Supernatural Metaphors

Systematic analysis of calendrical names in the ritual language in the Treatise by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón

Name: Marcela Szałańska

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Student number: s1057324

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. M.E.R.G.N. Jansen and Dr. Araceli Rojas Martinez Gracida

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Abstract

Ritual speech is one of the most complex forms of language. It is full of metaphors and complicated phases, in most cases possible to use and understand only by insiders. Moreover, the relevant context, usually of ritual performance has to be provided in order for the incantations to be effective.

This paper analysis the context and metaphors in the religious language used by the ritual specialists in 17th century Mesoamerica based on the Treatise by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón. The complexity of the metaphors used in the spells allows only for one group to be examined. Therefore, the metaphors recognised as calendrical names are examined through systematic analysis. Furthermore, the comparison with the day signs, plates 9-13 of the Borgia Codex, is made in order to investigate the extend of parallel meaning. As a result, the analysis enhances better understanding of the ritual speech-nahuallatolli as well as religious world view of the 17th century Mesoamerican people.

Chapter 1- Introduction[1]

The systematic analysis of calendrical names in the treatise by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón aims at recognising the metaphors of entities they refer to and to enhance the understanding of ritual language- nahuallatolli. The complexity of the ritual speech can be emphasised by the use of various symbolic parallels. Therefore the systematic analysis helps to establish diversity of the language used in the ritual context. Moreover, it emphasises the presence of the religious view of Mesoamerican people in everyday situations. The calendrical metaphors clearly indicate the strong connection between the human and the supernatural dimensions in the world view.
This thesis evaluates the extent and context of the use of calendrical metaphorical names used in seventeenth century Mesoamerica based on the ethnohistorical data. It also attempts to establish possible parallels to selected pages of pictorial divinatory calendar – the Borgia Codex.

The ethnohistorical sources constitute an integral part in the study of Mesoamerican civilisations. Archaeologists relied extensively on written data in their study of a native culture's growth and change. The records provide the data for the contextual reconstruction of social dynamics, adaptations and syncretism, as well as other topics of colonial and national periods (Cline 1972, 6). The ethnohistorical sources of Mesoamerica can be divided into the European tradition and the native tradition. The religious chronicles and other religious records were a result of extensive documentation conducted by missionary and secular priests (Cline 1972, 7). The pictorial records represent the indigenous histories and religious systems.

The central Mexico region produced enormous amounts of data in the form of prose and pictorials for the pre-colonial and colonial period and vast quantity of sources in European tradition (Cline 1972, 170). Two types of primary sources are used in this research in order to validate the research questions. In order to better understand the nature as well as the challenges associated with these sources, introduction and description is provided. The primary sources consists of the Alarcón's treatise that can be positioned within the framework of ethnohistorical sources written in European tradition in seventeenth century Mexico, while the Borgia Codex belongs to the native pictorial tradition. Although the sources deal with religion and ritual, one of the challenges of these sources is

[1] This thesis is limited to the works available in English with some minor exception of work in Spanish; therefore more in-depth analysis of the Spanish sources can provide different perspective on the subject matter.

their position in time and space. We deal with two different kinds of sources that represent different approaches to the subject matter and were written in different periods and locations.

1.2 Research background and objectives

The source that is major focus of this research and serves as a case study is an account of spells and incantations recorded by Alarcón. The treatise has been recognised as a unique source on native religious practices. They served for the study of Aztec calendrical names of the gods as well as medical and ritual use of the plants (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 2; Garibay 1971,316; Gibson 1964,101; Nicholson 1971, 396-397; Warren 1973, 83-83 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, xvii).

The treatise has been a recognised as a unique data on indigenous beliefs and ritual practices by many scholars of Mesoamerica. There have been much research conducted based on the data recorded by Alarcón. Many studies of various aspects of a religious and ritualistic nature have come into existence based on the treatise: the research on the ritual and associated hallucinogenic plants (Furst 1974) and medical practices (Ortiz de Montellano 1977); the study of calendrical names of the gods conducted by Caso (1967) that are extensively used in the edition of Andrews and Hassig in identifying the gods and their properties; and metaphors and ritual speech revision conducted by López Austin (1967). The authors of both editions relied upon identification of the metaphors conducted by Caso and López Austin.

The study conducted by López Austin (1967) of the metaphors constitute the background for the ritual language used in the spells. He also discussed the principles of nahuallatolli or “disguised speech”. His study is followed in the theoretical chapter in order to provide better understanding and significance of the language of the spells and their role in the ritual. When it comes to calendrical names Fellowes (1977, 325 in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 42) came up with rather controversial conclusions. He stated that the people of the area of Alarcón activity had no knowledge of the ritual calendar and used it independently of their significance. However, the identification of the metaphors presented by Fellowes does not correspond with those proposed by other scholars. Moreover, Hinz structurally analysed the invocations and their role in the ideological system (1970 in Nicholson 80). Therefore this analysis of the calendrical names used as metaphors in the ritual language provides the background for further research into the complexity of the ritual speech.

The research is based on the analysis of the English translations of the manuscript. There are differences in translations in terms of presentation of the spell, as well as the approach by the authors

of both editions. The editions can be considered as complementary in the presentation of the spells and interpretation of the metaphorical meaning.

The spells are research based on systematic analysis meant to identify calendrical names and metaphors and will be used to validate the possible parallels between information contained in the treatise and the plates 9-13 of the Borgia Codex. The data is analysed in order to identify concepts and metaphors. The data on which the research is based had been gathered in the early 17th century and can be referred to as a record of a Nahuatl oral tradition (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 39). The data derived from the analysis of the spells constitute the basis for the further investigation of possible parallels with the 9-13 plates of the Borgia Codex. The calendrical names recognised in the spells will be used to address relevant plates in the codex, based on the interpretation by Anders, Jansen and Garcia (1993).

There are some specific objectives of the research introduced in order to verify data, firstly to identify the calendrical names included in the invocation as well as the objects and entities they stand for; secondly to introduce the context in which these calendrical names appear and their place within the spells; thirdly to classify them and systematically order the calendrical names in tables along with the interpretation. It is followed by the analysis of the calendrical names in both editions, and other sources that refer to them. As additional objective - comparison with calendrical day signs of the Borgia Codex, plates 9-13 - is made in order to establish possible links and verify the extent of parallel meanings.

The calendrical names identified in the treatise serve as metaphors for various entities and objects. They were used in sacred speech in the ritual context for different purposes described in the treatise. Since the treatise are organised thematically, the number and the order of appearance of the calendrical names is conditioned by the metaphors they represent in particular spells; furthermore they are presented according to the order they emerge within the particular treaty.

However, the order of interpretation of the chapters of the treatise as they are organised in this paper does not follow the order of the treatise but is organised to follow the coherence of the argument in the thesis. Therefore to follow the theoretical chapter, the analysis of the spells starts with the ritual activities associated with divination in the fifth treaty, healing ritual in the sixth; the third is dedicated to agriculture and the second refers to everyday activities.

The introduction to the theme of the treatise is presented accordingly in the form of a short introduction to each treaty. It consists of identification of the main calendrical names included in the treaty, its structure and the number of spells in which calendrical names have been identified. This will be followed by the description of the spells in which calendrical names have been identified to provide the context and reference to relevant interpretation.

The tables include calendrical names. They have been organised into four columns. The first one presents the Nahuatl name; the second and third column includes identification of the metaphors in both editions, by Andrews and Hassig and, Coe and Whittaker respectively; the fourth regards additional interpretations by different authors or Alarcón himself.

The calendrical names are then presented according to the order they appeared in the tables. The comparison is made in order to recognise the differences in translation and interpretation of their metaphorical meaning. Also different scholars are taken into consideration in order to distinguish the differences but are in most cases cited from the editions of the English translations. Where relevant, association with the gods or other supernatural entities is introduced in order to provide the basis for further comparison with the relevant plates of the Borgia Codex.

The last phase is dedicated to comparing the calendrical names identified in the treatise and their paralleled day sign of plates 9-13 of the Borgia Codex. There is no separate analysis of the day signs of the codex, since it is not an objective and it is beyond the scope of this analysis.

In order to provide the context for the study of calendrical names there has to be few aspects introduced of historical and theoretical context. Therefore, the chapters follow the structure of development toward the case study. The first chapter describes the methodology and introduces ethnohistorical sources used for the case study. The second chapter introduces the geographical boundaries of the work of Alarcón. The cultural development of the regions is introduced in the context of wider progress of the Mesoamerican area. Also the conquest and its consequences are described in terms of the process of Christianisation conducted by different groups of missionaries, which offers the background for the work of Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón. The third chapter provides theoretical framework for the ritual, shamanism and language. The short overview of indigenous religion is provided to set up the relevance for the calendrical names used in the treatise. It is followed by the definition of shamanism and the identification of the terms by which they were referred to in the treatise. Also different types of rituals are identified and examples from the treatise are used. Finally, the religious language is dealt with in terms of theoretical background and nahuallatolli, the speech that is used in the forms of spells presented in the treatise. The fourth chapter is devoted to the case study of calendrical names present in the spells. The analysis is conduced, potential parallels established and the conclusions drawn.

1.1 European tradition source- Treatise by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón

The data that constitute the core of this research is based on colonial manuscripts of central Mesoamerica. The main focus is on the spells that were recorded by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcon, a secular priest who, in his view, fought against the superstitions of the native people; however, his objectives are a significant source of information about the religious beliefs, medical practices and supernatural entities engaged in everyday live activities, as well as divination and healing procedures in seventeenth-century Mesoamerica. The analysis is based on two English translations of manuscript from the Museo Nacional de Antropologia in Mexico City, as they provide the most up-to-date and accurate version available.

The treatise's importance is emphasised by the record, in the Nahuatl language, of ritual incantations it presents (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xvii). The information included in the treatise was gathered for the purpose of prosecution by the Christian priests of potential surviving "sorcerers" who were the main target of the missionaries. It is a valuable source of information regarding religious and ritual practices that resisted a hundred years of the Christian indoctrination. The treatise can be considered almost as valuable a source of information as the Florentine Codex with respect to native Mexican culture (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 1). Although, Sahagún recorded much important information regarding beliefs and shamanism, he did not include the incantations that were used by them nor did any other of the missionary priests of sixteenth-century New Spain, whose objectives were to fight the indigenous religious world view. In the beginning of the seventeenth century this space had been partially filled by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, who recorded the actual Nahuatl conjurations (Nicholson 1985, 77).

The treatise is divided into six parts. The first deals with the surviving indigenous religious practices and describes people involved in the tradition. The following part presents spells related to everyday activities such as woodcutting or hunting. The third treatise includes the spells devoted to agriculture. The fourth is related to the human psychological states. The fifth is dedicated to divination. And the sixth and most extensive one describes the healing procedures and spells.

It has been pointed that the original manuscript had been lost, but it is clear that there was more than one copy at the time (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xvii) First to use the information recorded by Alarcón was Jacino de la Serna in his Manual de Ministros de Indios. He was contemporary to Alarcón. The only extant copy of the manuscript is in the Museo Nacional de Antropologia in Mexico City and it was first published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso in 1892 in the Anales del Museo Nacional de México (Andrews and Hassig 1984,xviii; Coe and Whittaker 1982, 1-3). It was the first edition that presented Alarcón's Spanish translation, which, however, has some deficiencies and is not an exact translation of the Nahuatl text. The edition also includes many misreading of the manuscript. Therefore, despite still holding an important place as one of the first translations, its reliability is questionable. One of the most important translations was conducted by López Austin, who published

his translation in Spanish in the early 1970s based on a reissue of the 1892 version; however, it is not a complete edition as he omits the commentary of Alarcón and some of the context of the spells (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 2, 3).

The treatise was translated twice into English in the early 1980s. The first translation was conducted by Michael D. Coe and Gordon Whittaker and was published in 1982. They revised entire Spanish and Nahuatl texts and as a result the translation contains original notes of Alarcon (1982, xvii). The translation is based on the manuscript from the Museo Nacional de Antropologia; as a result they presented the complete translation of the Alarcón work, leaving out some of his unclear Spanish version of the spells. In addition, Alarcón presented the spells as a prose, while according to Coe and Whittaker (1982) they are meant to be recited as chants by those who used them. Therefore the authors decided to present the spells in semantic couplets in order to emphasise the poetic expression and structural principle (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 3; 40). They broke the consecutive text and rearranged it into lines. Moreover, the authors emphasised the advantages of the use of the English language as "neither English nor Nahuatl are encumbered with the complications of gender, and both are fairly succinct as to verbal grammar" (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 3). As a result, the edition consists of the Nahuatl version of the spells on the left and paralleled English translation on the right, with original notes of Alarcón, Lopez Austin, Del Paso y Troncoso and de la Serna endnotes as supporting the text.

Andrews and Hassig's English translation (1984) followed a more complex procedure than the earlier version of Coe and Whittaker (1982). They had taken into consideration five aspects crucial for their edition. First they translated Alarcón's Spanish account and duplicated the Nahuatl text of the manuscript from the Museo Nacional de Antropologia; they translated Alarcón's Spanish version of the spells, rewritten the Nahuatl in standard form that they further translated (Andrews and Hassig 1984,xviii). In reproducing the manuscript they tried to be as accurate to the Nahuatl text as possible, despite the challenges the source might impose such as the linking and separation of letters and syllables or Alarcón's often unclear Spanish commentary, which is included in the notes. Moreover, they followed Paso y Troncoso's pattern of dividing the spells into the segments, but the divisions presented in their work reflect their interpretation of the structure of the spells (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xix). They also pointed out that Alarcon's Spanish text offers more alternative and explanatory translations and is more prolix rather the Nahuatl. In addition, to the Nahuatl text of the manuscript that contains misspellings, misplacement of phrases and other grammatical problems, they presented a regularised version as well in order to make it more accessible for the readers (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xx). Their intention was to introduce a more accurate picture of early 17th century practices than one offered by the Alarcón translation; however, they attempted to translate the Nahuatl text as literally as possible in order to avoid possible falsification of the nature of the spells, as "the material found in the incantations was intended to be esoteric" (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xxiii). With regards

to names of supernatural forces, they distinguished two types of names of the gods or supernatural beings and metaphorical names – however, both might be addressed as calendrical names. Moreover, they provided the meaning of the metaphoric expressions and idiomatic phases wherever those could be determined (Andrews and Hassig 1984, xxiii). As a result their edition appears to be more complete and reliable.

1.2 Native pictorial tradition- the Borgia Codex

The surviving pre-Conquest style codices can be divided into two categories: an historical one dealing with people, places and genealogies; and a religious one including calendarical and divinatory information. They consist of three groups: Maya religious books, Mixtec histories and Borgia Groups religious books. The first group includes three or four divinatory and calendrical codices with hieroglyphic texts, in Maya style. The royal genealogies and local histories are dealt with in seven Mixtec historical manuscripts. The Borgia Groups constitute the groups of screenfolds, similar in style to Mixtec books; however, they are concerned with religious and ritual matters (Byland 1993, xiv).

The Borgia Group is called after the Codex Borgia, which is considered the most prominent surviving book. The groups consist of seven documents from Mixteca-Puebla-Tlaxcala tradition: Codex Cospi, Codex Fejervary-Mayer, Codex Laud and Codex Vaticanus B, all of which are ritual calendars. The Fonds Mexicains no.20 and Codex Porfirio Diaz are considered to be minor members of the Borgia Group. In addition, Porfirio Diaz Reverse is painted on the back of the records from after the conquest (Boone 2007, 5; Byland 1993, xv).

There are few features that are characteristic to pre-colonial manuscripts. They are all hand-made without the use of any impression-making device. The information they include is unique, although some parallels can be traced. On the other hand, the small sample of the surviving manuscripts makes it difficult to generalise (Byland 1993, xv). Most of the divinatory books were burnt along with other cult images by the evangelizing friars in the early colonial period (Boone 2007, 5).

The divinatory manuscripts are considered holders of universal knowledge related to science and philosophy. The purpose of the codices of the Borgia Group was to explain the supernatural forces that rule the world and the universal laws associated with them. Therefore the manuscripts were tools to graphically represent, through the sacred calendars, the principles that ruled the universe and show the association between both (Boone 2007,3).

The use of the knowledge encoded in the codices is selective and almanacs stand as autonomous but complementary entities. Therefore the required part is used according to the relevance of information to be obtained (Boone 2007, 3-4). The codices were used by the priests and, through the complex speech acts involving metaphors, addressed the message that was encoded. The speech involved in the message was characterised by its own special language, referred to as iya among the Mixtec and nahuallatolli among the Aztecs (Arana 1960; Jansen 1985,8-11; Lopez Austin 1967b; Jansen 1985 in Bonne 2007, 4).

Codex Borgia is one of the few surviving ritual calendars and it includes depiction of central Mesoamerican gods and rituals and divination associated with them (Byland 1993, xiii). The precise place of origin of the codex is disputable; the opinions vary between central or southern Puebla and Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca. The exact date of its creation is also unknown but the late 15th or early 16th century has been suggested. It was probably sent to Europe in the early colonial period (Byland xiv). The Mesoamerican religious beliefs are very complex and, despite the fact they were shared among the people of Northern Central America and Mexico with regards to major gods and deities, they contained local variations (Byland 1993, xv).

However, it was with time understood in terms of days and cycles that created the core of the procedure associated with the sacred calendar of 260 days (Boone 2007, 2). One of the characteristics of the divinatory calendars is that they were used as tools to predict the future and so therefore enact the future faith and actions (Boone 2007, 2). The gods resembled a hierarchy of the people and according to the chronicles they had a power over the existence of the world. They were equipped with the ability to influence nature; therefore they had to be accordingly addressed to the required effects as they influence them. The supernatural was present in every aspect of the daily lives of Mesoamerican people. The levels of engagement with supernatural forces vary, from personal engagement at the shrines to the repetition of incantations during certain activities. In addition, some of the more complicated and formal interactions were performed by the specialised priests, who were trained to do so in special schools, where they learned how to use the sacred knowledge of the books. In order to interpret the codices, it was necessary to acquire knowledge of the complex pantheon of Mesoamerican gods and deities, who very often had multiple identities (Byland 1993, xv).

The Codex Borgia is a religious manuscript used as a tool for divining the future and it consists of 76 painted pages. In parts it constitutes 260-day ritual calendars; other pages relate to the ritual calendar of the solar year; some pages contain numerological prognostications of the lives of couples; others meanwhile refer to cardinal directions of the world and the supernatural forces connected with them. (Byland 1993 xvi).

The main concern of this thesis is on plates from 9 to13 of the Codex Borgia, which represent 20 deities associated with 20 named days. The deities have the natural qualities that characterise 20 days.

(Byland 1993, xvii) In addition, the plates 22 to 24 contain another list of the deities and some other figures of priests and objects. However, the representations on these plates differ from the plates 9-13 and the connection is not clearly understood. Moreover, the relationship between 20 days and the supernatural represented on the images on plates 22-24 is unknown (Byland 1993, xxi).

The approaches to interpretation of the codices vary among the scholars. There can be few approaches distinguished among the scholars dealing with the codices. The major interpretations focus on iconography, structure and verbal message. One of the first researchers who pioneered the field in the late nineteenth century was Seler, who provided detailed analysis and description of the almanacs. Nowotny in the 1960s focused on calendrical and structural aspects of the codices. Anders and Jansen turned to verbal reading of the manuscripts (Boone 2007, 10). I follow the interpretation of Anders, Jansen and Garcia, since it is the most relevant for my case study.

2. Historical Context of Spiritual Conquest

This chapter provides historical background for the Alarcón's activities. The process of intercultural interaction between Mesoamerican people is presented to offer better understanding of the relation between the cultures of Mesoamerica at the time of the conquest. Furthermore, the colonisation process is described in the context of Christianisation that served as means for justification of Spanish actions.

2.1 Dimensions of colonisation process

The theoretical framework of the colonisation process is supposed to produce a better understanding of the intercultural interaction and course of action in formation of new identities. It is clear that the new order had been imposed upon the local communities; however, the formation of new identities had been a complex process. Moreover, it by no means is aimed at justification of the conquest and oppression of the indigenous people of Mexico.

Colonialism, as defined from a western perspective of the sixteenth through nineteenth century conquest, is conditioned by expansion of European powers into the newly conquered land in order to extend its control and dominance over the hosting communities (Stein 2005, 24).

Colonialism is a process that can be described as cross-cultural interaction resulting in modification of economic and political structure as well as cultural and ideological changes affecting both sides, and it has been present in the Old and New Worlds, respectively, on various levels throughout history. It has also been emphasised that the outcome of these interactions in relation to the formation of identity is one of the crucial elements (Stein 2005, 3-4). However, many aspects of colonial interaction have to be taken into consideration in order to produce valid statements. The fundamental factor in this argument seems to be limited to theoretical framework in which the argument can be positioned.

Stein (2005, 8-9) states that reasoned perspective on colonial encounters compromise few components. Among them are concerns with the various levels of interaction among particular groups, their heterogeneous entities as well as internal dynamics at the moment or during cross-cultural encounters. And what has been emphasised is the human agency that plays a fundamental role. It has been pointed out that colonisation results in interregional contact between multiple groups and it is not only restricted to host groups and colonizers (Stein 2005, 16-17). Moreover, it has been argued that the colonising groups often adjust to new conditions and their objectives oppose those of their native country. As a result, the process of formation of new identities occurs " […] a bidirectional or multidirectional process in which diasporas cultures can form entirely new, composite identities through what has been termed transculturation, ethnogenesis, creolization, or hybridization" (Stein 2005, 17)

The Spanish colonisation of the Americas in generally understood terms fits into the framework of European colonialism from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century. Although, the concept of colonialism itself cannot be exclusively limited to this time span and only with regards to the European expansion, as mentioned above. That is, even if we consider colonisation of the Americas, the approach and objectives of different colonial powers differ considerably as well as the response of encountered groups varied (Gasco 2005, 1-4). Since the process of colonisation involves many aspects, it should be pointed out that despite Spanish invaders played a dominant role, the native groups played also important part in formation of colonial and postcolonial society (Gasco 2005, 6).

Moreover the idea of syncretism has been applied in order to clarify intercultural transformation between Spaniards and a Mesoamerican population that resulted in construction of distinctive new elements in colonial setting, in particular with regards to the religious system. In the case of the Americas some of the fundamental aspects that need to be taken into consideration are above all cultural and religious traditions between both civilisations (Stein 2005, 17). In defining colonialism for the purpose of this research the focus is cultural and ideological transformation rather than economic and political impact.

In order to understand Spanish goals and strategies employed in the colonisation of Mesoamerica, the context of the Spanish society that encountered many invasions itself has to be taken into account. (Gasco 2005,7-8). In the fifteenth century Spain constituted multiethnic culture as a result of invasions; first as a Roman province followed by the settlements of Visigoths; in the eighth century conquest by Muslims which resulted in centuries-long struggle between both groups referred to as reconquista. Consequently, the tactics developed by the Christians of Spain were used during the colonisation of the Americas. The Catholic kings, Isabella and Ferdinand, established policies of absolute monarchy in which all aspects of political and social matters in their kingdom were reported

to the Crown. At the same time religious intolerance was increasing along with the aspiration for territorial expansion (Gasco 2005, 10-11).

2.2 Mesoamerica in the time of conquest and its cultural formation process - Guerrero and Morelos regions in context

When the Spanish arrived in Mesoamerica they encountered multicultural societies. Despite the lack of political unity the Mesoamerican societies shared a common religious system. Although the process of its expansion is not fully explained, it has been argued that a common ideological system developed independently of the state engagement (Gasco 2005, 16).

The period between the fall of Tula (1150 AD) and the Spanish conquest (1521 AD) is characterised by the cultures on a state level of development and divided into separate units, until the emergence of the last macro-regional state system of the Aztecs (Charlton 2000, 500).

At the time of the conquest most of the regions were ruled by long-established native political structures supported economically by agriculture and other forms of tribute like slaves or labour. The regions were ruled by smaller units of power, very often the clan or group of families, and further more complex hierarchy on state level, characterised by different degrees of independence (Gerhard 1972, 4).

It has been suggested, based on the changes and appearance of new ceramics styles in the Basin of Mexico, that the Nahuatl speaking population arrived to the area about 1150 AD. Moreover the Mexica arrived in the region in 1248 AD, therefore later then the Aztlan migrations (Smith 1983a, 1984 in Charlton 2000, 521).

The pre-Hispanic state of Guerrero shares the defining and cultural characteristics of Mesoamerica on both developmental and historical ground. Its inhabitants were engaged in production of maize, squash and beans, ceramic technology and participation in the networks that exchanged goods and services. The level of cultural development was lower than the basin of Mexico and there is no evidence for economic and political centralisation of power. However in the post-classic times the parts of Guerrero were involved in the process of state-level formations (Paradis 2001, 312).

The ethnohistorical evidence shows the offensive behaviour of the Mexica Aztecs and the Tarascans, while the archaeological evidence shows different levels of cultural influences of Teotihuacan upon three regions of Guerrero. In Medio Balsas it is characterised by a rather intrusive approach and late contact between both cultures, and in the post-classic period the region shows important economic and social growth. A similar situation can be seen in the Costa Grande region. However, the Mezcala region shows an important impact of Teotihuacan on technology and ideological aspects of cultural development (Paradis 2001, 319).

The last pre-Hispanic period is distinguished by an introduction of new linguistic groups to the region, the arrival of the Mexica Aztecs about the middle of the 15th century and the conquest of the region by Aztec and Tarascan states, who were competing over for influence (Paradis 2001, 320-1).

The documents reveal that the Coixca was the first Nahua group to settle in the northern part of Guerrero and the Mezcala around 1250 AD, followed by Mexica two centuries later, who under a new policy of expansion initiated by Tenochtitlan conquered northern Guerrero around 1427-1440. The territorial dominance was conditioned by economic and political motives. As a result, the eighty years before the Spanish conquest, the cultural and political organisation of Guerrero had been transformed into a part of centralized state system (Paradis 2001, 320-321).

The second main area of concern is Morelos Region, which was a key part of Central Mexico culture throughout the pre-colonial times. In addition to its prime location the climate was favourable for the cultivation of cotton and other important export products. On the other hand its topography limited the extent and productivity of agriculture. The archaeological and ethnographical sources indicate that population was concentrated in the river valleys and irrigation systems along the Cuernavaca, Yautepec and Amatzinac rivers (Paradis 2001, 487).

In the middle formative period Chalcatzingo, located in the eastern part of Morelos, emerged as one of the most important civic-ceremonial centres in Central Mexico. And, in the classic period most of the southern and eastern parts of the region of Morelos were incorporated into the empire of Teotihuacan. The middle post-classic period is characterised by the development of political structure and growth of population. New groups settled in the region, the Tlahuica and Xochimilca, coinciding with the introduction of a new pottery tradition.

Therefore the population of Morelos in the pre-colonial period can be referred to as “Aztecs” on the basis of their cultural and linguistic similarities to the Aztecs of the Basin of Mexico and incorporation into the expanding empire (Michael, E. Smith and Kenneth G Hirth 2001, 490).

At the time of the Spanish conquest, most of the population of the Valley of Mexico spoke the languages of either the Uto-Aztecan or the Otomanguean family group (Longacre 1967: fig 15, in

Charlton 2000, 510). Nahuatl language was widely spoken with some dialectic variations within the region. The distribution of the languages in 1519 AD is a direct indication of the expansion of Otomi and in particular Nahuatl speaking population, who came to dominate economic and political life of the settlers of the Basin of Mexico beginning around 1300 AD. As a result a diverse ethnical population inhabited the area under the dominance of the Triple Alliance prior to the conquest (Charlton 2000, 512).

The culmination of power started to be incorporated into the larger units centred on the basin of Mexico. At the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the Tenocha based at Tenochtitlán, the Tepaneca of Tlacopan and the Acolhua of Texcoco started to extend their control over the neighbouring areas and continued until the Spaniards' arrival (Charlton 2000, 502; 506). The Triple Alliance was created in 1428 by the Mexica with the capital in Tenochtitlán. By the time of the Spanish arrival Aztecs conquered most parts of central and southern Mexico (Gasco 2005, 15). Hierarchical political organisation and economic structures resembled some in Mesoamerica and Spain and had an impact on the colonialism (Gasco 2005, 25).

2.3 Christianisation as means of justification of the conquest

In 1519 Hermán Cortés arrived at the coast of Mesoamerica and within two years, with the support of indigenous fighters, conquered the Aztec Empire (Gasco 2005, 11). Following the capture of Tenochtitlan in 1521 most of the country below the Chichimec frontier was visited by Cortes' armies (Gerhard 1972, 7). Cortés made it clear from the very beginning that the main objective was to uproot the native beliefs and convert the indigenous population to Christianity (Ricard 1976, 16).

Among the colonising power there were differences in objectives. The colonisers were divided into several factions with individual interests among them including clergy, merchants and landowners. Moreover, Spanish rule was divided into five branches: Gobierno – civil administration, Justicia-judiciary, Militar-military, Hacienda-exchequer and Eclesiastico-church affairs. Usually one person was responsible for governance of the first four positions. The jurisdictions and offices had been changing many times over the post-conquest times, with many replaced by new ones. The most relevant development of jurisdiction for the context in question is the ecclesiastical division of New Spain and conversion process (Gerhard 1972, 10).

The religious intolerance of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century Spanish society was reflected in objectives during the colonisation, therefore the Christianisation process was one of the fundamental issues in the Spanish agenda. In terms of world view and religious system both cultures differed

considerably. Spaniards immediately took control over public religious affairs, and imposed Christian doctrines on the Indian population. As a consequence of enormous differences many misunderstandings emerged during the process, but also some of the indigenous rituals were incorporated within the Catholic system (Gasco 2005, 27).

The Christian mission in the New World was meant to justify the imperialistic objectives of Spanish conquistadors. All aspects of the colonisation became subject to a Christian interpretation and enterprise as it aimed at destroying the pagan civilisation. The papal consignment of the New World supported all aspects of Spanish activities as crucial in the Christianization process. The Spanish military conquest of Mexico for the Indians resulted in the unexpected enforcement of religious doctrines imported from Europe. It had another dimension referred to as spiritual conquest. It was made clear from the beginning by Spaniards that resistance was not an option and repression would be a consequence for those who would not obey (Gibson 1964, 98).

The Christianization process involved implementation of various aspects of faith and a challenge to discharge the old ones. The first aspects of the indigenous religious tradition that were dismissed include: temples, class of priests and human sacrifice. Some other aspects introduced by the friars were understood and accepted by the prismatic of indigenous beliefs. Some of the indigenous practices were analogous to newly introduced Christian practices such as marriage, penance, baptism, fasting and offerings. To some extent the crucifixion was accepted but seen as a symbol or an act of sacrifice (Gibson 1964, 100).

One of the fundamental differences between both cultures was complementary dualism that operated in Mesoamerican religious system, where opposing properties constitute essential bound. In the same way concepts of sin in the Spanish religious view could not be directly applied to the Mesoamerican world, since the Indians attributed dilemmas to imbalance. However, the Mesoamerican religious system as relatively universal was built on the tradition of incorporating unfamiliar elements into their belief structure (Gasco 2005, 28; Cervantes 1994, 38).

The mission was divided between two opposing groups: the regular Mendicant friars, the Franciscan, Dominicans and Augustinian, who were fulfilling the missionary goals with entrusted parochial and sacramental powers and the secular clergy; the clerics of the Episcopal hierarchy, who were traditionally assigned with these powers (Gibson 1964, 98).

The church had different levels of jurisdiction in the country and influenced various economic and political affairs. The king was responsible for nominating the highest church dignitaries, while viceroys and governors nominated the parish priests. There were two types of establishment: the secular and regular clergy. The bishops served as viceroys and were in charge of secular priests. Moreover, the Inquisition (Tribunal del Santo Oficio) had its territorial division entrusted to parish

priests (comisarias) (Gerhard 1972, 17). The regular clergy consisted of three main orders: the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians all established their jurisdictions within the gobierno of Nueva Espana. The missionaries encountered a challenge of administrative nature and establishing geographical jurisdictions. Nevertheless, they were entitled to doctrine, curator, parted, and parroquia (Gibson 1964, 101).

The first Franciscan missionaries arrived to the shores of Mexico in 1523, followed by the larger group in 1524 led by Fray Martin de Valencia, who managed to establish an independent province of San Gabriel in Extremadura (Stresser-Pean 2009, 5). The first order established four provinces: Santo Evangelio de Mexico (1535), San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacan (1565), Santiago de Jalisco (1606) and San Francisco de Zacatecas (1606) (Gerhard 1972, 18). Among the missions established in the New World the Franciscans dominated the missionary enterprise. The bishop Juan de Zumárraga applied the concepts of Erasmian humanism to the mission; the friars founded the schools and aimed at promoting literacy, Hispanic values and foremost propagation of the Christian faith. The institution founded for educational purposes was aimed at young upper class Indians to provide them with the Christian doctrine and expose to European values (Gibson 1964, 99). In order to achieve this situation the Indians would be under control of Franciscan missionaries and follow the example they set by their low living standards according to the principles of their order (Stresser-Pean 2009, 6).

The main centres where Franciscan monasteries were established and their areas of influence were clarified include Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Tlaxcala and Huejotzingo. They devoted their time to the study of Nahuatl language and to provide the natives with a Christian education. In particular orders were given to important members of the society to entrust their sons to the Franciscan order. Following their education they had become the first Christians of the New World (Stresser-Pean 2009,7).

In the years following the conquest the native ceremonies were still taking place in remote places and the Indians maintained the spirit of resistance (Motolinia 1858 1:25-26 in Stresser-Pean 2009, 11). One of the final actions conducted by Franciscans was destruction of the pagan temples. The fall of Mexico City was a sign for the others that the end of their local religion and traditional life had come (Stresser-Pean 2009,13-17).

Followed by the order of Santo Domingo, who arrived in 1526 and established three provinces; Santiago de Mexico (1532), San Hipolito Martir de Oxaca (1592) and Santos Angeles de Puebla (1656). In 1533 one of the last of the regular clergy orders appeared on the scene, the Augustinians, and managed to establish two provinces: Nombre de Jesus de Mexico (1535) and San Nicolas de Tolentino de Michoacan (1602). Among minor orders who reached Mexico were the Jesuits, who arrived in 1572 and founded many educational institutions, as well as the other provinces founded by Carmelites (1585), the Mercedarians (1594), the Dieguinos (1599) and the order of San Juan de Dios

(1604) (Gerhard 1972, 18,19).

One of the most important aspects that influenced the process of evangelisation among the Indians was the split between missionaries' groups, and the emergence of a new secular clergy supported by the bishop. The privileged position of the latter emphasised the fact that the conflict between the second bishop and missionaries arose due to pontifical privileges they held (Stresser-Pean 2009, 26).

The regular clergy was occupied with the conversion program for the first fifty years of conquest and they did not live in the traditionally secular monasteries, although many were constructed under Mendicant direction. The early friars were dedicated to their missionary activities and had an objective to baptise as many of the Indians as possible, however it appeared that the mass baptism did not fulfil the goals of Christianisation (Gibson 1964, 98). Motolinia was described to baptise about 300,000 Indians himself and others up to 4,000 a day (Thomson 1993, 589). The conversion carried out by the thousand was considered in many cases superficial and is referred to as the state of "nepantilism", a term used to describe a state of suspension between the past and not well understood present (León-Portilla 1974,11-13 in Thomson 1993, 579). The numbers of baptised Indians vary accordingly to sources. Mendieta describes the baptism of about 5,000 or 6,000 Indians at the time. Motolinia states that about 6 milion Indians were baptised by 1540 by the Franciscans alone. There was criticicism about the way the evangelisation was executed. Further concerns regarded the effectiveness of adopting the new faith and its doctrines by the Indians (Stresser-Pean 2009, 18). In 1576 official instructions with a precise listing of ecclesiastical obligations were issued to Bernabé López, in the northern part of the Valley (Gibson1964,114). The clerics were obliged to report on the progress and results of the Christianization program. The responses varied among them. The emphasis was on the sacramental performance; however they admitted not to be able to adjust to all obligations outlined. They were also likely to overlook their lapses into superstitions and witchcraft, in order that the Indians would continue to provide rations. Reports also emphasise the concentration upon the Nahuatl-speaking population and lack of connection with the Otomi (Gibson 1964, 116).

The ancient religious practices continued for many years after the arrivals of the missionaries, including human sacrifice. Also rites linked to the sorcerers and fortune with regards to hallucinogenic plants seemed to be common practice (Thomson 1993, 593). At the point when the Spaniards were persuaded that the conversion had taken place, they did not recognise that many pre-Columbian elements of religion were incorporated in the process of hybridization (Gasco 2005, 29). In the late sixteenth century Durán wrote: "The ancient beliefs are still so numerous, so complex, so similar to our own in many cases, that the one overlaps the other. Occasionally we suspect that they are playing, really adoring idols, casting lots about the future before our very eyes" (Duran I, 5-6 in Thomson 1993, 768).

However, the religious syncretism in colonial Mexico illustrates the adaptation of the Catholic traditions into the indigenous system. One of the methods applied by the Catholic priests was incorporation of the native traditions in order make it more understandable for those they tried to convert. Therefore the use of the native language and glyph system were incorporated (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 18).

For the most part the sixteenth century missionaries believed that idolatry had disappeared. However, throughout the seventeenth century the pagan superstitions persisted and are fully described by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón in the Tratado de las supersticiones (1629) and by Jacinto de la Serna in the Manual de ministros (1656) (Gibson 1964, 101; Stresses-Pean 2009, 30). The studies of indigenous tradition conducted by the clergy were supposed to provide the knowledge to fight the remaining idolatry practices among the Indians. Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón had been reported in 1614 to be actively involved in acting against Indians religious practices beyond the scope of Holy Inquisition in Mexico City. Consequently he was appointed by the office to hold the title of ecclesiastical judge in 1617 (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 7).

The treatise was completed in 1629 but one of the earliest records Alarcon refers to is of the case from 1618. Alarcon states that the purpose of the treatise was to provide the clergy with the guidebook to superstitions among the naives that still were present after a century of Christianisation. However, the spells and incantations were used not only by specialised priests but also ordinary people in everyday situations such as woodcutting or hunting (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 1).

The influence of the Christian tradition upon the native culture can be traced in the fifth treaty. Alarcón begins the fifth treaty with reference to divination presence all over the world in different cultures at different times as well as the Bible, which he takes for granted. He makes also reference to different saints in order to support his claims. Interestingly enough in the eleventh phase the diviner addresses saints “Is it perhaps Saint Gaspar? Is it perhaps Saint John?” in order to find out who was responsible for the sickness of the client and required offerings. This in a way shows the extent to which the Christian tradition had already influenced native beliefs (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 141-143;149).

Despite the treatise constituting an important source of information it cannot be considered as an ultimate record of the native beliefs and medical practices, since many aspects presented by Alarcón clearly show misunderstanding of indigenous tradition. This misconception is a result of Alarcón prejudice toward native cultural history and social function he attempted to determine. In addition, he omitted many practices, once he considered he recorded most threatening abuses (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 8). In effect his western perception and failure to recognise some of the major religious elements results in incomplete information (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 23). To be more precise, Alarcón was not very accurate in his ethnographical data with regards to major aspects of the natives’

beliefs and lack of performative matrices that accompany ritual practices. There is a lack of methods used by the sorcerers and their interaction with the audience. He almost exclusively focused on the verbal aspects of the invocations (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 25). For the most part he was devoted to his objective. Since he recognised the invocations as a form of prayer, Alarcón was determined to cease their usage among the native population. He was concerned with the spells that represented communication with the supernatural (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 26).

Chapter 3 - Religion and ritual in 17th century Mesoamerica

In this chapter the theoretical framework is established and paralleled examples from the treatise quoted. It starts with the introduction to Mesoamerican belief system with the reference to ritual calendars in order to provide context. Furthermore, the particular aspects relevant for the case study are discussed in details including shamanism, forms of ritual and ritual speech theory.

3.1 Pre-colonial religious beliefs and ritual calendars

Although in depth analysis of the Mesoamerican belief system is beyond the scope of this paper, a general overview is necessary in order to provide the context for the case study. The most relevant for the analysis of the calendrical names is an introduction of ritual calendars which was one of the fundamental devices in the religious life. Also, the first treatise is an important source of information about the supernatural and worship which is still present in early 17th century Mexico. Alarcón was rather convinced that remaining beliefs and forms of worship among the people he dealt with were hundreds years old and that would be the reason why they were still so deeply embodied in all levels of social structures hundreds of years after the spiritual conquest had started. Consider as an illustration the special place of ololiuhqui that was not only worshiped but could also have been inherited (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 63; 71).

The Mesoamerican religious system had been a result of a long process of interaction between different groups in the region. Many deities had been incorporated into the Aztec religious life, based on the qualities of the gods. One of the fundamental principles of belief was duality; therefore incorporation of new gods was based on shared features. The Aztec world view consisted of many

layers of the universe and within each dimension supernatural was located. Moreover, the gods were not separated from everyday affairs but were rather an integral part of it. Therefore, the supernatural and the material world exist as one connected dimension (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 14).

The gods of the Nahuatl tradition can be classed in three themes that can be further subdivided according to the gods it includes, which further overlap (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 11). The Celestial Creativity- Divine Paternalism group that was responsible for creation, the gods responsible for agriculture, are grouped in Rain-Moisture-Agriculture Fertility section. The last group in charge of the universe's continuation is called War-Sacrifice- Sanguinary Nourishment (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 11).

The Aztec relationship with their gods was based on the control the gods had over the lives of the humans. But there was also interdependence between them. The gods relied upon nourishment provided by the man, while the man depended on the gods' will. Therefore the worship and offerings served as a means to achieve a desired outcome (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 15).

The gods played an important role with regards to their temporal properties that were dictated by the ritual calendar. The time units were dedicated to the gods and influenced by their properties and affected all aspects of everyday life. There were two types of calendars in use when the Spaniards arrived to Mesoamerica, based on 260 day, and 365 day cycles. The ritual calendar of 260 days is of main interest here. It consisted of twenty day signs and thirteen day numbers, which carry astronomical and medical knowledge as well as the protocols for ritual (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 11; Boone 2007, 18).

Time had a crucial role in the Mesoamerican world view. All aspects of life were in one way or another linked with the concept of time. Time was arranged and codified in the caledrical system. The twenty day count called in Nahuatl cempohualli is a basic count associated with the day signs and bears divinatory content. The codices called tonalamatl, which means day books, where the days are organised according to multiple cycles of the calendar (Boone 2007, 14; 18).

The almanacs contain information for a variety of purposes as well as special situations among others associated with marriage or agriculture. The knowledge represented in the almanacs is metaphorical. It is organised in the complex system of figures and symbols that require specialised knowledge to be read (Boone 2007, 23-24). Therefore, the specialists must have been trained in order to read, understand, and share the knowledge of religious calendars.

3.2 Alarcón's targets- shamans and diviners in the treatise

The term shamanism has been widely employed in the study of art, religion and social sciences in cross-cultural perspectives. It has been emphasised that the term shamanism has been used without applying relevant context. It has been also argued that the term needs to be reconsidered before the relevant definition can be used and precise definition agreed among scholars (Pharo 2011; Klein et al. 2002). Therefore**,** the reassessment of the concept of shamanism with regards to particular contexts such as art, medicine, and politics in Mesoamerica has been stressed, since the concept has being easily applied without consideration of this particular circumstance (Klein et al. 2002, 383). It has been argued that definitions of shamanism used by many scholars who emphasised trance as one of the criterion is not valid as such, and it has been clear that altered states are neither restricted to the region nor to those referred to as shamans (Klein et al. 2002, 389). Therefore in order to conceptualise the people involved in the treatise, a theoretical framework will be applied and relevant names in native languages identified.

Defining the concept of shamanism can be based on the presence of the matter rather than notion itself within a given cultural setting. It had been argued that there is a lack of straight forward procedure for conceptualisation of shamanism and at the same time constant abuse of the term in defining cultural phenomena. Consequently, the "ideal types" are used as conceptual tools. For this reason the dilemma of semantics emerges as to whether the words originating from distinctive linguistic and cultural context can be incorporated into comparative terminology. In order to provide the universal definition of shamanism there are a few aspects taken into consideration that characterise the term as extensively used in the literature. Pharo among others analyses geographical relevance, use of hallucinogenic substances and ability to reach trance (Pharo 2011, 8; 11; 13). However, the shamanism cannot be exclusively considered as a reflection and classification of indigenous beliefs. As a matter of fact, the skills and abilities of shamans may constitute only certain aspects of a broader religious spectrum (Pharo 2011,11).

Nevertheless, it has to be pointed that there is distinction between shaman who focused on individual issues, and other religious specialists who would deal with official affairs (Pharo 2011, 34-35). At the same time, a characteristic feature of the shaman is an ability to mediate between the human and the

supernatural. “It is, accordingly, the ritual of religious specialists that provides a fundamental criterion for constructing the concept of the shaman” (Pharo 2011, 36, 37)

There was also an attempt made in order to distinguish between shaman and other forms of practitioners such as healers, priests, political personas. In terms of healers the distinction present in Europe between the establishment and folk curers had a further negative impact on the indigenous medicine men during the conquest. It has been claimed that the parallels were so striking that justification would be irrelevant (Klein et al. 2002, 395).

It follows that the Mesoamerican conceptualisation of shamanism has been a term causing much confusion. Consider as an example the term nagual which referred to the person who could transform into an animal companion, and at the time of the conquest nahualli started to be used as a synonym of witch by the Spanish. Moreover it has been argued that the term has been used with reference to all “sorts” of shamans, while other terms in native language have been present (Klein et al. 2002, 392).

It has to be emphasised that there had been a list of about forty different kinds of the Aztec practitioners identified that are characterised by different qualities and purposes they operate within. Further detailed discussion on the topic is conducted by Lopéz Austin (1968) as well as Nutini and Roberts (1993 in Klein et al. 2002, 399).

When it comes to the function the main rituals were conducted by the priest. The Aztec priestly organisation was hierarchical. Although, it has been pointed that the priests of particular communities were fundamentally independent form each other. What is more, the priests were dedicated to specific gods and as a result they were ascribed paralleled qualities (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 14).

However the priests that are represented in the treatise belong to different group of practitioners, that are defined below. The function of official and unofficial priests overlap, but the later did not depend on official hierarchy. The second kind of practitioners is relevant for the practices described by Alarcón (Andrews and Hassig1984,15).

The diviners who read the sacred knowledge of the calendars were called Tonalpouhque- “readers of the day signs” and Tlapouhque- “counters of something”. It has been stressed that in some of the Mesoamerican languages the word for reading is the same as for seeing. Therefore the diviners played a crucial role in the mediation process between the human and the supernatural world (Boone 2007, 20). It has been pointed that many more diviners referred to by different names were involved in the prognostication procedure. The terms tonalpouhqui and tlapouhqui were very often used interchangeably with naoalli- the sorcerer. However the former interpreted the prognostication, the later was able to transform himself into animal form, use spells and influence the events (Boone 2007,

21). In addition, Sahagún describes the naoalli and tlaciuhqui as deceivers, but also recognised their central function in the Aztec society (1953-1982, 4:30 in Boone 2007, 22).

Coe and Whittaker (1982, 32) described all involved in the use of incantation in the treatise as sorcerers, but emphasised that none of the people who employed the spells into everyday activities, such as hunting or fishing, can be described as a specialist in the sense of the word. They pointed that the general term that has been applied is ticitl which combine definition of diviner and doctor in one term. Moreover, it has been indicated that the term can be an extension used to describe the diviners and sorcerers (Boone 2007, 27).

The first treaty is an important source of information with regards to divination and people involved in it. There have been many terms identified in the treatise that are used to describe the people who were engaged in the practices described by Alarcón. The theme of the first treatise is divination, rituals, worship, and even more important for the context, sorcerers. The chapters are for the most part descriptive and precisely set the context of the ritual or otherwise contact with the supernatural. However they do not include spells except of two in the fourth chapter in relation to sacrifice on the hill tops and, while the second is of a similar nature. The account of events and people dominate the treaty, which is otherwise rather limited in the following tracts.

Accordingly, Alarcón presents different names and provides various contexts for those involved in ritual and spells incantation. Therefore, the attempt to establish the profile and characteristic of those engaged in the practise will be made in the following paragraphs, based exclusively on the information in the treatise.

The various names by which the sorcerers were referred to indicate a diverse nature of procedures that were present among the natives of Mexico. Accordingly the distinction is clearly indicated. Moreover, Alarcón warns against the fishermen and those seeking bees and hunters of any other animals, who also use superstitions and invocation in order to achieve desired goals (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 94).

The names that have been identified in the treatise as follows: (Coe and Whittaker 1982) :

Téxóxaní- “he who enchants people”(1982, 65)
Téyollóquáni- “he who eats the hearts of people” (1982, 65)
Tétláchihuani- “he who does things to people”(1982, 65)
Matlapouhqui- “he who divines with hands” (1982, 70)
Tlaolxiniani- “he who makes kernels fall”(1982, 70)
Tlamacazque- “priest, tlamacazqui- provider”(1982, 77)
Páyni- “he who drinks potions” (1982, 87)

Ticitl- “doctor, midwife” (1982, 92)
Tlachixqui- “he who sees”(1982, 93)(prophet or diviner)
Tepalehuiani “male helper or female helper”(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 159)
Temixiuitiani “midwife”
Tetonaltique “the women who return the fate or the fortune to its place” (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 161) “one who have provided someone with a tonal” or “tonal provider”(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 360).

The multiple names and terms identified in the treatise refer to people who operate on different levels of engagement with supernatural with regards to different dimensions and aspects of life. There were many people involved in the practices forbidden by the Spaniards. Some of these practices are described in the first and fifth treaty and can illustrate more clearly the occupation of the above mentioned practitioners along with the ritual.

What is more, it is rather clear that due to the nature of themes contained in the first treatise, priests faced challenges with accessing the information. The knowledge in this part of his work is rather specialised and focuses on interaction with the supernatural, and therefore people who were accused of sorcery would not be fond of sharing more in depth understanding of their practises.

“It is the same with the sorcerers whom they call téxóxaní, téyollóquáni or tétláchihuani, which are almost the same thing, they never confess, even though there be information against them [...] but I have never been able to make them confess so as to bring it completely to light” (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 65). Under those circumstances he encountered during collection of his data, it appears rather obvious that there is a lack of spells related to ritual and worship**.** Since people accused of this sort of practices were rather resistant to the methods and punishment applied by clergy.

Alarcón first defines the wise man or doctor as one who serves the community by sharing his knowledge, assisting with ceremonies and foreseeing the future. Furthermore, the association of the shaman with her nahualli and inseparable relation between both in the real life is emphasised as one of the crucial aspects. The case attested by father Andérs Girón can serve as an example. On the road to an Indian settlement one of his companions shot down the cayman. Approaching their destination they learned that one woman, who was considered a nahualli witch, had fallen dead as a result of wounds paralleled to the death of the animal they had klled. This relation between witches and their animal patrons appears to be deeply embodied in the native beliefs and practices. There are many more examples that Alarcón refers to of a similar nature (Coe and Whittaker 1982,64-65).

At the same time the elderly played a fundamental role in the worship and sacrifice practices, since they had to be approached prior to desire ceremony. They enjoyed high status and respect among the community since, “all this business was held and estimated as divine and dedicated to the gods,”: the

authority of the native priests was unchallenged. They are described as having long hair which was an attribute of either old priests or great warriors (Coe and Whittaker 1982,77,79). In the treatise there are multiple names that emerge in relation to shamans. The analysis of those names helped to clarify the image of people involved in forbidden practices. Most of the names have been kept in the translation in their Nahuatl form (Coe and Whittaker 1982,65).Alarcón talks about the sorcerers as a professional who makes a living out of divination. They are consulted in the times of troubles, doubts, sickness, missing persons, theft and other issues. The prognostication can be required to predict the future but also explain the past (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 142).

As far as the ritual in the treatise is concerned it has been pointed by Andrews and Hassig (1984, 23) that the practices described in the treatise are not the major ones of the pre-Hispanic religion. Christianity was triumphant over the very evident forms of worship and divination, the ones that are present in the treatise are examples of the minor forms of ritual, which however does not decrease its social and cultural function.

3.3 Forms of rituals in the treatise

For the context of the spells and invocation it is important to establish a theoretical framework for classification of the ritual that is present in the treatise. Despite some of the spells lacking the context, they still can be categorized according to the ritual they represent. It is however more in the scope of the particular treatise to define the ritual associated with them, rather than particular spells. The theoretical framework is based on the definition of ritual genres by Bell (2009). Thematically organised parts in the treatise allow categorising them into particular types of rituals. The analysis of ritual characteristics is omitted since it is not the main concern here.

Despite many of the rituals surviving hundred years of Christian indoctrination, in the treatise we lack some of the fundamental practice as for example the rite of passage is clearly not included in the record. In the pre-colonial times, birth, naming, or marriage constituted a very important part of the ritual (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 21). On the other hand it is possible that Alarcón did not recognise those rituals as potential threat to his efforts or some might had been incorporated into new Christian tradition. On the other hand he makes a reference to the importance of the calendar for naming the new born (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 45), therefore the rite of passage can be recognised and to some extent defined.

Rites of exchange and communication are widely employed throughout the treatise. In particular these rites can be identified in the second and third part of the treatise which describe the spells and

invocations used for hunting and harvest (Andrews and Hassig 1984; Coe and Whittaker 1982). In principle, the rite of exchange and communication is relevant in the religious rituals, when the supernatural are approached in order to be asked for favours along with the offerings made as a form of exchange. It follows that for the Aztecs offerings had a double dimension, which involved human-divine interaction. This is to say, that person who wanted to benefit from the offering identified himself with the victim and at the same time the god was recognised with the offering. In addition, sacralisation of offerings brought the means of divine powers being transmitted between the gods and the man (Bell 2009, 114). These ritual acts illustrate the complex relation between the human and the divine as well as social and cultural processes that are the result of it (Bell 2009, 108). In the Mesoamerican ritual ololiuqui constitute the means of communication with supernatural.

The ololiuhqui had an important place in the divination practises. Moreover the respect people had towards ololiuhqui was greater than to any other authority. One of the characteristics attributed to the seeds was foreseeing the future and resolving problems. The consumption of the drink prepared from ololiuhqui was considered to reveal the truth and provide the answers to unknown. The ololiuhqui are spoken to regarding many circumstances; health problems, family troubles or finding missing things. In addition, peyote was also used for similar reasons, yet its significance is not emphasised to the extent Alarcón gives to that of ololiuhqui (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 87; 93).

As far as ololiuhqui consumption is concerned it was not without consultation of a special person, who could precisely define, address and interpret the effect of such a procedure. Alarcón makes a multiple reference to wise men or witch doctors and emphasises their privileged position within the communities (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 64-65).

When it comes to rites of affliction, these mostly can be identified in the sixth treatise. They are used to dismiss misfortune as well as heal, purify, and protect. Distinction has been made between the cultures and the ways they approach the problem, but the general idea is to purge the body and mind of negative forces (Bell 2009, 115). Healing rituals are likely to address the supernatural forces that are meant to affect not only physical condition but also psychological and social dimension of the case, since it has been recognised that the balance between element has been disturbed (Bell 2009, 116). To put it another way, the cultures that recognise the possession as a common event or metaphor, identify the supernatural forces outside of the individual (Bell 2009, 117).

Based on the existence of the calendrical names in the spells and invocation depicted in the treatise it can be suggested that the ritual we deal with is to a certain extent calendrical in nature. Calendrical rites justify the socially significant passage of time. They are positioned in time and space accordingly to seasonal changes and social activities as well as serving as a means to justify the motion of the universe. Moreover, the cultural schemes are imposed in an attempt to influence the natural order and social behaviour. Consequently, many of the divinatory practices owe to the cosmological attributes

determination of prognostications (Bell 2009, 103). Many divinatory practices are described in the fifth treaty and well as the first.

With regards to divination Boone noticed that while tonalpohualli was the favoured form, the maize casting was preferred second. Despite the fact the latter was not a calendrical technique it was functionally correspondent to the calendrical knowledge encoded in tonalamatl, when the calendrical one ceased to be used in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Boone 2007, 27).

There are many ways of fortune telling described; to start with they measure the left forearm from the elbow to the finger tips with the right hand. The length is a basis for the interpretation of the fortune. Another method is with pebbles or maize kernels, which are thrown on the cloth placed in front of the diviner**,** along the process diviners use relevant invocation. It was mentioned that people considered the lack of incantation in telling the fortune as incomplete and having a negative effect on prognostication. Therefore the invocation was a fundamental part of consulting the sorcerers. Alarcón also added that the reputation of the sorcerers was so well established that even if they failed to provide the valid remedy no consequences or charges were ever pressed against them (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 146). Additionally, Alarcón stated that there were more women than men arrested for fortune-telling practices. And not only Indians, but also Spaniards were consulting diviners (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 148). The parallel between divinatory practice and calendar rites can be established by the use of calendrical metaphors used in the spells.

3.4 Ritual language theory

In terms of linguistic analysis of ritual language there can be a distinction made between encoding the meaning and linguistic analysis. Accordingly, an anthropological like approach that can be referred to as semiotic or symbolic is concerned with the understanding of the sense of statement made in ritual incantations. On the contrary, a linguistic model focused on more scientific methodology, called syntactical, at its focal point it researches pattern of word order in a sentence, in order to establish the grammatical rules behind the ritual structure (Bell 1997, 68; Keane 1997).

The structural correlation of language and ritual had been noted in the morphological studies. It has been pointed out that linguistic morphemes parallel to construction of ritual elements. Moreover, comparison of the text to rites resulted in the statement of decoding the unconscious spoken words in order to verify their meaning (Bell 1997, 62). In other words, the symbols, regarded as a system in themselves, are considered to be encoded in the hidden structural model.

Rapaport (1999 ,151) pointed that “It is virtually definitive of ritual speech that it is stereotyped and stylized, composed of specified sequences of words that are often archaic, is repeated under particular, usually well established circumstances, and great stress is often laid upon its precise enunciation”.

Nevertheless, symbolic language as a means of ritual has been considered not only a medium of communication of the ideas, but to a certain extent act as those ideas. Furthermore, Tambiah (1968, 178) argued that spells have two dimensions; firstly they serve as a medium in interaction between man and divine, secondly they relate to the passage in ritual in matter. Malinowski (1965b) stated that words in the ritual context are not only a part of it act but they were the ritual. Utterances are connected to particular activity; they serve as a means to accomplish the practical outcome. For this reason they are used to communicate with the supernatural. It brings us to the discussion on pragmatics; the relationship between the ritual language and practical activity. Even though both aspects are considered inseparable, the distinction is made between earthly and divine (in Tambiah 1968, 198).

Tambiah (1968, 176) argued that “Some of us have operated with the concept of ‘magic’ as something different from ‘religion’; we have thought of ‘spells’ as acting mechanically and as being intrinsically associated with magic[...]” , as a result different form of communication.

With regards to the operation of the language, a distinction is made between the metaphoric and metonymic. This is to say the concept of metaphor is relatively straight forward; it has a double reference to the original thing and to the entity for which it is used. Hence the metaphor as dual in nature emphasises resemblance and allows conceptual thought. Whereas metonymic is used to stand for the entire concept, and can be used to develop complex structures of linguistic units (Tambiah 1968, 189).

It has been indicated that symbols and signs form a range of communication structures. While the former can be used as metaphorical link between itself and its addressee, the latter cannot appear in isolation. As a result, in order to determine the characteristic ritual manner of message, the mixture of both has to be taken into consideration (Bell 1997, 65).

Tambiah (1968, 176) distinguished rituals, either as acts executed through the medium of utterances, or dominated by the performance. It has been emphasised that the words become effective in the context of particular routine. Consider as an illustration the healing ritual of Sinhalese verbal form that consists of four sequences; mantra, kannalavva, kaviya, mantra. In that case, mantra represents knowledge restricted to diviners, while other parts are meant to be heard and understood by the observers. Moreover, in order to prepare the ground for the ritual, these spells contain allusions to myths, the parallels can be found in the treatise where we can find reference to myths as well (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 203-8). Worth mentioning is the fact that linguistic hierarchy has been

recognised in mantra in the occasion of reference to the gods and myth, this is to say that spells contain expressions from Sanskrit (Tambiah 1968, 177).

It is considered that rituals in a way serve as a means to express cultural ideas and forms of social organisation. Leach (1976) introduced the idea of ritual as a medium for transgression of cultural order that provide continuity of social categories. That is, the ritual acts as a go-between the level of cultural thought and collective experience, hence illustrating change as a continuous course of action (in Bell 1997, 67).

The differences between forms of speech are based on participants involved and assumptions that can be shared by them. In form analysis Keane (1997, 54) emphasises the pragmatic properties of the ritual speech employed in order to accomplish desired action. The form also involves supposition about the agency that serves as means to communicate between human and supernatural power (Keane 1997, 55).

There is also a distinction made between the roles of the participants. Distribution of the roles might be aimed at displacing the direct responsibilities from the individuals involved. In addition, participants can be divided into directly involved and the addressee who is invisible (Keane 1997, 58).

3.5 Nahuallatolli

The sacred language used by the Aztecs is referred to as nahuallatolli. It is a ritual speech used to address the supernatural forces through the use of metaphors. The entities are spoken to in the manner of encoded language (Boone 2007, 4).

The term nahuallatolli is formed from the root word nahual, where nahualli is the term that refers to sorcerer, whose characteristic is the ability to transform, convert disguise or trick. Moreover, the word tlamacazqui refers to the means of sorcerer identification with the entities (Mikulska 2010, 328). “[...] the divine being to whom it is directed is identified through personification , kinship, locality, or the physical characteristics attributed to him, his position in the divine calendar, or his mythological entity ect.”(Jansen 1985, 6 in Mikulska 2010, 328)

In the disguised speech the same metaphor can be related to different entities and as a result it increases the secrecy of the message. Therefore, nahuallatolli is recognised to involve multiple repetitions and parallel meanings (Mikulska 2010, 330).

The magical formulas of the sacred language include metaphors, metonyms, synecdoche, antonyms, paraphrase and diphrasisms that have been emphasised to play an important role in the Mesoamerican languages (Mikulska 2010, 329).

It has been pointed out that the nahuallatolli existed along with the language of the nobles- tecpillatolli and the regular language- macehuallatolli (López Austin 1967,1; Jansen 1985, 6 in Mikulska 2010, 326). It has been stressed that nahuallatolli is the most complex form of language used; however the principles of it as well as tecpillatolli are the same (Jansen 1985, 6).

López Austin indicated a few characteristics of the metaphorical language used in the spells. Just to mention some: personification of various entities through the use of metaphorical names of the gods as well as calendrical names; the identification of the myth with the ritual procedure; the use of terms that refer to supernatural powers and perimeters of power (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 43). Alarcón makes reference to the language used in "long incantation full of unused words and others very difficult to understand, together with other symbols" He also indicates the difficulty in interpretation of the language and superstitious tradition; hence he gives the explanation of the spells. He points out for example that the sorcerer calls himself using metaphors in order to establish his authority. Moreover, according to Alarcón the quality of language is supposed to evoke more respect among the participants of the ritual (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 180).

In short, the Nahuatl term nahuallatolli is used to refer to metaphorical language of the spells. The systematic analysis that is carried out in the case study is the analysis of the nahuallatolli names present in the spells that are of calendarical nature.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the calendrical names in the treatise

The objective of this research is systematic analysis of calendrical names based on the treatise by Alarcón which constitutes the primary source of this study. In order to provide coherence the analysis of the calendrical names has been performed according to treaty. Therefore each treaty is presented as a separate study. At first, the context of the spell is described, along with the identification of the calendrical metaphors. For clarity, the tables that contain comparison of identification of metaphorical meaning in both editions are presented. In addition, tables contain the location of the calendrical names within particular treatise and the spells. At the end of each section the calendrical metaphors are analysed and differences in interpretation compared. The last part of the chapter contains the study of the relevance between the calendrical names of the spells and day signs of the Borgia Codex, plates 9-13.

4.1 Fifth treaty

The fifth treatise consists of four chapters and introduction. The introduction tells us about the purpose of divination and fortune telling among the native population. This information has been partially used in the third chapter, while defining such practises. With regards to the spells, calendrical names appear in three of the incantations. There are three metaphors recognised; One Rabbit, Four Reed and Seven Snake. The spells in this treaty that include calendrical names relate to the health prognostications and fortune telling, in some cases only description of entities is provided instead of the whole spell since only the addressees and purpose of the procedure changes.

I. The first chapter includes what Alarcón considered as the most universal divination involving fortune telling from measuring the hands and associated spells. It was performed by specialists who

were referred to as *ticitl*. It was the most commonly used divination for a variety of purposes, from recognising the cause of sickness and prescribing relevant medicine to locating missing things and people (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 143).

In order to conduct such a procedure the sorcerer prepared himself with piciete or tenexiete, which is addressed during the invocation, in the first phase, along with the land – One Rabbit and hands, which they call Five-tonals- owners. The purpose is to ask for help to diagnose the client sickness. A similar procedure is described in thirteen phase where the diviner is searching for the cause of sickness; he is asking the entities who should he blame for misfortune?, therefore he refers to ; One Rabbit- the land, Four Reed- the fire, or other forest gods (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 149). Once the entity and cause were identified, the offering had to be made on the spot where the client got sick including, among others, incense, candles, bouquets, or pieces of cloth. Alarcón gathered information about the sacrifices from the witnesses as well as some of the offerings that had been brought to him and he therefore had undeniable proof and could gain in depth knowledge about the objects that were used for this purpose (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 150).

II. Second incantation is also about the fortune telling from hands but it had a different procedure than the previous one. The fire- Four Reed was addressed in the first phase, as "the master of all the work" (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 150-1).

III. Third incantation is used for fortune telling from maize. The diviner chooses nineteen or twenty-five kernels; the amount differs according to the ways of divination. The Maize kernels are identified as Seven Snake. The prognostications involving maize kernels can be used for a variety of purposes, hence the context and the invocation can change (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 153-4).

Nahuatl name	Calendrical name	Andrews/Hassig 1984	Coe/Whittaker 1982	Additional notes
Ce-tochtli	One Rabbit	the earth I:1,13	The earth's surface I (2)	
Nahui acatl milinticah	Four Reed	the fire I:13, II:1	fire I(1)- four reed swirling	
Chicome-coatl	Seven Snake	the maize kernels III:1	III	

One Rabbit- is identified in both editions as the earth surface or land. The calendrical name is followed by “She-is-supine, She-lies-glittering, Mirror that is just smoking hither” (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 144), therefore it can be concluded that it is a female entity they refer to.

Four Reed- indicated by authors as a metaphorical name for the fire. It is invoked along with the words “he-is-scintillating” in the first chapter (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 149). And in the second chapter Four Reed appears along more elaborate metaphor “he-is-scintillating, Yellow-hair, Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli, Teteoh Intah, Teteon Innan”. Therefore all are ritual names for the fire (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 151). Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli was in classical times War- Sacrifice-Sanguinary Nourishment god, Teteoh Intah means father of the gods and Teteon Innan, mother of the gods, was in classical times the goddess of midwifes and physicians (Sahagún 1970, 15-16 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 235-6). Moreover Coe and Whittaker translate the Nahuatal names in the second chapter directly; “Yellow Hair, Lord of the House of Down, Father of the Gods, Mother of the Gods” (1982, 210).

Seven Snake- is interpreted as the maize kernels. Tlazohpilli appears ahead of the calendrical name; hence it was used as a metaphor for maize kernels as well. It is translated as dear or beloved thing (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 239). Here again the other edition gives us direct meaning; “precious prince” (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 213).

4.2 Sixth Treatise

Sixth treatise is the longest in the manuscript. It contains thirty- two chapters, nine of which contain calendrical names. The theme of the treaty is dedicated to medicine and healing. Here again Alarcón emphasised the importance of the professional witch doctors called ticitl that were consulted with concern of various natures and in this case healing. Once a sorcerer recognised the angered entity offerings were made in order to please it. When it comes to divination it was executed by the means of fortune telling or drinking one of the sacred plants ololiuqui, peyote or tobacco either by the sorcerer or the client (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 157).

I. The first chapter describes the practise associated with childbirth. In general women are assisting in the process, the professionals are called Temixiuitiani, which in literal translation means “one who customarily causes somebody to give birth” –midwife. In terms of the spell its purpose is to have a successful childbirth. There are two calendrical names; first they address their hands, the land – One Rabbit, as well as piciete in order to be cooperative in childbirth. In the second phase the reference is

made to Four Reed –the fire, in the view of the fact that the midwife intends to avail herself along with the copal and anise (Andrews and Hassig 1984,159, 246).

III. Third spell purpose is to find a remedy for diagnosed sickness. The invocation in general is addressed to the water- Chalchiuhcueyeh. In the eight phase the spell contains thirteen calendrical names, which, however, do not serve as metaphors but are recited in a row;One Water, Two Water, One Reed, Two Reed, One Rabbit, Two Rabbit, One Deer, Two Deer, One Flint, Two Flint, One Lizard, Two Lizard (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 165).

IV. The invocation is used for healing headaches. The reference is made to many entities and helpers, among others piciete, yautli- anise and chalalatli root. It contains one calendrical name in the fourth phase which is also addressed to; Nine Wind –the ticitl's breathe (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 169).

V. The superstition for curing bloodshot eyes contains four calendrical names that are identified as the veins; One Snake, Two Snake, Three Snake and Four Snake. Since the cure is performed with the cold water it is also one of the addressees (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 169).

XII. Following incantation regards applying cupping glasses. The spell is used in order to summon the tools that they use for the procedure. As a result they address cotton as well as the fire- Four Reed that appears in the spell twice (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 176).

XIII. The spell used as a cure for a pain in the chest. During the procedure among others entities evoked Nine Wind- the ticitl's breath appears one time (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 178).

XVI. It is a spell used for bleeding. There are a few entities where the invocation is directed toward including one calendrical name One Jaguar- the lancet. The purpose is to make the client bleed (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 181).

XXI. The remedy for pain in the loins is an associated two phase spell which contains one calendrical name. Since the healer uses a warm rock or a comal, he addresses the fire- Four Reed to assist him in the process (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 188).

XXII. When it comes to the broken bones Alarcón presented three different incantations used for that purpose to heal the bones. Firstly, they apply the medicine poztecpatli to which the spell is spoken to as White Priest as well as to the splints identified as One Water. Therefore the incantation contains only one calendrical name (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 189-190) The next spell has a completely different structure. It contains the reference to the myth of Quetzalcoatl's visit to Mictlan.(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 371). They also argue that through reference to the myth curer "opens" the passage to the spiritual world that reflects itself in the changes of physical sphere. (Andrews and Hassig 1984,

295) There is one calendrical name referred to Eight Flint- maguey addressed in the third phase (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 190).

XV. The superstition used for curing rash and impetigo resemble in a way methods used as a remedy for other conditions. They used water and other medicine such as tlacopatli, piciete and axin. The invocation is attended to water and other entities to acquire help in the curing process. In this case Four Reed identified as the rash is referred to three times in the first phase. In the second phase there is one calendrical name mentioned as well identified as coanenepilli- Nine Reed (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 195-6).

XXXII. The chapter on superstition used as a remedy for wound and toxin of the scorpion contain two different spells. In the second one there is one calendrical name that appears in the eight phase; Seven Flower identified as male deer. There is an involvement with the myth likewise in the first example (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 204-8).

Nahuatl name	Calendrical name	Andrews&Hassig (1984)	Coe&Whittaker (1982)	Additional notes
Ce-tochtli	One Rabbit	the earth I:1	the earth surface	
Nahui acatl milinticah	Four Reed	the fire I:2, XII:1(2), XXI:1 the rash XXV:1(3)	the fire 6:I red swirling 7:IX	Red Woman XXV: 4 Red Chichimec XXV:5
	One, Two, Three, Four Snake	the veins V:1		
Chiucnauhehehcatl	Nine Wind	the ticitl's breath IV: 4, XIII:1	the breath 7:I, 7:X	
Ce-Ocelotl	One Jaguar	The lancet XVI:1	the lancet 7: XIII	
Ce-atl itonal	One Water	the splints XXII:1	wood or objects of wood 7:XIX	
Chicuetecpacihuatl	Eight Flint	maguey by extension pulque XXII:3	maguey 7:XIX	
Chiucnauhacatl	Nine Reed	the coanenepilli XXV:2	the coanenepilli 7:XXII	Red woman XXV:3 (the blood XVI:2)

Chicome-xochitl	Seven Flower	the deer XXXII:8	the deer 7: XXIX	

Nine Wind is a calendrical name and is identified as the breath in general but Coe and Whittaker (1982, 249) added that the name also means Plumed Serpent that. Andrews and Hassig (1984, 169, 178) interpreted it as the ticitl's breath. Alarcón (in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 168) translates it as "you wind" not recognising the calendrical metaphor. Caso refers to it as obsidian lancet or razor (1959:81 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 363).

One Rabbit is identified as the earth surface in both editions.

One Water, Alarcón noted refers "to the boards with which they splint it" (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 270). In general it is referred to as wooden objects.

Four Reed is, in general, recognised as the fire. In addition it is followed by the phrases such as "Yellow-haired, Yellow Priest" (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 245). It follows that it is also used as a metaphor for the rush. Alarcón noted that the rush is also called Red Woman (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 279). Apart from this, Andrews and Hassig also indicated Red Chichimec as a metaphor for the rash (1984, 196-7).

Nine Reed is identified as a medicine called coanenepilli. Alarcón notes also referred to Red Woman as a name for coanenepilli. When it comes to Serna he identified here Nine Reed as Tlacolteotl (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 279). On this instance Andrews and Hassig argue that the manuscript contains misspelling and it should be rewritten as filth-goddess, Tlahzolteótl, however they decided to translate it as filth spider(1984, 369).

One Jaguar identified as the lancet. Alarcón on this occasion explained the spell he recorded that the sorcerer had spoke to the lancet "possessed one and jaguar"(in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 254). Hence, again he did not recognise the metaphor as a calendrical name. In classical times it was a name for Tlatlauhqui Tezcatl- Ihpoca, Xipe, Quetzalcoatl or Tlahzolteotl (Caso 1959, 92 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221).

Eight Flint is identified by editors as maguey or pulque by extension. However ,Alarcón translated it as eight in order, he did not recognise the calendrical name in it (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 270). Moreover the line that follows and also refers to maguey seems to provoke discussion. The word in question is tláloccihuátl. Both edition stated that Alarcón's understanding of the passage as macaw is inaccurate. Coe and WHittaker (1982, 268-270) translated it as Tlaloc Woman, while, Andrews and

Hassig (1984, 190) considered this interpretation as invalid and decided to read it as Land- Wine-Woman.

Seven Flower has been identified as a male deer. (more extensive description is included in the second treatise analysis)

One Water, Two Water, One Reed, Two Reed, One Rabbit, Two Rabbit, One Deer, Two Deer, One Flint, Two Flint, One Lizard, Two Lizard (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 361) declare that the calendrical names do not have relation to other parts of the invocation and are used as a list of tonals in order to identify the missing one. Therefore, no further analysis is required for classification of these calendrical names.

4.3 Third Treatise

Third treatise focuses on the superstitions of farmers. The spells concern sowing different types of plants such as maguey, maize, squash and others. With regard to its length it is a relatively short treaty and consists of seven chapters including one without invocation, which is however important since it includes calendrical names. In addition three spells out of six contain calendrical names. There are six calendrical names recognised in the spells: Eight Flint, One Flint, One Rabbit, One Water, Seven Eagle and Seven Snake.

In addition, Alarcón states that the incantations for sowing are of a similar nature except of the seed metaphorical name that changes accordingly. The spells in most cases are invoked by a specialised person to whom Alarcón refers the term *nahualtocaitl*, which he translates as “name that the wizards use” (in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 124).

I. The spell used for cultivation of maguey, an important plant for preparation of alcoholic beverage. Alarcón presents a few variations of the procedure. In the first instance, in preparation for planting they use piciete as a guard for successful process. They prepare the stick to dig up small maguey plants and address it in invocation, which is identified as One Water and the maguey as Eight- Flint (woman). Having plants prepared they bring them to the place where they want to cultivate them and again speak to Eight- Flint as welcoming, in the second phase. When plants are ready for harvest and to be brewed into pulque, they address One Water- the pruning stick twice and Eight Flint again in the third phase. The fourth phase refers to removing the heart of the plant, Eight Flint is mentioned twice and also a device to conduct the procedure is referred to as well, red Chichimec- the spoon. Moreover, Alarcón also provides the variation to second phase and in this case they address the land- Tlalteuctli and identify Eight –Flint as well (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 121-123).

II. The second incantation is for planting maize and, it consists of four phases. The farmer addresses digging stick –One Water, and speaks of the maize- Seven Snake to cooperate and get ready for sowing. The third phase indicates the same addressees. In following fourth phase the spell is directed to the land to prepare for Seven Snake (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 125).

VI. The spell used for sowing squash. It is a relatively short invocation and includes two calendrical names; first the farmer addresses One Rabbit-the land, and speaks of One Flint as a metaphor for squash seeds. As with the above spells, the purpose is to achieve successful planting of the seeds (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 7).

Nahuatl name	Calendrical name	Andrews/Hassig (1984)	Coe/Whittaker (1982)	Additional notes
Ce-atl itonal	One Water	the digging stick I:1, II: 1,3 the pruning stick I:3(2)		
Chicuetecpacihuatzin	Eight Flint (woman)	maguey I:1,2,3(2), 4(2), 5		Alarcón mistranslation as "woman of eight in order"
Chicome-coatl	Seven Snake	the maize II:1,3,4	maize kernels II	Alarcón-maize
Chicome-quauhtzin	Seven Eagle	squash III:3		Alarcón "possessed one of seven branches"
Ce-tochtli	One Rabbit	The earth VI:1		
Ce-tecpatl	One Flint	Knife metaphor for the squash seed VI:1		Alarcón "the seed" Serna- squash seed

Eight Flint appears in the first invocation seven times. It is recognised as a calendrical name for the maguey plant in both editions. Alarcón states that Chicuétecpacihuátzin reads "woman of eight in order or in a row", his justification is that they put the plants in rows of eight by eight(in Andrews

and Hassig 1984, 122). Hence he does not recognise calendrical association. Caso (1959, 94) referencing Seler (1904, 992) also identified it as maguey due to representation of this date on the upper rim of the Bilimeck jar (both in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 349).

One Flint appears only once in the spell for sowing squash. However there is a lot of disagreement with regards to its meaning. Andrews and Hassig (1984, 128) argue it is a knife metaphor for squash seeds. Coe and Whittaker (1982, 44) translate it as squash seeds as well. Alarcón's notes says it is a seed, without further reference, while Serna states it is a squash seed due to its shape (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 183). Moreover, López Austin disagrees with the above arguing that despite being a calendrical name it should be considered as a piece of flint (1967, 21 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 351). In classical times it was a name for Huitzilopochtli (Caso 1959, 92 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221).

One Rabbit appears in the sixth spell once. It is recognised as metaphor for land in both translations. Moreover in the first spell land is referred to as Tlalteuctli (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 123). In classical times it was a god of earth (Durán 1967, 1: 169 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 238). While in the second spell the earth is defined as "Mirror whose surface just lies smoking hither" (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 125). For this reason Serna states that it is because the land is cleaned by water and in the morning it evaporates what is considered a smoke (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 176).

One Water appears in two spells, the first and second. It is referred to 5 times in total. It is recognised as wooden objects.

Seven Eagle is mentioned in the third chapter but not in the context of a spell. Since Alarcón mentioned that all the spells are similar in nature he wanted to avoid repetition. He states, without recognising calendrical name that the meaning is "possessed one of seven branches", as an explanation he uses resemblance between branches and horns (in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 177; Andrews and Hassig 1984 126). However it is recognised as squash seeds in both English translations of the manuscript.

Seven Snake appears three times in second spell. It is recognised as maize in both editions. Alarcón gives direct note about the reference to maize (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 125). Furthermore in the fourth phase the name Tlazohpilli proceeds Seven Snake, which also makes a reference as a metaphor for maize. In translation it means precious thing and noble person either man or woman (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 125, 239). Moreover there is a similar explanation for the meaning of the number as for Eight Flint. "[...] either because of the tied bunches of the ears or because of the stalks on which it is produced, for usually they sow them and they are born seven by seven or because of the rows of kernels on the same ear which resemble the snakes stretched out in different colours" (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 125).

4.4 Second treatise

The second treatise is divided into seventeen chapters including spells. It is one of the longest tracts and contains most of the calendrical names that repeat in different contexts. In fact, nine spells out of seventeen include calendrical names. The themes of the spells refer to everyday activities; travelling, inducing sleeps, cutting wood, hunting, and bee keeping. The spells also address particular entities, which are supposed to assist and protect ones who invocate them.

There are nine calendrical names identified in the treatise; One Water; One Death; One Flint; One Rabbit; Four Reed; Seven Jaguar; One Grass; One Snake; Seven Flower.

I. The first spell of the tract is one that protects the traveller on the road. Since he is invoking the spell to help him and not somebody else, it appears he is not a sorcerer (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 260). The spell is directed toward various weapons as well as the person who addresses the spell. Its purpose is to encourage him during the road and make it easy for him to travel (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 7). There are four calendrical names identified; One Water, One Flint, One Death and One Rabbit. The first two signs appear in the spell two times, while the other two only one time each. In this case, One Water, One Death and One Flint are invoked in the third phase and identified as weapons; the staff or the priest, rocks and the knife accordingly (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 75, 77). Following in the final sixth phase three names; One Rabbit meaning the land, One Water; the club and One Flint; the knife, come in to view while dealing with the final command for the road(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 78).

II. The purpose of the spell to induce sleep is to take advantage of women. The addressee is a trance into which a woman would fall and the knife which will test the strength of the hypnosis (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 261). There is only one calendrical name in the spell in the second phase; One Flint identified as the knife (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 79).

III. The invocation for cutting wood contains one calendrical name identified as tree, One Water. The spell is addressed to piciete; nine-rock-pounded one, which is entrusted with the work and provides protection while cutting the tree, as well as the tree itself. The calendrical name is included in the third phase (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 83).

IV. On rare occasion the spells were brought to the attention of Alarcón in a written from. As an example, fourth spell was found accidentally and additionally it was signed by the owner, who received it from somebody else. When it comes to the spell it was used for carrying loads and

travelling in order to provide safe trip. The spell consists of seven phases and, as from the fourth phase is spoken to piciete; green-rock-slapped-one, green-rock pounded one, and the last phase containing calendrical name One Rabbit is addressed to the land. With the last part he states that the land will no longer have power to distract him on the road (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 85-86).

V. The spell of those who make lime and rig kilns, consists of eight phases and is divided into five stages. Different entities are addressed during the process of invocation. The calendrical names emerge six times in the course of action. The First phase starts with cutting the wood and addresses the axe, One Water is identified as the tree. Following in the third segment, he addresses the firewood referring to One Water (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 87; 265). One Death recognised as limestone is required to secure cooperation in order to rig the lime kiln during the third stage of the process. Moreover the lime is referred to as White Woman as well in the sixth segment. Hence having all prepared and secured the spell addresses fire to perform its duties. Four Reed appears three times in the last part of the incantation. Along also the wind is addressed in order to support the fire (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 87-89). Alarcón also gives a description of the ritual which is associated with the spell. When the fire is set they dance around the kiln and drink, although what is the drink is not specified, it causes people to become drunk and they all fall asleep (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 89).

VI. The spell is used when the person intends to hunt fowls or deer. The first is described in sixth invocation, with the intention to trap the birds in the net set up at the river bank. The calendrical name that appears in the spell is One Water with reference to the sticks in the context of setting up the net. The outcome is to catch the birds (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 90).

VII. Interesting enough they used incantation for seeking beehives and bees. Also this spell came to the attention of Alarcón (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 91) in a written form passed by one of his entrusted men. He refers to the person, whose profession it was, Ticitl tlamatini- very wise doctor, and brought to his attention he made the man confess invocation. Although as stated above it was very challenging to do so among the professional sorcerers. The intention of the spell was to prepare for bee hunting. The addressee was firstly; Seven Jaguar- maguey-fibre net sack and sandals named as earth face slappers. There is disagreement between interpreters regarding the meaning of the calendrical sign- refer to table 1. Followed in the second stage the spell is invoked by a bee hunter who identifies himself with One Snake, in addition in the second phase One Grass has been identified as the sandals and addressed to for support (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 92).

VIII. The incantation for hunting deer is the longest of the second treatise. It consists of three incantation including twenty-two segments. There are five calendrical names identified; One Water, One Rabbit, One Grass, Four Reed and Seven Flowers, they appear about eighteen times in the spells. The first part is used in order to get everything ready for the hunt and is invoked inside of the hunter's

house, which is symbolic ground of the hunt. Therefore disturbance inside of the house can have a negative effect on the hunt itself. He speaks to many addressees; to the piciete, the fire, the earth, the ropes, the household- gods as well as the deer (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 267-8). Three calendrical names come to view in the second segment; One Rabbit -the earth, One Grass- the rope and Seven Flower- the male deer. Following in the forth segment One Grass and Seven Flower appear again. Four Reed- the fire appears in the sixth and seventh segment, however it is not spoke to but about, and will be the first to enjoy the fruits of the hunt; Seven Flower-male deer(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 95-97). Because all preparations were fulfilled, he is ready to depart for the forest and make invocation at the place in order to travel safely to the hunting ground. This invocation addresses the land- One Rabbit.

After arriving at the spot the invocation is aimed at capturing the deer. Male deer is referred to along with the rope, mountains and hunters hands. Therefore Seven Flower is mentioned four times in 12, 17, 18, 19 and 22nd phase. One Water- the stakes is referred to again in the sixteenth segment along with the rope (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 98; 101). And finally the last spell which is in a way a conclusion of the whole preparation process is invoked and four calendrical names take part in it as the final call towards the entities involved; One Rabbit, One Grass, One Water and Seven Flower. In addition the fire is referred to by its calendrical name Four Reed (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 104).

IX. Alarcón states that part of the superstition of the bowmen is directed toward the bow and arrows. Tenth spell of the treatise is as above, one supposes to provide good fortune during the hunt. For this reason there are two calendrical names used; One Water-the bow and Seven Flower -the male deer, repeated twice in the spell. Moreover in the context of invocation Alarcón noticed that the word tahui is repeated towards four directions (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 105-6).

XI. Some of the spells, most of which are included in the third treatise, are about the plants. However one used to protect the field from animals is still incorporated in the second treaty. In order to prepare for the invocation they get ready with fire and incense that they use for offerings at the edge of the field that requires protection. There is one calendrical name in the spell Four Reed- the fire, who is asked to help with burning incense (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 108).

Nahuatl name	Calendrical name	Andrews/ Hassig (1984)	Coe/Whittaker (1982)	Additional notes

Ce-atl itonal	One Water	the staff I:3 the priest I:3 the club I:6 the tree III:3 the tree V:1 the wood (priest) V:3 the stakes VI:2,VIII:16, 22 the bow IX:1	wood or objects of wood I	Alarcón- cudgel or tlamacazqui, the devil Alarcón heat, one time of one summer Alarcón- the tree
Ce-miquiztli	One Death	rocks I:3 the limestone V:4	limestone I	Serna-Tezcatlipoca López Austin-earth surface
Ce-tecpatl	One Flint	the knife I:3 the knife I:6 the knife II:2	squash seeds I	Serna Huizilopochtli Alarcón-rock Serna flint López Austin-unidentified deity
Ce-tochtli	One Rabbit	the land I:6, the land IV:7, VIII:2,10 the earth VIII:22	the earth surface I	Alarcón- the earth Serna Ixquitecatl, god of chance or the earth Alarcón the earth
Nahui acatl milinticah	Four Reed	the fire V:5,7,8 VIII:6,7 XI:3	the fire V , VIII, XI	
chicomocelotl	Seven Jaguar	maguey fibre VII:1	the net-carrying bag VII	Serna-net or a sack made of maguey fiber Caso –the squash
Cemmalinalli	One Grass	sandals VII:2 the rope VIII:2,4,7, 16, 22	VII	Caso-name of the land Alarcón- the grassland Cihuacoatl-the rope VIII:8,16
Ce-coatl	One Snake	Beehive hunter	VII	Caso- name of the

		VII: 3		wizard who represents Tezcatlipoca
Chicome-xochitl	Seven flower	male deer VIII:2,4,7,12,18, 19, 22 IX:1(2)	deer	Piltzinteuctli

One Water is the most common calendrical sign and appears in the second treatise ten times. It is identified as wooden objects in both editions. Although, the 1984 edition is more precise in terms of defining items it refers to. The circumstances are various. To begin with, One Water appears three times in the first spell, two times in the fifth and eighth and once in remaining 3; third, sixth and eleventh.

As far as its definition is concerned it is relatively similar in both editions. Some contrasts can be found with reference to Alarcón (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 107) his marginal note identifies One Water as the cudgel or *tlamacazqui* the priest of the idols. In the classical times this term was used to speak of a lower priest. Its translation means "one who will give something"(Andrews and Hassig 1984, 238). On the other occasion Alarcón speaks of tree (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 115).

One Death appears only two times in the spell one and five identified as rocks and limestone accordingly. Serna (1892, 317) states that it is a sign of Tezcatlipoca, while López Austin (1972, 2) says it is the earth surface (cited in Coe and Whittaker 1982, 107).

One Rabbit is mentioned five times on different occasions in the second treatise. The calendrical name is identified as the land or earth surface in both editions. Alarcón also declares it to be a metaphor for earth surface. Likewise Serna notes that the earth surface is invoked, but as well the god of chance Ixquitecatl (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 107-8). It was a calendrical name for Mayahuel, Xiuhteuctli, or Tlalteuctli (Caso 1959, 86 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221).

One Flint appears three times in the spells. It is identified as the knife by Andrews and Hassig (1984, 77) and as squash seeds by Coe and Whittaker (1982, 44), which actually has no relevance in the second treaty. There is disagreement about the definition of the object it refers to. Serna (1892) suggested that it is a flint, fire making tool, while López Austin (1976, 8) identifies it as deity (in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 325). One Flint was a calendrical name for Huitzilopochtli (Caso 1959, 89 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221).

Four Reed appears six times in the treatise. It is metaphor for the fire (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 88-89; 97; 108). It is accompanied by phases " he-is-scintillating, yellow-hair, Teteoh Innan, Teteoh Intah" that is mother of gods and father respectively (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 88; 235). Coe and

Whittaker (1982, 43) recognised the whole phase as fire- Four Reed Swirling, Yellow Hair, Mother of Gods, Father of Gods, Hair of Mist, Hair of Smoke.

One Grass is metaphorical name for sandals and the rope suggested by Andrews and Hassig(1984, 92). Alarcón note refers to the grassland (Coe and Whittaker 1982, 144). Caso follows Alarcón and suggests it is a name for the land (1959, 89 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 331). For some reason Coe and Whittaker do not provide any proposal for potential metaphor. Moreover, rope is also called Cihuacoatl, the female warrior (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 98, 101). One Grass was a calendrical name for Tetzauhteotl (Caso 1959, 89 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221).

One Snake is not very precisely defined. It appears in the seventh spell. According to Andrews and Hassig it is beehive hunter (1984,220). In addition, Caso states that it was name of the sorcerer in the classical times that represented Tezcatlipoca or the name for Xochiquetzal and Chalchihuitl Icue (1959, 83-84 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 331). Coe and Whittaker translate the name but do not define this calendrical name (1982, 127).

Seven Flower is a metaphorical name for male deer, it is mentioned seven times in the eight chapter and two in the ninth. The deer is also called Acaxoch and addressed as Priest, Seven Flower, Desert Owner throughout the invocations (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 95-104). Coe and Whittaker also recognise Seven Flower as a metaphor for a deer (1982, 44). In the ninth chapter Seven Flower appears along with the name Piltzinteuctli, which in classical times was a Rain-Moisture-Fertility god. Moreover , in the fourteenth chapter the name is used as a metaphor for a fish trap (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 105; 234; 112).

Seven Jaguar is a calendrical name and it appears once in the spell seven and it is used as a metaphor for maguey fibre net sack (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 92). Coe and Whittaker also recognised it as a net carrying bag (1982, 44).

4.5 Calendrical names and day signs

The systematic analysis of calendrical names in the treatise resulted in identification of eleven day sign to be recognised. The following analysis is meant to systematise the calendrical names that appear in the treatise and compare them with the calendrical day signs of the Borgia Codex as well as complementary information derived from the Florentine Codex.

Wind is the second calendrical day sign, in the spells for healing headaches and chest pain it is associated with number nine and identified as breath (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 169; 178).In classical days Nine Wind was associated with Quetzalcoatl (Caso 1967,78 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 223) The sign contains bad character. The patron of the day is wind god Quetzalcoatl, also associated with the day is the snake pierced by an arrow and throwing blood and smoke as a result of destruction(Anders and Jansen 1993, 92). The day of Nine Wind was considered evil and prognostication for those born under it was very negative (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 7). The patron of the day count is Chantico (Boone 2007, 48).

Snake is the fifth calendrical sign. According to Andrews and Hassig (1984) One Snake is a metaphor for beehive hunter but also One Snake, Two Snake, Three Snake and Four Snake represent the veins. In addition, Caso states that One Snake was the name of the sorcerer in the classical times that represented Tezcatlipoca or the name for Xochiquetzal and Chalchihuitl Icue (1959, 83-84 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 331). The day sign is associated with the goddess of the rivers and lakes-Chalchiuhtlicue. There are offerings of pine stick and rubber ball represented as well as rope and feathers next to it the anthropomorphic bird. It suggests the need for self-sacrifice and offerings. The sign indicates poverty and lack of home (Anders and Jansen 1993, 95). One serpent is considered good day sign. For those born on the day were to become wealthy, but could if he was careless. Also it was a good day for the merchants and travelling men (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 60). Moreover, the patrons of the trecena are Xiuhtecuhtli and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (Boone 2008, 48).

Death is the sixth sign in calendrical order, in the second treaty One Death is a metaphor for rock in the context of a weapon in order to travel safely and as limestone to secure the cooperation (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 75,77; 87-89). One Death was a calendrical name for Tezcatl-Ihpoca (Caso 1959 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221). In the codex the patron of the day sign is Metztii-Tecciztecatl nocturnal deity. The sign is characterised by the sadness and brevity of life. The offerings of wood and rubber, surrounded by the serpent suggest dangers adjoining the cult, a quetzal stands for success (Anders and Jansen 1993, 95). One death has a double qualities as a good and bad sign. The patron, Tezcatlipoca, required offering of the quail at the altar in order for one to receive favours. The god showed compassion to ones seeking it. Moreover it was a good sign for those born under it, they would be prosperous. On the other hand it was a day sign for the slaves. So the patron was said to enrich one but also to bring pain and affliction (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 34-37). The trecena patrons are Tecciztecatl along with Tonatiuh or Tezcatlipoca (Boone 2007, 48).

Rabbit is eighth day sign in order. One Rabbit is recognised as a metaphor for the land and is also referred to as Tlalteuctli (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 123). It was a calendrical name for Mayahuel, Xiuhteuctli, or Tlalteuctli (Caso 1959, 86 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221). The patron of the day sign is Mayahuel. There is pot of pulque represented along that indicates drunkenness. The

consequences are negative but it can also encourage the warriors. There is also a sign suggesting human sacrifice (Anders and Jansen 1993, 96). One Rabbit ends the calendrical day count and it is considered good day sign. Those born under the sign were prosperous in many aspects of life (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 127- 129). The patron of trecena is Xiuhtecuhtli and Xipe Itztapaltotec (Boone 2007, 48).

Water is ninth calendrical day sign. One water has been used as a metaphor for wooden objects (Andrews and Hassig 1984; Coe and Whittaker 1982). The patron of the day sign is god of opposite element fire- Xiuhtecutli. It is accompanied by scorpion and a house which represented with the smoke and steam. Water and fire symbolise the war. The scorpion is a metaphor for a conflict (Anders and Jansen 1993, 97). One Water is said to be an evil sign. The offerings were made to Chalchiuhtli icue, who represents the water, in particular by those who had occupation associated with water (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 99-100). The patron of the trecena is Chalchiuhtotolin (Boone 2007, 48).

Grass is the twelfth day sign. In the second treatise One Grass is recognised as rope or sandals and it appears in the context of seeking bees and deer hunt . It is also referred in the spell as Cihuacoatl- the female warrior. Although, Cihuacoatl was a Rain-Moisture- Agriculture Fertility goddess (Andrews and Hassig 1984,92; 95-98;101; 225). The patron of the day sign is Pahtecatl, god of the alcoholic beverage, the weapon presented next to the god suggest activities of warriors. Plaque is a drink based on maguey encourage people in the war and to take prisoners for sacrifice but it also causes aggression. There is indication for self sacrifice represented by the spikes of the maguey, represented is animal of the forest in the manner of the sacrifice (Anders and Jansen 1993, 98). The day sign of One Grass is dreadful and negative. Those born under this sign are living in misery (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 55). Here the patron of trecena is Mayahuel and sometimes along with Xochipilli or Centeotl (Boone 2007, 48).

Reed is thirteenth day sign. In the treatise it appears as metaphor for fire- Four Reed and the medicine Four Reed is accompanied by, Teteoh Innan, Teteoh Intah (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 88; 235). Also Nine Reed is present in the treatise as a metaphor for the medicine called coanenepilli (Andrews and Hassig 1984; Coe and Whittaker 1982). Four Reed is a calendrical metaphor for Notahtzin Nonantzin, Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli, Citlalli Icue, Tonatiuh and Tonacateuctli (Caso 1959, 91 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 231). Moreover, Nine Reed was a calendrical name for Tlahzolteotl (Caso 1959, 92 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 223). The day sign is associated with Itztlacoliuhqui a manifestation of Tezcatlipoca, who is represented, blindfolded and quetzal on top of his head as a symbol of fortune. The axe that falls on a throne means damage to authority (Anders and Jansen 1993, 99). Nine Reed belongs to trecena of One Snake whose patrons are Xiuhtecuhtli and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. While Four Reed belongs to One Dog count and his employer is Xipe Totec (Boone 2007, 48).

Jaguar is fourteenth calendrical day sign. In the treatise it appears as One Jaguar identified with the lancet while Seven Jaguar is identified as maguey fibre carrying bag (Andrews and Hassig 1984, Coe and Whittaker 1982). In classical times One Jaguar was a name for Tlatlauhqui Tezcatl- Ihpoca, Xipe, Quetzalcoatl or Tlahzolteotl (Caso 1959, 92 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221). The day sign patron is Tlazolteotl. The sign represents strength, courage, energy as well as dominant personality. The owl in the temple is represented along with the ladder with a bundle of straw that points the need for offerings (Anders and Jansen 1993, 100). One Jaguar trecena's patron is Quetzalcoatl, while Seven Jaguar belong to One Rabbit trecena whose patrons are Xiuhtecuhtli and Xipe/Itztapaltotec (Boone 2007, 48).

Eagle is fifteen day sign. Seven Eagle is metaphor for the squash seeds (Andrews and Hassig 1984; Coe and Whittaker 1982). The day sign is characterised by strength and courage as well as freedom. The employer of the sign is red Tezcatlipoca. The image also represents symbol of war. A snake with the rabbit in his mouth is a terrible force of the whirl (Anders and Jansen 1993, 100). Seven Eagle belong to trecena of One Water count and is associated with Chalchiuhtotolin (Boone 2007, 48).

Flint is eighteenth day sign in the calendrical count. In the treatise is associated with two numbers: one and eight. One Flint is identified as the knife (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 77). It was also a calendrical name for Huitzilopochtli (Caso 1959, 89 in Andrews and Hassig 1984, 221). Eight Flint is recognised as maguey plant (Andrews and Hassig 1984; Coe and Whittaker 1982). The patron of the day sign is the jewelled turkey, Chalchiuhtotolin a manifestation of Tezcatlipoca. There is a prescription for self sacrifice and fasting cords enclosing a priest piercing his eyes represented in the day sign properties(Anders and Jansen 1993, 102; Boone 2007, 54). One Flint is considered a good fortune. It was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli but the offerings were also made to Camaxtli. In addition, it has been pointed that One Flint was an important day for wine-makers who cut the maguey plants (Anderson and Dibble 1957, 77-79). The patron of One Flint trecena is Mictlantecuhtli and Tonatiuh, while of the count of One Monkey to which Eight Flint belongs is Patecatl (Boone 2007, 48).

Flower is the last day of the day sign. In the treatise it appears with number seven as metaphor for male deer, and is also referred to as Acaxoch or Piltzinteuctli (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 95-105; 112; 234). The day sign is associated with the patron Xochiquetzal, the goddess of flowers, arts and crafts. Also the sign is represented with elderly woman with the broken grinder, which symbolises death in the house (Anders and Jansen 1993, 104). Seven Flower belongs to the count of One Jaguar, therefore it is associated with Qoetzalcoatl (Boone 2007, 48).

Chapter 5- Conclusion

The objective of the research was to identify the calendrical names that served as metaphors for different entities and objects in the incantations. The systematic analysis of the English editions of the manuscript by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón resulted in identification of calendrical names that were further compared with the calendrical day signs of the Borgia Codex and additional information of the Florentine Codex.

The investigation resulted in the identification of calendrical names used as metaphors and exposed inconsistency in the previous studies conducted by scholars. The analysis also revealed the differences in interpretation in both English editions of the manuscript as well as the previous study. In this case none of the studies regarding the interpretation of metaphors can be definite, but should be rather considered as complementary.

The number of recognised calendrical names that hold metaphorical meaning differs between both editions. The English translations recognise fifteen and twelve calendrical names respectively. Hence Andrews and Hassig identified fifteen metaphors; Nine Wind- the ticitl's breath; One Snake- beehive hunter; Seven Snake- the maize kernels; One Death- the rocks, limestone; One Rabbit-the earth; One Water-the splints; One Grass-sandals, the rope; Four Reed-the fire; Nine Reed- the coanenepilli, One Jaguar- the lancet; Seven Jaguar- maguey fibre; Seven Eagle- the squash; One Flint- the knife; Eight Flint-maguey; Seven Flower-the deer.

On the other hand Coe and Whittaker recognised twelve calendrical names to have metaphorical meaning: Nine Wind- the breath; Seven Serpent- the maize kernels; One Death- limestone; One

Rabbit- the earth surface; One Water- objects of wood; Four Reed- the fire; Nine Reed- the coanenepilli; One Jaguar- the lancet; Seven Jaguar- net carrying bag; One Flint- squash seeds; Eight Flint- maguey; Seven Flower-the deer. As a consequence, despite the fact that they translated the calendrical names, they do not provide the interpretation for One Grass, One Snake and Seven Eagle.

For the most part, the general interpretation of the calendrical names is the same. The authors agree on most of the metaphorical meaning of the calendar names. The analysis of the calendrical names conducted in previous chapter also provided interpretations of the metaphors from the marginal notes of Alarcón. Some were also supported by the explanation of Serna, which in some cases differ from what has been concluded by the authors of the English translation as well as Alarcón himself. The names of the associated gods came from the study conducted by Caso (1959) and provide valuable addition to the interpretation of the calendrical names, in particular for the last part which focuses on the analysis of the calendrical day signs of the Borgia Codex. Moreover, the metaphors and analysis of the calendrical names and the gods presented by López Austin (1967), offer an alternative interpretation for some of the terms used in the spells.

At first it has to be pointed that the objective of the analysis was to recognise the calendrical names used as a metaphors in the spells. Where relevant there was a reference made to the associated terms and other metaphors presented in the spells. However it was beyond the aim of this paper to recognise all and provide the coherent analysis of all metaphors.

The data acquired as a result of systematic analysis of calendrical names can be further used in research of divinatory calendars. The comparison that has been conducted here is only a preliminary, and by no means comprises the ultimate result achieved by additional research.

One of the challenges of the interpretation is lack of coherence with the spelling of the Nahuatl names of the gods and other metaphors. It very often causes a lot of confusion and dispute in identification of the relevant gods while referring to different sources. As a result the Nahuatl names represented in the analysis lack the consistency but the reference is provided to relevant sources that were used.

The systematic analysis provides relatively complete data for further study. The calendrical names and identification of the metaphors they stand for is further compared with the calendrical day sign of Codex Borgia plates nine to thirteen as well as assigned to relevant trecena counts with related patrons. Some additional information on the calendrical day signs are derived from the Florentine Codex.

The relation between the calendrical names of the spells and the divinatory calendars of Borgia Groups has been established. It has to be stressed as noticed before in chapter 3 that there was a difference between the official priests, who required specialised knowledge in order to read the divinatory calendars and sorcerers who performed minor forms of the rituals and were the main focus

of attention of Alarcón. However, the presence of calendrical metaphors in the spells proofs that the calendrical knowledge was not completely beyond the acquaintance of the latter.

It appears clear that not all calendrical metaphors in the spells have direct association with the calendarical day signs. The reason for it is that calendrical names are related to numbers and as a result serve as different metaphors for different entities. Consider as an illustration One Flint that is a metaphor for a knife and name for Huitzilopochtli (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 128; 221) and Eight Flint that is recognised as calendrical name for maguey and has no association with any god (Andrews and Hassig 1984, 122). Therefore, the analysis can be only based on the calendrical names that stand as metaphors for the gods. And also it has to be taken into consideration that the comparison is made with the calendar day signs that represent general qualities of particular signs.

Hence, the preliminary analyses reveal the relation between certain calendrical names and calendrical day signs. The calendrical names used as metaphors have been identified to be also a metaphorical name for the gods. Out of fifteen calendrical names identified in the spells (Andrews and Hassig 1984) five contain the same set of gods that parallel with the calendrical day signs of the Borgia Codex. The remaining calendrical names represent different gods that show no parallel with the day signs.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the knowledge of the calendars could not have been complete after the hundreds years of the process of Christianisation but also due to the minor dimension of the ritual in question. The sorcerers involved in this ritual activity in principle did not have a direct contact with the divinatory calendars since this knowledge required years of study. However, the fact that the calendrical metaphors appear in the context of the minor divinatory practices and everyday activities in the invocations emphasises the importance the divinatory calendars, and the knowledge encoded in these religious books, played in everyday lives of Mesoamerican people.

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