

# *Florentine Codex*

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## **General History of the Things of New Spain**

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

*Fray Bernardino  
de Sahagún*

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**BOOK I—THE GODS**

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

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# De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

**First Chapter**, which telleth of the highest gods<sup>1</sup> who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.<sup>2</sup> [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver,<sup>3</sup> a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague—that is, war.<sup>4</sup> And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.<sup>5</sup>

And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers,<sup>6</sup> he had the fire serpent disguise, the blue netted cloth,<sup>7</sup> the arm band.<sup>8</sup> He wore rattles and shells.<sup>9</sup>

**Second Chapter**, which telleth of the god named He who Hasteneth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was “the delegate,” “the substitute,” “the deputy”; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he pressed on and urged them ahead.<sup>10</sup>

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

**Jnic ce capitulo**, yntechpa tlatoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja teteuh: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yoan yn qujntlamanjliaia, yn ie vecauh.

Vitzilubuchtlí: çan maceoalli, çan tlacatl catca: naoalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teixcuepanj: qujiocoianj in iaouiutl, iaotecanj, iaotlatoanj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, tepan qujtlaça yn xiuhoatl, in mamalhoaztli, q. n. iaouiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtiloia, malmjcoiaia, tlaaltilmjcoiaia: tealtiaia, yn pochteca.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia: xiuhtotonacoche catca, xiuhoanaoale, xiuhtlalpíle, matacaxe, tzitzile, oioualle.

**Jnic vme capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca paynal: yn qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia ie uecauh.

Paynal: motepatillotianj, moteixiptlatianj: tepan mixeoanj: iehica ca qujmixiptlatiaia, in vitzilubuchtlí, yn iquac tlaiaoaia, motocaiotia paynal: ipampa ca cenca, qujtotoztaia, qujmotlalochtiaia.

1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: “Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios. . . .”  
2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as *nur ein Stammheros*.  
3. Seler thus phrases the passage: “Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked rogue, one who deluded the people with visions.”—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 4.  
4. Cf. Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 229. “. . . of him it is related that he throws the xiuhoatl and the fire-borer, i. e., war, water (spear-throwing) and fire at the people” (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 218). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, “. . . nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtlí usaba de dos cosas para contra sus enemigos para aterrarlos y ahuyentarlos; la una se llama xiucóatl, y la otra mamalhoaztli . . . y el tenía por cetro real en la mano una culebra hecha de mosaico, que llaman xiucóatl, no derecha sino tortuosa o combada, y aquella, siendo vivo, como nigromántico en las batallas como gran serpiente viva la echaba sobre los enemigos con que los espantaba y hacia huir.”  
5. The meaning (cf. *tealtia*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 370, 384).  
6. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 164. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425) identifies the bird as *Cotinga cincta s. coerulea*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a mosaic pattern. Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 699, calls the bird *Herbarum avis* (Hern.).  
7. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an article of clothing was sometimes worn about the hips.  
8. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223, and Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 380, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a reed, to insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *matacaxtli* as “*pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manipulo, que se usa en la missa*.” Cf. also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as *quetzalmapancaatl*. See illus. of Uitzilopochtli.  
9. The *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *tzitzilli, oyoalli, in icxíc*—an indication that they were worn on the calves of the legs.—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.  
10. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as *ligero apresurado*.

And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling, howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

And one man carried [the image] in his arms.<sup>11</sup>

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,<sup>12</sup> with the quetzal-feather head-ornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. His was the humming-bird disguise. He had the breast-mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

**Third Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

**Fourth Chapter**, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.<sup>13</sup>

Tlaloc the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;<sup>14</sup> it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.<sup>15</sup> He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also rattles. He had a plaited-reed banner.<sup>16</sup>

**Fifth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Auh in maceoalti, qujtocaia, qujtlalochtoacaia, coiohujtiuja, quicaoatztiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli qujpopotztiuja: iuhqujn tlaiqujqujça, tlalli tetecujca:

auh ce tlatcatl qujnnapalotiujaja.

Auh ynyc muchichioaia, teuquemetiujaja, quetzalapanecaiutl, in contlalitiujaja, ixoacalichioale, icxitalichioale, mixcital-ichiuh, xiuhiacamjoa, vitzitzilnaoale, eltezcaoa, xiuhchimale.

**Jnic ey, capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn jtoca tezcatlipoca: in qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia, ie uecauh.

Tezcatlipoca: ynin vel teutl ipan machoia, noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlatcipcac, ylhujcac. Jn jquac nemja tlatcipcac, iehoatl qujiolitija, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ teupouhquj, qujteittitiaia,

tetzalā, tenepantla motecaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iautl, muchi qujiocoaia, qujtemoujaja, qujteecaujltiaia, qujtecutiaia yn jxquich aqualli tepan muchioaia: teca maujltiaia, tequequeloia.

Auh in quenman, qujtemacaia, in necujltonolli: in tlatqujtl, in oqujchiotl, in tiacauhiutl, in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiutl, in pillotl, in mauizçotl.

**Jnyc nauj capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoaia yn teutl, yn jtoca tlatoc, tlamacazquj.

Tlaloc, tlamacazquj: ynjn ipan machoia, in qujiaujtl: ca iehoatl quiicoaia, qujtemoujaia, qujpixoaia, in quijaujtl, yoan in teciujtl: quixotlaltiaja, qujtzmolinaltiaja, qujxoxuivialtiaja, quicueponaltiaja, quizcaltiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no itech tlamjloia, in teilaqujiztli, in tlaujtequjiztli.

Auh ynyc muchichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixolhujlli, motliloçac, ixmjchioave, ixmichioauhio, auachxicole, aiauhxicole, aztatzone, chalchiuhcozque, poçulcaque, no tzitzile, aztapilpane.

**Jnic macujlli capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca quetzalcoatl.

11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Selser (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 44) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the *xicolli* (jacket) and the *tzitzicaztilmatli* (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Selser (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacazcatl* and *tlamacazqui* mean "pious" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "Regengott . . . Regenpriester," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Caecelie Selser-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Selser (*loc. cit.*): "im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk."

15. Cf. Sahagun, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 185; see also Selser, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 443-4.

16. Cf. Sahagun, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143.

Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and road-sweeper of the rain gods,<sup>17</sup> of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: “[Quetzalcoatl] is wrathful.”

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical<sup>18</sup> ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and mesquite symbols.<sup>19</sup> He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.<sup>20</sup> He wore a gold neckband of small sea-shells.<sup>21</sup> He had the quetzal-pheasant as a burden on his back. He had ocelot anklets with rattles. He wore a cotton bone[-ribbed] jacket.<sup>22</sup> He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.<sup>23</sup> He had the curved [inlaid] spear-thrower<sup>24</sup> and also foam sandals.

**Sixth Chapter:** here are noted the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods.

The savage Snake-woman (Ciuacoatl), ill-omened and dreadful,<sup>25</sup> brought men misery. For it was said: “She giveth men the hoe and tump-line. Thus she forceth men [to work].”

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hairdress rose like two horns above her head.

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.<sup>26</sup>

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.<sup>27</sup> She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers<sup>28</sup> and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Quetzalcoatl: yn ehecatl ynteiacancauh yntlachpancauh in tloaque, yn aoaque, yn qujqujiauhti. Auh yn jquac molhuja eheca, mjtoa: teuhli quaqualaca, ycoioca, tetecujca, tlatlaoia, tlatlalpitza, tlatlatzinj, motlatlaueltia.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia: ocelocopile, mjxtlilpopotz, hecanechioale, mizqujnechioale, tzicolihcanacoche, teucujtlaacuechcozque, quetzalcoxollamamale, ocelotzitzile, icpaomjicujle, hecacozcachimale, hecaujque, no poçulcaque.

**Jnje chiquacē capitulo:** vnca moteneoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja yn cioateteu: yn qujnmoteutiaia, in qujnteutlapiqujaia yn njcan tlaca.

Cioacoatl tequanj: yoan tetzaujtl, tetetzaujanj, icnoiutl qujteittitia: ca mjtoaia, victli mecapalli, qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia.

Auh ynjc moteittitiaia, motenextiliaia: iuhqujn tecpan cioatl, nanacoche, iitznacoche, iztaian moquetza, iztaian actica, iztacatla ycaia, iztazticac, vel panj qujquetza yn jneaxtlaol, yn jaxtlacujl,

ioaltica chocatinenca, tecoiohntinenca, no iautetzaujtl catca.

Auh yuj yn muchichioaia yxiptla, yn jxaiac, centlacochechiltic, centlacotliltic, yujquatzone, teucujtlanacoche, quechqueme, xiuhztotzopace.

17. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquía indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlaloc is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 263): “Esta gente atribuía el viento a un dios que llamaban Quetzalcoatl, bien casi como dios de los vientos. Sopla el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decían; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen estar el paraíso terrenal al cual llaman Tlalocan, (y) a este viento le llamaban tlalocayotl; no es viento furioso, cuando él sopla no impide (a) las canoas andar por el agua.”

18. Conical shape is not specifically implied; but the definition of *copilli* in Siméon (*op. cit.*) is *mitre*. Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing trait of Quetzalcoatl.

19. Wind-painting, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 435; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, hint of the wind-dress—the rounded edges of the *maxtlatl*, for instance. *Ichuia*: cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

20. Eduard Seler (*ibid.*, p. 435) calls it “den dornig gekrümmten Ohrpflock.” In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully than in the Aztec text, says: “Tenja, vnas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mosayco. . . .” The word *tzitzitl* means turquoise used in mosaic work (Siméon, *op. cit.*).

21. The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: “tenja vn collar de oro, de que colgauan, vnos caracolitos mariscos, preciosos.”

22. See Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

23. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has: “vna rodela, con vna pintura, con cinco angulos: que llaman, el Joel de viento.” The term *ecacozcachimalli* may be translated more literally as “shield with pendant shell” design. A bisected shell design usually hangs as a breast shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Tonalamatl of Codex Borbonicus*.)

24. Corresponding Spanish text says: “era como empuñadora de espada.”

25. Cf. also *tetzauhcoatl*, species of snake mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 206), so named because “mata con espanto.”

26. This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

27. See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

28. Seler translates this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymn of Ciuacoatl are convincing. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 59.

cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

**Seventh Chapter:** here is named the goddess called Seven Snake<sup>29</sup> (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,<sup>30</sup> men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers<sup>31</sup> and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;<sup>32</sup> she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

**Eighth Chapter:** here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.<sup>33</sup>

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

And when there was a feast, when it was time for the slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They hid [her fate] from her;<sup>34</sup> they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huaxtecs,<sup>35</sup> who accompanied him on either side.

**Jnic chicome capitulo:** vncan moteneoa, yn cioateutl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: iehoatl ipan mjxeoia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein ynenca, violca maceoalli, ynjoa, ynqualo.

Auh yujn ynnechichioale catca; ixtlauhxaole, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacueie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

**Jnic chicuei, capitulo:** vncā moteneoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca: Teteu ynna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jmā catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaja, in titici, in teitzmjnque, tetzinanque, tetlanoqujlque, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, temjxiujtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaxilique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchaiahque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No iehoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcaleque; ypampa y, quitlaliliaia yn jxiptla, in temazcalixquac, qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie ilhujqujxtililoia, in ie imjquiztequippa: in iehoantin titici, yn jxiptla catca teteu ynna, qujtlaoculpopoloia, amo vel chocaia, queelqujxtiaia, qujtlanenechiaia, qujtlanenequjltiaia, qujceceltiaia, haqujchoctlanja, qujtlatlahtitiaia, momjquizquequeloia, qujnecaliltiaia, qujiaochioiaia, qujtlacaoachiliaia, coiujjaia, tlauiznexiloia, netlauizmacoia, netlauhtiloia: in qujmjliuhca muchioiaia in tiacocao, ic quintiçaujaia, ic qujnptonjaia, qujmotzacujli-tiujja, ic panj moquetzaia.

Auh yn jquac onmjc, yn jxiptla: njman ce tlatcatl onmaqujaia, yn jechoio, ynnepantla oalmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuexoa, qujujcaia, qujtzatzacutiujja:

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.

30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

31. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

32. Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 444) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to feathers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.

34. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

35. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "iban delante de ellos aquellos sus devotos que se llaman icuexóan."



They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.<sup>36</sup>

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.<sup>37</sup>

And the costume [of Teteu innan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.<sup>38</sup> She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, pointed eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *totoicxiltl*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

**Ninth Chapter**, in which one heareth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;<sup>39</sup> they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;<sup>40</sup> or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the *tortilla-sickness*.<sup>41</sup>

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.<sup>42</sup> Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,<sup>43</sup> and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were spattered over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the mist-rattleboard.<sup>44</sup>

motiçauique, motlotloujtecque, çan pepetlauhtiuç, in memecamaxtli: amacalli in qujmama, mahmalacaquetzallo, ichcaxochiio, hiujquetzallo:

vmpa concaoa, in tocititlan: quauhtlapechco contlaliaia yn jeoaio.

Auh ynjc nechichioale, motenolcopi, tlaxapuchtli qujmo-tlatlalili yn jcamapā ichcaxochioa, çoiatemale, cuechcueie, mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcueie, quavivih, tztzelihuhquç yn juipil, quauhtztzelihuhquç, iztac quavihujio, quauhteutzço; yn jchimal, teucujtlaytixapo, totoicxiio, popoa, izquçce.

**Jnç chicunauj capitulo**: vncan moteneoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca Tzaputla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjxeoia, yn oxitl ynacaio muchioaia:

quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aqujn quaxocociuj, tozcamjiaoociuj, motozcaoxiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçaoati, xotzaijanj, tentzaijanj, iteteçonauj, mateteçonauj, icxitzatzaianj, yoan in qualo, yn tlaxcaliciuj:

yn jchiaoca yn jtonal vel mieccan monequç.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquixtiloia, yn oxinamacaque, motlacacoujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtzoallotiaia yn jxiptla, qujcuçjctiaia, yn iveveiooan, qujteponacilhujaia, caiotzotzonjlia, caioujtequçjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaoacilhuja.

Jnç nechichioale omexaoale, amacale, olchachapanquç, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalmjiaoio, aiuchi-caoace.

36. See Plate 8.

37. Sahagūn, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182, calls it *garita*.

38. Cf. text and illus. in MS *Biblioteca del Palacio*, cited in Selser, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 468-9, in which these are described as a head-band of unspun cotton.

39. "... una manera, de bubas, o sarna, que nace, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. "... otra enfermedad . . . casi mismo, que nace en la cabeza: que es como bubas" (*loc. cit.*).

41. See p. 41, n. 130.

42. Cf. Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "Ayacachtli. sonajas hechas a manera de dormideras" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

44. Cf. Eduard Selser: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Nebel-Rasselbrett* (cloud-rattleboard). The same author, cited in Sahagūn, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("Los cantares de los dioses"), says: "Esta voz (ayochicauaztli) significa evidentemente lo mismo y, merced a una leve variación en el modo de pronunciar, tomó origen de ayauhchica-uztli. Servia el instrumento para encantamiento de la lluvia. . . ." (pp. 47-8); "El chicauaztli, báculo de sonaja, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la Etzalqualiztli, llevan delante el ayauhchicauaztli, sonaja de niebla. Es el instrumento mágico, con que

tamborine, 5  
rattle  
carried  
rath  
water

**Tenth Chapter**, which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Ciuapipiltin).<sup>45</sup>

These were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Ciuapipiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Ciuapipiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli*, butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotlaxcalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xonecuili*),<sup>46</sup> small tamales called *xocuichtlamatzoalli*,<sup>47</sup> and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with pointed figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

**Eleventh Chapter**: which telleth of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

*se hace descender lluvia. . . . El chicauaztli es al par símbolo de las fertilidad y, sin duda, también instrumento mágico con que se obtiene ésta*" (pp. 129-30).

45. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 324-5; Vol. II, pp. 181-5. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 38, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 69, 80) *ibid.*, holds that *Ciuapipiltin* (the princesses) are the same as *Ciuateteo* (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (*mociuaquetzque*) or on the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spectral earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were arrayed in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

46. An S-shaped cake, made to resemble lightning.—Seler; *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

47. Folded *tortillas* in the form of agave-fibres, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 8.

**Jnic matlaetli, capitulo**: yntechpa tlatoa, yn cioateteu, cioapipilti:

Diablome catca y, macujltin, teme yn jmixiptlaoan; intech tlamjloia, qujlmach tetlauelia, teca mocaiäoa, ynjc äca itech qujneoaia tlauelilocati, tennecujliuj, ixnecujliuj, matzicoliuj, icxicopichauj, icximjmjquj, momacuecuetza, tenqualacquiça: ic mjtoäia omotenamicti, ypan oquizque cioapipilti, vmaxac chaneque. Jpampa y yn tetaoa, anoço tenäoa, qujmilhujaia yn jnpilhoan: maca xonqujça tlalpan aci, temo in cioapipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ymjlujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xonecuji, xocuichtlamatzoalli, izqujtl.

Auh yn vncan momana y, in quenman vncan yn cioateu-calco, in quenman, vmaxac.

Auh yn jnechichioal catca, mjxtiçauique: auh panj tlaolxaoalti, tlaitzcopeoaltectli, tlaitzcopeoalli, yn jmamatlaquen, potoncacaqueque.

**Jnic matlaetli vce capitulo**: ytechpa tlatoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: iehoatl yn atl.

Teutl ipan machoia: iuhqujn cioatl qujxiptlatiaia, iuh mjtoäia, qujlmach ynvän pouj, inueltiuh in tlaoque:

ynic mauztiloia, ynic imacaxoia, ynjc mauhcäittoa, ynjc tlamauhtiaia, teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia, tepan poçonja, moteponaçoä, maxicotia, tepan moteujlacachoa, ynjc tecentlanjujca:

yn acalli qujcuepa, qujxtlapachcuepa, queoatiquetzta, ca äco maiauj, ca tema.

Auh in quenma teapachoa, teapotzauja, mocueiotia, titicujca xaxamacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatlacamanj:

yn jquac oceuh, yn ie ceuj, aujc äiauh: qujtoa, maujltia, xixiqujpiliuj, cocomotzauj, atentli itech onmotlatlatzoa, onmochachaquanja, mapoçoçoquillotia.

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,<sup>48</sup> then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.<sup>49</sup>

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlalocs, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.<sup>50</sup>

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.<sup>51</sup> She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,<sup>52</sup> which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atezcattitimanj, petlantimanj, cuecuiocaticimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn etzalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtiloia tlaoque,

colotli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetaia, qujujpiltiaia, qujcozcatiaia, cozcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtlacomalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanimiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, yiauhitl, ixpan qujtepevia, caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcuycatia in calpoleque, ycuycacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcoaia, iehoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: yoan acalquetzque tianquizco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan inteupan, tlaoque, queltetequja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma: ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotonjlia,

iuh qujtoaia: qujiauhlatlanj in tlatatl, qujtlamacehuja yn jmaceoal: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc qujmahuiztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn ixqujch tetch monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoā yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtocioatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in maceoalli, ic vellamati, ic vel nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: moxaoaia, texotica, moten-ujltec, motextotenujtec, mixcoçalhuju, chalchiuhcuzque, xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmjiaoia, atlacujlohvipile, atlacujlohuiupile, atlacujlohcueie, atlacueçonanchimale, aiuchicaoage, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "este etzalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo." Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210): "el maíz cocido por sí solo llamanle pozolli pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (etl) le llaman etzally."

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienē sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . ."

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque dezian, que estas tres diosas: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiesen, viuir, y multiplicar."

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintauan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . ."

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenja en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleua el sacramento, quando vno solo le lleua: y era como cetro, desta diosa." See p. 5, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhitl ycue and Tzapotlan tenan.

**Twelfth Chapter**, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteutl).<sup>53</sup>

Tlaçolteutl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteutl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocutzin (the youngest sister).<sup>54</sup> These four women, it was said, were god-[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteu).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:<sup>55</sup> it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteutl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.<sup>56</sup>

And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteutl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

And her warden<sup>57</sup>—he who saw for her—was a seer,<sup>58</sup>

**Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo:** ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteutl.

In tlaçolteutl: yoan itoca ixcuina, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçolteutl, qujl ipampa, qujl iehoatl yiaxca, ytlataquj, ytech pouj, in teuhkli, in tlaçulli: in qujtoznequj, avilnemjiztli, qujl ipan tecuti, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjizçutl.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcuina: qujl navinti eoah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocutzin. Jnjque hin, naujntin cioa: qujl teteu. Jnjque hin, ceceiaca yntoca: tlaçolteteu.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, imixpā mjtoa, imjxpan mopoa, yn jxqujch nequalli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jxqujch tlahellachioalli: immanel cenca temamauhti, immanel cenca oujh: atle mopinavizcaoa, vel muchi, iixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoaliztli.

Qujlmach in tlaçulli, in teuhkli, in aujlnemjiziotl: iehoatl qujtemaca, ic temotla, ic tehipitza in tlaçolteutl. Auh çan no iehoatl, qujtepolhuja: iehoatl chico, tlanaoac qujujca, qujteca: iehoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: iehoatl imac manj ym matlalatl, in toxpalatl.

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja ynjc chico, tlanaoac, qujujca, qujteca: iixpan neiolcujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçolteutl, iixpā mopoa, mjhtoa, in tetlachioal.

Auh iix, ynacaz, ytlacacauh muchioa, in tlapouhquj, in

53. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuinan*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation *Ixcuina*, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the shooting to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Eater of filth or of ordure (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*comedora de cosas suzias*."

56. Cf. Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the mutability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*. May she cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalac*), the yellow, (*Tozpalac*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), notes ". . . oraciones con que la partera oraba a la diosa del agua llamada *Chalchiuhtlicue* y *Chalchiuhtlatónac*, y decia así: 'Señora nuestra *Chalchiuhtlicue* y *Chalchiuhtlatónac*, venido ha a vuestra presencia esta criatura: ruegos que la recibáis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su resuello, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la tocaba el pecho con ella, y el cerebro de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el óleo y crisma a los niños, y deciale de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y si era mujer decia, hija mía muy amada—, llegaos a vuestra madre y padre la señora *Chalchiuhtlicue* y *Chalchiuhtlatónac*; tómeos ella, porque ella os ha de llevar a cuestras y en los brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metía en el agua a la criatura, y decia: 'Entra hijo mio—o hija mía—en el agua, que se llama *Matlalac* y *Tuxpálac*; láveos en ellas, limpieos el que está er: todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traéis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations motivated Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xliii (*teix, tenacatz*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Enige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalenderwahrsager*.

the *tlapouhqui*, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.<sup>59</sup>

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,<sup>60</sup> in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he<sup>61</sup> bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And as, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruptness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac manj, yn amuxtli, yn tlacujlollli: in qujpia yn tllili, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn oqujto

yn mojolmelaoaz in tlapilchioale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitiznequj, yn tlatcatl, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ytoptzin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnottitiliznequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimotlacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iqujn oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iqujn qualli tonalli, yn ieccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynaoatilpan, iancujc petlatl quicoa: yoan copalli, yoan quaujtl: yn tlamauizti in tlamaceuhquj, çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamaceuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in moteca, vellachpano yn vnca motlalia; yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj, qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Teteu ynna, teteu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn maceoalli: njcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, moteupouhtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlamj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli, yn çacamjtl; aquj iolitlacoa, qujtequjpachoa, Tlatcatle, totecujo, tloquehe naoaquehe, manoço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnentalmachiliz yn maceoalli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in iehoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Tioalmovicatia yujctzinco, iixpantzinco, in tloque naoaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmomaqujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlcal,

a ma no ceppa ieh njcan timatoiauj, timotepexiuj: ma ixpantzinco ximopepetlaoa, ximomamaxauj, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaitaz in totecujo, a cujx mjtztlacanotzaz: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynjn quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo im motop, in mopetlcal: ma xicpoa in monemjiliz, in motlachioal, yvin quenjn ticmati, yvin quenjn cah: in quenjn muchiuh, in quenjn tax; in quenjn ticchiuh, in monequal, in monequaujtec:

xicnoquj, xicpetlanj, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xicmotlaoculnonochili, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque,

59. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

60. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yodli*, *ehecatl* (1) "*espíritu, aire y tiniebla*"; and (2) "*dios invisible sin imagen . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y todopoderoso, por cuya virtud todos viven. . .*" Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tloque naoaque* as "*que está cerca y junto*"—the sun, God in general.

61. Context suggests that pronoun refers to the penitent.

who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.<sup>62</sup>

"Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Ciuapipilti descend, when the feast of the Ciuapipilti or the Ixcuiname is celebrated,<sup>63</sup> thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *maguey* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *maguey* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

62. Cf. Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The *Ciuateteo* or *Ciuapipiltin* were thought to be

in *momaçoaltitica*, y *macochetica*, in *teputzetica*;

*ximotlapalo*, ma *timopinoquetz*, ma *titzicolo*.

Nimā ōtlalqua in *tlamaceuhquj*, *oncopaltema*: *njman ixpan motlalia* in *tlapouhquj*: *qujlhuja*, *injc teviujti*, *ynjc tepatiloti*, *ynjc teixiptla*.

Totecujoe, *tloquehe*, *naoquehe*: ca *ticmocujlia*, ca *ticmocaqujtia*, in *njiaca* in *nopalanca*: *mjxpantzinco*, *njnopepetlaoa*, *njnomamaxauja*: ca *onax*, ca *onjcchiuh*: *cujx ichtaca*, *cujx tlaiooian*, ca *tezcac*, ca *tlavilpan im mjxpan-tzinco*, *yn onax*.

Niman *compeoaltia*: in *jtlapilchializ*, *vel iujn quenjn cah*, *vel yujn quenjn qujchiuh*: *yn maca çan cujcatl*, *cenca çan jvin coneoa*, *cencan yvin conjtoa*, *yn juh qujchiuh*, in *imaca çan vtli*, *cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal*, *yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh*.

Auh *yn otlamjto yn jtlatol*, *yno muchi qujto ytlachioal*:

*qujnancujlia*, *yn tlapouhquj*, *yn jxtli*, *yn nacaztli muchioa*, in *teujjti*, in *tepatilloti*: *qujlhuja*.

O ca *ticmonochilia*, ca *ticmomaqujlia*, in *tloque naoque*, in *motlachioal*, in *monequavitec*.

Auh *ynjn*, ca *izca yn taiz*, *yn ticchioaz*: *yn jquac temoa*, *yn jquac temo cioapipilti*, *anoçe yn jquac ymjlujuh cioapipilti*, *yn jxcujname*: *naujlujtli timoçaoaz*, *timocujtlax-culçaoaz*, *timotenoatzaz*.

Auh *yn iquac vel jlhujtli*, in *ie oallatujh*, in *ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz*, *titlacoqujxtiz*: *ynjn motlapilchial*, *iuh ticnamjctiz y*: *auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y*:

*auh jn quenjn ticnequiz*, *iuh ticnequiz*: *yntla tiçacatlaçaz*, *iehoatl in teucalçacatl tiqujxtiz*, *anoço tlacotl*. Auh *aço monacazco in titlacoqujxtiz*, *anoço monenepilco*.

Auh *ynjc tiqujxtiz*: ca *amo ma çan titlamaceoa*, ca *teuhtli*, *tlaçulli in tictlaça*, *tictlacoçoz*, *ticcujtlacueponiz*, *ȳ monenepil*, *mjxpampa ticaquiz*,

*motzintlan in ticqujxtiz*, in *tictlaçaz*: *aço çan cecen in ticqujxtiz*, *anoço çan ticcenqujxtiz*, *tictlatlaçalhuiz*, *yn aço centzontli*, *aço vntzontli*, in *ticqujxtiz tlacotl*:

*ic poliuiz*, in *motlatlacul*, in *motlapilchial*, in *monequal*.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,<sup>64</sup> spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

**Thirteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],<sup>65</sup> who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamaceuhquj: qujlhuja,  
timotenoatzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz,  
naujllhujtl:

anoço qujlhuja  
titlatotiz, timoteteuhcaoz, titepiquiz:

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vctli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiqunqujxtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc qujnaoatia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopealli in mantiaz: centetl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jimxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, ym mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoç, qujl ç aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujctli, in tetlaximaliztli: in qujtoaia veuetque.

Jnyc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, iehoatl, ynyc amo tzacujtilozque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynyc amo quatetlaxililoç, ynyc amo quatepitzinjloç, ynyc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa.

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, im maceoalli.

**Jnic matlaectli vmey, capitulo:** yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton teteuh: yn qujntoqujlia, yn omoteneuhque, yn veueintin teteuh.

Xiuhtecutli: ixcoçauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motoçaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl yoan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepalao, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynyc tlaçnelia: ca ic nezcolo, ic tlapaoaxo, ic tlaçuxitilo, ic tlaçco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tenextlatilo, ic tlatetzoiönjlo, yc tlatzoiönjlo, ic tlatleoatzalo, yc tetleçujlolo, ic remazcallatilo, ic oxitlatilo, ic tlanextlatilo.

64. The most characteristic emblem of Tlacooteotl is a broom wrapped with a *tlaitzcopintli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has: "*que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos.*"

cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

*Tamales* [stuffed] with greens<sup>66</sup> were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children<sup>67</sup> roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."<sup>68</sup>

And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.<sup>69</sup>

And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcoauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts<sup>70</sup> looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[Ixcoauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;<sup>71</sup> he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yzcalli: qujxiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaioia, copaltemjlilo,

oauhqujltamalli nechiviloia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan qujmanjliaia in tletl, catepan qualoia.

Auh yn jveveioan, iuh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia, qujteccizpichilia, qujteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacoaltioia, ynjc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoz: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc oauhqujltamalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca coatl: cujiatl, xoujli, axolotl, tototl: in çago tlein ocacic ioioli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoia, motlaxquja yn tota.

Auh yn oiooac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: iuh qujtoia, qujtlatioiaujliaia yn tletl, texcalceuja.

Auh nauhxuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztiloia, ilhuiu: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jteucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixqujch tlatatl, qujpaloia, qujltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yoan vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli, in qujntemoia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia; iehoantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmonçoaia, yn iteupan ixcoauhquj: vmpa qujnnacazapotlaia, qujnnacazcoionjaia: iuhqujn ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmitta, yntlaolan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tliltica motenujtec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtotoamacale, quetzalmjiaoio, mjtzone, tlatcotztzone, xiuhcooanacoche, amacozneapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, xiuhtezcatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

66. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquiltl, que son bledos, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y altillas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman huauhtli y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizos, exprímese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hácese tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilamalli." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, huauhquiltl is defined as *Amarantus hypochondriacus Amarantáceas*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; see *texcalceuja* in Siméon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *auitl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototl*); *quetzalcomitl* or *xiuhtotoamacalli iquetzalmiauyo*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a reversed cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlaochtzontli* or



fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

**Fourteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.<sup>72</sup>

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,<sup>73</sup> without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

**Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo:** itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc neteutiloia tecpantzinca inteuh: yn jquac neçaujtiloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulmijctia yn jneçaoaliz,

ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtema-  
ceoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoalitzli, tlapalanaltiliztli, quexiliuiliztli,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuz, ynjc qujquaniz ynjc qujxaxaoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: ahtopa navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chil-  
caoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, iolnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, moxochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhuqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlatatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoiaia, tlaçoqujtiloia: yoã tlamanjtiloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlatatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchmjt:

yn aca quauhçaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoqujliaia oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhçaxtica, mantivia, centetl tilitic, centetl tlatlahquj.

Auh yn aca izqujtl, anoço necuzqujtl, anoço xonecujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalchimalli, tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquaujtl, tzoalnetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, moteneoa maltequjme, yn jxqujch techiaoalotoc, yn

*ome quamamalhuaztli*—two arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ome acatl* ("2 reed") or the *mamalhuaztli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). Selser: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlacotztzone*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaçochzone*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*heria, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*panes azimos.*"

surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these prisoners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they bought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.

And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

**Fifteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.<sup>74</sup> It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

And thus was his feast celebrated. Whoso ate the image of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

iautenoaque, yn iaotenco onoque, qujnoalcaoia yn jnmalhoan, yn jntlaaxioan, in maltequjhoan, muchioaia: njcan qujnpiuia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh intla aca tlaielti, intla tlachololti, ypan tlacaquetzaia, motlacacoujaia, qujxiptlaoia, qujxiptlaoia:

in tlatlacuti, vncan miqujia, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tenmacpale ixtlapaloatzale, tlaixtlapaloatzalujlli, tlaixtlapalvilli, yhujtzoncale, quachichiqujle, vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitoncatlamamale, ypan icac, tonalopanjt, quetzaltzonio, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzonteconio, tentlapaltica motzinjipi, motzinapa, ytonalocac, tonalocaque.

**Jnic caxtollu capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznaoac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in pi:qujliloia, qujtooaia ca iehoatl imactia, in cooiutl, in tecooanotzaliztli, in tetlacamatiliztli, in tetlatlaqualtiliztli: ymatijan muchioaia yn jnnecentlaliliz, yn jnnecenqujxtiliz teoiolque, techā vicoia, vmpa mauizmachioia, necujtlaujloia in jxiptla.

Auh no qujtooaia, yntlacamo maviztilo, yn juhqujma cooanotzalo, tlevelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan teaoaia, qujlhujaia, yn aqujn qujtemjquj. Jn tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitztalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtetololotia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj yn mjtoa teuqua, miecpa mococoa: ynjc qujtolinja, melcima, ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepotlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nenemj motepotlamja, motecujnja, motlavitequj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtililoia: yn aqujn teuqua, achtopa qujchioaia, teumjmilli, yiomjio in teutl catca: çan tlatcatl, teupixquj calpole, cen molicipitl ynjc hujviiac, vel totomaoc, mjmltic.

Auh yn aiama nemamaco, oc achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlio, tlaano: auh yn otlathujc conjtitzopinja, yn omacatl conmjctia: njman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nexexelhujo, in teumjmilli:

iquac quaqualo, iuhqujn ic tetzoitiloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujo, temolcaoaltilo: ca yn aquique macoia, yn iquac ie ilhujqujçaz, mocujtlaxcolixtlaoaia, mopopooaia, ypampa ca ontlatlaoaia.

Jn inechichioal catca: ihvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yoã

74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) is meant. Cf. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 222). The same source suggests various other meanings—the south, the *barrio* or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.<sup>75</sup> His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

**Sixteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtililton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).<sup>76</sup>

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtililton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtililton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtililton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.<sup>77</sup>

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixquen* (face-covering).<sup>78</sup>

Thus was [Ixtililton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

yquauhquentenchil, naoaio, ycuechin, ielpancozqui cyli tezcattlatlanpanquj yn jxaiac: yn jnechichioal, ytiçanacoch, ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac catca, ytolical, acacapalli.

**Jnic castolli vce capitulo** ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtililton, tlaltetecujn.

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaioacan tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apaztli, tzatzacuti-manca, motocaiotia itlilauh.

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa quujcaia yn jteupan ixtililton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apaztli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli.

Auh yn aqujn qujtotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynjc qujvcaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlatcatl in muchichioia.

Jn oacic ychan, tlatotiz, teytotiz: njman tlatlaqualo, atlio: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoti, yn onmaceuh, calitic oncalaquj: iehoatl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimāca: ic mjtoaia, tliaicaxapotla, vitzmana.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlaano: oc cepa oalqujça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

ic mjtoaia, ic moteneoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, yntla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, aço tetlaxima, aço ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahaviltia: ac aço tlacacemelle, in tlatotia, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomacaia, qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla moteca: iehica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teixmotla, yn tetlatlacul.

Auh ynjc oalqujça techā, quachtli yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen.

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopotz, mjxtiçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiqujle, quetzallo,

75. For description, see illustrations and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omacatl) —Plate 15.

The term *cuechintli* means the netted cape or mantle, with sea-snail shells knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalcaayatl* and the *mecaayatl* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Apendiz, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37r), Sahagún refers to "vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecha en tela rala, al qual llamauan ycuechin, atada con vnas cuerdas de algodón a los pechos. . ."

76. God of medicine. *Tlaltetecuini* (or *tlaltetecuini*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tetecuinia*. Cf. Seler: *Enige Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 314: ". . . los que neuvamente horadaban los magueyes y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba uitztli." The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "a este abrimjento, llamavan tliaicaxapotla, qujere dezir, esto: abrimjento primero, o vino nuevo." On the meaning of *onmaceuh*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *maceualiztli*.

78. ". . . dauanle mātās: las quales llaman ixquen: que quiere dezir, cobertura de la cara: porque quedaua, auergonçado, aquel que auja hecho, la fiesta. . . ." *Loc. cit.*

white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.<sup>79</sup> The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,<sup>80</sup> and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

**Seventeenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,<sup>81</sup> the pole for propelling boats,<sup>82</sup> [and] the bird-snare.

And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

**Eighteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).<sup>83</sup>

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,<sup>84</sup> cataracts, glazing of the eyes.

Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

cueçalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonalio yn jmaneapan, totonalio yn jchimal, tlahio yiollopotil, xopilcuzque, yamamaxtli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.

**Jnic castolli vmome capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn qujmoteutiaia ie uecauh, nican claca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mixeoiaia, tlaloc: atlaca inteuh catca, qujmoteutiaia.

Juh qujtoiaia, ca iehoatl itlatzintil, ytlanextil, qujnxti, qujteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzoneoztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepeviliaia, ic qujnanimiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaviaviliaia: iuhqujn tecivtl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn iveveioan, yn jlamaioan, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaôçalli, tlaolaltilli, aztatzone, quetzalmjiaoia, amamaxtle, amaneapanale, tonalio.

**Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaoatl iteouh: tzapoteca in vel inteuh catca,

yn itequiuh pouja, yn ixcoian ytlachioal, yn ineixcavil: ic temotlaia, ic texoxaia, iehoatl qujtemacaia, in totomonjilztli, papalanilztli, çaçaoatilztli, ixculiztli, ixchichitinilztli, ixtenpipixqujilztli, ixtamaçolicuiztli, ixaiauhpaçiuilztli, ixnacapachiuilztli, ixoaociviztli, ixtotoliciviztli, ixtezcaçiuiztli.

Jn aqujn ipam muchioaia, yn cuculiztli toqujçhti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujçpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaqujz yn jieoiaio, ynjc itlan aquiz, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeoalztli:

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjntin momanaia, muchinti eoaiotiu, chichiiioatiuj, chichipicatiuj, tzotzotlantiu j in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 388 (*tecpaquachichiquilli*).

80. Cf. Selser (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 531) for explanation of *manta del sol*.

81. “. . . un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minacachalli.”—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: “. . . es como figa, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas, [marginal insertion, partly missing: (o?) triangulo (co?)mo tridente] con que hiere, a los peces; y tambien cõ el matan aues.”

82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo*, oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. Selser (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Teotitlan district. A clear discussion of the “*yopimes y tlapanecos*” is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.<sup>85</sup> They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.<sup>86</sup> This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Toteco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,<sup>87</sup> then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.<sup>88</sup> Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown<sup>89</sup> was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick<sup>90</sup> was in his hand.

**Nineteenth Chapter**, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (*Yiacatecutli*).<sup>91</sup>

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper<sup>92</sup> the stout traveling staves<sup>93</sup> with

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecaliltiaia, qujnnamjquj in tiacaoan, tlapenti, tlatzonanti:

yoan in ixqujchti, can papaqujn, yn mjhivintia, tlatlami, moqujchnequj, moqujchnequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiao-mamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco.

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalauj, no tlatlaeo: tzaipoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuizatia, qujn-xochineapanaltia, qujmipcaxochitia, qujntlaointia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcooieia: qujtoa, ma njctlamaliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoalitzli.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnechimal, tenmaxaltic vltica, yipitzon contlaliticac maxalihuquj, conmaqjticac tla-caieoatl, yieoio malli, tzonchaiaioale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzile, ichimal tlaughtevilacachihuquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

**Jnic caxtoli vnnauj capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmaviztiliaia, qujntlaquentiaia amatica: yn jintopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj

85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "En esta fiesta, hazian como vn juego de cañas: de manera que el vn vando, era de la parte deste dios, o ymagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yvan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que aujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas velocas, y esforçadas: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: osados, atreuidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Allí los vnos, con los otros, se exercitauā, en el exercicio de la guerra: perseguian los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de allí, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto." Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga." A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has *uncan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Toteco."

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototecti." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tototecti as "los muertos a honra del dios Totec."

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizcolchiuhticac*, translated as "er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung." Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizcolchiuhticac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapaneca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they wore pointed caps.

90. "The word *chicauaztli* means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also saw the *chicauaztli* with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyacac-tecutli* or *yacatecutli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacacoliuhqui* ("el que tiene la nariz aguileña"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name *Xiacatecutli*.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to *Yacatecutli* as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form *Iyacatecutli*, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of *Tezcatlipoca*, and linking *Yacatecutli* with *Ixcoāuhqui*. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . era una caña, maziza, que ellos llaman *vtlatl*. Y tambien *vsan* de otra manera de baculo,

which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.<sup>94</sup>

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants<sup>95</sup> went into the coast-lands,<sup>96</sup> looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,<sup>97</sup> turquoise,<sup>98</sup> amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal<sup>99</sup> and its black and green head and breast feathers;<sup>100</sup> the red spoonbill;<sup>101</sup> the blue cotinga;<sup>102</sup> the parrot; the trupial;<sup>103</sup> the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, incāpa cuchizque, vncan qujttilquetza, ixpan tlamaceoa, mjco, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlaughtia yn jnteous yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatataqujlia, yteicneliliz:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic moteneoa, puchteca yiaque: itech canque, yn itoca inteuh, yiacatecutli:

Oztomeca, anaoac calaqujn, vel qujtemotinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtizque, anaoatl qujxaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalciiuhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiu, elciciuhtiu, mociauhquetztu, ymellelaci-tiu, ymjxqua tlatlatiu, intonal qujmacujtiu, intonalmjuh ietiu:

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, ixqujchca ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacca, ic moquequetza:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchijtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoconalli, in teucujtlat: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcán, in tlahquechol, xiuhtototl, in toztli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequaneotl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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que es una caña negra liujana, maciza: sin nudo ninguno: que es como junco, de los que se usan en española." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the staves all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the staves as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (oztomeca anauaca calaquini) (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Weggegangenen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der oztomec anauac calaquini der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten."

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Oztotlan in Anahuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototl*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Naualoztomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca tlatoque*.

96. Anahuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar." In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "Fuéronse hasta Anahuac, que dista más de cien leguas" (from Tula). Also, "Entraban en la provincia de Anahuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividian, unos iban a Anahuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anahuac Xicalanco."—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anahuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anauac Xicalanco as the state of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámense así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y itzli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene mancha, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente." (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "Teoxihuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida."—*Loc. cit.*

99. "Las plumas que cria en la cola se llaman quezalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobléganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente."—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "El tocado que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltototl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es preciosa esta pluma y llamanla tzinitzcan."—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene criadas en el pecho y en los sobacos y debajo de las alas; son la mitad prietas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes."—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlahquechol* or *teoquechol* means red *quecholli* or precious *quecholli*. It is an aquatic bird. "Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino."—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 653). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n., gives *Platalea Ajaja rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtototl* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*graja*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta* S. *Coerulea* (*ibid.*, p. 654). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) reverbera el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llama de fuego y como oro, críanse en Anahuac."

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,<sup>104</sup> [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.<sup>105</sup> [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."<sup>106</sup> They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple<sup>107</sup> they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,<sup>108</sup> he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiuitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimatl, Yacapitzauac.<sup>109</sup> No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcaputzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzacaiutl:

intlanel iautilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioaliztica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlahecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoimjctia, qujncillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nē tematitlanpa qujça, iehoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiicaauh, vncan ic oqujctia.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: yn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchihque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachihque: ixqujch tlatatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic moteittitiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaa yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlacquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, iehoatl caltiaia, qujxeoia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoia, in qujnmoteutiaia in chiconquaujtl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan axomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlatatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlah-tlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecampa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlaieicti, in tlamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

ynjc iehoan qujnmictizque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujncichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiama qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmxnextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtizque:

104. Cf. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yacoliuhqui "propriamente representa persona, que tiene viveça, ò habilidad, para mojar graciosamente, ò enganar, y es sabio, y sagaz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes) . . ."

105. Cf. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex. B. II* §83.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonia que se hacía a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "yglesia del barrjo, ò parrochia" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "Estos dueños que mataban a estos esclavos."—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimatl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chiconquiuitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

goods].” Thus it was made known to the people that they would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

[Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.<sup>110</sup> He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,<sup>111</sup> in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

**Twentieth Chapter**, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. He was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.<sup>112</sup>

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.<sup>113</sup>

They spoke in this wise: “For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats.”

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: “For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones.”<sup>114</sup>

And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: “He washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain upon them.” [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltlhoan, ieccan, qujnquetza: much tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipā mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncujc, ynjc momiquizqueueloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlaçaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachihquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoc: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacaoaoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, oiooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcolihquj yn jchimal, ytlacçaia ymac onoc, otlatopile.

**Jnic cempoalli capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, qujmoteutiaia in petlachihque:

yoan tolcuechihque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoiaia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmittiti, in petlachioaliztli, yn icpalchioaliztli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujxoaltia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolqujiutl, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhuhuhqujçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan qujpixoa, yn aoachtli, cenca tlahtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlatatl, ipan qujxcoiaia, tlatcotli, in qujmictiaia cexiuhctica:

110. Corresponding Spanish version states that “*esta cubierto con vna manta açul, y sobre el açul, vna red negra: de manero quel açul, se parece, por las mallas de la red.*”

111. The *xicalcolihqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which consisted, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word “guild” when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, “*hazen canizos de juncias: que llaman tolcuextli.*”

114. Cf. Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.



They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch<sup>115</sup> he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)<sup>116</sup> escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hair-dress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

**Twenty-first Chapter**, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlalocs.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlalocs.

Those thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would mold representations of

qujchichioaia, ymac mantinca, xoxoujc, xoxouhquj xicalli: vncan ietinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce qujxiptlaotiaia, qujchichioaia:

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotiz, qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh, teaoachvitiuh, iuhqujn ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicheliz.

Yoan iuhqujn yvic mocujtlaxculixtlaotiaia: yn açaca ie vnca itlaquj, yaxca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in toteouh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtiz, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njneoaz, iehe qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaqujliz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quixquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixiptla muchioaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn joaniolque.

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlaceliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlateteca, icpalteteca, tlatzetzeloa, tlachpana, tlaucicuj, tletlalia, muchipa copaltema, tlatetzcaliuh toc tlatetzcaliuh timanj, atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motliloçac, mjxtlilpopotz, mixtlilhujuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, iztaccaque, atlacueçonanchimale, aztapiltopile.

**Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa yn itoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaoque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlamjloia yn tlaoque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiqueja, qujmixiptlaotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aqujn coaciuja, oaoapaoaia, quaquauhua, cocototzauja: anoço yn aqujn atlan miquiznequj, ehecatl ipan moquetza atla: vncan monetoltiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujniquiz: quetzalcoatl, in chalchivitel ycue, in tlaoc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "yn ramo de salze" (sauce).

116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpuleque* were "señores ó guardas de barrios."

Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuhtl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl, Poiauhotecatl,<sup>117</sup> and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,<sup>118</sup> made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

And they made papers, and they spattered them with liquid rubber.<sup>119</sup> And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

They whistled with their fingers, they made music for them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhotecatl: yoan in çaço quezqujtetl tepetl in qujnteneoaz in qujpiquiz.

Auh in qujnpiquja, in qujmixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaliaia, qujntlacatlachieltiaia, tlatatlachix-ticatca:

qujntlantiaia aiooachtli, auh in qujmjxtelotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in qujmixiptlatiaia, in qujnpiquja çan no iuhquj ynjc qujnchichioaia.

Auh yoan qujchioaia, amateteujtl, colchachapatzaia, colchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatech qujpipiloaia, mecatech qujnetechilpiaia, qujnetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, oztopilquaujtl, necoc, nenecoc, necocampa tlatlaltlacac, tetzotzonticac, yn itech antoc teteujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaittitactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn qujnchichioaia, in qujntlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuaia, in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh macujtica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmolcaol-tiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaviaia, qujncujcatia:

in ceioal napa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalolli in qujnmacaia, qujmanaia ymjxpā, in tlamacazque, in tepicujca:

no napa in qujntlamacaia ceioal, yoan qujntlapichiliaia,

qujnmajqujxiliaia tecuciztli in qujnpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujn, haavienj, mihivintianj, tececemeltianj, ceceleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatic njman qujnmictia yn tepicme, qujnquech-cotona, qujnquechuj, qujnquehilacatzoa, çatepan qujncem-ololoa, concêcuj, in tepictzoalli, qujtquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiqujn, njman ie yc calaquh yn itlacoanotzalhoan, yn jcooaoan, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie ioatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaoaia, motlaoancatlalia in veuetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac ciuatl) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhotecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*vna massa*), in the Spanish column; Selser renders it *zerquetschten Samen des Stachelmohns* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. “. . . unos papeles llenos de gotas de ulli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amateteuhtl” (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinences; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.<sup>120</sup>

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;<sup>121</sup> to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the dregs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,<sup>122</sup> of fruit wine,<sup>123</sup> of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,<sup>124</sup> their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with

calhujque, in ie quaiztaque, in ie tzoniztaque, yoan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:

iehoan vel innemac catca, in vctli in quizque.

Auh in otlavintic, niman ie ic viuujloa, cecenmanoa, xixitinjoa:

yn aca mochoqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchitotiuuh, mjtotituiuh, momamantiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltioia: çan no onnenca yn itequjuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtiloia, navilhujtl maçaoia, qujneçaujliaia yn itequjuh, ynic amo xocoiaz:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo oqujchcochia, intla cioatl:

çan niman aiac vel ontlapaloia yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic muchioia:

aiac inmanel imapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacaxoa, vel malhujloia, yn ixqujchica, moiacaxapotlaz yn vctli.

Auh yn aqujn, ichtaca tlapaloia, yn tlachtaca yia immanel çan tepiton oconpalo: iuh mjtoaia tennecujlivia tepantiliviia, avic momamana avic xoqujvi yn ite:

yoan in aca matzicolijjia, yma qujcucuetza, icxi qujcucuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicucuechca, yhixatotoco, tenpapatlaca, tenviviioa, itech qujneoa: mjtoa, oqujtlavelique in xoxouhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic apeoalo: yn apeoa çan iehoan, yn ioaniolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemeoa, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc:

moteneoa apeoalo, iquac cempoliuja tlatlamj, in quexqujch mocaoia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yoan in oc quexqujch omocauh xaiocomjc in vctli, in aiuctli, in tlachioalvctli, in iztac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiqujn, in tepicuj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjto tlapac, ic patiz: yoan yn aqujn atlan miquizquja ynjc amo mjc: iehoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc moxtlaoa, ynjc qujneltilia ynnetol.

Auh yn jxqujch, yn jnechichioal, yn jntlaquen, yn jmamaneapan, yn jmoztopil, yn jntlapetlanjlquauh, yn jmaiauhcocul:

yoan yn jnchalchiuhxical, yoã yn jntlaquaia molcaxtotonti,

120. Cf. Selser, *op. cit.*, p. 29, citing marginal gloss in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38.

121. Probably *tenpatiliviia* is meant. It thus appears in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* (Cf. Selser, *loc. cit.*)

122. Possibly *aoccli*.

123. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).

124. Alvaro Tezozomoc, *Histoire de Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans. tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored club: ". . . on eut dit qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles." Selser (*op. cit.*, p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).

which [the celebrants] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Pantitlan.

**Twenty-second Chapter**, which telleth of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochti).

He [was] the wine, in times past<sup>125</sup> considered full of sin. For he hurled people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an awesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ijouhtecat, Acolhua, Tlilha, Pantecat, Izquitecat, Toltecat, Papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, Ome tochtli, Tepoztecat, Chimalpanecat, Colhuatzintecat.<sup>126</sup>

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red arara feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the flint staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhcaxtotonti, çoqjytecontotonti, muchi vmpa concaoia tepetzinco: atlan contepeoia, vmpa anepantla, ytoaiocan pantitlan.

**Jnic cempoalli vmume capitulo**, ytechpa tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, yn jnoan pouj centzontotochti.

Jehoatl in vctli, ieppa tlatlaculli ipan machoia: ca tetepexiuja, tequehmecanja, teatlauja, temjctia;

tetzavittontj, amo pinavilonj, amo chicoittolonj.

Auh ynjn tezcatzoncatl, ynoan pouj, ynoan eoa, yn moteneoa, centzōtotochti, yn vctli innaciao, yn iJauhtecat, Aculhoa, tlilha, pantecat, Jzqujtecatl, Toltecatl, papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, vme tuchtli, tepuztecatl, chimalpanecat, Colhoatzincatl.

Auh yn jnechichioal Tezcatzoncatl, aztatzone, iacametze, amanacoche, cveçalvitoncaoa, chaiaoac cuzque, colotlalpile, vmetuchchimale, itztopile, tecpatopile, no tzitzile.

*fin del libro*

125. *Yeppa*: formerly, in times past (Molina: *op. cit.*). The meaning also could be "thrice."

126. See Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 314; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

## APPENDIX

### Apendiz del primero libro

Comiença el apendiz, del primero libro: en que se confuta la ydoloatria, arriba puesta: por el testo, de la sagrada escriptura, y buelta en lengua mexicana: declarando, el testo suficientemente.

## A P P E N D I X

### Prologue

Ye who were born here, in New Spain: ye Mexicans, ye Tlaxcalans, ye Cholulans, ye Michoaca; all ye who are vassals dwelling in the land of the Indies—

Your ancestors—your fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers—left you in great darkness, error, unbelief, and idolatry, as is evident in your ancient picture writings.

Hear and understand well. For now it hath come to pass that the Lord our God hath it in His heart to cause the light, the torch, the splendor to be sent you: that the true God and creator, who careth for all His creatures, may be made known to you.

For error, in which you have lived in all past time, came to you. It hath misled and deluded you. And with this light and splendor, you may attain true faith.

And thus you may hear and accept the word of God, here written, which he, your lord, the King of Spain, hath caused to be sent to you, as well as God's Vicar, the Holy Father, who dwelleth in Rome.

And this they have caused to be done, that you may escape the hands of the devils, and that you may attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

### The Truth of God's Word<sup>127</sup>

The people here on earth who know not God, who esteem Him not, are only vain and worthless. For if men in their hearts and understanding knew God's creations, they had known God. Because they esteem and know creatures, they had known that He exists, that He is the Creator, the Creator of man—God, who is not seen.

And these did not so; they took not example of God's creations. Thus they acknowledged [God's creatures] as their gods, their lords. God their Creator they forgot [for God's] creatures.

They worshipped as gods the fire, the water, the wind, the sun, the moon, the stars. These things they worshipped, saying to them:

"Verily, you are the creators, you guide us, you rule us. Verily, you order things, you protect things."

A. These, the blind, the mad, were idolators. Greatly they

127. The non-Aztec text begins here the thirteenth, fourteenth, twelfth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the *Book of Wisdom* (in the Vulgate's Latin). The Aztec text parallels rather than translates the Latin.

### Prologo, mexicano

In amehoantin, in njcan antlaca, in nueva españa: in anmexica, in antlaxcalteca, in ancholulteca, in anmjchoaque, yoan in amjxqujchtin in anmacehoaltin, in njcan annemj in india tlalli ipan:

ca cenca vey tlaiooalli, yoan netlapololtiliztli yn atlanetoqujiztli, in tlateutoqujiztli, in jpan oamechcauh-tiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn amachcocolhoan: yn juh neci, in ipā ie uecauh amotlacujlol:

ma vel cenca xiccaqujcan, vel xicacicaqujcan. Ca in axcan, oqujmonequjlti in totecujio dios, otlacauhqj in jiollotzin yn oamechoalmjoalili, in tlauijlli, in ocotl, in tlanextli: injc anqujmjximachilizque, in vel nelli dios teiucuijanj, in qujmocujtlauijtzinoan, in jxqujch in jtlachioal-tzin.

Auh yn netlapololtiliztli, yn jpan annemj yn jxqujch cavitl, vmpa otioallaque: ca iehoatl yn amechiztlacaujaia, amechtlapololitiaia: auh in tlavilli, in tlanextli anqujcnopil-huizque, yn jca vel melaoac tlanetoqujiztli:

yoan ic vel anqujcuizque, anqujcauizque, in jtlaltotzin dios, yn njcan icujliuhtica: in vel iehoatl in amotlatocatzin in españa rey, in amechvalmjoalili: no iehoatzin in jxiplatzin Dios in Sancto padre, in roma moyetztica.

Auh injn ca ipampa oqujmuchivilique, injc inmac anqujçazque in diablosmo: ioan ynjc anqujcnopilvizque yn jlvicac tlatocaiotl.

### Jmelaoaca in teutlatolli

Jn tlalticpac tlaca, yn amo qujmiximachilia in dios, ca amo tlaca ipan pouj, ca çan nentlaca, nenquizque: ca intla tlaca yntla vnca iniollo, intla vnca intlacaujiz: in jtlachioalhoan dios, intech canazquja, intech qujcuizquja, in jximachocatzin dios; ipampa qujmjtta in qujximati in tlachioalti, qujmatizquja ca vmmoetztica, monemjtia in tlachioale, in teiucoianj, yn amo motta in iehoatzin dios.

Auh ynjn ca amo iuhquj qujchihque, amo itech omjscujtique, yn jtlachioalhoan dios: ynjc qujmjximachiliz-quja yn jnteuoh, yn jntlatocauh, yn jnteiocuscatzin dios, çan itech omotlapololtilique yn jtlachioalhoan dios:

oqujmoteutique in tletl, in atl, in ehecatl, in tonatiuh, in metztl, in cicitlalti; iehoatin hi, oqujnmoteutique, qujtoque,

ca impal tinemj, ca techiacana, techpachoa, ca tlatquj, ca tlamama.

A. Jn iehoantin, y, ca ixpopoiume, motlapololtilianj, injc

honored God's creatures, as if they illumined, revealed, and gave comfort to men. And these should not be thus worshipped, because it should be remembered that God, their Creator, is most powerful, giving more light, illumination, and comfort.

For only He, alone, revealeth, giveth light, comforteth all, instructeth all; only He alone is the Creator.

B. And if they had wondered greatly because some of God's creatures are strong, they had considered God, their Creator, even stronger.

C. All God's power is the wisest, the richest, the most glorious. For His creatures appear in Him. For He is very great; He made the world. Many things hath He made, very wonderful, very glorious.

D. These, the idolaters, resist [and] draw back. They say:

"We seek Him for ourselves; we covet the Giver of Life, the Creator. For through Him we have come to doubt the sun, the moon, the stars, and other creations; on His account they are estimable [and] valued; they have comforted and enriched men. For truly we are not men of strong heart and understanding."

E. [With] these words the idolaters sought to defend themselves. For they do not quiet men's doubts, but only anger them because they do not quiet their doubts. For these, who began idolatry, saw and discovered many dangerous teachings; they saw and discovered the way to reckon the years and the days, and other ingenious conceits. And just as by consultation [and] by inquiry they knew what things were, just so, much better, could they have seen and found the [true] God [and] Creator, if they had counseled and inquired well among themselves.

F. Behold, perverse and unhappy are these, the accursed dead who worshipped, as gods, images thus fashioned in stone and in wood, or of gold, or of silver, or of copper; or made gods of four-footed animals, of creatures which fly, of those which live in the waters. Or of the images [of these] which carpenters hewed of wood, or stone-workers made of stone, or metal-workers molded in metal.

G. Behold the works with which the idolaters delude and terrify men. For if a carpenter wisheth to make a god for himself, he goeth into the forest and felleth a tree. It is good, it is tall and straight. And then he letteth it fall and striketh off its branches. And the bark, the leaves, and branches he taketh to his house and useth. Therewith he

otlateutocaque: ca cenca qujmaujçoque, yn jtlachioalhoan dios, ynjc tlanextia, ynjc pepetlaca, in teiollalia: auh ynjn amo ic qujmoteutizquja: ca çan ic qujlnamjquizquja, ca oc cenca tlananauja, ynjc cenca tlanextia, pepetlaca, teiollalia, tepapaqujltia, yn jnteiocuxcatzin dios:

in çan vel iceltzin itetzinco quiça in pepetlaca, in tlanextia, in jxqujch teiollali, yn jxqujch tetlamachti, vel iehoatzin çan vel izeltzin, tlachioale.

B. Auh intla cenca otlamauiçoque ipampa cequjnti itlachioalhoan dios, cenca chicoaque: qujlnamjquizquja, ca yn jnteiocuxcatzin dios, oc cenca chicoacatzintli.

C. Jn jsqujch iueli, in dios, ynjc cenquizca tlamatinj, ynjc cenca tecujltono, cenquizca tetlamachti: ca ytlachioaltzin itech neci: iehica ca cenca vey, cemanaoac oqujmuchiujli, cenca mjec tlamantli, oqujmuchiujli, vel mauiztic, vel tetlamachti.

D. Jnjque hi, tlateutocanjme, momanauja, motzinqujxtia, qujtoa:

in teohanti, ca iehoatzi tictotemulia, in iehoatzin tiqueleuja yn jpalnemoanj, in teiocujanj: auh ca ytech otitotzotzonato, in tonatiuh, in metztli, in cicitlalti, yoan oc cequj tlachioalti: ipampa ca mauiztique, vellaçoti, cenca teiollalique, vel tetlamachtique: ca nel titlaca amo chicoaac, in toiollo, in totlamachiliz.

E. Jnjn tlatolli, ynjc momanauiznequj tlateutocanjme: ca amo teiompachiuji, ca çan tequalanj, ipampa amo teiompachiuji: ca in iehoantin, oquipeoaltique, in tlateutoqujliztli, mjec tlamantli, oqujnextique, oqujttaque, in ouj tlatolli: in xiuhlapoaliztli, in tonalpoaliztli, yoan in oc cequj ouj tlatolli, oqujttaque, oqujnextique: auh in quenjn omojl-nonotzque, in quenjn oqujnemjlique, injc oqujximatque in omoteneuh: çan no iuhquj, oc oalca, ynjc qujximatizquja, qujttaquja, yn jpalnemoanj, in tlachioale, intla vellanemjlianj, intla vel moiolnonotzanj.

F. Ointlaueiltic, in iehoanti, in tlamajccapupul, in qujmoteutique, in tetlaxintli, in quaujtl tlaxintli, in teixiptla, in tepatillo: in teucujtlatl, yn anoço tepuztli, ic tlachiuhtli: yn anoço ie oqujmoteutique, in manenemj, yn patlantinemj, in atlan nemj: yn anoço ym jxiptlaoan, in qujnunque, in quauhunque, in tetzotzonque, yn anoço in teucujtlapitzque, oqujpitzque.

G. Jzcatquj, yn jntlachioal yn tlateutocanjme in cenca vel tetlapololti, in vel teiçauj, ca in aca quauhunque qujchiaoaznequj yn jteouh, vmpa iauh in quauhtla, ce quaujtl qujtlaça, ie in qualli, ie in melaoac: auh njman qujmatlatlaça, qujmatepeoa: auh yn jmama, yn jmatzocul in quaujtl, vmpa iauh yn jchan, vmpa monequiz: ynjc ycuciz, ytlauqual.

will cook his food. And as for the tree, he cutteth it. He maketh a log, a cylinder of wood. And he shapeth the log well; with good will he heweth it, shaping a head for it, and eyes, and a face, and a body, and hands and feet. And when he is done, then building walls he maketh a house [for the image]. Here he placeth it. And that it may not fall, he maketh it firm on the wall with either pegs or iron nails.

A. When he hath set his god up, then he layeth an offering before him. He cutteth his ears, that blood may be offered before him. He offereth prayers. He maketh vows. He weepeth before him and doth a penance, hoping to gain the favors which he requireth of him.

B. This wretched idolater hath no shame as he calleth [to the god], he beggeth in prayer [before him] who heareth not, seeth not, liveth not, hath no soul. And the prayer that he may be well, he prayeth to one who is sick. And for life he prayeth to one who is dead. And for favors he prayeth to one who is helpless. And the prayer that he may travel in safety he prayeth to one who cannot walk. And all which he asketh of him, which he wisheth to gain, [the image] hath not, giveth not. For it is only wood.

#### Fourteenth Chapter

The wood is good and of use; it is God's creature. For many things are made of it; for of it is made the house in which we dwell, and of it is made the canoe. With it is gained one's livelihood. For these things of great worth are thus made of wood, which is a thing needed of which we gain our livelihoods.

A. And the wood thus used for idolatry is accursed. Unhappy and accursed is he who [so] useth and fashioneth the wood; even as the wood itself.

And the hewer of wood must needs be accursed, because he made it, which is worthless and a delusion to men. And the wood which is much needed shall also be accursed, because it is only wood which hath been made into an idol.

B. And God, our Lord, abhorreth both the idolater and idolatry; [both] him who is the cause of idolatry and those who live in it. Both [of them] will forever be in torment in the land of the dead.

C. These, the demons, were the cause of idolatry. For never will God have mercy upon them. And although [they are] God's creatures, they must needs be abhorred and accursed, for they are liars, deceivers, and trouble-makers.

D. Those who first were the cause of idolatry [and the

Auh in quaujtl, qujtequj: cen tlacutl, quauhemjmjlli, qujchioa: auh yn oc cen tlacutl, vel qujxima, yujā qujxixima, qujtzontecontia, qujxtelolotia, qujxaiaacatia, qujtlactia, qujmatia, qujxitia: auh yn jquac oiecauh, njmā tepantli itech qujcaltia, vncan qujquetza: auh ynjc amo vetziz, caltech qujquāmjna, aço ica tlaxichtli, anoço ica tepuztlaxichtli.

A. Jn iquac vel oqujquetz iteouh: njmā ixpan tlamana, ixpan monacaztequj, mjço, qujtlatlauhtia: ivic monetoltia, ixpan choca, tlamaceoa qujtlanjlia, yn jtech monequj.

B. Jnjn tlateutocanipul, amo pinaoa in qujnotza, in qujtlatlauhtia, yn amo tlacaquj, in amo tlachia, yn amo iuli, yn atle yanjma: auh yn ipampa inic patiz, qujtlatlauhtia in cucuxquj: auh in jpāpa nemjiztli, qujtlatlauhtia in micquj: yoan qujtlatlauhtia yn atle ynecoca, ynjc qujpaleuiz: auh qujtlatlauhtia, ynjc vel nenemiz, qujtlatlauhtia yn auel-nenemj: auh in ie muchi, yn jtech monequj qujtlanjlia, in atle quipia, yn atle vel qujtemaca ičan quaujtl.

#### Capitulo quarto decimo

Jn quaujtl ca qualli, ca monequj, ca itlachioaltzin in dios: ca mjec tlamantli ic muchioa: ca ic muchioa in calli in umcan tinemj, yoan ic muchioa in acalli, ynjc netlaiecultilo: ipampa hi, vellaçotlalonj in quaujtl ynjc muchioa, in totech monequj ynjc titotlaiecultia.

A. Auh in quaujtl ynjc muchioa, in tlateutoqujliztli, vel telchialonj: auh in qujchioa in qujxima, vel oitlaueilitic, vel telchialonj, yn jvan in quaujtl:

auh in quauhxinquj, monequj cenca telchialoz, iehica ca oqujchiuh, in amo monequj in cenca tetlapololti: auh in quaujtl, cenca monequj, no telchialoz: iehica ca çan quaujtl, auh teutoco.

B. Auh in totecujo dios, vntlamanjsti cenca qujmotlael-ittilia, yn tlateutocanj, yoan in tlateutoqujliztli: in qujpeoalti tlateutoqujliztli, yoan in tlateutocatinemj, ym umexti mjctlan, cemjcaç tlaihijoujtilozque.

C. Jn iehoantin in diablome, oqujpeoaltique in tlateutoqujliztli, ipampa aic qujnmotlaoculiliz in dios: auh maciuj yn jtlachioalhoan dios, monequj cuculillozque, telchialozque, ca teiztlacaujanjme, teixcuepanjme, tetlapololtianjme.

D. Jn iehoantin vel achto oqujtzintique, in tlateutoquj-



makers of] idols offended God. Thus they angered God. For thus were many led into error.

When the world began, none lived as idolaters. And before the world shall end, idolatry will perish.

E. The witless and senseless began worshipping idols here upon earth. And because of their malice they suddenly died.

F. Behold how the wicked, men of little understanding, began the worship of idols.

A man [who was] a chief had a son, an only son, a youth, whom he loved much. And the youth died. And the father, much saddened thereby, wept and mourned exceedingly.

And then he commanded that an image of his beloved son be hewn of wood or fashioned of stone. [And] he bade the artisan to make it in the likeness of his son, so that it would be the painted image of his son.

The image was done, and then he placed it in a good place, to be worshipped there as a god, and to have offerings laid before it, and paper, and incense, and flowers.

G. And it came to pass that the chief bade all his vassals to worship as a god the image of his son, and to place offerings before [the image].

Thus it was that the worship of idols began.

A. Behold another manner by which arose idolatry.

Some made the images of those whom they loved, those who lived in far places.

And because they lived in distant parts [and those who fashioned them] could not see their bodies, their images consoled them. And they paid them honor and laid offerings before them—[the images of] either princes or princesses.

B. And the painters very skillfully painted the images. Very marvelously and well they made the images. Thus they persuaded men that they should be worshipped.

C. He who painted, or hewed from wood, or worked stone, or cast in gold or silver, since he wished to quiet doubts, caused the work which he made to be even better than the flesh from which was molded or taken the image. [As] he made the image better, so he led men deeper into error.

D. Very many common men, luckless people, who saw that the image was subtly and carefully made, worshipped

liztli, in ydolosme, itxzincō icpactzincō, oeoaque, onenque in dios: ic cēca omoqualanalti in dios, ca cenca mjequjntin ic omotlapololtique:

yn jquac otzintic cemanaoac, aiac tlateutocatinenca: auh in aiamao tlamiz cemanaoac, puliuz in tlateutoqujliztli.

E. Jn tlateutoqujliztli, in aqujmamatcaoaque, in xulopime, oqujtzintique, in nican tlalticpac: auh ipampa yn jntlauehlocaio, iciuhca omjqc.

F. Jzcatquj in quenjn oqujpeoaltique in tlauehloque, yn aqujmatinj, yn tlateutoqujliztli.

Ce tlatatl tlatōanj vnenca ipiltzin, çan vel izel ipiltzin, itelpuch, in cēca qujtlaçotlaia: auh in telpuchtli, mjc: auh yn jtatzin cenca ic omotequjpacho, cenca chocac, cenca otlaocux:

auh njmā otlanaoati, ynjc quaujtl, manōço tetl muchioaz moximaz in jxiptla itlaçopiltzin: oqujtlaquahnaoati in quauhxinquj, ynjc vel ipatillo qujchioazque, in vel iuhquj iez, yn ipiltzin in tlaixiptlaiotl.

Jno iecauh y, in teixiptla, njman qualcan oqujquetz, vncan oqujmoteuti: njman oqujnnaoati yn jchan tlaça, in qujmoteutzque, yoan ixpā tlamanaazque, qujmanaazque yn amatl in copalli, in suchitl.

G. Auh ie iquezquj xiuhioç, otlanaoati in tlatōanj, ynjc ixqujchtin, imaceoalhoan qujmoteutzque, yn ixiptla, yn ipiltzin, yoan ixpan tlamanaazque:

yujnj, yn otzintic, in tlateutoqujliztli.

A. Izcatquj in oc centlamantli, ynjc otzintic tlateutoqujliztli:

cequintin, oqujchiuhque, imixiptlahoan, yn jntlaçohuan in veca nemj:

auh in jpampa ca veca nemj, auel qujttaia yn ynnacaio, ytech moiollaliaia yn jmxiptlaoan: yoan qujnmauztiliaia, yoan ispan tlamanaia, aço tlatōanj, anoço civapilli.

B. Auh in iehoanti, in tlaçujloque, cēca qujnematca icujloque in teixiptla, vel mauiztic, vel iectli oqujchiuhque, yn teixiptla, ic oteioleuhque, ynjc oneteutiloc.

C. Jn iehoatl in tlaçujlo, yn anoço quauhxinquj, anoço texinquj, anoço teucujtlapitzquj: injc cenca qujiolpachiujtize-nequi, yn oqujteq'ti, oc cenca qualli oqujchiuh, yn amo mach iuhquj catca yn jnacaio, yn jtech omocopin, yn jtech omocujc in teixiptla: oc cenca qualli oqujtlatl in teixiptla, cenca ic otetlapololtique.

D. Cenca miequjntin, maceoaltin, icnotlaca, yn oqujttaque in teixiptla, in vel mjmati, in vellanematcachoalli,

it as a god. They thought it was a god. Only it led them into error because it was subtly and well made.

E. In this manner men on earth were led into error. For, because of its costliness, or because of the honor paid to it, they thought it holy. The precious name of God, which belongeth only to God, they thus [gave as] name to the image of stone [or] of wood.

F. The follies of the idolaters, which arose from the worship of idols, were not one but many. These [men] thought they were in peace; but it was in war that they lived.

G. These idol-worshippers slew their own sons before their gods. And by night they did many things before their gods, which sicken and rouse one to anger, all vicious things. They hated one another, they slew one another, they committed adultery one with another. [There were] murder, robbery, adultery, misguiding of men, public disorders, fighting spread everywhere. And none looked to gentle things, chastity, continent living. Vice and carnal living were verily the idolaters' way of life.

A. Idolatry is much to be loathed. In its beginning and in its end it is evil. And all loathsome things which lead one into error have their birth in idolatry.

B. They who worship idols, when they take their pleasure, drink [wine] which maketh them as if maddened, and they talk as if drunken.

C. Worshippers of idols, when they reproach their gods, see nothing in them. They speak ill of them; they have no fear of them; for they have no souls.

D. Many [such] things the idolaters do. Not without cause doth the Lord, the only God, abominate them; [for] they much esteem their false gods. And they are wont to swear false oaths, and thus they err and see not true justice.

E. Such oaths are not needful. Those who often call upon His holy name commit a sin. For it is not proper that one shall call upon the holy name of God, Who is great, unless it is much needful. They who falsely call upon His holy name commit a sin, which shall be their last sin.

oqujmoteutique: omomatque, ca teutl, çan oqujntlapololti in teixiptla injc mjmati, ynjc tlanematcachioalli.

E. Jhujn yn omotlapololtique, in talticpac tlaca: ca ipampa in tetlaçotlaliztli, anoço ipampa in temaviztiliztli, ocaujlqujstique in teuiotl: in tlaçotli tocaitl in teutl, in çan vel izeltzin yaxcatzin in dios, ynjc oqujntocaiotique in teixiptla in tetl, in quaujtl.

F. Jn tlateutocanjme, amo çan centlamantli, in jnnetlapololtiliz, ca cenca mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli itech qujça, itech iuli in tlateutoqujiztli: in iehoantin momati ca pacticcate, iece vei iaiuiutl, ipan nemj.

G. Jn iehoantin in tlateutocanjme, qujnmjctia, in jnpilhoan, imjxpan yn inteuhoan: auh cenca mjec tlamantli, in tetlaelti, in tequalanj, in ioaltica qujchioa, yn jmjxpan in teuhua: in ixqujch in jntlachioal, yn jnnemiliz, muchi teuhio, tlaçollo: nepanotl mocuculia, nepanotl momjctia, nepanotl motlaxima: in temjctiliztli, yn ichtequjiztli, in tetlaximaliztli, in teca necacaiaoziliztli, in necomonjiztli, neisnamiqujiztli, noviiian actimotecac: auh aiac qujmocujtlauija in necnelimatiliztli, in nepializtli, in chipaoacanemjiztli, in haujlnemjiztli, in teuhitli, in tlaçolli, vel innemjiz, in tlateutocanjme.

A. Jn cenca tetlaelti, tlateutoqujiztli, itzin ipeuhca, yoan itzonquizca, yn jxqujch, amo qualli, amo iectli: yoan in jxqujch tetlaelti, yoan in tetlapololti, muchi itech iuli qujça in tlateutoqujiztli.

B. Jn tlateutocanjme, yn jquac papaquj, iuhqujnma tlaoque, iollotlaeliloque muchioa, iuhqujn tlaoque tlatoa.

C. Jn tlateutocanjme, in iquac itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnteuhoan, çan no atle inpan qujmitta, qujnchicujtoa, amo qujmjmacaci, iehica ca atle yn inanjma.

D. Jn izqujtlamantli in, inpan muchioa tlateutocanjme: amo çan nen ca oqujnmotelchuijli in dios icel teutl: auh yn imiztlacateuhoan, cenca qujmauiztilique. Auh in iztlaca juramento, cenca itech omomatque, injc teca omocacaiauhque: auh in melaoac iusticia atle ipan qujttaque.

E. Jn iuramento, amo monequi itech nemachoz: in aqujque miecpa qujteneoa itocatzin, tlatlacoa: ca amo monequi vpa moteneoz, yn iteutocatzin, in jpan vei, yn ipan in cenca monequj: in çan tlapicq' teneoa yn jtocatzin tlatlacua, qujtzacutiaz in itlatlacul.

## Chapter Twelve

Alas, our Lord God, Thy heart is all good, all merciful. All things which Thou dost for us, who are the people of the world, all are good, all are righteous. And because Thy heart is good, Thou dost not now destroy those who sin; Thou dost not consume them with fire; Thou warnest them even yet, Thou admonishest them to leave their evil life, to turn to Thee.

A. Our Lord, these idolaters who lived on Thy earth Thou hast much abominated because of their evil life, because they have aroused Thy great wrath, habitually displeasing Thee. For they were wont to practise astrology, they cured the sick by removing stone knives from the body, they practised divination by means of knotted cords and by strewing grains of dried corn. Moreover, they slew [men] before the devils and the demons; and they slew their sons, yea, they offered them as sacrifices before things shaped of stone and hewn of wood. And they ate the flesh of men. Thou hast waited for these, who lived in times past, that they might repent their evil life. And because they wished not to repent their evil life, Thou hast chastised and destroyed them who in their malice destroyed Thy vassals the Christians.

B. Our Lord, will one say, "What hast Thou done?" Will one say, "Why hast Thou done this thing?" Will one dispute Thee, because Thou hast done thus? Will one avenge himself on Thee because of his punishment, being evil and unrighteous? And if Thou shalt destroy all the idolaters on earth, will one speak? Will one say, "Why didst Thou thus?" For all of them are Thy creatures.

C. [For] there is no other God; there are no other creatures. For Thou only art God; for Thou alone commandest all things which are in heaven and earth. And when Thou givest judgment, it is righteous. Then no great lord, no great emperor, shall question Thee, saying: "Why hast Thou slain and consumed my vassals?"

D. Lord, for this reason art Thou wholly good; all that Thou dost is righteous and good. Because all is possible to Thee, all is filled with Thee; all is good and righteous. And because Thy holy name is everywhere, Thy mercy is everywhere.

E. Lord, Thou showest Thy power and Thy strength to those who worship idols, who wish not to know Thy eternal power and Thy eternal strength; so that Thou increasest

## Capitulo 12

Jioiave, totecujoe diose, in moiollotzin, ca cenquizca qualli, cenqujzca iamanquj: in jxqujch in topan ticmuchiujlia in timuchinti, in cemaaoac titlaca, ca muchi qualli, muchi melaoac: auh ipampa ca cenca qualli moiollotzin, in tlatlacoanj, amo njman tiqujnmopopolhuja amo njman tiqujnmotlatlatilia, çan oc tiqujnmonechtilia, tiqujmonochilia, ynjc qujcaozque, yn jmaqualnemiliz, ynjc motetzinco pachiuizque.

A. Totecujoe, in iehoantin tlateutocanjme, in motlapantzinco nemja, cenca otiqujnmotlaelittili, yn ipampa yn imaqualnemiliz: ipampa ca cenca tequalanj, teiolitlaco, in qujchiuhtinenca: ca tonalpouhtinenca, tetlacujcujlitiñca, mecatlapouhtinenca, tlaulchahuhtinenca. Auh in tlatlaco-teculo in tzitzizimi imjxpan tlamictiaia: yoã yn jnpilhoan qujnmictiaia, in ca mostlaoaia, yn imjspan, in tetlaxinti, in quauhtlaxinti: yoan qujquaja in tlanacatl: in iehoantin jn vecauhtica tiqujnmuchieli: ynjc qujcuepazque yn jmaqualnemiliz: auh ipampa yn amo qujnecque in qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz otiqujnmopopulhuja, oqujtzacutiaque, yn jntlauelilocaio, oqujnpopoloque in momaceoaltzitzinhoan in xpianome.

B. Totecujoe yn ic oihticmuchiujli, yn, cuix aca itla qujtoz? Cuix aca qujtoz, tleica yn iuh ticmuchiujli, in? auh cuix aca mitzmotlatzoviliz? in ipampa iuh ticmuchiujli? auh cujx aca motetzinco motzoncuiz, yn ipampa intlatzacujltiloca, yn aqualti, yn aiecti? auh intla tiqujnmopopolhuiz, yn jxq'chtin cemaaoac tlateutocanjme, cujs aca tlatoz? cujx aca qujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujli? ca muchinti motlachioaltzitzinhoan.

C. Niman aiac vnca, oc ce teutl, nimã aiac oc ce tlachioale, ca çan moceltzin titeutl, ca çan moceltzin ticmopachilhuja, yn jsqujch yn jlhujac onoc, in talticpac, onoc: auh ynjc timotetlatzontequjlilia, ca vel melaoac, njman aiac vei tlatocanj, in anoço vei Emperador, mitzmotlatlanjliz, mitzmolhuiliz: tleicã otiqujnmomjctili, otiqujnmotlatlatili, in nomaceoalhoan?

D. Totecujoe, iehica ca ticenquizca qualli, yn jsquich ticmuchiujli, muchi melaoac, muchi qualli: ipampa ca muchi moueli, motetzinco cenquiztoc, yn isquich qualli, melaoac: auh ipampa ca novijan aci, in motlatocaiotzin, novijan timotetlaoculilia.

E. Totecujoe, in mouelilitzintzin, in muchicaoalitzintzin, ticmonestilia, in impan tlateutocanjme: in amo qujneltocaznequj, in cemanqui movelilitzintzin, yn cemanqui, muchi-

their misery, because of their disobedience. Lord, perfect and great power is Thine. And Thou hast the power to destroy those who sin, now, when they offend Thee. And Thou dost not [destroy them], but Thou waitest that in peace they may repent of their evil lives.

### Chapter Fifteen

Thou, Who art our God, Who art our Lord, greatly merciful and good is Thy heart. And all the things which Thou dost are good and righteous. And in Thy mercy hast Thou disposed all creatures.

A. Lord, thus are our hearts troubled, for we are Thine, we who are Christians. If we shall sin, still we are Thine. We know Thou art perfectly great and perfectly good. And if we shall not sin, we know we are with Thee. For we are Thy chosen ones.

B. Our Lord, the knowledge of Thee hath been well-revealed and hath redeemed us. And those who have obeyed Thy commandments thus merit eternal life.

### Chapter Sixteen

Our Lord God, The lives and deaths of our bodies are of Thy making. Our body's life of peace or life of misery are in Thy hand.

A. And the death of our souls is not of Thy creation nor because of Thy commandment. For we, who are Thy people, with our sins and wickedness kill our souls and thrust them into the land of the dead. And when our souls go forth from our bodies they may never return. All will be ended forever; for one remaineth forever and is there either in the place of the good or else not in the place of the good. There one is placed in his place; and none who is in Thy hand will resist; because all is possible to Thee, for Thou art everywhere.

B. The worshippers of idols who will not know Thee, by the might of Thy hand Thou punishest them; with water, with hail stones, and with fire Thou hast destroyed them.

### [Confutation of Idolatry]<sup>128</sup>

The word of God hath been set forth; it hath been spread before you, my beloved children. Strongly hath it shined upon you and made you see. Thus it will be known that the

caoliztzin: ynjc oc cenca tiqunmoveililia yn jnetoliniliz, yn ipampa intzötetiliz: Totecujoe ca maxcatzin, in cenquizquj in vei in velitiliztli: auh ca timovelitilia, yn njman tiqunmopolhuiz, in tlatlacoanj, yn jquac mitzmoiolitlalahuja: auh ynjn ca amo iuh ticmuchivjlia, ca çan oc tiqunmuchielia, ynjc iviian qujcuepazque yn jnnemjliz.

### Capitulo 15

Jn tehoatzin, in tidios, in titoteuh, in titotlatocatzin, cenca iamanquj, cenca qualli moiollotzin: auh in jxqujch in ticmuchiuja, muchi qualli, muchi melaoac: auh ca motetlaoculiliztica, ticmotecpanjlia, yn ixqujch chioalonj.

A. Totecujoe, ca iuh qujmattica in toiollo, ca timaxcatzizinhoan, in tixpianome: intla titlatlacoque, ca ça oc motetzinco tipouj: ticmati ca ticenquizca vei, ticenquizca qualli: auh intlacamo titlatlacoque, ticmati ca motlantzinco ticate: ca timotlapepenaltzizinhoan.

B. Totecujoe, yn miximachocatzin, ca vel tetlanestili, vel temaqujsti: auh yn ipialoca, yn motenaotiltzin, ic icnopilhujlo, in cemjac nemjliztli.

### Capitulo 16

Totecujoe diose, ca tehoatzin, vel moneiocultzin, momachitzin, yn juuliliz, yoã imiquiz in tonacaio: yn jpaccanemjliz yoan yn jcuculiz in tonacaio, ca momactzinco ca.

A. Auh yn imquiz, in tanjma, amo motlachioaltzin, amo motlatlaliztzin: ca çan tehoanti, in titlaca, totlatlacultica, totlavelilocaotica, ticmjctia in tanjma, mjctlan tictlaça. Auh yn iquac, yn tanjma qujtalcahuja in tonacaio, auelitiz in oc cepa itic calaquiz, yn jxqujch ica tlamiz cemañoac, ca oiccenquiz, oiccenta: in anoço qualcan, yn acanoço qualcan, vmpa ceniez yn vmpa oticmoieiantili: auh ca njman aiac momacpatzinco momapatlaz: iehica ca muchi moueli, ca noviian timoietzinotica.

B. Jn tlateutocanjme, yn amo mitzmomachitocaznequj, mocenmacca velitiliztica, tiqunmotlatzacujtilia, atica, teciuhtica, yoan tletica, otiqujmopopulhuj.

Jn teutlatolli omoteneuh, in amispan omomelauh, notlaçopilhoane: ca cenca chicaoac vel tetlanextili, tetlachialti. Jnyc vel iximachoz, in tlateutoquiliztli, in ca cenca

128. The Latin of the Vulgate ends with the second paragraph. Sahagun's confutation begins without title in the *Florentine Codex*.

worship of idols hath led men into great error; it will thrust them into the land of the dead; it is a great sin against God, our peace and salvation.

And now, that their hearts shall be filled, since their minds and hearts are weak, once more must I unfold God's word, as written above, so that all men shall know it. For the worship of idols is much to be abominated and despised.

A. Perceive, my beloved children, the light, the torch, by which will be known the only God, God the Creator; for this is the word of God. And knowledge of the false gods whom the ancients worshipped, of them also is set forth the truth in God's word. This word of God lieth folded away in the guarded places of the Holy Church, our mother, like the gold, the silver, the emeralds of heaven, the turquoise, the precious stones, the gems which belong to it, which exceed all things in preciousness, in being worthy of guarding. This word of God which is to save all [men], is of great need to all who of good will believe it. Thus is the word of God a light, a torch. God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, hath given and guarded our mother, the Holy Church, that she may give the light to, and teach, all her children.

B. My children, perceive God's word, which is God's light. Thus will see those who live in darkness, who have lost the way; those who worship idols, who go with the sins of the devil, who is the father of lies. And thus will be known to them their gods and their lords which the word of God, the word of truth, hath declared to them. Because already I have made known and have told the word of God, which here, lying unfolded, revealeth how idolatry began. Likewise here are revealed many things [concerning] the error, misery, and blindness into which the worshippers of idols fell.

C. This, the word of God, the light of God, instructeth and telleth us, now, that there are not many gods, for there is but one, the only Maker and Creator, Lord everywhere. And the word of God, which hath been written before, revealeth what followeth: *Non est enim alius deus quam tu, cui cura est de omnibus*, which meaneth: "Our Lord God, Thou alone art God and Lord; none else is God, none else is Lord. In Thy hand alone are all things visible and invisible."

D. This is thus revealed: Huitzilopochtli is no god; Tezcatlipoca is no god; Tlaloc is no god; nor Tlalocatecutli; Quetzalcoatl is no god; nor is Ciuacoatl a goddess; Chicome coatl is no goddess; neither is Teteo innan a goddess; Tzapotla tenan is no goddess; nor are the Ciuapipilti goddesses; nor the Ciuateteu; neither is Chalchiuhtli ycue a goddess; nor is Uixtociuatl a goddess; nor is Tlaçolteotl a

tetlapoloti: vel mictlan tetlaz, vel vei yiolitlaculocatzin in dios, in toteiocuxcatzin, totemaquisticatzin.

Auh yn axcan ynjc vel iniollo pachiuiz, yn amo cenca chicaoac in imjx, yn iniollo, oc monequj oc achi njcmelaoaz, in teutlatolli, in tlapac omjcuilo ynjc muchi tlatat qujmatiz, ca in tlateutoqujiztli, cenca vellaelittalonj, telchiaoalonj.

A. Tla ximocaqujtican, notlaçopilhoane, yn tlanextli, yn ocutl, ynjc vel iximachoz, yn izel teutl ipalnemoanj dios: ca iehoatl in teutlatolli. Auh yn jmiximachoca yn iztlacateteu, in qujnmoteutiaque, in vevetque: çan no itech quiça yn jmelaoaca, in teutlatolli. Jnjn teutlatlatolli ixillantzincó, itozcatlantzincó, in tonantzin sancta yglesia, cuecuelpachiuh-toc, iuhqujnma ilhujcac teucujtlatl, ilhujcac quetzalitztli, teuxiujtl, temaquiztli, tlaçotetl ipam pouj: in vellapanauja ynjc tlaçotli, ynjc pialonj: ynjn teutlatolli, yn jsqujchtin momaqujxtiznequj, cenca intech monequj, in iollocopa qujneltoçazque: iehica ca dios itlatoltzin, ca tlanestli, ca ocotl. Jn dios tetatzin, in tepiltzin, in espiritu sancto, qujmomaqujli, qujmopialtili, yn tonantzin sancta yglesia, ynjc qujntlanextilia, qujnmachtia, yn jsqujchtin ipilhoan.

B. Tla ximocaqujtican, notlaçopilhoane, in teutlatolli, ca teutlanestli: ynjc vellachiazque in tlaiooaijan nemj, in mixcuetpinemj, yn tlateutocanjme, in qujtocatinemj ymiz-tlatatlatol in diablo, yn vel yta in iztlacatiliztli. Auh ynjc vel qujmiximachilizque, yn jnteuuh, yn jntlatocauh, in qujmotenqujstili in teutlatolli, yn neltiliztlatolli: ipampa in tlapac, onjteneuh, in tlapac onjqujto, in teutlatolli, yn vncan neztica, melaoatica, yn quenjn otzintic opeuh, in tlateutoqujiztli; no yoan vncan neztica, in ca mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli, netoliniliztli, ixpopuiutiliztli, ipan ovetzque yn tlateutocanjme.

C. Jn iehoatl in teutlatolli, in teutlanextli, techmachtia techcaqujtia, ca njman amo velitiz, in mjequjntin iezque teteu, ca çan vel çe in çan vel izeltzin, teiocuijanj, ipal nemoanj, novian, tlatonj: auh in teutlatolli yn tlapac omjcuilo, itech neztica, izcatquj. Non est enim alius deus quam tu, cui cura est de omnibus. q. n. Totecujoe, diose, ca çan mozeltzin titeutl, titlatoanj, aiac oc ce teutl, aiac oc ce tlatonj: çan mozeltzin momactzincó ca, yn jxqujch ittalo, yn amo yttalo.

D. Jnin ca ic vel neztica, ca amo teutl, in vitzilubuchtli: amo teutl, in tezcatlipuca, amo teutl in tlaloc; yn anoço tlalocatecutli: amo teutl in quetzalcoatl: amono teutl, in cioacoatl: amo teutl in chicome coatl; amono teutl yn teteu innan: amo teutl in tzaputla tena: amono teteu, in cioapipilti, anoço cioateteu: amono teutl in chalchiuhtli, icue; amono teutl, in vixtocioatl: amono teutl in tlaçulteutl:

goddess; Xiuhtecutili is no god; Macuilxochitl is not a god; nor is Omacatl a god; neither is Ixtlilton Tlaltetecuin a god; Opochtli is not a god; Xipe totec is not a god; Yiacatecutli is no god; Chiconquiauitl is not a god; Chalmecaciatl is no goddess; Acxomocuil is not a god; Nacxitl is no god; Cochimetl is not a god; Iacapitzauc is not a god; Napa tecutli is no god; the Tepictoton are not gods; the sun is not a god; the moon, the stars—none are gods; Tlaltecutili [lord of the earth] is no god; the water of the sea, the ocean, is no god. And here in New Spain all were in times past worshipped as gods, [though] none are gods. For they are all devils and demons, as the word of God [stateth]. *Omnes dii gentium demonia*; that is to say [in Nahuatl], "All whom the idolaters worship as idols are devils, demons, evil spirits."

E. Unhappy are they who worshipped these devils as idols, for they are full of wickedness, [they are] our adversaries; [they are] the affliction of us, the people [who live] on earth. Ill-fated are they who offered up to them the blood of their children, the hearts of their fellows. These [also] are unfortunate who supplicated them humbly, who kissed the earth in the presence of the devils; and who begged the images for the things they desired. Greatly were they in error thinking that they were powerful, these—[that] they gave all wealth and riches, that these would protect, support, and save men. As they believed this, your forefathers were themselves destroyed and others were destroyed. And because they [wished] to merit that which their hearts desired, they made offerings before the devils; they fasted; they passed all-night vigils; they offered their blood; they prayed. Thus they afflicted and tormented their bodies in the presence of the devils and demons. Moreover, they offered them many offerings. They made offerings of precious green stone and quetzal feathers—spreading, curving, green; and valuable mantles and costly vestments. And before them they made offerings of various flowers; and many kinds of incense. Such [things] they did, thus to pay honor to their adversaries, who afflicted them, who injured them, who required no honor, who needed no love. For they merited only to be abominated, abhorred, and hated. Therefore are condemned and accursed the enemies of the Lord God and of us, [who are] mankind.

F. Unhappy and much to be blamed are they who even now are idolaters, yet whom God's word hath reached, who have heard the Holy Gospel. Even more to be wept and reproached are those who, having been baptised, once again practice sorcery, casting auguries in water, believing in demons or [taking account of those who] cry out or quiver their eyelids [in their sleep]; or who hold the owl as an omen. And even more in times past were people terrified [by these things]. All who so do must meet torment here

amo teutl in xiuhtecutili: macuilsuchitl amo teutl; vmacatl amono teutl: istlilton, tlaltetecujn, amono teutl: in opuchtli, amono teutl: xipe totec amono teutl: yiacatecutli amo teutl: chicūquiavitl amo teutl: chalmeca cioatl amo teutl: in acxumocujl amo teutl: nacxitl amo teutl: cochimetl amo teutl: in iacapitzaoac amo teutl: in napa tecutli amo teutl: tepictoton, amo teteu: yn tonatiuh amo teutl: in metztli, in cicitlaltin aiac teutl: in tlaltetcutli amo teutl, yn teuatl, yn ilhujcaatl, amo teutl. Auh yn ie muchintin, yn nican nueua españa, neteutiloia, ie vecauh, njman aiac teutl: ca muchintin tzitzizimj, culeleti: iuh ca in teutlatolli. Omnes dij gentium demonja: qujtoznequj. Jn isqujchtin, yn qujnmotetia, yn tlateuocanjme, muchintin, diablome, tzitzizimj, culeleti.

E. Ointlaueliltic, in qujnmotetitiaque in iehoantin in tzitzizimi, ca uel qujmaxiltique tlaueliloque, vel toiahoan, vel totēcuculicahoan, in tlalticpac titlaca. Ointlaueliltic in qujnmacaque, yn jmezco, yn inphilhoan, yn jniollo, in jnvampoan: yn iehoantin jn ointlaueliltic, in qujmicnotlaltlauhtiaia, in jmispan tlatquaia, in diablosme: yoan yn jmixiptlaoan ynic qujmjtlaniaia, in tlein intech monequja: cenca moztlacaujaia, ynic momatia ca in iehoantin, vel qujtemaca, in jsqujch in tetlamachtli, in isqujch tecujltono. Yoan ca no iehoanti, tepaleuja, temauja, yoan temaqujstia: in iuh momatque hi, in amoculhoan, cenca omotlapololtique, yoan cenca otetlapololtique. Auh yn ipampa injc vel qujcnopilhuizque, in tlein qujnequja iniollo: imispan tlamanaia in diablome, moçaoia, istoçoaia, mjçoaia tlatlaltlauhtiaia, mjec tlamantli ynyc qujtoneoia, ynyc qujchichinatzaia in jnnacaio, in jmispan in diablome, in tzitzizimj: no yoan cenca mjec tlamantli ventli, in qujmanaia: invē muchioia in chalchiujtl, in quetzalli, in patlaoac, in vitoliuhquj, in vel xopaleoac: yoan in tlaçotilmatl, in tlaçotlāquj. Yoan imjxpan qujmanaia, in nepapan xuchitl: yoan mic tlamantli, in copalli: in juh qujchiaoia hi, ca ic qujnmauiztiliaia in jniahoan, yn jntēcuculicahoan, yn jntetolinjcaoa: in atle intech monequj mavizcotl, yn atle intech momonequj tetlaçotlaliztli: ca çan monequj cenca telchialozque, tlaellitalozque, cuculilozque: iehica ca tlacemjsnaoatilti, tlacentalchialti: yiahoan yn totēcuj dios, yoan toiahoan in titlaca.

F. O cel in tlaeliltic, ca cenca tlacemjsnaoatilti, in iehoantin in ocnoma tlateuocatinemj in axcan, in ie oacico teutlatolli, in ie caco in sancto Evāgelio: ca oc cenca techoctique, tetozqujtenque, in iehoantin in ie omoquatequjque, yn ipan in jnnequatequjliz, in ie no ceppa tlapoa, atlan teitta, qujneltoaca in temjctli, anoço in tozqujchoca, ymjspatlapaca: anoço qujmotetzavia in chiquatli, in teculotl: yoan oc cequj in ie vecauh netetzaujloia. Jn jsq'chtin, yn iuhquj qujchiao yn, cenca monequj in njcan tlalticpac,

on earth, and when they shall die, they will be cast into the land of the dead.

G. Because of the worship of idols, much misery befell the old people, your grandfathers and your grandmothers. There were many wars in New Spain, while there was idolatry; famine was frequent; pestilence was often widespread; thus people died. And therefore did the Spaniards come to conquer; therefore were many peasants destroyed, because idolatry did all [this]. And now there is much misery, because [there is] idolatry, because it is not yet all forgotten. Our Lord God is exceeding wroth; He consumeth the worshippers of idols with fire. For idolatry offendeth our Lord God; it breaketh His commandment; [it is] all sinful. And as for the idolaters there in the land of the dead, even more terrible is their evil-smelling place of torment; their weeping, their tears, their cries, which shall never cease; for [thus] it is written in God's word.

A. Behold the groans, the tears, of the worshippers of idols: *Erravimus in via veritatis*, etc. ([*Book*] of *Wisdom*, Chapter 5). That is to say [in Nahuatl]: "Unhappy were we, for we erred while we were on earth; and the straight road of righteous life we saw not; the sun of righteousness shone not upon us; our sinful way tormented and exhausted us; and our road to ruin vexed us; our sins led us to dangerous places. Of what advantage to us were pride and grandeur? Of what advantage to us was riches on earth? Many such things fall confused like the shadows of smoke; [they are] like the messenger running fast; like the rapidly moving canoe, as if driven by the wind, of which nothing is seen where it goeth; like the bird which flieth swiftly leaving no trace of his flight; like the arrow quickly reaching its target, nor is it seen where it flew. Behold, so it befell us on earth, for we lived on earth but a moment and soon died, because our sins ended and destroyed our lives."

B. Behold these, the words of the idolaters, their weeping, their tears, their wailing, their cries, which shall never be comforted. And they who know, who obey our Lord God shall gain His kingdom and His riches. Because our Lord God is complete contentment, as hath been said before by the word of God.

C. Behold, once more I say unto you: *O quam bonus et quam suavis est domine spiritus tuus in omnibus*, etc. That is, "Alas, our Lord God. For Thou art perfectly good, and Thou art gentle of heart. Thou lovest all of us."

[This] is well shown to mean thus: "O Lord God, Thy

tlaihioujltlozque, yoan yn jquac miquizque, mjctlan tlaçalozque.

G. Jn ipampa tlateutoqujztlitli, cenca mjec tlamantli netoliniliztli, impā muchioaia in veuetque, yn amoculhoan, yn amocihoan: ca mjec tlamantli iaiuotl, njcan manca, in nueua españa, yn oc ipan tlateutoqujztlitli: miecpa, maiana-loia, miecpa cuculiztli momanaia, ic mjcooia. Auh inic tepeoaco inin españoles, jnjc miequjnti ispoliuhque in maceoalti, ca muchi ipampa omuchiu, in tlateutoqujztlitli: auh yn axcan yn izqujtlamantli tetoliniliztli manj, ca muchi ipampa in tlateutoqujztlitli, iehica, ca aiamo cemjcauj: Jn totecujto dios, tlapanauja ynic moqualanaltia, ca qujnmotlatlailia, in tlateutocanjme: iehica ca in intlateutoqujztlitli ynjc qujmoliitlacalvia in totecujto dios, vel quipanauja, yn jsqujch tlatlaculli. Auh in tlateutocanjme, in vmpa mictlan, oc cenca temamauhti, yn jntlaihioujltloca: yn jnchoquiz, yn jmjxaio, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn aic vel qujcaozque: ca teutlatolpan yucjliuhtoc.

A. Jzcatquj yn inchoquiz, yn imixaio in tlateutocanjme. Erraujmus in via veritatis, etc. Sapientie, 5 capitulo. qujtoznequj. Ototlaueiltic ca otitiscuepque yn oc talticpac tinenca: auh in melaoc iecnemilizvtli, amo tiqjttaque, in iecnemiliztonatiuh, amo techtlanextili, otechtlaciavilti, otecianmjcti, in totlatlaculvuj: auh yn tonetlapololtilizvuj cenca otechama, cenca ovican otechaquj, in totlatlacul: tle otechonqujsti, in nepoliztli, in tlatocaiutl? tle otechonqujsti, in talticpac necujltonoliztli? Jn izqujtlamantli hi, iuhqujma puctli ceoalli, ompoliuhtuetzi: iuhqujma titlantli in cenca totocatiqça: iuhqujma acalli, in cenca totocatiuh, in juhquj êcatoco, yn amo tle neci incampa quça: iuhqujma tototl, in cēca totoca injc patlanj, yn atle icximachio qujcauhtiu: iuhqujma totomjtl, in vel icihuah onacituetzi, amono neci, incampa oquiz: O ca iuhquj otopanomuhiuh in talticpac, ca çan achintoca talticpac otonnēque, çan icihuah ontzonquiz, in tonemjiz, yn ipampa in totlatlacul, ovntlan, vmpoliuh in tonemjiz.

B. O ca iuhquj hi, yn intlatol in tlateutocanjme, iuhqui in, yn inchoquiz, yn jmixaio, yn intlaocullatol, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn njman aic vel moiollalizque. Auh in qujmimachilia, in qujmotlacamachitia, yn totecujto dios qujcnopilhuizque, yn jlatocaiotzin, yn jnecujltonoliztzin: iehica ca cenquizca mocujltonoan, yn totecujto dios, iuh ca in teutlatolli in tlapac omjto.

C. Izcatquj ie no cepa namechmelavilia O quam bonus et quam suavis est domjne spiritus tuus in omnibus, etc., qujtoznequj. Yioiaue, totecujto diose, ca ticenquizca qualli, auh ca cenca iamanquj in moiollotzin, cenca titechmo-tlaçotilia yn timuchinti.

Jnic vel momelaoa, q'toznequj. Jio totecujto diose, in

love is of the Holy Ghost; it is all powerful. And Thou causest its goodness, its gentle righteousness, to come over us, [because of] Thy love.

"Thou hast made all the good and the righteousness which is in Thy creatures.

"Thus all is of advantage to us.

"And also Thou givest Thyself to us. Thus it is plain, and we know, that Thou art greatly merciful.

"For Thou offerest us Thy truth, that Thou mayest be known to us.

"And Thou offerest us Thy commandments, that we may obey Thee.

"And Thou offerest us Thy Sacraments, that Thou mayest comfort and purify us, and strengthen our souls.

"Thus shall we gain eternal life in Heaven.

"And Thou further showest Thy mercy.

"For Thy servants who offend Thee, them Thou destroyest and castest into the flames not now, but Thou callest to them gently, Thou teachest them gently that they may repent.

"For with Thy word, Thy preachers give counsel to those who sin. And Thy priests give them the Sacraments, that they may change their lives and that they may be pleasing to Thee.

"And those who wish not to know Thee, who wish not to cease the worship of idols, them Thou causest to be cast into the land of the dead.

"And [even] those who believe in Thee,<sup>129</sup> who will not change their lives, who die in sin, them Thou punishest in eternal torment, there in the land of the dead.

"And this Thou dost in such wise [that] it is all righteous. [For] then none may change Thy word, none may change Thy commandment.

"Neither they who dwell in Heaven nor those who dwell on earth may ask, "Why dost Thou do this?" For Thy word may not be changed.

"For that which Thou hast caused to be done is just. And indeed Thou art the fount of life, the fount of good, the source of power. In Thee is all riches, all glory, all comfort.

"And verily Thou rulest everywhere, and all good and righteousness come from Thee. Thou alone givest them."

D. Thus it is very plain, my dear children, how much worthy of love, how much worthy of honor is our Lord God. For He is giver of life, our creator, ruler everywhere.

Likewise it hath been shown above what manner of gods were those of your forefathers—wicked, false, fraudulent, hateful, horrible, well deserving of scorn.

motetlaçotlaltzin, ca iehoatzin in espiritu sancto, ca muchieli: auh ca topan quivalmjoalia, yn iqualtiliz, yn jiectiliz aviiaca in motetlaçotlaltzin:

otimuchiujlitzino, yn isqujch in qualli, in iectli in intech ca yn motlachioaltzitzinhoan:

ynjc muchi techpaleuiz in titlaca:

auh ca no vel tehoatzin titonemactzin in titlaca, ynjc neci, ynjc ticmati, ca cenca timotetlaoculilianj:

iehica ca titechmomaqujlia yn moneltococatzin, ynjc vel timitzximachilizque:

yoan titechmomaqujlia yn motenaotiltzin, injc vel timitztouellamachtilizque:

yoan titechmomaqujlia in mosacramentotzin, ynjc ticmopatilia, yoã ticmuchipavilia, yoan ynic ticmuchicavilia in tanjma:

inic vel tiqujcnopilhuizque, in cemicac nemjliztli, in vmpa ilhujcac:

yoan oc cenca ticmonextilia in motetlaoculilitzin:

ca in iehoanti yn momacealtzitzinoan in mjtzmioilitlactalhuja amo njman tiqujnmopopolhuja, amo njman tiqujnmotlatlatilia, çan iujan tiqujnmomonochilia, çan ivian tiqujnmomonemachtilia: injc vel qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz:

ca motēcopatzinco, in motemachticaogan, qujnnonotza in tlatlacoanj, auh in moteupiscatzitzinhoan, qujnmaca in sacramentos ynjc vel qujcuepazque in jnnemiliz, yoã injc vel motetzinco pachiuizque.

Auh yn amo mitzmjximachiliznequj, yn amo qujcaoziltzimatli, in tlateutoqujliztli, mjctlan tiqujnmotlaxilia:

yoan in motlaneltocacaoan in amo qujcuepaznequj, yn innemjliz, in çan ipan miç' yn intlatalacul, cemicac tlaihioujliztli, ic tiqujnmotlatzacujltilia, in vmpa mictlan:

auh ynjn yn iuh ticmuchivilia in, ca muchi melaoac, çan njman, aiac qujcuepaz in motlatoltzin, aiac mitzmotlatolilochtiliz:

yn aço ilhujcac chaneque, yn anoço tlalticpactlaca, aiac velqujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujlia hi? njman amo cuepalonj, in motlatoltzin:

iehica, ca cenca melaoac in ticmuchivilianj, yoan ca tinemjlizameialli, tiqualtilizameialli, tiuelitilizameialli, motetzinco cenqujztoç, in isqujch tecujltono, in ixqujch tetlamachtli, yn jsqujch tepapaqujltili:

auh ca tehoatzin, novian timotlatocatilia: yoan in jsqujch in qualli iectli, motechpatzinco quiça, çan moceltzin ticmotemaqujlia.

D. Jc cenca vel neztica, notlaçopilhoane, in quenjn cenca tlaçotlalonj, cenca mauiztililonj in totecujo dios: iehica ca ipalnemoanj, toiocoianj, noujan tlatoanj:

çan no tlapac neztica, in quenamique inteuan, yn amocolhoan: cenca vellaveliloque, teiztlacaujanj, teca mocaicaoganj, tecuculianj, vellaelittalonj, vel telchialonj.

129. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "y a los que no os qujeran conocer." The negative is missing in the Aztec.



E. Now you must needs know the history of each of your forefathers' gods, severally, that their wickedness may be made plain.

They, the ancients, who were well-apprised, related to us, [and] we have newly instructed you, how Uitzilopochtli was adored as a god everywhere in the land of Mexico, [as] the true god of the Mexicans.

And this Uitzilopochtli, we know, was a man, a sorcerer, an omen of evil, a madman, a deceiver, a creator of war, a war-lord. He brought hunger and plague—that is, war.

This Uitzilopochtli, who truly serveth the devil, your grandparents honored by a feast thrice each year. War captives and slaves were slain; they shed much blood, here at Itepeyoc. They did many mad things before his image.

These most villainous, most terrible, most shameful things your grandparents brought about.

F. Likewise we know that, in times past, everywhere in New Spain, all adored Tezcatlipoca as a god.

And they [also] named him Titlacauan, and Iaoatl, Necoc Iaoatl, Moicoioan, and Neçaualpilli. The ancients considered this Tezcatlipoca [as] a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, in heaven.

When he walked upon the earth, he stirred up war; he brought vice and sin; he brought anguish and affliction to men. He established discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." He mocked and jeered people, [wherefore] he was called the wind and the shadow.

This evil Tezcatlipoca, we know, is Lucifer himself, the great devil who there in heaven, even in the beginning, incited war, hatred, and sin. From there he was cast out, and he fell.

And he walketh upon the earth deluding and misleading people.

For so is the word of God: *Factum est proelium magnum in coelo*. Apoc. 12. That is, a great war was fought in heaven which Lucifer incited.

He, this Tezcatlipoca, [this] Titlacauan, [is] a great devil. The ancients adored him as a god, and they celebrated his feast [in the month of] Toxcatl. And they slew him who was his likeness, whom they named Titlacauan.

So much were the ancients crazed.

G. Behold yet another devil, whom the ancients adored as a god, named Tlaloc, or Tlaloque. To him was attributed the rain.

They said: "For these make things sprout, they make them bloom, they bring life to trees and plants, and, indeed, all our sustenance." Also to the Tlalocs were attributed the flood, and the thunder-bolt.

For the sake of these devils the ancients celebrated a feast [in the month of] Quauitl eua or Atl caualo, when

E. Jn axcan vel monequj, in anqujcaquizque cecēiaca intlatollo, yn jntean catca, yn amoculhoan: ynjc vel neciz in jntlauelilocaio.

Jn iehoantin yn ueuetque, in vel machiceque, otechcaqujtique, in tehoantin, in vel iancujcan otamechmachtique, in quenjn oneteutiloc in Vitzilobuchtli: noviian in talpan in mexica, vel inteouh in mexica.

Auh ynjn vitzilobuchtli ticmati, ca maceoalli, naoalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teiscuepanj, qujiocuianj, iaiuiotl, iautevani: tepan qujtlaça in xiuhoatl, in mamalhuaztli, in iaiuiotl, in teuatl, in tlachinolli:

Jnin Vitzilobuchtli, in vel ymaceoal in diablo, in amoculhoan quilviquixtiliaia, espan cecexiujtl: malmjcoiaia, tlaaltilmjcoiaia: cenca miec eztlī noquiujā, in vncan itepeioc: miec tlamantli netlapololtiliztli quichioaia, ispan in ixiptla.

Jnin, cenca tetlapololti, cenca teiçauj, cenca tepinauhti, in oqujchiuhtiaque yn amoculhoan.

F. No yoan ticmati, ca njcan noujan nueua españa ie uecauh, oneteutiloc in tezcatlipuca:

yoan qujtocaiotique, titlacaoan, yoan iautl, necoc iautl, moicoioa, neçaoalpilli. Jnjn tezcatlipuca qujtotiaque in veuetque, vel teutl, noujan ynemjan, mictlan, tlalticpac, ilhujcac:

in iquac nemja tlalticpac, iaiuiotl qujiolitiaia, iehoatl qujiolitiaia in teuhitli, in tlaçolli, cococ, teupouhqui tepan qujchioaia, tetzalan tenepantla, moquetzaia: ipampa y, moteneoa necoc iautl, teca maujltiaia, tequequeloia: mote-neoa ehecatl, tlaioalli.

Jnin tlaelilloc tezcatlipuca, ticmati ca iehoatl in lucifer, in vei diablo, in vmpa ilhujcatl itic, vel iancujcan oqujpeoalti, iaujtl in tecuculiliztli, in teuhitli, in tlaçolli: vmpa oaltotococ, vmpa oalvetz.

Auh in nican tlalticpac teiztlacaujtinemj, teca mocaiauhutinemj:

ca iuhca in teutlatolli. Factum est prelium magnū in celo, apoc. 12. quitoznequj, vei iaiuiotl, omuchiuh in ilhujcatl ytic oqujpeoalti in lucifer:

in iehoatl tezcatlipuca, titlacaoa, vei diablo: iehoatl qujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque: yoan qujllhujqujxtiliaia, yn iquac toxcatl: yoan qujmjctiaia yn jxiptla, yn qujtocaiotiaia titlacaoan,

ic cenca omotlapololtilique in veuetque.

G. Jzcatquj yn oc no ce diablo, qujmoteutitiaque in ueuetque, yn jtoca tlaloc, anoço tlaloque: itech tlamjloia in qujiaujtl:

qujtoque. Ca iehoātin, qujxoaltiaia, qujcueponaltia quizcaltiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl: auh in ie muchi tonacaiutl. No yoan yntech tlamjloia in tlalloque, in teilaqujliztli, tlvatequjliztli:

ipampa ynin diablome, qujmillhujqujstiliaia, yn ipan quavutl eoa, anoçe atl caoalo in veuetque, in iquac xiuh-

the new fire was made. On their feast day, many children, called *tlacateteuhti*, were slain on the mountain tops—those who had two cowlicks in the hair, and whose day-signs [at the time of birth] were favorable. And also they were sought out and bought. It was said that they were most precious blood-offerings.

This was a very great and terrible sin which the ancients committed for the sake of the devils, the spirits of the air, the demons. These Tlalocs aroused fear because they gave rain and all our sustenance.

Thus greatly were the ancients crazed, and greatly they offended God. For, indeed, only He Himself giveth all of us men on earth this rain, wherewith is made all our sustenance.

For behold, this is the word of God: *Dabo vobis pluvias, temporibus suis, et terra germinabit germen suum: et pomis arbores replebuntur.* Levitici, 26.

Thus speaketh our Lord God and saith: "I shall give you rain, every year in its good time (if you live by My commandments, if you fall not into idolatry). And at My word the earth will become green and will bear fruit. And at My word the fruit trees will bear much fruit and will greatly increase."

Your forefathers knew not, they heard not the word of God. Thus the devils, our great adversaries, much deluded us, the people who live on earth.

A. Behold the word of God according to which the idolaters are brought to shame: *Incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis imposuerunt.* Sapientiae, 14. That is, "So were the worshippers of idols led into error that they gave the name of God to stone and wood; they worshipped stone and wood as idols. The [name] God is only of Him Himself, God the creator, through whom all live."

And the idolators, blinded, called by name the stone, saying, "For thou art my god." To wood they said, "For thou art my god, thou are my lord."

Also for this were the worshippers of idols to be abhorred—that they placed the name of God, Him by Whose grace we live, on men and on women, mortals, who were corrupt, who lived evilly and were of evil hearts.

These are great sins of idolatry, the deeds of your fathers, your grandparents, the ancients. Behold their madness.

B. These, the ancients, worshipped an idol [called] Quetzalcoatl, who was ruler at Tula. And you named him Topiltzin.

He was a man. He was mortal, for he died; for his body corrupted. He is no god.

And though a man of saintly life, who performed penances, he was not to be worshipped as a god. The things which he did [which were] like miracles, we know he did

tzitzqujloia: in ipam imilhujuh, tepeticpac mjctiloia, mjequintin pipiltzintzi, in moteneoia tlacateteuhti, in iehoantin yn ontecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: no yoan temoloia, patiutloia: mjtooaia, ca iehoantin vel tlaçonex-tlaolti.

Jn ca cenca vey, yoan cenca temamauhti tlatlaculli, in qujchioaia in veuetque, yn jmpampa diablome, in tzitzizimj, in culeleti: in iehoan tlaloque, momotia ca iehoanti qujtemaca, in qujaujtl: yoan in isqujch tonacaiutl:

ic cenca omotlapololtique in veuetque, yoan cenca, oqujmioilitlacalhuique yn dios: ca çã vel izeltzin techmomaqujlia, in tisqujchti cemanaoac titlaca in iehoatl, qujavitl, ynjc muchioa yn isqujch tonacajutl:

ca iuhca in teutlatolli, izcatquj. Dabo vobis pluuja, temporibus sujs, et terra germjnabjt germen suum: et pomjs arbores replebuntur. leujtici. 26.

Motlatoltia in totecujio dios, qujmitalhuja. Namechnomaqujliz in qujavitl, in cecexiuhtica, in imonecian (intla uel anqujmonemiliztizque notenaatil, intlacatle tlateutoqujliztli, anqujchioazque), auh in talticpac notencopa tlaxoaltiz, tlatlaaquillotiz: auh in xochiquilquajtl, notencopa cenca moxochiquallotiz, cenca tlaaquiz.

Jn amoculhoan, amo qujmattiaque, atle oqujcactiaque, in teutlatolli: ic cenca in ca amocaciauhque in diablome, in vel toiaoan, in talticpac titlaca.

A. Jzcatquj in iuhca teutlatolli, ynic pinauhtilo in tlateutocanjme. Jncõmunjcabile, nomen lapidibus, et lignis inposuerunt: Sapientie 14, q. n. Jn tlateutocanjme ynjc cenca omotlapololtique, in teutocaitl, ytech oqujtlalique, in tetl yoan in quavitl: qujteutocaque in tetl, yoã in quavitl: in teotl çan vel izeltzin yneixcaujlaxcatzin, in dios in teiocuanj, yn jpalnemoanj.

Auh yn jxpoioime, in tlateutocanjme, qujtocaiotique in tetl, qujlhujque: ca tinoteouh, qujlhujque, in quajtl, ca tinoteouh, tinotlatocauh.

No yoan in cēca tlaelittalonj, in tlateutocanjme: yn jtocatzin dios ipalnemoanj, intech oqujtlalique, yn oqujchti, yn cioa: in miqunj, in palanj, yn amo qualli innemiliz, yn amo qualli iniollo.

Jn ca tetzauhtlatlaculli, in tlateutoqujliztli, yn jntlachioal yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in veuetque: izcatquj yn jnetlapololtiliz.

B. Jn iehoantin in veuetque, oqujteutocaque in quetzalcoatl, in tollan tlatoanj catca: yoan anqujtocaiotiaia, Topiltzin.

Jnin ca maceoalli, ca mjqujni ca omjc, ca opalan yn jnacao, ca amo teutl:

auh maciuj in iecnemjlize in tlamaceoia, ca amo qujmoteutziquja: in tlein oqujchiuh, iuhqujnma tlamauiccolli, ticmati ca çan tlatateculotlatoltica oqujchiuh: ca

only through the command of the devil. He is a friend of devils. Therefore he must needs be accursed and abominated; for our Lord God hath caused him to be thrust into the land of the dead.

The ancients held that Quetzalcoatl went to Tlapallan; [that] yet he will return. He is still expected. This is not true; it is falsehood. For his body died; here on earth it became dust, it became filth. And his soul our Lord God damned and caused to be thrown into the land of the dead. In that place it is. It will forever suffer in the flames.

C. Behold another madness of your forefathers. For they worshipped as a god a devil representing a woman, named Ciuacoatl.

When she appeared she took the form of a woman. She frightened and terrified people. Of her it was supposed that she gave poverty and misery—the digging-stick, the tump-line—and grief.

Wherefore they celebrated a feast-day. They made offerings and slew victims before her, that her anger and ill will might not fall [upon them].

Such deeds of your forefathers were very great madness. They knew not that only He alone, He by Whom we live, our Lord God, watcheth over and defendeth us. And he who believeth and hath faith in God will suffer no ill from the devil.

For so is the word of God: *Quoniam in me sperabit, liberabo eum, protegam eum; quoniam cognovit nomen meum, clamabit ad me, et ego exaudiam eum, cum ipso sum in tribulatione, eripiam eum et glorificabo eum.* Ps. XC.

That is: [thus] saith God: "He who will believe and have faith in Me, him shall I favor and aid, to him shall I turn. For he knew My name. He will call to Me, and I shall hear him with favor. I shall comfort him when he is in anguish. I shall deliver him and aid him."

For it is plain that only our Lord God Himself aideth and defendeth us. And it is necessary only to call and supplicate Him Himself when anything afflicteth us.

D. In many other ways the devils deluded the ancients, making them believe in the demons of the air. For they believed in certain goddesses, and for their sake celebrated feast days and laid offerings and slew sacrificial victims before them.

One [of these] was named Chicome coatl. It was thought that she made our sustenance and every means of life of the common people.

A second [one was] Teteo innan, or Tlalli yiollo; and she was also known as Toci. The ancients held that this one gave birth to the gods, whence came men on earth. Hence they named her Toci (our grandmother). This Teteo innan the physicians served, the leeches, those who

imjcnuih in tlatlacateculo, ic monequj telchioaloz, tlaelittaloz: ca mjctlan oqujmotlaxili in totecujo dios:

qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca tlapallan ia in quetzalcoatl, oc vallaz oc chielo: injn ca amo nelli, ca iztlacatlitolli: ca omjc yn jnacaio, nican tlalticpac otlaltic, otlacoltic: auh yn janjma, oqujmotlatzontequjlili yn totecujo dios, mjctlan qujmotlaxili, vmpa ca, cemjcac tleco tlaihiuiz.

C. Jzcatquj, yn oc centlamantli ynnetlapoltiliz yn amoculhoan, ca oqujmoteutique in diablo, yn ipā mixeoa cioatl, yn jtoca cioacoatl.

Jnyn yn iquac motenestiliaia, iuhq'nma cioatl, ynjc necia: teicavaiia, tlamauhtiaia, ytech tlamjloia, injc iehoatl qujtemacaia, in netolinjliztli, yn jcnouitl, in victli in mecapalli, in choquiztli.

Auh yn ipampa hi, qujlhujujxtiliaia: ixpan tlamanaia, ixpan tlamjctiaia, ynjc amo ipan vechoaz in igualan, yn jtlauel.

Jnin iuh qujchiuhtinenca, yn amoculhoan, cenca vei netlapoltiliztli: amo qujmatia, ca çan vel izeltzin in ipalnemoanj totecujo dios, motepielia, motemanavilia: auh in diablo, njman aquen qujnchioaz yn itlaneltocacaoan in dios, yn jtezincotemachia,

ca iuhca yn teutlatolli. Quonjam in me sperabit, liberabo eum, potegam eum: quonjam cognoujt nomen meum: clamabit ad me, et ego exaudiam eum, cum ipso sum in tribulatione eripiam eum, et glorificabo eum. psal. 90.

qujtoznequj: Motlatoltia yn dios. Jn aquin nechneltocez, yoan notechmotemachiz, njcpaleuiz, ipan njnilacatzoz: ipampa ca oqujxima, in notocatzin: nechmotatzililiz, nictlavelcaqujliz, niciollaliz, yn iquac motequipachoz, njcmaqujxtiz, nicpaleuiz.

Jnyn ca vel ic neci, ca çan izeltzin totecujo dios, motepaleujlianj, motemanavilianj: auh ca monequj, çan vel izeltzin notzaloz, tlatlauhtiloz; in iquac itla techtequjpachoa.

D. Oc miec tlamantli, ynic in ca mocaciauhque in veuetque in diablome, in tzitzitzimj, oqujntlaneltoqujtique: ca cequjntin cioateteu inpan qujnmata: auh yn jpampa y, qujmlhujujxtiliaia, yoan ymjxpan tlamanaia, yoan tlamjctiaia.

Ce ytoca chicume coatl: in iehoatl in, itech tlamjloia, in tonacaiutl, in çaço tlein, ynenca mjulca in maceoalti:

ynic vme teteu innan, anoço tlalli yiollo, no yoan moteneoia toci: qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca in iehoatl i, oquintlacatili in teteu: ca neci in tlalticpac tlaca, ipampa in moteneoia toci. Jn iehoatl teteu inna, qujtlaiacultiaia in titici, in teitzminque, yn tetlanoqujlifique, teispatique; auh

purged people, the eye-doctors; and the women—midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of maize, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth and the eyes.

Also those who had sweat-houses prayed to her. Because of this, they set up her image in the front of the sweat-houses, and called her the grandmother of the sweat-houses.

And all of these observed her feast day each year, [and] laid offerings before her, [and] slew men before her.

E. Another woman [whom] they adored as a goddess was named Tzapotla tenan.

By her was made the turpentine unguent. And they said that in truth she healed itch of the head; those with hoarseness applied [the unguent] to the throat; [it was used by] those with a scurf on the head, with mange of the head, with cracks on the feet or the lips, with dry scabs on the face, with cracks in the skin of the legs. And one applied it to [sores raised by] ticks.<sup>130</sup>

The turpentine unguent or liquid turpentine was used for many purposes. Thus said the ancients. But they only lied; they thus only led men into error.

And when her feast day was celebrated, the turpentine unguent merchants bought and slew a slave. They made an image [of Tzapotla tenan] in dough made of amaranth seed and maize.

[In] many other ways, in like manner, they paid honor to this Tzapotla tenan.

F. Another goddess whom your forefathers worshipped was named Chalchiuhtli icue.

They said she belonged among the Tlalocs, as their elder sister. It was said that she cast people into the water; she drowned them and sank them in the water. Hence she greatly terrified [people] and was feared.

The water-carriers and men who sailed boats celebrated her feast day. And before her they laid offerings and slew men. [With] many such acts they thus paid honor to her, in vain, only because of their madness.

Still other evil women your fathers and forefathers worshipped as goddesses. [One] was named Tlaçolteutl. By her were brought to pass vice and sin.

It was said that there were four women. The first was named Tiacapan; the second was named Teicui; the third was named Tlaco; the fourth was named Xocotzin.

in cioa, in temxjujtianj, tepillalilianj, tetlatlaxilianj, tlapouhque, atlan teittan, tlaulchaiahque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No qujtlatlahuaia in temazcaleque: ipampa y, qujtlalia yn ixiptla, yn ixquac in temazcalli: yoan qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jsqujchtin hi, qujlhujqujxtiliaia, cecexiujtl, ispan tlamanaia, ispan tlamjctiaia.

E. Oc no ce cioatl, qujmoteutiaia itoca tzaputla tena:

itech tlamiloia in vxitl, yoan qujtoaia ca qujnpaleujaia in quaxocociuj, in tozcamjiaoociuj, qujntozcavxiuja, in chaquachiuj, in quaçaoati, in xutzaianj, in tentzaianj, yn isteteçonauj, yn jcxitzaianj: yoan in qualocatl, intech motlalia, in tlaxcaliciuiztli.

Jn vxitl, yn anoçe vxiatl, vel mjecan moneq', ynjn iuh qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca çã oiztlacatiaque, çan ic teca omocaciauhque.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujstililoia, in vxinamacaque, motlacacoujaia, tlacamictiaia, qujtzoallotiaia in jxiptla:

oc mjec tlamantli, ynjc qujmauiztiliaia y, in iehoatl tzaputla tena.

F. Oc no ce ciuateutl, oqujmoteutitiaque in amoculhoan, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue:

qujtoaia, invam pouj, inveltiuh in tloaque: qujlmach teatociaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia: ic cenca tlamauhtiaia ymacaxoia.

Qujlhujqujstiliaia yn anamacaque, yoan atlaca: yoã ixpan tlamanaia yoan tlamictiaia: mjec tlamantli ynjc qujmauiztiliaia, in çan nen, in çan in netlapololtilizpã.

Oc no cequjntin, in cioatlaeliloque in qujnteutocatiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn itoca tlaçolteutl: ytech tlamjloia, in teuhitli, in tlaçulli:

qujl naujntin eoa cioa: injc ce, ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, itoca teicui, inic ey, itoca tlacu, ynic nauj ytoca xocutzi.

130. Cf. p. 5. A passage in Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 101) may clarify: ". . . algunos curan esto con la penca del maguey cortando un pedazo a manera de parche, y poniéndola en el nacido, y abriéndola por medio para que queda descubierta la boca del nacido, y tomar un poco de óxítel y ponerlo en la propia boca del nacido, de suerte que poniendo fuego sobre el óxítel quede quemado el nacido . . . su comida del enfermo serán tortillas tostadas. . . ." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 7) translates tlaxcalicivi as "Maisfladenkrankheit."

These four women were looked upon as god[esses]. They were called Tlaçolteteu (goddesses of filth).

From the names of these goddesses of filth your young girls have taken their names—some have been named Tiacapan, some Teicui, some Tlaco, others Xocotzin.

This is idolatry. It must cease and be abominated.

Your fathers and grandfathers worshipped these evil women, and before them they slew men and offered gifts.

G. The devil blinded the ancient people with another similar folly, which he caused them to believe.

Women who died in childbirth, they said, became goddesses. They named them Ciuateteu and Ciuapipilti.

Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth].

They said thus: "Indeed, they have met and contended with the Ciuapipilti."

Therefore they greatly revered and worshipped them. At houses which were at crossroads they set out gifts before them.

[When] they celebrated their feast-day they thus offered many things to them on this day.

This which your forefathers did, in worshipping many women, was foolish and laughable, and brought great shame upon them.

This, verily, all the word of God refutes well.

A. The ancients worshipped many other gods whom they did not consider so great as those [already] mentioned.

And one of these, the fire, was worshipped everywhere as a god. They named him Xiuhtecutli. And they also named him Ixcoçauhqui, and also Cueçaltzin, and Ueuetootl, and Tota.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And many other things were his office.

The feast day of this Xiuhtecutli was observed in [the month of] Izcalli. And before him men were slain, gifts were laid; before him all danced. And many more things they did, in order to pay honor to this Ixcoçauhqui. This your forefathers, the ancient ones, did.

Thus is shown their arrant blindness. For they worshipped as a god that which seeth not, nor heareth, nor liveth; which is only a creature of God—a gift which He made that it might serve us. Hence it is meet to honor, praise, and serve our Lord God [for those things] which He hath given unto us.

Jn iehoan hi, in navinti cioa impam machoia teteu: in iehoantin y motocaiotia tlaçulteteu:

yn intechin yn intoca, in tlaçulteteu, qujcuj yn jntoca yn amochpuchoan cequjntin qujmotocaiotia, tiacapan, cequjntin teicuj, cequjntin tlacu, cequjnti xucutzin.

Jnjn ca tlateutoqujliztli, ca monequj caoaloz, tlaelittaloz: in iehoantin in in naujanjme, qujnmoteutitiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan: yoan ymjxpan tlamjctiaia, ymixpan tlamanaia.

G. Oc no centlamantli, netlapololiliztli ic oqujmixpu-puiotili in diablo in veuetque, oqujntlaneltoqujti:

in iehoantin in mocioaquetzque, qujtoaia moteucuepa, qujntocaiotique, cioateteu, cioapipilti.

Jntech tlamiloia, qujlmach tetlaueliaia, teca mocacaiaoaia, injc aca itech qujneoaia, in tlavelilocatia, tennecujliuja, isnecujliuja, matziculiujaia, icxicupichauja: icximjmjquja, momacuecuetzaia, tēqualacqujçauja:

ic mjtoaia ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquizque in cioapipilti:

in ipampa hi cenca imacaxoia, neteutiloia, in chachan in vmaxac, imixpan tlamanaloia:

ilhujqujxtililoia, mjec tlamantli ic qujntlamantliaia, yn imjluhujh ipan.

Jnjn in qujchiuhtiaque, yn amoculhoan, injc q'nmoteutiaia, mjequjnti cioa, vel tetlapololti, yoan teuetzqujti, cenca ic omopinahuhtique:

ijnjn ca uel qujtlauelnamjquj yn isqujch teutlatolli.

A. Oc no mjequjnti teteu, oqujnmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn amo qujnneneujlia yn omoteneuhque:

auh ceme iehoan in, in iehoatl in tletl, in vel noujian neteutiloc, oqujtocaiotique xiuhtecutli, no yoā oqujtocaiotique iscuçauhquj, no yoan cueçaltzin, yoan veuetootl, yoan tota:

Jnin teutl ipan machoia, iehica ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa: yoan oc cequj mic tlamantli itequjo.

Jnjn xiuhtecutli ilhujqujstililoia yn ipan izcalli: yoā yispan tlamictiloia, tlamanaloia, ispan netotiloia. Auh oc cequj mjec tlamātli, muchioaia, ipampa yn jmauiztililoca, in iscuçauhquj: ynjn yn iuh quichiuhntinca, yn amoculhoan, in veuetque:

ic vel neci ca cenca vey, yn jmjxpupuiotiliz: ca qujmoteutiaia yn amo tlachia, yn amo tlaçaquj, yn amo iuli, in çan itlachioaltzin dios: tonemac omuchiuh ynjc techtlaiecultiz: ypampa iehoatl monequj mauiztililoz, iecteneoaloz, tlaiecultiloz, yn otechmomaqujlitzino in totecujo dios.

B. Another devil whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god, they named Ixtlilton, Xochipilli.<sup>131</sup>

And they said that when people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [Xochipilli] would visit them with haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, and piles, whereupon they would make vows to him in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

Wherefore [when] they observed his feast-day, they went into mourning for him and offered him gifts.

This was a great folly of the ancient ones, this which they did on his account. For they kept not, they knew not, the commandments of God.

And now, know well that only He alone, the true God, heareth you, and giveth you life. There is no other.

When pain or affliction befall one, he may pray to, he may seek only Him alone, according to the commandment of God, as hath been said above.

C. Yet another devil whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god was named Omacatl.

For they said that this one first devised invitations, feasts, gatherings of families.

To one's house was brought, and there honored, he who was his likeness.

Yet many more things your forefathers said and ascribed to him in their childishness, their puerility, which [were] lies, laughable and scarcely to be believed.

Likewise one Ixtlilton or Tlatetecuin, was a god of the ancient ones.

There was his black water. Also it was said that it was his office to "tap" or taste it. Many other things were ascribed to him and many pastimes were enjoyed [when] they brought [the impersonator of] Ixtlilton to their houses.

Thus it appeareth that the ancient ones are deserving of tears, of reproaches moving them to tears, because verily they believed childish and infantile things which are not to be believed.

D. One more devil who was a god of the ancients was named Opochtli.

They said he was god of them who sailed boats. Thus they said that from him came the net, the dart-thrower, the trident, the boating-pole, the rope for snaring.

And when his feast day was celebrated, many were the gifts which they laid before him. And many were the things which they did before him, these seafarers whom the devil thus deluded. Thus did they greatly offend God, our Lord.

The ancient ones worshipped as a god another devil, named Totec or Xipe.

It was said that his office was to wound men with blisters,

B. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque, in qujtocaiotique istlilton, yoan xuchipilli:

ynjn qujtoaia, yn jquac neçavililoia: intla aca toq'çhti ipan cioacuchiz, anoço cioatl ipan oquichcuchiz, qujtoaia, qujtlaçolmjctiaia yn ineçaoaliz:

ic tetch qujtlaliaia, in suchiciuiztli, in menexoalitzli, in tlapalanalitzli, in quexiliujliztli. Jn ipampa hi, yujc nenetoltiloia, ynic qujceuz, ynjc qujquaniz in cuculiztli:

ipampa qujlhujq'xtiliaia, qujneçaujliaia, qujtlamanjliaia.

Jnjin ca vey, yn inetlapololtiliz in veuetque, yn ipampa iuhquj qujchiuhtinenca: ca atle qujppiaia, atle qujmatia, in teutlatolli.

Auh in axcan, ma uel xicmatican, çan vel izeltin, izel teutl dios, motepatilianj, moteiolitilianj, aiac oc ce:

in jquac itla topan muchioa, in tecoco, in tetolinj, çan vel izeltzin, tlatlauhtiloç, temuloç, iuhca in teutlatolli, in tlapac omjto.

C. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutiaia in veuetque, yn itoca omacatl,

in qujtoaia ca iehoatl ymactia in covaiutl, in tecoanotzalitzli, yn jnnecentlaliliz in tevaniolque:

techan vicoia, vmpa mauiztiloia in ixiptla:

oc cenca miec tlamantli, itech oqujtotiaque, ytech oqujtlamjctiaque, in amoculhoã, in cucuneiutl, in pipillutl, in iztlacatlalolli: in teuetzqujti, in njman amo neltoconj.

Çan no iehoatl istlilton, anoço tlatetecujn, inteouh catca in veuetque:

vncatca yn jtlilauh: no yoan qujlmach itequjuh, tlaiacaxaputlaia, vitzmanaia: oc no mjec tlamantli, itech tlamjloia: yoan mjec tlamantli, neaviltiliztli, in qujchioaia, yn jnchã, qujvicaia, yn istlilton;

ic neci ca cenca techoctique, vel tetozqujtenque, in vevetque: iehica ca qujneltocaia, yn amo neltoconj, in cucunejutl, im pipillutl.

D. Oc no ce diablo inteouh catca in veuetque, yn jtoca opuchtli:

qujtoque ca inteouh, yn atlaca, iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl itlatzintil, in matlatl, yn atlatl, in mjnacachalli, ȳ aujctli, in tzonvaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujstiloia, miec tlamantli in ventli, in jspan qujmanaia: yoan oc mjec tlamãtli ixpan qujchioaia, yn atlaca, in iuh qujmiztlacaui in diablo: ic cenca oqujmoli-tlalachujque in totecujo dios.

Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn jtoca totec, anoço xipe:

qujl itequjuh catca, ic temotlaia in totomonjliztli, papa-

131. The incorrect pairing of Ixtlilton and Xochipilli is in the Aztec text. The Spanish text is correct.

sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes cataracts, glazing of the eyes.

Whosoever was visited with these sicknesses [among] us men, for that reason, it was said, he made a vow that he would wear the skin of Totec.

This was great folly, great blindness which your forefathers left to you. Alas for them, woe even to them, if perchance now they think upon it.

E. Another demon whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god was called Yiacatecutli and Iacaculihqui. It was said that he was the god of the merchants. Each year the merchants observed his feast-day.

They slew many slaves before him; and in many other ways they thus paid him honor.

Alas for those who devised this; even greater woe to them if even yet they think upon it.

F. Yet another devil whom the old people worshipped as a god was named Nappa tecutli. It is said that he was god of those who made mats and those who made [a kind of] frame of reeds.

Likewise they said that this one caused the growth of the reeds used for plaiting mats, the white reeds, the thick round reeds, etc.

And once yearly the mat-makers, the makers of mats of thick reeds, celebrated his feast-day. And when his feast-day came, his old men performed many foolish things.

Woe unto them who thus brought these thing to pass. Twenty score times woe to any who may even yet think upon it. For the devil will carry off their souls.

G. Another demon whom the ancients worshipped as a god was named Tezcatzoncatl. It was said that he made the wine; it was said that it was of his invention.

His many friends [were] demons like him. And also this same wine was their office as well.

All, in truth, were worshipped as gods; their feast-days were celebrated; service was given them because of their wickedness—for they cast men from crags, they strangled and slew them.

These makers of wine did many other things, wherefore [men] served them.

Woe unto them that thus lived; even greater woe, if some even now thus persist in doing this. For the devil will carry off their souls.

A. There was another folly to which your forefathers bore witness. For they considered mountains to be gods; wherefore they fashioned [figures to represent] the mountains.

lanjliztli, çaçaoatiliztli, isocoliztli, ischichitaliztli, isten-pipixqujliztli, istamaçoliciuiztli, isaiauhpachiujliztli, istotoliciuiztli, istezcaiciuiztli:

in aq'n ipan muchioaia yn, in cocoliztli toqujchtin, iujcpa mjtoaia, monetoltiaia, ynjc vmmaquiz yeoao totec.

Jnjn ca vei netlapololtiliztli, vey ispupuiotiliztli, yn amotech qujcauhquiaque, yn amoculhoan: ointlaveliltic, oc cēca ointlaveliltic, yn axcan, yn açoc qujlnamiquj.

E. Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutitiaque yn veuetque, yn jtoca yiacatecutli, yoan iacaculihquj: qujl inteouh in puchteca, cecexiuhtica, qujlhujquistiliaia, in puchteca:

mjequjntin tlatlacuti, ispan qujmjctiaia: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc qujmaviztiliaia,

ointlaueiltic, in iehoantin, in qujiocuxtiaque hi, oc cenca ointlaveliltic, yn noma qujlnamiquj.

F. Oc no ce diablo oqujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque, yn itoca nappa tecutli: qujl ynteouh in petlachiuhque, yoan in tlacuechiuhque.

No qujtoaia ca iehoatl, qujxoaltiaia, in petlatolin, yn aztapili, yn tolmjmjlli, etc.

Auh cexiuhtica qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in petlachiuhque, in toluechiuhque, in tlacuechiuhque: auh yn iquac ynilhujh quičaia, yn iehoantin yn jveueiovan, cenca mjec tlamantli tlavelilocauiutl, qujchioaia.

O cel intlaveliltic, yn iuh qujchiuhquiaque hi: o centzompa yn tlaveliltic intla cequjnti noma qujlnamiquj, ca diablo qujnvicaz yn jmanjma.

G. Oc no ce diablo, qujmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn jtoca catca tezcatzoncatl: qujl qujchiuh yn vctli, qujl itlanextil,

oc no mjequjnti yn jcnioan, yn jtlacateculopoa: çan no iehoatl yn vctli yn intequjuh catca.

Ca muchinti neteutiloia, ilhujqujstililoia, tlaieculiloia, ypampa yn jntlavelilocaio, ynjc tetepexiujaia, tequechmecanjaia, temjctiaia:

oc cenca iehoanti yn tlachicque, mjec tlamantli, qujchioaia ynjc qujntlaiecultiaia.

ointlaueiltic yn juh qujchiuhntinca, oc cenca ointlaveliltic, intla cequjntin noma iuh qujchiuhntinemj, yn anoço qujlnamjctinemj: ca diablo qujnvicaz yn jmanjma.

A. Oc no centlamantli netlapololtiliztli, amotech qujcauhquiaque, yn amoculhoā: ca oqujtotaiaque, in tetepe ca teteu: ipāpa quinpiquja in tetepe.

And these images they named Tepictoton.

And for [their ills] they made vows—those with the palsy—that they would make these images, etc.

And when they had made these images, then they laid offerings before them, they sang before them, they did many things in their presence. Thus they paid them honor.

Greatly were they in error, they who offered offerings to those who were only besotted.

And indeed [the observance] is not now completely uprooted; even now some pay their debts [to them] on mountain tops.<sup>122</sup>

And this is a mortal sin, a great offence to God, a great heresy. It is an abominable sin.

B. Behold also how the ancient ones paid honors to the mountains. They called them Tepicme: [they said they were] like men. Hence they placed masks upon them.

And this the *tlamacazque*, the priests of the Tlalocs, did.

And when they made these, the common men, those who had made vows, laid offerings before them; they ate, drank, and danced in their presence.

And when their feast-day came, they cut up and divided the Tepicme, and they ate them. This your forefathers did. It was childish; it was puerile.

C. Your forefathers did many other foolish things. And your fathers and grandfathers worshipped more gods, without number, whom no one may well record, and many who will never be numbered.

\* \* \*

**Let him who understandeth read this well.**

Whosoever thou art who readest the words set forth above, which have been written, look thou well.

Understand well, for my command is made in the presence of God, that thou shalt tell if thou knowest if any practise or if anywhere is practised that which is said to be idolatry.

Then shalt thou place [what thou knowest] before the justice of the Holy Church; [before] the priests; or else the justice of the Royal *Audiencia*, [before] the *alguaciles*; or better [before] the *padres*; not only in the confessional but verily in court.

And thou shalt tell this speedily; thou shalt not delay, neither shalt thou have fear.

Thou shalt place before the priest whatsoever thou hast seen and whatsoever thou hast heard.

Whosoever know or witness the worship of idols, if they wish not to tell of it, if they wish not to lay it before the

Auh yn jmixiptlavan, qujntocaiotiaia tepictoton:

yoan ynvic monetoltiaia, in coaciuja, ynjc tepiquizque, etc.

Auh yn oqujnpicque, njman imixpan tlamanaia, ymjxpan cujcujaia, mjec tlamantli, ymjxpan qujchioaia; ynjc qujnmaviztiliaia:

vel motlapololtiaia in maca çan tlavancapupul.

Auh yn axcan ca aiamo cempoliuj, noma cequjnti, moxtlaoa tepeticpac:

auh ynjn ca vei tlatlaculli, vey yiolitlaculoca yn dios, vey regia, ca tetzauhtlatlaculli.

B. Jzcatquj no qujchioaia, yn veuetque, ynjc qujnmaviztiliaia in tetepe: qujncioaia tepicme, iuhqujnma titlaca, ynjc qujnxaiacatiaia:

auh ynjn, iehoantin qujchioaia, in tlamacazque, yn jntlamacazcaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn jquac ie oqujnchiuhque: in iehoantin in maceoalti, yn netoleque ymixpan tlamanaia, ymjxpan tlaquaia, atlia, mjtoriaia.

Auh yn jquac oquiz ilhujtl, qujnmococotinjaia yn tepicme: yoan qujnquaia. Ynjn iuh qujchioaia, yn amoculhoã ca cocunejutl, ca pipillutl.

C. Oc no mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli oqujchiuhquiaque, yn amoculhoan: yoan oc cenca mjequjnti, yn amo çan tlapoalti in tetepe in oqujnmoteutique, in amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in aiac vel qujcujuoz: yoan in anoiaç vel qujnpoaz, ynjc cenca mjequjnti.

\* \* \*

**Ma uel qujcaquj, in qujpoaz hi.**

In ac tehoatl, in ticpoaz in, in tlatolli in tlapac omjto, yn omjcujuo, cencatle ticmati:

vel xicmati, ca monahoatil muchiuhtica, yn jspantzincó in dios, injc titlatoz, intla ticmati, intla aca qujchiuhquinemj, anoço canapa muchiva, yn omjto tlateutoqujiztli:

njman tiqujspaniliz, yn jjusticia in sancta yglesia, in teupisque: yn anoço yjusticia in audientia real: in topileque, oc cenca iehoantin in padreme: amo çan neiolmelaolizpan, vel neteilhujlizpan.

Auh ynjn iciuhca tiqujtoz: amo ticvecaoz, amono timomauhtiz:

vel tiqujspaniliz in teupisquj, yn juh otiqujtac, yn juh oticcac.

Jn aqujque yntla qujmati, intla oqujttaque, in tlateutoqujiztli, yn amo qujtoznequj, yn amo qujspaniliznequj: in

122. Corresponding Spanish text is interesting because a date establishes the time when Sahagún must have worked on the Appendix to Book I: "y esto aun no a cesado, que este año pasado, de 1569, yendo vnos religiosos . . . sobre la sierra de toluca . . . hallaron . . . yn sacrificio . . . muy reziente, de cinco, o seys dias antes hecho. . ."



priest, they are idolaters, they are devils; [they are] enemies of our Lord God.

\* \* \*

Behold the words of sorrow and pity which [the author] setteth on paper; how he crieth out, how he prayeth for [the idolaters] to God. Thus he speaketh.

\* \* \*

Alas, my heart weepeth exceedingly; tears fill my eyes. My tears fall like hailstones as I think upon the multitude of lies by which the people here in New Spain were led into error.

[This has been,] not for only four hundred years, not for only eight hundred years; it has been for much time in the past.

Alas, my heart suffereth much—it is as if my heart burneth—when I think upon how great is the hatred of the *tzitzimil* (demon of the air) and of Satan.

So much he hateth men on earth. For easily, as he willeth, he bringeth us sons of Adam to our ruin; we have been humbled and degraded.

This he hath brought to pass through lies, delusions, and treachery.

Alas, O Lord God, when I think upon Thy commandments, upon the sternness of Thy divine judgments, much am I afraid, greatly do I marvel.

For, O Lord God, all this time Satan hath led the people of New Spain into error. Why hast Thou not known these things?

For he hath spewed over them his lies without number, his error and darkness.

It is thus that they, over whom Satan reigned, have offended Thee.

And he hath brought much ill fame and shame to all of us men on earth.

And even I am greatly moved on their account, that Satan hath thus wrought.

Wherefore I humbly pray to Thee for them, our Lord, that Thou mayest cause Satan to be chained, imprisoned, that he may nevermore thus act.

And also, I pray to Thee, for them, that Thou shalt offer men here [in New Spain] Thy grace, Thy great light, [the like of] which hath not been, because of surpassing sin and darkness.

teupisquj: ca tlateutocanjme, ca diablome, yiauoan in totecuj Dios.

\* \* \*

Jzca in ichoqujztlatol, yn jtlaocullatol, in amatl oqujtlali: inic cenca tzatzi, in qujmotlatlauhtilia dios, qujtoa.

\* \* \*

Iioiave, cenca chocan noiollo, vel njxaio njxtlan moteteca: iuhqujn teciujtł pixavi njxaio, ynjc niqjlnamjquj, ca cenca mjec tlamantli, iztlacatlolli, ynjc iztlacaviloque, in nican nueua españa tlaça:

ca amo çan centzonxiujtl, ca amo çan vntzonxiujtl, ca cenca ie uecauh.

Jioiaue, cenca noiollo toneoa, vel iuhqujn tlatla noiollo: injc niqjlnamjctimotlalia, yn quenjn cenca vei, yn jtecuculiliz in tzitzimjtl, in satanas:

injç techcuculia, yn talticpac titlaca: iehica vel yiollocopa, vel ixqujch ytlapal qujchioa, ynjc qujtemotinemj, yn topoliujliz, in totlanjtlaçaloca, yn totelchialoca, yn tipilhoã Adan:

injç ca teiztlacaujliztica, teca necaiavaliztica, teichtacamjctiliztica, yn iuh qujchiuhtinemj.

Jioiaue, totecujoe, diose, yn jquac niqjztimotlalia, in motlatlaliltzin, yn vuj moteutetlatzontequjlilitzi: ca cenca ninomauhtia, cenca njniçavia:

totecujoe, diose, yn jsqujch cavitl, in o ic in ca mocaiauhuinê, in satanas, in nueua españa tlaça: tleica, yn amo tiqjnmocujtitzino?

ca cenca mjiec yn jiztlac, yn jtenqualac, in tlaioalli, in jmpãc oqujçotlac:

injç ca ic omitzmoiolitlacalujtzino, ic mocpactzinco onê yn satanas:

auh in timuchinti in cemañoac titlaca, cenca otechaujłqujxti, cenca otechpinauhti.

Auh in nehoatl, ca cenca njqualanj, yn ipampa injc oiuh qujchiuh in satanas:

ic cenca nimitznotlatlauhtilia totecujoe: ma xicmolpili ma xicmocaltzacujli, in satanas, injc aoqujç oc cepa iuhquj qujchioaz.

Auh no cenca ic nimitznotlatlauhtilia, ynjc tiqjnmomaqujliz, yn njcan tlaça, yn mograciatzin, tiqjnmomaqujliz, in vei moteutlanetzin, yn amo machiuhquj catca, in tlatlaculli, in tlaioalli, çan oc cenca ic tlapanauiz.

gun dios: todo esto dezian, que aora  
 sea, porque los dioses de que ay  
 se trata, se ay en estado contrach.  
 Despues de acabada la fiesta, esto dia  
 seces de mañana, el que ay a hecho,  
 la fiesta: juntauan asus parientes,  
 y asus amigos, y a los de su barrio, con  
 todas las de su casa: y acabauan de  
 comer. y beuez, todo lo que ay a so  
 brado, de la fiesta. A esto llamavan,  
 apecalo, que quiere dezir: amadidum  
 alo que estaua comido, y beuido: nin  
 guna cosa quedaua de comer, ni debe  
 uer, para otro dia. Dezian que los  
 potros, haziendo esta fiesta, sanaua  
 de la gota: ode quales quera, de las  
 enfermedades, que arriba se dixero:  
 y los que ayuan escapado, de algun  
 peligro de agua: con hazer esta fies  
 ta, cumplian con su voto. A cabada  
 toda la fiesta: los papetes, y adere  
 cos, con que ayuan adornado, estis y  
 imagines: y todas las vasijas, que  
 ayuan sido menester, para el ombite:  
 tenianlo todo, y le auanido, a un  
 sombrero, que esta en la laguna de  
 mexco: que se llama panthian, y  
 alli lo arrojauan todo.



ichua hapaloaia, yn thachaca  
 ym inmanel can tepitri oari  
 palo: ub nytoaia temecuglria  
 tepantlihua, a vic inormamau  
 avic xouyvi ynte: yon inua  
 matzicollua. y ma quecuc  
 cuetz. icxi quecucuetza, ma  
 copichauj. icxi copichauj, icxi  
 cucucuetza, y hixatoto. ten  
 papalaca, ten vivioa, ich  
 quinea: mitoa, oquihavelique  
 in xouhque tepime. Auh  
 yn thathue, niman ic apeco  
 lo: yn apeco can ichoan, ym  
 caniolque, in vel icallo, in cen  
 thaca, comesa, in vel icustax  
 colloc, yn vel imccaiac: motene  
 va apecalo, iquac cempoliya  
 flatlamj, in quexquich mocao  
 ia matl, in thaqualli: yon in oc  
 quexquich omocauh xaxocmyc in  
 vetli, maucuti, in thachisalvetli, in  
 gtaevetli, in cohvvetli. Auh ynte  
 pi quijij, in tepicquij: in thacoai  
 vi, yn juh omiso thacpac, ic patiz:  
 yon yn quim stlan mi quiz quja



1.



3.



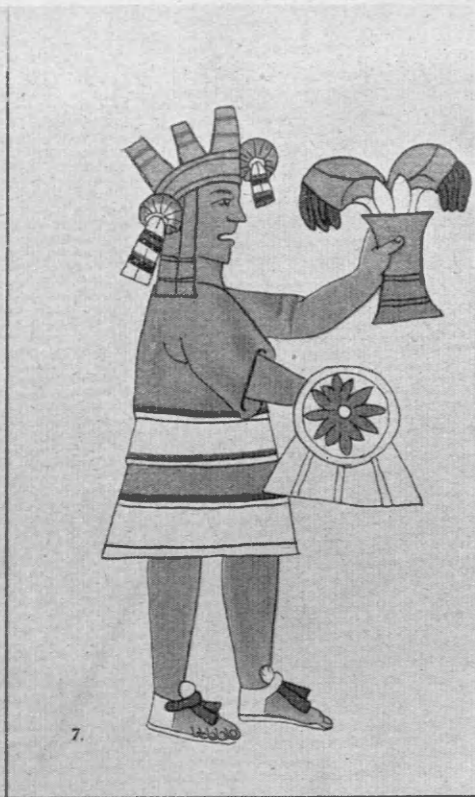
2.



4.

1—Uitzilpochtli. 2—Painal. 3—Tezcatlipoca. 4—Tlaloc.

—*After Paso y Troncoso*



*Chicome coatl*



5—Quetzalcoatl. 6—Ciuacoatl. 7—Chicome coatl. 8—Teteu innan.

—After Paso y Troncoso



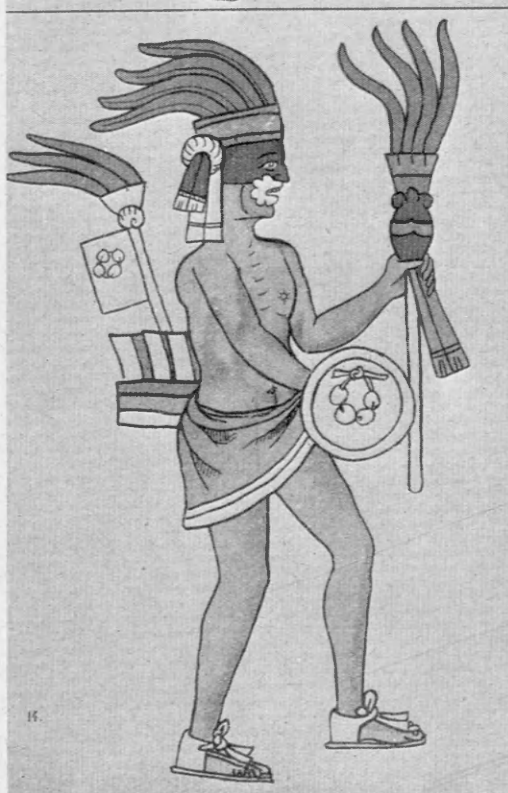
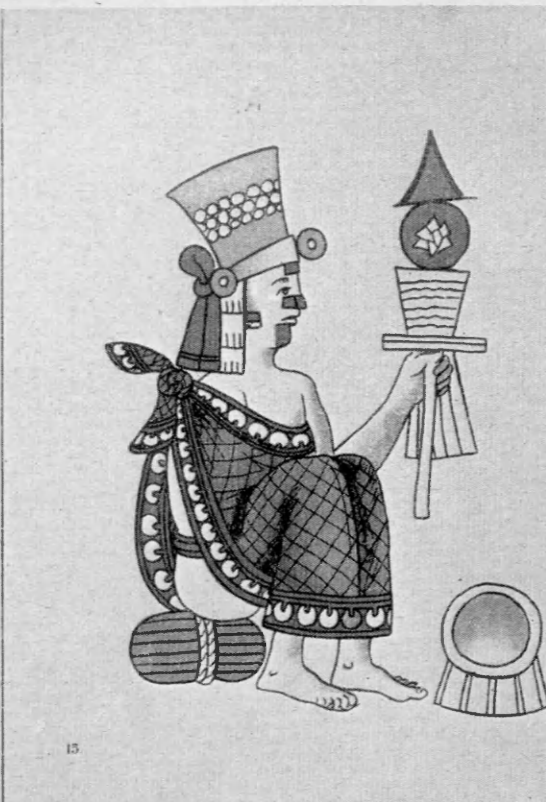
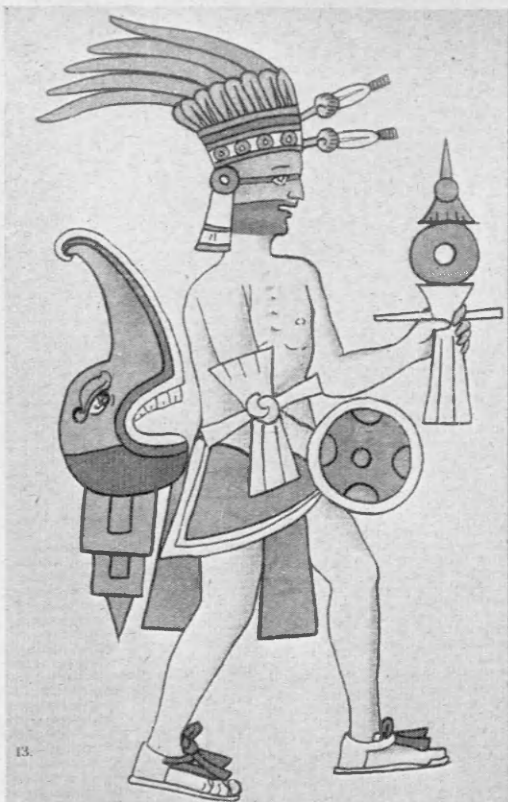
9—Tzapotlan tenan.

10—Ciuapipilti.

11—Chalchiuhtli ycue.

12—Tlacolteutl.

—After Paso y Troncoso



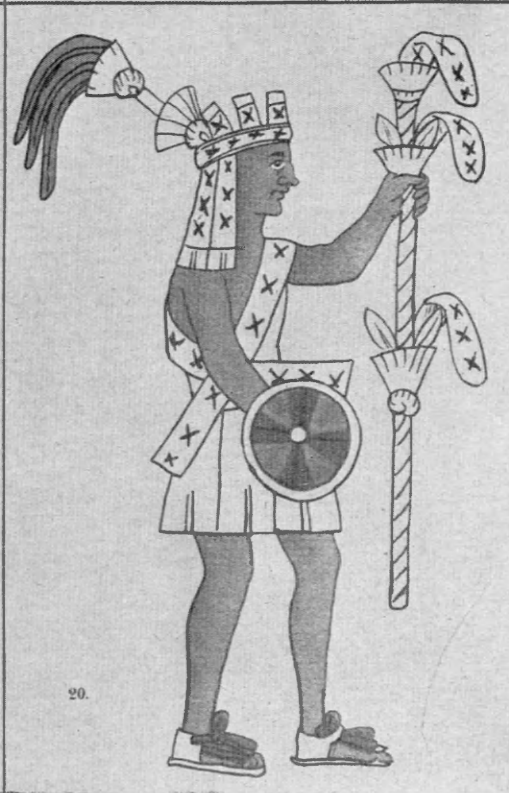
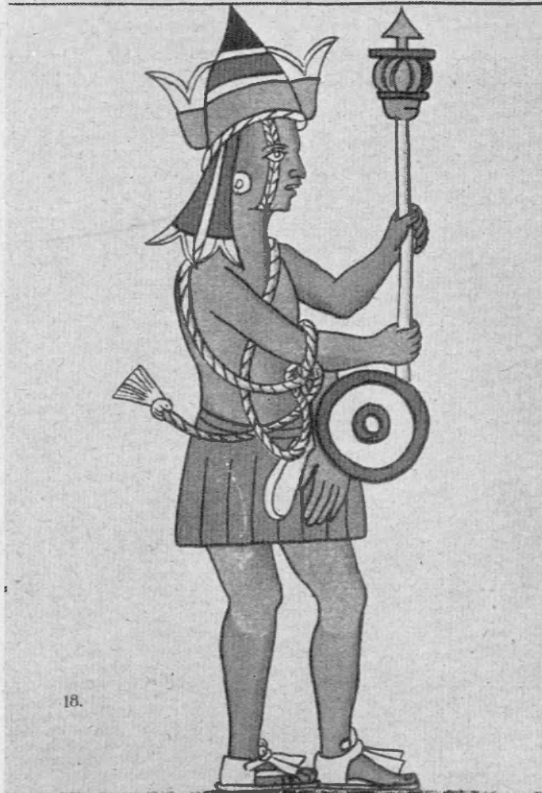
13—Xiuhtecutli.

14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli.

15—Omacatl.

16—Ixtlilton.

—After Paso y Troncoso



17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19—Yiacatecutli. 20—Napa tecutli. —After Paso y Troncoso



21.



26.



27.



22.



23.



24.



25.



28.

—After Paso y Troncoso

21—Tezcatzoncatl. 22-26—Tepictoton.  
27—Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11). 28—Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).





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34

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—After Paso y Troncoso

29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11), Chicome coatl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlacoteuti—Confession (Chap. 12). 31—Napa tecutli (Chap. 20). 32—Tepictoton (Chap. 21). 33—Pantitlan (Tepictoton) (Chap. 21). 34—Appendix, Chap. 13. 35—Appendix, Chap. 13.



—After Paso y Troncoso

36—Appendix [Refutation]. 37—Appendix [Refutation]. 38—Titlacauan. 39—Yiacatecutli. 40—Opochtli.

41—Yiacatecutli. 42—Tezcatzoncatl: 43—Tepicme.