of the body. The above image (fig. 4.8) shows that a disposition to alleviate the suffering of the sick was common to Nahua Mexico and Christendom alike. However, for the native curers, it was a question of keeping the tonalli, the yollotli, and the ihiyotl aligned and properly ordered to permit the proper flow of teotl. Healing in the Nahua teleological imagination meant living in harmony with one's place, even under the pressures of colonial epidemics.

The importance of nepantla balance, wellbeing and ritual purity converge in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*. These categories remain constitutive of the narrative, providing its turning points. The Spanish invasion upset the balance between the Nahuas, their gods, and the energy of *teotl* in all things. Nahua beliefs about health —including cosmic equilibrium with one's life forces— could pass unperceived through Sahagún's editorial filter insofar as he did not note their distinction from Christianity. Methods for coping with the pressures of colonial life and preparing for the challenges of the future would come through Nahua teleologies of healing. The scribes propose the body as a path of wellbeing rather than a vehicle through life. Their path-extending thinking also projects the importance of written Nahuatl for informing future titicih of how traditional healing practices helped Nahuas confront the challenges of colonial life. Because of the conquest's interruption of the balance between the Nahuas, the landscape and the cosmos, native ritual interventions played a key role in efforts to restore balance. The revival of the fainted messengers with wine resembling the traditional suspension of the tlacoxochitl roots reflects a desire to restore nepantla to the native body via traditional healing practices. Similarly, Moteuczoma's attempt to alleviate his heart's suffering through ritual sacrifices and the sweeping of Huitzilopochtli's temple reveal that the traditional Nahua view of the human body and ritual disease causation held future validity for the native scribes who provided the narrative.

### *Conclusions: From Tlatelolco to Florence*

Discourses and visual representations of Nahua teleologies of healing intertwined native metaphysics and politics, extending indigenous lifeways as means to deal with the uncertainties that the lived experience of colonialism brought. I have demonstrated how the representations of traditional Nahua beliefs about the cosmos, ritual practices, and healing plants consituted the teleological grounding of the native writing subjects who helped produce Books X, XI, and XII

of the *Florentine Codex*. Nahua teleologies of healing provide instructions about the body and its care as a matter of path-keeping for flourishing in the here-and-now and in times ahead. Cataloguing the knowledge of the titicih in linear form designated writing as a native lifeway.

Nahua teleologies of healing in the sixteenth century formed as the contributing titicih and the scribes who aided Sahagún drew from their traditions. The titicih and scribes, through their collaboration in the sixteenth century, had first recourse to their strongest cultural memories of healing traditions that reflected Nahua monism and the pathways of *teotl*, one of which is the human body. Their appropriation of linear writing became pivotal as a means for organizing and emphasizing what, in their view, were the best applications of native remedies and the keys to future wellbeing. Suzanne Crawford O'Brien has pointed out that choosing native healing practices above Western medicine entails decolonial thinking: as she puts it, "choosing to be well is to take an active stance against assimilation and colonial control" (Crawford 9). The Nahua view of the body as a path of wellbeing emerges in tension with the Western view of the body as a vehicle, an outlook in keeping with humoralism and Christianity. Since the scribes assumed the integrated nature of their colonial experience and ancestral knowledge regarding the body and illness, they devoted little space to justifying or Christianizing neither their expository writing on healing practices, nor their narrativization of the conquest. Because humoralism could not account for every aspect of native wellbeing—particularly with reference to the body's three life forces and the problem of soul-loss—the native amanuenses saw how linear writing offered a way to organize and preserve their healing knowledge. The concern for providing detailed instructions for how to follow the path of health and nepantla balance joins the Collegian scribes and healers in a rhetoric of wellbeing they intended for Nahuas to follow in years to come.

Philip II, concerned about the heterodox effects of circulating native beliefs if Sahagún's *Historia universal* were available, ordered its confiscation in 1577. The *Historia universal* caused uneasiness for this Spanish monarch who was concerned with promoting orthodoxy and the edicts of the Council of Trent (Browne 26; Po-chia Hsia 48-49). The General of the Franciscan order, Rodrigo de Seguera took the bilingual manuscript with its illustrations to Spain in 1578 (García Bustamante 337-39), where it stayed in the hands of Philip II, until it came into the library of Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici in Florence, perhaps as a gift from the Spanish monarch (J. Schwaller, "Tracking" 268-73). This confiscated and gifted manuscript is the most-often studied bilingual version of Sahagún's *Historia* that has remained in Florence ever since in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.[61]

The cultural elements the text describes —as a clerical reference manual— were not enough to provoke the text's confiscation. A compendium of information about the past would not complicate colonial administration, but only the threat of that knowledge as an influence on the future. By allowing for the expression of traditional Nahua bodily nomenclature, Sahagún's omission of the list of body parts in his Spanish translation opens fissures in friars' Westernization efforts. Sahagún may have felt uneasy including cures that did not easily fit with Christian beliefs about the soul. Or he may have been more concerned with providing his peers and supervisors with explanations about his life's work. The effect is the same: the *Codex* communicates the scribes' message to Nahuatl-speaking posterity that soul-loss is a health issue that traditional restorative techniques address in specific and useful terms. Recalling Sahagún's

[61] For an annotated bibliography of all of Sahagún's known writings and their locations, see Eloise Quiñones Keber's "The Sahaguntine Corpus: A Bibliographic Index of Extant Documents" (341-45).

metaphor of the priest as spiritual physician, a case of cultural misinterpretation—resembling Lockhart's Double Mistaken Identity—has occurred with respect to human ontology. Sahagún took for granted one soul and a frail body subject to disease. Meanwhile, the painter-scribes see a unity between the body, its three animic conduits, and the universe. The Double Mistaken Identity accounts for misinterpretation (perhaps mutual, here) of the friar's request for information from Nahua healers. However, Lockhart's theoretical concept most aptly describes specific moments of intercultural miscommunication, and not the ongoing, changing and expanding boundaries of native knowledge and plans for the future.

The teleological dimensions implicated in the unity of cosmic energy between the human body and the landscape, along with the ritualistic account of the conquest of Tenochtitlan supported neither Phillip II's vision of orthodoxy, nor a triumphalist interpretation of the military conquest. This native writing proceeds from ways of thinking and healing practices that crossed cultural lines and became problematic to Western authorities by indicating what José Rabasa has called "the limits of evangelical practices" (*Tell* 10). The Nahua scribes, when asked to describe how to heal a body, have presented their knowledge as the epistemological equal to Western medicine and religion. This act of intellectual parity calls to mind Catherine Walsh's claim that *interculturalidad* entails "epistemological politics" aimed at "transformar los diseños coloniales que han posicionado el conocimiento de los pueblos indígenas como saber no moderno y local, al frente de la universalidad y no temporalidad del conocimiento occidental" [transforming colonial designs that have positioned the knowledge of indigenous peoples as non-modern and local *vis à vis* the universality and a-temporality of Western knowledge] (43). While due to its confiscation the *Florentine Codex* did not have the impact that its Nahua teleologies of healing projected, its subject matter documents the beginnings of the postconquest influence of Nahua healing arts in

Mexico, the US Southwest, the Iberian world, and beyond. To this day, the Nahua teleologies of healing in the *Florentine Codex* provide alternatives to Western medicine, based on native traditions in the light of experience.

In colonial Mexico, Western medicine and Nahua healing were not disinterested pursuits but upheld traditions and the authority of their practitioners. Body parts —depending on the doctor or healer— formed two symbolic codes. The Nahua's base of monistic interdependence of body and cosmos and the Western division between physical and spiritual wellbeing determined the function of body parts, how to heal, and who was best qualified as a healer. Western doctors and Nahua healers could agree on the efficacy of herbal remedies, yet with different justifications. For Western doctors, based on a hierarchical view of nature, lower plant cures served to sustain higher human life. However, for the titicih, both the person and the plant were parts of the operations of teotl, as the cosmos oscillates, seeking its own equilibrium. As the native healers and scribes who provided information for books X and XI extended their vision of wellbeing into the future, they did so in spite of a legal and ecclesiastical environment suspicious toward their activities.

Colonial Nahuas notions of wellbeing, though maintaining their monistic underpinnings, came under the profound change of linear temporality: writing served the purpose of planning action guides for an unknown future. Similarly to Thomas Kuhn's notion of "incommensurable viewpoints" between two communities of researchers that require "translation" (198-204), Sahagún's emphasis on informing priests concerning Nahua culture in order to enhance their catechesis filled a different system of thought than that of the titicih. In the face of proselytizing friars and the laws of colonial administrators who seized native lands, the Nahua healers preserved their knowledge in the constantly moving spaces of practice, which allowed them a

measure of distance and protection from scrutiny. By the time the list of body parts, the plant remedies, and the conquest narrative of Book XII were finalized in 1576, over five decades of native postconquest experience reinforced the effectiveness of Nahua teleologies of healing. Besides their cultural memory from before the conquest, the *titicih* and scribes recalled a lifetime of practice after the arrival of the Spanish, and appropriated linear writing so that Nahua healing lifeways could endure into the future.

## Chapter Three:

## "In Vain We Contradicted Them": Crisis, Agency, and Nahua Teleologies in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*

On Sunday December 8, 1566, a native prophet gave a chilling vision of apocalyptic disaster to his people if they did not chart a different course for the future. He punctuated his message with an insurrection in Cahuatepec, a village north of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Juan Tetón, a native commoner (*macehual*), gave a scathing sermon against Christianity, a religion he claimed was destroying his people. He warned his listeners to return to traditional beliefs, or else face impending, dire consequences:

> Achtopa ye quimilhuiya y ye quimiztlacahuia in cohuatepeca tla xiccaquican yn amehuatin quen anquitohua ca ye anquimati yn quitotihui in tocolhuan yn iquac toxiuhmolpiliz ca centlayohuaz hualtemozque yn tzitzimime in techquazque yhuan yn iquac necuepaloz. Yn omoquatequique yn oquineltocaque yn dios mocuepazque. Yn huacaxnacatl quiqua çan no yehuatl mocuepaz. Yn pitzonacatl quiqua çan no yehuatl mocuepaz. Yn ychcanacatl quiqua çan no yehuatl mocuepaz yhuan yn ichcaayatl quiquemi. (Reyes 156)
>
> [At first, he was lying about it to the people of Coatepec [saying] 'Hear this: you all know what our grandparents said, that when the end of the year count was tied, that all would become dark and the *tzitzimime* would come down to eat us. Then many people would be transformed. Those who were baptized and believed in God will be transformed. Those who ate the meat of cows will become cows. Those who ate the meat of pigs will become

> pigs. Those who ate lamb shall turn into lambs, and likewise those who wear woolen cloaks.']][62]

This passage —set circa 1558— from the *Anales de Juan Bautista* conveys Nahua expectations for times ahead. In terms of native practices, Juan Tetón's discourse centered on ritual and is preoccupied with expelling elements of impurity, reminiscent of Moteuczoma's response to the approach of the Spanish in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*. Given the profound changes in Central Mexico that had transpired since the conquest in 1521,Tetón opens a forum for articulating action-guides to secure a harmonious future for his listeners (García Garagarza 53). This passage illustrates the sweeping alterations in ritual practices and the administration of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and surrounding areas during the period of 1531-1582, years that the native writing subjects of the text chose to highlight (Reyes 23). Despite their ostensible disapproval of Tetón's message and the possibility of the ecclesiastical confiscation of their text (García Garagarza 55 n.18), those who documented the uprising in Cohuatepec considered the prophet's vision for years ahead worth recording.

This chapter examines the teleological thinking behind this anecdote and other similar public occurrences in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a text that fashions decolonial imaginaries through reinterpretations of ancestral wisdom. The title of the text recalls Viceroy Martín Enríquez Almanza's 1560 appointment of Juan Bautista, a law enforcement agent (*alguacil*), as a collector of native tribute (Reyes 19). Due to the fact that tribute collection for the Spanish crown motivated its composition, Spanish economic policy concerned nearly every entity in the

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[62] Unless indicated otherwise, all translations in this chapter are mine with the help of John Sullivan. On the significance of the *tzitzimime* as beings of destruction at the end of the Age of the Fifth Sun, see Sigal (123-26), Burkhart (*Slippery* 55, 83), and García Garagarza (38-39).

*Anales*. However, the multiple perspectives in the text have led scholars to conclude that the tax collector Juan Bautista was not the author, and a group of scribes residing in San Juan Moyotlan, which comprised the southwest quarter of Mexico City, produced the text (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 639; Reyes 28).[63] In spite of the text's official purpose as a tribute register, as shall become clear, these *Anales* also grapple with the question of how future readers could maintain nepantla balance under the new colonial regime that sought to systematically suppress Nahua ancestral knowledge. The scribes' included the perspectives of nobles, clergymen, Spanish soldiers and native commoners in the *Anales de Juan Bautista.* This confluence of multiple vantage points makes the text into a medium for the exchange of ideas among Nahua leaders who were coping with uncertainty regarding how to maintain their balance in the ever-shifting colonial world.

A closer look at the *Anales* shows how the scribes of Moyotlan, in keeping with traditional conceptions of time-place, employ diverse, overlapping chronologies. As explained in Chapter One, a combination of postconquest experience and the wide native use of linear writing led to a shift away from the traditional conception of time as divided into separate ages, or "suns" toward open linear temporalities. One consequence of this shift, as discussed, is that Nahua written narratives begin to reflect a linear, rather than cyclical, arrangement of events. The opening entries show that the scribes of the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, combined European and traditional dating systems, yet were more concerned with post-conquest events (Lockhart,

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[63] Since the entry identifying the *alguacil* (constable) Juan Bautista is the only one in Spanish, scholars have used his name to refer to the manuscript, ever since Lorenzo Boturini held the manuscript in his collection. Camilla Townsend has proposed an alternative title: *The Annals of the Painters of San Juan Moyotlan* ("Glimpsing" 639).

*Nahuas* 382). Moreover, drawing on the traditional xiuhpohualli (yearly account) genre, the scribes make use of multiple narrative cycles representing distinct and coexisting native views on the monetization of tribute (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 641-42). Traditional ways of relating events influence the text, yet its format and content manifest changes brought by the Spanish conquest and occupation of Anahuac. In the midst of combining European and native conceptions of time, the scribes related and interpreted events in new ways, due to their experience of coloniality, which they did not share with their ancestors.

In the *Anales de Juan Bautista,* monetized tribute presented a daunting obstacle to effective native leadership. The levy that the Spanish authorities demanded of all native adults meant a loss of power for local nobles and economic hardship for commoners (Reyes 58). This tribute change was an application in Mexico-Tenochtitlan of Philip II's imperial tax consolidation policies throughout the Spanish empire (Miranda 197-98). For the first time, commoners had to pay tribute in cash in addition to goods and labor as they had prior to the conquest (Reyes 57-58). In the spring of 1564, Spanish administrators announced that every Nahua adult would be responsible for eight *reales* (one peso) and a half measure of corn per year (237), an economic pressure evident in the text's four coinciding accounts of the unrest in the city during September and October of 1564 (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 642). This change eroded the authority and economic base of the Nahua nobles, who until then were exempt from tribute due to their cooperation during the city's surrender (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 382). In effect, the income of the nobles —goods and labor that they previously excised from commoners— now became Spanish property (Ruiz, "Fighting" 62; Reyes 58). The new tribute offended the Nahua nobles, restricting their access to resources they needed to maintain their authority as the Spanish viceregal government chipped away at traditions that protected native governance of the city.

The *Anales de Juan Bautista* preserved signs of the gradual Spanish marginalization of native elites. Because colonial authorities used the existing indigenous power structure to administrate territories they gained for the empire, in time apparent collaboration with indigenous nobles gave way to Spanish control of former native jurisdictions.[64] This Spanish gubernatorial strategy took years after the conquest to implement. As Serge Gruzinski and Nathan Watchel have observed, Spanish colonization aimed at changing the "defeated population first into Indians, then into a republic, and finally into a minority with a stereotyped profile before expunging them progressively from the territory of the city" (240). Toward the end of the *Anales*, a group of Nahua nobles, obliged by Spanish authorities to collect tribute funds and count them out before paying in full, expressed their frustration with the pithy "*in cuix amo tipehuallaca*" (Reyes 250) [Are we not a conquered people?].[65] The nobles' question came in October of 1564, after an anti-tribute riot in February of the same year that Miguel Tecniuh, one of the nobles who collected and counted tribute funds, had led. As will become apparent, even in this defeat, the experience of the nobles as a group informed their teleological thinking and preserved a sense of solidarity necessary for their survival as a social group.

Juan Tetón, Miguel Tecniuh, and other native subjects in the text expressed their discontent with Spanish policies and with divided native elites. Their dissatisfaction shows that the nobles had reached a crisis of a authority by the time of the composition of the *Anales de*

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[64] For an overview of how Spanish colonizers used native infrastructure to help impose their legal and juridical systems, see Susan Kellogg's *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700*, especially "Part Two: The Social History of Everyday Life" (85-220)

[65] Luis Reyes García renders this phrase as "*¿Acaso no somos gente conquistada*?" an epithet he incorporated into the title of his 2001 bilingual edition of the *Anales de Juan Bautista*.

*Juan Bautista*. As the Nahua writing subjects of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* strove to make sense of their experience, they also prepared for unknown times ahead. It is important to recall that postconquest experience at once destabilized the notion of the future as "embedded in the past" (Hassig, *Time* 2), and encouraged the rise of "heterogeneous linear temporalities" (Rabasa, *Tell* 131). The unprecedented realities of colonialism prompted Nahua responses including Juan Tetón's sermon against Christianity and Miguel Tecniuh's uprising against Spanish tribute. As Spanish administrators used taxes to restrict the Nahua nobles' possibilities for buying and selling, and ecclesiastical hierarchies to guide their reflections on ultimate meaning, native elites began to draw on the long-standing traditions of elders, as they approached the unformed future.

In what ways would the native writing subjects of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* combine their belief in communication with one's ancestors with the notion of the undetermined future of linear time? Understanding how other Mesoamerican peoples have considered a relationship with the deceased as vital to the past and future sheds light on the teleological implications of ancestral knowledge in the *Anales*. Keeping in mind the complementarity of life and death in Nahua metaphysics, the living and the dead are never isolated, but part of a continuum of creative and destructive processes (Maffie, *Aztec* 158; López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 12, 194).[66] Patricia McAnany has observed that in Mayan groups prior to the conquest, "ancestors resided at that critical nexus between past and future, and their presence both materially and symbolically lent weight to the claims of their mere mortal descendants" (1). In the Yucatán peninsula, evidence of the importance of ancestor veneration practices comes from Diego de Landa's interrogations and tortures in the summer of 1562, many of which were concerned with

[66] For more on the dealings between the living and the dead, see Phillip P. Arnold's *Eating Landscape*, and Cecelia Klein's "Post-Classic Mexican Death Imagery" (69-84).

extirpating the shrines of the dead (Scholes and Roys 609-10; Roys 92). Concomitantly, for native elites, identification with one's ancestors as living presences ensured status and greater access to resources (Johnson and Earle 190). If Nahua nobles in Central Mexico continued to look to their ancestors for guidance and advice, as Mesoamerican customs suggest, then it would be possible to seek their aid as the future unfolded. As explained in their turn, Juan Tetón, Miguel Tecniuh, and the native governor Luis Santa María Cipac all reference the presence and practice-oriented knowledge of their ancestors in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*.

My analysis of three pivotal sections of the *Anales* will reveal how the action paths that the scribes highlighted depended on a relationship with native ancestors, whose presence provided guidance for coming times. Juan Tetón's public derision of Christianity shows a complex set of appropriations and rejections of Catholic ritual, in light of the native cosmovision, in order to ensure group survival. Miguel Tecniuh's anti-tribute riot allowed the native scribes to signal the limits of traditional law and direct confrontation with the Spanish, thereby filling a leadership role through writing. Also, the scribes' interpretation of extraordinary natural events hails the cosmic return of the emperor Moteuczoma as a means to restore equilibrium to the Nahua hierarchy. Subsequent readers of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* would know about criticisms of Christianity in the region, anti-tribute protest, and the scribes' vision of the restoration of native governance. These episodes form a confluence of teleological thinking, representing imaginaries of a decolonized future. The scribes of Moyotlan preserved in writing served a strategic deposit for posterity of their critical stance toward colonial policies. They wanted readers to know that they had also imagined emancipatory futures.

My reading highlights the ways in which Nahua writers here reevaluated their own past in order to articulate balanced approaches to the future as it unfolded. Through close readings of

key episodes in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, I will demonstrate how it vindicates ancestral knowledge as it records the conflicts and deliberations of Nahua elites, forced to come to terms with an uncertain future. In my analysis, I eschew certain anachronistic proto-nationalist interpretations of the text. If there is any resonance in my analysis with the notion of mestizaje,[67] it is not as a way to smooth over colonial violence with representations of harmony (Cornejo 89), but rather with due attention to the agency and circumstances of indigenous subjects. Therefore, I do not attempt to discover here—as in María Angel Garibay's reading—an early Mexican identity under the influence of Spanish colonialism ("Temas" 155-69). I also do not suppose—as did Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci—that the text is proto-guadalupano, although the text does record sixteenth-century Marian festivals at Tepeyac (Reyes 53-55, 160). Instead, I propose that as the scribes of Moyotlan realized their potential as narrators of future possibilities, they forged an optimism that would have evaded the expectations of Spanish administrators, clergy, and even the Nahua nobles. Echoes of the traditional cosmovision resound in the text in that all events and beings are represented as part of the single dynamic, unfolding reality of teotl. The Nahua writers of Moyotlan rallied their audience with the notion that the Mexicas of Tenochtitlan and other Nahuas there could anticipate and shape their own futures in the region, in spite of the limitations of colonial life.

***Ancestors in a New Context***

From their experience watching the native nobility become divided over tribute, the indigenous writing subjects responsible for these *Anales* decided to use their writing to propose

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[67] I refer to Joshua Lund's analysis of hybridity in *The Impure Imagination* as a cultural descriptor in Latin America, transferred to racial imaginaries in the emerging nation states of the nineteenth-century.

action guides for balanced path-keeping, recalling the preconquest tonalamatl genre, discussed in Chapter One (Quiñones, *Representing* 263-64). The agency of the scribes of Moyotlan becomes pivotal for understanding the text's origins, audience, and role in the sixteenth century. The amanuenses' construction of authority comes from their particular epistemology (Rabasa, *Tell* 3-4), informed by a shamanic dimension of their writing, in the sense of interpreting the movements of the cosmos, as reviewed in Chapter Two. The importance of the ancestors in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, portrayed as part of the cosmic fabric, is also linearized through the native scribes' appropriation of writing. By the lights of their tradition, the time had come for them to lead, based on the living knowledge of the ancestors.

The *Anales de Juan Bautista* are analogous to other Nahuatl annals from the sixteenth century, such as the *Annals of Tlatelolco* (1528), the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (ca. 1550), the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan / La leyenda de los cinco soles* (ca. 1590), and the *Annals of Tecamachalco* (ca. 1590). As we saw in Chapter One, the annals genre displays parallels with the preconquest *xiuhpohualli* yearly account, and thus played an important role in Nahua appropriations of linear time during their transition from pictographic toward alphabetic writing. The shift from pictographic to linear writing characterizes the presentation of events between 1519 and 1586, the period the scribes in San Juan Moyotlan selected for *Anales de Juan Bautista* (Reyes 58). Within that sixty-seven-year period, the majority of the material concerns 1564-1569, years in which Phillip II's made sweeping changes in Spanish tribute policies (29-40). The traditional Nahua occupation of the tlacuilo —a codex painter who did accounting and recorded events with images and symbols— shifted toward linear script due to contact with Franciscan friars and the imperial administration. Yet the enduring strength of traditional methods of communication and Nahua visual representations both resound in the text.

I would suggest that the sights, sounds, and descriptions of color in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* recall the oral performance a traditional tlacuilo would have given. In preconquest society, the tlacuiloque mediated between worlds: they stood between nobles and commoners and interpreted the operations of the cosmos (Hill Boone, *Stories* 24). Recalling Chapter One's discussion, the tlacuiloque used pictographic representations of the discourses of the tlamatinime sages, preserved as codices and murals studied in the calmecac (León Portilla, *Filosofía* 227-28). The shamanic role of the codex painter as decipherer of the meaning of cosmic activity carried over to Nahua scribes in the sixteenth century, as their textual production evinces. Since the Franciscan friars had taught them alphabetic writing and Christian belief simultaneously, the scribal role as mediator of metaphysical discourses logically followed (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 330; Florescano, *Memory* 30-34). Associations of the tlacuilo's occupation as a keeper of ancestral knowledge remained in this text, and the scribes' role as interpreter of the Nahua hierarchy's role in the cosmos subsumed ritual, economic, and political content within a larger frame of action guides for the future.

The native writing subjects of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* were synthesizers of Nahua and European intellectual traditions. As noted, the quarter (*calpolli*) of Mexico-Tenochtitlan known as San Juan Moyotlan lay to the southwest of the plaza mayor, away from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, located north of the city on the island of Tlatelolco. The scribes' location placed them closer to the Escuela de San José de los naturales, which Pedro de Gante had established in 1529 (Zepeda 51). The scribes show the importance of De Gante in their daily lives and mention him several times in the text.[68] Camilla Townsend describes the group who wrote the *Anales* as

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[68] See Reyes (164, 186, 208, 274, 288, 296, 320). Emilio Ros Fábregas has commented on Pedro de Gante's relationship to, choral singers, artisans and the scribes in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*.

"well-born men and products of the Spanish educational system" ("Glimpsing" 626). Prior to the conquest, tlacuiloque used a pictorial genre known as xiuhpohualli to provide yearly accounts of local events and the activities of political figures (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 378-80). Similarly, European annals appeared in the Middle Ages as a way to document local events from the perspective of one or more writers over a number of years (White 5-8). Nahua elites who attended Franciscan schools in the sixteenth century drew from Mesoamerican and European influences and combined the preconquest xiuhpohualli yearly account with the European annals genre (Reyes 24). To my mind, the overlapping narrative cycles in the Anales de Juan Bautista demonstrate the challenges of fusing the xiuhpohualli with European-style annals.

Over the years, the preservation and study of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* have reflected the diverse influences that brought about its composition. By the close of the sixteenth century, the manuscript was out of the hands of the scribes of Moyotlan. Evidently their inclusion of considerably varying content caused Spanish administrators to disregard it as a tribute register. The whereabouts of the text were uncertain for a number of years until it resurfaced as an object of intellectual interest. Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci (Sondio, Italy 1698-Madrid c. 1755), an Italian traveler, antiquarian, and chronicler of Mexico, purchased and recorded the text in his 1746 *Catálogo del Museo Histórico Indiano* (Reyes 20). Boturini's catalogue entry on the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, emphasizes its mention of Marian devotions at Tepeyac, lamenting the fact that the text does not reference the 1531 apparition account (20), which the 1649 publication of Luis Lasso de la Vega's *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* popularized (Brading, *Mexican Phoenix* 81-88). In 1744, after arousing suspicions regarding the authenticity of his noble titles, viceregal authorities confiscated Boturini's collection of the codices, maps, and ritual objects and sent him to Madrid

(Grant, et al. 7: 30).[69] Boturini's association of the manuscript with the Marianism of Tepeyac would have lasting effects.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the library of the Basilica de Guadalupe in Mexico City acquired a portion of Boturini's collection, and has held the *Anales de Juan Bautista* ever since. The manuscript was of interest to the Basilica for its aforesaid mention of an image of María de Guadalupe shown in Tepeyac in 1555. At the end of the nineteenth century, Vicente de Paul Andrade, a cannon lawyer at the Basilica de Guadalupe, made a copy of this manuscript in which he reorganized the dating from the scribes' four narrative cycles to a strictly linear format. This copy is kept in the library of the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (INAH) (Reyes 20-21). Because of the storage of the original manuscript at the Basilica where scholars would have to obtain special permission to study it, no one published a transcription or translation until Luis Reyes García in 2001.

Beyond its ostensible function as a tribute register, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* expands its treatment of economic and ideological changes, employing a number of perspectives to do so. Local events, particularly secular and religious ceremonies, festivities, arrests of colonizers and natives suspected of infractions, and activities of clergy and administrators, populate its sixty-four folios. By simultaneously identifying themselves as Christians and displaying traditional loyalty to their altepetl of Mexico Tenochtitlan, the Nahua colonial scribes of the *Anales* inhabited their own social world and that of the Spanish. Consequently, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* opens a window into the cultural capital of native writing subjects who entered and

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[69] For a history of Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci's travels and social agility, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's "Self Fashioning" in Levy and Mills *Lexicon* (304-6), and Giorgio Antei's *El caballero andante.*

exited the hegemonic sphere of the Church and Spanish civil authorities (Arias 48). This kind of negotiation implies future goals beyond day-to-day survival.

Compared to the level of Bernardino de Sahagún's involvement in the compilation and editing of the *Florentine Codex*, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* were produced with a certain degree of autonomy, making possible the native writers' appropriation of the tribute register for their own aims. While supportive of Church hierarchy, the scribes lived and worked in a separate setting, a distancing effect that allowed them to select the material with teleological implications they would include in the text. The fact that Viceroy Enrique Almanza requested the *Anales* as a tribute register suggests that the scribes produced this text with minimal interventions from Spanish clergy. Scholars have not yet found evidence that any priest edited the text, yet the threat of inquisitorial censure was a reality (García Garagarza 36). The amount of attention the scribes give to clergymen and their interactions with them shows that their view of the Church was largely favorable (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 626). Church agents are part of the text's background, yet they did not determine the content by direct supervision or editing.

The *Anales de Juan Bautista* does not consistently represent clergy as strong leaders despite their role in the scribes' daily lives. Within their overall positive view of the clergy, the scribes of Moyotlan highlighted some friars more than others, such as Pedro de Gante's prominent place versus Bernardino de Sahagún, who they mention only twice (Reyes 170, 266). Gante served as a mediator between Nahua nobles and Spanish administrators and advocated for a lowering of tribute and an increase of exemptions of those who should pay, although he met with limited success (SilverMoon 168-71).[70] I would suggest that inconsistent clerical mediation

[70] For an overview of the Second Audiencia's tribute policies, including indigenous petitions for exemptions, see Ethelia Ruiz Medrano's *Reshaping New Spain* (51-56).

played a decisive role in the development of Nahua teleologies in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, due to their unreliable performance as representatives of Nahua elites. However, Phillip II's disapproval of clerical involvement in the tribute controversy also weakened the effectiveness of clerical advocacy (Ruiz "Fighting" 70). When the mediation of priests did not improve circumstances, the scribes used their writing to compensate for lacking leadership and develop models for future action.

To sum up the main argument of the chapter to this point, the importance of ancestral knowledge looms large in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*. The ways of the Nahuas' predecessors provide the scribes of Moyotlan with a basis for understanding the past, and motivate their intentional teleologies as extensions of their traditional lifeways into the future. The episodes under examination here convey Nahua teleological thinking in response to Spanish religion, economics, and juridical pressures. However, for the scribes, setting a *nepantla*-seeking course evokes the unity of all reality and experience as teotl, in contrast to the Western tendency to compartmentalize experience into discrete categories. Through self-empowerment in response to a fragmenting native nobility and failed clerical advocacy to reduce tribute, the scribes of Moyotlan used writing to direct their agency toward improving future circumstances. Times ahead of the scribes defied their previous knowledge, since they had little precedent for their new experiences. Thus, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* come to serve as an action-guide based on ancestral lifeways expressed in a written medium that employs what José Rabasa has called "heterogeneous temporalities" (*Tell* 143). The three episodes under examination here—the rebellion of Juan Tetón, the riot of Miguel Tecniuh, and the rumors of the return of Moteuczoma—all emphasize the practice-oriented knowledge of the ancestors as providing ways to act strategically in order to attain and maintain cosmic balance.

***[De]evangelizing the Future According to Juan Tetón***

The rebellion of Juan Tetón was first and foremost about proper action. His sermon appears at the nexus of ritual, diet, and the sacred landscape; and, as will become apparent, his rhetoric posits a future dependent on the intentions of his contemporaries expressed in balancing ritual actions. Recalling the opening anecdote of this chapter, the return to traditional beliefs and agriculture becomes valid only through a ritual confession and washing by the itinerant native preacher himself. At the beginning of the account, an officious narrative voice attributes ill intent to Juan Tetón's message: "*quintlapololti quimiztlacahui*" [He caused the people to err, he lied] in Cohuatepec, an altepetl north of Mexico City, currently in the state of Hidalgo (Reyes 157). As León García Garagarza has observed, Tetón appears in the *Anales* as a "charismatic prophet armed with a characteristic eschatological discourse that became prevalent in the decades after the Conquest" (36). Juan Tetón preached the rejection of Christianity and European pastoralism as the twin enemies of traditional Nahua lifeways. In order to counteract the threat that European livestock posed to traditional agriculture, Tetón provided advice on how to restore balance to the native economy and diet: in order to prepare for a famine Tetón predicted, he told his listeners to store up wild turkeys, local mushrooms, and corn flowers (158). By preserving his message, the scribes showed a degree of complicity. They considered elements of Tetón's speech worth disseminating due to their use of free indirect discourse, a technique that narrators can use to place or remove distance between their views and others they quote (Arias 43). Thus, their disavowal of Tetón's message did not negate its impact. Tetón also instructs his audience on how to undo their Christian baptism via a ritual washing to prevent the consequence of becoming European livestock (158). Juan Tetón's ritual teleology seeks to break with foreign beliefs and restore loyalty to ancient lifeways, an imaginary in which he plays a key mediatorial role.

Tetón's warnings address Nahua elites' anxieties concerning the transmission of core cultural knowledge under the pressures of catastrophic demographic losses and the imposition of a new religion. Proposing that ancestral lifeways could ensure group cohesion and survival in an unknown future, this native preacher projects the collect efforts of his ancestors and contemporaries forward into a linear future. Tetón offers the compelling explanation of population loss in his home altepetl of Michmaloyan as resulting from the transformation of people into livestock (García Garagarza 41-45).[71] There is a sense of the immediate presence of the audience's forbearers, when the native de-evangelist begins his speech by invoking the ancestors: "*ye anquimati yn quitotihui in tocolhuan*" (*sic*) (Reyes156) [You already know what our grandparents said]. The reference to their recent predecessors could have been more than metaphorical, since in the year of his speech, 1558, survivors from the pre-conquest generation may have been present. Almost certainly his listeners had spoken with elders who lived before the arrival of the Spanish. Consequently, by appealing to the living presence of the ancestors in order to establish his authority, Tetón contends that molding the future involves reverence for the desires of the deceased.

Divinatory elements in Juan Tetón's sermon resonate with the shamanic role of the *ticitl* discussed in Chapter Two in the context of healing plants. I would suggest that while divining the operations of *teotl* in the transformation of humans into cattle, through his cause-and-effect reasoning, Tetón linearizes the cyclical workings of the cosmos. Based on Bernardino de Sahagún's descriptions of ritual specialists, one can surmise that Tetón was a *tlaciuhqui* —an itinerant diviner able to foretell the future (*Florentine* 10: 177); and perhaps even considered

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[71] Elinor Melville's *Plaga de ovejas* provides an overview of the explosion of the population of cattle in Michmaloyan during the native demographic crisis of the sixteenth century.

himself as a *nahualli*, a shape-shifter, who manifests the appearance and powers of various animals (García Garagarza 34; Sahagún, *Florentine* 10: 31). Accordingly, those powers would have allowed him to understand and explain the effects of ingesting the Spanish livestock. Sustaining one's body with foreign food represented a rejection of the metaphysical order, which prescribed agricultural products native to Mesoamerica; and a loss of proper nourishment would mean a loss of one's humanity (García Garagarza 50). The transformation of humans into livestock accounts for demographic decline, in a way consistent with the knowledge of traditional ritual specialists. Yet traditional ritual knowledge is here a means to ensure an alternative linear future of group survival rather than understand the cyclical operations of *teotl*.

The paradox of Juan Tetón's response to Christianity is that he borrows ritual practices from the same religion he critiques. His message assumes the imminence of the end of the Fifth Sun (Reyes 156; García Garagarza 51), and the need for native listeners to demonstrate their allegiance to tradition through restorative rituals. I contend that here eschatology and sacramental parody entail a conceptualization of linear time and teleological thinking. One must believe and act correctly now in order to avoid future calamity. Tetón exhorts his listeners to participate in rites analogous to baptism and confession as a means to reverse the effects of those sacraments and return to native beliefs and lifeways (Reyes 158-59). The notion of a sacrament —an outward sign of an inward transformation— is pivotal in Juan Tetón's teleology.[72] The Nahua prophet requires outward proofs of his people's desire to return to traditional ways. Thus, through an appropriation of foreign ritual forms, Juan Tetón's religious vision of the future meant cleansing oneself of Spanish religion and restoring reverence for ancestral lifeways. On

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[72] See Daniel Kennedy's "Sacraments" in (*Catholic Encyclopedia*). Sacraments also invoke the incarnational principle of the λογοσ (*logos*), "the invisible made visible" (Vonier 14).

the rocky path of the unknown times ahead, the de-evangelization of native penitents required ritual measures, according to Juan Tetón.

Even as Tetón refuses to heed Christian clergy, he assumes a parallel position to theirs within his own movement. To undo baptism, Tetón required listeners to partake of an adapted traditional purification ceremony in which the participant received a ritual washing of the head (Reyes 158). Ceremonial cleansing with water was nothing new to Tetón or other native ritual specialists, only its application as a means to reverse baptism. Archeological evidence shows that in preconquest times washing all or part of the body was a day-to-day act of reverence (Miller and Taube 183-84). As part of daily offerings to the gods, Nahua women cleansed their hands, faces, and mouths (Burkhart, *Mexica* 39). In fact, Nahua ritual washing was so common that the friars incorporated it into their rhetoric meant to facilitate natives' conversion (Burkhart *Slippery* 112-115). After the conquest, baptism —in a standard or abbreviated form— became ubiquitous in the capital and surroundings, due to the Franciscans' broad interpretation of papal documents as giving license to perform the rite *en masse* (Arias 40-41). The concept of ritual cleansing with water had deep roots in the region. Tetón reworked the motif of holy washing as a way for his listeners to return to ancestral beliefs.

The motivation driving Juan Tetón's ritual washing assumes a binary and linear logic, since it posits a ritually purified future. In terms of institutional affiliation, Tetón's rejection of Christianity was total, and he did not tolerate the public Catholicism that numerous Nahuas held while maintaining traditional beliefs (Burkhart, *Slippery* 192-93). According to Tetón, due to the death and destruction that Christianity brought, one is completely for or completely against native lifeways. In a telling turn, the complementarity of death and life central to traditional Nahua cosmology —the two are dynamic and constantly in tension, with neither one prevailing

(Maffie, *Aztec* 155-58)— is eclipsed in the need to rid oneself of an essentially contaminating influence.[73] Tetón does not interpret the introduction of Christianity as a natural unfolding of cosmic events, neither good nor evil, but as a threat to group survival (García Garagarza 51). This aspect of Tetón's thought is in fact contrary to the traditional monistic cosmovision. As Maffie has observed, "The unfolding of teotl and hence the unfolding of the cosmos are *amoral*. Aztec tlamatinime rejected the idea that life (light, etc.) is intrinsically good while death (darkness, etc.) is intrinsically evil—as well as the notion that life will or ought to triumph over death" (*Aztec* 155, original emphasis). For Juan Tetón, the way through calamity was to return to time-honored ways. However, although a remnant might embrace his teachings, they had already entered into unknown times, closing off a purist return to pre-colonial tradition. Thus, Tetón's rejection of Western ways did not represent a return to ancestral lifeways, but revealed strategic appropriations of Western ideas. He formulated *nepantla*-aiming teleological thinking, and, based on his colonial experience, preserved it in linear writing for a linear future.

Likewise, the purpose of Tetón's imperative to confess —in order to rid oneself of the contamination of Christianity— pointed his native audience toward a future of collective reconciliation with tradition. It was foreign penitential practices that had disrupted the *nepantla*-keeping ecology of his people, and Tetón sought to correct the future through a break with Christianity and foreign customs. To the penitents who would come to him, Tetón averred,

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[73] In the *Legend of the Five Suns*, Quetzalcoatl goes to Mictlan, the land of the dead to find the human bones of previous ages from which he would make the peoples of the Fifth Sun (*History and Mythology* 145-146; Florescano, *Memory* 177). See also Matos Montezuma and Solís Olguín on how the calendar stone represents repeating cycles of human death and rebirth are as a human heart is in the claws of *tonatiuh* (*Calendar* 64).

"*oanmoquatequique can a mechpopolhuiz*" (Reyes 158) [I will wash off what they baptized you with, I will give you pardon]. In order to escape the destruction of their humanity, the people needed Juan Tetón's absolution for the transgression of following non-native ways. Juan Tetón draws on preconquest penitential rites, usually performed only once in a person's lifetime (Sahagún, *Historia general* 312). Penitential fasting and other austerities accompanied confession in an array of customs and rites in honor of local deities (G. Mendieta 102-104), notably Tlazoteotl and Tlaelcuani the "Eater of Foul Things" (Burkhart, *Slippery* 91-92). These beings disposed of ritual filth (Sahagún, *Florentine* 1.23-27). As part of the Christianization after the conquest, Catholic private confession became a site for the inculcation of Christian morals (Díaz Balsera, *Pyramid* 119).[74] In this instance, Tetón's confession restored one to *nepantla* with the cosmos and prepared penitents for survival beyond the end of the Fifth Sun, which he identified with the Spanish military conquest (García Garagarza 50-51). Tetón's confessional rite drew upon Nahua traditions, yet introduced a sense of apocalyptic urgency, linked with his understanding of the future as linear and contingent on present human actions. According to Tetón, the cooperation of his audience could help restore balance beyond the Fifth Sun.

These alternatives to baptism and confession were neither European nor part of preconquest Nahua practices. Rather, they were situational measures that appropriated the rhetorical and institutional powers of the conqueror, questioned Catholicism's validity for the Nahuas, and offered a form of spiritual cleansing for restoring Tetón's listeners' balance with teotl. In the end, the authorities imprisoned the native prophet and his followers (Reyes 160). Since Juan Tetón had a Christian name, he had already been baptized and could be tried under

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[74] On confession as a one of the friars' tools for constructing a Christian moral subjectivity in penitents, see Chapters Six and Seven of Díaz Balsera's *The Pyramid under the Cross* (117-46).

the Inquisition (García Garagarza 36), yet no record has been discovered of any proceedings (55 n17). The pressure of colonial inquisitorial censure, as a threat unknown to Tetón's forbearers, meant that his experience and expectations arose from circumstances distinct from theirs. The same experience led the charismatic leader to include linear writing as another means for understanding contemporary crises and preparing for uncertainties ahead.

Tetón appropriates from Catholicism the idea that ritual acts are salvific and help one avoid future destruction. The eschatological core of Tetón's message (Arias 44-45), posited a point of no return as to when listeners could act in order to ensure a propitious future. Tetón's message fell near the end of the fifty-two-year cycle of the Nahua calendar (García Garagarza 37), when humans were in danger of destruction if they could not reignite the New Fire (Soustelle 101-2). It may be that Tetón was preparing his listeners to survive in an era of cosmic and social upheaval previously unknown in the age of the Fifth Sun. The intensity of his warnings comes as no surprise: the age must continue, but rituals must adapt in order to do so. The traditional Nahua cosmovision anticipated a timeless void with no human life after the extinction of the Fifth Age (Read 85; Carrasco, *Religions* 66; León Portilla, *Aztec Thought* 61). Is it possible that Juan Tetón projected a Nahua utopian existence beyond the colonial suffering of his present cosmic age as García Garagarza has argued? His reading may find support in Tetón's message. However, based on the role Tetón attributes to human intentionality, it is clear that he does not take for granted that the future is inevitable. Thus, Juan Tetón refashioned ritual as a means to take his audience beyond a traditional conception of the Age of the Fifth Sun.

Further appropriations Tetón draws from Spanish friars including a written prophetic discourse, itinerancy in order to spread a message, and the rhetoric of apocalyptic fear. After his address to a crowd in Cohuatepec, Tetón's followers sent a written copy of his preaching to

Atlapolco (Reyes 156), which recalls the importance of geographical dissemination in evangelization projects. A journey from Cohuatepec (north of Tenochtitlan) to Atlapolco would require one to pass through the capital, which may partly explain how the scribes came into contact with this account. They have preserved this episode for future leaders and helped Juan Tetón spread his native revelations beyond his locale. This writing carries with it another common characteristics of apocalyptic discourse: the use of fear and a sense of immediacy in order to inspire religious conviction.[75] With impending destruction facing those who did not accept Juan Tetón's recommendations, the future depended on a conscientious choice.

I have explained how Tetón combined traditional Nahua washing rituals and penitential practices with the sacramental significance of Catholic ritual. It is important to remember that these appropriations do not detract from the fundamental message of his diatribe: Tetón opposed affiliation with Christianity due to its suppression of indigeneity. By bringing together a number of parodic gestures of Catholicism, Tetón's discourse tends toward the decolonization of his audience's religious imaginary. Tetón's efforts to reverse the forces of Christian conversion in his native listeners met with limited success, although five Nahua officials of various ranks did receive the ritual washing.[76] The name Tetón, "little stone," deriving from *teotl* and the pejorative ending *–ton*, has been linked to his low social status (García Garagarza 36), or in a metaphysical sense as the recalcitrant *tonalli* of his people that rejected the imposition of

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[75] For an introduction to the centrality of fear of apocalyptic writing, see Chapter Seven of Susan Pippin's *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image* (100-116).

[76] The following indigenous men were arrested with Juan Tetón: the governor of Cohuatepec, Pedro de Luna; the *alcalde* Francisco Çacayaotl; the governor of Atlapolco, Pedro Xico; and two *fiscales*, Nicolás, and Juan Tecol (Reyes 158).

Christianity (Garibay, "Temas" 160). These explanations of the Nahua prophet's name reveal key circumstances of his time and place. However, in light of his appropriations of the Catholic sacramental system, I would note the curious similarity between this "little stone" and the early Christian leader Peter (πετροσ), whose name also means "rock" (Robinson and House 281). If any parallel exists between Tetón and Peter, it would lie in the teleological thinking behind his versions of baptism and confession, rites that he repurposed for helping Nahua neophytes to reverse their recent conversions.

For Tetón, the future survival of his people depended on their de-evangelization. He draws on Nahua metaphysics, Christian ritual, and linear time as rhetorical elements to convince his audience to follow the teleological path he proposes. With an appearance that made use of what he considered the optimal elements of preconquest beliefs and Christianity, this native leader attempted to seize back religious power from the Church. Tetón offered pardon for the transgression of conversion to Christianity and reincorporation into a surviving remnant of those who followed traditional beliefs and projected their views forward as the most balanced path for years ahead. In addition to communicating this ritual teleology, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* gives information on Nahua leaders' responses to changes in the legal system under the Spanish.

***Adjudicating the Future: The Riot of Miguel Tecniuh***

On the evening of February 18, 1564, the Mexica Miguel Tecniuh entered a meeting with a group of other Nahuas of his noble rank. We recall that in October of that same year Tecniuh would help count the tribute with a group of nobles who expressed frustration at their "conquered" status (Reyes 250). The purpose of this group's visit was to pay their tribute to Luis Santa María Cipac, the native ruler of Mexico-Tenochtitlan who in turn would pay it to Spanish officials. The visit also provided an opportunity to have a frank conversation with high-ranking

Nahua authorities about the recently imposed cash levy. The governor received the tribute and explains that he and his aides have done their utmost to persuade the Spanish to lower tribute, but that their efforts have been futile. To this, Miguel Tecniuh abruptly replies:

> ca otoconcac in timexicatl in titenochcatl ynic tonmotequitiliz yn iuh oq'uimotlalli yn totlatocatzin in Magestad cuix çan nican omoyocox cuix no ceceme tlatoque nican oquitlalique ca ye ixquich cahuitl yn ticnemitia ye axcan chiquacentetl metztli yn oc nen titlacuepa aoc hueliti aocmo titlahuelcaquililo auh onehuatica yn amotlatocauh cuix aoctle amopan quichihua cuix oamexiccauh cuix oquixicauh yn icuitlapil yn iatlapal auh ye cuel iquac on ye axcan chiquacentetl meztli yn nican anquimocaquiltico auh yn axcan maximoteilhuilli yn timerimo maxiccaquilti yn motlahuilanal maximotecalpanhuilli yn nican ticmocahuilia yn meliotzin. (214)
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> [You, people from Mexico Tenochtitlan, have heard that you will pay tribute as our Lord and Majesty has decreed. Was this conceived here? Did each one of the local indigenous rulers decree it? For a while now we have negotiated, for six months now. In vain we contradicted them. It's impossible; our petition is rejected. Now your governor is present here. Does he no longer do anything for all of you? Has he neglected you? Has he abandoned his vassals? You have come here to listen to what has happened for the last six months. Now you, the *merino*,[77] tell the people; inform those who depend on you; go from house to house, you who turn in the money.]

Miguel Tecniuh, whose perspective the scribes place in the foreground, issued a battery of rhetorical questions whose answers his listeners already knew. Writing played a key role here as a way to preserve Tecniuh's dissent against his superior's lack of success in alleviating the

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[77] *Merino* was a term used to designate a Spanish-appointed governor (Corominas 368).

tribute burden. Tecniuh, as representative of the entire altepetl, became a central figure in the scribes' discourse, which in turn highlighted the indigenous crisis of authority. While elsewhere Luis Santa María Cipac was known as the last postconquest tlatoani (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 1: 175), here Miguel Tecniuh uses the Spanish name for his position, *merino*, and does not address him as a native-elected tlatoani. Here Tecniuh's speech signals a construction of noble identity and purpose for acting. Tecniuh's denunciation resonates with Mary Louise Pratt's examination of Andean petitions to the Spanish Crown in 1562 in which she highlights how these leaders used features of Spanish grammar to emphasize their collective perspective and agency ("Transculturation" 24-25). [78] Tecniuh's intentional disrespect for Cipac draws a line between those who he considers true nobles, who have maintained solidarity and their anti-tribute sentiment, and Cipac, who has been unable to successfully negotiate with the Spanish.

Tecniuh's message, which the scribes chose to include in the manuscript, had a dual purpose for the future: to denounce what nobles saw as Cipac's ineptitude, and to help future leaders avoid his pitfalls. Synthesizing several entities' concerns about the future of Nahua authority in Mexico Tenochtitlan, the scribes led their community *pro tempore* through writing. They accomplished this management of authority through the figure of Miguel Tecniuh: his use of rhetorical questions and gentilics derides Cipac's leadership abilities. Tecniuh posed three questions to the Nahua nobles assembled in the palace that articulate his doubts about the governor's capabilities: "*auh onehuatica yn amotlatocauh cuix aoctle amopan quichihua cuix oamexiccauh cuix oquixicauh yn icuitlapil yn iatlapal*" (Reyes 214). [Now your governor is

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[78] Also in her "Afterword: Indigeneity Today," Mary Louise Pratt describes the idea of the "entre nos" as a contestatory subjectivity that native leaders in the Andes developed in merit letters to the Spanish Crown.

present here. Does he no longer do anything for all of you? Has he neglected you? Has he abandoned his vassals?] Tecniuh's speech and the riot it sparks provides an affirmative answer to these questions. Having failed to arbitrate with Spaniards to lower tribute, Cipac stepped away from his people until he neglected and ultimately abandoned them. The irony of Tecniuh addressing Cipac as "Tenochca" and "Mexica" recalls the strength of the city's former rulers while questioning whether Cipac is worthy of their legacy.

This confrontation was only the beginning of the disturbance Miguel Tecniuh set in motion, which highlights the drastic shifts in the juridical culture of the city and provides instructive information on viable courses of action for Nahua leaders. After six months of lobbying in vain against the tribute, the cathartic effect of Miguel Tecniuh's tirade unleashed a riot in the governor's patio, which a crowd of commoners joined. One of the most vivid spectacles of these annals, the commotion occupies six *folios* (f25v-f27r), showing the importance the writers gave Tecniuh's speech and the later words of other Nahua bystanders:

> Auh yn iquac otzonquiz ytlatol niman ye ic neacomanallo auh in goernador oc nen quihualito matlapitzallo niman ye ic netenhuiteco tlacahuaco niman ye hualtemohuac tlatzintla netenhuiteco yhuan mochi tlacatl quito can ticuizque auh ixquich çihuatl yllamatzin in chocaque yhuan cenca quallanque auh ce tlacatl quito ytoca Huixtopolcatl Amanalco chane quito aquinon tlatohua cuix tlillancalqui cuix quauhnochtli cuix hezhuahuacatl tle mochihua tlapaltontli achac momati ylhuiz tlacauaco conitohua cuix itla quitlanitotihui yn tetecuhtin yn tlatoque yn oquipiaco altepetl. (214–17)
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> [And when he had finished talking, the people began to riot and the governor cried in vain, "Play music with flutes and wind instruments." Then the people came out from the meeting yelling and beating their mouths. They ran down to the foot of the palace yelling.

> And everyone said, “How will we handle this problem?” And the elderly women were crying and getting very angry. A man from the neighboring Amanalco called Huixtopolcatl cried, “Who [in authority] is speaking? Perhaps it is Tlilancalqui. Perhaps it is Quauhnochtli. Perhaps it is Ezhuahuacatl. What has happened to the peasantry, and what are we to think?” The people were dispersing wildly: he said, “Are the lords and rulers who care for the city going to profit from this?”]

The scribes captured a native perspective on how due process conflicted with the imposed Spanish legal system. A tlilancalqui was a lower-level judge who began a trial, while the terms quauhnochtli and ezhuahuacatl were executioners (215 n105). Huixtopolcatl, the man from the neighboring Amanalco, used terms from the Nahua’s preconquest legal system with the expectation that a trial would settle the people’s grievances. In addition to serving as a petition for justice, Huixtopolcatl’s cry foreshadows the eclipse of local Nahua leadership. Spanish officials arrive with drawn swords to disperse the crowd. The Spanish soldiers managed to restore order by threatening the crowd with bloodshed and arresting Miguel Tecniuh and nine other nobles. While the Nahua projection of the indigenous legal system onto the Spaniards failed to resolve the tribute problems leading to the riot, the scribes took a leadership role by preserving these traditional legal categories in writing. Although the tribute laws remained in force, the scribes de-centered Spanish legal authority in this native written record of the event, an effect that could reverberate among other Nahua elites who would read this section of the *Anales*. In years ahead, even with Tecniuh and the protesters dead, the account provided evidence that post-conquest ancestors did not accept Spanish policies uncritically.

The scribes’ choice of mouthpiece shifted to Huixtopolcatl, a commoner (macehual) from the town of Amanalco, northwest of the capital. The words attributed to this man reveal the

Nahua crisis of authority, and how the scribes had taken up a position of provisional leadership through their role as chroniclers of the events. Huixtopolcatl means "hawk's hatchling,"[79] and as a fledging bird of prey has future hunting prowess, he announces the demise of governor Cipac's authority. Huixtopolcatl appeared when the riot reached its fever pitch. He questioned loudly who was in charge with the Nahua idiom "*aquino tlatoah*" [Who is speaking?] (Reyes 214). This man expressed the collective distrust of the crowd of native nobles and commoners toward their titular leader. Huixtopolcatl doubted the governor's ability to rule to the point that he suggested handing Cipac over to a judge (tlilancalqui) or to executioners (quauhnochtli, ezhuahuacatl). As will become evident, Huixtopolcatl foreshadowed the demise of the highest-ranking native leader in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. However, for the time being, the Spanish authorities that intervened and imposed a curfew saved Cipac from mob retribution. The scribes announced —through their vociferous "Hawk's hatchling"— what many nobles saw as Cipac's incompetence and used their own writing to fill the gap in native authority in the city. During this crisis of native authority, even the words of commoners counted.

Given the people's unsatisfied desire to redress their grievances in their terms, I submit that this episode is a turning point that reveals a principal Nahua teleology in the text: the self-empowerment of the scribes to announce the passing of the native governor Luis Santa María Cipac's authority. In signaling the passing of Cipac, the scribes of Moyotlan also represent the actions of their protagonists, who served as narrative focal points: Miguel Tecniuh, Huixtopolcatl, and the other objecting members of the uneasy crowd. Their use of linear writing

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[79] Huixtopolcatl derives from *cuix-in*, "large bird of prey, hawk" (Kartunnen 74), and *toponia* "truena el pollito saliendo del huevo" (Kartunnen 247; Brewer and Brewer 212, 237) [cracking noise when a chick comes out of an egg].

extends the nepantla-seeking intention of the rioters ahead into unknown times. In Miguel Tecniuh's harangue of Cipac, he summarized the anti-tribute actions the Nahua nobility had taken to that point, decrying the governor's ineffective leadership. The size of the crowd that joined Tecniuh in the riot attests to the widespread native disapproval of the tribute. Sights, sounds, memories, and certainly subsequent talk of the riot all left an impression on indigenous nobles and on the scribes who formulated their interpretation of the evening's events.

Along with signaling the state of the native hierarchy, in the tribute riot of Miguel Tecniuh the scribes also saw an opportunity for reconnaissance. By documenting the circumstances from which they learned that the Spanish authorities would not recognize Nahua legal categories and procedures, these native scribes provided information on failed negotiations. This information could open up the possibility for more effective future approaches to communicating grievances. Taking for granted their right to assemble in public, the native leaders and commoners found they were no longer in their home city. Tenochca laws lost their force as the Hispanicized *Ciudad de México* overshadowed the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Even so, they forced colonial authority to reckon with the indigenous capacity for reclaiming spaces. The Spanish ended the riot and re-imposed their control over the places that the Nahua could access and the hours they could be in public. The swordsmen attempted to erase the authority of the indigenous nobles; and yet they could only displace it. These guards have aided the scribes' reconnaissance. They now saw that the city's juridical landscape had changed and that natives must seek innovative methods of mediation and negotiation with the Spanish.

Learning what would not work carried with it the call to find effective means for negotiating with and living alongside of the Spanish. The riot of Miguel Tecniuh illustrates how traditional knowledge, in the fire of experience, led natives to seek new ways to extend their

lifeways under the Spanish colonial regime. Understanding that no “pan-Indianism” bound all Nahuas into one political entity (Wood, *Transcending* 8), a number of different native responses to Spanish territorial expansionism appeared from the beginning. Whether it was the Tlaxcalans, who by joining the Spanish enjoyed in a certain sense a military victory over the Triple alliance (Lockhart, *We* 6), the Yucatán Maya who successfully defended themselves from Spanish incursions (Clendinnen, *Ambivalent* 29-32), or the apostate Francisco Tenamaztle’s strategic standoff with Spanish soldiers and the *Concilio de las Indias* (Carrillo 163-94), through the experience of colonization, Mesoamericans developed intentional teleological approaches for influencing their own futures.

Pressures from the Spanish and internal dissent among Nahua nobles jeopardized Cipac’s authority and the systematic Spanish marginalization of the native hierarchy from participation in civic governance had made Nahua legal categories inapplicable. However, the native amanuenses used the incident of the anti-tribute riot in their *Anales* to signal a consensus among the fractured Nahua hierarchy. The collective experience of the Nahua nobles and the scribes of San Juan Moyotlan had shown how writing became a way for indigenous elites to empower themselves as scribal authorities and temporary leaders. When the scribes included the arrests of Miguel Tecniuh and nine other Nahua nobles in this account, they simultaneously documented their leaders’ opposition to tribute and to the rule of Cipac, while modeling a lifeway of group cohesion as the nobles and the scribes sought new ways to apply their ancestral knowledge.

As we have seen, Tecniuh was arrested in February of 1564, yet by October of the same year he had returned to work as a tribute collector (Reyes 214-16, 250). Did the Spanish fail to adequately censure a subversive element among the Nahua elites? Did the scribes wish to show Miguel Tecniuh’s attitude of resignation to his position in order to avoid scrutiny of their

*Anales*? Would the reappearance of the arrested leader appear as a small victory? While these questions are beyond the scope of this chapter, it is clear that Tecniuh's experience of public opposition to tribute is metonymical for his noble class, who must now learn to negotiate from *within* domination (Owensby xii). The posture is neither of acquiescence nor of outright conflict, but displays a middling effect consistent with the nepantla–seeking emphasis of Nahua wisdom. Adjudicating their own future under unprecedented circumstances required Nahua nobles to formulate teleological approaches to present and future imbalances.

***Reclaiming the Future: The Return of Moteuczoma***

Narrating a way out of the Nahua leadership crisis required that the scribes of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* envisioned the future as linear, unprecedented, and malleable. In spite of the decline of governor Cipac, the scribes anticipated that the cosmos would continue adjusting toward its own equilibrium. By extension, this interpretation meant that Nahua authority would also move toward its own balance. According to the *Anales*, in May of 1565, three years after the riot of Miguel Tecniuh, the death of Cipac made his demise complete. However, rather than replace him with another native tlatoani, the scribes interpreted extraordinary cosmic events as foreshadowing the return of emperor Moteuczoma (Reyes 316-18). Given that the scribes narrate the reemergence of the deceased ruler as deposing Cipac, I submit that Moteuczoma's return in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* represents a reinterpretation of preconquest beliefs concerning the influence in the world of the abiding life force of departed ancestors. While in Chapter Two we saw that Nahuas did not believe in a post-mortem existence in which personhood is fully intact, here it will become apparent that the weight of the ancestors' presence played could still impact humans' lives. Societies throughout Mesoamerica were aware of the power of the ancestors,

Refering to Mayan societies, Patricia McAnany has called their relationship with their precursors "living with the ancestors," a concept she describes as permeating all social practices:

> Communing with deceased progenitors was not a religious experience divorced from political and economic realities (as another antiquated term 'ancestor worship,' leads us to believe); rather, it was a practice grounded in pragmatism that drew power from the past, legitimized the current state of affairs (including all the inequalities in rights and privileges), and charted a course for the future (1).

In the case of the omens of Moteuczoma's return, the Nahua writing subjects located the emperor's presence in a section of the text that followed the Julian calendar in linear time. This linear arrangement, which foresaw a future need for traditional authority, allowed Nahua nobles and Spanish authorities to perceive Moteuczoma's presence in the midst of their daily activities.

In light of the importance of the ancestors in the *Anales*, I contend that the scribes played a pivotal role in Moteuczoma's return by narrating events that bode favorably for the future of Nahua nobles in Tenochtitlan. In effect, the native writing subjects correct the nobles' future political course by describing signs that point to emperor Moteuczoma Xocoyotl's return, which would reassert the power of his dynasty. Expectations of Moteuczoma's return as an immortal and powerful version of his former self have existed since colonial times. According to surviving oral accounts in circulation in the twentieth century, Moteuczoma had penetrated the Earth and lived in a system of tunnels. From there he would reemerge when his people needed him most and restore order (López Austin, "Reyes subterráneos" 47-48). The scribes recorded this expectation just before Cipac fell to his death from his own roof, an incident that references accounts of the death of Moteuczoma. Hernán Cortés purported that when the ruler went out to the edge of his palace's rooftop to dissuade his subjects from war with the Spanish, the people

gave him mortal wounds by stoning him (*Cartas* 93). Bernal Díaz del Castillo (390-91), Francisco de Aguilar (88-90), and Bernardo Vázquez de Tapia (42-44), all gave similar details on the death of Moteuczoma. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano has contended that in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, Moteuczoma's return superseded the authority of Cipac (Ruiz, "Fighting" 45), and provided a basis for the restoration of the authority of the beleaguered Nahua nobility (71). Patricia McAnany agrees that "the ancestral presence gives power, economic clout, dignity, and social identity to descendants" (168). In light of the foregoing observations regarding the importance of Moteuczoma in the collective imaginary of the scribes and the potency of ancestors, none of the extraordinary events attributed to the former emperor would have been possible without the deliberate writing of the scribes of Moyotlan. Their writing did not move the cosmos, but their interpretation of events communicated a compelling vision of the future restoration of political balance. They drew from collective memory and the expectation that the former ruler would restore balance on their behalf.

By associating the fall of Cipac with the resurgence of Moteuczoma, the *Anales* presented teleology of political stability. The signs hailing Moteuczoma also hail the death of Luis Santa María Cipac. In turn, the last *tlatoani* passes *so that* authority may return to capable native hands. The presence of Moteuczoma becomes emblematic of group desire, given how multiple writers produced the *Anales de Juan Bautista* (Reyes 27-28; C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 642). The resurgence of Moteuczoma demonstrates how the experience of the scribes of Moyotlan led them to the conclusion that native leadership required an extraordinary surge of cosmic energy in order to regain its balance. As such, the omens manifest collective nepantla-aiming. Writing is crucial for showing how to extend native lifeways of governance into the future.

A close inspection of the omens reveals that while ostensibly reminiscent of messianism, the extraordinary natural phenomena recounted here represent the unfolding of the cosmic energy of *teotl* in a local linear temporality. As we observed in Chapter Two, the Tlatelolcan scribes who worked on book XII of the *Florentine Codex* told of portents early in 1519 as forecasting the arrival of the Spanish. Here, toward the end of the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, extraordinary events anticipate Moteuczoma's return. The scribes elaborate:

> Oy lunes a 14 de mayo de 1565 años yquac ylhuicatitech hualmonexti yuauhcoçamalotl quiyahuallotimoma in tonatiuh yhua ce quixnamic auh in tonatiuh ça tlacaltechpan yetiuh onpa yquiçayanpa yetihuitz auh yn tiquittaqueue aço ye chiuhcnahui hora auh mochitlacatl quittac yn titehuan yhuan españolesme auh yn mocahuato ye nepantla tonatiuh valmocruztecac yn tlanepantla … Auh no yquac hecamalacotl moquetz ynicpac tlaltepehualli yn iglesia mayor caltitlan yuhqui xixitomoni yhuan yuhqui matlequiquiztli ye huehuetzi ynic conittaqueue tlaca yuhqui cacamachallohua tlalli auh yn iquac ye hualtemo hecamalacotl niman quitoque in castilteca ca ye quiça yn Motecuhçoma. (Reyes 316)
>
> [Today Monday, May 14, 1565, in the sky there appeared a misty rainbow, which surrounded the sun as it rose; and another rose opposite the sun during the morning. We saw this after nine o'clock. Everyone saw it: we and the Spanish. By midday they came together in the middle [of the sky], the sun, in the shape of a cross in the middle ... A whirlwind rose from the mound of dirt next to the main church. There was a flash of lightning and a sound like great gunfire. The people saw the jaws of the earth opening. As the wind died down, the Castilians were saying that Moteuczoma was emerging.]

Sensorial impressions and descriptions of signs in the sky recall the traditional oral performance of the tlacuilo, who would interpret the meaning of natural events in the vivid colors of their codices (León-Portilla, *Filosofía* 265-66; Lockhart, *Nahuas* 335). Within a traditional frame of reference, the cosmos heralded the return of Moteuczoma; however, due to the fact that Franciscans introduced the scribes to linear writing and Christianity, the metaphors of death and resurrection were never far away (Arias 45). Western symbols coexisted with indigenous concepts, making possible a double reading—reminiscent of Lockhart's Double Mistaken Identity— but also signaling a projection of a native understanding of their relationship with the cosmos into the unknown years to come. While the vivid descriptions of sights, sounds, and colors recall the preconquest *tlacuilo* interpretation of murals and codices, it is linear writing that expresses a new vision regarding the operations of the cosmos.

By placing an oracle foretelling the return of Moteuczoma in the mouth of the Spanish, —it was the Castilians who suggested that the emperor was returning— the scribes modify their ancestral rhetoric into a discourse for molding unprecedented future circumstances. They combine that allusion to time-honored Nahua *tlacuilo* production with biblical tropes to demonstrate that Moteuczoma's reemergence was part of cosmic activity that the Spanish could not prevent. Even the Nahua's oppressors had to accept the fate that extraordinary events disclosed. It is no accident that the scribes should herald the event with double rainbow in the form of a cross. Other examples from the era that use Christian symbols to reference the native past include Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*, where the Tlatelolcan scribes' representation of the arrest, torture, and execution of Moteuczoma make of him a Christological figure, and ease the transition into Christianity (Magaloni, "Visualizing" 219-20). This notion is consistent with a preconquest cyclical scheme of time, formerly framing dynastic succession, with one era

overlapping with the next (Gillespie, *Kings* 124). It has even been suggested that a colorful painting of a rainbow in Book VII of the *Florentine Codex*, to which the pen-and-ink drawing at the beginning of Book XII may also allude (fig. 3.1), links the passing of one age and the beginning of another (Magaloni, “Painters” 75-76). As contemporary examples of Nahua cultural production, these examples from the *Florentine Codex* show one possible approach to the double rainbows as representing a non-violent manner of the passing of one cosmic cycle and the beginning of a new period, characterized by the native appropriation of Christianity.

Fig. 3.1: Rainbows from the *Florentine Codex* that may represent creation and the beginnings of a new age. Left: Bk. VII, f238v; Right: Bk. XII, f404r. (*General History*)

However, in light of the inquietude that the return of Moteuczoma causes the Spanish in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, we may question the notion of a peaceful transition. I would suggest that the scribes incorporated a symbolic crucifixion and resurrection of the *tlatoani* as a way to question Spain’s providentialist justification for imperialism and communicate optimism concerning the return of Nahua ways of ruling Tenochtitlan in years ahead. As Louise Burkhart has observed, the scribes of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz were “conversant in two cultural traditions,” and “equipped to compare and evaluate both cultures, to challenge Spanish authority on its own grounds, and to subvert its paradigms through subtle manipulations and restatements”

(*Holy Wednesday* 59). In conjunction with the European anxiety about the return of Moteuczoma, the double rainbow depicts the power of the cosmos as greater than that of the Spanish and governor Cipac. The rainbow-cross shows a union between the traditional oral descriptions of images and linear writing —a confluence of signs and meaning represented as compelling even to Moteuczoma's antagonists in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*.

The allusions to Christian symbols in this account, while commanding the attention of Spanish onlookers, form just one dimension of this narrative of future possibility for native nobles in Mexico Tenochtitlan. The scribes emphasize the middling action of the sun through its ascent and the manifestation of its energy at the midday zenith. Consequently, they emphasize the notion of nepantla, repeating the term, "*ye nepantla tonatiuh valmocruztecac y tlanepantla*" (Reyes 316) [They came together in the middle of the sky, the sun, in the shape of a cross in the middle.] Since the sun rises in the east, a crossed double rainbow would divide the city into its four calpolli sections, recalling the role of the astral body for organizing Nahua spaces and times, discussed in Chapter One. The back-and-forth movement of Four Ollin, is reminiscent of the cosmic weaving of the Sun of the Fifth Age (Maffie *Aztec* 214; *History and Mythology* 5). Based on the importance of Huitzilopochtli in the preconquest rituals of the Mexica of Tenochtitlan, it is difficult to ignore the importance that the sun receives here, particularly given that its middling discharge of energy occurs over the same location where that deity's temple stood (Matos, *Vida y muerte* 365-70). Two rainbows in this section of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* signal the passing of power away from governor Cipac, yet it is clear that the new recipients of cosmic energy were not the Spanish.

The Sun's power, as life-giving to all in Tenochtitlan, presages the return of the emperor, along with meteorological phenomena that reference further elements of the Nahua cosmovision.

After the sun's apex, the swirling movement of the sudden whirlwind recalls the spiraling malinalli motions associated with sweeping away tlazolli ritual impurity in order to make way for order and harmony (Burkhart, *Slippery* 118; Burkhart "Mexica Women" 35-36). In Chapter One I discussed the association between malinalli energy and the deity Quetzalcoatl in the traditional Nahua cosmovision. The whirlwind and its traces reveal the marks of the plumed serpent as a transformative agent in the scribal extension of native nobles' authority into the future. The account continues:

> Auh ynic mocuep onpa ytztia tlatatacco yhuan çan no onpa polihuito yn icpac tlaltepehualli yn ehecatl yhua ynic quittaque yuhqui yn itlahitic ycatia hehecatl. Auh yn iquac yauhcoçamalotl monexti ylhuicatitech quitoque yn espanolesme aço ye tlamiz in cemanauac auh cequintin quitoque aço timayanzque anoço yaoyotl topan mochivaz anoço cana ye neci yancuic tlalli, etc. (Reyes 316)
>
> [Coming back, [the whirlwind] came to the place where the hole was made in the ground, and there the wind dissipated over the mound of dirt. They saw that inside of the hole, there stood Ehecatl. When the misty rainbow appeared in the sky, the Spanish said that perhaps the world was coming to an end. Others said that perhaps a famine was coming or war was upon us, or that somewhere new earth was appearing, etc.]

The hole in the ground next to the church becomes a significant location for the appearance of Ehecatl, an avatar of Quetzalcoatl (Thurmond and Brown 260; Aguilar-Moreno 148), associated with the wind, creative processes, and life in general (Graulich, "Quetzalcoatl-Ehecatl" 34; López Austin, *Myths* 126). In the *Histoire du Mexique*, Quetzalcoatl helps Tezcatlipoca revive the earth at the beginning of the Fifth Sun. In the same volume, Quetzalcoatl travels into Mictlan to collect the bones of humans from the preceding four ages in order to fashion the fifth

humanity. Here in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, Ehecatl again has emerged from the earth, which the wind has swept clean and the sun has begun to illuminate with a fresh light. The depth of these traditional references in the text indicates the scribes' intentions to restore order through their writing: a Nahua teleology of cosmic-political order.

The traditional associations of Quetzalcoatl with the occupation of the tlacuilo, the presence of Ehecatl, and the medium of linear writing indicate a crucial role for the colonial Nahua scribes of Moyotlan for guiding the Nahua nobles from disarray toward *nepantla*. The scribes recorded the unrest that resulted from Luis Santa María Cipac's failed tribute negotiations with the Spanish. As the riot in Cipac's patio demonstrated, disgruntled native nobles and commoners no longer had recourse to their ancestral legal system. These limitations placed the scribes in a position to marshal their efforts to read the movements of sacred cosmic energy (teotl) manifested in solar and meteorological events that heralded a change in authority, which neither the Spanish nor the Nahuas could hinder. While one could consider this narrative exercise of the scribes a "*teotl ex machina*" technique, the passing of authority from Cipac to Moteuczoma through the agency of the scribes disclosed their teleological thinking. Through a representation of a balancing effect in the cosmos on the behalf of the Nahua nobility, the scribes offered a cathartic retelling of events and anticipated a future order that undermined imperial Spanish goals.

In the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, the scribes' empowerment through writing led them to act for the future vindication and reunification of the disintegrating Nahua nobility. Rather than resigning themselves to Spanish authority, the native authors gave preference to their imaginary of Moteuczoma's return. The Spanish continued to exercise greater control over their lives in the colonial present. However, they could depict a future in which Moteuczoma would return and

correct the course of the native hierarchy. Hence, the prolonged Spanish occupation of the city aroused the memory of the former emperor from a subterranean existence and the scribes were able to interpret the manifestations of his reappearance. They appropriated elements of Christianity's resurrection narratives to emphasize their reading of the ruler's return. Yet ultimately the amanuenses' rhetoric relied on traditional cosmology made manifest in representations of ollin movement in the sun and rainbows and malinalli action at work in the whirlwind and in references to Quetzalcoatl and his avatar Ehecatl. The symbolic code the scribes developed extends the traditional patronage of Quetzalcoatl from the *tlacuiloque* to their own writing activities in Moyotlan. By associating themselves with Quetzalcoatl's cosmic processes and Moteuczoma's reemergence, the native scribes' produced writing capable of transmitting malinalli energy. The scribes learned to take the reins when Spanish administrators would neither lower tribute nor recognize the traditional native hierarchy. The anticipation of Moteuczoma's return linked traditional beliefs with a political teleology that went beyond the possibilities of the Nahua elites, whose petitions the Spanish had disregarded.

***Conclusions: Scribal Agency in Moyotlan***

In this chapter, I have examined Nahua teleologies recorded in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* as they arose in response to the religious, economic, and political crises the native elites faced in mid-sixteenth-century Mexico-Tenochtitlan. It is important to remember that Nahuas did not divide their experience into the categories just mentioned, but considered all lived experience as various manifestations of teotl. In the political arena, the conflicts among Nahua nobles stemming from the introduction of monetary tribute facilitated Spanish control. Widespread uncertainty about the future allowed the scribes to use writing in order to project native leaders' goals for balanced living into the years to come. Such is the case with the eschatological message

of Juan Tetón, Miguel Tecniuh's tribute riot, and expectations of Moteuczoma's return. Bearing in mind that path-keeping requires sustained will and action (Woodfield 161), Nahuas had to seek new ways to take their lifeways further (Maffie, "Double" 77-78). I have argued that the scribes of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* faced the challenging task of furthering their traditions into a future, which they increasingly conceived of as unknown, contingent on their present actions, and linear. This daunting task of cultural negotiation, I further claim, was possible because of the presence of the ancestors, as a collective imaginary that the scribes constructed and summoned through their writing. Pen and paper became tools for preserving a record of teleological intentions and problem solving for future Nahuas. As Rocío Cortés has observed, "writing and written materials was one of the most powerful tools of colonization in Indo-America [and] the vehicle for different types of negotiations and creativity" (Cortés, "Colegio" 103). Here, through writing, Nahua leaders and scribes incrementally adopted and adapted Western beliefs and practices, allowing time and usage to inform their goals and strategies for the future. They accommodated to ecclesiastic authority and the Spanish administration to a certain degree. However, they retained their affiliation with their ancestors, the landscape, and the traditional metaphysical implications of the tlacuilo occupation.

When native leadership and clerical alliances failed to improve conditions and resolve profound questions of meaning for the Nahuas, the scribes took charge, as illustrated in the three episodes from the *Anales de Juan Bautista* examined here. Juan Tetón's speech sought to restore reverence for the land and ancestral beliefs. The anti-tribute protest of Miguel Tecniuh confronted Spanish authorities' denial of the Nahua nobility's legitimacy and provided a means for discussing how native elites could effectively interact with imperial agents. Furthermore, the text's allusions to the return of the emperor Moteuczoma show that the native scribes' self-

empowerment was not trapped in the past, but looked forward to a point of resolution. The scribes of *Anales de Juan Bautista* wrote in the midst of a crisis of authority among Nahua elites and conveyed their teleologies: *nepantla*-seeking strategies in linear writing, which drew from their colonial experience and prepared readers for unknown times ahead.

The future of native lifeways in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* comes to the fore in the scribes' selections of content that reflected their *nepantla*-aiming intentions in balance with the unpredictability of their colonial experience. Linear writing —which friars and agents of the Crown used as a tool of colonization— mitigated this crisis and became a means for weighing and evaluating native and European ideas while drawing attention neither from the Inquisition, nor from Spanish civil authorities (Cortés, "Colegio" 90). In this atmosphere —and given the collaborative composition and editing of the text— no single Nahua teleology gained overarching prominence in the *Anales*. Yet the scribes did project Nahua elites' lifeways into the future, including native agriculture, the importance of rituals, an understanding of traditional Nahua juridical processes, and the continued presence of Moteuczoma's power to aid the nobles.

The scribes' inclusion of Juan Tetón's uprising illustrates the Nahua elite's desire for greater participation in religious leadership, and their anxieties about Christianization. Here, the writers weighed and examined Mesoamerican and European ideas about the future. Although Tetón was a commoner, his role as a public figure thrusts him into the center of a narrative that critically engages the Franciscans' evangelization efforts in the areas surrounding Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Tetón reiterated Nahua reverence for the landscape and traditional agricultural practices and borrowed from what he considered the most effective elements of Christian ritual. The idea that Spanish farm animals were responsible for ravaging native crops and for the disappearance of the people offers an explanation of population decline and the marginalization

of traditional agriculture. Christianity was problematic to Tetón—and possibly to the scribes—because of its inattention to the wisdom of the ancestors. Whether by design or not, the scribes fulfill a function similar to their tlacuiloque predecessors who communicated the teachings of the tlamatinime. By explaining in detail Tetón's views, they make it possible for other readers to identify with his message. Juan Tetón, like other Nahua public figures, anticipated future conditions given their experience, and their actions aimed at extending ancestral lifeways.

Nahua elites used available means to fight for equitable tribute, from negotiations with the Spanish, to clerical advocacy, to outright protest. While their efforts to reduce tribute were by-and-large unsuccessful, in terms of documenting information for coming generations, their struggles where not entirely in vain. As Camilla Townsend has pointed out, "the community leaders wanted posterity to understand that they did everything within their power to defend the altepetl" ("Glimpsing" 642). We have observed how the riot of Miguel Tecniuh shows success as an act of reconnaissance despite achieving no advance for the anti-tribute cause. These native elites demonstrated through recounting his confrontation that the Spanish now respected neither indigenous legal claims nor native ethnic and demonymic distinctions. Thereby they gained further information on how to avoid ineffectual engagements with the Spanish. The fate of one native noble who was ineffectual at negotiating with the Spanish, Luis Santa María Cipac, further demonstrated the need to find innovative means for coping with the colonial administration. Within their lifetimes, the scribes of Moyotlan had to work in a tension-filled environment with multiple loyalties: they were responsible for collecting tribute yet also were steadfast in their traditional affiliation to the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Between these two cultural influences that vied for their allegiance, they sought a middle path.

Agency through writing, although not removing obstacles from in front of the Nahuas, did provide a report for subsequent leaders to draw from as an action-guide for an unpredictable future. The Nahua nobles' contradiction of the Spanish authorities proved generative of innovative approaches to the future. In their speaking against colonial law, they began to describe native visions of the future with less burdensome tribute requirements, indigenous participation in religious leadership, and a belief in Moteuczoma's revitalized presence, auguring well for the viability of the native nobles. By preserving their own understanding of contemporary events in linear writing, they left messages for future readers, who would be able to evoke the presence of an entire community by way of their memories. Drawing from the presence of ancestral knowledge would retain its value, even if the years ahead proved radically different from received traditions.

# Chapter Four:

# "We Will Go on Telling of Them": Nahua Teleologies of Education in the *Crónica mexicayotl*

On August 13, 1521, Cuauhtemoc, the last preconquest emperor (*tlatoani*) of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, surrendered to Hernán Cortés. Their fierce battle ended among the smoking ruins of the monarch's alma mater: the calmecac of Tlatelolco, a traditional school for Nahua nobles. [80] Cuauhtemoc remained a prisoner of Cortés for nearly four more years. Early in 1525, Cortés forced Cuauhtemoc and other nobles from areas surrounding Mexico-Tenochtitlan to participate in a military campaign to conquer a region known as Huey Mollan, modern-day Honduras and Nicaragua. The Crónica mexicayotl relates that *en route*, one Coztemexi, a malicious resident of Tlatelolco reported to Cortés that Cuauhtemoc and Tetlepanquetzatzin, the ruler of Tlacopan, were planning a new attack against the Spanish.[81] Upon hearing Coztemexi's denunciation, Cortés ordered Cuauhtemoc and Tetlepanquetzatzin baptized then hanged them from a ceiba tree. This execution, in February of 1525 appears in a number of chronicles and signals the passing of the last preconquest ruler of Mexico Tenochtitlan. The hanging took place in

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[80] Enrique García Escamilla provides an explanation of how this event serves as a reference point for comparing dates from the Mexica and Julian calendars (15-17).

[81] See Matthew Restall's comparison of the accounts of Cortés, Bernal de Diaz, and López de Gómara with those of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and the Chontal Maya (148-53). See also Heather Allen's dissertation, especially Chapter Three on the role of legal mediation that Cortés attributes to Coztemexi in his letters, in López de Gómara and in Ixtlilxochitl (156-203).

Itzamkamac in Guatemala, according to Hernán Cortés and López de Gómara.[82] With the surrender of Cuauhtemoc in Tlatelolco, Hernán Cortés and company symbolically destroyed traditional education. By burning the calmecac the emperor had attended, the Spanish made an insidious strike at Nahua culture. The imposition of the colonial administration and ecclesiastical institutions would mean the loss of the knowledge that nobles had traditionally passed on to younger generations. In 1536, fifteen years after Cuauhtemoc's surrender, laying foundations on top of the same calmecac Cortés had leveled, the Franciscans built a church and inaugurated another institution of higher learning for native nobles: the Colegio Imperial de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco.[83] We cannot know what thoughts ran through emperor Cuauhtemoc's mind as the Spanish soldiers led him out of the ruined calmecac. However, by taking away the head of Mexica government and destroying the house of learning he had attended, the Spanish inaugurated the beginning of pervasive uncertainty in the education of Mexica nobles.

Ambivalence surrounds Tlatelolco in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, a text dating to 1609, some eighty-eight years after Cuauhtemoc's surrender. A unique element in the *Crónica mexicayotl*'s account is the place of origin of Coztemexi, the informant who denounced Cuauhtemoc. Compared with other accounts of Cuauhtemoc's hanging —including those of Hernán Cortés (*Letters* 367), Francisco López de Gómara (*Historia* 335-36), Bernal Díaz del Castillo (490),

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[82] As the *Anales de Juan Bautista* and the *Crónica mexicayotl* attest, native rulers with the title tlatoani continued in power in Mexico-Tenochtitlan until the death of Luis Santa María Cipac.

[83] Bernardino de Sahagún in his *Historia General* lists seven *calmecacs* in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc lists ten in his *Crónica mexicana* (1598). For a survey of the *calmecac's* role and that of the *telpochcalli* —a house of instruction in the arts of war— see Edward Calnek's "The *Calmecac* and *Telpochcalli* in Preconquest Tenochtitlan".

Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras* 1: 451), Chimalpahin (*Annales* 205-7), and a Chontal Maya version (Restall, *Maya* 62-64)— the *Crónica mexicayotl* is the only version that represents Coxtemexi as a Tlatelolcan.[84] Thus, in the Crónica mexicayotl, Tlatelolco is a place with connotations of destruction and betrayal. However, regeneration and preservation of native knowledge also emanate from the site of the former calmecac of Tlatelolco. From there intellectual networks would form in the Colegio de la Santa Cruz making possible the renowned writings on Nahua ancestral knowledge including the *Florentine Codex*, which we examined in Chapter Two.[85] The Franciscans' choice of where to build their school comes with little surprise. As a member of the same order, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga wrote a letter to the Crown requesting a royal edict and the funds to establish the Colegio. Zumárraga's choice of Tlatelolco as the site of a school for the formation of native elites underscored his desire to link the former calmecac and traditional Nahua education with the Franciscan vision of an idyllic native Christian community ("Carta de Zumárraga" 165-75). However, the bishop's coupling of catechesis and the memory of the calmecac left room for alternative native-initiated interpretations of the Franciscan Colegio.

This chapter focuses on the *Crónica mexicayotl*, a text that responds to the postconquest legacy of ancestral Nahua education, Franciscan education, and the colonial administration by

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[84] Bernal Díaz del Castillo does not attribute the denunciation to Coztemexi, but to the native nobles Tapia y Juan Velázquez. In the Chontal Maya account, the local ruler Paxbolonacha informed Cortés of Cuauhtemoc's intentions.

[85] For an overview of the texts produced in the Colegio, see Rocío Cortés's "The Colegio Imperial de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco and Its Aftermath," especially the section "The Colegio's Students and Textual Production" (89-92).

producing a text with Mexica-centered didactic content. Cuauhtemoc's surrender set events in motion that jeopardized the Mexica elites' ability to transfer their wisdom to younger generations. Soon Nahua nobles no longer regulated the erudite use of their language (Yannakakis, "Introduction" 669). The calmecac also had helped maintain noble status; however, after decades under the Spanish, it became difficult to justify the existence of an elite class without the specialized training that native institution had provided (Romero, *Privilegios* 31). The foregoing description of Cuauhtemoc's surrender and subsequent killing and the construction of the Franciscan Colegio where his calmecac had stood raises a number of fascinating questions. With such a memory in the Mexica community, were there any native-initiated responses to Spanish efforts to eradicate traditional indigenous education? Against the backdrop of the proselytization goals of the Church, and the economic goals of the imperial state, how could native leaders use education as a counter-discourse? How could Nahuas' teaching promote the continuation of ancestral ways into an unknown future? Even if they could not rebuild the toppled walls of the calmecac and other native schools, what tools of resistance and negotiation did linear writing offer them?

In this chapter, I argue that the *Crónica mexicayotl* communicates a teleological stance with regard to education by applying *nepantla* to imbalances in the formation of Mexica elites. Two interdependent Mexica objectives emerge from the text. As we shall see, the *Crónica mexicayotl* promotes unity among the fragmenting enclave of Mexica elites. The text also proposes occupations in mediatorial roles between Nahuas and the Spanish.[86] When Mexica

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[86] References to mediatorial occupations, including interpreters, notaries and scribes, abound in legal documents that Nahuas wrote in their language to address their communities' concerns during the colonial period (Yannakakis, *Art of Being* 136-37; Haskett, *Indigenous* 34,183). See

leaders were able to reconcile, their knowledge of Nahua and Spanish culture would benefit native communities, the Spanish, and the mediators themselves.

The chapter's organization follows the main content divisions of the *Crónica mexicayotl*. The first section of the text deals with foundational narratives in Mexica history and communicates a pedagogy of unity. By tracing the foundational narratives in the first part of the *Crónica*, I demonstrate how uniting the increasingly marginalized members of the Mexica nobles was paramount to Tezozomoc's didactic focus. In the wilderness between Aztlan and Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the deity Huitzilopochtli becomes the group's primary tutor and a representation of the prevalence of traditional pantheism in their cosmovision at the end of the sixteenth century. The influence of Christianity also enters the text via glosses that cast traditional Nahua beliefs in a negative light. However, as we shall see, the application of the glosses is inconsistent, and brings to the fore the traditional pantheism underlying key narratives. Encounters with Huitzilopochtli are crucial for understanding the emergence of the Mexica from Chicomoztoc (the seven caves) and their overland journey to Mexico-Tenochtitlan to an island in Lake Texcoco. Huitzilopochtli's role as the Nahuas' primary tutor and the cosmological founder of the Moteuczoma rulers remains intact in spite of Christianizing glosses. Stories of how the Mexica rose in regional political influence also take into account their historical rivalry with Tlatelolco.

The second part of my analysis concerns the remaining section of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, which is devoted to genealogies of Mexica rulers, particularly the house of

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also Boyer and Spurling's *Colonial Lives* for legal texts in Nahuatl from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Nahuas in mediatorial occupations likely contributed to an increase in Spanish loanwords in Nahuatl from 1540-1640, an effect that Karttunen and Lockhart examine in *Nahuatl in the Middle Years*.

Moteuczoma. These family trees reiterate the importance of mediation between deities and the people before the conquest. After the conquest, new ways of mediation emerge as native intellectuals —prominently Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and Antonio Valeriano— model how Nahuas' learning and writing could prove mutually beneficial to natives and the Spanish. Embodying a range of noble and common heritage, Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and Valeriano illustrate how reading and writing increased in importance as cultural capital for native elites over time.[87] As Yanna Yannakakis has noted, "Native intermediaries mediated native interests and brokered regional alliances and local political conflicts whose roots were often hidden from Spanish view" (*Art of Being* 57). Since the Spanish could not see all of their activities, colonial indigenous mediators tended to negotiate in ways that benefitted themselves, native communities, and the Spanish. In the conclusions, I consider how the didactic messages encouraging unity and mediation in the *Crónica mexicayotl* would provide a basis not merely for cultural survival, but for a cogent approach to thriving in an unknown linear future.

This chapter also offers insight into the effects of the decline of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco from an indigenous perspective. I will demonstrate that the pedagogical emphasis of the *Crónica mexicayotl* comes partially as a response to the decline of the Colegio, which we recall was inaugurated in 1536 and waned in the 1570s (Aguilar-Moreno 285-86; SliverMoon 35-59).[88] During its heyday, the Colegio offered a place for native elites to study a liberal arts curriculum (Cortés, "Colegio" 90; Zepeda 89). There Nahua aides also participated in

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[87] Cultural capital here refers to Pierre Bourdieu's emphasis on the fluid relationship of educated persons to hegemonic centers: agents may work to influence their social status through strategic deployments of knowledge and credentials they have gained from education and experience (73).

[88] By the 1570s the Colegio had become a *de facto* primary school (Zepeda 101).

research to help the friars gain knowledge about Nahua culture, albeit as a means to monitor and discourage traditional beliefs (Nesvig, *Local* 78; Baudot, *Utopia* 232). The Mexica nobility splintered as pressures from Spanish administrators pushed them to the fringes of the city (Gruzinski and Watchel 240). As I will demonstrate, the effects of Tlatelolcan narratives regarding the history of Mexica nobles similarly threatened to divide them. Faced with that fragmentation, the *Crónica mexicayotl* aimed to consolidate Mexica nobles by recalling their shared origins and history prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

The text's lessons on unity interlock with its vision of natives in mediatorial roles in colonial society. Briefly considering the text alongside of other didactic writing in Mexico-Tenochtitlan will make it clear that the *Crónica mexicayotl* had an ethos of empowerment, particularly for Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc and Mexicas related to the Moteuczoma rulers. It is centered on the Mexica cosmovision and conveyed native teleological thinking in a manner distinct from other didactic texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As shall be explained, ecclesiastic and imperial educational projects tended toward dissuading native audiences from traditional beliefs and practices. Similarly, post-collegian writers of mixed ancestry, such as Fernando Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Diego Muñoz de Camargo, and Juan Bautista Pomar, tended toward elaborate descriptions of the native past, while dissociating their own beliefs and practices from their native ancestors. It is also important to note that the didactic role of the *Crónica mexicayotl* draws from important sources from the colonial era, most notably the *Crónica X*, which various agents (ecclesiastic, imperial, and native) interpreted for their own

ends.[89] Informed by a valuation of the traditional Nahua cosmovision, the *Crónica mexicayotl* directed elites toward occupations as intermediaries between the Nahua and Spanish hierarchies.

A native rhetoric emerges aimed at convincing Mexica nobles to unite and work as mediators in order to promote the economic and cultural viability of indigenous elites. Examples of balanced living from the Mexica past and their colonial present provide ways to ensure the continued Nahua mediation of knowledge in the colonial period, particularly through the careers of Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and Antonio Valeriano, a graduate from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz. The Spanish burned, demolished, and neglected places of higher learning for natives. Even so, the *Crónica mexicayotl* could circulate as a portable calmecac.

Teleological explanations are at the center of the *Crónica mexicayotl.* The text is rooted in their cosmovision as it transmits ancestral knowledge, reinterpreted for the demands of the colonial present and in anticipation of an unknown future. As a present experience for Tezozomoc, ancestral wisdom and genealogies offered a basis for extending native lifeways into

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[89] Similarities between Juan de Tovar's *Códice Ramírez* (*Origen de los mexicanos*), José de Acosta's *Historia natural de las indias,* Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana*, and the *Crónica mexicayotl* signal their mutual dependence on a lost source, which Robert Barlow named the *Crónica X*. Barlow's article "La crónica 'X,'" and George Colston's dissertation (48-66) were the first articulations of the possible content of the Crónica X. Chapter Three of Sallie Craven Brennen's dissertation compares twelve sources, sharing content with the missing source and referencing events in Tezozomoc's writing (43-82). Peperstraete and Kendrick have offered hypotheses on the authorship of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, which also shed light on the content of the *Crónica X* (331-38).

years ahead. In the first folios he expressed the vivacity of his ancestors' knowledge that informs his call to future generations:

> yn oc ompa titztihui ayc polihuiz ayc ylcahuiz mochipa ticpiezque in tehuantin yn titepilhuan yn titeyxhuihuan yn titeteyccatotonhuan yn titemintotonhuan yn titepiptotonhuan yn titechichicahuan, yn titetlapallohuan yn titeheçohuan quitotihui quiteneuatihui yhuan yn oc yollizque yn tlacatizque yn mexica tepilhuan yn tenochca tepilhuan. (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 18v)
>
> [They will never perish, will never be forgotten; we shall always guard them, we sons, grandsons, younger brothers, great-great-grandchildren, great-grandchildren, we, their descendants, their offspring; and those children of the Mexica, those children of the Tenochca yet to live, yet to be born, will go on telling of them, will go on celebrating them]. (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 1: 61)

By educating Mexica nobles about their mythic past and encouraging their unity as they continued forward, the *Crónica mexicayotl* engaged the challenges resulting from the Spanish dismantling of traditional Mexica houses of study. The emblematic surrender of Cuauhtemoc at the *calmecac* of Tlatelolco left its marks on Mexica memory. However, as I will show, in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, this event forms part of Tezozomoc's use of writing in order to develop path-extending approaches to education.

### ***Who Wrote the Crónica mexicayotl?***

Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc's call for unity and desire to extend his forbearers' knowledge into the future speaks to his position between native and Spanish hierarchies. He was the maternal grandson of Moteuczoma Xocoyotl and the paternal grandson of Tezozomoc, *tlatoani* of Azcatpotzalco prior to the conquest. The Spanish language of his aforementioned

*Crónica mexicana* made it a text more apropos for an audience of Spanish colonial administrators to whom he wished to demonstrate his family's merit (Aguilar-Moreno 287). The *Crónica mexicayotl* is in Nahuatl, which suggests an audience of Mexica elites related to the Moteuczoma rulers, whose privileges in colonial society were vanishing by beginning of the seventeenth century (Romero, *Privilegios* 89). Tezozomoc's position made him aware of the threats that Spanish power posed to his culture and prepared him to write in order to preserve it and offer his own professional activities as examples of innovative strategies for mediating between worlds. In keeping with Nahua civic organization and the importance of allegiance to one's altepetl, the *Crónica mexicayotl* promotes Mexica loyalty to Tenochtitlan.[90] Tezozomoc's reliance on his royal lineage to support his historical claims in the introduction exalts the perspective of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Cortés, "Colegio" 98).[91] Rich with the echoes of

[90] Camilla Townsend's *Here in This Year* examines the writing of the seventeenth-century Tlaxcalan annalist Juan Buenaventura de Zapata y Mendoza, who produced a set of annals comparable to the *Crónica mexicayotl*. See also Kelly McDonough's examination of Buenaventura de Zapata y Mendoza (63-82). In this dissertation, the *Anales de Juan Bautista* in Chapter Two serve as another example of how the xiuhpohualli yearly account genre continued into the colonial era.

[91] Sallie Craven Brennen has noted that the perspective of the *Crónica mexicayolt* is based on the *Crónica X*, but tailored to the specific view of the Tenochca *altepetl* (181).

preconquest noble oratory (Lockhart *Nahuas* 390), the text's post-conquest genealogies also pay homage to the Moteuczoma family at the turn of the seventeenth century (Brennen 37).[92]

Tezozomoc's interest in the past of his altepetl led him to amass a number of anonymously authored documents to which he referred when writing first the *Crónica mexicana*, and later the *Crónica mexicayotl*, his last and only Nahuatl-language historiographical text (Cortés, *Nahuatlato* 25-26). His work as an interpreter and scribe in a land dispute case in Huauhquilpan, an altepetl northeast of Tenochtitlan, shows his achievements as a mediator in negotiations for the restoration of his family's land. The document related to this case, the *Tlalamatl Huauhquilpan* contains an artistic portrait of Tezozomoc (fig. 4.1). Tezozomoc was of the second generation of his family adept at the use of the Roman alphabet to write in Spanish and Nahuatl, since his father Huanitzin knew Pedro de Gante and probably attended the *Escuela de San José de los naturales*.[93] In my view, Tezozomoc's knowledge of the Mexica past, his pedigree among the Mexicas, his work as an interpreter, and his skill with linear writing became basic tools for his didactic project that would become the *Crónica mexicayotl*. Since the *Crónica's* introduction dates it to 1609, it reflects the life experience of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc of over seven decades of the marginalization of Mexica nobles during cultural transformation and Hispanization in Tenochtitlan, assuming he was born around 1538 (Romero

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[92] Chimalpahin likely copied the lineage of Tezozomoc's mother Doña Francisca, granddaughter of Moteuczoma Xocoyotl, into the *Crónica mexicayotl* from another identified document (Cortés, *Nahuatlato* 26).

[93] It is possible that Tezozomoc acquired linear writing via his household's relationship to Pedro de Gante and the *Escuela de San José*. Tezozomoc's father supervised a painting in 1539 under de Gante's auspices (S. Muñoz 134-40; Estrado de Gerlero 80).

87).[94] The material that Tezozomoc produced for the *Crónica mexicayotl* connected preconquest memory with the networks of native intellectuals in Mexico-Tenochtitlan after the decline of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco.

Fig. 4.1: The Hispanicized portrait of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc in the *Tlalamatl Huauhquilpan*.

Another native writing subject with considerable influence on the *Crónica mexicayotl* as we know it today was Chimalpahin of Chalco-Amequemecan, the region's most prolific native writer after the decline of the Franciscan Colegio in Tlatelolco. No image of Chimalpahin has been uncovered. However, we know that he worked as a sacristan and scribe in the church of San Antonio de Abad. Christianity was central to Chimalpahin's subjectivity, as his other writings indicate (Schroeder, "Truth" 234). Chimalpahin displayed loyalties to the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan where he resided, and to Chalco-Amequemecan, where he was born (Schroeder,

[94] The estimate that Tezozomoc was about 70 when he wrote the opening of the *Crónica mexicayotl* is based his mention of the construction of the Churubusco-Tenochtitlan aqueduct as taking place in 1470, 128 years before he wrote the introduction to the *Crónica mexicana* in 1598 (177); and on the date Chimalpahin gives for the installation of Tezozomoc's father Huanitzin as governor of Tenochtitlan in 1538 (*Annales de Domingo* 237).

*Chimalpahin and the Kingdom* xv-xvii). Baptized as Domingo Francisco, his family's peripheral position in the hierarchy of Chalco-Amequemecan made Chimalpahin a macehual (commoner) in practical terms (7). After moving to Mexico City and working at the church of San Antonio de Abad, he began to use a name that recalled his distant noble relations in Chalco and his Christianity: Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (*Annals of His Time* 3). Chimalpahin identifies himself at various times in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, and mentions Chalcan documents he used to verify or correct dates in the text. Chimalpahin's additions often weigh events in Mexica history against accounts from his home altepetl of Chalco Amequemecan. For example, using the Chalcan calendar, he corrects the date the Mexicas invaded Chapultepec from 1295 to 1299 (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 1: 91). He also checks the accuracy of Mexica registers of nobles who governed Tenochtitlan with sources on the rules of Chalco at the close of the thirteenth century (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 1: 157). As Sallie Craven Brennen has observed that Chimalpahin's interventions also had the end of reinterpreting the accounts of the *Crónica mexicayotl* in light of his Christianity (187). Though likely not a close associate of Tezozomoc, he did know who the Mexica noble was.[95] Both Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin were part of a native network that exchanged texts and ideas in Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Schroeder, Introduction 7). As we shall see, the importance of Chimalpahin as an annalist and copyist is central to understanding the at times conflictive educational teleologies in the *Crónica mexicayotl*.

[95] On March 15, 1600 Chimalpahin saw Tezozomoc impersonate emperor Moteuczoma Xocoyotl in a farce presented in the open air and sponsored by the Spaniard curiously named Juan de Cano Moteuczoma (Chimalpahin, *Annals* 67).

From my perspective, Tezozomoc provided the majority of the material for the *Crónica mexicayotl*, and Chimalpahin, a later copyist, added Christianizing glosses and other commentary. A number of considerations of how Tezozomoc positioned himself as Mexica, and distanced from the Spanish, the Tlatelolcans, and other altepeme (pl.) motivate my view. The *Crónica mexicayotl's* message is framed as a counter discourse to Tlatelolcan versions of Mexica history, as discussed further in this chapter. For that reason, Tezozomoc claims that the accounts he has gathered do not belong to Tlatelolco, but to the Tenochca nobles. "Auh ynin tlahtolli Tenochtitlan pielli. y noncan omotlahtocatlilloco yn izquintin yn huehueyntin. in tlaçohuehuetque yn tenochca teteuhctin. yn tenochca tlahtoque. Reyesme. Auh yn tlatilolco ayc ompa ticuililozque ca nel amo ynpiel mochiuhtiuh" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 18v). [And Tenochtitlan was the repository of these accounts when all the great ones, the highborn ancient ones, the Tenochca lords, rulers, kings, were installed as rulers. And as for Tlatelolco: never will [these accounts] be taken from us, for truly they were not only in the [Tlatelolca's] keeping] (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 61-63). Recalling that the *Crónica mexicayotl* is the only native-produced colonial text to situate Cuauhtemoc's surrender in Tlatelolco—and that a Tlatelolcan, Coztemexi, later betrays the Mexica ruler before his execution—reinforces the notion of writing against the perspective of the altepetl to the north of Tenochtitlan. Of the identified contributors to the *Crónica mexicayotl*, Tezozomoc, a member of the noble class, would have motives for writing a Tenochca reply to Tlatelolca-centric historiography.[96] Besides, Chimalpahin's editorial interventions do not erase the traditional metaphysics underlying the text, as I demonstrate in this

[96] Texts written at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco that highlight the perspective of that *altepetl* include Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* (Lockhart, *We People* 27-36) and the *Annals of Tlatelolco* (37-42).

chapter. Underlying the *Crónica mexicayotl* is a traditional monist view consistent with Tezozomoc's interpretation of Christianity.[97] Accordingly, Chimalpahin's Christianizing glosses likely came after the initial material that Tezozomoc provided, since they reflect what James Lockhart has called Stage Two of Nahuatl's interaction with Spaniards, when speakers of the indigenous language began borrowing nouns directly from Spanish (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 261). Given the importance that Chimalpahin placed on his Christianity, it comes as no surprise that he should attempt to baptize narratives of the history of the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, where he resided and worked for most of his life.

Other scholars emphasize the fundamental role of Tezozomoc in the *Crónica mexicayotl* as well. While the oldest manuscript copy is in Chimalpahin's hand, *Crónica X* Studies have shed light on material that, when viewed as contributions from Tezozomoc, appears cohesive and proper to the context. Sylvie Peperstraete has proposed that Tezozomoc penned a lost original of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, which Chimalpahin "copied, amended, and reused" (Peperstraete and Kruell 331-33). Gabriel Kendrick Kruell supports the primary role of Tezozomoc in two phases. He holds that Tezozomoc wrote an early version of the *Crónica mexicayotl* before 1581, which

[97] José Rubín Romero Galvan has discussed of how Chimalpahin subsumes Nahua history within the universalizing and linear biblical view of time. On the difference between Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin's view of Christianity, Sallie Craven Brennen has noted that "[b]oth men claim to be Christian. Tezozomoc, however, brings Christianity into a Mesoamerican idiom, while Chimalpahin sets his indigenous account into a Christian context" (98-99).

was in fact the famous *Crónica X*.[98] He later translated the *Crónica X* into Spanish as the *Crónica mexicana* in 1598, and revised it with a new introduction in 1609 (335-36). In both of these explanations, what is already known about the *Crónica X* demonstrates how only a member of the Mexica elite, such as Tezozomoc, would have had the particular position that granted access to the diverse sources of the *Crónica X*, many of which were of preconquest vintage. As such, the idea of the central importance of Tezozomoc in the text remains compelling.[99] These lines of investigation lend further support to my notion of writing as part of a teleological approach to extending traditional education into the future. Mexica elites like Tezozomoc were no doubt especially concerned about preserving traditional knowledge in a compendium that would help mitigate the destruction of the calmecac and other preconquest educational centers.

An emphasis on Tezozomoc's role, convincing to a number of scholars, nonetheless remains a topic of debate. Susan Schroeder's focus on the role of Chimalpahin has succeeded in increasing scholars' attention to his manuscript of the *Crónica mexicayotl*. She, Arthur J.O. Anderson, and Wayne Ruwet have demonstrated that Chimalpahin's copy is the oldest known.[100]

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[98] For an expanded explanation of Kruell's hypothesis, see, "La *Crónica mexicayotl*: Versiones coloniales de una tradición histórica mexica tenochca." Sylvie Peperstraete also emphasizes Tezozomoc's role in the *Crónica mexicayotl* in her 2007 volume *La Chronique X.*

[99] Rocío Cortés's comparison of historical texts related to the production of Tezozomoc has led her to affirm his role as the prolific and foundational Mexica historian he claims to be in his *Crónica mexicayotl* ("Misterio" 158).

[100] Paul Kirchoff, similarly argued that Tezozomoc was responsible for only the first nineteen folios of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, and that Chimalpahin wrote the remaining material, which corresponds to events in his own *Relaciones*.

In Schroeder's view, Chimalpahin compiled data taken from a number of Chalcan and Mexica sources, a section of which consists in Tezozomoc's introductory material (Schroeder, "Truth" 237). She also points out that Adrián León based his 1949 Nahuatl-and-Spanish publication of the *Crónica mexicayotl* on a fourth-generation copy of Chimalpahin's manuscript, which has perpetuated the idea from earlier copyists—notably Antonio León y Gama—and collectors that Tezozomoc wrote the entire text.

The travels of the manuscript and its copies lend further support to Schroeder's claims. After Chimalpahin's death, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora obtained his manuscripts and later willed them to the Jesuit college of San Pedro y San Pablo, where they remained until around 1820 when the British Foreign Bible Society acquired them. While the *Crónica mexicayotl* was in the college, Lorenzo Benaducci de Boturini copied it. When he was exiled, his copy stayed in Mexico. At the end of the eighteenth century, José Antonio Picardo and Antonio León y Gama copied Boturini's copy, attributed it to Tezozomoc, and labeled it as the "*Crónica mexicayotl.*" In 1885, Joseph Marius Alexis Aubin bought this third-generation copy, later selling it to Eugène Goupil in 1890. In 1896 Goupil died and left his collection to the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. Francisco Paso y Troncoso commissioned photographic copies of manuscripts from the Paris library including the *Crónica mexicayotl*, which he willed to one Adrián F. León, who gave them to his son, also named Adrián León (Schroeder, "Truth" 237-39). The Chimalpahin manuscript containing the *Crónica mexicayotl* resurfaced in 1983 in the Cambridge Library after a more than 100-year absence from Mexico, and led to Anderson and Schroeder's 1997 publication of Chimalpahin's more reliable copy.[101]

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[101] On May 21, 2014, the manuscript of the *Chimalpahin Codex* and Fernando Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Obras históricas* were up for auction in London. However, the Instituto Nacional

While these observations on the role of Chimalpahin bring greater nuance to our understanding of the text, they leave a number of issues unresolved. If not for the sake of properly Christianizing the text, what would Chimalpahin gain from extensively documenting a Mexica-centric didactic project? Likewise, why would Chimalpahin provide an inconsistent Christianization of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, often leaving traditional metaphysics to provide the main turning points in the narrative? What are we to make of these inconsistencies? The monistic worldview of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, its Mexica-centered view of history, and its emphasis on educating future Mexicas seem to point to Tezozomoc as the key agent who wrote a missing primary copy of the text. However, until further manuscript documentation emerges we approach the question of the authorship of the *Crónica mexicayotl* based on our scholarly conjecture. The Crónica mexicayotl is a collective text with many voices, a trait consistent with the xiuhpohualli genre, as discussed in Chapter One (C. Townsend, "Glimpsing" 626-27). What is possible to understand, in spite of the unkown provenance of the text is its emphasis on teaching a Mexica-centered account of the past and anticipating new ways of life for native elites.

***Re-teaching Unity***

The main didactic point of the *Crónica mexicayotl* is the unification of Mexica elites, so that as a class they may take up mediatorial work in the colonial economy. Due to the ways in which Nahua tradition informed the teleological content, its lessons are distinct from those of a number of didactic texts from the period. After the unprecedented loss of traditional education in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, learning how to extend one's own path into the future became a concern for many, as we have seen in previous chapters. Yet this concern also entailed the welfare of

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de Antropología e Historia was able to arrange a private purchase and thus return the volumes to Mexico ("El gobierno de México recupera").

future generations. How could they attain and live in nepantla? Based on the criteria for identifying Nahua teleologies from Chapter One, I contend that the *Crónica mexicayotl* folds together the notions of unity and mediation as necessary for maintaining nepantla along the perilous path of colonial life. Without the collective wisdom of Mexica nobles working for the good of the community, the disintegrating group was increasingly vulnerable to the Spanish. Yet the Tenochcas working through mediators could accomplish more to improve their conditions than in smaller groups less capable of resisting and negotiating. The criterion of Nahua experience addresses the circumstances that compelled Tezozomoc to preserve knowledge of Mexica culture for posterity. I submit that before the conquest, a linear organization of this information would have been neither compelling nor as useful for survival. Linear writing made it possible to teach foundational narratives to Mexica descendants without a tlacuilo to interpret codices and murals. By the end of the sixteenth century, the newness of the conquest was gone, and thinking ahead became imperative.

The Nahua teleologies of education in the *Crónica mexicayotl* came as a response to the Spanish destruction of ancestral places of learning. Even so, Tezozomoc's approach shared the preconquest conception of education as part of a larger cosmovision, equipping Mexicas to meet the needs of their collective. Linguistic clues reveal that Nahuas regard education as an emergent process, similar to the gradual formation of a landscape or the physical growth of a human being. The goal of education is to aid the unfolding of individuals through instruction in beneficial knowledge, words, and actions. The expressions *tlacahuapahualiztli*, "the art of strengthening or bringing up men" and *neixtlamachiliztli*, "the act of giving wisdom to the face" demonstrate the

Nahua belief that a person was incomplete without study (Maffie, "Aztec" sec. 6).[102] In a more contemporary fashion, key themes in Ildefonso Maya Hernández's Nahuatl-language play *Ixtlamatinij* (the Learned Ones) reiterate connections between indigenous wisdom, personal growth, and the sacredness of the land. As Kelly McDonough has observed, "for indigenous peoples whose religious life is connected to sacred landscape, the land holds learned lessons and cultural memory" (172).[103]

Circumstances after the conquest favored the preservation of knowledge gained in the calmecac, since military defeat by the Spanish made it impossible for the Nahuas to reopen the telpochcalli schools for combat training. Prior to the conquest, education in the home lasted until adolescence, when young men and women entered public centers of learning. The telpochcalli trained warriors, who were mostly, but not exclusively, commoners (Calnek 174-76; Mendieta 112-20). Young women could attend the *cuiyocan* to receive training in singing and dance (Zepeda 36). However, it was in the calmecac that Mexica rulers-in-training learned noble oratory (*tecpillatolli*), which distinguished their discourse from that of common-folk (Romero, *Privilegios* 88). Noble speech prepared pupils to study the amoxtli pictorial codices, to use official rhetoric in their oratory, and to recite song-poetry, all of which constituted their general preparation (Baudot, *Utopia* 107). The value Nahuas placed on eloquent speech for explaining the order of cosmos and society would also support the skills needed to work in mediatorial roles

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[102] The *Codex Matritense* provides vocabulary concerning how a teacher (*teixtlamatiani*) imparts wisdom and expands human development (León Portilla, *Filosofía* 65-69).

[103] The term "*ixtlamatinih*" combines the *tlamatini*, a "knower of things" discussed in Chapter One, with the notion of *ixtla* (eye, surface, face) to show how "Nahua intellectuals garner much of their knowledge through lived experience" (McDonough, 8).

during the colonial period. Elegance in the spoken and written word was a prized skill for navigating the complex interactions between natives and Spanish administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchies.

Nahua teleologies of education in the *Crónica mexicayotl* go beyond what was possible or desirable to teach from an ecclesiastic perspective. We shall see how Mexica and Christian imaginaries overlap in the *Crónica*. As pointed out earlier, Juan de Zumárraga endeavored to link the value of learning in the Nahua culture to his Franciscan Order's education and indoctrination in Tlatelolco. However, Tezozomoc's concern that Mexica history should belong to his altepetl and not to "those of Tlatelolco" suggests that he considered the *Crónica mexicayotl* as a didactic text that would achieve balance in ways not possible for Franciscan-sponsored education. In Chapter Two, we observed that the Colegio de la Santa Cruz's aim was to use Renaissance Humanism as a vehicle to facilitate the conversion and the training of native elites as catechists and as colonial bureaucrats. Both the painter-scribes of the Colegio, and Chapter Three's painter-scribes in San Juan Moyotlan had acquired reading and writing in an environment that suppressed traditional beliefs. For the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and other orders, knowledge of Nahuatl and native culture served to facilitate religious instruction with the goal of conversion. Sahagún's *Historia universal* (*e.g.*, the *Florentine Codex*) and Pedro de Gante's Nahuatl-language catechism both adhered to these objectives.[104] Thus, in the face of Franciscan

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[104] Pedro de Gante's 1547 *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana* —the first bound book published in the Americas— models questions and desired responses on Catholic doctrine. See Louise Burkhart's "The 'Little Doctrine' and Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain" for an introduction to Gante's *Doctrina* and the pictorial doctrinal mnemonic aids also called the Testersian catechisms.

educational projects that attempted to suppress traditional beliefs, the *Crónica mexicayotl* maintained a monist view of reality as fundamental to Mexica history and as relevant knowledge for future generations. While the *Crónica* helps clarify the meaning of Mexica myths—in a manner not unlike the catechism's role in Christianity—the two promote distinct visions of how to approach the future.

The teleological content of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, also differs considerably from an imperial didactic text of the same period, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar's *Mexico en 1554*. Whereas this text was intended to orient Spaniards who had never seen Mexico-Tenochtitlan as to the natural resources and beauty of the region, the Mexica perspective of the *Crónica mexicayotl* promoted the notion of the landscape as a sacred reality and part of their history and continuing experience. Ivonne Del Valle has observed that in *México en 1554* Cervantes de Salazar excluded Nahua knowledge "by dividing the space available" and "hierarchically assigning it to different populations" (204). This self-imposed privation of local knowledge on the part of the Spanish ironically meant that the threat of violence, rather than an accumulated skill in managerial experience kept them in power (217). Against the hierarchical scheme that the Spanish would impose of an inner Hispanicized city—with its palaces, gardens, and selective university—and a surrounding indigenous ring, the *Crónica mexicayotl* emphasizes indigenous urban organization. For Tezozomoc, the unity of the Mexica elites rested on their historical connection with the land of their island *altepetl* in Lake Texcoco.

Post-Colegio mestizo intellectuals in the Valley of Mexico in the seventeenth century also wrote histories of indigenous groups.[105] However, they tended to write in Spanish, and with

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[105] Rocío Cortés provides an overview of the writings of post-Collegian native and mestizo intellectuals ("Colegio" 100-2).

the aim of relegating native cultures to the past and embracing a future of Hispanization, an effect Enrique Florescano has called the "disindigenization" of their history (*Memory* 127). Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (ca. 1600-8) is concerned with inserting the history of his *altepetl* of Texcoco into the universalizing European vision of history and with demonstrating to the Spanish the Texcocans' merit as deserving of legal privileges, like those the Tlaxcalans enjoyed (Brading, *First* 274-75). Similarly, Diego Muñoz de Camargo in his *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala* (1585) sought a closer affiliation with the Spanish and its attending benefits (Florescano, *Memory* 126).[106] Tezozomoc, while interested in securing economic benefits for this people was not willing to do so at the cost of the integrity of their history or their altepetl, an attitude that distances him from Ixtlilxochitl and Muñoz de Camargo.

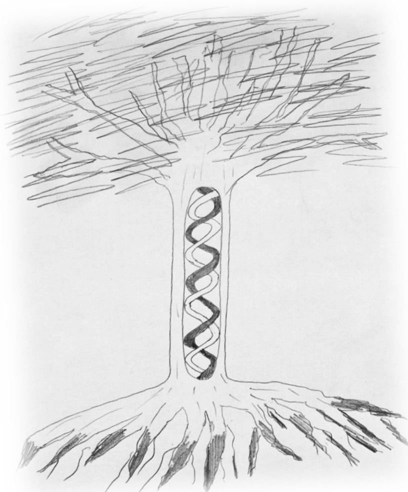

Fig. 4.2: Author's drawing of the Nahua cosmic tree depicting how it connects earth and sky in a convergence of malinalli energy.

[106] Yet Amber Brian observes that Ixtlilxochitl and Muñoz de Camargo were part of an intellectual circle that would defy Angel Rama's clear distinction between the lettered city and the surrounding oral culture (96).

In terms of how Tezozomoc's historical writing and education feed one another, the *Crónica mexicayotl* provides its own theorization. The hanging of Cuauhtemoc recalls the significance of the cosmic tree, an *axis mundi* in the Nahua worldview, that reveals connections between the celestial realms, the earth, and the underworld (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 17). As covered in Chapter One, Plants ranging from malinalli grass to corn to trees harness the energy of the cosmos and channel it into growth and the recycling of dead matter back into the world. The circular twisting flow of cosmic energy through tree remits to traditional monism: the view that all of reality is the cosmic force of teotl. I suggest that the cosmic tree in the *Crónica mexicayotl* is pivotal in narrative cycles that explain the rise of the Mexica nobles, as well as their decline with the execution of Cuauhtemoc (fig. 4.2). However, their ascent and descent is not the end. The nobility would continue in the future, assured that the constant struggle between life and death would generate ways in which they could survive and flourish on the earth. The mythical Tlalocan, the paradisiac locale from where Tlaloc sends rain and fertility to the earth is part of the roots of the cosmic tree, balanced with the ollin energy of the sun (tonatiuh) in the branches (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 17, 198, 199).[107] The twisting roots of the same tree also connect the human realm with Mictlan, the place of the dead and destiny of all living beings (*History and Mythology* 145). The intertwining of the forces of life and death in the trunk of this cosmic tree recall the transformative malinalli energy (Maffie, *Aztec* 319). As in previous chapters, I hold in this instance that these same spiraling, gyrating movements also parallel the motions of linear writing. As will become clear, the context of the text's origins and its use of the cosmic tree motif spin together as an important pedagogical thread in the *Crónica mexicayotl.*

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[107] Preconquest amoxtli contain images of cosmic trees, including the *Codex Fejérváry Mayer* (Burland) and the *Codex Borgia* (Pohl).

The tree encapsulates how Nahua elites could unite as one entity rooted in a common past and able to draw from all areas of a unified reality for their growth.

The Mexica nobles developed complex intercultural perceptions of reality by participating in Catholic liturgy publically and partaking of elders' wisdom traditions in private settings. Serge Gruzinski has observed how the imposition of Christianity pushed the use of traditional symbols and practices into Nahua homes (*Colonización* 157).[108] In light of the private continuation of traditional beliefs, it comes as a matter of course that Christian vocabulary and symbols were incorporated into syncretic discourses such as those compiled in the *Crónica mexicayotl*.[109] Coercion to accept Christianity obliged Nahua nobles "to abhor their ancient rights and beliefs while retaining a memory of them" (Rabasa, *Without* 214). Attendance at mass at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz and parishes throughout colonial Tenochtitlan exposed Mexica elites to didactic readings from the Bible and theological texts.[110] Yet the friars' discourses accumulated on top of the Nahua nobles' cultural memory, not unlike wax dripping down candles next to recently built Christian altars. Nahua nobles' role in the construction and

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[108] The traditional roles of household and calpolli deities were transferred to images and statues of saints and even to general Christian symbols such as the cross (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 219).

[109] See David Tavárez's *The Invisible War*, Chapters Three and Four on the durability of preconquest ritual practices in private settings (62-123), and Louise Burkhart for ways in which Nahua religious theatre allowed for the public expression of private dissent (*Holy* 1-8). Viviana Díaz Balsera has also hypothesized that Nahua elites' interpretations of evangelism plays could have transposed pre-conquest culture into their colonial experience (*Pyramid* 109).

[110] Gerónimo de Mendieta describes the inauguration of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz (414-5). Chapter Two of this dissertation discusses possible materials in the library of the Colegio.

reinterpretation of material culture in colonial Mexico recalls Néstor García Canclini's concept of cultural reconversion (xxvii, 170-71). The agglomeration of religious discourse in the *Crónica mexicayotl* shows how its composition entailed the linearization of the cyclical knowledge that Tezozomoc gathered from Mexica elders. As these native historians' lives burned away, their work cast light on a new kind of mingling of the indigenous past and colonial present. With memory in a linear format, posterity became the imagined audience, and the *Crónica mexicayotl* a tangible guide for their solidarity and viability as a community.

The complementary effect of the promotion of Nahuas as intermediaries follows from the positions of Tezozomoc and other native figures in the text. Tezozomoc, the elder Alonso Franco, and Chimalpahin demonstrate the importance they placed on the role of mediation. This ensemble of autodidacts recalls Robert Schwaller's definition of fluency in Mexico Tenochtitlan in the sixteenth century as "measured less in terms of spoken language, accurate grammar, or functional vocabulary and more in terms of lived experience … a type of functional fluency that was not widely held and that represented an important cultural skill" (716). Since their daily activities in the capital required them to make constant transfers and adaptations of knowledge they derived from two cultures, their positioning as intermediates came as a logical consequence. Tezozomoc's work as a professional interpreter and historian made him an intermediary between the Spanish and Nahuas (Adorno "Indigenous" 383-84). The elder Alonso Franco, a bilingual mestizo and contributor of information to the *Crónica mexicayotl*, also exemplified the tendency towards mediation (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 75).[111] Chimalpahin's language skills and work

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[111] The hypothesis that Alonso Franco provided information for both the Aubin Codex and a section near the beginning of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, has been supported by Patrick Johansson (262-64), and Berthold Riese. However, María Castañeda de la Paz has argued that the material

in the church of San Antonio de Abad placed him in an intermediary role between native parishioners and the clergy (Lockhart, *Nahuas* 388-89). Their mediation encouraged the adaptation of native ways, but also allowed them to make choices that led to the emergence of innovative ways of valuing their culture and adapting to the demands of colonial life.

The pedagogical objective of building unity among the noble class appears from the start of the *Crónica mexicayotl*. Examining the preliminary section reveals a preoccupation for reconciling the nobility and uniting them for the sake of educating young people. The text rallies Mexica elites around their history, and describes the book in conciliatory terms. "Ynin huehuenenonotzaliztlahtolli ynin huehuenenonotzalizamoxtlacuilolli … mexico yn octicahuiliolotiaque yn huel topial ynin tlahtolli." (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 18v) [these accounts of the ancient ones, this book of their accounts in Mexico, we have inherited. These accounts are indeed in our keeping.]. The difrasismo here, "ynin huehuenenonotzaliztlahtolli ynin huehuenenonotzalizamoxtlacuilolli," which Anderson and Schroeder translate as "these accounts of the ancient ones, this book of their accounts," (1: 63), deserves attention, since it conveys thematic keys that help explain why Tezozomoc began his didactic project. The expression is more concise in Chimalpahin's copy of the manuscript than in Antonio León y Gama's and, I submit, indicates a telos of promoting unity between nobles. León de Gama's copy records the difrasismo as separate words "*inhuehue nenonotzaliz tlahtolli yn inhuehue nenonotzaliz amoxtla cuiloli*" (*sic*) (León 6). In spite of the idiosyncratic separation of words, Adrián León's 1949 Spanish translation of the phrase "*Esta antigua relación y escrito admonitorios…*" [this ancient account and these admonitory writings], highlights the consensus of the older nobles Tezozomoc

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that Franco provided for the *Crónica mexicayotl* does not match with events represented in the *Aubin Codex* (194).

interviewed, who agreed on the need to preserve the knowledge of their common past (6). A central term here, *nenonotzaliz*[*tli*], Alonso de Molina defines as an "*acuerdo, cabildo, o enmienda de vida"* (68v) [an agreement, official meeting, or correction of one's life].[112] The term thus underscores the collaborative work of the text, and that the words of many elders working together, inform the didactic aims of the *Crónica*. The fact that this passage refers to the *Crónica* as an *amoxtli* —the same word for traditional codices prior to the conquest and applied to Western-style books after the conquest emphasizes its freestanding nature (Karttunen 11; Lockhart, *Nahuatl* 25). The book does not have to rely on an institution, only on the group of reading and writing native elites it addresses: the divided Tenochca nobles. Enclosing the lexical elements just explained, *huehue*- expresses reverence for the elders who have contributed to its content, and -*tlacuilolli* underscores the value of the written word for the compilation and preservation of the text (Karttunen 84; Molina 120).

Tezozomoc's call for unity is based on his elders' admonishment and lays a path for uncertain times ahead. The *Crónica mexicayotl* links ancestral orality with the appropriated technology of linear writing, a phenomenon that encourages the solidarity of the Mexica nobles as they move forward. The text explains the elders' admonishment to stay united:

> ynic no tehuantin oc ceppa yn topilhuan yn toxhuihuan yn teçohuan yn totlapallohua yn totechcopa quiçazque ynic mochipa no yehuantin quipiezque tiquincahuilitiazque in iquac titomiquilizque O ca yehauatl in ynin tlahtolli huehuetque yn nican tictlallia antopilhuan nican anquittazque yhuan yn amixquichtin yn amexica yn antenochca nican

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[112] The related verb, nonotz[a], Frances Kartunnen defines as "to counsel with oneself, to converse, consult, come to agreement; to caution, correct or inform others, to relate things" (174).

> anquimatizque yn iuh peuhticatque yn iuh tzintiticatque yn oticteneuhque in huey altepetl ciudad mexico tenochtitlan y atlihtic yn tultzallan. yn acatzallan yn oncan otiyolque in titenochca (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 18v).
>
> Therefore we too, but especially our sons, our grandsons, our offspring, those who will issue from us, they too will always guard them [these words]. We shall leave them for them when we die. Note well these accounts [of] the ancient ones that we set down here; you who are our children will see them here; and all of you Mexica, you Tenochca here will know that such was the beginning; such was the origin of what we have called the great altepetl, the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the midst of the waters, among the sedges and reeds, where we Tenochca have lived, where we were born. (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 1: 63)

Through the language of reconciliation and unity, the text draws attention to the discord among the nobles and charges them with safeguarding ancestral education for future generations. Raising awareness of the nobles' ability to take their study into their own hands, this passage calls nobles to put aside conflicts that undermine that effort. Tezozomoc calls his readers to know their past. Yet this imperative is not an end in itself. Rather, the goal is for young Mexicas to learn of the foundations of their altepetl as a means to preserve its integrity in the face of pressures to convert, assimilate, and suppress expressions of Mexica identity. The epistemic violence of colonizers marginalized traditional educational opportunities. However, that rejection did not prevent native elites from using writing in order to generate their own didactic material for future generations.

***Huitzilopochtli, Primary Tutor***

The *Crónica mexicayotl* materialized from the accumulated religious experiences of Tezozomoc and the Mexica elders he interviewed and contains ambivalent representations of the god Huitzilopochtli's actions on behalf of the Mexicas. This confluence of metaphysical beliefs allows for a reading of different deities' interventions not as juxtapositions but as consistent with traditional pantheism. From the start, the text emphasizes the Christian affiliation of its contributors. "Acico yn ihiyotzin yn itlahtoltzin. yhuan yn huel nelli mellahuac ytlanextzin. y nelli tt. Jesu Christo. Y nelli ypiltzin Dios. o yehuatl in nican tlami yn intlahtol huehuetque yn achto chistianosme catca yn achto momachtianime pipiltin catca" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 19r). [To us there first came the breath, the word, the truly genuine light of our true Lord Jesus Christ, true son of God. With this, here ends the account of the ancient ones who were the first Christians, the noblemen who were the first neophytes] (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 63). The text briefly emphasizes the Christian profession of Tezozomoc and the members of his noble class who provided him with information. Yet this proviso does not undermine the text's larger foundation of Nahua monism. In order to build didactic authority, Tezozomoc relied on accounts of Huitzilopochtli's interventions in Mexica history. Examples include his creation of the first Moteuczoma ruler in Aztlan, divinatory oracles that guide the Mexica, and the conception of the ruler Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina. In these passages, Nahua and Christian descriptions of extraordinary activity occur side-by-side, an effect that communicates an ostensible double calling. However, I suggest that the lens of Nahua monism collapses Christian and Mexica supernatural activity into manifestations of the singular cosmic energy of teotl.

The inconsistent application of Christianizing glosses and ambivalent vocabulary throughout make it possible to read the Nahua tradition and Christianity in the *Crónica mexicayotl* as different ways of understanding teotl. The glosses that superimpose Christianity

onto traditional Nahua metaphysics do not eliminate the importance of the deity Huitzilopochtli in the narrative. Even though the text demonizes Huitzilopochtli, he is instrumental to the Mexicas' survival during their migration toward their future home in Tenochtitlan. The opening narrative casts Huitzilopochtli as a diabolical being eager to destroy the Mexica before the arrival of Christianity:

> Auh ca yuhqui yn quenin yn iuh quimacicama in yehuatl yn tlacatocolotl yniqu iuh yehuantin mexica yezque in cenca machiyoque yezque ynic tlamamauhtizque. ymacaxozque in ye nican nohuian yhuan yn ixquich yn amo çan quezquitzonxiquipilli inteyollia yn teanimahuan. yn quinhuicaz ompa mictlan ynin ca Mexica. ynic conan yn intlamanitiliz yn iuh nican motocatoc tecpantoc. (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 20v)
>
> [And thus the devil (*tlacatecolotl*) knew perfectly well how the Mexica would therefore be great examples; that they would be terrified, awe-stricken here and everywhere, and that he would carry off all, countless hundreds of thousands, of the spirits (*inteyollia*) and souls (*teanimahuan*) [of] these Mexica to Mictlan when he took over their [way of] being, their customs, as is here laid out and disposed]. (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 67, my emphasis)

The Christian lexicon ironically evokes the traditional Nahua pantheistic view of the cosmos. In traditional mythology, the tlacatecolotl (the owl-man) was an avatar of the lord of the underworld, Mictlanteuctli, who took deceased individuals to Mictlan, the land of the dead. As Louise Burkhart explains, the tlacatecolotl was a nahualli who could change shapes to fool victims and steal their life force (*Slippery* 40-41). During the colonial period native interpretations of the diabolical could include shamanic abilities beneficial to humans (Cervantes 46-49). Similarly, describing the soul, as the Nahuatl yollotli and the Spanish *ánima* invokes the

ancestral belief that upon death one's life force returns to the universe (McKeever 179). Positioning the yollotli first emphasizes traditional views regarding the individual's animating principle. Therefore, while in practice the Mexica have journeyed from one religious paradigm to another, the journey has transpired under the arc of pantheism. The traditional cosmovision thus underpins the narrative and provides a basis for noble unity.

The origin myth of the Mexica in this *Crónica* promotes the unification of the fragmented nobility by reminding them of their common origin in the seven caves of Chicomoztoc. The caves in Aztlan mark the beginning of the Mexica nobles' historical narrative. Chicomoztoc, imagined as a group of womb-like caves, resonates with the creation myths of contemporary Nahuatl-speakers (Sandstrom, "Cave-Pyramid" 35-68; Aguilar, et al. 69-88; Carlisle and Golson 162). Each group, once born, embodied their patron god's character (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 38). The *Codex Azcatitlan* and the *Tira de la peregrinación* depict the emergence of the Mexica from a cave.[113] A painting in Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* depicts Chicomoztoc as seven literal wombs (fig. 4.3). In Mesoamerica, the primordial caves motif was fluid in its representations of group affiliations, reflecting political alliances, and could change with conflicts and reconciliations (258). The Mexica are born together in Chicomoztoc. Their journey to Tenochtitlan becomes their upbringing and wilderness education with Huitzilopochtli.

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[113] See John Glass's "A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts" for a description of pictorial sources of the migration from Aztlan to Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

Fig. 4.3: The Mexicas' emergence from Chicomoztoc, *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (Kirchhoff, Güemes, Reyes).

Names in the *Crónica mexicayotl* also reflect the didactic objective of promoting the alliance of the Tenochca elites. The appearance of the first Moteuczoma ruler shows how naming serves as a rhetorical strategy to call for unity in the Mexicas' colonial present based on collective memory. The text authenticates its claims by referencing individuals to whom readers could trace their ancestry.

> Yn ompa tlahtohuani catca ytoca Moteuhcçoma. Ynin tlahtohuani oncatca omentin ypilhuan. Auh yn iquac ye miquiz niman ye yc quintlahtocatlallitiuh yn omoteneuhque ypilhuan yn tetiachcauh amo huel momati yn itoca yehuatl yntlahtocauh yez yn cuixteca = auh yn teteyccauh yn Mexicatl. çan mitohua Mexi. ytoca chalchiuhtlatonac yehuatl ye quimaca. yn Mexitin (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 21r). [He who was ruler there was named Moteucçoma. There were two sons of this ruler. And when he was about to die he then installed these aforesaid sons as his rulers. The elder brother, whose name is not known, was the ruler of the Cuexteca. And to the younger brother, a Mexica, called just Mexi [though] named Chalchiuhtlatonac, he gave the Mexitin] (Anderson and Schroeder 69).

The narrative thus links the name of Mexi with the Mexica and establishes the authority of the Moteuczoma rulers beginning in the mythical site of Aztlan. Those related to the Moteuczoma lineage —such as Tezozomoc and his mother Francisca— could use this historical precedent to maintain their leadership roles in the colonial period.[114] In the midst of the Mexica nobles' political uncertainty in the colonial period, the pairing of the Moteuczoma and Mexica recalled their origins and encouraged unity.

The actions of Huitzilopochtli in the text show that the cosmic energy that began the Mexicas' life sustained them on their way to Tenochtitlan. When the group arrives to Colhuacan, this deity prevents the people's death by speaking to them through an ahuehue tree —a Mesoamerican species of cypress— and warning them to move. After they relocate their encampment, the same tree falls and would have crushed them had not Huitzilopochtli assured their safety (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 22v). Even before the Mexica arrive at their permanent settlement, the episode of the fallen tree recapitulates their history. The ahuehue indicates the presence of water, an element crucial to the group's birth in Aztlan, and anticipates the foundation of Tenochtitlan on Lake Texcoco. The falling tree also foreshadows the eventual decline —yet not the disappearance— of the Mexica. In spite of their tumultuous history, the cosmos has destined them to survive and flourish.

The ahuehue may cast a shadow on the Mexica nobles' future, yet it also provided the group with tools for survival. The text establishes a parallel between the falling of the colossal tree with the Mexicas' designation as warriors and the builders of a city. After the ahuehue tree

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[114] For a review of documentation of how Moteuczoma Xocoyotl's children —especially Isabel, Mariana, and Pedro— used the Spanish legal system to their advantage after the conquest, see Donald Chipman's *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*.

fell, Huitzilopochtli changed his group's name from Azteca to Mexica, gave them bows, arrows, and nets, and painted their ears black (*Codex Chimalpahin* 23v).[115] Moreover, Francisco Hernández, Phillip II's protomédico, learned that the durability of the wood when submerged in water led to its use as foundation material for buildings in Tenochtitlan and that the thick trunks of the ahuehue provided suitable material for the vertical ceremonial *huehuetl* drum (*Mexican Treasury* 199). The gift of war paint and weapons foreshadows the Mexicas' rise as warriors through their patron's guidance and protection. The ahuehue tree also references an important wood for Mexica ceremonies and urban design. Consequently, the collapse of the ahuehue tree proved foundational for Mexica material culture, the knowledge of which formed an enduring link between the nobles and nature.

The tree that spared the Mexicas' lives during their journey to Tenochtitlan eerily parallels the ceiba tree that takes Cuauhtemoc's life at Tlatelolco. In light of the traditional cosmovision, it is possible to read both instances as cosmic trees that reveal the action of *teotl*. The falling tree in Colhuacan early in the *Crónica* opens a circular narrative that Cuauhtemoc's hanging closes in the final sections of the text. As outlined in Chapter One, in the Nahua cosmovision all human activity falls under the arc of destiny, and individuals were free only to act only within a pre-determined range (Maffie, "Aztec" sec. 6). Cosmic forces establish an individual's fate, and deposit it as an interior force in every person (López, *Tamoanchan* 252-53). David Carrasco has pointed out that in Mesoamerican mythology, trees serve as re-locatable *axes mundi*, a phenomenon that can endow battles with ritual meaning (*City* 162-63, 194). This reading would allow nobles to explain their colonial experience in terms of their ancestral

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[115] Georges Baudot has observed that traditional war chants (*yaocuicatl*), quoted in the *Crónica mexicayotl,* celebrate Huitzilopochtli as the trainer of a warrior people ("Identité" 161-62).

knowledge, thereby promoting Mexica cohesion. Tenochca elites in years to come would be able to learn about the unfolding causality of traditional monism through sacralized trees in the text.

The mythic origins of Mexica rulers in the *Crónica mexicayotl* represent nobles and ritual specialists as a group whose destiny was to serve as intermediaries between the commoners (*macehualme*) and supernatural entities. During the journey away from Aztlan, Huitzilopochtli communicated with the Mexica via a sacred bundle that four *teomamaque* (sing. *teomama*) carried with them, and by the mediation of a priest who shared the same name as the deity. Passages that explain the directions of Huitzilopochtli to the Mexica —without Christianizing glosses— draw attention to further cosmological concepts underlying the text. The voice of Huitzilopochtli gave oracles, which foretold that the Mexica would gain military strength, become the rulers of an empire, and amass wealth from tribute (*Codex Chimalpahin* 23v-24r). Huitzilopochtli also gave the renowned signs that would confirm where they should build their capital city: an eagle perched on a cactus devouring his food next to a lake. Given the didactic emphasis of the text, these passages suggest that —in terms of the significance of the location of their *altepetl*— traditional beliefs would convince readers of the Mexicas' pre-established trajectory just as much as Christian ideas. Huitzilopochtli and his priest drew a map for solidarity among native elites in the colonial period, by reminding them of the Mexicas' cosmic destiny to rule from Tenochtitlan. Within the didactic frame of the *Crónica*, the importance of Huitzilopochtli in the early years of the Mexica serves a fundamental role on par with the Christian identity represented in the text.

While the oracle of the eagle and cactus looms large in popular imaginaries based on the *Crónica mexicayotl*, other foreshadowing of the rise of the Mexica in the text receives less attention. Images of cosmological significance, without Christianizing glosses, also prefigured

the Mexicas' coming prosperity. An intense manifestation of cosmic energy indicated Huitzilopochtli as the agent who led the Mexica to the marshes of Lake Texcoco. The *Crónica* recounts with bright detail.

> Yn mexica auh niman oquittaque. yztac yn ahuehuetl. yztac yn huexotl. yn oncan yhcac. yhuan yztac yn acatl yztac yn tolli. yhuan yztac. yn cueyatl. yztac yn michin. yztac yn cohuatl y noncan nemi atlan. auh niman oquittaque nepaniuhticac yn texcalli yn oztotol. ynic ce yn texcalli. yn oztotl. Tonatiuh. yquiçayan ytztoc. ytoca matlallatl. yhuan ytoca toxpallatl. Auh yn oquittaque niman ye choca yn huehuetque quihtohua Anca ye nican yez ca otiquittaque. yn techilhui ynic technahuati yn tlamacazqui yn huitzilopochtli. (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 34r-34v)
>
> And then they saw the white cypresses, the white willows that stood there; and the white reeds, and the white sedges; and the white frogs, the white fish, the white snakes that lived in the water there. And then they saw the intersecting crags and caves. The first crag and cave faced the sunrise, named the fiery waters, where the waters burn. And the second crag and cave faced north; the place where they intersected was named the blue and yellow waters. And when the ancient ones saw this they wept. They said: perhaps it is to be here. For we have seen what the offering priest Huitzilopochtli told us about when he commanded us. (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 1: 101)

Descriptions of color, space, and time converge to indicate the immanence of a monumental event. The prevalence of white reveals an "excessive concentration" of the power of the god Huitzilopochtli (López Austin, *Tamoanchan* 33). The cypresses, willows, reeds, and sedges all function as *axes mundi* that connect the island of Tenochtitlan with the sun-warmed heavens and the watery underworld of the lake. The color blue was associated with the south, and the

cultivation of crops, as in the *Codex Féjerváry-Mayer* (León Portilla, “Filosofía” 21). I would also suggest that the yellow and blue together allude to the *chinampa* system of agriculture that the Tenochcas would build on top of the lake, which would allow them to grow corn year round.

This section of the text aims to strengthen the community of Mexica elites by reminding them of how they overcame poverty early in their history. When the Mexica nobles arrived to Lake Texcoco, they were struggling to survive among the marshes. However, the sighting of the eagle and cactus placed the Mexica on a path that would make them mediators between human beings and the cosmos. Their fortunes were about to change.

> Auh niman ono ceppa yahque yn toltzallan. yn acatzallan. yn oztotenpa. auh yn oypan quiçato. Acatitlan yhacac yn tenochtli. yn oncan oztotenpa yn oquittaque ycpac ca ycpac yhcac. moquetzticac yn quauhtli. in yehauatl yn tenochtli. oncan tlaqua. Oncan quiqua quitzotzopitzticac. yn quiqua. auh in yehuatl yn quauhtli. yn oquimittac. yn Mexica cenca omopechtecac. yn quauhtli. çan huecapa yn conittaque. Auh in itapaçol ynipepech çan moch yehuatl yn ixquichy nepahpan tlaçoyhuitl. yn ixquich yn xiuhtotoyhuitl. yn tlauhquecholyhuitl. yn ixquich quetzalli. auh ca no oncan quittaque y noncan tetepeuhtoc. yn intzonteco y nepahpan totome yn tlaçototome. yntzonteco oncan çoçoticate. yhaun cequi totoycxitl. cequi omitl. (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 35r)
>
> [And when they came upon the rock tuna cactus standing there among the reeds at the cave’s mouth, they saw that upon it stood an eagle rising erect on the rock tuna cactus, eating there. There it was eating, picking to pieces what it was eating. And when the eagle saw the Mexica, it humbly bowed low. They saw it only from a distance. And its nest, its bed, was all of varied precious feathers—all cotinga, spoonbill, precious quetzal feathers. And they also saw that the heads of the various birds lay scattered; the heads of

> the precious birds were strung up there. And there were some birds' feet and some bones.] (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 1.103)

The oracle's fulfillment summarizes the people's journey from the seven caves in Aztlan to Tenochtitlan and imbues the site of their altepetl with mythological significance (Florescano, *Memory* 48-49). By revering their presence, the eagle harmonizes with the destiny that Huitzilopochtli revealed. In Diego Durán's version, after sighting the eagle, a Chichimeca priest dives to the bottom of Lake Texcoco to speak with Tlaloc, who also gives the Mexica permission to settle there (343). David Carrasco has observed that by authorizing the foundation of Tenochtitlan, the sky god Huitzilopochtli and the earth god Tlaloc inaugurate the city as the center of the Mexica cosmos (*Quetzalcoatl* 163). From what I adduce, the auspicious bow of the eagle to the Mexica presages how the group will manipulate life and death from the same site. The dead birds, once intermediaries between earth and sky, also foreshadowed the sacrificial victims that made the Mexica priests into intermediaries between the sun and the people.

At this point, a Christianizing gloss casts a diabolical shadow on the event. However, due to the account's reliance on the traditional cosmovision until now, the inertia of *teotl* carries the narrative. Christian elements shift and adjust as they find a place within the Nahua cosmos. An evil spirit appears in a gloss. "Auh oncan quinnoz in diablo quimilhui mexicaye ye onca yecin. auh yece amo quitta yn Mexica yn aquin quinnotza. yc onca tlahtocayotique Tenochtitlan Auh niman ye yc choca yn Mexica. quihtohua otocnopiltic. otomacehualtic ca oticmahuiçoque yn taltepeuh yez: ma oc tihuian ma oc titocehuiti" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 34r-34v). ['Mexica, there is where it is to be.' And though the Mexica did not see who spoke to them, they therefore named the place Tenochtitlan. And thereupon the Mexica wept. They said: 'We have won favor, we have received our due. For we have marveled over our altepetl to be'"] (trans. Anderson and

Schroeder 1: 103). The elders' failure to notice who was speaking results in the elision of the demon's presence. Even when the malevolent being entered the Nahua universe, the importance of the event was too great to suppress the name of the Mexicas' home. The name of Tenochtitlan (the place of the cactus) remained on the bedrock of tradition, thereby affirming the oracle of Huitzilopochtli as the basis for corporate affiliation.

In the *Crónica mexicayotl*, Huitzilopochtli was the Mexica's primary tutor. The lessons he gave them in the wilderness after they left Aztlan became material for the text's didactic emphasis. The deity spoke to them from a bundle they carried. He directed them away from a falling tree that could have killed them. He also led them to the place where they should found their city. However, the extraordinary ways in which nature came to the aid of the Mexicas are not transcendent miracles from a higher reality. Serendipitous events were simply the way in which the cosmos (teotl) unfolded. When Christianizing glosses do not appear to reinterpret Huitzilopochtli's actions, one is free to read the text with a monist framework. As we have seen, the monistic basis of the narrative overrides the infrequent Christianizing glosses. This pantheistic reading of Mexica history continues in the text with another key episode: the conception of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina.

***An Oracle, a Princess, and a Cosmic Spear***

In the *Crónica mexicayotl*, establishing the sacred center of Tenochtitlan relied on an oracle, and the rise of the noble class depended on a miracle. As during the foundation of Tenochtitlan, traditional views on the workings of the cosmos give the narrative cohesion. In a manner similar to the foundational scene of the eagle and cactus, a brief Christianizing gloss appears, yet does not undermine the way in which the operations of teotl set forth a path for the Mexica. In the calmecac, Mexica elites learned about the history of their rulers. The *Crónica*

*mexicayotl* takes up the same task in order to solidify the disintegrating nobles of Tenochtitlan. Already Huitzilopochtli brought forth the first Moteuczoma in Chicomoztoc. As will become evident, extraordinary cosmic activity in the *Crónica* during the Mexicas' early years in Tenochtitlan, ensures the future of the Moteuczoma name. After the founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan the deity Huitzilopochtli served as a powerful agent behind the conception of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina.

A young Mexica ruler, Huitzilihuitl, desired to marry Miayahuaxihuitl. She was the daughter of Oçomatzin teuhctli, tlatoani of Quauhnahuac (present day Cuernavaca). Oçomatzin teuhctli was also a sorcerer, unwilling to let anyone court his daughter Miayahuaxihuitl. He kept her in an impenetrable palace and cast spells to cause spiders and wild animals to guard the building. The text recounts that while Huitzilihuitl slept, a demon appeared. "Yn quinotz yohualli yehuatl yn diablo quilhui ca ompa yn quauhnahuac yn tepan ticallaquizque ompa tiazque yn ichan Oçomatzin teuhctli, ca ticanazque yn ichpoch yn itoca miyahuaxihuitl" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 42v) [The devil Yohualli spoke to him. He said to him: We shall penetrate among them in Quauhnahuac; we shall go to Oçomatzin teuhctli's home; we shall take his daughter named Miyahuaxihuitl] (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 1: 121). The next day Huitzilihuitl asked Oçomatzin teuhctli for permission to marry his daughter. The ruler, who despised the Mexicas' poverty, refused. Yohualli returned—this time with no gloss—and counseled Huitzilihuitl to make a reed spear and place an enchanted green stone into a cavity inside. With the stone in the shaft, he should hurl it into the guarded palace. Huitzilihuitl threw the spear and it pierced the

roof of Miyahuaxihuitl's chamber. The colorful reed amazed her. She broke it open, swallowed the beautiful green stone inside and became pregnant with Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina.[116]

In this account, a turning point for the Mexica in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, supernatural beings counteract the Mexicas' poverty and favor the rise of their future empire. According to the *Crónica mexicayotl*, the flourishing of the Moteuczoma lineage is central to their destiny.[117] The appearance of a devil in this section is a question of summoning a power greater than that of the sorcerer Oçomatzin teuhctli. (Schroeder, "First" 344). The complete name of Yoalli Ehecatl —"Night, Wind"— was an invocation of Ometeotl, and emphasized the invisible and mysterious action of the cosmos (Tena "Religión" 26).[118] As we have seen in Chapter Three on the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, an invocation of an Ehecatl spirit carries with it a reference to Quetzalcoatl, patron of the *tlacuiloque*. Writing a triumphal version of Mexica history, Tezozomoc battles antagonists from his own people's past. Concomitantly, archeological evidence suggests that the Mexica began to use the bow and arrow for war during the reign of Huitzilihuitl (Aguilar-Moreno 113; Hassig, *War* 151). Yohualli, a powerful being capable of thwarting Oçomatzin teuhctli's magic, benefits the Mexica materially and recalls a pre-Christianized understanding of the Mexica past. This mythological content subsumes the Christianizing glosses in the text

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[116]Counting the first Moteuczoma that emerged from Chicomoztoc, in the *Crónica mexicayotl* Ilhuicamina is the second Moteuczoma. Hernán Cortés met Moteuczoma Xocoyotl, the third ruler by that name in the text and the maternal grandfather of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc.

[117] Miguel León-Portilla and Klor de Alva agree on the didactic nature of this tale in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, as deriving from the *zazanilli* "imaginative prose" genre ("Nahuatl Literature" 3: 38).

[118] See also León-Portilla, who holds that the movement of *Ehecatl* implies transcendence (*Aztec*, 91, 93); and Michel Graulich who emphasizes the complementarity of the two forces (47).

within a reading informed by ancestral pantheism. The unfolding of the cosmos favored the rise of the Mexica to power.

Princess Miyahauxihuitl's miraculous conception of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina exemplifies the text's reliance on a traditional understanding of the all-encompassing action of teotl. The etymology of Ilhuicamina and inter-textual references shed light on how the text reaffirms the key role of Huitzilopochtli as a manifestation of cosmic energy. "*Ilhuicatl*" (heaven, sky), and "*mina*," (to pierce someone with arrows) combine to emphasize the celestial origin of the future ruler and the patronage of the warrior god Huitzilopochtli (Karttunen 104, 148). The exceptional stone also alludes to the account of Huitzilopochtli's conception in which his mother Coatlicue becomes pregnant by catching a globe of feathers in her bosom that fell from the sun (Sahagún, *Historia general* 191). Rather than an isolated deposit of mythology reminiscent of Christian Europe's use of Greco-Roman culture (Rabasa, *Without* 212), given its repercussions for the Mexicas' future, the miraculous conception of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina has practical implications. Monism prevails. Giving primacy to traditional metaphysics, the text aims to consolidate nobles through instruction on the legendary deeds of the Moteuczoma rulers.

Nahua writing serves a teleological role in this account of the conception of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina. The narrative explains how the cosmos pre-positioned the Mexicas as the rulers of Tenochtitlan, revealing their destiny through an extraordinary event. The foundational nature of this conception preserved in writing provided future Mexicas with a precedent for assuming mediatorial and leadership roles in their communities. Ahead, we shall also note how, for the Mexica readers of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, understanding who they were in light of their cosmovision also meant considering who they were not.

***Tenochtitlan Writes Back***

In the *Crónica mexicayotl*, discrediting the origins of Tlatelolco serves a pedagogical function in its accounts of the formative years of Tenochtitlan. The *Crónica* explains how the Tlatelolcan educational heritage went astray, according to Mexica elders.[119] The unfolding of Mexica history teaches a perspective that re-centers Tenochtitlan. In spite of the Franciscans building their school on the site of the demolished calmecac of Tlatelolco, the Mexica nobles could formulate a didactic reply, explaining how relations went sour between the two islands. Antagonism toward Tlatelolco stems in part from the historical writing concerning Mexica history that came from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz and not Mexica sources. For example, the account of the conquest in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*, as explained in Chapter Three, drew from Tlatelolcans' recollections gathered during Sahagún's historiographical project at the Colegio. One pervasive element of the Tlatelolcan narratives is the notion of Quetzalcoatl's return as fulfilled in the Spanish conquest (Gillespie 196). James Lockhart agreed that the Tlatelolcan perspective on the conquest amounts to "extensive and conscious re-writing, if not full-fledged original composition" ("Sightings" 235). Diana Magaloni Kerpel has observed that one implication of the Tlatelolcan narrative of the conquest is the reading of the death of Moteuczoma Xocoyotl as the precursor to the metaphorical resurrection of a community of Nahua Christians ("Painting 148-49; "Visualizing" 219-21) However, the vision of the history of Tlatelolco set forth in the *Crónica mexicayotl* does not focus on the Nahua Christians who contributed to the *Florentine Codex*. Instead, it represents Tlatelolcan behavior as unbalanced and ethically flawed, dating back to before the conquest.

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[119] Camilla Townsend elaborates on historiographical dimensions of the Tenochca-Tlatelolcan rivalry in "No One Said it Was Quetzalcoatl".

As explained, the introduction of the *Crónica mexicayotl* already depicted the Tlatelolcans and the Colegio de la Santa Cruz as lacking the qualifications to do justice to an account of Mexica noble history. Expanding on the Mexica suspicion of the Tlatelolcans' historiographical credibility, the text also contains a moral drama vilifying Tlatelolco. Representations of the Tlatelolcans oppose the notion of Mexica virtue with the contentious vices of the altepetl to the north.

Thirteen years after the founding of Tenochtitlan, a splinter group departed for a small island where they established Tlatelolco. Pointing out Tlatelolco's original name, *xaltilolli* "hill of sand," the narrative associates instability with the fragmentation of the altepetl of Tenochtitlan (Siméon 651). The shaky ground contrasts with the Nahua concept of truth (*nelli*) as having one's roots in reality, a moral approach to proper living in balance with teotl (Maffie, "Aztec" sec. 3. b.). The *Crónica's* portrayal of this departed faction as trying to build an *axis mundi* on a hill of sand depicts an unsteady moral character in the Tlatelolcans. The comparison favors the eagle and cactus on the solid rocks of Tenochtitlan, as a place of group solidarity in harmony with the cosmos. Recalling the opening of this chapter, it is no wonder that in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, the site of Cuauhtemoc's hanging in Tlatelolco should serve as a contrary example.

The ethical struggle with Tlatelolco provides the Tenochca nobles with an instructive example of the consequences of abandoning the altepetl of Tenochtitlan and living out-of-step with *nepantla* balance. The narrative critiques the Tlatelolcans' separation from Tenochtitlan in the year One House, 1337. "Yn ompa yahque xaltilolco. yn ompa motlallio cenca tlahuelliloque catca niman yuh motlallito. yn amo tlaca cate tlatilolca cenca moxicohuani. yn axcan ca ye yuhque yn imixhuihuan yn iuhqui yn iuhqui amo tlaca nemi" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 38r) [These went to Xaltelolco; they settled there. Very perverse were those who then thus settled [there].

The Tlatelolca were evil, very bad-tempered. Their grandsons are now like that, they live like evil ones] (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 109). The Tlatelolcans' decision to leave the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan shows a disregard for group unity and their shared past. From the *Crónica's* Mexica-centric perspective, the Tlatelocans' imbalanced actions reify the objective of pedagogical writing protected from their influence. In the *Crónica mexicayotl*, Tlatelolco became a more visible and insidious adversary than any diabolical being.

By placing Tenochtitlan on higher moral ground, the *Crónica mexicayotl* teaches younger generations of Mexica elites to suspect their historical rivals' integrity. Further accounts develop the theme of betrayal as a justification for the Mexicas' subsequent invasion of Tlatelolco. One hundred thirty-six years after the separation (ca. 1473), Axayacatl, tlatoani of Tenochtitlan gave his older sister Chalchiuhnenetzin in marriage to Moquihuixtli, the ruler of Tlatelolco. However, after the marriage Moquihuixtli was an unfaithful spouse to Chalchiuhnenetzin. He slept with his concubines, and ordered his Mexica wife to sleep in a corner among the grinding stones. Infidelity, neglect, and physical abuse send Chalchiuhnenetzin running back to her brother Axayacatl. In response, Axayacatl mobilizes his forces. "Auh yehuatl yc peuh in yaoyotl ynic mitohua motenehua chahuapoliohuac yn tlatilolco" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 49r). [Therefore the war began. Hence it is told that the Tlatelolca were no more because of concubines] (trans. Anderson and Schroeder 137-39). This interpretation recasts the Mexica invasion of Tlatelolco not as imperialism, but as a way to restore the imbalance that the first separation and the abuse of Chalchiuhnenetzin had caused. Axayacatl's protection of his sister shows a larger concern for cohesion among the Mexica nobles. Even as Spanish policies pushed native elites away from the city center, this account reminded them to maintain unison and protect their collective interests.

Tezozomoc offers Tlatelolco as a counter example to the balanced living the Mexicas sought. Representations of the past in the *Crónica mexicayotl* privilege Mexica memory over that of Tlatelolco. The Tlatelolcan separation from the Tenochcas undermined the unity of the altepetl of Huitzilopochtli. Moquihuixtli accepted Axayacatl's olive branch of marriage with Chalchiuhnenetzin. Yet by this Mexica account, the Tlatelolcan ruler's abuse of his bride provoked a just war in retaliation. The lesson is clear: Mexicas should remain united in order to avoid Tlatelolco's errors. Together the Mexica elites would be better equipped to improve their circumstances at the time of the text's composition, and into the coming years. Now we turn to the figures in the text whose mediatorial occupations provide examples for achieving and maintaining balance through writing.

***Rewriting Nahua Mediation***

Nepantla-seeking continued to influence postconquest models of mediation in the *Crónica*, beginning with Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin themselves, whose skills qualified them for gainful employment among scribes, interpreters, and functionaries. I suggest that the text also shows how the uncertain future of education led to an increased estimation of the linguistic aptitude to mediate between the Spanish and local hierarchies. The Spanish administrators' unfamiliarity concerning Nahua culture proved advantageous to native leaders who were able to gain knowledge of the conqueror's speech, writing, customs, and beliefs. Native mediators were necessary in order for colonial society to function under Spanish rule. Yanna Yannakakis has observed that, "they acted as state makers. By preserving and, at times, renegotiating native forms of social and political organization, and defending local custom, native ritual, and electoral autonomy, they acted as gatekeepers" (*Art of Being* 221). Under these conditions, colonial power was most effective through negotiation. In addition to shaping political and cultural life, Nahua

mediators also influenced what the young would learn about indigenous approaches to colonial life and how they would gain knowledge of the past. In this light, the *Crónica mexicayotl* provides examples of intermediaries between deities and humans from before the conquest, and of mediators between the Nahuas and Spanish during the colonial period.

The educational content of the *Crónica mexicayotl* builds on representations of historical figures in intermediary roles. The pre-conquest precedents of the priest Huitzilopochtli and the royal advisor Tlacaelel highlight mediation between the Mexica and cosmic forces. As explained, the priest Huitzilopochtli played a crucial mediatory role, guiding the group to Tenochtitlan. After the city's foundation, the ability of royal advisors to discern the operations of the cosmos would aid rulers' efforts to govern in harmony with the universe. The *Crónica* recognizes the importance of the royal advisor Tlacaelel in the Mexica conquest of Tlatelolco (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 139), a recognition that resonates with Durán's account (157-60), and the preconquest *Codex Xolotl* (Lee, *Allure* 99). The Crónica does not need to revisit the life of Tlacaelel in great detail. The reference to Tlacaelel remains pivotal, since he was responsible for introducing the sacrificial system of war captives that built up the Mexicas' political power.[120] The priest Huitzilopochtli and the *cihuacoatl* (royal advisor) Tlacaelel recalled the importance of ritual sacrifice before the conquest. Alluding to the imperative of nepantla, the text shows how Mexica mediators drew on a longstanding tradition of figures that mediated between deities and the people. The *Crónica mexicayotl* provided young nobles with a cosmological framework based on inherited metaphysics. In light of these historical models of the priest Huitzilopochtli and Tlacaelel, the younger generation could consider mediatorial occupations as a path before them.

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[120] See the overview of Tlacaelel's influence as cihuacoatl in Chapter One.

Recalling the teachings of the tlamatinime in the calmecac and highlighting the roles of pre-conquest priests and advisors, the *Crónica mexicayotl* also provided precedents for native mediation that elites in the colonial period could follow. Its examples of post-conquest native intermediaries include Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and the graduate from the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, Antonio Valeriano. The tasks of linguistic and legal mediation required these learned Nahuas to "sacrifice something," yet it also gave them the possibility to "see something of themselves in the solution" to the challenges they faced (Escalante 191). Each of the mediatorial figures in the *Crónica mexicayotl*, through their study of languages, and as brokers of cultural knowledge, illustrate how the work they did to preserve knowledge in writing carried with it the intentional teleology of continuing Nahua lifeways into an unknown linear future.

As explained, Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc's lineage qualified him to contribute material to the *Crónica mexicayotl*. Two more texts illuminate ways in which Tezozomoc marshaled the prestige of his family's past in order to advocate for a favorable future. His previous Spanish-language history, the *Crónica mexicana*, demonstrates his ability to communicate information on Mexica culture in the colonizers' language. The *Tlalamatl huauhquilpan* also shows how he used his position as a nahuatlato in the Audiencia Real to advocate in favor of land tenure rights for the Moteuczoma family (Cortés, *Nahuatlato* 25). The document indicates that Tezozomoc worked as a tribunal interpreter and legal representative for the benefit of the native residents of Huauhquilpan and their descendants (Wood "Cosmic" 179). His use of historical documents he owned to advocate for the rights of his household show his care in compiling evidence for a legal cause (Cortés *Nahuatlato* 27).

Through mediatorial work as an interpreter, Tezozomoc allowed his family and other natives who lived in Huauhquilpan access to future opportunities, even under Spanish rule.

However, the possibility of making those gains required him to provide information and services to the Spanish. His work as an interpreter for the Real Audiencia benefitted the Spanish by extending the reach of colonial law into the lives of the Mexica nobles and eroding their social standing (Romero, *Privilegios* 93). Even when Tezozomoc travelled to Huauhquilpan to serve as *nahuatlato*, he did so with the understanding that he would also help enforce one of the congregaciones that the Viceroy Luis de Velasco had ordered (Cortés, *Nahuatlato* 5). As noted, his historical research informed a network of native and mestizo writers including Chimalpahin, Ixtlilxochitl, and Muñoz Camargo. However, his study and efforts to preserve knowledge of the past promoted group cohesion in uncertain times, and displays his commitment to the future of Huauhquilpan. Tezozomoc's linguistic, historiographical, and legal experience thus shows the importance of Nahua mediatorial work as a way to maintain his social standing and that of his household.

While Tezozomoc's mediatorial work fell within the legal sphere, Chimalpahin worked as a cultural broker with ecclesiastical support. The *Crónica mexicayotl* reflects Chimalpahin's auto-didacticism, as he mediated between indigenous knowledge bases and Western linear writing in order to earn his living as a copyist in the convent of San Antonio de Abad. Chimalpahin's scribal work earned an income, gave him access to ancestral knowledge from pictorial and alphabetic texts, records of various localities, and recognition of his erudition in the eyes of the Spanish (Schroeder, "Annals" 7-8). Chimalpahin's relationship to nobility was more distant than Tezozomoc's, yet his influence on the text does not depend on his ancestry, but on the position he had in the church. At San Antonio de Abad, Chimalpahin had the time and access to writing implements necessary to produce his copy of the text. Recalling the regional diversity

of preconquest Nahua calendars discussed in Chapter One, his use of texts from various localities would have required travel, research, synthesis, and comparisons with the Julian calendar.

Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin were well versed in the didactic use of linear writing, and were situated to serve as examples of how study could provide economic opportunities for natives. Tezozomoc's work gathering texts and information for the *Crónica mexicayotl* would have put him in contact with former students of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz. We lack evidence of a friendship between Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin. Yet on one occasion, Chimalpahin mentions a theatrical production in which Tezozomoc played the part of Moteuczoma Xocoyotl (*Annals* 67). Through their distinct experiences of the common influence of colonialism, Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin appropriated linear writing as a didactic medium. While Tezozomoc Nahuatized his Christianity and Chimalpahin Christianized Mesoamerican history, both served as examples of mediatorial figures. Considered together, their roles in the redaction of the *Crónica mexicayotl* illustrate the increasing importance of writing and study as a means to gain intermediary occupations and social mobility. Colonial experience also meant that the traditional boundaries between native elites and commoners in Mexico-Tenochtitlan became more permeable.

Details of the life and work of Antonio Valeriano, appearing at the end of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, reveal the opportunities that study provided even to a commoner. Valeriano held the Spanish appointment of governor of Azcapotzalco for twenty years (ca. 1574-1594) owing to his education at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (Gibson 170). The text describes him as a scholar with uncommon knowledge. "*Amo pilli çan huey momachtiani collegial latin tlatolli*" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 62r). [He was not a nobleman but a great scholar, a collegian, who knew the Latin language] (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 172-73). His role as a mediator involved public

legal advocacy that allowed him to make records through the use of pictorial representations and alphabetic text. He wrote a document that bears his name (the *Codex Valeriano*) to advocate for tribute reduction (Gibson 178).[121] He also protected his community's interests by fighting against the removal of the religious sisters of Santa Clara (SilverMoon 177-80). Tezozomoc's sister married Valeriano, which likely meant that Tezozomoc and Valeriano had social contact (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 177).

Antonio Valeriano's advocacy supported native communities; yet his appointment by the Spanish as governor of Azcatpotzalco meant that he also benefitted the colonizers. He provided a tribute register for Spanish administrators and operated within the boundaries of viceregal law.[122] With his command in Nahuatl and Latin, Valeriano's governorship would have also required a considerable proficiency in Spanish. His years at the Colegio in Tlatelolco had given him insight into the politics between the Church and colonial civil authorities. Valeriano displayed exceptional skill in mediation in colonial Mexico-Tenochtitlan. His post-Colegio career demonstrates that in spite of the access to formal education that the Spanish had taken away, natives kept their studies alive in their own networks.

The ascent of a commoner through intellectual merit to a position in the colonial government parallels the passing of the last tlatoani of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the *Crónica*. The genealogies in the third part of the text, by comparing the colonial decline of the Mexica nobles

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[121] The complete codex is available as *Livre des comtes, des tributes, a payer par les indigenes de San Pablo Teocaltitlan á leur gouverneur D. Antonio Valeriano, 1574*.

[122] See SilverMoon's synthesis of Valeriano's activities as governor of Acatpotzalco and as an aide to Sahagún and Juan Torquemada (153-200). Bernardino de Sahagún mentions him as the most eminent scholar among the students of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz (*Historia general* 74).

with their former position, would allow readers to interpret the effects of the conquest in light of cosmic destiny. However, rather than taking for granted repeating cycles of history, the text extends the concept of ollin cosmic movement (Chapter One) into an indefinite linear future. The Mexicas would continue as a people. The world would continue changing and seeking its own balance, and the native peoples in Mexico would continue to adapt to new roles in order to further the path of their own wellbeing. The death of Luis Santa María Cipac, the last tlatoani of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, recalls the city's foundation, and helps Mexica elites to come to terms with their political decline.[123] As the *Crónica* relates, "viij calli xihuitl. 1565. años. ypan in momiquillico yn tlacatl Don luis de Sta maria nacacipactzin tlahtoani Tenochtitlan. yn tlahtocat çan yexivitl oncan ipan in tlamico yn intlapacholliz yn tenochca tlacotlatocatepilhuan yn mexico Tenochtitlan atlitic" (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 62v). [The year Eight House, 1565. At this time the lord don Luis de Santa María Nacacipactzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, died. He had ruled for only three years. With him the administration of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the midst of the waters by the highborn heirs of Tenochca rulers came to an end] (Anderson and Schroeder 1: 175). For the rest of the *Crónica*, the term juez gobernador takes the place of tlatoani. This section emphasizes the city's location on the island in Lake Texcoco, alluding to the mythical underpinnings of the *Crónica*: the waters of Aztlan birthed the Mexica and nourished them, the water beneath the ahuehue tree of Colhuacan showed how the cosmos spared them from death, and Lake Texcoco provided a well-watered site for their city. The mention of the natural element of water here closes a narrative cycle. An uncertain future opens, wherein education in the Mexica noble tradition and work as intermediaries would allow their descendants to find the way of nepantla.

[123] Santa María Cipac also appears in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* discussed in Chapter Three.

The future opens as linear and not-yet-established before Nahua elites; and yet the monistic unfolding of the cosmos echoes in the same text.

The colonial Nahua intermediaries, Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin, and Antonio Valeriano provided benefits to colonizers and other natives. In so doing, they modeled new ways of economic viability that came from cultural brokerage. Representations of their work in the *Crónica mexicayotl* shed light on their teleological thinking: through writing and linguistic mediation, they sought to maintain *nepantla* while they forged new paths through uncertain times. Adapting their traditions and the written communication of their language to their colonial setting, they became extenders of Nahua lifeways. They reinforced the preconquest examples of rulers (Mexi and Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina) and priests (Huitzilopochtli and Tlacaelel) from the historical narrative sections of the *Crónica* and made them relevant to their post-conquest world. The final part of the text documents, via genealogies and lists of functionaries, how Spanish administrators gradually marginalized Tenochca nobles from membership in the governing body of their own altepetl. Mexico-Tenochtitlan had become a place that Mexica elders did not recognize. Parents and elders could no longer count a traditional education for their children. Nonetheless, as the colonizers pushed them into outer *barrios*, Mexica elites could rally around a pedagogical text that simultaneously addressed pressures from the colonizers and the *altepetl* of Tlatelolco. The Mexica-centric content of the *Crónica* and its format in linear writing evince a desire to influence the knowledge of future generations and teach them the value of unity and mediatorial work.

### ***Conclusions: Roots and Branches***

In this chapter I have shown how the Spanish decentering of the Mexica nobility in Tenochtitlan catalyzed the memories of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc and other learned

Nahuas into action. Tezozomoc began the *Crónica mexicayotl* project as an educational text for Mexica elites and their successors. The Nahua teleologies of education in the text reveal a native world of dynamic and complex discussions regarding how one should live and how to prepare young people for the future. From the emergence of the Mexica from Chicomoztoc to the passing of the last tlatoani, the native subjectivities represented in the *Crónica mexicayotl* constantly attempt to find and follow the path of nepantla*.* The *Crónica* does not posit a postmortem human existence, and the focus is on the here-and-now. Recalling Yazzie Burkhart's observation in Chapter One, the *Crónica* assumes that the cosmos as it exists is "normative" and good (17). What has changed is the postconquest conception of time and place (Maffie, *Aztec* 419-21; Florescano, *Memory* 130-04; Read, *Time* 265). That foundational shift, I submit, led Tezozomoc (and later Chimalpahin) to represent the future as linear, unprecedented, and unlived.

Unity was a paramount concern of Tezozomoc at the opening of the *Crónica* and a precondition for any other action in favor of the Mexica community. The emphasis is on collective balance-seeking in a concrete sense. Based on their experiences of colonial life and knowledge of Nahua tradition, Tezozomoc used writing that drew on oral discourses, pictorial sources, and his cosmovision in order to educate contemporary and future Nahuas on how to maintain balance in their new colonial world. The path ahead was unfamiliar to the audience of the *Crónica*, but the importance of nepantla remained. The cosmos, although operating in hitherto unknown ways, continued still signaled to Mexica nobility and other learned Nahuas the need to walk in balance with the cosmos on the path of life (Burkhart, *Slippery* 134; León Portilla, *Filosofía* 147). The Nahuatl word for road or path is *ohtli*, a term closely related to

ollin.[124] It is worth recalling here that the Fifth Sun had the name of *Nahui Ollin* in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (*History and Mythology* 2: 42-45). This movement has been likened to weaving in its synthesis of linear and cyclical movements (Maffie, *Aztec* 495-501). The altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan still had a collective path to follow as its elites sought ways to negotiate with Spanish administrators and ecclesiastics. Action-oriented knowledge laid a path to follow in years to come.

Even with the influence of Christianity, the *Crónica mexicayotl* established the parameters for pivotal events within a framework compatible with pantheism. The Mexica historical perspective placed Huitzilopochli as the group's tutelary deity and ultimately as a manifestation of teotl. Louise Burkhart has observed that one recurring Nahua interpretation of Catholicism was to present it as "another of the periodic realignments to which the Nahua cosmos was subject" (*Holy* 97). In the end, the Christianizing glosses' ambivalent portrayal of Catholic orthodoxy and Nahua deities reveals a view of the universe that the friars had not taught. Nahua monism would not admit any epistemological fragmentation between Western ways of writing and indigenous ways of knowing and living. Since native knowledge and practice were intertwined, any apparent contradiction between Nahua and Western knowledge was reconcilable. Just as the cosmic tree united different spaces, so did the *Crónica mexicayotl* make it possible to maintain Mexica unity and reorient occupations without dividing the community. The solution to the continued presence of the Spanish was neither a retreat into private discourse nor overt resistance. Rather, the *Crónica mexicayotl* envisioned a third path of

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[124] The archaic root *ol*, denotes motion and life (Seler, *Comentarios* 1,143; Hunt, *Transformation* 59). See also León Portilla's commentary on a passage of Sahagún's *Colloquios*, explaining how Nahua astronomers interpreted the path, "ohtli," of each celestial body sky (*Aztec Image* 20-21).

unity and cultural brokerage as the means to live in balance under the pressures of Spanish colonialism.

As I have also demonstrated, the *Crónica mexicayotl* developed as an educational counter discourse principally against Tlatelolcan accounts of the Mexica past. As distinct from Book XII of the *Florentine Codex* and the *Annals of Tlatelolco*, the text is distanced from the nascent Nahua Christian community of Tlatelolco. Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc partook of Christian affiliation, but, as we have seen, he did not provide the material of the *Crónica mexicayotl* in the context of collaboration with clergy. Thus, much of its content differs profoundly from didactic material the members of religious orders produced in Nahuatl. Tezozomoc's text draws from traditional metaphysics in order to propose unity and mediation as solutions to the problem of the marginalization of Mexica elites. The propogation of the Christian faith was not the objective of Tezozomoc's call for unity, nor for his models of mediatorial work, but rather a later addition. Likewise, in his pedagogical project, only the Mexica could be the keepers of histories for future generations. For that reason, the *Crónica mexicayotl* also distanced itself from didactic texts that promoted an imperial vision of the region, exemplified in Cervantes de Salazar's *Mexico en 1554*. However, in a manner not dissimilar from the solidarity of the nobles who opposed tribute in the Anales de Juan Bautista, the *Crónica mexicayotl* conveyed an *entre nos* that Tezozomoc established. Unity and intermediation empowered Mexica readers to use their knowledge of the past and present in order to shape a constantly unfolding future.

The cosmic tree motif—particularly in the ceiba where Cortés hanged Cuauhtemoc and the ahuehue of Colhuacan— manifests the underlying, interconnected and dynamic action of the cosmos. The cosmic tree in the *Crónica mexicayotl* teaches the descendants of Mexica elites to extend their studies into areas of knowledge that will allow them to thrive as a people. The

cosmic tree provides a model. Its branches balance each other and gain equilibrium from the roots below. Nahua contemporaries of the *Crónica mexicayotl* could rely on each other for balance and draw support from the roots of ancestral tradition. Tezozomoc set a didactic project in motion, identifying the demise of traditional social structures as an obstacle for passing on knowledge to younger generations. Chimalpahin's considerable influence on the oldest existing copy of the *Crónica* indicates how the negotiation of Nahua social standing became more flexible over the years. The governorship of Antonio Valeriano of Azcapotzalco shows how even commoners via study could generate economic opportunities. Outside the walls of the *calmecac* and the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, Nahua education could still thrive. The text's linear format and the growth of intellectual networks among its contributors made possible a text concerned with preserving memory and with furthering the path of balance-seeking.

The function of the *Crónica mexicayotl*, with its emphasis on ancestral metaphysics and history, resonates with the formation of nobles in the *calmecac* prior to the conquest. Preserving the historical memory of the elders, the *Crónica* fulfills a role reminiscent of the preconquest tlacuiloque who painted and interpreted the teachings of the tlamatinime (León Portilla, *Filosofía* 227-28). As we have seen, the passing of the final rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan signified the end of a way of life for the native writers here, who experienced the loss of traditional ways of measuring time and experience, a shift that Cuauhtemoc's surrender began and that concluded with the death of Luis Santa María Cipac (Chimalpahin, *Codex* 62v).[125] The *Crónica* faced this reality with noble unity instead of armed rebellion (Cortés, "Reacciones" 89). Linear writing thus became a means of harnessing the generative malinalli energy of the cosmos to prepare for an

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[125] See also scholarship on the general postconquest loss of native measurements of time in Chapter One on this point (Florescano, *Memory* 100-104; Hassig, *Time* 1-2, 141).

unknown, and recalling what in earlier times the tlacuiloque considered the aid of Quetzalcoatl (Haskett, *Visions* 6), patron of the calmecac (León Portilla, *Filosofía* 69).

I have demonstrated that the educational teleologies of the *Crónica mexicayotl* emphasized unity and mediation and encouraged Mexica elites to adopt a new set of occupational skills. The text presents Mexica elites as the most qualified for colonial intermediary roles, based on their history. Applying nepantla to moral education and occupational models, the text preserves the importance of walking in balance with the cosmos by adapting to the demands of colonial life. The importance of study, writing, and mediatorial strategies in the *Crónica mexicayotl* equipped Tezozomoc and his future readers with the means to keep the words of their ancestors alive, along with an approach to balanced living that would distinguish them from the projects of colonial authorities, the clergy, and other Western institutions in years to come.

# Chapter Five:

## Beyond the Fifth Sun: Conclusions and New Directions

The opening of the dissertation highlighted two important preconquest figures whose legacy profoundly marked Nahua colonial textual production: the tlamatini and the tlacuilo. For generations before the Spaniards arrived, the tlamatini, a sage "knower of things" (pl. tlamatinime), gained his or her wisdom through experience evaluated by the light of tradition. They learned to interpret the unfolding of the cosmos and how its movements affected human lives, such as by way of the tonalpohualli calendar, which helped them determine the specific allotment of solar energy that each person received at birth and how that impacted individual destinies. The tlacuiloque were confidants of the tlamatinime sages. A tlacuilo painted the teachings of the tlamatinime in the form of codices and murals, in order to preserve valuable information for their locality, the altepetl. Each person had to learn to walk within the range of choices available to him or her in life. Each altepetl in turn had a tutelary deity and specific destiny, also bound to cosmic patterns of cyclical time. The universe was conceived of in dynamic terms, wherein every living and non-living being ultimately formed a part of teotl, the underlying fabric of reality. In order to live in the constantly unfolding and changing world, one needed practical wisdom.

But what would the Nahuas make of life of after the conquest? What approaches to metaphysical reflection would appear after the destruction of native houses of learning (e.g., the calmecac, telpochcalli, and the cuiyocan)? How would they imagine living in their place and time beyond the Fifth Sun?

Considering the catastrophic losses of population, forced labor, pressures to convert to Christianity, the loss of traditional institutions, and the weakening of family bonds, the Nahuas

continued to follow their traditions as best they could. The Nahuas' preservation of their preconquest beliefs was largely a matter of cultural practices that recalled traditional methods of communication, such as the continued importance of pictorial representation throughout the sixteenth century. After the initial shock of the military conquest, Spanish colonialism brought a profound change in cyclical time as the tlamatinime had envisioned it. While the Christian liturgical is cyclical on an annual basis, I submit that how Spanish administrators used the Julian calendar promoted a linear conceptualization of time. When colonial administrators use the Western calendar for mundane, secular purposes (e.g. commercial and legislative) they encouraged a conceptualization of time as linear with an unknown and open future. Nahua writers made sense of this notion of perpetual linearity over the decades after the conquest. In fact, I would suggest that the texts we have examined oscillate in an interpretative field that partakes of the linear, but assumes the predominance of patterns in the universe in step with the ancestral understanding of the cycles of *teotl*. Nahua monism made the identification between the subject and the world much closer than the Western model, in which the dualism of matter and spirit made it easier for the Spanish to see themselves as distinct from the world and from time. In the midst of these developments in conceptualizations of time, the future became problematic for Nahuas not because of its novelty as a category, but as an abandonment of the epistemological networks of the tlamatinime and tlacuiloque. Spanish institutions and organizations awkwardly filled the social gap. It is within these new settings that Nahuas' traditional nepantla-seeking would lead the writers of the texts I have analyzed to fashion innovative native approaches to their own present and future.

After the conquest, native amanuenses supplemented traditional wisdom with their experiences in order to respond to unprecedented circumstances that new Spanish institutions

produced. Nahua scribes who learned alphabetic writing in Franciscan-operated schools took up roles not unlike those of the tlamatinime and tlacuiloque from before the conquest, yet within the dominant early modern Spanish setting. Serge Gruzinski describes how the conquest forced Nahua and Spanish alike to form a "personal palimpsest" of strategies in order to "adapt to fragmented, fractured worlds, to endure precarious, unstable, and unpredictable situations, and to cope with often rudimentary communication" (*Mestizo* 50-51). While capturing the awareness of hybridity and cultural confluence individuals needed for preserving tradition and finding a place in colonial Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the metaphor does not entirely capture the Nahua awareness of reality as constantly unfolding. Unlike a palimpsest, the Nahua cosmos was not a series of texts written one on top of the other or scrubbed away. I submit that the scribes did not imagine a finished world, but one that situated their experience within cosmic processes. The cosmos was constantly becoming. Their path-seeking approach to life assumed that conscientious and constantly adapting action helped people keep their balance.

Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that Nahua teleologies were first and foremost not external: they did not refer to the ultimate meaning of human life or a purpose for the cosmos in the manner of Western monotheistic traditions or Aristotelian metaphysics. Rather, Nahua teleologies were internal to the cosmos: each person could decide (with their limitations) how they would pursue balanced living. Three intertwining criteria characterize Nahua teleologies: they were nepantla-aiming, expressed in linear writing, and based on colonial experience. These balance-oriented attitudes were firmly tied to practical actions in day-to-day life, but also evoked imaginaries of futures different from those that the Spanish were working to impose. As we have seen, Nahua teleologies emerged as counter discourses in areas including healing practices, economics, ritual, and education.

In the *Florentine Codex*, Books X, XI, and XII, a group of scribes and native physicians (titicih), who were aides to Bernardino de Sahagún produced guides to the human body and healing practices for future generations. Given the three animic units that give life to the body in the Nahua cosmovision—the tonalli, the yollotli, and the ihiyotl—the information they provided was concerned with helping future Nahuas maintain a balance of cosmic energy flowing through them. This conceptualization of health differed from the humoralism of European medics, and the vision of the body-as-a-vehicle for the soul, entailed in the Franciscans' ontology. I have shown that the detailed information preserved in linear writing with illustrations projected a future different from the notions of orthodoxy and science that the Franciscans wished to inculcate in their Nahua aides. We have seen the far-reaching explanatory power of the traditional Nahua approach to the body and wellbeing, made manifest in Book XII's retelling of the Spanish invasion that relies heavily on the native economy of bodily welfare and ritual purity, both of which the military invasion disrupted. Nahua conceptualizations regarding the body and healing practices provided native writers with a cultural area, which they imbued with teleological purpose via their writing and illustrations in the *Florentine Codex*.

The varied content of the *Florentine Codex* recalls the polyvalent confluence of ideas and events in the colonized urban hub of Mexico-Tenochtitlan of the mid-sixteenth century, represented vividly in the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, examined in Chapter Three. Ancestral wisdom in these *Anales* confronts unforeseen threats to the Nahuas in the Spanish colonial regime from many sides, especially with regards to ritual, economics, and the law. In order to transcend the limitations of their contemporary native leaders, these authors constructed their own scribal authority. Juan Tetón's religious rebellion revealed trepidations about Christian belief, stemming from the displacement of values associated with traditional agriculture.

Similarly, an anti-tribute riot shows Nahua nobles' frustration with their own governor, Don Luis Santa María Cipac. Furthermore, rumors about Moteuczoma's return confirm that Nahua elites developed alternative approaches to leadership, using the mediation of writing. The varied content of the *Anales de Juan Bautista* shows how Mexico-Tenochtitlan was morphing into *La Cuidad de Méjico*, a crossroads of the Atlantic and Pacific regions of the Spanish empire, and one of the first globalized cities. Even in the midst of their unprecedented experiences of coloniality, linear writing allowed the scribes of Moyotlan to superimpose their traditions on events in such a way that posterity would learn how to better interact with the Spanish. Perhaps coming generations would also draw a measure of optimism from reading about the active role that the ancestors and their ideas continued to play in the Mexica capital.

The displacement of native hierarchies and the Hispanization of Mexico-Tenochtitlan also formed the background for Chapter Four, which centers on the *Crónica mexicayotl*. In the second half of the sixteenth century, given the threat of the disappearance of the knowledge that Mexica nobles had learned in the calmecac and the telpochcalli before the conquest, Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, a grandson of Moteuczoma Xocoyotl, began a didactic project. He aimed to make a text that would preserve Mexica history so that younger generations would not forget it.While doing so, he also inserted an implicit curriculum modeling the value of mediatorial work in colonial Mexico. Recalling the acts of preconquest mediators—the god Huitzilopochtli, his priests, preconquest rulers and functionaries—models mediation between cosmic forces to secure balance for the altepetl of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The examples the *Crónica mexicayotl* recalls from after the conquest included that of Tezozomoc's work as a nahuatlato and legal advocate, the scribal work of Chimalpahin, and the political career of the linguistically talented commoner Antonio Valeriano. These figures serve as evidence that mediatorial work would help

Nahua elites to find occupations with dignity and an important place in the interstices of colonial society.

The very real losses that Mexica nobles experienced must be acknowledged and lamented. However, with an intentional direction in writing, Tezozomoc drew from the collective memory of his elders and tapped into the voices of his ancestors. The text he began demonstrates that Spanish ideological control of the city could never be total. In fact, it is fitting that the *Crónica mexicayotl* would serve as a rallying point for Mexican nationalism during the independence era.[126] It is not surprising that both the *Anales de Juan Bautista* and the *Crónica mexicayotl* should promote the restoration of the Moteuczoma rulers to the throne of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. They both drew inspiration from the prehispanic xiuhpohualli genre and thus focused on their own altepetl of Tenochtitlan as the protagonist.

I have also demonstrated that Nahua teleologies were concerned with more than day-to-day survival. Drawing from Nahua and European technologies and mythologies, the Nahua writers forged new paths toward a life of balance in spite of colonial pressures. Nevertheless, the imposition of Spanish culture meant a forced transformation of native ways. Can we say, then, that their teleological writing and plans for the future were genuinely native? Regarding the marginalization of Mexica nobles from the center of Tenochtitlan during the sixteenth century, Serge Gruzinski and Nathan Watchel pose similar questions.

> During several centuries Indianization and Occidentalization have produced opposite effects, but the processes in reality have become intermingled; and it is Occidentalization, which, everywhere, has finished as the victor. But this has not been entirely true, for

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[126] See Rocío Cortés's "La *mexicayotl* jesuita: Una construcción criollista en la obra de Francisco Javier Clavijero."

> Indians remain minorities all the same, if one is to be precise. Is this a question of last vestiges before an ineluctable and final disappearance, or will the construction of new consciousnesses of identity open other perspectives for them (as the 'neo-indigenist' movements which have been developing over the course of the last few years seem to testify)? (249).

From what we have seen, resilient subjectivities in writing promoted Nahua teleologies. I submit, then, that the Spanish marginalization of native voices had the unexpected upshot of providing spaces in which teleological reflections could grow stronger and Nahua writers could appropriate Western ideas that suited their aims. Finding one's place in colonial society meant finding one's future. When it came to Nahua writing, the spaces in which that agency could operate the most effectively were on the edge of the Spanish purview. The sections of Books X and XI of the *Florentine Codex* that Sahagún did not gloss allowed for the preservation of Nahua content on the proper care of the body. Similarly, when Spanish authorities lost interest in the tribute register of the *Anales de Juan Bautista,* that text served as a teleological sounding board to determine through trail-and-error how best to approach the unknown future. The *Crónica mexicayotl*, as a native-initiated didactic project, uses Spanish marginalization to its advantage in order to argue for the need to preserve native knowledge in linear writing that Nahua intellectuals had indigenized.

Nahua teleologies represent emancipatory imaginaries. Envisioning the future in manners distinct from the goals of colonial administrators and clergy, these examples of Nahua pragmatism show possibilities for making connections with contemporary indigenous struggles against neo-colonialism and internal colonialism. Regarding the *Florentine Codex*, one avenue of investigation into the legacy of colonial Nahua teleology could focus on the resonances of the

herbal cures and three animic conduits with *curanderismo*. How have representations of the *curandero* in literature and in other media referenced the colonial heritage of the *titicih*? Likewise, Juan Tetón's religious rebellion could be linked with the upsurge of interest in recent years in ceremonial dance groups in Mexico and the US Southwest, both of which are concerned with the valuation of tradition over Western beliefs. The Zapatista Army's (EZLN) critique of neoliberalism and request for the state to honor native laws bears a striking resemblance to Miguel Tecniuh's protest of burdensome tribute five centuries ago. Moreover, Tezozomoc's initiative to begin his own didactic project shares strains of educational autonomy that the Instituto de Docencia e Investigaciones Etnográficas de Zacatecas (IDIEZ) seeks through the publication of the first monolingual Nahuatl dictionary, focused on the Huastecan branch. Rich connections like these demonstrate further applications of Nahua teleologies as descriptors of trans-regional and diachronic decolonial thinking.

Possibilities for connecting native teleological thinking from the colonial era with the present suggest further applications of Nahua teleologies as an analytical concept. Nahua teleologies offer a way to gain insight both from instances of native rejection and acceptance of European culture. Nahuas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed a variety of reactions to colonial ideologies, a phenomenon that manifests itself notably in the area of religion. Francisco Tenamaztle, the Chichimeca who expressed open distain for Christianity and the Spanish military, fought for his own vision of the future, a future divest of the Spanish and of Christianity (Carrillo 163-93). However, the reaction of Domingo Chimalpahin to Catholicism was that of acceptance to the point of inserting Mesoamerican histories into the Christian calendar in his *Annals*, as we have noted. In spite of the vast differences in Tenamaztle's and Chimalpahin's reactions to Christianity, both constructed a teleological interpretation of their

own actions, based on colonial experience, that aimed for balance, and comes to us today preserved in writing.

Even while colonialism marginalized Nahua writers, they deliberated about and considered which elements from the outside they would appropriate and how they would modify these to be consistent with their worldview. They considered writing an advantageous way to preserve information, and I contend, to propose teleological explanations of their actions. Enrique Dussel agrees that the ability to draw from the pre-colonial past and the technologies and discourses of colonizers allows those that Europeans have marginalized to participate with greater equality in a global future (*Invention* 137-38). Similarly, James Maffie's call for "polycentric global dialogue" promotes the idea that "indigenous knowledges" offer ways to overcome the disparities colonialism established ("In the End" 60-63). In colonial Mexico, Nahua epistemological perspectives lay the groundwork so that painter-writers could articulate their teleological thought in response to European religious and economic goals. Their texts provided vision for how to maintain cosmic balance despite their unequal footing in Spanish political, economic, religious, and educational institutions.

The concept of Nahua teleologies provides a rich context for the study and teaching of native texts and cultural production from colonial Mexico in the university classroom. Breaking out of the instructional holding pattern of identifying Nahua elements in traditional song-poems, architecture, and narratives, university instructors can provide evidence of native writers' proposals for the best kind of living, and for forming harmonious native collectives. Students can learn that the *Florentine Codex* does not simply represent Sahagún's attempts to understand the Nahuas, or their clandestine expression of their traditional culture. It represents a compendium of information preserved in order to help future generations of natives —and by extension, Nahuatl-

reading others— to maintain their bodily and cosmic wellbeing. The *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a complex text of cultural negotiations, also reveals future plans for Nahua ritual and political engagements with the Spanish, based on the abiding presence of the ancestors and their wisdom. The *Crónica mexicayotl*, although recognizing the impossibility of rebuilding the calmecac, provides a portable, linearized version of traditional knowledge, meant to inform future generations of obstacles their ancestors overcame. Understanding native intentions behind Nahua writing illuminates reasons why, by their own lights, they chose to cast visions of things to come. The purposefulness of their writing also highlights the circumstances from which their courses of action emerged, and the unequal power relationships that motivated them to write. Focusing on their approaches to "extending the path" (Maffie, *Double* 75), we can enter more deeply into our analysis of Nahua texts from the colonial period and make our teaching more holistic, accurate, and culturally relevant.

In closing, I offer again the metaphor of the cosmic tree for understanding processes of cultural negotiation that generated Nahua teleologies. A tree grows best when it can sink its roots deeply, and extend its branches and leaves ever farther. As the tree spreads its branches, in order to maintain its balance, it must drop its roots deeper. In a similar manner, the more native writers learned about European culture, the more they wanted to learn about, promote, and preserve their own culture. The resulting combinations were all a part of one organic way of being and acting. Nahua writers' work resonated with the movement of cosmic energy as they had interpreted it for centuries. The malinalli movement of Nahua writing added to the growth of a cosmic tree.

In this dissertation I have demonstrated that the ways in which Mexico has become more Western were a matter of choice, and that those choices were part of a larger cosmovision that Spanish coloniality had decentered. Sahagún's aides, the scribes of San Juan Moyotlan, and

Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc served as mediators between their communities' contemporary experience and their collective expectations about what lay ahead. These writing subjects constructed their authority based on their command of traditional knowledge and their deft application of that knowledge to navigating the cultural threats of colonial life. Nahua teleologies, in spite of the linear temporalities they assumed, were still focused on how to live in harmony with the cosmos. The texts I have examined came into being as a way to convince readers to act in order to influence times ahead. The future had irrevocably entered the native imagination; yet that imagination branched out in many ways that Spanish imperial designs did not intend. Nahua teleologies remained firmly rooted in central Mexico while they ramified into larger networks of ideas that would not have been possible before the conquest.

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