

Research Materials in Middle American Ethnology, with Special Reference to Chicago Libraries

Dean Redfield of the Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, read this paper at the Reference Librarians Section, December 30, 1941.

YOU HAVE ASKED me to speak on the sources of materials in ethnology for Middle America, with additional reference to sources in this field in the Chicago area. The subject is one with which I have long been concerned but my concern has been casual and unorganized. This is the first time I have attempted to appraise the library collections in Chicago which make possible the ethnological investigations in which I have participated. The opportunity to consider the subject is welcome to me but I must at the outset confess that time has allowed me only a hasty review of the situation. In making this report I have been greatly assisted by James S. Slotkin and, indeed, without his efforts I could not appear before you today at all. Dr. Slotkin helped me to accomplish the first task on which this report is based and almost singlehanded performed the second. The first task was to prepare a classified list of selected principal works in Middle American ethnology; the second was to discover in which of the principal libraries of Chicago these works are to be found. The checklist of selected works

which is appended to this paper consists of about two hundred titles.

The checklist was made for only three libraries, Newberry, Field Museum Library, and the library of the University of Chicago. We chose only three because time was lacking to do more and we chose these three because our experience suggested that these libraries have the three best collections on Middle American ethnology in the city. If the public library or the Crerar library has a better collection than one of the three libraries we have chosen, I shall be surprised, although in certain areas their collections are no doubt good.

As Middle American ethnology is not one of the most popular or best known of subjects, I have thought it a large part of my task here to set forth the nature of the materials on which scholars in that field rely. Most of the following remarks, therefore, consist of a sort of classification and appraisal of these materials, and what I have to say on the distribution of these materials in the three libraries we have examined is a secondary part of my paper.

For the purposes of this report, I understand ethnology to have to do with the cultures of native peoples as they are learned about by direct verbal communication with them. In short, I am thinking

of ethnology as an investigation of customs and institutions as they are reported to us by the words and writings of the native peoples themselves. Archeology, on the other hand, which is excluded from this survey, recovers and studies the artifacts made by unfamiliar peoples. In general, the ethnologist talks with the natives and sees them as living beings. An archeologist digs up objects made by people before his time.

Eyewitness Accounts

In the Middle American field, however, the line is a little difficult to draw, because we are interested in the customs of the Indian peoples of that area as they prevailed when the Spaniards came in over four hundred years ago. The Spaniards of that time must be regarded as the ethnologists, and one large class of source materials consists of the documents in which those early eyewitness accounts were set down. These materials play a large part in the list of sources which we have prepared.

Furthermore, one class of materials has here been included which the archeologist might also well include: the hieroglyphic records on stone made chiefly by the ancient Maya. I have included this class of materials on the ground that these are in fact books written by the Indians about themselves and that they may be thought of as ethnological as truly as we may think of the writings of the early Spaniards about these Indians as ethnological.

Another difficulty which was encountered in preparing the list arises from the large amount of secondary analytical and critical literature. In the case of the works of the great scholars in this field, such as Eduard Seler, the writings of these

men amount to materials for research. Nevertheless, I have excluded them from my consideration and have considered only the more primary sources. To this I must add one exception: I have included modern commentary on special selected primary sources where published with the primary document.

Two Groups of Materials

From what I have said you have already understood, no doubt, that I have defined my task to cover materials with reference to the Middle American peoples as they existed at the time of the conquest as well as in later times. As a matter of fact, the materials tend to fall into two groups: accounts of native custom just before or not long after the conquest, and modern ethnology. Modern ethnology does not get under way until the very end of the nineteenth century, and indeed the titles of importance in the field are extremely few until the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. The two groups of materials are in part connected by the travelers' accounts. During colonial times travel, especially by non-Spaniards, did not often occur in Latin America. Most of the titles worthy of mention under this heading appeared late in the nineteenth century.

It is probably not necessary to declare that I have supposed that this audience is concerned with materials useful for research and scholarly work. Therefore, the mention I will make of books written for more popular consumption will be small.

Before reviewing materials class by class, as I am about to do, I may declare my conclusion that the student of Middle American ethnology is very well provided

with the principal materials for work in his field by the three libraries I have mentioned. The collection at the Newberry is surely the best of the three, as it is in many fields having to do with the American Indian. Its collection of reproductions of native writing, the so-called codices, is particularly good. It is more difficult for me to compare the collections in the Field Museum and the University of Chicago but my impression is that the latter collection is the better.

Bibliographies

To my knowledge, no comprehensive bibliography on Middle American ethnology covering an entire period is in existence. The older bibliographies of Chavero and Brasseur de Bourbourg (2¹ and 1) are, of course, greatly out of date. All three libraries have the well-known *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (3), which gives excellent coverage of publications in the field during the few years the *Handbook* has been in existence. The student who wishes to search for titles in incomplete lists will look at the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* (6) or at the *Ibero-Amerikanische Bibliographie* (4). The latter can be found only at the Newberry Library. Bibliographies of lesser importance are included in my list. I may add that I have in my office on cards, a bibliography of two or three hundred titles on recent Middle American ethnology which I would be glad to make available to students. It is, however, very imperfect in that coverage in the various areas is uneven, many titles are lacking, and some are included which should probably not be there.

¹ Refer to the bibliography at the end of the article.

Histories by Historians with European Training

What I have to say about the secondary works will be brief. Two great professional historians have summarized material they have drawn from some of the customs of the early Middle American peoples for their *opera magna*. I refer, of course, to Bancroft (8) and Prescott (10). Although both of these men made a careful use of primary sources which is rarely matched today in the same field, what they have to say about Aztec and Maya customs was so largely shaped by conceptions of society formed by knowledge of Europe and Asiatic barbarisms and by ignorance of other Indian communities, that their pages are hardly satisfactory today, even as introductions to the subject.

Recent General Works by Anthropologists

On the other hand, the works written by modern anthropologists, while they do better justice to the customs of the early Indian people, are in no cases works of scholarship and literary achievement comparable with the writings of Prescott. We have, however, been given in recent years books which present the facts about Aztec and Maya life and which, at the same time, suit the reading appetites of the interested layman. These works are all available in all three of the libraries. The Frenchman, Genet, has written one work of this sort on the Aztec peoples (13) and another on the Maya-Quiche group (14). Of writings in English in recent times one has a choice for the Maya between Blom's book (11) and that by Gann and Thompson (12). Both have their merit but neither is a work of first class. Means' monograph on the conquest of Yucatan (15) does not attempt any

summary description of Maya culture but it does have the advantage of publishing English translation of parts of certain of the source materials on the ancient Maya. The recent publication by George Vaillant on the Aztecs (17) will, I think, tend to take the place of the earlier work by J. Eric Thompson (16). None of the books I have mentioned has bibliographies of any research consequence, and for a research worker or scholar they are to be mentioned chiefly because he will wish to see what competent scholars have written for the layman on some points where the reader of the work may be planning to do research.

Important Series

I turn therefore to source materials. The research worker will find practically all of the series that I have included in my list in the Newberry Library. In a few instances the library of the University of Chicago has series, or parts of series, which are lacking in the Newberry. The Field Museum collections are weakest in this class of material. My list includes only series which bear on Middle American ethnology or closely related subjects, but the student will of course wish to have at hand more general periodicals in anthropology. Of current series, the publications of Carnegie Institution of Washington are of great importance, although in this context it is to be remembered that most of the publications are archeological rather than ethnological. Many other important series such as *The Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* (22) and the *Ibero-Amerikanische Studien* (23) are probably not continuing on account of the war. The important occasional proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists (25) will be

wanted by every investigator, and he will find them in all three libraries, except that the series in the Field Museum is reported as defective. Apparently the University of Chicago library is better off with reference to the publications of the National Museum of Mexico (31-37) than are the other two collections. The recently established and current Mexican scientific publication bearing on ethnology (40) is available in all three libraries, as are the important publications of the Department of Middle American Research of Tulane University (43).

Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Maya

I now turn to nonserial publications of source materials and consider first the writings of the Indian peoples themselves. My apology for including the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Maya has already been made. The two great *Corpora Inscriptionum*, Morley's impressive publications on the inscriptions at Copan (45) and in the Peten (46), and the Maudslay publication of a generation ago (44), are available in all three libraries, as are the two best introductory works on the methods of deciphering hieroglyphs, of which Spinden (48) and Morley (47) are the authors. The more advanced student will need Teeple's monograph on Maya astronomy (49), which is also easy to get. It needs to be remembered that the study of Maya hieroglyphs is one of the more esoteric and highly specialized branches of Middle American research, but just because work in that field may be pursued without much reference to other branches of anthropology and perhaps because it has the charm of a difficult crossword puzzle, it has attracted a number of interested and able lay scholars.

Codices: Books Made by Indians

While the Maya or Yucatan and Guatemala were the only Middle American people to develop a system of calendrical notation to complexity, thus bringing about the special body of source materials to which I have just referred, most of the Indians of higher civilization in Mexico and Central America made records in more elementary and pictographic form; the resulting documents written on paper or parchment are known as "codices" and constitute a second important class of source materials. They were made for a variety of purposes and include no small range of subject matter. Some record calendrical computations; others give the divinatory tables and calculations of the priests specializing in the regulation of conduct according to days lucky and unlucky; others give records of land claims; still others list tribute demanded by a dominating tribe of a conquered group; and there are many that depict the religious and cosmogonic ideas of the Indians. The codices may also be considered from the point of view of their time of manufacture. Those written before the conquest are, of course, sources on the customs of the time which cannot be impugned as representing an adulteration with European influence. On the other hand some of these primitive books made after the Spaniards came are even more enlightening for the very reason that they were prepared in order to tell interested Spaniards what the old ways had been. Some of this latter class are provided with glosses either in Indian languages or in Spanish but in European script.

The publication and editing of these codices has been a major task of Middle American research for several generations

and is by no means ended. The various reproductions differ greatly as to their accuracy. The great Kingsborough collection (125) into which the English lord of that name put so much money, is a collector's item, but to the scholar the reproductions are not of great value because the copying was carelessly done. The most important dependable series of reproductions is that which bears the name of the man whose wealth made it possible, the Duc de Loubat. In recent years single codices have been reproduced either in this country or in Mexico and in most instances the recent reproductions are good.

The Newberry Library is extremely well provided with materials of this class to the degree that the scholar needing only these materials may well establish himself in that library. In cases of important codices such as the three surviving codices of the Yucatec Maya (50-65), the Newberry Library has all or most of the significant editions, while the Field Museum or the University of Chicago has to get along with one or two.

Preconquest Codices

Of the preconquest codices representing the Aztec and other Nahua groups, some of the most important, the Borgianus (66), the Fejérváry-Mayer (68, 69), and the Vaticanus (72) are all available in one edition or another in all three libraries. For these codices the commentaries (67, 70, 73) of the German scholar, Seler, are still of first importance. The Nahua codices dated after the conquest constitute a longer list (75-93). Here the gaps in the collection of the Field Museum and the University of Chicago are more noticeable. Nevertheless, their collections are not bad. A similar statement may be

made about the codices representing the Mixtec and Zapotecan peoples (94-106), lying geographically between the Maya and the Aztec. The particular Indian groups to which some of these codices are to be assigned are in some cases matters of doubt among scholars. In the list which I have made there are probably some errors of this sort and I have further recognized the difficulty by including a subheading of unclassified codices (107-118). As I review the situation I am impressed with the richness of the combined collections of the libraries of the Chicago area.

Besides the publication of reproductions of particular codices with or without critical annotation, there have been a number of publications that might be described as codex anthologies. The Kingsborough collection (125), already unfavorably noted, is present in the University of Chicago and the Newberry libraries, as are also the important collections by Boban and Peñafiel. For the Boban collection (120) one apparently has to go to the Newberry collection, as is also the case with the well-known documents edited by Garcia Cubas (123).

Books by Indians in Their Own Language but in European Writing

Still considering ethnological source materials written down by the Indians themselves, I have next in view those writings by Indians made after the conquest in their own language but in the alphabetic characters which they learned from the Spaniards. These are again of many sorts. Some are tribal traditions including often myths as to the origin of the world and dynastic or genealogical lists. Some included prophecies and scraps of history. Many are tribal annals. Some

of these were written down simply to perpetuate the sacred traditions originally, no doubt, expressed in native picture writing, while others were prepared for particular reasons connected with the relations of the Indians with their conquerors, notably in case of land disputes.

The great American editor of these materials in the last decades of the nineteenth century was Daniel G. Brinton. Various of his publications, some of which deal with the Nahuatl peoples and others with the Mayan group, are present in the libraries reviewed, but in this case the Newberry library is less well off than the other two collections. The Yucatec Maya have provided us with a group of important documents of this sort, no one of which is actually very old but which were connected by copies now lost with pre-Columbian tradition. These copies are known as the books of Chilam Balam (131-33, 135). The recent translations in editings of two of these are easy to get in the Chicago libraries. About the Quiche of Guatemala, the great work of this class is known as the *Popol Vuh* (136-38). So far as my records go the University of Chicago has the early edition edited by Brasseur de Bourbourg (136) while the Newberry Library has the later editions. I may add that none of these editions is quite satisfactory to a scholar.

Eighteenth Century Materials

This review of materials has now passed the conquest and carries us into the eighteenth century. I will return to consider the documents written in Spanish, in most cases by Spaniards but in a few cases by Europeanized Indians in the first generation after the conquest. If any group of materials on the early ethnology of Middle

America is to be selected for emphasis, it will be this group. Here are included the fluent, first-hand accounts of those men who saw the Indian cultures as they were flourishing and put down not long afterwards what they saw. They begin with the immediate reports of Cortes in his well-known letters (148-50) and go on to include such later and more reflective military accounts as that of Bernal Diaz del Castillo (151-59) as well as the more penetrating and more important ethnological reporting of those missionaries who took the pains to learn the Indian languages and to live closely with the natives. The military accounts have the freshness of the first shock of contact, but the later missionaries got the facts. The greatest work of this group for the Nahua area is the famous book of the priest Sahagun (175-78). The volumes in which he made his original notes in the Indian language of the Aztecs are still to be consulted in Mexico City. There has been a string of editions of the Spanish work which Sahagun made later from the notes. The recent Mexican edition in five volumes is probably most useful for most purposes. The corresponding work for the Maya is Bishop Landa's account of Yucatan (169-71). As in most other cases the Newberry Library has the most editions of this work, but the scholar will find the very recent and almost definitive translation prepared by Professor Tozzer (172) in any one of the three libraries. To be included with this group of sources are the accounts written neither by conquerors nor by missionaries but by administrative investigators sent out from Spain to get facts about the native. The work of Zúrita represents this class (178-A).

Our checklist of titles in this class groups these works according to the half-century in which the document was first issued. It will be seen from this list that the Newberry again leads but that the other libraries are not badly off. In recent years there has appeared no student of these sources comparable with Bandelier, who made such significant use of them over fifty years ago. A recent appraisal of sources by Waterman deserves mention; it is a brief critical discussion of works of this class. Besides Sahagun and Landa, other outstanding names of authors who set down ethnology are Acosta (161-64), Duran (167), Gómara (168), Motolinía (173), Muñoz Camarga (174). All these represent chiefly the culture of the Aztecs. For the Zapotecs the important work is by Burgoa (180) and for the various Central American peoples we need the work by Oviedo y Valdés (160).

There have been several important collections of these documents from that of Garcíá Icazbalceta (193), which appeared in the middle of the last century, to the recent issue by France Scholes (195) of documents referring only to Yucatan. Here the student will find that the University of Chicago and Newberry libraries can provide him with his wants.

It has perhaps taken me too long a time to bring this review up to materials dealing with the Indian as he exists today in Mexico and Central America. But the fact is that in library research a wealth of material refers to early history and demands the training of an historian. Ethnology, in a sense of systematic study guided by problems of living peoples, is a very recent phenomenon anywhere. When it did appear in this country and in England, it is natural that it was first carried

on among the simpler peoples under the political control or influence of England or the United States. The extension of modern ethnological method into the Indian peoples of Mexico and the Central American nations awaited the coming of age of the science and the establishment of such security and political relations as would make field work favorable. Therefore, what I have to say on the ethnological sources of recent times is not a very great deal.

Travelers' Accounts

As I remarked earlier, a sort of link between the early materials and the new materials is provided by travelers' accounts. It was very exceptional for a non-Spaniard to travel in colonial Latin America. Thomas Gage (179), an English Catholic who gave up that religion and wrote a book about his experiences, chiefly in Guatemala, is almost an exception. His work is of use in considering the seventeenth century ethnology of the Guatemalan Indians. In the middle of the nineteenth century John L. Stephens, a hardy and observant traveler, provided us with two works (200, 201) of great readability and considerable ethnological value. These are available in all three libraries. Two less important works by Norman (198, 199), dealing only with the Yucatan, may be mentioned.

The writers just mentioned made no claim to be scientists. At the end of the nineteenth century there appeared the first professional ethnological visitors to Middle America. The three great names in this group are Lumholtz (202-05), Starr (206-08), and Stoll (209). All three traveled extensively in areas where almost no ethnological knowledge existed and

opened up fields for later intensive work. The chief writings of these men are easily obtained. To this group might well be added Karl Sapper, whose writings are often geographical rather than ethnological in nature, but who has reported a great deal about well-known Indian customs.

These men were the forerunners of modern ethnology. When I come to this subject, which it might have been thought should have been the substance of my report, I find the difficulty of saying anything useful to be great. The facts are briefly these. The present-day native peoples of Middle America are represented in substantial ethnological monographs in no more than a score of titles. All these works appear in the twentieth century and most of them have appeared in the last decade. There has been in fact a sort of burst of scientific ethnology in Mexico and Guatemala. In the other Central American countries far less has been done indeed, except for the excellent work by the Swedish scholar, Nordenskiöld, on a Panamanian tribe, and far less important reporting by Conzemius (224) on some surviving tribal groups along the Mosquito coast.

Book-Length Ethnologies

These more important book-length ethnologies of recent times are well represented in the Chicago libraries, as one might anticipate. If the student wishes to go beyond such works he will find himself digging for minute crumbs of ethnological gold in an immense mass of minor literature much of it in periodical form. I have not attempted to list the publications in which such material could be found. My own card index file includes a good many such references. It is at this point

that the student will find the Chicago libraries do not give him everything he wants, particularly in the case of obscure periodicals issued in Central American countries.

In bringing this review to a close it should be added that the development of modern ethnology has been, relatively speaking, so rapid and so recent that a considerable amount of important material lies unpublished on the decks of contemporary ethnologists. Thus, the student of

Indian peoples of the Midwest Highlands of Guatemala will find himself writing letters to two or three specialists who are getting their notes into book form for publication and he will find it more important to him to consult with such persons than to burrow deeply in the libraries in search of minor materials. This remark takes me away from the libraries of Chicago which are your interest and so properly brings this report to an end.

Classification of the Material

A. Bibliographies

- Brasseur de Bourbourg, C. E. N (1)
Bibliothèque mexico-guatémaliennne. Paris, 1871
- Chavero, A. N (2)
Apuntes Viejos de Bibliografía Mexicana. Mexico, 1903-07 Vol. 1-F
- Handbook of Latin American Studies. Cambridge, 1935 UNF (3)
- Ibero-Amerikanische Bibliographie, 1930. No. XIII wanting N (4)
- Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia UNF (5)
Boletín bibliográfico de antropología Americana.
- Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris UNF (6)
- Teixidor, F. NF (7)
Bibliografía Yucateca. Merida, 1937

B. Secondary Works

I. Histories (By Historians with European Training)

- Bancroft, G. UN (8)
Native Races of the Pacific States. San Francisco, 1874
- Brasseur de Bourbourg, C. E. N (9)
Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale. Paris, 1857-59

- Prescott, W. H. UN (10)
The Conquest of Mexico. New York, 1922

II. Histories (Recent General Works by Anthropologists)

- Blom, F. UNF (11)
The Conquest of Yucatan. Boston, 1936
- Gann, T., and Thompson, J. E. UNF (12)
The History of the Maya. New York, 1931
- Genet, J. UNF (13)
Histoire des peuples Shoshones-Azèques. Paris, 1929
- Histoire des peuples Mayas-Quichés. Paris, 1927 UNF (14)
- Means, P. A. UNF (15)
History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas. (Peabody Museum, Papers, 7). Cambridge, Mass., 1917
- Thompson, J. E. UNF (16)
Mexico before Cortez. New York, 1934
- Vaillant, G. C. UNF (17)
Aztecs of Mexico. New York, 1941

C. Source Materials

I. Important Series

- Carnegie Institution of Washington publications UNF (18)

- Cortes Society UNF (19)
Documents and Narratives Concerning
the Discovery and Conquest of Latin
America. New York, 1917
- Ethnos UNF (20)
- Ibero-Americana UN (21)
- Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv UNF (22)
- Ibero-Americanische Studien UNF (23)
- Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e His-
toria UN (24)
Publicaciones No. 34 and 45 F
- International Congress of Americanists
UN (25)
Vols. 3, 6, 11 missing F
- Maya Research UNF (26)
- Maya Society NF (27)
Publications
- Maya Society F (28)
Quarterly
- Mexican Art & Life
(Missed N) UF (29)
- Mexican Folkways UF (30)
Vol. 7 N
- Mexico, Museo Nacional de Arqueología,
Historia y Etnografía N (31)
- Anales UNF (32)
- Boletín (Incomplete) U (33)
(Incomplete 1-3) N
(Incomplete) F
- Cartillas de Vulgarización U (34)
- Monografías U (35)
- Publicaciones UN (36)
- Mexico, Museo Nacional, Sección de Et-
nología U (37)
Conferencias
- Museum of The American Indian UNF (38)
Indian Notes & Monographs
- Peabody Museum UNF (39)
Papers
- Revista Mexicana de Estudios UNF (40)
Históricos
- Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología
Revista mexicana de estudios antropolo-
gicos N (41)
- Société des Américanistes de Paris Journal
UNF (42)
- Tulane University, Department of Middle
American Research UNF (43)
Middle American Research series
- II. *With Regard to Pre-Columbian and
Early Post-Columbian Times*
1. *Written by Indians in Their Own Forms
of Writing*
- a. *Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Maya
(Chiefly on Stone)*
- Goodman, F. du C., and Calvin, O.
UNF (44)
Biologia centrali-americana. London,
1879-1911. Maudslay, A. P., and Good-
man, J. T. Archaeology
- Morley, C. G. UNF (45)
The Inscriptions at Copan. Carnegie In-
stitution of Washington Publications 219.
Washington, 1920
- The Inscriptions of Peten UNF (46)
Carnegie Institution of Washington Pub-
lications 437. Washington, 1938
- Morley, C. G. UNF (47)
An Introduction to the Study of Maya
Hieroglyphs BAE-B, 57. Washington,
1915
- Spinden, H. J. UNF (48)
The Decipherment of Maya Dates
- Teeple, John NF (49)
Maya Astronomy. Carnegie Institution
of Washington. Contributions VI, No. 2
b. *Codices: Books Made by Indians*
(1) *Maya Codices*
- Codex Dresdensis NF (50)
(MC-P, 2) Baltimore, 1932
- Comment:
- Förstemann, C. E. N (51)
Die Maya-Handschrift der Königlichen
Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden.
Dresden, 1892
- Thomas, C. UNF (52)
The Maya Year (BAE-B, 18). Wash-
ington, 1894
- Förstemann, C. E., Wesselhoeft, C., and
Parker, A. M. UNF (53)
(Peabody Museum Papers, 42). Cam-
bridge, Mass., 1906

- Codex Peresianus. Paris, 1864 N (54)
 Ed. L. de Rosny, Paris, 1888, 2nd ed. N (55)
 Ed. W. E. Gates, Point Loma, 1909 UNF (56)
 Ed. T. A. Willard, Glendale, 1933 N (57)
- Comment:
 Gates, W. E. (PM-P, 6.1) UNF (58)
 Cambridge, Mass., 1910
- Codex Tro-Cortesianus [Codex Troano, Codex Cortesianus], N.P. [1869] N (59)
 Ed. L. de Rosny, Paris, 1883 N (60)
 Madrid, 1892 UN (61)
 Point Loma, 1911 N (62)
 Madrid, 1930 UNF (63)
- Commentary:
 Brasseur de Bourbourg, C. E. UN (64)
 Paris, 1869-70 Vol. I, F
- Codices Mayas NF (65)
 Ed. J. A. and Villacorta, C. A., Guatemala, 1933. All three codices reproduced in outline, black and white
 (2) *Nahua Codices*
 (a) *Preconquest*
- Codex Borgianus. (Loubat) Rome, 1898 UN (66)
- Commentary:
 E. Seler, Berlin, 1904-09 UNF (67)
- Codex Fejérváry-Mayer UN (68)
 (Loubat) Paris, 1901. Mexico, 1934 N (69)
- Commentary:
 E. Seler, Berlin, 1901 UNF (70)
Ibid., tr. A. H. Keane, Berlin, 1901-02 UNF (71)
- Codex Vaticanus B (No. 3773) UNF (72)
 (Loubat) Rome, 1896
- Commentary:
 E. Seler, Berlin, 1902 UF (73)
Ibid., tr. A. H. Keane, Berlin, 1902-03 UNF (74)
 (b) *Postconquest*
- Codex Aubin. Paris, 1893 N (75)
 Ed. A. Peñafiel, Mexico, 1902 N (76)
- Codex Barberini, Latin 241 N (77)
- Ed. E. W. Emmart, Baltimore, 1940. (Aztec Herbal of 1552)
- Codex Boturini N (78)
 Ed. J. Delafeld, New York, 1839
- Commentary:
 Radin, Paul UNF (79)
 The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans. Berkeley, 1920
- Codex Campos UNF (80)
 [Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco]. Ed. F. Starr, Chicago, 1898
- Codex Cempoallan. London, 1890 N (81)
- Codex Chimalpopocatl N (82)
 Ed. J. F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1885
 Ed. W. Lehmann, Stuttgart, 1938 N (83)
- Codex Cospianus. (Loubat) Rome, 1898 UNF (84)
- Codex Kingsborough NF (85)
 Ed. F. del Pasoy Troncoso, Madrid, 1912
- Codex Magliabecchi, XIII, 11, 3 Z. Nuttall, Berkeley, 1903 UN (86)
 (Loubat) Rome, 1904 UNF (87)
- Codex Mariano Jimenez F (88)
 Ed. N. Leon, Mexico, N. D.
- Codex Mendocino UN (89)
 Ed. J. C. Clark, London, 1938
 Ed. F. Del Paso y Troncoso and J. Galindo y Villa, Mexico, 1925 NF (90)
- Commentary:
 Peñafiel, A. UN (91)
 Nombres geográficos de Mexico. Mexico, 1885
- Codex Telleriano-Remensis UN (92)
 Ed. E. T. Hamy, Paris, 1899
- Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738) UF (93)
 [Codex Rios]
 Ed. Vatican Library (Loubat), Rome, 1900
 (3) *Mixtecan-Zapotecan Codices*
 (a) *Preconquest*
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