

Florentine Codex

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

*Fr. Bernardino
de Sahagún*

Book 1 - The Gods

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations
(Second edition, revised)

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De los DÍoses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHOM THE NATIVES WORSHIPPED.

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



First Chapter, which telleth of the highest of the gods¹ whom they worshipped and to whom they offered sacrifices in ancient times.

Uitzilopochtli (Hummingbird from the Left)² was only a common man, just a man,³ a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver,⁴ 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.⁵ And when a feast day was celebrated,⁶ captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.⁷

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

Vitzilubuchtli: çan maceoalli, çan tlatcatl catca: na-oalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teixcuepanj: qujiococianj in iaouiutl, iaotecanj, iaotlatoanj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, tepan qujtlaça yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli. q. n. iaouiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtiloia, malmjcoia, tlaaltimjcoia: tealtiaia, yn pochteca.

1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: "capítulo primero, que habla, del principal dios. . ."

2. Ángel María Garibay K., *Historia de la Literatura Náhuatl* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1953-54), Vol. II, p. 404: "Huitzilopochtli, nombre del numen principal de Tenochtitlan. El nombre significa Precioso Izquierdero y se aplica al sol. En la concepción cósmica del antiguo mexicano el dios quedaba al Sur, que es la izquierda del mundo, ya que el camino del sol es Oriente a Poniente."

3. Eduard Selzer, 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*.

4. Eduard Selzer, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Caecilie Selzer-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 1, thus phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli war nur ein gewöhnlicher Mensch, ein Zauberer, ein böses Vorzeichen, ein Unruhstifter, ein (schreckhafte) Visionen erzeugender Gaukler."

5. 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. "Von ihm wird gesagt: er wirft auf die Leute die Türkischschlange, den Feuerbohrer, d. h. den Krieg" (Selzer, *loc. cit.*). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, pp. 101-102, ". . . nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtli usaba de dos cosas para contra sus enemigos para aterrarlos y ahuyentarlos; la una se llama xiucóatl, y la otra mamalhoaztli . . . y él 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 hacía huir." Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Ángel María Garibay K., ed.; Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Sahagún, Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 159.

6. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906, Vol. VII; hereafter referred to as *Real Palacio MS*) the text reads: *yihuiq'xtililoya*.

7. The meaning (cf. *tealtia*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed. Vol. III, pp. 43, 56).

And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear pendant of lovely cotinga feathers;⁸ his disguise was the fire serpent. He had the blue netted sash,⁹ he had the maniple.¹⁰ He wore bells, he wore shells.¹¹

Auh ynjc muchichioaia: xiuhtotonacoche catca, xiuhcoanaoale, xiuhtlalpile, matacaxe, tzitzile, oiuo alle.

8. *Xiuhtototl*: *Cotinga amabilis* Gould. Herbert Friedmann, Ludlow Griscom, and Robert T. Moore: "Distributional Check-List of the Birds of Mexico," *Pacific Coast Avifauna*, Nos. 29 & 33 (Berkeley, Calif.: Cooper Ornithological Club, 1950, 1957; henceforth referred to as Friedmann *et al.*). Pt. II, p. 59.

9. *Xiuhtlalpile*: The *Primeros Memoriales MS* reads: *Xiuhtlalpilli inic motzinilpiticac*, suggesting it was worn about the hips. See *Primeros Memoriales* in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: edición parcial en facsimile de los Códices Matritenses en lengua mexicana* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), Vol. VI.

10. *Matacaxli*: "Ayorca, pulsera. Un adorno de tela que se colocaba sobre el antebrazo, y en la muñeca precisamente, y caía a un lado y a otro, a manera de los manipulos del rito romano." Sahagún, (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 341.

11. The *Primeros Memoriales MS* reads: *tzitzilli, oyoalli in icxic*. Garibay thus phrases the passage: "Hay sonajillas y cascabeles en sus piernas." Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 279.



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

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy," because he represented Uitzilopochtli. When there was a procession he was given the name Paynal, because¹² they pressed him on quickly; he was made to hasten.¹³

And the people followed him; they followed him in pursuit. They went howling,¹⁴ crying war cries. They went raising the dust, making the ground smoke. Like a thing possessed, the earth rumbled.

And one man went carrying [the image] in his arms.

And he was thus arrayed: he went garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers.¹⁵ The quetzal feather device went placed on him.¹⁶ He had bars painted upon his face;¹⁷ he had the star design painted upon his face. His face was painted with the star design.¹⁸ He had a turquoise nose rod. His was the hummingbird disguise. He had the breast mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

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

Paynal: motepatillotianj, moteixiptlatianj: tepan mixcoanj: ichica ca qujmixiptlatiaia, in vitzilubuch-tli, yn iquac tlaiaoaia, motocaiotia paynal: ipampa ca cenca, qujtotozaia, qujmotlalochtiaia.

Auh in maceoalti, qujtocaia, qujtlalochtoeaia, coio-hujtiuja, quicaoatztiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli qujpototztiuja: iuhqujn tlaixqujqujça, tlalli tetcujca:

auh ce tlacatl qujnapalotiuja.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, teuquemetiuja, quetzal-apanecaiutl, in contlalitiuja, ixoacalichioale, ixcitlalichioale, mixcitalichihuh, xiuhiacamjoa, vitzitzilnaoale, eltezcaoa, xiuhchimale.

12. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *q'paynaltiaya*—they make him run with agility.

13. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as *ligero, apresurado*.

14. The suffix "*tiuja*" is consistently written "*tiviya*" in *Real Palacio MS*.

15. Scler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 431) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the *xicolli* (jacket) and the *tsitzicaxtilmatli* (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

16. *Apanecaiutl*: "'Adorno en forma de travesaño.' Insignia de honor y ornato, consistente en una banda de plumas que atraviesa de hombro a costado." Sahagún, (Garibay ed.) Vol. IV, p. 321.

17. *Ixoacalchioale*: literally: "face design like a wooden carrying frame."

18. *Real Palacio MS*: *mixcitalichihuh*.



Third Chapter, which telleth of the god named Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror), whom they worshipped and to whom they offered sacrifices in ancient times.

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 quickened vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called “the enemy on both sides.” He created, he brought down all things. He cast his shadow on one, he visited one with all the evils which befall men; he mocked, he ridiculed men.

But sometimes he bestowed riches — wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity,¹⁹ rulership, nobility, honor.²⁰

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, talticpac, ylhujcac. In jquac nemja talticpac, ichoatl qujiolitija, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ teupouhquj, qujteittitiaia,

tetzalā, tenepantla motecaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iautl, muchi qujiocoiaia, qujtemoujaja, qujtecaujltiaia, qujtecujtiaia, 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.

19. *Yn tiyacauhyotl yn teucyotl in ibid.*

20. *Ym mavizyotl in ibid.*



Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Tlaloc, the provider.²¹

Tlaloc, the provider. To him was attributed the rain; for he created, brought down, showered down the rain and the hail. He caused the trees, the grasses, the maize to blossom, to sprout, to leaf out, to bloom, to grow. And also were attributed to him the drowning of people, the thunderbolts.

And he was thus arrayed:²² his face was covered with soot; his face was painted with liquid rubber; it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seed dough.²³ He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a sleeveless dew-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals,²⁴ and also bells. He had a green and white plaited reed banner.²⁵

Jnc nauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoaia yn teutl, yn jtoca tlaloc, tlamacazquj.

Tlaloc, tlamacazquj: ynjn ipan machoia, in quj-iaujtl: ca ichoatl quiicoaia, qujtemoujaia, qujpi-xoaia, in quijaujtl, yoan in teciujt: quixotlaltiaja, qujtzmolinaltiaja, qujxoxuualtiaja, quicueponaltiaja, quizcaltiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no itech tlamjloia, in teilaqujliztli, in tlaujtequjliztli.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixol-hujlli, motliloçac, ixmjchioave, ixmichioauhio, auach-xicole, aiauhxicole, aztatzone, chalchihcozque, poçulcaque, no tzitzile, aztapilpane.

21. *Tlamacazqui*: "lit., el que dará algo. De donde dos sentidos: a) El que dará lo necesario para la vida; o sea, el Proveedor divino. En este primer sentido se aplica a los dioses, en especial a los de la lluvia. b) El que dará algo para el servicio de los dioses, y en este sentido se aplica a los ministros secundarios del culto de los antiguos mexicanos." Garibay, *Hist. de la Lit. Náhuatl*, Vol. II, p. 408.

22. *Auh yvin ymmochichivaya* in *Real Palacio MS*.

23. Cf. Sahagún (Garibay Ed.), Vol. I, p. 200; see also Selser, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 443-4. The *Primeros Memoriales MS* gives *yyoxtopil*, "su baston de junco." Cf. Miguel León-Portilla: *Ritos, Sacerdotes y Atavios de los Dioses*, Fuentes Indígenas de la Cultura Náhuatl, Textos de los Informantes de Sahagún, I (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1958), p. 121.

24. *Poçolcaque*: "de algodón flojo y blando." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

25. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 162.



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

Quetzalcoatl — he was the wind; he was the guide, the roadsweeper of the rain gods,²⁶ of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind increased, it was said, the dust swirled up, it roared, howled, became dark, blew in all directions; there was lightning; it grew wrathful.

And he was thus arrayed: he had a conical ocelot skin cape. His face was covered with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and mesquite symbols.²⁷ He had a curved, [turquoise mosaic] ear pendant.²⁸ He wore a gold neckband of small seashells.²⁹ He bore the precious pheasant device on his back.³⁰ He had ocelot skin anklets with bells. He wore a cotton bone [ribbed] jacket.³¹ His were the shield with the wind-shell design,³² the curved [inlaid] spear-thrower,³³ and also the foam sandals.

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

Quetzalcoatl: yn checatl ynteiacanauh yntlachpancauh in tloaque, yn aoaque, yn quiquijauhti. Auh yn jquac molhuja checa, mjtoa: teuhtli quaqualaca, ycoioca, tetecujca, tlatlaiooa, tlatlalpitza, tlatlatzinj, motlatlaueltia.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia: ocelocopile, mjxtlilpotz, hecanechioale, mizqujnechioale, tzicolihcana-coche, teucujtlaacuechcozque, quetzalcoxollamamale, ocelotzitzile, icpaomjicujle, hecacozcachimale, hecaujque, no poçulcaque.

26. Cf. Eduard Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-43; and Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicholas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlalocs is illustrated in a passage in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 263: "Esta gente atribuis el viento a un dios que llamaban Quetzalcóatl, bien casi como dios de los vientos. Sopla el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decian; 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 tlalocáyotl; no es viento furioso, cuando él sopla no impide (a) las canoas andar por el agua."

27. Wind-painting, according to Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 435; see also pp. 436 and 437.

28. In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully than in the Aztec text, says: "Tenja, vnas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mesyco. . ."

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

30. Cf. Garibay, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 379.

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

32. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has: "vna rodela, con vna pintura, con cinco angulos: que llaman, el Joel de viento." The term *macoacachimalli* 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*.)

33. Corresponding Spanish text says: "era como empuñadora de espada."



Sixth Chapter: here are named the highest of the goddesses whom the natives worshipped, whom they falsely revered as divine.

Ciuacoatl (Snake-woman) [was called]³⁴ a savage beast and an evil omen.³⁵ She was an evil omen to men; she brought men misery. For, it was said, she gave men the digging stick, the tump-line; she visited men therewith.

And as she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady. She wore ear plugs, obsidian ear plugs. She appeared in white, garbed in white, standing white, pure white. Her womanly hairdress rose up.³⁶

By night she walked weeping, wailing; also was she an omen of war.³⁷

And in this wise was her image arrayed: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.³⁸ She had a headdress of [eagle] feathers;³⁹ she had golden ear plugs. She wore a triangular shoulder shawl. She carried a turquoise [mosaic] weaving-stick.

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

Ciuacoatl 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 jncaxtlaol, yn jaxtlacujl,

ioaltica chocatinenca, tecoiouhtinenca, no iautetzaujtl catca.

Auh yuj yn muchichioaia yxiptla, yn jxaiac, centlachichiltic, centlacotliltic, yujquatzone, teucujtlanacoche, quechqueme, xiuhtzotzopace.

34. The *Real Palacio* MS adds *mitoaya*.

35. Cf. also *tetrauhcoatl*, species of snake mentioned by Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. III, p. 271.

36. *Quiqueq[ue]tza* in *Real Palacio* MS.

37. This is explained in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. II, pp. 284, 287.

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

39. *Yquauhtzon* in *Primeros Memoriales*. "Su corona de plumas de águila" in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 285.



Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Chicome coatl (Seven Snake).⁴⁰

Chicome coatl: this one represented — she was the representative of — maize and men's sustenance of whatever sort; what is drunk, what is eaten.

And thus was her array: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shift [ornamented with] water flowers and a skirt [ornamented with] water flowers; also she had foam sandals; she carried the shield with the sun sign, the sun shield.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vnca moteneoa, yn cioateutl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: ichoatl ipan mjxcoaia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein ynenca, yiolca maceoalli, yn joa, yn qualo.

Auh yujn yn nechichioale catca; ixtlahuxaoale, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacueie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

40. See Pl. 29, which explains the name.



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

She was the mother of the gods. The physicians, the leeches, those who cured hemorrhoids, those who purged people, those who cured eye ailments worshipped her.

Also women, midwives, those who administered sedatives at childbirth, 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 removed [intrusive] objects from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.⁴¹

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 a feast day was celebrated for her, when it was the time of the slaying of the one who was the impersonator of Teteu innan, the physicians sought to banish her sorrow, that she might not weep. They amused her, they flattered her, they satisfied her caprices, they made her happy. They wished her not to weep.⁴² They hid [her fate] from her,⁴³ they made merry with one another about death. They skirmished, they made war, they cried war-cries, battle-cries, for her. Devices were exhibited, there was giving of devices, there was giving of gifts which became the binding force of the valiant warriors, wherefore they painted them with white chalk, wherefore they pasted them with downy feathers. They surrounded her so that they stood over her.

Jnic chicuei, capitulo: vncā moteneoa, yn cioa-teutl, yn jtoca: Teteu ynna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jnnā catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaja, in titici, in teitzmjnque, tetzinaanque, tetlanoqujlque, teixpati-que.

Auh yn cioa, temjxiujtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaxilique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No ichoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcaleque; ypampa y, qujtlaliliaia yn jxiptla, in temazcalixquac, qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie ilhujqujxtililoia, in ie imjquiztequippa: in ichoantin titici, yn jxiptla catca teteu ynna, qujtlaoculpopoloiaia, amo vel chocaia, quecel-qujxtiaia, qujtlanenectiaia, qujtlanenequjltaia, qujceceltiaia, haqujchoctlanja, qujtlatlahtitiaia, momjquizquequeloaia, qujnecaliltiaia, qujiaochioaia, qujtlacoachiliaia, coiujuaia, tlauiznexiloia, netlauizmacoia, netlauhtiloia: in qujmjlilhca muchioaia in tiacaa, ic quintiçaujaia, ic qujnptonjaia, qujmotzacujlitiuja, ic panj moquetzaia.

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

42. *Hu' quichoctlama* in *Real Palacio MS.*

43. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. I, pp. 122, 191.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin and stood between two of his Huastecs,⁴⁴ who accompanied him on either side.

They were painted with white chalk and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. On their backs they carried a paper crown provided with protruding spindles, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.⁴⁵

They brought to Tocitlan [the man wearing the skin of the victim]; they left her skin upon a wooden bench.⁴⁶

And the array [of Teteo innan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips; [the representation of] a hole was placed on each cheek. She had cotton flowers. She had a ball with palm strips.⁴⁷ She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her shift—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, pointed eagle feathers. Her golden shield was perforated in the center. She carried a bird foot. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

Auh yn jquac onmjc, yn jxiptla: njman ce tlacatl onmaqajaia, yn jcoaiio, ynnepantla oalmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuexoa, qujujcaia, qujtzatzacutiujia:

motiçauique, motlotloujtecque, çan pepetlauhtiuç, in memecamaxtli: amacalli in qujmama, mahmala-caquetzallo, ichcaxochiio, hiujquetzallo:

vmpa concaoa, in tocitlan: quauhtlapechco con-tlaliaia yn jcoaiio.

Auh ynjc nechichioale, motenolcopi, tlaxapuchtlia qujmotlatlalili yn jcamapā ichcaxochioa, çoiatemale, cuechcueie, mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycuç, citlalcueie, quavivih, tztzeliuhquj yn juipil, quauhtztzeliuhquj, iztac quavihujio, quauhteuitzço; yn jchimal, teucujtlaytixapo, totoicxiio, popoa, izqujce.

44. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 193, referring to the Toçi festival: "ibun delante de ellos aquellos eni devotos que se llaman icuexóan."

45. See Pl. 8.

46. Sahagún, *ibid.*, p. 196, calls it *garita*.

47. Garibay translates *yçoiatemal* as "su mechón, de palma." Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 283.



Ninth Chapter: here is named the goddess called Tzapotlan tenan (the Mother of Tzapotlan).

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

She healed the bodies of men, those with itch of the head.⁴⁸ Those who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head,⁴⁹ or cracks in the skin of the feet, the lips, the face, the hands, the legs; and for jigger fleas, for the tortilla-sickness.⁵⁰ Its oil, its heat were required on indeed many occasions.⁵¹

And when the feast day was celebrated,⁵² they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of amaranth seed dough. Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned drum; they beat, they struck the turtle-shell drum; they rattled the gourd rattle; they rasped the notched bone for her.

The array [of Tzapotlan tenan] was as follows: two [drops] 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 rattle-board.⁵³

Jnc chicunauj, capitulo: vncan moteneoa yn cioa-teutl, yn jtoaca Tzaputla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjxcooia, yn oxitl ynacaio muchioaia:

quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aqujn quaxocociuj, toz-camjiaoociuj, motozcaoxiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçaoati, xotzaianj, tentzaianj, ixteteçonauj, mateteçonauj, icxitzatzaianj, yoan in qualo, yn tlaxcaliciuj: yn jchiaoaica yn jtonal vel mieccan monequj.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquixtiloia, yn oxinamacaque, motlacacoujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtzoallotiaia yn jxiptla, qujcujaiaia, yn iveveiooan, qujteponacilhujaja, caiotzotzonjlia, caioujtequjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaoacilhujaja.

Jnc nechichioale omexaoale, amacale, olchachapanquj, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalmjiaoia, aiuchicaoace.

48. "...vna manera, de bubas, o sarna: que nace, en la cabeça" (corresponding Spanish text).

49. "...otra enfermedad... assi mismo, que nace en la cabeça: que es como bubas" (loc. cit.).

50. The *Real Palacio MS* reads: "yoan in cualo yn tlaxcalicivi." Selser (op. cit., p. 7) translates: "und wenn gegessen wird, an der Maisfladenkrankheit leiden." A nearly identical passage in the Appendix of Book I reads: "yoan in qualocatl, intech motlalia, in tlaxcaliciniestli." This rendition seems preferable and is followed in our translation. A passage in Sahagún (op. cit., Vol. III, p. 177) 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 quede descubierta la boca del nacido, y tomar un poco de óxtil y ponerlo en la propia boca del nacido, de suerte que poniendo fuego sobre el óxtil quede quemado el nacido... su comida del enfermo serán tortillas tostadas..."

51. This phrase might also be rendered: "When corpulence was one's lot, it was required in indeed many places."

52. *Ylhuiq'xtilloya* in *Real Palacio MS*.

53. *Aiuchicaoace*: "'Sonajero de niebla.' Tabla con sonajas intercaladas que resonaban al andar el que la llevaba en hombros" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 324). Ángel María Garibay K., in *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas*, Fuentes Indígenas de la Cultura Náhuatl, Informantes de Sahagún, 2 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia: Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1958), p. 59, states: "En la relación de la fiesta del *Ezalcualixtli* se describe ampliamente el instrumento que, en sentido mágico era el procurador de la lluvia. Una tabla con huecos, en los cuales se colocaba el sonajero, o sea una serie de sonajas que al andar quien portaba este instrumento sonaban raramente. Era como la emulación de los truenos de *Tláloc*, que hace sonar sus vasijas cuando el rayo estalla." Cf. Selser: *Gesam-melte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 474, 989.



Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the goddesses [called] Ciuapipiltin.⁵⁴

These were five devils, whose images were of stone.⁵⁵ Of them it was supposed and men said: "They hate people; they mock them." When one was under their spell, possessed, 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 at the crossroads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Ciuapipiltin arrive on earth; they descend."

And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded tortillas, butterfly-shaped tortillas, S-shaped tortillas,⁵⁶ small tamales,⁵⁷ toasted grains of maize.

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

And their array was [thus]: They had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, anointed with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered over with the obsidian point design.⁵⁸ They had sandals decked with feathers.

Jnic matlactli, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn cioa-teteu, cioapipilti:

Diablome catca y, macujltin, teme yn jmixiptlaotan; intech tlamjloia, qujlmach tetlauelia, teca mocaiaoa, ynjc aca itech qujneoaia, tlaelilocati, tennecujliuj, ixnecujliuj, matzicolij, icxicopichauj, icximjmjqij, momacuecuetza, tenqualacquiça: ic mjtoaia omotenamicti, ypan oquizque cioapipilti, vmaxac chaneque. Jpampa y yn tetaoa, anoço tenaoa, qujmilhujaia yn jnpilhoan; maca xonqujça, tlalpan aci, temo in cioapipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ymjlhujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xonecujli, xocuchtlamatzoalli, izqujtl.

Auh yn vncan momana y, in quenman vncan yn cioateucalco, in quenman, vmaxac.

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

54. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 498.

55. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *catca*.

56. *Xonecujli*: "'pie torcido.' Pan en forma de zigzag, usado en ciertas fiestas" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 370).

57. *Xocuchtlamatzoalli*: "Tamales de fruta y bledos" (*loc. cit.*).

58. After *tlaitzcopeoaltectli* the *Real Palacio MS* adds *yn imamatlaquē*.



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

She was considered a god[dess]. They represented her as a woman.⁵⁹ So it was claimed, it was said that she belonged to the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, held in awe; hence she caused terror. She drowned one, plunged one in water, submerged one; she caused the water to foam, to billow over one; she caused the water to swirl over one. Thereby she carried one into the depths.

She upset the boat, overturned it, lifted it up, tossed it up, plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank one, drowned one. 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 swelleth, it splasheth; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

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

And when her feast day was celebrated,⁶⁰ it was likewise in [the month of] Etzalqualiztli,⁶¹ when the feast day of the rain-gods was celebrated.

They formed her image over a framework of wood; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed a necklace upon her—a plaited necklace, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings; her fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed the *yiauhtli* herb before her.

Jnic matlactli vce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: ichoatl yn atl.

Teutl ipan machoia: iuhqujn cioatl qujxiptlatiaia, iuh mjtoaia, qujlmach ynvan pouj, inueltiuh in tla-loque:

ynic mauiztililoia, ynic imacaxoia, ynjc mauhca-ittoia, ynjc tlamauhtiaia, teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia, tepan poçonja, moteponaçoa, maxiciotia, tepan moteuylacachoa, ynjc tecentlanjujca:

yn acalli qujcuepa, qujxtlapachcuepa, queoatique-tza, ca aco maiauj, ca tema.

Auh in quenma teapachoa, teapotzauja, mocueio-tia, titicujca, xaxamacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatla-camanj:

yn jquac oceuh, yn ie ceuj, aujc iaiauh: qujtoa, maujltia, xixiqujpiliuj, cocomotzauj, atentli itech onmo-tlatlatzoa, onmochachaquanja, mapopoçoquillotia.

Auh yn jquac atle checatl, tlamattimanj, atezcattimanj, petlantimanj, cuecucieocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn etzalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tla-loque,

colotli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetaiaia, qujuj-piltiaia, qujcozcatiaia, cozcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtlacomalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtenama-cacauh, yiauhtli, ixpan qujtepevia,

59. *Quixiptlayotiaya* in *Real Palacio MS.*

60. *Ylhuiq'xtililoia* in *Real Palacio MS.*

61. Sahagún (Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 166): "este etzalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo." Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (Mexico: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-1880), Vol. II, p. 210: "el maíz cocido por sí solo llamanle pozolli pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (etl) le llaman etzally."

With the mist rattle-board they went speaking; the elders of the *calpulli*, her singers, sang for her.

And right before her image died a woman slave whom they had bought. The water merchants exhibited her; those who gained their livelihoods from water, those who brought water in boats, those who owned boats, those who lived on the water, the boat-makers, those who served water in the market place.⁶²

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

Then Moctezuma especially honored [the goddess]. Before her image incense was offered;⁶³ he beheaded quail for her.

Thus they said: "The lord gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And then they were thankful as they paid honor to the waters, [for] they remembered that because of her we live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

Also in the same manner they honored the image of the maize, named Chicome coatl; and the image of the salt, named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered the three.⁶⁴ For they become indeed the livelihood of the people; through them the people are satisfied; through them they can live.

And she was thus arrayed: her face was painted; she was painted about the lips with blue, her lips were painted blue; her face was painted yellow.⁶⁵ She had a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs. She had a blue paper crown with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift, her skirt were painted like water waves. She bore a shield ornamented with a water lily. She carried the mist rattle-board,⁶⁶ which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

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

63. Tlenamacaya in Real Palacio MS.

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

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

66. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenja en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con una cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleva el sacramento, quando uno solo le lleva: y era como cetro, desta diosa." See illustrations of Chalchiuhtli ycue and Tzapotlan tenan.

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque, ycuycacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcoaia, iehoan qujnxtiaia, yn anamacaque: yn ad 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 miqija, ytocaio-can tlalocan: yn vncan inteupan, tlaloque, quelte-tequja.

In jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecucuma: ixpan tlenamacoia yn jxiptla, qujtlacotonjlia,

ih qujtoaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlama-cehuja yn jmaceoal: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, yujc qujmahujztiliaia atl: qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn ixqujch tetech mon-quj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoā yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vix-tocioatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti: ca vel ynenca muchioa in maccoalli, ic vellamati, ic vel nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: moxaoaia, textotica, motenujtec, motexotenujtec, mjxcoçalhuj, chal-chiuhcuzque, xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmj-iaoaio, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacuj-lolcueie, atlacueçonanchimale, aiuchicaoaz, cacalaca; poçulcaque.



Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of Tlaçolteotl.

Tlaçolteotl, also called Ixcuina, was besides called Tlaelquani. As to her being named Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm, her domain, was that of evil and perverseness — that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of lust and debauchery.⁶⁷

And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women — the first named Tiacapan (the first born), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the youngest sister).⁶⁸ These four women, it was said, were god[esses]. Each one of these was called Tlaçolteotl.

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:⁶⁹ it was said it was because one told, one recited before her, all vanities; one told, one spread before her all unclean works — however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. Indeed all was exposed, told before her.

THE CONFESSION⁷⁰

It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living — these Tlaçolteotl offered one, cast upon one, inspired in one. And likewise she forgave, set aside, removed [corruption]. She cleansed one; she washed one. In her hand lay the blue and yellow waters.⁷¹

Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteutl.

In tlaçolteutl: yoan itoca ixcuina, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçolteutl, qujl ipampa, qujl ichoatl yiaxca, ylatquj, ytech pouj, in teuhli, in tlaçulli: in qujtoznequj, avilnemjiztli, qujl ipan tecuti, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjizcutl.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcuina: qujl navinti coah, 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, cecciaca yntoca: tlaçulteteu.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, imixpā mjtoa, imjxpan mopoia, 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 teuhli, in aujlnemjiziotl: ichoatl qujtemaca, ic temotla, ic tehipitza in tlaçolteutl. Auh çan no ichoatl, qujtepolhuja: ichoatl chico, tlanaoac qujujca, qujteca: ichoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: ichoatl imac manj ym matlalatl, in toxpalatl.

67. *Avilnemizyotl* in *Real Palacio MS*.

68. Cf. Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuina*, 'she of 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 *Ixcuinan*, 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.

69. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*comedora, de cosas suzias*."

70. In *Real Palacio MS*, *neiolmelaoaliztli* stands alone as a heading, as given here. In the *Florentine Codex*, it is part of the text.

71. Cf. 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 thee of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come unto thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady Chalchiuhtlicue, the Lord Chalchiuhtlatonac. . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalat*), 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 (Garibay, ed., Vol. II, p. 188), notes "...oraciones con que la partera oraba a la diosa del agua llamada Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatónac, y decía así: 'Señora nuestra Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatónac, venido ha a nuestra presencia esta criatura: ruégoos que la recibáis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su resucello, y luego la daba

And thus she pardoned, thus she set aside, she removed [corruption]. In her presence confession was made, the heart was opened; before Tlaçolteotl one recited, one told one's sins.

And her mediator,⁷² the one who became her hearer, was the soothsayer, the wise one, in whose hands lay the books, the paintings; who preserved the writings,⁷³ who possessed the knowledge, the tradition, the wisdom which hath been uttered.

The penitent who would confess first explained to the soothsayer; he said unto him: "I wish to go to the master, our lord of the near, the nigh,⁷⁴ our lord the night, the wind. I wish to learn of his secrets."⁷⁵

The soothsayer said: "Thou has done a favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose the day. He consulted his sacred almanac, he noted the good day, the good time, the favorable time. It is said that he chose the day.

And when it was already the appointed time, he bought a new reed mat, and incense, and wood. When the penitent was highly honored, he made his confession in his own house; the soothsayer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

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

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, the old god, here hath come a man of low estate.⁷⁶ He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Because⁷⁷ he hath sinned, because he hath erred, because he hath lived in filth, it causeth him sorrow, anguish. Master, our

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja, ynjc chico, tlanaoac, qujujca, qujteca: iixpan neiolcujtilo, iixpan neiolmelachioal, yn tlaçulteutl, iixpā mopoa, mjhtoa, in tetla-

Auh iix, ynacaz, ytlacaccauh muchioa, in tlapouhquj, in tlamatinj, yn jmac manj, yn amuxtli, yn tlaçujloli: in qujpie yn tllili, yn tlapalli, yn matile yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn oqujto

yn mojolmelaoaz in tlapilchioale; achto qujtlaçujtia, in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja. Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitiznequj, yn tlatatl, yn totecujto, in tloque naoaque: in totecujto, yioalli, yn checatl, ytoptzin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnottiliznequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimotlacnelili: qujnaoatia, yn iqujn oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iqujn qualli tonalli, yn iccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepena.

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

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

Teteu ynnan, teteu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn maceoalli: njcan choçatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, moteupouhtuijtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlamj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli, yn çacamjtl; a qujiolitlacoa,

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 crema a los niños, y decíale de esta manera: 'Hijo mío muy amado — y si era mujer decía, hija mía muy amada —, llegaos a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatónac; tómeos ella, porque ella os ha de llevar a cuevas y en los brazos en este mundo. Y luego metla en el agua a la criatura, y decía: 'Entra hijo mío — o hija mía —, en el agua, que se llama matlálac y tuxpálac; láveos en ellas, limpios si que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traéis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.' Scler (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 Scler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

72. See *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chap. 43.

73. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chap. 43.

74. Cf. Corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. I, p. 88, and Vol. II, p. 81, gives as meanings of yoalli, checatl (1) "espíritu, aire y tiniebla"; and (2) "dios invisible, sin imagen...impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y todopoderoso, por cuya virtud todos viven..." Ángel María Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: Imprenta Mayli, 1940), p. 113, translates tloque naoaque as "que está cerca y junto" — the sun, God in general.

75. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chap. 43.

76. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chap. 43.

77. Anca in *Real Palacio MS*.

lord of the near, the nigh, receive, hear the torment of this lowly one."

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

"Thou hast brought thyself into the presence of him of the near, the nigh. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"No more shalt thou err or sin. Before him of the near, the nigh, our lord the night, the wind, take off thy clothing, show thy nakedness.

"Wilt thou see our lord as a man, and⁷⁸ will he, as a man, address thee, for he is the night, the wind [for he is invisible, for he is the night, the wind]?⁷⁹

"But in whatever manner thou comest, 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, thy evil odor, thy corruption, and tell thy sorrows to our lord of the near, the nigh, who stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.

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

Then the penitent kissed the earth and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer. He spoke as to a lieutenant, a deputy, a representative.

"Our lord of the near, the nigh, since thou receivest, thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is] what I have perpetrated, what I have done. Can these things be hidden, can they be darkened, when that which I have perpetrated is reflected, is clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins, in their proper order, in the same order as that in which he had committed them. Just as if it were a song, just as he intoned a song, in the very same way he told what he had done. As if on a road he went following his deeds; in the very same manner he went following them.

qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquehe naoaquehe, manoço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnen-tlamachiliz yn maceoalli.

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

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

a ma no ceppa ich njcan timatoiauj, timotepexiuj: ma ixpantzinco ximopepetlaoa, ximomamaxauj, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujoe, in ioalli, in checatl.

A cujx tictlacaitaz in totecujoe, a cujx mjztlacanotzaz: ca ioalli, ca checatl.

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 maqaltica, in mjiaca in mopalanca. Auh xicmotlaoculnonochili, yn totecujoe, in tloque naoaque, 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, naoaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalancan: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnomamaxauja: ca onax, ca onjchihuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiooaiian, ca tezcac, ca tla-vilpan im mjxpantzinco, 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 qujchjuh, im maca çan vtli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

78. Auh in Real Palacio MS.

79. After checatl, Real Palacio MS adds "ca amo ittoni ca yovalli ca checatl." This passage has been inserted in brackets.

And when he ended his words, when he had told all his deeds, then the soothsayer, the one who became the mediator, the lieutenant, the deputy, answered him. He said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to him of the near, the nigh, thou hast offered him thy deeds, thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do, this thou shalt accomplish. When the Ciuapipiltin descend, when it is the feast day of the Ciuapipiltin or the Ixcuiname, thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And on the very feast day, when it has come, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws, thou shalt draw sticks [through it]. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And whatsoever thou shalt require, so thou shalt require it. If thou piercest thy tongue with straws thou shalt pass through reeds or sticks. And thou shalt pass them either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"But as thou shalt pass⁸⁰ the reeds through thy tongue, take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit; rather, expiate thy sinful life. Thou shalt pierce thy tongue through the middle, thou shalt break it through from the under side. Thou shalt insert [the reeds] in thy penis.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee. Thou shalt pass them through singly, or pass them through as one, binding them together, be they four hundred or eight hundred sticks which thou shalt pass through.

"Thus shalt thou overcome thy faults, thy sins, thy evil."

And if the sins of the penitent were only light [the soothsayer] 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; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers and fashion images."⁸¹

Or else he said unto him:

"Verily thou art at enmity with wine; thou shalt satisfy the Totochtin."

And he said unto him; he thus commanded him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yn omuchi qujto ytlachioal: qujnanqujlia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jxtli, yn nacztli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmonochilia, ca ticmomaqujlia, in tloque naoaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca izca yn taiz, yn ticchioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ymjlhujh cioapipilti, yn jxcujname: naujlujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timotenoatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallatujh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoqujxtiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh ticnamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: yntla tiçacatlaçaz, ichoatl in teucalçacatl tiqujxtiz, anoço tla-cotl. Auh aço monacazco in titlaqujxtiz, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiqujxtiz: ca amo ma çan titlamaçeoaz, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlacoçoz, ticcujtlacueponiz ÿ monenepil, mjxpampa ticaquiz,

motzintlan in ticqujxtiz, in tictlaçaz: aço çan ceceñ in ticqujxtiz, anoço çan ticcenqujxtiz, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in ticqujxtiz tla-cotl:

ic poliuiç, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, im monequal.

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

anoço qujlhuja
titlatotiz, timoteteuhcaoaz, titepiquiz:

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

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc qujnaoatia:
yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceoaz ioaltica, atle mo

80. *Ticquixtiz* in *Real Palacio MS*.

81. Although the *Real Palacio MS* reads *timoteteuhçavaz*, the corresponding Spanish text favors the present translation.

night, thou shalt wear nothing. Thou shalt go naked. About thy loins will go placed a paper painted with obsidian points;⁸² one piece will go placed behind thee, at thy buttocks.

"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 his way of life. It was said that if he were to sin again — so it was said — no more might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great faults, grave misdeeds, 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 had committed adultery, so that their heads might not be pierced, nor crushed, nor beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer before whom sins were laid nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said. For what was said, what was confided, was not to him. For the sins were given — they were told — to him of the near, the nigh, whom mortal man might not see.

tech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopecoalli in mantiaz: centetl mjcampa, motzintampa, mantiaz.

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

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

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

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

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tzacujtilozque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxin: ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloç, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloç, moiolmelaoa.

In tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo: ipampa ca amo ich yn jlhuçjlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhuçjlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ich motta, im maceoalli.

82. The most characteristic emblem of Tlaçolteotl is a broom wrapped with a *tlaitzcopecintli* — 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 (Pl. 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.



Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the lesser gods⁸³ who follow the principal gods which have been mentioned.

Xiuhtecutli (Turquoise Lord), Ixoçauhqui (Yellow-faced One), and Cueçaltzin (Flaming One). This one was known as the fire or Ueue teotl (the Old God) and Tota (Our Father).

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he singed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes was he useful; for with him one was warmed, things were cooked in an olla, things were cooked, things were toasted, salt [water] was evaporated, syrup was thickened, charcoal was made, limestone was fired; things were well fried; things were fried, things were roasted; one was burned, sweat-houses were heated, unguents were prepared, the lime preparation for renovating capes was heated.

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 be-headed and incense was set forth.

Tamales [stuffed] with greens⁸⁴ were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

And all day his [the god's] old men sang, blew shell trumpets,⁸⁵ beat horizontal drums, sounded the rattle-board for him.

And no one might reach his hand⁸⁶ to the griddle. It was forbidden that anyone burn himself, singe himself, because tamales [stuffed] with greens which had been offered were eaten for the first time.

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton teteuh: yn qujntoqujlia, yn omoteneuhque, yn veucintin teteuh.

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

teutl ipan machoia: ichica, ca tetlatia, tepalao, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacnelia: ca ic nezcolo, ic tlapaoaxo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tenextlatilo, ic tlatetzoionjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatle-oatzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temazcallatilo, ic oxitlatilo, ic tlanextlatilo.

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

oauhqujltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan qujmanjliaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

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

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

83. Corresponding Spanish text has: "que son menores en dignidad, que los arriba dichos."

84. "Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama huauhquilitl, que son bledos; es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgaditas 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 cenizas, exprímese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hácese tamales de esta hierba, los cuales se llaman quiltamalli" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 295).

85. *Quitencizpichilia* in *Real Palacio MS.*

86. *Uellonmaçouaya* in *ibid.*

And all the little children⁸⁷ roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, the axolotl, birds; whatsoever kind of small animal they had captured, they cast in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, in all places the old men, the old women drank wine. They made libations to the fire, they extinguished the oven⁸⁸ — so they said.

And every four years his feast day was especially honored. Moctezuma then danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli. The name of the place was Tzonmolco.⁸⁹

And at this time all people, everyone, tasted, sipped the wine; [also] the small children. Thus the [feast day] was called *pillaoano*.

And then they gave uncles, they gave aunts to the small children, a man, a woman whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and then carried⁹⁰ them to the temple of Ixcoauhqui. There [the parents] perforated their ears, they pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts⁹¹ looked on. Afterwards food was eaten.⁹²

His array was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of the face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones;⁹³ he wore a paper crown with the feathers of the lovely cotinga and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts, a crown of spearshafts; he had the fire-serpent disguise;⁹⁴ he had a shoulder-sash of yellow paper.⁹⁵ Likewise he had bells, he had shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca coatl: cujiatl, xoujli, axolotl, tototl: in çaço thein ocacic ioioli, ycamac contlaçaiia in tlecujlli: ic mjttoiaia, motlaxquja yn tota.

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

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

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

yoan vncā qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli, in qujntemoiaia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia, ichoantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmoncaoiaia, yn iteupan ixcoauhquj: vmpa qujnnacazxapotlaia, qujnnacazcoionjaia: iuhqujn ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmitta, yntlaoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tilitica motenujtec, chalchihuetetele, xiuhtotoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, mjtzone, tlacotztzone, xiuhcooanacoche, amacozneapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, xiuhtezcatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

87. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In Sahagún (Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 220), we are told that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

88. *Texcalceuja*: cf. *op. cit.*, p. 221; "dar refrigerio al fogón" in *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 357.

89. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 240).

90. For *quimoncaoiaia* the *Real Palacio MS* has *q'mōvicaya*.

91. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector).

92. After *tlaqualo*, *Real Palacio MS* adds *tlavano* — there was drinking.

93. *Chalchihuetetel*: "un haro con piedras preciosas" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 282).

94. For *xiuhcooanacoche*, *Real Palacio MS* has *xiuhcoanavale*.

95. *Amacozneapanale*: the *amaneapanalli* is a band of paper which hangs from one's shoulder, the ends crossing under the opposite elbow. See Pl. 20.



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

Likewise he was worshipped as a god of the palace folk.

When there was fasting, 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, visited upon them, gave them as their merit, their lot, piles, hemorrhoids, suppurating genitals, disease of the groin.⁹⁶

Therefore vows were made to him,⁹⁷ vows were repeated, to quiet, remove, abate the sickness.

And when his feast was celebrated on the feast day of flowers, first there was a flower fast for four days. Some fasted by eating no chili; they ate [only] at midday,⁹⁸ they ate [only] once. At midnight they tasted a painted atole which they drank; small flowers floated on it. [When] they flower-fasted, they ate all manner of tasty things; likewise they tasted them at midday. And some ate only one thing—tortillas of maize not softened by lime,⁹⁹ without chili. Likewise they tasted them at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man made himself into the likeness [of the god]; he placed on himself the array [of the god], in which he danced. They beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were beheaded. There were the drawing of blood, the passing of sticks [through

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

Çan neneuhque, ynjc neteutiloia tecpantzinca in-teuh:

yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoia, qujntlaçulmjtia, yn jneçaoaliz,

ic quitemacaia, tetch qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujtiaia, qujtemaceoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoalitzli, tlapalanalitzli, quexiliuiliztli,

yuicpa nêtoloa, nenetolitoia, ynjc qujceuz, ynjc qujquaniz, ynjc qujcaxoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoia, chilcaoia, qujn nepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, ioalnepantla qujmattiuuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, moxochiçaoa: muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlatcatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jlatquj, ipan mjtoiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcuçatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoia, tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan,

96. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "herja, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, ... almorranas, pudredumbre del miembro secreto, deviejos, y incordios, etc."

97. *Netoloa: nêtoloya* in *Real Palacio MS*.

98. *Quinnepantla: yn inepantla* in *ibid*.

99. In corresponding Spanish text: "panes azimos."

the tongue], and the setting out of offerings in his temple. They made for him five tamales called fast-ing food. They 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 [they offered] two cakes of amaranth seed dough, which served in place of rubber, one black, one red, resting in wooden bowls.

And some [offered] toasted maize, or toasted maize mixed in honey,¹⁰⁰ or S-shaped tortillas, butterfly-shaped tortillas, tortillas of maize not softened in lime, tortillas of amaranth seed dough, amaranth seed dough cakes in the form of shields, arrows, swords, dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives." All who lay surrounding, those who held the enemy borders, those who dwelt on the enemy borders brought their captives, their prisoners here. [These] became their tribute-captives. The stewards, each of the stewards, guarded them here.

And if one of them fled, if he escaped, they replaced him; a man was purchased; they delegated another, they placed one in his stead.

Then the slaves died, when the feast day was celebrated.

And his array [was thus]: on his lips was the imprint of a hand. His face was a fine red; his face glowed red, reddened. He had a crown of feathers, a crest. A fan was the burden on his back, on which stood the sun-flag, with quetzal feathers at the top, with a quetzal feather tuft at the top. His loins were girt by a cloth edged in red. He wore sun sandals.

macujltetl in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjttoaia tlatatla-
qualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

yn aca quauhcaxilt ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan conto-
qujliaia oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja:
yoan vntetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica,
mantivia, centetl tilitic, centetl tlatlahuj.

Auh yn aca izqujtl, anoço necuzqujtl, anoço xone-
cujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzo-
oalchimalli, tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquaujtl, tzoalne-
netl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico,
moteneoa maltequjme, yn jxqujch techiaoalotoc, yn
iautenoaque, yn iaotenco onoque, qujnoalcaoia yn
jnmalhoan, yn jntlaaxioan, in maltequjhoan, muchi-
oia: njcan qujnpiaia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh intla aca tlaielti, intla tlachololti, ypan tlaca-
quetzaia, motlacacoujaia, qujxiptlaoitiaia, qujxiptla-
tiaia:

in tlatlacuti, vncan miqujia, yn jquac ilhujqujx-
tililoia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tenmacpale ixtlapaloatzale,
tlaixtlapaloatzalujlli, tlaixtlapalhvilli, yhujtzoncale,
quachichiqujle, vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitoncatla-
mamale, ypan icac, tonalopanjtl, quetzaltzonio, que-
tzaltzontecomao, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzon-
teconio, tentlapaltica motzinjipi, motzinapa, ytonalo-
cac, tonalocaque.

100. *Necuzqujtl* reads *necuzqujtl* in *Real Palacio MS*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

libro 1.

de los dioses

con limon: todo esto dezia, que aora
 seia, porque esto heci. de que ay
 se trata, se ay en esta de contract.
 Despues de acabada la fiesta, se da
 laes de mañana, el que aya hecho,
 la fiesta: cantaban asus parientes,
 y sus amigos, y alos de su barrio, o
 a los de su casa: y acababan de
 comer, y beber, todo lo que ay a ro
 bado. de la fiesta. Esto llamavan
 apecalo, que quiere dezir: anadidura
 de que se haia comido, y beuido: nin
 guna cosa que se haia de comer, ni de be
 ver, para otro dia. Dezia que los
 enfermos, haciendo esta fiesta, sanava
 de la gota: o de qualquiera de las
 enfermedades, que arriba se dixero:
 y los que ay an escapado, de algun
 peligro de agua: an hazer esta fies
 ta, cumplian con su voto. Acabada
 toda la fiesta: los papetes, y adere
 ces, con que ay an adornado, stas y
 imagines: y todas las vasijas, que
 ay an sido menester, para el comite:
 tomavano todo, y llevavano, a un
 sumidero, que sta en la laguna de
 mixtuc: que se llama pantinan, y
 alli le arrojavan todo.



ichitza hapaloia yntachitza
 yia inmanel can tepitoni ocori
 palo: iuh mytoia tennecuyhria
 tepantlixia, avic momamana
 avic xoyuvi ynte: yean imaa
 matzieltuxia. yma quicue
 cuctza, icxi quicuecuctza, ma
 copichauj, icxi copichauj, icxi
 cucueccha, yhi xatoto. teri
 papatlaca, tenvivioa, icxi
 quineca: mitea, oquihavelique
 in xoxoubque tepime. Auh
 ynothathuje, nijman ic xapeca
 lo: ynapeca an ichoan, yni
 : iniolque, in vel iatloc, in con
 thaa, cemesa, in vel icujtlax
 colloc, yri vel imecauic: motene
 ra apecalo, iquic cempolixia
 tlatlamj, in quexquich mocao
 ia in atl, in tlaqualli: yean in oc
 quexquich omocauh xatocame in
 vetli, in auetli, in tla chioatvetli, in
 iztacvetli, in achvetli. Auh ynte
 pi quinj, in tepicquj: in tla coa
 vi, ynjuh omjto tlapac, ic patiz:
 yean ynaqujn atlan mi quiz quja



1



3



2



4

1—Uitzilopochtli.

2—Paynal.

3—Tezcatlipoca.

4—Tlaloc.

—After Paso y Troncoso



5—Quetzalcoatl.

6—Ciuacoatl.

7—Chicome coatl.

8—Teteo innan.

—After Paso y Troncoso



9—Tzapotlan tenan.

10—Ciupipilti.

11—Chalchiuhti ycue.

12—Tlaçolteotl.

—After Paso y Troncoso



—After Paso y Troncoso

13—Xiuhtecuti.

14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli.

15—Omacatl.

16—Ixtlilton.



17.



19.



18.



20.

17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19—Yiacatecutli. 20—Napa tecutli.

—After Paso y Troncoso



—After Paso y Troncoso
 21—Tezcatzoncatl. 22–26—Tepictoton (Matalcueye, Quetzalcoatl, Chalchihuitli ycue, Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl)
 27—Chalchihuitli ycue (Chap. 11). 28—Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).



—After Paso y Troncoso
 29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11), Chicome coatl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlaçolteotl—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.



36—Appendix [Confutation]. 37—Appendix [Confutation]. 38—Titlacauan. 39—Xiuhtecutli. 40—Opochtli.
41—Yiacatecutli. 42—Tezcatzoncatl: 43—Tepicme.

—After Paso y Troncoso



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

This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.¹⁰¹ To him were attributed, to him were ascribed — they said that his inventions were — banqueting, invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. His domain became the gathering, the assembling of relatives. 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 were not held in esteem, like one invited, 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 were sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow a hair which was in the drink, in the food. And when, [as] is said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: he choked on his food, he choked on his drink, the food stuck in his throat when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled, tripped, fell.

And thus was his feast day celebrated. He who ate the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. Only a priest, an elder of the *calpulli*, [made it] — a cubit long, fat, cylindrical.

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

When it was eaten, it was as if one had thus been given an obligation; one had been notified, in-

Jnic caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznaoac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in piqujliloia, qujtooaia ca ichoatl imactia, in cooauiatl, in tecooanotzaliztli, in tetlacamatiliztli, in tetlatlaqualtiliztli: ymatijan muchioaia, yn jnnecen-tlaliliz, yn jnnecenqujxtiliz teoiolque, techā vicoia, vmpa mauizmachioia, necujtlauijloia yn jxiptla.

Auh no qujtooaia, yntlacamo maviztililo, yn juh-qujma coaanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan, teaoaia, qujlhujaia, yn aqujn qujtemjquj. Jn tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitz-tlalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtetolotia: 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 tlatatl, teupixquj calpole, cen molicipitl ynjc hujviiac, vel totomaaoac, mjmjiltic.

Auh yn aiama nemamaco, oc achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlioia, tlaano: auh yn otlathujc, conjtitzopinja, yn omacatl conmjctia: njman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nexexelhujlo, in teumjmjlli:

iquac quaqualo, iuhqujn ic tetzoitiloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujlo, temolcaoitilo: ca yn aquique ma-

101. *Vitznauac*: "... tiene varios significados en náhuatl:

"i) 'cerca de las espinas.' Es el nombre del sitio que estaba a la vista del altar y en donde se colocaban las espinas del sacrificio ritual que hacían todos, grandes y chicos, al amanecer, al mediar el día y al mediar la noche. Como la disposición de los altares era hacia el sur, por una transición muy fácil de significado, vino a ser el nombre de la zona meridional, tanto la tierra, como en el cielo.

"ii) Un sitio de adoración colocado en el rumbo meridional en los pueblos de cultura náhuatl. Hallamos este nombre en diversas poblaciones de esta filiación cultural. Recuerdo al azar, Texcoco, Otumba, Azcapotzalco, etc. En Tenochtitlan tenemos bien localizado este sitio en el rumbo meridional, en el barrio que los conquistadores llamaron después San Pablo, como es conocido hasta hoy." (Garibay, *Viente Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas*, p. 42).

formed; it had been verified to one¹⁰² that those to whom it had been given, at the coming of the [next] feast day, paid with their entrails; they made repayments because of the debt.

And his array was [thus]: he had a crown of feathers; his was the warrior's crown. His warrior's cape was red-bordered, with eyelets.¹⁰³ He had a cape of netting with snail shells.¹⁰⁴ His breast ornament had snail shells. He had fragments of mirror-stone [painted] on his face as his adornment. He wore his chalky ear plug. His shield was chalky; it had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. His was a stool of reeds, of rushes.

coia, yn iquac ie ilhujuhquijaz, mocujtlaxcolixtla-
oaia, mopopooaia, ypampa ca ontlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichioal catca: ihvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale,
yoā yquauhquentenchil, naoaio, ycuechin, ielpancoz-
qui cyli, tezcatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jnechichioal,
ytiçanacoch, ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac
catca, ytolicpal, acacpalli.

102. *Temelcaualtilo*: in *Real Palacio MS*, *temelcaualtilo*. The context favors reading as *temelcaualtilo*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y todos estos, que aquí, comulgaban, se tenían por dicho, y entendido: que el año que venja, en esta fiesta, aujan de contribuir: para hazer la fiesta, deste dios: proueyendo todo, lo necessario, que se auja de gastar en ella."

103. *Yquauhquentenchil, naoaio*: in *Real Palacio MS*, *yquauhquē, tenchilnavayo*.

104. *Ycuechin*: "...llevaba en las espaldas un ornamento de un palmo en cuadro hecho de tela rala, el cual llamaban ycuechin, atado con cuerdas de algodón a los pechos" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 160). "Traía una manta cubierta como red, que llamaban cuechintli" (*ibid.*, p. 218). For description, see illustrations and text in Selser: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omtcatl), Pl. 15.



Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Ixtlilton (Little Black Face), Tlaltetecuin (the Earth-stamper).¹⁰⁵

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

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

And when one would arrange a dance, amid incense he went and brought the image of the god to his house — only a man so arrayed.

And when he arrived at his house, there would be dancing. Then all ate; there was drinking. After the eating, then Ixtlilton 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.¹⁰⁶

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court; they uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it. It was said, it was affirmed, that if dirt, cobwebs, a hair, charcoal lay fallen there, then it was said 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 arranged the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. It was said that he sowed discord among people by reproaching, confronting, threatening people with their sins.

And when [the impersonator] departed from one's house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixquen* (face-covering).¹⁰⁷

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

Teutl catca, çan quavil yn jteupan catca, ytoacaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apaztli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiotia itlilauh.

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

Auh yn aqujn qujtotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynjc qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichoia.

Jn oacic ychan, tlatotiz, teytotiz: njman tlatlqualo, atlioia: yn otlalqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoti, yn onmaceuh, calitic oncalaquj: iehoatl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimāca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacaxapotla, vitzmana.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlaano: oc cepa oalqujça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa: ic mjtoaia, ic moteneoia, 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: ichica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teixmotla, yn tetlatlacul.

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

105. Tlaltetecuin: "Que salta hiriendo la tierra" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 363).

106. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 326: "... los que nuevamente horadaban los magueyes y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba uitztlí." The Spanish text of the Florentine Codex explains that "a este abrimjento, llamavan tlaiacaxapotla, qujere dezir, esto: abrimjento primero, o vino nuevo." On the meaning of *onmaceuh*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (definition of *maceualistli*).

107. Corresponding Spanish text: "... dauante mñas: las quales llaman, ixquen: que quiere dezir, cobertura de la cara: porque queda mergonçado, aquel que auja hecho, la fiesta..."

Thus was [Ixtililton] arrayed: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips white clay was placed. He had a crest of flint knives with quetzal feathers added. The burden on his back was a fan of red arara feathers. His sun flag stood upon it. His paper shoulder-sash had sun-emblems. Sun-emblems were on his shield. Red was his staff, upon which was a heart. He had a necklace of rock crystal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had bells, he had shells. He wore sun sandals.

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopotz, mix-tiçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiqujle, que-tzallo, cueçalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jamancapan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiollotopil, xopilcuzque, yamamaxtli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.



Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Opochtli (Left), whom the natives worshipped in ancient times.

This Opochtli was an aspect of Tlaloc. He was the god of the water folk; they worshipped him.

They said that he invented, he revealed, the net, the atlatl, the trident,¹⁰⁸ the pole for propelling boats, the bird snare—these were his innovations, his inventions.

And when his feast day was celebrated the offering became drink, food, wine, and the cane of maize plants, flowers, tobacco, incense, sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook the rattle-boards for him. They strewed popcorn for him which represented hailstones. And also his old men, his old women, the elders of the *calpulli*, made music for him.

His array was [thus]: he wore a paper crown. He was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering. He had a heron-feather headdress with a spray of quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breechclout. He had a paper shoulder-sash with the sun-emblem.

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

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

Juh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl itlatzintil, ytlanextil, qujnexti, qujteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzonvaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vetli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepeviliaia, ic qujnanamiquja: chicoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaiaviliaia: iuhqujn tecivtl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn iveveiooan, yn jlamaiooan, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaôçalli, tlaolaltilli, aztatzone, quetzalmjiaoio, amamaxtle, amaneapanaile, tonaloio.

108. "... un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minacachalli" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 242). The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli contains the same information. "... es como fisga, 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 aves."



Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Xipe totec (Our Lord the Flayed One).¹⁰⁹

He was the god of the seashore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

That which corresponded to his office, his particular creation, his attribute was that he struck people, he bewitched people, he visited people with blisters, festering, pimples, eye pains, watering of the eyes, festering about the eyelashes, lice about the eyes, opacity, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes, cataracts, glazing of the eyes.¹¹⁰

When sickness befell one of us men, he made a vow to him, he pledged him that he would put on the skin [of the god]: he would don it when the feast day called Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated.

All hastened. They pursued one. Many appeared. All went wearing the skin, dripping grease, dripping [blood], glistening, thus terrifying those whom they followed.¹¹¹ They fought, joining in battle against the valiant warriors, the chosen ones, the selected, and all who were taking their pleasure, those who became besotted, the buffoons, those who imitated, who pretended to be warriors—the unafraid of death, the jostlers, the perverted warriors. There they exercised their weapons,¹¹² they skirmished like fighters in war. They ceased [at a place] called Toteco.¹¹³

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, ichoatl qujemacaia, in totomonjiztli, papalaniliztli, çaçaoatiliztli, ixuculiztli, ixchichitinaliztli, ixtenpipixqujiztli, ixtamaçoliciuiztli, ixaiauhachiuiliztli, ixnacapachiuiliztli, ixoaciviztli, ixtotoliciviztli, itezcayciuiztli.

In aqujn ipam muchioaia, yn, cuculiztli toqujchti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaqjuz yn jieoaio, ynjc itlan aquiz, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeualiztli:

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjntin momanaia, muchinti eoaiotiu, chichiaoaotiu, chichipicatu, tzotzolantiu in tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecalitiaia, qujnnamjquj in tiacaotan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti: yoan in ixqujchti, çan papaqujn, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoia yn aiaç, mjtoaia totecco.

109. Seler (*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, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 205.

110. Meaning problematical.

111. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "En esta fiesta, hazian como un juego de cañas: de manera que el un bando, era de la parte deste dios, o ymagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que aujan muerto, y desollado, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas velicosas, y esforçadas: que no tenjan en nada, la muerte: osados, atreuidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Allí los unos, con los otros, se exercitan, en el exercicio de la guerra: persegujan los unos, 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. 144. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "Antigua fiesta, juego ó exercicio 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.

112. Moieiecoaia: the *Real Palacio MS* has *moeçouaya*—they covered themselves with blood.

113. For *ayac*, Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 20) suggests *oncan* and translates the passage: "Man hörte auf an dem sogenannten Toteco (Tempel Xipes)."

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,¹¹⁴ then went everywhere from house to house. They begged. They were placed on seats made of sapota leaves; they provided them with necklaces formed of maize ears; they placed garlands of flowers on their shoulders; they placed crowns of flowers upon their heads. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or¹¹⁵ an eye sickness, she said:

"Let me make an offering to Totec, when it is [the feast day] of Tlacaxipeualiztli."

His array [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.¹¹⁶ Rubber divided his lips in two parts. His *yopi*-crown¹¹⁷ with forked ends was placed upright. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear plugs, a sapota-leaf skirt. He had bells. His shield had red circles. His rattle stick¹¹⁸ was in his hand.

Auh yn toteci njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalacuj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, qujnxochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia.

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcoicoia: qujtoa, ma njtlaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeualiztli.

In inechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticaac tlaaicoatl, yieoai malli, tzonchaiaoaale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocucie, tzitzile, ichimal tlaughtevila-cachiuquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

114. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143: "Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestían muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototecti." Tototecti is defined as "los muertos a honra del dios Totec."

115. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *anoço*.

116. *Real Palacio MS*: *mizcolnechiuale*.

117. 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.

118. "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).



Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Yiacatecutli (Lord of the Vanguard).¹¹⁹

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him. They arrayed in paper their staves, their stout traveling staves¹²⁰ with which they journeyed, with which they traveled. Wheresoever they would sleep, there they set them up; before them they did penances, drew blood, offered incense to render service to their god Yiacatecutli, in order to win, to implore his favor.¹²¹

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 merchants¹²² went into the coast lands,¹²³ looking well for whatsoever goods they could deal in. They went traversing, encircling the coast lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; they traveled exhausted; they went exhausted; they went sighing, walking wearily, in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; the sun's heat held them; they went exposed to its rays.

Jnic caxtolli vnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teuti: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmaviztiliaia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jintopil, ymotlatopil, yn inenemja, yn jmotlatocaia, in cāpa cuchizque, vncan qujtilquetza, ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlaughtia yn jntecouh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtdanjlia, 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 qujlatzotinemj,

tonalciauhthinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiu, elciciuhtiu, mociauhquetztu, ymellelaciuh, ymjxqua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacuhtiu, intonalomjuh ietiu:

119. "Yacatecutli" no es un nombre propio, sino un nombre de oficio. 'El señor de los que se van.' Yahqui es el que se va, el que sale, por el motivo que fuere. En formación de palabras, conforme a las normas del náhuatl, la final—qui, —que, (pl) tiene que convertirse en —ca. No hay duda en esta composición gramatical. Este numen es, por consiguiente, el patrón de los viajeros, por lo cual era el dios propio de los pochtecas, oztomecas, o sea los traficantes a tierras lejanas, que fuera del oficio de comerciantes tenían el de espías y el de avanzadas de conquista" (Garibay, *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas*, p. 204).

120. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . era una caña maziza, que ellos llaman vtilatl. Y tambien usan de otra manera de baculo, que es una caña negra lijana, maziza: sin fluido ninguno: que es como junco, de los que se usan en españa." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 106, translates as bamboo (*Bambusa* sp.).

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

122. 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 oztomeca anauac calaquini der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra caliente leiteten und ausführten." Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 236) refers to the town of Oztotlan in Anahuac as one of the towns famous for the *xiuhstotl*.

123. 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 Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas" (from Tula). Also, "Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, 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 Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 28).

They went encountering the deserts; they climbed up and down the gorges, the mountains. They exerted all the strength of their elbows, of their knees to hurry, to go here and there.

Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer to seek out the precious green stones, emerald-green jade,¹²⁴ fine turquoise,¹²⁵ amber, gold; [and] all manner of feathers: the long tail feathers of the resplendent trogon,¹²⁶ its red breast feathers,¹²⁷ those of the roseate spoonbill,¹²⁸ the lovely cotinga,¹²⁹ the yellow headed parrot,¹³⁰ the troupial,¹³¹ the eagle;¹³² and the skins of fierce animals, rugs of ocelot skins, and gourd bowls, incense bowls, tortoise-shell cups, spoons for stirring cacao, stoppers for jars.

In case they were besieged,¹³³ enclosed, in enemy lands, living among others, having penetrated well within, they became like their enemies. In their array, their hairdress, their speech,¹³⁴ they imitated the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then [the foe] slew them in ambush; they served them up with chili sauce.¹³⁵ [But if] anyone — perhaps one, perhaps two — escaped from enemy hands, he went to inform Moctezuma, wherefore he then gave him, he let him insert his amber lip plug. Thereby he did him honor, he singled him out as a valiant warrior. Thus he made him a man of consequence.

And when they reached their homes, when they had accomplished their return, their homeward jour-

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, ixqujch caana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel qujciavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chachiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzi-njtzcan, in tlahquechol, xiuhtototl, in toztli, çaquua: quauhtli, in tequaneoatl, yn ocelupetlatl. Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzacaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitzica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlahecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoiomjctia, qujnchillatilia: çà aca, aço ce, aço vme, yn oc nē tematitlanpa qujça, ichoatl qujoalnotzaia in motecuçuma: ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaciotia, in ttiacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: yn jmiloch, ynneucpal oqujchihueque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltech-

124. Cf. William F. Foshag: "Mineralogical Studies in Guatemalan Jade," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 135, No. 5 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1957), p. 8.

125. "Teoxihuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses... es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 334).

126. "Las plumas que cría en la cola se llaman quezalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña doblégante cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente" (*ibid.*, p. 234).

127. "El tocado que tiene en la cabeza esta ave [quetzalototl] es muy hermosa 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 crías en el pecho y en los sobacos, y debajo de las alas; son la mitad prietas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes" (*ibid.*, p. 235).

128. *Tlahquechol*: *Ajaja ajaja* (Linnaeus), in Friedmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 35.

129. Cf. note No. 8.

130. *Toztli*: adult yellow-headed parrot, *Amazona ochrocephala* (Gmelin), in Friedmann *et al.*, Pt. I, p. 131.

131. *Çaquua* (*çaquan*): *Gymnostinops montezuma* (Lesson), in Friedmann *et al.*, Pt. II, p. 276.

132. *Quauhtli*: *Aquila chrysaetus*, according to Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 330.

133. *Tzacuj*: *tzaccā* in *Real Palacio MS.*

134. Cf. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57); Yacacoliuhqui "propriamente representa persona, que tiene viveça, ò habilidad, para mojar gracioso-mente, ò engañar, y es sabio, y sagáz (que es propria condicion de Mercaderes)..."

135. Cf. Selser (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22), citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.*, Vol. II, 83.

ney,¹³⁶ when they had come to approach their homeland, when they had trodden the earthen mounds, they summoned all, the merchants, the principal men, in order to appear publicly.

It was called "the washing of the feet."¹³⁷ They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli. Somewhere in [a temple of] the *calpulli*¹³⁸ they set it upright; at the first they offered it an offering. When they feasted others, and even if they did not summon people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when¹³⁹ they ate.

And if someone were to bathe [a slave] ceremonially, the one whom he ceremonially bathed represented his god Yiacatecutli; or else one of all of them whom they worshipped — Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecacuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxiti, Cochimeti,¹⁴⁰ Yacapitzauac.¹⁴¹ No one determined, [for] it was of one's own free will, whether he should bathe one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzacaputzalco; 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 day of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they arrayed them; they gave them, they placed upon them array like that of Yiacatecutli.

And before they slew them, they first exhibited them before the people. It was said that they showed them; thus they made public that they would ceremonially bathe slaves.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their bathed ones they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles, which they placed upon them.

pachihque: ixqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic moteittitiaia:

mjtoa, moccipaca, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaiia yiacatecutli: cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlacanelmo tecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlauaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, ichoatl caltiaia, qujxeoia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme ichoantin yn mocheoia, in qujnmoteutiaia in chiconquajuitl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomocujl, yoan nacxiti, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiaç qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, caaltiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecucupa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmjxnexia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtizque:

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaltilhoan, iccan, qujnquetza: much tlaçotilmatl, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipā mjtotiaia in

136. *Otlaltecpachihque: otlaltecpachihque in the Real Palacio MS.* Seler's translation (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22) is "ihr fußt die Erdaufschüttungen (der heimatlichen Tempel und Paläste) wieder betreten hatte."

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

138. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "yglesia del barrio, o parrochia" (corresponding Spanish text). For recent studies on the *calpulli* see Alfonso Caso: "Land Tenure among the Ancient Mexicans," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Aug., 1963), pp. 863-878, and Pedro Carrasco: "El Barrio y la Regulación del Matrimonio en un Pueblo del Valle de México en el Siglo XVI," *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, Vol. 17 (1961), pp. 7-24.

139. After *muchipa*, *Real Palacio MS* adds *yn iquac*.

140. *Cochimetl*: in *Real Palacio MS*, *cocochimetl*.

141. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1106) recognizes Cochimeti and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecacuatl is an earth and water goddess; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxiti is Quetzalcoatl.

In these they danced upon the rooftops or went singing in the market place. They ended their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among the bathed ones — 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 embroider, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao — from her hand good food, good drink came — [or if she were] a clear speaker, she also was set aside. The nobles took [women like her] as wives.

His array [was thus]¹⁴² put on: pyrites were on his face. In the form of a column was his headdress with tufts of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear plugs. A blue netted cloth was his cape. He had a costly breech-clout. He had bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield was of quetzal feathers in a fretted design. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a stout cane staff.

tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahlamj
yn jncujc, ynjc momiquizqueueloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn
cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: qujquj-
tiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

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

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo,
ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanaco-
che, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, oio-
oale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcolihquj yn jchimal,
ytlacçaia ymac onoc, otlatopile.

142. After *jnechichioal*, *Real Palacio MS* adds *ynic mochichiu*.

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

It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. His was a special place, a *calpulli*. The mat-makers worshipped him, and those who made round reed mats [and] coarse reed mats.¹⁴³ It was attributed to him, so they said, that he first taught them, showed them the making of reed mats, the making of reed seats. He was possessor, master, owner, inventor, founder, beginner [of mat making]. And thus they said that he caused to sprout, to grow, the reeds, the slender reeds, the broad reeds, the cylindrical reeds, the white reeds, the reed stalks, the spikes, the triangular reeds, the thin ones.

And when it was his feast day, it is said, he washed men, he bathed men,¹⁴⁴ he shook, he sprinkled the dew upon them. Greatly was he importuned.

And another person represented him, a slave, whom they sacrificed during the year. They arrayed him [like the god], and in his hand went resting a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a willow¹⁴⁵ he sprinkled people.¹⁴⁶

And when it was not his feast day, in the intervening time, still another represented him; they arrayed him. When one of the mat-makers desired that there should be a dance at his home, that he should entrust himself to the god, the elders of the *calpulli* escorted [the representative of the god] there. He went sprinkling the people with water, with dew.¹⁴⁷ It was thus as if they prayed [to the god] that he would show them mercy. And it was as if¹⁴⁸ one's debt were paid to the degree that one's goods, one's possessions, were at hand.



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

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: ichoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, qujmoteutiaia in petlachiuhque: yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoiaia: iuh qujtoaia, ca ichoatl achto qujnmachtli, qujmittiti, in petlachioaliztli, yn icpalchioaliztli: ichoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapoaltile. Joan iuh qujtoaia ca ichoatl qujxoaltia, qujquxtia, in toli, in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolqujiutl, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhqujcaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan qujpixoa, yn aoachtli, cenca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlatatl, ipan qujxcoiaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia cexiuhtica: qujchichioaia, ymac mantinenca, xoxoujc, xoxouhquj xicalli: vnca ic tinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvua.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce qujxiptlaoitiaia, qujchichioaia: yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotiz, qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtuh, teaoachvitiuh, iuhqujn ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz. Yoan iuhqujn yvic mocujtlaxculixtlaoaia: yn açaca ie vnca itlatquj, yaxca:

143. Corresponding Spanish text says, "hazen cañizos de juncias; que llaman tolcuextli."

144. *Tealtia*: in *Real Palacio MS*, *tealtia*.

145. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "un ramo de salze" (*sauce*).

146. *Teatzelhvua*: in *Real Palacio MS*, *teatzelhua*.

147. *Teaoachvitiuh*: *teuachvitiuh* in *ibid*.

148. After *iuhqujn*, *ic* is added in *ibid*.

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 there be eating, may there be drinking, may there be consumption of food; thereupon may our god Napa tecutli dance. May I to some degree conduct myself well, soon sleep, soon awaken. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the face of the one who had become the representative with a large cotton mantle, whereupon he departed from [the mat-maker's] house. And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And the representative [of the god] was guarded there in the temple of the *calpulli*. 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 provided incense. The floor lay cleanly swept; it extended cleanly swept; not a particle of rubbish lay about.

And thus was he arrayed: he was anointed with black; his face was covered with soot; it was blackened; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seed dough. He wore a paper crown. His cue at the nape of his neck was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells. He had white sandals. He bore the shield with water-lily flowers. He had a stout reed staff.¹⁴⁹

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 aciuhquj njcochiz, aciuhquj njneoaz, iche qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaqujliz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quixquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixiptla muchioaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan: auh ic muchi tlatatl, tlatlaquaia yn joanielque.

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlâceliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlateteca, icpalteteca, tlatetzelo, tlachpana, tlaucuj, tletlalia, muchipa copaltema, tlatetzcaliuhtoc tlatetzcaliuhtimanj, atle vetztoc çe tlaçolli.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motliloçac, mjxtlilopotz, mixtlilhuju, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, iztaccaque, atlacueçonanchimale, aztapiltopile.

149. The last two words read: *atlacueçonanchimale oztopiltopile* in *ibid.*



Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Tepictoton (Little Molded Ones), who belonged among the Tlalocs.

[The Tepictoton] also belonged among, were reckoned among the Tlalocs.

They were called Tepictoton¹⁵⁰ because they just formed them: they made them in the image of the mountains,¹⁵¹ of whatsoever mountains.

And he who was palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or he who was threatened with drowning, when the wind rose over the water, would then vow that he would fashion images; that he would mold representations of Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuhtl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,¹⁵² and any other mountain of which they would choose to make representations.

And he who formed mountains made their image only of amaranth seed dough,¹⁵³ made in human form, made to look like men. He gave them teeth of gourd seeds; he provided them with eyes of fat black beans. Whatsoever their array, when they represented them, when they formed them, they arrayed them in the same manner.

And they made papers; they spotted, spattered them with liquid rubber;¹⁵⁴ they laid these over them as mantles. And some of these papers, spattered, spotted with liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, bound together on a cord, fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones. They extended rustling, quivering, flying in the breeze. At both ends canes of fat, round reeds were set in the ground, supported by the ground. On these were held the rubber-spotted papers.

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa yn itoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlamjloia yn tlaloque:

ynjc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiqujia, qujm-ixiptlaoitiaia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aqujn coaciujia, oaoapaoia, quaquauhtia, cocotzauja: anoço yn aqujn atlan miquiznequj, checatl ipan moquetza atla: vncan monetoltiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujnpiquiz: quetzalcoatl, in chalchivilt ycue, in tlaloc: popocatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quezqujtetl tepetl in qujntencoaz in qujpiquiz.

Auh in qujnpiquja, in qujmixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaliaia, qujntlacatlachieliaia, tlatlachixticatca: qujntlantiaia aiooachtli, auh in qujmjxtelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in qujmixiptlatiaia, in qujnpiqujia çan no iuhquj ynjc qujchichioia.

Auh yoan qujchioia, amateteujtl, colchachapatziaia, colchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia: auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipiloiaia, mecatitech qujnenetechilpiaia, qujnenetechçaloiaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme: hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, oztopilquaujtl, necoc, nenecoc, necocampa tlatlalactiac, tetzotzontiac, yn itech antoc teteujtl.

150. *Tepictotō* in *ibid.*

151. *Q'mixiptlatiaya* in *ibid.*

152. 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; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

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

154. "... unos papeles llenos de gotas de ulli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amateteuitl" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 140).

And green spotted gourds, split in two and cored, rested before [the Tepicme]; these served as greenstone bowls; there was wine therein, wine rested in each one.

And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to array, to set [the Tepicme] in place; no one else took it upon himself¹⁵⁵ to array them in the houses.

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

When the Tepicme were completed, thereupon they held a vigil for them; they sang for them all during the night. Four times they made offerings to them; they gave them, they set before them round tamales. The priests who provided the Tepicme with song, they also gave offerings four times during the night. And they played flutes for [the Tepicme], they whistled with their fingers, they made music for them with shells, and with flutes, with fifes. The youths, the fun-makers, the jesters,¹⁵⁶ the besotted, the entertainers, the joy-makers played the flutes. They also were offered food.

And when it had dawned then they slew the Tepicme; they beheaded them, twisted their heads off, wrung their necks. Then they gathered together,¹⁵⁷ collected together the amaranth seed dough formed into figures; they carried it to the priests' house, where the priests dwelt. And he who fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, his invited ones, where he tarried, where they remained.

And in the evening, when the sun set, then there was drinking of wine. The old men sat drinking wine¹⁵⁸ — those already advanced in age, the well-matured, the gray-headed, the white-haired, the old women, those whose privilege it was to drink wine.

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

One went weeping; another went as a brave warrior, dancing, boasting; another went shouting at the people.

And the wine-makers were first made to forget. They also dwelt there. The making [of the wine] was their office. It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest

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: aiaç çan moiocuaia in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn oiecauhque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaviia, qujncujcatia: in ceioal napa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalololli in qujnmacaia, qujmanaia ymjxpā, in tlamacazque, in tepicujca: no napa in qujntlamacaia ceioal, yoan qujntlapichiliaia, qujnmaquiujxiliaia, tecuciztli in qujnpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitzli, cocoujlotl, vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujn, haavienj, mihivintianj, tececemeltianj, ceceleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatic njman qujnmictia yn tepicme, qujnquechcotona, qujnquechcuj, qujnquechilacatzoa, çatepan qujncemololoa, concēcuj, in tepictzoalli, qujtuqj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque. Auh in tepiqujn, njman ie yc calaquj yn itlacoanotzahoan, yn jcooaoan, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie ioatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaona, motlaoancatlalia in veuetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachicalhujque, in ie quaiztaque, in ie tzoniztaque, yoan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque: iehoan vel innemac catca, in vctli in quizque.

Auh in otlaivintic, niman ie ic viujloa, cecenmanoia, xixitinjoa:

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

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltioia: çan no onenca yn itequjuh, yn jchiujl: tlaqujtiloia, navilhujtl moçaoaia, qujneçaujliaia yn itequjuh, ynic amo xocoiaz: vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioaco-

155. *Moiocuaia*: *moyocuaya* in *Real Palacio MS*.

156. *Haavienj*: *haaviani* in *ibid*.

157. *Qujncemololoa*: *cōcemololoa* in *ibid*.

158. *Motlaoancatlalia*: *motlauācatlaliya* in *ibid*.

[the wine] sour. They guarded themselves well; they practised strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman; if a woman, she might not lie with a man. None might sample the wine and the maguicy syrup as it was being prepared. One might not even dip one's finger into it; it was respected, treated delicately, until the wine was tapped.¹⁵⁹

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;¹⁶⁰ to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, [if] his arm quivered, his leg quivered, a hand became misshapen, a foot became misshapen, his foot shook,¹⁶¹ his eyes trembled, his lips quivered, his lips trembled, if he were possessed, it was said, the green mountain gods had become angered by him.

And when it dawned, thereupon took place the distribution of the leftovers. 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 lineage [took part]. It was called the distribution of the leftovers, when was consumed, used up,¹⁶² as much food and drink as remained, and of that which still remained of the dregs in the vessel, of wine, of fermentative agent,¹⁶³ of fruit wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who fashioned the Tepicme, who had made the Tepicme, if he had the gout, as was said above, would thereby become whole. And he who might have drowned therefore did not die. This one therefore formed the Tepicme; thus he paid his debt; thus he fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment — their clothing, their paper shoulder-sashes, their stout reed staves, their lightning sticks, their cloud-bundles,¹⁶⁴ and their green-stone bowls and their dishes, the little sauce bowls, the little wooden bowls, the clay cups, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Pantitlan.

chia, amo oqujchcochia, intla cioatl: çan niman aiac vel ontlapaloaia yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic muchioaia: aiac inmanel imapil, conaquajaia, vel ymacaxoa, vel malhujloia, yn ixqujchica, moiacaxapotlaz yn vctli.

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

yoan in aca matzicolijua, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuchca, yhixatotoco, tenpapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujneoa: mjtoa, oqujtlavelique in xoxouhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic apeoalo: yn apeoa çan iehoan, yn ioaniolque, in vel icallo, in centlaca, cemeoa, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc: mote-neoa apeoalo, iquac cempoliuja tlatlamj, in quexqujch mocaoaia, 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 tepicquj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjto tlapac, ic patiz: yoan yn aqujn atlan miquizquja ynjc amo mjc: iehoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc moxtlaoa, ynjc qujneltia ynnetol.

Auh yn jxqujch. yn jnnechichioal, yn jntlaquen, yn jmamaneapan, yn jmoztopil, yn jntlapetlanjl-quauh, yn jmaiauhcocul: yoan yn jnchalchiuhxical, yoã yn jntlaquaia molcaxtotonti, quauhcxatotonti, çoqujtecontotonti, muchi vmpa concaoaia tepetzinco: atlan contepeoaia, vmpa anepantla, ytocaiocan pantitlan.

159. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 29, citing marginal gloss in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 63.

160. *Tepantiliviia*: *Tepantiliviya* in the *Real Palacio MS*.

161. *Icxicuecuchca*: *ycxuecuchca* in *ibid.*

162. *Cempoliuja tlatlamj*: *cempoliuiya tlatlatlami* in *ibid.*

163. *Ainctli*: "Ingrediente vegetal, raíz, planta, o madera usado para hacer fermentar el pulque. . . . Conjeturalmente se puede señalar *Mimosa sp.* *Acacia sp.*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 324).

164. 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 eût dit qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles." Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).



Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the god Tezcatzoncatl, who belonged among the Centzontotochti (The Four Hundred Rabbits).

He was the wine, in times past 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 not to be affronted, one not to be abused.

And this Tezcatzoncatl belonged among, was considered with those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine — Yiauhtecatl, Acolhua, Tlilha, Pantecatl, Izquitecatl, Toltecatl, Papaztac, Tlaltecaioa, Ome Tochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Colhuatzincatl.

And the array of Tezcatzoncatl [was thus]: he had the white heron feather headdress; he had the crescent-shaped nose ornament, the ear plug of paper. He bore a fan of red arara feathers, a radiating necklace. He had the knotted cape with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the wine gods' shield, the obsidian staff, the flint staff. Also he had bells.

End of the Book

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

Jehoatl in vctli, ieppa tlatlaculli ipan machoia: ca tetepexiuja, tequehmecanja, teatlauja, temjctia; tetzavittonj, amo pinavilonj, amo chicoittolonj.

Auh ynjn tezcatzoncatl, ynoan pouj, ynoan eoa, yn moteneoa, centzōtotochti, yn vctli innacaio, yn iJauh-tecatl, Aculhoa, tlilha, pantecatl, Jzqujtecatl, Toltecatl, papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, vme tuchtli, tepuztecatl, chimalpanecatl, Colhoatzincatl.

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

fin del libro.

APPENDIX

Apendiz del primero libro

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





[Here] beginneth the appendix to Book I, in which the idolatry described above is refuted by means of sacred scriptural texts translated into the Mexican tongue, the texts being sufficiently explained.

Prologue

Ye who are natives in New Spain, ye Mexicans, ye Tlaxcalans, ye Cholulans, ye Michoaca, and all ye who are vassals dwelling in the land of the Indies —

Very great was the darkness and the confusion, the unbelief, the idolatry in which your fathers, your grandfathers, your great-grandfathers left you, as is evident in your ancient picture writings.

Hear and understand well. For now our Lord, God, hath willed, hath accorded, hath sent to you the brightness, the torch, the light to reveal the true God, the Creator Who seeth over all His creation.

And confusion, in which you have lived in all past time, came to you. It hath misled and deluded you. But by means of the brightness, the light, you may attain true faith.

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

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

The Declaration of God's Word¹⁶⁵

The people here on earth who know not God are not counted as human; they are only vain, worthless. For if men in their hearts, in their understanding, knew God's creations, from them they would have

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

Prologo, mexicano

In amehoantin, in njcan antlaca, in nueua españa: in anmexica, in antlaxcalteca, in ancholuteca, in anmjchoaque, yoan in amjxqujchtin in anmacchoal-tin, in njcan annemj in india tlalli ipan:

ca cenca vey tlaiooalli, yoan netlapololtiliztli, yn atlanetoqujiztli, in tlateutoqujiztli, in jpan oamechcauhtiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn amachcoculhoan: yn juh neci, in ipā ie uecauh amotlacujlol:

ma vel cenca xiccaqujcan, vel xicacacacuqujcan. Ca in axcan, oqujmonequjlti in totecujo dios, otlacauh-quj in jiollotzin, yn oamechoalmjoalili, in tlauijli, in ocotl, in tlanextli: injc anqujmjximachilizque, in vel nelli dios teiocuianj, in qujmocujtlauijzinoan, in jx-qujch in jtlachioaltzin.

Auh yn netlapololtiliztli, yn jpan annemj yn jx-qujch cavitl, vmpa otioallaque: ca iehoatl yn amech-iztlacaujaia, amechtlapololitiaia: auh in tlavilli, in tlanextli anqujcnopilhuizque, yn jca vel melaoac tlanetoqujiztli:

yoan ic vel anqujcuizque, anqujcaquizque, in jtlatoltzin dios, yn njcan icujliuhtica: in vel iehoatl in amotlatocatzin in españa rey, in amechvalmjvalili: no iehoatzin in jxiptlatzin Dios in Sancto padre, in roma moyetztica.

Auh injn ca ipampa oqujmuchivilique, injc inmac anqujczque in diablozme: ioan ynjc anqujcnopilviz-que yn jlviac tlatocaiotl.

Jmelaoaca in teutlatolli.

In tlalticpac tlaca, yn amo qujmiximachilia in dios, ca amo tlaca ipan pouj, ca çan nentlaca, nenquizque: ca intla tlaca yntla vnca iniollo, intla vnca intlacauj-liz: in jtlachioalhoan dios, intech canazquja, intech

¹⁶⁵. The non-Aztec text begins here the thirteenth, fourteenth, twelfth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the *Book of Wisdom*. The Nahuatl text parallels rather than translates the Latin.

derived, they would have grasped, their knowledge of God. Because they esteem and know creatures they should have known that He existeth, that He is the Creator, the Creator of man — God, Who is not seen.

But these did not so; they took not example of God's creations. Thus they should have recognized their gods, their lords as the creatures of God. Only they were in confusion as to God's creatures; they worshipped as gods the fire, the water, the wind, the sun, the moon, the stars. These things they worshipped as gods. They said that by means of them we live; they guide us, they protect us. They support, they carry.

A. These were blind, they were confused, in being idolaters. Greatly they honored God's creatures, as if they enlightened, revealed, and gave comfort to men. And these should not be thus worshipped, because it should only be remembered that He Who is most powerful, in giving light, illumination, comfort, joy, is God, their Creator; He from Whom alone issueth that which illumineth, that which giveth light, that which comforteth; all teaching — He alone, the Creator.

B. And if they had wondered greatly because some of God's creatures are strong, they should have remembered that God, their Creator, is even stronger.

C. God the all-powerful is so completely wise, so greatly enriching, completely glorifying that His creatures appear in Him. For He is very great. He made the world. Very many things made He which were very wonderful, very glorifying.

D. These, the idolaters, excused themselves; they drew away. They said: "We have sought Him for ourselves; we have coveted Him through Whom we live, the Creator. But we have taken Him to be the sun, the moon, the stars, and still other creations, because they are wonderful, highly valued; they give men great comfort, they enrich men. For truly we are not men of strong heart and understanding."

E. These words, with which the idolaters sought to excuse themselves, in no way quieted men's doubts but only angered men. For this reason did they not quiet men's doubts: for those who began idolatry made known, discovered many things — dangerous

qujcuizquja, in jximachocatzin dios; ipampa qujmitta in qujximati in tlachioalti, qujmatizquja ca vmoetztica, monemjtia in tlachioale, in teiucoianj, yn amo motta in iehoatzin dios.

Auh ynjn ca amo iuhquj qujchihque, amo itech omjscujtique, yn jtlachioalhoan dios: ynjc qujmjimachilizquja yn jnteouh, yn jntlatocauh, yn jnteiocuscatzin dios, çan itech omotlapololtique yn jnteiocualhoan dios: oqujmoteutique in tletl, in atl, in checatl, in tonatiuh, in metztli, in cicitlalti; iehoätin hi, oqujnmoteutique, qujtoque, ca impal tinemj, ca techiacana, techpachoa, ca tlatquj, ca tlamama.

A. Jn iehoantin, y, ca ixpopoiume, motlapolollianj, injc 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 tapanauja, ynjc cenca tlanextia, pepetlaca, teiollalia, tepapaquijltia, yn jnteiocuscatzin dios: in çan vel iceltzin itetzinco quiça in pepetlaca, in tlanextia, in jxqujch teiollali, yn jxqujch tetlamachtli, vel iehoatzin çan vel izeltzin, tlachioale.

B. Auh intla cenca otlamaujçoque ipampa cequjnti itlachioalhoan dios, cenca chicaoaque: qujlnamjquizquja, ca yn jnteiocuscatzin dios, oc cenca chicaoacatzintli.

C. Jn jsqujch iueli, in dios, ynjc cenquizca tlamatinj, ynjc cenca tecujltono, cenquizca tetlamachtli: ca ytlachioaltzin itech neci: ichica ca cenca vey, cema-naoac oqujmuchiujli, cenca mjec tlamantli, oqujmuchiujli, vel mauiztic, vel tetlamachtli.

D. Injqe hi, tlateutocanjme, momanauja, motzinqujxtia, qujtoa: in tehoanti, 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 chicaoac, in toiollo, in totlamachiliz.

E. Jnjn tlatolli, ynjc momanauiznequj tlateutocanjme: ca amo teiolphachiujti, ca çan tequalanj, ipampa amo teiolphachiujti: ca in iehoantin, oquipeoaltique, in tlateutoqujliztli, mjec tlamantli oqujnextique, oqujttaque, in ouj tlatolli: in xiuhtlapoalitzli, in

teachings; they discovered, they made known the year count, the day count, and still other dangerous teachings. But just as they consulted among themselves, just as they deliberated in order to know what hath been said, just so, much better, could they have known, could they have discovered Him through Whom we live, the Creator, if they had deliberated — if they had consulted among themselves.

F. Unhappy are they, the accursed dead who worshipped as gods carvings of stone, carvings of wood, representations, images, things made of gold or of copper, or who indeed worshipped as gods four-footed animals, creatures which fly, those which live in the waters, or their representations which carpenters or lapidaries carved, or metal-workers molded.

G. Behold the works of the idolaters which can greatly confuse men, which can terrify men. For if some wood-carver wisheth to make his god, he goeth there into the forest. He felleth a tree. It is good, it is tall and straight. And then he striketh off its branches, he cutteth off its branches. And the bark, the leaves of the tree go there unto his house; there they will be required in order to cook his food. And the tree he cutteth up. He maketh a log, a cylinder of wood. And while it is still a log, well doth he carve it; carefully doth he continue to carve it. He giveth it a head, eyes, a face, a body, hands, feet. And when he hath finished, then against the wall he buildeth a house for it. There he standeth it. And that it may not fall, he holdeth it firmly to the wall's surface with either pegs or iron nails.

A. When he hath properly set up his god, then before him he layeth an offering; before him he cutteth his ears, he bleedeth himself, he offereth him prayers. He maketh vows to him. He weepeth before him; he doth penances; he asketh that which is required by him.

B. This wretched idolater hath no shame as he calleth [to the god], as he offereth prayers to him who seeth not, who liveth not, who hath no soul. And in order that the sick may recover, he offereth prayers to him; and for the dead, he prayeth to him for life; and for the destitute, he prayeth to him for help; and for the halt, he prayeth to him that they may walk. And he asketh what is required of one who hath nothing, who can offer nothing. It is only wood.

tonalpoalitztli, yoan in oc cequj ouj tlatolli, oqujttaque, oqujnexrique: auh in quenjn omojolnonotzque, in quenjn oqujnemjlique, injc oqujximatque in omo-teneuh: çan no iuhquj, oc oalca, ynjc qujximatiz-quja, qujttazquja, yn jpalnemoanj, in tlachioale, intla vellanemjlianj, intla vel moiolnonotzanj.

F. Ointlaeliltic, in ichoanti, in tlacamjccapupul, 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 ymjxiptlaoan, in qujnxinque, in quauhxinque, in tetzotzonque, yn anoço in teucujtlapitzque, oqujpitzque.

G. Jzcatquj, yn jntlachioal yn tlateutocanjme in cenca vel tetlapololti, in vel teiçauj, ca in aca quauh-xinquj qujchioaznequj yn jteouh, vmpa iauh in quauhtla, ce quaujtl qujtlaça, ie in qualli, ie in mela-oac: auh njman qujmatlatlaça, qujmatepeoa: auh yn jmama, yn jmatzocul in quaujtl, vmpa iauh yn jchan, vmpa monequiz: ynjc ycuciz, ytlacual. Auh in quaujtl, qujtequj: cen tlacutl, quauhtemjmjlli, qujchioa: auh yn oc cen tlacutl, vel qujxima, yujā qujxixima, qujtzontecontia, qujxtelolotia, qujxaiacatia, qujtlactia, qujmatia, qujcxitia: auh yn jquac oiecauh, njmā tepantli itech qujcaltia, vncan qujquetza: auh ynjc amo vetziz, caltech qujquāmjna, aço ica tlaxichtli, anoço ica tepuztlaxichtli.

A. In 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 nemjliztli, qujtlatlauhtia in micquj: yoan qujtlatlauhtia yn atle ynecoca, ynjc qujpaleuiz: auh qujtlatlauhtia, ynjc vel nenemiz, qujtlatlauhtia yn auelnenemj: auh in ie muchi, yn jtech monequj, qujtlanjlia, in atle quipia, yn atle vel qujtemaca içan quaujtl.

Fourteenth Chapter

The wood is good; it is required; it is God's creation. Many things are made of it: of it are made the houses in which we live, and of it are made the boats with which there is the gaining of a livelihood. For these reasons the wood of which is made what we require, what we gain our livelihoods with, is greatly to be valued.

A. But the wood used for idolatry is worthy of being accursed. And he who [so] maketh it, carveth it, is indeed unhappy, indeed to be accursed, even as the wood itself. And the wood-carver must needs be exceedingly accursed because he made that which was not required, which was a great confusion to men. And the wood, greatly required, shall also be accursed, because it is only wood and is worshipped as an idol.

B. And God, our Lord, greatly abhorreth both the idolater and idolatry: him who began idolatry and him who liveth in idolatry. Both 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, accursed, for they are deceivers, tricksters, confusers of men.

D. Those who first introduced idolatry [and] idols dishonored and offended God; thereby they angered God, for thus were very many confused. When the world began, none lived as idolaters; and before the world shall end, idolatry will perish.

E. The witless, the senseless began idolatry here upon earth. But because of their wickedness they suddenly died.

F. Behold how the wicked, the men of little understanding, began idolatry. There lived the son of a man who was ruler, his only son, his youth, whom he loved much. And the youth died. And his father was much saddened thereby; he wept much, he grieved much. And then he commanded that a representation of his beloved son be made, carved of wood or stone. He rigorously commanded the wood-carver to make a true image of him, so that it would be like the painted image of his son. When the repre-

Capitulo quarto decimo.

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

A. Auh in quaujtl ynjc muchioa, in tlateutoqujiztli, vel telchioalonj: auh in qujchioa in qujxima, vel oitlaelilitic, vel telchioalonj, yn jvan in quaujtl: auh in quauhxinquj, monequj cenca telchioaloz, ichica ca oqujchih, in amo monequj in cenca tetlapololti: auh in quaujtl, cenca monequj, no telchioaloz: ichica ca çan quaujtl, auh teutoco.

B. Auh in totecujio dios, vntlamanjsti cenca qujmotlaelittilia, yn tlateutocanj, yoan in tlateutoqujiztli: in qujpeoalti tlateutoqujiztli, yoan in tlateutocatinemj, ym umexti mjctlan, cemjac tlaihijoujtilozque.

C. Jn iehoantin in diablome, oqujpeoaltique in tlateutoqujiztli, ipampa aic qujnmotlaoculiliz in dios: auh maciuj yn jtlachioalhoan dios, monequj cuculilozque, telchioalozque, ca teiztlacaujanjme, teixcuanjme, tetlapololtianjme.

D. Jn iehoantin vel achto oqujtzintique, in tlateutoqujiztli, in ydolosme, itzincinco icpactzincinco, ocaque, onenque in dios: ic cēca omoqualanalti in dios, ca cenca mjequjntin ic omotlapololtique: yn jquac otzintic cemanaoac, aiac tlateutocatinenca: auh in aiamo tlamiz cemanaoac, puliuz in tlateutoqujiztli.

E. Jn tlateutoqujiztli, in aqujmamatcaoque, in xulopime, oqujtzintique, in nican tlatlicpac: auh ipampa yn jntlaelilocaio, iciuhca omjccque.

F. Jzcatquj in quenjn oqujpeoaltique in tlaelilozque, yn aqujmatinj, yn tlateutoqujiztli. Ce tlatat tlatocanj vnnenca ipiltzin, çan vel izel ipiltzin, itelpuch, in cēca qujtlaçotlaia: auh in telpuchtl, mjcc: auh yn jtatzin cenca ic omotequjpacho, cenca chocac, cenca otlacox: auh njmā otlanaoati, ynjc quaujtl, manoço tetl muchioaz moximaz in jxiptla itlaçopiltzin: oqujtlacuauhnaoati in quauhxinquj, ynjc vel ipatillo qujchioazque, in vel iuhquj iez, yn ipiltzin in tlaixiptlatl. Jn oiecauh y, in teixiptla, njman

sentation was done, then he set it up in a good place; there he worshipped it. Then he commanded the people of his household to worship it, and to lay offerings before it—to offer it paper, *copal* [incense], flowers.

G. And in years following the ruler commanded all his vassals to worship the representation of his son and to lay offerings before it. Thus it was that idolatry began.

A. Behold another manner by which idolatry began. Some made representations of those whom they loved who lived in far places. And because they lived in far places, [because] they could not see their bodies, their representations gave them comfort. And they paid them honor, and either the ruler or a noblewoman laid offerings before them.

B. And the painters very carefully painted the representations. Very marvelously, very well they made the representations. Thus they tempted men; thus there was the worship of idols.

C. The painter, or the woodcarver, or the lapidary, or the goldworker, since he greatly wished to quiet doubts, brought it about that what he made was even better than the flesh from which was molded, from which was taken, the representation. The better he formed the representation, the more he confused men.

D. Very many commoners, luckless men, who saw that the representation was very subtly, very carefully made, worshipped it. They thought it was a god. The representation only confused them because it was subtly, carefully made.

E. In this manner were men on earth confused. For because of love or because of honor paid men, they defamed godliness. The precious name of God, which belongeth only to God, they thus gave as name to the representation in stone, in wood.

F. The confusions of the idolaters were not one but many. The confusions arose, lived in idolatry. These [men] thought they were content, but it was in a great war that they lived.

G. These idolaters slew their sons before their gods. And by night they did many things before their gods which sicken and anger one. All their

qualcan oqujquetz, vncan oqujmoteuti: njman oqujnnaoati yn jchan tlaca, in qujmoteutizque, yoan ixpā tlamanazque, qujmanazque yn amatl in copalli, in suchitl.

G. Auh ic iquezqujxiuhioe, otlanaoati in tlatoanj, ynjc ixqujchtin, imaceoalhoan qujmoteutizque, yn ixiptla, yn ipiltzin, yoan ixpan tlamanazque: yujn j, yn otzintic, in tlateutoqujliztli.

A. Izcatquj in oc centlamantli, ynjc otzintic tlateutoqujliztli: cequintin, oqujchihque, imixiptlahoan, yn jntlaçohuan in veca nemj: auh in jpampa ca veca nemj, auel qujttaia yn ynnaciao, ytech moiollaliaia yn jmjxiptlaoan: yoan qujnmauiztiliaia, yoan ispan tlamaia, aço tlatoanj, anoço civapilli.

B. Auh in ichoanti, in tlacujloque, cēca qujnematcaicujloque in teixiptla, vel mauiztic, vel ictli oqujchihque, yn teixiptla, ic oteioleuhque, ynjc onetutiloc.

C. Jn ichoatl in tlacujlo, yn anoço quauhxinquj, anoço texinquj, anoço teucujtlapitzquj: injc cenca qujiolpachiujtiznequi, yn oqujteq'ti, oc cenca qualli oqujchih, yn amo mach iuhquj catca yn jnaciao, yn jtech omocopin, yn jtech omocujc in teixiptla: oc cenca qualli oqujtlali in teixiptla, cenca ic otetlapolollique.

D. Cenca miequjntin, maceoaltin, icnotlaca, yn oqujttaque in teixiptla, in vel mjmati, in vellanematcachioalli, oqujmoteutique: omomatque, ca teutl, çan oqujntlapololli in teixiptla injc mjmati, ynjc tlanematcachioalli.

E. Jhujn yn omotlapolollique, in talticpac tlaca: ca ipampa in tetlaçotlaliztli, anoço ipampa in temaviztililiztli, 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 jnetlapololtiliz ca cenca mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli itech qujça, itech iuli in tlateutoqujliztli: in ichoantin momati ca pacticate, icce vei iaiuitl, ipan nemj.

G. Jn ichoantin in tlateutocanjme, qujnmjctia, in jnpilhoan, imjxpan yn inteuhoan: auh cenca mjec tlamantli, in tetlaelti, in tequalanj, in ioaltica quj-

acts, their lives, all were vicious, filthy. They hated one another; they slew one another, they committed adultery one with another. Murder, robbery, adultery, trickery, public disorders, contentions spread everywhere. None saw to gratitude, to chastity. Incontinence, vice, filth were verily the idolaters' way of life.

A. Idolatry is much to be loathed. Its beginning, its start, and its end are in everything evil, improper. And all which is loathsome and confusion, all liveth in, issueth from idolatry.

B. The idolaters, when they take their pleasure, are as if drunk; they become maddened; they talk as if drunk.

C. The idolaters, when they put faith in the favor of their gods, do not esteem them. They speak ill of them; they have no fear of them; for they have no souls.

D. Many such things come to pass among the idolaters. Not without cause doth God, the only God, abominate them. But they greatly honor their false gods. And they are much given to false oaths in order to deceive one. But they esteem no true justice.

E. Oaths should not be habitual. Those who often call upon His holy name commit a sin. It is not required that His holy name be called upon twice, for the reason that it is great; it is greatly required. He who falsely calleth upon His holy name committeth a sin. It shall be his last sin.

Chapter Twelve

Alas, O our Lord God, thy heart is completely good, completely tender. All that Thou bringest about for all of us, who are the people of the world, all is good, all is righteous. And because Thy heart is very good, Thou dost not at once destroy sinners, Thou dost not at once consume them with fire: Thou only instructest them yet, Thou warnest them to leave their evil life, to be satisfied in Thee.

A. O our Lord, these idolaters who lived on Thy earth Thou hast much abominated because of their evil life, because what they were wont to do aroused

chiao, yn jmjxpan inteuhoa: in ixqujch in jntlachioal, yn jnnemiliz, muchi teuhio, tlaçollo: nepanotl mocuculia, nepanotl momjctia, nepanotl motlaxima: in temjctiliztli, yn ichtequjiztli, in tetlaximaliztli, in teca necacaiaoztli, in necomonjiztli, neisnamitlauja in necnelimatiliztli, in nepializtli, in chipaacanemjiztli: in haujlnemjiztli, in teuhli, 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, iuhqujma tlaoque, iollotlaeliloque muchioa, iuhqujntlaoque tlaoa.

C. Jn tlateutocanjme, in iquac itech tlaquauhtlami, yn jnteuhoan, çan no atle inpan qujmitta, qujnchicujtoa, amo qujmmacaci, ichica ca atle yn inanjma.

D. Jn izqujtlamantli in, inpan muchioa tlateutocanjme: amo çan nen ca oqujnmotelchiujli in dios icel teutl: auh yn imiztlacateuhoan, cenca qujmauztli-que. Auh in iztlaca juramento, cenca itech omomat-que, injc teca omocacaiahque: auh in melaoac iusticia atle ipan qujttaque.

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

Capitulo. 12.

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

A. Totecujoe, in ichoantin tlateutocanjme, in motalpantzinco nemja, cenca otiqujnmotlaelittli, yn ipampa yn imaqualnemiliz: ipampa ca cenca tequa-

men's anger, offended them. For they were wont to be soothsayers, to steal other's goods, to practise divination by means of knotted cords, to practise divination by strewing grains of dried maize. And they slew things before the devils, the demons, and they slew their sons; with them the debt was paid before carved stone, carved wood. And they ate the flesh of men. Thou hast waited long for these to turn from their evil lives. But because they wished not to turn from their lives, Thou hast destroyed them. Thy vassals the Christians brought to an end their wickedness; they conquered them.

B. O our Lord, since Thou hast so done this, will one say something? Will one say, "Why hast Thou so done this?" And will one dispute with Thee because Thou hast so done this? Will one avenge himself on Thee because of the punishment of the evil, the 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. There is no other God, there is no other Creator. For Thou only art God; for Thou alone commandest all things which are in heaven, which are on earth. And when Thou givest judgment, it is righteous. No great ruler, no great emperor shall question Thee, shall say to Thee, "Why hast Thou slain, hast Thou consumed my vassals?"

D. O our Lord, Thou art wholly good, everything that Thou dost is all righteous, all good, for this reason: because Thou art almighty, all is fulfilled in Thee, all which is good, righteous. And because Thy holy name reacheth everywhere, Thou hast mercy everywhere.

E. O our Lord, Thou makest known Thy might, Thy power to the idolaters who wish not to believe in Thy eternal might, Thy eternal power. Hence Thou increasest their misery even more, because of their disobedience. O Lord, Thine is perfect, great might, and Thou hast the might at once to destroy sinners when they offend Thee. And Thou dost in no way so do this, but still waitest that in peace they may change their lives.

Chapter Fifteen

Thou, Who art God, Who art our God, Who art our Ruler: very tender, very good is Thy heart. And

lanj, teiolitlaco, in qujchiuhtinenca: ca tonalpouhtinenca, tetlacujcujlitiñeca, mecatlapouhtinenca, tlaulchaiauhtinenca. Auh in tlatlacateculo in tzitzitzimi imjxpan tlamictiaia: yoā yn jnpilhoan qujnmiectiaia, inca mostlaoaia, yn imjspan, in tetlaxinti, in quauh-tlaxinti: yoan qujquaia in tlaanacatl: in iehoantin jn vecauhtica tiqjnmuchieli: ynjc qujcuepazque yn jmaqualnemjliz: auh ipampa yn amo qujnecque in qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz otiqujnmopupulhuiz, oqujtzacutiaque, yn jntlauehiloaia, oqujnpopoloque in momaccoaltzitzinhoan in xpianome.

B. Totecujoe ynic oiuhctimuchiujli, yn, cuix aca itla qujtoz? Cuix aca qujtoz, tleica yn iuh ticmuchiujlia, in? auh cuix aca mitzmotlatzoviliz? in ipampa iuh ticmuchiujli? auh cuix aca motetzinco motzoncuiz, yn ipampa intlatzacujltiloca, yn aqualti, yn aiecti? auh intla tiqjnmopopolhuiz, yn jxq'chtin cemanaoac tlateutocanjme, cuix aca tlatoz? cuix aca qujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujlia? ca muchinti molachioaltzitzinhoan.

C. Niman aiac vnca, oc ce teutl, nimā aiac oc ce tlachioale, ca çan moceltzin titeutl, ca çan moceltzin ticmopachilhuja, yn jsqujch yn jlhuycac onoc, in tlat-tepac, onoc: auh ynjc timotetlatzontequjlilia, ca vel melaoac, njman aiac vei tlatoanj, in anoço vei Empe-rador, mitzmotlatlanjliz, mitzmolhuiliz: tleicā otiqujnmomjctili, otiqujnmotlatlatili, in nomaccoalhoan?

D. Totecujoe, iehica ca ticenquizeca qualli, yn jsquich ticmuchiujlia, muchi melaoac, muchi qualli: ipampa ca muchi moueli, motetzinco cenquiztoc, yn isqujch qualli, melaoac: auh ipampa ca novijan aci, in motlatocaiotzin, novjian timotetlaoculilia.

E. Totecujoe, in mouelilitiz, in muchicaoalitzin, ticmonestilia, in impan tlateutocanjme: in amo qujneltozaznequj, in cemanqui movelilitiz, yn cemanqui, muchicaoalitzin: ynjc oc cenca tiqjnmovelilia yn jnnetoliniliz, yn ipampa intzōtetiliz: Totecujoe ca maxcatzin, in cenquizquj in vei in veliliz-tli: auh ca timovelitilia, yn njman tiqjnmopolhuiz, in tlatlacoanj, yn jquac mitzmoioltlacalhuja: auh ynjn ca amo iuh ticmuchiujlia, ca çan oc tiqjnmuchieli, ynjc iviian qujcuepazque yn jnnemjliz.

Capitulo. 15.

Jn tehoatzin, in tidios, in titoteuh, in titotlatocatzin, cenca iamanquj, cenca qualli moiollotzin: auh

everything which Thou dost is all good, all righteous. And in Thy mercy Thou hast set in order all creatable things.

A. O our Lord, we understand that we are Thine, we Christians. If we shall sin, we still belong to Thee. We know Thou art perfectly great, perfectly good. And if we shall not sin, we know we are with Thee, for we are Thy chosen ones.

B. O our Lord, the knowledge of Thee hath been well revealed; it hath saved men. And by the keeping of Thy commandments is eternal life merited.

Chapter Sixteen

O our Lord God, the lives and the deaths of our bodies are of Thy making, of Thy knowledge. The life of peace and the life of misery of our bodies are in Thy hand.

A. But the death of our souls is not of Thy creation, not of Thy establishing. For only we, we people, by our sins, by our wickedness kill our souls, cast them into the land of the dead. And when our soul abandoneth our body, it is not possible that it again enter within it. All will be therewith ended forever, for it went forth for the last time; it went for the last time either to the good place or else not to the good place. There they will be together, where we have our places. And no one who is in Thy hand will resist, for Thou art almighty, for Thou art everywhere.

B. The idolaters who will not acknowledge Thee, by the might of Thy hand Thou punishest; with water, with hailstones, with fire Thou hast destroyed them.

[Confutation of Idolatry]¹⁶⁶

The aforementioned word of God which hath been spread before you, my beloved children, hath given very strong light to men; it hath made them see. Thus it will be known that idolatry bringeth confusion to men; it will cast them into the land of the dead; it is a great sin against God, our Creator, our Redeemer.

And now, that their doubts may indeed be satisfied, since they are of weak character, it is still re-

in jxqujch in ticmuchiuujlia, muchi qualli, muchi melaoac: auh ca motetlaoculiliztica, ticmotecpanjlia, yn ixqujch chioalonj.

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

B. Totecujoe, yn miximachocatzin, ca vel tetlanestili, vel temaqujsti: auh yn ipialoca, yn motenaoatiltzin, ic icnopilhujo, in cemjac nemjiztli.

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

A. Auh yn imjquiz, in tanjma, amo motlachioaltzin, amo motlatlaliltzin: ca çan tehoanti, in titlaca, totlatlacultica, totlavelilocaioitica, ticmjctia in tanjma, mjctlan tictlaça. Auh yn iquac, yn tanjma qujtlalcahuja in tonacaio, auelitiz in oc cepa itic calaquiz, yn jxqujchica tlamiz cemanaoac, ca oiccenquiz, oiccenia: 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, tiqijnmotlatzacujtilia, atica, teciuhtica, yoan tletica, otiqujnmopopulhuju.

Jn teutlatolli omoteneuh, in amispan omomelaub, notlaçopilhoane: ca cenca chicoac vel tetlanextili, tetlachialti. Jnyc vel iximachoz, in tlateutoquiliztli, in ca cenca tetlapololti: vel mictlan tetlaz, vel vei yiolitlaculocatzin in dios, in toteiocuxcatzin, totemaquisticatzin.

Auh yn axcan ynyc vel iniollo pachiuiz, yn amo cenca chicoac in imjx, yn iniollo, oc monequj oc

166. Sahagún's "Confutations" begin without heading in the *Florentine Codex*.

quired that I spread out the word of God, written above, so that all men shall know it. For idolatry is much to be abominated, despised.

A. Perceive, my children, the light, the torch by which will be known the only God, God through Whom we live; for this is the word of God. And knowledge of the false gods whom the ancients worshipped likewise issueth from the declaration of God's word. This word of God lieth folded in the bosom, in the womb of the Holy Church, our mother, like the gold of heaven, the emeralds of heaven, the turquoise, the gems, the precious stones which belong to her, which exceed all things in preciousness, in being worthy of guarding. This word of God, which all desire in order to be saved, is greatly required by all who willingly believe in it, because the word of God is a light; it is a torch. God the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost hath given, hath guarded our mother, the Holy Church, that she may give light to, may teach all her children.

B. My children, perceive that God's word is God's light. By it those who live in darkness will be able to see — those who have lost the way, idolaters who live following the lying words of the devil, who is indeed the father of lies. And that their gods, their rulers be made known to them, the word of God, the word of truth, hath been declared to them. Because above I have told, above I have said the word of God, in which it is revealed, it is declared, how idolatry began. Likewise here are revealed many of the confusions, miseries, blindnesses into which the idolaters fell.

C. This word of God, the light of God, instructeth us, notificeth us that it is in no way possible that there be many gods. There is only one, the only Creator by Whom we live, ruler everywhere. And in the word of God, which hath been written above, is revealed, behold: *Non est enim alius deus quam tu, cui cura est de omnibus.* That is to say, "O our Lord God, Thou alone art God, thou art ruler. None else is God, none else is ruler. In Thy hand alone are all things visible [and] invisible."

D. This is thus revealed: Huitzilopochtli is no god; Tezcatlipoca is no god; Tlaloc, or Tlalocatecutli, is no god; Quetzalcoatl is no god, neither is Ciua-coatl a goddess; Chicomecoatl is no goddess, neither is Teteo innan a goddess; Tzapotlan tenan is no

achi njcmelaoaz, in teutlatolli, in tlacpac omjcuilo ynjc muchi tlatatl qujmatiz, ca in tlateutoqujliztli, cenca vellaelittalonj, telchioalonj.

A. Tla xicmocaqujtican, 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 jmelaoca, in teutlatolli. Jnjn teutlatlatolli ixillantzinco, itozcatlantzinco, in tonantzin sancta yglesia, cuecuelpachiuh-toc, iuhqujnma ilhujcac teucujtlatl, ilhujcac quetzalitztli, teuxiujtl, temaquitzli, tlaçotetl ipam pouj: in vellapanauja ynjc tlaçotli, ynjc pialonj: ynjn teutlatolli, yn jsqujchtin momaqujxtiznequj, cenca intech monequj, in iollocopa qujneltoçazque: ichica 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 xicmocaqujtican, notlaçopilhoane, in teutlatolli, ca teutlanestli: ynjc vellachiazque in tlaiooaijanemj, in mixcuetpinemj, yn tlateutocanjme, qujtocatinemj ymiztlacatlalol in diablo, yn vel yta in iztlacatiliztli. Auh ynjc vel qujmiximachilizque, yn jnteouh, yn jntlatocauh, in qujmotenqujstili in teutlatolli, yn neltiliztlatolli: ipampa in tlacpac, onjcteneuh, in tlacpac onjqujto, in teutlatolli, yn vncan neztica, melaoatica, yn quenjn otzintic opeuh, in tlateutoqujliztli; 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, teiocuianj, ipalnemoanj, novian, tlatoanj: auh in teutlatolli yn tlacpac 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 tlatoanj: çan mozeltzin momactzinco 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 chicomecoatl; amono teutl, yn teteu innan: amo teutl, in tza-

goddess, nor are the Ciuapipilti or Ciuateteo goddesses, nor is Chalchiuhtli icue a goddess, nor is Uixtociuatl a goddess, nor is Tlaçolteotl a goddess. Xiuh-tecutli is no god, Macuilxochitl is no god, nor is Omacatl a god, nor is Ixtlilton Tlaltetecuin a god, nor is Opochtli a god, nor is Xipe totec a god. Yiacatecutli is no god; Chiconquiauitl is no god; Chalmeca ciuatl is no goddess; Acxomocuil is no god; Nacxitl is no god; Cochimetl is no god; Yacapitzauac is no god; Napa tecutli is no god; the Tepictoton are not gods; the sun is no god; the moon, the stars — none is a god; Tlaltecuctli is no god; the water of the sea, the ocean, is no god. But all, here in New Spain, were worshipped in times past. None of them is a god. For all are demons, evil spirits, as it is in the word of God: *Omnes dii gentium demonia*; that is to say, All whom the idolaters worship, all are devils, demons, evil spirits.

E. Unhappy are they who worshipped these demons, for they are full of evil; they are wicked; they are the adversaries, the affliction of us, the people of the earth. Unhappy are they who offered up to them the blood of their children, the hearts of their fellows. Unhappy are those who prayed humbly to them, who kissed the earth in the presence of the devils and their representations in order to ask what they required. They fooled themselves greatly when they thought that these really gave them all wealth, all riches; and that these aided, defended, and saved men. Those who thought this, your forefathers, much confused themselves and much confused others. And because they would thus attain what their hearts required, they laid offerings before the devils; they fasted, they passed all-night vigils, they bled themselves, they prayed. In many ways they thus afflicted, they thus tormented their bodies in the presence of the devils, the demons. Moreover, they offered them many gifts; their gifts took the form of green stones, quetzal feathers — spreading, curving, truly green; and costly mantles, costly vestments. And before them they laid offerings of various flowers and many kinds of incense. Such they did in order to pay honor to their adversaries, their enemies, those who ill-treated them — who required no honor, who required no love. For they required only to be abominated, abhorred, hated. Therefore are eternally condemned, eternally accursed the adversaries of our Lord God and the adversaries of us the people.

putla tena: amono teteu, in cioapipilti, anoço cioate-teu: amono teutl in chalchiuhtli, icue; amono teutl, in vixtocioatl: amono teutl in tlaçolteutl: amo teutl in xiuh-tecutli: 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 acxumocuyl amo teutl: nacxitl amo teutl: cochimetl amo teutl: in iacapitzauac amo teutl: in napa tecutli amo teutl: tepictoton, amo teteu: yn tonatiuh amo teutl: in metztli, in cicitlaltin aiac teutl: in tlaltecutli amo teutl, yn teuatl, yn ilhuj-caatl, amo teutl. Auh yn ie muchintin, yn nican nueua españa, neteutiloia, ie vecauh, njman aiac teutl: ca muchintin tzitzitzimj, culeleti: iuh ca in teutlatolli. Omnes dii gentium demonia: qujtoznequj. Jn isqujchtin, yn qujnmoteutia, yn tlateutocanjme, muchintin, diablome, tzitzitzimj, culeleti.

E. Ointlaeliltic, in qujnmoteutitiaque in iehoantin in tzitzitzimi, ca uel qujmaxiltique tlauciloque, vel toiahoan, vel totecuculicahoan, in talticpac titlaca. Ointlaeliltic in qujnmacaque, yn jmezço, yn inpilhoan, yn jniollo, in jnvampoan: yn iehoantin jn ointlaeliltic, in qujmicnotlatlauhtiaia, in jmispan tlaquaia, in diablome: yoan yn jmixiptlaotan ynic qujmjtlaniliaia, in tlein intech monequja: cenca moztlacaujaia, ynic momatia ca in iehoantin, vel qujtemaca, in jsqujch in tetlamachti, in isqujch tecujl-tono. Yoan ca no iehoanti, tepaleuja, temanauja, 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, istoçaoia, mjçaoia tlatlatlauhtiaia, mjec tlamantli ynjc qujtoneoia, ynjc qujchichinatzaia in jnnaciao, in jmispan in diablome, in tzitzitzimj: 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 miec tlamantli, in copalli: in juh qujchioaia hi, ca ic qujnmauiztiliaia in jniahoan, yn jntecuculicaoan, yn jntetolinjcaoa: in atle intech monequj mavizçotl, yn atle intech momonequj tetaçotlaliztli: ca çan monequj cenca telchioalozque, tlaellitalozque, cuculilozque: ichica ca tlacemjnsnanaoatilti, tlacentalchioalti: yiahoan yn totecujto dios, yoan toiahoan in titlaca.

F. Unhappy and much to be blamed are those who even now live as idolaters, yet whom God's word hath come to reach, yet by whom the Holy Gospel is heard. Even more are to be wept, to be severely reprimanded, those who have already been baptized, who during the time of their baptism once again practise soothsaying, cast auguries in water, believe in dreams, or else their voices sing, their eyelids flutter, or else they hold the barn owl, the owl as an omen. And even more in times past was there terror over omens. All who do so must here on earth meet torment, and when they shall die, they shall be cast into the land of the dead.

G. Because of idolatry, much misery befell the old people — your grandfathers, your grandmothers. There were many wars in New Spain when there still was idolatry; frequent famine, frequent pestilence were widespread; thus there was dying. And therefore did the Spaniards come to conquer, therefore many of the common folk perished; for all came to pass because of idolatry. And now misery prevaieth, all because of idolatry, for it is not yet completely forgotten. Our Lord God is exceeding wrath; He consumeth the idolaters with fire. For idolatry offendeth our Lord God; it is the worst of all sins. And as for the idolaters there in the land of the dead, even more terrible is their place of torment — their weeping, their tears, their cries, which shall never cease. It is written in God's word.

A. Behold the cries, the tears of the idolaters: *Erravimus in via veritatis*, etc. (*Wisdom*, Chapter 5). That is to say, "Unhappy we, for we erred while we were living on earth, and the straight road of righteous life we saw not; the sun of righteous life did not give us light; our sinful way tired us, it exhausted us;¹⁶⁷ and our road to ruin vexed us; our sins put us into dangerous places. Of what advantage to us were pride, greatness? Of what advantage to us was riches on earth? All such things, like smoke, [like] shadows, fall in confusion; they are like the messenger running fast; like the boat rapidly gliding as if driven by the wind of which nothing is seen whence it issued; like the bird which hasteneth greatly as it flieth, which goeth leaving no trace;

F. Ocelintlaueliltic, ca cenca tlacemjsnaoaitli, in iehoantin in oc noma tlateutocatinemj in axcan, in ie oacico teutlatolli, in ie caco in sancto Evāgelio: ca oc cenca techoctique, tetrozqujtenque, in iehoantin in ie omoquatequjque, yn ipan in jnnequatequjliz, in ie no ceppa tlapoa, atlan teitta, qujneltoca in temjctli, anoço intozquj choça, ymjs papatlaca: anoço qujmotetzavia in chiquatli, in teculotl: yoan oc cequj in ie vecauh netetzaujloia. Jn jsq'chtin, yn iuhquj qujchioa yn, cenca monequj in njcan talticpac, tlaihioujtilozque, yoan yn jquac miquizque, mjctlan tlaçalozque.

G. Jn ipampa tlateutoqujliztli, cenca mjec tlamanltli netoliniliztli, impā muchioaia in veuetque, yn amoculhoan, yn amocihoan: ca mjec tlamanltli iauiotl, njcan manca, in nueua españa, yn oc ipan tlateutoqujliztli: miecpa, maianaloia, miecpa cuculiztli momanaia, ic mjcooia. Auh inic tepeoaco inin españoles, jnjc miequjnti ispoliuhque in maccoalti, ca muchi ipampa omuchiuh, in tlateutoqujliztli: auh yn axcan yn izqujtlamanltli tetoliniliztli manj, ca muchi ipampa in tlateutoqujliztli, ichica, ca aiamo ce njlcauj: Jn totecujō dios, tlapanauja ynic moqualanaltia, ca qujnmotlatlatilia, in tlateutocanjme: ichica ca in intlateutoqujliz ynje qujmoiolitlacalvia in totecujō dios, vel quipanauja, yn jsqujch tlatlaculli. Auh in tlateutocanjme, in vmpa mictlan, oc cenca tema-mauhti, yn jntlaihioujtiloca: yn jnchoquiz, yn jmj-xaio, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn aic vel qujcaozque: ca teutlatolpan ycujiuhtoc.

A. Jzcatquj yn inchoquiz, yn imixaio in tlateutocanjme. Erravimus in via veritatis, etc. Sapientie, 5 capitulo. qujtoznequj. Ototlaueliltic ca otiscuepque, yn oc talticpac tinenca: auh in melaoac iecnemilizvtli, amo tiqujttaque, in iecnemiliztonatiuh, amo techtlanextili, otechtlaciavilti, otecianmjcti, in totlatlaculvuj: auh yn tonetlapololtilizvuj cenca otechama, cenca ovican otechaquj, in totlatlacul: tle otechonqujsti, in nepoaliztli, in tlatocaiutl? tle otechonqujsti, in talticpac necujltonoliztli? Jn izqujtlamanltli hi, iuhqujma puctli ceoalli, ompoliuhtuetzi: iuhqujma titlantli in cenca totocatiqjça: iuhqujma acalli, in cenca totocatiuh, in juhquj êcatoco, yn amo tle neci in campa qujça: iuhqujma tototl, in cēca totoca inje patlanj, yn atle icximachio qujcauh-

167. Probably *otecianmicti* is to be read *otechianmicti*.

like the bird-arrow which right swiftly reacheth its mark, nor is it seen whence it issued. Thus it befell us on earth, for we were living but a moment on earth, we swiftly brought our lives to a close because of our sins; our lives ended, perished."

B. Like these are the words of the idolaters, like these their weeping, their tears, their words of grief, their words of lamentation, which shall never be comforted. But those who know, who obey our Lord God shall attain His Kingdom, His riches, because our Lord God is perfectly enriching. Thus is the word of God, as hath been told above.

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

Thus it can be declared, that is, "O our Lord God, Thy love is of the Holy Ghost; it is almighty. And Thou sendest over us the goodness, the grace, the softness of Thy love. Thou hast made all that is good, proper, in Thy creatures, so that it will be of advantage to us. And also Thou Thyself art a gift to us people. Thus it is plain, thus we know that Thou art greatly merciful. For Thou offerest us Thy faith, that we may know Thee. And Thou offerest us Thy commandments that we may obey Thee. And Thou offerest us Thy Sacraments, that we may restore, purify, and that we may strengthen our souls. Thus shall we attain eternal life there in Heaven.

"And Thou further showest Thy mercy. For Thy servants who offend Thee Thou destroyest not now, Thou castest into the flames not now; Thou admonishest them gently, Thou warnest them gently, that they may change their lives. By Thy words Thy preachers admonish sinners, and Thy priests give them the Sacraments that they may change their lives and that they may satisfy Thee. And those who wish not to know Thee, who wish not to cease idolatry, them Thou castest into the land of the dead. And those who believe in Thee¹⁶⁸ who wish not to

tiuh: iuhqujnma totomjtl, in vel iciuhca onacituetzi, amono neci, in campa oquiz: O ca iuhquj otopan-omuchiu, in tlalticpac, ca çan achintoca tlalticpac-otonnêque, çan iciuhca ontzonquiz, in tonemjiliz, yn ipampa in totlatlacul, ovntlan, vmpoliuh in tonemjiliz.

B. O ca iuhquj hi, yn intlatol in tlateutocanjme, iuhqui in, yn inchoquiz, yn jmixaio, yn inlaocullatol, yn inchoquiztlatol, yn njman aic vel moiollalizque. Auh in qujmiximachilia, in qujmotlacamachitia, yn totecujo dios, qujcnopilhuizque, yn jtlatoaio-tzin, yn jnecujltonoliztzin: ichica ca cenquizca mocujltonoan, yn totecujo 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, totecujoye diose, ca ticenquizca qualli, auh ca cenca iamanquj in moiollotzin, cenca titechmotlaçotilia yn timuchinti.

Jnic vel momelaoa, q'toznequj. Jio totecujoye diose, in motetlaçotlaliztzin, ca ichoatzin in espiritu sancto, ca muchi ueli: auh ca topan quivalmjoalia, yn iqualtiliz, yn jiectiliz aviiaca in motetlaçotlaliztzin: oticmuchiujlitzino, 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: ichica ca titechmomaqujlia yn moneltococatzin, ynjc vel timitziximachilizque: yoan titechmomaqujlia yn motenaotiltzin, injc vel timitztouellamachtilizque: yoan titechmomaqujlia in mosacramentotzin, ynjc ticmopatilia, yoã ticmuchipavilia, yoan ynic ticmuchicavilia in tanjma: inic vel tiqjcnopilhuizque, in cemicac nemjilztl, in vmpa ilhujcac:

yoan oc cenca ticmonextilia in motetlaoculiliztzin: ca in ichoanti yn momaceoaltzitzinoan, in mjtzmoioltlcalhuja, amo njman tiqjnmopopolhuja, amo njman tiqjnmotlatlatilia, çan iujan tiqjnmnonochilia, çan ivian tiqjnmnonemachtilia: injc vel qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz: ca motêcopatzinco, in motemachticaoan, qujnnonotza in tlatlacoan: auh in moteupiscatzitzinhoan, qujnmaca in sacramentos, ynjc vel qujcuepazque in jnnemiliz, yoã injc vel motetzinco pachiuizque. Auh yn amo mitzmjximachiliznequj, yn amo qujcaozitlamati, in tlateutoqujilztl,

168. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "y a los que no os qujeran conocer." The negative is missing in the Nahuatl.

change their lives, who die in sin, them Thou punishest with eternal torment there in the land of the dead. And this Thou dost in such wise that it is all righteous. None may change Thy word; none may reverse Thy word. Neither they who dwell in Heaven nor the people on earth, none can say, 'Why dost Thou do this?' Thy word is not to be changed. For what Thou customarily dost is righteous, and Thou art the fount of life, the fount of good, the fount of might. In Thee lie complete riches, all glory, all contentment. And Thou rulest everywhere; and all that is good, proper, issueth 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 the One through Whom there is life, our Creator, ruler everywhere.

Likewise it is plain, above, what manner of gods were those of your forefathers — very wicked, deceivers, tricksters, haters of men, worthy of being abhorred, of being scorned.

E. Now it is required that you hear the history of each of those who were your forefathers' gods, that their wickedness may be plain.

The ancients, who were well apprised, related to us, [and] we have newly instructed you, how there was worship of Huitzilopochtli everywhere in the land of Mexico. He was indeed the god of the Mexicans. But this Huitzilopochtli, we know, was a common man, a sorcerer, an omen of evil, a madman, a deceiver, a creator of war, a war-lord. He cast at men the turquoise serpent, the fire drill — war. For this Huitzilopochtli, verily the devil's man, your grandparents celebrated a feast day thrice each year. War captives were slain, ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up; they shed much blood there at Itepeyoc. Many acts of confusion they performed before his image. This, which much confused, much terrified, much shamed men, your grandparents proceeded to do.

F. Likewise we know that in times past, everywhere here in New Spain, there was worship of Tezcatlipoca. And they [also] named him Titlacauan, and Yaotl, Necoc yaotl, Moyocoya, Neçaualpilli. This Tezcatlipoca, the ancients went on to say, was a

mictlan tiqujnmotlaxilia: yoan in motlaneltocacaoan in amo qujcuepaznequj, yn innemjliz, in çan ipan miq' yn intlatlacul, cemicac tlaihioujliztli, ic tiqujnmotlatzacujtilia, 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 tlalticpac-tlaca, aiac vel qujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujlia hi? njman amo cuepalonj, in motlatoltzin: ichica, ca cenca melaoac in ticmuchivilianj, yoan ca tinemjlizameialli, tiqualtilizameialli, tiuelitilizameialli, motetzinco cenqujztoç, yn isqujch tecujltono, yn ixqujch tetlamachtli, yn jsqujch tepapaqujliti: auh ca tehoatzin, novian timotlatocatilia: yoan in jsqujch in qualli iectli, motechpatzinco quiça, çan moceltzin ticmote-maqujlia.

D. Jc cenca vel neztica, notlaçopilhoane, in quenjn cenca tlaçotlalonj, cenca mauiztililonj in totecujo dios: ichica ca ipalnemoanj, teiocoianj, noujan tla-toanj:

çan no tlapac neztica, in quenamique inteuan, yn amocolhoan: cenca vellaveliloque, teiztlacaujanj, teca mocacaiaioanj, tecuculianj, vellaclittalonj, vel telchiaoalnj.

E. Jn axcan vel monequj, in anqujcaquizque cecē-iaca intlatollo, yn jntean catca, yn amoculhoan: ynjc vel neciz in jntlaueililoçao.

Jn iehoantin yn ueuetque, in vel machiceque, otechcaqujtique, in tehoantin, in vel iancujcan otamech-machtique, in quenjn oneteutiloc in Vitzilobuchtli: novian in tlalpan in mexicana, vel inteouh in mexicana. Auh ynjn vitzilobuchtli, ticmati, ca maceoalli, naoalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teiscuepanj, qujioculianj, 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: mal-mjcoia, tlaaltilmjcoia: cenca mic eztli noquiuj, in vncan itepeioc: mic tlamanltli netlapololtiliztli quichioaia, ispan in ixiptla. Jnin, cenca tetlapololiti, cenca teiçauj, cenca tepinauhti, in oqujchiuhtiaque yn amoculhoan.

F. No yoan ticmati, ca njcan noujan nueua españa ie uecauh, oneteutiloc in tezcaltlipuca: yoan qujtociotique, titlacaoan, yoan iautl, necoc iautl, moiocoia, neçaoalpilli. Jnjn tezcaltlipuca qujtotiaque in veuetque, vel teutl, noujan ynemjan, mictlan, tlalticpac,

true god; his abode was everywhere — in the land of the dead, on earth, in heaven. When he walked upon the earth he quickened war; he quickened vice, filth; he brought anguish, affliction to men; he brought discord among men, wherefore he was called “the enemy on both sides.” He mocked men, he ridiculed men. He was called wind, shadow. This wicked Tezcatlipoca, we know, is Lucifer, the great devil who there in the midst of Heaven, even in the beginning, began war, vice, filth. From there he was cast out, from there he fell. But he walketh here upon the earth deceiving men, tricking men. For so is the word of God: *Factum est proelium magnum in coelo*. Apoc., 12. That is, a great war was fought in the midst of Heaven, which Lucifer began. This Tezcatlipoca Titlacauan is a great devil. The ancients worshipped him, and they celebrated his feast day when [it was the month of] Toxcatl, and they slew his representation, whom they named Titlacauan. So much were the ancients in confusion.

G. Behold yet another devil whom the ancients worshipped, named Tlaloc, or Tlaloque. To him was attributed the rain. They said, “These make trees, grasses, and indeed all our sustenance sprout, bloom, grow.” Also to the Tlalocs were attributed drownings, thunderbolts. For the sake of these devils the ancients celebrated a feast day in [the month of] Quauitl eua or Atl caualo, when the new year’s ceremony was performed. On their feast day, many small children, called *tlatateteuhti*, were slain on the mountain tops — those who had two cowlicks in the hair, whose day-signs were good. And also they were sought out, bought. It was said that they were most precious blood-offerings.

This was a very great and very fearful sin which the ancients committed for the sake of the devils, the demons, the evil spirits — these Tlalocs. They thought¹⁶⁹ that these gave rain and all our sustenance. Thus were the ancients greatly in confusion, 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 thus is the word of God; behold, *Dabo vobis pluvias, temporibus suis, et terra germinabit germen suum: et pomis arbores replebuntur*. *Leviticus*, 26. Our Lord God speaketh; he saith, “I shall give you rain, each year, in its good time (if you will live by My com-

ilhujcac: in iquac nemja tlalticpac, iaoiutl qujiolitiaia, iehoatl qujiolitiaia in teuhtli, in tlaçolli, cococ, teupouhqui tepan qujchioaia, tetzalan tenepantla, moquetzaia: ipampa y, moteneoa necoc iautl, teca maujltiaia, tequequeloia: moteneoa ehecatl, tlaioalli. Jnin tlaueliloc tezcatlipuca, ticmati ca iehoatl in lucifer, in vei diablo, in vmpa ilhujcatl itic, vel iancujcan oqujpeoalti, in iaujtl in tecuculiliztli, in teuhtli, in tlaçolli: vmpa oaltotococ, vmpa oalvetz. Auh in nican tlalticpac teiztlacaujtinemj, teca mocacaiuhuinemj: ca iuh ca in teutlatolli. *Factum est prelium magnū in celo*, apoc. 12. quitoznequj, vei iaoiutl, omuchiuh yn ilhujcatl ytic: oqujpeoalti in lucifer: in iehoatl tezcatlipuca, titlacaoa, vei diablo: iehoatl qujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque: yoan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, yn iquac toxcatl: yoan qujmjctiaia yn jxiptla, yn qujtocaiotiaia titlacaoan, ic cenca omotlapololtique 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, tlavitequjliztli: ipampa ynin diablome, qujmilhujqujstiliaia, yn ipan quavitl coa, anoço atl caoalo in veuetque, in iquac xiuhtzitzqujloia: in ipam imilhujuh, tepeticpac mjctiloia, mjequintin pipiltzintzi, in moteneoaia tlatateteuhti, in iehoantin yn ontecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: no yoan temoloia, patiutiloia: mjtooaia, ca iehoantin vel tlaçonextlaoalti.

Jnin ca cenca vey, yoan cenca temamauhti tlatlaculli, in qujchioaia in veuetque, yn jmpampa diablome, in tzitzitzimj, in culeleti: in iehoan tlaloque, momotia ca iehoanti qujtemaca, in qujaujtl: yoan in isqujch tonacaiutl: ic cenca omotlapololtique in veuetque, yoan cenca, oqujmoiolitlacalhuique yn dios: ca çã vel izeltzin techmomaqujlia, in tisqujchti cema-naoac titlaca in iehoatl, qujavitl, ynjc muchioa yn isqujch tonacajutl: ca iuh ca in teutlatolli, izcatquj. *Dabo vobis pluvias, temporibus suis, et terra germinabit germen suum: et pomis arbores replebuntur*. *leujtici*. 26. Motlatoltia in totecujo dios, qujmitalhujja. Namechnomaqujliz in qujavitl, in cecxiuh-

169. Read *momatia*.

mandments, if you do nothing idolatrous). And at My word the earth will sprout, will bear fruit. And at My word the fruit trees will form much fruit, will greatly increase." Your forefathers knew nothing, they heard nothing of the word of God. Thus did the devils, the true adversaries of us, the people who live on earth, trick them.

A. Behold how the word of God is, by which are shamed the idolaters: *Incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis imposuerunt. Wisdom, 14.* That is, "So much were the idolaters in confusion that they placed the name of God on stone and wood; they worshipped stone and wood. The [name] God is exclusive to Him Himself, God the Creator through Whom there is life." But the blind idolaters gave the name to stone; they said, "Thou art my god." To wood they said, "Thou art my god, thou art my lord." Also were the idolaters much to be abhorred [because] they placed the name of God, through Whom there is life, upon men, upon women, who were mortals, whose lives were evil, whose hearts were evil. This is the great sin, idolatry, the doing of your fathers, your grandparents, the ancients. Behold their confusion.

B. The ancients worshipped Quetzalcoatl, who was ruler at Tula. And you named him Topiltzin. He was a common man; he was mortal. He died; his body corrupted. He is no god. And although a man of saintly life, who performed penances, he should not have been worshipped. What he did which was like miracles we know he did only through the command of the devil. He is a friend of the devils. Therefore he must needs be abhorred, abominated. Our Lord God hath thrust him into the land of the dead. The ancients went on to say that Quetzalcoatl went to Tlapallan; [that] yet he will return. He is still expected. This is not true; it is falsehood. His body died; here on earth it became dust, it became filth. And his soul our Lord God damned and thrust into the land of the dead. There it is. It will forever suffer in the flames.

C. Behold another confusion of your forefathers. They worshipped a devil in the guise of a woman, named Ciuacoatl. When he appeared before men, it was as a woman that he appeared. She terrified men; she frightened. To her were attributed poverty, misery, the digging-stick, the tump-line, weeping,

tica, yn imonecian (intla uel anqujmonemiliztizque notenaatil, intlacatle tlateutoqujliztli, anqujchioazque), auh in tlalticpactli notencopa tlaxoaltiz, tlatlaaquillotiz: auh in xochiquaquaujtl, notencopa cenca moxochiquallotiz, cenca tlaaquiz. In amoculhoan, amo qujmattiaque atle oqujcactiaque, in teutlatolli: ic cenca inca omocaciauhque in diablome, in vel toiaoan, in tlalticpac titlaca.

A. Jzcatquj in iuh ca teutlatolli, ynic pinauhtilo in tlateutocanjme. Incōmunjcabile, nomen lapidibus, et lignis inposuerunt: Sapientie 14, q. n. In tlateutocanjme ynjc cenca omotlapololtique, in teutocaitl, ytech oqujtlalique, in tetl yoan in quavitl: qujteutocaque in tetl, yoā in quavitl: in teotl, çan vel izeltzin yneixcaujlaxcatzin, in dios in teiocuianj, yn jpalnemoanj. Auh yn jxpopoioime, in tlateutocanjme, qujtocaiotique, in tetl, qujlhujque: ca tinoteouh, qujlhujque, in quaujtl, 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. Injn ca tetzauhtlatlaculli, in tlateutoqujliztli, yn jntlachioal yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in veuetque: izcatquj yn jnnetlapololtiliz.

B. In iehoantin in veuetque, oqujteutocaque in quetzalcoatl, in tollan tlatoanj catca: yoan anqujtocaiotiaia, Topiltzin. Injn ca maceoalli, ca mjqujni, ca omjc, ca opalan yn jnacao, ca amo teutl: auh maciuj in icnemjlize in tlamaceoiaia, ca amo qujmoteutizquja: in tlein oqujchiuh, iuhqujnma tlamauicōlli, ticmati ca çan tlacateculotlatoltica oqujchiuh: ca imjcnih in tlatlacateculo, ic monequj telchioaloz, tlaelittaloz: ca mjctlan oqujmotlaxili in totecujio dios: qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca tlapallan ia in quetzalcoatl, oc vallaz oc chielo: injn ca amo nelli, ca iztlacatlaloli: ca omjc yn jnacao, nican tlalticpac otlaltic, otlacōltic: auh yn janjma, oqujmotlatzontequjlili yn totecujio dios, mjctlan, qujmotlaxili, vmpa ca, cemjcaac tleco tlaihiouiz.

C. Jzcatquj, yn oc centlamantli ynnetlapololtiliz yn amoculhoan, ca oqujmoteutique in diablo, yn ipā mixeoa cioatl, yn jtoca cioacoatl. Injn yn iquac mote-nestiliaia, iuhq'nma cioatl, ynjc necia: teiçaviaia, tlamauhtiaia, ytech tlamjloia, injc iehoatl qujtemaciaia, in netolinjiztli, yn jcnioiutl, in victli in mecapalli, in

And because of this they celebrated her feast day. They laid offerings before her, they slew victims before her, that her anger, her fury, might not fall upon [them]. This which your forefathers thus lived doing was a very great confusion. They knew not that only He alone through Whom there is life watcheth over men, defendeth men. And the devil in no way harmeth the believers in God who have faith in Him. For so is the word of God: *Quoniam in me sperabit, liberabo eum, protegam eum: quoniam cognovit nomen meum, clamavit ad me, et ego exaudiam eum, cum ipso sum in tribulatione, eripiam eum et glorificabo eum. Ps. 90.* That is, God saith, "He who will believe in Me and have faith in Me I shall aid, I shall take his side. For he knew My name. He will cry out to Me; I shall hear him with favor, I shall comfort him. When he is in anguish, I shall deliver him; I shall aid him." This is plain, that only our Lord God Himself customarily aideth men, customarily defendeth men. And it is required that only He Himself be called upon, be supplicated, when anything afflicteth us.

D. In many other ways the devils, the demons, tricked the ancients. They made them believe in certain goddesses; they paid attention to them, and for their sake celebrated feast days for them, and laid offerings before them, and slew victims.

One was named Chicome coatl. To her was attributed the maize — whatsoever was the means of life of the common folk. A second was Teteo innan, or Tlalli iyollo; and she was also known as Toci. The ancients held that this one gave birth to the gods, whence came men on earth. Hence was she named "our grandmother" [Toci]. This Teteo innan the physicians served — the leeches, those who purged one, those who cured one's eyes; and the women, midwives, those who administered sedatives at childbirth, those who induced abortions, soothsayers, casters of auguries by looking upon the water, by scattering grains of maize, by using knotted cords, who removed foreign objects from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, from 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-house, and they gave her the name, "Grandmother of the Baths." And all of those celebrated her feast day each year; they laid offerings before her; they slew victims before her.

choquiztli. Auh yn ipampa hi, quijlhujqujxtiliaia: ixpan tlamanaia, ixpan tlamjctiaia, ynjc amo ipanenca, yn amoculhoan, cenca vei netlapololtiliztli: amo qujmatia, ca çan vel izeltzin in ipalnemoanj totecujto dios, motepielia, motemanavilia: auh in diablo, njman aquen qujnchioaz yn itlaneltocacaoan in dios, yn jtetzinco motemachia, ca iuh ca yn teutegam 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. In aquin nech-neltocaz, yoan notech motemachiz, njcpaleuiz, ipan njnilacatzoz: ipampa ca oqujxima, in notocatzin: nechmotzatzililiz, nictlavelcaqujliz, niciollaliz, yn iquac motequipachoz, njcmaqujxtiz, nicpaleuiz. Injn ca vel ic neci, ca çan izeltzin totecujto dios, motepaleujianj, motemanavilianj: auh ca monequj, çan vel izeltzin notzaloz, tlatlauhtiloz; in iquac itla techtequj pachoa.

D. Oc micc tlamantli, ynic inca mocacaiuhque in veuetque in diablome, in tzitzitzimj, oqujntlaneltoqujtique: ca cequjntin cioateteu inpan qujnmata: auh yn jpampa y, qujmilhujqujxtiliaia, yoan ymjxpan tlamanaia, yoan tlamjctiaia.

Ce ytoca chicume coatl: in ichoatl in, itech tlamjloia, in tonacaiutl, in çaço tlein, ynencia injulca in maceoalti: ynic vme teteu innan, anoço tlalli iyollo, no yoan moteneoia toci: qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca in ichoatl i, oqujntlacatili in teteu: ca neci in talticpac tlaca, ipampa in moteneoia toci. In ichoatl teteu inna, qujtlaiacultiaia yn titici, in teitzminque, yn tetlanoqujlique, teispaticque; auh in cioa, in temjxiujtianj, tepillalilianj, tetlatlaxilianj, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaulchaiahque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque. No qujtlatlauhtiaia in temazcaleque: ipampa y, qujtlalia yn ixiptla, yn ixquac in temazcalli: yoan qujtocaioiaia, temazcalteci. Auh yn jsqujchtin hi, quijlhujqujxtiliaia, cecexiujtl, ispan tlamanaia, ispan tlamjctiaia.

E. Yet another woman they worshipped; she was called Tzapotlan tenan. To her was attributed turpentine unguent, and they said that she aided those with itch of the head, she applied unguent to the throat of those who were hoarse. Those applied it to themselves who had head sores, who had pimples on the head, who had cracks on the feet, cracked lips, chapped faces, and jigger fleas; [also] the tortilla-sickness.¹⁷⁰ The turpentine unguent, or turpentine liquid, was required for indeed many purposes. This the ancients thus told. They only lied; they only thus tricked men.

And when her feast day was celebrated, the turpentine unguent merchants bought for themselves and slew a slave. They made her representation of amaranth seed dough. There were many other ways by which they paid honor to this Tzapotlan tenan.

F. Still another goddess whom your forefathers worshipped was named Chalchiuhtli icue. They said she was among the Tlalocs; she was their elder sister. It was said that she drowned people, plunged them into the water, she drowned them, she sank them. Hence she greatly terrified; she was feared. The water-merchants and the water folk celebrated her feast day, and before her they laid offerings and slew victims. With many such acts they honored her; it was in vain, it was only their confusion.

Still other evil women your fathers, your grandfathers worshipped. [One] was named Tlaçolteotl, to whom were attributed vice, filth. It is said that four women arose. The first was named Tiacapan, the second was named Teicu, the third was named Tlaco, the fourth was named Xocotzin. These four women were looked upon as god[esses]. They were called goddesses of filth [tlaçolteteo]. From these, the names of the goddesses of filth, your young girls have taken their names—some have been named Tiacapan, some Teicu, some Tlaco, some Xocotzin. This is idolatry. It is necessary that it cease, that it be abhorred. Your fathers, your grandfathers worshipped these harlots, and before them slew victims, before them laid offerings.

G. The devil blinded the ancients with another confusion. He caused them to believe in the women who died in childbirth who, they said, became god-

E. Oc no ce cioatl, qujmoteutiaia itoca tzaputla tena: itech tlamiloia in vxitl, yoan qujtoaia ca qujn-paleujaia in quaxocociuj, in tozcamjiaoacuj, qujn-tozcavxiuja, in chaquachiuuj, in quaçaoati, in xutzaijanj, in tentzaianj, yn isteteçonauj, yn jcxitzaianj: yoan in qualocatl, intech motlalia, in tlaxcaliciuiztli. In vxitl, yn anoçe vxiatl, vel mjeccan moneq', ynjn iuh qujtotaque in veuetque, ca çã oiztlacatiaque, çan ic teca omocacaiahque.

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, oqujmoteutiaque in amoculhoan, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: qujtoaia, invam pouj, inveltiuh in tlaloque: qujlmach teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia: ic cenca tlamauhtiaia ymacaxoia. Qujilhujqujstiliaia yn anamacaque, yoan atlaca: yoã ixpan tlamanaia, yoan tlamictiaia: mjec tlamantli ynjc qujmauiztiliaia, in çan nen, in çan innetlapoltilizpã.

Oc no cequjntin, in cioatlaeliloque in qujnteocatiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn itoca tlaçulteutl: ytech tlamjloia, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: qujl naujntin eoa cioa: injc ce, ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, itoca teicui, inic ey, itoca tlacu, ynic nauj ytoca xocutzzi. In iehoan hi, in navinti cioa impam machoia teteu: in iehoantin y motocaiotia tlaçulteteu: yn intech in yn intoca, in tlaçulteteu, qujcuj yn jntoca yn amochpuchoan cequjntin qujmotocaiotia, tiacapan, cequjntin teicuj, cequjntin tlacu, cequjnti xucutzzin. Injn ca tlateutoqujliztli, ca monequj caoaloz, tlaelitaloz: in iehoantin in in naujanjme, qujnmoteutiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan: yoan ymjxpan tlamjctiaia, ymixpan tlamanaia.

G. Oc no centlamantli, netlapoltiliztli ic oqujm-ixpupuiotili in diablo in veuetque, oqujntlaneltoqujti: in iehoantin in mocioaquetzque, qujtoaia mo-

170. See n. 51, *supra*.

desses. They named them Ciuateteo, Ciuapipiltin. It was an attribute of theirs, it was said, that they were angered by men; they tricked men. When someone was under their spell, he was possessed, his mouth was twisted, his face contorted, he lacked use of a hand, his feet were misshapen, his feet were deadened, his hand trembled, he foamed at the mouth. So it was said that they had met, contended, with the Ciuapipiltin. For this reason they were greatly revered; they were worshipped. In their houses, at crossroads, gifts were set out before them; their feast day was celebrated. Many things they thus offered them on their feast day. This which your forefathers proceeded to do, in worshipping many women, was indeed a confusion and laughable. Much were they thereby shamed. This, verily, all the word of God refuteth.

A. The ancients worshipped many more gods whom they did not consider equal to those [already] mentioned. But of these, one, the fire, was everywhere worshipped. They named him Xiuhtecutli. And they also named him Ixcoçauhqui, and also Cueçaltzin, and Ueue teotl, and Tota. He was thought a god because he burned one, he consumed one, he singed one. And many other things were his office. The feast day of this Xiuhtecutli was observed in [the month of] Izcalli. And before him victims were slain, gifts were laid; before him there was dancing. And many other things were done because of the honors paid this Ixcoçauhqui. This your forefathers, the ancient, lived doing. Thus it clearly appeareth that their blindness was very great. For they worshipped that which seeth not, nor heareth, nor liveth; which is only a creature of God — a gift made for us that it may serve us. Hence it is required that our Lord God be honored, praised, served, for what He hath given unto us.

B. Still another devil whom the ancients worshipped they named Ixtilton and Xochipilli.¹⁷¹ They said that when there was fasting, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, they said they brought to naught their fasting through sin. Wherefore he would visit them with piles, with hemorrhoids, suppurating genitals, disease of the groin, wherefore they made vows to him in order to quiet, to remove the sickness. For this reason they

teucuepa, qujntocaiotique, cioateteu, cioapipilti. Jntech tlamiloia, qujlmach tetlaueliaia, teca mocacaia-oaia, injc aca itech qujneoaia, in tlavelilocatia, tenne-cujliuja, isnecujliuja, matziculiujaia, icxicupichauja: icximjmjquja, momacuecuetzaia, tēqualacqujçaa: icmjtoaia ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquizque in cioapipilti: in ipampa hi cenca imacaxoia, neteutiloia, in chachan in vmaxac, imixpan tlamanaloia: ilhujqujxtililoia, mjec tlamantli ic qujntlamanjliaia, yn imj-lhujuh ipan. Jnjn in qujchiuhtiaque, yn amoculhoan, injc q'nmoteutiaia, mjequjnti cioa, vel tetlapoloti, yoan teuetzqujti, cenca ic omopinauhtique: injn ca uel qujtlaueinamjquj yn isqujch teutlatolli.

A. Oc no mjequjnti teteu, oqujnmoteutiaque in veuetque, yn amo qujnneneujlia yn omoteneuhque: auh ceme ichoan in, in ichoatl in tletl, in vel noujian neteutiloc, oqujtocaiotique xiuhtecutli, no yoā oqujtocaiotique, iscuçauhquj, no yoan cueçaltzin, yoan veuteutl, yoan tota: Jnin teutl ipan machoia, ichica ca tetlatia, tepalao, techichinoa: yoan oc cequj miec 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 quichiuhntenca, yn amoculhoan in veuetque: ic vel neci ca cenca vey, yn jmjxpupuiotiliz: ca quj-moteutiaia yn amo tlachia, yn amo tlacaquj, yn amo iuli, in çan itlachioaltzin dios: tonemac omuchiuh, ynjc techtlaiecultiz: ypampa ichoatl monequj mauiztililoz, iecteneoaloz, tlaiecultiloz, yn otechmomaquj-litzino in totecujo dios.

B. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutiaque, in veuetque, in qujtocaiotique, istlilton, yoan xuchipilli: ynjn quj-toaia, yn jquac neçavililoia: intla aca toq'çhti ipan cioacuchiz, anoço cioatl ipan oquichcuchiz, qujtoaia, qujtlacōlmjctiaia yn ineçaoaliz: ic tetch qujtlaiaia, in suchiciuiztli, in menexoalitzli, in tlapalanaltiliztli, in quexiliujliztli. Jn ipampa hi, yujc nenetotiloia, ynic qujceuz, ynjc qujquaniz in cuculiztli: ipampa qujlhujq'xtiliaia, qujneçaujliaia, qujtlamanjliaia.

171. The incorrect pairing of Ixtilton and Xochipilli is in the Nahuatl text. The Spanish text is correct.

celebrated his feast day, they mourned for him, they offered him gifts. This was a great folly of the ancients, this which they thus lived doing on his account; for they kept not, they knew not the word of God. But now, know well that only He alone, the true God, is the healer of men, the giver of life to men. There is no other. When something befall-eth us — pain, affliction — He alone may be sought, prayed to, as is the word of God, as hath been said above.

C. Yet another devil whom the ancients worshipped was named Omacatl. They said that feasts, invitations to feasts, gatherings of kinsfolk were his introduction. To one's house was brought, there to be paid honor, his representation. Yet many more things your forefathers went on to say of him, went on to ascribe to him in their childishness, their puerility, which were lies, laughable, in no way to be believed.

Likewise one Ixtlilton or Tlaltetecuin was a god of the ancients. There was his black water. And also it was said that it was his office to tap it, to offer the new wine. Many other things were ascribed to him, and they did many things as recreation [when] they took Ixtlilton to their homes. Thus it appeareth that the ancients are to be wept for, to be reproached to tears, because they believed childish things, puerile things, unbelievable things.

D. Still another devil who was a god of the ancients was named Opochtli. They said he was the god of the water folk. Thus they said that of his originating were the net, the atlatl, 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 water folk whom the devil thus deluded. Thus did they greatly offend our Lord God.

Still another devil did the ancient ones worship, named Totec, or Xipe. It was said that his office was to wound men with blisters, festering, pimples, eye pains, watering of the eyes, festering about the eyelashes, lice about the eyes, opacity, cataracts, glazing of the eyes. Whosoever of us men this befell — this sickness — it was said, vowed that he would wear the skin of Totec. This was a great confusion, a great blindness which your forefathers left to you.

Jnjn ca vey, yn innetlapoltiliz in veuetque, yn ipampa iuhquj qujchiuhtinenca: ca atle qujpiaia, atle qujmatia, in teutlatolli. Auh in axcan, ma uel xicmatian, çan vel izeltzin, izel teutl dios, motepatilianj, moteiolitilianj, aiac oc ce: in jquac itla topan muchioa, in tecoco, in tetolinj, çan vel izeltzin, tlatlauhtiloç, temuloç, iuh ca in teutlatolli, in tlapac omjto.

C. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutiaia, in veuetque, yn itoca omacatl, in qujtoaia ca ichoatl ymactia in covaiutl, in tecoantzaliztli, yn jnnecentlaliliz in tevaniolque: techan vicoia, vmpa mauiztiloia in ixiptla: oc cenca miec tlamantli, itech oqujtotaque, ytech oqujtlamjtiague, in amoculhoã, in cucuneiutl, in pipillutl, in iztlacatlalolli: in teuetzqujti, in njman amo neltoconj.

Çan no ichoatl istlilton, anoço tlaltetecujn, inteouh catca in veuetque: vncatca yn jtlilauh: no yoan qujlmach itequjuh, tlaiaxaputlaia, vitzmanaia: oc no mjec tlamantli, itech tlamjloia: yoan mjec tlamantli, neaviliztli, in qujchioaia, yn jnchã, qujvicaia, yn istlilton; ic neci ca cenca techoctique, vel tetoçqujtenque, in veuetque: ichica ca qujneltocaia, yn amo neltoconj, in cucuncjuti, im pipillutl.

D. Oc no ce diablo inteouh catca in veuetque, yn jtoca opuchtli: qujtoque ca inteouh, yn atlaca, iuh qujtoaia ca ichoatl itlatzintil, in matlatl, yn atlatl, in mjnacachalli, ÿ aujctli, in tzonvaztli. Auh yn iquac ilhujqujstililoia, miec tlamantli in ventli, in jspan qujmanaia: yoan oc mjec tlamãtli ixpan qujchioaia, yn atlaca, in iuh qujmiztlacauj in diablo: ic cenca oqujmoiolitlacalhujque in totecujo dios.

Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutiaque in veuetque, yn jtoca totoc, anoço xipe: qujl itequjuh catca, ic temotlaia in totomonjiztli, papalanjiztli, çaçaoatiliztli, iscocoliztli, ischichitinaliztli, istenpipixqujiztli, istamaçoliciuiztli, isaiauhpachiuiztli, istotoliciuiztli, istezcaiciuiztli: in aq'n ipan muchioaia yn, in cocoliztli toqujchtin, iujcpa mjtoaia, monetoltiaia, ynjc vmmaquiz yeoao totoc. Jnjn ca vei netlapoltiliztli, vey ispupuiotiliztli, yn amotech qujcauhquiaque, yn

Unhappy are they; especially unhappy are they now who perchance still remember it.

E. Still another devil whom the ancient ones worshipped was named Yiacatecutli and Yacacoliuhqui. It was said that he was the god of the merchants. Each year the merchants celebrated his feast day. They slew many slaves before him, and in many ways they thus paid him honor. Unhappy are they who devised this; especially unhappy are those who even now remember it.

F. Yet another devil whom the ancients worshipped was named Napa tecutli. It was said that he was god of the makers of reed mats, of coarse reed mats. Likewise they said that he caused to sprout the reeds for mats, the white reeds, the cylindrical reeds, etc. And each year the mat-makers, the makers of round reed mats, the makers of coarse reed mats celebrated his feast day. And when his feast day came, his old men did much wickedness. Unhappy are they alone who thus went doing this. Twenty score times unhappy are those who even now remember it. For the devil will carry off their souls.

G. Another devil whom the ancients worshipped was one whose name was Tezcatzoncatl. It was said that he made the wine; it was said that it was of his invention. Many others were his friends, were devils like him. This same wine was their office. For all there was worshipping, there was celebration of feast days, there was giving of service because of their wickedness—for they cast men from crags, they strangled them, they slew them. Especially did those who scraped the maguey plant do many things whereby they served him. Unhappy are they who lived so doing; especially unhappy if some even now live so doing or live remembering it. For the devil will carry off their souls.

A. There was still another confusion which your forefathers went leaving to you. For they went on to say that the mountains were gods; wherefore they formed mountain [figures], and they called their representations Tepictoton. And they made vows to them—those with the palsy—that they would form them, etc. And when they had formed them, then they laid offerings before them, they sang before them, they did many things in their presence in order to pay them honor. Greatly were they in confusion if not completely besotted. And today it is not completely uprooted; even now some pay their debts on

amoculhoan: ointlaveliltic, oc cēca ointlaueiltic, yn axcan, yn açoc qujlnamiquj.

E. Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutitiaque yn veuetque, yn jtoca yiacatecutli, yoan iacacoliuhquj: qujl inteouh in puchteca, cecexiuhlica, qujlhujquistiliaia, in puchteca: mjequjntin tlatlacuti, ispan qujnmjctiaia: 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 cexiuhlica qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in petlachiuhque, in tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechiuhque: auh yn iquac ynilhujuh quiçaia, yn iehoantin yn jveueiovan, cenca mjec tlamantli tlavelilocauiatl, qujchioaia. Ocelintlaveliltic, 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 jtla-cateculopoa: çan no iehoatl yn vctli yn intequjuh catca. Ca muchinti neteutiloia, ilhujqujstילוia, tla-iccultiloia, ypampa yn jntlavelilocaio, ynjc tetepe-xiujiaia, tequechmecanjaia, temjctiaia: oc cenca iehoanti yn tlachicque, mjec tlamantli, qujchioaia ynjc qujntlaiccultiaia. Ointlaueiltic, yn juh qujchiuhquenca, oc cenca ointlaveliltic, intla cequjntin noma iuh qujchiuhquenemj, yn anoço qujlnamjctinemj: ca diablo qujnvicaz yn jmanjma.

A. Oc no centlamantli netlapololtiliztli, amotech qujcauhquiaque, yn amoculhoā: ca oqujtotaque, in tetepe ca teteu: ipāpa quinpiquja in tetepe. 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 motlapololtiliaia in maca çan tlavancapupul. Auh yn axcan ca aiama cempoliuj, noma cequjnti, moxtloa tepeticpac: auh ynjn ca vei tlatlaculli, vey violitlaculoca yn dios, vey eregia, ca tetzauhtlatlaculli.

mountain tops. But this is a great sin, a great offense to God, a great heresy. It is an abominable sin.

B. Behold also [what] the ancients did in order to pay honor to the mountains: they made Tepicme like men. Hence they placed masks on them. And this the *tlamacazque*, the priests of Tlaloc, did. And when they made these, the common folk, those who had made vows, laid offerings before them; in their presence they ate, they drank, they danced. And when their feast day came, they divided the Tepicme among themselves and ate them. This which your forefathers did was childish; it was puerile.

C. Many other things of confusion did your forefathers do. And your fathers, your grandfathers worshipped very many other gods, without number, whom no one can record, and whom also no one can count, there were so many.

* * *

Let him who readeth this understand it well.

Whosoever thou art who readest the words which have been said above, which have been written, look thou well, know them well. My command is being made in the presence of God, that thou shalt speak if thou knowest if any live practising or if anywhere is practised the idolatry spoken of above. Thou shalt then expose it before the justice of the Holy Church, the priests, or the justice of the Royal Audiencia, the *alguaciles*, especially the *padres*, not only as a confession [but] verily as an accusation. And thou shalt tell this speedily; thou shalt not delay, neither shalt thou have fear. Thou shalt indeed expose to the priest what thou hast thus heard, what thou hast thus seen. If any know of, if they witness idolatry, if they wish not to tell of it, if they wish not to expose it before the priest, they are idolaters, they are devils, our Lord God's foes.

* * *

Behold the words of sorrow, the words of pity, which [the author] hath set on paper; how he crieth out greatly. He prayeth to God; he sayeth:

* * *

Alas, my heart weepeth exceedingly, my tears are indeed gathered upon my face. Like hailstones my tears fall as I think upon the many kinds of lies by

B. Jzcatquj no qujchioaia, yn veuetque, ynjc qujn-mauiztiliaia in tetepe: qujnchioaia tepicme, iuhqujnma titlaca, ynjc qujnxaiacatiaia: auh ynjn, ichoantin qujchioaia, in tlamacazque, yn jntlamacazcaoaan tla-loque. Auh yn jquac ie oqujnchiuhque: in ichoantin in maceoalti, yn netoleque ymixpan tlamanaia, ymjxpan tlaquaia, atlia, mjtotaia. Auh yn jquac oquiz ilhujtl, qujnmococotinjaia yn tepicme: yoan qujnquaia. Ynjn iuh qujchioaia, yn amoculhoã ca cocu-nejutl, ca pipillutl.

C. Oc no mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli oquj-chiuhquiaque, yn amoculhoan: yoan oc cenca mje-qujnti, yn amo çan tlapoalti in teteu in oqujnmoteu-tique, in amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in aiac vel quj-cujloz: yoan in anoiaç vel qujnpoaz, ynjc cenca mje-qujnti.

* * *

Ma uel qujcaquj, in qujpoaz hi.

In ac tehoatl, in ticpoaz in, in tlatolli in tlapac omjto, yn omjcujo, cenca tle ticmati: vel xicmati, ca monahoatil muchiuhtica, yn jspantzinco in dios, injc titlatoz, intla ticmati, intla aca qujchiuhtinemj, anoço canapa muchiva, yn omjto tlateutoqujliztli: njman tiqujspantiliz, yn jjusticia in sancta yglesia, in teupisque: yn anoço yjusticia in audientia real: in topileque, oc cenca ichoantin in padreme: amo çan neiol-melaoalizpan, vel neteilhujlizpan. Auh ynjn icihuahca tiqujtoz: amo ticvecaoz, amono timomauhtiz: vel tiqujspantiliz in teupisquj, yn juh otiqujttac, yn juh oticac. In aqujque yntla qujmati, intla oqujttaque, in tlateutoqujliztli, yn amo qujtoznequj, yn amo qujspantiliznequj: in teupisquj: ca tlateutocanjme, ca diablome, yiauoan in totecujo dios.

* * *

Jzca in ichoquiztlatol, yn jtlacocullatol, in amatl oqujtlali: inic cenca tzatzi, in qujmotlatlauhtilia dios, qujtoa.

* * *

Iioiave, cenca chocan noiollo, vel njxaio njxtlan motteca: iuhqujn teciujtl pixavi njxaio, ynjc niqijl-namjquj, ca cenca mjec tlamantli, iztlacatlalolli, ynjc

which the people here in New Spain were led into error — not for only four hundred years, not for only eight hundred years; for much time in the past.

Alas, my heart suffereth much — it is as if my heart burneth — as I stop to think how great is the hatred of the demon of the air, of Satan, for men. So much he hateth us men on earth. For greatly he acteth with all his power in order to go bringing down us sons of Adam to our ruin, our shame, our degradation. This he hath thus gone bringing to pass through lies, delusion, treachery.

Alas, O Lord God, when I consider Thy commandments, the sternness of Thy divine judgments, much am I afraid, much am I terrified. O Lord God, for all time Satan hath tricked the people of New Spain. Why hast Thou not known them? For very many are his lies, the darkness, which he hath spewed over them. Thus hath this Satan offended Thee, thus hath he disrespected Thee. And he hath ill-used, greatly shamed all us men on earth. And I am greatly angered because Satan hath so done. Wherefore I humbly pray to Thee, O our Lord: seize, imprison Satan, that he may nevermore thus act. And also I humbly pray to Thee that Thou wilt offer the natives Thy grace, that Thou wilt offer them Thy great, divine light, the like of which hath not been, so great have been sin [and] darkness.

iztlacaviloque, in nican nueua españa tlaca: ca amo çan centzonxiujtl, ca amo çan vntzonxiujtl, ca cenca ie uecauh.

Jioiaue, cenca noiollo toneoa, vel iuhqujn tlatla noiollo: injc niqijlnamjctimotlalia, yn quenjn cenca vei, yn jtecuculiliz in tzitzimjtl, in satanas: injc techcuculia, yn tlaticpac titlaca: ichica vel yiollocopa, vel ixqujch ytlapal qujchioa, ynjc qujtemotinemj, yn topoliujliz, in totlanjtlaçaloca, yn totelchialoca, yn tipilhoã Adan: injn ca teiztlacaujiztica, teca necaivaliztica, teichtacamjctiliztica, yn iuh qujchiuhtinemj.

Jioiaue, totecujoe, diose, yn jquac niqijztimotlalia, in motlatlaliltzin, yn vuj moteutetlatzontequjlilitzi: ca cenca ninomauhtia, cenca njniçavia: totecujoe, diose, yn jsqujch cavitl, in oic in ca mocacaiuhutinê, in satanas, in nueua españa tlaca: tleica, yn amo tiqijnmocujtitzino? ca cenca mjiec yn jiztlac, yn jtenqualac, in tlaioalli, in jmpac oqujçotlac: injn ca ic omitzmoiolitlacalujtzino, ic mocpactzinco onê yn satanas: auh in timuchinti in cemañoac titlaca, cenca otechaujlqujxti, cenca otechpinauhti. Auh in nehoatl, ca cenca njqualanj, yn ipampa injc oih qujchiuh in satanas: ic cenca nimitznotlatlauhtilia totecujoe: ma xicmompili, ma xicmocaltzacujli, in satanas, injc aoqujc oc cepa iuhquj qujchioaz. Auh no cenca ic nimitznotlatlauhtilia, ynjc tiqijnmomaqujliz, yn njcan tlaca, yn mograciatzin, tiqijnmomaqujliz, in vei moteutlanetzin, yn amo mach iuhquj catca, in tlatlaculli, in tlaioalli, çan oc cenca ic tlapanauiç.



ADDENDA I and II



ADDENDUM I¹⁷²

AMIMITL AND ATLAUA¹⁷³

They were gods of the Chinampaneca of Cuitlauac. For this were they much feared, that these same brought it about that¹⁷⁴ one voided blood, had a bloody excrement, had dysentery; one had colds, a dry cough, a fatal cough, a cold in the head. One went coughing; one coughed.

But as to how they celebrated their feast day, little is known of it here. The Chinampaneca know it.

His array [consisted of] bright red lips — colored lips. And the edges of his eyes were dark; they made the star painting about his face; he had a shield on his forehead. He was striped blue. He had a paper shoulder-sash. He had a paper breech clout. He had white sandals. His shield was half blood-colored; it had feather balls. His staff was the *timetl*.¹⁷⁵

AMIMITL YOĀ ATLAVĀ

Ynteuvan catca, yn Cuitlauaca, chināpaneca. Inin uel imacaxoya, ca yevatin q'chiuaya yn iquac aca Eztli quinoq'a tlaelli quitlaça mapiça tlatlaci vacca-tlatlaci. mimiq̄ tlatlaciztli tzompiliui totalcatinemi totalca

Auh ynic q̄milhuiq'xtiliaya amo cenca macho ȳ nicā yeoatin q'mati chināpaneca

yn inechichival. tenchichiltic. tentlapaltic Auh yxtetlilcomole mizçitlalchiuh yxquatechimale tehxu-uauanq' Amaneapanale Amamaxtle yztaccaque yn ichimal Eztlapanq' yvihteteyo Tymetl yn itopil

172. The Nahuatl text of Addenda I and II is found in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Códice Matritense del Real Palacio*, Vol. VII, pp. 7-8 and pp. 38-40. It appears probable that Sahagún originally intended these accounts to round out the material presented in Book I.

173. Sahagún's heading, *Capítulo decimo*, reads: "estas dos dioses adoravā los de Cuytlavac y todos los de las chināpas a estos atribujan q̄ davā y sanavā las camaras de sangre y las otras sin sangre, y la tos y catarro: y los enjermos destas enjermidades los vigilabā y davā ofrendas porq̄ los sanasē." Eduard Seler's translation appears on pp. 31-32 of *Einige Kapitel*.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 31: "Denn sie machten es"; reference of *es* remains unclear.

175. The Nahuatl text for Atlaua in *Primeros Memoriales* reads: "ytlavitimeuh imac icac." Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 485) states: "Mit den Chachalmeca theilt er auch das tlauitimetl, 'das rothe timetl,' das im Buch I kurzweg als timetl bezeichnet ist." Reference is evidently to the forked reed carried in the right hand. Seler (*loc. cit.*) cites the song to Atlaua in Book II of Sahagún and adds: "Offenbar stellt das tlauitimetl, das der Gott in der Hand hält, dieses gespaltene Rohr (acaxeliui oder acatl xeliui) vor." See also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 282, and León-Portilla: *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavios de los dioses*, p. 240.



ADDENDUM II¹⁷⁶

Chapter 24. They also considered the sun to be a very important god; but because he is discussed later, in this, the last chapter of the first Book, only a few adages told of this same sun are adduced.

ADAGES

WHERE THE SUN COMETH, THE WARMTH THEN COMETH; OR WHERE I HAVE NOTED THAT IT GROWETH WARM, THE SUN WILL COME FORTH

That is to say, whatsoever begins, slowly increases. Such is one who gains a livelihood; slowly his goods, his possessions increase. And such is the student; slowly he gains in esteem. Such is the small child; slowly he gains prudence. Thus all which starts is similar. This is not said of wickedness.

NOW THE SUN SHINETH; IT IS LIGHT

That is to say, something new comes to pass. A new law begins. Or the ruler is installed, is selected.

A NEW SUN EMERGETH

It means just the same thing.

HE SETTETH OUT HIS SUN

That is to say, he is married. The woman especially says: "I discover my sun; I set out my sun." The woman says: "Have I perchance [already] come upon my sun?" That is to say, "Have I once before been married?"

WILL PERCHANCE THE TURQUOISE SHIELD APPEAR SHINING? OR: WILL PERCHANCE THE TURQUOISE SHIELD COME TO APPEAR SHINING?

That is to say: That which is good, that which is righteous has vanished; it has forever vanished; it is

Capitulo 24 tanbiē tenjan al sol por dios muy principal y porq' adelante se trata del, en este postrero capitulo deste primero libro solamente se ponē algunos adagios contados del mismo sol

ADAGIOS

CAN VITZ TONATIUH NIMĀ TOTONIXTIVITZ ANOÇO CĀ NIQUITAC NIMĀ TOTONIXTIVITZ VALQUIÇAZ TONATIUH.

quitoznequi. In tlein ompeva Çan yvian veixtiuh. In iuhqui motlayecultiani. çã yvian veia in itlatqui yn iaxca. yoã in iuhqui momachtiani çã yvian y vei quimati. Iuhqui ȳ piltōtli çã yviã in ixtlamati. yc mochi iuhqui ȳ tlein ompeva. amo ipã mitoa yn tlavelilocayotl

AXCĀ TONA TLATVI

quitoznequi. hitla yancuic mochiva yancuic tlamaniliztli õpeva. anoço tlatoanj motlalia. mopepena.

YANCUIC TONATIUH VALMOMANA.

çan no yehoatl quitoznequi.

CENTETL ITONATIUH QUIVALMANA.

quitoznequi. monamictia. oc cenca yeh in civatl yn quitoa centetl notonatiuh niquitta. centetl notonatiuh niqualmana. quitoa in ciuatl cuix ocētetl notonatiuh niquittac. q. n. cuix oceppa nonamicti

CUIX OC CEPPA XIUHCHIMALTONATIMOMANAZ. ANOÇO CUIX OC CEPPA XIUHCHIMALTONATIMOMANAQUIUH.

q. n. yn tlein qualli yn tlei yectli opoliuh ocēmayan poliuh ocēmayan hitlacauih. In iuhqui haca vei tla-

176. See n. 172. Sahagún's heading is written in his hand on the margin. Cf. also Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Floristine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years" (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1953), Chapters 1 and 2.

forever corrupted. It is as [when] some great ruler has died, has vanished, or has been disgraced. It is as [when] a good law has disappeared, or [when] wealth has vanished — or a house.

The *xiuh-* means blue; *chimal-* means shield, that is, round; *tonati-* means the sun; *momanaquiuh* means it will come to emerge. That is to say, it is even as the sun, which sometimes comes forth in great splendor; it comes, it quickly sets; no more is it thus splendid; it is what has vanished, what has corrupted. Nevermore comes he who has died. No more is he good who has been disgraced.

HE MOVETH THE SUN FORWARD A LITTLE

That is to say, he becomes a small child. The old men [and] the old women say: "Perhaps the small child is our desert, perhaps he is our merit"; or, "He will move the sun forward just a little."

I PLACE THE SUN IN THE MIDDLE

That is to say, I become a youth or I become a mature man; I am a marriageable young man. The saying says: "Such is his day sign; in such a time was N. born. He will place the sun in the middle." That is to say, he is the one who will soon die, who will not grow old.

THE SUN GOETH FALLING; OR I GO CAUSING THE SUN TO SET

That is to say, I am already an old man; I am already an old woman.

THE SUN HATH FALLEN, OR SET; AND IT IS SAID, "IT HATH DARKENED"

That is to say, he is already very old; he has grown very old. And it means that there is no need for him at all, as he is already as old as if he had died.

THE GOD IS EATEN; THERE IS AN EARTHQUAKE "The god" means the sun.

That is to say, something terrifying comes to pass — perhaps war, perhaps the death of the ruler.

NOW THE SUN IS OVERTURNED

That is to say, a ruler is dead, or a city is destroyed; or a good custom disappears; or a wise man dies.

THE SUN GOETH FEEBLY

That is to say, the sun does not shine; there is no heat; the sun's rays are not warm; it remains cloudy.

toani omic opoliuh. anoço oavilquiz. in iuhqui q̄lli tlanitiliztli opoliuh. yn anoço necuiltonolli opoliuh. anoço callj.

in xiuh. q. n. textotic chimal. q. n. chimalli. quitoznequi yavaltic. tonati q. n. tonatiuh. momanaquiuh. q. n. quiçaq̄uh quitoznequi. In iuh tonatiuh quēmā valquiça yn cēca mavizyoh i vitz ŷ caletiuiz. ca aocmo ceppa iuh mavizyovaz yn tlei opoliuh. ŷ tlein ohitlacauh. aocmo ceppa vitz ŷ omic. aocmo ceppa qualtia ŷ oavilquiz.

ACHI QUIVALLALIA TONATIUH.

q. n. piltontli mochiva. quitoa ŷ veve in ilama. Aço tocnopil aço aço tomaceval ŷ piltzintli. anoço çā achi quiuallaliz tonatiuh.

NEPANTLA NICTLALIA Y TONATIUH.

q. n. nitelpuchtli ninochiva. anoço yyoloco noquichtli ninochiva nitlapaliui. quitoa in tlatolli iuhqui itonal yuhcan tlatat ŷ N. ŷ nepātla quivallaliz tonatiuh q. n. ŷ çan cuel miquiz ŷ amo veuetiz.

ONVETZTIUH ŷ TONATIUH. ANOÇO NOCONAQUITUHTIUH ŷ TONATIUH.

q. n. ye niveve ye nilama.

OONVETZ ŷ TONATIUH. ANOÇO OONAC. YOĀ MITOA OYOVAC.

quitoznequi. ye vel veue. ovelveuetic yoā quitoznequi. aocle ynecoca inic ye veve iuhquin omic.

TEVTL QUALO TLALLOLINI.

ŷ teutl. quitoznequi tonatiuh
q. n. hitla temamauhti mochiva. aço yaoyotl. aço tlatocamiquiliztli.

AXCĀ MIXTLAPACHMANA ŷ TONATIUH.

q. n. tlatocamicoa anoço poliui ŷ altepetl. anoço qualli tlanitiliztli poliui. anoço tlamatini miqui.

ÇĀ COCOXTIUH Y TONATIUH.

q. n. amo tona amo tlatotonia amo totonqui yn tonalli mimixtētoc. auh in icaq'ztica quitoznequi.

And [as for] its significance, it means that life does not become strong; the ruler is not strong. Though he does a little good, yet it comes to pass that he is not strong.

PERHAPS THE SUN WILL YET COME TO EMERGE;
OR PERHAPS THE SUN WILL NOT EMERGE

It means a little ridicule. It indicates something new which is to happen which has never come to pass, like a miracle. [It is] as if it were said: "If thou dost this, I shall give thee a horse." He speaks, he answers [what is in the heading].

PERHAPS THE SUN WILL YET EMERGE THERE.
YEA, VERILY

That is to say, "How wilt thou do that when thou hast never done it, and it is not known wherewith thou wilt do it? So a great miracle will come to pass?" That is to say, it is not my merit, it is not my desert. And it means, "Thou art poor."

VERILY, THE SUN DOTHT NOT YET COME
FORTH FROM THERE

That is to say, perhaps his failure is very great. He has no equal. Perhaps also the sun will be affronted. Perhaps it will no longer be strong there where it emerges from its place of emerging. That is to say, although one is valued, although one is great, there must needs be punishment. [But] when it must needs be, one need not therefore be ruined. For there will be living; for the world will endure; for the sun will shine; it will dawn.

VERILY, THE SUN WILL NOT YET EMERGE
FROM THERE¹⁷⁷

It means the same thing.

TRULY THOU HAST ATTAINED THE SUN

That is to say, this same is required when you have deserved, have merited that which is very precious.

O SUN! THAT IS, O NANAUATL!

[Nanauatl] is said to be the sun. When there was not yet a sun, it is said there was little Nanauatl.

LITTLE MOON DID NOT EXERT HIMSELF

That is to say, he who strives to do something which is difficult, which is great, which is beyond

amo chicava ŷ nemiliztli. amo chicavac ŷ tlatoani. tel achi qualli ŷ mochiva yecch amo chicavac.

HACAÇOC OMPĀ QUIÇAQUIUH TONATIUH. ANOÇO.

ACAÇOCMO OMPA VALQUIÇAZ TONATIUH.
quitoznequi. achi tenavallavaliztli. quinezçayotia.
hitla yancuic mochiva. ŷ aic omochiuh ŷ iuhquima
tlamaviçolli. In iuh mitoa Intla ticchivaz y. centetl
Cauallo nimitzmacaz. quitoa tlananquilia

ACAÇOC OMPA ŷ VALQUIÇAZ TONATIUH
TLA NELLI.

quitoznequi quenin ticchivaz ho yn aic oticchiuh.
ŷ amo no nemacho hica ticchivaz. anca vei tlamavi-
çolli mochivaz. quitozneq' ca amo nolvil ca amo no-
maceval. yoã quitozneq. ca titzotzoca.

TLA NELLI ŷ MACA OC OMPA VALQUIÇA
TONATIUH.

q. n. cuix cēca vei in itlacaviz. çã nimã aoc tle
inamic cuix no moyolitlacoz in tonatiuh cuix aocmo
motlapaloz in ompa valquiçaz yquiçaya. q. n. Imma-
nel tlaçotli ymmanel vei. monequi tlatzacuiltloz in
iquac monequi ca amo ipāpa tlatlacaviz. ca nemoaz.
ca maniz in cemanavatl ca tonaz ca tlatviz.

TLA NELLI ŷ MACA OC OMPA QUIÇAQUI
TONATIUH

çã no yehoatl quitoznequi.

VEL TONATIUH Y OTICACIC.

q. n. vel yehoatl ŷ monequi ŷ otiquicnopilvi ŷ otic-
maceuh. vellaçotli.

TONATIUH. Q. N. NANAVATLE.

quilmach ŷ tonatiuh. ŷ ayamo tonatiuh quil nana-
vaton catca.

HAMO YEYECO ŷ METZPIL.

quitoznequi. In aquin hitla quichivaznequi ŷ vvih
ŷ vei in iixco yeva in avel quichiva in at noço çã vel

177. quiçaqui: read quiçaquiuh.

him, cannot do it; or else he can do it [but] only thereby dishonors himself; only thereby his renown is destroyed; as [if] he pursued rulership, or initiated a war; or tried to learn something.

This is its story. It is said that when the god was made, when the god was formed, in the time of darkness, it is said, there was fasting for four days. It is said that the moon would be the sun. And when four days were completed, it is said, the god was made during the night. And it is said that when the moon would be the sun, it is said, a very great fire was laid in the place called the gods' hearth, the turquoise enclosure.

And when it was already time for the god to be made, there was laid the very great fire into which was to leap, was to fall the moon — where he was to gain renown, glory; by which he would become the sun. And the moon thereupon went in order to leap into the fire. But he did not dare to do it; he feared the fire. Then all the gods shouted; they said: "When [is this to be], O gods? Let the sun stop!" But little Nanauatl¹⁷⁸ had already dared; he thereupon had leaped into the fire. Thus he became the sun.

And the moon, when he was deprived of the renown, the glory, was much shamed. Yet again he dared; he leaped into the fire. However, he only went to fall into the ashes.

There he lay only shamed; there he was struck repeatedly in the face with a rabbit. Hence it is said there is already [a rabbit] in his face. Now he is no longer warm; nor does his heat radiate.

This was said of him who ardently desired a thing yet did not so attain it.

End of the First Book
Fray Bernardino de Sahagún

quichiva ŷ çan ic maviŷquixtia yn çã ic mavizyopoliui. In iuhqui tlatocayotl quitotoca. ŷ anoço yaoyotl quiyocaya. yn anoço hitla momachiznequi

In içaçanillo hi. quil yn iquin teutivac ŷ teutivaya yn yovayan. quil navilhuitl ŷ neçavaloc. quilmach yehoatl tonatiuh yezquia ŷ metztli. auh in oacic navilhuitl quil yoaltica ŷ teutiuc. auh quilmach hiquac tonatiuhizquia ŷ metztli. quil cēca vei ŷ tletl motlali ŷ mitoa tevtlecuilco in xiuhtetzaqualco.

auh ŷ ye ymma ŷ teutiuc. omotlali in cēca huei tletl in òcã oncholz ŷ oncã onvetziz ŷ metztli yn òca quicuz tleyotl mavizyotl inic tonatiuhiz. Auh ŷ metztli nimã ye ic yauh in tleco choloz. Auh inic ye amo tlapalo. quimacaz in tletl. Nimã tzatzique in ixquichtin teteu. quitoq'. quemmaya teteuye. tla vecava yn tonatiuh. Auh in navatō ye motlapalo. ye òcholo in tleco. ynic yehoatl tonatiuh mochiuh.

Auh in metztli ŷ oōcuililoc yn tleyotl ŷ mavizyotl cēca pinavac. çã oc ceppa motlapalo òcholo in tleco. yece çã nextitlã in vetzito.

çã òpa valpinauhtiloc çã òpa tochin ic valixtlatlahvitecoc ye in iuxco cah axcan ic aocmo totonqui aocmo no tlanextia in itonallo.

Ic ipã mitoa ŷ aquī cētlamātli cōmonectia çã yeh amo iuhqui ŷ quinamiqui

fin del primer libro
fray bernardino de sahaḡun

178. *navato*: read *nanauaton*.