AN ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHT-DEITIES SECTION IN THE CODEX LAUD

by

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ABSTRACT

Among the most endearing Pre-Columbian arts are the picture books produced in Mesoamerica prior to the Spanish Conquest. The focus of the present work is one of these intriguing manuscripts, the Codex Laud (MS. Laud Misc. 678), which resides in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England. Rather than concerning a superficial examination of the entire forty-six page screen-fold, the thesis focuses on an intensive iconographic analysis of one "chapter" within the manuscript--Folios 16-9 in which one god or goddess appears per sheet.

Following prefatory material and introductory information on the appropriate supernatural personages and the importance of the native calendar, the study commences with a comparison of the items depicted on each page of the Laud's eight-deities section with the equivalent gods and their attributes found elsewhere in the group of pre-Conquest religious manuscripts to which the Codex Laud belongs.

Since the comparison demonstrates the uniqueness of the eight-deities section and, therefore, argues for an internal examination of the Laud segment, the

next method of research is to consider Folios 16-9 against one another on the basis of two sets of elements that the eight sheets have in common. This examination indicates an inherent grouping of depicted objects according to positive and negative principles.

The last procedure employed to discern the structure and meaning of Folios 16-9 is an external comparison of the day signs on each of the Laud pages with native interpretations of the calendar recorded by two sixteenth-century Spanish friars: Bernardino de Sahagún and Diego Durán. This external comparison supports the bifurcation detected in the internal investigation.

The analysis of Laud 16-9 reveals that the eight deities and their influences fluctuate between evil values on Folios 15, 13, 11, and 9 and benign or neutral values on Folio 16, 14, 12, and 10. The thesis closes with remarks on the function of the eight-deities section within pre-Hispanic culture and new directions for further research.

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To my parents and Linda.

There are few places where
the ancient calendars are
not kept in hiding, consulted
often, and taught to a new
generation so that this
system will not fall into
oblivion *in aeternum*.

Fray Diego Durán

I. PREFACE

One attractive feature of native Mesoamerican art is its great potential for fruitful research. Middle American studies has claimed followers among anthropologists and archaeologists for years, but until recently art historians have not taken advantage of the numerous opportunities for study and interpretation of the elusive art of ancient Mexico.

Among the most fascinating and charming arts of Mesoamerica are the picture books produced in Mexico before the Spanish Conquest of 1521. In 1962, Henry B. Nicholson called for students and scholars to undertake additional research on the pictorial manuscripts.[1] Following this request, the Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt published facsimilies of several Mesoamerican painted books. One of these remarkable color reproductions, primarily intended for academic research, was that of the beautiful Codex Laud.[2]

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[1]Henry B. Nicholson, "The Mesoamerican Pictorial Manuscripts: Research, Past and Present," Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses, (1962), pp. 207, 212.

[2]Cottie A. Burland, Codex Laud (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966).

A. Description of the Manuscript

The MS. Laud Misc. 678 resides in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England. Executed in screen-fold form, the Mexican pictorial manuscript is painted on both sides. The well-preserved book consists of forty-six pages, excluding the two cover sheets, and measures nearly four meters in length.[3] Its four animal hides are joined by "lap joints" apparently cemented together.[4] The creators of the book conditioned the surface with a lime preparation and then burnished this hard layer before painting.[5]

The quality of workmanship of the Codex Laud is impressive. Cottie A. Burland cites the uniform page sizes as an example of the "remarkable standards of accuracy in the manufacture of the codex."[6] The average page length is 165.5 mm with a "total variation" of 5 mm and the average page height is 157.5 mm with a "total variation" of just 2 mm.[7]

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[3]Burland, p. 8.

[4]Ibid., pp. 8, 12. Burland does not clearly specify what type of cement (lime plaster?).

[5]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[6]Ibid., p. 12.

[7]Ibid.

As an explanation for the precise execution of the Codex Laud, it has been suggested that the artist had a grid at his disposal.[8] For example, in Folios 16-9[9] (Appendix, Figs. 1-8) the deities, their respective trees or canopies, the calendar signs, the offerings, and the colored circles in the upper left corners of these pages are placed in locations which are strikingly close to one another, alluding to the employment of a detailed plan.

During the investigation I could not discern a grid, but was amazed at the precision with which the pictorial elements were organized on each sheet. As an example of the accuracy in draftsmanship, the interval between the center of any colored circle and its neighbor, both appearing in the horizontal row at the upper left of each folio, never varies more than 1 mm on any page. This slight discrepancy in distance may have been caused by photographic distortion, since I was not working with the original screen-fold.[10] Even

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[8]James Bugslag, University of Victoria, viva voce.

[9]The pagination employed throughout the thesis is that appearing in Burland, Codex Laud. Chapter III above explains the reading of these folios from right to left.

[10]These measurements were made using the photographic reproductions appearing in Carlos Martínez Marín, Códice Laud, Serie Investigaciones 5 (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia, 1961), 46-53.

if the minor variation which I measured exists in the actual manuscript, the suggestion that a grid was employed on Folios 16-9 remains tenable. The handsome images of the Codex Laud were painted on panels of deer skin.[11] The leather, as well as the prepared surface,[12] has probably expanded and contracted in various places during the centuries, thus accounting for variations in distance between depicted items.

Since I examined only a facsimile of the manuscript, I cite a Mesoamericanist who has studied the original book for a description of color employed in the Codex Laud. C. A. Burland describes the apparently water-based pigments:

> The red is probably cochineal, and most of the others finely powdered mineral colours probably given body by an admixture of white, though some seem to have been stains . . . . It is notable that the greens vary. Most of the work is done with a mineral green which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the pale blue pigment. They are both mixed with white. But in the upper faces of folios 9 to 24 inclusive, a vegetable green, which has faded . . . is used. This colour is described variously as brown and golden brown and few notice the remaining slight greenish tinge in it . . . . it is used for green subjects such as quetzal feathers and trees.[13]

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[11] Burland, p. 10.

[12] Burland notes that the painted layer "has contracted at a different pace from the underlying material" (p. 11).

[13] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

Burland presents further details regarding the description and condition of the manuscript in the introduction to the Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt's recent reproduction of the Codex Laud.

B. History

Nothing is known of the screen-fold before 1636, the date inscribed on the outer cover when its owner, William Laud (1573-1645) Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, donated part of his manuscript collection to the University of Oxford.[14] No extant documents, native or Spanish, indicate when or where the Codex Laud was orginally executed. Most authors assume the manuscript is pre-Conquest[15] since it lacks a Spanish commentary and the style of drawing suggests no European contact.

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[14]Burland, p. 5.

[15]Eduard Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, (London: Duke of Loubat, 1901-1902), p. 210; Donald Robertson, "The Style of the Borgia Group of Mexican Pre-Conquest Manuscripts," in Latin American Art, and the Baroque Period in Europe, ed. Millard Meiss (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963), 148; Burland, p. 6; Nicholson, "The Problem of the Provenience of the Members of the 'Codex Borgia Group': A Summary," in Summa antropologica: en homenaje a Roberto J. Weitlaner, ed. A. Pompa y Pompa (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, 1966), p. 145; and John B. Glass, "A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts," in Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. ed. Howard F. Cline (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1975), XIV, Pt. 3, 63.

C. The Codex Borgia Group

In 1887, a scholar who contributed "landmark research"[16] to the study of pre-Conquest religious works, Eduard Seler, grouped together five non-historical manuscripts on the basis of "manner of representation."[17] The manuscripts were the Codices Borgia, Vaticanus 3773 (or "B"), Bologna (or "Cospi"), Fejérváry-Mayer, and Laud. The five pictorials constitute the core of the Codex Borgia Group. John B. Glass summarizes the "traits that define the relationship" of the five manuscripts of the collection as:

> 1) preconquest date, 2) animal-hide screen-fold format, 3) gross similarity of style, 4) intricate symbolism and iconography, and 5) complex religious and calendrical content involving elaborations of the 260-day divinatory cycle or tonalpohualli and associated gods.[18]

Some Mesoamericanists since Seler have included one or two additional manuscripts in the Borgia Group: the Mexican MS. 20 (Fig. 9), a single panel of animal hide also referred to as Fonds Mexicain 20, Aubin MS. 20, and

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[16]Nicholson, rev. of Göttergestalten in den mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, by Bodo Spranz, American Anthropologist, 68, No. 3 (1966), 799.

[17]Seler, "Der Codex Borgia und die verwandten aztekischen Bilderschriften," in Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft, 22 Jan. 1886, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XIX, 105.

[18]Glass, p. 63.

Culte Rendu à Tonatiuh,[19] and, less often,[20] the ritual side[21] of the leather screen-fold Codex Porfirio Díaz (Fig. 10), also known as the Porfirio Díaz Reverse.[22] In this study, I include the Mexican MS. 20, but exclude the Codex Porfirio Díaz because of the lack of agreement about its inclusion in the Borgia Group. Judging from the page reproduced by Karl Nowotny (Fig. 10)[23] the style of the Porfirio Díaz is dissimilar to that presented in the Codex Laud.

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[19]Martínez Marín, p. 6; Robertson, p. 152; Nicholson, "Problem," pp. 146, 155-56; Robert Chadwick and Richard S. MacNeish, "Codex Borgia and the Venta Salada Phase," in The Prehistory of the Tehuacan Valley, ed. Douglas S. Byers (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1967) I, 114; and Glass, p. 63.

[20]Glass states that the connection between the Codex Porfirio Díaz and the core members of the Borgia Group is "less direct" (p. 64). Nicholson stylistically describes the Porfirio Díaz as a "rather loose and sketchy variant of the Mixteca tradition" and notes that, versus other codices in the group, it lacks color in its execution ("Problem," p. 156). But, Nicholson adds that the Porfirio Díaz Reverse does contain cognates with the Laud, Fejérváry-Mayer, Vaticanus B, and Mexican MS. 20.

[21]Only the reverse is mentioned here because the obverse, and a portion of the reverse as well, of the Porfirio Díaz contains historical matter and is different in style from the ritualistic portion of the reverse (Nicholson, "Problem," p. 156).

[22]Nicholson, "Problem," pp. 146-47, 156; Chadwick and MacNeish, p. 114.

[23]Karl Anton Nowotny, Tlacuillolli: Die Mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften, Stil und Inhalt (Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanischen Bibliothek, 1961), plate 50b.

D. Dating

Researchers cannot assign exact dates for the Codex Laud. C. A. Burland suggests that the pictorial dates from the fifteenth century while two of its pages, Folios 1 and 2 (Figs. 11 and 12), date from the tenth or eleventh centuries.[24] He bases the latter hypothesis on "stylistic affinities" between the two sheets, especially Folio 2, and earlier Totonac art (Fig. 13).[25]

While conceding visible stylistic similarities between Figure 12 and Figure 13, I fail to discern enough differences between Folios 1 and 2 and the rest of the Codex Laud to warrant Burland's earlier dating of the first two sheets. The faded blue tint of Folios 1 and 2 gives them an older appearance in contrast to the remaining pages. Yet the cause of this fading might be the result of a process other than aging: for example, the two sheets by themselves could have been overexposed to the sun.

The Codex Laud appears to be pre-Conquest, perhaps dating from the fifteenth century and contemporary with

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[24]In 1966, Burland believed that Folio 2 was the only ancient page in the manuscript (Codex Laud, p. 6). But in 1967, he revised his earlier suggestion to include both Folios 1 and 2 (The Gods of Mexico [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons], p. 194).

[25]Burland, Codex Laud, p. 6. For chronological and geographical placement of Mesoamerican art and cultures see Table I and Maps I-III in the Appendix below.

the Postclassic Mixtec genealogical-historical painted books, discussed below. It is sheer speculation to affix a more specific date to the screen-fold.

E. Provenience

Observing a close relationship between the Codex Laud and the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Fig. 14) as evidenced "in the style of the figures, in the manner of design and coloration," Eduard Seler assumes that both originated in the same area.[26] Seler places the origin of the Borgia Group in the vicinity of the "district of Tehuacan, Cozcatlan, and Teotitlan del Camino,"[27] the first two located in southern Puebla and the latter in nearby northern Oaxaca (Appendix, Map III). He bases his choice on the belief that this area fulfills three requirements: 1) it "was inhabited by Aztec speaking peoples" which explains the appearance of Aztec symbols in the Borgia screen-folds, 2) the area "was coterminous with the Zapotec territory" hence the occurrence of Zapotec-Mixtec myths in the Borgia Group, and 3) "it lay on the

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[26] Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 210.

[27] Ibid. Burland states that Seler tentatively ascribed the Laud's sister screen-fold, the Fejérváry-Mayer, to "some such tribe as the Ciuacatec or Mazatec" --groups that correspond with this "district" (Burland, "Some Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud Misc. 678," Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, XXVIII [Paris: 1948] p. 372; Codex Laud, p. 6).

trade-route which led . . . to the Maya-peopled district of Tabasco" therefore explaining an affinity that Seler sees with the Maya manuscripts.[28]

In examining artifacts from the late Venta Salada Phase of the Tehuacan Valley (700-1540 A.D.), Robert Chadwick and Richard S. MacNeish support Seler in his attribution of the Codex Borgia itself to that area.[29] The archaeologists characterize the area of the Tehuacan Valley as "approximately coterminous with the pre-Conquest domain of the Senorio de Teotitlan del Camino, an independent political enclave within the Aztec empire."[30] Without specifically addressing the topic

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[28]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 210.

[29]Chadwick and MacNeish, pp. 24, 130.

[30]Chadwick and MacNeish, p. 114. Scholars debate the names of the various past residents of the Tehuacan Valley. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno notes that the "inhabitants of the region, according to the Relaciones geográficas of the sixteenth century, were Nahuas and Mazatecs" ("Mesoamerica Before the Toltecs," trans. Maudie Bullington and Charles R. Wicke, in Esplendor del México antiguo [1959], rpt. in Ancient Oaxaca, ed. John Paddock [Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1966], p. 62). Yet John Paddock suggests that the Mixtecs, among other groups, ruled the area at one time ("Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica," in Ancient Oaxaca, p. 228). A paper dealing with this question, James R. Ramsey's "Postclassic Art of the Tehuacan Valley: Aztec or Mixtec?" was unfortunately cancelled at the XLIII International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, B.C., 11-17 August 1979.

of provenience for other members of the Borgia Group, the Mesoamericanists do include a comparison between one of the considered artifacts, a flint knife depicted on a sherd from a late Venta Salada site, and knives stylistically similar to the Tehuacan motif appearing in the Codex Laud (Fig. 15).[31] Chadwick and MacNeish draw no conclusions from this evidence, but state that, in general, "the strongest arguments are those supporting a Mixtec attribution" for the Codex Borgia body of manuscripts.[32]

Outside of the Mixtec area, the Gulf Coast is a provenience possibility entertained by several authors. C. A. Burland maintains that the Codex Laud shows "no relationship to Mixtec codices."[33] Instead, Burland sees similarities between what he believes to be the oldest sheets in the pictorial, Folios 1 and 2 (Figs. 11 and 12), and "the earlier art styles of Tajín in the Totonac country"[34] (see Maps I and II). A. R. Pagden concurs with Burland in viewing Folios 1 and 2 as "painted in the South Tajín style from the state of Veracruz."[35]

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[31]Chadwick and MacNeish, p. 117.

[32]Ibid., pp. 114-15.

[33]Burland, Codex Laud, pp. 6-7.

[34]Burland, Codex Laud, p. 6; Gods, p. 194.

[35]Mexican Pictorial Manuscripts, introd. A. R. Pagden (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1972), p. 7.

Although there are some similarities to the ornate Tajín style (Fig. 13), a critical comparison between Folios 1 and 2 and the remainder of the Codex Laud does not support the conclusion that these pages are "radically different from those that follow."[36] For example, the same steady hand that delineated the goggle eye, earring, forepart of headress, nose ornament, bifid tongue, and other individual elements of the Rain God figured on Folio 2, must have drawn the equivalent elements onto the aspect of Tlaloc in Folio 12 (Fig. 5). Different items appear on the two pages, but the style remains the same. The faded color of Folios 1 and 2, which contrasts to the remaining sheets, is probably the factor that confuses Pagden and Burland.

Burland also bases his conclusion on the hypothesis that the bar-dot numerical system found on several pages of the manuscript (e.g., Fig. 16) derives from the Maya and, therefore, indicates a Gulf Coast home for the Codex Laud.[37] Donald Robertson refutes the notion that the bar-dot arrangement can differentiate non-Mixtec from Mixtec works or be employed as an indicator of provenience, since the bar-dot numerical system appears "in the heart of the Mixtec region at Yucuñudahui" and

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[36] Mexican Pictorial Manuscripts, p. 7.

[37] Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 372; Codex Laud, p. 6.

at other locations outside both the Maya area and the Gulf Coast region, such as Xochicalco and Monte Albán (see Maps II and III).[38]

For reasons different from those of Pagden and Burland, Patricia Anawalt includes the Gulf Coast as a provenience candidate for the Codex Borgia Group, particularly the Laud and Fejérváry-Mayer. Because certain items of clothing appearing in the Borgia Group are missing from the Mixtec historical manuscripts and the ritual side of the Mixtec Codex Vindobonensis, Anawalt concludes that the Borgia pictorials did not originate in the Mixtec heartland and agrees with H. B. Nicholson[39] that the proliferation of females with bare breasts in the group hints at a "Southern Gulf Coast" provenience for the Borgia screenfolds.[40] Yet the variation in costume seen in the religious Borgia codices and the historical-genealogical Mixtec manuscripts is perhaps best explained by differences in content between the two types of codices, while the one Mixtec ritual manuscript Anawalt includes, the obverse of the Codex

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[38]Donald Robertson, "The Mixtec Religious Manuscripts," in Ancient Oaxaca, ed. John Paddock (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1966), p. 310.

[39]Nicholson, "Problem," p. 155.

[40]Patricia Anawalt, "Costume Analysis and the Provenience of the Borgia Group," paper presented at the XLIII International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver B.C., 13 August 1979, pp. 13-14, 23-27. (Typewritten.)

Vindobonensis, may or may not be representative of the lost religious books originating in the Mixteca.

H. B. Nicholson suggests that the Laud's home is the Gulf Coast by citing the sixteenth-century authors Las Casas, Mendieta, and Torquemada who indicate that a cult surrounding Tlazolteotl, a goddess frequently depicted in the Borgia Group, existed in Totonac religion.[41] The Mesoamericanist believes that additional elements found in both the Laud and her sister manuscript, the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, may allude to a southern Gulf Coast provenience.[42] Seler sees affinities between the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer and Maya manuscripts[43] and a southern Gulf Coast birthplace for the Codex Laud would explain the presence of Maya-like features noticed by several Mesoamericanists, such as the Chac-resembling monsters in the tree roots of Folios 16, 14, and 10, a "Mayan creature" on Folio 9D,[44] the ritual staff held by the Rain God on Folio 2, and the same deity's "Chacob maya"[45] nose volute in Folio 2 and elsewhere in the

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[41]Nicholson, "Problem," p. 152.

[42]Ibid., p. 155.

[43]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 210.

[44]Burland, "Descriptive Notes," p. 372.

[45]Curt Muser describes Chacob as a "Postclassic walled Maya city of central Yucatan" (Facts and Artifacts of Ancient Middle America [New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978]).

Laud.[46] Although still "suggestive," Nicholson states that most of these correspondences do not stand up under scrutiny and notes a "complete lack of evidence at the present time that the style of these two pictorials ever flourished there [on the Gulf Coast]."[47] The anthropologist concludes that since "a very similar style did flourish in western Oaxaca . . . a Mixtec attribution perhaps in a not too well known subregion within it, would still seem to have the edge."[48]

Concurring with Nicholson, Donald Robertson cites further evidence indicating a Mixtec provenience. In contrast to "even the earliest Aztec manuscripts . . . including the Plano en Papel de Maguey, Codex Borbonicus,

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[46]José Luís Franco, "La Escriture y los Códices," in Esplendor del México Antiguo, ed. Carmen Cook de Leonard (México: Centro de Investigaciones, 1959) p. 372.

[47]Nicholson, "Problem," p. 155. On examining the contents of a temple near the present city of Veracruz, Bernal Díaz del Castillo relates finding "books of the paper of the country" (The True History of the Conquest of Mexico, trans. Maurice Keatinge [1800; facsimile rpt. Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms, Inc., 1966], p. 67). His observation on the construction of these manuscripts, if correct, would disuade the assignment of the animal skin Codex Laud to the Gulf Coast of Veracruz.

[48]Nicholson, "Problem," p. 155.

and the Matrícula de Tributos" which are painted on Aztec paper, Robertson points out that like the Mixtec historical manuscripts, the members of the Codex Borgia Group are all executed on animal skins.[49] Due to the similarity in media and on the basis of style, he suggests that the Codices Borgia, Laud, and Fejérváry-Mayer are companions to the Mixtec history manuscripts.[50] In my opinion, there is no question that the Codex Laud is closer in terms of style to the Mixtec historical screen-folds, such as the Codex Nuttall (Fig. 17), than to Aztec religious manuscripts, such as the Codex Borbonicus (Fig. 18). At present, a Mixtec location appears to be the best choice for the origin of the Codex Laud.

For Donald Robertson, however, the perplexing questions of dating and provenience are inconsequential issues in the interpretation of the Codex Borgia Group, since the books "do not record unique events taking place in time and space; they recount the ever-recurring cycles of religious ritual."[51] Robertson's point is interesting. While perhaps not contributing iconographically, the establishment of a date and place of

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[49]Robertson, "Borgia Group," p. 163.

[50]Robertson, "Mixtec Manuscripts," pp. 309-10.

[51]Robertson, "Borgia Group," pp. 157-58.

origin for the Laud would help to place this pictorial within the larger body of Mexican native manuscripts and history. Yet the problems of dating and provenience will not be resolved until new archeological evidence appears demonstrating clear stylistic affinities with the Codex Laud.

Table II in the Appendix summarizes the locations postulated by Mesoamericanists for the origin of the Codex Laud.

F. Relationship of Aztec Culture to Non-Aztec Manuscripts

Since the home of the Codex Laud lies somewhere beyond the Valley of Mexico, what sources can be employed in deciphering the manuscript? Although no native documents specifically address the paintings in the Codex Laud and other members of the Borgia Group, according to H. B. Nicholson, sixteenth-century compilers of Aztec religious customs, such as Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (c. 1499-1590) and Fray Diego Durán (1537-88), can provide explanations for much of the visual material in the ritual codices.[52]

However, when using such sixteenth-century sources the danger arises of misinterpretation due to "the tendency to interpret the Borgia Group from the point

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[52]Nicholson, "Mesoamerican Pictorial," pp. 202-203.

of view of early colonial writers describing the religion of the Náhuatl-speaking areas to the north of the Mixteca."[53] As Joyce Marcus and Ronald Spores caution, the wealth of information on the Aztecs "often leads to the assumption that other peoples in Mexico are just like the Aztecs."[54]

With these precautions in mind, it is possible to gain important insights into the ritual manuscripts whose place of origin is outside the Valley of Mexico, such as the Codex Laud, from sources describing Aztec customs. Donald Robertson shares the assumption of "most Mesoamericanists since Seler, that there was a great unity of theology in the Mixteca-Puebla period"[55] of the late Postclassic.[56] George C. Vaillant goes further in stating,

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[53]Robertson, "Borgia Group," p. 157.

[54]Joyce Marcus and Ronald Spores, rev. of Handbook of Middle American Indians, gen. ed. Robert Wauchope, American Anthropologist 80, No. 1 (1978), 96.

[55]Curt Muser defines Mixteca-Puebla as, "an art style that, starting in the early Postclassic period after the fall of Tula, dominated central Mexico. It is essentially a synthesis of the styles of Teotihuacán, Xochicalco, and Veracruz; Cholula in Puebla became the creative center. Since its motifs and techniques and those of the Mixteca were nearly identical, the style is called Mixteca-Puebla . . . . Contemporary with the Aztecs" (p. 104).

[56]Robertson, "Borgia Group," p. 157.

> The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion, which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic concepts were more complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents.[57]

To illustrate his point, Vaillant asks the reader to compare the Codices Cospi, Vaticanus B, and Borgia, (Figs. 20-22), which he terms "Mixtec," with the Aztec Codices Borbonicus and Telleriano-Remensis[58] (Figs. 18, 19).

The movement of Aztec traders, tribute collectors, and warriors throughout an empire that at one time stretched from Guatemala to Veracruz[59] must have been considerable. Evidence of Nahuatl influence can be seen, for example at the Mixtec site of Coixtlahuaca (see Map III) where Ignacio Bernal records evidence of an Aztec burial.[60] One can assume that the flow of ideas from

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[57]George C. Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico, 2nd ed. (1944; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975), p. 171. Muriel Porter Weaver maintains that the Mixtecs were the "teachers" of the Aztecs in the areas of metallurgy, the lapidary arts, and pottery (The Aztecs, Maya, and Their Predecessors [New York: Seminar Press, 1972], p. 265).

[58]Vaillant, p. 171, n. 15.

[59]Ibid., pp. 116-17; also see pp. 129-30, 138.

[60]Ignacio Bernal, "Exploraciones en Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca," Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos, 10 (1948), 5-76, cited by Ronald Spores, The Mixtec Kings and Their People (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 36.

the Mixtec area, and others, to the Valley of Mexico and vice versa was common in the late Postclassic. The Codex Laud itself shares characteristics with Aztec religious art, such as deities found in "the Aztec-Toltec pantheon" and day signs rendered in the "traditional Mexican style."[61] Armed with the understanding that regional variation may account for some of the discrepancies between Aztec iconography and imagery depicted in the Codex Laud, the utilization of such sixteenth-century writers as Sahagún and Durán is justified in an analysis of the screen-fold.

G. Function of Native Religious Manuscripts

Concerning the purpose of the ritual pre-Conquest pictorials, H. B. Nicholson states, "The basic function of the ritual books was probably that of manuals for the priests and diviners; . . ."[62] Sahagún and Durán substantiate Nicholson's description of the religious books' function. Durán relates that some of the manuscripts, particularly those including the 260-day ritual count (tonalpohualli),[63]

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[61]Burland, Codex Laud, p. 6.

[62]Nicholson, "Problem," p. 145.

[63]All native words appearing throughout the text are in Nahuatl, the Aztec language, unless otherwise noted.

were used as divinatory almanacs. Farmers consulted those who understood the native calendar and knew which signs were considered "good, evil, or indifferent," and asked these "sorcerers" to interpret the picture books in order to determine the most favorable day for any agricultural undertaking.[64] The aspect of each day sign affected all facets of life including marriage, trade, and even the proper time to "eat certain foods."[65]

Durán and Sahagún both recount the process whereby the relatives of a newborn baby brought offerings to "astrologers, soothsayers, or sorcerer-fortunetellers" who then cast lots and consulted their books in order to fortell the fate of the child born on a particular day.[66] The soothsayer also "opened out his books" in order to choose a propitious day for the newborn's bathing and naming ceremony.[67]

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[64]Fray Diego Durán, Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar, trans. and ed. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 396-97.

[65]Durán, p. 397; Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe: School of American Research and Univ. of Utah, 1970-80), Bk. II, 40, VI, 129.

[66]Durán, p. 398; Sahagún, Bk. VI, 197-99.

[67]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 198-99.

In describing the confession the Aztec individual made to the earth-goddess Tlazolteotl, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún says that Tlazolteotl's earthly mediator

> . . . was the soothsayer, the wise one, in whose hands lay the books, the paintings; who preserved the writings, who possessed the knowledge, the tradition, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[68]

Again, in order to determine the proper day for an activity, in this case the confession, the soothsayer "consulted his sacred almanac [and] noted the favorable time."[69]

Besides the above use of pictorial manuscripts by the local "tonalpouhqui, [i.e.], the expert at interpreting the significance of the tonaleque, the 260 day signs of the tonalpohualli,"[70] members of the more formalized priesthood may have desired ritual manuscripts for the execution of their duties. The institution of a professional priesthood was highly developed in late pre-Hispanic central Mexico.[71] Nearly "all communities of substantial size" had "walled ceremonial precints"

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[68]Sahagún, Bk. I, 24.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico," in Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. eds. Gordon F. Eckholm and Ignacio Bernal (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1971), X, Pt. 1, 439.

[71]Ibid., p. 436.

and temples.[72] H. B. Nicholson notes that "every important temple seems to have had at least one full-time resident priest, and the greatest temples must have had sizable sacerdotal staffs."[73] As Sahagún outlines, the duties of the resident priest(s) were numerous, complex, and varied from temple to temple.[74]

Since the priests were greatly concerned with "placating and honoring the array of gods at the appropriate time,"[75] pictorial manuscripts must have been extremely useful in the organization of priestly tasks. Judging by the numerous religious books burned with fervor by the "pious" Spaniards, painted manuscripts probably held an important position within pre-Conquest sacerdotal materials.

As "the most elaborate rites were found in the celebration of the feasts,"[76] it seems probable that another function of some, or portions of some, pictorial manuscripts was to record the appropriate offerings and observances connected with the eighteen religious

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[72]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 437.

[73]Ibid., p. 436.

[74]Sahagún, Bk. II, 181-83, 193-201, 204-205, 215-16.

[75]Vaillant, p. 196.

[76]Durán, p. 55.

festivals of the solar year. While many ritual codices contain a tonalpohualli, including all the codices in the Borgia Group, of the surviving pre-Hispanic ritual books, only the Codex Borbonicus[77] contains a section appearing to deal with the eighteen solar ceremonies.[78] The Codex Borbonicus may be the last example of a larger group of manuscripts devoted to the 365-day calendar and its rituals, but the Codex Laud does not seem to fall in this category.[79]

Turning now to the Codex Laud, the precise craftsmanship and beautiful artistry exemplified in the folios of the screen-fold suggest that the pictorial manuscript was not executed for everyday use by common people. The duties of a folk sorcerer/soothsayer would not necessitate a picture book executed in such careful, rich detail as the Codex Laud. In contrast to the Laud, the Codex Vaticanus 3773 or B (Fig. 23) with "its simple, almost crude style"[80] was obviously executed with less care

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[77]George Kubler and Charles Gibson suggest that it may be early post-Conquest in date (The Tovar Calendar, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XI [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1951], p. 56).

[78]Ibid.

[79]Burland demonstrates that the Laud does include a 360-day count on eight pages, Folios 2D-9D, but the section concerns itself exclusively with the god of death, Mictlantecuhtli, rather than the eighteen monthly feasts ("A 360-Day Count in a Mexican Codex," Man, 67 [Aug. 1947], 106-108).

[80]Burland, Gods, p. 194.

by a less able hand. Variation in quality of execution among the ritual manuscripts may not simply imply diversity of geographic origin, but may suggest variation in status of the interpreters or owners of the books. A high priest of a temple or a sorcerer/soothsayer in the court of a lord would need a special ritual manuscript executed in a manner appropriate to his, or his lord's prestigious position.

If, as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown contends, religion is a "way of controlling human conduct,"[81] then pre-Hispanic ritual manuscripts could have been employed to facilitate control. Picture books pertaining to the proper performance of religious observances and the regulation of man's destiny through the calendar system, would have been valuable to a ruler concerned with maintaining the status quo. In the present study, the Codex Laud will be seen as one of a group of ritual manuscripts concerned with regulating man's behavior.

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[81] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Religion and Society," Structure and Function in Primitive Society (1945; rpt. New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 172.

II. INTRODUCTION

A. Codex Laud, Folios 16-9

A broad but superficial study of the entire Codex Laud seems unfeasible for the scope of the present study. Therefore, Folios 16-9 (Figs. 1-8) are chosen as the focus of research because, as others have noticed,[1] they appear to constitute a well-defined section within the religious screen-fold. The folios on either side of the chapter are entirely different in composition from Laud 16-9 and belong to different parts of the manuscript.

In contrast to the more usual representation of several figures per sheet in the Codex Borgia Group, a single deity presides over each page of Folios 16-9, with the exception of Laud 11 (Fig. 6) where twins appear.[2] The infrequent format of one deity per folio plus the relatively small amount of published pages

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[1] Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27; Burland, Codex Laud, p. 24.

[2] Eduard Seler's identification of the eight deities presented in Folios 16-9 remains unchallenged (pp. 26-27).

devoted to Folios 16-9,[3] stimulated my interest and curiosity in this beautiful set of images.

B. Purpose and Methods

The thesis focuses on an in-depth iconographic analysis of the eight-deities section. From Eduard Seler at the beginning of the twentieth century, who referred to Laud 16-9 as "extremely interesting and remarkable,"[4] to Karl Nowotny and C. A. Burland in the 1960's, the few Mesoamerican scholars who have dealt with the eight-deities section have found the pages beautiful and intriguing.

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[3]Seler, pp. 26-28; Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 374, Magic Books from Mexico, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1953), pp. 28-30, Codex Laud, p. 24; Nowotny, pp. 45, 235; Bodo Spranz, Göttergestalten in den mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, Acta Humboldtiana, Series Geographica et Ethnographica, No. 4 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1964), passim; and José Corona Núñez, Antigüeddades de México (México: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1964), III, pp. 315-410). James Hulse Rauh in "Analysis of Pages 9-16 of Codex Laud," Working Paper, American Museum of Natural History, Nov. 1969, pp. 1-21, attempts to reveal the calendrical significance of the eight-deities section through an overly complex numerical count of each folio's pictorial details. Another researcher, Thomas S. Barthel in "Asiatische Systeme in Codex Laud," (Tribus, 21 [1972], 97-108) cites this section as evidence for the trans-Pacific contact theory recently disabled by Balaji Mundkur ("The Alleged Diffusion of Hindu Divine Symbols into Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica: A Critique," Current Anthropology, 19, No. 3 [Sept. 1978], 541-83).

[4]Seler, p. 27.

I believe that Folios 16-9 are not only remarkable, but form a unique unit within the ritual manuscripts of the Codex Borgia Group. This uniqueness is not only a subjective impression, but as the thesis demonstrates, is a conclusion that can be quantitatively substantiated.

Restricting himself from flights of fancy in his study of the Mixtec historical codices, Philip Dark "attempts to eliminate as many factors of intuition as possible."[5] I feel that his general approach to pre-Conquest historical manuscript research certainly applies to the iconographic study of pre-Conquest religious books. Dark discourages

> interpretations of meaning of [pictorials]. . . based on what the observer can read into them, tempered. . . by what knowledge can be brought to bear in the process of inference. This knowledge has very little empirical basis, so that scholars in this field often find themselves altering their opinion as to the meaning of the codices as they discover new complexes that suggest a new pattern of meaning, . . .[6]

Extending beyond impressionistic characterizations of Folios 16-9, the first part of the study, following background information on the native calendar and identity of the eight gods, concerns a quantitative demonstration of the uniqueness of the Laud section.

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[5]Philip Dark, Mixtec Ethnohistory; A Method of Analysis of the Codical Art (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1958), p. 16.

[6]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

To determine whether Folios 16-9 represent a singular unit within the Codex Borgia body of manuscripts, I compare items depicted on each page of the eight-deities section to items appearing with the equivalent deities on pages from other members of the Borgia Group. The findings appear on cross-codical charts.

After determining its place within the Borgia Group, the second part of the section analysis, Chapter V, includes internal investigations to discern the meaning of Folios 16-9. Other than the various deities and their attributes, each sheet shares with its neighbors two characteristics: a specific number of colored circles and a specific set of calendar signs. The first method in the internal investigation is a comparison of pages according to their painted cirles and calendar signs by a bifurcation of depicted items on the basis of the number four or seven appearing in the upper left corner of each sheet, and by a pairing of objects relative to similar day signs shared by four pairs of pages. The question here is: do these inherent groupings have significance within the eight-deities section?

The second half of Chapter V concerns an external comparison of the day signs on Folios 16-9 with native interpretations of the calendar and its rituals as documented by Sahagún and Durán. This comparison answers two interrelated questions: 1) are there any correlations

between the sources and the count running in Folios 16-9 that can reveal the original meaning latent in the eight-deities section? and 2) do the sources substantiate the significance of the groupings noted in the first part of Chapter V?

The study closes with conclusions on the findings of the cross-codical analysis and the internal/external investigations and includes final remarks on the purpose of the eight-deities section.

III. BACKGROUND FOR FOLIOS 16-9

A. The Native Calendar

Before discussing the handsome pages of the eight-deities section, it is crucial to understand the complex calendar central to pre-Hispanic religious life. Along with other Mesoamerican peoples from the Preclassic to the Conquest,[1] the Aztecs measured time by means of two counts: a solar calendar and a ritual-divinatory cycle.

The solar calendar of 365 days (xiuitl) consisted of eighteen months of twenty days each with five "unlucky" days at the end of the year (nemontemi).[2] According to Sahagún and Durán, elaborate monthly feasts to the gods were held during the course of the solar year and were

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[1] Vaillant, p. 193, n. 3.

[2] Durán, pp. 394, 412-69; Sahagún, Bk. II, 1, 35, 157-58. Xiuitl denotes "grass or a stem of grass, a branch, or leafage in general." Emphasizing its associations with the cycle of nature, Burr Cartwright Brundage suspects that the Aztecs understood the word to signify "the time of the new grass," i.e., "recurrent spring" (The Fifth Sun: Aztec Gods, Aztec World, Texas Pan American Series [Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1979], p. 13). Xiuitl also means "precious" (Muser, p. 158).
Durán translates nemontemi as "useless, or profitless, days" (p. 469).

mainly concerned with obtaining supernatural assistance in agricultural matters.[3]

The 260-day ritual year, the tonalpohualli ("count of the days"[4]), consisted of a combination of the numerals one through thirteen with twenty named days.[5] The thirteen numbers and twenty days rotated in such a way that when the number thirteen occurred for the first time, the following number-day combination would be "1" plus the fourteenth day name. A combination of coefficient-day sign repeated only once every 260 days. Table III in the Appendix illustrates the rotation of the numbers one-thirteen with the twenty named days. The tonalpohualli was arranged in ritual books, tonalamatl ("of fate, the paper"[6]), for use by priests and diviners. Each named and numbered day held a favorable, unfavorable, or neutral influence over man's affairs.[7] Both time cycles related to each other; the days of the solar month were "distinguished by numbers" plus the "tonalpohualli name and number" as well.[8]

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[3]Durán, pp. 394, 412-69; Sahagún, Bk. II, 1, 35, 157-58.

[4]Muser, p. 167-68.

[5]Sahagún, Bk. IV.

[6]Burland, Gods, p. 85.

[7]Sahagún, Bk. IV.

[8]Vaillant, pp. 193, 200.

George Vaillant and Alfonso Caso explain that "only four of the twenty day names could begin the year:"[9] Reed (Acatl), Flint Knife (Tecpatl), House (Calli), and Rabbit (Tochtli).[10] Each presided over a cardinal direction.[11] Sahagún and Durán state that the year count began with the east's year bearer,[12] Reed (starting "1 Acatl"), followed by the north's year bearer, Flint Knife ("2 Tecpatl"), the west's year bearer, House ("3 Calli"), and then south's year bearer, Rabbit ("4 Tochtli").[13] This order of directions is revealed in the calendrical section of the eight-deities series (Figs. 1-8): Folios 16 and 15 exhibit the Reed sign

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[9]Vaillant, p. 200. Caso elucidates, "If in . . . the tonalpohualli we start from a day 1 Tochtli and count ahead 365 days, we will arrive at a day 2 Acatl; if we start from this one and count 365, we will arrive at 3 Tecpatl, etc. These are precisely the same names of the years . . . and thus we can conclude that the years were named by days 365 days distant in two or three successive tonalpohuallis." ("Calendrical Systems of Central Mexico," in Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. eds. Gordon F. Eckholm and Ignacio Bernal [Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1971], X, Pt. 1, 347.).

[10]Durán, pp. 388-93; Sahagún, Bk. VII, 21-22, and text with Figure 20.

[11]Ibid. Each direction was associated with a specific color. Unfortunately, these colors are not standard and vary according to time and place (Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 20).

[12]Or it began "according to others, with the south, where the rabbit is" (Sahagún, Bk. VII, text with Figure 20).

[13]Durán, pp. 389-93; Sahagún, Bk. VII, 21-22, and text with Figure 20.

designating east, Folios 14 and 13 illustrate the Flint Knife indicating north, Folios 12 and 11 demonstrate the House symbol specifying west, and Folios 10 and 9 include the Rabbit denoting south.[14]

As with the days, each of the four year names rotated with the numerals one to thirteen so that the Aztecs "assigned thirteen years to each of the [year] characters, or to each of the four quarters of the world."[15] Thus the number-year bearer combination did not repeat for fifty-two years (13 x 4).[16] Not only did the end of a fifty-two year cycle represent the return to the original number-year bearer in the solar calendar, but also, as Burland states,

> the period of fifty-two years is the time it takes for the 365-day agricultural year and the 260-day tonalpohualli to go through their complete series of combinations and return to their original position relative to each other.[17]

The end of a fifty-two year period signaled the "Binding of the Years," nexiuhilpiliztli, with ceremonies

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[14]Seler assigns the Laud sheets to these four directions, but does not explicitly consider the Laud section in relation to Sahagún and Durán's directional sequence (Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 26).

[15]Sahagún, Bk. VII, text with Figure 20.

[16]Ibid., 25, and text with Figure 20.

[17]Burland, Gods, pp. 81-82. See Burland for a good explanation of the mathematics involved in the Postclassic Mesoamerican calendrical systems.

marking the awesome event.[18] At that time, the Aztecs anxiously awaited to see whether their world would be destroyed. Fires were extinguished and furniture destroyed as the people prepared for the end of the world. Ascending the Hill of the Star at sunset, the priests watched the sky at midnight for the appearance of the heavenly bodies, Aldebran or the Pleiades.[19] When the stars emerged, a new fire kindled in the breast of a victim signalled the continuation of the world. Feasts and offerings of thanksgiving followed the distribution of the new fire to the people.[20]

Of the two indigenous calendars, several scholars believe that the calendar signs running along the bottom of Folios 16-9 refer to the 260-day divinatory count.[21]

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[18]Durán, p. 389, Sahagún, Bk. VII, 25-32.

[19]Vaillant, p. 204.

[20]Sahagún, Bk. VII, 25-32.

[21]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 26; Burland, Magic Books, p. 28; Nowotny, p. 235.

An explanation of this count appears in Chapter V.[22] Durán and Sahagún state that the 260-day cycle commenced with the day ce cipactli (1 Crocodile).[23] Since Crocodile appears on the lower right of Folio 16 and Rabbit, "the twentieth and closing sign,"[24] occurs on the lower left of Folio 9, Seler, Burland, and Nowotny read the Laud segment from right to left.[25] This reading agrees with the order of directions described by Sahagún and Durán and the gaze of the Laud deities as well.

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[22]The reader will notice a pattern in the day signs of the Laud series. The sign to the farthest left always remains the same, i.e., in both Folios 16 and 15 the sign, Water, appears in the same place on the far left just as in both Folios 12 and 11 the sign, Eagle, appears in that place and in both Folios 10 and 9 the sign, Rabbit, occurs in the identical spot.

The other four days of each set are simply reversed in their order. For example, Folio 16's other signs are: Motion, Serpent, Reed, Crocodile and Folio 15's remaining symbols appear in exactly the opposite sequence: Crocodile, Reed, Serpent, Motion. The same pattern is found on the other deity sets, excepting Folios 14 and 13 in which the Laud painter seems to have gotten confused. Nowotny suggests that Laud 14 and 13's calendar signs should appear as follows: Folio 14 - Wind, Dog, Flint Knife, Death, Jaguar; Folio 13 - Wind, Jaguar, Death, Flint Knife, Dog (p. 235). I concur with Nowotny and the validity of his proposition will become clear in Chapter V. The revised order for Folios 14 and 13 is mentioned on the cross-codical charts of Chapter IV.

[23]Durán, p. 399; Sahagún, Bk. IV, 1.

[24]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 127.

[25]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 26-27; Burland, Codex Laud, p. 24; Nowotny, p. 235.

To conform with a reading of the series from right to left, the eight deities section is referred to throughout the thesis as Folios 16-9.

B. Deity Description

To permit discussion of the eight-deities section, the reader must understand who and what is depicted in Laud 16-9. The remainder of Chapter III describes the eight supernatural personages and their associated items.

Godly attributes and attire play a crucial role in the interpretation of the pre-Conquest gods. Yet the identification and function of many symbolic items remains problematic. H. B. Nicholson believes that most Postclassic deity attributes are ancient and that their original ritualistic functions may have been "substantially different from those in vogue at Contact."[26] Nicholson acknowledges that the lack of investigations into the original "precise connotations" of many of the godly accessories stems from the fact that

> the relevant documentary sources provide us with little aid on deeper ideological levels involving significance and meaning, nor were [these sixteenth-century missionary] authors and compilers . . .

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[26]Nicholson, "The Late Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican (Aztec) Iconographic System," in The Iconography of Middle American Sculpture (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), p. 90.

> particularly well equipped by training and outlook to investigate this aspect in a very sophisticated fashion.[27]

During research I was often frustrated by this deficiency in information regarding the identification of deity insignia and ritualistic items.

My intent here is simply to introduce the reader to the gods and goddesses of the eight-deities section. By drawing on sixteenth-century Spanish sources, primarily Sahagún and Durán, and the hypotheses of modern scholars, I can offer suggestions for the identification of some problematic items as well.

Folio 16 - Xochipilli

According to Eduard Seler, the first page of our section introduces

> Xochipilli or Ce xochitl ["One Flower"--a calendrical name], seated on a bejewelled jaguar skin beneath a flowering tree, the stone dagger in his hand. Before him Tamales, viands (meat), pulque, feather ornaments.[28]

The equivalent set of offerings, Seler adds, also occurs in Folios 14 and 12.[29]

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[27]Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 92.

[28]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[29]Ibid., Seler sees all objects located on the left side of each folio as offerings to the depicted Laud deities. The general term "offering" will be used here even though one cannot be absolutely sure of these items' purpose.

Seler's identification and description of the god appears to be accurate and I would make no significant alterations. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún describes a deity bearing the two names Macuilxochitl ("Five Flower"), the patron of dice games,[30] and Xochipilli ("Flower Prince"), who was "worshipped as a god of the palace folk" and whose "feast was celebrated on the feast day of flowers."[31] The image on Folio 16 refers to both names. Yet, since the deity represented on Laud 16 does not carry the name "Five Flower", but is surrounded by flowers and seated on a jaguar-skinned tepotzoicpalli, a "backed seat of authority",[32] Seler's identification of the figure as Xochipilli, the Flower Prince, is retained for this study.

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[30]Durán, p. 305. Seler says that Xochipilli was also the patron of the rubber ball game, tlachtli (Codex Vaticanus B, p. 311). The Laud deity wears a thick belt, not found on the other gods of the section, perhaps referring to the protective belts worn by players of the Mesoamerican ball game (see Gordon Ekholm, "The Eastern Gulf Coast," in The Iconography of Middle American Sculpture [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973], pp. 46-48; Sahagún, Bk. VIII, 29) and a rubber ball seems to be indicated on the page as well.

[31]Sahagún, Bk. I, 31.

[32]Nicholson, "A 'Royal Headband' of the Tlaxcalteca," Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos, 21 (1967), 95. Cf. Sahagún, Bk. II, 114 where he describes Moctezuma's "seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest" (ocelotepotzoicpalli).

Xochipilli wears a common headress element that Seler describes as the "characteristic fillet of the Sun God, with the conventional bird's head on his brow."[33] In the eight-deities section, however, this headband only occurs on two other figures--Cinteotl, the Maize God (Fol. 10) and Tonatiuh, the Sun God (Fol. 14). Nicholson characterizes Xochipilli as one of a body, including Cinteotl, of "youthful solar-fertility deities who, aside from the generative power in the abstract . . . presided over flowers, feasting, painting, dancing, and gaming."[34]

The solar aspect implied in Xochipilli's headband also manifests itself in the hummingbird which only appears on Folio 16 and, significantly, on Folio 14 with Tonatiuh. Hummingbirds were believed to be the souls of dead warriors who lived in the "home of the sun in heaven,"[35] travelled with the solar orb on its daily upward

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[33]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 34.

[34]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 417. The Mesoamericanist does not include Tonatiuh in this complex, but sets him apart in his own group. Nicholson's rationale is that Cinteotl, Xochipilli, and Macuilxochitl, among others, "expressed a lighter side of the sanguinary solar-war-sacrifice cult--plus the fact that their overlapping with the maize cult was so important" (p. 418).

[35]Sahagún, Bk. III, 49; butterflies were also thought to be the souls of dead warriors. A butterfly occurs in Folio 16 in Xochipilli's headress and the Borgia Group artists frequently painted the God of Flowers with a butterfly motif on the deity's face itself (Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 97, e.g., Figure 25 above; Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 85).

journey through the sky,[36] and sometimes returned to earth to sip flower nectar.[37] The Aztecs also believed that the hummingbird died in the winter and was reborn in the spring.[38] Hence its appearance with the youthful Xochipilli beneath a vernal, flowering tree[39] is appropriate.

Xochipilli is depicted holding a bone awl in the same position as three other male deities presented on Folios 14, 12, and 10. Sahagún relates that the sharpened bone was used by priests for the penitential drawing of their own blood.[40] The bone awl apparently was employed in activities other than autosacrifice, as indicated in Borgia 15 where Cinteotl, the Maize God, uses the same instrument to pierce the eye of a victim.

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[36]Sahagún, Bk. II, 48, 203; Bk. VI, 114, 163.

[37]Sahagún, Bk. III, 49.

[38]Durán, pp. 72-73; Sahagún, Bk. XI, 24.

[39]The monster roots figured under the trees in Folios 16, 14, and 10 probably refer to the earth monster cipactli, "a fusion of crocodilian, serpentine, and piscatorial traits" (Nicholson, "Iconographic System", p. 90). Burland explains that in Aztec mythology the earth monster lost its lower jaw when dragged out of the "primeval waters" by the god Tezcatlipoca (Gods, p. 87). The animal roots in each Laud folio do lack a lower jaw.

The connection between roots and snakes, both living things dwelling in the earth, is made explicit during a feast to the mountains in which the Aztecs actually formed serpent images out of tree roots (Sahagún, Bk. II, 23).

[40]Sahagún, Bk. III, 66. Seler's description of this object as a "stone dagger" is inaccurate and probably reflects a poor translation of his words.

Four items appearing in Folio 16 are frequently mentioned by Sahagún as offerings in religious rites and festivals. The items are: a ball and bundle of firewood, pulque, a vessel holding a maize product (tamales or tortillas), and a container bearing an arm, either human or animal. The representation of offerings in the Codex Laud may illustrate any one of various proper practices for different occasions such as formal communal rites, private offerings of supplication, offerings made in conjunction with confessions, or during the consultation of the ritual almanac.

The ball and box-like object on which it rests is identified by Seler as "a burnt-offering of firewood and rubber ball."[41] Burland describes the offering as a "ball of incense" and wood,[42] but refers to the same item on another page of the Laud as "rubber incense."[43] The ball also appears in Folios 14, 12, 11, 10, and 9 of the eight-deities section.

Rubber and incense are frequently cited as offerings in religious feasts[44] and were used in private prayers

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[41]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[42]Burland, p. 30.

[43]Burland, "The Bases of Religion in Aztec Mexico," Guild of Pastoral Psychology, Lecture 127 (1964), 21.

[44]E.g., Durán, pp. 136, 257; Sahagún, Bk. II, 122.

and rites.[45] These items also occur in ceremonies where Xochipilli is mentioned.[46] Rubber was an esteemed material in Mesoamerican religious life since, as Durán relates, "out of it were made large balls for the ball game. Once it is placed upon the fire, it melts easily. It was a special yet common offering to the gods . . . ."[47] Melted rubber formed a liquid that could be used, for example, to decorate the clothes worn by idols[48] and, more generally, as a paint to designate the playing area for the patolli dice game (similar to backgammon).[49]

I agree with Seler's identification of the ball as representing rubber since an incense burner (tlemaitl) or bag are frequently the objects mentioned[50] and depicted with incense (e.g., Figure 11). The distinction may be irrelevant if, as Burland implies, rubber balls were used as incense.[51]

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[45]E.g., Durán, p. 118; Sahagún, Bk. II, 206.

[46]Durán, pp. 303-305, 416-17; Sahagún, Bk. II, 199.

[47]Durán, p. 417.

[48]Ibid., p. 416.

[49]Ibid., pp. 302-303.

[50]Ibid., p. 119.

[51]Burland, "Bases of Religion," p. 21.

The rectangular item on which the rubber ball rests most likely represents a bundle of firewood and appears in Folios 15, 14, 12, 11, 10, and 9 as well. The association with rubber is logical since wood produces the fire capable of melting rubber offerings, as Durán states. Firewood itself served the important function of providing bonfires and torches placed before and within temples[52] and in the residences of the priests.[53] In some grim ceremonies, humans were thrown alive into a flaming bonfire.[54] Sahagún and Durán include references to fire and rubber offerings with Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl, hence their appearance in Folio 16 is not unwarranted.[55]

According to Seler, the frothy fermented beverage produced from the juice of the maguey cactus, pulque, seems to be illustrated in its characteristic vessel,

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[52]Díaz del Castillo, p. 149; Durán, p. 121; Sahagún, Bk. II, 186, 195, 204, Bk. III, 11.

[53]Sahagún, Bk. II, 204.

[54]E.g., Durán, p. 205.

[55]Durán, pp. 303-304; Sahagún, Bk. II, 199. In the sixteenth-century accounts, firewood (or fires) and rubber are also noted in contexts with the other gods who possess one or both of these items in the Laud section (e.g., Tlazolteotl: Sahagún, Bk. I, 24, 26; Tonatiuh: Durán, pp. 416-17; Tlaloc: Durán, pp. 256-58, Sahagún, Bk. I, 47, Bk. II, 80-81, 83, 139, 141: Mictlantecutli: Durán, p. 205; Cinteotl: Sahagún, Bk. II, 61, 116, 194: Mayauel: Sahagún, Bk. II, 122).

the "pulque jug," in Folio 16.[56] The Aztecs utilized pulque during religious ceremonies.[57] As were intoxicants in other cultures,[58] pulque was considered to be a divine drink[59] and, Durán relates, was even "kept like a god" with offerings presented to it during the fermenting process.[60]

Instead of pulque, the vessels in Laud 16 and Folios 14, 12, and 9 might contain water since Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes the contents of an Aztec temple as including, "boilers, and pots full of water, to dress the flesh of the victims, which was eaten by

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[56]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 27, 135. Durán describes pulque as "native wine" and sometimes refers to it as "octli" (wine) which is the term Sahagún employs (Bk. VI, 68; n. 5). Apparently different methods were used to produce pulque resulting in different varieties of this wine (see Durán, pp. 309-10 and Sahagún, Bk. I, 49).

[57]Durán, pp. 149, 446; Sahagún, Bk. I, 48-49, Bk. II, 16.

[58]Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, trans. Rosemary Sheed (1958; rpt. New York: Meridian Books, 1974), p. 162.

[59]Durán, p. 446.

[60]Ibid., pp. 306, 310.

the priests."[61] Yet the same drink appears in Folio 9 with Mayauel, patroness of the plant that provides the native wine, and one would expect that the beverage depicted with the Maguey Goddess would be pulque. In a reference including Macuilxochitl, Durán states that a "small jug of pulque" was the traditional offering to the "god of dice" by gamblers desiring good luck.[62] Seler's suggestion that a pulque oblation appears before the Laud Xochipilli seems appropriate.

In Sahagún and Durán's accounts, food is a common offering to the gods. According to Durán, "[maidens of the temple] cooked the daily food for the idol and

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[61]Díaz del Castillo, p. 148. Another identification of the drink could be chocolate. While discussing Folio 12, Burland describes the beverage offering as frothy chocolatl (Magic Books, p. 30), yet when considering the nearly identical liquid depicted in Folio 9, the scholar attests that Mayauel's drink is pulque (p. 29).

For a consideration of the different beverage vessel represented in Folio 10 see pp. 99-100 below.

[62]Durán, p. 306. Pulque is also mentioned by Durán and Sahagún in conjunction with other deities depicted in the Laud series (e.g., Tonatiuh: Durán, p. 178, Sahagún, Bk. II, 50; Tlaloc: Sahagún, Bk. I, 48-49, Bk. II, 23, 122, 140-41; Mayauel: Durán, p. 178, Sahagún, Bk. II, 23, 122).

ministers of the temple."[63] Tamales are an item that Seler identifies in Folio 16 and these "little loaves"[64] were one of many foods composed of maize common to the Aztecs. Sahagún notes many varieties and colors of tamales and records that cylindrical tamales, perhaps like those illustrated in Laud 16, were offered in the temples to the gods on certain occasions,[65] as were tortillas and other maize products.[66] Durán confirms that food offerings were presented to solicit "more food of the false gods"[67] and that the specific types of victuals served during religious feasts were significant:

> This custom of eating different foods on feast days was a ceremonial rite. The people made distinctions among the dishes, and for every feast a new food was prepared--that which was permissible on said festivity.[68]

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[63]Durán, p. 83. In this instance, Durán is referring to the temple of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec God of War.

[64]Ibid., p. 423.

[65]Sahagún, Bk. II, 70.

[66]Ibid., p. 181, passim. On Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl's feast day, Sahagún states that various tamales and tortillas were offered to the god (Bk. I, 32; also see Durán, pp. 182, 415-16).

[67]Durán, p. 466.

[68]Ibid., p. 414.

The Dominican ethnographer implies that one could consult the ritual almanac (tonalpohualli) to determine the proper food at any given time.[69] Durán also observes that while "food and drink was offered up in the temples," on at least some religious occasions "each person offered the same in his domestic shrine."[70] Finally, food and drink were also required offerings at a reading of the tonalpohualli.[71] Since it is difficult to identify exactly which bread is represented in Folio 16, and Sheets 14, 12, and 9,[72] the general term, "maize," appears throughout the present study.

The meat offering is more perplexing than the other offerings. Is the red arm a human arm or the leg of some bird or animal? Is it the same as the meats illustrated in Folios 14, 13, 12, and 10? The arms in Sheets 14, 13, and 12 seem to be more human[73] than the arm with nearly claw-like fingernails on Folio 16 and the different

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[69]Durán, p. 397.

[70]Ibid., p. 463.

[71]Ibid., p. 398.

[72]In feasts including the deities portrayed in Laud 14, 12, and 9, maize products are frequently mentioned by Sahagún and Durán (e.g., Tonatiuh: Durán, pp. 182, 415-16, Sahagún, Bk. II, 48, 53-54; Tlaloc: Durán, pp. 158, 256-57, 423, 425, Sahagún, Bk. I, 48, Bk. II, 23, 44, 79, 121-22, 140-41, 163-64, 208; Mayauel: Durán, pp. 182, 415-16, Sahagún, Bk. II, 121-23).

[73]Burland identifies the viand in Laud 12 as a human arm (Magic Books, p. 30).

variation of the limb in Folio 10. I do not believe Xochipilli's oblation represents a bird's leg since the red arm with long fingernails does not visually correspond to the clawed foot of the hummingbird directly above the flesh offering in Laud 16.

Sahagún and Durán both list instances where animals and people were offered in religious ceremonies and, during some human sacrifices, ceremonial canabalism was performed. According to Durán,

> The flesh of all those who died in sacrifice was held to be consecrated and blessed. It was eaten with reverence . . . . [it was reserved] for illustrious and noble people.[74]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The eating of human flesh made a feast double of the first class.[75]

An identification of Laud 16's meat offering as representing a human arm is plausible, since Sahagún reports

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[74]Durán, p. 191.

[75]Ibid., p. 444.

that during Xochipilli's feast slaves were sacrificed.[76]

The most problematic attribute on Folio 16 is the large "feather ornament" appearing between the God of Flowers and his offerings. Could the unidentified article composed of brown, blue, and yellow feathers or flowers and red bows be the yolotopilli, the "heart-decorated staff" held by Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl in Figure 24?[77] Or could the object represent a local variation of the "flowery arrow" that was placed on Xochipilli's offerings during his feast day?[78] Besides

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[76]Sahagún, Bk. I, 32. Animal flesh is mentioned in association with Xochipilli as well. The meat of fowls and dogs were the prescribed foods for consumption by the populace during one of the flower feasts (Bk. II, 16, 101--remember that Sahagún states the Xochipilli's festival occurred on the "feast of flowers," see p. 39 above).

Animal and human offerings are frequently included by Sahagún and Durán with the other gods who display meat presentations in the Laud section (e.g., Tonatiuh: Sahagún, Bk. II, 35, 47-49, 51; Itzlacoliuhqui: Sahagún, Bk. II, 113, and perhaps the references to Tezcatlipoca in Durán, pp. 104-107, 126-27; Tlaloc: Durán, pp. 157-58, 259, 422, 466, Sahagún, Bk. I, 68, Bk. II, 5, 11, 24, 42, 83, 122; Cinteotl: Sahagún, Bk. II, 8, 63, 113, 163).

[77]Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 88.

[78]Sahagún, Bk. I, 32; another possibility might be the feathered "sun-flag" that Sahagún describes as being born on Xochipilli's back.

perhaps serving as an offering or "symbol of authority"[79] for the Flower God, the mysterious item might illustrate some currently unrecognizable metaphoric image of the type frequently employed in Aztec songs and poetry.[80] For example, Seler interprets the "jewelled half-disk (chalchiuitl) decked with flowers" depicted with Xochipilli or Ce xochitl in Fejérváry-Mayer 26 (Fig. 25) to be a "symbol of something precious, a figurative expression for the heart."[81] Throughout the thesis the unidentified accessory will be referred to as "feather ornament."

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[79]Pagden, p. 7.

[80]For a discussion of native figurative language see Miguel León-Portilla, Aztec Thought and Culture, trans. Jack Emory Davis (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 79. Metaphoric expressions are scattered throughout the Florentine Codex. For example, in Book III Sahagún verifies that "jewel" and "precious feather" are synonyms for children (52) and in Book II states that sacrificial human hearts were sometimes dubbed "precious eagle-cactus fruit" (47). Flowers occasionally signify sacrifice and hearts as indicated by the term, xochiyaoyotl, the Flowery War, a staged battle which allowed the taking of sacrificial captives during periods of no military conflict (Jacques Soustelle, Daily Life of the Aztecs, trans. Patrick O'Brian [1955; rpt. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976], pp. 101, 124).

[81]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 98.

Durán describes the east, the directional assignment of Xochipilli's day signs, as the "best" direction: "the most fertile, fruitful, and abundant; thus they [the Aztecs] loved the reed years, and were happy when these years came."[82] This benevolent direction agrees with the Flower God's function as a bestower of vegetative fertility. To the central-southern Mexicans, however, everything in life, including the pantheon of gods, embodied both positive and negative aspects. So that Xochipilli, a deity associated with "color and art, music and dance, superabundance of food supplies, wealth, and gaiety"[83] is also connected with the darker side of fertility--"wantonness, and indulgence in sexual excesses, veneral diseases, and the like."[84] Seler and Nicholson closely ally Xochipilli and Macuilxochitl with Ahuiateotl, the

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[82]Durán, p. 393.

[83]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 64. In the Aztec "Song of Xochipilli" the deity explicitly associates himself with Cinteotl, the Maize God, and then implores the Rain Gods to direct the fortunes of the maize (Sahagún, Bk. II, 210).

[84]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 64. If a man or woman breeched sexual abstinence during a religious fast, then Xochipilli bestowed them with "piles, hemorrhoids, suppurating genitals, disease of the groin" (Sahagún, Bk. I, 31).

god of "sexual acts and excesses."[85] Xochipilli's carnality makes him an appropriate calendrical partner for the Goddess of Filth, Tlazolteotl, who appears on the following page, Laud 15.

Folio 15 - Tlazolteotl

An intriguing and complex goddess appears in Sheet 15. Seler accurately describes her as:

> Tlazolteotl, seated on a bundle of rushes at the crossways under a tree, which is painted the colour of earth or fire (black and yellow), and beset with strings, stone knives, eyes, and weapons. She holds in her hand the blood-stained broom, and before her are offerings--a heart, bones, and stone knives.[86]

Sahagún reports that "our mother, the goddess Tlaçolteotl"[87] was universally worshipped by "all who called themselves Mexicans, especially the Mixteca, the

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[85]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 83; Nicholson, "Religion," p. 418. To my knowledge, Ahuiateotl is not mentioned by Durán and I could not locate this deity in Sahagún's books. Since his name appears in the current literature, I do not doubt that he is mentioned by Sahagún, probably in a context with several other deities' names in the Florentine Codex. Page references would have been helpful, but Seler and Nicholson do not supply any.

[86]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[87]Sahagún, Bk. II, 212.

Olmeca [who] guarded her as their true goddess . . . . and as for the Huaxteca . . . they specifically worshipped [her]."[88]

The Aztecs had ambivalent feelings toward this "goddess of filthy things."[89] Sahagún records that Tlazolteotl was the "mistress of lust and debauchery . . . evil and perverseness" and encouraged the corruption of men.[90] Another Spanish chronicler, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566)[91] characterizes her as "dios de la basura o de la suciedad, a quien atribuían los pecados del adulterio y otros semejantes."[92]

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[88]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 34. Sahagún's "Olmeca" are probably not the earlier Preclassic culture group centered in Veracruz and Tabasco but, instead, might be the "triethnic" group of Mixtec, Nahua, and Chocho-Popoloca peoples "called the Olmec-Xicalanca or Tepeu Oliman of the chronicles [who] ruled Cholula from c. A.D. 800 until driven out by the Toltec-Chichimecs in 1292" (Muser, p. 120).

According to Jacqueline de Durand-Forest, a late sixteenth-century Nahuatl manuscript, the Anales de Cuauhtitlan, states that Tlazolteotl's home was the Huasteca ("Tlazolteotl," paper presented at the XLIII Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, B.C., 14 August 1979, p. 1. [Typewritten.]).

[89]Alfonso Caso, The Aztecs People of the Sun, trans. Lowell Dunham (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 54.

[90]Sahagún, Bk. I, 23, 71.

[91]Ignacio Bernal, A History of Mexican Archaeology (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980), p. 21.

[92]"god of rubbish or of filth, to whom they attributed the sins of adultery and other similar things." Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, Los Indios de México y Nueva España, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (México: Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1966), p. 185.

Conversely, Tlazolteotl, in her aspect of Tlaelquani ("eater of filth"), "forgave, set aside, removed" vice when she heard the individual's sins during his once-in-a-lifetime confession to the earth goddess.[93] After a soothsayer consulted the 260-day calendar for a favorable day, the penitent was required to bring wood for lighting a sacred fire and rushes for sweeping[94] the ground upon which a "new reed mat" was to be placed.[95] Perhaps as a reference to her occupation as "eater of filth," Tlazolteotl appears in Laud 15 with her lower face characteristically painted black.[96] Her extended tongue,

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[93]Sahagún, Bk. I, 23, Bk. VI, 34. Durand-Forest interprets the "Eater of Filth's" confessorial function as specifically pertaining to the forgiving of sexual misdeeds (p. 4). Sahagún states that other non-carnal sins, such as stealing, were included in the confession to Tlazolteotl-Tlaelquani (Bk. VI, 34).

[94]In Bk. IV, 43, Sahagún sees the act of sweeping as "indicating" sins requiring confession.

[95]Sahagún, Bk. I, 24. These long grasses were also employed in penitential autosacrifice such as the passing of reeds through different parts of the body (Bk. I, 26, Durán, p. 191).

[96]Her facial paint would probably consist of liquid rubber since Sahagún states that the Ciuapipiltin, relatives of Tlazolteotl, "had their faces anointed with liquid rubber" (Bk. I, 19; Durán reports that Toci, an aspect of Tlazolteotl, was painted black "from the nose down" as well, p. 231).

appearing in the representation of the goddess elsewhere in the Laud (Figs. 26-29), may also relate to her role as consumer of mankind's sins.[97]

Besides Tlaelquani, Sahagún states that his native informants worshipped Tlazolteotl by other names such as the Ixcuina who were four sisters of varying ages (Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlaco, and Xocotzin).[98] In addition, Seler identifies the deities Teteoinnan ("Mother of the Gods"), Tlalli yiollo ("Heart of the Earth"), and Toci ("Our Grandmother"[99]) with Tlazolteotl.[100] More recently H. B. Nicholson, Alfonso Caso, and Eva Hunt classify the goddess Ciuacoatl ("Snake Woman"[101]) with the Goddess of Filth and in Folio 15 the serpent held by the Laud goddess might refer to her aspect

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[97]Tlazolteotl's extended tongue also may indicate death. In several Aztec representations of the lifeless Coyolxauhqui ("Bells Painted" [Nicholson, "Religion," table 3]), the goddess who was beheaded by Huitzilopochtli, the protruding tongue clearly denotes death (Charles Wicke, personal communication).

[98]Sahagún, Bk. I, 23.

[99]Sahagún, Bk. I, 15.

[100]Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zür Amerikanischen Sprach-und Altertumskunde (1902; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), I, 165; II, Pt. 4, 997 cited by Anderson and Dibble in Sahagún, Bk. II, 111, n. 3.

[101]Sahagún, Bk. I, 11.

as Ciuacoatl.[102] Therefore, in the cross-codical charts and elsewhere I include references to feminine deities that are synonymous or very closely associated with the Goddess of Filth.

Burland believes that the Ixcuina represent the four phases of the moon,[103] an hypothesis based on the translation of Ixcuina as "four faces."[104] Folio 15's goddess wears a golden, crescent-shaped nose ornament. This septal accessory resembles the shape of a half moon, as depicted in the Borgia Group manuscripts (e.g., Fig. 30), and lends credence to Seler's attribution of Tlazolteotl as a lunar goddess.[105]

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[102] Caso, The Aztecs, p. 53; Nicholson, "Religion," pp. 420-22; Eva Hunt, The Transformation of the Hummingbird (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 100-104.

Sahagún says that Ciuacoatl was "evil" and considered to be a mother goddess, patroness of childbirth, and an "omen of war" (Bk. I, 11; Bk. VI, 164, 179). She wore white garments and bore a weaving stick as well (Bk. I, 11). All these features are common with Tlazolteotl and illustrated in Laud 15. Also, in a song dedicated to Ciuacoatl Sahagún records a line practically describing the Laud goddess holding reeds: "The grass bunch resteth in my hand" (Bk. II, 211).

[103] Burland, Gods, x.

[104] Vallant, p. 187.

[105] Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 151-52. Seler states that this septal ornament, yacametztli, is a Huastec accessory.

In Laud 15 the canopy within which Tlazolteotl dwells, probably indicates a cave and alludes to Toci-Tlalli yiollo's title and function as "Heart of the Earth."[106] During the solar feast of Ochpaniztli ("Day of Sweeping") dedicated to Toci, the goddess as the "Heart of the Earth . . . made it [the earth] tremble and shake in rites filled with the shedding of human blood."[107] The entire canopial image, as well as the reeds depicted in Laud 15, may very well refer to Toci-Tlalli yiollo's feast during Ochpaniztli.[108]

The inclusion of a cave, which by definition comes from and leads to the "heart of the earth," is appropriately associated with this Laud deity. The image presented on Sheet 87 of the Codex Vaticanus B supports

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[106]Durán, p. 447.

[107]Ibid.

[108]By this suggestion I do not mean to contradict the importance of the tonalpohualli running at the bottom of the Laud section. On the contrary, Vaillant verifies that the two calendrical systems overlapped and reminds us that days of the solar month were also named by the tonalpohualli day and number (see p. 32 above). Probably many levels of meaning are operating in these pages reflecting the many levels of meaning in Aztec religion and philosophy (León-Portilla, passim).

this identification (Fig. 31). Sheet 87 depicts the god Tepeyollotli ("Hill Heart"[109]) seated within a cave (oztotl).[110] Tepeyollotli's brown and yellow cave is closely related to the grey and yellow canopy presented in Laud 15.[111] The grey clouds curling out from the end of the Laud cavern might represent smoke emitted from volcanic mountains--mountains which, like the goddess "Heart of the Earth," also shake and tremble.[112] A volcanic interpretation may explain the grey and yellow colors of Tlazolteotl's cavern as well: grey for the color of ashes and yellow for the sulphuric rock found on mountains such as Popocatepetl[113] (see Appendix, Map III).

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[109]Nicholson, "Religion," table 3.

[110]Seler, Codex Vaticanus No. 3773 (Codex Vaticanus B), (London: Duke of Loubat, 1902-1903), II, plate 87. Seler also calls Tepeyollotli the "Heart of the Mountains" (ibid.) and describes him as "the Jaguar, the God of Caves" (p. 250).

[111]Perhaps as an indication of the affinity between the two deities, the Vaticanus B manuscript painter includes a page (Fol. 51) just depicting Tlazolteotl with Tepeyollotli (who, according to Seler, is presented as residing "on his mountain cave." Codex Vaticanus B, 250).

[112]The Aztecs were very familiar with volcanoes; the most famous one, Popocatepetl ("Smoking Mountain") lies in a mountain range southeast of the Valley of Mexico (see Durán, pp. 253 ff. and Appendix, Map III below).

[113]Durán, pp. 253-54.

According to Durán, mountain caves were used as shrines.[114] A statue of the mother-goddess Iztaccihuatl ("White Woman"), for instance, was located in a cave within her mountain namesake[115] (see Appendix, Map III). The religious/ritualistic importance of caves makes an early appearance in Mesoamerican art. The profile view of a deity, or religious practioner, figured within a cavern is presented in a well-known late Olmec carving near Chalcatzingo (Fig. 32).[116] In Laud 15 the image of Tlazolteotl seated within a yellow and grey cavern is a portrait rich in symbolism and traditions.

Teteoinnan-Tlalli yiollo-Toci, relates Sahagún, was held to be the mother of the gods and, therefore, was

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[114]Durán, pp. 115, 248.

[115]Ibid., p. 248. The mountain Iztaccihuatl is an extinct volcano located in the same range as Popocatepetl. A pilgramage to Iztac tepetl (the mountain Iztaccihuatl according to Anderson and Dibble in Sahagún, Bk. III, 37, n. 1) is included in the rites during Ochpaniztli (Bk. II, 114).

[116]Charles R. Wicke, Olmec (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 9.

Karl Luckert identifies the central Mexican Olmec cave as a "stylized mouth of the volcanic earth serpent" (Olmec Religion [Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1976], pp. 46-48)--an image preceded by an earlier, more readily identifiable "earth serpent" enclosing a seated figure on Monument 19 at La Venta (pp. 17, 18). Perhaps Folio 15's cavern still retains some of the serpentine associations of the Preclassic caves and functions in the Laud as another reference to Tlazolteotl's aspect as Ciuacoatl.

named "Our Grandmother."[117] In the Aztec Codex Borbonicus, Tlazolteotl delivers her son, identified by Caso as the Maize God, Cinteotl (Fig. 33).[118] In Laud 15, as in many pages in the Borgia Group, Tlazolteotl bears the implements of womanhood: the spindles in her hair[119] and the "unspun cotton" fillet and earring.[120] The inclusion of spindles and cotton, Duran explains, demonstrates the goddess' ability to provide for her children just as her earthly counterparts must do.[121] The war instruments and jewels in Laud 15 can be interpreted as symbols defining the mothering role of Tlazolteotl. Seler, concurring with Sahagún, states that "a woman's giving birth . . . was likened to the capture of a prisoner by the warrior."[122] The woman who successfully delivered a child was congratulated as if gaining a victory because she had just "fought a good battle . . . had taken a captive, had captured a baby."[123]

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[117]Sahagún, Bk. I, 15.

[118]Caso, The Aztecs, p. 54. In Book II of the Florentine Codex Sahagún implies that Cinteotl's mother was Tlazolteotl (212) and also states that Toci was the Maize God's mother (112).

[119]Durán, p. 231.

[120]Ibid.; Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 78.

[121]Durán, pp. 231-33.

[122]Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 251.

[123]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 167.

In the funerary rite of those who died on the battlefield of delivery, the Aztecs cried out,

> Thou hast taken up, used the shield . . . which thy beloved mother . . . Ciuacoatl . . . placed in thy hand.
>
> And now awaken . . . for already it is day . . . the dawn hath set in . . . . Arise, take thyself to the good place, the pleasing place, the home of thy mother, thy father, the sun . . . . Go, accompany . . . the sun![124]

Considering the association of battle with death during childbirth, it is not surprising that on the mother goddess' "feast Tlazolteotl was honored with war games" and the ceremonies were "always preceded by a combat."[125]

Included with the weapons depicted on Laud 15 is the jewel held in Tlazolteotl's upraised dish. Within the Borgia Group Seler sees jewels depicted with Tlazolteotl as referring to the child itself and weapons appearing with jewels as vividly indicating "the captive

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[124]Sahagún, 164.

[125]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 78; cf., Durán, p. 234; Sahagún, Bk. II, 110.

made by her, that is, the child borne by her."[126] Sahagún's native informants often use the word "jewel" as a metaphor for something precious, and almost always employ it when alluding to a child.[127]

Behind the Laud Tlazolteotl appears a red and blue St. Andrew's cross. As suggested by the appearance of footprints on some of the crosses in the Borgia Group manuscripts (e.g., Fejérváry-Mayer 37 and 43), Seler believes that the St. Andrew's cross represents cross-roads.[128] Perhaps as another allusion to travel and roadways, in Folio 15 the cross manifests the colors belonging to the day sign, Motion (ollin), a calendar symbol partly composed of crossed bands and appearing

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[126]Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, pp. 250-51. Seler relates the dark cave leading into the depths of the earth to Tlazolteotl's mother-goddess aspect as well. "Because she represents the womb," Seler explains, caves are associated with Tlazolteotl (p. 251).

Caves are sometimes depicted in Aztec histories as the birth place of a particular group (Donald Robertson, Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1959], pp. 35, 63, 136, 140, 147). Chicomotztoc ("Seven Caves") was the legendary point of origin of the seven Aztec tribes (Sahagún, Bk. X, 195; Durán, plate 1; also see Nigel Davies, The Aztecs: A History [1973; rpt. London: Abacus, 1977], pp. 5-7).

[127]Sahagún, Bk. III, 52; in Book VI, children are referred to as "precious bracelets, green stones, turquoises" (114-16).

[128]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 164.

at the bottom of the Laud page. The cross' significance in Laud 15 probably relates to Tlazolteotl's association with the souls of women who have died in childbirth, the Ciuapipiltin ("Female Princesses"), Ciuateteo ("Female Deities"), or Mociuaquetzque ("Valiant Women").[129] Sahagún's informants reveal that women who had died in childbirth were buried at crossroads[130] and offerings were placed there in their honor.[131]

Sahagún reports that after confessing to Tlazolteotl, penances done by the sinner were performed "when the Ciuapipiltin descend."[132] Directly connecting

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[129]Nicholson, "Religion," table 3; Sahagún, Bk. VI, 161. The souls of these women went to the heavens to accompany the sun on the second half of its daily journey across the sky (Sahagún, Bk. VI, 163). The Ciuapipiltin were rather horrific goddesses who could cause people to become ill or deformed (Sahagún, Bk. I, 19, 72).

[130]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 102.

[131]Ibid., Bk. I, 19, 72. In Folio 15, hearts, bones, and knives are the offerings placed before Tlazolteotl's crossroads. These oblations, referring to human sacrifices, are appropriate on several levels: 1) as an illusion to the Ciuapipiltin, the women who had sacrified themselves on the battlefield of childbirth (they themselves wore knife designs on their skirts according to Sahagún, Bk. I, 19) and 2) as a reference to the feast of Ochpaniztli dedicated to Toci and including heart sacrifices (ibid., Bk. II, 20, 113). Durán notes that bones were the "insignia of the goddess" Toci (p. 447).

[132]Sahagún, Bk. I, 26.

Tlazolteotl with the Ciuapipiltin, Sahagún further observes that not only are these penances to be performed when the goddesses "descend," but on "the feast day of the Ciuapipiltin or the Ixcuiname."[133] In the Codex Laud itself, Tlazolteotl's tie with the Mocuiaquetzque is explicitly illustrated in a section partially treating the death of a pregnant woman (Figs. 34-36). In Folio 6D (Fig. 34) the Goddess of Filth presents the soul of the fallen "warrior" to the death goddess, Mictecacihuatl.[134]

The goddess in Folio 15 wears the flayed skin of a sacrificial victim. The flayed skin is the characteristic trademark of the God of Springtime, Xipe Totec ("Flayed Our Lord"[135]), but sometimes occurs with fertility deities like Tlazolteotl and Xochipilli.[136] For example, the Goddess of Filth bears the human skin

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[133]Sahagún, Bk. I, 26; emphasis is mine. The Ixcuiname are of course, the "Four Faces"--a synonym for Tlazolteotl (see p. 57 above).

[134]The soul appears as a male warrior, but whether it represents the dead infant or a deceased mother is difficult to ascertain. It is interesting to note that hummingbirds, the souls of dead warriors (p. 40 above), are figured on these Laud folios.

[135]Nicholson, "The Cult of Xipe Totec in Mesoamerica," in Religión en Mesoamérica: XII Mesa Redonda, eds. Jaime Litvak King and Noemi Castillo Tejero (México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, 1972), p. 213.

[136]Ibid. The National Museum of Mexico contains a famous Aztec statue of Xochipilli wearing a flayed skin (Caso, The Aztecs, plate VIII).

in the Codex Borbonicus (Fig. 33) and a flayed skin is worn by the representative of Toci during the feast of Ochpaniztli.[137]

Seler interprets the practice of flaying as symbolic of the "renewal of vegetation."[138] Fray Juan de Tovar (c. 1543-1626), a relative of Duran,[139] relates that human skins were sometimes used to forecast weather, especially rainfall.[140] This method for forecasting rain corresponds to the type of divining performed by priests with the aid of the ritual calendar, tonalpohualli--one of which appears in Folios 16-9. In any event, the belief in "fertility promotion through blood sacrifice"[141] was widespread at the time of the Conquest and perhaps finds expression on Laud 15 in the juxtaposition of the flayed skin and instruments of war.

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[137]Durán, p. 233; Sahagún, Bk. II, 19, 112. In Book II Sahagún states that in some locations people who "impersonated the Ciuateteo" were also flayed during Ochpaniztli (175).

[138]Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, Pt. 4, 1073 cited by Anderson and Dibble in Sahagún, Bk. II, 46, n. 1.

[139]Kubler and Gibson, p. 12.

[140]Ibid., p. 22.

[141]Nicholson, "Xipe Totec," p. 216.

On yet another level of meaning, however, the St. Andrew's cross, cave, and flayed skin may well refer to Tlazolteotl's serpentine attributes. Her flayed skin could be, in part, an imitation of the snake's skin-shedding process, while the St. Andrew's cross[142] and cave may still bear some of their Preclassic serpentine connotations. Whether the image of the earth-mother goddess in Folio 15 strictly relates to one specific ritual or another is difficult to conclude. References to attributes and ceremonies associated with Tlazolteotl and her many aspects seem to abound on her page. Perhaps the Laud image is best viewed as a summation on all levels of the function and importance of the Goddess of Filth in Postclassic religious life.

Folio 14 - Tonatiuh

An extremely prominent Postclassic deity presents himself in Laud 14. Seler correctly portrays the folio's imagery as the Sun God,

> Tonatiuh, seated on a chair carved in the form of a cipactli, painted the colour of the cotinga (blue), and set with gems; before him a solar disk, and above him a flowering tree also painted the blue colour of the cotinga.

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[142] In Olmec art, Luckert compares the ubiquitous St. Andrew's cross with the diamond markings on the bodies of indigenous serpents, ××××××××××××, (p. 101-106).

> In his hand a bone dagger and before him the same offerings as with [Folio 16].[143]

On the significance of the sun in pre-Hispanic Mexico, Vaillant writes, "the daily appearance of the celestial orb so infinitely important to the existence of all life, made sun worship an essential part of the Aztec religion."[144] As with the majority of the Mexican gods at the time of the Conquest, the Sun had several aspects and was personified by several deities. Besides Tonatiuh, the sun proper, Huitzilopochtli, "the patron deity of the Aztecs," represents the sun as the virile, young God of War and by "formenting war" enables the present world to continue.[145]

The Aztecs believed that the world had been created and destroyed four times. Each era had its own sun who was named after the force which brought about the world's annihilation.[146] Thus, the world presided over

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[143]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[144]Vaillant, p. 180.

[145]León-Portilla, pp. 161-62; Nicholson, "Religion," p. 426. War, of course, provides prisoners for later human sacrifice.

[146]León-Portilla, pp. 40-43.

by the first sun, 4 Jaguar, ended as jaguars devoured the people,[147] while the era of the second sun, 4 Wind, was terminated by a fatal windstorm.[148] Perhaps as allusions to these myths, the jaguar is presented with Tonatiuh on Folio 14 and the calendrical signs Jaguar and Wind both occur in the set of day symbols located at the bottom of the page. 1 Flint, another day sign seen in Folio 14, was supposed to be the year that the third sun, 4 Rain, perished from a fiery deluge.[149]

In Postclassic religion, the fifth age, the contemporary era, was presided over by the sun named 4 Motion.[150] The fifth sun appears on the very famous Aztec Sun Stone (Fig. 37) surrounded by the calendrical

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[147] Leyenda de los Soles, ll. 4-9, cited by León-Portilla, pp. 38, 41. The Legend of the Suns is an anonymous Nahuatl work dated 1558; León-Portilla believes that it probably "was used as a commentary on a native manuscript" (pp. 37, 193).

[148] Leyenda de los Soles, ll. 10-17, cited by León-Portilla, pp. 38, 41-42.

[149] Ibid., ll. 18-27, pp. 38-39, 42. The era of the fourth sun, 4 Water, was destroyed by flood. But the date of this catastrophe--day 4 Water, year 1 House--is not mentioned on Laud 14 (ll. 28-36, pp. 39, 43).

[150] Ibid., ll. 37-42, pp. 43-45.

names of the four previous ages which, in turn, create the sign 4 Motion--the name of the fifth sun and the day on which the present world will be destroyed by earthquakes.[151] When the fifth sun was created by the god Nanauatzin's ("The Pimply One"[152]) self-sacrifice in fire, the solar orb at first did not move.[153] Only after the gods had sacrificed themselves did the wind blow, permitting the sun to follow its life-sustaining course across the sky.[154] To forestall the end of the fifth age, to nourish the sun and to give it the strength to survive the night and reappear each new day, the Aztecs imitated the example set by the gods and constantly offered the sun the most precious of gifts--human blood. Yet, except for the severed arm, the offerings on Folio 14 of pulque, ball and wood, and maize do not imply the need for human

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[151]Caso, Thirteen Masterpieces of Mexican Archaeology, trans. Edith Mackie and Jorge R. Acosta (México: Editoriales Cultura y Polis, 1938), pp. 9-15.

[152]León-Portilla, p. 44.

[153]Sahagún, Bk. VII, 3-9.

[154]Ibid.

immolation as much as the offerings on Folios 15, 13, and 11. The bone awl held by Tonatiuh probably is less of a command for self-sacrifice than a reference to the less destructive acts of bloodletting mentioned in the Florentine Codex.[155] For example, Sahagún relates that ritual bloodletting of the ears was performed during one of the feasts to the sun.[156]

While the jaguar may refer to the order of jaguar knights dedicated to Tonatiuh (in cuahtli in ocelotl)[157], in Laud 14 war is not a prevalent theme. Warriors and their paraphernalia are significantly absent on Tonatiuh's page in contrast to the pages immediately preceding and following Laud 14: that is, the female "warrior" with

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[155] p. 41 above.

[156] Sahagún, Bk. VII, 1; this practice occurred during a tonalpohualli festival celebrated on the day 4 Motion (naui ollin).

[157] Nicholson, "Religion," p. 425; Sahagún, Bk. III, 51. The jaguar in Laud 14 lacks his characteristic spotted fur. The only reference I could locate regarding an unspotted jaguar was in the myth of the fifth sun's creation which states that the jaguar received his spots when he tumbled into the smoldering fire and instead of burning, only singed his coat in various places (Sahagún, Bk. VII, 6).

Charles Wicke suggests that Tonatiuh's feline companion may be a puma (personal communication).

instruments of destruction in Folio 15 and the male god Itzlacoliuhqui who carries and is surrounded by weapons on Folio 13.

The red of Tonatiuh's skin obviously alludes to the "blood-colored, ruby-red"[158] appearance of the sun sustained by mankind's precious fluid. All the deities assuming human shape in Folios 16-9 exhibit yellow body paint except for the red Tonatiuh and the deity who follows him, the blue Itzlacoliuhqui of Folio 13.[159] Besides his pigment, several items of Tonatiuh's appearance are typically associated with the sun. According to Seler, the "fillet with the conventional bird's head [and] the feather ornament . . . hairy on one side as if made of pelt" both are trademarks of the sun god,[160] and feathers from an eagle, a bird closely associated with the sun,[161] constitute part of Tonatiuh's

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[158]Sahagún, Bk. VII, 1.

[159]The monkey in Folio 11 is painted grey and the Death God on the same page is primarily white, the color of bone.

[160]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 34.

[161]Cf. the eagle feathers identified by Seler in Codex Vaticanus B, plates 28 and 94. References to the eagle abound whenever Sahagún treats the sun. For example, Sahagún calls Tonatiuh the "soaring eagle" (II, 47), "eagle warriors" were dedicated to the sun as were the jaguar knights (III, 51), and hearts are sometimes named "precious eagle-cactus fruit" and are placed in "eagle-vessels" (II, 47).

headress in Folio 14 as well. The circular element included in Tonatiuh's necklace is "the round gold breastplate, teocuitlatecomalli, worn by many deities, particularly those with solar associations."[162]

Seler notes the prevalence of blue in Laud 14.[163] Blue is the color of the sky and Durán observes that the bench on which the image of Tonatiuh's relative, Huitzilopochtli, was placed "was sky blue, indicating that Huitzilopochtli's abode was in the heavens."[164] Although he is not seated on a bench in Laud 14, Tonatiuh rides a celestial dragon[165] who is painted the color of

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[162]Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 88. The same breast ornament might be interpreted as the "breast mirror" worn by the god Paynal, "the delegate, the substitute" of Huitzilopochtli (Sahagún, Bk. I, 3). However, in Sahagún's illustration of Paynal (Bk. I, plate 2), it is evident that the "breast mirror" worn by the god corresponds more closely with the mirror attached to the small of Tonatiuh's back and to the backs of the deities in Folios 16, 15, 13, 12 and especially the breast accessories in Folio 11 and 13.

[163]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[164]Durán, p. 72. Perhaps this reading explains the use of the word "chair" in Seler's description of the dragon in Folio 14 (p. 67 above).

[165]Laud 14's dragon is probably a variation on the theme of the sun being carried across the sky by "serpent gods" as seen in Figure 37 (Caso, Thirteen Masterpieces, p. 14).

the sky as well. Earthly trees are not painted the blue of the heavens, but blue appears again in the flowering[166] tree which shelters the Sun God. Sahagún tells us that the souls of dead warriors and sacrificial victims daily accompanied the sun through the sky from dawn to the sun's zenith at noon.[167] Perhaps the blue tree signifies the other-wordly domain of the precious sun,[168] a glorified realm that valiant dying warriors could eagerly anticipate as they inhaled their last breaths on the battlefield.

Durán observes that the home of fallen soldiers was in the north which evidences itself, through the associated day signs, as the direction over which Tonatiuh presides in Laud 14. The hummingbird, a bird that dies

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[166]The reader should recall the sacrificial connotation of flowers (p. 51, n. 80 above). Sahagún sometimes refers to sacrifice as the "flowered death by the obsidian knife" (VI, 172).

[167]Sahagún, Bk. II, 48, 203, Bk. VI, 114, 162-63. At noon the souls of the dead warriors were relieved by the souls of women "fallen" in childbirth, the Ciuapipiltin, who then escorted the solar disk in the remainder of its journey to the west (Bk. VI, 163). These dead women are alluded to on a page adjacent to Tonatiuh's sheet--i.e., Laud 15.

[168]Sahagún states that the dead warriors lived with the sun in a hot desert among maguey plants and flowers (Bk. III, 49).

and is reborn just as the solar orb is each day, occurs again on Folio 14 and, as noted with Folio 16, hummingbirds were believed to be the souls of dead warriors.[169] Although Laud 14 depicts a live bird, Sahagún records that during a feast of the dead, slain warriors were remembered by the fastening of war accessories, including a dead hummingbird, onto a maize stalk in honor of the fallen heroes.[170] An evocation of the warrior's heaven would explain the absence of overt war symbols in place of the more restful image of the Sun God's paradise encountered in Laud 15.

Folio 13 - Itzlacoliuhqui

The identification of the blindfolded deity of Laud 13 is perhaps more problematic than the other seven deities of the Laud section. Burland categorizes the Laud representation as Itzlacoliuhqui,[171] a deity who Nicholson refers to as "'Ixquimilli-Itzlacoliuhqui'

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[169]It is not surprising that this little creature's name explicitly occurs in the appellation of the solar and war god, Huitzilopochtli--"Hummingbird Left" (Nicholson, "Religion," table 3).

[170]Ibid., Bk. II, 126. This rite of the dead took place during the solar month, Quecholli, dedicated to the god of the hunt, Mixcoatl (Bk. II, 25, 124-26).

[171]Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 374.

('Eye Bundle-Curved Obsidian Blade'), a rather obscure conception, probably connected with punitive justice."[172] Although not specifically addressing the god of Laud 13, Nicholson places Ixquimilli-Itzlacoliuhqui within a large deity grouping termed the "Tezcatlipoca Complex" since the Mesoamericanist believes the god to be an aspect of Tezcatlipoca ("Smoking Mirror"), an omniscient and many-sided personality in the Postclassic pantheon.[173]

Considering Folio 13, Bodo Spranz prefers to locate the Laud deity under a specific aspect of Tezcatlipoca, the blue Tezcatlipoca.[174] In Göttergestalten in den Mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe Spranz distinguishes, however, between Tezcatlipoca and Itzlacoliuhqui; he considers each separately in different chapters and excludes the god of Laud 13 from the Itzlacoliuhqui section.[175] Seler

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[172]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 412, table 3.

[173]Ibid. Nicholson describes Tezcatlipoca as "appearing in various quasi-independent aspects, more than any other deity in the [Central Mexican] pantheon" (p. 412).

[174]Spranz, 152.

[175]Ibid., pp. 68 ff.

calls the Laud deity by yet another name, Itzli ("Obsidian Blade"[176]), i.e., the "Stone Knife God,"[177] since knives are a very prevalent feature in the imagery of Folio 13 described by Seler as:

> Itzli seated on a bench of blood and hearts, under a tree formed of smoke clouds, from which fiery tongues break through, and which is set with stone knives, feather balls, cords, and weapons. In his hand he holds a shield and throwing-stick, before him a decapitated head, and stone knives in a dish as offerings.[178]

Itzli is another appellation that Nicholson includes under the category of "Tezcatlipoca Complex" as well.[179]

Since "a fundamental characteristic of Mesoamerican pantheonic systems in general was the conception of a deity in dual, quadrupal, and/or quintuple form,"[180] the various aspects of the gods overlap one another and

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[176]Nicholson, "Religion," table 3.

[177]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 26.

[178]Ibid., p. 27. Seler also observes that the "burnt-offering of firewood and rubber ball . . . is replaced by a bundle of spears set up in a black dish" in Laud 13.

[179]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 412, table 3. Spranz places Itzli (i.e., representations of gods with stone knife headresses, stone knife heads, or simply including stone knives) under Tezcatlipoca, rather than devoting an entire section to Itzli as a separate deity (p. 146).

[180]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 409.

all play a role in the interpretation of any particular divine figure. Personally, I choose to refer to the Laud deity as Itzlacoliuhqui instead of perhaps a more accurate, but cumbersome, composite name.

J. Eric Thompson reveals that in the post-Conquest Codex Telleriano-Remensis,[181] the deity Tezcatlipoca-Itzlacoliuhqui "was a star which was supposed to travel backward blindfolded and, like other gods of the north, was an omen of war."[182] Although the god of Folio 13 does not face backwards in relation to the other figures in his section, he does wear the blindfold, appears with day signs assigned to the north, and possesses the instruments of war on his page. But according to Sahagún, the deity Itzlacoliuhqui was the "god of frost,"[183] although in Laud 13 he does not wear the black, curved obsidian headress found in Aztec codices and Sahagún's illustration of the cold deity (Figs. 38, 39). In the eight-deities series, however,

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[181]According to Glass, the Telleriano-Remensis is a native manuscript "produced under Spanish patronage" (p. 13).

[182]J. Eric S. Thompson, "Sky Bearers, Colors and Directions in Maya and Mexican Religion," Carnegie Inst. of Wash. Pub., No. 436, Contribution 10 (1934), 224.

[183]Sahagún, Bk. II, 113, Bk. VII, 19.

Itzlacoliuhqui's canopy does contain grey elements with white sections and hatching () that resemble the crystalline appearance of frost.

The god of Folio 13 bears many of the symbolic emblems attributed to Tezcatlipoca. According to Seler and Nicholson, the red and white pectoral ornament is the "circular white shell suspended from a red leather strap, anahuatl or eltezcatl, of Tezcatlipoca and related deities."[184] While Seler suggests that this accessory is the "image of an eye"[185] and Hermann Beyer believes this "eye" to signify a star,[186] the symbolic meaning of this ornament is unclear.[187] The white feather atop Itzlacoliuhqui's head Seler identifies, in another representation of Tezcatlipoca-Itzlacoliuhqui, as the

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[184]Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 88; Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 34, 206, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 317.

[185]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 206, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 310.

[186]Hermann Beyer, "Mito y Simbolismo del México Antiguo: Primer Tomo de sus Obras Completas," trans. and ed. Carmen Cook de Leonard, El México Antiguo (México: Sociedad Alemana Mexicanista, 1965), X, 488.

[187]The circular accessory appears again in the eight-deities section only with the Death God of Folio 11.

"aztaxelli, the forked heron-feather ornament"[188]--a common feature in warrior headress[189] and frequently found in Tezcatlipoca's attire throughout the Borgia Group.

The small ⟆ elements set in the Laud Itzlacoliuhqui's hair may represent cotton or down balls. This element also appears with feathers in Tonatiuh's headress on Folio 14. Durán relates that the shield of Tezcatlipoca was decorated with "balls of cotton"[190] which symbolized "the raiment of the sky."[191] Except for a tentative association of clouds with frost, I cannot discern the motif's meaning here.

Durán observes that Tezcatlipoca clutched "arrows, which signify the punishment for sin inflicted upon evil men."[192] "Arrows," perhaps signifying more than battle implements, are held by the Laud deity also. Tezcatlipoca's characteristic "smoking mirror" seen by

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[188]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 104.

[189]Sahagún, Bk. II, 94, 145; Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 50-54, Caso, The Aztecs, p. 31.

[190]Nicholson describes the same attribute as "down balls" ("Iconographic System," p. 89).

[191]Durán, p. 109.

[192]Ibid., p. 99.

his ear in illustrations of the god (e.g., Fig. 40) means, according to Durán, that Tezcatlipoca "listened to the prayers and requests of wretches and sinners."[193] In Folio 13 a mirror, although not smoking, appears on Itzlacoliuhqui's head.

As mentioned above, Nicholson suggests some connection between Ixquimilli-Itzlacoliuhqui and "punitive justice." Durán and Sahagún relate that Tezcatlipoca, of whom our deity is probably an aspect, relieved men of their sins. Durán notes that a "general remission of sins" occurred on his feast[194] and Sahagún reports that the Aztecs confessed to him once during their lifetime.[195] In this confession, Sahagún refers several times to an object situated in Itzlacoliuhqui's canopy in Folio 13, the rope:

> The soothsayer, the confessor, addressed the one who confessed [and] said to him: . . . 'thou hast come to pass the uninhabitable place, the place of fright . . . . And there are placed

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[193]Durán, p. 99. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden offer an alternate interpretation of the "smoking mirror:" "although the name Tezcatlipoca implies smoke, in the illustration [Fig. 40] the 'fumes' closely resemble the scrolls used by Nahuatl scribes to indicate speech . . . . [and] appear to characterize Tezcatlipoca as a listener" (Durán, p. 99, n. 1).

[194]Ibid.

[195]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 29.

> one above another . . . the cord, the snare, the trap.
> . . . . Thou hast put thyself in the cords, into the snare, which let one not escape. [Thy faults] are deadly, are destroying, are savage.'[196]

Apparently the cords are a metaphor for the sins in which man ensnares himself, the same object with which a warrior can capture an enemy.[197]

Tlazolteotl and Itzlacoliuhqui, two warlike supernatural personages surrounded by destructive attributes in the eight-deities section, appear to share certain characteristics. In Laud 15, the rope near Tlazolteotl may carry the same significance as in Folio 13 since the Goddess of Filth listened to confessions as did Tezcatlipoca.[198] Like Tlazolteotl, Itzlacoliuhqui also carries reeds, except that in Folio 13 the deity bears

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[196]Sahagún, Bk. VI, pp. 30-31.

[197]Seler states that the Matlatzincas sacrificed victims by "entangling [them] in nets" (Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 79). The Matlatzincas lived to the west of Tenochtitlán and were "conquered by the Aztecs in 1476" (Muser, p. 97).

[198]At the end of the chapter treating the confession to Tezcatlipoca, several paragraphs are devoted to the goddess Tlazolteotl seeming to indicate that Sahagún's informants perceived a connection between the two deities (Bk. VI, 34).

them on his back.[199] The reeds perhaps indicate a similar reference in both folios. Sahagún tells us that the soothsayer also demanded that the sinner sweep as part of Tezcatlipoca's confessorial rite.[200]

Although the presented evidence is not conclusive, the relationship of the god with human sin and punishment may have been obvious to a native reader of the Laud page. If so, the decapitated head presented before Itzlacoliuhqui could represent a particular form of punishment,[201] rather than the head of a war captive or sacrificial victim.

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[199] I would not interpret the elements in Itzlacoliuhqui's backpack to be brown feathers such as those seen in the dragon's headress of Folio 14. The curled accessory on the dragon's head looks more like the tail feathers of Folio 14's hummingbird than the reeds held by Tlazolteotl. Perhaps the color of the dragon's ornament is the virtually undiscernable green that Burland discusses (cf. p. 4 above).

[200] Sahagún, Bk. VI, 33.

[201] The Aztecs employed different violent methods of punishment as retribution for various crimes. For example, adulterers were stoned (Bk. VI, 102) and "with the club unlawful tipplers were beaten to death" (Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 262; Sahagún, Bk. VI, 69).

As with the Goddess of Filth, the Blindfolded God appears to have lunar associations. On Itzlacoliuhqui's headress, canopy, and small brown mound are three spiral motifs,  , that resemble snail shells. Seler and Eliade both point out that the snail symbolizes the moon:

> For the Moon is the object concealed in the shell, which does not shine with full brightness like the Sun, which has its phases, and only at the time of full Moon emerges completely from the shell.[202]

Another indication of his lunar nature, the gold crescent-shaped nose ornament (yacametztli) frequently found with Tlazolteotl is sometimes worn by Itzlacoliuhqui in the manuscripts (e.g., Fig. 41), although the God of Frost does not bear this accessory in Laud 13. Apparently, the two deities were intimately affiliated in the mind of the Laud's painter because Tlazolteotl appears in the form of Itzlacoliuhqui on Folio 19 D (Fig. 29).[203] The association is also implied in the Florentine Codex

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[202]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 57; Eliade, pp. 156-57. The moon god, Tecuciztecatl ("he of the sea-snail") is usually represented with a snail shell on his head (Seler, p. 57).

Even if Laud 13's motif is not a snail shell, it is a spiral and would function as a lunar symbol according to Eliade (p. 156).

[203]Burland states that on Folio 19 D Tlazolteotl "appears as Itzlacoliuhqui stealing treasures" ("Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 375).

since on the solar feast of Ochpaniztli, dedicated to Teteo innan-Toci,[204] Sahagún's informants refer to the goddess' son as "Cinteotl or Itzlacoliuhqui."[205]

Tezcatlipoca was the "god who sent drought, famine, barreness in the seasons, and plagues."[206] This unprolific quality of the deity may explain the grey cloud-like masses and yellow tongues of lightening in Folio 13's canopy which are similar to those found with the Rain God in Folio 12. However, on Itzlacoliuhqui's page, the clouds and lightning appear without any prospect of life-sustaining moisture.[207] The cold, dread-inspiring image of Itzlacoliuhqui's awning with its allusions to war, famine, and frost, reflects the negative character of the deity seated on blood and hearts surrounded by knives, severed body parts and other attributes of death and destruction; even though

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[204]Sahagún, Bk. II, 19; see p. 58 above.

[205]Ibid., 113; emphasis mine.

[206]Durán, p. 110.

[207]For me, the canopy in Laud 13 virtually illustrates T. S. Eliot's terrifying revelation of "dry sterile thunder without rain" ("The Waste Land," The Waste Land and Other Poems [New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1934], l. 342).

to the central-southern Mexicans, war and death were necessary evils for the continuation of life on earth.

Burland suggests that the smoke and flames in Itzlacoliuhqui's canopy indicate that "he is probably a volcanic god."[208] A natural volcanic association with the Laud deity lies in sacrificial knives, manufactured from the hard volcanic stone, obsidian, being directly referred to in two of the deity's names: Itzli and Itzlacoliuhqui.[209] Although his canopy is integrated with weapons of battle that also appear in Tlazolteotl's canopy, in the Codex Laud Itzlacoliuhqui's cloudy awning presents a less convincing picture of volcanic mountain activity than the representation of Tlazolteotl's rocky cavern in Folio 15.

Since our deity is so intimately allied with sacrificial knives, it is befitting that the day sign, and year sign, Tecpatl (flint knife) appears on a page dedicated to Itzlacoliuhqui. Durán relates that Tecpatl as a calendar sign signified the north and symbolized:

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[208] Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 374.

[209] The brown mound supporting a bowl of knives may represent a mountain, i.e., the source of the material for the production of knives and perhaps another allusion to the source of volcanic activity. The small mound also resembles sacrificial stones depicted in Borgia Group manuscripts (e.g., Borgia 42).

"the cold, the ice, and the thin airs of [the Infernal Region] and indicated that the barren, fruitless, dry, hungry years belonged to the Flint Knife."[210] The direction and characteristics of the calendar symbol Tecpatl are appropriate for a page representing the God of Frost and concur with the above reading of Folio 13 as a dark, horrific partner to the more positive representation of the Sun God in Folio 14.[211]

Folio 12 - Tlaloc

As Seler states, Laud 12 depicts the easily recognizable rain god,

> Tlaloc, seated on a carved chair before a tlauhquechol[212] under a cloud-tree, from which fire bursts out, and which is surrounded by drops of rain. In his hand he holds the bone dagger, and before him are the same offerings as with [Folios 16 and 14].[213]

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[210]Durán, p. 392.

[211]In general, the appearance of Folio 13 with its dark gloomy clouds and deity with blue body paint (here symbolizing the night sky?) and eyes shielded from the light seems more a nocturnal image than a page such as Folio 14 with its god portraying the source of all light.

[212]"the red spoonbill, Platalea ajaja" (Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27). Burland, in his Magic Books from Mexico, devotes several paragraphs to a description of Laud 12 and agrees with Seler's identification of the bird as the "roseate spoonbill" (p. 30).

[213]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

Tlaloc, "the provider," bestowed upon humanity the life-giving rains which enabled the earth to bloom.[214] Although the Rain God was essentially a benevolent fertility deity, Sahagún reports that he also displayed an adverse disposition since it was he who created hail and lightening, caused death by drowning, and produced fatal illnesses associated with water.[215] In Laud 12, Tlaloc occupies an ornate cloud-lightening canopy which exhibits charming, jewel-like "seeing" rain drops.[216]

As if describing the Tlaloc of Folio 12, Durán describes the Rain God's face as "like that of a serpent with huge fangs."[217] In Laud 12, Tlaloc even sports a snake's bifid tongue. During a maize feast, Sahagún records that rites included the placing of serpents before an image of the Rain God, followed by an elaborate dance in which the participants held these snakes in their teeth and later devoured them.[218] The characteristically large, round goggle eyes and serpentine mask present themselves on Tlaloc's visage as early as

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[214]Sahagún, Bk. I, 7. He also appears in Laud folios 1, 2, 4, 17 D.

[215]Ibid., Bk. I, 7, Bk. III, 47, Bk. VI, 115.

[216]A similar impulse for infusing inanimate objects with life occurs in Folio 11 where stars are represented as eyes in the nocturnal canopy (see p. 94 below).

[217]Durán, p. 155.

[218]Sahagún, Bk. II, 163-64.

the Classic Period at Teotihuacán and represent to Nicholson an example of "long-term iconographic continuity" in Pre-Columbian Mexico.[219] Yet the original meaning of Tlaloc's ancient and unusual facial features is a mystery unexplained by Durán or Sahagún.

Burland suspects that the long tunic and the standing pose of the deity in Folio 12 symbolizes Tlaloc in his "mountain form."[220] There is evidence supporting Burland's suggestion. The Aztecs stood in awe of the mountain near Tenochtitlán which rises above the surrounding peaks and "whose beauty cannot be expressed in words"[221]--Mount Tlaloc. On its summit, where the clouds hovered and storms originated, the Rain God resided.[222] In actuality, situated on Mount Tlaloc's peak was a shrine in which the idol stood "upon a small platform,"[223] an image corresponding to the erect figure

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[219]Nicholson, "Preclassic Mesoamerican Iconography from the Perspective of the Postclassic: Problems in Interpretational Analysis," in Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica, U.C.L.A. Latin American Studies Series, 31 (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1976), p. 168.

[220]Burland, Magic Books, p. 30.

[221]Diego Muñoz Camargo cited by Charles Wicke and Fernando Horcasitas, "Archaeological Investigations on Mount Tlaloc, Mexico," Mesoamerican Notes, No. 5 (Mexico City: Mexico City College, 1957), p. 84.

[222]Durán, pp. 155-56.

[223]Ibid., p. 156.

of Tlaloc on his throne in Laud 12.[224] Surrounding the image of the Rain Deity, Dúran reports, stood smaller statues representing the various hills and mountains which encircle Mount Tlaloc.[225] During religious ceremonies on the mountain, the Aztecs dressed the large image of Tlaloc, as well as the diminuitive idols, with fine garments and jewelry, and then presented offerings to them.[226]

Sahagún and Durán both record ceremonies dedicated to the Rain God that included rites to the mountains.[227] During Tepeilhuitl (the "Mountain Feast"[228]), the chroniclers note that the Aztecs fashioned forms out of dough representing all the mountains and hills (e.g., Fig. 42).[229] They called these images the Tepictoton

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[224]Charles Wicke and Fernando Horcasitas examined ruins on Mount Tlaloc that seem to be the remains of the temple to the Rain God (pp. 83-96).

[225]Durán, p. 156.

[226]Ibid., pp. 157-58.

[227]E.g., the solar festivals Atl caualo or Quauitl eua (Sahagún, Bk. II, 1, 42), Huey Tozoztli (Durán, pp. 156-57, 425), Tepeilhuitl (Sahagún, Bk. II, 23, 121; Durán, p. 452), Atemoztli (Sahagún, Bk. II, 29, 139), and Izcalli or Xilomaniztli (Durán, p. 466).

[228]Sahagún, Bk. II, 121.

[229]Figure 42 represents the molded image of the mountain Iztac tepetl (see p. 60, n. 115 above).

("Little Molded Ones [who] belonged among the Tlalocs"[230]), dressed them, and honored them with offerings.[231] Sahagún adds that when "threatened with drowning or [diseases connected with water] then [the suffering individual] would mold representations of Tlaloc . . . and any other mountain . . ."[232] and that when a person died due to one of these causes, the Aztecs set "mountain images" before the corpse.[233]

As with the sun's dwelling place, the abode of the Rain God was the afterlife home for certain individuals. Those who died from drowing, lightning, or a disease connected with water went to Tlalocan, an exquisite

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[230]Sahagún, Bk. I, 47.

[231]Ibid., Bk. II, 23, 121-22; Durán pp. 256, 452. Even though the Laud's Rain God appears within a 260-day count, a reference to the mountain form of Tlaloc in the solar calendar's rituals may be suggested in Folio 12. Surely the native painters could have conceived of Tlaloc's mountain aspect with or without the 365-day count (cf. p. 58, n. 108 above).

[232]Sahagún, Bk. I, 47. Illnesses associated with Tlaloc include gout, dropsy, hemorrhoids, and skin diseases (Bk. III, 47).

[233]Ibid., Bk. III, 47.

afterworld where it was "continually springtime."[234] Stressing the bountiful attributes of the Laud's Tlaloc, Burland sees the beautiful picture in Folio 12 as "telling of life-giving rains, fruitfulness and good food."[235] The webbed-footed bird occurs with the images of plentiful rain and its bounty in a song, recorded by Sahagún, treating the Maize God:

> Cinteotl is born in the place of rain and mist . . . where jeweled fish are sought.
> Day is here, it hath dawned. The varied spoonbills taste [flowers] where the flowers grow . . . .
> Let the trees flower in joy among the various spoonbills. Let the spoonbills [fly in joy] . . . . hear the song of the spoonbills . . . .[236]

Like the Laud's Xochipilli and Tonatiuh, however, this life-bestowing deity also "demands personal offerings of blood . . . . and human sacrifice" as evidenced by the arm offering and upraised awl in

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[234]Sahagún, Bk. III, 47, Bk. VI, 115.

[235]Burland, Magic Books, p. 30. According to Burland, Tlaloc's attire includes fertile symbolism since the forepart of his headress is that of the flayed god, Xipe Totec ("god of new vegetation bursting from its husk"), while the rear headress feathers exhibit "the plume of Chalchihuitlicue, Lady Green Skirt, goddess of all green things that grow with the aid of water" (pp. 29-30).

[236]Sahagún, Bk. II, 212; for a description of the roseate spoonbill see Bk. XI, 20.

Folio 12.[237] It is as if the good tidings of the page are accompanied "with the warning that pain and sacrifice are necessary for their attainment."[238]

At least two of the Rain God's calendar signs bear symbolic associations with the deity. On the day 1 Deer, the third age of the world concluded with a fiery rain[239] and the Deer sign occurs on Folio 12. As with Itzlacoliuhqui, the deity in Laud 12 appears with another sign obviously related to the god's identity--the calendrical symbol Quiahuitl, "rain." Yet the westerly direction ascribed to Folio 12 seems to relate more closely with the Rain God's calendar partner, the Death God of Folio 11.

Folio 11 - Mictlantecutli

On the page following Tlaloc's sheet another god appears who is associated with an afterworld. Sahagún tells us that those who "died on earth, who died only of sickness: the rulers, the commoners" went to the

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[237]Burland, Magic Books, p. 30. Burland notes that "in Tenochtitlán the Aztecs drowned twelve babies in [Tlaloc's] honour every year" and Durán recounts the sacrifice of a young child on Mount Tlaloc as well (p. 157).

[238]Burland, Magic Books, p. 30.

[239]See p. 69 above; Leyenda de los Soles, ll. 18-27, cited by León-Portilla, pp. 38-39, 42.

Death God's abode, Mictlan, the "place of the dead."[240] The dreadful deity of the underworld, who frequently occurs in the Codex Laud, [241] Seler identifies on Folio 11 as

> Mictlantecutli-Quetzalcoatl, a double figure of a skeleton and an ape, seated on a backbone under a tree made of nocturnal darkness, and beset with skulls, bones, hearts, and eyes. In one hand he holds a heart, in the other a stone knife. Before him bones, hearts, agave-leaf spines, as offerings.[242]

The "eye" elements found in the hair of the God of the Dead, and on the canopy, have a double meaning--as a member of the body included with the hand, bones, skull, and heart situated on the dark awning and, according to Beyer, also as stars in the night sky, a motif frequently encountered in the Borgia Group.[243] As one would expect, the bony Mictlantecutli ("Mictlan Lord"[244]) with distended heart and flint-knife nose wears a mortuary headress which, Seler states, represents

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[240]Sahagún, Bk. III, 47.

[241]E.g., Folios 1, 5, 7, 20, 23, 24, 2 D, 3 D, 4 D, 7 D, 8 D, 9 D, 21 D.

[242]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

[243]Beyer, pp. 488-93.

[244]Nicholson, "Religion," table 3.

the flag commonly placed on corpses (pantoyahualli).[245]

In Laud 11 the Death God is depicted joined at the back and sharing his jeweled collar with a simian. In describing the characteristics of the monkey (ozomatli), Sahagún's informants emphasize the animal's human qualities, "It has human hands, human feet, nails . . . . has a face which is a little human . . . . it eats like a human being . . . . [and] sits like a man."[246]

Seler considers monkeys to be symbols of Quetzalcoatl ("Plumed Serpent," a creator god[247]) in his guise as the Wind God, Ehecatl.[248] This connection appears in an Aztec statue (Fig. 43) where an ozomatli exhibits the characteristic bird-beak mask of the Wind Deity. The inclusion of reeds in the bowl of offerings in Folio 11 might reveal a reference to Quetzalcoatl's role as the

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[245]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 192. The mortuary pantoyahualli translates as "bent banner" (Nicholson, "Iconographic System," p. 88).

[246]Sahagún, Bk. XI, 14.

[247]Ibid., Bk. I, 9, Bk. VI, 31. He also was the "god of higher sacerdotal learning" (Nicholson, "Religion," p. 430).

[248]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 183, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 299.

"guide, the roadsweeper of the rain gods."[249] Because of this divine task, Nicholson believes that Ehecatl ("Wind"[250]) "belongs with the Tlaloc complex" of Postclassic deities.[251] Nicholson's suggestion may explain the calendrical grouping of Mictlantecutli-monkey with Tlaloc if one concedes that the simian of Laud 11 functions as the Wind God. However, the painter of the Codex Laud included neither the wind day sign (Ehecatl) nor the death day sign (Miquiztli) with the calendrical glyphs on Folio 11,[252] but the day sign, monkey (Ozomatli).

The combination of Death God and simian signifies, according to Burland, "pleasure and death."[253] The Mesoamericanist believes that the Aztecs "saw monkeys as mischievous and lascivious creatures" and illustrates his

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[249]Sahagún, Bk. I, 9. An equally plausible explanation for the inclusion of reeds in Folio 11 is as an allusion to the rites during the solar "Great Feast of the Dead" (Huey Miccailhuitl) where priests "swept carefully around the glowing coals" before throwing victims into the fire and then tearing out their hearts (Durán, p. 205). In Fol. 11 the reeds are included in a vessel with a bundle of firewood.

[250]Nicholson, "Religion," table 3.

[251]Ibid., pp. 416, 428-29.

[252]These calendar signs fall on Folios 14 and 13.

[253]Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 374.

point with an Aztec statue of a monkey who exhibits the oyoualli, "a symbol representing the female sex organs"[254] (Fig. 44). Alluding to a playful nature, Sahagun reports that the monkey "teases young women; it begs from them"[255] and Duran declares that individuals born under the day sign Ozomatli were happy, lively characters, who

> were held to be gay like actors, roguish, filled with charm, clever, making their living because of these attributes. They were to have many friends; they were to be found among kings and nobles. If the child was a female, she was to be a merry singer, graceful, not too modest or chaste, pleasant, easy to persuade in any matter.[256]

It is probable, therefore, that the monkey on Laud 11 signifies worldly pleasures and concerns.

Yet if the monkey does indeed represent pleasure, the animal in Folio 11 presents a lifeless personification of earthly joys. Describing an ornament born in the nostrils of another figure in a Borgia manuscript (Fig. 45), Seler identifies for us the nose accessory worn by Folio 11's monkey as "the decoration of the dead warriors, the yacaxiuitl."[257] Seated on a rib seat

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[254]C. A. Burland and Werner Forman, Feathered Serpent and Smoking Mirror (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), pp. 90-91.

[255]Sahagún, Bk. XI, 14.

[256]Durán, p. 401.

[257]Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, p. 250.

beneath a grisly nocturnal canopy, the Laud simian holds a sacrificial knife, shares the Tezcatlipocan breast ornament (anahuatl) with the Death God, bears the forked heron-feather ornament worn by warriors,[258] and appears with bones exposed and heart distended. Perhaps the Laud's ozomatli signifies the ultimate end of, and the price one must pay for, all earthly happiness--death. The Aztecs were highly conscious of the end of worldly delights and man's eventual fate:

> Our body is a flower.
> As grass becomes green in the springtime,
> so our hearts will open, and give forth buds,
> and then they wither . . . .
>
> Is it true that on earth one lives?
> Not forever on earth, only a little while . . . .
>
> One day we must go,
> one night we will descend into the region of
> mystery . . . .
> Would that one lived forever; would that one were
> not to die![259]

Regarding the western direction of which this page is aligned, Durán relates that it "was considered evil."[260] The west was the direction of the underworld, the region called, "Imiquian Tonatiuh, which means Place

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[258] See pp. 79-80 above.

[259] MS. Cantares Mexicanos, fol. 14, v., fol. 17, r., fol. 25, v., cited by León-Portilla, pp. 72-73. This manuscript dating from the 1560's, contains Nahuatl songs and poems (León-Portilla, p. 191).

[260] Durán, p. 392.

of the Death of the Sun,"[261] the territory through which the sun had to pass each night.[262] As with Tlazolteotl and Itzlacoliuhqui, it appears that the emphasis of Folio 11 is on death and destruction.

Folio 10 - Cinteotl

Wearing the cob headress that identifies him, Laud 10 presents the enthroned god of maize, Cinteotl.[263] Seler portrays Folio 10 as follows:

> Cinteotl, seated on a carved wooden chair, before a parrot, under a flowering tree beset with gold and jewels; on his head a maize ear, in his hand a bone dagger; before him offerings of gems and plumes, besides viands and pulque.[264]

Although Seler describes the frothy intoxicant of Cinteotl's page as pulque, the reader will note that the pulque pots in Folios 16, 14, 12 and 9 have been substituted for a foamy beverage in a differently shaped vessel in Folio 10. It seems that native wine was

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[261] Durán, p. 392.

[262] Because they accompanied the sun on the second half of his daily journey, the land of the west was thought of as the home of the Mociuaquetzque--ciuatlampa (Sahagún, Bk. III, 41, n. 2, Bk. VI, 161, 163).

[263] This seems to be the only example of the Maize God presented in the Codex Laud.

[264] Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27.

presented in various types of containers depending on the occasion,[265] but an exact identification of the liquid offering to Cinteotl is unobtainable. In this study pulque will be the term used to describe the Maize God's beverage oblation.

Other than the problematic drink, most of the objects represented in Laud 10 have been explained above. The symbolism of the jeweled maize-bearing tree is perhaps reflected in the metaphoric language of an Aztec song:

> Mayhap I shall die and perish--I, the tender maize. Like a precious green stone is my heart, [yet] I shall see gold in it . . . .[266]

In Folio 10, jewels also appear accompanying a bird offering set in a vessel before the deity of the treasured staple, maize. The bird oblation here is not unusual since Sahagún refers to fowl offerings in a solar feast dedicated to the maize.[267]

The other bird represented on the Maize God's sheet, the parrot, seems to function as a water and fertility symbol. Sahagún states that "on water plants [the

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[265]Sahagún, Bk. I, 48, Bk. II, 140, Bk. IV, 118; Durán, pp. 258, 446.

[266]Sahagún, Bk. II, 213.

[267]Ibid., 63.

yellow-headed parrot] nests, lays eggs, sits, hatches its young."[268] Further illustrating the connection between parrots, maize, and rain, the friar describes the "elder sister of the rain gods," Uixtociuatl,[269] as clothed in "maize blossoms" and parrot feathers.[270] The parrot also occurs as an image for new life in a section of the Florentine Codex concerning the conclusion of the confessorial rite to Tezcatlipoca:

> Now once again thou becomest as a baby. Thou becomest, thou art hatched a young parrot, a precious green stone, a precious turquoise. Once again, newly, thou dost sprout, thou art hatched, thou art born on earth.[271]

The appearance of a bird associated with water on a page concerned with the God of Maize is not surprising, since "as would be expected . . . the cult which revolved around the cultivation of the staple food plant, maize,

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[268]Sahagún, Bk. XI, 22-23.

[269]Uixtociuatl was the "goddess of salt" and patroness of "salt-makers" (Bk. II, 13, 86). During her solar feast, her impersonator was slain at the temple of Tlaloc (Bk. II, 13, 89).

[270]Sahagún, Bk. II, 86, 87.

[271]Ibid., Bk. VI, 32. In contrast to this reading, Seler sometimes views the parrot as a destructive threat to the maize crop (Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 182).

greatly overlapped . . . with the Tlaloc cult."[272] Several songs support the close natural association of rain and maize. A verse already cited tells us that Cinteotl was born at "the place of rain and mist,"[273] the abode of the Rain God, Tlaloc. In another song that Sahagún records, the Aztecs thank Tlaloc for his life-bestowing rain and observe that "truly thine is the maize."[274] Yet as with the folios presenting Xochipilli, Tonatiuh, and Tlaloc, the precious renewal of life depicted in Folio 10 is insured only through the pain and sacrifice implied by the severed arm and upraised bone awl.[275]

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[272]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 416.

[273]See p. 92 above. In this verse Sahagún implies that Cinteotl was born of Tlazolteotl and elsewhere the Spanish ethnographer expressly states that the Maize God was the son of Toci, an aspect of Tlazolteotl (Bk. II, 112-13). As considered on p. 61 above, this relationship is visually represented in Codex Borbonicus 13 (Fig. 33), but Nicholson suggests that the importance of this mother-son relationship may have been confined to the Valley of Mexico alone ("Religion," pp. 416-17). This kinship is probably not significant in the eight-deities section since Cinteotl's partner is Mayauel, rather than Tlazolteotl.

[274]Sahagún, Bk. II, 208.

[275]As mentioned before, Nicholson sees Xochipilli, Tonatiuh, and Cinteotl as all members of a "group of youthful solar-fertility deities" (p. 40 above).

Of all the gods and goddesses of the eight-deities section, only Cinteotl stands in the identical position and wears the same long garment as the Rain God of Laud 12. This similarity in attire and pose may be a visual signal to remind the reader of maize's dependency on rain. The resemblance between the two deities suggests that Cinteotl, as well as Tlaloc, also appears in mountain form and, indeed, maize dough was part of the material out of which the Aztecs formed their mountain figurines.[276] Xipe Totec, the supernatural personage whose flaying ceremony "was essentially an agricultural rite . . . representing the husk of an ear of corn about to ripen,"[277] had a mountain dedicated to him as revealed in a song addressed to this Flayed God:

> My god, [give me] in part plenteous tender maize. Thy worshipper looketh toward thy mountain. I shall be content if first I ripen . . . .[278]

Since Durán explains that "there was not a hill . . . which did not have its own name,"[279] is it unreasonable

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[276]This dough consisted of ground "amaranth seed and maize kernels" (Durán, p. 256).

[277]Horcasitas and Heyden in Durán, p. 173, n. 2.

[278]Sahagún, Bk. II, 213; also cf. the song cited by Horcasitas and Heyden in Durán, p. 173, n. 2.

[279]Durán, p. 259.

to suggest that somewhere in the vicinity of the Codex Laud's home there was a mount, alluded to in Folio 10, which was dedicated to the esteemed deity who generously supplied man with his primary source of sustenance?

Laud 10 is associated with the south by its attached day signs. Durán states that the south "was considered neither bad nor good, for in some years things went well and in others badly."[280] Cinteotl's directional attribution may be explained by the fact that the harvest of the maize crop varied greatly from year to year--but this theory is simply conjecture. Yet the reader will see that the rabbit sign distinguishing the southerly direction has special significance for the goddess of the pulque plant, Mayauel, who is Cinteotl's calendrical partner in the Laud series.

Folio 9 - Mayauel

The other woman to be portrayed in the Laud section appears on the final sheet, Folio 9. Only depicted in a handful of pages from the Borgia Group and just represented once in the Codex Laud, this goddess of the pulque-producing plant Seler accurately recognizes as

> Mayauel, seated on a turtle borne by a dragon,[281] under a blooming agave plant, which

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[280]Durán, p. 393.

[281]Again Seler's translator seems to have misconstrued the Mesoamericanist's meaning.

> is set round with a flaming footprint, a copper hatchet, and a thorny weapon; holds in her hand a green dish with flowers and gems; before her offerings of pulque and tamales, both of which are decked with heron-feathers.[282]

Referring to this goddess, Sahagún states that the "name of the woman, who for the first time discovered the boring of the maguey, was Mayauel."[283]

The Histoyre du Mechique[284] contains a myth treating the origin of the maguey plant which Krickeberg and Nowotny have compared to Laud 9.[285] The beautiful Mayauel was abducted by Quetzalcoatl who, in order to flee the maiden's angry grandmother, transformed the two into a blooming tree with two branches--perhaps like the tree figure in Folio 9.[286] Mayauel's grandmother

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[282]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 27. I am surprised that Seler describes the elements rising over the pulque and maize offerings as heron feathers rather than as steam.

[283]Sahagún, Bk. X, 193; cf. J. Eric S. Thompson, "Ayopechtli, An Aspect of the Nahua Goddess of the Maguey," Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, XXXVI (Seville: 1966), 103.

[284]An anonymous manuscript translated in the sixteenth century by the Franciscan monk, André Thévet (León-Portilla, p. 196; Bernal, p. 131).

[285]Walter Krickeberg, Märchen der Azteken und Inkaperuaner (Jena: 1928), pp. 13-14; Nowotny, p. 45.

[286]Burland believes that Mayauel's tree in Folio 9 "is the flowering cactus at the stage when it should be cut for extracting the sweet juice for pulque-making" (Magic Books, p. 29). James Rauh suggests that the Laud plant is at the "end of its productive life" because it has already bloomed (p. 5).

gathered the Tzitzimine,[287] found and tore apart the goddess' branch, and devoured it with the help of the demons. Resuming his original form, Quetzalcoatl then collected Mayauel's bones and buried them. From these bones grew the thorny plant depicted in Laud 9, the maguey, from which the natives produced the intoxicating wine offered on the Laud sheet, pulque.

Besides being the patroness of the maguey plant, Mayauel, like Tlazolteotl, is a mother-goddess as well.[288] Another myth concerning Mayauel reveals this maternal aspect:

> They pretended that this Mayauel was a woman who had four hundred nipples, and for being so fruitful the gods converted her into maguey, which is the life of this country, from which they make their wine . . . . Well does divine scripture say that wine changes the heart because it has made them believe that this Cinteotl came forth from that woman.[289]

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[287]The Tzitzimine were the "demons of darkness," the stars who, during a solar eclipse, descended to earth to eat humans (Sahagún, Bk. VII, 2, 37-38).

[288]Nicholson sees Tlazolteotl and Mayauel as closely related deities ("Religion," p. 420). Supporting his belief, in Borgia 51 Tlazolteotl herself appears with a maguey plant.

[289]Codex Vaticanus A, fol. 20v cited by Thompson, "Ayopechtli," p. 103 and Nicholson, "Religion," p. 420. The manuscript's first section, from whence this passage comes, is post-Conquest in date but "is undoubtedly a copy of a pre-Hispanic [Nahuatl] codex" (León-Portilla, p. 197).

In reference to this legend, Thompson suggests that the common belief that Cinteotl's mother was Tlazolteotl, the Huastec goddess imported from Veracruz, is a later variation on an older idea of Mayauel as the Maize God's mother.[290] Thompson's proposal, if correct, might explain the pairing of Cinteotl with Mayauel in the eight-deities section.

Like Tlazolteotl, the nude mother-goddess in Laud 9 also is figured with battle attributes. The hatchet,[291] reed, and "thorny weapon"[292] seem to relate to motherhood as discussed above with the weapons surrounding the Goddess of Filth.[293] Mayauel holds a dish containing a flower and jewels and this again may

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[290]Thompson, "Ayopechtli," pp. 103-104.

[291]During one of the rituals preceding a wedding, Sahagún reports that "an axe for cutting lumber or firewood" was presented before the young man who wished to marry. The hatchet "was a sign that that young man took his leave, now of the company of the other young men" in the telpochcalli, i.e., the school for commoner boys specializing in warfare training (Sahagún, Bk. II, 40; Muser, p. 153).

[292]In the Borgia Group, Seler thinks that this type of bladed weapon represents a "jagged swordfish's sword furnished with a stone point" (Codex Vaticanus B, p. 252). Sahagún does mention the "tightly pressed snout of a swordfish, barbed, spiny; spined on either side" in the Florentine Codex (Bk. II, 89).

[293]Cf. pp. 61 - 62 above.

refer to the child "captured" by a woman in childbirth, as with Tlazolteotl.[294]

The juxtaposition of the smoking foot with the war implements encircling the maguey plant suggest that the foot and weapons share a common meaning in Folio 9. Although Burland notes that the symbol might suggest war, he prefers to see it as "implying instability" as a "foot wavering like smoke" due to the partaking of Mayauel's intoxicating beverage.[295] Instead, I submit that the element refers to war and consequently alludes to the captive won by the valiant mother. Sahagún states that in one solar feast

> . . . those who had captured prisoners . . . . . were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always--only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them . . . . only thus did one make known to men his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.[296]

The smoking foot may be a combined symbolic image[297]

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[294]Burland's contention that the objects in the upraised vessel may imply "precious drink" (i.e., pulque) is an equally plausible explanation for the contents of the dish (Magic Books, p. 29).

[295]Ibid.

[296]Sahagún, Bk. II, 45.

[297]Many Nahuatl words and ideas were recorded in the painted books by a composite of different pictorial elements (Charles E. Dibble, "The Aztec Writing System," in Readings in Anthropology, eds. Jesse D. Jennings and E. Adamson Hoebel [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972], p. 300).

denoting the activities of smoking and dancing after a victorious battle. Another battle reference to the foot occurs in a song to Huitzilopochtli, where the War God is praised for "taking a foot" from his enemies,[298] a phrase that is at least a figurative expression for successful battle exploits. Since Durán relates that fresh sacrificial hearts "steamed" and their "fumes were offered up to the sun,"[299] the smoking foot of Folio 9 might allude to some local practice of actually removing the feet from captives. Whether a literal or figurative representation, the smoking foot, symbolic of the taking of captives and associated in Laud 9 with a nude woman in the parturient position, seems a probable reference to the child "won" by the courageous mother.

Thompson believes that the Laud maguey goddess depicts a specific aspect of the deity of the pulque plant, Tezcacoac Ayopechtli, whose name Seler translates as "mirror serpent"/"one on the tortoise seat."[300] The lady of Laud 9, notes Thompson, is the "only known

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[298]Sahagún, Bk. II, 207.

[299]Durán, p. 92.

[300]Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, 493-95 cited by Thompson, "Ayopechtli," p. 104.

representation of a maguey goddess [seated on a tortoise]."[301] He also cites a song to Ayopechtli in the Florentine Codex which verifies her maternal aspect:

> There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl,
> with child, gave birth.
> There in her home [the goddess] Aiopechcatl,
> with child, gave birth: there in her home
> the children were born.
> Come hence, come hence, O newborn babe, come
> hence.
> Come hence, come hence, O precious one, come
> hence.[302]

The remarkable and enigmatic combination of serpent and turtle[303] possibly reflects the complex and interrelated ideas of war and the renewal of life. The tortoise may be another allusion to battle. Besides citing the use of turtle shells as drums,[304] Sahagún reports that young warriors cut their hair by scraping their temples "with a sharp piece of turtle shell."[305] Because of the connection between tortoises and warriors, the animal may serve as another reference to the child won in birth by the mother-goddess surrounded by weapons in Laud 9.

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[301] Thompson, "Ayopechtli," p. 106.

[302] Sahagún, Bk. II, 211; Thompson, "Ayopechtli," p. 105.

[303] Thomas Barthel believes that this is the only appearance of the united serpent-turtle form in Mesoamerican art ("Asiatische Systeme in Codex Laud," p. 98).

[304] Sahagún, Bk. II, 72, 137.

[305] Ibid., 95.

Eva Hunt offers some fascinating, if not startling, interpretations of the relationship between mother-goddesses, serpents, and pulque. The anthropologist suggests that serpents appear as phallic symbols in some Borgia Group representations of mother-goddesses,[306] for example in Figure 46 where a snake hangs between the legs and from underneath a male breechcloth worn by Tlazolteotl-Cihuacoatl. If Hunt's proposition is correct, the serpent presented between the limbs of the nude Mayauel in Laud 9 may allude to the sexual act which enables the feminine warrior to "capture" an infant.

The phallic image of the serpent and Mayauel's maternal qualities in Folio 9 Hunt would see as directly relating to the pulque produced by the maguey plant. She records that the beverage is associated with milk and semen in current Cuicatec myths.[307] Fresh pulque is a "white, viscous liquid" and "looks and tastes slightly like sour skimmed milk," while aged pulque "when it ferments past its prime, becomes thicker

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[306]Hunt, pp. 100-101.

[307]Ibid., pp. 81-83. Cuicatec is a "linguistic group of north-central Oaxaca" (Muser, p. 48; see Appendix, Map III below).

and develops a smell, consistency, and appearance strikingly similar to human semen."[308]

To read the serpent as a symbol for penis, semen, and pulque aged past its prime may be venturing too far into Freudian symbolism, but it seems likely that the reason the Aztecs associated the mother-goddess with four hundred breasts (Mayauel) with pulque was because of the similarity between the intoxicant and milk. The interpretation is suggestive that the serpent situated between the legs of the nude Mayauel surrounded by weapons refers to the sexual act which impregnates the mother-goddess and causes her to give birth ("win a captive") and produce milk--milk which resembles the juice of the plant over which she presides.[309]

Mayauel aptly resides on a page including the day sign Tochtli (Rabbit) because the hare was associated

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[308]Hunt, p. 82. During wine production, pulque-makers could not be sexually active "lest [the wine] sour" (Sahagún, Bk. I, 48-49).

[309]Besides its liquid, the Aztecs used other parts of the maguey plant such as the thorns which were employed by penitents in autosacrifice (Sahagún, Bk. III, 14; Durán, pp. 120, 333). Mayauel holds one herself along with a bone awl, and spines appear with the ball and wood offering before the goddess as well. Maguey thorns also occur in Folio 11.

with drinking and wine deities: "it was said that the wine was known as Four Hundred Rabbits (Centzontotochtli)."[310] The Aztecs also drew a connection between the rabbit and the moon as explained in a cosmological myth recorded by Sahagún. After Nanauatzin had offered himself in the great sacrificial fire to create the fifth sun,[311] a cowardly god, Tecuciztecatl ("the moon"[312]), leaped into the flames and rose as the lunar orb shining with the same force as the sun until "one of the gods came out running. With a rabbit he came to wound in the face this Tecuciztecatl . . . he killed its brilliance. Thus doth it appear today."[313] The rabbit frequently occurs as the moon in Borgia Group paintings (e.g., Fig. 30) and Sahagún states that some of the pulque gods (Centzontotochtli) wore the crescent-shaped lunar nose ornament.[314] The association of pulque,

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[310]Sahagún, Bk. I, 51, Bk. IV, 15; cf. Vaillant, p. 184.

[311]See p. 70 above.

[312]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 3.

[313]Ibid., 7.

[314]Ibid., Bk. I, 51.

rabbit, and moon indicates a lunar aspect for Mayauel similar to that encountered with Tlazolteotl and perhaps Itzlacoliuhqui as well.[315]

Mayauel shares with Cinteotl the southerly direction accorded to the calendar sign, and year bearer, Tochtli. Durán states that the south "was neither bad nor good" and was assigned to the rabbit "because he leaps to and fro and never stays in one place."[316]

Having introduced the marvelously complex imagery of the eight-deities section, it is possible to compare these pages to paintings of the same supernatural figures exhibited in other members of the Borgia Group.

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[315]The turtle, like the snails considered on Itzlacoliuhqui's page, also has the ability to appear and disappear within its carapace: "When it walks . . . it extends its hands, its feet, its head . . . . And when frightened it enters into its shell." [Sahagún, Bk. XI, 60]). Thus, the turtle may also function here as a lunar symbol imitating the waxing-waning motion of the moon. In the same way, Eliade believes that serpents are universal lunar symbols because of their cyclical shedding of skin (pp. 164-65).

[316]Durán, p. 393. Earlier Durán contradicts himself and notes that "the southern direction, that of the Rabbits, was not held to be favorable" (p. 392).

IV. CROSS-CODICAL ANALYSIS

A. Introduction and Analysis

When endeavoring to "translate" a section of a particular native religious manuscript, an appropriate starting point is to consider any equivalent sections from other related manuscripts. Eduard Seler compares Sheet 1 of the Fejérváry-Mayer (Fig. 47) to the eight-deities section of the Codex Laud, but there are significant differences between the two sections.[1] I want to determine whether there are any possible parallels between other sections of the Codex Borgia

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[1]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, pp. 26 ff. On Fejérváry-Mayer 1 nine gods, instead of eight, are depicted: "Xiuhtecutli (Fire God), Itzli, Tonatiuh, Cinteotl, Mictlantecutli, Chalchiuhtlicue (Goddess of Flowing Water), Tlaçolteotl, Tepeyollotli (The Heart of the Mountains, the Voice of the Jaguar in the Mountains), and Tlaloc" (p. 22). Seler sees Chalchiuhtlicue substituted for Mayauel and Tepeyollotli exchanged for Xochipilli in Folios 16-9 and believes that the Laud "series agrees completely with Fejérváry-Mayer 1" (pp. 26-27). Besides the variation in format and the obvious exception of Xiuhtecutli, the god of the center direction in Fejérváry-Mayer 1, there remain many deviations in detail between the Fejérváry-Mayer sheet and the eight-deities section. These differences will be explored on the cross-codical charts.

Group and Laud 16-9. Ascertaining correspondences by simple visual comparison proves unreliable and nearly impossible because of the overwhelming number and variation of details in deity representations throughout the Borgia Group. A method needs to be devised to catalog similarities and differences in the godly imagery of the Borgia manuscripts.

In 1964, Bodo Spranz published the most detailed comparison of the core Borgia Group's godly attire and insignia yet in print. Whenever Spranz included any of the supernatural personages of the eight-deities section in his discussion, he always noted that each of these gods are "nich parallelen Figuren."[2] Nevertheless, Spranz contrasted the accessories of the Laud deities to the attributes of the same gods depicted elsewhere in the Borgia screenfolds.

I had hoped that by referring to the appropriate deity chapter I would discover exactly how the eight gods differed from their counterparts in the other codices and to which deity representations the Laud gods were most similar. While I found his approach stimulating and encouraging for my research, Spranz's work failed to provide the complete picture of correspondences and

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[2]Spranz, pp. 38, 86, 165, 170, 186, 220, 273, 326.

deviations between Laud 16-9 and the Borgia Group. For example, in the chapter concerning the portrayal of Tlazolteotl, Spranz lists the various occurrences of certain types of earrings.[3] The goddess of Laud 15 should have been included with the other Tlazolteotl representations as a bearer of one of the earring types illustrated (Fig. 48), but she was not. Yet in a discussion of headbands assigned to Tlazolteotl, Laud 15's band appears in the list of occurrences of that accessory.[4] In other words, within Spranz's chapter I could not expect to find a listing containing all of the correspondences in each element of Tlazolteotl's attire.

Discrepancies are not only confined to the Goddess of Filth, but apply to other members of the eight-deities section as well. In Spranz's chapter devoted to Tlaloc, for example, the parallel between the full-length tunic worn by the Tlaloc of Laud 12, and the attire of the Rain Gods in Fejérváry-Mayer 34, 36, and Cospi 23 (Figs. 49-51) is excluded.[5]

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[3]Spranz, p. 175.

[4]Ibid., p. 172.

[5]Spranz, pp. 185-201. Spranz illustrates Fejérváry-Mayer 36 under the caption of "Gewand" (p. 200), without mentioning the full-length garments of Fejérváry-Mayer 34 and Cospi 29 here or elsewhere in the Tlaloc chapter.

Because Spranz's research did not address itself to exhaustively demonstrating correspondences between any particular set of deities and all the equivalent representations of those gods throughout several manuscripts, I could not use it for an understanding of the similarities and differences between the Laud unit and other sections of the Borgia Group. Whether any pages in the Borgia Group exist that parallel the eight-deities section is a topic that has not been adequately considered by any quantitative analysis.

To answer this question, I undertook a comparison of each of the eight Laud deities and their attributes with the equivalent deities and attributes represented elsewhere in the Borgia Group. The majority of items found on each sheet of Folios 16-9 appear listed on four charts per supernatural figures (Appendix, pocket: Cross-codical Charts). The first chart for each god catalogs the occurrences in the Borgia Group of offerings similar to those depicted on the pages of the eight-deities section while, in the same way, the second chart considers attire, the third compares miscellaneous items associated with each deity,[6] and the fourth deals with number, day signs, and direction.

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[6]These associated items include the remaining objects, other than offerings or articles of dress, depicted in the Laud section.

The Laud details chosen for examination appear on the left vertical axis of each chart and the page numbers of the corresponding Borgia Group representations occur on the right horizontal axis. When an equivalent Borgia deity bears an item presented in the Codex Laud section, the Borgia page number appears on the chart across from the element in question.

Excluding perhaps the raindrop motifs in Folio 12, the godly earrings in Folios 16, 14, 12, 10, and 9, and the beverage offering in Folio 10 (which deviates from the other drinks in the eight-deities section), the items charted are not compared on the basis of style. Rather, the intent of the charts is to note the parallel presence or absence of an item depicted in the Laud segment. Unless otherwise indicated, Borgia Group details do not have to be identical in style to those in Folio 16-9 to be included on the cross-codical comparison charts.

Yet sometimes, due to differences in style between the members of the Borgia Group, it is difficult to determine whether the identical item occurs in both the Laud deity representation and a particular incidence of the same god in another manuscript. The element in question always receives the benefit of the doubt so that all possible parallels are revealed in the analysis.

Deviations from the depicted Laud details are denoted by parentheses throughout the cross-codical charts.

Occasionally Laud items only appear in partial form in the other codices. For example, this phenomenon commonly occurs in headress representations where a corresponding god in another painted book bears part, but not the entire Laud head ornament. Borgia Group pages frequently represent Tlazolteotl with only the fan-like element seen in the forepart of the goddess' headress in Laud 15 (e.g., Fig. 22). Therefore, in the charts some of the items in Laud 16-9 are divided into component elements whenever clarifying for study.

For the most part, the compared elements on each set of charts are self-explanatory. Several categories on the Number, Day Sign, Direction Charts, however, require explanation. All of the latter tables include the item "[Deity] appearing on page with _____," with the appropriate day-sign sharer completing the blank. Of course, in the Laud section the calendrical partners do not occupy the same sheet, but rather hold separate folios. Yet the depiction of a single deity per page is an unusual occurrence in the Codex Borgia Group; most sheets represent two or more deities per folio. Therefore, the charts note any representations of an equivalent calendrical partner presented on the

same page with a charted deity--as well as including the few instances where gods appear solely on a page preceded, or followed, by the proper day-sign sharer.

On the Number, Day Sign, and Direction Charts I note when Eduard Seler designates a deity to the direction corresponding with a Laud supernatural personage. However, in many cases Seler either did not comment or directional attributions could not be located in his writings. In those instances the item "[Direction] according to Seler" remains blank along with the cases in which Seler's attribution differs from the Laud direction. Even so, examples lacking the Mesoamericanist's classification in which only the appropriate calendrical symbols appear, may suggest the same direction as indicated on the Laud page (e.g., the Tlaloc images in Cospi 1 and 8).[7]

B. Conclusions

The cross-codical charts are arranged so that the greater the amount of Borgia Group page numbers in any

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[7]In examples demonstrating only the appropriate day signs, double parentheses signify that the listed directional attribution by Seler does not correspond with the appropriate Laud direction. Through the inclusion of the (()) sign on the final cross-codical charts, the reader can differentiate between equivalent calendrical examples containing a contrary designation by Seler, and equivalent calendrical examples lacking any directional assignment by Seler--the latter cases perhaps corresponding to the particular Laud direction.

vertical column on any table, the greater the resemblance to the corresponding Laud representation. Gaps in the charts indicate an absence of parallels between the Borgia manuscripts and a particular Laud page.

Offerings

The Offerings Charts reveal that no equivalent Borgia Group deity bears the identical set of native oblations presented in any page of the eight-deities section. In two instances, however, the offerings are nearly the same: the Macuilxochitl in the upper left of Borgia 7 (Fig. 52), presenting 80% of the possible parallels, and the Death God of Borgia 75 (Fig. 53), illustrating 85.7% of the correspondences at best. The Borgia Macuilxochitl only lacks the ball depicted near the Laud's Xochipilli, while the screen-fold's Mictlantecutli simply requires a heart offering. The Borgia Macuilxochitl's oblations are represented in a more similar manner to those in Laud 16 than the Borgia Death God's offerings whose items are grouped in a different fashion and include objects not depicted in Laud 11, i.e., the serpent and pulque. Unfortunately, the similarities between Borgia 7 and 75 and Laud 16 and 11 respectively, are inconsistent on the other comparison charts--both images contain many deficiencies of correspondence under the categories of "Attire",

"Associated Objects", and "Number, Day Sign, Direction".

The remaining comparisons on the Offerings Charts demonstrate that the set of offerings paired to the deities in Folio 16-9 are unique to the Codex Laud. Also, several of the individual items never occur in conjunction with the same deity outside of the Codex Laud. For example, the bone/arm oblation in a vessel appearing in Laud 13 is never associated with other representations of Itzlacoliuhqui in the Borgia Group. Similarly, the coupling of Cinteotl with the beverage illustrated in Folio 10 is not repeated elsewhere in the other screenfolds. The most original deity-offering pairing in Folio 16-9 occurs in Laud 9 with Mayauel. Four of the five offerings in Laud 9--ball, wood, spines, and maize--never appear elsewhere with the goddess in the other related manuscripts.

Attire

A glance at the second set of charts reveals tables replete with parallels in attire with the eight deities. The greatest frequency of correspondence between Laud 16-9 and the Borgia Group manuscripts exists in the Attire Charts. The increased number of parallels is not surprising since godly appearance needs

to be somewhat standardized to permit the recognition of a deity, while context and associated objects can vary to a great degree.

None of the members of the Borgia Group presents a deity that is paired with all of the appearance attributes occurring with its relative in Laud 16-9. In terms of attire, the Tonatiuh of Vaticanus B 38 (Fig. 54), illustrating eight out of ten possible correspondences (80%), and the Cinteotl of Borgia 52 (Fig. 55), including nine out of twelve parallels at best (75%), are the nearest relatives to Laud deities.

An examination of the Tonatiuh of Vaticanus B 38 reveals that the Sun God wears clothing very similar to that presented in Laud 14, excepting some variation in the necklace. Stylistic differences complicate concluding whether Tonatiuh's headress appears in Vaticanus B 38; the Vaticanus version of the Sun God appears to lack the hairy pelt element of the headress seen in Laud 14.[8]

The Cinteotl of Borgia 52 also presents many of the accessories worn by its Laud counterpart. Yet Figure 55 lacks the hatchet-like nose ornament and long tunic of

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[8]Seler states that the pelt headress ornament is "a special mark of the Sun God" (Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 34; see p. 72 above).

Folio 10's Cinteotl and, overall, does not bear a close resemblance to its Laud relative.

On the attire Charts Figures 54 and 55 appear to be exceptions, since the majority of Borgia Group deities do not conform as well to the godly dress illustrated in Laud 16-9. Unfortunately, both the Sun God of Vaticanus B 38 and the Maize Deity of Borgia 52 perform poorly on the remaining correspondence charts. The latter observation is typical of similar parallels found on other charts--a deity may resemble its Laud relative on one table, while demonstrating few correspondences on the remaining cross-codical charts.

Despite the presence of numerous similarities in general appearance between the deities of Laud 16-9 and the respective deities in the other members of the Borgia Group, several items of dress and aspect remain peculiar to the Laud deities. The Attire Charts indicate that the following objects are unique in their relationship to the illustrated Laud deity: the nude representation, parturient pose, and two cowlicks belonging to Mayauel, Tlaloc's bifid tongue, Tlazolteotl's flayed skin, and Cinteotl's long tunic.[9]

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[9]The nose ornament borne by Mictlantecutli's monkey is present only in Laud 11. I did not review, however, all the ozomatlis illustrated throughout the Borgia Group to ascertain if the accessory occurs on any monkey appearing without the Death God.

Associated Items

No image in the Borgia Group closely corresponds to any deity-associated item grouping found in Laud 16-9. Even in instances where resemblances occur, the closest correspondences parallel, at best, only half of the number of associated items. Two possible exceptions are the Mictlantecutli of Fejérváry-Mayer 34 (Fig. 56) where parallels can be noted with eight of the thirteen items charted (61.5%) and the Cinteotl of Fejérváry-Mayer 3 (Fig. 57) where five out of nine categories correspond (55.5%). Yet in the Associated Items Charts many deficiencies in parallels occur between these Fejérváry-Mayer deities and those in the Codex Laud.

As in the Offerings and Attire Charts, several of the specific objects associated with a particular supernatural personage are unique in their relation to that deity. The placement of Cinteotl, Tonatiuh, and Xochipilli under ⅂-shaped, flowering trees with monster roots is peculiar to the Codex Laud. Fejérváry-Mayer 3 does include this type of tree with Cinteotl, but only in a diminuitive version lacking the maize cobs of Laud 10's tree, and occurring adjacent to, not over, the deity. The Associated Items Charts also indicate that the cavernous canopy under which Tlazolteotl dwells

in Laud 15 is unprecedented among the illustrations of the goddess in the Borgia Group. Another feature peculiar to the Laud is the twin combination of Mictlantecutli-Ozomatli. Two instances occur in which a monkey is featured near the Death God, Borgia 49 and Vaticanus B 32[10] (Figs. 58 and 59), but these representations do not parallel the positioning of the two figures in Laud 11.

Other individual items unique in their association with the deities of Laud 16-9 are: Itzlacoliuhqui's mountain, or sacrificial stone, and the river of blood and hearts on which the Blindfolded God is seated; Tlaloc's jeweled, "seeing" raindrops and bird clutching a fish in its bill; the image of the Sun God riding with a spotless jaguar or puma,[11] on a celestial blue dragon; and the presentation of Mayauel with a hatchet, bladed weapon, smoking foot, and the exceptional inclusion of a serpent and turtle sharing one shell.[12]

Number, Day Sign, Direction

The final set of charts again demonstrates an absence of correspondences between the eight-deities

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[10]Seler identifies the second figure in Vaticanus B 32 as "the Sick Man" (Codex Vaticanus B, plate 32), but with his hairy body the figure seems more like a monkey than a man.

[11]See p. 71, n. 157 above.

[12]See p. 110, n. 303 above.

section and the equivalent gods of the Borgia Group. As an exception, the Xochipilli of Fejérváry-Mayer 35 (Fig. 60) comes near to paralleling the Laud Flower God in terms of number, day signs, direction, and presentation with a calendrical partner (90.9% correspondence).

In the Borgia Group it is a rare occurrence to discover a god exhibiting the day signs and number of its equivalent Laud deity. Of all the comparisons, only the Xochipilli of Fejérváry-Mayer 35 depicts the correct number and calendrical symbols. On the final chart, Figure 60 only lacks the display of the youthful god as the sole deity of Fejérváry-Mayer 35. Yet in Figure 60 another deviation from Laud 16 is apparent. Although Tlazolteotl appears elsewhere on the same sheet, in Fejérváry-Mayer 35 Xochipilli is deliberately paired with the Flower Goddess, Xochiquetzal, rather than with the Goddess of Filth. As is typical in the cross-codical analysis, the nearest representative to a Laud deity in terms of the items charted, here the Xochipilli of Fejérváry-Mayer 35, does not closely parallel its Laud counterpart on the three remaining comparison charts.

In contrast to Xochipilli's final table, Mayauel's chart demonstrates few traits in common with the other images of the Goddess of the Pulque Plant. Consistent

with her unusual appearance as revealed in the previous comparisons,[13] Mayauel's Number, Day Sign, Direction Chart exhibits the lowest percentage of correspondences among the final set of cross-codical charts, i.e., 45% at best.

Like the other three tables, some of the individual categories analyzed on the Number, Day Sign, Direction Charts are peculiar in their association with a Laud deity. For example, the appearance of a particular god with only the number four or seven, is unparalleled in the Borgia Group for Laud 14, 13, and 9. Also, Cinteotl and Mayauel never appear as partners elswhere in the Borgia Group as they do in Laud 10 and 9. Cinteotl's presentation as the sole personage on Folio 10 is exclusive to the Laud as well.

As demonstrated by the final set of cross-codical charts, the combination of specific number, day signs, direction, calendrical partner, and singular representation on a page is peculiar to the eight-deities section of the Codex Laud.

The cross-codical charts as a whole reveal that the special grouping and presentation of the Laud set

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[13] On three out of four charts (Offerings, Attire, and Number, Day Sign, Direction), Mayauel holds the lowest percentage of parallels among the eight deities.

of eight supernatural personages and their attributes is unique to Folios 16-9. This means that the Borgia Group does not offer any equivalent unit of pages as a key to interpreting the eight-deities section. The answer to the riddle of the Laud segment must lie within the extraordinary eight-deities section itself.

V. ANALYSIS OF FOLIOS 16-9

A. Internal Investigation--Bifurcation of Elements

Since the first part of the study establishes the uniqueness of the Laud section within the Borgia Group, a comparison of the eight pages with one another is the next logical step.

Assuming that the significance of the particular deities plays a crucial role in the organization of Folios 16-9, is it possible to uncover the original import of these pages without relying on subjective, impressionistic hypotheses of the meaning assigned to the otherwordly figures? Perhaps the significance of the folios can be ascertained through an objective comparison of elements found within the Laud segment.

Each of the eight sheets has two separate sets of items in common: a set of five day signs at the bottom of the folio, and a set of colored circles in the upper left of the page.[1] Since each sheet contains the two sets and some kind of grouping relative to them seems to be indicated--i.e., there are two folios per calendrical

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[1]The colored circles represent numbers. The Aztecs "indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots" (Vaillant, p. 210).

set and four pages carry seven circles while the remainder bear four--a bifurcation of folio elements according to each of these sets appears to be a useful means of comparison.

Tables IV and V in the Appendix illustrate these two methods of collation. Table IV catalogues details according to their exclusive appearance on pages bearing either the number seven or the number four. Table V lists items according to their occurence in both page members of a calendrical set. The object of this investigation is to determine whether a grouping of folios is significant on the basis of colored circles or day signs.

Throughout Table IV the items associated with death and destruction, such as sacrificial knives, hearts, bones, and instruments of war, are found on the pages containing four colored dots. Yet the pages exhibiting the number seven reveal the fertile imagery of birds and ⅂- shaped flowering trees. The exception to the latter is the bone awl held by each of the deities in Folios 16, 14, 12, and 10. Table V notes that the severed arm offering is also included on Folios 16, 14, 12, and 10, but it is not exclusive to the set of pages designated by seven circles since Folio 13 bears the arm offering as well. The limb oblation and the raised bone awl are the only blatant references to death on the sheets carrying

the number seven. But the bone awl does not necessarily indicate sacrificial death, as Sahagún indicates.[2] Excluding the severed limb offering, the bone awl is the only dire symbol exclusively injected into a group of pages otherwise dominated by positive, or at least benign, objects and it probably functions as a reference to autosacrificial bloodletting rather than death by immolation.

The results of the data charted on Table V cataloging the details shared by folios containing the same set of day signs are less well-defined than those of Table IV. While Table V does indicate some bifurcation of items according to day-sign paired pages, the majority of elements appear, in addition, on at least one half-member of another calendrical set. For example, firewood occurs in the sets of Folios 16 and 15, 12 and 11, and 10 and 9, but appears on Folio 14 as well. Only three categories, the element, yellow body paint,[3] and

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[2]See p. 41 above.

[3]It can be argued that yellow body paint is not a good example of bifurcation according to day-sign paired pages because the deities in Laud 12 and 11, Tlaloc and Mictlantecutli-Ozomatli, do not exhibit the same overall yellow coloring of their counterparts in Folios 16, 15, 10, and 9.

non-yellow body paint, are exclusively depicted on calendrically-paired pages.[4] Although a pairing of items relative to similar day symbols seems to be operating here, the major method of organization in Folio 16-9 appears to be as represented in Table IV.

An examination of Tables IV and V evidences a dominant bifurcation of objects between Folios 16, 14, 12, and 10, designated by seven, and Folios 15, 13, 11, and 9, designated by four. Furthermore, Table IV implies that this bifurcation is of a positive/negative nature with fruitful imagery prevailing on the folios assigned to the number seven, and destructive references largely relegated to the sheets bearing the number four.[5]

B. External Investigation

Introduction: the tonalpohualli of Laud 16-9

To further substantiate the claim that Folios 16-9 depict positive gods alternating with negative ones, an

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[4]For this reason I deleted "exclusive" from the title of Table V, since only the categories of yellow body paint, non-yellow body paint, and the ☯ element would have qualified under that heading.

[5]This good/evil reading of the section concurs with Burland's evaluation of Folios 16-9. Without substantiating his claim, the Mesoamericanist states that a "beneficent member" reigns on the sheets assigned to seven and a "maleficent power" rules over the pages assigned to four (Codex Laud, p. 24; "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 373).

investigation of the calendrical system appearing in the eight-deities section is necessary.

Contrary to A. R. Pagden's belief that the 360-day solar count is represented in the bottom section of Laud 16-9,[6] the calendrical system figured in the eight-deities series is the tonalpohualli, the 260-day ritual-divinatory cycle, as noted by Eduard Seler, C. A. Burland, and Karl Nowotny.[7] This becomes evident upon looking at a chart of the entire 260-day tonalpohualli such as Table VI in the Appendix.

Table VI is based on the 260-day counts presented in the Codices Borgia,[8] Cospi,[9] and especially the Vaticanus B[10] and includes Seler's addition of the numerical coefficient to the calendar signs.[11] The complete chart is read continuously from bottom to top starting in the lower left hand corner (with 1 Crocodile[12]) and scanning each row horizontally from left to right (ending with 13 Flower). Table VI designates the location of the Laud section's day signs in the vertical columns of

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[6] Mexican Pictorial Manuscripts, p. 7.

[7] See p. 35 above.

[8] Seler, Códice Borgia, plates 1-8.

[9] Nowotny, Codex Cospi, plates 1-8.

[10] Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plates 1-8.

[11] Ibid.

[12] See p. 36 above.

the count and demonstrates that the calendar series in Folios 16-9 is an abbreviated form of the complete tonalpohualli.

The diagram reveals the significance of the four and seven colored circles in the Laud sequence. A sheet exhibiting a seven signifies that there are seven days before the next page's signs appear (eight, if one counts the folio's own day sign too). Likewise, a page displaying four circles indicates that four days follow before the next sheet's calendar symbols occur (five, if one includes the folio's own day sign as well). For example, each of the calendar days of Folio 16, a page bearing the numeral seven, are followed by seven days before the signs of the next page, Folio 15, appear. Since Folio 15 bears four circles, the reader knows that four days separate the signs of Laud 15 from those of Laud 14. Supporting Nowotny's suggestion,[13] the complete tonalpohualli chart also indicates the correct sequence for the disorganized calendar symbols of Folios 14 and 13.

In addition, Table VI discloses the coefficients appropriate to the day signs of Folios 16-9. The diagram indicates that each of the calendar symbols grouped on a

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[13]See p. 36, n. 22 above.

page with the numeral seven (Laud 16, 14, 12, and 10) carry the coefficient "one," while each of the day signs depicted on a sheet having four circles (Laud 15, 13, 11, and 9) bear the coefficient "nine."

The numerical coefficients do not appear attached to the calendar signs in Folios 16-9 because, as seen in the tonalpohualli's of the Codices Borgia, Cospi, and Vaticanus B, they are not always pictured in the formal presentation of the ritual cycle. Yet as Sahagún and Durán report, the numerical coefficients were an integral part of the 260-day calendar.[14] Apparently the readers of the Codex Laud were so familiar with the system as to not require the inclusion of painted numbers with each depicted day sign.[15] The "distance numbers"[16] of four and seven would easily explain the count of Folios 16-9 if the interpreter was experienced in reading the tonalpohualli.

Table VI discloses that in Folio 16-9 the signs of each page marked by four circles occur in reverse order

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[14]Sahagún, Bk. IV; Duran, pp. 399, 406.

[15]Cf., Burland, "A 360-Day Count," p. 107.

[16]Burland, Codex Laud, p. 22.

versus the calendar symbols of seven-designated sheets (see diagram arrows). For example, in the chart one would expect to see the first calendar symbol of Folio 16, Crocodile, followed by seven days to the right with the eighth day being Motion, the first sign of Folio 15, and so on. Instead, the tonalpohualli shows Crocodile followed by the last calendar sign of Laud 15, Water.[17]

Perhaps Folios 16-9 should be viewed from right to left on the pages carrying seven circles, but in the opposite direction when the page contains the numeral four. This reading seems unusual, particularly since all the gods are facing the same direction--left. Did this alternately reversed reading order further distinguish the day groupings of the negative deities from those of the more propitious gods? One cannot be sure what, if anything, is intended by the fluctuation in the disposition of the Laud's calendar signs.

Fortunes of the Laud Days According to Sahagún and Durán

To the Aztecs, the association of a specific day sign with a specific number signified a particular meaning exclusive to that combination. While Seler,

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[17]Nowotny has also noticed this peculiar reversal of reading order in the Laud section (Tlacuillolli, p. 235).

Burland, and Nowotny are aware that the eight-deities section's signs fall within columns exhibiting the numerals one or nine,[18] none of these Mesoamericanists actually prefaces each of the Laud calendar symbols with the appropriate tonalpohualli coefficient and then comments on its significance.

Burland believes that the divinity assigned to each sheet in the eight-deities section "reigns over" and "influences the fortunes" of the following number of days before the next folio's god presides over his or her "period of power."[19] He asserts that the deities of pages bearing seven circles are "beneficent" while the supernatural personages on the remaining sheets are "maleficent."[20] Yet, the Mesoamericanist includes no supporting documentation to corroborate his observations on the positive and negative division of the Laud folios.[21] Since Sahagún reveals the fortunes of, and rituals attending, each combination of day sign and coefficient

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[18]Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 26; Burland "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," pp. 373, 374, Magic Books, pp. 28-29, Codex Laud, p. 24; Nowotny, Tlacuillolli, p. 235. Although Burland and Nowotny understand the tonalpohualli significance of the four and seven circles on Folios 16-9, Seler is the only author to precisely state that the Laud days fall under "the first and ninth columns" of the 260-day count.

[19]Burland, Magic Books, pp. 28-29.

[20]Burland, "Descriptive Notes on MS. Laud," p. 373; Codex Laud, p. 24.

[21]See p. 134, n. 5 above.

in the 260-day count, a comparison of his descriptions with the calendar symbols appearing in the eight-deities section may clarify the meaning of Folios 16-9.

Table VII (see Appendix) summarizes Sahagún's evaluation of each of the coefficient-day sign combinations that are included in the Laud series. The table begins with Sahagún's general characterization of each numbered calendar sign's fate. The friar usually divides the days between the categories of "good" and "evil."[22] The diagram does not indicate, however, that the Franciscan ethnographer tempers some of his "good" calendar symbols with the assertion that if the person born on that sign "did not do well the penances, purely by his own act he forsook and harmed his day sign,"[23] and occasionally modifies his "evil" signs with the hopeful sentiment that "he who showed prudence might well be saved through forethought."[24] After the general fortune, the chart then includes a summary of any additional statements Sahagún makes concerning a particular calendar sign's

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[22]Sahagún also portrays several signs with more ambiguous phrases such as "good and ill" (Bk. IV, 19), "only half good" (85), "somewhat good" (96), and "indifferent" (23).

[23]Ibid., 34.

[24]Ibid., 5.

fate and the destiny of those born on that day. Finally, Table VII records remarks by Sahagún regarding the exact rituals to be observed, and/or deities to be honored, on a specific day.

Because Durán describes the general effect of being born under some of these calendar signs, his comments are added on Table VII as well. Yet, Durán's explanation of the fortunes of the days is not as complete as Sahagún's discussion. Durán confines himself to characterizing just the twenty day signs themselves starting with "the first sign, Ce Cipactli [One Crocodile]" and ending with "the last sign, the twentieth, called Xochitl [which] means Flower."[25] Other than the mentioning of "Ce Cipactli," the friar does not seem to consider each of the signs with the complete rotating sequence of coefficients found in the tonalpohualli. Instead, he divides the calendar symbols themselves (minus their coefficients) into three categories of "good," "evil," and "neutral" influence.[26] Since his remarks are more generalized than Sahagún's and, therefore, less reliable as a source from which to draw conclusions on the meaning of specific coefficient-calendar sign combinations, Durán's observations are placed in parenthesis under a

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[25]Durán, pp. 399, 403.

[26]Ibid., p. 399.

separate heading in the far right column of Table VII. With the appropriate Laud folios I have also condensed and included his more extensive comments regarding the days "Ce Cipactli" and "the ninth sign . . . Atl, which means Water,"[27] just in case Durán was actually speaking of these signs plus the numerical coefficients of one and nine.

Upon reviewing Table VII, several connections between the Laud gods and the tonalpohualli rituals and deities are evident. One of Tlazolteotl's signs on Folio 15, the day Nine Reed, is dedicated to the feast of the Goddess of Filth, according to Sahagún. While on day One Flint of Tonatiuh's page, Folio 14, a religious festival took place honoring an aspect of the sun, Huitzilopochtli.[28] Also, there may be an oblique reference to Tlaloc with one of Folio 12's calendar symbols. Sahagún tells us that individuals born on One Deer were afraid of lightening and thunder and might be "smitten by a summer flash" or drown in water[29]--deaths for which the Rain God was responsible.[30]

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[27]Durán, pp. 399, 401.

[28]See p. 68 above.

[29]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 10.

[30]See p. 88 above.

Some consistency in meaning among the individual calendar signs seems to be indicated on a couple of the folios. According to the legend in the anonymous document, Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas,[31] the original "great creative deities," Tonacatecuhtli and his wife Tonacacihuatl, gave birth to four sons who were "apparently quadrupartite manifestations of the omnipotent Tezcatlipoca."[32] These four supernatural children were the gods Mixcoatl ("Cloud Serpent")-Camaxtli[33] or Xipe as the "Red Tezcatlipoca" associated with the eastern direction, the "Black Tezcatlipoca" (i.e., "Smoking Mirror") assigned to the north, Quetzalcoatl as the "White Tezcatlipoca" connected with the west, and Huitzilopochtli as the "Blue Tezcatlipoca" corresponding to the southern direction.[34]

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[31]"A major early text with mythological, historical, and ethnographic data," the manuscript is written in Spanish and may have been composed by Fray Andrés de Olmos (Charles Gibson and John B. Glass, "Prose Sources in the Native Historical Tradition," in Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. ed. Howard F. Cline [Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1975], XV, Pt. 4, 345; León-Portilla, p. 196).

[32]Nicholson, "Religion," pp. 397-98.

[33]Muser describes Camaxtli as the "Tlaxcalan god of the hunt and war, corresponding to Mixcoatl" (pp. 18-19, cf. Nicholson, "Religion," table 3).

[34]Nicholson, "Religion," p. 398; Vaillant, p. 181.

As can be seen in Table VII, three of Tonatiuh's days in the Laud section honor several of these aspects of Tezcatlipoca. One Death was dedicated to Tezcatlipoca himself, while on One Flint a feast venerating Huitzilopochtli was held, and a festival to Quetzalcoatl was assigned to the day One Wind.[35] Definitive conclusions cannot be drawn from this interest in Tezcatlipoca among several of Folio 14's day signs, but perhaps "Smoking Mirror's" importance on Tonatiuh's page is not so unwarranted when recalling that the Sun God's calendrical partner on the following page in the Laud series is also another aspect of Tezcatlipoca--Itzlacoliuhqui.[36]

Yet the greatest agreement between day signs regarding tonalpohualli rituals and deities occurs on Tlaloc's sheet. As indicated on Table VII, each of the Rain God's calendar symbols foretells the descent to earth of the souls of women who had died in childbirth, the Ciuapipiltin or Ciuateteo.[37] I could not locate any instances where Sahagún or Durán specify the relationship

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[35]Some of the items mentioned in Folio 14's tonalpohualli rituals, such as wine, food, flowers, incense, and a severed forearm, seem to be depicted on Tonatiuh's page.

[36]See p. 76 above.

[37]See pp. 64-65 above.

between Tlaloc and the Ciuapipiltin. But a reference to the waterfowl depicted on the Rain God's page is included in a funereal address given by the midwife after a mother expired during childbirth:

> And now awaken, arise . . . for already it dawneth; the morning hath reddened . . . the various flame-colored roseate spoonbills sing . . . . take thyself to . . . the home of thy mother, thy father, the sun . . . . [38]

The allusion to the Ciuateteo on a folio assigned to the west is appropriate since Ciuatlampa, the abode of these goddesses, was located there.[39] Each day the souls of the dead mothers escorted the solar orb from its zenith in the heavens to the goddesses' home in the west. Sahagún explains that the goddesses "brought down the sun" and "delivered it into the hands of the people of Mictlan . . . the dead."[40] Perhaps then it is no coincidence that Folio 11, which presents the death god, Mictlantecutli, follows the Laud page that so vividly refers to the Ciuapipiltin through its calendar signs.

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[38] Sahagún, Bk. VI, 164. This command comes from the same rite described on p. 62 above.
Also, several oblations referred to on a few of Tlaloc's days, such as liquid rubber, incense, food, and drink, appear to correspond with the images presented on Folio 12.

[39] Ibid., 161-63.

[40] Ibid., 163; after surrendering the sun to the "people of Mictlan," the Ciuapipiltin then "descended to earth" to demand the feminine clothing and utensils from husbands whose wives had perished giving birth.

As detailed on Table VII, the descending female deities brought misfortune upon mankind. Therefore, the pleasant image of Tlaloc surrounded by life-sustaining moisture is tempered by the dreaded malevolence of the Ciuapipiltin cited in Folio 12's tonalpohualli section. The combined message of painting and count is as ambivalent as the fortunes of the divinity's individual days (good, evil, good, evil, evil) and the fall of rain over which Tlaloc commands.

Still, Laud 12 is, at worst, an ambiguous page in contrast to the sheets embracing days prefaced by the coefficient nine. As shown under the "Fortune" heading on Table VII, the above-hypothesized bifurcation of the eight-deities section between positive or neutral (Fols. 16, 14, 12, and 10) and negative (Fols. 15, 13, 11, and 9) values is confirmed by Sahagún. In discussing the tonalpohualli, the sixteenth-century chronicler presages the disastrous destiny of those born on any of the days depicted in Sheets 15, 13, 11, and 9:

> it was said, the day signs taking ninth place were in no way a time of good. For whosoever was born on it, man or woman, nothing became one's fate or deserts . . . . These same dedicated themselves to and paid strict attention to constant evil . . . .
> . . . . . .
> Everywhere his life and deeds were

> regarded with dread. For truly, he had been born in a time of vice and sin . . . .[41]

Applying to the sets of days in Laud 16, 14, 12, and 10 when the fates fluctuate between good and evil, Sahagún states that during the ritual consultation of the divinatory calendar for a newborn infant, the knowledgeable soothsayer also considered the signs associated with the one on which the child was born:

> . . . he looked . . . at his paintings . . . examined, looked at the day sign on which the baby was born, studied which were those related to it which governed there. If perhaps it was a bad day, perhaps good were its companions which governed there. This improved it . . . . they help, . . . moderate the evil day sign.[42]

But if the reading of the tonalpohualli indicated that the unfortunate infant was born on an "evil day" and "if those which governed there, along with the day, were also evil," such as the calendar groups ascribed to Folios 15, 13, 11, and 9, then the child's future would be ill-fated--"nothing is its betterment:"

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[41]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 50-51; cf. 74 and 102 as well. The only nine-prefaced day that hints at any hope of better tidings is Nine Rabbit on Mayauel's page (see Table VII, Appendix).

[42]Ibid., Bk. VI, 198.

> Behold that which will befall him: vice will be his desert; he will become a thief; misery will be . . . his lot. Vainly will he struggle on earth, but that which will be done will fail . . . .[43]

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[43]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 198. Nevertheless, the soothsayer attempted to mitigate the evil portents by setting the date on a favorable day for the ceremonies of bathing and naming the child--"he still skipped . . . . sought out and importuned a time of good. Then they bathed him. It was said that thus in part they reversed and made good his birth" (198, Bk. IV, 100; see Bk. IV, 51, 131 also).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The focus for research in this study was an iconographic investigation of the eight-deities section, Folios 16-9, of the Mesoamerican religious screen-fold, the Codex Laud. After presenting introductory remarks and background material regarding the indigenous calendar and the relevant gods, the first part of the study established the uniqueness of the Laud segment within the Codex Borgia Group of religious manuscripts. The means employed to arrive at this conclusion were a detailed comparison, displayed on a set of cross-codical charts, of each of the eight figures and their attributes with the equivalent deities and attributes found elsewhere in the Borgia Group.

Since the quantitative analysis exhibited on the cross-codical charts did not disclose any cognates with which to interpret the Laud segment, it was apparent that any attainable explanation of Folios 16-9 would have to be discovered within the unique eight-deities section itself. The first procedure undertaken to appraise the Laud series was an internal comparison of the pages against one another according to the two sets of elements that the eight pages had in common. Depicted items on the

Laud sheets were first bifurcated on the basis of the seven and four colored circles appearing in the upper left corner of each page, and then bifurcated on the basis of similar calendar signs shared by the folios in order to discern whether the two inherent groupings had any significance within the eight-deities section. This examination indicated a grouping of objects according to positive and negative principles with benign imagery prevailing on the seven-designated pages (Fols. 16, 14, 12, and 10) and destructive elements emphasized on the sheets exhibiting four circles (Fols. 15, 13, 11, and 9).

The second method pursued to discern the structure and meaning of Folios 16-9 was an external comparison of the Laud calendar signs with the Aztec interpretations of the ritual count as recorded by Fray Diego Durán and, especially, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. After ascertaining that the day signs on the bottom of the Laud segment were an abbreviated form of the 260-day ritual-divinatory cycle, the tonalpohualli, and determining the numerical coefficients appropriate to each Laud calendar symbol, it was possible to compare the signs to Sahagún's and Durán's calendrical explanations and to discover the fate of each of the days depicted in the eight-deities section.

Because Sahagún's evaluations were more detailed and specifically addressed day signs prefaced by particular numerical coefficients, the Franciscan's remarks were judged to be more appropriate and, therefore, given more weight than Durán's general comments regarding the significance of the days. Confirming the division detected in the internal comparison, Sahagún's interpretation of the calendrical destinies revealed that the days depicted on Folios 15, 13, 11, and 9 were of uniformly evil portent as opposed to the calendar signs falling on Folios 16, 14, 12, and 10.

The bifurcation analysis and Sahagún's portrayal of the fates of the days demonstrate that the eight gods and their influences alternate between negative values (Fols. 15, 13, 11, and 9) and more positive, or at least neutral, values (Fols. 16, 14, 12, and 10). The investigation supports a more favorable reading of the pages belonging to the benevolent gods of Laud 16, 14, 12, and 10 in contrast to the adverse reading of the sheets and time periods governed by the dreadful deities of Laud 15, 13, 11, and 9.

Even though it appears that the fortunes of Folios 16-9 fluctuate between good, or neutral, and evil powers, the definitive purpose of the Laud section defies complete understanding. The sixteenth-century Spanish

friars inform us that the tonalpohualli was consulted for a variety of reasons including controlling and predicting business affairs and marriage, as well as determining the proper time for consuming particular foods, performing ritual confessions, and engaging in agricultural projects.[1] Whether the Laud segment was designed to treat all or just one specific function of the 260-day count may never be ascertained with certainty.

Yet students of pre-Hispanic central-Mexican culture know that the tonalpohualli was of crucial importance from the moment an individual was brought into the world. Sahagún states,

> The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born . . . . [2]

If the infant's birth occurred on a day whose sign was favorable then the grandparents, senior family members, and midwife quickly bathed and named the child.[3] If the

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[1]See pp. 20-22 above.

[2]Sahagún, Bk. II, 39; cf. Bk. VI, 197-99 and Dúran, p. 398.

[3]Ibid., Bk. II, 39, Bk. IV, 113, 131.

day was considered unfavorable, the naming of the baby was postponed until a more auspicious time.[4]

Duran relates that the parents and relatives of the infant always presented the "sorcerer-fortuneteller" with "offerings of food and drink"[5] as payment for consulting the ritual-divinatory calendar. Sahagún stresses that "not just a little did they give him; he went [with] turkeys and a load of food."[6]

Following the bathing/naming rites, the parents--provided that they were "rulers" or wealthy "merchants"--furnished a great banquet in which they bestowed upon their "kinsmen and friends" gifts, food, and drink.[7] Besides corresponding to oblations presented to the particular deities during religious ceremonies, some of the offerings depicted on Folios 16-9 conform to items

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[4]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 51, 113, 131, Bk. VI, 198; see p. 148, n. 43 above.

The bathing/naming ceremonies included the presentation of diminuitive "instruments of war" to a male child and the "equipment of women" to a female infant, and the washing of the baby by the midwife who beseeched the water goddess, Chalchiuhtlicue to "cleanse" and "remove the filthiness which [the baby] has taken from thy mother, from thy father!" (Bk. VI, 175-177, 201-205).

[5]Durán, p. 398.

[6]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 199.

[7]Ibid., Bk. II, 39, Bk. IV, 121-24; Durán, p. 424.

described in the festivities surrounding the birth of a child. Sahagún reports that a "pine torch" blazed continuously during the bathing/naming ceremonies[8] and that a fire burned for several days following the infant's birth.[9] Maize, in a dish with beans, was the "naming ceremony gift" which "the small children" took with them as "they went out shouting . . . on the roads . . . . calling out what [the baby] had been given as a name."[10] The banquet held to celebrate the infant's arrival included such refreshments as tamales,[11] "cooked maize with chocolate,"[12] maize gruel,[13] braised

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[8]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 203, 204.

[9]Ibid., Bk. IV, 111.

[10]Ibid., 113.

[11]Ibid., 122-23.

[12]Ibid., 123.

[13]Ibid., 118.

bird or dog meat,[14] chocolate,[15] and fermented maguey juice.[16]

Firewood, maize, wine, and a meat oblation are the offerings depicted in Laud 16, 14, 12, and 10 excepting the absence of a maize dish in the last sheet, Cinteotl's page. Although a severed limb is displayed on Folio 13 and firewood is included with the offerings on Folio 11,[17] the oblations represented in Laud 15, 13, and 11 reveal items, such as hearts, bones, and knives, not contained in the accounts of festivities honoring the newborn child. The only "negative" sheet of the

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[14]Sahagún, Bk. IV, 123.

[15]Ibid., 117; remember that Burland believes the beverage offering on Folio 12 to be frothy chocolate (see p. 46, n. 61 above).

[16]Ibid., 118. Sahagún also relates that the guests were presented with capes, breechcloths, and various articles of clothing (122), given "crowns and garlands of flowers" (117), offered tobacco (117), invited to sing (119), and "provided with dancing" (122). The hosts' house was decked with fragrant blossoms for the guests' delight (122), straw mats were set out on freshly swept places (123), and musicians performed (123).

[17]Firewood is also displayed on Tlazolteotl's page, but not with the set of offerings on the left side of the folio.

eight-deities series that depicts several of the usual objects is Folio 9 with its nude mother-goddess seated in a parturient pose. Here the offerings include pulque, maize, and firewood, but lack the meat vessel.[18]

Without abandoning the most logical hypothesis that the offerings in Laud 16-9 represent oblations to the depicted gods, it is interesting to note that the more favorable pages of the Laud section include items referred to in the ceremonies and celebrations of an infant's birth. Perhaps, along with the depicted tonalpohualli itself, they function as a signal to the soothsayer and parents that the fate of a child born within the set of days governed by the deities on Folios 16, 14, 12, and 10 is optimistic enough to warrant the prompt arranging of the bathing/naming rites and banquet, in marked contrast to the message given by the horrid oblations presented with the terrible supernatural personages of Folios 15, 13, and 11.

Regardless of the pages' specific use, the analysis of Laud 16-9 reveals that the eight-deities section and its tonalpohualli truly reflect the Postclassic impulse to discern and preserve universal harmony. In describing

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[18]The reader will recall that Laud 9 was the only unfavorable folio where one of the day sign's evil fortunes was mitigated by the phrase, "but also somewhat good" (see Table VII, Appendix).

"archaic religion," the category to which Charles Wicke largely assigns the Aztec belief system,[19] Robert Bellah notes that "social conformity is at every point reinforced with religious sanction."[20] A principal function of the native religious manuscripts certainly fits the sociologist's portrayal of archaic faith. As mentioned above, the 260-day counts depicted in the sacred books controlled and predicted such major aspects of life as trade, marriage, food production, and one's future in general.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown claims that "religion develops in mankind . . . a sense of dependence . . . . We can face life and its chances and difficulties with confidence when we know that there are powers, forces and events

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[19]The art historian states that "by 1521 Aztec religion, although essentially archaic, was evolving toward the historic stage." The latter level, where salvation becomes the primary religious focus, is exemplified by the Spanish religious convictions at the time of the Conquest (Charles R. Wicke, "The Evolution of Mesoamerican Religion," in Religión en Mesoamérica: XII Mesa Redonda, eds. Jaime Litvak King and Noemi Castillo Tejero [México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, 1972], pp. 51-53; Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," American Sociological Review, 29, No. 3 [1964], rpt. in Beyond Belief [New York: Harper and Row, 1970], p. 32).

[20]Bellah, p. 31.

on which we can rely."[21] But in return for this assurance, Radcliffe-Brown continues, "we must submit to the control of our conduct by rules which are imposed."[22]

While certainly constrained by rules regulating behavior, the Aztecs rarely seemed to exude confidence about their fate, but were, instead, basically insecure about the future of their world:

> . . . the prehispanic indian . . . lives permanently threatened by the daily possibility that the powers of the night will conquer the sun and that every fifty-two years the world will be destroyed . . . .[23]

Durán accurately recognizes the intense anxiety with which the Aztecs viewed the balance of things:

> These characters [i.e., day signs] also taught the Indian nations the days on which they were to sow, reap, till . . . . If chili was not sown on a certain day . . . maize on another, and so forth, in disregard of the orderly count of the days, the people felt there would be great damage and loss . . . .[24]

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[21] Radcliffe-Brown, p. 176.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Estudios de Historia Colonial (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1958), pp. 112-113, cited and trans. by Wicke, "Evolution of Mesoamerican Religion," p. 52.

[24] Durán, p. 396; see also p. 249.

Only through the proper observance of the portents revealed in the 260-day calendar could any of this fear be alleviated.

Since the sources disclose the significance of the tonalpohualli in Postclassic society,[25] it is reasonable to assume that wealthy nobles would have desired to own ritual-divinatory counts in exquisitely painted manuscripts that could be "opened out" and "studied"[26] by a personal seer. For a powerful lord, the 260-day count would have been a necessary and invaluable resource of knowledge. Sahagún and Durán's records of the active participation of Moctezuma, the Aztec emperor, in religious rites and feasts[27] evince Bellah's contention that the "political elite . . . at this [archaic] stage never completely divests itself of religious leadership."[28] A beautifully and precisely

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[25]Even after the Spanish Conquest, the practice of obtaining information from the 260-day counts was widespread, as an exasperated Duran laménts,

> There are few places where the ancient calendars are not kept in hiding, consulted often, and taught to the new generation so that this system will not fall into oblivion in aeternum (p. 398).

[26]Sahagún, Bk. VI, 197.

[27]E.g., Durán, pp. 156-58; Sahagún, Bk. IV, 25, 78, Bk. XII, 3. Moctezuma thought of himself as a divine ruler (Richard E. W. Adams, Prehistoric Mesoamerica [Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977], p. 43).

[28]Bellah, p. 31.

executed manuscript such as the Codex Laud may well have served a priest or soothsayer attending a ruler absorbed in preserving social tranquility as well as conducting his personal and family affairs.

In a society where the major concern was "maintenance of the cosmic order,"[29] the religious manuscripts offered one of the few opportunities for perceiving the will of the deities. Folios 16-9, the Codex Laud as a whole, and the pre-Conquest ritual-divinatory pictorial manuscripts in general presented the rulers, priests, soothsayers and, through them, the common people with a "communication system through which gods and men [could] interact."[30]

Jiménez Moreno characterizes the pre-Hispanic individual as constantly "feeling the necessity of sustaining the cosmic order, which is always in danger of being deviated by maleficent deities."[31] In summation, I believe I have demonstrated that this sense of struggle

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[29]Jiménez Moreno, Estudios de Historia Colonial, p. 110 cited and trans. by Wicke, "Evolution of Mesoamerican Religion," p. 51.

[30]Bellah, p. 30.

[31]Jiménez Moreno, p. 110 cited and trans. by Wicke, "Evolution of Mesoamerican Religion," p. 52.

between supernatural forces dominates the eight-deities section of the Codex Laud.

Beyond exposing the underlying structure of Folio 16-9, the thesis indicates several new directions for further study. The Laud analysis demonstrated that the cross-codical chart method is a useful one for determining specific divergences and parallels between complex illustrations from different native manuscripts. Exhaustive cross-codical comparisons of problematic pages and sections need to be executed in order to ascertain correspondences in the painted books that are not readily identifiable to the trained eye.

Also, I suggest that Sahagún's statements concerning the fortunes of the days could be applied to the remaining tonalpohualli sections in the Codex Laud and 260-day count segments in other ritual-divinatory books originating in central-southern Mexico. This is certainly an avenue of approach that should be explored further and may ultimately yield exciting results. Only through more extensive research in directions such as these can Mesoamericanists hope to uncover the ancient meaning locked in the surviving pre-Conquest religious pictorial manuscripts.

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APPENDIX

Tables

Table I

Chronological Table[1]
(read from bottom up)

[1]Based on Michael D. Coe, Mexico (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), p. 15; Weaver, The Aztecs, Maya, and Their Predecessors, pp. 38-39; and Curt Muser, Facts and Artifacts, pp. 196-97.

DATES	PERIODS	Valley of Mexico	Puebla	Oaxaca	North and Central Gulf Coast Plain	Southern Gulf Coast Plain
300						
		Teotihuacán II	Tehuacan Sequence			
	Late Pre-Classic	Teotihuacán I	Early Palo Blanco			
A.D. / B.C.				Monte Albán II		
		Cuicuilco				Early Tres Zapotes
300			Late Santa María			
	Middle Pre-Classic			Monte Albán I		Olmec Civilisation (La Venta)
		Tlatilco, Zacatenco	Early Santa María			
					El Trapiche	
		El Arbolillo				
1000			Late Ajalpa			
	Early Pre-Classic					
			Early Ajalpa			
1500 B.C.						

Table I - continued

DATES	PERIODS	Valley of Mexico	Puebla		Oaxaca	North and Central Gulf Coast Plain	Southern Gulf Coast Plain
1520							
	Late Post-Classic	Aztec Empire (II-IV)	Late Venta Salada	Mixteca-Puebla	Mixtec states	Cempoala	Soncautla
		Aztec I (Chichimec)					
1200							
	Early Post-Classic	Tula and the Toltecs	Early Venta Salada	Olmec-Xicalanca	Mitla (Monte Albán IV)		
900							
	Late Classic	Coyotlatelco			Monte Albán IIIb	Classic Veracruz (El Tajín, Remojadas)	
600 A.D.							
	Early Classic	Teotihuacán IV Teotihuacán III	Late Palo Blanco		Monte Albán IIIa		Cerro de las Mesas, Late Tres Zapotes

Table II

Provenience of the Codex Laud

Author	Suggested Location
C. A. Burland	Gulf Coast of Veracruz
R. Chadwick & R. S. MacNeish	Mixtec
H. B. Nicholson*	Mixtec
K. A. Nowotny*	Unclassified
D. Robertson*	Mixtec
E. Seler	Area of Tehuacan, Cozcatlan, Teotitlan del Camino

*These opinions are also noted on John Glass' provenience chart for the Codex Borgia Group (p. 66).

Table III

Aztec Day Names and Numbers[1]

1	Cipactli (Crocodile, Mythical Water Monster, Alligator)
2	Ehecatl (Wind)
3	Calli (House)
4	Cuetzpallin (Iguana Lizard)
5	Coatl (Snake)
6	Miquiztli (Death's-Head)
7	Mazatl (Deer)
8	Tochtli (Rabbit)
9	Atl (Water)
10	Itzcuintli (Dog)
11	Ozomatli (Howling Monkey)
12	Malinalli (Grass)
13	Acatl (Reed)
1	Ocelotl (Ocelot, Jaguar)
2	Cuauhtli (Eagle)
3	Cozcaquauhtli (Vulture)
4	Ollin (Motion, Earthquake)
5	Tecpatl (Flint Knife)
6	Quiahuitl (Rain)
7	Xochitl (Flower)
8	Cipactli
9	Ehecatl
10	Calli
11	Cuetzpallin
12	Coatl
13	Miquiztli
1	Mazatl
2	Tochtli
	Etc., etc.

[1]G. C. Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico, p. 194, table 8.

Table IV

Items Exclusive to Either Four or Seven-numbered Pages

	Four				Seven			
Item	Folio							
	15	13	11	9	16	14	12	10
Sacrificial Knives	X	X	X	X				
Raised Awl in Right Hand					X	X	X	X
Backrests					X	X	X	X
Birds					X	X	X	X
Hearts	X	X	X					
Bones	X	X	X					
Reeds	X	X	X					
Bladed Weapons	X	X		X				
Reed Weapons	X	X		X				
Two Cowlicks	X	X		X				
Identical Group of Offerings (pulque, ball and wood, arm, maize)					X	X	X	
Jaguar or its Skin					X	X	X	
"Bird" Fillet					X	X		X
Flowering ↄ-shaped Trees with Monster Roots					X	X		X

Table IV - Continued

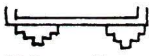
Item	Four				Seven			
	Folio							
	15	13	11	9	16	14	12	10
 Nose Ornament					X	X		X
Open Mouth					X	X		X
Shield and Flag	X	X						
Rope	X	X						
Throwing Stick	X	X						
Eyes/Stars	X		X					
Extended Tongue (not bifid)	X		X					
Serpent	X			X				
Goddesses	X			X				
Upraised Bowl	X			X				
 Feather Headress		X	X					
 Breast Ornament		X	X					
 Element		X	X					
Maguey Spines			X	X				
Standing Form							X	X
Long Tunics							X	X
 Platform							X	X

Table V

Items Common to Both Members of Equivalent Day-Sign Sets

Item	Paired Folios							
	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9
Firewood	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Yellow Body Paint	X	X			X	X	X	X
Bone Awls	X	X	X		X		X	X
Ball	X		X		X	X	X	X
◖ or ◗ Back Ornament	X	X	X	X	X			
Flowers	X	X	X				X	X
Arm	X		X	X	X		X	
 Earring	X		X		X		X	X
Jeweled Collar		X			X	X	X	X
Sandals	X		X	X		X		
Non-vegetable Canopy		X		X	X	X		
Breech-cloth	X		X	X				
Non-yellow Body Paint			X	X				
֍ Element			X	X				

Table VI. The 260-Day Count (tonalpohualli).[1]

Read continuously from left to right, bottom to top. Laud calendar groups are noted in the vertical columns. Arrows indicate the sequence of the day signs appearing in Laud 16-9.

[1] *atl* Water	[2] *itzcuintli* Dog	[3] *oçomàtli* Ape	[4] *malinalli* Twisted	[5] *acatl* Reed	[6] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[7] *quauhtli* Eagle	[8] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[9] *olin* Motion	[10] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[11] *quiauitl* Rain	[12] *xochitl* Flower	[13] *cipactli* Crocodile
[1] *olin* Motion	[2] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[3] *quiauitl* Rain	[4] *xochitl* Flower	[5] *cipactli* Crocodile	[6] *ecatl* Wind	[7] *calli* House	[8] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[9] *coatl* Snake	[10] *miquiztli* Death	[11] *maçatl* Deer	[12] *tochtli* Rabbit	[13] *atl* Water
[1] *coatl* Snake	[2] *miquiztli* Death	[3] *maçatl* Deer	[4] *tochtli* Rabbit	[5] *atl* Water	[6] *itzcuintli* Dog	[7] *oçomàtli* Ape	[8] *malinalli* Twisted	[9] *acatl* Reed	[10] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[11] *quauhtli* Eagle	[12] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[13] *olin* Motion
[1] *acatl* Reed	[2] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[3] *quauhtli* Eagle	[4] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[5] *olin* Motion	[6] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[7] *quiauitl* Rain	[8] *xochitl* Flower	[9] *cipactli* Crocodile	[10] *ecatl* Wind	[11] *calli* House	[12] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[13] *coatl* Snake
[1] *cipactli* Crocodile	[2] *ecatl* Wind	[3] *calli* House	[4] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[5] *coatl* Snake	[6] *miquiztli* Death	[7] *maçatl* Deer	[8] *tochtli* Rabbit	[9] *atl* Water	[10] *itzcuintli* Dog	[11] *oçomàtli* Ape	[12] *malinalli* Twisted	[13] *acatl* Reed

Fol. 16 Fol. 15

[1]The diagram includes Eduard Seler's coefficient assignment and is based on the 260-day calendars depicted in the Codices Borgia (Seler, Códice Borgia, plates 1-8), Cospi (Nowotny, Codex Cospi, plates 1-8), and especially the Vaticanus B (Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plates 1-8).

Table VI - Continued

[1] *eecatl* Wind	[2] *calli* House	[3] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[4] *coatl* Snake	5] *miquiztli* Death	[6] *maçatl* Deer	[7] *tochtli* Rabbit	[8] *atl* Water	[9] *itzcuintli* Dog	[10] *oçomàtli* Ape	[11] *malinalli* Twisted	[12] *acatl* Reed	[13] *ocelotl* Jaguar
[1] *itzcuintli* Dog	[2] *oçomàtli* Ape	[3] *malinalli* Twisted	[4] *acatl* Reed	[5] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[6] *quauhtli* Eagle	[7] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[8] *olin* Motion	[9] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[10] *quiauitl* Rain	[11] *xochitl* Flower	[12] *cipactli* Crocodile	[13] *eecatl* Wind
[1] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[2] *quiauitl* Rain	[3] *xochitl* Flower	[4] *cipactli* Crocodile	[5] *eecatl* Wind	[6] *calli* House	[7] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[8] *coatl* Snake	[9] *miquiztli* Death	[10] *maçatl* Deer	[11] *tochtli* Rabbit	[12] *atl* Water	[13] *itzcuintli* Dog
[1] *miquiztli* Death	[2] *maçatl* Deer	[3] *tochtli* Rabbit	[4] *atl* Water	[5] *itzcuintli* Dog	[6] *oçomàtli* Ape	[7] *malinalli* Twisted	[8] *acatl* Reed	[9] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[10] *quauhtli* Eagle	[11] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[12] *olin* Motion	[13] *tecpatl* Flint Knife
[1] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[2] *quauhtli* Eagle	[3] *cozcaquauhtli* Vulture	[4] *olin* Motion	[5] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[6] *quiauitl* Rain	[7] *xochitl* Flower	[8] *cipactli* Crocodile	[9] *eecatl* Wind	[10] *calli* House	[11] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[12] *coatl* Snake	[13] *miquiztli* Death

Fol. 14

Fol. 13

Table VI - Continued

[1] *quauhtli* Eagle	[2] *coxcaquauhtli* Vulture	[3] *olin* Motion	[4] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[5] *quiauitl* Rain	[6] *xochitl* Flower	[7] *cipactli* Crocodile	[8] *eecatl* Wind	[9] *calli* House	[10] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[11] *couatl* Snake	[12] *miquiztli* Death	[13] *maçatl* Deer
[1] *calli* House	[2] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[3] *couatl* Snake	[4] *miquiztli* Death	[5] *maçatl* Deer	[6] *tochtli* Rabbit	[7] *atl* Water	[8] *itzcuintli* Dog	[9] *oçomàtli* Ape	[10] *malinalli* Twisted	[11] *acatl* Reed	[12] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[13] *quauhtli* Eagle
[1] *oçomàtli* Ape	[2] *malinalli* Twisted	[3] *acatl* Reed	[4] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[5] *quauhtli* Eagle	[6] *coxcaquauhtli* Vulture	[7] *olin* Motion	[8] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[9] *quiauitl* Rain	[10] *xochitl* Flower	[11] *cipactli* Crocodile	[12] *eecatl* Wind	[13] *calli* House
[1] *quiauitl* Rain	[2] *xochitl* Flower	[3] *cipactli* Crocodile	[4] *eecatl* Wind	[5] *calli* House	[6] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[7] *couatl* Snake	[8] *miquiztli* Death	[9] *maçatl* Deer	[10] *tochtli* Rabbit	[11] *atl* Water	[12] *itzcuintli* Dog	[13] *oçomàtli* Ape
[1] *maçatl* Deer	[2] *tochtli* Rabbit	[3] *atl* Water	[4] *itzcuintli* Dog	[5] *oçomàtli* Ape	[6] *malinalli* Twisted	[7] *acatl* Reed	[8] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[9] *quauhtli* Eagle	[10] *coxcaquauhtli* Vulture	[11] *olin* Motion	[12] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[13] *quiauitl* Rain

Fol. 12

Fol. 11

Table VI - Continued

[1] *tochtli* Rabbit	[2] *atl* Water	[3] *itzcuintli* Dog	[4] *oçomàtli* Ape	[5] *malinalli* Twisted	[6] *acatl* Reed	[7] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[8] *quauhtli* Eagle	[9] *cozca-quauhtli* Vulture	[10] *olin* Motion	[11] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[12] *quiauitl* Rain	[13] *xochitl* Flower
[1] *cozca-quauhtli* Vulture	[2] *olin* Motion	[3] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[4] *quiauitl* Rain	[5] *xochitl* Flower	[6] *cipactli* Crocodile	[7] *eecatl* Wind	[8] *calli* House	[9] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[10] *couatl* Snake	[11] *miquiztli* Death	[12] *maçatl* Deer	[13] *tochtli* Rabbit
[1] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[2] *couatl* Snake	[3] *miquiztli* Death	[4] *maçatl* Deer	[5] *tochtli* Rabbit	[6] *atl* Water	[7] *itzcuintli* Dog	[8] *oçomatli* Ape	[9] *malinalli* Twisted	[10] *acatl* Reed	[11] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[12] *quauhtli* Eagle	[13] *cozca-quauhtli* Vulture
[1] *malinalli* Twisted	[2] *acatl* Reed	[3] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[4] *quauhtli* Eagle	[5] *cozca-quauhtli* Vulture	[6] *olin* Motion	[7] *tecpatl* Flint Knife	[8] *quiauitl* Rain	[9] *xochitl* Flower	[10] *cipactli* Crocodile	[11] *eecatl* Wind	[12] *calli* House	[13] *cuetzpalin* Lizard
[1] *xochitl* Flower	[2] *cipactli* Crocodile	[3] *eecatl* Wind	[4] *calli* House	[5] *cuetzpalin* Lizard	[6] *couatl* Snake	[7] *miquiztli* Death	[8] *maçatl* Deer	[9] *tochtli* Rabbit	[10] *atl* Water	[11] *itzcuintli* Dog	[12] *oçomàtli* Ape	[13] *malinalli* Twisted

Fol. 10 Fol. 9

Table VII

The Fortunes of the Laud Days According to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún

All page numbers refer to Sahagún's Florentine Codex, Book IV, unless otherwise specified. Page references for the column designated "Durán's Comments" derive from Fray Diego Durán's Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar.

Folio 16: Xochipilli

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Crocodile	GOOD (p. 2)	"would prosper, be rich, esteemed, honored, great, a ruler or warrior" (p. 2)		"man of outstanding strength and courage, hard worker, famous warrior," rich (Good, p. 399)
One Reed	EVIL (p. 29)	"scant merits, as worthless as the wind" (p. 29)	"dedicated to Quetzalcoatl," festival to this god in the boy's monastic school (calmecac), idol's image adorned and given flowers, tobacco, incense, food, drink (p. 29, Bk. II, 36)	(Neutral, pp. 399, 401)
One Serpent	GOOD (p. 59)	"be wealthy, a brave warrior, attain renown" (p. 59), favorable day for travelers and merchants (p. 60), day wars should begin (p. 70)		(Evil, pp. 399, 400)
One Motion	ONLY HALF GOOD (p. 85)	those who did penance would be successful, those who did not would be worthless, "vagabonds" (p. 85)		(Good and Neutral, pp. 399, 403)

Table VII- Continued

Folio 16: Xochipilli - continued

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Water	EVIL (p. 99)	"evil, surrounded by vice," might die by "drowning or stoning" (pp. 99-100)	feast of Chalchiuitlicue (a water goddess) celebrated by those who made their living by a water trade, image formed, adorned, and presented "offerings" (p. 99, Bk. II, 39)	(Evil, pp. 399, 401)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 15: Tlazolteotl

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
Nine Motion	EVIL[1] (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Good and Neutral, pp. 399, 403)
Nine Serpent	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Evil, pp. 399, 400)
Nine Reed	EVIL (p. 74)	would be "vicious, presumptuous, haughty" (p. 74)	Tlazolteotl's feast day (p. 74)	(Neutral, pp. 399, 401)
Nine Crocodile	EVIL (p. 30)	"perverse, evil, hot-tempered," miserable, poor, a liar (pp. 30-31)		(Good, p. 399)
Nine Water	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			"apathetic, ill, unhappy, angry-looking" (Evil, pp. 399, 401)

[1]Whenever Sahagún does not specifically treat the fortunes of a day sign prefaced by the coefficient nine, I cite his general comments on pp. 50, 74, and 102 (see p. 146, above).

Table VII - Continued

Folio 14: Tonatiuh

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Jaguar	EVIL (p. 5)	"almost all became slaves," adulterers, miserable (pp. 5-6)		(Neutral, pp. 399, 402)
One Death	GOOD "but also somewhat bad;" pp. 33-34)	"would prosper and be rich whether a nobleman or a poor vassal" (pp. 34-36)	Day sign of Tezcatlipoca and of slaves, prohibition against harming slaves, god's images adorned and "offered perfumes, flowers, food," decapitated quail, people pray for favors (pp. 33-36, Bk. II, p. 37)	(Evil, pp. 399, 400)
One Flint	GOOD (p. 77)	men: "brave warriors, gain honor and riches," women: "forceful, wealthy, eloquent" (pp. 77, 79)	Feast of Huitzilopochtli and Camaxtli (a hunting and war god), cleaned idol's attire, offered incense, decapitated quail, food, flowers, tobacco, wine, time to harvest maguey for wine (pp. 77-79, Bk. II, p. 38)	(Evil, pp. 399, 403)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 14: Tonatiuh - Continued

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Duran's Comments
One Dog	GOOD (p. 87		Feast of Xiuhtecutli (fire god), election of rulers, banquets given, wars proclaimed, "court of justice" held, dog owners "rubbed ochre on all dogs' heads," idol adorned and offered burnt food, decapitated quail, incense, wine, idol's paper attire burnt, dances held, flowers, tobacco, capes presented to ruler (pp. 87-92, Bk. II, p. 39)	(Good, p. 401)
One Wind	EVIL (p. 101)	"wizards, inhuman, would cast spells, corrupt, a demon, destroyer of men," would rob people by carrying the forearm of a woman dead in childbirth (pp. 101-104)	Image of the god of wind, Quetzalcoatl, adorned and "offerings" presented especially by those "men who danced with a dead woman's forearm" (pp. 101-102)	(Evil, pp. 399, 400)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 13: Itzlacoliuhqui

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
Nine Dog	EVIL (p. 102)			(Good, p. 401)
Nine Flint	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Evil, pp. 399, 403)
Nine Death	EVIL (p. 102)			(Evil, pp. 399, 400)
Nine Jaguar	EVIL (p. 38)	"day of wild beasts," miserable fate (p. 38)		(Neutral, pp. 399, 402)
Nine Wind	EVIL (p. 7)	"a failure, no one paid attention to him, he only quarrelled," unsuccessful in every endeavor, "driven by the winds" (pp. 7-8)		(Evil, pp. 399, 400)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 12: Tlaloc

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Deer	GOOD (p. 9)	successful, "a valiant chieftain, esteemed," yet could be "exceedingly timorous, thinking only of his fears; drowned or struck by lightening" (pp. 9-10)	Feast to the Ciuapipiltin who descended to earth at this time; "adorned their images" in paper attire, presented them with "offerings" (p. 10, Bk. II, 36)	(Good, p. 399)
One Rain	EVIL (p. 41)	"soothsayer, demon, inhuman," changed himself into animals, "destroyed people," friendless; a day "full of vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, anguish" (pp. 41-44)	The Ciuapipiltin goddesses descended and brought "affliction," idols at the crossroad shrines were adorned with paper, liquid rubber, and given "offerings," criminals killed (pp. 41-42, Bk. II, 37)	(Evil, pp. 399, 403)
One Monkey	GOOD (p. 81)	"man of good standing, friendly, happy, given to music and the arts, would entertain others" (pp. 81-82)	The Ciuapipiltin goddesses descended, causing illness and injury, "afflicting boys and girls with palsey," children kept indoors (p. 81, Bk. II, 38)	(Neutral, p. 399)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 12: Tlaloc - Continued

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One House	EVIL (p. 93)	"thieves, patrons of vice and sin, adulterers, women were lazy;" death by suicide or violent means, gamblers, poor (pp. 93-95)	The "Goddesses" (Ciuapipiltin) descended, midwives "made offerings" to them at home (p. 93)	(Good, p. 399)
One Eagle	EVIL (p. 107)	man: "boastful, perverted, despised others, rose up in rage," liar, drunkard woman: "evil speaking, immodest, shameless" (pp. 107-109)	The "youngest" of the "Goddesses" (Ciuapipiltin) descended and caused insanity or crippled children; reeds strewn at crossroads, idols covered in paper banners "spattered with liquid rubber," food, drink, incense presented (pp. 107-108)	(Good, p. 399)

Table VII - Continued

Folio 11: Mictlantecutli

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
Nine House	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Good, p. 399)
Nine Monkey	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Neutral, p. 399)
Nine Rain	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Evil, pp. 399, 403)
Nine Deer	EVIL (p. 50)	"evil-tempered, perverted, mad, immodest, big-mouthed, wicked, inconsiderate, infamous, liars," adulterers, thieves (p. 50)[2]		(Good, p. 399)
Nine Eagle	EVIL (p. 21)	"without merit, deserts, or blessings, quite purposeless on earth" (p. 21)		(Neutral, p. 399)

[2]These attributes also apply to other day signs "taking the ninth place."

Table VII- Continued

Folio 10: Cinteotl

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Flower	IN-DIFFERENT (p. 23)	man: "happy, a singer, poet, composer, artisian" or "proud, ungrateful," disrespectful, ill woman: "embroiderer," or a "harlot" (pp. 23-25)	Great dance given by the ruler, "lord gave gifts to warriors, singers, and palace folk," called "the day of the flowers," flowered poles set up and later burnt tamales and tortillas of maize, turkey, and fruit eaten (pp. 23-27, Bk. II, 36)	(Neutral, p. 399)
One Grass	EVIL (p. 55)	"day of wild beasts, dreadful, full of misery," all of his children would die (p. 55)		(Evil, p. 399)
One Lizard	GOOD (p. 83)	"good worker, dilligent, vigorous, hardy, very strong," successful (p. 83)		(Good, pp. 399, 400)
One Vulture	GOOD (p. 97)	"day sign of the aged," would live to see old age, happy, "wealthy, admired" (p. 97)		(Good, pp. 399, 402)

Table VII- Continued

Folio 10: Cinteotl - Continued

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
One Rabbit	GOOD (p. 127)	"labored industriously, rich, saved up wealth," successful at farming, good provider, fearful of calamities yet these never befell him (pp. 127-29)		(Neutral, p. 399)

Table VII- Continued

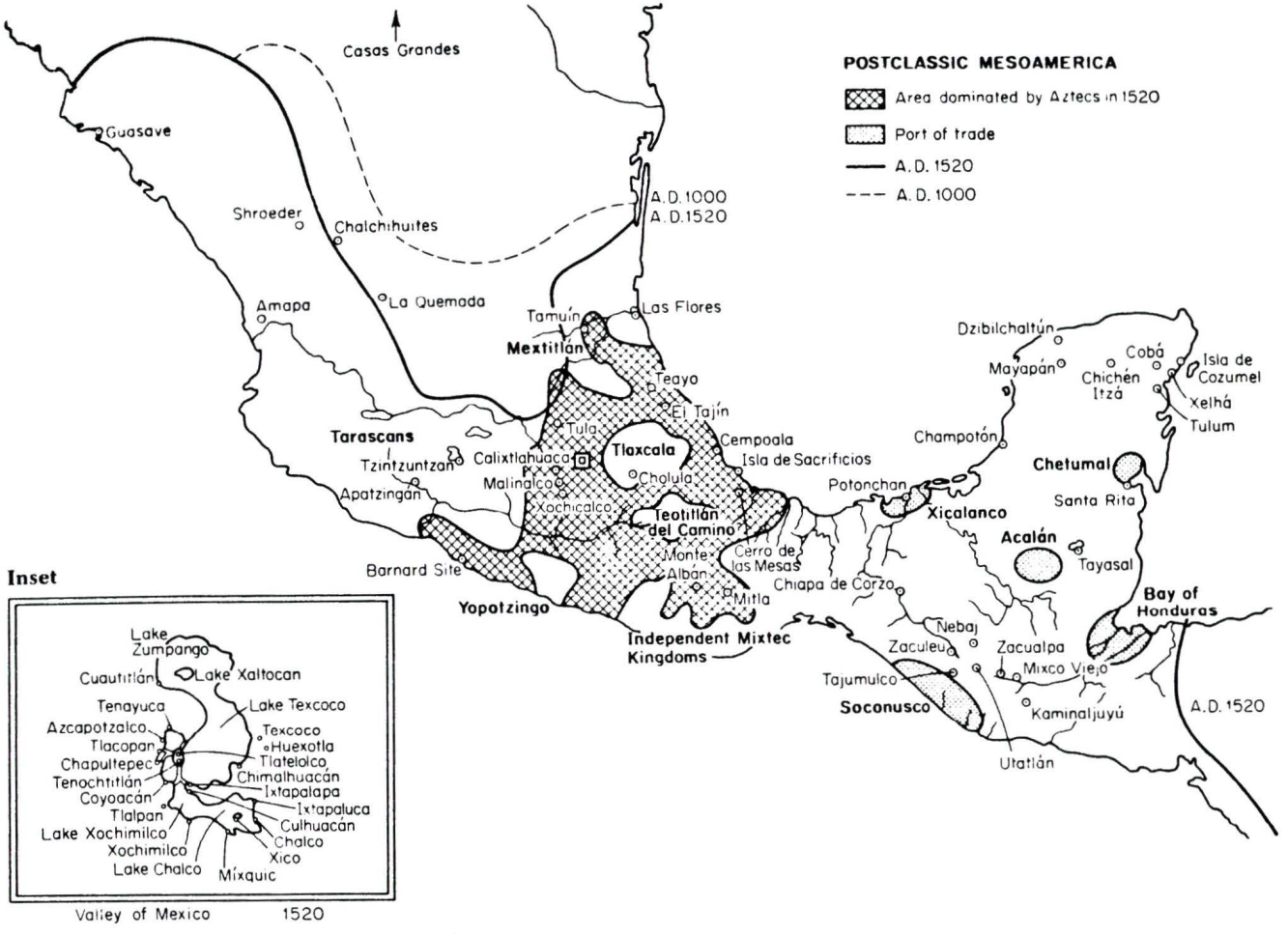
Folio 9: Mayauel

Day and Coefficient	Fortune	Explanation	Deity and/or Tonalpohualli Ritual	Durán's Comments
Nine Vulture	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Good, pp. 399, 402)
Nine Lizard	EVIL (pp. 50, 74, 102)			(Good, pp. 399, 400)
Nine Grass	EVIL (p. 102)			(Evil, p. 399)
Nine Flower	EVIL (p. 57)	"thieves, adulterers, the perverted, those to be feared and dreaded" (p. 57)		(Neutral, p. 399)
Nine Rabbit	EVIL ("but also somewhat good;" p. 23)			(Neutral, p. 399)

Maps

Map I. Mesoamerican Linguistic Groups

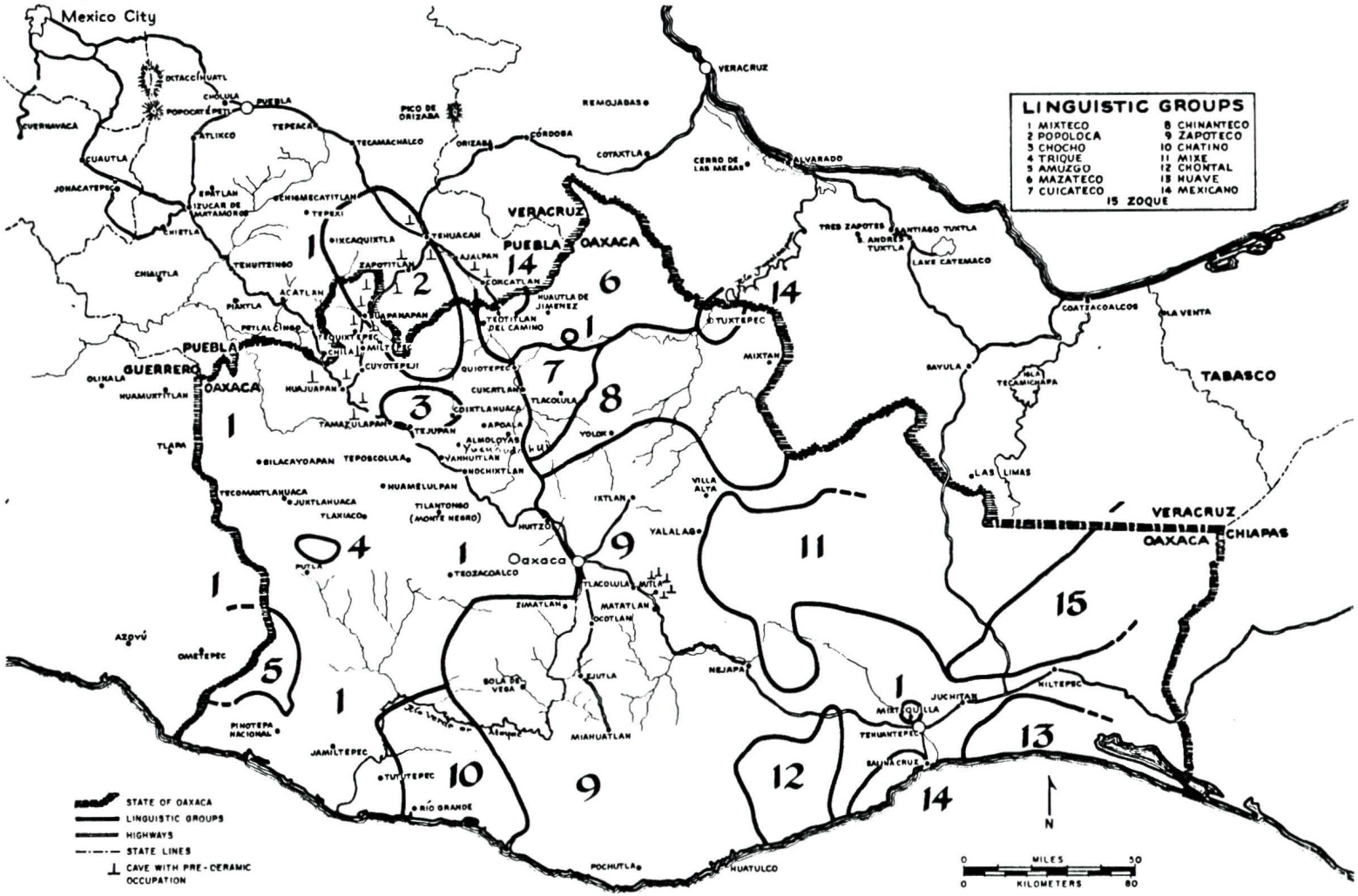
From Weaver, p. 9.



Map II. Postclassic Mesoamerica.

From Weaver, p. 198.

Map III. Archeological Region of Oaxaca.
From Paddock, p. 86.


Mexico City
LINGUISTIC GROUPS
1 MIXTECO
2 POPOLOCA
3 CHOCHO
4 TRIQUE
5 AMUZGO
6 MAZATECO
7 CUICATECO
8 CHINANTECO
9 ZAPOTECO
10 CHATINO
11 MIXE
12 CHONTAL
13 HUAVE
14 MEXICANO
15 ZOQUE
PUEBLA
OAXACA
GUERRERO
VERACRUZ
TABASCO
CHIAPAS
Oaxaca
STATE OF OAXACA
LINGUISTIC GROUPS
HIGHWAYS
STATE LINES
CAVE WITH PRE-CERAMIC OCCUPATION
MILES
KILOMETERS
N

Illustrations

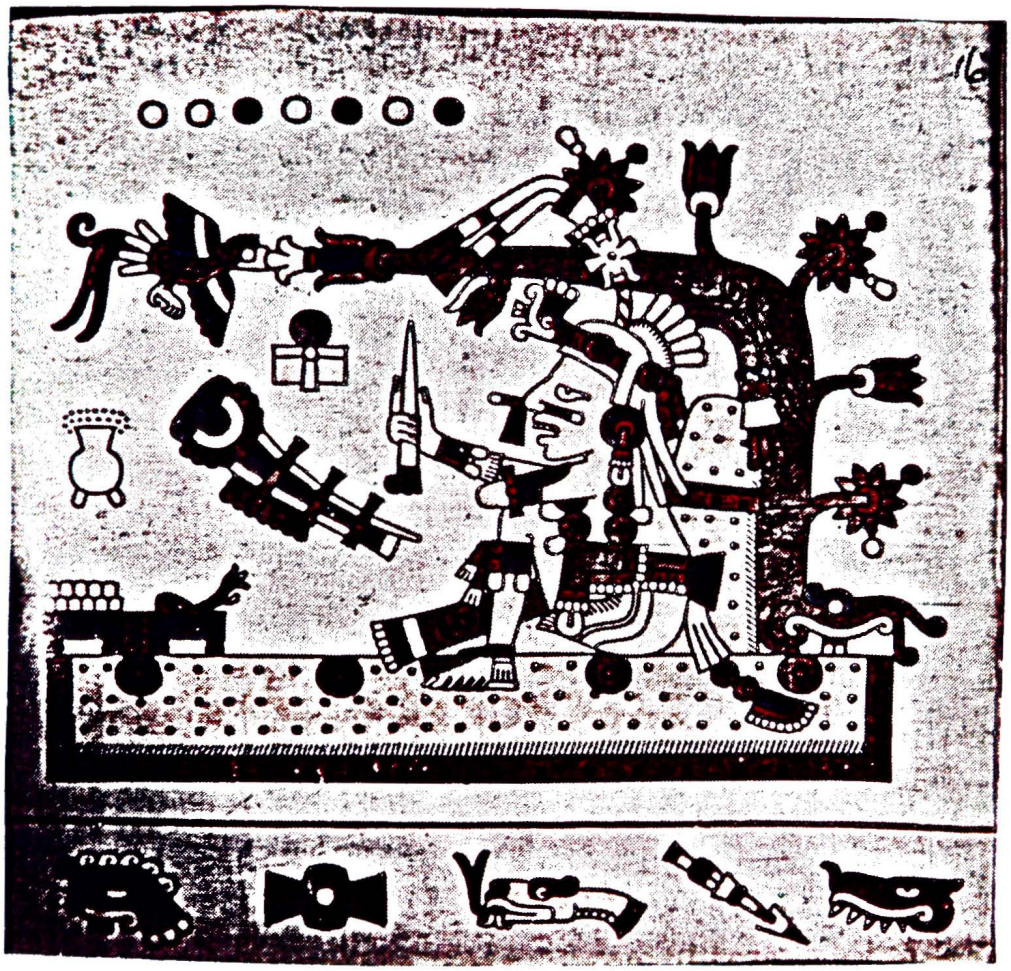


Figure 1. Codex Laud, Folio 16.[1]
(Bodleian Library, Oxford)

[1]Figures 1-8 are from Burland, Codex Laud, plates 16-9.

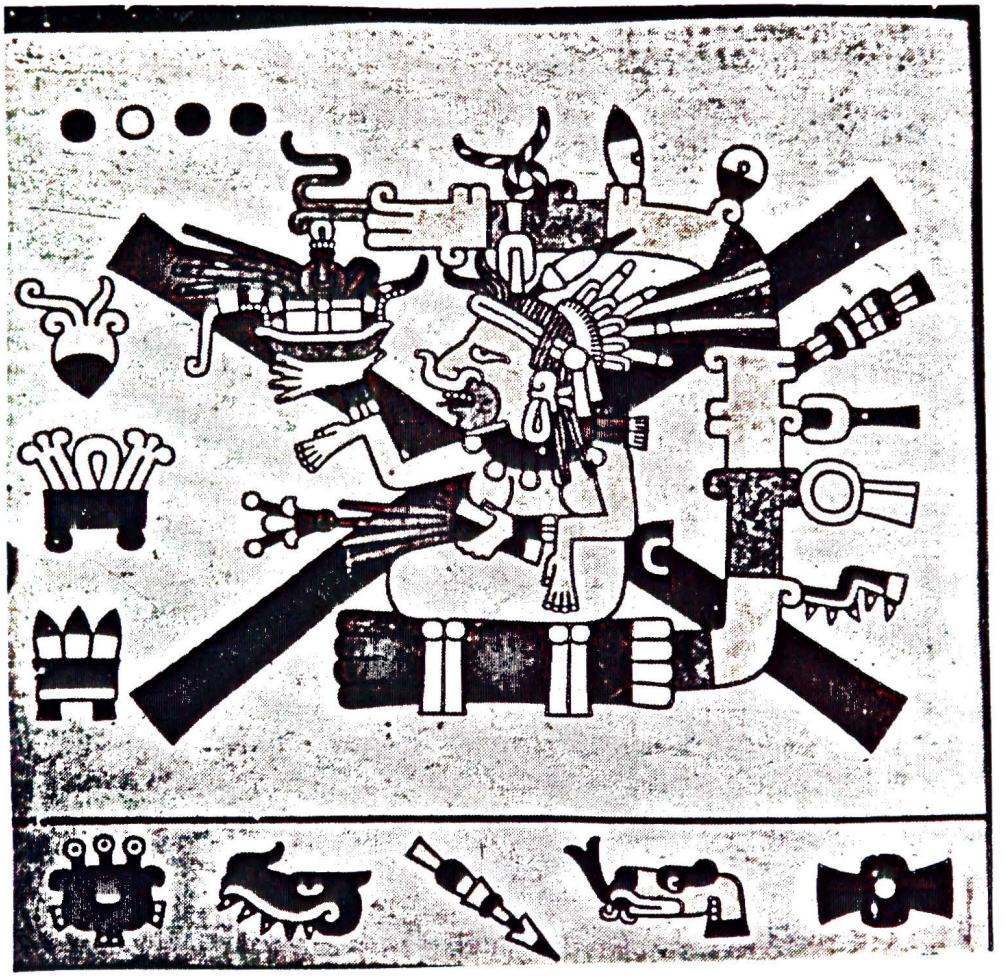


Figure 2. Codex Laud, Folio 15.

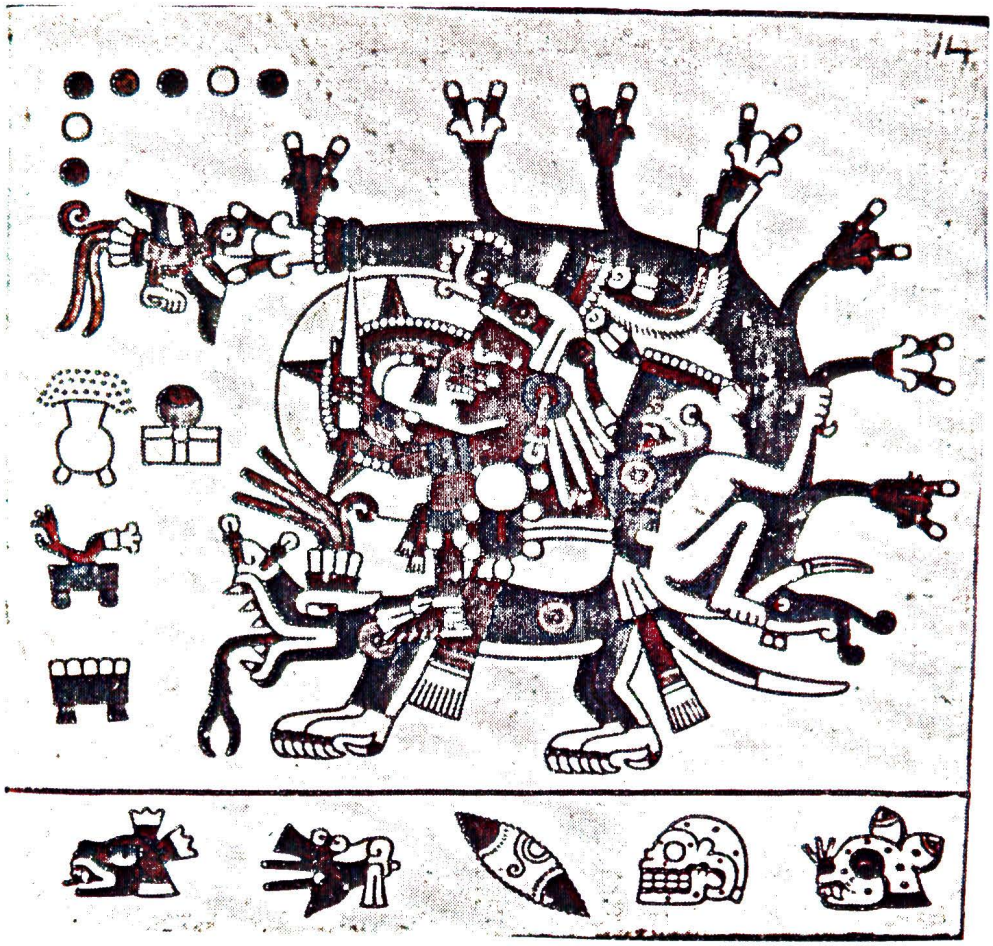


Figure 3. Codex Laud, Folio 14.

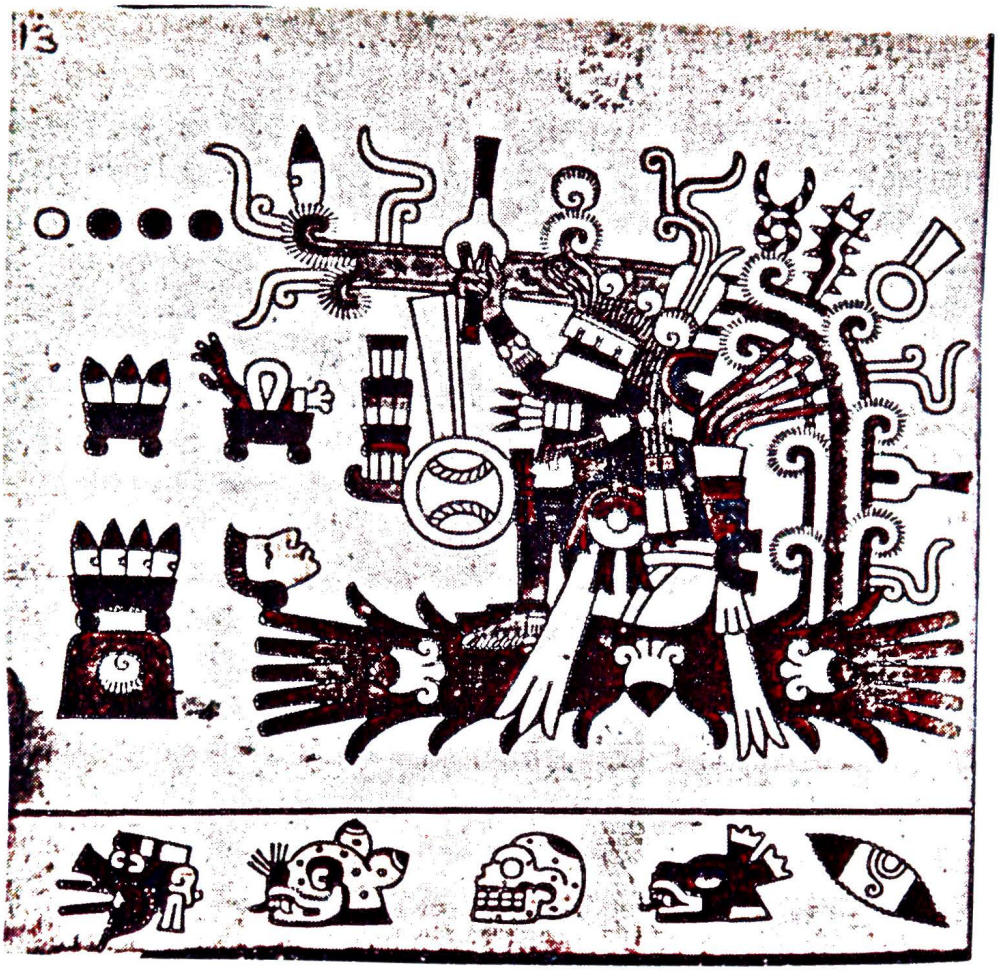


Figure 4. Codex Laud, Folio 13.

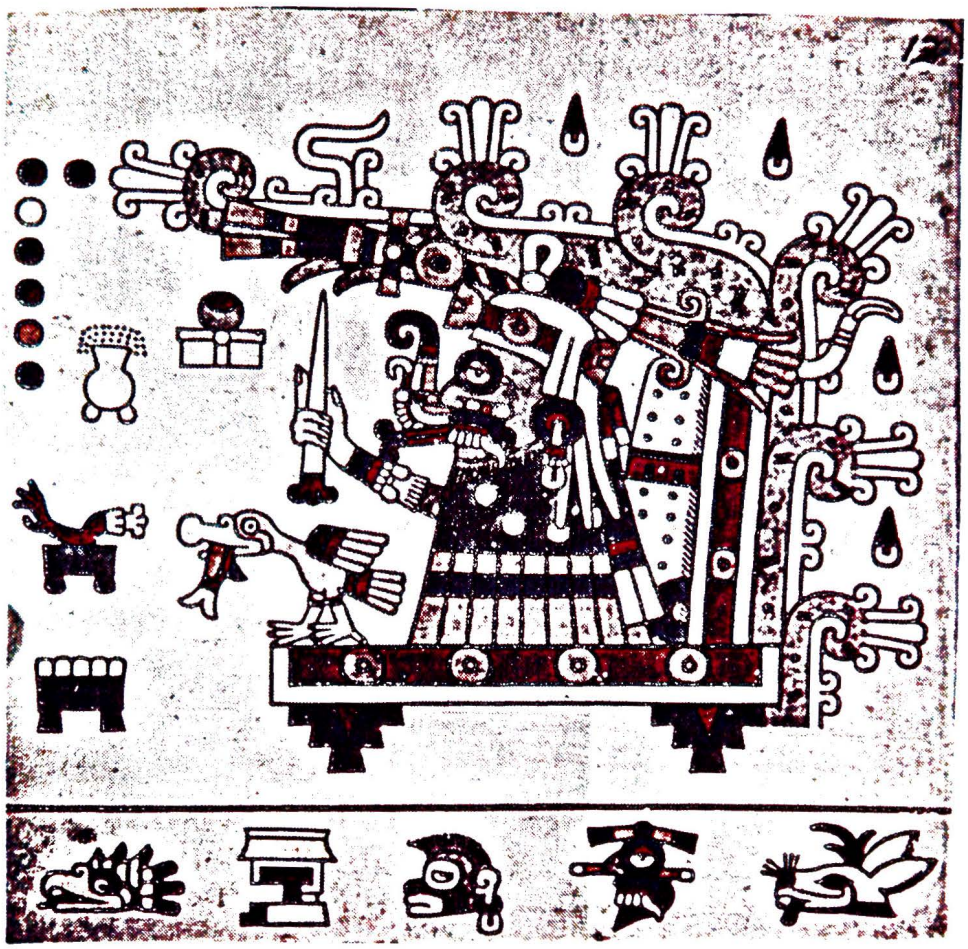


Figure 5. Codex Laud, Folio 12.

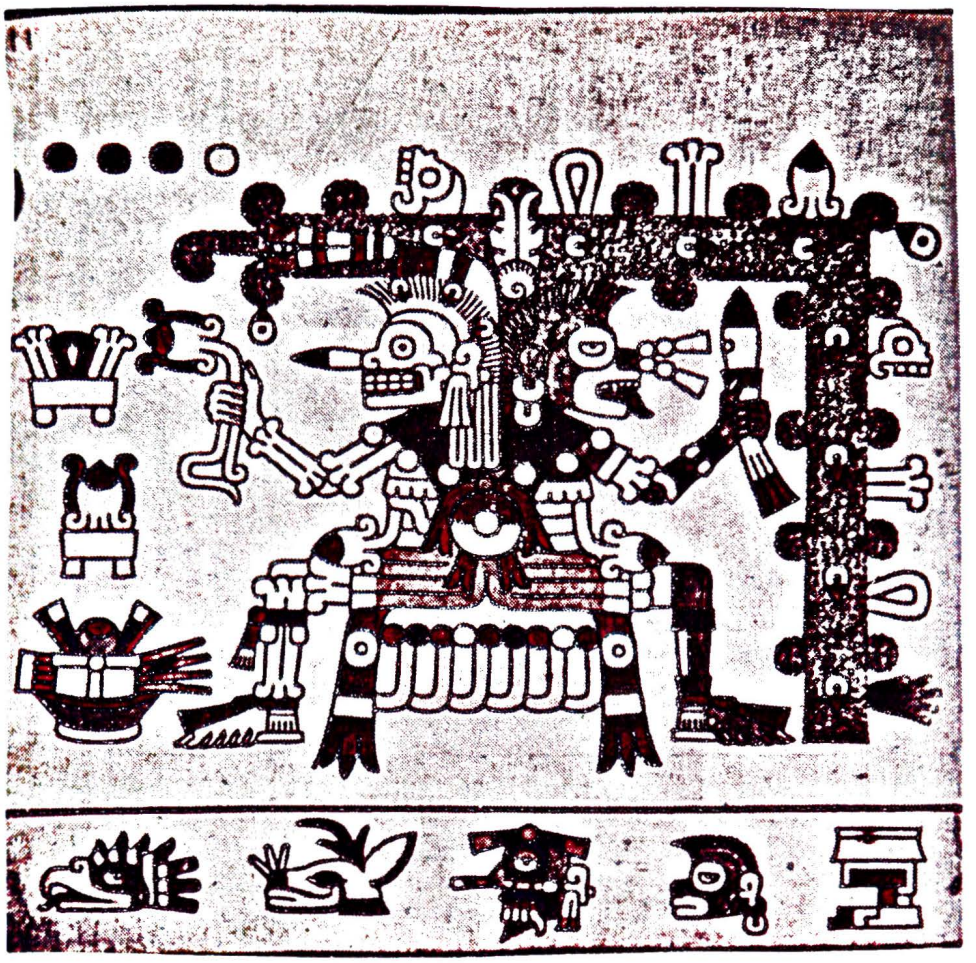


Figure 6. Codex Laud, Folio 11.

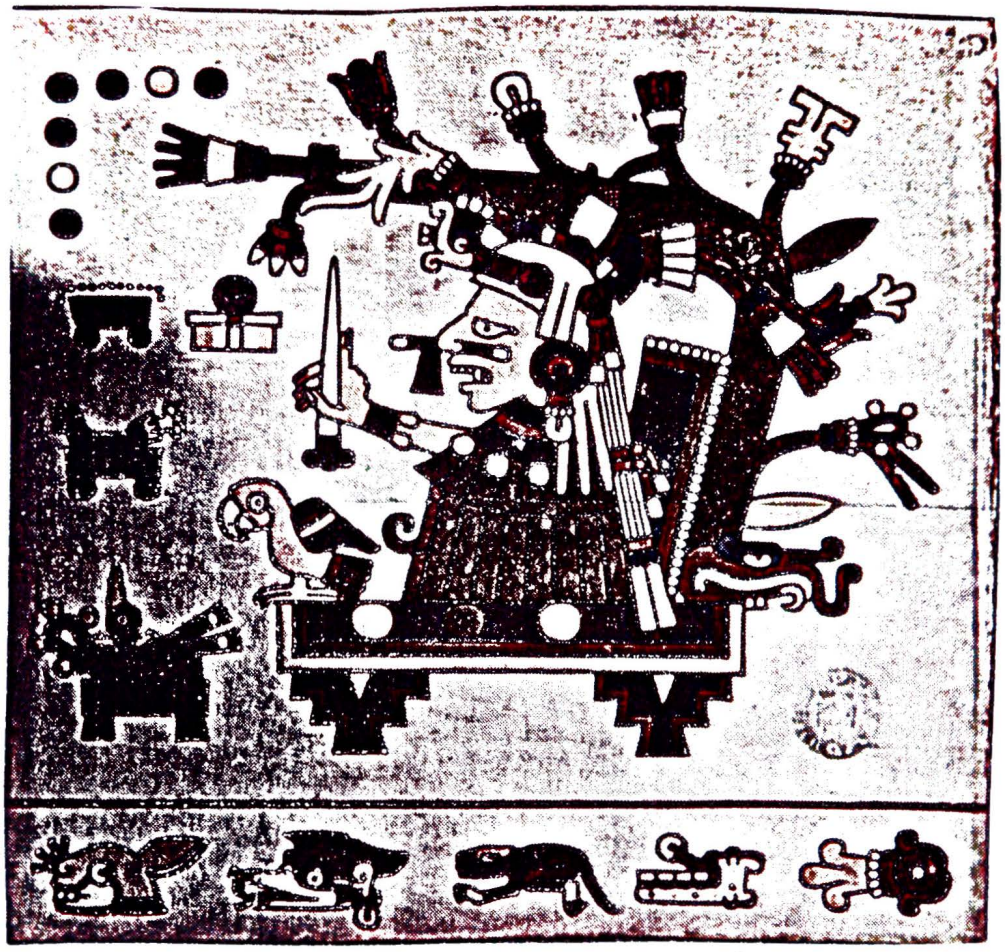


Figure 7. Codex Laud, Folio 10.

Figure 8. Codex Laud, Folio 9.

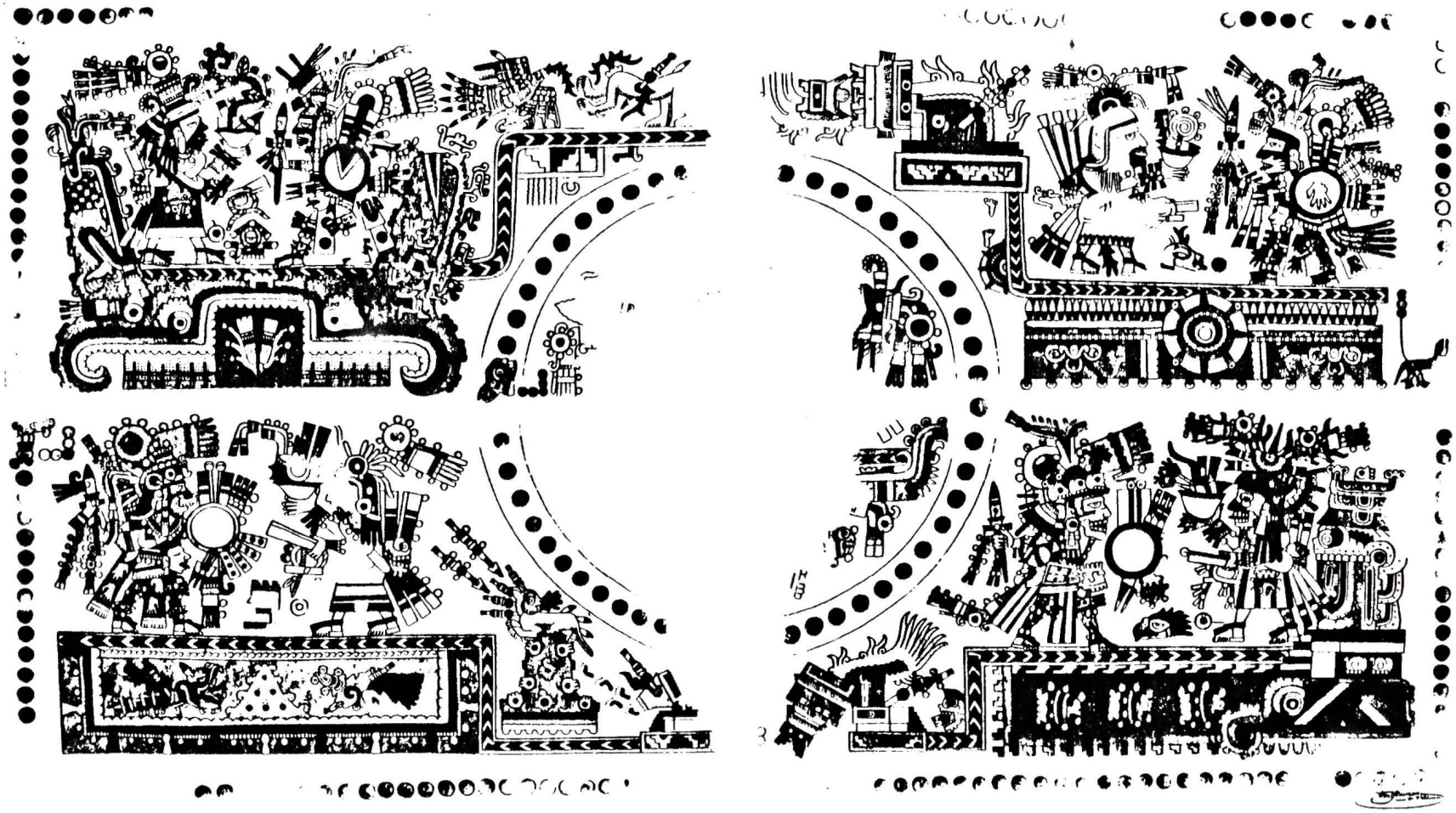


Figure 9. Mexican MS. 20. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

From Nowotny, Tlacuilolli, plate 51.

Figure 10. Codex Porfirio Díaz, Folio 6. (Museo Nacional, México)

From Nowotny, Tlacuilolli, plate 50b.

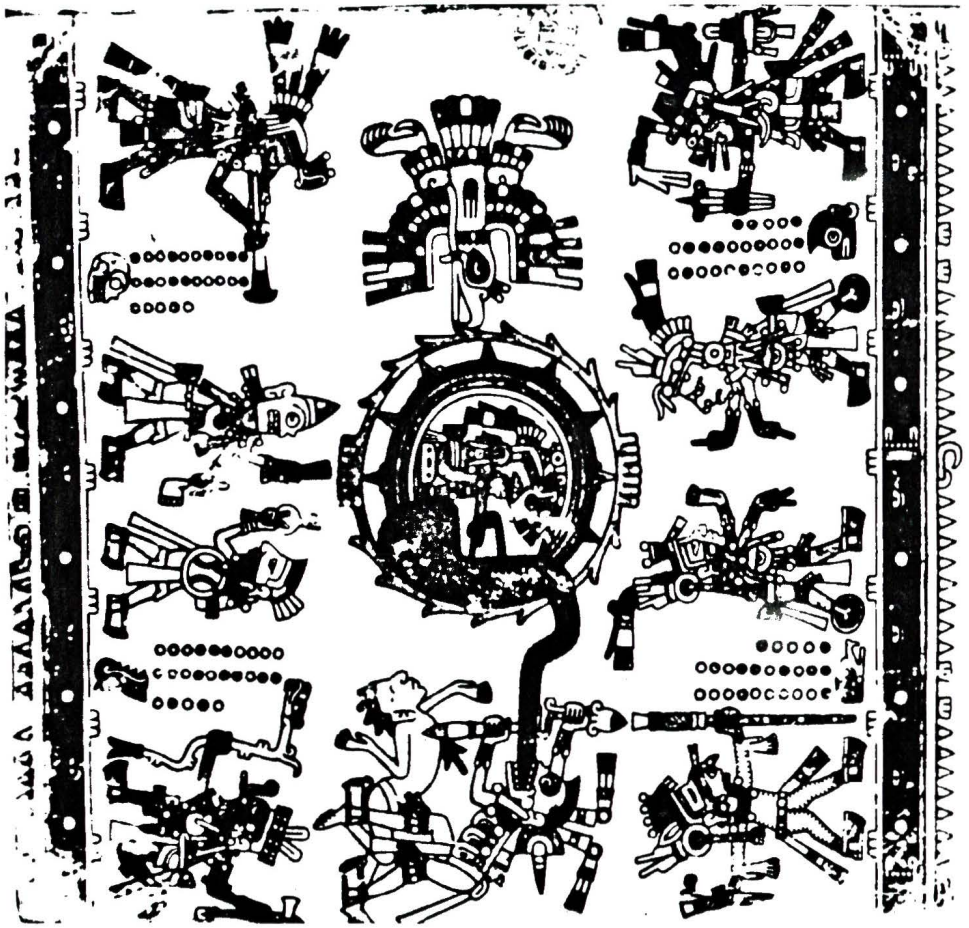


Figure 11. Codex Laud, Folio 1.

From Nowotny, Tlacuilolli, plate 496.

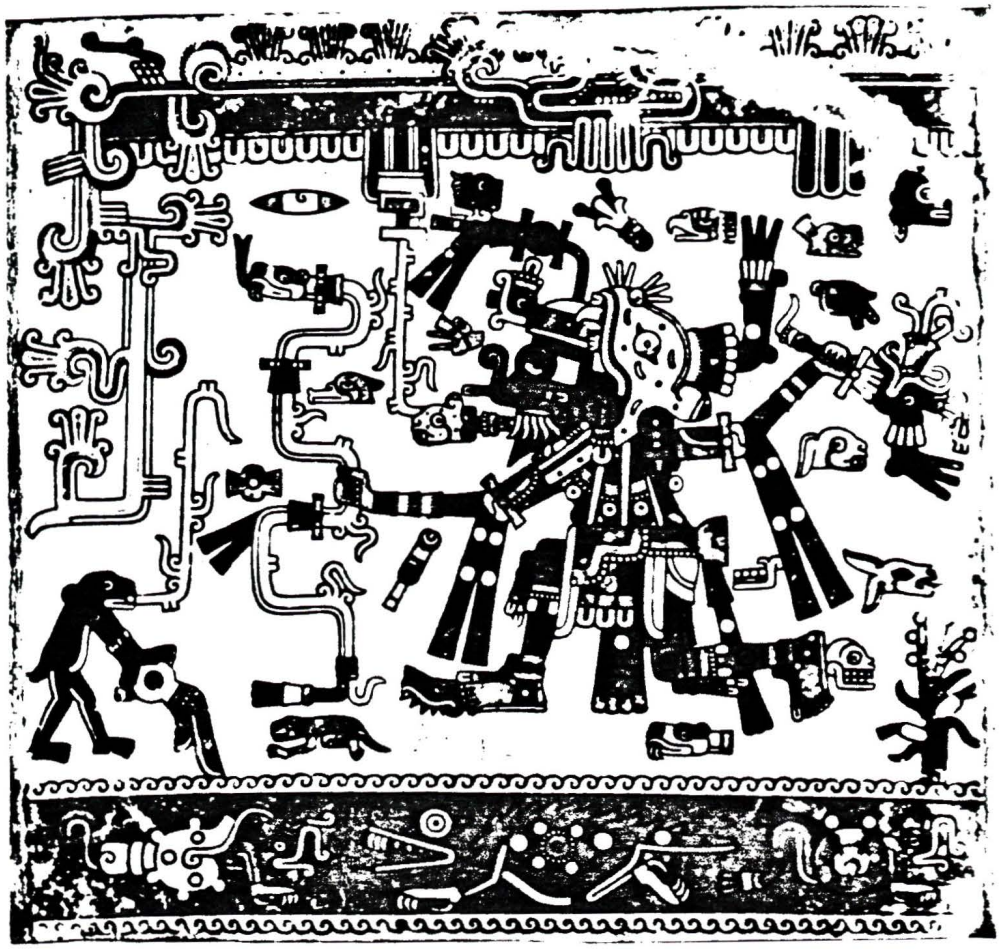


Figure 12. Codex Laud, Folio 2.

From Nowotny, Tlacuilolli, plate 49a.

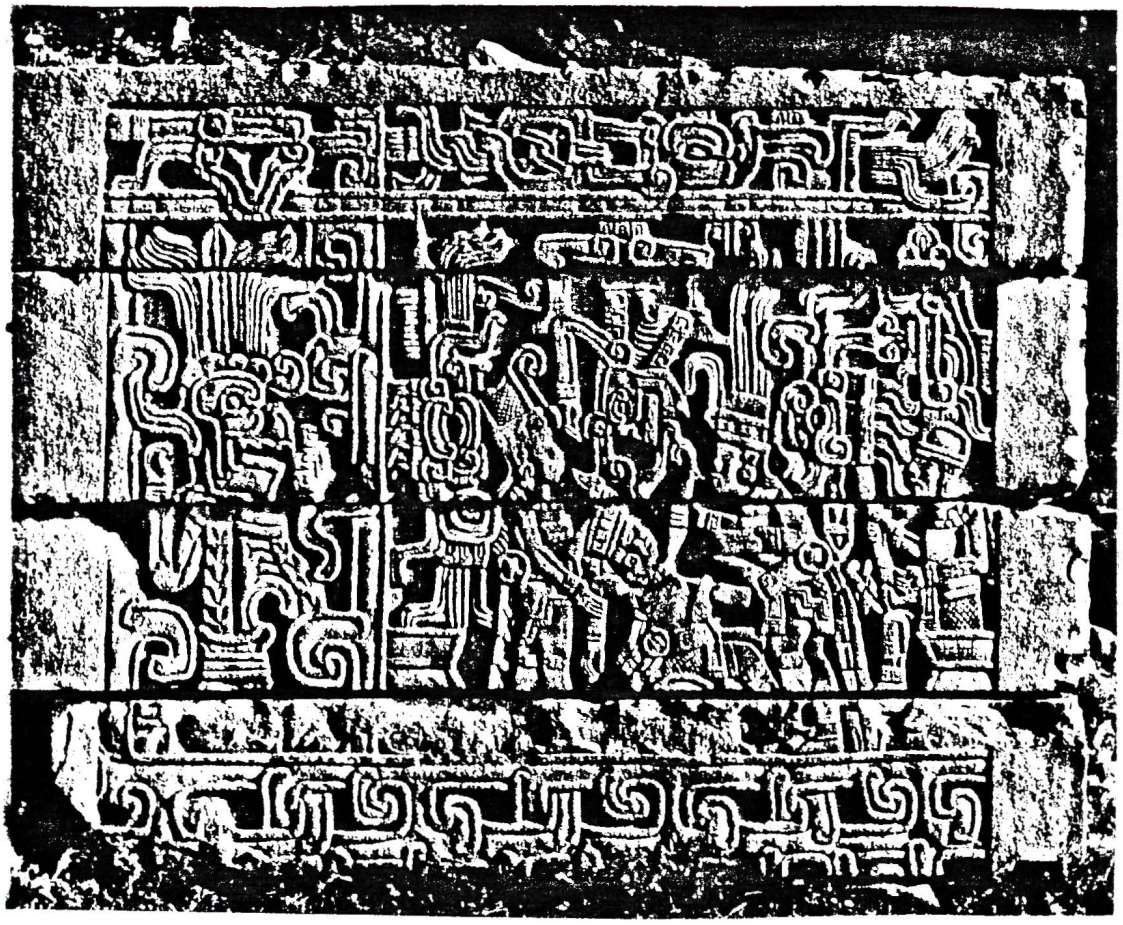


Figure 13. Relief panel from south ball court at El Tajín, Veracruz.

From Coe, plate 39.

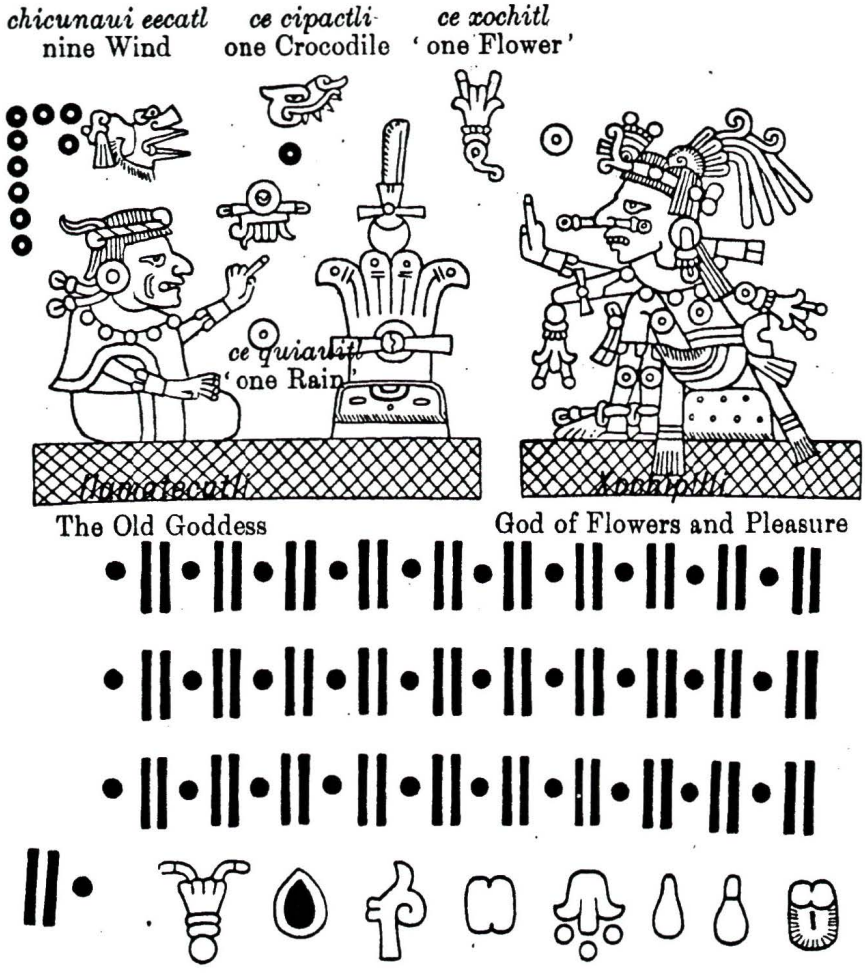
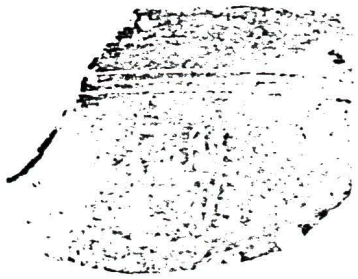


Figure 14. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 7. (Liverpool Free Public Museum)

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 7.

a.



b.

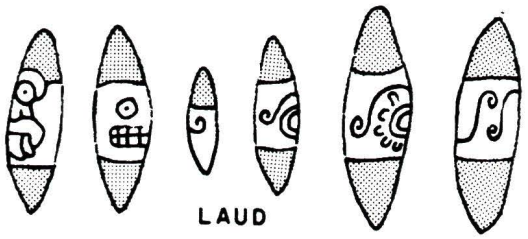


Figure 15. a. Glyph on sherd of Teotitlan Incised pottery from a Venta Salada site near Tilapa.

b. Glyphs for Flint Knife from Codex Laud.

From Chadwick and MacNeish, figs. 70-71.

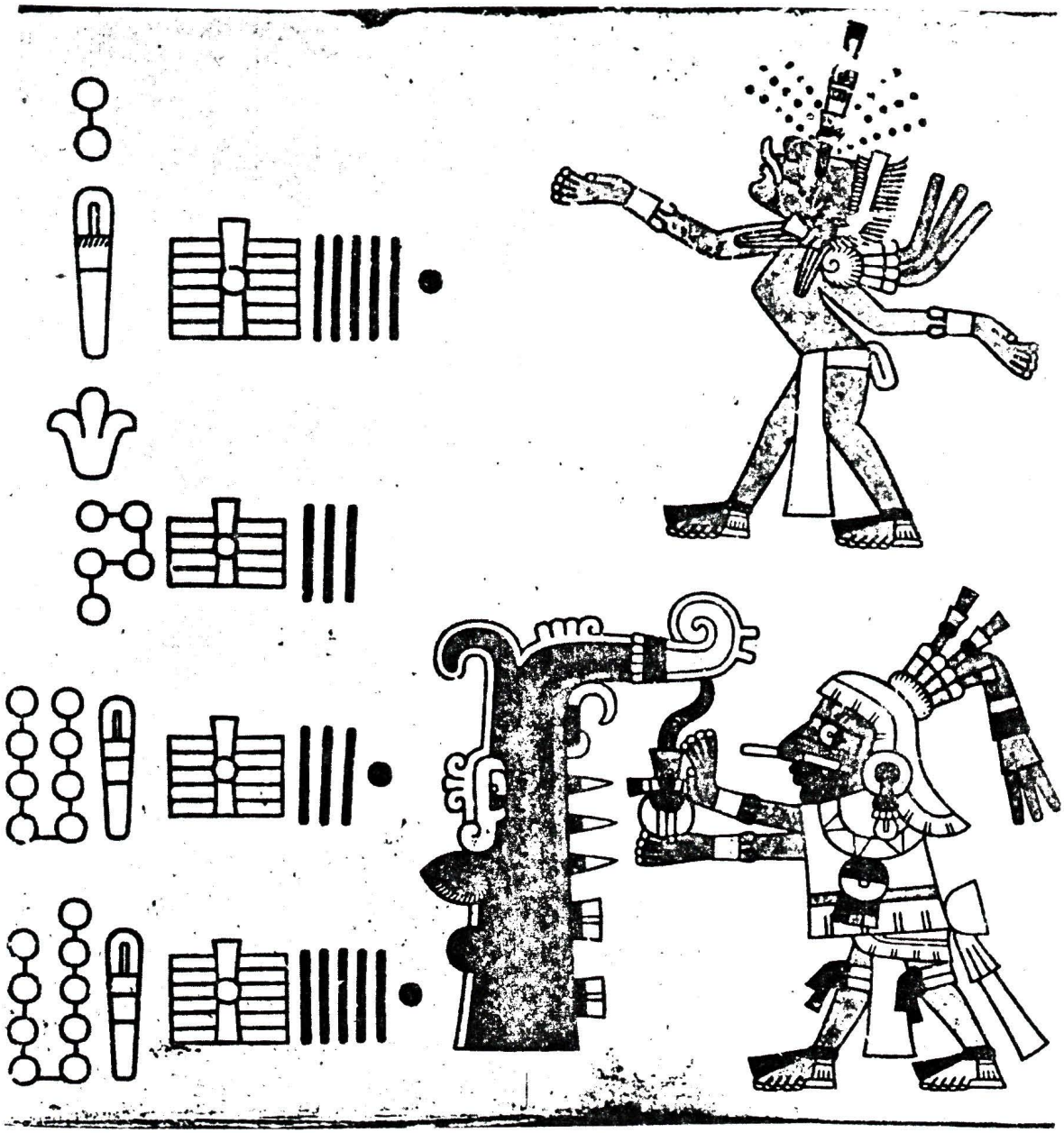


Figure 16. Codex Laud, Folio 3.[2]

From Martínez Marín, p. 59.

[2]All remaining Laud illustrations are from Martínez Marín, Códice Laud.

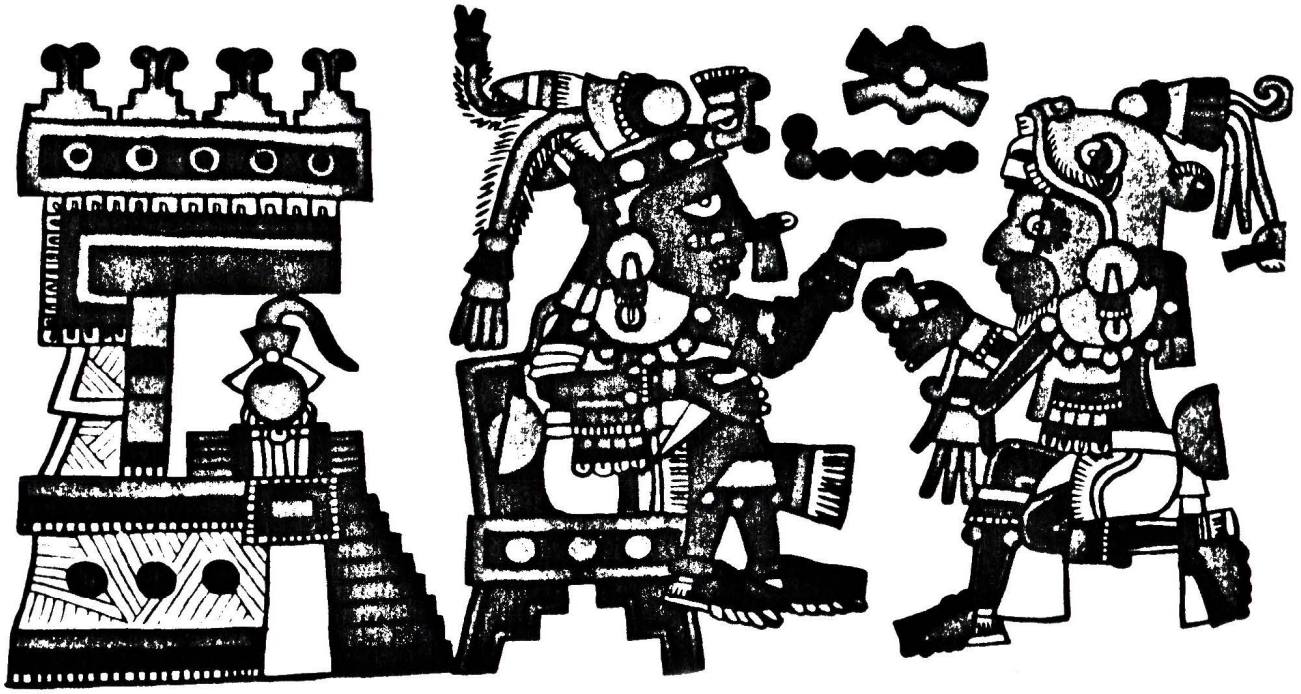


Figure 17. Codex Nuttall, Folio 78. (British Museum, London)

From Arthur G. Miller, ed., The Codex Nuttall (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975), plate 78.

Figure 18. Codex Borbonicus, Folio 22. (Bibliothèque de L'Assemblée Nationale, Paris)

From Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, IV, 113.

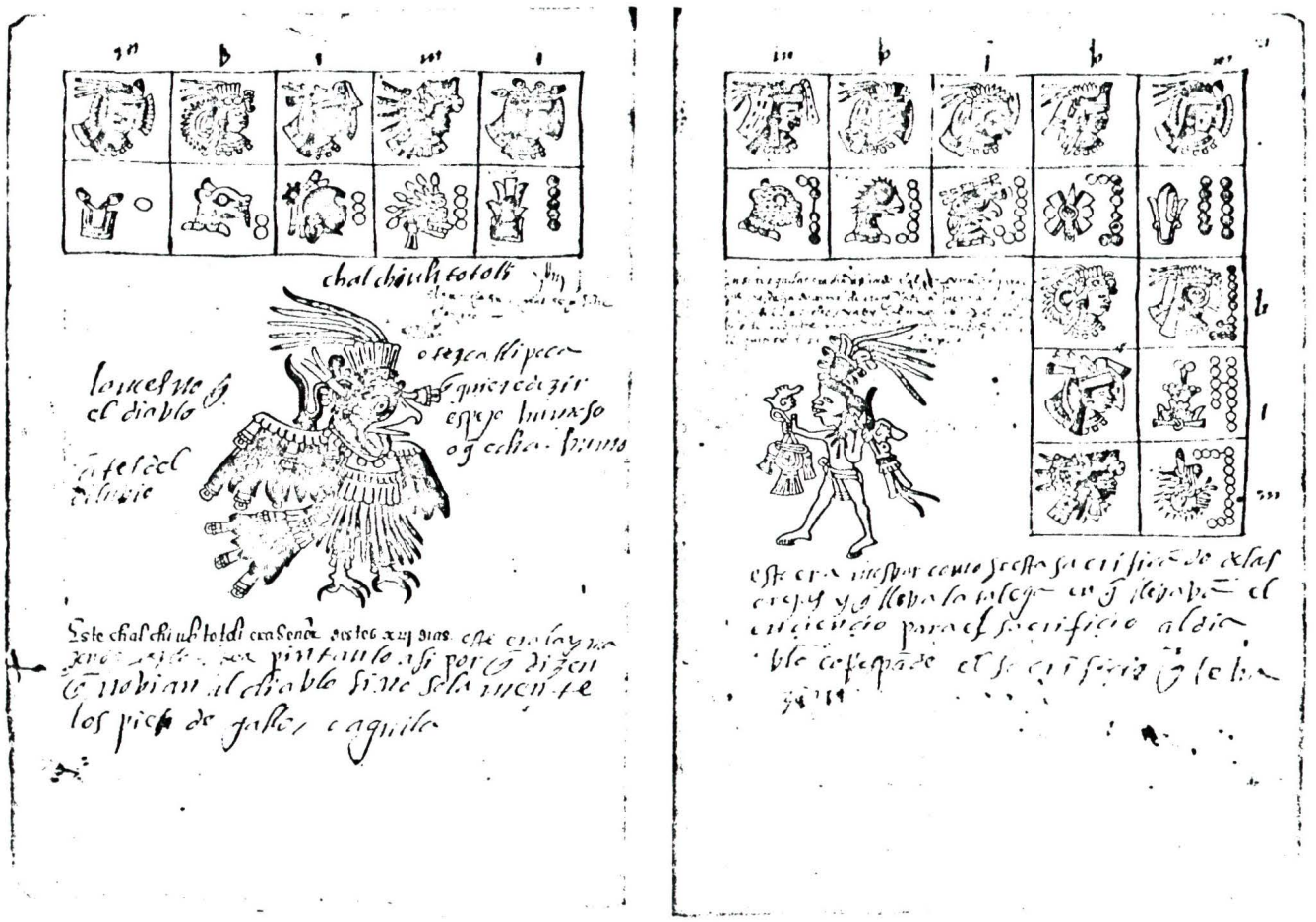


Figure 19. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Folios 20v-21r. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

From Robertson, Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period, plate 10.

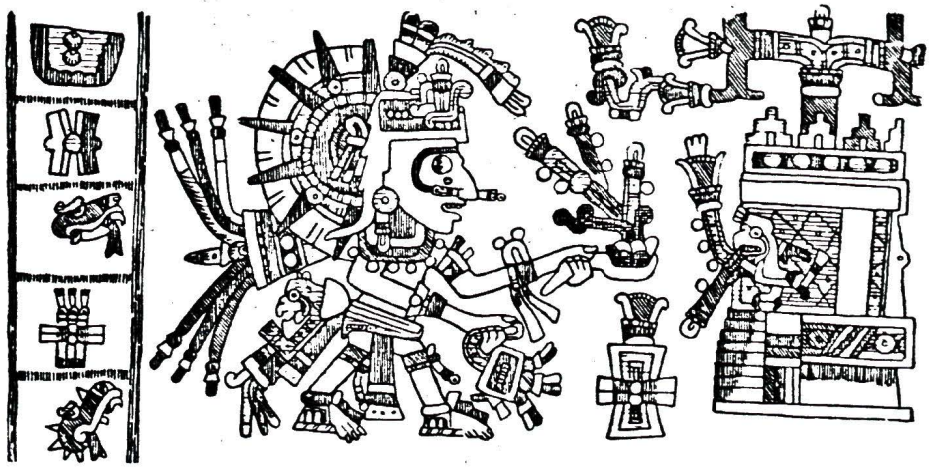


Figure 20. Codex Cospi, Folio 12. (Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna)

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 173.

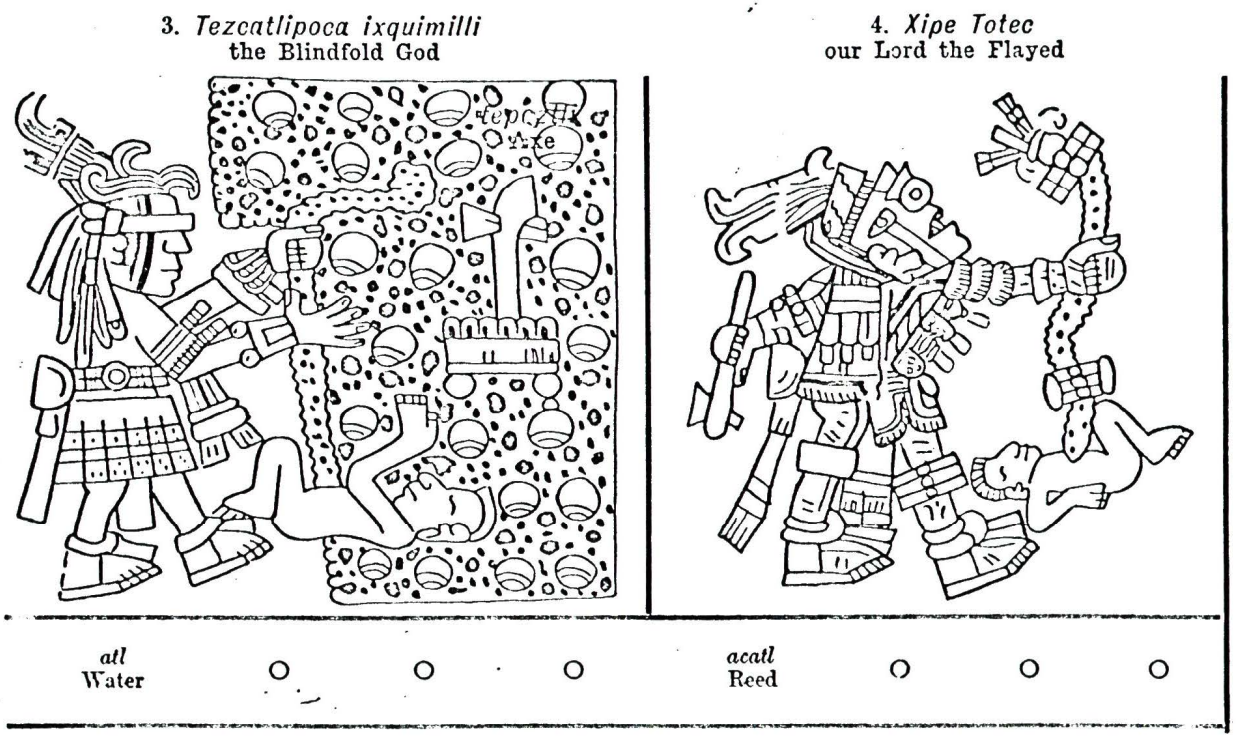


Figure 21. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 39.
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome)

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 39.

Figure 22.

Codex Borgia, Folio 23. (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome)

From Seler, Códice Borgia, atlas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1963), plate 23.

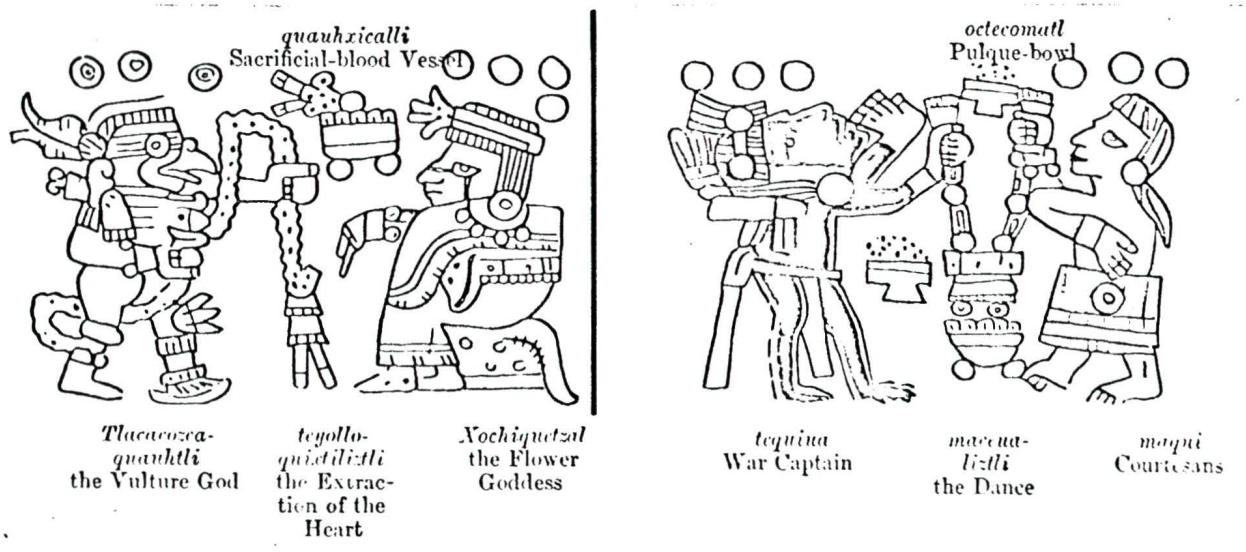


Figure 23. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 40.

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 40.

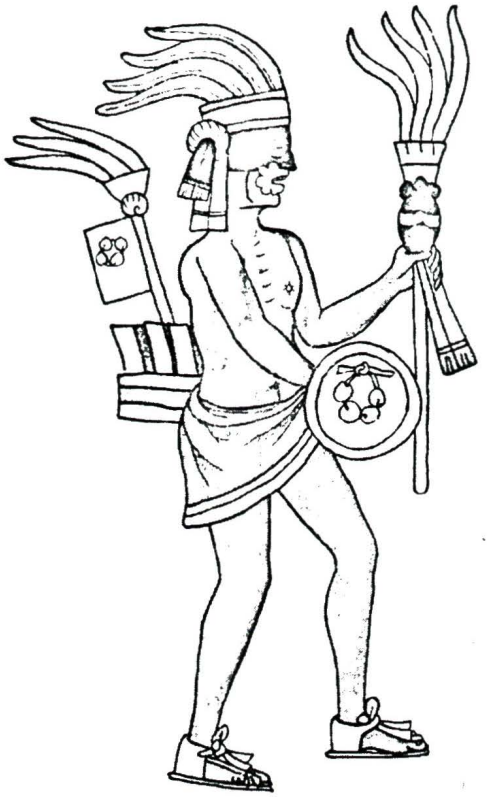


Figure 24. Florentine Codex, Bk. I, Figure 14.

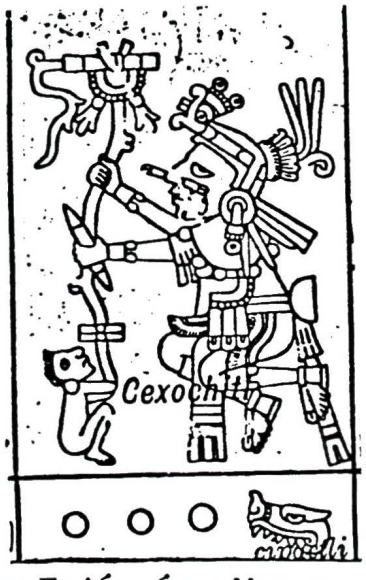


Figure 25. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 26.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 26.

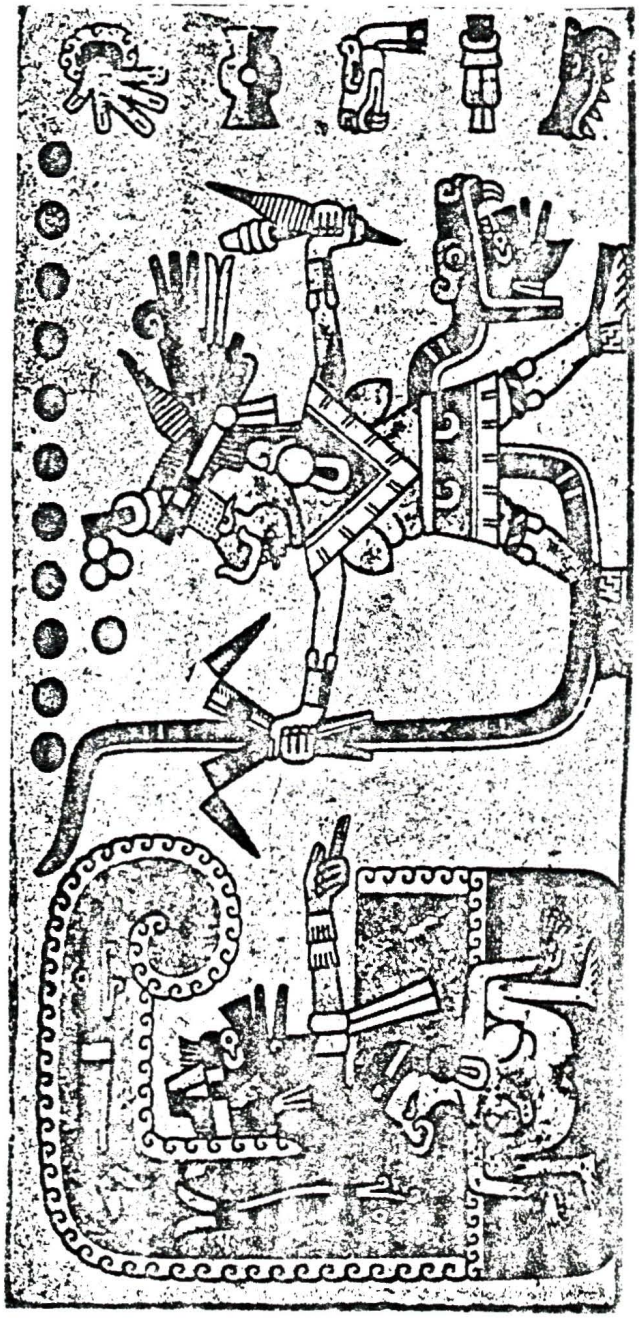


Figure 26. Codex Laud, Folio 16 D (dorsal side).

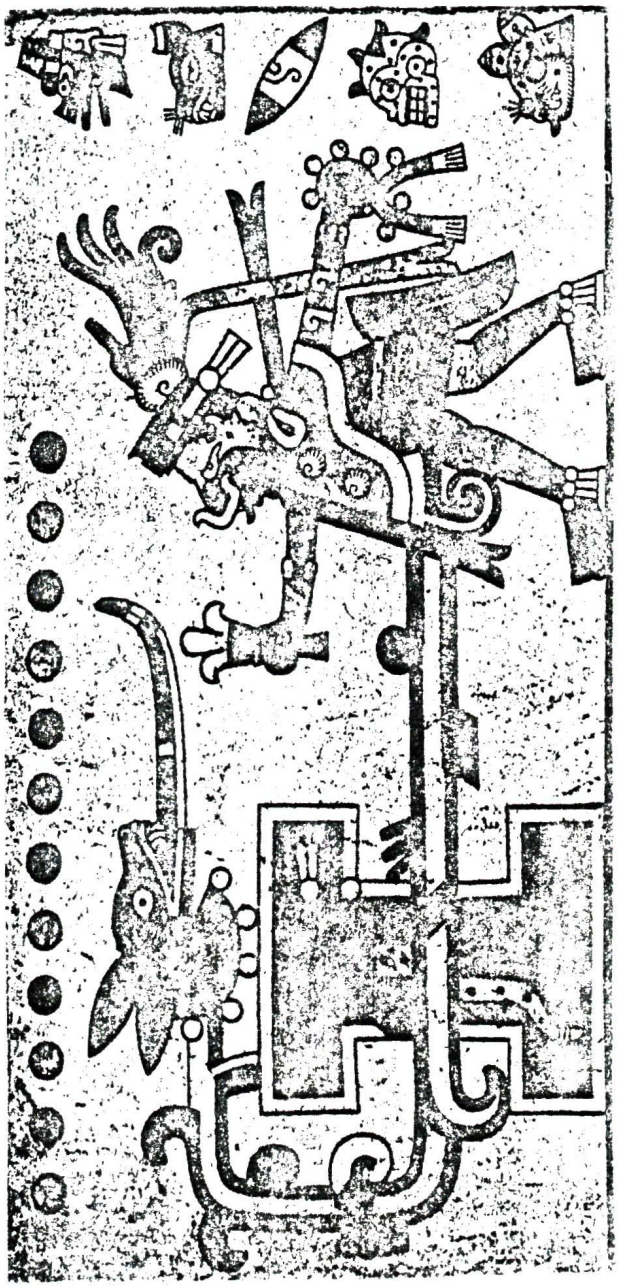


Figure 27. Codex Laud, Folio 17 D.

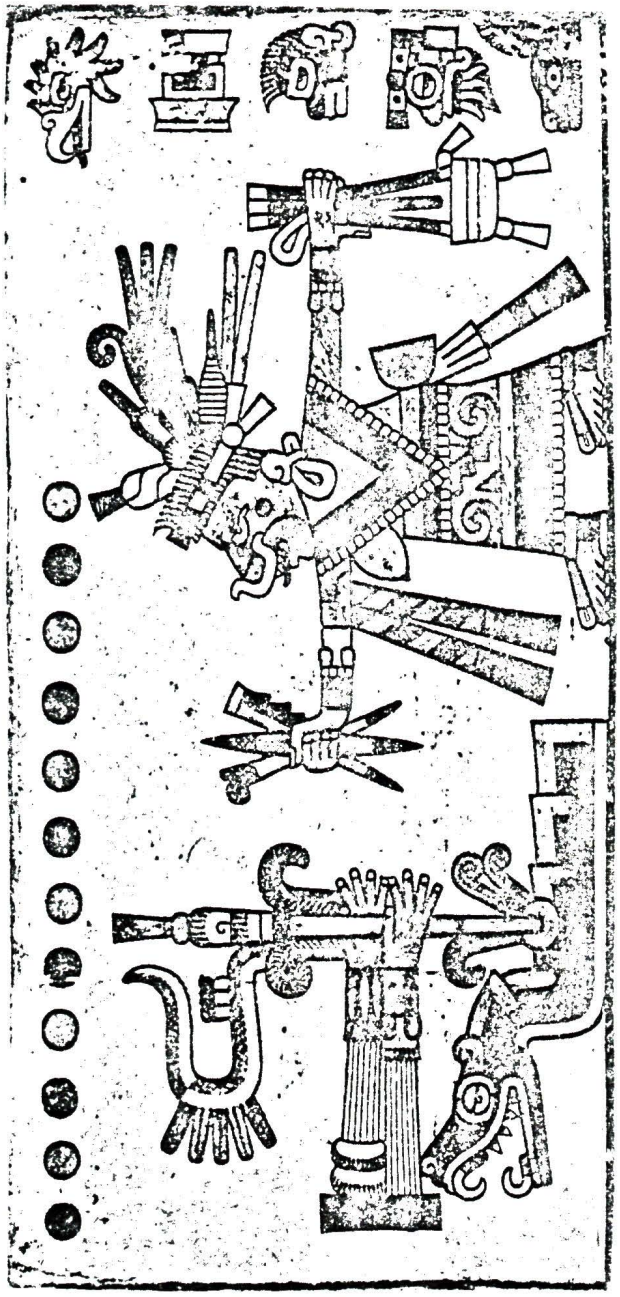


Figure 28. Codex Laud, Folio 18 D.

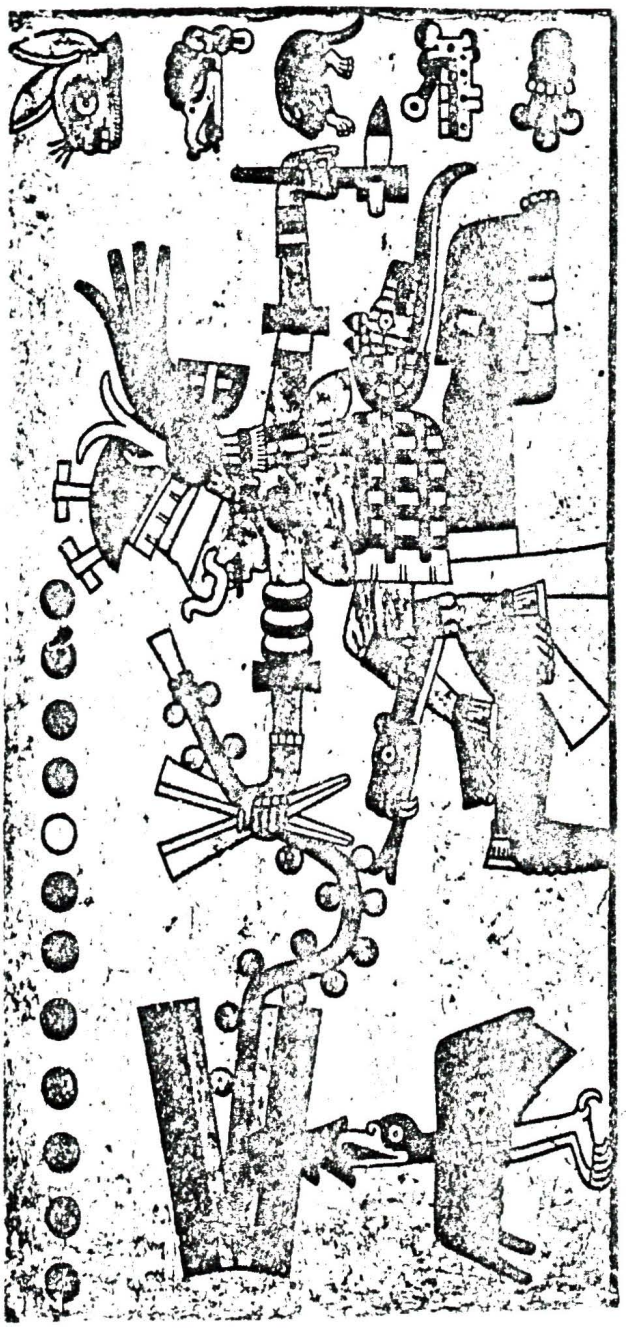


Figure 29. Codex Laud, Folio 19 D.

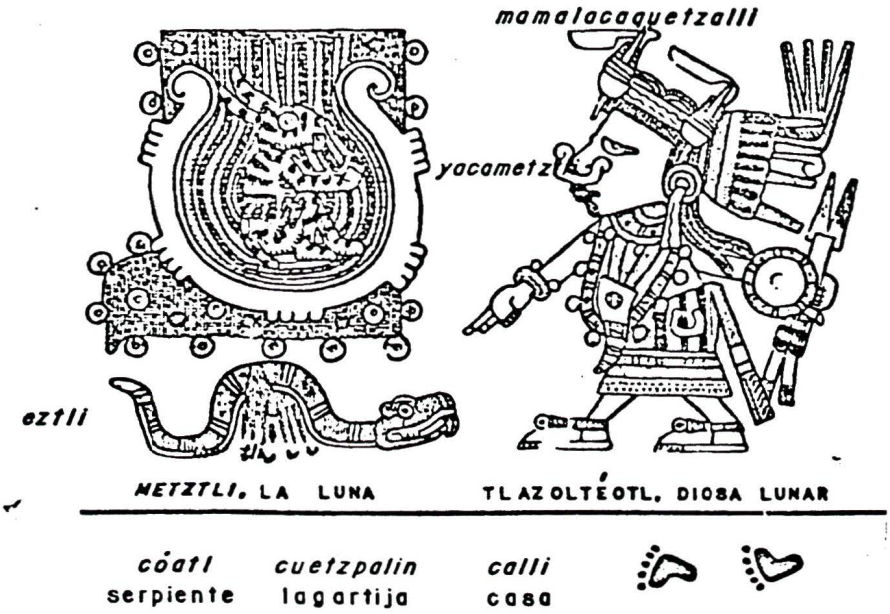


Figure 30. Codex Borgia, Folio 55.

From Seler, Códice Borgia, plate 55.

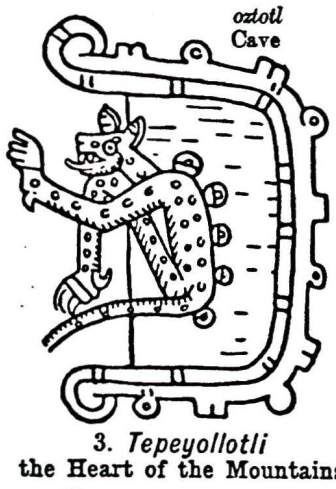


Figure 31. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 87.

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 87.

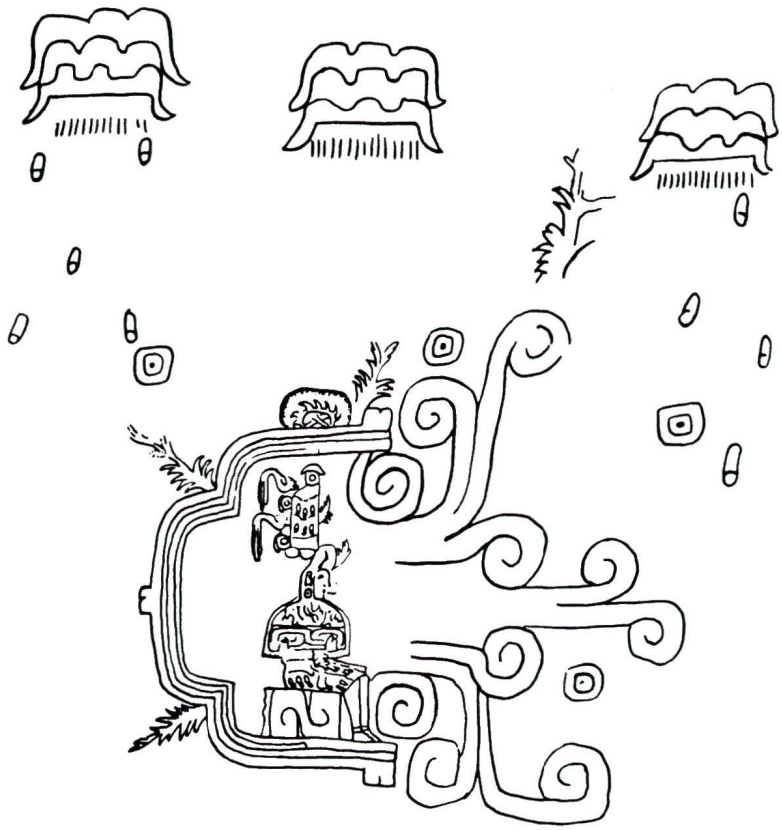


Figure 32. Basalt petroglyph from Chalcatzingo, Morelos. From Wicke, Olmec, Figure 10.

Figure 33. Codex Borbonicus, Folio 13.

From Caso, The Aztecs, p. 55.

Figure 34. Codex Laud, Folio 6 D.

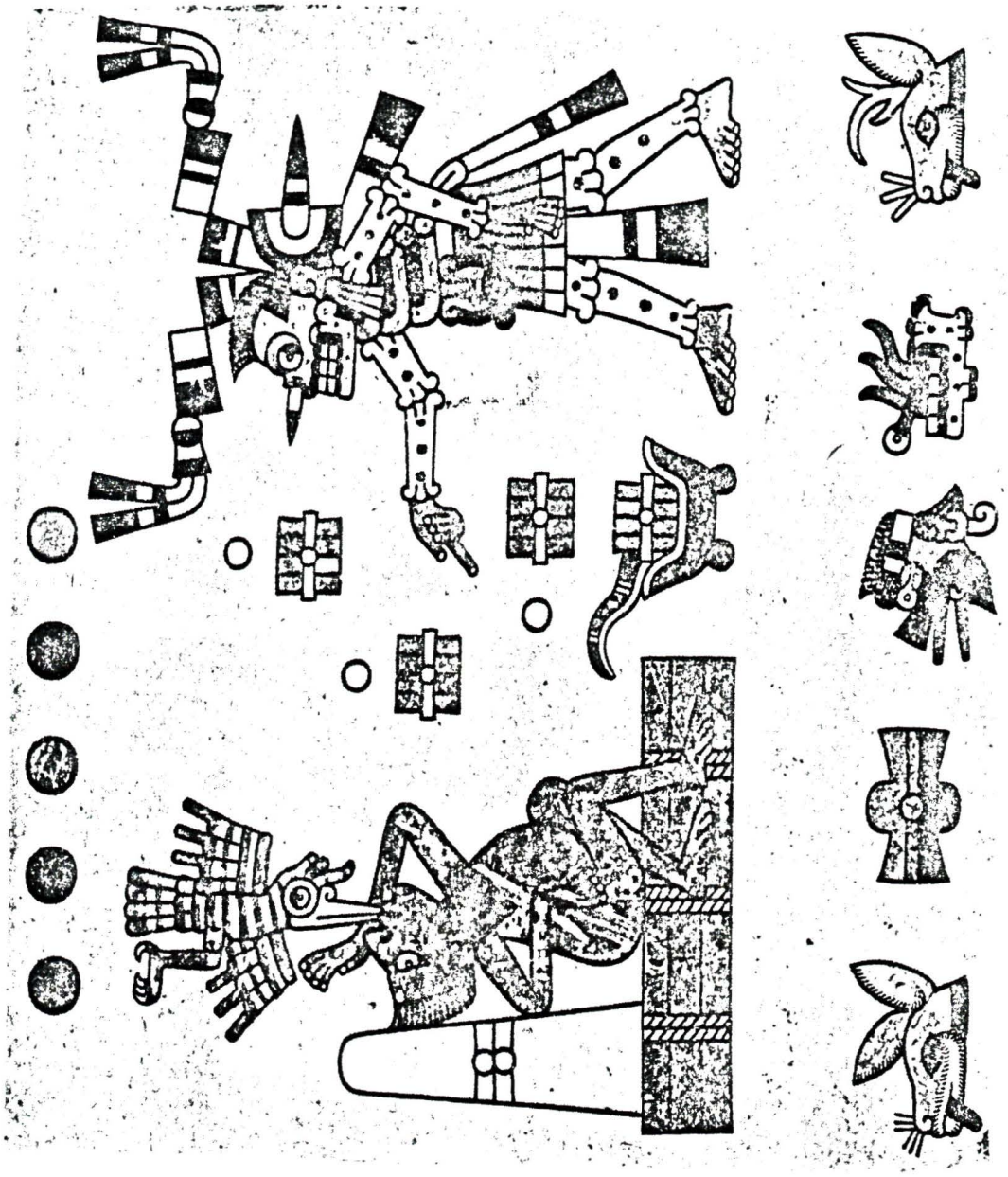


Figure 35. Codex Laud, Folio 7 D.

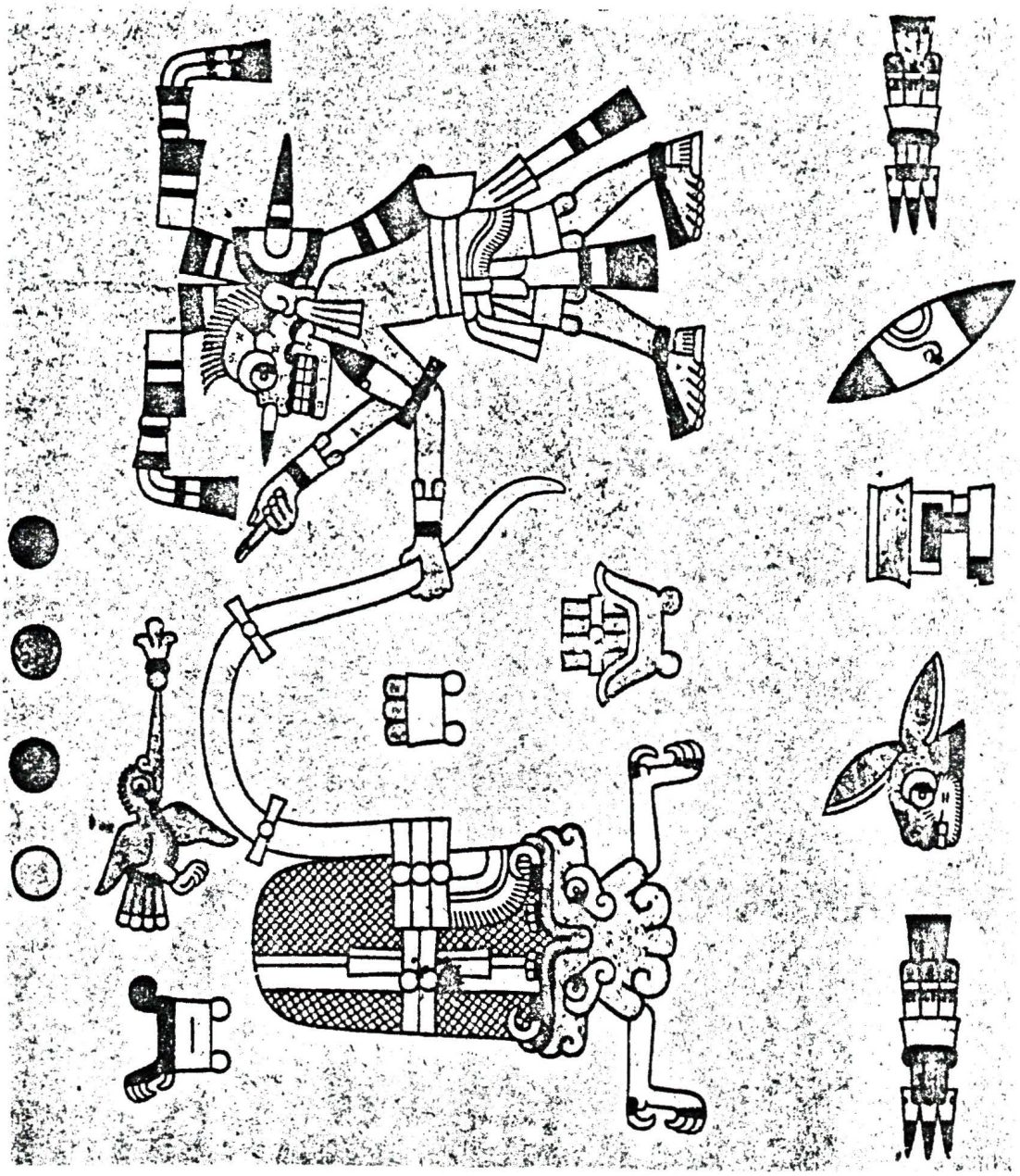


Figure 36. Codex Laud, Folio 8 D.

Figure 37. The Aztec Sun Stone. (Museo Nacional, México)

From Maria Antonieta Cervantes, Treasures of Ancient Mexico (New York: Crescent Books, 1978), plate 7.

Figure 38. Codex Borbonicus, Folio 12.
From Caso, p. 29.

Figure 39. Florentine Codex, Bk. VII, Plate 22.

Figure 40. Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar, Plate 8.

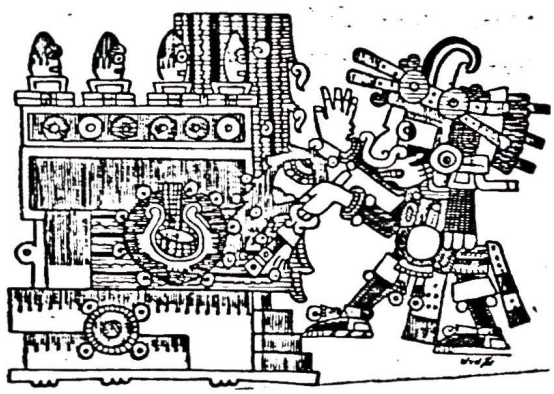


Figure 41. Codex Borgia, Folio 50.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, figure 192.

Figure 42. Florentine Codex, Bk. I, Figure 26.

Figure 43. Aztec statute of Ehecatl with a monkey's body. (Museo Nacional, México)

From Cervantes, Treasures of Ancient Mexico, plate 154.

Figure 44. Aztec statute of a monkey (in the Merrin collection, New York).

From Burland and Forman, Feathered Serpent and Smoking Mirror, p. 91.

Figure 45. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 51.

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 51.

7.

maçatl

Figure 46. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 4.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 4.

I. The Five Quarters and their Deities.

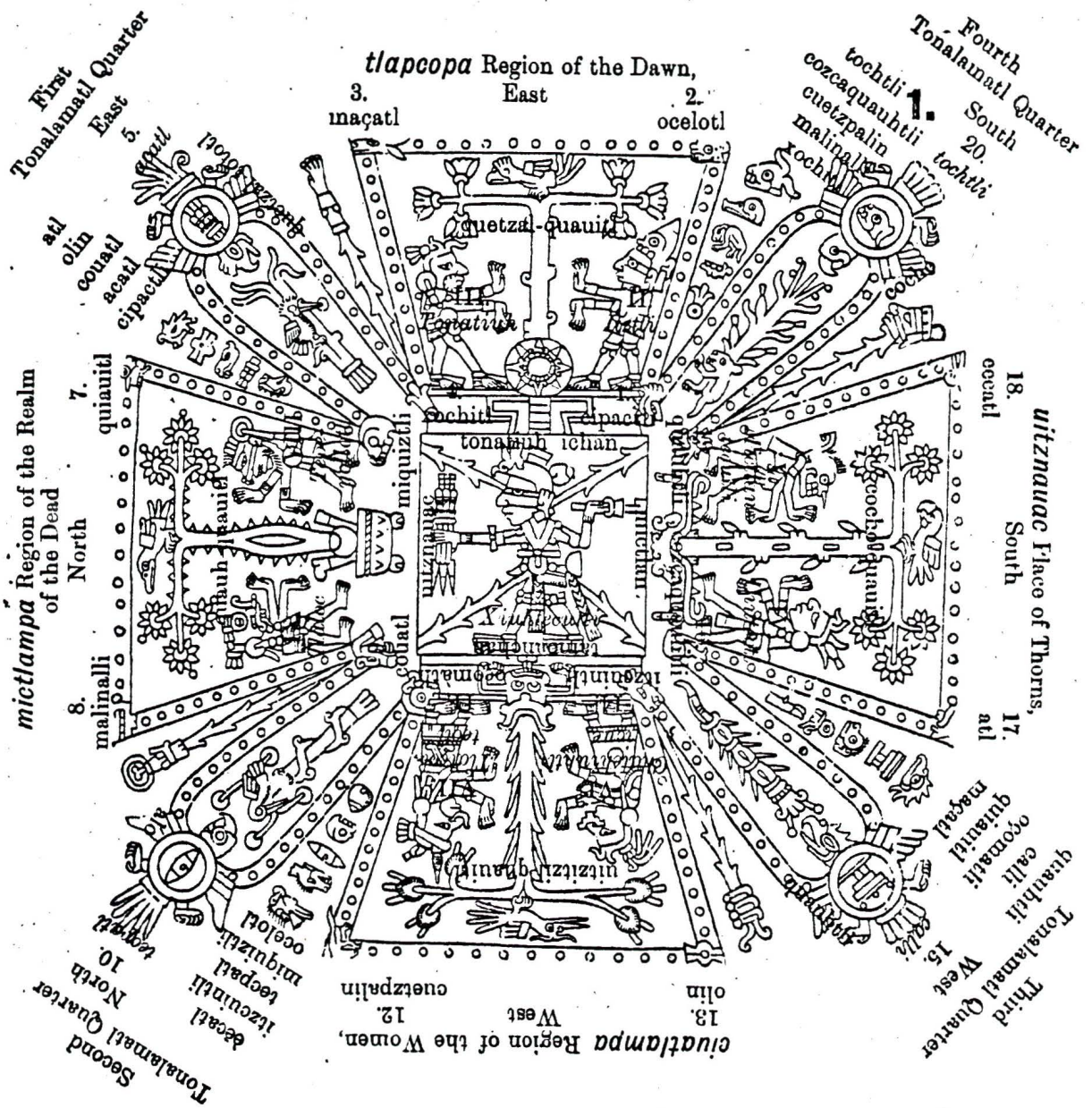


Figure 47. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 1.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 1.

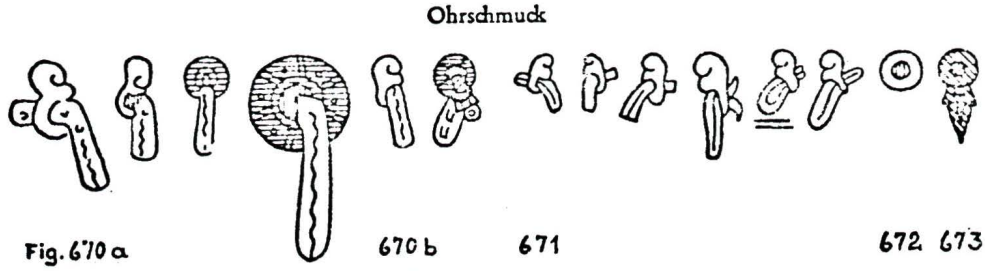


Fig. 671

Vaticanus: 9, 34, 61, 74, 81, 91 und nicht-parallele Figur (18 oben links).
Fej.-Mayer: 4, 23, 28 und nicht-parallele Figur (17 oben links).

Figure 48. Examples of earrings worn by the Borgia Group representations of Tlazolteotl. Spranz does not include Laud 15 as a bearer of the earring illustrated in Fig. 671.

From Spranz, Göttergestalten, p. 175.

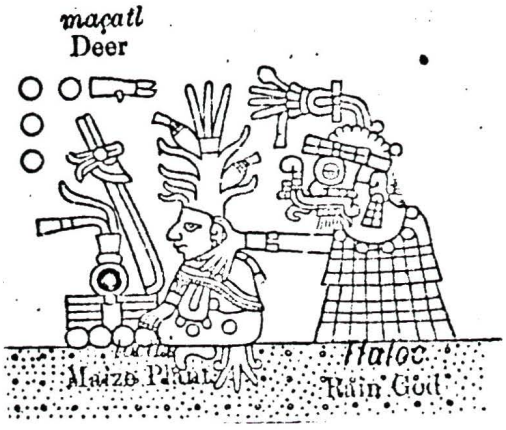


Figure 49. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 34.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 34.

Figure 50. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 36.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 36.

Figure 51. Codex Cospi, Folio 23.

From Karl Anton Nowotny, ed., Codex Cospi (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968), plate 23.

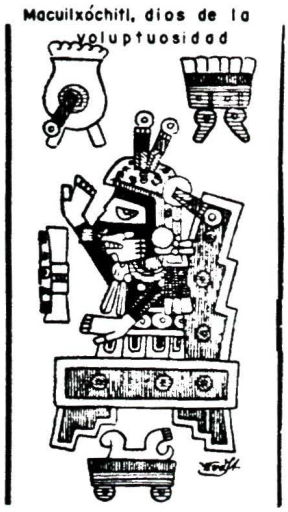


Figure 52. Codex Borgia, Folio 7.

From Seler, Códice Borgia, plate 7.

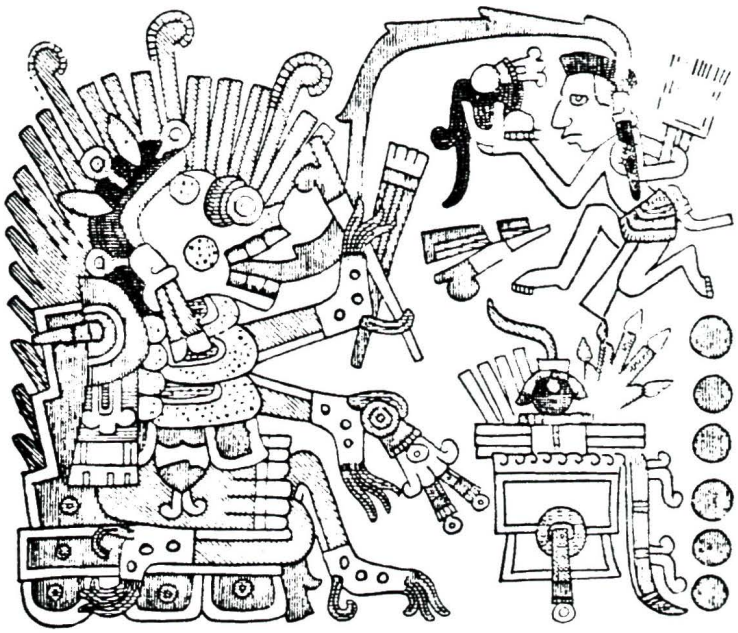


Figure 53. Codex Borgia, Folio 75.

From Seler, Códice Borgia, plate 75.

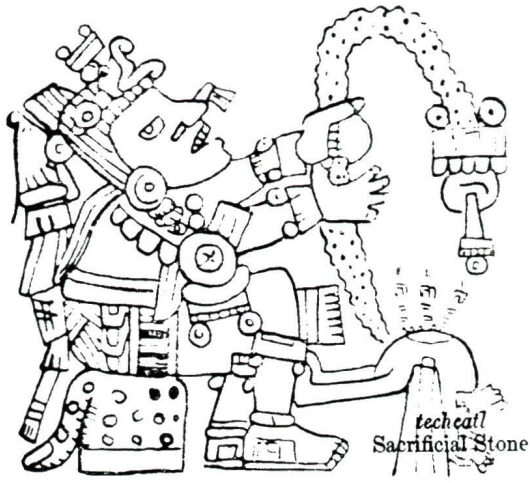


Figure 54. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 38.

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 38.

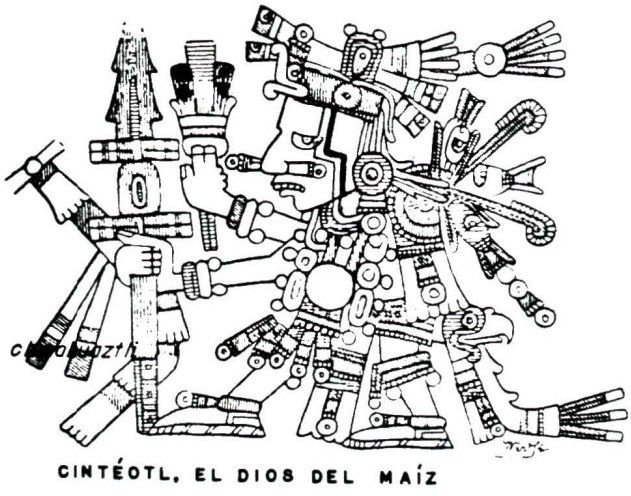


Figure 55. Codex Borgia, Folio 52.

From Seler, Códice Borgia, plate 52.

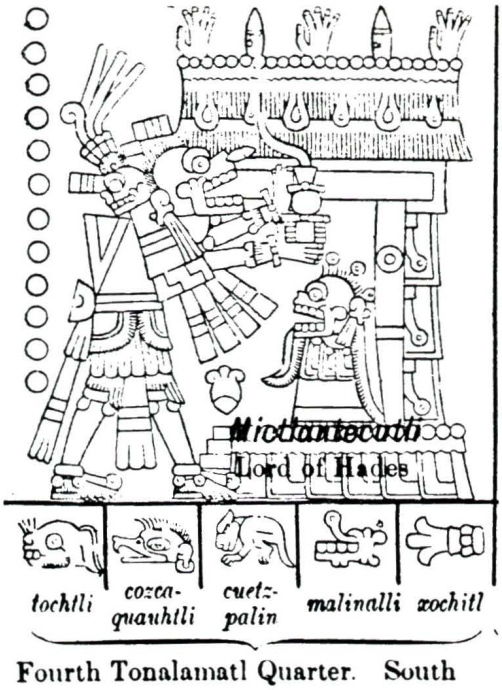


Figure 56. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 34.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 34.

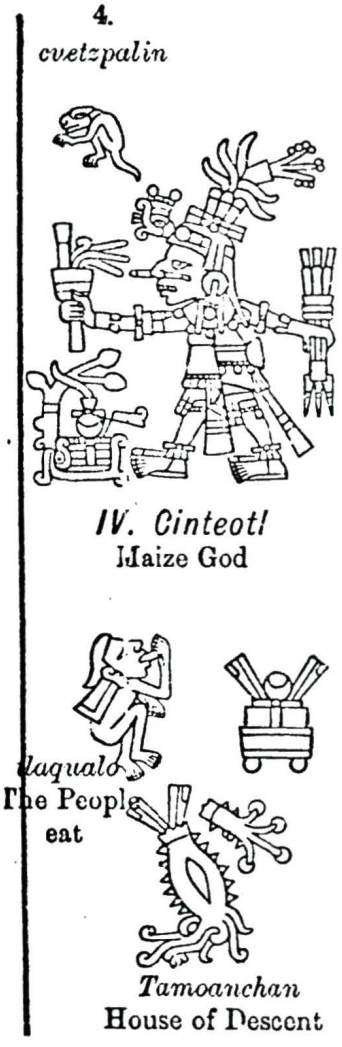


Figure 57. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 3.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 3.

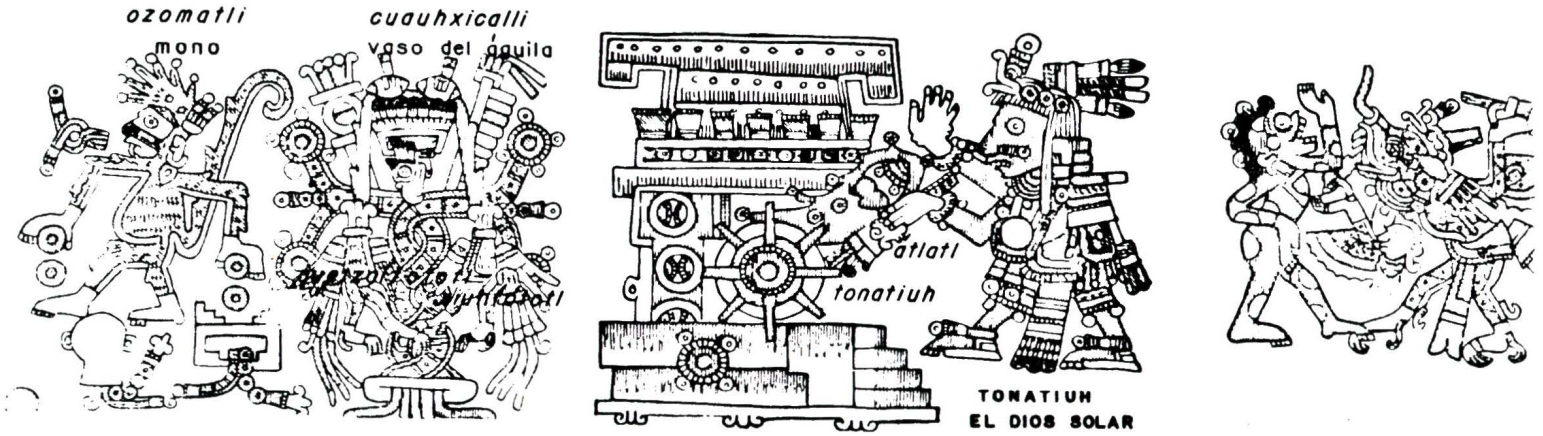


Figure 58. Codex Borgia, Folio 49.

From Seler, Códice Borgia, plate 49.

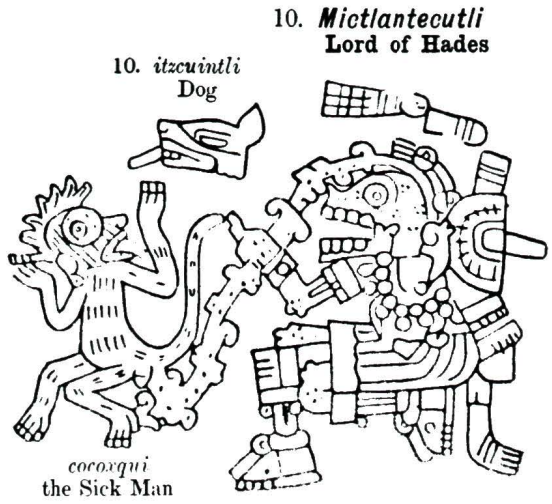


Figure 59. Codex Vaticanus B, Folio 32.

From Seler, Codex Vaticanus B, plate 32.

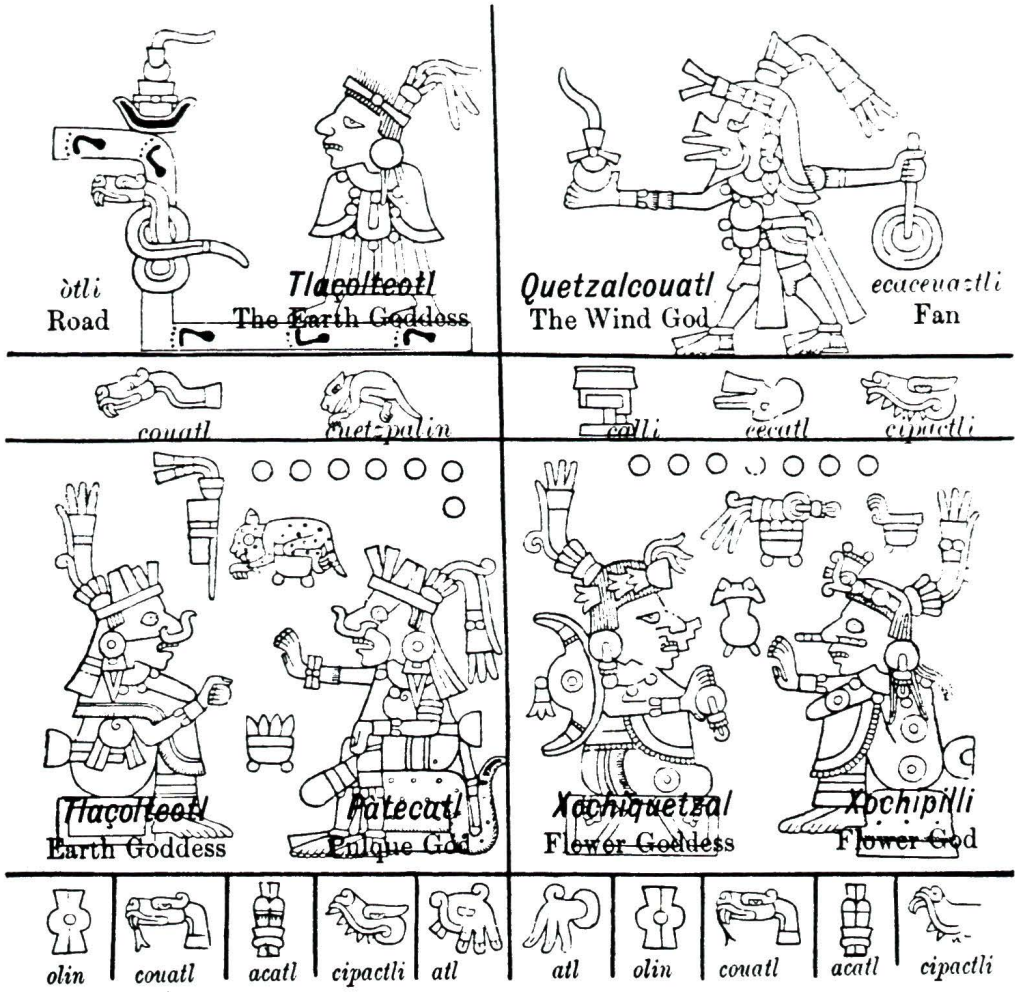


Figure 60. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Folio 35.

From Seler, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, plate 35.

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Publications:

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Title of Thesis/Dissertation

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHT-DEITIES SECTION OF THE CODEX LAUD

Author [redacted]

Virginia Lee Ehrman
Name

October 23, 1981
Date

CROSS-CODICAL CHARTS

General Abbreviations:

t = top
b = bottom
c = center
l = left
r = right
() = variation