

Index

- Acapulco, 49, 50, 135, 287
 Acatlán (woman), 208
 Acolhua, 12, 16–17, 27, 47, 231
 Acosta, José de, 79, 81, 93, 95, 110, 155,
 189, 195, 213, 244, 361
 Actopan, 265, 285, 298, 321, 324
 Aguilar, Jerónimo de, 51
 ahuehuete, 24, 26, 133, 172–4, 298–9,
 317, 319
 Ahuitzotl, 19, 20, 151
 Al-Andalus, 26, 39, 73, 293
 Alfonso X, 33, 43, 65, 159, 357
 All Saints feast, 103, 170, 198, 231, 261
 All Souls feast, 170, 198
 Alva [Cortés] Ixtlóchitl,
 Fernando, 270
 Alvarado, Juan de, 250, 340–1
 Anahuac
 as geographical region, *i*, *vii*, 1, 20,
 59, 341, 362–3
 as origin place, 89
 cities of, 3, 80
 natives of, 2, 6, 309, 362–3
 religion in, 19, 23, 25, 62, 89, 166,
 195, 259, 265, 272, 283–4, 297,
 307
 Spanish moving beyond, 204, 341
 Andrew, St., 131, 134, 284
 Angel of the Sixth Seal, 39, 75, 225
 Angelic Pope, 38, 40
 Anne, St., 60, 173, 232
 and the Immaculate Conception,
 32, 91, 112–13, 169, 171, 214, 252
 feast of, 330–1, 332, 353
 Antequera, 48, 54, 342. See also
 Oaxaca
 antichrist, 37–8, 74, 258
 Aquinas, Thomas
 and astrology, 78
 and just war, 338
 and Maculist position, 33
 and sin, 65, 67, 206, 282
 as Dominican teacher, 245
 on a world without beginning, 81
 on angels, 297
 on casting lots, 158
 on demonology, 151–2, 154, 350
 on divine providence, 167
 on heaven, 228
 on homosexuality, 292–3
 on idolatry, 193
 on images, 193, 261
 on indulgences, 235
 on natural slavery, 286
 on penance, 235
 on visions, 332, 350. See also
 Summa Theologiae
 Arabic, 78, 139, 158, 185, 268, 298
 Aragon, 3, 4, 26, 33, 134, 358
 archaeological sites
 Alta Vista, 10
 Casas Grandes, 325
 Chichen Itza, 11, 278, 325
 Cuicuilco, 8, 27
 El Tajín, 237, 262–3, 263
 El Zapotal, 322–3, 323
 Poverty Point, 6
 Xochicalco, 10, 12, 27, 80, 237, 278,
 325. See also Cholula; Templo
 Mayor; Teotihuacan; Tula
 Aristotle, 5, 29, 80, 124, 286, 323
 arrow
 and divination, 75–6
 and martyrs, 76, 95, 134, 187, 350
 archer troops, 342
 as lightning, 76
 deities with, 75, 77
 emblematic, 75–6, 187, 226, 301
 in Level 6 of upperworld, 121
 introduction of technology, 75
 of slain warrior, 76, 144
 sacrifice by, 12, 27, 75–7, 134, 173
 stone point on, 76
 Ars Moriendi, 144, 151, 242, 269,
 309
 Ash Wednesday, 69, 166
 Assumption of Mary
 and St. Miguel, 71
 and salvation, 215
 as patron, 33, 171, 285
 feast of, 32, 169–71, 214
 girdle from, 259
 liturgical antiphons for, 221
 play about, 314
 representation of, 90, 285, 304–5,
 331
 atrium, 57, 146, 165, 250–1, 257,
 265–7, 266
 Audiencia of Galicia, 45, 232
 Audiencia of Mexico, 45–9, 146, 206,
 236, 332, 342, 360
 Augustine, St.
 as patron, 232
 heart of, 76
 lineage of, 319
 mother of, 347
 on Book of Revelation, 37, 74
 on casting lots, 158
 on Christ as offering, 226
 on creation, 128
 on the dead, 31, 145, 167
 on fate, 167
 on human trinity, 320
 on Jesus as mother, 214
 on just war, 286, 337–8
 on resurrection, 73
 on sins, 98, 282, 330
 on structure of afterlife, 255
 on suicide, 302
 rule of, 245. See also Augustinian;
 City of God; just war
 Augustinian(s)
 and relics, 261
 compared to other Orders, 29, 52,
 58, 84, 111, 113, 115, 204, 210, 247
 confraternities, 246, 291
 emblem, 76, 187
 history of, 4, 29, 43, 48, 52, 57,
 106–7, 236, 245–6, 270
 men, 40, 106, 111, 161, 246
 missions, 52, 225, 232, 272
 murals, 319, 324. See also
 Augustine, St.; Chalma; Colegio
 San Pablo; Luther, Martin;
 Malinalco; Otomi; Roa,
 Antonio de
 ball court, 10, 23, 27, 205, 211, 278
 ball game, 7, 10, 156, 303
 banned books, 41, 112, 310–12. See
 also book burning
 banner, 10, 104, 121, 126, 164, 226–7,
 251, 264, 342, 348
 Beata, 74, 112, 150, 323

- bloodletting**
by Christians, 95, 190
by commoners, 94–5
by deities, 95, 228
by elites, 19, 92, 126
for birth of a child, 83
for health, 95, 97, 186
implements for, 94–5
in imagery, 94, 190, 192, 290, 306
Olmecs and, 8, 94
on body, 94–5, 282
book burning, 310. *See also banned books*
Book of Hours, 141–2, 242, 269, 310
Bull Dum Diversas, 286
Bull Ezekielis, 74
Bull of the Holy Crusade (bula de la cruzada), 114. *See also crusade*
Bull Sublimis Deus, 47–8
Bullfight, 250
Bulls of Donation, 26, 46
- Cabala**, 31, 39–40, 73, 349
Cabildo, 45–6, 139, 161, 251, 342
Calero, Juan, 48, 100, 137, 262, 329.
See also martyr
calmecac, 220, 234, 241, 243–4, 251, 268, 297, 340, 362
Camino real, 47, 50, 50
Canary Islands, 106, 240
Cantares Mexicanos, 68, 139, 324
Cantigas de María, 352
Carlos V
abdication of, 28, 49
acts of, 3, 45, 63, 81, 206, 287–8, 308
and Cabala, 40
as Angelic Pope, 40
as collector, 259
as Last World Emperor, 74
as warrior, 340
confessor of, 51
funeral of, 25
image of, 340. *See also New Laws*
Carmelite, 52–3, 233, 328
Casa del Dean, 334
Castile
apparitions in, 131, 134, 332
Christian customs in, 39, 150, 200, 232, 260, 289
confraternities in, 290
history of, 3, 26
laws of, 353
on map, 4
ruler of, 26, 220, 293, 357–8
shrines in, 107, 265, 274, 299
tree cult in, 318. *See also Salamanca*
Catalonia, 39, 106, 131, 299, 318
Catechism, 54–5, 58, 71, 112, 246, 269, 282, 305, 307
Catherine of Alexandria, 232, 245, 353, 357
- Catherine of Siena**, 72, 173, 231–2, 249, 332, 347, 358
Cempoala, 309, 329, 340
Centzonhuitznahua, 299
Chalchiuhltlicue
and birth ceremony, 83
and Second Sun, 127
and Virgen de Candelas, 233
and world tree, 317
cult of, 10, 317
domain of, 119, 344, 362–3
feasts for, 23–4, 355–6
home of, 16, 24, 120, 128, 164, 217, 228, 344, 363
image of, 24
relation to other deities: 24–5, 216, 328
served by the dead, 67, 143, 217
shrines to, 172–3. *See also Tlaloc*
Chalma, 26, 107, 135, 137, 236, 240–1, 281, 299
chaos, 129, 324
Chapultepec, 11, 13, 14, 15, 27, 203, 281, 345–6, 362
charity
acts of, 31, 170, 181, 227, 271
as idea, 6, 32, 42, 51, 57, 180, 186, 289
in wills, 144, 151, 181
receipt of, 353
Chichimec, 7, 10–12, 85, 92, 163, 166, 168–9, 287, 299, 313, 363
Chicomoztoc, 12, 15, 27, 66, 85, 97, 100, 103–5, 105, 166, 224, 362
Chimalpopoca, 16, 18
chinampas, 10, 27, 44, 344
Cholula
and military marketplace, 336–7
churches of, 72, 194, 201, 237, 299
compared to Old World shrines, 204, 237
entrada in, 302
Feathered Serpent shrine of, 10–11, 26–7, 136, 231, 234, 243, 262, 278, 281, 325
history of, 8, 10, 25, 69, 85–6, 166, 169
men for sacrifice, 18, 110
New Fire ceremony in, 300
on map, 7
veintena cycle of, 25, 168. *See also Codex Borgia, Feathered Serpent cult*
Cihuateteo, 12, 27, 90–1, 121, 141, 147, 163, 277, 308, 322, 362
City of God, 31, 246, 255, 338
Coatepec, 15, 224, 263, 278, 303, 313, 337, 362
Coatlicue, 15, 18, 73, 136, 163, 278, 283, 308, 355, 362, 364
cochineal, 197–9, 258–9
Codex Borbonicus, 22, 168–9, 309, 313, 344
- Codex Borgia**, 22, 25, 168, 254, 276, 300, 302, 313, 316–17, 325, 327
Codex Fejervary-Meyer, 255
Codex Magliabechiano, 94, 143, 157, 174, 184, 313
Codex Mendoza, 83, 94, 169
Codex Mexicanus, 97, 104, 133, 169, 306, 313
Codex Rios, 79, 97, 186, 279
Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 22–3, 102, 120, 325
Colegio de San Gregorio, 270. *See also Jesuits*
Colegio de San Nicolis, 270
Colegio de San Pablo, 261. *See also Augustinians*
Colegio de Santa Cruz de Santiago
Tlatelolco, 48, 70, 247, 248, 269, 273, 310, 329
Colhuacan, 104, 127, 163, 362
Columbus, Christopher
after, 3
and apocalypse, 38–40, 74, 129
and crosses, 131, 318
and demons, 152
and Divine Providence, 168
and Eden, 230
and Esdras, 230
and Franciscans, 36
and gold, 181–2
and Mary, 33–4, 36
and pilgrimage, 34, 36
and slaves, 287
as converso, 253
homage to, 342
naming practice of, 36, 181, 224, 324, 331
voyages of, 20, 31, 36, 51
concubine, 20, 41, 43, 63, 65–6, 208, 210, 346
confession(al)
act of, 226, 245
alternative to punishment, 236
Aztec, 241
differences between Orders, 247, 269
manuals, 269, 280, 283, 307, 310–11, 313
native, 222, 347
penance and, 235
pilgrimage and, 238
sins and, 252, 279–80, 282
congregation program, 3, 49, 146, 195, 204, 216, 225, 267
Constantine, 106, 131, 260
Constantinople, 43, 310
Converso, 26, 36, 40, 70, 110, 118, 126, 145, 252–3
Convivencia, 3, 39, 117–18, 209, 221
copal, 20, 54, 113, 148, 158, 180, 196, 234, 276, 299
Coptic, 320

- Corpus Christi, 30, 92, 110, 170–1, 176, 314
Cortés, Hernan, 360, 74
 and crosses, 51, 131–3, 318, 333
 and demons, 152
 and Franciscans, 51, 74
 and hospitals, 67
 and Malinche, 334
 and native troops, 342
 and Santiago, 340
 as conquistador, 12, 28, 43–4, 48, 59, 221, 302, 343
 as governor, 44–5, 48, 94, 206, 290, 315, 343
 as pilgrim, 34, 36, 40
 as Moses, 74
 as Quetzalcoatl, 18, 73, 332
 as slaver, 287
 burial place of, 57
 censored, 310–11
 children of, 47, 49, 70
 in Cholula, 132, 169
 in native reference, 279, 307
 in Tenochtitlan, 93, 216, 250, 263, 297, 313, 332, 345
 in Tlaxcala, 131–3, 204, 333
 in Veracruz, 132, 143, 181, 329, 343
 on map, 44
 men traveling with, 50–1, 182, 218, 294, 332, 340
 Council of the Indies, 28, 45, 58, 85, 111
 Council of Trent
 and Venus, 326
 commemorating, 42, 249
 dates of, 41, 43
 organization of, 41
 on Bible, 229
 on celibacy, 108
 on concubines, 65
 on confraternities, 292
 on death, 32, 145, 181
 on education, 246–7, 271–2, 311, 313
 on sacraments, 208–10
 on saints, 136, 194, 214, 281
 purpose of, 40–1
 results of, 42, 49, 54, 57, 61, 112, 165, 167, 212, 222, 347
 Counter Reformation, 31, 49, 188
 Coyoacan, 151
 Coyolxauhqui, 15, 28, 87, 211, 263–4, 313, 337, 351, 362
 cremation/cremains, 100, 143, 143–4, 146, 273
 Cristo Aparecido, 135, 137, 281
 Cristo de Ixmiquilpan, 135, 137
 Crónica Mexicayotl, 15
 crucifix
 adoption of, 134, 190
 and arrow sacrifice, 134
 and corn, 179
 and Santeros, 179, 194, 272
 as tree, 135, 230
 as weapon, 131
 bloody, 95
 emplanting, 107, 135, 236, 279
 in processions, 13, 250
 lack of, 307
 miraculous, 131, 134–5, 334
 place in church, 69. See also crucifixion
 crucifixion, 33, 38, 93, 131, 134, 211, 218, 278–9, 284, 345. See also crucifixion
 crusade(r)
 and apocalypse, 39
 and blood purity, 93
 and Franciscans, 118, 286
 and gold, 182
 and indulgences, 31, 238
 and just war, 338
 and nursing, 352
 and relics, 101
 and substitutes, 240
 and Tunis, 340
 as soldier for Christ, 73, 272
 First, 73, 293
 Iberia and, 238. See also just war
 Cuauhtinchan, 18, 85–6, 92, 132, 189.
 See also Mapa de Cuauhtinchan
 Cuenca, 31, 280, 333
 Cuernavaca, 48, 156, 285, 363
 Culhua, 15, 28, 76, 337. See also Culhuacan
 Culhuacan, 13, 15, 27, 55, 157, 233, 362.
 See also Culhua
 Day of the Cross, 131, 133
 diocese, 29, 48, 54, 55, 186, 193, 246, 249, 264, 352
 divination, 21–2, 26, 75–6, 89, 102, 113, 156–9, 157, 177, 185, 187, 202, 235
 divine providence, 167, 168
 doctrina (place), 49, 51, 53, 55, 57–8, 186, 204, 225, 233, 272–3
 doctrina (teaching), 22, 41, 51, 58, 61, 65, 142, 209–10, 216, 268, 283, 311, 313, 347
 Dominican, and Cabala, 40
 and native practices, 221
 and rosary, 33–4, 170
 and Virgin de Soledad, 36
 arguing slavery, 51, 287
 bishops, 334
 child evangelists, 109
 confraternies, 290–1
 education, 4, 268, 311
 ethnographies, 312
 finances, 29
 in Oaxaca, 51–2
 inquisition, 54, 238
 missions, 52, 266
 on Immaculate Conception, 33
 symbol, 52
 teaching doctrine, 29
 texts, 164, 347
 women, 53, 53, 333, 352. See also Aquinas, Thomas; Durán, Diego; las Casas, Bartolome de; Montúfar, Alonso; Oaxaca; Vitoria, Francisco de; Oaxaca; Santo Domingo cathedral; Yanhuitlán
 Durán, Diego
 books by, 312, 324
 on communion, 195
 on death practices, 142, 252
 on deities, 25, 152, 226, 345
 on festivals, 59, 345
 on flowers, 176, 227
 on idolatry, 195, 308
 on native conversion, 59, 195, 308
 on sacrifice, 90
 on sculpture, 90
 on songs, 59
 on soothsayers, 334
 on thorns, 315. See also Dominican
 earthquake, 228, 333
 Easter, 84, 86, 110–12, 166, 169–70, 205, 227, 251, 304, 314, 348
 Eastern Orthodox, 320
 eclipse, 79–80, 109, 141, 211, 248, 283, 300, 304, 326
 Egypt, 71, 87, 105, 152, 192
 El Salvador, 7
 encomienda, 45–7, 213, 242, 287
 entrada, 12, 45, 47–8, 51, 169, 240–2, 287. See also Alvarado, Juan de; Cortés, Hernan
 Epiphany, 69, 170, 314
 equinox
 in Anahuac, 11, 21, 27, 80, 102, 168, 203, 254, 264, 304, 355
 in New Spain, 170, 305
 in Spain, 79, 103, 170, 304
 Esdras, book of, 229–30, 323
 Eucharist
 and confraternities, 30, 291
 and pilgrimage, 238
 bread, 92, 112, 178–9
 cope, 328
 doctrine of, 30, 49, 92, 110, 189, 277, 320
 eligibility for, 54, 111
 feast of, 30
 gazing at, 99
 in art, 193
 in New Spain practice, 111, 181, 189, 247
 meditation on, 92
 miracles, 92, 110
 wine, 41, 95, 110, 179. See also Corpus Christi; wine
 excommunication, 246, 293
 exorcism, 83, 151–2, 154

- Expectation (Marian feast), 169
 Extremadura, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40,
 43, 75, 240, 274, 333. See also
 Guadalupe
eye
 and spiritual power, 164, 174
 averting, 98–9, 212
 closed, 98, 347
 exuding heart feeling, 187, 347
 eyebrow, 277
 eyelid, 95, 98, 234
 eyesight, 99
 God's, 282, 305
 heat from, 98, 164
 in facades, 106, 267
 in hellmouth, 324
 in Level 7 of heaven, 123
 in Mexica calendar stone, 75,
 303
 multiple, 123, 300
 of clergy, 67, 204, 303
 of Mexica deities, 300–1, 303, 344
 of Providence, 306
 on captives, 348
 open, 352
 patron saints for, 77, 184, 235
 springs from, 202
 trees and, 229
 uplifted, 347
- Feathered Serpent*
 and calendar, 10, 102
 and Mexica, 136
 and pulque, 159
 and pyramids, 262, 263, 278
 as wind deity, 262–3
 at Chichen Itza, 278
 at Teotihuacan, 9, 10, 278
 post-Teotihuacan, 27, 102, 237,
 262, 325
 role in creation, 10
 shrines to, 9, 281
 symbol of, 75. See also Cholula;
 Fifth Sun; International style;
 Quetzalcoatl (deity); Temple of
 Quetzalcoatl
- Felipe II
 and communion, 111
 and Gregorian calendar, 103
 and Jesuits, 52
 and slavery, 286, 288
 and Venus, 326
 education initiatives of, 52, 298
 issuing travel restrictions, 4
 on town building, 56
 questionnaire of, 49, 206, 265
 reign of, 26, 49, 359
 relic collection, 259. See also
 Carlos V; *Relaciones
 Geográficas*
 Fernando II, 3, 26–7, 36, 38–9, 74, 117,
 221, 330
 Fernando III, 34
- Ficino, Marsilio, 81, 295, 358
Fifth Sun
 and calendar dates, 11, 27
 as apocalypticism, 22, 73, 167
 celebration of, 18
 debt to creators of, 180
 human creation in, 92, 97, 177
 story of, 8–9, 27, 127–8, 275, 278,
 283, 303. See also Feathered
 Serpent; Fourth Sun;
 Quetzalcoatl
 Fiore, Joachim de, 37, 39, 74–5, 332,
 357
 First Sun, 127, 292
 flag, 93, 99, 138, 227. See also banner
 flagellant, 95, 189–90, 200, 235–6,
 250, 272, 290–1, 316, 347
 flagellation(ing), 95, 106, 133, 150,
 236, 290, 332, 348. See also
 bloodletting
Florentine Codex
 data collection for, 49, 273, 313
 description of conquest in, 340
 eating flesh in, 110
 illustrations in, 97, 156, 200, 205,
 258, 307
 native collaborators of, 273
 Paynal in, 148, 320
 prayers in, 241
 sacrifice in, 153. See also Sahagun,
 Bernardino de
Flos Sanctorum, 231, 256, 269, 309.
 See also martyr, miracle book
 Fourth Sun, 100, 121, 127–8, 322. See
 also Fifth Sun
 Francis, St. and urbanism, 203
 as angel of the sixth seal, 39, 75
 as imitatio Christi, 149
 as patron, 232
 character in morality play, 91
 hagiographer of, 145
 in garden context, 230
 robe and belt of, 261, 329
 rule of, 58–9, 245
 stigmata on, 149, 218
- Franciscan, in general
 and congregation programs, 56,
 204
 and Cortés, 18, 45, 51
 and education, 4, 81, 247–8,
 269–70, 298, 311
 and landscape, 203, 206
 books, 148, 155, 243, 262, 269,
 310–12, 314, 333
 dance of Christians and Moors, 139
 favored Virgins of, 36, 240, 334
 in Rio Grande region, 318
 in Spain, 245, 266, 289
 iconography of, 99, 132, 134, 153,
 200–1, 256, 279, 285, 319
 Italian, 134
 longing for martyrdom, 59, 234,
 302
- observations of natives by, 154,
 168, 206, 221, 308
 on sacraments, 54, 58, 84–5, 109,
 111, 114–15, 117, 210, 247
 opening singing schools, 222
 recruitment of, 273, 329
 sodalities, 290–1
 Franciscan individuals, 36–40, 51, 99,
 154, 159, 262, 280, 307, 332. See
 also Calero, Juan; Columbus,
 Christopher; Fiore, Joaquin de;
 Gante, Pedro de; Franciscans in
 general; Franciscan missions;
 Franciscan Order; Motolinia;
 Olmos, Andrés de; Sahagún,
 Bernardino de; Scotus, John
 duns; Valencia, Martin de
 Franciscan missions and monasteries,
 51, 57, 59, 165, 198, 218, 225
 among Maya, 266
 in Mexico City, 90, 266, 290
 in Old World, 30, 32, 36, 40, 51, 265
 in Puebla state, 51, 132, 201, 253
 in Tetzoco, 51
 in Tlaxcala, 51, 154. See also
 Extremadura; Franciscans in
 general; Franciscan individuals;
 Franciscan Order; Rábida
 Franciscan Order, 29–30, 43, 48–9,
 141, 203, 245–6, 280
 and Crusades, 118, 286
 and Immaculate Conception,
 21–33, 96, 112–13, 171, 252–3,
 330–1
 and stigmata, 33, 92
 apocalypticism, 31, 38–40, 52, 60,
 74–5, 118, 218, 310
 as Guardians of the Holy Land,
 238
 conflict within, 271
 favored saints of, 44, 71–2, 75, 232,
 289
 knot, 132
 natives as ideal Christians, 37, 168,
 203
 on conversion, 119, 154
 on monstrance, 111
 on slavery, 286
 practice of Rule of, 29, 58, 71, 118,
 245, 271, 296
 robes, 96–7, 261, 262
 Spirituals, 37–40, 74
 women, 32, 53. See also Cabala;
 Franciscans in general;
 Franciscan individuals;
 Franciscan missions; poverty
- Gante, Pedro de, 45, 51, 68, 132, 139,
 148, 194, 266–7, 311, 319, 360
 Garden of Eden, 60, 123, 128–9, 175,
 204, 229–30, 235, 317, 350
 Genesis, 5, 76, 81, 128–9, 161, 229, 297,
 315, 320, 345

- Germany, 5–6, 40, 117, 140, 317
 Golgotha, 132, 218, 284
 Granada, 3, 26, 43, 204, 221
 Great Chain of Being, 129–30, 130
 Great Schism, 193
 Gregorian, 80, 104, 170–1, 221, 345,
 355
 grotteschi, 152, 153, 154. See also
 Romano
 Guadalupe, Virgin. See Virgin
 Guadalupe
 Guatemala, 48, 51, 53–5, 59, 119, 160,
 205, 340–1
 Guerrero (state), 8, 20, 27, 45, 76,
 206, 250, 319. See also Taxco
 Guzman, Dominic de, 33, 72, 231–2,
 245, 277, 310, 319, 319, 332, 357
 Guzman, Nuño de, 45, 287, 302, 360
 Hapsburg, 164, 341
 Hebrew, 37, 39, 189, 224, 268, 310. See
 also Jew
 Helen, St., 131, 260, 357. See also
 Santa Elena
 hell
 and limbo, 124
 and Mary, 324
 as residence, 67, 152, 255–6, 323
 avoidance of, 227, 296, 350
 geography of, 67, 124, 203, 205, 230,
 255, 323–4
 images of, 67, 323–4
 names for, 322
 on earth, 168
 priests in, 329
 required belief in, 6, 86
 Tezcatlipoca and, 306
 those destined for, 168, 187, 323
 witches in, 91. See also hellmouth;
 most holy earth; purgatory
 hellmouth, 312, 324
 heretic, 93, 110, 118, 193, 293, 295,
 323
 hermitage, 25, 34, 49, 53, 59, 105, 205,
 208
 Hieronymite, 28, 30, 36, 40, 51, 253
 Hispaniola, 3, 36, 46, 53, 59, 209, 287,
 336
 Historia de los Indios de la Nueva
 España, 312, 324
 Historia de los mexicanos por sus
 pinturas, 23, 120
 Historia de Tlaxcala, 55–6, 153–4
 as Lienzo de Tlaxcala, 302, 334,
 343
 Historia eclesiastica india, 41, 262
 Historia natural de la Nueva España,
 185–6
 Historia Tolteca-chichimeca, 85, 166,
 299, 313
 Holy Roman Empire. 71 See also
 Carlos V
 Honduras, 7, 45, 59, 63, 205, 341
 Huastec
 arrow sacrifice, 12, 16, 27, 134, 160,
 327
 circular pyramids, 262
 descendants of the tlamatinime,
 309
 imitators of, 138, 280, 327
 language, 16, 311
 men, 92, 134, 280
 Nahualpilli cult from, 117
 pulque from, 160
 Tamoanchan in, 121, 309. See also
 Ixcuiname, Nahualpilli,
 Tlazolteotl
 Huemac, 11, 27, 134, 302, 359
 Huexotzinco, 37, 134, 336
 Huitzilopochtli
 and eagle warriors, 17, 163, 337
 and elite, 18–19, 119, 125
 and Quetzalcoatl, 337
 appearance of, 75, 96, 110, 153, 191,
 195, 234, 283
 as devil, 129, 324
 as eagle, 15, 163, 298
 as historical figure, 163, 313,
 337
 as patron of Mexica, 18, 125, 188,
 231
 as Paynal, 148, 320
 as sun, 302–3
 as supreme deity, 306
 birth of, 90–1
 brothers of, 15, 299
 Cihuateteo and, 307
 death of, 302
 dressed like, 328
 elimination of cult of, 119, 125–6,
 187, 307
 feasts for, 23, 25, 169, 171, 175, 188,
 234, 251, 264, 337, 355–6, 363
 geography of, 136, 254, 322, 324
 human sacrifice to, 15, 18, 324
 in gendered struggle, 337, 351
 mother of, 18, 73, 112, 136, 158, 163,
 213, 278, 308, 362
 priests of, 15, 243, 280
 promotion of, 17–18, 28, 337
 pyramids of, 15–16, 121, 263, 278,
 337
 sacred bundle of, 16, 100, 241, 275,
 277
 sister of, 15, 87, 211, 362
 spread of cult, 25, 352
 teixiptla of, 28, 110, 148, 320, 16,
 25, 147, 157–8, 164, 264, 306,
 332
 warriors serving, 88
 wife of, 28
 Huitznahua, 136, 243, 313
 hurricane, 278
 ihiyotl (soul), 97, 100, 294–5
 Immaculate Child, 331
 Immaculate Conception
 and Franciscans, 6, 33, 112–13, 171,
 245
 Anne and, 91, 214
 as patron, 113, 253
 as saddle virgin, 331
 confraternity for, 57, 253, 272
 cult of, 2
 debate over, 112, 330
 feast of, 32, 169, 171
 hospital of, 57
 imagery of, 33, 96, 211, 253, 301, 318,
 326, 330–1
 in Virgil's verse, 326
 purity of, 32, 214, 252–3
 sermon about, 318
 indulgence
 earned by confraternity, 68, 291
 earned indirectly, 235
 exploitation of, 38
 given for pilgrimage, confession,
 crusade, art, Vespers, 31, 74, 114,
 142, 193, 238, 240
 given in New Spain, 68, 240,
 283
 support for, 42
 to aid oneself after death, 31–2, 41,
 67–8, 146, 291
 to aid the dead, 31–2, 67–8, 271,
 291
 inherit
 an occupation, 289
 by a community, 309
 by farmers, 19
 by ruler, 126, 159
 by women, 65, 175, 351
 from Adam and Eve, 32
 Inquisition
 and patronage, 232
 and texts, 58, 311
 concerns of, 6, 26, 118, 280, 295, 311,
 333, 345, 349
 in New Spain, 45, 48–9, 54, 61–2,
 137, 145, 148, 236, 277, 302,
 310–11, 350
 in Rome, 41
 in Spain, 4, 43, 118, 158, 212, 245,
 280, 295, 333
 punishments by, 238
 records of, 310, 352
 rendered unnecessary in New
 Spain, 116, 196
 inquisitor, 4, 54, 112, 196, 238
 International style, 3, 10. See also
 Feathered Serpent
 Isabella I, Queen, 3, 26–7, 33, 36, 117,
 159, 208–9, 221, 230, 302, 330,
 358
 Islam(ic), 3, 29, 73, 80, 145, 159, 173,
 220, 293, 320, 338
 Italy, 40, 103, 139, 153, 218, 231, 238,
 258, 261
 Itzcoatl, 16, 18, 20, 359

- Itzpapalotl*
and Catholics, 126
and Mixcoatl, 7, 27, 75, 275, 301,
 348
as butterfly, 197, 362
as stone, 76
in gendered struggle, 351
in Tamoanchan, 121, 228
leader of Mexica, 100
leader of Tzitzimimeh, 364
name, 80, 362
sacred bundle of, 275, 348
Ixcuina. See *arrow; Ixcuiname; Tlazolteotl*
Ixcuiname, 12, 27, 75, 134, 137. See also *Huastec*
Izcalli, 24, 100, 160, 171, 356
- Jerome, St.*, 35, 151, 155, 218, 284–5,
 315, 332. See also *Hieronymite MARTYR?*
- Jerusalem*
Cholula as, 237
Christians in, 36–7, 73, 269
conquest of, 37–9, 73–4, 118, 332–3,
 338–9
famine in, 198
in art, 205
location of, 164–5, 255, 324
New, 36, 39
plays about, 314
Puebla as, 168, 205
recreation of, 168, 205–6, 267, 334
Sicily and, 28
Spain and, 37–9, 74
Tenochtitlan and, 3
- Jesse tree*, 318–19, 319
- Jesuit*
and education, 22, 270, 290
and relics, 259–61
and saints, 233
and tears, 347
history, 41, 49, 52, 273
ideas, 59, 111, 164–5, 203–4, 279
individuals, 40, 81, 189, 285. See also *Acosta, José Jew(i)sh*
ancestors, 70
and Aquarius, 79
and black death, 131
and divorce, 159
and Franciscans, 118
and host, 110
and morning star, 326
and Satan, 151
and sodomy, 293
and the trinity, 320
apocalypticism, 73
as converts 83, 93, 108, 117–18, 221
as doctors, 282
as doe, 147
contamination by, 168
cosmology, 124
- covenant with God*, 126, 214, 255
expulsion of, 3, 26, 43, 74, 118
in Contigas, 220–1
in New World, 54, 253
interaction with Muslims, 80
natives as, 94
texts, 36, 39–40
threat of, 118–19
to hell, 31, 323
traditions, 71, 179, 320. See also *Cabala; Converso; convivencia; limpieza de sangre; Old Testament*
- Joaquin, St.*, 91, 113, 214, 232–3, 251,
 289, 331
- John the Baptist*
and Tlaloc, 233
as patron, 231–2, 265
as Venus, 326
as visionary, 332
baptizing Jesus, 83–4, 84, 345
confession to, 116
confraternity of, 290
feast of, 185, 233, 304, 314
head of, 284–5
in sheol, 323. See also *martyr*
- Junta Eclesiástica*, 48, 53–4, 140
just war, 286–7, 338, 341
- La Antigua*
in Spain, 34
Veracruz, 34, 34
- La Florida*, 4, 52, 119, 329
- Landa, Diego de*, 119, 310, 360
- las Casas, Bartolome de*
arguing slavery, 287–8, 341
as author, 79, 99, 168, 178, 213,
 301–2
as bishop, 48, 54, 360
as priest, 46, 51. See also *Dominican*
- Last World Emperor*, 38–40, 74, 218
- Lateran Council*
First, 43
Fourth, 38, 43, 92, 107, 114, 128, 151,
 208, 295
Third, 293
- Laws of Burgos*, 43, 46, 51, 55, 58, 109
- Lent*, 95, 115–16, 166, 169, 250, 291, 328
- Lepanto*, 49, 212, 340
- lightning*, 67, 76, 123, 143, 164, 183,
 217, 228, 243, 252, 344, 363
- Limpieza de sangre*, 70, 93, 118, 253,
 343. See also *Jew*
- Litanies of Loreto*, 326
- Luther, Martin*, 38, 40–1, 43, 167, 240,
 245–6, 271, 296, 310, 359
- Malinalco*, 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 176
- Malinche*, 334
- Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2*, 86,
 166, 236, 248, 275. See also *Cuauhtinchan*
- Mardi Gras*, 169
- market*
and La Llorona, 156
and women, 22, 44, 148, 340, 351
as constellation Scorpio, 299–300
as unifier, 289
closing, 141
currency, 181
deceptive practices in, 116
European, 101, 169, 198
military, 336
Olmec, 7
products, 26, 88, 198
Puebla, 198
slave, 247, 286–7
- Tenochtitlan*, 45, 88, 249
- Tlatelolco*, 44–5, 340. See also *trader*
- Martin of Tours, St.*, 232, 284
- martyr(dom)*
and direction south, 256
and guilds, 289
arrows and, 76
as advocate, 231
blood, 92, 95, 258, 328
celebrating, 139
from Japan, 50
head of, 284–5
in New Spain, 48, 67, 146, 159, 262,
 285, 329
in Old World, 175, 187, 189, 193, 232
potential to be, 59, 149, 302
Protestant, 41
relics of, 101, 183, 259, 284
virgin, 330–1. See also *Calero, Juan; Flos Sanctorum; imitatio Christi; miracle book*
- Maya(n)*
and arrow sacrifice, 75
and Catholic burial, 146
and Christian texts, 57–8, 313
and Dominicans, 51
and Franciscan friar, 51
and Genesis, 129
and Inquisition, 302
and Landa, 310
and Lucifer, 326
and Mercedarians, 53
and Olmecs, 8, 27
and trees, 133, 254, 283, 317
and volcanos, 217
as slaves, 287
astronomy, 79
calendar, 27, 102, 128
churches, 69, 146, 266
city, 11, 233
codices, 325, 349
confession, 114
deities, 172, 254, 257, 278, 294
glyphs, 344
idols, 119, 233
modern rituals, 298
on map, 7

- ritual specialists*, 157, 241
wills, 233
- Mayahuel*, 16, 19, 100, 160, 162, 213, 216, 278, 362
- Mecca*, 237
Mendieta, Gerónimo de, 360
acts of, 59
observations of natives, 131, 133, 139, 146, 159, 275, 306, 329
on discovery of New World, 74
on Juan Calero, 262
protecting natives, 71
suppression of writings by, 310
- Mendoza*, Antonio de, 46, 94, 185, 204, 287, 310, 342–3, 360
- Mexican Church Provincial Council*
First, 49, 54, 85, 140, 158, 170, 195, 221, 247, 270, 292
Third, 49, 54, 109, 195, 222, 292, 301, 329
Second, 54, 270
- Michoacán*
bishop of, 48, 55, 205
butterflies in, 198
dances in, 140
diocese of, 48, 54–5, 55
entradas into, 48, 59
Immaculate Conception church in, 253
Jesse trees in, 319
music, 221
santeros in, 194. *See also*
Purépecha; Quiroga, Vasco de; Santa Fe de Laguna
- Mictlan*
as night, 140
bones retrieved from, 97, 100, 121, 127
Christian depiction of, 324
contents of, 174, 284, 322
forces of, 125, 322
geography of, 66, 322
journey to, 66, 144, 226
native depiction of, 66, 315, 322–3.
See also *El Zapatal; Mictlantecuhtli; most holy earth*
- Mictlantecuhtli*, 92, 121, 174, 192, 322–3, 323, 351, 363
midwife(ves)
and mother's corpse, 143
and religious experience, 22, 183
and tonalpohualli, 22, 77, 112, 156, 167
as doctors, 90, 172, 183, 215, 349
as witches, 91, 349
birth ceremony, 83, 91, 167, 348
in Europe, 349
Toci as, 183
women as, 351
- Miguel, St. (archangel)*
and Franciscans, 71, 74
as patron, 72, 74, 96, 206, 225, 231, 291
- European shrine to*, 218
feast for, 304
image of, 71–2, 96, 153
in death ritual, 144, 242
popularity of, 71
story of, 71
miracle books, 310
mitote, 90, 138–9, 363
- Mixcoatl*
and centzonmimixcoa, 299
and gendered conflict, 163, 351
and Itzpapalotl, 7, 75, 275, 301, 348, 362
and Tezcatlipoca, 363
as patron, 15, 231
cult of, 7, 16, 18
domain of, 278
feasts of, 75, 147, 233, 248, 355–6, 363
sacred bundle of, 16, 100, 275, 348
stars and, 299–301, 363. *See also*
Itzpapalotl
- Mixtec(as), and missionaries*, 51, 57, 311
arrow sacrifice, 77
as entrada participants, 342
burial practices, 107
calendar, 21
codices, 2, 90, 127, 313, 327
deities, 172, 294, 307
language, 57, 92, 213, 311
moieties, 19
on map, 20
origin of, 104, 127, 316
priests, 107, 277
sacred bundles, 104, 275, 277, 327
towns, 10
xicilli jackets, 256. *See also* *Codex Borgia; Codex Nuttall*
- Mixton War*, 48, 159, 302, 334, 343
- Molina, Alonso de*, 99, 116, 146, 269, 307, 311, 338, 360
- Monarquia Hispanica*, 26
- monstrance*, 69, 111, 249, 276–7, 304
- Montserrat*, 32, 105, 218, 220, 240, 333
- Montúfar, Alonso*, 49, 54, 59, 116, 360
- More, Thomas*, 205, 246
- Morisco*, 26, 70, 110, 118, 126, 145, 252
- Morning glory*, 110, 177, 185–6
Morning Star, and warfare, 325–6
as Quetzalcoatl, 11, 325–6
as Venus phase, 325
in European thought, 211, 326
location in cosmos, 120, 164
names of, 308, 326
role in daily birth of Sun, 121, 304
- Morocco*, 221
- Most Holy Earth*
and feet, 97, 172
and ihiyotl soul, 97
and nahualli, 121
cave passages through, 104, 273
- description of*, 66, 120–1, 127, 315, 322
gifts from, 90, 127, 171, 278
in Catholic treatment, 125, 324
in trinity, 320
- Mictlan in*, 66, 121, 127, 315, 322, 363
nightly passage of sun through, 121
overhead, 322
residents of, 121, 127, 322. *See also*
Mictlan; Mictlantecuhtli
- Moteuczoma I Huilcamina*, 17–18, 20, 158, 317, 330, 336, 359
- Moteuczoma II Xocoyotzin*
acts of, 20, 21, 289
and Cortés, 20, 181, 297
and dance, 138–40
and omens, 158, 332
aviary of, 90
child of, 154
description of, 20, 77, 360
garden of, 133, 319
invitations by, 337
relatives of, 109
wives of, 208
zoo of, 348
- Motolinía (Toribio de Benavente)*
and Cholula, 204
and confession, 115–16
and confirmation, 271
and Puebla, 72
as author, 310, 312
at Colegio de Santa Cruz, 270
on Epiphany, 170
on native flagellants, 250
on native practices, 76, 144, 152, 161, 177, 191, 223, 315
reporting on Cortés, 216. *See also*
Franciscan individuals
- Mt. Tlaloc*, 23, 26, 164, 202, 216, 217, 229, 248, 263, 281, 327
- Muñoz Camargo, Diego*, 63, 72, 153, 234, 361
- mural*
at Cacaxtla, 100
at Teotihuacan, 71, 197, 229
by native artists, 132, 272
cycle, 137
of Immaculate Conception, 253, 326
with flagellants, 291
- Muslim*
ancestor, 70
and birds, 158
and divorce, 159
and Franciscans, 118
and hell, 31, 323
and homosexuality, 293
and Jerusalem, 39, 338
and Mecca, 237
blood of, 93
burial practices, 118
contamination by, 93, 168

- Muslim* (cont.)
conversion of, 83, 108, 117–18
cosmology, 124
doctors, 185
hiding relics from, 260
in Iberia, 3, 40, 43, 71, 73–4, 80,
 268, 286, 298, 338–9
in music, 220–1
on the Trinity, 320
victories against, 21, 26, 212. *See also Convivencia; Islam; Jew; Lepanto; Moriscos*
mystic(ism), 33, 189, 193, 214, 228,
 293
- nahualistas, 101, 226
 nahuallatolli, 241
 nahualli, 15–16, 107, 121, 151, 349, 363
nativity, 166, 169–70, 221
Church of, 105–6, 106
natural law, 5, 288
natural marriage, 209
 Navarra, 3, 26
 neophyte, 59, 63, 71, 83–4, 108–9, 207,
 236, 246, 272
neoplatonic(ism), 81, 295–6
 New Laws, 47–8, 287
 New Testament, 65, 161, 167, 231, 256,
 267, 322
 Nezahualcóyotl, 18, 172, 175, 298, 302,
 336, 359
 Nezahualpilli, 77, 292, 302, 360
 Night Watch rite, 140
 North star, 81, 299
- Oaxaca
Achiutla, 316
and cochineal, 197, 199
and earthquakes, 333
bishop of, 46
confraternities in, 290–1
dances in, 314, 343
diocese of, 48, 54–5
Dominicans in, 51–2, 52, 236
elite in, 342
entradas into, 48, 59
Hapsburg eagle in, 164
Huatulco, 131–2
inquisition in, 277
Jesuits in, 270
maize in, 27
marriages with natives from, 352
messenger service to, 342
nuns arrive to, 53, 53
patron saints of, 76, 253
pulque in, 160
Santa María Tule, 174, 319
Santo Domingo Cathedral, 319,
 339
Teotitlan del Camino, 25
Teposcolula, 266
Topilepec, 77, 134. *See also Antequera; Juaquila; virgin;*
- Mixtec; Monte Alban; Villa Alta; Zapotec*
Ocelotl, Martin, 332
 Ochpaniztli, 20, 76, 113, 138, 169, 337,
 348, 351, 355. *See also Coatlicue; Tlazolteotl; Toci*
Old Testament
altars, 69
and divine births, 112
and Gemini, 79
and marriage, 208
and sacrifice, 92, 189
angels in, 151
covenant in, 126
demons, 151
God as mother in, 214
hangings in, 317
people in, 192
rainbow in, 76
sin as red, 258
time divisions, 141
use in Christianity, 39, 192
visions in, 332
ollin, 10, 300
 Olmec, 7–8, 88, 94, 102, 168, 187, 254,
 277–8
 Olmedo, Bartolomé de, 50–1, 294,
 360
 Olmos, Andrés de, 148, 155–6, 213,
 234, 269, 311, 314, 350, 360
 Omoteotl, 89, 305, 363
 Ometeyocan, 21, 120, 174, 323
 open chapel, 106, 132, 265–6, 266, 314
original sin
and baptism, 83, 252, 282, 345
and skulls, 284
Aquinas on, 67
as tenant of Catholicism, 6, 85
conveyed through Adam, 330
free from, 23–33, 42, 252, 280, 282,
 330
Mary vanquishing, 279
perpetual burden of, 129
similar to native belief, 85
sins beyond, 154. *See also Garden of Eden*
Otomi
and Augustinians, 52, 111, 115, 164,
 311
and sex, 280
beliefs, 1, 252, 305, 316, 325
feasts, 25, 168
history of, 12, 27, 45, 60, 163
language, 57, 115
patron of, 231, 362
texts, 309, 311
veintena cycle, 168
- Palm Sunday, 69
Panquetzaliztli
as Mexica elaboration, 25, 169
effigy of Huitzilopochtli in, 191
heart extrusion during, 188
- Mexica entered Basin during*, 169
mountaintop altars for, 68
processions during, 247, 251, 356
pulque drinking during, 160
reenactment during, 313
remake of Quetzalcoatl's history,
 18, 25, 337
reopening of Templo Mayor
during, 264
serpent dance during, 138
slaves vs. warriors in, 96
warrior race during, 348
Papal bulls. *See individual Bulls*
parish priest
and landscape, 204
and rural shrines, 216
and saints, 126
charged with Christian education,
 266
control of laity, 57, 238
recruiting crusaders, 27
reform of, 40
responsible for masses for the dead, 32
seeking large households, 247
supported by laity, 29, 59
 Peru, 132, 333, 343
 Philippines, 28, 135, 194, 198, 204,
 246, 287, 341
pilgrim
and poverty, 238
and relics, 181, 259–60, 274, 276
at Teotihuacan, 10
decline of, 240
European, 181, 193, 221, 238–9, 273
generosity of, 181–2
housing for, 291
in New Spain, 106, 132, 135, 185,
 240
to Holy Land, 238
to Quetzalcoatl shrines, 237
to springs/wells, 237
to Tepeyac, 236
to Tepoztlán, 26
women as, 351
 Pleiades, 21, 26, 80, 300
polygamy, 208–10
poor, the
and burial, 145
and confraternities, 291
and pilgrimage, 237–8
as mourners, 145, 180
exploitation of, 109
in Indian prayers, 241
Indians as naturally, 38
mendicant, 39
offerings by, 90, 226
receiving alms, 31, 170–1, 180–1, 238
saints day feast gifts to, 170–1
women, 353. *See also poverty*
Poor Clares, 53
 Pope Gregory the Great, 110, 117, 317
 Pope Gregory IX, 169

Index

393

- Pope Gregory XII, 103
 Pope Gregory XIII, 34, 103
 Pope Leon X, 246
 Pope Paul III, 41, 111, 210
 Portugal, 3, 26, 28, 93, 99, 103, 232,
 239, 260, 286, 288, 358
 poverty
 and knots, 200
 attestation of, 119, 144
 of mendicants, 29, 37–8, 58, 150,
 180, 245–6, 271, 320
 of natives, 170, 173. *See also poor*
 predestination, 167
 Presentation, of Mary, 169, 171
 primitive church, 37, 49, 60, 267
 Protestant
 and cochineal, 259
 and inquisition, 54
 and Joachimite ideas, 38
 Catholic reaction to, 112, 170, 289
 churches in Spain, 4, 41
 defeat of, 249
 iconoclasm of, 3–4, 41, 193–4, 277
 impact on Catholic recruitment, 273
 martyrs, 41
 reforms advocated by, 3, 32, 41, 125,
 145, 168, 240, 305
 souls lost to, 296
 symbolized with snakes, 279
 theology, 306, 168
 travel restrictions on, 4. *See also*
 Calvin, John; Council of Trent;
 Counter Reformation; Luther,
 Martin
Psalmodia Christiana, 89, 176, 221–2,
 230, 311, 318, 326. *See also*
 Sahagún, Bernardino de
 Puebla (city)
 and Jerusalem, 72, 168, 205, 299,
 334
 confraternities in, 111
 convents in, 53
 diocese seat in, 54
 Immaculate Conception church in,
 253
 Jesuits school in, 270
 market in, 198, 259
 processions in, 250
 road through, 205
 slaves in, 288. *See also Casa del*
 Dean
 Puebla (state)
 codices from, 323
 entrada through, 48, 132
 monasteries in, 51, 75, 164, 285
 Nahuas today in, 321
 Nonoalca in, 11
 region, 197, 259, 271. *See also*
 Cholula; Cuauhtinchan;
 Huexotzinco; Mixtec
 Pulque
 and drunkenness, 161
 and fertility, 172, 213
 and honey, 86
 and Virgin Mary, 162, 216
 and women, 280
 as cold food, 177
 as offering, 177, 217, 226
 cochineal money spent on, 199
 cults of, 10, 28, 100, 159, 300, 316
 gift of, 278
 gods of, 160, 217, 244, 280, 327, 363
 in baptism, 83
 in Colonial era, 161, 179
 in veintenas, 160
 makers of, 136
 origin of, 160. *See also Feathered*
 Serpent cult; Mayahuel
Purépecha, 87, 111, 208, 282, 342
 pyramid
 accoutrements, 18, 68, 175, 217, 219,
 248, 263–4, 299
 appearance of, 8, 9
 as mountains, 205, 216–17, 278
 as snakes, 10, 278
 building as religious labor, 56,
 271–2
 circular, 17, 19, 262, 278, 325
 climbing, 160, 337
 destruction of, 205, 274
 double/twin, 12, 16, 17, 28, 107, 121,
 247–8, 263, 344
 history of, 6–7, 10, 12, 15
 in codices, 267
 locations for, 264
 over artificial caves, 104, 107, 187
 stepped, 10, 17, 248, 262–3, 278, 325.
 See also Cholula; Templo
 Mayor; Teotihuacan
 Quauhtemoc, 2, 28, 44–5, 157, 163,
 250, 360
 Quecholli, 25, 88, 100, 168–9, 171, 356,
 363
 Quetzalcoatl (deity)
 and deer, 147
 and maize, 22, 104, 228
 and nahuallis, 16, 349
 as creator, 9, 23, 92, 97, 100, 127,
 172, 202, 223, 278, 344, 362–3
 as lord of stars, 300
 as morning star, 325–6
 as patron, 231
 as sweeper of roads, 308
 as Venus, 325
 as wind deity, 17, 17, 19, 127–8, 262
 association with Tlaloc, 10
 birth of, 11, 18
 conflict with Tezcatlipoca cult, 11
 emerging from watery depths, 9,
 344
 family of, 16, 112, 127, 156, 278, 308,
 362
 feasts celebrating, 25, 355
 home of, 121, 254
 image of, 9
 in 16th century, 18, 279
 in Mictlan, 100, 121, 127, 228, 322
 in Teotihuacan, 278
 Mexica integration of, 126
 priests of, 228, 243, 280
 rites in cult of, 19, 25, 89, 110, 132,
 280
 sacred bundle of, 10, 275. *See also*
 Cholula; ortés; Feathered
 Serpent; Fifth Sun; morning
 star; Panquetzaliztli; pilgrim;
 pulque; Quetzalcoatl (person);
 Temple of Quetzalcoatl; Xolotl
 (deity)
 Quetzalcoatl (person)
 as albino, 348
 as cult priest, 11, 12
 bringer of cross, 132, 134, 327
 disappearing to the east, 302
 penance by, 12, 234
 return of, 73, 158
 Toltec leader, 359, 363. *See also*
 Huemac; Quetzalcoatl (deity);
 Toltec
 Quiroga, Vasco de, 48, 53, 57, 205,
 289, 360
 Rábida monastery, 33, 36
 reconquest
 of Iberia, 34, 43, 118, 159, 252, 260,
 286, 339
 of Jerusalem, 38–9, 339
 of Mexico, 139
 reducciones, 53
 Reformation, 72, 108, 111, 188, 193,
 260
 Relacion de Michoacán, 168
 Relaciones Geográficas
 in Mexico, 206
 in Spain, 260, 265
 Renaissance, 73, 192, 246
 repartimiento, 47, 209, 287
 república de los Indios, 205, 289
 Revelation, book of, 36–7, 39–40, 73,
 92, 129, 163, 211, 228, 258, 304,
 323, 326, 332
 Roa, Antonio de, 106, 135, 137, 150,
 236, 262, 360. *See also*
 Augustinians
 Roch, St., 232
 Roman(s)
 and Venus, 326
 banner, 164
 Bible book of, 167
 Catholic, 4, 6, 29, 31, 40, 67, 165,
 193, 279, 320
 customs of, 213, 255
 day count, 103
 Empire, 185
 encampment model, 256
 guilds, 289
 images of, 192
 patronage system, 231

- Roman(s) (cont.)*
- philosophers*, 288, 323, 326
 - sibyls*, 332
 - times*, 152. *See also Holy Roman Empire*
 - Romances de los señores de la Nueva España*, 221–2, 297
 - Romano, 152, 154
 - Rome*, 29, 37–8, 40–1, 44, 47, 57, 73–4, 126, 239, 270
 - Anahuac cities compared to*, 3, 204
 - and relics*, 260, 284
 - Basilica in*, 38
 - ritual of*, 196
 - sack of*, 40, 73, 117
 - rosary*
 - fraternity*, 34, 68, 170, 289, 291
 - Feast of*, 34
 - history of*, 33, 200, 242, 332
 - in images of Mary*, 75
 - in use*, 158, 242, 250
 - Order of*, 53. *See also Guzman, Dominic de*
 - Sahagún, Bernardino de*, 49, 65, 99, 119, 269, 312, 320, 329, 346, 352, 360
 - and conversion*, 60, 298
 - and Florentine Codex*, 273, 276, 310
 - and informants*, 85, 150, 273
 - and homosexuality*, 294
 - and natives*, 87, 187, 282, 329
 - and offerings*, 155, 171, 176, 227
 - and prayer*, 113, 161, 196
 - and sacrifice*, 189
 - and teotl*, 150
 - and women*, 194
 - on Golgotha*, 284
 - on idolatry*, 196
 - on the Devil*, 152, 155–6, 189. *See also Florentine Codex; Psalmodia Christiana*
 - Salamanca (university and city)*, 4, 40, 85, 119, 124, 245–6, 268, 287–8, 295, 338, 341. *See also Castile*
 - San José de los Naturales, 45, 48, 50, 132, 194, 249, 250, 266, 290, 314
 - Santa Catalina de Siena, 53, 72, 249
 - Santa Elena, Florida, 152, 178
 - Santa Fe de la Laguna. 205 *See also utopia*
 - santero, 194, 272
 - Santiago, St., 44, 81, 96, 106, 307
 - and dance of the Christians and Moors*, 138–9, 343
 - apparitions of*, 334, 343
 - as Matamoros*, 339
 - as patron*, 225, 231, 264, 265, 308, 339, 340–1
 - hand of (relic)*, 184
 - Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 184, 310
 - Order of*, 339, 343
 - with Christ*, 339
 - with natives*, 339
 - with Virgin Mary*, 221, 334. *See also Colegio Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco*
 - Santiago de Compostela and pilgrimage*, 184, 221, 238–9, 239, 339–40
 - Codex Calixtinus*, 220
 - monastery of*, 218, 219
 - Pico Sacro*, 219
 - Santo Domingo (Caribbean)*, 209
 - Santo Domingo Cathedral*, Mexico City, 51, 261
 - Santo Domingo Cathedral*, Oaxaca, 52, 319, 339
 - Santo Domingo, Sor Maria de*, 38, 74, 158, 333, 359
 - Savonarola, Girolamo*, 79, 109, 310, 358
 - Scots, John Duns*, 114, 358
 - seculars*, 29, 50, 55, 126, 215, 240, 242, 246, 280
 - conflict with Orders*, 56, 58–9, 115, 145, 227, 246
 - support of*, 145, 227
 - training of*, 245, 247, 268, 298
 - Sepúlveda, Juan*, 287–8
 - Seville*, 131, 206, 215, 259, 286, 290
 - Columbus and*, 35, 287
 - Mosque in*, 4, 34
 - Siege of*, 32. *See also Virgin Antigua*
 - shell*, 20, 87, 98, 172, 172, 180, 220, 226, 228, 295, 300, 322, 327
 - shrine keeper*, 107, 310
 - Sicily*, 28, 84, 256
 - Siete Partidas*, 31, 45, 65–6, 159, 208, 302, 353
 - slave/slavery*, 3, 5, 10, 59, 63, 96, 138, 209, 251, 285–7, 313
 - African*, 48, 288, 292, 302, 334
 - and encomienda*, 47, 51, 213
 - and New Laws*, 47–8
 - as sacrifice*, 247, 256, 327, 337, 351
 - as teixiptla*, 149, 251
 - sodality participation by*, 272. *See also Sublimis Deus*
 - Solomon*, 40, 197, 267
 - Song of Solomon*, 211, 221
 - St. Augustine*, Florida, 52
 - star*, 75, 77, 80, 94, 120, 128, 278, 299–301, 351, 364
 - and Virgin of Guadalupe*, 331
 - evening star*, 141
 - north star*, 81, 299. *See also Morning Star; Venus*
 - stigmata*, 33, 39, 71, 75, 92, 149, 166, 218, 332
 - Sublimis Deus* 47–8
 - Summa Theologiae*, 65, 67, 152, 292. *See also Aquinas, Thomas*
 - sustenance mountain*, 9, 10, 23, 216, 217, 228
 - Talmud*, 39
 - Tamoanchan*, 8, 22, 90, 129, 174, 309, 363, 364
 - and cave*, 104, 127
 - as garden paradise*, 121, 151, 175, 228–30
 - with crosses*, 133. *See also Huastec; Itzpalapalotl; paradise*
 - Tarascans*, 7, 19, 110, 111, 116, 135, 163, 168
 - tax*, 49, 161, 268, 272, 292
 - collection*, 103, 109
 - labor*, 19, 272. *See also tribute*
 - Taxco*, Guerrero, 20, 45, 76, 133, 250
 - teixiptla*, 15, 75, 87, 136, 147, 150, 194, 259, 274, 317, 363
 - and tonalli*, 191
 - effigies*, 191, 320
 - embodiment*, 7, 327
 - of Huitzilopochtli*, 148, 247, 320
 - of Tezcatlipoca*, 23, 98, 110, 148–9
 - preparation of*, 220, 243, 244
 - priests as*, 243
 - sacrifice of*, 24, 94, 110, 149, 355
 - sacred bundle of*, 16, 276, 276
 - Temple of Quetzalcoatl*, 9, 9, 104, 278, 325, 344
 - Templo Mayor*, 16, 17, 17, 28, 44, 94, 164, 263, 281, 344
 - and House of Eagles*, 28, 92, 264 and *Huitzilopochtli*, 23, 96, 191, 241, 278
 - and Noche Triste*, 216
 - and Tlaloc*, 96, 172, 316
 - double pyramid shape*, 17
 - offerings left in*, 87, 172, 226
 - priests and*, 138, 243
 - processions to and from*, 247–8
 - serpent imagery of*, 278, 279
 - skulls and*, 283
 - tlatoani and*, 281
 - warriors and*, 348
 - Tenochtitlan*, 1, 12, 14, 17, 249, 284, 285, 342, 362, 363
 - ceremonial life in*, 2, 11, 25–6, 92, 136, 139, 142, 147, 236, 242–3, 300, 316
 - Cortés in*, 45, 93, 263, 294, 318, 333, 343, 345
 - destruction of*, 39, 43–4, 47, 48, 240, 319, 334, 341
 - diocese of*, 54
 - Dominican mission*, 51
 - festivals, feasts, prequauhtemoc*, 26, 271, 337, 355

Index

395

- festivals, feasts, postquauhtemoc*, 170–1, 187
founding of, 13, 16, 28, 258, 344–5
Franciscan mission in, 36, 51
Jesuits in, 164, 270
missionaries to, 63–4
Moteuczoma I and, 158
Moteuczoma II and, 20–1, 319
omens regarding, 18, 332–3
Quauhtemoc and, 163
on map, 7, 13, 14, 20, 44, 50
prequauhtemoc daily life, 19–20, 25, 88, 136, 141, 147, 164, 304, 328, 346
processions in, 247, 249, 251, 277, 281
relics in, 261
sacrifice in, 188–9
twin pyramids, 121, 263, 299
urban plan prequauhtemoc, 17, 19, 286, 344–5
urban plan postquauhtemoc, 44, 47. See also *Templo Mayor*; *Tlatelolco*
Teotihuacan, 7, 8, 9, 25, 27, 80, 129, 173, 217, 251, 285, 363
and Venus, 8, 264
cave construction at, 104, 107
as ceremonial center, 8–12
feathered serpent cult at, 9, 262, 278, 325
Moteuczoma I's modifications to, 18
Moteuczoma II at, 20
murals at, 71, 197, 229
pyramid of the moon in, 8, 104, 216, 217
pyramid of the sun in, 8, 18, 127, 187, 217, 344
role in creation of Fifth Sun, 211, 302. See also *Temple of Quetzalcoatl*
teotl, 61, 97, 103, 121, 150, 174, 264, 275, 306, 363
aspects of, 21, 23, 77, 307
with teixiptla, 21, 23, 148–9, 191, 273, 320, 363
Tepaneca, 12, 15–18, 28, 47, 313, 336, 337
Tepeaca, 18, 92, 138
Tepeyac, 26, 140, 236, 299, 300, 332, 336
and the Virgin Mary, 36, 48, 240
Tepoztlán, 52
Tepoztlán, 19, 26, 28, 72, 135, 160, 270, 285
Tetzcoco, 12, 13, 16, 17, 28, 48, 194, 210, 236, 263, 341
friars and, 51, 114, 269
sacred bundles in, 100, 277
Tezcatlipoca and, 231. See also *Nezahualcóyotl; Nezahualpilli*
Tlacaélél, 17–18, 70, 188, 297, 309, 336, 359
Tlacaxipehualiztli, 20, 102, 104, 138, 149, 171, 283, 337, 348, 355
Tlaloc, 24, 60, 72, 96, 119, 127, 233, 241, 321, 355–6, 363
and celestial water, 23, 345, 362
and Huitzilopochtli, 15, 16, 121
and mountains, 17, 23, 26, 164, 202, 216, 229, 236
as creator god, 23
at Teotihuacan, 9–10, 24
caves and, 104, 127, 267
cultic practices, 24, 137, 140, 142, 172, 188, 248, 344
in Tlalocan, 67, 104, 120, 127, 143, 229
offerings to, 24, 104, 108, 172, 179, 188, 330
roads of, 219
Templo Mayor and, 96, 121, 263–4, 316. See also *Chalchiuhlticue*; *Tlalocan; Tlaloc*
Tlalocan, 23, 66–7, 107, 140, 174, 202, 228, 251, 344, 363
as cave, 104, 127
home of Chalchiuhlticue, 24, 143
in Teotihuacan mural, 71, 197, 229
location in cosmos, 120
Nezahualcóyotl and, 175. See also *Mt. Tlaloc; paradise; Tlaloc*
Tlaloque, 23, 67, 72, 89, 143, 147, 217, 229, 344, 356, 363
Tlatelolco, 12, 14, 19, 28, 44, 46, 49, 203, 313, 342
Anals of, 340
double pyramid at, 16, 247, 248
warriors of, 340. See also *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Santiago*
Tlatelolco
tlatoani, 20, 28, 55, 63, 141, 150, 220, 362, 364
as priest, 243
as teixiptla, 23, 148
attire of, 96, 283
Axayacatl, 19, 336
duties of, 16–17, 248, 281, 346
election of, 336
family of, 65, 137, 208
mortuary bundle of, 143
prequauhtemoc, 22, 81. See also *Ahuítzotl; Itzcoatl; Moteuczoma I; Moteuczoma II; Nezahualcóyotl; Nezahualpilli; Quauhtemoc*
Tlaxcala, 12, 20, 23, 25, 48, 55, 56, 87, 154, 208, 233
as Garden of Eden, 204, 230
Christian neophytes of, 63
cochineal production in, 198, 259
codices, 302, 313, 325
Cortés in, 132–3, 204, 218, 233
diocese of, 53, 54
Dominicans and, 210
festivals in, 176, 218, 314
Franciscans and, 51, 56, 119, 137, 154, 269
Julián Garcés of, 51, 210, 359
Lords of, 236, 331, 333
Mixcoatl patron of, 231
sodalities in, 253, 291
Tezcatlipoca's arrows in, 75
town center, 56
tribute from, 46
warriors of, 55, 340, 341, 342
Tlaxcalteca, 12, 49, 64, 161, 204, 254, 341, 342
Tlazolteotl, 113, 117, 136, 183, 184, 230, 283, 351, 364
and sex, 137, 280
as earth goddess, 88, 316
cult of, 16, 137, 160
feasts for, 355
filth and, 181, 282, 308. See also *Huastec; Ixcuiname; Ochpaniztli; Xochiquetzel*
Tolentino, Nicolas, St., 67, 225, 232, 324
Toltec, 11–12, 16–18, 28, 73, 96, 134, 208, 234, 248, 259, 363
calendar, 11, 27, 102
deities of, 16, 18, 121, 305
ruler's suicide, 302. See also *Huemac, Quetzalcoatl (person); Tula*
tonalli, 89, 97, 223, 283, 294–6, 304, 307, 320, 364
connection with heat, 92, 177, 295, 330
Tonalpoualli, 19, 21, 22, 77, 79, 102, 140–1, 156, 167, 171, 364
Tonan(tzin), 25, 48, 60, 147, 214, 236, 240, 353, 356
Torquemada, Juan de, 146, 309, 361, 363
Totonac, 3, 48, 114, 135, 143, 172, 259, 262, 285, 311
trader, 10, 11, 138, 188, 247, 270, 308, 337, 348
Tree of sustenance, 67, 316
tribute
Augustine and, 337
prequauhtemoc, 2, 10, 26, 136, 188, 202, 208, 271, 337, 362
and formation of the Triple Alliance, 16–17
blood as, 92
clothing as, 328
collection of, 19–20, 169
colonial, 29, 45–7, 48, 49, 94, 205, 310, 342
Tula, 7, 11–12, 15, 18, 27, 73, 197, 264, 281, 290, 313, 337
architecture of, 237, 325

- Tula*, (cont.)
collapse of, 103, 348. *See also*
Huemac; Quetzalcoatl
(human); Toltec
Tzitzimimeh, 66, 73, 121, 283, 295,
 300, 304, 332, 364 *See also*
Chalchiuhlticue; Itzpapalotl
- urban(ization)*, 3, 362
colonial, 51, 180, 203, 204, 238, 245,
 270, 281
medieval Christians and, 180, 238,
 245, 286, 293, 350
prequauhtemoc, 7, 8, 68, 147, 279,
 362
Urban II, Pope, 31
Urban IV, Pope, 30
utopia(n), 57, 60, 205, 246, 267, 270
- Valencia, Martín de*
among first twelve Franciscans,
 335, 360
and Zumárraga, 335
as administrator, 4, 51, 119
as hermit, 106, 240, 246
cult to, 99, 137, 234, 240
order to hang natives, 119
Valencia, Spain, 3, 200, 295
Veracruz (state)
Africans in, 290
Amatlan, 206
and native pilgrimage, 237
and Tillan Tlapallan, 309
Augustinians in, 52
entrada through, 48, 132, 181, 318,
 340
Franciscans in, 51
La Antigua (town), 34
natives as Toltecs, 11
Olmecs in, 7
port of, 49, 53, 206, 259, 288
Quiahuitlan, 260, 260
road from, 205
Santiago in, 343
Xipe Totec cult in, 117. *See also*
Cempoala;
El Tajín; El Zapotal;
Tamoanchan
Villa Alta, 85, 146, 342
Virgin Antigua, 32, 34, 35, 36, 216
- Virgin Candelaria/Candelas*, 105–7,
 233, 240
Virgin Conquistadora, 34, 36, 216
Virgin Dolores, 36, 291
Virgin Guadalupe
confraternity of, 30
depiction of, 75, 215, 240, 301, 305,
 331
shrine in Mexico, 40, 48, 61, 240,
 281
shrine in Spain, 30, 32, 36, 40, 43,
 240, 253, 274, 299, 48, 299
Virgin Juquila, 35, 36
Virgin Merced, 35, 36
Virgin Remedios, 36, 215, 216, 237
Virgin Soledad, 36, 206, 290
Virgin Valvanera, 35, 36, 86, 240
Virgo Lactans, 215, 215
visita, 51, 59, 69, 182, 186, 225, 233,
 253. *See also doctrina (place)*
Visitation (of Mary), 169, 171
Vitoria, Francisco de, 51, 85, 119, 287,
 338, 341, 359
volcano, 23–4, 205, 217, 254, 278
- wheat*, 45, 112, 178–9, 181, 205
wine
and children, 83, 108
and the male European's body, 178
as a warm food, 178
as medicine, 183
as offering, 145, 170, 227
communion with, 83, 179
container for, 111
diluted, 178
divinely given, 161
Eden river of, 123, 229
in civilized diet, 178
native god of, 161, 328
transubstantiation of, 42, 95, 110,
 189, 227
withheld from laity, 41, 49, 110, 112,
 161. *See also Eucharist*
Wixarika, 60, 104, 147, 254, 320
- Xochicalco*, 10, 12, 27, 80, 237, 325
Xochimilco, 12, 13, 25, 48, 117, 231,
 236, 336, 341
Xochiquetzel
and flowers, 174, 316–17, 322, 364
- as mother*, 213
as patron to goldsmiths, 231
as tlahuiztli suit, 327
feasts for, 25, 217, 251, 356
goddess of fertility and love, 23, 77,
 172
in Omeyocan, 120, 127
origin of cult to, 16
public confession before, 113. *See also*
Tlazolteotl
Xolotl (deity), 16, 75, 97, 121, 127–8,
 283, 322
Xolotl (historic person), 11, 27
- Yanhuitlan*, 52
yolia
and anima, 296
and blood, 92, 186
and Day of Dead, 71, 295
and lower heaven 97
as insect, 88, 197–8, 294
attached to bone, 71, 100, 259, 364
in heart, 186, 273, 294, 364
of children, 121, 228, 294
of men who died in battle, 295
of women who died in childbirth,
 294
- Zapotec*, 2–3, 20, 45, 57, 75, 114, 172,
 243, 305, 342
Zumárraga, Juan de
and idolatry, 54, 195, 350–1
and Martin de Valencia, 335
and native adaptation to
Catholicism, 71, 222, 250, 271
as autor, 242, 347
bringing books to New Spain,
 310
burning Mexica books, 48, 310
career of, 48–9
efforts to recruit Franciscans,
 343
fostering Guadalupe cult, 240
funeral of, 348
in Junta, 48, 54, 111
in Spain, 350
on conflict between Orders, 84,
 111
on tears, 347
regarded as saint, 234