was also not a main concern. Overall, the authors of the Codices Tudela and Magliabechiano demonstrated a very different approach from those of the Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A, in which the representation and description of religious or ceremonial customs is either limited or entirely absent. It is possible that the lay nature of the Codex Tudela’s commission dictated not only the topics treated but also their portrayal in the manuscript. The descriptive approach rarely attempts to interpret the meaning “behind the image”—that is, its divinatory or mythological significance.

The two manuscripts contain the same sections but in a different order. Although some parts of the Codex Tudela were reordered at a later date, according to Batalla (2002, 16–22, 48–50), their original placement differed from what was eventually adopted in the Codex Magliabechiano. In both cases, the tonalpohualli is located right before the description of the veintena cycle and after the initial section on ritual cloaks. After the veintena section, there is a list and description of different gods, including, most notably, the gods of pulque (the fermented beverage obtained from agave) and different rituals. Finally, the Codex Tudela closes with a depiction of the years of the solar calendar (xiuhmolpilli).

Table 2 provides a brief comparison of the changes that occurred between the Codices Tudela and Magliabechiano. In the Codex Tudela the section on the counting of the years (xiuhmolpilli) is found at the end of the book, while in the Codex Magliabechiano it was moved right after the one on the tonalpohualli. In the process, the Codex Magliabechiano’s author opted to separate the calendars and the ceremonies, which are kept more closely related in the Codex Tudela.

### 7.2.1. Ritual cloaks

According to the reconstruction proposed by Batalla, the depiction of ritual cloaks (mantas rituales in Spanish) comprised the first chapter in the original arrangement of the Codex Tudela; they are also the topic of the first section of the Codex Magliabechiano. There are only a few differences in the images of this section in the two manuscripts. Each page depicts either six (the Codex Tudela) or four cloaks (the Codex Magliabechiano), which are painted as horizontal rectangles of the same size. Cloaks, which are known in Nahuatl as tilmatli (sing.), are found in colonial manuscripts as prized tribute items (Codex Mendoza, ff. 17v–56v) and summarily described as the attire of lords in Primeros Memoriales (ff. 55v–56r) and the Florentine Codex (Sahagún 1950–1982, bk. 8, ch. 8–9). As remarked by Seler (1902, 509–619), there are many iconographic commonalities between representations of the cloaks in the two codices under discussion and the Nahuatl terminology of the Sahagúnite sources. Anders and Jansen (1996a, 141–142, 156) suggested a systematic comparison of the cloaks’ outstanding iconographic features with mantic symbols in the trecenas of the Codex Borbonicus. In the Codices Tudela and Magliabechiano, the cloaks are placed before the tonalpohualli. As we shall briefly see, the depiction of the tonalpohualli in these manuscripts differs from all other extant representations of the 260-day calendar. Its close proximity to the ritual mantles may indicate a different aspect of the divinatory calendar that is unique to these two sources. Brief texts introduce the series of cloaks and provide clues about their significance and even placement in the manuscripts:

> These are the makes of the mantles dedicated to the demons and each lord and nobleman used to wear them for the festivals and keep them in remembrance of the demons to which they were dedicated. (estas son hechuras de mantas dedicadas a los demonios y cada uno de los señores y principales se las vestian en las fiestas y las tenían en memoria de los demonios a quien eran dedicadas; Codex Tudela, f. 85v; Batalla Rosado 2002, 426, translation by author)

These figures and the following through the eighth folio are the mantles or garments that the Indians used in the festivals, which will be named later with all the solemn days of these festivals, just as our festivals have octavarios. (Codex Magliabechiano, f. 2v; Boone 1983, 171)

The texts clarify that the mantles were used in the ceremonies of the veintenas discussed later in the books. The text from the Codex Tudela further states that the cloaks were specifically worn for these occasions and then kept to commemorate the celebrations. The Codex Magliabechiano adds that each festival was celebrated in specific periods. In Catholic liturgy, octavas are the eight days of observance for a festivity—most commonly Corpus Christi, but also Holy Week. The annotations suggest both performative and commemorative uses for the mantles. I believe that this is how their presence at the beginning of the books should be understood. The act of wearing a cloak and other paraphernalia means impersonating and becoming a god. Their representation is more than an iconographic clue that was intended to aid the identification of the gods in the following section. Rather, it is a statement on the transformative and creative quality of performance and the role that cloaks and other objects play in it. The mantles with the jaguar spots and other black stains, probably hule (liquid rubber), in folios 86r, 86v, and 87v of the Codex Tudela (Fig. 7.6) and folios

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**Table 2. Contents of Codices Tudela and Magliabechiano**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Codex Tudela*</th>
<th>The Codex Magliabechiano</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ritual cloaks</td>
<td>1. Ritual cloaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tonalpohualli</td>
<td>2. Tonalpohualli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Veintenas</td>
<td>3. Xiuhmolpilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Xiuhmolpilli</td>
<td>5. Gods and rituals</td>
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</tbody>
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*Original arrangement according to Batalla Rosado (2002).
4r, 5r, and 6r of the Codex Magliabechiano recall María Sabina’s vivid description of her ability to transform into a jaguar by recognizing the spots left by the charcoal on her huipil (discussed in Section 4.1). Furthermore, the Codex Magliabechiano’s glosses in this section repeatedly mention Macuilxochitl, 5 Flower, the Mesoamerican god of feasting, and Ometochtli, 2 Rabbit, the god of pulque and altered states—a topic that I elaborate on below. They also mention Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, the two major gods related to visionary powers.

Finally, one mantle occupies an entire page in folio 83v of the Codex Tudela and folio 7r of the Codex Magliabechiano (Fig. 7.7). The image, which was left uncolored in the Codex Tudela, represents a turkey impaled on a stick and diagonally positioned on the page/mantle. Fire bursts from the lower portion of the page, while scattered or flying obsidian flints occupy the top part of the image. The gloss in the Codex Tudela explains that this was how turkeys were roasted, while the one in the Codex Magliabechiano states that this is the cloak of the devil’s fire (manta del fuego del diablo). The turkey is tied to the reed with white ropes decorated with cotton balls and feathers, an iconographic element usually associated with sacrificial victims. The turkey is a manifestation of Tezcatlipoca, which may also be referenced by the obsidian flints. This is the last mantle depicted in the Codex Tudela, but it remains unclear why the section closes with this imposing...
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but unfinished depiction. By contrast, the tlacuilo of the Codex Magliabechiano continues with more illustrations of cloaks and a different arrangement (Fig. 7.8). On the reverse side of the turkey mantle (f. 7v), there are four mantles decorated with a different representation or symbol: fire, rabbit, wind, and water. The first three are also found in the Codex Tudela, but they are placed alongside another cloak with a solar disk. All these symbols (fire, rabbit, wind, water, and the sun) relate to the Suns (i.e., successive creations) known through distinct colonial sources, such as the Codex Vaticanus A, previously discussed. In this context, the large mantle with the turkey burnt by fire can be understood as a reference to the third Sun (4 Rain), which, according to most sources, ended in a rain of fire and whose inhabitants were turned into turkeys (Moreno de los Arcos 1967, 191). If these scattered references are correct, the cloaks would have, in addition to the previously mentioned performative function, a very different meaning or purpose, indicating a rather implicit cosmological narrative.

The depiction of mantles as ritual objects and cosmological symbols suggests a tension between the performative and transformative aspects of clothing and the intention to convey a mythical narrative. As previously argued, these two divergent approaches to the representation of Mesoamerican religion may derive from different agendas in the production of the manuscripts. On the one hand, the friars were more interested in explanatory statements, such as myths and mantic readings; on the other hand, Indigenous artists and the pictographic medium itself were more concerned with the pragmatics of ritual and the correspondences suggested by the inner workings of the tonalpohualli. In other words, explicit statements on mythology and cosmology reflected the needs of a readership that was unfamiliar with Mesoamerican religion and thus required a clear diagrammatic explanation of it. Conversely, as a quintessential Mesoamerican form of expression, pictography was not intended to be illustrative but rather useful in a ceremonial context. Their serviceability ultimately made them pliable to reworking and interpretation.

Although it is ultimately impossible to know how the people involved in the production of the manuscripts interacted with and mutually influenced one another, it is important to bear in mind that the Indigenous intellectuals and artists who contributed to them were born after the
conquest and most likely had been educated by the same friars with whom they eventually collaborated. This aspect of Indigenous manuscript production is investigated at greater length in the next chapter dedicated to the work of Sahagún. The encyclopedic Sahaguntine project contains many images that were produced by Indigenous painters and that nevertheless played a much more ancillary and illustrative role than those in the Codices Telleriano-Remensis, Vaticanus A, Tudela, and Magliabechiano.

7.2.2. The tonalpohualli and the veintenas

The Codex Tudela (ff. 90r–124r) treats the 260-day calendar through elaborate pictorials and lengthy written explanations based on a four-part division of the tonalpohualli and associations with trees and pairs of patron gods (Jansen 1986, Batalla Rosado 2002, 374–385). In the text, divination and ritual activity are accorded the same importance. Day signs are noted not only in terms of the fate of whoever was born on that day but also in terms of the type of sacrifice that the person was required to make. This indicates that mantic images had equally predictive and prescriptive functions.

The corresponding section in the Codex Magliabechiano (ff. 11r–14r) beautifully but rather simply renders the twenty day signs of the tonalpohualli, each accompanied by a numeral from one to thirteen. The count begins with the day 1 Flint (Fig. 7.9) rather than the expected 1 Crocodile. While Batalla Rosado (2002, 379) considered this detail a simplification of the original section in the Codex Tudela, whose calendrics was seemingly too complex for the copyist of the Codex Magliabechiano to master, Anders and Jansen (1996a, 157) proposed instead that the manuscript was drafted on a year that began on a day Flint, which also establishes the veintena count for that year. I find this suggestion to be interesting and worthy of consideration.

While the canonical reading of the calendar seems to imply that there is a first day in the calendar, the 260-day calendar does not have any fixed correlation with the solar and vague year, and day 1 Crocodile may fall at any point of the year. Among contemporary Maya K’iche’ communities, no day is universally considered to be the first of the chol q’ij, although there is general agreement that 8 B’atz’ (8 Monkey) may be counted as the first (Akker 2018, 33–34). The annotation in folio 13v related to this section seems to confirm Anders and Jansen’s hypothesis:

Figure 7.8. Ritual cloaks. Codex Magliabechiano, f. 7v. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Banco Rari, 232.