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Abstract

Representation of Montezuma's mental states in Florentine Codex, Book XII is unlike other sixteenth-century Aztec literary accounts of rulers. The representation reveals a point of view on the category of person that distinguishes one person among others on the basis of unique states taken to be intrinsic or interior. This point of view, which we analyze as a "vantage," contrasts with typical Aztec literary practice, in which persons are assimilated to roles on criteria of extrinsic or external qualities, especially stereotyped speech. This vantage is illustrated in FC XII's treatment of Cuauhtemoc.

[Person, vantage, category, Montezuma, Aztec literature]

0.0. INTRODUCTION

Book XII of the Florentine Codex is a history in Nahuatl of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. It was compiled by the great Franciscan student of Aztec culture, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, based closely on narratives by men who fought against the Spanish with the Aztec armies. One of the most dramatic and compelling themes in Book XII develops the terror and indecision of Montezuma the Younger, Tlatoani of Tenochtitlan. In 1519 he was the most powerful lord in Mexico.

This representation of the state of mind of Montezuma the Younger on the eve of the Conquest has been treated universally as an empirical foundation for historical understanding. Benjamin Keen declared that the four hundred and fifty years of scholarship about the Aztecs and their rulers is a series of western cultural constructions, yet he treated the portrait of Montezuma in Book XII as straightforward fact. As Cortez advanced, writes Keen, "Montezuma's fears and doubts had ... reduced him to a hopelessly indecisive state of mind" (Keen 1971:53). Similarly, Tzvetan Todorov accepts the portrait as raw factual foundation, subjecting only Spanish accounts of the Conquest to semiotic analysis (Todorov 1985). Miguel León Portilla used passages from the representation of Montezuma in Book XII to exemplify the "vision of the conquered": the "Aztec" view of the Conquest, as opposed to a Spanish one (León Portilla 1962). He emphasized that Book XII is "made up of texts which
seem to stem from ancient forms of pre-Hispanic oral tradition” (León Portilla 1974:247).

Contemporary anthropological understanding requires us to see Book XII neither as a psychohistorical document in the modern sense, nor as unsullied evidence of aboriginal understandings and genres. Instead, it is emphatically a colonial document, the product of catastrophic contact. Hanks (1986, 1987) shows the importance of analyzing such texts as manifesting new genres, suited to new strategic projects of their composers, rather than simply sifting them for the residue of pre-conquest tradition. Florentine Codex Book XII (hereafter, FC XII) is a Sahagüine text, not a traditional Aztec day-book or year-book. The portrayal of Montezuma found in it is a cultural artifact, created in the mid-16th century by Aztec narrators who were in intensive contact with Spaniards and who sought, together with Sahagun and his assistants, to make meaning from the chaos of the conquest. What processes constrained the narrative structures that they produced? We will argue that their representation of Montezuma, unique in Aztec literature, portrays him as an “individual,” differentiated from other persons of his type, and associates this individuality with emotional states that the narrators considered to be located “inside” his body. The abrupt innovation exemplifies Geertz’s (1973) observation, that catastrophic change often yields novel ideologies. We will show that many details of both form and content in the FC XII portrait of Montezuma are predicted by a theory of categories, called

vantage theory, developed by MacLaury (1986, 1987). This approach continues a cognitivist tradition founded by Marcel Mauss (1985 (1938)), who considered ideas about “self” and "person" to be "categories of the human mind."

1.0. THE AZTEC VIEW OF "PERSON" IN THE FLORENTINE CODEX

The Florentine Codex is our most important source on Aztec ethnopsychology. The vision of human nature found there, which is probably idealized and conservative, deemphasized individual differences and instead favored conformity to a series of idealized roles. Non-conformity to ideal roles was recognized, but was represented only as “bad” (acqualli ‘not-good’). The great tenth book of the Florentine Codex, “The People,” contains a famous catalogue of “good” and “bad” examples. For carpenters, it prescribes:

"The good (aqualli) carpenter is one who uses the plumb; who is resourceful; who uses the cord, marks with lines ... The bad (acqualli) carpenter is one who breaks the work into pieces, who raises a clattering din; who is a nonchalant worker, a mocker: uncooperative, wasteful, squandering ..." (Dibble and Anderson 1961:27)

This prescription of conformity is characteristic in its attention to action and behavior, contrasted with inattention to feelings and intentions. Where Aztec literature attends to
emotions, they are prescribed public manifestations, codified
for expression through conventional metaphors and regulated by
etiquette that specified when to laugh, shout, or weep. When
represented figures must have "felt," as in the anguish of the
ruler Achitomuti cited below in example (4), these feelings are
represented mainly through their manifestation in action,
external appearance, and speech. The sources attend in detail to
the etiquette of speech: Book VI of the Florentine Codex, "The
Sayings of the Elders," lays down proper forms for public speech
learned by young nobles during a rigid education in state-run
schools. The Bancroft Dialogues (Karttunen and Lockhart 1987)
reveal that this prescriptive tradition persisted even in the
late 16th century, and included forms for appropriate lordly
courtesies between kin. Especially for the nobility, external
appearance was paramount. Clothing and bodily ornament was
regulated by sumptuary laws: the Florentine Codex devotes
chapters to loving description of noble garments. Bodily
movements, as in greetings, were stereotyped, and dancing was an
indispensable art form, especially cultivated by high nobility.

López Austin (1980) and Klor de Alva (1987) argue that the
Aztec idea of the self did not feature uniqueness derived from
the inner life of individuals, but instead regarded the human
spirit as a point of convergence of cosmic forces. These existed
outside and beyond each human being. Though they permeated
certain interior organs, they were, to use Andrew Lock's (1981)
term, "extrinsic." Most important for us here is the tāvōli, a

life force centered in the heart (volōli) which governed thought
and desire, and required regulation by moderation and penance.
The tāvōli lived on after death.

1.1.0. The Aztec Tlahtoani "Ruler"

During the last years before the Conquest nobles were
strongly set apart from commoners. The highest rulers, called
tlahtoani, were so differentiated that even other nobles could
not look at them in many public contexts. Only one tlahtoani
ruled in each city state, and the list of the rulers was
memorized by every noble child. Pages of the Florentine Codex
and other documents enumerate their qualities. Most important,
the rulers should be war leaders. Says Book VIII:

1. In tlahtoani, tācataxtli, As for the ruler, he was
motorōyōti: Itaquiuh catca called lord of people: his
in yāyōtli. task was war.

(Dibble and Anderson
1954:51)

While the ruler becomes, by this prescription, a sort of
archetype (since the role of warrior was shared by all Aztec
people), the contrast between the "good ruler" and the "bad
ruler" is set up in a special way. First, the ruler is said to
be like a bearer, carrying the state as a burden:
In Aztec historical chronicles from the sixteenth century rulers (with high war leaders and divinities) take the principal speaking parts. Indeed, the tlahtōani was the quintessential "speaker": the word is the agentive form of the Nahuatl verb tlahtōani 'to speak'. But their speeches are "set pieces" repeated in similar wording over and again throughout Aztec chronicles. Lordly orators utter words appropriate to the moment, which usually demands either valor or piety. Further, reported speech is accompanied by only cursory treatment of emotion.

An excellent example is found in Alvarado Tezozomoc's Crónica mexicañotl (1975 [ca.1609]). Tezozomoc tells of an important moment in Aztec history, when the Aztecs have secured the patronage of the Colhua Mexica, the most powerful state in the Valley of Mexico. As a token of his favor the Colhua ruler, Achiotemōtli, gives the Aztecs his daughter, so that they may make her a goddess. But Huiztilopochtli, the War God, tells them that they must sacrifice the Colhua princess and dress a priest in her skin. The priests follow these instructions, and they invite Achiotemōtli to sacrifice to the new god. Achiotemōtli sacrifices quail and incenses the altar. He does not immediately see, through the smoke, the priest dressed in his daughter's flayed skin. Then suddenly he recognizes what is before him:

4. Inōn mah quittac in ñhuatl in ñē tēcācatl in ichpōch in Achiotemōtli. Thus Achiotemōtli saw it, the skin of a person, of his daughter.
Cencah Òomauhtin.
Niman ye Íc tszahtzi, quintzahtziilia 
in Íaltahtohcahuán.
Ihuán in Ímácëhuáhaltihuán 
quimiuhua:
Àquihqueh 
in amehhuán Cöihuaqueh?
Cuix ahmö anquitlah 
ca Àquixipëuhqueh 
in nochöchtís?
Ahmö nicàn yëzqueh 
in tlahuëlliõopequeh, 
tiquinmictõqueh, 
tiquinpolõõqueh, 
nicàn tlahquiñe 
in tlahuëlliõopequeh.
Auh niman ye Íc 
moysëtlah.

(Alvarado Tetzomoc 1949:57-58)

For us, the poignancy lies in Achatomel's horror. But this moment is passed over in a brief expression, cencah Òomauhtin 'he was very much startled'. The site of elaboration is not Achatomel's feelings, but his speech: he commands his warriors to take revenge in ornate high language, opening with the common strategy of rhetorical questions and closing with a typical proposal that the enemy be destroyed.'

A second example is found in the Anales de Cuahtitlan. Here, a later Colhua tlatoani, Cocox, has offered to make the prince of Cuahtitlan, Iztactototl, his heir. The prince scorces his offer, saying that the Colhua state will fall, and the Cuahtitlan state is greater. The Colhua lord's reaction is represented as follows; we give only the first few lines of his long speech.

5. In Àquiquiçac 
cencah ic cualán 
ic moyöllitlacoh 
quiltzh;
"Tlein quíhtoà pilontotì 
conototì?
Tìa hueî xícîltlanîcãh 
tle âiz in tantalpeuh? 
In Àquîn töchpëhuaznequis? 
Cuix amö nicàn 
ca miqistli? 
Quanin tìxco 
tocpec Òhuaz?..."

(Lehmann 1938:158).
The chronicler notes the fury of the Colhua lord with two verbs, cuятәn ‘he was angry’ and nөŋBillylacoh ‘he was insulted’. But far more elaborate is his speech, with its characteristic sequence of rhetorical questions.

2.1.0. THE PORTRAIT OF CUAUTEMOC IN FLORENTINE CODEX BOOK XII: A "TRADITIONAL" REPRESENTATION OF A TLAHTOCAN

Other than Montezuma, Cuauhtemoc is the most important ruler represented in FC XII. Urging his people into battle against the Spaniards, Cuauhtemoc fulfills the warrior ideal. In sharp contrast to the portrait of Montezuma to be discussed below, the representation of Cuauhtemoc is almost entirely traditional.

There is no attention to the inner life of Cuauhtemoc in FC XII, and the speeches ascribed to him resemble other discourses by rulers in prose chronicles. Three such speeches are given, in Chapter 33, 38, and 41. In the second, Cuauhtemoc tells how he will terrify the advancing Spanish troops by dressing his bravest warrior in a quetzal-owl battle dress that had belonged to the ruler Ahuitzotl:

6. Quitch in Cuautemөctzцн: Cuauhtemoc said:
   Inнн tlaahuistli,
   Tlalhuiz catca
   in notәcTuнаcauh
   in notahtzlн
   Ahuitzotzlн.
   As for this garb,
   it was his garb,
   of my late ruler,
   of my father
   Revered Ahuitzotl.

Mә yehhuәtj conitqui,
   mә Ipan omмqui,
   mә contәnaуizсtli,
   mә Ipan tәtlattiti,
   mә quittacәn
   in toyәоhuәn,
   mә quimahuiзоcәn.

(Dibble and Anderson 1975:117)

Cuauhtemoc gains most distinctiveness through one poignant sentence in Chapter 40. The passage describes the moment when the Aztec war leaders surrender:

7. Auh in Cuautemөctzцн
   Tlcan cac in Capицәn.
   In quimolппшлва
   questzlпхpetztli,
   tlalhcohueцtцli,
   huцtsitzцlin
   Іnhuiyә
   inцо ocultцgayо.

   And there was Cuauhtemoc near the Captain.
   He was wrapped in a cape, of shining maguey fiber, each half of a color, the feathers in the style of Ocuillan.
   It was very dirty, it was all that remained to
   him.

   Omзch catzәhuас, zan quixсnuитцica.

   (Dibble and Anderson 1975:123)
Attention to the ruler’s garb is common in Aztec historical chronicles. Painted and embroidered and feathered capes of fine fabrics and exotic weaves were key items of sumptuary display among the Aztec nobility; often they were given as tribute or as gifts between lordly allies. Here, however, the stereotyped rhetoric terminates in a new twist: his filthy cape, "all that remained to him," becomes a stunning symbol of Cusauetemoc’s defeat.

2.1.2. THE PORTRAIT OF MONTEZUMA: AN INNOVATIVE REPRESENTATION OF A TLAHTOÁNI

The representation of Montezuma in FC XII manifests attention to the individuality and inner states of a ruler that is unique among Aztec historical chronicles. First, we specify the ways in which this attention is expressed in the text. Second, we review questions about the "historicity" of this representation and about Aztec communicative conventions within which behaviors attributed to Montezuma must be understood. Finally we turn to the detailed analysis of the text.

In FC XII Montezuma’s distinctness from other Aztec lords is shown in five ways: (1) Although he is above all a warrior, he refuses to attack the Spaniards. (2) The ruler is a "speaker," yet Montezuma is at a loss for words; he weeps, he is afraid. (3) His inner states are elaborately represented, in contrast to inattention to inner states in other representations of rulers. (4) His "inner" or "strategist" voice (Goffman 1974) is intricately depicted, while in other texts only public speech is recounted. (5) The strategist voice uses colloquial language and rare conditional irrealis verbs. All except (1) are found in no other account of a Mexican ruler’s deeds in any of the chronicles we have examined.

Montezuma’s refusal to make war on the Spaniards is reported by all sources. Apparently he tried to destroy them by mobilizing his allies and by invoking sorcery, but he forbade his own armies to attack. The second deviation, Montezuma’s episodes of despair and speechlessness on learning of the Spanish advance, probably came to the Book XII narrators by rumor. Montezuma tried to conceal the news of the Spanish advance, and it is unlikely that the old soldiers who recited the FC XII text were present when he received sensitive information from his spies.

In interpreting the description of Montezuma’s state of mind, we must consider evidence on Aztec expressive conventions. The "sayings of the elders" in Florentine Codex Book VI make clear that the ruler, like other highly-placed Aztecs, should spend considerable time in pious and public attention to the misery and transitoriness of the human condition. In Chapter 12 of Book VI we are told that the new ruler, upon his ascension, should say to the assembled dignitaries:

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, thou hast inclined thy heart. Perhaps thou hast mistaken me for another, I who am a commoner; I who am
a laborer. In excrement, in filth hath my lifetime been -- I who am unreliable; I whom am of filth, of vice..." (Dibble and Anderson 1969, Book VI, p. 41)

Montezuma might indeed have been stunned by the prospect that he faced, at best, the return of Quetzalcoatl, patron lord of an ancient dynasty which his own ancestors had usurped; at worst something quite unknown. But it is likely that some court gossip was simply news of his conventional expression of humility and incapacity.

Montezuma is reported by the Spanish to have often wept publicly. Florentine Codex Book VI tell us that weeping was a convention of public Aztec discourse, and not necessarily a sign of sorrow or fear. The Aztec supplicant was instructed to weep (chōca) when addressing the gods, so that they might see his despair and pity him. Dignitaries often wept when addressing the public or one another to show sincerity and seriousness. Thus Montezuma’s frequent public weeping might tell nothing of his inner states.

The FC XII portrait does not attend to Montezuma’s deviant behavior and inner states from the onset of the text. In the early chapters, the Spanish appear off Veracruz for the second time in three years. Montezuma sends messengers with lavish gifts appropriate to divinities. In reported speech he advises these emissaries decisively, in appropriate high language, rewarding them with lordly generosity both before they leave and after they return. But as the Spanish advanced, and the traps he laid with spies and sorcerers failed, Montezuma is said to have become afraid. By Chapter Six, Montezuma is reported to neither sleep nor eat, nor does anyone speak to him. By Chapter Nine, his terror is the focus of great elaboration, as shown in example (8).

8. Inłe chiuañahui capítulu: oncëñ miñtoa
in quënín chocaç
Motëcsizōñiz, in íhuñ in chōcaquah mëñiñcah,
in íhuñ in quëzatquah,
can cançah chicoquauquañ in españoles:
Auh in Motëcsizōma
cançah tlatañmah, motëñmah,
momyauhtih, misatuiñ,
quïtlatëñacahich in Altepëti.

(Dibble and Anderson 1975:25)

This weeping and expression of distress could be a conventional attempt to attract divine support. Unusual,
however, is the embellished description, realized through three different verbs about Montezuma’s feelings. This is contrasted with the single ḃimbaun for ‘he was startled’ used for Achiutemel in example (4), or with the two verbs qualan ‘he was angry’ and moyōllilac on ‘he felt insulted’ in reference to Cocox in (5). Triple (and even more extended) repetition like that seen in (8) (and even more richly in (10) below) marks Nahua as high language, deployed in the stereotyped locutions of heroism and piety, found in typical representation of rulers and war leaders. The rhetorical technique is familiar, but here it is turned to elaborating a new material, “feelings.” The proliferation of these expressions, which we will call “emotion verbs,” sharply distinguishes the representation of Montezuma from that of Cuauhtemoc.’

In Chapter Seven, Montezuma is twice reported to have fainted. He faints when he hears of the Spanish guns. Example (9) reports his fainting when told about Spanish war dogs. This fainting is unique. No one ever faints in any other Aztec chronicle. When enemies are terrified, conventional high language holds that they “marvel” (mahuizó), as in (6) above.

9. Auh in Šiuh quicac in Motuucuema, Cencah momautich, iuhquin yōlimic, moyōlltequipochoh, And when thus he heard it, Montezuma, he was very frightened, thereupon he fainted, his heart was afflicted, moyōlllozhōman. his heart was angered.

(Dibble and Anderson 1975:20)

Note that here the emotion verbs all refer to the xōyōlia (the cosmic force located in the heart); they incorporate the yōl- element, which we have translated twice as ‘heart’. The verb translated ‘to faint’, yōlimic, literally means ‘he died in regard to the xōyōlia’. (That reference of the verb xiqui need not be to literal death is clear from other compound verbs like xiqui ‘to be thirsty’ (literally, ‘water-die’).) This affliction, which might result from sorcery or from excess, is probably highly significant, and will be discussed further below.

Such representations of Montezuma express a point of view which can represent a person as distinct from others of his type because of his unusual inner states. It contrasts sharply with the point of view on Cuauhtemoc, which shows him as like other rulers through his speech, and uses an external feature, his dirty clothes, as a sole point of differentiation. We will refer to such points of view (technically, as we will point out below, they are “vantages”) in terms of the coordinates by which they are constructed. These coordinates consist of some point on a continuum between attendance to similarity (in the portrait of Cuauhtemoc) and attendance to distinctiveness (in the portrait of Montezuma), and one of the poles constituted by opposing “extrinsicness” (the locus of Cuauhtemoc’s speech and dress) to
"intrinsicness" (the locus of Montezuma's inner states and voice). We take the latter terms from Andrew Lock (1981). Locke argues for this usage as follows, in a discussion of the problem of distinguishing between the body and the world:

"It [the distinction] will vary greatly because by nature there is no definite given point at which an absolute line may be drawn. But from Hallowell's arguments we can see that it is necessary for some distinction to be made between the conceiver and his environment. Thus any conceptual system must embody such a distinction, even though where that distinction will be drawn is not given a priori. That is, a fundamental dimension in any conceptual system ... is between those things that are held to be intrinsic to the conceiver, and those things that are extrinsic" (Lock 1981:28; italics in original).

The new point of view is particularly striking in a magnificent passage from Chapter Nine that shows not only remarkable elaboration of emotion verbs, but unique rhetorical and grammatical devices which represent the new point of view as sharply polarized from traditional representations. These devices include an emphasis on Montezuma's "insides," a shift in register from high language to colloquial language, an unusually rich repertoire of verbal inflections, including a high frequency of a rare, complex, and highly marked verbal aspect, the conditional irrealis, and a shift from direct discourse reported speech to inner speech. The text narrates Montezuma's reaction when he learned that the Spanish were asking to see him.

10.
1. Auh in iuh quicaquiyia
   in Motēsucoma
2. in cencah tēmoloh,
   in cencah nataco,
   cencah lco tlachiyānequih
   in tētēch,
3. iuhquín pētziquiyia,
   Tyōllo yōlātziquiyia,
4. cholōziquiyia,
   cholōziquiyia,
   mocholtziquiyia,
   mocholtziquiyia,
5. motlātsziquiyia,
   motlātsziquiyia,
   quinnātziquiyia,
   quinnāyātziquiyia
   in tētēch.
6. Auh quimoysōltica,
   quimoysōltiēya,
   quimoysōltica,
   quimoysōltiēya,
   quiyōocoxa,
he was inventing, thus he had been counseling himself, thus he was counseling himself, inside himself he had been telling himself, inside himself he was telling himself, somewhere in some cave he would enter. And very much in them he confided in the ones that he trusted, in those he felt sure of: Some of them would know those who were saying: That the Death Land is known and the Sun’s House and the Rain God’s Paradise and the Corn Goddess’s House where there is curing, where there will be what one most desires. And indeed for that place he was longing, he longed for Corn Goddess’s House.

So it was known, so by rumor it was heard. But this was not possible, he could not hide, he could not take refuge. No longer had he strength, no longer any use, no longer strength. No longer were they true, no longer did they serve, the words of his wizards, with which they had turned his heart, with which they had broken his heart, with which they had set his heart spinning, with which they had turned him backwards, those who had claimed to know what was known, where things were named.

He only waited, he only resolved, he struggled in his heart, he turned toward the peril,
were understood by the FC XII narrators to be connected with the cosmos through this force, then the states of his heart, vollotl, would presumably have been seen to derive from the balance and imbalance among cosmic forces. It would then be difficult to exploit a representation of such states in the service of "individualizing" Montezuma. But Montezuma's fainting, described in the passage in (9), and his failure to achieve a vision, both suggesting loss of teyolia, might imply that he had become "autonomous," cut off from the cosmos. Thus what we have called "emotion verbs" become available to express a point of view that can make a human being distinctive through attention to "intrinsicness." To speak of many states that we regard as "emotional" in Nahuatl is to depend on verbs which incorporate the voll element. If a human being is cut off from the cosmos, this element cannot refer to the external cosmic teyolia. Instead, it is best understood in its physical aspect, located in Montezuma's interior within the physical heart, vollotl. Indeed, the text specifies that Montezuma's feelings are located tlan 'inside him, his inside', in (10:7).

This analysis seems well motivated considering our understanding of post-conquest Aztec ideology. By 1555, when Book XII was narrated, many Aztecs believed that their gods were dead. Although idolatry persisted, a new cosmic order had appeared, in which the place of Aztec people was uncertain. These circumstances constitute the kind of catastrophic change in which new ideologies appear; and, further, they provide an obvious
metaphorical basis for a sudden shift to a new perspective on the nature of being human, which emphasizes the inner nature of persons, detached from the cosmos, as a source of individuality."

The passage in (10) exhibits a unique development in the representation of lordly reported speech, an "inner voice" not found in any other chronicles. Book XII shares with other 16th-century Nahuatl prose chronicles techniques for the elaboration of incident through the use of reported speech in both direct and indirect discourse. Longacre (1976) and Larson (1981) show that reported speech appears universally in oral literature. Students of reported speech have distinguished a variety of types. Universal in the languages of the world is "direct discourse," where speech is represented from the point of view of the represented speaker, not the narrator. Propositional content of the speech is represented "faithfully," within the local cultural canons for such fidelity (Leech 1978). This is the preferred representation in Aztec literature: the speeches of Acihotecatl in (4), Cocol in (5), or Cuahtemoc in (6) above exemplify it.

Less common, both in Aztec literature and in the world's languages, is "indirect discourse." Indeed, there are languages which do not exhibit this type (Larson 1978, Li 1986). Indirect discourse reflects the point of view of the narrator, not of the represented speaker. An example is seen in (10:7) above, repeated here to show its details:

(10:7) Ihtic quimolhuīca, Ihtic quimolhuīya, canah òrtōc calaquiz. 'Inside himself he had been telling himself, inside himself he was telling himself, somewhere in some cave he would enter.'

Here, the verb calaquiz in the represented speech is in the third person, showing the point of view of the narrator. A passage in direct discourse, from the point of view of the represented speaker, would exhibit first-person nicalaquiz. 'I will/would enter ...' The use of indirect discourse forces modification in content as well; expressions of "subjectivity," the unique point of view of the represented speaker (Sanfield (1982)) are not possible, and even the representation of strictly propositional content seems to permit the relaxation of local canons of fidelity.

A third type of representation of reported speech, not usually grouped with this category by scholars, is also found in (10). We call this "quasilocutional." Quasilocutionals include representations of states which must be presumed to have locutionary or at least "propositional" content, even though this is not represented. Examples include movölroñoñztoc... movölroñoñztoc 'he'd been counselling himself, he was counselling himself' in the last two lines of (10:6). We include in this category expressions of propositional attitude like that in line (10:10): Auhye huel ūnna motlaneguītīya, motlaneguīlh in Cinacalo 'And indeed he for that place he was longing, he
longed for Corn Goddess's House.' The abundance of quasilocutional expressions in (10) is unusual both within Aztec literature and within the languages of the world, since many languages have only a few verbs of this type. Quasilocutional expression further reduces propositional content, which is often represented only very sketchily or is available only through inference by the hearer.

The passage in (10) is unique among 16th-century chronicles in exhibiting a fourth type of reported speech, an "inner voice" of Montezuma. Such a voice departs sharply from the tradition of representing rulers through their extrinsic projection as public speakers. Further, the inner voice in (10) is rhetorically distinctive. While propositional content can be recovered from the other voice types, the inner voice here exhibits pure subjectivity, in this case despair. This despair is expressed in colloquial language, in striking departure from the complex high language in other representations, as in the repeated quasilocutionals in (10:4), or the quasilocutionals and indirect speech in (10:5-8). In (10:12-13) high language disappears; further, there are no locutionary or quasi-locutionary verbs. Through this lack, a rhetorical device that Longacre (1976) calls "drama," we are plunged briefly into an interior realm that is constructed by brief colloquial expressions of despair: ahuē huēlit, ahuē huēl 'no way, impossible', acn 'never'. The verbs themselves are strikingly brief compared to the remainder of the passage: contrast molātin 'hide oneself', mīnāx 'take refuge', and other verbs in (10:12-13) with those in (10:14) and beyond, when high language reappears, signified by long verbs with incorporated objects and compounded morphology, chaining repetitions with subtle changes in meaning.

Today, expressions like ahuō huelīt "no way, it's impossible" are used by Nahuatl speakers to indicate hopelessness, and they are merely quotidian. But in a sixteenth-century literary work like FC XII they are deeply colloquial, in striking contrast to the high-language public discourse of Aztec rulers seen again and again in the chronicles. Nothing like the verses at (10:12-13) appears in any other texts we have examined, and they imply shocking departure from the locutionary ideal of lordly grandeur, valor, and optimism in the face of adversity.

The rhetorical system in (10) exhibits an unusual variety of verbal inflections, including the complex conditional irreals. In Classical Nahuatl the main line of narrative is generally constructed through preterite verbs. These can be seen in the passage in example (9), where all the verbs are of this type. Example (10) includes preterites (a series of preterites appear at the climax of the passage in 10:17-18), but also has imperfect, pluperfect, and irrealis verbs, in addition to the rare conditional irreals. These inflections are illustrated here:

1. Preterite verbs: The preterite is the "zero" form, marked either by truncating the verb stem (as in mīnāx, 'he hid himself' in 10:12, third line), from mo-Tlāyá-perfective,
by a suffix -n (seen in the verbs in (10:17-18), or -ng on stems that do not truncate, as in quimocemmacac 'he submitted himself entirely' in (10:18)."

2. pluperfect verbs ending in -cca, with the preterite stem. Examples are seen in (10:6-7). These are paired in this passage with imperfect verbs, giving a sense of duration.

3. imperfect verbs ending in -va, seen in (10:6-7), paired with the pluperfect.

4. irrealis verbs ending in -z (e.g. compahtiz in (10:9, third from last line)

5. conditional irrealis verbs ending in -z-(nalqui-ya
    '-irrealis-conditional-imperfect', e.g., choltzquia, motlatzquia, motlatlizquia, and other verbs at (10:4,5).

The conditional irrealis construction is peripheral not only in its rarity, but in its morphological complexity. As can be seen above, the construction requires three suffixes: the irrealis, the conditional (Andrews (1975) believes that this affix, which appears either as -nalqui or as -egui, is derived from the verb -egui 'to want'), and the imperfect. Thus the form must be considered highly marked, and the presence of eight such verbs, in (10:4,5), is a remarkable feature of the passage.

Table I summarizes the difference between the grammatical and rhetorical techniques that we find remarkable in the passage in (10), and those typical in other passages.

2.2 REPRESENTATIONS OF CUAUHTEMOC AND MONTEZUMA IN OTHER CHRONICLES

Most 16th-century texts that portray Montezuma and Cuauhtemoc assimilate both figures to the customary rhetorical techniques for portraying rulers. The earliest known Nahuatl conquest chronicle, the Anefas de Tlatelolco, is thought to date from 1528. We infer from excerpts published by León Portilla (we have not been able to examine a Nahuatl version) that this chronicle treats Montezuma as a conventional ruler, neither "bad" nor deviant. He orders that the Spanish be properly greeted and commands that the ill-fated festival of Toxcatl go forward. This occasion ended in the massacre of unarmed celebrants by troops led by Pedro de de Alvarado. The massacre is considered by most historians to be the moment that gave the Aztec "war party," opposed to the faction around Montezuma who desired peace with the Spaniards, the upper hand. The 1528 chronicler gives Montezuma a speech during this incident:

"The king Moteuczoma, who was accompanied by Itzcohuatzin and by those who had brought food for the Spaniards, protested:

"Our lords, that is enough! What are you doing? These people are not carrying shields or macanas. Our lords, they are completely unarmed"! (León Portilla 1962:131)

León Portilla’s translation suggests that this speech is quite close to the kingly model we have seen elsewhere. Montezuma
encourages peace, but by defending his people, not by urging them to concede. The speech is courteous and even includes one of the rhetorical questions favored in the conservative style.

This early portrayal of Montezuma, using the speech-oriented style, contrasts sharply with the treatment of the same incident in FC XII. There, Montezuma delivers no speech during the massacre. Voice is given to the furious mob that cries out against him, accusing him of betraying his people by telling them not to fight.

The Anales de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1472 y en 1521 give speeches to both rulers. This text represents Cuauhstemoc as a stereotypical warrior-ruler, vigorous in defending his city. Note the rhetorical questions, which resemble those attributed to the Colhua rulers, Achitometl and Cocox, in (4) and (5), in Cuauhstemoc's speech in (11):

11. Auh in tlahtoānī
   Cuauhstemōctzin
   in ōquihuālamahtōhu:ī
   Xiquincaquicān
   nepāpan tixcaltēcah
   Aīt polahuītz
   in ēltepētl
   in Tlatīloloct
   in īhtauhca.
   Ayac zan quimōntōquīltō.
   And the ruler Cuauhstemoc came saying: Hear them, the Tlaxcaltecs: Never will it be lost, the city Tlatelolco its fane. No one will even touch it.

In ahzo tlanēnuīlo? Could it diminish?
In amēchonpahpaquilitīnquēh in mēxihcān tēpilhuān in tlatēlollōhē?
   (McAfee and Barlow 1945:331)

Cuauhstemoc's warlike stance is contrasted with Montezuma's temerity. But in this text, Montezuma is represented not through his feelings, as in FC XII, but through deviant speech.

12. In Cuauhstemōctzin As for Cuauhstemoc in ye ēpatiuh in ēltepētl in iuhuqu costic tēōcultītl ētlacuezonan.
   In xōchicālapan mōcēp in ēltepētl. It turned to paradise, the city.
   Auh in Motēhuēczōmēctzin Auh in Mōctzin quiquēhuālhtōya, But Montezuma came saying, Ma ëxquich cueānliicitli Mēxihcān, That all is anger mēxihcān, toward the Mexicans, ma ximōntōhuicēn. let them be at peace.

(McAfee and Barlow 1945:330)
(The "that" in the translation of Montezuma's speech suggests that it is in indirect discourse. However, it translates the Nahuatl admonitory particle mā, which can appear in direct discourse.)

In summary, the evidence suggests that treatment of a tlahtōani through stereotyped speeches is not tied to particular personages, but is applicable to all. It counters the argument that the great difference between the representations of the two rulers in FC XII is simply a matter of sketching contrasting personalities.

3.0 A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS: THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CUAUHTEMOC AND MONTESUMA CONSTITUTE TWO CONTRASTING VANTAGES ON THE CATEGORY OF THE PERSON

Mauss (1885 [1938]), Leenhardt (1979 [1947]), Hallowell (1960), and Geertz (1983), among others, have noted cross-cultural variation in attention to the "distinctiveness" among persons. In many cultures the salient dimensions of persons assimilate them to timeless stereotyped roles, as in the FC XII representation of Cuahtemoc. Differential attention to "intrinsic" vs. "extrinsic" properties of persons is also widely attested, with emotional manifestations often assigned to the "extrinsic" realms. The findings of Myers (1979) among the Pintupi of Australia and Lutz (1987, 1988) on the Micronesian Ifaluk exemplify attention to emotions as extrinsic features. Thus Pintupi do not present emotions "introspectively", but in terms which reflect the cultural system rather than the individual. Ifaluk discourse about "emotions" emphasizes the social contexts and effects of these. This emphasis on extrinsicness contrasts sharply with American discourses about emotions which place these inside persons, and is reminiscent of Aztec attention to emotions as public manifestations.

Assimilation of persons to timeless roles is often associated with attention to emotions as exterior or "extrinsic" to each human being, located instead in the social world. Conversely, attention to the distinctiveness of each human being, so-called "individualism," is often associated with a view of the emotions as essentially private states, "intrinsic" to each human being, most notoriously in the western conception of the person summarized by Geertz:

... a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set constrastively both against other such wholes and against its social and natural background ... (Geertz 1983:59).

The FC XII representation of Montezuma is thus differentiated from that of Cuahtemoc along lines familiar in anthropology. We suggest, as does Lock (1981), that this occurs
because such representations, and the ideas about persons they reflect, are constrained according to a few universal coordinates. However, we wish also to account for what is surprising in light of existing theory, which emphasizes cross-cultural variation: the appearance of two quite distinctive points of view about persons in the same text. We also want to account for the fine details of the representation of Montezuma, especially the presence therein of rhetorical and grammatical phenomena summarized in Table I. We take such details to be sharply "polarized" from the conservative way of representing Aztec lords. Such an account can be constructed using a theory of categories advanced by MacLaury (1986, 1987), which he terms "Vantage Theory" or "the theory of Vantages and Coordinates."

3.1 VANTAGE THEORY

Vantage theory emerged in research on color terminology within the framework originating in Berlin and Kay (1969). Workers in this framework have considered "basic" color categories to be fuzzy sets, centered on "focal" colors which are closely correlated to perceptually-determined unique hues (Kay and McDaniel 1978). A problem for this perspective is a tendency for the precise location of a focal color for any particular speaker to be unpredictably off the unique hue; fuzzy-set accounts of color categorization consider this observation to be simply probabilistic "noise." A second problem with fuzzy-set theory is that no property of the theory motivates an account of change, even though change and evolution are well-known in color-category systems."

MacLaury, analyzing a large sample of color-term systems collected from speakers of Meso-American languages, found evidence that such systems not only change, but confirmed Kay's (1975) observation that they vary synchronically among speakers of single languages. He found also that respondents in the sample sometimes located focal colors at a considerable distance from unique hue points, such that the "noise" account used in fuzzy-set theory was unattractive. Such "polarized" foci tended to be associated with a phenomenon MacLaury (1986, 1987) calls "coextensitivity." This is a stage in a continuum of relational types which occurs as speakers create new color categories. Speakers who exhibit coextensitivity name one category with two terms that exhibit considerable overlap. But, depending on which label is in play as a speaker maps the colors on a Munsell array, the focus of each term will be located quite differently. Thus in Mesoamerican languages, which aboriginally had basic WARM (which maps across English red and yellow), a RED vs. YELLOW distinction has emerged, and the process of differentiation can
be seen in contemporary speakers. In a "coextensive" stage of differentiation, speakers tend to shift the focus of one of the co-extensive terms to a "polarized" location, well away from one of the possible unique hue points for RED or YELLOW, and often into the part of the color array that many English speakers would consider "magenta" or "lime."

MacLaury proposed that these results (and others, for which space limitations preclude a full account here) showed that the category accessed by a color term was not a "fuzzy set." Instead, a color category is a personal point of view or "vantage," constructed in the same way that people locate themselves in physical space, in terms of a limited selection of coordinates. At least one will be a fixed coordinate (which can also be taken as a "Ground," in the sense of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987)), and one will be mobile (this can be considered as a "Figure.") In taking a vantage, speakers seem to imagine themselves as personally occupying the intersection of coordinates whenever they think of the category or of any member within. Thus, like other processes of abstract thought, categorization is based on an analogy which equates mentally manipulable percepts, images, and cognitions with the physical dimensions and velocities that serve as coordinates for any creature that must keep track of its position in space and time. The fixed coordinates for color categorization are the perceptual unique hue points. The mobile coordinate is constructed by two cognitions selected from a continuum:

The fixed coordinates for color categorization are the perceptual unique hue points. The mobile coordinate is constructed by two cognitions selected from a continuum:
external to some "boundary" which must be constructed through
cognitive and social action), and mobile coordinates, attendance
to distinctiveness vs. attendance to similarity. Location of a
person category at the "extrinsic" locus implies that the
category will be represented through attention to external
manifestations such as speech, emotional display, action, and
appearance, while location at the "intrinsic" locus implies
representations through attention to states and events viewed as
internal to the relevant boundary, such as thoughts and feelings
as conceived by many speakers of American English. Along the
mutable coordinate, attendance to similarity will imply
representation of persons as relatively assimilated to large
groups in time and/or space, through role categories that may
include many persons and even non-human entities. Attendance to
distinctiveness will imply representations of persons as
relatively individualized and different from other human beings.
The characterization in terms of vantages and coordinates of the
representations of Cuauhctemoc and Montezuma in FC XII is
summarized in Table II.

TABLE II ABOUT HERE

If we consider the representations of Cuauhctemoc and
Montezuma in FC XII to be coextensive vantages, many of their
properties can be explained. The appearance of the two vantages
in the same text is no longer surprising, since MacLaury's
research has established the possibility of coextensivity. We
can also provide an account of the phenomena in the portrait of

Montezuma summarized in Table I. The unusual "inner voice," the
representation of this voice in colloquial language, the fine
distinctions rendered through verbal inflection, and the high
frequency of conditional irrealis verbs in the passage in (12)
constitute rhetorical and grammatical icons for the "distance" of
the vantage on Montezuma from that taken by the narrators on
Cuauhctemoc. The recessive Ground of intrinsenseness is polarized
through these devices, emphasizing the distinctiveness of
Montezuma from other rulers, and making the propositional
representation of his inner states sharply distinct from
propositional representations used for the external
manifestations invoked to represent other rulers. Students of
iconicity in language (cf. Haiman 1985) recognize that marked
forms and forms that are longer or more complex than usual often
stand for distance of what is represented from a prototype. Our
theoretical position requires an extension of this useful
generalization: such an icon can stand not only for distance
from a prototype within a single category (as, for instance, in
the English expression "light green"), but for the
differentiation of a recessive vantage from the dominant vantage.

Vantage theory provides an account of why the recessive
vantage emerges in association with the figure of a tlahuēni,
the great lord Montezuma. This is important, since Klor de Alva
(1987) proposes that the finding of the early missionaries, that
Aztecs were unable to accomplish successful Christian
confessions, occurred because these required attention to inner
states that were simply not salient for Aztec sinners. If this continues throughout the sixteenth century, why were Sahagún’s Aztec consultants able to produce attention to inner states in the FC XII portrait of Montezuma? We have pointed out above that while rulers were, as warriors, in some sense archetypal Aztec "persons," they were highly differentiated from other people in external appearance and in most interactional contexts. Vantage theory predicts precisely that a recessive vantage is likely to be focused at such a differentiated locus, and unlikely to be focused in parts of categories which exhibit inherently low differentiation, such as some subcategory of "ordinary people." Thus our results do not contradict Klor de Alva’s."

Vantage theory, by clearing away a good deal of conceptual underbrush, permits principled speculation on why the recessive vantage appears only in FC XII. Why did the Book XII narrators, alone among the chroniclers, use this point of view? Ethnographic analysis of the contexts for collection of the Book XII can hardly be conducted, for we know very little about these. We do not know how many narrators there were, whether they worked directly with Sahagún, or exclusively with his literate Aztec assistants. We know only that Sahagún considered the narrators to be "principal persons of good judgement." Importantly, students of FC XII concur that the narrators fought with Tlatelolco, where Cuauhtemoc was the highest lord, rather than with Tenochtitlan, Montezuma’s seat. The Book XII narrators shared with other 16th-century chroniclers both the context of catastrophic change and the dilemma of accounting for the Aztec defeat. Many chroniclers explained the defeat by blaming Montezuma, and the Florentine Codex narrators, as Tlatelolcan, had nothing to lose from emphasizing the failure of the lord of Tenochtitlan. Yet other chroniclers, while blaming Montezuma, constructed their accusations from the dominant vantage.

We believe the answer lies in an examination of why other chroniclers are "conservative." The other documents we have examined seem self-consciously conservative, emulating closely the textual structure of the "day-books" and the "year-books"; these were recited in pre-conquest times (with pictographic codices as mnemonic aids) by prestigious specialists who learned their skills in the schools for nobles. Where the biographies of other chroniclers are known, we find that they claimed lordly rank. For instance Alvarado Tezozomoc, author of the Crónica mexicaíyotl cited in (3), claimed to be a member of the Tenochtitlan royal family. Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuaniitzin, author of several major chronicles, claimed descent from the Colhua royal line and from the rulers of Cuahtitlan. Hanks (1986) has pointed out the rhetorical problems faced by Mesoamerican nobles, who derived their status, valuable under Spanish rule, from the rank system of the pre-conquest indigenous system. If an important index of noble status in the post-conquest period was to show mastery of traditional genres, then we would not expect chroniclers claiming such to develop representations from the innovative recessive vantage. The Book XII narrators, however,
apparently made a claim only as eye-witnesses and not as
inheritors of noble tradition: Sahagún gives no attention to
their genealogies (although his description of them as "principal
persons" uses a term, principal, that probably meant 'of the
nobility'.) While their narration exhibits sufficient properties
of Aztec high language to dignify the topic, they might have felt
little need to be "conservative" in every detail of genre."

Whatever their reasons, the important datum is that the
Florentine Codex narrators found the words to talk about what
happened Tintic 'inside' Montezuma (unlike, for instance, the
consultants for Myers (1979) and Lutz (1987)). That they could do
so indexes an innovative cognitive strategy, their recessive
vantage of the category "person" as manifested by Montezuma,
constructed with attendance to the distinctiveness of the ruler
on the new Ground of intrinsicness. Their accomplishment reminds
us that narrative never constitutes an objective record of
history, but rather expresses the vantage of one narrator. The
narrator's vantage might be other than the one that was
maintained by the actors portrayed, especially if time and
tumultuous circumstance separate storyteller from topic.

3.2 SOME IMPLICATIONS OF USING VANTAGE THEORY TO MODEL THE
CATEGORY "PERSON"

Full development in cross-cultural perspective of our
proposal that person categories are vantages would require a
monograph. We want, though, to point out briefly some

consequences of this hypothesis, and warn against some possible
misunderstandings. One consequence is a prediction of four major
vantage types. Vantages can be constructed that join attendance
to distinctiveness to the "extrinsic" fixed coordinate, such that
"individuality" would be manifested through properties considered
to be outside the self-other boundary. Similarly, attendance to
similarity could be joined to the "intrinsic" fixed coordinate,
with large categories of persons considered to be explicable in
terms of inner states. A consequence of a vantage of the first
type might be the fixation of wealthy western women on "designer
originals," such that to be seen in a dress that another woman
has worn is a devastating blow to one's self-presentation. An
consequence of a vantage of the latter type might be the
construction of the monkish persons in early Christianity, as in
St. Augustine, where access to a universal plan of salvation is
constituted through attention to inner states and separation from
social interaction with other human beings (St. Augustine
dismisses his wife and child, attending to similarity with the
divine plan through the practice of celibacy). The other two
possibilities, extrinsic-similarity and intrinsic-distinctiveness, are more familiar: the Balinese persona (Geertz
1983), the Pintupi view of persons (Myers 1979), or the Ifaluk
vantage (Lutz 1987, 1988), exemplify the extrinsic-similarity
type. The Western "individual" discussed by Geertz (1983)
exemplifies the intrinsic-distinctiveness pole. These two
vantages are also, as we claim, exemplified in FC XII by the
portraits of Cuauhtemoc and Montezuma respectively.

Vantage theory can accommodate variation. Since attention to distinctiveness and similarity occurs at reciprocal strength on a sliding scale, different vantages of the "person" can occur at different points along its length, both cross-culturally and within individual categorial repertoires. Men, for instance, might be objects of differentiating attendance more than women, or elites more than commoners. The theory allows for vantages to be split between contexts, a phenomenon noted by Mauss for ancient India, where philosophical attendance to an "intrinsic" self coexisted with thoroughly exteriorizing legal categorization of persons. The theory makes no claims about moral significance, permitting different vantages of the same category to be vested with a variety of moral interpretations. For example, an important aspect of the distinctiveness between Montezuma and other Aztec leaders is that he refused to fight the Spaniards directly. This "individuality" can be evaluated by seeing him either as a traitor or as a leader who attempted to protect his people from the horrors of war.

The theory permits a variety of entailments of the cognitions of similarity and distinctiveness. Differential attendance to similarity vs. distinctiveness can entail non-autonomy vs. autonomy, which Lock (1981) called "externalized" vs. "internalized" conceptualizations of control. The western legal "person", who can act alone, is autonomous. Non-autonomy can be a consequence of attendance to similarity not only within the domain of human beings, but between humans and other natural elements and entities. We have suggested above that a shift away from attendance to similarity to attendance to distinctiveness, entailing "autonomy," may have triggered a sudden shift to the ground of "intrinsicness" seen in the portrait of Montezuma. The simplicity of our system, advantageous for a cognitive anthropological approach, can thus be reconciled with the necessity for an account of the many variations in understandings of persons which are found in human societies.

While permitting an account of change in person categories, vantage theory frees such accounts from the unilinear "evolutionary" mold, widely criticized as a weakness of Mauss's (1938) pioneering effort. First, two vantages of one category can coexist, as seen in FC XII. The theory predicts that the older dominant vantage may give way to the newer recessive vantage as individuals attend less to similarity and more to distinctiveness. Although the old vantage remains in use, a shift occurs in popular preference that favors the new one for certain purposes. Furthermore, increased attendance to distinctiveness encourages a shift to a more analytical view from either vantage, even the dominant one. The shift in strength between mutable cognitive coordinates propels movement through the continuum. But there is no inherent directionality between the poles of the fixed coordinate, or along the continuum of the mutable coordinate.

We emphasize that nothing in the above implies that anyone
lacks a complex inner life or unique self. But it does imply that these need not receive cognitive attention. The theory of person categories advanced here can be compared to the theory of color categorization, where nothing in the theory implies that any human being lacks ability to distinguish, say, green and blue. But the theory does point out that such distinctions need not be attended to.

4.0. CONCLUSION

We interpret shifts in the Aztec representations of rulers in historical chronicles in terms of vantage theory, a model originally developed to address change and composition of color categories. We thus treat differences in theme and content as different points of view. We find that in PC XII Aztec narrators could represent rulers from both a dominant and a recessive vantage. The dominant vantage is constituted by a fixed coordinate of extrinsicness and a mutable coordinate of attendance to similarity; the recessive vantage is constituted by a fixed coordinate of intrinsicness and a mutable coordinate of attendance to distinctiveness. The different coordinates yield contrasting Aztec views of "person" as manifested in the most salient kind of human being, the ruler or tlahuēni. From the dominant vantage, the ruler performs an externally visible social role whose prescription is invariable from one exemplar to the next; from the recessive vantage, the ruler traverses inscrutable internal emotional states whose sheer elaboration mark him as an individual without counterpart.

We interpret the former vantage as dominant because it incorporates the coordinate of similarity; it is attested in portrayals of persons in a number of Sahagúntine texts, for instance, Florentine Codex Book VII "Kings and Lords" and Book X "The People," as well as in the portrait of Cusautemoc in FC XII. It is found as well in the historical chronicles noted in note (5). The latter vantage is recessive for incorporating the coordinate of distinctiveness. It represents a rare minority strategy, which we have found only in FC XII among the historical chronicles. The textual representation of this vantage uses a variety of lexical, rhetorical and grammatical devices which can be interpreted as icons for the polarization of this recessive vantage, used to represent the tlahuēni Montezuma.

In overview, we hope to demonstrate that theory derived directly from cognitive anthropology can be used in research sites which have not been traditionally associated with this sub-discipline, such as the present task of analysis of an historical text. Our interpretation of variation in discourse themes as shifts in cognitive vantage supports current thinking about the construction of history by making obvious the status of such texts: they are strategic constructions, not the "facts" of history; and texts narrated in the colonial period are the product of that environment, even when they display form that may derive from the pre-conquest era. The use of text as evidence has evolved into a rich tradition among anthropologists; but, except where analysis is narrowly linguistic, this evolution has taken
place largely within "symbolic" or "interpretive" traditions. Here, we attempt to show that the cognitive tradition is capable of commensurate contribution in this realm.

Further, we develop intuitions advanced by Hauss (1986 [1938]) and recently by Locke (1981), that the construction of the category of "person," for all its cross-cultural variability, may occur along universal coordinates. Vantage theory holds that change occurs as mutable cognitions reciprocally shift in strength. The theory explains how such change transpires and permits the recognition of intermediate steps, and frees the theory of category change from a unilinear framework, because potential recombination of coordinates allows more than one evolutionary path.

**NOTES**

1. The exact contribution Sahagún himself made to the language of Book XII is not known. We concur with most recent authorities in judging the text to be in all significant respects the words of the Aztec narrators; our argument for this position is beyond the scope of the present paper. Since Sahagún states that he intended the history to "record the language of warfare and the weapons the natives use in it, in order that the terms and proper modes of expression for speaking on this subject in the Mexican language can be derived therefrom" (Dibble and Anderson 1982:101), the elaboration of vocabulary in the narrative may reflect this goal. For a recent review of the historical status of the work, see Cline (1987).

2. All Nahuatl passages given here are normalized to the transcription given in the analytical dictionary of Karttunen (1983). Since published paleography is available for all passages cited, we preferred a normalized transcription that would ease the task of non-specialist readers. In addition, Hill has modified format and translations to reflect recently developed understanding of FC XII and other sixteenth-century Aztec texts, which finds that they include measured verse. Again, the original translations may be seen by consulting the sources cited.
3. Every adult man was expected to take up arms on order of the ruler and to follow war leaders into battle. Even the reproductive power of women was assimilated to the warrior role; at the moment of birth, midwives gave war cries celebrating that the woman had been a brave warrior and taken a captive, the baby. Woman dying in childbirth, like warriors dead in battle, went to the Sun’s heaven.

4. A Spanish chronicler, Fray Diego Durán (1985 [1581]), recounts the same episode. Durán gives a more elaborate representation of Achitomatli’s reaction: ...vivo al questaba junto al ídolo sentado, vestido con el cuero de su hija, una cosa tan fea y orrenda, que cobrando grandísimo temor y espanto, soltó el encensario que en las manos tenía, salió grandes voces y diciendo: (...) he saw who was seated next to the idol, dressed in the skin of his daughter, a thing so hideous and terrible, that being seized by the greatest fear and horror, he dropped the incense burner that he had in his hands, and went out giving great shouts and saying...) (the speech that follows is almost identical to that given in example (3)). It seems likely that Durán’s sense of the moment, like our own, required a somewhat greater elaboration of the ruler’s inner state.

5. These include Alvarado Tezozómoc (1975), Lehmann (1938), Lehmann and Kutscher (1958), Zimmermann (1963), and Zimmermann (1965). It is possible that such representations may have occurred in dramatic performance or in poetry, but a review of Horcasitas (1974) for the former and Bierhorst (1985) for the latter revealed no examples.

6. It is possible that this elaboration is one of Sahagún’s language lessons, in which he is emulating the repetitious style usually associated with accounts of heroism and piety; in a new domain, he is trying to fit in as much vocabulary as he can. However the elaboration and repetition is entirely consistent with the theoretical treatment that we propose here.

7. The most famous expression of this point of view appears in Sahagún’s Colomiques y doctrina cristiana, in which an Aztec priest tells the Franciscan missionaries:

Ye mā ca timiquéñ, May we not die,
Ye mā ca tipolihuícán, May we not disappear,
Tēl ca tēteoh in tíquehu. Even though the gods have
Sahagún 1986 [1524]:149 died.

8. Very rapid change in representation of persons in the context of catastrophic acculturation can be found elsewhere in Native American texts. Ellen Basso (1987) has studied Kalapalo stories in which the heroes are great warriors, “bowmasters,” trained from youth to defend their people in the dangerous time when the advance of the whites disrupted traditional relations
among Amazonian peoples. Reflecting from a vantage point of deep pacifism and a horror of violence which dominates present-day Kalapalo, story-tellers devote autobiographical intensity to the inner states of the bowmasters as they make their murderous decisions, and concentrate on the bowmasters' development through complex sequences of human relations. These representations contrast with the stereotypical behavior of other mythical figures in Kalapalo stories.

9. Andrews (1975) considers the <8 a number suffix; on his account the "zero marking" of the Nahuatl preterite is thus even more apparent.

10. The same criticisms apply to Rosch's (1973) accounts of color categories.

11. We are, of course, aware that in speaking of vantages as the projections of a "personal" point of view, requiring an acting subject, we may be guilty of an ethnocentric western bias on how thought proceeds. While we acknowledge this possibility, we think that our position is an improvement over theories of categorization which have subjects but no action.

12. Evidence is accumulating that many processes in human cognition may be fruitfully understood in terms of spatial metaphors. Such a view is developed, for instance, by Fauconnier (1985) and Johnson (1987).

13. "Mapping" is accomplished when speakers place grains of rice on those chips in a Munsell color array which they consider to be members of the category. When a speaker has finished a mapping, the researcher asks whether any more chips might belong to the category. If the speaker adds more chips, this is an additional mapping step. Several steps can be volunteered with repeated procedure.

14. In color terminology evolution, the emergence of distinct vantages where differentiation is inherently more salient is exemplified by the fact that the BLUE-GREEN distinction never appears unless the more accessible RED-YELLOW difference is already recognized.

15. The recessive vantage may have had undocumented existence prior to the narration of Book XII. If the description of Montezuma's terror originated in court gossip, the recessive vantage would have been available to Aztec courtiers in 1519.

16. One line of speculation about why the recessive vantage appears in PC XII addresses the interaction with Sahagún himself. As a Christian missionary, he might have been interested in an "inner" account of Montezuma's failure and pressed the narrators
for such. This speculation receives little support, for in Sahaqún’s own 1585 Spanish version of the history of the conquest, based more loosely on the original narration than the Florentine Codex history, the portrait of Montezuma is considerably attenuated, with little attention to the ruler’s inner states (Sahaqún 1989 (1585)). S. Cline (1988, 1989) observes that Cortez, a shadowy figure in FC XII, emerges in sharp focus in the 1585 manuscript.

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TABLE I. RHETORICAL SYSTEMS IN THE PORTRAIT OF MONTEZUMA IN FC XII

MARKING IN CHRONICLES IN GENERAL.

LESS MARKED, HIGH FREQUENCY -------------- MORE MARKED, LOW FREQUENCY

1. VERBAL INFLECTION

2. REPORTED SPEECH VOICE
   a. Direct discourse  b. Indirect discourse  c. Quasilocution  d. Inner voice

3. REGISTER
    a. High language    b. Colloquial language

MARKING REVERSAL IN PORTRAIT OF MONTEZUMA

LOWER FREQUENCY --------------------------- HIGHER FREQUENCY

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TABLE II. AZTEC VANTAGES ON THE PERSON IN THE REPRESENTATION OF RULERS.

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