

The arms employed by the Mexica to forge their vast empire were the same as those used by peoples before them for a millenium at least, give or take a few innovations that were introduced along the line, and some of them went back even further in time. They were not only simple by today's standards of weaponry but also by European standards at the time of the Conquest. Indeed, it was their very primitive nature that guaranteed the defeat of the Indians by the Spaniards despite the overwhelming numerical disadvantage of the latter.

The best collection of data relative to the arms and insignia of the Mexica is found in the *Códice Matritense de la Academia de la Historia*. It consists of descriptions in Nahuatl of the arms and insignia of the kings and captains in the form of succinct notes (fos. 68-69r.) and drawings in color of most of the objects described (fos. 72r.-80r.). Needless to say, the combination of text and illustration is invaluable to the student of the Nahuatl culture, and terse though the notes may be, they are exceedingly informative, as the reader will see in the translation that follows.

Because the Mexica arms, both offensive and defensive, were constructed largely out of perishable materials—wood, bamboo, leather, cloth, and feathers in a variety of combinations—few examples have survived the ravages of conquest, time and damp. The gold and silver adornments that embellished many of these objects were torn off by the Spaniards and either divided among themselves as booty, or melted down into ingots and sent to Spain as part of the King's Fifth. Remains of the non-perishable projectile points abound, however, and happily, a few spear throwers, *atlatl*, some of them exquisitely carved, that can be seen in various museums in the U.S., Europe, and Mexico.

Among the offensive arms of the Mexica were the long, wooden spear, *tepuztopilli*, with a stone, obsidian, or copper point; a short spear, *tlacochtli*, similarly tipped, that was hurled with a spear

thrower, *atlatl*; a spear with a three-pronged tip, *tlatzontectli*; a kind of broadsword, *macuahuitl*, usually referred to by its Taino name, *macana*, which was a flat piece of wood set with obsidian knives in grooves along the two edges, and was a favorite weapon of the Mexica; a similar weapon, the *macuahuitzoctli*, which had four edges and was pointed at the tip; the bow, *tlahuitolli*, strung with animal tendons; fire-hardened arrows, *mitl*, with points of obsidian, flint, or animal or fish bones; the sling, *tematlatl*, which was another favorite of the Mexica; and finally, the wooden club, *cuauhololli*.

Though these weapons were not terribly efficient by modern standards, they were perfectly suited to the military needs of a people who were far more interested in taking captives for sacrifice to the gods than in killing their adversaries. It was for this reason that the *macana*, which brought the warriors within arm's length of his foe, and the sling which hurled stones that stunned but did not kill, were the Mexica weapons of predilection.

Their defensive arms were equally suited to their needs. Round or oval shields, *chimalli*, were made of sturdy bambo overlaid with leather, tortoise shell, copper, gold, or silver and adorned with precious stones in designs that accorded with the rank of the owner. A padded cotton shirt, *ichcahuipilli*, offered near-perfect protection against enemy spears, arrows, and stones. Over this was worn a tunic, *ehuatl*, that hung to the knees and was adorned with feathers. Some warriors wore padded suits, like jump suits, which were also frequently adorned with feathers. So effective was this padded cotton armor that the Spaniards soon discarded their own heavy metal armor in favor of it, for as Bernal Díaz del Castillo remarks, "son buenos para entre indios, porque es mucha la vara, y flecha y lanzadas que daban, pues piedra era como granizo".¹ Unhappily for the Indians, their wonderful cotton armor did not avail against Spanish missiles. One could say that the adoption of the *ichcahuipilli* by the Spaniards is the symbol par excellence of the inevitability of the Conquest of Mexico.

Completing the list of defensive arms were the *cozehuatl*, greaves of leather, gold, or silver, to protect the legs.

Without doubt the most magnificent and most uselessly extravagant article of the warrior's attire was his insignia. Elaborate feathered de-

¹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, México, Editorial Robredo, 1944, v. 1, ch. xxiii, p. 116.

vices fashioned over bamboo or wooden frames and adorned with gold, silver, or shells, they were worn strapped to the backs of the warriors. They must have been cumbersome, indeed, but what did it matter when the enemy was similarly encumbered? Equally clumsy was a helmet-like affair consisting, also, of a bamboo or wooden frame representing the head of an animal and covered with feathers. This often, though not always, was part of a jump suit ensemble and was worn by certain orders of warriors. When put on, the head of the warriors was framed in the jaws of the animal giving him a fearsome aspect, which was the principal purpose of this headgear and not protection. In fact, to imbue the enemy with terror was a basic battle tactic.

When going into battle the Indians sang and whistled and shrieked the deafening war cry, beating their mouths with their hands, a sound to chill the blood of the most hardened warrior. Adding to the din was the hollow wailing of the conch shell trumpets and the shrilling of clay pipes. The Mexica's gaudy war array and insignia of richly-hued feathers sprang to life with every movement of the body, every puff of wind, and the gold and silver adornments sparkled in the bright sunlight.

In all history probably no more gorgeous army has ever gone to war!

TLATOQUE YN ITLATQUI YN ITLAUIZ *

Ychcauipilli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlapitzali tlacuilolo yuhquin quauhtly ic tlatlali tlatencuetlaxyotilli no memecayo cuetlaxtica.

Teocuitlaquauhtentel

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlapitzali tlacuilolo yuhquin quauhtly ic tlatlali teocuitlatl.

Mayananacochtli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlatzacutli yca yn mayatl xoxocti.

Maquauitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli auaquauitl tlapatlachxintli uel tlacencauali necoc tlacamacuicuitl oncan tlactectli yn itztlí anozo tecpatl ayocuitlatican (*sic*) tlazaloli.

Xiuhnacochtli

Ynic tlachiuhtli xiuhtica tlatzacutli ca motquitica.

* *Cod. Mat. Acad.* fo. 68r.

THE ARMS AND INSIGNIA OF THE MEXICA
THE DRESS AND INSIGNIA OF THE RULERS

The Padded Cotton Shirt

It is made in this manner: Fluffed up cotton is covered with cloth. On it is stitched a leather border. It also has leather thongs.¹

The Golden Eagle Lip Plug

It is made in this manner: It is cast in the form of an eagle; thus the gold is shaped.

The Green June Beetle Ear Plugs

They are made of a mosaic of green beetles.² (Fig. 2)

The Macana

It is made in this manner: A piece of oak is cut into a board. It is well-finished. Along both sides grooves are cut in which are set obsidian or flint knives glued with turtle dung. (Figs. 1-6)

The Turquoise Ear Plugs

They are made in this manner: They are entirely covered with a mosaic of turquoise. (Fig. 3)

¹ The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, Part IV, pls. I, X, XI, and others, and the *Codex Vaticanus 3738*, pls. XVII and LXXIX, show warriors wearing the *ichcahuipilli* with ties in front. However, some *ichcahuipilli* were closed and slipped over the head, as shown in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 25, the figure on the extreme left, and in the *Codex Vaticanus 3738*, pl. LXXIX. In the latter is the statement that, "resiste las flechas que, atravesando las más fuertes cotas de malla y hasta algunas corazas, no pueden pasar estos *escauipiles*."

² Hallorina dugessii. See Santamaría's *Diccionario de Mexicanismos* under *mayate*. Is it the *Cotinis nitida*?

Chimalli quetzalxicalcolihqui

Ynic tlachiuali otlatl yn tlazayantli ychicpatica tlaupantli teotlatica tlaupauilitili yoan tlazoiuitica tlazacutli quetzaltica tlatlacuiloli.

Quetzalcuexyo chimalli

Inic tlatzacuali toztli quetzaltica tlacuiloli tentlapilolo.

Tozmiquizyo chimalli

Ynic tlatzacutli zan motquitica toztli xiuhtotoiuitica tlacuiloli nepa(ntla) tzontecomatl yuhqui miquiztli.

Teocuitlaxapochimalli

Ynic tlatzaquali tlazo(i)uitl nepantla mani teocuitlayaualtic teocuitlapepeyocyo yn iten tlapilolo.

Et laaſt tlatoani pilli yniſlar q' ynitlaviz
 ychavipil . yxnhcuauh . yteucuitlacuapet .
 ychalchiuhſteuh . yteucuitlanacoch . yque
 balpakac . ychimal queſalxialcolihqui .
 ymaquauh . ytlaco maxſti . ytecpilac .



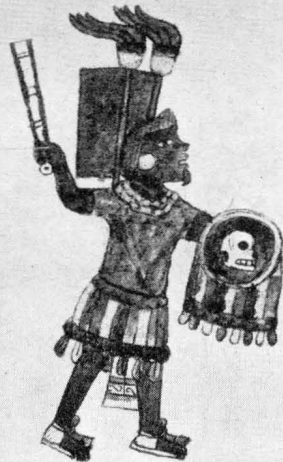
1

De noçet laaſt tlatoani pilli yniſlar q' ynitlaviz
 ychavipil . ypillivicuauh . yxnhſteuh . yma
 yanacoch . ychayanac cuqui . yquekalpapaluh
 ychimal queſal oexyo . ymaquauh . ytlaco
 maxſti . ytlaco .



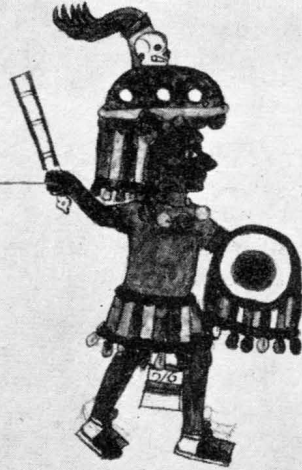
2

Ine cithcaui. inlat.
 ycheavipil. yfoz euauh. ychalchubtecut.
 ychahnaucuh. yteu cuitlapa. ychalchub
 cuzqui. ychimal tezmiqui yo. ymaquauh.
 ytlagmaxtli. ytecpilac.

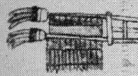


3

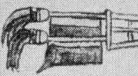
Auh y mē cūemil. tiyacaba ymistlaviz
 ymistamamal tiquaxolotl. ycheavipil.
 ytlapalivi euauh. yteucuitlanacoch. yya
 mes. yteuc^{tl}chipolcuzqui. ychimal teucui
 tlaxapo. yquā maxtli. ytlagac.



4



quegal paxoit



Caquapamifl



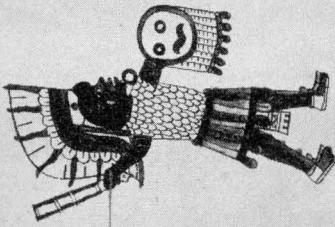
quegal quapamifl



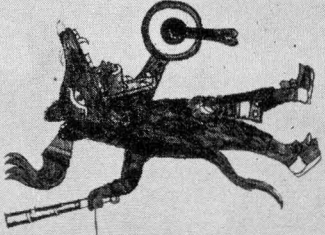
quegal yigi mifl



quegal quaxia moxaxath

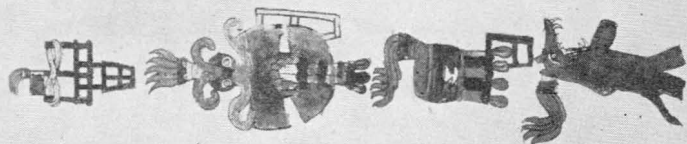


Jni comelacat ymiflar quimifla viz
yehavipal . yqaxacauab . yxandhaacab
yicauatitampifl . yqaxepaxac . ychimal
teaxacab . yllagmifl . ymacpauab . yllagac .



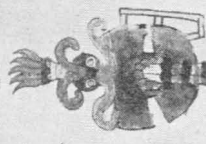
Jnic eliacat ymiflar qui ymiflaviz
yehavipal . yqaxacauab . yxandhaacat .
yehimal thixape . yquax maxeth . yllagac .
ymacpauab .

16



šā šā šā šā

17



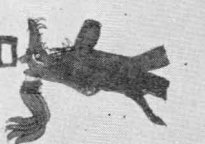
šā quā šā pa lo šā

18



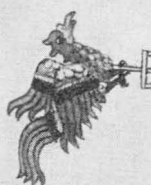
te ni ni šā a ve šā

19



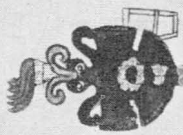
šā mo šā u yā šā

12



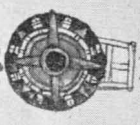
quē šā hā ve šā

13



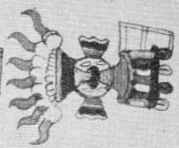
šo lo pa pu lo šā

14



šā quā te na šā hā

15



o me šā hā u yā šā

24



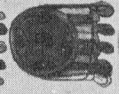
quatusiete popo chimalli

25



ogelote popo chimalli

26



chimalli teucuitla te te yo

27



que gal puy te qui chimalli

28



teucuitla ay cast iema tic

29



teucuitla coyana ay casti
teucuitla mi y pille qunt y la ay i t h se

20



ximib coyast

21



que gal coyast

22



is fac coyast

23



anana ayast

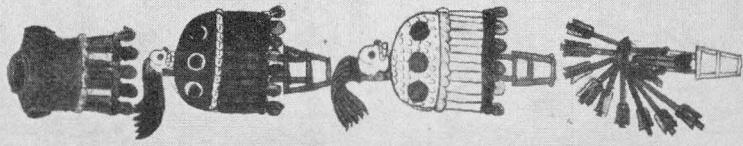
nia vmpax yquaabstia vighi

cha molenari

tlapal quaxcolotl

ysiac quaxcolotl

tlawch pigaceti



30

31

32

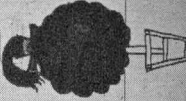
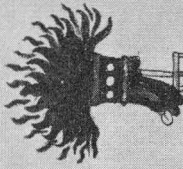
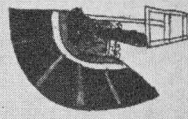
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Cuegal pigaceti

caant pigaceti

tlacoomaceti

tlapalli virelolotl



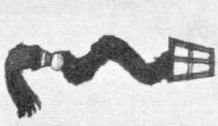
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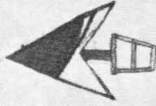
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42



fyccoalli

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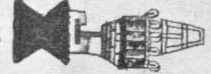
flapetus mit

44



flil papaloff

45



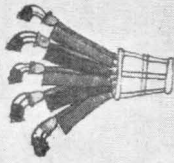
xacalli

38



ysine iwielofle

39



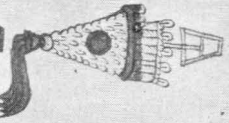
maculpanit

40



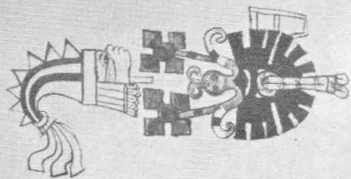
ys tagarfi

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ys facopilli

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mexajaculavijit

51



yspabespalot

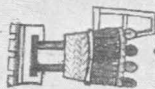
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vescolot.

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46



calicacualli

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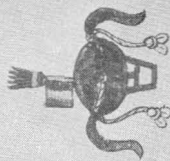
gacacalli

48



supifo

49



tlacumtli

62



tegecauzcaulo chimally

63



teceapo chimally

64



maxpalo chimally

65



ychun teapo chimally

66



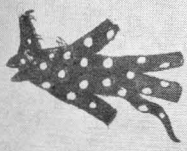
ychun te ~~te~~ coahyqui chimally

67



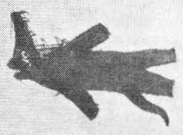
tlacaviteatly chimally

58



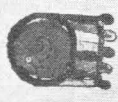
chital coyuse

59



tlitic coyuse

60



ix coahyqui chimally

61



chitalo chimally

yx tlapal panitl



54

tlapal coyotl



55

tle coyotl



56

chimallavoytli



57

The Quetzal Feather Shield With The Stepped Fret Design

It is made in this manner: Bamboo is split and the pieces bound together with maguey fiber. It is reinforced with heavy bamboo³ and covered with precious feathers. The design is of quetzal feathers.⁴ (Fig. 1)

The Huasteca Quetzal Feather Shield

It is made in this manner: It is covered with yellow parrot feathers. The design is of quetzal feathers and it has a hanging border of feathers.⁵ (Fig. 2)

The Yellow Parrot Feather Death's Head Shield

It is completely covered with yellow parrot feathers. In the center, in blue cotinga feathers, is the representation of a skull like a death's head.⁶ (Fig. 3)

The Golden Disc Shield

It is covered with precious feathers. In the center is a gleaming gold disc. It has a hanging border of feathers.⁷ (Fig. 4)

³ *Teotlatl*, a solid, thick bamboo, thick as a man's arm, according to Hernández, *Historia Natural*, t. II, v. I, p. 279. See also, Santamaría, *Diccionario de Mexicanismos*, under *otate*.

⁴ In the *Codex Mendoza*, pl. LXV, this shield is carried by a *cuachic* warrior, an order of fighters considered absolutely fearless, and by the high-ranking *Tizociahuacatl* on pl. LXVIII.

⁵ *Tentlapilollo* literally means, "it has a hanging border." That it is a border of feathers is implied.

The Huasteca design of crescents is associated with Tlazolteotl, Goddess of Lust and lunar goddess who originated in that region and who is always depicted wearing a nose ornament in the form of a crescent. Hers is another name for the Mother Goddess. In the festival of Ochpaniztli, Huastecs accompany the priest wearing the skin of the flayed woman who had been sacrificed as the Mother Goddess. (*Cod. Flor.*, D&A., Bk. II, p. 112; *Codex Borbonicus*, pl. 30; *Codex Borgia*, pl. 14.)

⁶ See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 50.

⁷ See also, *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, part IV, pl. XXVII.

Quauhtetepoyo chimalli

Ynic tlatzacutli quau(h)iuil y itetepo mochiuhticac auh in izte coztic teocuitlatl tentlapilolo.

Teocuitlateteyo chimalli

Ynic tlatzac(u)tli za motquitica toztli auh yn iztac teocuitlatl macuiltemani yn inepantla teocuitlapepeyocyo yn itlapilolo.

Poztecqui chimalli

Ynic tlatzaquali centlacol toztli centlacol quetzalli te(n)zouhqui

Coztic teocuitlazoyanacochtli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlatzotzontli teocuitlate(n)cuepqui zoyatic.

Cozcapetlatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlapitzali teocuitlatl tlatzatzaztectli epantitla pe-tlazotl tencoyollo.

Teocuitlacozcaatl temoltic

Tlapitzali in teocuitlatl tlacuilolo yuhquin temoli ipan tlaquixtili.

The Eagle's Foot Shield

It is covered with eagle feathers. The foot is fashioned upright and the claws are of gold. It has a hanging border of feathers.⁸ (Fig. 24)

The Silver Stones Shield

It is covered entirely with yellow parrot feathers and there are five shiny silver stones in the center. It has a hanging border of feathers.⁹ (Fig. 26)

The Cleft Shield

One half of it is covered with yellow parrot feathers, one half with quetzal feathers. It has an open border of feathers around the edge.¹⁰ (Fig. 27)

The Gold Palm Ear Plug

It is made in this manner: It is of beaten gold. The border turns back like a palm. (Fig. 29)

The Mat Necklace

It is made in this manner: Gold is cast. It is cut into strips and laid out in three rows like a fine mat. It has a border of round bells.¹¹ (Fig. 1)

The Golden Beetle Necklace

Figures cast in gold are made in the form of beetles. (Fig. 28)

⁸ The eagle foot is depicted on a blue background. Below it, is the *ocelotetepoyo chimalli* (fig. 25), "Jaguar Foot Shield," which the foot on a red background.

⁹ See also *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 17.

¹⁰ This illustration differs from the text in that it has *tentlapilollo*, a hanging border of feathers, whereas the text states that it has a border of feathers all around as in shield in fig. 66.

¹¹ Torquemada states that it is gold with stones. (Vol. I, p. 543.)

Chayauac cozcatl

Inic tlachiuhtli tlazotl yn teocuitlatl chalchiuitl tlaneloli nepantla pilcac teocuitlatl te(n) coyolo.

Chalchiuhcozcatl ololihqui

Ynic tlatlalili uel olotic yn chalchiuitl uel tomatic zan motquitica.

Xiuheuatl

Inic tlachiuhtli tilmatitech tlactectli tlaupantli in xiuhtototl tentlapilolo.

Pilliuieuatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan mochi piliuitl in itech tlactectli tilmatli tentlapilolo.

Tozeuatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli za(m) mochi toztli in itech tlactectli tilmatli tentlapilolo.

Aztaeuatl

Yn itech tlactectli tilmatli za(m) motquitica aztaiuitl tentlapilolo.

The Bestrewn Necklace

It is made in this manner: Gold and jade (beads) are strung together. In the center hangs (a jade disc) with round gold bells around the edge.¹² (Fig. 2)

The Necklace of Round Jade Beads

It is fashioned entirely of perfectly round, very thick pieces of jade. (Fig. 3)

The Blue Tunic

It is made in this manner: On a piece of cloth blue cotinga feathers are set in rows. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 1)

The Tunic of Princely Feathers

It is made entirely of princely feathers which are set on cloth. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 2)

The Yellow Parrot Feather Tunic

It is made entirely of yellow parrot feathers set on cloth. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 3)

The White Heron Feather Tunic

A piece of cloth is covered entirely with white heron feathers. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 5)

¹² In the *Cod. Mat. Acad.*, fo. 7v., the necklace is described thus: *coztic teocuitlachayauac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaualli yytic mani*, "a gold bestrewn necklace with a jade disc in the center." In the corresponding Spanish text (*Sah.* Bk. VIII, p. 298) is the description: "Traían una medalla colgada de un collar de oro, y en medio de ella una piedra preciosa y por la circunferencia colgaban unos pinjantes de perlas."

A superb illustration of this necklace can be found in the *Cod. Mat. Acad.*, fo. 55v. (*Primeros Memoriales*) in the color plate accompanying the text on the array of the kings.

Tozcoyotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli colotli tlatlalili yn iuhqui ytzontecon coyotl yc tlatzacuali toztli yquetzaltemal.

Xiuhcoyotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli ynic tlatzacutli coyotzontecomatl xiuhtotoyuitl no yquetzaltemal.

Quetzalquaquauitl

Inic tlatlalili tlazoyuitica tlatzacutli tzontecomatl o(c)campa mani quetzali.

Quetzaltitzimitl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui miquiztli tzontecomatl zan motquitica quetzali yn itzonteco(n) yuhqui iquatatapa.

Quetzalquatlamoyaoalli

Ynic tlatzacutli tzontecomatl toztli quetzalxixilqui momoyaoatiah.

The Yellow Parrot Feathers Coyote Insignia

It is made in this manner: A frame is fashioned in the form of a coyote's head. It is covered with yellow parrot feathers. It has a crest of quetzal feathers.¹³ (Fig. 6)

The Blue Coyote Insignia

It is made in this manner: The head of a coyote is covered with blue cotinga feathers. It, too, has a quetzal feather crest.¹⁴ (Fig. 20)

The Quetzal Feather Horns Insignia

It is fashioned in this manner: A head is covered with precious feathers, on each side are (tufts of) quetzal feathers.¹⁵ (Fig. 9)

The Quetzal Feather Demon of The Dark Insignia

A frame is fashioned resembling a death's head. It is covered entirely with quetzal feathers. The head looks unkempt.¹⁶ (Fig. 10)

The Quetzal Feather Bestrewn Head Insignia

The head is covered with yellow parrot feathers. It has quetzal feathers stuck into it, extending around it. (Fig. 11)

¹³ Worn by a warrior who had taken six captives. See, *Codex Mendoza*, pl. LXVI.

¹⁴ See also, *ibid.*, pl. LIII.

¹⁵ See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 66.

¹⁶ The *tzitzimilt* and his companions, the *tzitzimime*, were associated with death, darkness and destruction. They were usually depicted with skull-like heads, unkempt hair and in an attitude of descent. They were stellar deities who operated when the life of the Sun was threatened, such as during eclipses of the sun when the star are visible during the day and at the time of the making of the New Fire every fifty-two years. At those times it was believed that "aquellas tinieblas serían perpetuas... y que descenderían los *tzitzimime*, que eran unas figuras feísimas y terribles, y que comerían a los hombres y mujeres." (*Sah.*, v. II, p. 271, p. 284; Sullivan, "A Prayer To Tlaloc," p. 49.)

Xiuhananacaztli

Ynic tlatz(a)cutli tzo(n)calmatlatl xiuhatotl teocuitlaatoya tlatlacuiloli yn inacaztla(n).

Quetzalpatzactli

Ynic tlachiuhtli colotli tlatlalili nepapan iuitl ynic tlatzacutli o(c)campa mixnamiqui y(n) quetzali yn icpac tlaupantli zan motquítica quetzali.

Teocuitlaueuetl

Inic tlachiuhtli colotli tlatlalili yn iuhqui ueuetl teocuitlaatica tlatlacuiloli quetzalpa(n)yo.

Teocuitlapanitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlatzotzontli teocuitlatl yuhqui panitl yc tlama(n)tli ome mani quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Quetzalpanitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlapuztectli quetzali tlaixnepanoli no quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Quetzalcopilli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli quauitztica quetzaltica tlatzacutli quetzalto(n)yo.

The Blue Water Ears Insignia

A net of hair is covered with blue cotinga feathers. There are representations of gold streams of water next to the ears.¹⁷ (Fig. 23)

The Compressed Quetzal Feather Insignia

It is made in this manner: A frame is fashioned. It is covered with diverse feathers. On top, on each side, are rows of quetzal feathers which face each other; they are entirely of quetzal feathers.¹⁸ (Fig. 1)

The Gold Drum Insignia

It is made in this manner: A frame is fashioned in the form of a drum. It has a design in gold and a quetzal feather crest. (Fig. 18)

The Golden Banners Insignia

It is made of beaten gold in the form of banners. There are two. They have quetzal feather tufts.¹⁹ (Fig. 3)

The Quetzal Feather Banners Insignia

It is made of broken quetzal feathers fitted together. They, too, have quetzal feather tufts.²⁰ (Fig. 7)

The Quetzal Feather Conical Headpiece Insignia

A conical frame is fashioned. It is covered with quetzal feathers. It has a quetzal feather tuft.²¹ (Fig. 21)

¹⁷ The "gold streams of water" are not clearly visible in the color plate I have. The *ananacaztli*, "Water Ears" was a Chichimeca Texcocan insignia worn only by the emperor, according to Torquemada, Vol. II, p. 543.

¹⁸ It is probably called "compressed" because of its flattened look. See also, *Codex Mendoza*, pl. XLV.

¹⁹ See also, *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, Part IV, pl. XX.

²⁰ See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 40.

²¹ See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 39; *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, Part IV, pl. XIV.

Zaquanpanitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli za(n) mochi zaquaniuitl y(n) panitl quetzaltzo(n) yo.

Quetzalpapalotl

Colotli tlatlalili (iuhquin) papalotl quetzaltica tlatlacuilolo quetzaltzo(n) yo.

Xollopapalotl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhquin papalotl zan mochi xolo ynic tlatzacutli quetzaltzo(n) yo.

Quetzaltototl

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan no colotli tlatlalili yuhqui tototl quetzali yn iatlapal yoan yn icuitlapil quachichiquile.

Tzatzaztli

Za(n) mochi quauitl yuitlatzauali yn ite(n) tlatectli quetzali ypan mani.

Zaquantonatiuh

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yaoaltic zaqua(n) yuitica tlatzacutli tlatonatiuh ycuiloli.

Ometochtlauiztli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui comitl yn itlatzaquali piliuitl aztaiuitl in icpac tlatlalili quetzalxixilqui.

The Black And Gold Trupial Feather Banners Insignia

The banners are made entirely of black and yellow trupial feathers. They have quetzal feather tufts. (Fig. 8)

The Quetzal Feather Butterfly Insignia

A frame is fashioned in the form of a butterfly. It is adorned with quetzal feathers. It has a quetzal feather tuft.²² (Fig. 2)

The Dark Yellow Parrot Feather Butterfly Insignia

A frame is fashioned in the form of a butterfly and covered entirely with dark yellow parrot feathers. It has a quetzal feather tuft. (Fig. 13)

The Quetzal Bird Insignia

It is similarly made: A frame is fashioned in the form of a bird. The wings and tail are of quetzal feathers. It has a crest of feathers.²³ (Fig. 12)

The Reel Insignia

It is all of wood. A hank of feather yarn is laid along the edge. On it (is a crest of) quetzal feathers. (Fig. 16)

The Black And Yellow Trupial Feather Sun Insignia

A circular frame is fashioned. It is covered with black and yellow trupial feathers in the sun design. (Fig. 14)

The 2-Rabbit Insignia

A frame is fashioned in the form of an earthenware vessel. It is

²² See also, *Codex Mendoza*, pl. xx.

²³ See also, *ibid.*, pl. XLVIII.

Zaquanpapalotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli za(n) mochi zaquaniuitl quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Ixquich i(n) yn itlauiz tlatoque, pipilti, *etc.*

TLAUIZTLI YN ITLATQUI YN ITLAUIZ TIYACACAU(A) *

Ichcauipilli

Ynic tlachiuhtli ichcatlauitectli tilmatica tlaquimiloli ypan tlazotl tlatencuetlaxuili uel(1) atlalpitl.

Maquauitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli auaquauitl tlatilauaxintli necoc tlacamacuicuitl onca(n) tlatectli im itztl ayocuitlatica tlazaloli.

Teotenacochtli

Ynic tlachiuhtli teotetl tilitic uel(1) achictli ynic quitlalia tlatecque.

Quauhtentetl

Ynic tlatlalili tecpatl iuhqui nextecuili ynic quitlalia ypan quiquixtia tlate(c)que.

covered with feathers - precious feathers and heron feathers. On top are set quetzal feather spikes,²⁴ (Fig. 15)

The Black And Yellow Trupial Feather Butterfly Insignia

It is made of black and yellow trupial feathers. It has a quetzal feather tuft. (Fig. 17)

All these are the insignia of the rulers and nobles, etc.

THE DRESS AND INSIGNIA OF THE CAPTAINS

The Padded Cotton Shirt

It is made in this manner: Fluffed up cotton is covered with cloth. On it is stitched a leather border. It has ties.

The Macana

It is made of oak cut into a thick piece. On two sides there are grooves in which are set obsidian knives glued with turtle dung. (Figs. 1-6)

The Jet Ear Plugs

They are made of jet. They are black, highly polished. Thus the lapidaries fashion them.

The Eagle Lip Plug

A flint stone is fashioned in the shape of a grub. Thus the lapidaries fashion it, they make the likeness.

²⁴ The "2-Rabbit" design, symbol of the Centzontotchtin, the innumerable gods of *pulque* whose calendar name was "2-Rabbit," was a stylization of the *pulque* gods' facial adornment: the center of the face from hairline to chin was painted red, the side from the temples down, black and they had crescent-shaped nose adornments. They also wore heron feather headdresses. See the *Codex Magliabecchi*, pls. 49-57, and also pl. 5, the "Manta de Dos Conejos" consisting of paired red and black lines.

Ueuei cozcatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli tlapetlauali tecziztli ueuey tlazotl nepantla mani yaualtic quap(p)a(n)yahoaloli.

Chipolcozcatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli za(n) mochi chipoli yn tlazotl tlacozcatlalili tepitoton.

Te(n)zacanecuilli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tecziztli chitecoltic ynic tlactectli yztac.

Ixcolihqui chimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli otlatl yn tlatzayantli ychicpatica tlaupantli tlapaliuitica tlatlacuilolo tentlapilolo.

Tepachihqui chimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli iuitica tlatzacutli tepuztlatzotzontli ypan mamani iuite(n)zouhqui.

Tlapalxapochimalli

Ynic tlatzacutli toztli nepantla mani chichiltic ynic neci (i)xapo.

The Great (Shell) Necklace

It is made in this manner: Large, polished shells are strung together. In the center is a circle, a circle with a crosspiece.

The Snail Shell Necklace

It is made entirely of small snail shells that are strung together and fashioned into a necklace.²⁵ (Fig. 4)

The Curved Lip Ornament

It is made of a conch shell cut in a curve. It is white. (Fig. 6)

The Curved Eye Shield

It is made in this manner: Bamboo is split and the pieces bound together with maguey fiber. The design is of red feathers. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 60)

The Flattened Shield

It is made in this manner: It is covered with feathers: beaten copper is laid over it. It has an open border of feathers around the edge.²⁶

The Red Disc Shield

It is covered with yellow parrot feathers. In the center appears a red disc.²⁷

²⁵ The necklace in this illustration is made of gold and jade beads. Their form is not clear.

²⁶ There is no illustration of this shield. The *ihuitenzouhqui chimalli*, fig. 66, has the type of border described here.

²⁷ There is no illustration of this shield. There is, however, the representation of the *texoxapochimalli*, "The blue disc shield" (fig. 63), for which there is no text, which is similar to the shield described here, and also the *teocuitlaxapochimalli*, "The gold disc shield," carried by the first captain. (fig. 6)

Included in this group of shields (fo. 80r) is the *macpallo chimalli*, "The Hand Shield," for which there is no text. (Fig. 65)

Tezacanecuiloachimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tilitic yn petlanqui yn ipan mani yztac yn iuhqui tezacanecuili.

Zitlallo Chimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli cacaliuhtl ynic tlatzacutli yztac yuitl yn ipan mamani zitlalpol.

Iuite(n)zouhqui chimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli tilit(li) yn petlani apetzyo texotica tlacuilolo te(n)zuuhqui.

Tlaauitectli chimalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan motquitica tizatl ynic tlaauitectli

Chamolleuatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan motquitica chamoliuhtl yn itech tlactectli tilmatl tentlapilolo.

Tlapalliueuatl

Yn itech tlactectli tilmatl zan motquitica chichiltlapaliuhtl tentlapilolo.

Totolliuueuatl

Yn itech tlactectli tilmatl zan motquitica totoliuhtl zan pacoltic.*

* Read *pazoltic*.

The Shield With The Curved Lip Ornament

It is made in this manner: On a shiny black background is a white design in the form of a curved lip ornament.²⁸ (Fig. 62)

The Star-Studded Shield

It is made in this fashion: It is covered with crow feathers. On it are large stars of white feathers. (Fig. 61)

The Shield With The Open Feather Border

It is made of black feathers glistening with pyrites. It has a design in blue and open border of feathers around the edge. (Fig. 66)

The Whitewashed Shield

It is made in this manner: It is completely covered with chalk, thus it is whitened.²⁹ (Fig. 67)

The Red Parrot Feather Tunic

It is made entirely of red parrot feathers set on a piece of cloth. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 30)

The Red Feathered Tunic

Bright red feathers are set on a piece of cloth. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 4)

The Turkey-Hen Feather Tunic

Turkey feathers are set on a piece of cloth —just the fine, curly ones.

²⁸ See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 13.

²⁹ See also, *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, Part IV, pl. XI.

Tlapalquaxolotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli colotli tlatlalili yaoaltic ynic tlatzacutli chamoliuitl tentlapilolo ycpac ca yn miquiztli quetzaltzo(n)yo pepeyocyo.

Iztac quaxolotl

Ynic tlatlalili zan no iuhqui aztaiuitica tlatzacutli yn itentlapilolo teocuitlapeyocyo ycpac ca in miquiztli quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Cuezalpatzactli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui tzontecomatl yuitica tlatzacutli ycpac tlaui pantli cuezali zan motquitica.

Tlacocho patzactli

Ynic tlatlalili zan no iuhqui zan motquitica tlacochtli mitl mazyo yn icpac tlaui pantli.

Cacalpatzactli

Ynic tlatlalili zan no iuhqui zan motquitica cacaliuitl yn icpac tlaui pantli.

The Red Xolotl Head Insignia

It is made in this manner: A round frame is constructed which is covered with red parrot feathers. It has a hanging border of feathers. On top is a death's head with a tuft of quetzal feathers. It has bright adornments.³⁰ (Fig. 31)

The White Xolotl Head Insignia

It is fashioned in the same manner. It is covered with white heron feathers. It has a hanging border of feathers and bright gold adornments. On top is a death's head with a tuft of quetzal feathers. (Fig. 32)

The Compressed Macaw Feather Insignia

A frame is fashioned in the shape of the head, which is covered with feathers. On top is a row of macaw feathers.³¹ (Fig. 34)

The Compressed Arrow Shaft Insignia

It is fashioned in the same way except that there are arrow shafts made from quills in a row on top. (Fig. 33)

The Compressed Crow Feather Insignia

It is fashioned in the same way except that is entirely of crow feathers in a row on top. (Fig. 35)

³⁰ Xolotl is a mythological figure associated with death and with the dogs who swam with the dead on their backs in the final stage of their journey to Mictlan, the Underworld. Frequently this insignia is represented with a dog's head on top, as can be see in the *Codex Mendoza*, pl. 20, and the *Matrícula de Tributos*, pl. 7. See also Sahagún's description of the *tozquaxolotl* insignia, Vol. II, p. 303.

The "bright adornments" are of gold, as the text that follows makes clear. They were circular adornments, like eyes, set around the upper part of the insignia.

³¹ See also, *Codex Mendoza*, pl. XXIII.

Tlecocomoctli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yaoaltic yuitica tlatzacutli zan motquitica cuezali yn icpac tlamantli tentlapilolo.

Tlapalliuitelolotli

Ynic tlatlalili ololtic yn otlatl tlapitzaocatzayantli ytech tlatectli yn tlapaliuitl pepeyocyo quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Iztac iuitelolotli

Ynic tlatlalili zan no iuhqui zan motquitica yztac yuitl pepeyocyo quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Macuilpanitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli macuili mani y(n) yuitica tlatzacutli quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Aztatzonitli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui comitl yuitica tlatzacutli zan mochi iztac yuitl yn icpac yetiuh quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Copilli iztac

Ynic tlatlalili colotli quauitztic aztaiuitica tlatzacutli tentlapilolo quetzaltzo(n)yo.

Tozcololi

Ynic tlatlalili colotli cocoltic zan mochi toztli ynic tlatzacutli quetzaltzo(n)yo.

The Crackling Fire Insignia

A circular frame is fashioned and covered with feathers. (The flames) on top are entirely of red macaw feathers. It has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 36)

The Red Feather Ball

A ball is fashioned of bamboo which is split into long, thin strips. On it are set red feathers. It has bright adornments and a quetzal feathers tuft. (Fig. 37)

The White Feather Ball

It is fashioned the same way but entirely of white feathers. It has bright adornments and a quetzal feather tuft. (Fig. 38)

The Five Flag Insignia

It is made in this manner: There are five flags that are covered with feathers. They have quetzal feather tufts.³² (Fig. 39)

The Heron Feather Locks Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of an earthenware vessel. It is covered with feathers. On top all the feathers are white. It has a quetzal feather tuft.³³ (Fig. 40)

The White Conical Headpiece Insignia

A conical frame is constructed. It is covered with white feathers. It has hanging border of feathers and a quetzal feather tuft. (Fig. 41)

The Yellow Parrot Feather Serpentine Insignia

A serpentine frame is constructed. It is covered entirely with yellow parrot feathers. It has a red macaw feather tuft.³⁴ (Fig. 42)

³² See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 53.

³³ The *aztatzontli*, "heron feather locks," was the headdress of Tlaloc and of the gods of *pulque*. See also, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 37.

³⁴ See also, *Codex Mendoza*, pl. XLV; the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, pl. 48.

Tlapalitzmitl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli quauitztic patlachtic ynic tlatzacutli yuitl centlacol yztac centlacol chichiltic.

Itzpapalotl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yaoaltic occampan mani tepuztlatzotzontli yn icpac tlapapalotectli.

Xacalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli colotli yuhqui xacalli yuitica tlatzacutli tentlapilolo.

Caltzaqualli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui cali zan no yuitica tlatzacutli tetlapilolo.

Zacacalli

Ynic tlatlalili yuhqui tlapeuali colotli yztac yuitica tlatzacutli.

Tzipitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli quauitl tlaxintli yuhqui piltontli tlatzotlanili ymac ca ytlamatzoual.

The Colored Arrowhead Insignia

A frame is constructed that is pointed at the top and broad at the base. Half of it is covered with white feathers and half with red. (Fig. 43)

The Obsidian Butterfly Insignia

A circular frame is constructed. On the two sides are sheets of beaten copper. On top is a figure cut in the form of a butterfly. (Fig. 51)

The Straw Hut Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a straw hut. It is covered with feathers and has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 45)

The Masonry House Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a masonry house. It is also covered with feathers and has a hanging border of feathers. (Fig. 46)

The Grass Hut Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a trap. It is covered with white feathers.³⁵ (Fig. 47)

The Fretful Child Insignia

It is made in this manner: Wood is carved in the form of a child. It is varnished. In his hand is a rolled tortilla.³⁶ (Fig. 48)

³⁵ That is, it was a box-like trap (*calli* also means "box") covered with grass.

³⁶ *Tzipitl* meant a child who was fretful, sometimes sickly, because his mother had become pregnant and he had to be weaned. (Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, fo. 152v.) In the villages today, he is called *chipil* and his condition, *chipilez*. It is considered a serious condition, as illness and death are not uncommon in children after weaning, in great part due to poor nutrition. (Oscar Lewis, p. 377ff.)

Obviously, the *tzipitl* insignia is no warrior's whimsey but has a profound psychological significance. The jagged volute denotes crying, which is characteristic of these children, and the tortilla, the unpleasant food he is now

Tlazimaluapalli

Ynic tlachiuhtli colotli yuhqui uapalli ic tlazimalo onca(n) ca itztapaltetl.

Uexolotl

Ynic tlatlali(li) colotli yuhqui uexolotl tlayuiyotili cacaxyo.

Ixtlapalpanitl

Ynic tlachiuhtli panitl zan ixtlapal onoc occampa tlapilolo.

Tlilpapalotl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui papalotl cacaliuitica tlatzacutli quetzalo.

Tlapalcoyotl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui coyotl ytzonteco(n) tlapaliuitica tlatzacutli no iuhqui in ieuayo.

Maguey Fiber Pulling Board Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a plank by means of which maguey fibers are pulled. A flat stone is there.³⁷ (Fig. 52)

The Turkey-Cock Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a turkey. It is covered with feathers and it has a carrying frame (the tail).³⁸ (Fig. 53)

The Transverse Banner Insignia

It is made in this manner: A flag lies transversely. It has a tassel hanging on each side. (Fig. 54)

The Black Butterfly Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a butterfly. It is covered with crow feathers. It has a quetzal feather crest. (Fig. 44)

The Red Coyote Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a coyote. Its head is covered with feathers, also its skin.³⁹ (Fig. 55)

forced to eat (which probably left him a bit hungry besides.) Since children were breast-fed for four years or longer (Zurita, p. 108), it is not difficult to imagine the hostility and resentment of the weaned child toward the sibling who eventually took his place especially if the sibling was a boy. This, in my opinion, is expressed in the *tzipitl* insignia with stunning clarity. And more: the unconscious desire on the part of the weaned child to kill the brother who displaced him.

³⁷ Maguey fibers were, and still are, removed from the leaf by rubbing them along a plank. In some areas, such as Jalisco, the leaf is first scorched to keep the juice from irritating the hands. In others, such as the State of Mexico, the leaf is soaked in water and lightly pounded with a stone. Both processes also loosen the fibers. Personal communication from Salvador Márquez Ruiz and Leocadio Pérez.)

³⁸ The *cacaxtli*, carrying frame, was a series of wooden shelves in which merchants carried their wares upon their backs. These were covered over with straw mats and tied. To the informant, the fanlike tail of the turkey resembled such a device.

³⁹ Following this are the *tlecoyotl*, "The Fire Coyote Insignia," and the *chimallauiztli*, "the shield insignia," (figs. 56 and 57) which have no corresponding texts.

Tlaquimiloli

Ynic tlatlalili colotli yuhqui quimili nacazilpitica.

Iztac coyotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan mochi iztac yuitl ynic tlatzacutli ytzonteco(n) yoan yn ieuayo.

Me(x)xayacatl

Ynic tlatlalili colotli quauitztic iquanepantla icac yuhqui chichi-quiltic mixtexoui.

*Citlalcoyotl **

Ynic tlachiuhtli za mochi tilitic yuitl ynic tlatzacutli itzonteco(n) no iuhquin ieuayo yztac yuitl ynic cuicuiltic.

Tilitic coyotl

Ynic tlachiuhtli zan motquitica totoliuitl papazoltic.

* Fo. 69r.

The Bundle Insignia

A frame is constructed in the form of a bundle. The sides are tied. (Fig. 49)

The White Coyote

It is made in this manner: The head and skin are completely covered with white feathers. (Fig. 22)

The Thigh-Skin Mask Insignia

A conical frame is constructed. At the top, in the center, is an object in the form of a three-pronged harpoon. The face is painted blue.⁴⁰ (Fig. 50)

The Star-Studded Coyote Insignia

It is made in this manner: Its head is completely covered with black feathers, also its skin. It has spots of white feathers. (Fig. 58)

The Black Coyote Insignia

It is made in this manner: It is covered entirely with fine, black turkey-hen feathers. (Fig. 59)

⁴⁰ In the festival of Ochpaniztli, the man representing Cinteotl, God of Corn, wore a mask, *mexxayacatl* (from *meiztli*, thigh; *xayacatl*, mask) fashioned from the thigh-skin of the flayed woman who represented his mother, Toci, the Mother Goddess. He also wore, *icopil*, *quacoltic*, *yan tzitzquiltic*; *auh inin motocayotiaya ytztlacoliuhqui*, states the text in the *Cod. Mat. Pal.*, fo. 99r: "His conical headpiece which was curved at the tip and serrated; he was called Itztlacoliuhqui" ("Curve of Obsidian Knives"). On fo. 99v., of the same codex is the statement that Toci, *quivicatiuh yn iconeuh yn cintetol anozo ytztlacoliuhqui*: "She accompanied her son, Cinteotl, or Itztlacoliuhqui". The identification of Cinteotl with Itztlacoliuhqui was such that the insignia *Mexxayacatl*, "Thigh-Skin Mask," is depicted as a figure wearing the curved, conical headpiece studded with obsidian knives associated with Itztlacoliuhqui and his eyes are bound, *ixquimilli*, another characteristic of this god. The significance of this identification is irrelevant to this text; a fairly detailed analysis will be found in my forthcoming publication of the *Primeros Memoriales* of Sahagun.

Maquauitzoctli

Ynic tlaxintli auaquauitl nauhcampa cuitlatetepone quauitztic.

Tlavitolli

Ynic tlaxintli tomauac uel atic yn mitl tlaxaltentli.

Quauholloli

Ynic tlaxintli auaquauitl zan qua(uh)ololtic.

Atlal

Ynic tlaxintli tomaoac ueyac mamazyo tepoztli yn iquac ca quauhtica yn quitlaza.

Tematlatl

Ynic tlachiuhtli mecatl yn tlamatlachioali oncan motlalia yn tetl ynic tlamotlalo tlatematlauilo.

*Ce tlacatl tlatoani pilli yn itlatqui yn itlauiz **

Ychcaupil, yxiuheuah, yteucuitlacuzpetlatl, ychalchiuhtenteuh,

The Pointed Macana

A piece of oak is cut. The four sides have sharp-edges. It has a pointed tip.⁴¹

The Bow

It is fashioned from a thick piece of wood. With it a polished arrow can be shot.

The Club

A piece of oak is cut in the form of a club.

The Spear-Thrower

It is fashioned from a thick piece of wood. When a long feathered (spear) with a copper tip is placed on it, it is hurled with the piece of wood.⁴²

The Sling

It is made of rope in the form of netting. A stone is placed in it. With it stones are hurled, they are slung.

*The Dress And Insignia Of a Lord, Ruler, Noble*⁴³

A padded cotton shirt. A blue cotinga feather tunic. A gold mat necklace. A jade lip plug. Gold ear plugs. A compressed quetzal

⁴¹ The *huitzoctli* was a pointed instrument of oak used for digging up weeds and loosening the earth. I have found no illustration anywhere of the *macauhuitzoctli*.

⁴² The spear-thrower functioned as an extension of the arm. It had two holes or loops toward the forward end for the fingers. There was a groove running down the center where the spear lay, and at the back end was a stop, sometimes hooked, against which the spear rested. Some fine illustrations and descriptions of the *atlal* can be found in W. du Solier, *Ancient Mexican Costume*, Ediciones Mexicanas, 1950, p. 14ff. and Eduardo Noguera, *Tallas Prehispánicas en Madera*, editorial Guarania, México 1958, pp. 35ff. and lams. 7-14.

⁴³ Fo. 72r. The objects described in this text and the two that follow are from the first list of arms and insignias. All the objects mentioned in this group of vestments and the subsequent ones are in the possessive form which is characteristic of the Nahuatl language when describing something that

yteucuitlanacoch, yquetzalpatzac, ychimal quetzalxicolihqui, ymaquauh, ytlazomaxtli, ytecpilcac.

Oc no ce tlacatl tlatoani pilli yn itlatqui yn itlauiz

Ychcaupil, ypilliuieuauh, yxiuhtenteuh, ymayanacoch ychayauacuzqui, yquetzalpapal(o)uh, ychimal quetzalcuexyo, ymaquauh, ytlazomaxtli, ytlazocac.

*Inic ei tlacatl pilli yn itlatqui yn itlauiz **

Ychcaupil, ytozeuauh, ychalchiuhtenteuh, yxiuhnacoch, yteucuitlanpan, ychalchiuhcuzqui, ychimal tozmiquizyo, ymaquauh, ytlazomaxtli, ytecpilcac.

Auh ynic oncuemilt tiyacaoan yn itlauiz

Yn itlamamaltuzquaxolotl, ychcaupil, ytlapaliuieuauh, yteucuitlanacoch, yyacametz, yteucuitlachipolcuzqui, ychimal teucuitlaxapo, yquammaxtli, ytlazocac.

*Ynic ome tlacatl yn itlatqui yn itlauiz ***

Ychcaupil, yaztaeuauh, yxiuhnacoch, yteucuitlatempilol, yaztalpatzac, ychimalte(n)xaxacalo, ytlazomaxtli, ymaquauh, ytlazocac.

Ynic ei tlacatl yn itlatqui yn itlauiz

Ychcaupil, ytuzcoyauh, yte(n)zacaneuil, ychimal tlilxapo, yquammaxtli, yztaccac, ymaquauh.

* Fo. 72v.

** Fo. 73r.

feather insignia. A quetzal feather shield with the stepped fret design. A *macana*. A precious breechcloth. Royal sandals. (Fig. 1)

The Dress And Insignia Of Another Lord, Ruler, Noble

A padded cotton shirt. A tunic of princely feathers. A turquoise lip plug. Flying beetle ear plugs. A bestrewn necklace (of jade and gold). A quetzal feather butterfly insignia. A quetzal feather Huasteca shield. A *macana*. A precious breechcloth. Precious sandals. (Fig. 2)

The Dress And Insignia Of A Third Lord And Noble

A padded cotton shirt. A yellow parrot feather tunic. A jade lip plug. Turquoise ear plugs. A gold banner. A jade necklace. A yellow parrot feather death's head shield. A *macana*. A precious breechcloth. Royal sandals. (Fig. 3)

And From The Second List: A Captain's Insignia

A yellow parrot feather Xolotl head insignia carried on the back. A padded cotton shirt. A tunic of red feathers. Gold ear plugs. A crescent-shaped nose ornament. A necklace of gold snail shells. A "gold disc" shield. An eagle feather breechcloth. Precious sandals. (Fig. 4)

The Dress And Insignia Of A Second Lord

A padded cotton shirt. A heron feather tunic. Turquoise ear plugs. A gold lip pendant.⁴⁴ A compressed heron feather insignia. A shield with the "thick lips" design. A precious breechcloth. A *macana*. Precious sandals. (Fig. 5)

The Dress And Insignia Of A Third Lord

A padded cotton shirt. A yellow parrot feather coyote insignia. A curved lip ornament. A "black disc" shield. An eagle feather breechcloth. White sandals. A *macana*. (Fig. 6)

pertains to someone. I have rendered these into their English equivalents which would not be in the possessive form.

⁴⁴ The lip ornament on this figure is really a *temalacatentel* "a circular lip stone." See *Cod. Flor.*, D&A Book VIII, p. 27.

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- Cod. Flor.: Florentine Codex.*
Cod. Flor., D&A: Florentine Codex, General History of the Things of New Spain, by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Translated by Charles E. Dibble & Arthur J. O. Anderson.
Cod. Mat. Acad.: Códice Matritense de la Academia de Historia.
Cod. Mat. Pal.: Códice Matritense del Real Palacio.
Sah.: Sahagún, Fray Bernardino de, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España.*

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