

CHAPTER 3

Papal Bulls, Extirpators, and the Madrid Codex: The Content and Probable Provenience of the M. 56 Patch

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Mystery and controversy have shrouded the origins of many fascinating documents throughout human history. The hieroglyphic Maya text known as the Madrid Codex is one such document. Initially believed to be two separate manuscripts, Léon de Rosny proved in 1880 (de Rosny 1882) that the two documents known as the codices Troano and Cortesianus belonged to the same codex (the Troano section was first reproduced and published in 1869 by the Frenchman Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg and the Cortesianus section by de Rosny in 1883). Renamed the Madrid Codex after its purchase by the Museum of Archaeology in Madrid, the codex has long puzzled scholars, epigraphers, and historians. The origin and story of how the manuscript made its way across the Atlantic and to Europe is still a mystery being discussed and debated.

In the last decade many scholars have helped unravel the mysteries of the Codex Madrid (for a history, see Vail 1996:30–80, 2001). Thanks to the work of Maya scholars and epigraphers in the United States, Mexico, and Spain, we

currently know more about this codex than ever before (Aveni 1992; H. Bricker, V. Bricker, and Wulfing 1997; V. Bricker and Vail 1997; Lacadena 2000; Sotelo Santos 2002; Vail 1996, 2000). In this chapter I will discuss one aspect of the Madrid Codex—the European paper patch on page M. 56. In doing so, I intend to offer new evidence and interpretations about the writing on the patch, why it was placed on the codex, and its possible provenience. The subject of recent scholarly speculations, the curious European paper patch on M. 56 may hold some of the answers to the secrets of the origins of the Madrid Codex (Anders 1967a; Coe and Kerr 1997; Schuster 1999; Vail 2001). In fact, the patch might be the key to unlocking not only the origins of the Madrid Codex but also its discovery by Spanish colonial authorities. By means of physical and contextual evidence, paleographic analysis, and historical documentation, I have developed a theory as to the time and place where a Spanish priest, who I believe I can identify by name, confiscated the codex from the Maya as part of a campaign against idolatry.

PREVIOUS EXPLANATIONS OF ORIGINS

Popular belief and legend hold that the Madrid Codex dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century and came to Spain with Cortés, where it later became separated into two parts (Anders 1967a; Lee 1985). Few of the earliest editions of the Madrid Codex presented more than a facsimile version with brief descriptions of the calendrical material and the iconography of the manuscript (Ballesteros 1991; Vail 2001). As to the origins of the manuscript, little more than scholarly conjecture has been offered. The true origins and story behind the Madrid Codex's trip to Spain are shrouded in mystery. At one time Michael Coe (1989) suggested the possibility that the codex might have been sent to Spain along with part of the Royal Fifth that Cortés's expedition sent back in 1522.¹

The first scholar to observe and describe the European paper on M. 56 as a "patch" was Ferdinand Anders in his 1967 discussion of the physical characteristics of the codex (Anders 1967a; cited in Vail 2001). No further scholarly consideration of the patch occurred until 1997 when Michael Coe and Justin Kerr published their book *The Art of the Maya Scribe*. Based on a cursory examination of a photograph of the patch, Coe concluded that the Madrid Codex is a post-conquest document, dating from the middle or late seventeenth century and possibly even created in the Petén Itzá Maya stronghold of Tayasal. Coe (in Coe and Kerr 1997:181) wrote:

There is a peculiarity of these first and last leaves which few seemed to have noticed. This is that fragments of European paper with Spanish writing are sandwiched or glued between layers of bark paper, and can be seen where the latter has been worn away. The hand appears to be early

seventeenth-century . . . and the Western paper appears not to have been a mere repair, but to have been incorporated in the codex during its manufacture. Thus the Madrid would necessarily be later than the conquest of Yucatán, probably even post 1624, and could even have been made at Tayasal, which did not fall to the Spaniards until 1697.

Other scholars, including Anders, Vail, and Victoria Bricker, believe the European document on M. 56 is merely a patch added after the manufacture of the codex (Schuster 1999; Vail 2001). In a newsbrief in the winter 1999 volume of *Archaeology*, Angela Schuster reviewed the current state of research and suppositions concerning the patch and mentioned that several scholars had sought permission to examine the patch and conduct X-ray, infrared, and ultraviolet tests on the fragment (Schuster 1999). Apparently, permission was never obtained.

THE M. 56 PATCH: TEXT AND CONTEXT

First, I must acknowledge at the outset that I do not have access to the original codex or the patch; therefore all of my opinions are and will remain conjectural.² Without physically examining the codex and the page in question, we will never know the whole story of the patch and how it came to be attached to the codex. We are left to observe both the codex and the patch by examining available photographs and facsimiles (Anders 1967b; Ballesteros 1991; Lee 1985). The discussion here is based on observations and studies made of these sources. An image of M. 56 showing the position of the patch is found in Plate 1.

The Madrid Codex is painted on both sides of an extended piece of bark paper that measures roughly 6.82 m in length (Lee 1985:82) and is folded like an accordion. The Maya made this codex and others from the inner bark of a species of tree known as the *Ficus*, called *kopó* in Maya. Although colonial observers mentioned that the Maya used deerskin, cotton, and maguey paper, the four surviving Maya codices are all made out of this type of bark paper (Schwede 1912).³ Furthermore, each page of the codex was covered with a thin layer of white calcium carbonate paste.

The paper itself was made by first stripping the bark from the tree and then washing the bark. The fiber was then “peeled” away from the outer bark and washed and boiled in limewater so it became pliable and could be easily beaten with a stone or wooden mallet into a soft, thin piece of bark paper. According to colonial observers, the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica also added “globules of glue between the layers of fiber” to better bind the paper sheet (Von Hagen 1977:63).

In reference to the European paper that is visible on M. 56, the very process used in making Maya bark paper would make it impossible for the patch to have been incorporated when the original paper was made. If, as Coe suggests,

the piece of European paper was “incorporated in the Codex during its manufacture,” the ink and text on that paper would have bled, or at the very least there would have been water stains. Accepting Coe’s theory that the European document might have been incorporated during the manufacture of the codex does not explain how that document’s ink and paper remained free from damage or staining during the procedure. The boiling of the cloth fibers of the European paper in limewater would have turned both the wooden fibers and the European cloth paper into a paste.

The condition of the European paper does not reveal any damage or ink blotting. This suggests that it was what it appears to be—a patch, or a piece of paper “glued” onto the codex quite deliberately (see discussion in Chapter 2). Unfortunately, the only way to prove this definitively is to examine the resin or the actual paper and analyze it for vegetable or plant residue. Barring chemical analysis, we must assume that the paper is indeed a patch. The only method by which it could have been “incorporated” into the codex during its manufacture would have necessarily destroyed or at least blurred the written text on the patch. As it stands now, the text of the patch is not only clearly visible, but it is also free of any water or chemically produced damage.

POSITION AND COMPOSITION OF THE PATCH

Apparently, from its positioning and what appears to be its insertion onto the codex, the patch must have been placed there deliberately. But how and why was it placed there? Why would someone put a patch made out of European paper onto the bark pages of a Maya codex? Another question would be, why place just one page of European paper onto this codex? If, as Coe argued, the paper was added when the codex was manufactured, why add only one piece? What would have been the significance of this piece of paper? Surely the European paper had to be of some significance if a Colonial era Maya scribe incorporated it into a sacred manuscript. Then again, if the patch is nothing more than a patch, the question remains, who would have patched the codex and why? Could it have been a Spanish priest, a Maya, or an avid collector in Spain hoping to repair what he saw as a damaged manuscript? I believe a closer examination of the contents and text of the patch itself may hold some of the answers.

THE PAPER

From examining the photographs and facsimiles of M. 56, it is evident that the patch is made from European cotton cloth, or “rag,” paper and not from vellum or other animal hides. A digitally magnified and “reversed” image of the M. 56 patch is found in Figure 3.1. The visible texture of the image and the way

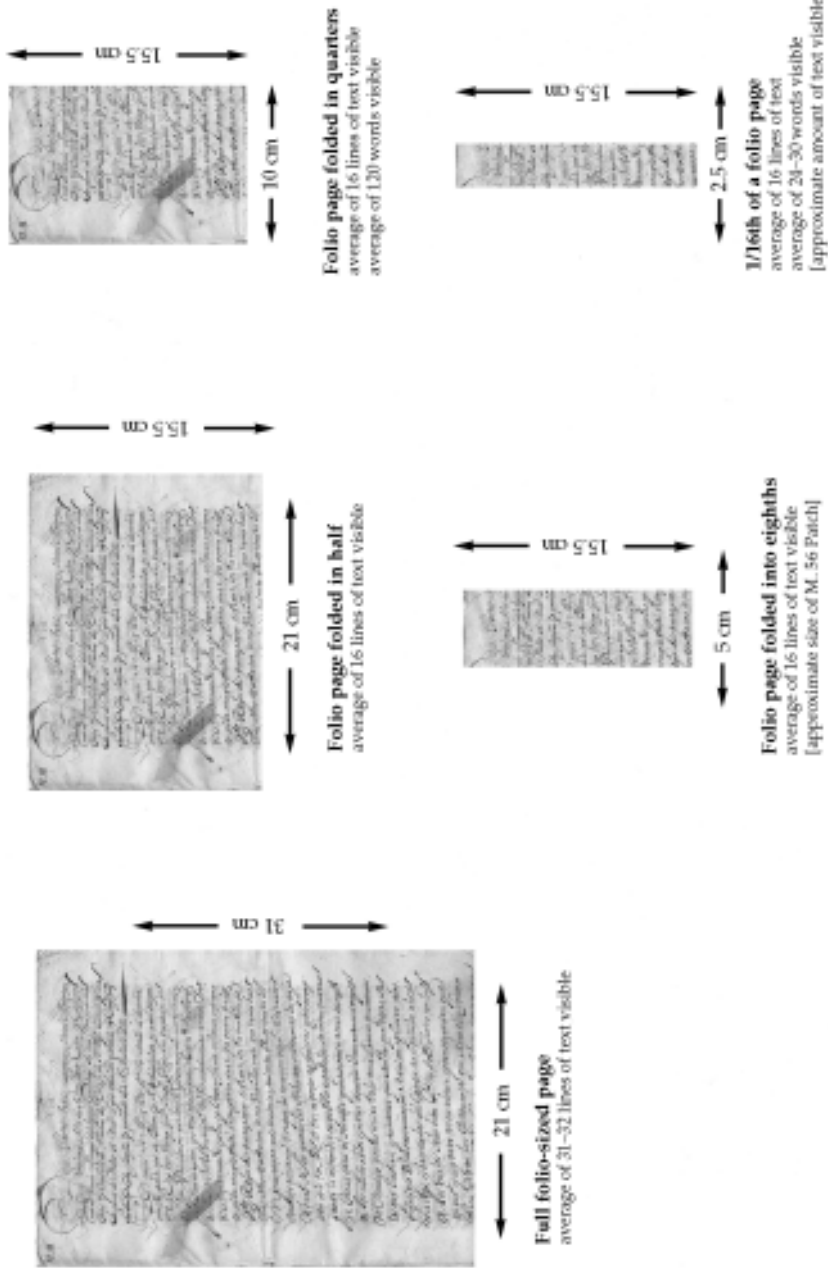


Figure 3.2 Examples of a folded folio-sized colonial page. Sample pages from the author's private collection.

the ink apparently bonded to the page show that the document was made of the most common type of European paper used during the Colonial period. If the patch had been made out of vellum or parchment, the scribe would have had to have used a sharply pointed stick or reed, and the lettering would have been thicker and darker.⁴ The text that is visible was obviously written with a quill or plume that allowed a thinner and finer line.

Additionally, the most common type and size of European paper was the “folio”-sized page, which is slightly smaller than the modern legal size. Folio pages measured approximately 31–32 cm long and 21 cm wide (Muñoz y Rivero 1889; Real Díaz 1970). The patch on M. 56 measures approximately 10.5 cm in length and 5 cm in width at its thickest part.⁵ Approximately 2-cm worth of text is visible, and the codex itself covers another 2–3 cm of text. The paper, then, was apparently slipped or glued onto the bark paper page of the codex. There is evidence of a possible overlapping page underneath the visible portion of the European paper. This page may be the other side of the document “folded over.”⁶ For a detailed visual example of the folding of a folio-sized page, see Figure 3.2. The measurements and the evidence of the folds tend to support the idea that what is visible is approximately an eighth of a folio page that had been folded first in half, then into quarters, and then into eighths. A folio page folded into eighths measures about 5 cm in width. On one half of this approximate eighth of a folio page we have the remains of visible text.

HANDWRITING STYLE OF THE PATCH: A PALEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Now that we have identified the approximate nature and size of the paper that makes up the M. 56 patch, we will examine the text. Michael Coe described the patch simply as “fragments of European paper with Spanish writing” (Coe and Kerr 1997:181). Coe is mistaken, however, because at least part of the text is written in Latin. Gabrielle Vail, in a recent encyclopedia article on the Madrid Codex, corrected Coe’s error by stating that the text was “written in Latin in what appears to be a seventeenth-century hand” (Vail 2001:145). In an earlier study, Randa Marhenke (1997:199) provided an initial analysis of the Latin text, noting that it contained a reference to a person named Enriquez, as well as to the pope. As these statements suggest, the bulk of the text is in Ecclesiastical Latin. Nevertheless, a remaining line of Spanish text is also partially visible. I must also point out that the text itself is decipherable only when one examines the mirror image of the patch or a digitally reversed mirror image (see Figure 3.1).

An analysis of the lettering and of the text itself is illustrative and reveals quite a bit about the history of the document and its contents. A detailed analysis of the handwriting may even reveal who might have written the document.

por fazer bien e mda avos Pero Rodriguez
de stago no desta presente v^a de madrid

Exemplar ITALICA del siglo XVI.

Italica Bastardilla

a

Arce diaco
Arqueologo
Prefatorum

M. 56

no from bide (C) de uno (C) de
de stago no desta presente v^a de madrid

Exemplar CORTESANA del siglo XV.

Cortesana Style

b

Arce diaco
Arqueologo
Prefatorum

M. 56

Figure 3.3 a. Examples of the Italica Bastarda script. Example on left adapted from Muñoz y Rivero (1889:10); example on right from M. 56. b. Examples of Cortesana-style script. Example on right adapted from Muñoz y Rivero (1889:8); example on left from M. 56. Courtesy, Museo de América, Madrid.

As with one's fingerprints, handwriting, once it is formed, is a personal and individual thing that is characteristic and can be used to identify the writer.⁷ Individual scribes had a characteristic or individual style of handwriting that helps us identify the words and letters they wrote and also served as a valuable sign of a document's "validity." A scribe's handwriting style was registered with the Royal Chancellery, and a copy of each scribe's scribal signature and handwriting was kept on file and used to "verify" documents written and authorized by that particular scribe (Real Díaz 1970:33–47).

Based on more than a decade of experience in reading colonial Mexican paleography, I argue that the actual text and writing on the patch date from the period 1575–1610. An examination of the lettering and handwriting of both the text and the darker printed "notation" on the blank side of the page helps to reveal the relative age of the document. Based on the shape, style, and format of the Latin lettering, the document's text can be dated to the late sixteenth century or the first decade of the seventeenth century.

The style of lettering reveals a writing style that, according to paleographers, uses “clear, regular letters that are inclined to the right” (Bribiesca Sumano 1990:41). The letter “c” is seen to join smoothly to the letter following it. The letters “b,” “l,” and “h” all curve to the right. These are characteristics of the style of handwriting known as *Italica*, also called *Italica Bastarda* or *Bastardilla* by paleographers. The origins of this style of lettering came from the Gothic cursive used by papal scribes in Italy that eventually spread to Spain and then to the New World by the middle of the sixteenth century (Muñoz y Rivero 1889). Figure 3.3a shows an example of the *Italica Bastarda* style of handwriting in comparison with the surviving text on M. 56.

By the end of the sixteenth century, this *Italica* style began to replace the two other standard scribal handwriting styles of the New World. These two previous types of handwriting (known as the *Procesal* and *Cortesana* styles) were characterized by a high number of abbreviations and a rounded, curving, and almost Arabic-like lettering style. Examples of the *Cortesana* style of handwriting are illustrated and compared with the writing on M. 56 in Figure 3.3b.

Influenced by Arabic calligraphy and the rounded style of Gothic lettering, these two styles of handwriting were in vogue in Spain and the New World from the time of European contact until the final decades of the sixteenth century (1492–1599). By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the rounded and difficult-to-comprehend *Cortesana* style had disappeared from the scribal repertoire. After the first decade of the seventeenth century, few instances of the use of the *Cortesana* style occurred.

On the M. 56 patch, we can still make out the faint lettering of a line of text that is written in Spanish, not Latin, and this text is written in the rounded and abbreviated *Cortesana* style of handwriting. The existence of this style of writing on the patch would necessitate a date of no later than 1610 for the document and probably helps date it to the last decade of the sixteenth century.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXT AND PAGE: ITALICA STYLE AND THE FOLIO PAGE

Now that we have identified the handwriting style and the relative date of the writing, we must next analyze the remaining text’s relationship to a full-sized folio page. The average colonial folio page filled with writing in either Spanish or Latin in the *Italica Bastardilla* handwriting style contains between 420 and 550 words/folio. Thus, the average colonial text written in *Italica Bastardilla* script has approximately 12–14 words per line of text and approximately 31–33 lines of text per folio. The M. 56 patch shows at most two words per line. If my calculations are correct, this means that between 10 and 12 words per line are missing in this text. This makes the decipherment of the content and context

of the document extremely difficult, although not impossible, as I will show. We can assume that if the document had been written as a complete page of text, the Latin text on the page would number approximately 500 words.

Although we may not be able to decipher the exact meaning of the entire text, we can find clues to the content and context of the Latin inscription by comparing it to other documents written in Latin of the same approximate length. Few colonial Latin documents longer than one or two pages exist. As an official or ecclesiastical language, Latin was reserved for special types of documents. Similarly, colonial scribal knowledge of Latin was often deficient, forcing scribes to write abbreviated documents little more than a page in length.⁸ To discover what this document may have been, we must inventory known types or genres of Latin texts and look at examples of these genres that may have existed in the Yucatán Peninsula during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

But why focus on documents written or used in the colonial province of Yucatán? I believe the M. 56 patch was both written and placed onto the Madrid Codex somewhere in the Yucatán Peninsula during the early Colonial period, before the *Cortesana* style of writing that is on the obverse side of the European document fell out of use. Through a comparative paleographical analysis and the use of ethnohistorical sources, I believe I can offer new insights and evidence about the patch on the Madrid Codex.

LATIN TEXTS WRITTEN IN COLONIAL YUCATÁN

In colonial Mexico, only a limited number of documents were written in Latin script. The number and types of documents printed and written in Latin remained limited by law and tradition. Latin remained the language of the Church and of the educated elite, but it was far from accessible to the common colonist. Therefore, the only documents that might appear in Latin include the following:

ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

1. Papal bulls
2. Official church commissions
3. Episcopal commissions
4. Important church documents concerning bishoprics/religious orders
5. Ecclesiastical treatises and writings

SECULAR DOCUMENTS

1. Academic degrees or diplomas
2. Educational examinations/theses

PUBLIC ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

1. Bula de la Santa Cruzada⁹

Of these limited uses of Latin, I believe we can identify the category of text in the Madrid patch. The Latin text of the patch is incomplete, yielding only a few well-formed words. The Latin word for heretic, *Heretis*, gives us a clue as to the content and context in which the document was written. In combination with the ecclesiastical titles of *Archidiacono[natus]* [Archdeacon] and *Pape* [Pope] and the possible title of receptor *recept[o]*, the context of the Latin text no doubt refers to a papal bull. If we accept the possibility that the text refers to a papal bull, then the name [. . .] *n Enriquez d[e]* . . . and *Prefatorum* [Prefect] gives us another set of clues. Other words that can be identified are a possible reading of “*hi[_]p . . .*” as *hispanarum* or *hispaniae* and the common Latin ending for a cardinal number greater than or a multiple of ten [*_jecim[_]*], along with what may be a reference to the number one *p[r . . .]* [*primus*].

These words in combination differ from almost all the other possible types, varieties, or categories of Latin documents found in colonial Yucatán. These same Latin words would not be found on any educational diploma or advanced degree. The terms are also not likely to be found in any mundane church administrative document. In fact, this combination of words would not be found in any type of Latin inscription outside of a papal proclamation or a papal bull known as a Bula de la Santa Cruzada.

A type of Papal Bull of Indulgences, the Bula of the Santa Cruzada was usually a one-page document written in Latin containing approximately 500 words (García Chuecos 1939). A comparison of the remaining text of the patch with surviving Bulas of the Santa Cruzada is revealing. The text of the bull, as used in colonial Mexico, often mentioned the first papal concession of the bull to the king of Spain and its first predication in New Spain, which occurred in 1573 during the viceroyalty or prefecture [*prefa[ct]orum*] of *Don Martin de Enriquez de Almaza* [. . . *n Enriquez d(e)* . . .], the third viceroy of New Spain (1568–1580). The bull continued with a statement that it was issued and given under the commission of the Commissary General of the Santa Cruzada in Spain, who most often was an archdeacon [*Archidiacono(atus)*] or a dean of one of the major cathedrals in Spain. The bull also explicitly stated that its purpose was to raise money for wars against Christian Spain’s enemies, the “*infidels and heretics*” [*Heretis*], and continued by mentioning that the concession was granted to the king of Spain [*hi(s)p(aniae)*] by the pope [*Pape*]. A bull would also necessarily mention the number of times the bull had been given in concession, such as the eleventh concession [*(De)cim(us) Pr(imus)*].

Although the average Bula de la Santa Cruzada contained 500 words, the text of these documents remained constant and formulaic enough to help identify the possible content of the Latin text on the patch. Only a mere twenty-five words are visible on the M. 56 patch, but their reading appears to coincide with the text of a Papal Bull of the Santa Cruzada in which the commissary of the bull is mentioned and the cause of the bull is described. A few clues also

exist in terms of the title or partial description of the document written in the *Cortesana* style on what was once the back of the document forming the patch. The abbreviation of the words *Santa Cruzada* usually appeared in the *Cortesana* style with the word *Santa* and a superscripted cross or “+” over the final “a.” The next word is *de*, and we can see the final part of a word ending in *-pado* on the next line. The word may have been *obispado*, or bishopric. Each district encompassing a bishopric administered its own affairs concerning the Santa Cruzada. Unfortunately, the rest of the inscription is too damaged to interpret with any certainty.

Based on this line of argumentation and the evidence of the surviving Latin text, the M. 56 patch may have had something to do with the Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada. It is possibly a handwritten copy of the bull, or it may have been a commission from a local commissary of the Santa Cruzada.

POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHOR

If we accept the plausible premise that the European document used as a patch on the Madrid Codex was a Papal Bull of the Santa Cruzada, we must now examine the document for possible authorship. Most papal bulls issued by the Church were printed.¹⁰ Only in special cases were they handwritten, and then only during times of scarcity or a total lack of bulls. Based on the inclusion of the document in the Madrid Codex in a deliberate way, we may deduce that the patch was added while the codex was still in the Yucatán Peninsula. If the patch had been added later, during the eighteenth or nineteenth century in Spain, the repairer of the document would have had a difficult time finding a handwritten papal bull dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Because of the popular distribution of these *Bulas de la Santa Cruzada* and their recurrent reuse and eventual mandatory destruction, only a few scarce examples have survived from that time period.¹¹ For the province of Yucatán there are no surviving colonial bulls from the early period, either handwritten or printed. Any surviving papal bull from that period would have been a valuable document to a collector, who would have chosen another piece of paper to use to patch his manuscript.

It is more probable that the document was written in the Yucatán Peninsula during the brief time period in which both the *Cortesana* style of writing and the early *Italica* style were used concurrently. Based on this assumption, we can compare this text with the handwriting of contemporary Spanish scribes who operated in the peninsula during the time period between 1570 (the date when the *Italica* hand became commonplace in Yucatán) and 1610 (the date by which the *Cortesana* hand had disappeared in the peninsula). Table 3.1 includes a list of all the possible scribes who operated in the province during this period.

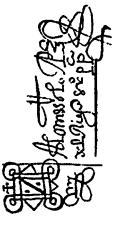
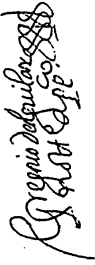

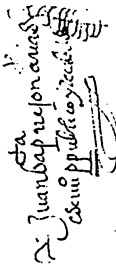
	Scribal Signature or Rubrica	Characteristics of Hand	Characteristics of Letters	Characteristics of Style	Capability of Writing Documents with Latin Text	Connection with Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar
Scribal Hand: Alonso López de Riego* (1589-1608)		Writing is mostly straight, little or no sloping of letters. Lines under letters are straight.	Letters are dark, circles on letters are closed. "d" is closed, slopes to left. "r" slightly resembles "v"	<i>Italica Bastardilla</i> some aspects of <i>Cortesana</i> Style	Yes	Yes: Served with him as Notario Apostólico in Valladolid and Chancenero 1596-1598
Scribal Hand: Gregorio de Aguilar* (1598-1618)		Writing slopes to the right. Sloping, curving ends of letters. Upward slants of lines under letters.	Letters are dark, "d" is not a closed circle, slopes to the left. "r" resembles "v." "l" and "h" hook to the right.	<i>Italica Bastardilla</i> , shows continued influence of <i>Cortesana</i> Style	Yes	Yes: Cousin, Assistant Parish Priest, Notary, Apostolic Notary of the Santa Cruzada 1598-1608
Scribal Hand: Francisco de Sanabria (1598-1630)		Lettering is rounded with slight sloping to the right	Letters are drawn very lightly. "d" slopes to the left. Prominent "closed" hooks on ends of "h" and "l"	<i>Italica</i> , flowing hand, smooth transitions between letters. No use of <i>Cortesana</i> Style.	No	Yes
Scribal Hand: Juan Bautista Rejon (1610-1630)		Lettering and circles are narrow and rounded. Straight lines under letters.	Letters drawn lightly. Circles on letters are closed. "d" slants sharply to the right.	<i>Italica</i> , flowing hand, fluid transitions between letters. No use of <i>Cortesana</i> Style.	No	No

Table 3.1. Colonial scribes in Yucatán and their handwriting (1589-1630). Sample scribal signatures or rubrics taken from representative samples of documents found in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and Archivo General de la Nación (AGN). The * refers to a scribe with a commission as Notario Apostólico de la Santa Cruzada.

After cross-checking this list of scribes and their comparative writing styles with a list of the number of scribes who might have had access or permission to copy Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada, it is clear that only two of these scribes could have transcribed the text. During the period from 1594, the date when the Bula de la Santa Cruzada was first published and preached widely throughout the Yucatán Peninsula, and 1610, when *Cortesana*-style lettering disappeared, only Alonso López de Riego and Gregorio de Aguilar served as the appointed scribes of the Santa Cruzada.

Table 3.2 contains a comparative analysis of the handwriting styles of colonial scribes in Yucatán compared with the handwriting style visible on M. 56. In the surviving examples of documents and texts written in Spanish and Latin by the scribe Alonso López de Riego, we can observe several similarities between his lettering style and the style of the letters on the patch. López de Riego did have a commission as a notary of the Santa Cruzada during the period 1590–1598.¹² In terms of his letters and writing style, there are some parallels and similarities. Especially in his use of the letters “h,” “l,” and “f,” López de Riego’s scribal hand shares similarities with the text in the patch (see Table 3.2). However, there are also characteristic differences between his lettering style and the patch’s text. Especially in his rendering of the letters “p,” “r,” and “e,” López de Riego’s handwriting does not match.

On the other hand, in the Latin and Spanish texts known to be written by the notary Gregorio de Aguilar, many similarities exist with the characteristics of the handwriting on the patch. Although no handwriting analysis can be 100 percent certain, the number of similarities and correspondences between the peculiar style of the patch and Aguilar’s personal style is uncanny. One characteristic, almost uniquely found in the scribal hand of Aguilar, is the universal use of the capital “H” for any occurrence of a word beginning with the letter “h,” even when that word occurs in the middle of a sentence. This would be considered an “error” in proper scribal circles. All other scribes would use the capital letter “H” only at the beginning of a document or of a phrase or sentence. After examining more than thirty scribal hands used in the Yucatán Peninsula, it is apparent that no other Yucatecan scribe who practiced his art from 1570 to 1640 exhibited this peculiarity. It is unique to Aguilar. All of the other letters that were compared between the patch and a sampling of Aguilar’s writing style share close similarities, if not exact matches. Most notably and also characteristic of both handwritings is the letter “r,” which is written by Aguilar and the author of the patch as a clear “v.” The lowercase letter “p” is also an exact match, with its characteristic upward-pointed circle with a tail on the left end and upward-slanting underline. The vowels “a” and “e” are other identifying letters that reveal personal style, and here they are also exact matches. Moreover, the lowercase “d,” which both slants toward the left and remains an open circle, is also found in both handwriting styles. The comparison

Table 3.2. Comparison of colonial scribal hands and the writing on M. 56. Sample scribal signatures or rubrics taken from representative samples of documents found in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and Archivo General de la Nación (AGN). The * refers to a scribe with a commission as Notario Apostólico de la Santa Cruzada.

Characteristic Letters	Text on Patch	Scribal Hand: Alonso Lopez de Riego* (1589-1608)	Scribal Hand: Gregorio de Aguilar* (1603-1618)	Scribal Hand: Francisco de Sanabria (1598-1630)	Scribal Hand: Juan Bautista Rejon (1610-1630)
Capital A					
Capital H					
Capital P					
Lowercase l					
Lowercase h					
Lowercase d					
Lowercase f					
Lowercase r					
Lowercase a					
Lowercase e					
Lowercase p					

* = Scribe with commission as Notario Apostólico de la Santa Cruzada

of Aguilar's handwriting with the text of the patch is an almost perfect match letter for letter.

Circumstantially, other evidence besides the paleography and the scribal handwriting points to Gregorio de Aguilar as the most probable author among the list of Yucatecan scribes. There are references in the colonial documentation to the necessity of Aguilar "writing" extra papal bulls during the predication of the bulls in the colonial Maya towns of Chancnote and Cehac (both in Chancnote province) during the years 1598–1603. As the official notary of the Santa Cruzada and assistant parish priest, Gregorio de Aguilar assisted his cousin, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, who was the commissary of the Santa Cruzada in the region at that time. He later testified that he and his cousin sold Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada to "every adult Indian in the towns and *visitas* of Chancnote, Cehac."¹³ At the same time, the province of Yucatán suffered from a shortage of the *bulas*. Gregorio de Aguilar would have had to have copied a large number of bulls to sell to the Maya residents of the region. Certified copies of the account ledgers of the sale of bulls during that period attest to the fact that Aguilar and his cousin did collect the alms and monies required from several thousand Maya.¹⁴ In fact, according to reports of the governor of Yucatán, Don Diego de Cardenas, during the period 1594 to 1625, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar and his commissaries had sold more than 2,400,000 Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada to the Maya of the province.¹⁵

PAPAL BULLS, EXTIRPATORS, AND THE MADRID CODEX: A POSSIBLE PROVENIENCE OF THE PATCH AND CODEX?

But what is the probable connection between these papal bulls and the Madrid Codex? Colonial ethnohistorical sources may offer an answer to this question. Documentary evidence records that the scribe Gregorio de Aguilar was one of the only participants in a series of extirpation campaigns that ended in the confiscation of several Maya codices in the Chancnote region of the eastern part of the Yucatán Peninsula in 1606–1607. From 1591 to 1608, several Catholic priests and extirpators confiscated more than seven hieroglyphic codices from the Chancnote region (Chuchiak 2001, 2002). Of these codices, a few were destroyed in ecclesiastical *autos de fé*, but several others were presumably preserved. One of these codices may have been the Madrid Codex.

Recent studies based on the analysis of pottery and ceramic styles represented in the iconography of the Madrid Codex have pointed out that the most common censer style depicted in the manuscript belonged to the Cehac-Hunacti ceramic complex, which appears to have originated in the northern portion of the Yucatán Peninsula (Graff 1997). The Maya scribes who painted the Madrid Codex undoubtedly used these familiar styles in their representations of sacred ceramic ornaments and censers. In combination with the possible sur-

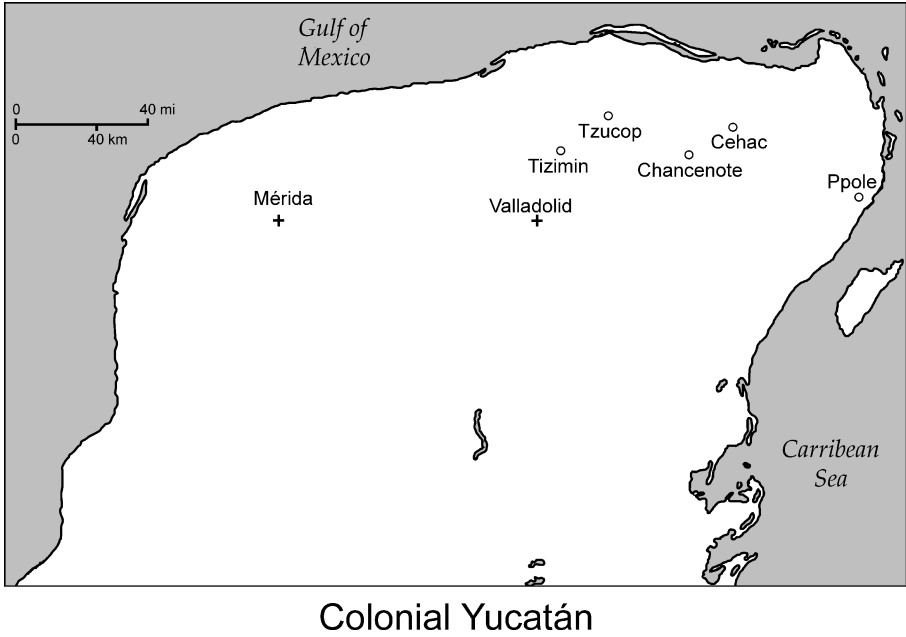


Figure 3.4 Map showing location of colonial villages discussed in the text.

vival of several codices that originated in the Chancénote-Cehac region, this lends at least circumstantial evidence to a possible provenience of the Madrid Codex from the northern part of the Yucatán Peninsula. These data, in combination with the ethnohistorical and iconographic evidence in the codex, suggest that it might have come from the northern or northeastern part of the peninsula and not Tayasal, as Coe had believed.

Ethnohistorical sources may corroborate theories of a possible northern or eastern peninsular origin of the Madrid Codex. The confiscation of the codices mentioned previously occurred during the period 1603–1608 when Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar held the position of ecclesiastical judge in the *vicaria* of Chancénote. (For the location of Chancénote and the other villages discussed in this chapter, see Figure 3.4; Figure 3.5 is a copy of Sánchez de Aguilar's commission as *comisario* of Chancénote.) With the aid of his cousin Gregorio de Aguilar as notary and assistant parish priest, Sánchez de Aguilar launched an investigation into the customs and idolatries of the native population of his parish. In 1603 he first discovered that, in the village of Tzucop within the jurisdiction of his *vicaria*, one of his own Maya assistants, the *maestro de capilla* of the village church, was an idolater who had a *cartapacio*, or a written transcribed codex, in which he had transcribed fables and stories that Aguilar considered "very prejudicial to the Christian faith" (Sánchez de Aguilar 1937:181).¹⁶



Figure 3.5 Sánchez de Aguilar's commission as comisario of Chancencote. AGI, Audiencia de México, 299.

Aguilar wrote a letter to Spain complaining of the Mayas' idolatry, as well as the continued existence of Maya codices and other writings. He complained that "some literate Indians have written [these books] and they hide them,

reading them in their meetings that they held in secret at night" (Sánchez de Aguilar 1937:181).¹⁷

In 1607 Sánchez de Aguilar seized two hieroglyphic codices in the company of Gregorio de Aguilar and the local Maya cacique, Don Juan Chan.¹⁸ Proceeding against the idolaters with severity, Aguilar arrested and punished the perpetrators, including the local Maya *maestro de capilla* and *maestro de doctrina* as chief culprits in the act.¹⁹ Aguilar saved the idols and hieroglyphic codices for Bishop Diego Vasquez de Mercado, who arrived shortly after while conducting his second pastoral visitation of the province.²⁰

That same year in the village of Ppole, Aguilar and his cousin uncovered another hieroglyphic codex, which they described as "having been written on the bark of certain trees and upon them were drawn the figures of demons that the said Indians worship."²¹ Aguilar confiscated the codex, adding it to the two others he had taken. He then spent some time becoming familiar with the three codices he had confiscated. By using the testimony of many of the idolaters, he reported that he was able to decipher some of the glyphic text. He described one codex as follows (Sánchez de Aguilar 1937:95):

It was a book made of the bark of trees and covered with a white paste, about 10 to 12 *varas* in length, it was folded in lengths of about one *palma* and in these with colors they paint the count of their years, their wars, plagues, hurricanes, floods, hungers and other things . . . and from one of the books that I took off of several idolaters, I saw and understood what they said.

Once again, the local Maya caciques and the Maya *maestro de capilla* received the harshest punishments as the main culprits in the use of the codex. Early in March 1608 Sánchez de Aguilar and his cousin conducted a *reducción*, or forced congregation, of the Maya in the forests around Chancnote, and there they discovered a fourth codex.²² This time we have the name of the owner of the codex preserved for posterity—Ah Kin Na Chi Pot, an unbaptized Maya priest.²³ Sánchez de Aguilar and his cousin baptized him "Silvestre Pot" in honor of having found him in the wild.²⁴

As a grand finale for his tenure as ecclesiastical judge in the area, Aguilar prepared a large *auto de fé* in the town of Tizimin during Easter in 1608. He ordered that the idols and the four codices that had been discovered be displayed for the provincial governor who attended. After a long sermon and the reading of the sentences, Governor Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano and several Maya officials, who included Don Juan Chan and Don Francisco Chan, ceremonially smashed the innumerable clay and stone idols assembled there before the multitude of spectators.²⁵ According to both Aguilar and other contemporary sources, the ecclesiastical judge kept the codices and took them with him along with other personal papers when he returned to Spain.

This evidence connects Aguilar and his cousin to both the sale and the transcription of *Bulas de la Santa Cruzada*, as well as to the confiscation of several Maya codices. The only missing bit of evidence in the puzzle may be found in examining just how and why the patch was placed in the codex. The answer to this puzzle, I believe, lies in examining the accessibility of these papal bulls to the local Maya.

THE MAYA AND THE BULAS DE LA SANTA CRUZADA

It is an intriguing possibility that a native Maya may have placed the bull onto the codex. In the Yucatán Peninsula, however, there would have been little access to papal bulls before the 1580s. Because of its geographic distance from the center of the viceroyalty of Mexico and also because of the cost of shipping paper and supplies to the colony, Yucatán remained isolated. Many routine documents and official papers took years to arrive. Although the Bull of the Santa Cruzada was first documented to have been issued in 1573 by papal concession, the province of Yucatán did not see the institution of the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada on a large scale until the 1590s.²⁶ The earliest attempts at “preaching,” or distributing, the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada were a failure, as Bishop Fr. Diego de Landa complained in 1573: “They say that I have impeded the expedition of the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada, but the truth is that up until today there has never been a distribution of the Bulls in these provinces. . . . The first time they tried to distribute them, the printed copies did not arrive . . . even today we have not sold more than 200 of the bulls.”²⁷ Things would change by the 1590s, when more than 10,000 papal bulls would arrive. From 1594 to 1621 the Indians in New Spain had greater access to the bulls, and many of the leftover unused bulls were left with native *batabs* and other town officials so they could sell them.

If indeed it was a native Maya who placed this “used” bull in the Madrid Codex, it would have had to have been done during this time period. Similarly, the clergy who issued these bulls received special commissions as commissaries of the Santa Cruzada (see Figure 3.5). This commission enabled them to “preach” sermons on the utility of the papal indulgences and also to sell them through the commissioning of agents called judges, or *receptores*. The official instructions even ordered the commissaries to leave behind blank copies of the papal bull for the local Maya *batab* and the *maestro de doctrina* or *maestro de capilla*.²⁸ The Maya town governors were required to act as agents in the continued sale of the Papal Bull of the Santa Cruzada even after the priest left the town.

However, there is ample evidence that the Maya, even those appointed *maestros de capilla*, did not understand the true nature of these bulls. The sermons the commissaries preached in the Maya language emphasized

how “sacred” and miraculous these papal bulls were. As late as the eighteenth century, manuals for parish priests instructed the clergy to teach their parishioners that the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada were “a compilation of infinite benefits and spiritual favors that offer miraculous powers of forgiveness and grace.”²⁹

The Maya at first viewed these bulls and their forced sale with suspicion. In the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, the Maya scribe wrote:

There also arrives the Bull for the second time and in three parts. That was the purchase of the Bull, which then comes to the judge to return the sums of money, to return the wax candles. It is to be distributed together with those candles to the descending justices raising on high. The elevation of this Christianity again. (Edmonson 1982:188–189)³⁰

By the late sixteenth century, many of the Maya came to accept these bulls as sacred relics, and they began to treat the bulls as they would treat any other sacred object: by offering them sacrifices. Colonial Spanish observers noted that the natives did not understand the true nature of these bulls or indulgences. Therefore, it is possible that a Maya scribe or noble placed his copy of a bull into the codex to “bless” it (Chuchiak 2001; Tozzer 1941).³¹ An Englishman, Jon Chiltern, who traveled in Mexico in 1579, observed other examples of similar native confusion concerning the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada. He wrote: “The spiritual value of the ‘Bulas de la Cruzada’ was not fully understood by the Indians, as they would tear them up into little pieces, sticking them onto the walls of their houses, with the hope of gaining pardons for thousands of years” (Weckmann 1984: 310–311).

The bishops and commissaries of the Santa Cruzada ordered the subdelegates in Yucatán to sell the Maya the bulls and to use “tender force” to compel them to buy the bulls in exchange for wax, *mantas*, and other products.³² Sánchez de Aguilar complained of the Mayas’ sacrilegious use of these papal bulls. On April 22, 1607, shortly after Aguilar had captured two Maya codices from the area of Chancénote and Cehac, he reprimanded the Maya of the region for their abuse and misuse of the bulls of the Santa Cruzada, which they apparently worshipped and used improperly. Aguilar wrote a warning to one of his subdelegated commissaries of the Santa Cruzada, the same priest who had replaced him in Chancénote:

We order you to instruct and preach to all of the Indians of your district that all of the papal bulls that they may have from previous predications they should keep and guard with much reverence as these sacred bulls demand . . . and you are to order them that they should not tear them up, paint on them, nor write on them or use them for anything else, nor should they use them and raise them up in their dances and other profane celebrations.³³

Perhaps Aguilar wrote these specific instructions in response to his earlier discovery of a misused papal bull in a confiscated codex. In no other commissions of the Santa Cruzada issued in Mexico is there such a specific reference to indigenous misuse of the bulls. Moreover, Aguilar only issued these instructions to Juan Alonso de Lara, the *vicario* who replaced him as the Comisario Subdelagado de la Bula de la Santa Cruzada in the towns of Chancnote and Cehac—the towns where he may have witnessed the misuse of the bulls in association with the confiscated codex.

All of these details and pieces of evidence tend to bolster the plausible interpretation that a Maya scribe or *maestro de capilla* who also served as an *ah kin* may have placed the patch on the codex for one of two purposes:

1. A ritual blessing of the codex with a piece of Catholic holy paper
2. To patch the codex with a sacred object.

It is possible that the Maya from the Chancnote region used this bull as a patch in a type of syncretistic appropriation of Catholic religious power. Similar instances of a syncretistic blending of Maya and Christian ornaments, titles, and documents exist for the same region. For instance, in 1610 Sánchez de Aguilar reported that in the villages of Yalcoba and Tekanxoc two Maya, named Alfonso Chable and Francisco Canul, were passing themselves off in sorts as the Pope and the Bishop. In denouncing the two Indians before the *vicario*, witnesses reported that they dressed as the Pope and the Bishop, and they even ordained a pagan priesthood. They went so far as to use the sacred ornaments for their ritual intoxicant *balché*. Moreover, the Indians of the region gave them offerings and paid them fees during various collections they conducted in the style of the Santa Cruzada. Aguilar later wrote about their heresy and idolatry (Sánchez de Aguilar 1937:158–159):

In the year 1610, a[n] Alfonso Chable and a Francisco Canul, both Indians, proclaimed themselves one a Pope and the other one a Bishop, and deceiving the ignorant Indians they made the poor Christians honor them . . . and they celebrated the mass at midnight, with the sacred ornaments, profaning our Chalices, and abusing the holy oils and chris. . . . They even baptized children, heard confessions, and administered communion, worshipping the idols that they venerated on the altar with incense, ordaining priests to serve the idols, smearing their hands with holy oil, and using a *mitre* and a *baculo*, ordering collections and offerings.

If the Maya did not have sufficient access to the bulls in order to place the patch, then who did have access? The local commissaries of the Santa Cruzada had access to them, as did the Comisario General del Obispado. The local commissaries, however, had to give accounts of the unused bulls and then return them to the general commissary. It is also very unlikely that a Catholic priest or a Spaniard would have used a papal bull to patch a pagan codex.

CONCLUSION: POSSIBLE CONTENT AND PROVENIENCE OF THE PATCH/CODEX

In developing a theory on the origins and provenience of the Codex Madrid, I relied on multiple layers of evidence that suggest that Coe and others erred in their dating of the patch.³⁴ A paleographic and diplomatic examination of the text on the patch strongly suggests that it could only have been produced between 1575 and 1610. The Italic *Bastardilla* script, along with the terminal *Cortesana* style of lettering on the “address end of the document,” both date the text on the patch fairly reliably to a few decades before the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Historically, this period also corresponds to the rise in the sale of the Bula de la Santa Cruzada to the Maya of the Yucatán. The text may well have been written by one of the apostolic scribes who worked for the province of Yucatán’s Commissary General of the Santa Cruzada during this time. Other evidence strongly suggests a connection between these rare handwritten papal bulls and the codex. It seems more than a coincidence that Sánchez de Aguilar oversaw the distribution of the bulls, employed a scribe with almost identical handwriting to that on the text, and confiscated several of the Maya codices.

As a result of this evidence, I propose this theoretical scenario to explain the origins and provenience of the Madrid Codex. A Maya *maestro de doctrina* (these men had access to papal bulls) or a Maya nobleman (pressured to buy the bull) added the patch to the Madrid Codex. This action would have enhanced the spiritual value of the Maya document through the addition of a sacred Christian text. The placement of the patch would have been a surprisingly common act of syncretistic religiosity in colonial Yucatán.

Sánchez de Aguilar uncovered the Maya document with the patch in 1607 during an investigation into idolatry. Dismayed by the complicity of the caciques and the *maestro de doctrina* in the Chancénote region and angered at their misuse of a holy bull, Aguilar launched a crusade against the Maya. He sought to limit their access to bulls, making it harder to commit what he considered a heinous sacrilege.

From 1608 until the end of his time as the chief commissary of the Santa Cruzada in Yucatán, Aguilar issued a stream of very specific orders warning commissaries about the sacrilegious use of bulls by the Maya. He then wrote his famous *Informe Contra Idolorum Cultores* (1613–1615), which described many aspects of Maya religion and idolatry, including their religious use and abuse of Catholic liturgical implements.

Aguilar returned to Spain as a procurator of the Cathedral of Mérida in 1618 with the documents he wrote concerning idolatry and one or more of the codices he had confiscated during his crusades against idolatry. Aguilar would have presented these along with his *Probanza de Meritos* to the Council of the

Indies and the king. Impressed with his defense of Catholicism, King Philip III appointed him canon of the wealthy church of Potosi in the Audiencia of Charcas.³⁵ A 1619 report exists in the registers of the Council of the Indies in Spain confirming that Aguilar conferred with the king about Indian idolatry and the Bull of the Santa Cruzada.³⁶

Following their meeting, the Crown changed its policies regarding Indian access to papal bulls. King Philip III issued orders to all commissaries of the Indies that effectively removed the Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada from Indian hands.³⁷ The crown ordered in 1621 that only Spaniards could store, handle, and transport the bulls. All bulls were to be counted and inventoried, ensuring that none came under the control of Indians.³⁸ All remaining or unused bulls had to be burned or sealed for later resale.³⁹ No copies were to remain with town officials or local Indians.⁴⁰ After 1621, royal instructions concerning the bulls ordered that they had to be printed in Spanish and not in Latin.

This theory proposes that Aguilar presented the king with a copy of the Madrid Codex during one of their meetings concerning Indian idolatry.⁴¹ This, in turn, may well have influenced the king's new policies limiting Indian access to the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada. The timing of the legislation coincides with Aguilar's audiences with the king, including one at the court that was held at the castle of Badajoz in Extremadura, the same province where the Codex Madrid was supposedly found. We may never know for sure if Aguilar confiscated and then transported the codex to Spain, but the evidence allows us to raise this tantalizing possibility.

NOTES

1. Coe argues on the basis of circumstantial evidence that the native books included as part of the Royal Fifth sent by Cortés to the king in 1519 included Maya hieroglyphic codices acquired on Cozumel. Colonial historians and contemporary observers, however, reported that the codices and "books of ancient characters" in the shipment were not Maya codices but rather Aztec or central Mexican books. The first written account of these books is found in a 1520 letter of Giovanni Ruffo, papal *nuncio* to the Spanish court. Later, the royal historian, Peter Mártir de Angleria, examined the books and their manufacture after Francisco de Montejo and Pablo de Alaminos returned to Spain. According to him, along with the Royal Fifth they had included several Aztec books, reportedly from central Mexico and possibly from the town of Colhuacan (Mártir de Angleria 1964:I:425–426).

2. After completing this chapter, I had an opportunity to visit the Museo de América in Madrid, where the codex is now housed, and view the Madrid Codex with several colleagues, including Christine Hernández and Gabrielle Vail. A visual examination of page 56 clearly indicates that the paper with European writing is on top of the bark paper, as Anders (1967a) noted when he took the photographs for the Graz facsimile.

3. Chemical experiments conducted in 1910 by Dr. Rudolph Schwede (1912) proved that all of the surviving Maya codices then known were made from bark paper.

4. For a description of colonial papers and writing implements and their use and characteristics, see Ramírez Montes (1990:167–168).

5. Approximate measurements were taken from a true to life-size facsimile of the Madrid Codex.

6. V. Bricker (personal communication, 2002) comments that “the possible overlapping page visible beneath the European paper cannot be the other side of the document folded over.” Her statement is based on the lack of evidence of writing showing through, which, she argues, would be likely if it represented part of the same piece of paper. I believe, however, that the lack of writing may be explained by the theory that the piece underneath contained the blank margin dictated by law in colonial documents. Thus, the overlapping page shows only the blank margin that had been folded over. Although this addresses the issue raised by Bricker, only by physically examining the patch can either theory be corroborated.

7. The story of the style of handwriting in Spain and Spanish America is interesting and useful to help us date a manuscript or a document. Spanish handwriting underwent transformations similar to those experienced by the oral language. As a Western type of handwriting, modern Spanish hand developed from the script of early Rome, known as Roman cursive. This style of writing influenced many of the later styles during the late Middle Ages. During the Renaissance a process of refinement occurred, and the style of writing known as the *Italica* style eventually predominated and became the common style from the seventeenth century onward. With only personal modifications, the *Italica* has persisted to the present day. For detailed descriptions of the identifiable characteristics of paleographical styles and the method of their detection, see Muñoz y Rivero (1889); also see Bribiesca Sumano (1990:9–30). Similarly, for tools used to detect styles and handwriting, see Villasana and McLean (1941:8–21).

8. As late as the eighteenth century bishops in colonial Yucatán complained that even their higher clergy could not read or write in Latin. The bishopric’s colleges and seminaries had a difficult time recruiting and maintaining sufficient numbers of Latin scholars who could read, write, and teach Ecclesiastical Latin to the priesthood.

9. The Bula of the Santa Cruzada was a special Papal Bull of Indulgence given in concession to the Catholic kings of Spain. The bull itself granted certain types of plenary indulgences and absolutions of sins for a specified price that depended on one’s status and wealth in the community. The popes conferred these concessions and the right to collect the fees to the Catholic monarchs so the proceeds would aid the Spanish kings’ wars against the infidels and Protestant heretics. The bull was thus a continuation of the medieval tradition of the Crusades, and the Santa Cruzada served as another type of funding source for Spain’s monarchs. The *bula* was only preached or given in Spain and its New World possessions. For a definition and description of the Bula de la Santa Cruzada, see Librería de Rosa y Bouret (1853:157–158); also, for a general discussion of the bulls and their sale and distribution in the New World, see Torres Gutiérrez (2000). For an example of an early text of a Bull of the Santa Cruzada, see “Trascripción de un facsimil de la bula de la Santa Cruzada editada en Toledo, en la imprenta del Monasterio de San Pedro Mártir, por privilegio concedido por los Reyes Católicos, año de 1483” in Gil (1999).

10. The earliest surviving orders and instructions concerning the Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada instruct the commissaries to have the bulls printed en masse to sell to the faithful. However, in colonial Mexico the cost of printing the bulls often led to scarcities of blank papal bulls. In many instances the local commissaries in remote provinces such as Yucatán were forced to reseal older unused printed bulls (see *Carta*

sobre haber pedido al tesorero de la Santa Cruzada del Obispado de Yucatán un numero competente de bulas y haberse hecho el resello de otras predicaciones, AGN, Ramo de Bulas y Santa Cruzada, 1731, vol. 4, exp. 8, folios 162–165) or to go through the process of “copying” or “transcribing” copies of their own. Since there was no printing press in the province of Yucatán until 1819, if no bulls arrived the commissaries would have to write their own or copy them to make up the number of missing bulls.

11. For examples of the surviving texts of the three types of Papal Bulls of the Santa Cruzada, see Hernández Méndez (1998) and Villaseñor Espinosa (1979).

12. See *Comisión de notario dada a Alonso López de Riego*, AGI, 294, 1 folio.

13. See *Testimonio de Gregorio de Aguilar, presbitero, en la ynformación presentado por el Doctor Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 6 de diciembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 8 folios.

14. See *Cuenta y razon del monto de las limosnas pagadas al tesorero de la Santa Cruzada en esta provincia y obispado de Yucatán*, años 1600–1610, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 294.

15. For the citation and reference to the quantities of bulls mentioned by the governor, see Bracamonte Sosa (1996). For a more detailed description of the financial burden of these forced sales of papal bulls on the Yucatec Maya, see Chuchiak (1998:159–161).

16. The *cartapacio* referred to may have been one of the native *Books of Chilam Balam* containing legends, riddles, and rituals written in the Latin script by literate Maya to preserve them from the Catholic clergy’s zealous extirpation.

17. For further information about the priest’s campaigns against codices and other Maya religious implements, see *Ynformación hecha ante su Señoría Reverendisimo Don Diego Vasquez de Mercado, obispo de estas provincias de Yucatán, a pedimento del Doctor Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, beneficiado de Chancernote y Vicario General de esta Villa de Valladolid*, 4 de Diciembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 130 folios.

18. For descriptions of the confiscation of these codices and the campaigns of extirpation, see *Testimonio de Gregorio de Aguilar*, 6 de diciembre, 1608; also see *Testimonio del capitan don Juan Chan yndio principal del pueblo de Chancernote, en la probanza de los méritos y servicios del Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 5 de noviembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 5 folios; *Testimonio de don Francisco Chan, gobernador del pueblo de Cehac, en la probanza de los méritos y servicios del Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 5 de noviembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 6 folios; *Testimonio de Juan Gutierrez Coronel en la ynformación presentado por el Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 9 de diciembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 8 folios; and *Testimonio de don Pedro Dzib, gobernador del pueblo de Chancernote en la probanza del Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 4 de diciembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 5 folios.

19. *Carta del Fr. Francisco de Torralva a Fr. Francisco Ortiz de Colonia sobre las ydolatrias de los indios de Yucatán*, 13 de febrero, 1607, AGN, Inquisición, vol. 467, exp. 97, folios 436–449.

20. The bishop and his secretary record that they had witnessed and observed the codices Aguilar had confiscated. Aguilar presented the glyphic texts to the bishop and showed him the large quantity of idols he had collected. See *Auto de la visita pastoral que hizo su Illustrisimo Señor Don Diego Vasquez de Mercado a la vicaria de Chancernote y su vicario Br. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 294, 3 folios.

21. *Ynterrogatio de la probanza de los méritos y servicios de Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 4 de diciembre, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 299, 3 folios.

22. *Testimonio de la nueva reducción hecha por el Vicario Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar de los indios ydolatras que van saliendo de la Bahía de la Asención*, 22 de julio, 1608, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 359, 1 folio.

23. For descriptions of this *reducción*, see *Autos sobre la reducción de los Idolatras*, 1607, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 294, 6 folios. Also see *Testimonio de Gregorio de Aguilar*, 6 de diciembre, 1608; *Testimonio del capitán don Juan Chan*, 5 de noviembre, 1608; and *Testimonio de Don Francisco Chan*, 5 de noviembre, 1608.

24. *Ynformación hecha ante su Señoría Reverendísima el Lic. Diego Vasquez de Mercado*, 4 de diciembre, 1608. In this letter Aguilar states that they now lived in peace and as Christians “aunque algunos se han huydo por haber los yo descasado de los matrimonios malcontraidos y vuelto a restituído las mugeres a sus primeros maridos y verdaderos.”

25. *Testimonio de Don Francisco Chan*, 5 de noviembre, 1608. This *auto de fé* is described in his answer to question # 12 of the Interrogatory.

26. See the general discussion of the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada in New Spain in Bracamonte Sosa (1996). The first surviving commissions as commissaries of the Santa Cruzada in Yucatán began in the 1590s.

27. *Carta y memorial del obispo de Yucatán Fr. Diego de Landa sobre el estado de su Iglesia*, 15 de Septiembre, 1573, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 369, 8 folios.

28. See *Instrucciones para la Bula de la Santa Cruzada*, Madrid, 1607, AGN, Ramo de Inquisicion, 467. For later copies of other instructions, see Hernández Méndez (1998). A “blank” copy of a papal bull is not a blank piece of paper but rather a printed or handwritten copy of a bull that had blank spaces remaining for the commissary to place the name of the person who purchased the bull.

29. See “Segundo Precepto: De la Bula de la Cruzada-Doctrina y Exhortación,” in Moreno (1703:folios 350–352).

30. Here, Edmonson mistakenly identifies this bull, which is obviously referring to the Bull of the Santa Cruzada, as one of the papal bulls of Pope Pius VIII or Pius VII (see Edmonson 1982:188, n. 5281). The Maya noted the “credit-like” aspect of the payments of the Bull of the Santa Cruzada in three equal parts. This procedure was undertaken to supposedly reduce the financial burden on the Maya, who could then pay in-kind. However, in reality the system was abused, and the Maya were forced to pay in-kind what amounted to more than the value of the bulls, which was set at 2 silver *reales* per person.

31. According to Fr. Diego de Landa, the Maya often came together to bless their codices and “purify” them with sacred virgin water during a ritual called *pocam* (Tozzer 1941:153–154). Apparently, the colonial Maya continued to conduct similar rituals to “bless” their codices (Chuchiak 2001).

32. See *Comision de Comisario Subdelegado y predicador de la Bula de la Santa Cruzada hecha a favor del Br. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar*, 1594, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 294, 3 folios.

33. See *Comision para la predicacion de la bula de la Santa Cruzada en el partido de Chancernote al Cura beneficiado Br. Juan Alonso de Lara hecha por Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, Dean de la Santa Iglesia de Yucatán y Comisario General de la Santa Cruzada en este Obispado*, 22 de Abril, 1607, AGI, Audiencia de Mexico, 130, 3 folios.

34. Although I have attempted to identify the provenience of the Madrid Codex based on where I believe it was confiscated during the Colonial period, the actual contents of the codex are prehispanic in origin (see chapters in this volume). It is obvious that the creation of the codex pre-dates the addition of the patch. The difference in the dating of the patch and the prehispanic content of the codex can be easily explained by Maya traditions concerning the usage of sacred texts. Like colonial Maya documents, prehispanic codices may have been used by several generations of priests

and daykeepers. Although the patch helps us determine where and when the Madrid Codex was confiscated, the internal iconographic and glyphic evidence reveals a prehispanic date for the content of the codex itself. For more information on the survival, use, and reuse of Maya codices by colonial Yucatec Maya priests, or *ah kinob*, see Chuchiak (2001, 2002).

35. Two separate relations of merits and services housed in Spain attest to these facts in great detail. See *Relación de los méritos y servicios del Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de La Plata*, 1623, AGI, Audiencia de Charcas, 89, no. 9, ramo 1, 44 folios; also see *Probanza de méritos y documentos de los servicios del Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, canónigo de la Santa Cathedral de La Plata*, 1643, AGI, Audiencia de Charcas, 89, no. 9, ramo 2, 28 folios.

36. For references to the royal audiences and other meetings held with the Council of the Indies and petitioners from the New World such as Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, see Heredia Herrera (1986). The series, numbering several volumes, catalogs more than 8,619 *consultas* by date with a subject index. Concerning printed books and manuscripts sent to the king and the council, see Muro Orejón and Muro Romero (1979).

37. A series of severe restrictions was placed on indigenous people's access to the Bulls of the Santa Cruzada in a new set of royal orders dating from 1621. See Hernández Méndez (1998); also see Villaseñor Espinosa (1979).

38. In most cases a detailed inventory had to be returned along with the unused bulls to the treasurer of the Santa Cruzada. For an example, see *Entrega que hizo Juan de Alcocer, contador, de unas bulas sobrantes correspondientes a la quinta predicación*, AGN, Ramo de Bulas y Santa Cruzada, 1637, vol. 3, exp. 2, folios 16–37.

39. As late as 1731, the province of Yucatán suffered from a lack of printed bulls. Many of the older bulls were reused during this time. See *Carta sobre haberse hecho el resello de las hulas*, 1731.

40. Subsequent orders and instructions also called for the burning of all used, resealed, or resold papal bulls to avoid “many other inconveniences” (see *Mandamientos del Virrey como Vicepatron ordenando que se queman las bulas restantes y usados de las previas predicaciones de la Santa Cruzada*, AGN, Ramo de Bulas y Santa Cruzada, 1634, vol. 1, exp. 2, folios 10–19).

41. Sánchez de Aguilar himself describes his consultations with the Crown and refers to his presentation of “informaciones y papeles antiguos” to the Crown during his second trip to Spain (1617–1620). See AGI, Audiencia de Charcas, 89, no. 9, ramos 1–2.

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