Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl vol. 64 (julio-diciembre 2022): 63-107
ISSN 0071-1675

ARTÍCULOS

Altered Folios, Alternative Histories in the Florentine Codex

Folios alterados, historias alternativas en el Códice Florentino

Rebecca DUFENDACH
Stevenson University (Estados Unidos)
rdufendach@stevenson.edu

Jeanette Favrot PETERSON
University of California, Santa Barbara (Estados Unidos)
jeanette@arthistory.ucsb.edu

Abstract
The histories found in the textual and pictorial narratives of the Florentine Codex (1575–77) were created by Nahua writer-artists *(tlacuiloque)* working with Bernardino de Sahagún. The manuscript reveals a complex process of translation, retelling, and visualization of Nahua culture, including the vivid memories of the Spanish-led invasion. Scholars have long worked with reproductions of the Florentine Codex as a "clean copy." A closer engagement with its material facture, excisions, and paste-overs, however, reveals a manuscript subject to corrections, editorializing, and even censorship to meet the expectations of multiple audiences, royal, Franciscan, and Indigenous. To better understand what lay behind these ruptures and reconfigurations, we focus on several startling alterations in the Codex. The original creators had to contend with competing memories even as they recorded, revised, and added images to the folios of this remarkable cultural encyclopedia.

Keywords: Florentine Codex, Primeros Memoriales, materiality, altered folios, cut-and-paste, censorship, conquest

Resumen
Las historias que se encuentran en las narraciones textuales y pictóricas del Códice Florentino (1575–77) fueron creadas por escritores-artistas nahuas (tlacuiloque) *en colaboración con Bernardino de Sahagún. El manuscrito revela un complejo proceso de traducción, recuento, y visualización de la cultura Nahua, que incluye los recuerdos vívidos de la invasión encabezada por los españoles. Los eruditos han trabajado durante mucho tiempo con reproducciones del Códice Florentino como una "copia limpia." Un análisis más profundo de su factura material, supresiones y empastes revela un manuscrito sujeto a correcciones, edición e incluso censura para cumplir con las expectativas de múltiples audiencias, franciscanas, monárquicas e indígenas. Para comprender mejor qué hay detrás de estas rupturas y reconfiguraciones, nos enfocamos en varias alteraciones sorprendentes en el Códice Florentino. Los creadores originales tuvieron que lidiar con*

Fecha de recepción: 4 de noviembre de 2021 | **Fecha de aceptación:** 19 de enero de 2022

© 2022 UNAM. Esta obra es de acceso abierto y se distribuye bajo la licencia Creative Commons Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual 4.0 Internacional
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/deed.es

memorias en conflicto incluso mientras registraban, revisaban y agregaban imágenes a los folios de esta notable enciclopedia cultural.

Palabras clave: *Códice Florentino, Primeros Memoriales, materialidad, folios alterados, cortar-y-pegar, censura, conquista*

Introduction

In the 16th century scriptorium or manuscript workshop of the Franciscan *convento*, Santiago Tlatelolco, Bernardino de Sahagún oversaw a team of Indigenous scholars, authors, and painters. They were feverishly creating an illuminated manuscript known today as the Florentine Codex, currently in the Medicea Laurenziana Library, Florence. The year was 1576 and the Nahua team was under intense pressure to complete this ambitious compilation of Nahua culture. Not only were such records of Indigenous life being confiscated and destroyed by colonial authorities, but a malignant epidemic in central Mexico had already struck down many of their own. Today, more than ever, we can appreciate the anxiety provoked by such a rampant, highly contagious disease. These physical and emotional demands on the Nahua team are critical to understanding the material facture of the Florentine Codex.

As the culminating edition of Sahagún's monumental project, we think of the Florentine Codex as a clean product. Yet is also a hand-crafted draft, albeit a beautifully illuminated one destined for royal appreciation. Our inquiry addresses a dimension of the Florentine's materiality, that is the physical alterations and aberrations that are visible to the naked eye on its folios, and a few that are hidden.[1] Although alterations do not appear on every folio, there are significant changes made to the final folios that imply

[1] Rebecca Dufendach made the initial discoveries of the Florentine Codex alterations. See Dufendach, "Altered Folios, Altered Conquest History: A Material Study of Book XII of the Florentine Codex", paper delivered at the Conference for the American Society of Ethnohistory, September 27, 2019. The authors express their gratitude to the financial and scholarly support provided by the Getty Research Institute's multi-year, collaborative project: The Florentine Codex Initiative. In particular, we recognize Kim Richter at the GRI for her leadership and encouragement, and our colleagues, Alanna Radlo-Dzur and Berenice Gaillemin, whose many insights benefitted this study. We thank Kevin Terraciano, Nancy Turner, Conservator with Getty Museum Paper Conservation, and Silvia Scipioni at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

the pages passed through the hands of multiple creators. Less attention has focused on the Florentine Codex as a physical object, although careful examination of its material facture reveals multiple excisions, white-outs and paste-overs. During its production in the Tlatelolco scriptorium, the manuscript was subject to corrections, editorializing and even a type of censorship, always keeping multiple audiences in mind. Although the readership of the Franciscan circle was always foremost, Sahagún aspired to have his monumental oeuvre travel overseas, to be presented to the Spanish monarch. Moreover, Indigenous viewers are implicitly addressed, given that Nahua hands were crafting their own heritage. The very act of transcribing text and selectively hybridizing images is transformative and the content self-referential.[2] Thus, the external audiences included the royal eyes for which the document was ultimately intended as well as fellow Franciscans, the beneficiaries of this monumental, in-depth record of Aztec life and the Nahuatl vocabulary. Internally, the Nahua authors and painters, who worked shoulder to shoulder, actively shaped and reviewed the contents at every stage, thus constituting a significant, critical audience.

From an inquiry into the Florentine's materiality, or what we refer to as "thinking with materials" we can draw certain conclusions about the European audiences, as well as the ethnic loyalties of the multiple creators and their working methods (Hunter 2013, 20, 22–23, 93). This approach not only makes palpable the hurried tempo of producing the manuscript, but it also allows access into possible motives for the physical changes. We acknowledge one can never fully ascertain the creators' intents; however, our analysis focuses on the physical changes or metahistorial elements for the deeper narratives they may reveal (White 1973). Several of the most startling alterations in Book 12, for example, move beyond correcting errors to disclose the underlying tension between rivaling Indigenous perspectives taken by the authors and painters who were recording the past and the Nahua-Spanish world views, particularly on the contested memories of the Conquest events.[3] Our goal is to analyze the material alterations recently discovered in light of this vexed narrative framework.

[2] The ultimate product becomes an "inherently dialogical gamble" that records a plurality of voices, as Max Harris (1993, 13–14) states. On the multiple audiences of the Florentine Codex, see Peterson (2003; 2019, 29–33).

[3] On the Indigenous conquest narratives through time, see Terraciano (2011; 2019b).

Creating the Florentine Codex

The encyclopedic project envisioned by Sahagún that culminated in the Florentine Codex (1575–77) encompassed 30 years of collecting data in two previous surviving drafts known as the *Primeros Memoriales* (1558 to 1561) and the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* (1561 to 1566) (Dufendach 2017, 206–10). Although by 1575 there was tremendous pressure to reinscribe information from previous versions of the texts, the final stage was particularly difficult. Sahagún faced persecution from Spanish authorities eager to root out suspected idolatry in Indigenous writings and from his own order who complained he was straining the Franciscan budget; "these writings were produced in a clean copy, for which a goodly number of *tomines* were spent for scribes" (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 2: f. 2). For each stage, Sahagún described the working process and by doing so, shines a light on the work of the Nahua creators.

The multicultural authorship of the Florentine Codex is well established. For much of the manuscript's content, Sahagún relied on Nahua scholars and elders. Nahua scholars were educated in multiple languages and the humanities in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, Tlatelolco, where they had access not only to European books and illustrations but also to their traditional pictorial manuscripts. Born and raised in central Mexico, the Nahua student-scholars (*colegiales* and *gramáticos*) attended the first European-style college in the Americas, where Franciscans taught them to read and write in Latin, Castilian, and their native language of Nahuatl. The Nahua scholars named in the codex paratexts were the trilingual scholars, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Martín Jacobita, and Pedro de San Buenaventura. Another group of Nahua scholars served as scribes for the project: Diego de Grado, Bonifacio Maximiliano, and Mateo Severino (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 2: f. 1v). Nahua elders, on the other hand, were of the generation who witnessed the war with the Spaniards and their allies; they recounted their still fresh memories orally and Nahua scholars recorded them around 1555. Therefore, each folio crystallizes the influences of the Nahua elders and the multi-lingual Nahua scholars.

Sahagún himself relegated the work of some of the Nahua scholars to the status of a scribe, a role often perceived as principally copyists, lacking agency to alter a document other than syntactical and orthographic errors. We contest the notion implied by the title of scribe and instead advocate

the scrivener's authorship and innovation (Sollors 2009, 461).[4] Notwithstanding Sahagún's labels of scribe or grammarian,[5] we generously postulate that all the team members participated in creating the many visual and alphabetic components of the manuscript. They materially changed and, at times, challenged the histories they recorded. Naturally, any alterations to alphabetic or visual narratives indicate differing levels of engagement by the creators and those changes affect the transmission of knowledge. We use scholar, author, artist, and *tlacuilo* (plural *tlacuiloque*) somewhat interchangeably to refer to the individuals who created the narratives of the Florentine Codex.[6] Far beyond that of a mechanical copyist, the esteemed profession of *tlacuilo* incorporated not only the conjoined talents of writer-painters, but also the accumulated wisdom of the historian, sage and religious expert.[7]

The Florentine Codex as Object and Object of Study

The well-known Florentine Codex has been the object of intense study (and a wealth of scholarship) for many decades. Multiple translations of its bilingual texts and the resultant exegesis of the alphabetic writing in the Florentine have greatly advanced our understanding of, and appreciation for, this remarkable document.[8] Only recently, however, have the physical properties and facture of the Codex been thoroughly and scientifically analyzed; this includes its paper fabric, watermarks, and pigments.[9] A brief discussion of the manuscript as a physical object, including the nature and availability of

[4] In the field of legal documentation, the doctrine of "scrivener's error" or copyists error allows courts to correct legislative drafting mistakes. See Doerfler 2016.

[5] Referred to as "*escriuanos... escriujentes*" (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 2: f. 2).

[6] In general, when referring to a visual narrative we use artist or *tlacuilo,* and when referencing an alphabetic text we use scholar, author, or writer.

[7] Given the far-reaching role of the Nahua *tlacuiloque*, we prefer the title Florentine Codex to *Historia general (or universal) de las cosas de Nueva España* because the latter privileges a Spanish-only narrative. On the range of terms that qualify *tlacuilo*, see Molina (1992, f. 120r), Arellano Hoffman (2002, 221–23, Table 1), Boone (2000, 24–27).

[8] For a history of Florentine Codex scholarship, see Bustamante García (1990, 1992), León-Portilla (2002), Terraciano (2019a).

[9] See Wolf and Connors (2011), for several groundbreaking studies on the Florentine Codex as a physical object, especially the contributions by Diana Magaloni Kerpel (2011), Ida Giovanna Rao (2011), Piero Baglioni et al. (2011), and Salvador Reyes Equiguas (2011). See also Magaloni Kerpel (2013).

materials needed to produce it, is useful for understanding some of the motives that may have been in play in the cutting, pasting, and elimination of certain elements on the folios, and indeed, in the severing of entire folios.[10]

Clearly the Nahua scholars reviewed their work and addressed any issues they found with substantial alterations, despite their hastened pace. To summarize their working process on the two-columned format of each folio, the entirety of the Nahuatl-language content was written first in the right column, followed by the Spanish-language translation in the left column (transcribed either individually or with Sahagún's supervision). Lacunae were left, generally in the Spanish column, for inserting the images in the final stage. The Codex was initially bound in four volumes before leaving Tlatelolco;[11] it was then trimmed, rebound, and reduced to three volumes, likely in Spain.[12] The fact that the Florentine Codex is so tightly sewn in its rebinding poses significant challenges to studying the mechanics and timing of its construction, including a determination of its folio gatherings. We hypothesize that the *tlacuiloque* worked primarily on loose folios, although some alterations had to have been made after the manuscript was sewn and bound, either in its entirety or in partial gatherings, but still in the scriptorium, as evidenced by the cut tabs of the excised folios discussed below.

The European origins of the paper for the Florentine Codex is confirmed using two watermarks in common usage between 1493 and 1623 (Dibble 1982b, 25).[13] Spain monopolized the importation of fine paper and imposed a heavy tax, making European paper in the Americas scarce and expensive. Given Spain's control of overseas trade and its paper bureaucracy, paper became an important political and cultural tool in maintaining ties with its colonies (Lenz 1973, 29–30). The more fibrous *amatl* or Indigenous bark paper continued to be made, although it too became increasingly in short

[10] The Florentine Codex is composed of 1,223 folios, totaling 2,446 pages (recto and verso). In our references, we cite the book (from 1 to 12) and use the folio number from the upper right-hand corner in each book.

[11] Sahagún (in Anderson and Dibble 1982, 71) speaks of this first binding in the past tense, thus accomplished before the four volumes left his care.

[12] Dibble (1982a, 19) hypothesizes this reduction occurred after the Tolosa Ms, a copy of the Spanish-text of the Florentine completed sometime after 1580. An example of the trimming and rebinding of the Codex is explored later in this paper, with missing lines of Spanish text that are intact in the Tolosa copy.

[13] The watermarks include Caballero with staff and Heart-Latin cross, and they have several variants. On the early production and benefits of paper (vs. vellum or parchment), see Eisenstein (1997, 87–89).

supply by the second half of the sixteenth century (Carr 2012, 22). Attempts at establishing local mills to manufacture European-style paper were largely unsuccessful.[14] The lack of a robust domestic supply and the heavy demands on a very limited inventory of imported paper are important to keep in mind as we discuss the inventive ways manuscript-creators improvised, prolonged, and frugally recycled this most basic commodity.

Unlike the reliance on European paper, until the late 1570s the *tlacuilo* could readily produce or purchase needed pigments and dyes. A great variety of colors, both Indigenous and imported, were available in the marketplace; merchants also peddled their wares directly to the craftsmen in the painting workshop (*tlacuillolcalli*) within the Franciscan convento in Mexico City (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 10: f. 55v).[15] The Florentine Codex pigments have been chemically analyzed for their organic and inorganic compounds as well as their mineral and plant sources.[16] Book 11 details the time-consuming work of making "the different colors" (*tlapalli*) in stages, from gathering the raw materials, grinding the ingredients by young male apprentices and women, and mixing agglutinates to some pigments before applying with either a brush or quill (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 11: f. 216–222v).

On the other hand, indigenous white and black pigments were in ready supply and appear to be relied on for the strike-throughs and white-outs visible in the Florentine Codex. White pigments (*tizatl*) were made from processed and ground calcium or gypsum. Most black paints (*tlilli*), always carbon-based, were fabricated from pine smoke (*humo de ocote*) or lamp black (Dupey García 2017, 25–27). As Magaloni Kerpel (2012, 165–66; 2019, 155) argues, both the Spanish and the Nahuatl texts (that were in place first), were executed in iron gall ink (*tintas ferrogálicas*), highlighting the alphabetic script as an import. The 1576 epidemic that interfered with supply lines and devastated the Indigenous population is reflected in the black and white palette of images in Books 6, 11 and 12, exposing the unavailability of polychrome pigments.

[14] The data is unclear as to when paper mills were established and their success. The first paper mill or *molino* is said to have operated near Culhuacan, whether in 1533, 1575 or 1580 (Dibble 1982b, 25; Lenz 1973, 39–50; Hidalgo Brinquis and Avila Corchero 2013, 52).

[15] The monastic workshop referred to as the *tlacuillolcalli* (literally "painted house") is mentioned four times in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* (Reyes García 2001, 196–99, 254–55, 274–75).

[16] The recipes for many of the autochthonous colors are in Book 11 of the Florentine Codex, an abundantly illustrated book described as a "treatise" on painting methods (Magaloni Kerpel 2011, 159). See also Magaloni Kerpel (2014).

Thinking with Materials: The Long Tradition of Altering Folios

Although a colonial product, the Florentine was created during what is broadly considered the "Age of Print" (1450-onwards) during which European presses rapidly began dominating hand-written products (Eisenstein 1997, 43–162). Even so, the production of illuminated manuscripts persisted until the 17th century. These practices were not unlike the handcrafted intricacies of Mesoamerican codices created precontact (Boone 2000, 25–27; Arellano 2002, 220–30). Colonial pictorial codices were the descendants of the long-held practice of writing with images, and, as Fernando Bouza points out, early modern Spaniards also vested visual texts with the same power to express concepts as written alphabetic texts (Bouza Alvarez 2004, 6). The Nahua scholars who worked on the Florentine were more than capable of making alterations and amendments during the creation of the manuscript, as Sahagún himself states (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 2: f. 2).

Among the proponents of artisanal work was the influential Spanish humanist, Juan Luis Vives, whose works were widely circulated in most educational institutions, including the library at Santiago Tlatelolco.[17] In his *De tradendis disciplinis* (On Education), Vives encourages students to move beyond the intellectual pursuits of the academy to enter the workshops where they could "ask questions from craftsmen" and observe the creative process (Vives 1971, 4: 209).[18] Just as Vives recommends the value of understanding the making of things (*techne*) to the production of knowledge, we focus on a tactile and visual engagement with the Florentine Codex. Hunter calls this approach "thinking with materials," as a close analysis of the composite folios, with their revisions and changes, opens up new interpretative paths (Hunter 2013, 20–23, 90; Smyth 2004, 43, 49). Our analysis is based on a macroscopic and non-invasive examination of the Codex. We also used UV lighting to assist in uncovering texts and images occluded by overlays of superimposed paper or "erased" by white and black pigments.

[17] Six books by Luis Vives (1493–1540) are mentioned without their titles in the 1574 library inventory of Santiago Tlatelolco (Mathes 1985, 32).

[18] The information derived from understanding an artisan's "bodily engagement with matter" is what Pamela Smith (2004) defines as "artisanal epistemology."

Catalogue of Interventions: Black Ink, White Paint, and Paper Scraps

The practice of altering manuscripts by writing marginalia and inserting, pasting, or binding printed pages within a manuscript continued well into the seventeenth century (Smyth 2004, 36). Relatively common was the early modern European mode of constructing and revising artifacts that were "physically disassembled, reconfigured and recoded with meaning...." (Hunter 2013, 23).[19] Scholarship on the alterations in manuscripts and printed works hint at the ways early modern writers and readers processed these texts. In her study of the ways Europeans interacted with printed matter, Ann Blair (2013) focuses on the reader's interpretation. Readers cut and pasted elements within printed books for many reasons, including to censor information personally offensive (Richards and Schurink 2010). However, how a reader interacts with a completed text does not necessarily include how and why creators might alter their text during the process of production.

It is likely that Sahagún and his fellow friars at Tlatelolco were well-versed in the practices of marginalia, cutting, and pasting using handwritten and printed materials. Indeed, the earlier *Primeros Memoriales* also shows signs of alterations, as Eloise Quiñones Keber (1997, 20) notes, by gluing in leaves, cutting sheets, and deleting words using white paint. Clearly the appreciation for artisanal labor was not novel and dovetailed well with skills demonstrated daily by the artisans of hand-produced illuminated manuscripts. The Florentine's scholars were required to think creatively about the different ways to manipulate the text and images to accommodate various challenges of space and the availability of materials. Changes from draft to draft are inherent in scribal culture or what Eisenstein (1997, 341–42) calls "textual drift." This was exacerbated by the intensity of pace as the Tlatelolco team rushed to complete the Codex before spring of 1577. Under this time pressure, the work of the Indigenous creators was undoubtedly affected,[20] and is likely the reason for many, but not all, of the material changes, inconsistencies, and omissions.

[19] "Acts of cutting paper apart and pasting it back together were, it is claimed, central to the ways in which men and women in early modern Europe read, traveled through space, integrated information, produced their books, and understood their drawings" (Hunter 2013, 69).

[20] Such as the vacant spaces left without images in the final stage of production in Books 11 and 12.

Table
MATERIAL ALTERATIONS IN THE FLORENTINE CODEX

Alteration Type	*Number*	*Location: Volume 1*	*Location: Volume 2*	*Location: Volume 3*
Strike-throughs and white-outs	13	bk. 1: f. 20; bk. 2: f. 24r; bk. 3: f. 31*	bk. 6: f. 69, 80; bk. 7: f. 14v, 19v, 20; bk. 8: f. 3v, 4, 27	bk. 11: f. 47v; bk. 12: f. 27v
Textual paste-overs	15	bk. 1: f. 26v; bk. 2: f. 121v, 123	bk. 6: f. 53, 56, 92, 133, 185v, 188	bk. 10: f. 48v, 49; bk. 11: f. 4v, 143v, 234, 238, 238v
Excised folios without new attachments	10	bk. 1: f. 0-1(IV–1), 11–12, 12-13; bk. 5: f. 0–1, 14-15	bk. 6: f. 3–4; bk. 9: f. 63–64	bk. 10: f. 82–83; bk. 11: f. 219–221; bk. 12: f. 2-3
Excised folios with re-glued folios	5	None	bk. 9: f. 66–66v	bk. 10: f 13; bk. 11: f. 143v; bk. 12: f. 26–26v, 27–27v.
Image paste-overs	2	bk. 1: f. 32v	None	bk. 12: f. 11v

* This instance of an alteration is technically a smudging out of text with new text written on top

We have segregated the types of interventions found in the Florentine into five categories moving from the smaller types of alterations (single words or portions of images that are struck out with black ink or white paint) to larger interventions of an entire folio or image that was cut and pasted (see Table). Within each of these categories, examples move from the practical need to correct errors to the more significant emendations that appear to be ideologically driven. We first discuss the most mundane alterations, the many forms of strike-throughs and white-outs over images and alphabetic texts, suggesting that some were not merely routine. Following this, we explore several examples of textual paste-overs and what they might mean about the editorial hands at work. Two types of alterations to the whole folio are then examined, some that were excised and others that were removed and then reglued with new folios. Finally, we detail two image paste-overs and venture what such changes might disclose about the important role of the paintings to communicate an alternative message.

White-outs and Strike-throughs: Expedient Fixes to Shape the Narratives

In the category of white-outs and strike-throughs, the most practical and benign adjustments occlude and correct mistakes. We find 13 examples in this category, recognizing that further scrutiny under UV light may uncover more. Throughout the Florentine Codex there are many examples of pen lines that have been modified to conform to predetermined guidelines, such as the frame lines that are redrawn or adjusted around a primary or figural image (for example, bk. 2: f. 103). White paint is also applied to reconfigure the headdress and face of the deity-impersonator, *Napa tecutli*, so that he fits within his rectilinear frame (see Figure 1). Elsewhere a pentimento of an earlier drawing attest to the reworked position of the Aztec executioner's body and mantle on folio 27 in Book 8, as he stones a couple accused of adultery.

Strike-throughs include not only the white overpaint, but also the overwritten corrected text. It is also notable that although Sahagún's handwriting appears at least seven times on the folios of the Florentine Codex, including his signature, none of the strike-throughs discussed in this paper

Figure 1. Florentine Codex, bk. 10: f. 20 (detail), *Napa tecutli*.
Note: whiteout of headdress and profile. Photo by authors

are corrections in his hand (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 4: f. 81).[21] When Sahagún does personally edit the text, he favors the less intrusive form of inserting terms using a caret or scribbling in the margins as opposed to the strike-through.

One representative example of a strike-though occurs in chap. 7 of Book 7 in a translation of the original Nahuatl text explaining that the year sign House was generally assigned to the West, or *Ciuatlampa*, or From the Place of the Women, for "it is said that there dwelt women; none of us men were there" (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 7: f. 14v). The Spanish-language column translates this phrase, but with a strike through the following text: "*y no ay*

[21] A preliminary tally finds seven instances of Sahagún's personal handwriting in the Florentine: bk. 4: f. 81; bk. 7: f. 7 (2 instances), 8; bk. 8: f. 19, 22v; bk. 10: f. 70v. Though Dibble (1982a, 19) mentions Sahagún's handwriting in Book 9, the notes located do not match his shaky ductus. A steady hand wrote the edits in Book 9, as in the example on folio 48v. These script examples are not included in our table because they are not white-outs or strike-throughs.

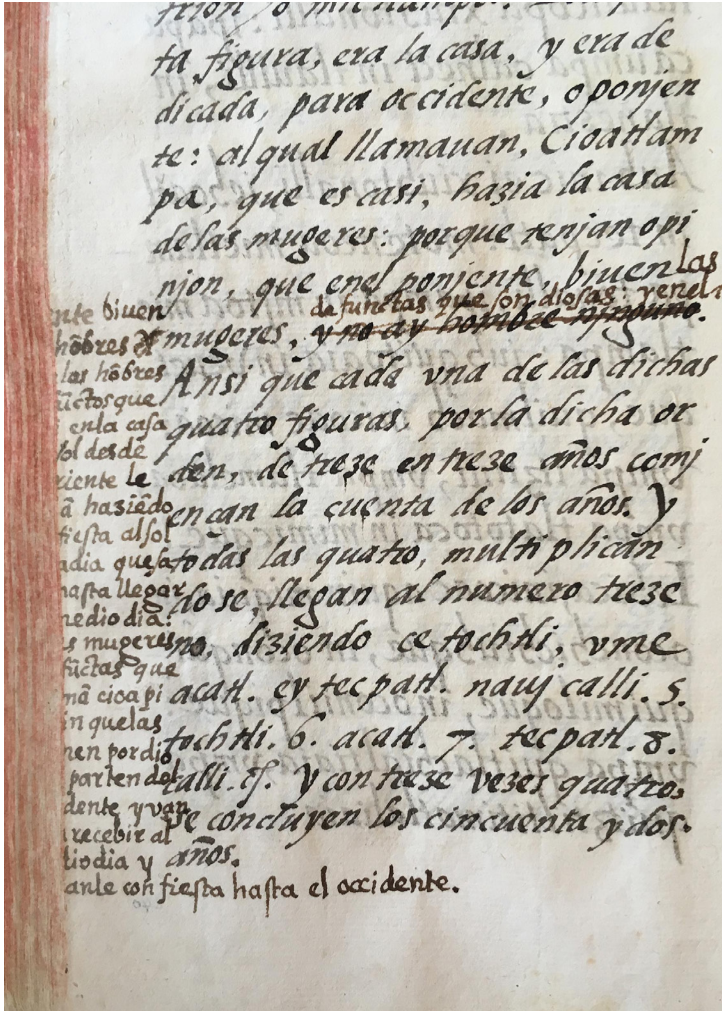
ta figura, era la casa, y era de
dicada, para occidente, o ponjen
te: al qual llamauan, Cioatlam
pa, que es casi, hazia la casa
de las mugeres: porque tenjan opi
njon, que en el ponjente, biuen las
mugeres, y no ay hombre ninguno.
Ansi que cada vna de las dichas
quatro figuras, por la dicha or
den, de treze en treze años comj
encan la cuenta de los años. y
todas las quatro, multiplican
dose, llegan al numero treze
no, diziendo ce tochtli, vme
acatl. ey tecpatl. nauj calli. 5.
tochtli. 6. acatl. 7. tecpatl. 8.
calli. &. y con treze vezes quatro,
se concluyen los cincuenta y dos
años.
ante con fiesta hasta el occidente.

Figure 2. Florentine Codex, bk. 7: f. 14v (detail).
Strike-through text with additional margin text. Photo by authors

hombre ninguna" or "there is not a single man" (see Figure 2). Above this text and spilling over onto the outside margin, there is additional information that is not found in the Nahuatl text, clarifying that men were associated with the east and the house of the Sun. This strike-through and appended text speak to the ways that the perspective on gendered spaces was modified during the colonial period. It appears the writer, an elite man educated by a male-dominated religious order (as all of the Nahua scholars

were), documents that men also claimed their sacred spaces, even if the author was forced to write such information in the margins of the history. The original text found in the paragraph by the Nahua writer does not exclusively embrace the patriarchal order promoted by the Church and thus restores a traditional social structure of complementarity (Sousa 2017, 13–15).[22] While this example of a strike-through appears to have some significant meaning, other instances appear relatively benign, accommodating a frame here, correcting some spelling there.

On the other hand, the erasure of the name glyph of Cuitlahua (Cuitlahuac), and the substitution of Cuauhtemoc's, may be one example of a white-out that has ramifications for the history of the war against the Spaniards and their allies. The short but remarkable reign of Cuitlahua is not mentioned in Book 12 although several important events occurred during his leadership. After the funerary rites for Moteuczoma, or possibly before, Cuitlahua, as *huey tlatoani*, likely issued the command that Mexica warriors pursue and attack the retreating Spaniards by boat and land (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 12: f. 42, 49v).[23] In addition, the 1520 epidemic struck Tenochtitlan described as a great plague, or *huey cocoliztli* that killed countless Indigenous people, desolated villages, and ultimately took Cuitlahua's life (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 8: f. 4. See also Dufendach 2019, 625). This history is detailed in Book 12, but it is also condensed in Book 8, where Cuitlahua is memorialized in the alphabetic texts. Following the traditional annals format that lists the names of the leaders and their images alongside the noteworthy occurrences (Boone 2021, 70), Cuitlahua is recognized along with his own untimely demise from the epidemic disease after only eighty days of rule (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 8: f. 3v–4). His sudden death abruptly ruptured the sequence of rulership and left the vacancy to the younger, less experienced Cuauhtemoc.

Each Indigenous *tlatoani* featured in Book 8 is portrayed with a preconquest pictogram, a loaded figurative symbol used to indicate rulership

[22] Lisa Sousa points out that balance between complementary spheres (east/west, male/female) is necessary to the origins and continuation of the world. Personal Communication, 8/7/21.

[23] Although the dynastic rule of Tenochtitlan was never broken, as Lori Boornazian Diel (2018, 137) argues, even in the event of an unnatural or premature death, Cuitlahua may have replaced Moteuczoma before his death. Susan Gillespie (2008, 50, 52) notes that this sequence is found in the sixteenth-century histories by Aguilar (1993) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1862, ch. 126).

Figure 3. *Primeros Memoriales*, Sahagun et. al. 1558-61b, f. 51v. Detail of Lords of Mexico-Tenochtitlan: Cuitlahua (Cuitlaoatzin) and Cuauhtemoc (Quauhtemoctzin) with their name glyphs. © Real Academia de la Historia, España

(Boone 2019; Quiñones 2019). The pictogram consists of a seated male in profile, usually wearing a cloak, *tilmatli*, and royal diadem, *xiuhuitzolli*, with the ruler's name glyph adjacent to the human figure. In the *Primeros Memoriales*, the *huey tlatoani* Cuitlahua is illustrated in this manner (see Figure 3). The leader appears with his memorable name glyph composed phonetically of excrement (Sahagún et al. 1558–61b, f. 51v).[24] Directly below him is Cuauhtemoc with his name glyph, Descending Eagle, logically indicating his reign followed that of Cuitlahua.

The alphabetic text of Book 8 in the Florentine Codex follows the *Primeros Memoriales* sequence of leaders, but in the accompanying image of the ruler, the *tlacuilo* not only obscures the name glyph but replaces it with another. The tenth Mexica ruler's name is expunged with white paint and

[24] Molina 1992, f. 27v, *cuitlatl. mierda*. In other codices, such as the Codex Mexicanus, the glyph for water or *atl* is appended to *cuitla*. See Diel 2018, 137.

Figure 4. Florentine Codex, bk. 8: f. 4 (detail). White out of Cuitlahua name glyph with Cuauhtemoc (Descending Eagle) inserted. Photo by authors

the descending eagle glyph for Cuauhtemoc painted over it (see Figure 4).[25] There are several explanations for the replacement glyph. The first might reveal a distinct favoritism, particularly toward Cuauhtemoc, the lionized leader who is remembered for resisting the Spaniards. There is also the possibility that the *tlacuilo*, by choosing to depict one of the omen's during from the preceding reign of Moteuczoma in the space above the Cuitlahua text (the space typically dedicated to the ruler and his name glyph) accidentally displaced the depiction of the ruler to that of his successor (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 8: f 3v). Then, realizing his error, he erased the original name glyph and replaced it with Cuauhtemoc's name glyph to match the format of the previous rulers. Whether intentionally or accidentally, the artist eliminates the name glyph for Cuitlahua and highlights his healthy, heroic successor.

[25] See also Mundy (2015, 80–84) on the Indigenous memories of rulers during the colonial period.

The end result is that the visual representation of the *huey tlatoani* who died from the horrifying new illness was scrubbed from the record in the Florentine. The Nahua creators of the Florentine Codex who survived the epidemics of 1576 while working on the manuscript may have altered the image to diminish, even suppress, another leader lost to the catastrophe of the epidemics.[26] It is also possible the artist hoped to minimize attention to the chaos resulting from their ruler's precipitous death or perhaps simply wanted to highlight the importance of Cuauhtemoc. Regardless, these examples of white-outs and strike-throughs reveal the dynamic process of the Florentine's production and the ability of the Nahua authors to exert control over the content. While most appear as mechanical changes to spelling or punctuation, other alterations hint at deeper motives to constructing an alternative narrative.

Cutting without Pasting: Excised Folios with No Attachments

There are several examples where the full folios themselves are under the blade, undoubtedly to eliminate graver mistakes. This category of alterations is composed of ten excised folios, with the removal of as many as three folios from one location (bk. 5: f. 14–15). One of the more perplexing excisions occurs immediately in Book 1, after the Latin "Christus…" but before first folio of the prologue. Portions of the large-letter flourish with which the original script was written are still visible. Scholars have conjectured that the absent folio was the title page, denying us certainty of the Florentine's original title, whether it began with: *Historia general,* or with, *Historia universal, de las cosas de Nueva España*. Scholars remain conflicted in their assessment of the original designation; however, it is notable that the title found in the second draft, the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco*, is *Historia Universal* (Sahagún et al. 1558–61a, f. 1).[27] It seems logical that the title page was intact when the manuscript left Sahagun's hands, but occurred at some point thereafter, perhaps in the manuscript's rebinding, or in its transference to, or within, Spain and/or Italy.

[26] "*esta pestilencia deste año de mjll, y qujnjentos y setenta y seis, que casi no esta y a nadie en el colegio muertos, y enfermos, casi todos son salidos*." Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 11: f. 238v; bk. 10, f. 83r.

[27] On the title page scholarship, see Bustamante García (1990, 339; 1992, 248–49, 328–34), Ríos Castaño (2014), Terraciano (2019a, 2).

The ten excised folios were cut during the final phase of production, likely following the first binding of the quires into four volumes. Of the excised folios with no replacement, one interesting example appears in Book 12 that narrates the earliest (1555) Nahuatl account of the initial war with Spaniards and their allies. Both the material alterations and the narrative structure deployed by the writers as they authored their own history allow us to better understand their motivations. Even as some of their Nahuatl texts and original images are changed and/or camouflaged, the writer-artists build a compelling story line in time and space, one that contains recognizable protagonists who drive the plot until the final and tragic denouement.

In Book 12, evidence of an excised folio appears as a cut-out flap between folios 2 and 3 in a chapter that details the eight omens foretelling the arrival of the invaders. The missing folio is found in the middle of the seventh omen, in which Moteuczoma examines an extraordinary crane with a mirror on its head (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 12: f. 3.). Upon his gaze into the crane-mirror, Moteuczoma sees a multitude of people, outfitted for war, carried on the backs of “deer,” the term initially used to identify horses. To understand the motivations for this excision, a useful comparison can be made with a previous draft, the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco*, that contains an account of the omens in the conquest narrative. In this second stage, the seventh omen occurs in the middle of the folio (Sahagún et al. 1561–65, f. 75v). The text for the paragraph in the two manuscripts is identical, a similarity with no apparent break or added information, that indicates the Florentine Codex is not missing any details, much less an entire folio’s worth of information. It is certainly possible that the tab is not from an excised folio but is a long strip of a folio added to the gathering on the other side of the gather fold. Thus, in this case, it appears that the folio flap appears in the book for a motive other than censorship, but for reasons that are still unclear.

Replacement Narrative: Excised Folios with New Attachments

There are five examples of folios that once removed, had new sheets pasted in contemporaneously, that is, during the production phase. Two of these replaced folios are found in Book 12 as folios 26 and 27. These two pasted-on alterations in Book 12 suggest the creators were motivated to cut out the folios and paste two new folios onto the cut flaps, likely to change the original Nahuatl content of the passage.

As visible on folio 26v (see Figure 5), the glued folio does not fully cover the last letters of the line closest to the margin. Moreover, the altered folios differ from the previous and following folios in another key aspect. They deviate from the remainder of the Codex where two different scribal hands produce the Spanish and Nahuatl texts. Since the columns in folios 26 and 27 are rendered in the same hand, that is, in the hand that wrote the entire Spanish-language text of Book 12, the removal of the folios occurred in the course of writing the Spanish translation column, or in 1576. Given that the Nahuatl account was written down around 1555 (Terraciano 2010, 53), we hypothesize that the material in the original folios must have related to an early Nahua version of history tolerated in 1555, but that by the 1570s, may not have been acceptable when a dominant Spanish narrative was widely circulating.

Both the textual and pictorial content of the two pasted-on folios centers on the first meeting and physical detainment of the Nahua ruler, referred to as the *huey tlatoani*, or great speaker. Chapters 16 and 17 detail how the Spaniards entered the palace and immediately captured Moteuczoma. He then showed them to his treasure store houses, which they sacked in their search for gold. In adjacent images on folio 26v (see Figure 5), the *tlacuiloque* underscore the physicality of the ruler's arrest mirroring the Nahuatl text that the Spaniards "took hold of" and "grasped" Moteuczoma (Lockhart 1993, 122). The paired scenes on the same theme were executed by two different hands, Artists D and E, who were the original painters. Artist D was responsible for the 15 images preceding folio 26v, and D executed the following 15 images, distinctions made based on their idiosyncratic style characteristics.[28] This locates the replacement folios within the initial chronology of the Florentine creation. The man-handling of the ruler defied the Mexica taboo toward touching a divine king, but appears to strike an empathetic cord with the *tlacuiloque*. This attitude is underscored by the central position of Moteuczoma between his captors, a pose that Magaloni Kerpel (2003, 216–19) compares to that of Christ as *Ecce Homo*.

The revised folios were likely created in response to political pressure to avoid a fundamental contradiction with the official narrative as dictated by the Spanish conquistadors. Chroniclers such as Francisco López de Gómara, who published his history of the conquest in 1552, based his account

[28] Ten painters (Artists A-J) and three writers are identified in Book 12 by a Getty research team of Alanna Radlo-Dzur, Berenice Gaillemin, and the authors of this essay.

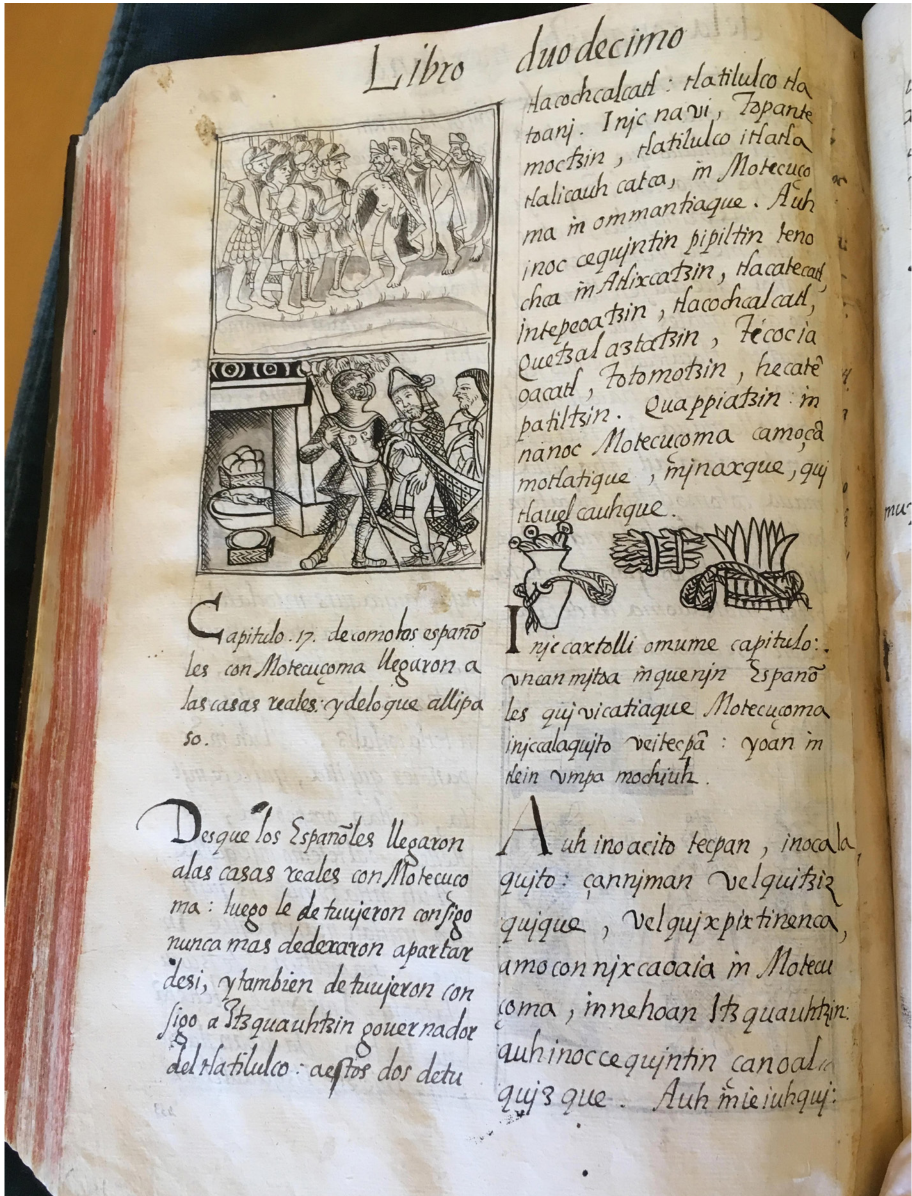

Figure 5. Florentine Codex, bk. 12: f. 26v.
Note: glue has yellowed, and the new folio does not fully cover the last letters of the original folio. Photo by authors

primarily on the information found in the letters of Hernán Cortés to the Spanish monarch, Charles V.[29] Not surprisingly, Cortés's version of events legitimized the conquest and invented the legal precedence and justification for his unlawful actions. His second letter dated October 30th, 1520, and published in 1522, contains Cortés's legal rationalization for the conquest. He invokes the notion of *translatio imperii* or the peaceful transfer of power and empire from one person to another, casting Moteuczoma as a mere custodian of the throne and Charles V as the rightful king (Terraciano 2019c, 169, 182; 2011, 70). Cortés recounts Moteuczoma's convenient speech of abdication, handily peppered with Christian notions, during their first meeting in which the Nahua ruler openly and readily acknowledges the King of Spain as their "natural lord," cedes his empire, and pledges all the Indigenous inhabitants as faithful vassals (Pagden 1971, 48, 85–86). His letter continues to state that he decided shortly after the first meeting that "it would benefit Your Royal service and our safety if Mutezuma [Moteuczoma] were in my power and not in complete liberty" (Pagden 1971, 88). The craftily earnest writings of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the simple "soldier" fighting under Cortés, justifies the detention of the Nahua leader explaining that Moteuczoma was physically held but never against his will, a narrative reported previously by Gómara (Díaz del Castillo 1862, 1: 457–58; López de Gómara 2007, 162).[30] The early confinement of the *huey tlatoani* became a key element of the Spanish legal strategy, arguing that Spaniards had secured the empire through the detention of the supreme leader and that this event occurred soon after the entry into Tenochtitlan. Following this logic, any form of resistance, such as that of warriors in defense of their homeland, could be considered treasonous and, thus, validate the violence of the invasion.

It is very possible that the currency of these European publications outweighed the native accounts, requiring the timing of Moteuczoma's capture to be moved to earlier in the narrative on the pasted-in folios 26 and 27. For example, the Annals of Tlatelolco, dated 1528, recount that the leaders of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco were not seized until immediately before the festivities of Toxcatl when the Spaniards launched their violent

[29] It should be noted that his entire body of historical writings was banned by the Spanish crown from 1553 until 1572 (López de Gómara 2007, XXIII).

[30] As Cortés' secretary, Gómara interviewed key witnesses to the Spanish invasion of Mexico.

ambush on unarmed celebrants in May of 1520 (*Unos Anales Históricos... 1528*, f. 27).[31] The Codex Aubin also mentions Toxcatl but is ambiguous on the leader's capture. It states that Moteuczoma refused to put Mexica warriors on guard for the ceremony by rhetorically asking if they are among enemies, indicating the ruler's apparent lack of fear and suggesting that he had not yet been violently seized.[32] In sum, the timing of the leader's detention remained contested throughout the sixteenth century.

We are speculating that the original representation of the leader's arrest, before the cutting and pasting of the new folios, occurred later in the Florentine Codex narrative. Certainly, the images speak to this sequence. Ten folios later, on folio 36, the ruler is pictorially represented in irons. This emphasis on a pivotal event: Moteuczoma's capture and detainment in triplicate images and in two discrete locales in the narrative, highlights the tension between conflicting Indigenous and Spanish accounts. While motives can be difficult to decipher, it is clear that the makers of the Florentine Codex were sensitive to the fraught political landscape of their time.

Cut and Paste Alterations

The act of cutting and pasting paper to fix, occlude, or in some way alter the original text and/or image is a tradition found in both Mesoamerica and early modern Europe. Although the great majority of hand-written and illuminated works were also collaborative,[33] in most cases the techniques of cutting and pasting were deployed after the original composition in order to enhance the documents, remove or hide previously painted information. Manuscripts produced in Mexico during the same period as the Florentine Codex reveal pasted alterations that are registered on their surfaces. The Tira of Don Martin (or Codex Saville, 1560s) has six examples of paste-overs cut from *amatl* paper, positioned not with an adhesive but perhaps pounded into the *amatl* substrate (Radlo-Dzur et al. 2021).

[31] See the transcription and translation in Lockhart (1993, 257): "*yn iquac tenauati Tonatiuh ye yl[p]itoc moteucuçoma yoā y tlatilulco ytzquauhtzi tlacuchcalcatl.*"

[32] *Codex Aubin*. Ms 31219. British Museum Library, 1576, f. 43: "*Cuix toyaopan in ticate...*" (Lockhart 1993, 275).

[33] In Europe, the 14th century Lutrell Psalter was produced by six different hands in several stages. See Camille 1998, 323–34.

Another collaborative manuscript, the Beineke Map (1554–65), like the Tira, was similarly reworked as a corrective historical narrative.[34] These paste-overs, however, relate to a later time frame when the manuscript was updated by the local Indigenous community for political reasons, retrograde alterations that do not accord with our conclusions regarding the Florentine's co-terminus alterations.

In considering the almost universal use of paste-overs of various types, it is important to take into account such factors as local budgetary demands, the scarcity of paper and other materials, and the uneven supply of writers and scribes. This was clearly a factor in the paste-overs of the Aztec history known as the Durán Codex (completed 1581), where composite illustrations made from salvaged fragments of previous drafts are found in Treatises 2 and 3. These constitute true *découpage*, virtuoso mosaics of paper assembled to create new "cut-out paintings."[35] These cut and paste images do generate new meanings, but are primarily ingenious short-cuts to finding artistic solutions, rather than the layering over of previous texts and images we find in the Florentine Codex.

Alphabetic Alternatives: Pasting Over Texts

We found 15 textual paste-overs, likely of European paper, most examples to correct syntactical or spelling errors during the creation process. The rough edges of the paste-overs indicate they are frugally torn from a precious and expensive paper supply. In one curious incident, the scribe covered up a Spanish-language title for a sacrificial rite, perhaps erroneously placed in the Nahuatl column (Figure 6). On the left, one can read the same title in the Spanish-language column and it underscores the idolatrous nature of this sacred ceremony: "the blood in honor of the devil (*demonio*) was spilling out over temple and beyond." Note in the Spanish the terms "demonio" and "templo y fuera" or temple and beyond. The same phrases appear as the ghostly text behind the paste over where one can see the faintest words, "el templo y fuera." The Nahua author clearly replaces this sensational title with a more matter of fact explanation in Nahuatl of sacrifice as ritual: "Here are

[34] On the Beineke alterations by six *tlacuiloque*, see Carr 2012, 18–19.

[35] This is Boone's term (1988). See Robertson 1968.

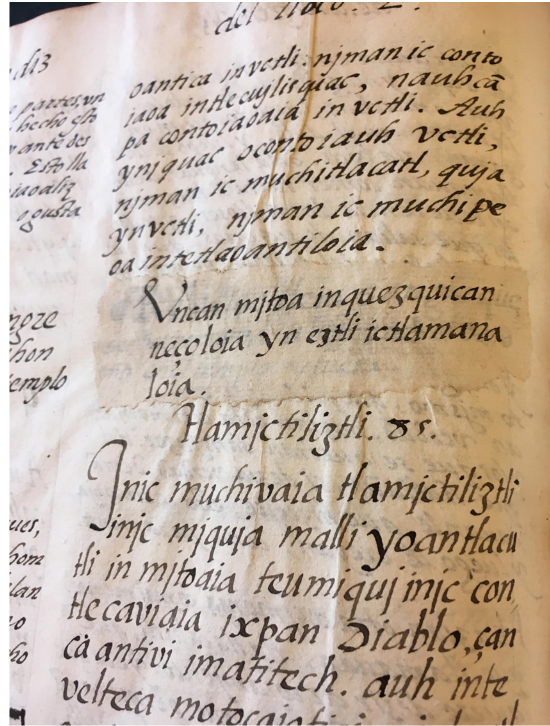

Figure 6. Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, f. 121v (detail).
Nahuatl paste-over on “templo y fuera” Spanish text. Photo by authors

told the Various Modes in which blood was shed and offered,” in this case to Tonatiuh, the sun deity, as seen in the companion image.

Visual Alterations: Overpaintings and their Under Images

Two large paste-over images in the Florentine Codex may only hide a defective iconographic feature but they also reinforce the *tlacuilo*’s biased interpretation of events and, in the second case, provoke questions about a potentially subversive purpose. In the Appendix of Book 1, folio 32 verso, empiric evidence reveals the edges of the paste-over glued on the right quadrant of the upper image (see Figures 7 and 8). The square paste-over is cut neatly, if not precisely, possibly with a knife. Created and overpainted by the same artist after the texts were inserted, the double thickness produced by the paste-over almost occludes the bleed through of the writing

fo. 32.

Del primero libro

que iamas se puede ver por donde
paso: o como vna saeta, que sale
dela vallesta, con gran impetu,
y llega adonde la endereça el
vallestero sin dexar rastro algu
no, de su passada: Desta manera,
nos acontecio, a nosotros: nacidos en
breue tiempo, se nos acabo la vi
da: y ningun rastro dexamos,
de buena vida: fenecieron se ñros
dias, en ñra malignidad, y en
nuestro mal viuir. B. Tales co
sas dixeron los peccadores enel in
fierno, con grandissimo dolor de
su coraçon, y con llanto de gran
tristeza, y con lagrimas no reme
diables: porque no quisieron cono
cer, nj seruir al verdadero dios,
criador, y regidor, de todas las co
sas: quando començo su tormento,
entonce començo su llanto, dolor
y lagrimas, y agora estan enel,
y para siempre iamas perseuerará
enel: los que conocen, y siruen
y obedecen, al solo y verdadero
dios, gozaron de sus riquezas, y go
zos eternos, porque es infinjtamẽ
te bueno, y suaue: ansi queda di
cho enel testo dela sagrada escrip

o vntlan, vmpoliuh, intonemjliz.

B. Ocaiuhquj hi, ynintlatol intlateu
tocanjme, iuhqui in, yninchoquiz, y
njmixaio, ynintlaocullatol, ynjncho
quiztlatol, ynnjman aic vel moiolla
lizque. Auh inquimiximachilia, inquj
motlacamachitia, yntotecujo dios, quje
nopilhuizque, ynjtlatocaiotzin, ynj
neuiltonolitzin: ichica cacenquiz
camocuiltonoanj, yntotecujo dios, iuh
ca intecutlatolli intlacpac omjto.

Figure 7. Florentine Codex, Appendix of bk. 1: f. 32v. Female and male citizens lamenting their infractions. Photo by authors

Figure 8. Florentine Codex, Appendix of bk. 1: f. 32v (detail). Upper right: Paste-over image of male citizens lamenting their infractions. Photo by authors

from the reverse or recto side of folio 32. The ink lines that define the contours of the figures fluidly delineate the continuation of the forms between the paste-over and the remainder of the image; these can be seen at the tip of the ruler's crown and the border of a male's cloak. The lack of disruption to the integrity of the design suggests that the paste-over was put in place during its creation, perhaps in its early stages. Unfortunately, we were unable to use an UV light to further elucidate what lies beneath the paste-over.[36] However, it is possible that the artist originally made an error in his interpretation of what was, in any case, an unusual and distressing subject.

Folio 32v is in chapter 16 on the "Confutation of Idolatry" that forms part of a larger discourse derived from the Apocrypha.[37] The text harshly

[36] Further close study of the Florentine Codex is needed using a UV light.

[37] In a portion of the Appendix of Book 1, the text is derived from the Book of Wisdom and recorded in Latin and Nahuatl. Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 1: f. 24–33v.

condemns idolaters, those who not only worshipped natural forces, but also "carvings of stone, carvings of wood, representations, images, things made of gold..." (*in tetlaxintlim in quauitl tlaxintlim in teixiptla in tepatillo, in teucuitlatl)* (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 1: f. 25v). The continuing veneration of false gods (often translated as "diablos") is held to blame as the cause of pestilence, wars (including the conquest) and famine. Those who are disobedient are dishonored and hated, condemned to the land of the dead, where "their weeping, their tears, their cries, ... shall never cease" (*yn jnchoquiz, yn jmjxaio, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn aic vel qujcaoazque*) (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 1: f. 32).

The paste-over (Figure 8) shows ten seated males, all shedding copious tears; five on the left are in the Nahua nobility seated on high-backed, woven-reed thrones (*tepotzo(h)icpalli* or *tzotzoicpalli*) and wearing the diadem (*xihuitzolli)* of rulership, whereas the five male figures on the right are seated on simple reed mats. Below on the same folio is the gender equivalency, with twelve kneeling females (five on the left and seven on the right) all wearing the horned hairstyles of mature women (Figure 7). Although all are weeping, one woman on the left raises her head and emits a lament, in the form of a single speech scroll; on the right a woman adopts an Indigenous crossed-arms form of reverence, while another prays in a Christian fashion. These paired images on folio 32v are complementary, meant to illustrate the poignancy of the message and its painful impact.

Throughout the appendix the Nahuatl translation of Book 1 is almost twice as long as the Latin and Spanish texts. It includes couplets that point to the mendicant habit of adapting biblical texts for Indigenous congregants by using the linguistic metaphors and poetic cadences of the Nahuatl language. Nahua rhetoric was also adapted from the *huehuetlatolli* (speech of the elders), a ready-made resource for composing sermons and pedagogical material. *Huehuetlatolli* were long, formal recitations that included prayers, and orations by elders, fathers, rulers, wisemen; most were civic speeches that set societal standards and conditioned honorable behavior (Sullivan 1974; Peterson 2019, 167–83). Sahagún appreciated this elevated form of rhetoric and harnessed Nahuatl words to promulgate Christian values. One of two *huehuetlatolli* recorded in the *Primeros Memoriales* is also illustrated (f. 61v; see Figure 9). Four judges on woven-reed seats at the top are exhorting four men and four women seated below them, seated in clusters on the left and right respectively. Speech scrolls emanating from the judges signal that they are the mouthpiece for authority, the traditional knowledge known

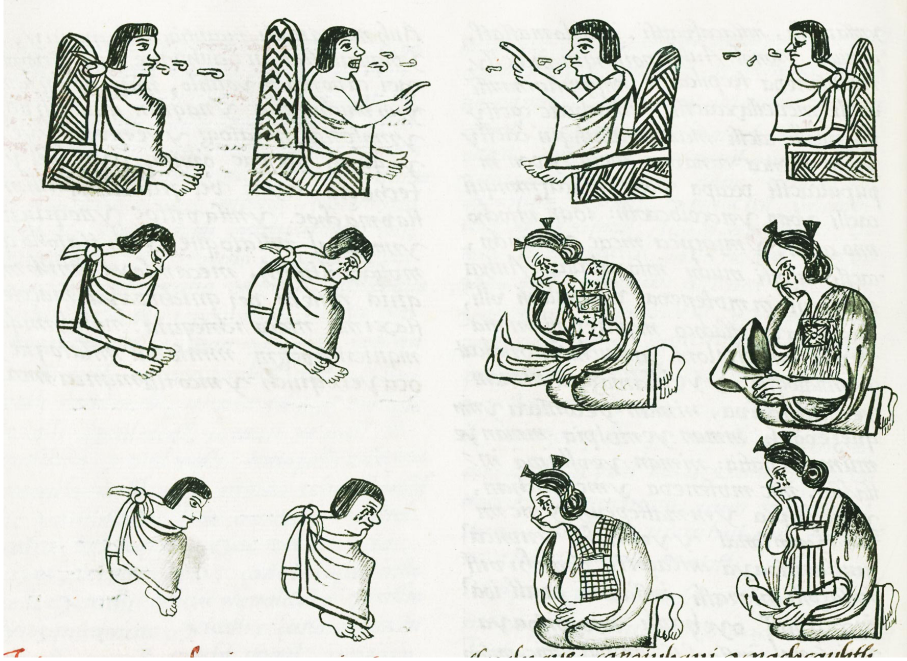

Figure 9. Sahagún, et al. 1558–61b, Primeros Memoriales, f. 61v. Detail: Judges castigating male and female population. © Real Academia de la Historia, España

as "words of the mat, of the seat." (Sahagún et al. 1558–61b, f. 64r. See also Sahagún 1997, 241). The judges are administering harsh indictments to the assembly, chiding them for infractions that range from disorderly conduct to dereliction of duties, accusations that elicit tears from all but two of the listeners. Although the four mature women adopt the seated poses, clothing, and hairstyles found in preconquest sources, their chin-in-hand postures reflect a European trope for the melancholic or sad individual.[38] The description of the gathering in the *Primeros Memoriales* explicitly states that the men "sat apart" from the women (Sahagún 1997, 229). Interestingly, a gender divide is nowhere mentioned in the Florentine Codex text but is certainly observed in the two images of Book 1 on folio 32v both in their separate locations in the folio's layout and in their internal compositions; men (both rulers and commoners, above) and women (below)

[38] Baird (1993, 36–37) points to Albrecht Dürer's 1514 engraving of *Melencholia* as a possible prototype.

face one another, similar to the positions of the men and women across from one another in the design of the *Primeros Memoriales*.

Without a specific pictorial model in precontact sources, the Florentine *tlacuilo* had an earlier Sahaguntine precedent on which to base his rendering of the lamenting population. It was a logical place to look for inspiration, amid texts that ideologically transferred the *huehuetlatolli* admonitions against those who disobeyed Nahua norms onto those who transgressed Christian precepts, above all the friars' obsession with idolatrous behavior. Indeed, it is possible that the addition of tears differentiates the paste-over from the original drawing underneath.

Another speculative explanation for what is painted beneath the paste-over is related to the representation of tears. It is possible that the elders painted underneath were not shown crying as the distinctly evangelical text claims. Recall that in the *Primeros Memoriales* image, the four powerful judges are represented without tears, exhorting those present to behave properly. Perhaps the elders originally painted in the Florentine were unrepentant and dry-eyed, refusing to weep the tears of the "idolater". Such unrepentance may have flaunted the colonial Christian order and warranted replacement with a paste-over that represents penitents with profuse tears.

Is it also possible that the paste-over on the upper image is hiding an iconographic error, perhaps a figural drawing of the wrong opposite sex that disregarded the separation of men and women? The motives, whether structural, material or iconographic for the paste-over may remain obscure, but given the final product, the artist brought the image in concurrence with his own tradition of the *huehuetlatolli*. These traditional orations by judges often occurred at times of crisis (Sahagún 1997, 244–45; Sahagún et al. 1558–61b, f. 64v). The nocturnal setting for both images captures the bleak nature of the land of the dead but also represents the contrast made in the texts between the darkness of the "unbelief and idolatry" in pre-Christian lands with "the brightness, the torch, the light" (*in tlauilli, in ocotl, in tlanextli*) of the true faith (Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 1: f. 24v). However, it is not difficult to imagine that the Nahuas are weeping not for the charges of idolatry, but for the disease and death wrought by the Spanish conquest and, as an aftermath, for the slow disavowal of the ancestral wisdom, the precious "words of the mat, of the seat" (Sullivan 1997, 241; Sahagún et al. 1558–61b, f. 64r).

The Cut and Paste Censorship of Book 12: Folio 11v

A second, more striking act of cutting and pasting paper is found on folio 11v of Book 12 where a finger's touch can detect the overlaid corner and side of the paste-over that is peeling up from its original surface. Moreover, as Rebecca Dufendach first observed, when the Codex page is held up to the ambient light, a faint image represents a scene with an Indigenous victim and a ghostly Mexica shield (see Figure 10). The use of a UV flashlight behind folio 11 further exposes more startling details of the original pen and ink drawing hidden beneath.

The content of the large paste-over is best analyzed in tandem with the Nahuatl text of chapter 7 that relays the first impressions of the Spanish strangers by Mexica royal scouts and Moteuczoma's initial reactions to their report (Lockhart 1993, 78–83). As represented in the upper of two superimposed images, the messengers returning from the Gulf Coast describe the strangers as "clothed in iron", with their frightening battle gear and enormous "deer" or horses. The lower image depicts two emissaries informing Moteuczoma of their sightings in front of the Coacalco temple, a place name visualized by the serpent (*coatl*) as a glyphic prefix. The Aztec ruler is seated on a curious drum-like throne, wearing a mantle and his *xiuhuitzolli* or turquoise diadem. Artist C, who we also refer to as the paste-over *tlacuilo*, was responsible for both the underlying image and the paste-over, as well as the 13 consecutive images that follow (on ten folios, 11v to 21v). In his factual and rather straightforward overpaintings, Artist C adheres literally to the text, in essence illustrating it.

In contrast, the hidden image beneath is shocking in its brutality, as captured in a line drawing reconstructed from the outlines that are readable when backlit by the UV flashlight (see Figure 11). Ignoring the textual bleeds from the reverse side of the folio, the full image emerges as a portrayal of violence – both fatally rendered and portended. The scene represents a clash between Mexica forces on the left and armed Spaniards on the right. There are three heads of Nahua warriors, but four prominent circular shields; only the leg of the fourth warrior is partially visible. A fifth Mexica occupies center stage; he is deceased, as denoted by his closed eye, wearing a loincloth, and possibly unarmed (although the lower shield may be his).

On the right are three Spanish soldiers identical in their helmeted heads and their weaponry to the upper paste-over image. The uppermost Spaniard holds a long spear or lance, another a harquebus (or type of musket), and

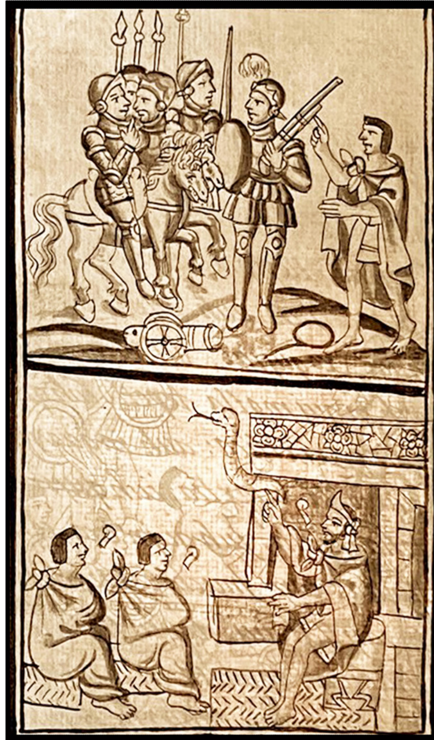

Figure 10. Florentine Codex, bk. 12: f. 11v (detail). Paste-over image with UV light. Photo by authors

below that, a shield. The lowest soldier may also be manning the canon, shown firing its acrid, grey curls of smoke. Note that it is a reverse of the canon seen in the paste-over. Overall, we see a Spanish banner flapping in the breeze and held aloft by a spear-tipped pole.[39]

The Mexica forces are also splendidly arrayed. For comparative purposes we use the Codex Mendoza, a manuscript executed c. 1550, that is not only close to Aztec-style pictography, but also displays a full panoply of their military regalia (see Figure 12). We find many parallels between the paraphernalia of the four Aztec captains in all of their finery represented on folio 67r of the Codex Mendoza with elements in the line drawing of

[39] The banner can be compared to other images by the same artist. See Sahagún et al. 1575–77, bk. 12: f. 17, 18, 22.

Figure 11. Under-painting in Florentine Codex, bk. 12: f. 11v.
Line drawing by Jeanette F. Peterson

Figure 12. Codex Mendoza, f. 67r, military regalia of Aztec captains.
From https://codicemendoza.inah.gob.mx

folio 11v.[40] Among the four Mexica shields that are richly decorated with feathered fringes, the lowest shield features a variant of the *cuexyo* shield (*chimalli*) design with its three lower crescents that mimic the Huastec nose ornament. A popular Aztec insignia, this shield type was held by the warriors of the Otomi rank. The Indigenous head closest to the *cuexyo* shield features a peculiar hair style pulled into a topknot referred to as "pillar of stone" (*temillotl*) and an honor reserved for valiant warriors who had taken four captives.

Artist C has also beautifully drawn an Aztec military banner, known as a *pamitl,* with its sprout of elegant quetzal feathers. In the Codex Mendoza, the *pamitl* is shown as a heraldic back device either held aloft on a tall pole or attached to the backs of commanders (compare Figures 11 and 12). Another device, known as the *quaxolotl* (a compound Nahuatl word of *quaitl*=head and the deity Xolotl), is held or worn by the first of the four Aztec captains in the Mendoza and also visible in the upper left corner of

[40] For a descriptive analysis of fol. 67r in the *Codex Mendoza,* see Anawalt (1992, 129–30) and Berdan and Anawalt (1992, 2: 210–15).

the line drawing. Here we see another panache of long feathers attached to the dome-like element of a *quaxolotl*. Both are similarly supported by poles surmounted with the head of the Xolotl canine deity.[41] The supernatural Xolotl signified death among other things, an ominous and apotropaic symbol to carry into battle. With the Mexica regalia associated with the most formidable warrior attire, both Indigenous and European forces are depicted as intimidating adversaries and worthy opponents.

What both unites and disrupts this confrontation of military might be the dead Nahua warrior whose splayed position occupies the empty pictorial space at the very nexus of the composition. In searching for what might have motivated the *tlacuilo* to cover up his initial painting, we will return to this poignant corpse.

There are several potential scenarios to explain why a paste-over was required on this folio. The most mechanical reason is that the underlying image was over-sized and bled into what would become the dual images of the paste-over. Thus, it is possible that the paste-over was intended to hide a compositional faux-pas, although there are other examples of extra-large images in Book 12.[42] A second and more likely explanation, is that the subject of the original painting was divorced from the alphabetic text, and out of sync with the historical sequence of events, a hypothesis we will explore below. A final, and related, consideration, argues that the underlying image is clean and complete but, in its violence, diverges so radically from its textual context that the pictorial subject was considered inappropriate at the least—and overtly subversive at its worst. Both its chronological and thematic aberration may have motivated the cover-up; but regardless, its provocative content begs for an explanation.

As mentioned, the same paste-over *tlacuilo* was responsible for both the new paste-over on folio 11v and the underlying image. Additionally, he also created the sequence of images on the subsequent ten folios. Recognizing the continuity of that hand allows us to compare the *tlacuilo*'s attentiveness to correlating his work with the Nahuatl text. Indeed, we have noted that the "new" or superimposed images closely attend to the storyline: they

[41] On these heraldic back devices, see Anawalt (1992, 120, 128) and Berdan and Anawalt (1992, 2: 190, 213).

[42] In some cases, the oversize image relates to the significance of the event in Book 12, as when the dead Mexica rulers are thrown into the water on folio 40v. In others, the *tlacuiloque* have bisected the vertical column with two, instead of three images, as on folios 30v–31, 36v, and 38v–39.

describe the Mexica messengers who relay to Moteuczoma what they have seen of the new arrivals, including a list of the Spanish arsenal and its killing potential. The ruler meets these emissaries at the Coacalco, the site in the Aztec sacred precinct where "foreign deities" are imprisoned, suggestive that the Spanish so-called "deities" will meet a similar fate. But what of the "hidden" image? There is nothing in the preceding or accompanying text that refers to this graphic, but premature, brutality. Was the paste-over *tlacuilo* predicting the fatal consequences of the Spaniards' powerful iron weapons and strange beasts?

Two subsequent bloody encounters fall within the parcel of ten folios given to Artist C to illuminate. Six pages after the pasted image on folio 11v, chapter 10 recounts the encounter of the Otomi with the Spaniards who are marching inland. The Spaniards annihilate them: they "lanced and stabbed them, they shot them with guns, iron bolts, crossbows" (Lockhart 1993, 90). In the next chapter, another bloodbath occurs at Cholula in which the native inhabitants who congregated in a courtyard are ambushed: "people were stabbed, struck and killed... It just seemed that they were stealthily and treacherously killed" (Lockhart 1993, 94). In both cases, these Nahuatl texts are a searing indictment of Spanish treachery, yet the Spanish text remains neutral and summary. However, the paste-over *tlacuilo* illustrates neither of these gruesome events found in the later chapters —or rather, the writers did not leave spaces for him to insert images. Was he then, on folio 11v, anticipating the Spanish massacres of Indigenous peoples yet to occur? Was the paste-over *tlacuilo* deploying a strategy portending the subsequent violence to underscore the Indigenous perspective and propel the story forward?

One strong possibility, then, is that the artist originally chose to illustrate a hostile event that is asynchronous with the text. A similar and better-known instance of asynchrony appears on the very first folio of Book 12, where the Toxcatl massacre is illustrated. Body parts are strewn across the temple staircase in the image, although the event itself is not textually reported until folio 32 in chapter 20. Book 12 does contain later horrific images, such as that on folio 45v, in which Indigenous peoples are assaulted and speared. However, these images are accompanied by a Nahuatl text that describes the killing, remarking that "They [the Spaniards] started ... stabbing people... the Spaniards took out their wrath on them..." (Lockhart 1993, 162). In every case, it should be noted, the commensurate Spanish translation downplays, deflects, or omits altogether the brutal vocabulary.

What then made the hidden image on folio 11v considered so offensive that it either forced the paste-over *tlacuilo* to self-censure and cover up his own creation, or it caught Sahagún's attention, and the friar intervened to require the paste-over? Unlike other scenes of violence in Book 12, this image is not only divorced from an appropriate textual context, but its compelling design format conjures up sacrilegious associations. The composition pivots around the dead Indigenous figure, fixing the viewer's attention. His naked torso, so vulnerable to the menacing tip of the Spaniard's spear, exaggerates his status as innocent victim in this conflict and arouses an empathetic response.[43]

The sixteenth-century creators and/or viewers of this image may have been reminded of Christian themes, such as the crucifixion or various martyrdoms. Two Catholic martyrs significant in Spanish and Spanish American history come to mind. St. Lawrence was murdered for his faith by being spread-eagle over a fiery grill and St. Hippolytus was drawn and quartered by four horses.[44] Early modern prints and paintings portray both saints as prone and half naked, sometimes in a similar akimbo position. St. Lawrence, a royal saint whose feast day is August 10, was favored by Philip II. St. Hippolytus is particularly pertinent as the fall of Tenochtitlan is associated with his feast day, Aug. 13 (1521), when the "conquest" was officially celebrated by the Spanish and creole population of Mexico City. Christian themes were abundant in the *tlacuiloque*'s monastic environment and resonate in many of the Florentine Codex images.[45] An allusion to martyrdom, however unintentional, may have provoked an overly sympathetic response.

We cannot prove that a subliminal image influenced the paste-over *tlacuilo*, but we can invoke Michael Camille's notion of intervisuality defined as the process whereby, "viewers seeing an image recollect others which are similar to it and reconfigure its meaning in its new context" (Camille 1998, 339–40). We submit that the *tlacuiloque* of Book 12 may have created an inter-image dialogue. They were storytellers who constructed events for a larger meaning, "deliberately arranged so as to reveal their

[43] It performs as a "phatic image." See Roberts 2014, 6, fn. 19, 169.

[44] For example, the central panel painting in the altarpiece depicting the "Martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus" (1470–74) by Dieric Bouts in the Saint Salvator Cathedral of Bruges.

[45] On the incorporation of Christian models by the Florentine *tlacuiloque,* see Escalante Gonzalbo (2003, 177–91), Magaloni (2003), Peterson (2018).

dramatic, thematic and emotional significance."[46] They were well versed in narrative strategies and understood the power of images; ultimately, we submit, that rhetorical power proved to be untenable.

Conclusion

It is ironic that in this digital age, with the accessibility of a plethora of data and online renderings of the Florentine Codex folios, it is still essential to directly scrutinize a primary document's material facture. Indeed, reproductions of a work remove its "thingness" and tend to neutralize it (Roberts 2014, 9). Beyond even a superb digital facsimile, what emerges from a sensitive multisensory examination of this illuminated manuscript is a more profound appreciation for the skills, inventiveness and agency of its Indigenous authors and painters. Once consulted in person, it is impossible to forget the visual and tactile experience of turning the folios, yellowed and creased over time but still pristine in their beauty, and, in the process, to remember the many hands that contributed to their completion.

Although the Nahua team worked under severe limitations imposed by temporal pressures and the hardships of a deadly epidemic, we cannot explain all of the amendments and deviations we have noted as stemming from these contingencies. The materially altered Florentine Codex provides a glimpse into the goals and aspirations of the Nahua *tlacuiloque* within a contested record of the past as well as a diverse readership. The excision and replacement of folios 26 and 27 in Book 12, with their counternarrative on the implications of Mocteuczoma's imprisonment, the erasure of Cuitlahua's name glyph, a leader whose death symbolized the ultimate chaos, illness, and death of the invasion, and the paste-over *tlacuilo*'s original painting on folio 11v, with its condemnation of Spanish brutality, disrupted the official rationale for the Conquest as a legally and morally "just" war. As is apparent in the fabric of the Codex, Nahua scholars actively intervened in their efforts to conceal, repair, and edit aspects of the script and images for which they were responsible. In so doing, they staked out their ethnic loyalties and their positionality as intermediaries who could successfully negotiate a Nahua-Christian colonial world.

[46] Hart (2011, 10) quoting Janet Burroway.

Bibliography

Documents

Codex Aubin. Ms 31219. British Museum Library, 1576.

Sahagún, Bernardino de, Diego de Grado, Martín Jacobita, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Mateo Severino, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Diego de Mendoza and Unnamed Nahua Elders. [1558–61a] [*Primeros Memoriales*]. Códice Matritense de la Real Biblioteca del Real Palacio Madrid, (MS Signatura: II/3280) f. 250–303.

Sahagún, Bernardino de, Diego de Grado, Martín Jacobita, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Mateo Severino, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Diego de Mendoza and Unnamed Nahua Elders. [1558–61b] [*Primeros Memoriales*]. Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de Historia (MS Signatura: 9/5524) f. 51–66, 68–71r, 72–85.

Sahagún, Bernardino de, Diego de Grado, Martín Jacobita, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Mateo Severino, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Diego de Mendoza, Unamed Nahua Elders. [1561–1565] [*Manuscrito de Tlatelolco*]. Códice Matritense de la Real Biblioteca del Real Palacio Madrid, (MS Signatura: II/3280) f. 1–24, 25–32, 33–159, 160–70, 171–77.

Sahagún, Bernardino de, Diego de Grado, Martín Jacobita, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Mateo Severino, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Diego de Mendoza and Unnamed Nahua Elders. [1575–77] [Florentine Codex]. *Historia general de las cosas de nueva España*. 3 vols. Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Mediceo Palatino Collection, vols. 218–20.

Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana. 1528 [Anales de Tlatelolco]. Ms. number 22 bis. Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

Published Works

Aguilar, Francisco de. 1993. “The Chronicle of Fray Francisco de Aguilar”. In *The Conquistadors: First-Person Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, translation by Patricia de Fuente, 134–64. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Anawalt, Patricia Rieff. 1992. “A Comparative Analysis of the Costumes and Accoutrements of the Codex Mendoza”. In *The Codex Mendoza*, edited by Francis F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, 1: 103–50. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Anderson, Arthur J.O. and Charles E. Dibble (eds. and transl.). 1982. *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Vol. I, *Introductions and Indices*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Arellano Hoffmann, Carmen. 2002. “El escriba mesoamericano y sus utensilios de trabajo. La posición social del escriba antes y después de la Conquista”. In *Libros y escritura de tradición indígena: ensayos sobre los códices prehispánicos y coloniales de México*, edited by Carmen Arellano Hoffmann, Peer Schmidt, and Xavier Noguez, 219–56. Mexico: El Colegio Mexiquense.

Baglioni, Piero, Rodorico Giorgi, Marcia Carolina Arroyo, David Chelazzi, Francesca Ridi, and Diana Magaloni Kerpel. 2011. “On the Nature of the Pigments of the *General History of the Things of New Spain*: *The Florentine Codex*.” In *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, with Louis A. Waldman, 78–105. Florencia: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies/Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute.

Baird, Ellen T. 1993. *The Drawings of Sahagún’s Primeros Memoriales Structure and Style*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Berdan, Francis F. and Patricia Rieff Anawalt (eds.). 1992. *The Codex Mendoza*. 4 vols. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Berdan, Francis F. n.d. “Aztec Glyphic Messages in New Spain: The Meaning of Phonetic Glyphs in Sahagún’s Illustrations”. Ms. in authors’ possession.

Blair, Ann. 2003. “Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550–1700”. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (1): 11–28.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 1988. “The Nature and Earlier Versions of Diego Durán’s *Historia de las Indias* in Madrid”. In *Smoke and Mist: Mesoamerican Studies in Memory of Thelma D. Sullivan*, edited by. J. Kathryn Josserand, Karen Dakin, and Nicholas A. Hopkins, 1: 41–52. London: BAR Publishing (BAR International Series 402, I).

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2000. *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2019. “Fashioning Conceptual Categories in the Florentine Codex: Old-World and Indigenous Foundations for the Rulers and the Gods.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 95–109. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2021. *Descendants of Aztec Pictography: The Cultural Encyclopedias of Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Boornazian Diel, Lori. 2018. *The Codex Mexicanus: A Guide to Life in Late Sixteenth-Century New Spain*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Bouza Alvarez, Fernando. 2004. *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bustamante García, Jesús. 1990. *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: Una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y de su proceso de composición*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Bustamante García, Jesús. 1992. "Retórica, traducción y responsabilidad histórica: claves humanísticas en la obra de Bernardino de Sahagún." In *Humanismo y visión del otro en la España moderna: cuatro estudios*, edited by Berta Ares, Jesús Bustamante García, and Fermín del Pino, 245–378. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Camille, Michael. 1998. *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and Making of Medieval England*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Carr, Dennis. 2012. "The Beinecke Map: Iconography and Physical Properties". In *Painting a Map of Sixteenth-Century Mexico: Land, Writing and Native Rule,* edited by Mary Ellen Miller and Barbara E. Mundy, 9–30. New Haven: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. 1862. *Verdadera historia de los sucesos de la conquista de la Nueva-España*. 3 vols. Madrid: Tejado.

Dibble, Charles E. 1982a. "Sahagún's *Historia*." In *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Vol. I. *Introductions and Indices*, edition and translation by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 9–23. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Dibble, Charles E. 1982b. "The Watermarks in the *Florentine Codex*." In *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Vol. I. *Introductions and Indices*, edition and translation by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 25–28. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Doerfler, Ryan David. 2016. "The Scrivener's Error." *Faculty Scholarship at Penn Law* 110 (4): 811–57.

Dufendach, Rebecca. 2017. "Nahua and Spanish Concepts of Health and Disease in Colonial Mexico, 1519–1615." Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Dufendach, Rebecca. 2019. "'As if His Heart Died': A Reinterpretation of Moteuczoma's Cowardice in the Conquest History of the Florentine Codex". *Ethnohistory* 66 (4): 623–45.

Dupey García, Elodie. 2017. "The Materiality of Color in Pre-Columbian Codices: Insights from Cultural History". *Ancient Mesoamerica* 28: 21–40.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. 1997. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. 2003. "The Painters of Sahagun's Manuscripts: Mediators Between Two Worlds". In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM.*, edited by John F. Schwaller, 167–91. Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History.

Gillespie, Susan D. 2008. "Blaming Moteuczoma: Anthropomorphizing the Aztec Conquest." In *Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico*, edited by Rebecca Parker Brienen and Margaret A. Jackson, 25–56. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Harris, Max. 1993. *The Dialogical Theater: Dramatizations of the Conquest of Mexico and the Question of the Other.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hart, Jack. 2011. *Storycraft*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hidalgo Brinquis, María del Carmen, and Ninfa Avila Corchero. 2013. "Estudio del papel y estructura material del Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de la Historia: filigranas, formación de cuadernillos y encuadernación". In *Los manuscritos de la Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España de Bernadino de Sahagún: el Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de la Historia,* edited by María del Carmen Hidalgo Brinquis and Benito Lope, 51–72. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.

Hunter, Matthew C. 2013. *Wicked Intelligence: Visual Art and the Science of Experiment in Restoration London*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lenz, Hans. 1973. *El papel indígena mexicano*. Mexico: Sep Setentas.

León-Portilla, Miguel. 2002. *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist*. Translation by Mauricio J. Mixco. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Lockhart, James. 1993. *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Repertorium Columbianum 1).

López de Gómara, Francisco. 2007. *Historia de la conquista de México*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2003. "Visualizing the Nahua/Christian Dialogue." In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by John F. Schwaller, 193–221. Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2004. "Images of the Beginning: The Painted Story of the Conquest of Mexico in Book XII of the Florentine Codex." Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2012. "Painters of the New World: The Process of Making the Florentine Codex." In *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, with Louis A. Waldman, 47–105. Florencia: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for

Italian Renaissance Studies/Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2013. “Las pinturas del *Códice Florentino*: materiales, procedimientos, y la creación de una nueva técnica pictórica.” In *Los manuscritos de la Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España de Bernadino de Sahagún: el Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de la Historia,* edited by María del Carmen Hidalgo Brinquis and Benito Lope, 157–68. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2014. *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.

Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2019. “Powerful Words and Eloquent Images.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 152–64. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Mathes, Michael W. 1985. *The America’s First Academic Library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation.

Molina, Alonso de. 1992. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*. Mexico City: Porrúa.

Mundy, Barbara. 2015. *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Pagden, Anthony (ed. and transl.). 1971. *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 2003. “Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the *Florentine Codex*.” In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún,* edited by John F. Schwaller, 223–53. Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 2018. “Translating the Sacred: The Peripatetic Print and Sahagún’s *Florentine Codex*, Mexico (1575–78).” In *The Nomadic Object: Early Modern Religious Art in Global Context*, edited by Mia M. Mochizuki and Christine Göttler, 187–214. Leiden: Brill (Series *Intersections*).

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 2019. “Images in Translation: A Codex ‘Muy Historiado’.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth Century Mexico,* edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 21–36. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot and Kevin Terraciano (eds.). 2019. *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Quiñones Keber, Eloise. 1997. “An Introduction to the Images, Artists, and Physical Features of the *Primeros Memoriales*.” In *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Primeros*

Memoriales: Paleography of Nahuatl Text and English translation by Thelma D. Sullivan, completed and revised with additions by Henry B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles E. Dibble, Eloise Quiñones Keber, and Wayne Ruwet, 15–37. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Quiñones Keber, Eloise. 2019. "Surviving Conquest: Depicting Aztec Deities in Sahagún's *Historia*." In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 77–94. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Radlo-Dzur, Alanna S., Mackenzie Cooley, Emily Kaplan, Leah Bright, E. Keats Webb, Mary Elizabeth Haude, Tana Villafana, and Amanda K. Satorius. 2021. "The Tira of Don Martín: A Living Nahua Chronicle." *Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture* 3 (3): 7–37.

Rao, Ida Giovanna. 2011. "Mediceo Palatino 218–220 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence". In *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, with Louis A. Waldman, 27–45. Florencia: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies/Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute.

Reyes Equiguas, Salvador. 2011. "Plants and Colors in the *Florentine Codex*." In *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, with Louis A. Waldman, 134–55. Florencia: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies/Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute.

Reyes García, Luis (ed. and trans.). 2001. *Anales de Juan Bautista*. Mexico City: Biblioteca Lorenzo Boturini/Insigne and Nacional Basílica de Guadalupe/Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.

Richards, Jennifer and Fred Schurink (eds.). 2010. "The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England". *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (3): 345–61.

Ríos Castaño, Victoria. 2014. *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things of New Spain*. Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Roberts, Jennifer L. 2014. *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Robertson, Donald. 1968. "The Paste-over Illustrations in the Duran Codex of Madrid". *Tlalocan* 5: 340–48.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1997. *Primeros Memoriales. Paleography of Nahuatl Text and English translation*. Translation by Thelma D. Sullivan, completed and revised with additions by Henry B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Smith, Pamela H. 2004. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smyth, Adam. 2004 "'Rend and Teare in Peeces': Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England". *The Seventeenth Century* 19 (1): 36–52.

Sollors, David M. 2009. "Scrivener's Error Doctrine and Textual Criticism: Confronting Errors in Statutes and Literary Texts, The War on Error". *Santa Clara Law Review* 49: 459–93.

Sousa, Lisa. 2017. *The Woman Who Turned into a Jaguar and Other Narratives of Native Women in Archives of Colonial Mexico*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Sullivan, Thelma. 1974. "The Rhetorical Orations or *Huehuetlatolli*, Collected by Sahagún". In *Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún*, edited by. Munro S. Edmundson, 79–109. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2010. "Three Texts in One: Book XII of the Florentine Codex." *Ethnohistory* 57 (1): 51–72.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2011. "Competing Memories of the Conquest of Mexico." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World,* edited by Ilona Katzew, 55–77. New Haven/Los Angeles: Yale University Press/Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2019a. "Introduction." In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 1–18. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2019b. "Reading between the Lines of Book 12." In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 45–62. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2019c. "Canons Seen and Unseen in Colonial Mexico." In *Canons and Values: Ancient to Modern*, edited by Larry Silver and Kevin Terraciano, 163–88. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute.

Vives, Juan Luis. 1971 [1913]. *De tradendis disciplinis*. Edition and translation by Foster Watson. Totowa (New Jersey): Rowman and Littlefield.

White, Hayden V. 1973. *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Wolf, Gerhard, Joseph Connors, with Louis A. Waldman (eds.). 2011. *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*. Florencia: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies/Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute.

Sobre las autoras

Rebecca Dufendach se doctoró en la UCLA con una disertación sobre los conceptos nahua y español de la enfermedad en la Nueva España del siglo XVI. Actualmente es profesora en el Departamento de Historia de la Universidad de Stevenson (Maryland, Estados Unidos). Es editora de un volumen especial (66:4) de la revista *Ethnohistory* que presenta cinco ensayos sobre las experiencias mesoamericanas de la enfermedad. Su trabajo se centra en investigar cómo los pueblos indígenas recordaron las terribles y recurrentes enfermedades que acabaron con cerca del noventa por ciento de su población en el transcurso de un siglo. Esto contribuye a la investigación de los etnohistoriadores que intentan recuperar las perspectivas indígenas de la historia mediante la lectura de diferentes tipos de fuentes históricas, incluidos los sistemas de escritura pictórica y los documentos alfabéticos en lenguas nativas.

Jeanette Favrot Peterson es profesora emérita del Departamento de Historia del Arte y Arquitectura de la Universidad de California, Santa Bárbara. Su investigación se centra en el campo de la cultura visual latinoamericana. Es autora de *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco* (1993) y *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas* (2014). Su interés por la interacción indígena-europea presente en las imágenes del *Códice Florentino* ha dado lugar a varias publicaciones, entre ellas “Translating the Sacred: The Peripatetic Print and Sahagún’s *Florentine Codex*” (2018) y *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (2019), esta última coeditada con Kevin Terraciano. En el Getty Research Institute, Peterson es codirectora de *The Digital Florentine Codex Initiative.*