ALCHERINGA: ETHNOPOETICS opens its pages and its recordings to the transcription, translation, and discussion of the spoken and chanted word. The voices heard are those of the Fourth World (the tribal peoples who continue to resist cultural and linguistic destruction by the nation-states of the other three worlds), of the ancient world (through texts with oral roots), and of modern literates who work back toward the oral. The name ALCHERINGA comes from the Arunta of Australia; it refers to dreams, to the mythic past, and to moments when a new song makes itself heard through a singer.

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Three Tales from the Sierra de Puebla

Translator's Introduction

These three tales were told on August 12, 13, and 14, 1975. At first the audience consisted of Francisco's three children and a few of their friends, but when news had circulated in the family that these stories were being told, Francisco's compadre, Miguel, and his mother-in-law stopped in on the second afternoon, and by the third and final afternoon there were as many adults as there were children. During the performances, people who had dropped in to gossip either sat down quietly or left to take their news elsewhere.

On quiet, rainy, misty summer afternoons, storytelling is a favored pastime in many households in the village of San Miguel Tzinacapan, in the Sierra de Puebla. Some individuals are recognized as better narrators than others, some tell certain stories or types of stories better than others, and there are even a few old masters of the local epics, the We?kawkayot. Almost everyone in San Miguel knows and will readily tell, given the proper audience, scores of stories. Tales like the present ones are not like short stories told for light entertainment, called tajtol tepecin, “little words,” generally of Spanish origin and usually quite humorous, nor are they like the short animal fables patterned after their Spanish equivalents. On the other hand, these tales never reach the proportion of epics such as the weytajtol, “great words,” all night tales generally of Spanish origin, or the we?kawkayot, a three-night epic of origins, though they may reach a length of several hours. They are of the genre referred to as tajtol melaw, “true words,” and they are true, sometimes first person accounts, of supernatural beings, referred to in Spanish as the duendes, dwarves who are animate embodiments of natural phenomena. Other types of tales may be asserted to be true, such as tall hunting tales or off-color stories told among men on rainy afternoons when there is plenty of native cane alcohol to warm them up, but such stories are not referred to as tajtol melaw.

“True words” are not casually performed in San Miguel. Their telling may be preceded by tajtol tepicin, “little words,” but is never followed by them. If night should fall during the performance of “true words,” the story is usually terminated as quickly as possible, for as Francisco has said:

night is another time
no, not at night NIGHT IS another time
it is when the others are about
it is when witches work
it is when I pray

The “others” are the duendes, those who are not our brothers (ajmotokniwan). A cigarette is usually kept lighted during performances of these tales, and should night fall before the narrator can finish, copal incense is thrown into the fire. These tales may be followed by the weytajtol, “great words,” if the narrator feels his audience is disposed to such an arduous story. In the rare case that a master narrator has chosen to tell the we?kawkayot, the tajtol melaw, “true words,” are the only type of narrative that may precede the three-night epic.

No performer would think of telling tajtol melaw while in the monte, the uncivilized region outside the village. It is there that the duendes might live, and should they not like hearing about themselves, they could be mischievous and destructive. I am told that women may tell these tales to their children, but I have never heard a female narrator. The audience always contains some children and young adults; it is their questions that elicit the “true words” as a response. At times, I have overheard children telling these tales to each other.

“True words” are terminated with a formulaic assertion of truth. Syntactic and semantic parallelism
are common, but not particularly diagnostic of the genre. Elements of the tales are altered and amplified by the narrator in response to audience commentaries. The audience periodically responds with *keman*, which I have consistently translated "yes." This is an essential part of the performance. In many cases it indicates approval of a specific phrase or is meant as a compliment to the narrator, implicitly asking for more of the same type of material. In other cases it indicates lack of familiarity or interest on the part of the audience and elicits either a clarification or a shortening of the story. Intonation appears to be an important factor in determining how the narrator will respond.

These tales are performances and the translations are meant to be read aloud. With that in mind I have tried to note as thoroughly as possible the paralinguistic phenomena which take a tale from the realm of text and transform it into a living language. Generally the intonational phenomena of Sierra Nahuat as described by Robinson (1969) hold for the Tzinacapan dialect. A question mark after a statement or interjection in the translation indicates that the intonational pattern typical of a question was applied in the original Nahuat; a question without proper punctuation indicates that the intonation in Nahuat was stative and should remain that way in English. An exclamation point in the translation corresponds either to the vocative case in Nahuat or to an exclamative intonational pattern. A comma in the translation generally indicates a short pause accompanied by falling intonation. In Nahuat there are two other types of short pauses: the type indicated here by a series of dashes after a word draws the word out with a slight falling tone before the pauses, whereas the type indicated by additional spaces is a slight hesitation accompanied by a closing of the glottis. Longer pauses are generally indicated in the manner of Tedlock (1972), with line breaks and double spaces. There is also an extended pause that is indicated by a dot between lines. Increases in volume are indicated by capitals and tenseness by boldface type. Exaggerated pitch contours are indicated by raising and lowering the letters to follow the contour. Words that are drawn out are lengthened by additional letters.

In addition to these orthographic conventions I have found it necessary to describe the manner of articulation of some phrases in parenthesis, there being no simple way to convey such information orthographically. In some cases I have tried to indicate the emotional quality of the voice in Nahuat where it is obvious. The audience commentaries are in the far right-hand column.

Francisco's style in telling these stories differs somewhat from that of other narrators in that his lines are shorter and his general tone is more urgent than that of other narrators of the same stories. Francisco has told a number of the *tajtol melaw* stories several times in my presence; each version differed from the others in content, but his personal style remained fairly constant throughout. The urgency of his style imparts a sense of reality that is reiterated by the use of everyday details. Francisco's style makes the final formulaic affirmation of the validity of these tales almost redundant.

In the moist misty weather common to the Sierra de Puebla one never knows when one might run into one of the others, one of those who are not our brothers. They look like ordinary San Miguelitos, or for that matter like ordinary people in general, but they are not. One never knows when they might be about; thus it is best to smoke a cigarette while performing these tales. One never knows where the others are.

Notes

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1. San Miguel Tziancapan is a small (pop. approximately 2800) Nahuat-speaking town located approximately 6 km. from Cuetzalan de Progresso in the northeastern part of the state of Puebla.

2. All the stories presented here were first performed over KPFA radio in Berkeley in June of 1977.

References Cited

Robinson, Dow

Tedlock, Dennis
Mazacame

There is a little drunk
he's REALLY DRUNK

and this little drunk is just arriving home
the drunk comes to his house and
and this mazacame
gets him on
the road

three of those
THREE OF THEM

those mazacame tell him
"We're going over here now — mister!
over here
over here is YOUR HOUSE"
they lead him on
"Wee — we're going to take him on"
say these mazacame

The little drunk says
"IT'S NOT TRUE
NOT TRUE
not true
this isn't the right way"
"Come on!
Come on!
WE're taking you to your house"
(to the audience) You know but this drunk doesn't
say these
say the mazacame

"It's not true
it's baaaAAAAD
it's brambly — — I'm going
it feels like brush here
it feels like the MONTE"

"No mister
it's a good path
good path
good path
good path — — very good

(mazacame's voice) (fast)

YOU WON'T FALL
you won't fall"

says thiiis

says
THIS MAZACAME
to the little drunk
"Come on!
Come on!
Come on!
Come on!

(fast mazacame's voice) (fast)

"It's not right — it's no good
there STONES are
there are TREES
it's baaad" — — but he's seeing
a good path — He's seeing a good path
GOOD PATH

(deliberately, rhythmically)

But it's not real
not true
it's BAAAD

(softly)

he doesn't know where he is
where things are
where he is — going
where to go

(gutteral)

(voice fades to a whisper)
he says
"Could it really be my house there"

THE Mazacame is waiting for him
he goes on a bit!

"Let's go!
Let's go!
DON'T STAY THERE!
We wouldn't fool you
Come on!"
(to the audience) WEEEEELLLLLLL

The drunk says

"I'm not going
not going
it's bad through here
it's no good where they're taking me
no good where they're taking me

This isn't the way to my house — where you're taking me
it's not! — your house!
I won't follow into your house
inside"

then
this Mazacame says
"Let's go!
LET'S GO!
We're just ABOUT THERE!
WE'RE JUST ABOUT THERE!
Almost!
Almost!"
says the Mazacame

he doesn't see that it's
a hill
it is one — it is

He can't see in the hill
the little drunk can't see
except for a little— bit
"Could this be a cave!"
he realizes

(slow and drawn out)
yes, the cave
"I won't go! — — here
ayyyyy dios

AYYYYY dios
NOT HERE
not here
no! NO! NOOOooo!
I'll DIE in this place
it's for DYING

how — did I get here?
They brought me
these are — — these
are MAZACAME

MAzaCAme HMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM

then he remembers
ay, dios!
He takes out a little cigar
tobacco! — — YES!
he strikes a match
he lights the tobacco
he smokes
he smoke smoke SMOKES
puff—PUFF—PUFFFFF
he puffs away
he keeps on smoking
annnnnnnnnd

they flee— — split!

Then, then he knows
he knows
he — — knows

where he is
he knows that this isn't HIS HOUSE
he knows, he realizes
where he is where they have taken him
there
it's a foouuuul place

and he doesn't know how he got in
he stumbles out on the same bad path
and he knows that it ISN'T HIS HOUSE HERE!
“Where did I come in?
HOW did I get here?
Did I come past here?
Which way did I go?

I'd have surely died in there
In there I'd die’’
he knows it
knows
he realizes it
realizes

He's comming back
he's returning
from where he's gone

they go back to THEIR PLACE.
they return to the cave
into the CAVE
into their HOUSE
inside their house
into the cave
deeeeeep — INTO THE CAVE

and the little drunk keeps on going
they've left him behind
he is left behind
he leaves them and they leave him
they've left him LOOSE

he SMOKED HIS TOBACCO
his tobacco
that was it his tobacco

they were scared off by his tobacco — these mazacame
they DON'T LIKE IT!
They were AFRAID OF IT!
They don't like it — — not at all
for the mazacame — — tobacco is no good
it's no good this tobacco

no good this tobacco
so he continues OON
he GOES ON this little drunk

he gets inside
he comes in — he arrives
he enters this his house

"I'm here
this is it!
I'm home my children
I'm home mama
here I am
I was lost!"
he says to his woman

"I got lost"

"Why papa?"
"Because — — mazacame took me!"
he says to his woman

this woman of his
doesn't think that papa — — knew

because he was drunk
she knew he was drunk. (whisper)

"I told you not to get so drunk
I told you
DON'T DRINK SO MUCH!" (firmly)

The mazacame took you — ehhh?
YOU NEARLY DIED — hmmmmm
the mazacame
nearly KILLED YOU" (scolding)

"Those things — — mazacame — — took me" (whisper)

then IT GOT HER
one of the children
it came in as an EVIL WIND
it changed into an EVIL WIND

you made smoke — they burned copal incense
they burned COPAL
the drunk smoked and burned copal
this drunk
MADE SMOKE

so that it wouldn’t get him too
but it got her — — It entered her
the mazacame
THEY GOT HER

because they came as evil winds

“You have brought them
YOU’VE BROUGHT THE EVIL WINDS
THOSE WINDS HAVE FOLLOWED YOU!”
(reproachfully)
said the
woman
“You brought them from the cave”

yes, he brought them

then the mazacame
GOT HIM
this drunk
no — no — — they never really left him
he got it

they had him
THEY GOT HIM
THEY — — GOT — — HIM
(firmly)

they entered this drunk
these mazacame
these little things
these duendes

yes, mazacame

this is true
IT IS CERTAIN
THIS IS FOR SURE
THAT IT IS TRUE
for sure they took him
he didn’t get away at all
(softly)
there one is surely lost
THERE IS NOTHING
t here are NO houses there
there are NO HOUSES
where the mazacame come from

if we should enter there we are lost
they say “Come on! This way!”
but should they take us
our hearts are lost forever

IT'S NO GOOD
not at all
they're bAAAAAAAAAAD

and those things that look good to us
are really the monte
(to the audience) that’s bad
They trick us into— into the cave
 into the cave —— their home

there they eat us
that’s why the mazacame do it
they want to EAT US!

They are — not — our brothers
they are more like the worms
they are worms

they want us in there
to eat us
(truly)

for sure there are tales that are true
and there are tales that are not true
and there are stories that are not tales
this one is true — it is not a tale
yes — all of it
TRUE!
Absolutely TRUE
this is what they do
the mazacame
it's true!
All true!
true
TRUE!
Tepewane

Now a
a man
goes out shooting
this man goes out shooting

he begins by going like this and looking
and he comes upon a possum

one of the forest beasts
and he gets it he grabs it
and it has to be cleaned
cleaned well
he begins by burning the hair off to smoke it
and they’re cleaned with the smoke
he cleans and smokes them in this way
then they’re gutted
gutted
completely gutted
and then he puts them on a rack to smoke
on that they’re smoked
so as to dry
so as to dry
so as to dry the possum the forest beasts

then he goes out to sell them these forest beasts
he goes and he says to OUR BROTHERS
“Buy these!
I’ve brought a possum and
a coon
they’re good eat’n”
well they say
“How much do you want?”
“Indeed thirty pesos just half a cachito thirty pesos”
“Too MUCH tooooooooomuch”
“It’s not too much!

I go off into the hills a long ways
the brush is thick and dense where I go
there are huge stones there it’s not a place for people
it’s dangerous work
I go on and on and on
through the canyons and mountains
to here I bring them here
I bring them here to your houses
that's no work for you
but it would be for me”

“Well
twenty-five pesos then”
“I'll give it to you for twenty-five pesos then”
“That's good”
“In fifteen days
certainly in fifteen days
there will be more
if you would buy it I'll bring a ground hog or a coon”
“We'll buy it
if you bring it we'll buy it”

“Well I'll just go out again one more time
yes I'll go out once more hunting”

well then he went on
he went on selling to our brothers

but——that
that one It should be one man
and one woman
he had TWO women
well
then he didn't live well
didn't live well
NOT at ALL WELL

he had women
he HAD WOMEN
WELL
he
had these women
he lived with this one
then he lives with another
he gives to one and that
to the other

so once again he goes out shooting
he calls his dog that one

and they go on
that one goes in THERE
in there
that one goes in there
in — IN THE CAVE

he's kept there
in the cave
that one the dog
well he's been taken by them these
these TEPe WAne
these tepewane
come and get the dog
they attack him grab him this dog
they grab him there
they keep him
they eat these things

but this one
this one they KEEP
so that the hunter comes to
find it

so he's going along this one this hunter
this one is walking along
"Where has my dog gone?" he says

"Well could he have gone into the CAVE

in THERE

I'm not going in there
THEY'D keep me in there

I'm NOT going
they'd KEEP ME THERE
WELL alright
I'll go anyway
well I'll go in there
THEY'VE got my dog — — the tepewane’'
he said

“Anyway I'll go and see about my dog”
and he goes goes inside

well this señor comes up to him

“WHY did you take him
my dog
for what reason do you need him?
my dog is in your hands for food?”
for the tepewane
“These my animals that I keep
these in the corrals
where I KEEP them
where they are kept

they are not WELL
they ARE NOT well
no good
no good
they are sick
there is sickness in them
they are SICK
sick sick!! SICK!!!

So that these which I keep here
should be well!

BRING ME YOUR WOMAN!
HERE
bring your woman here and
I'll return what you have lost
bring her
bring her here!”
that’s what he said to the hunter

he told the hunter to bring her
“and I'll give you the dog for the woman
for your woman”
"NO! — — GIVE me my dog
then I'll bring you the woman
I'll come and give her to you

I only come here to hunt so that
I can send home meat

I'll speak to her
I'll entreat her
I'll talk to her
I'll bring her
I'll tell her

What you tell me
well I'll do it

IF you'll give more animals
MORE MEAT
more food!
YES MORE FOOD!"

he goes back to his woman
he entreats her

"Let's go hunting
you can come along
you can come with me where I go to bring the food
where I smoke the animals
you can help
let's go
let's go
come on — let's GO"

well
this woman of his went along
she went with him
he left her
at the cave
THE CAVE
there inside

well
the tepewane come along
these come on
you come upon her they’ve got her

“Come on anda le” they said
“COME ON!”

and they tied her up
they roasted her
they prepared her for the animals
TO EAT
EAT
for the forest beasts
to eat
like the eater of people
she became food for the jaguar
the ocelot for them!

the animals whom the hunter had hunted
took her for their food
for sustenance
those things ATE her
the worms of the cave ate her
they ate everything
clean
to the bones
THIS woman was finished off
eaten up
ended

HER LIFE WAS FINISHED ON THE EARTH
in the earth
these beasts/worms these things
on the earth
in the earth
in talokan
they finished her off there in talokan
these talokanka

they aren’t Christians
they aren’t our brothers
not our brothers
they come like them but they aren’t
THIS woman was brought inside
she was pulled in
she was eaten
by the talokanka
they ate her clean up
those talokanka

well
then he left
this hunter left
and they gave him an animal as a gift
a gift
for the food
for their sustenance

THE ANIMALS were well, then
they became well again

HE was living well
HE didn't have two women any more
any more
no more

NO MORE

so these, these gave him a gift
an animal

when he returned
he sold it
and they gave him another
IT was rotten no good
there was much sickness
IT came from the cave it was no good
he knew why there was sickness
he knew that the meat was no good
it was from the CAVE

HE left it, their gift
he was living well
and the animals were well
there were many animals
When he went out to hunt
he would first build a trap by digging
by first scraping a hole out of the ground
digging it deeper and deeper so that the animal
would stay in the trap so that it couldn't get out

What follows here is a very detailed description of hunting techniques and trapping
that serves to emphasize the reality of the story. Most of this section on hunting
appears to have been for the benefit of the narrator's son, Ramos, who was the only
one commenting on it. Finally, the story ends as follows:

Well
you know that there are tales
and there are stories
and there are accounts
these words are true words
true absolutely true
this is what happens
this is not a tale a story
this is an account of what really happens
these are true words
ture
TRUE!!
all true
TRUE.

Achiwanime

Well
this
first he's going along
this man
a señor
a father
and this man sees in the distance a hawk
this hawk is coming toward him
and the man is there working
just arriving at his work
where he works
and this hawk swoops down upon the man
this hawk comes down
and it takes him OFF
here he grabs him with his claws
and yes the hawk carries him away
far away

this
THIS
THIS MAN
is taken far away
the hawk carries him far away
he takes the man far off
far off
far away

and this man and this hawk go
over a mountain a great mountain that great mountain
a huge canyon
it's more beautiful than it is here

the mountain ahead is flat
it is spread, out on top
then this this this
this hawk

it is there that he lands
it lands on the mountains
there the hawk has tired
the man was too heavy to carry and it tires the bird
he's tired
he looks tired
tired tired
tired tired
tired tired

then this man
and he isn't dead yet
no NOT DEAD
and the hawk falls asleep
because he is tired from carrying the man
and this man looks about
looks around
looks it over
and he REALIZES
where this place here is
where he has come to rest and this man says
he says
"AY heySUS
here I'm going to die!"
he says
"Those those there are bones
christian bones
of CHRISTIANS"

he's eaten all of these people
this hawk eats them over there on the mountain
HE EATS christians"

well the man says
"NOW I'M GOING TO BE EATEN
he's going to eat me
this hawk is going to eat me
this is terrible sssshheeeeeewwwwwww
now what can I do"
he sees a bone that has fallen to the side nearby
it's just lying there

"This this is it
this bone"
the bone is a huge femur
"If I grab the bone
I grab the bone and smack the hawk
I would kill it
I'd kill this hawk"

well
this is what the man thinks
he is thinking about grabbing that bone
and with it hitting the hawk on the head
he grabs it he smacks it
on the head
so as to kill it
so as to, kill that hawk

well
the hawk dies
that hawk is dead
it's done
this man has done it
the **hawk is dead**
he didn't become hawk food
he finished the dead hawk off with the bone
now he says "**HOW DO I get down from here**
this hawk has taken me far away and high up"
the hawk had carried him far off
far far FAR off
the man says
"**HOW do I descend from this place**
this is a far off place and high up too
this — — place where I've come to rest
this — place that this hawk has taken me
where am I?"
he doesn't know he doesn't know at **all**
doesn't KNOW
doesn't know how

"**How how do I get down from here**
weeeeee ee eee eeeelll lll ll"

the man says
"**Now this hawk is here**
I'll just cut off these wings
**THEWINGS!**
I'm going to cut them right off
cut off the wings here at the shoulder
there is where they are stuck on and that is where I'll stick them on"

well they're on
the wings of the hawk are stuck on his shoulders
the man says
"**Now yes**
here this here this wing
if I move it I'll go flying  I'll go flying and off I go
off I go
there
in that wind
in that breeze
off I go in the wind
but to where shall I go
where do I go
where will I land
where is there a place for me to land"
well that man is going along
flying flying flying up there
and he goes far into the distance
far far far off
and he lands in a tree
a great tree
that HUGE tree
in the tree there he landed
this man this señor this father
he flew up there with his wings
then

in the same way he goes to another tree
there now
he arrives
"I don't know" he says
"I don't know where my village is" he says
"I don't know where my people are my relatives
where am I now? where?"

well then
he rests a bit
in that tree
just to build up his strength
and off he goes flying
off he flies
once more he flies
once again he goes flying
flying off
off he goes he goes
he goes on
on he goes
again he goes
and he lights on a tree
a trrreeeeeee
in this tree he hears in the distance
the man hears something a
cutting chopchopchopping sound
but this is the sierra, mountains
hills
there is someone working in the mountains and
this hawk man heard it
"Who is it? who could it be?
who would live here?
these must be christians
I am nearing a village"
the man hears that
that is what he hears
chop chop chopping in the mountains
chopping trees
this man thinks that he is hearing tree-chopping
it stops and he hears someone
again he rests a bit
again he goes
goes goes goes on
again again he lands in a great tree
a great big tree
there he stands in the tree on a huge branch
he has it by the branch then by another branch
he has it in his hands first in one then another
that's how to stand that's how one stands in a tree

he still hears them as he is arriving
and he hides himself from sight
there in that tree they're cutting a beam
this this this place where the man landed
is where these these these thinggggs are cutting out beams

"Now yes I've arrived
I've come here ay, dios I've made it
the hawk didn't eat me
it didn't eat me
I've made it this far
up to here
now here I am
what a relief" and he hears them working
those men, two of them, twomen
the men
they were the lightning bolts
that's what they use the beams for
they are KIo Tiome
kiotiome the rain ones achiwani me
those are the ones working cutting beams

then this señor says
he greets one of them
he greets these men
theonesthatarecuttingtrees
“Good afternoon sirs
good afternoon”
he says to these kiotiome
and they say
to you  toyou
“What are you doing here” the two men say
says the man this  hawk one
that  this hawk wanted to eat
“Nothing
I’ve just come here
and as I came I heard you

I need  some work”
he says nothing about what has happened
nothing about what has happened is said
he mentions nothing of this to those achiwanime
them
to those he says that he is looking for work
that he needs a job
“I need work”
“Why not? I’ll give you some work”

“Many thanks”  to THEM
“Many thanks”
says the man
says the man who was taken by the hawk
taken by the hawk
“Many thanks yes”
“We’ll give you a job  señor
you’ll work for us!
WE’LL give you work
what do you do?

WELL it won’t be any work to bring us things
at midday
bring us our meals here
the grinders are over there
over there”
“I don’t know what you want sirs”
he says
"I don't know
what you would want me to bring to you or what you have
or what you would like brought
where are those who would grind for me"
"They're there!"
"As you can give me work I thank you
I will gladly work for you"

then
say these kiotiome “Now you get to work”
say these lightning bolts
the rain ones
kiotiome
achiwanime
“YOU GET TO WORK!”
YOU
until
until you don’t like it any more”
you don’t like it any more
they tell him
“You won’t leave us watch!
And if you like it you’ll go on working WELL?
GET TO WORK!”
say these two men
because he doesn’t know
he doesn’t know
they say “Now you BOY
bean stew
with TWO beans”
it is prepared with just two beans in the pot
“You’ll take two beans
you’ll fix it with two — you’ll boil just two beans in the pot
with TWO
it is prepared with just two beans in the pot
you take two beans — — two grains of corn”

then this señor
this man
he is lost — — the one the hawk took
he says the the one
this first thing is right
at first he makes it like they told him
at first he makes it with just two beans
this comes out well — — this food is good
it came out well and he was surprised
it boiled well
it boiled
and boiled and boiled and boiled and BOILED
no more it finally calmed down
in there — the pot — inside of it
he had two beans, two boiled grains of corn
well

•

it was done — he saw the beans were done
it was time to grind the corn
and this grinder of theirs
she was no ordinary grinder
this woman was a TOAD
yes a toad
a woman at the grinding stone looks a bit like a toad all bent over like that
but this one was a TOAD
a toad — the toad woman
she was the grinder for the rain ones
the rain ones had a toad to grind their corn for them
they had a toad for a grinder woman A TOAD
yes

well then
this toad this grinder of theirs
she made the tortillas
he gave the corn to her and
she prepared it
that toad she was their grinder
this man prepared it for them them them
(softly to a whisper)
he prepared it for them
(fast)
he made it for them
(fast)
he made it
made it
that isn’t how you would make it
like they said

•

there was more and more work
when he had been working a long time
he worked harder and longer
"I'm working
but I don't know why there are only two
beans now
this isn't enough this wouldn't
fill them up
this isn't enough
not enough not enough

Now I couldn't live on these bits of beans how
how do they live with these few beans
it wouldn't be enough for one of us
in our house in our home it was
that we put a liter or so in the pot
a liter
one liter or two liters
at least a liter
because that was how much we needed to eat"
that's what this man was thinking
this man was thinking that

"well if I put in a handful or a fistfullllllllllll

I'll just throw in a handful to cook
because there are a lot of us
a lot a lot an awful lot
there are a lot of wood cutters
maybe they'll even get another helper
maybe they'll look for someone else to make their food"
so he threw in a fistful of beans and
a fistful of corn was thrown in

well Santa madre de dios that that that fooood
with one handful
and this pot with one handful
it boiled
it boiled boiled boiled
hijo del diablo!
this this
this bean pot
this thing just overflowed
overflowed and overflowed
and a lot an awful lot kept right on comming out
it regurgitated and just kept right on vomiting up beans
it kept coming up
it just kept on coming up
hijo del diablo
and and this food
this this just kept on coming
this this just wept right out of this food
this wept this fell this vomited this overflowed
"Hijo del diablo I
how did I do this"
said the man
now he'd done it that's WHAT THE MAN SAID
"Well let's see this food that is weeping out
all of it all of it is going to get away
it's all going to creep away"
that's what the man said
"Hijo del diablo I didn't put, that much in the pot
I didn't put all that all that so much so much in there
it's building up building up a lot
it's huge in there and it's getting bigger
one bunch in there just one bunch
I just put a few beans in the pot and NOW IT'S OVERFLOWING
it's full of beans it's vomiting beans
overflowing and OVERFLOWING"

then
he's scared
he's scared this señor this man this father
"HOW did this happen
it couldn't be
it couldn't be happening like this
how do I call my patrón
I'm going to call my employers
I'll call my employers
because this food
the quantity of it scares me
and there is so much of it and it just keeps on coming
from the pot
it's growing and growing so much
it grows grows
so many beans keep on coming out HIJO DEL DIABLO!!!
keeps on growing and growing soooooo much
there's nothing left to put the beans in
this thing just keeps on bubbling bub bub
bubbling up and making more and more
and no more fit in the POT
hijo del diablo and now what can I do
how will I call them
my patrón is coming" and "Ayyyyyyyyy!"
the patrón says
"Look at that bean stew
look at our beans
Ach! you fool WHAT'S happened here you can't stop it
because it keeps on boiling up you can't stop it"
then
the patrón says
"WHY did you do it well how much did you put in?"

"Well I put
I put in
a little handful"
"AY! jesus you put that much in like that
AYYYYY! not a whole handful
YOU put in TWO BEANS
that's what you were told to do! like that
WHY did you do that we told you two beans
you shouldn't have boiled up any more
hijo del diablo you did it now WE TOLD YOU what to do!
you didn't listen
you didn't realize
you should have made what
you were told told you was too much!
you should have made two beans but you took a WHOLE FISTFUL
hijo del diablo that's why it boiled up so much on you
hyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy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before they stopped them a lot of beans came out
they couldn't fill up anything more
and though it didn't keep on overflowing
there were a lot of beans and
they gathered up all the beans and filled up everything
and cleaned up
and put the pot on to boil again
a lot of food overflowed
a lot of beans
a huge amount of beans
there were five fangos of beans

and this patrón came and he put a stop to it all
and then five more of those worms came
yes they calmed it down
no more beans came out
it did not boil over
well no more came out (softly)
well
good

weeeeeeelllllllllLLLLLLLLLLL
there is a lot more to come in this tale
YES a lot more in this tale sheeeet a LOT MORE
then
only after a bit with these two
now that makes seven of them with these two
this is what they said
“So that you can bring us food
there are these things that you must do”
they go to work at night
only the man whom the hawk took
this one who helps the achiwanime
why or what those things want

“Well NOW you make everything like we said
you work like dios” says that thing
he goes on like that but they work like WIIIItches
then they go out again to cut wood
and they go on and on and on and on (fast, staccato)
and these toads who make the tortillas give him the tortillas
and this one takes the food
to them these rainmakers there lightning bolts
KIOTIOME ACHIWANIME

well then this señor this man this father
on this one trip to the señor of the lightning bolts
he was scared this man wanted to know
he realized how they worked
where their house was
then he KNEW where it was
this thisthis man arrived at the house but he returned
this man this
now he said
"There are many things there"
now this man says
now he says
"Now there are some little pots there
all of them are covered
they all have covers
they are all covered over there"
the pots are like the ones over there
but they are different
this one has wind
this one has clouds
that one has rain
those pots are covered not like the pots over there
and they should stay covered they’re their pots
then
this man this señor thought
"Those are not here they are out working
like ranchers
like farmers — far off in the fields”
then this man said
he thought "What is in those pots
well, I’m going to open them and have a look inside
what could be in them? I’m going to look”
the man said that
"Well, I’ll just take this top off see what’s in this one
what’s covered up I’ll take off this cover
and see what they keep in these things
these things these ACHiwane these KIOtiome
what do they keep in there?"

•

WELLLLLLL that happened in the afternoon
he opened it and the winds came out
he opened this one pot and the winds all spewed out
but a lot of, wind spewed out
hijo del diablo WIND but a strong wind
and more and more the wind came roaring out
sneezing out bloooowwwwing out
hijo del diablo wind WIND WIND
THE EVIL WINDS OF THE NORTH/south
because he took the cover off the pot with
where the rain ones kept the winds
and they came on out

well
then he took the cover off the clouds
hijo del diablo those, those CLOUDS
but more more MORE clouds
the clouds from the pot surrounded him in mist
with mists
hijo del diablo! those clouds covered everything
with mist with clouds
the rain ones saw these these clouds and the winds
but strong
forceful
“Ay jesus!” they said “What’s happened”
these rain ones

“That boy of ours is up to no good again
this wind he must have taken the top off the pot
we kept those winds in there
we knew them
when we open them the clouds and the winds
they are ours”
this achiwanime said
“And how have they come out
well then and whose hand is in this
well then he needs help”
now this man, with all that has happened
he takes it out and he smooths it out
this achiwanime
he passes it through smooth and well
well then he has two of those things one fine and smooth
and the other more crude
it’s no good it’s evil with one things are smoothed out
with the other
well, then
he sits down and smooths things out flat
he makes it all okay
and
he follows him
this boy
"Don't you go!
Don't you go in that wind
don't go into those clouds      DON'T GO!"

"There's nowhere on this earth that I can go
I can't get away from these lightning bolts
I let all the clouds out, I let all the winds out
I'M GOING
I'M going into the air      the winds"

well
then this one went on
on into the air
then came the kiotsome
then came the achiwanime
the rain ones
the lightning bolts
they came on until they couldn't see him

well they kept on going     strong and fast
well     they were after him
well     these lightning bolts, these rain ones were on the ground
the rain ones said
"Well we can't do it on the ground
we do not go well on the earth
and now we'll follow him there
we'll go on up there"
he flees from them
up they went in big strong clouds
yes these lightning bolts went after him
up they went
up they went after that boy
following him in the sky
it was no good
no good what they did      no      no NO

well these lightning bolts
they had more power
they knew more
they had more leaves
where they went
where it happened that they followed
well there it happened
there it happened
well there they made it happen
what they made
what they threw at their helper
what they made happen with the thunderbolts
they knew that boy was up there they knew it
they went up there after him
they couldn't find that boy
they didn't need him anymore

once they did
now they didn’t

we have clouds because he did that to the pots
he didn’t know it
not much not really
he made it he caused it all!
he caused all the pots to open up
he dumped the pots he did it intentionally
when he let those clouds out from then on there were clouds
and they couldn't be put back in the pot
they couldn't put them back

“Well then you’re going to get it now”
and these came they came at him
that’s what they did and they threw things
he went on
in those clouds
they knew it those achiwanime
they knew that he was there
and now the clouds and the winds went
he had loosed them and those things were
going to get him they threw lightning bolts
the beams that they had made
they throw them whenever there are CLOUDS yes

Well this is what happened now
"WE DON’T NEED YOU" they said (rough voice)
“because we don’t want this any more
YOU left but we’ll get you!
Wherever you go will have to be in the clouds and we'll throw lightning at you we'll throw it WE WILL THROW IT WE'LL GET YOU

GET YOU"
said the rain ones
said the lightning bolts
said the achiwamime
said the kiotiome

this is all
this is what happened
this is NOT a tale

these are true words
I can tell tales that are not true but these are TRUE this is why there is lightning in the clouds what other way would it be so this is true true TRUE this is what happened this is all this is the end let's have a drink bring the yolishpa it is ended
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Chicago 60637
O Precious Necklace, O Quetzal Feather!

Aztec Pregnancy and Childbirth Orations
The following orations, together with the narrative material, were collected by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún around 1547 or earlier. They are taken from the Florentine Codex, Book VI, fojas 128v–138v, 144r–151r.

The Hiring of the Midwife

(An elderly and honored kinswoman of the married couple addresses her.)

Here you are seated,
here Tloque Nahuaque, has placed you,
O beloved lady, our mistress, esteemed lady.
And behold, here are the old men and women, your elders.

Ah, you learn, you hear,
that the child, the little one, this girl,
wedded to him, your servant, has conceived.
Your elders place her before you.

Ah, in truth now, the heart of our lord wishes to be merciful!
The Lord of the Earth would let fall from his hand
a precious necklace, a quetzal feather;
into the womb of this poor creature,
the child, the girl, wedded to this poor boy,
our lord wishes to put, wishes to place, a life.

And thus, you hear, he is leaving her, he is placing her,
in your hands, in the cradle of your lap, upon your back.
Ah, behold! Here are the old men and women, the sires of the families,
who brought forth their issue like the head its hairs, the fingers their nails;
and also the mothers and fathers.
They give their child to you now.

Now it is time that you put her into our lord's House of Flowers;
there the Mother, the Grandmother, the Goddess, Yohualticiti, strengthens people.

Let her take a vapor bath, let her be shown the bathhouse, for it is now three or four months since conception. How do you regard this? Let us not be the cause of a disorder; perhaps she is not to be kneaded yet.

These few words are all you hear, all that reach your ears, O beloved lady, our mistress, esteemed lady. Oh, that in your heart and body you were not pained by them, oh that you were not vexed by them! Who is there to address you? Who shall pour forth the words, the utterances, intone them truly, arrange and speak in an eloquent and orderly manner what you are listening to, what you are hearing?

They are not being hidden from you, they are not being concealed from you, the men and women of old, sprouters of progeny like the head its hairs, the fingers their nails, the maguey its thorns, the prickly pear its prickles the grandfathers and grandmothers who departed casting behind them, leaving behind them, the girl, the young woman, and him, your servant, your Eagle, your Jaguar. By chance now, in their absence, their backs turned, they give a thought to things here? Our lord has locked them in a box, sealed them in a coffer. They have gone, they have gone to lie in the final abode of all, a place without a chimney, a place without a vent; now they repose beside, close to, Our Mother and Father Mictlantecutli.

Would that it had been in their time! Would that it had been in their presence! Ah, they would have wept, they would have been moved by what we dream, what we see as in a dream,—the marvel, the wonder!—that inside their offshoot, their issue, our lord wishes to put a life. Ah, and it would have been they who addressed you!

But in their absence, their backs turned, we do childish, puerile things: stuttering and stammering, we utter the words, the phrases here, crudely, and in a jumble, we intone them, we arrange them.
With these words, with these phrases, oh, we entreat you!
May you be merciful to the child, the little one, the girl,
may you perform your office, your functions.
For you, the midwives, are our lord's artists and craftswomen,
you are empowered by him.

This is all you hear, all that reaches your ears.
May you toil, may you labor,
may you work in concert with our lord, may you aid him!

The midwife, by whose ministrations children are born, who
adjusts the womb, who delivers women, speaks. She says:

Here you are,
here our lord, the Lord of the Earth, has placed you,
you, the old men and women,
begetters of these precious necklaces, of these quetzal feathers,
sprouters of progeny like the maguey its thorns, the prickly pear its prickles,
like hair, nails, eyebrows.

And behold, you are here,
here you are present, you, our elders,
for you are the great mothers and fathers
our lord ordained as divine;
you are Oxomoco and Cipactonal.

I hear, I grasp, your words, your utterances,
and your weeping, your sorrow.
It is because of her, your precious necklace, your quetzal feather,
the young woman who is perhaps your middle daughter,
perhaps your eldest daughter, perhaps your youngest daughter,
that you weep and are sorrowful;
it is because of her you are anguished.
Ah, in truth now, you call, you cry out to,
you invoke the Midwife, Mother of the Gods, Our Mother, Yohualticitl,
who has in her care, in her hands, in her trust,
the House of Flowers on earth, the bathhouse.
There the Grandmother, Yohualticitl, uses her skill,
she puts people in order, she strengthens them.
In her hands, in her lap, upon her back,
you place your precious necklace, your quetzal feather,
and what adorns her,
what our lord, Tloque Nahuaque, has bestowed upon her,
what he has put in her womb.
These few words are all I have to say.
Oh, hapless, wretched woman that I am!
Who am I that you should choose me,
whose eyes do not see, whose ears do not hear,
who does nothing well for our lord?
I know nothing, I understand nothing!

There have been, there have existed, there have excelled,
artisans of our lord possessed of eyes, possessed of ears.
They were entrusted with the knowledge;
The lord, our god, looked into their eyes,
he blew his breath upon them,
they were empowered by him.
And now there are those who are as they, who do as they,
his workers, also.
This, that I am told here, that I hear,
is their knowledge, this is their profession.
In truth now, how have you settled upon me?
Perhaps it comes from the lips of our lord, Tloque Nahuaque,
the great lord, invisible as the night, impalpable as the wind.
Perhaps he sets me there,
perhaps there shall be my ruin, my destruction.
Perhaps our lord has become weary;
perhaps, in something, I have been wearisome.

And though it be said that I am a midwife,
by chance shall I, with my hands, create, fashion, the precious necklace, the quetzal feather?

Is the lot willed for us the precious necklace, the quetzal feather,
our lord puts into the womb of your precious necklace, your quetzal feather?

And though I be skilled in my craft,
am I, perhaps, to put myself behind the shield, the buckler,
of my daughter, my little one, present here,
on whose account you are anguished?

Perhaps our lord shall be careless though I have done my work,
though it be done and I am overweening in it.
Perhaps I shall place the child sideways,
perhaps I shall set it on its side,
or perhaps I shall shatter it!
Oh, hapless, wretched woman that I am,
perhaps our lord shall devise my end!

Oh, my children, our lords, beloved lords, my grandchildren,
perhaps it is not of your human contriving; you merely cry out.
Perhaps it comes from the lips of the Lord of the Earth.
So now let the command of our lord be fulfilled, be done,
and let your words be answered.
Let us put all our strength into it,
let us toil for this gift our lord sends, that he drops from his hand,
with which he adorns the young woman, the little dove, our little one.

And what are we to say now?
By chance, shall we say that Tloque Nahuaque has favored us?
Rather, that now he wishes to favor us,
for it is the mysterious, the obscure that we speak about.
Hence, what are we to say?
Let us now put our trust in Him by virtue of whom one lives;
let us await what is being determined,
or what, perhaps has been determined Above, in the Region of the Dead, and in the Region of Darkness.

What is it that has been determined for us?
What has been fated for us?
What has been meted out to us?
By chance is it true?
By chance Tloque Nahuaque shall make the day dawn, the Sun to shine?
By chance, are we to look upon the head, the countenance of him who, like a precious necklace, a quetzal feather,
our lord wishes to let fall from his hand?
Or, by chance, we as he is, shall he be destroyed?
Shall he destroy the little one, perhaps?
Or, by chance, shall the little creature carry off my daughter, the precious dove?
O, my children, our lords, I am wearying you!
Let us work in concert with Tloque Nahuaque!
Let our lord's House of Flowers be warmed, be heated,
let my daughter enter the Mother of All, the Grandmother, Yohualticitl!

The kinswomen of the pregnant woman, the old women, speak.
They say to her:

May you do your work, O beloved lady, honored mother, our mistress;
may you work in concert with the goddess, Quilatzli.
And may you put the child, the girl, into our lord's House of Flowers, the bathhouse,
where the Grandmother, the Grandmother of the Bathhouse, Yohualticitl, dwells,
where she watches over it.

Then the midwife herself kindles the fire, heats the bathhouse, and puts the girl into it. There she kneads the pregnant woman's stomach; she rights the child, she sets it straight, she changes its position, she manipulates it, she places it correctly.

If the midwife is a bit unwell, some alternate kindles the fire, heats the bathhouse, and when the pregnant woman leaves the bath it is then that the midwife
massages her. She kneads the pregnant woman's stomach often; sometimes the pregnant woman is not in the bathhouse, nor does she bathe. This is called, "massaging her dry."

In the bathhouse the midwife sometimes orders them not to beat the pregnant woman's back with force; nor that the bath be too hot, for the midwife says the child will adhere, it will stick fast. Neither shall they beat her, nor shall her stomach become too hot, as the child will die of the heat, it will fill up with heat.

The midwife also orders the pregnant woman not to heat herself unduly nor heat her back, either with sun or with fire, as her child will adhere, also.

And she also orders, she instructs the pregnant woman not to sleep during the day, as the eyelids of the child will be swollen when it is born.

The midwife leaves her many instructions, she watches over her, she regulates her life during the time she is with child.

She tells the pregnant woman not to chew gum, for when the child is born its lips will be enlarged, it will do nothing but open and close its mouth. Because of this, it is said, its lips will be enlarged, it will be thick-lipped. As a consequence it will not be able to suckle and it will die.

She tells her that it is not good to look at things that anger people, that frighten people, that upset people, as it will do the same to the child.

Also, what the pregnant woman desires, she is to be given at once, it is not to be delayed, for her child will suffer if she is not given what she desires at once.

The midwife also tells her, she orders her, not to look at the color red, as the child will be born sideways.

The midwife also tells the pregnant woman that she must not neglect to eat, as the child will go hungry. And she tells the pregnant woman not to eat earth, not to eat chalk, as the child will be born unhealthy, deranged, perhaps sickly, perhaps deformed, for what the mother drinks, what the mother eats, is incorporated into the child, it takes it from her.

The midwife also instructs the pregnant woman that when the child is still not large, in the first, the second, the third months, she and her husband should lie with each other occasionally so that the child will become robust; if not, it will come into the world sickly, it will not be strong.

And the midwife instructs the pregnant woman and her mothers that when she nears her term, when her stomach is now big, she and her husband are not to want to take their pleasure with each other even occasionally, she is not to enjoy copulation at all because the child will not be born clean, it will come out covered with filth as if it had been washed in thick corn gruel, and from this it will be apparent that they never stopped, that they continued copulating all during the time she was with child, as if there were little shame in it then. Furthermore, at the time of the pregnant woman's childbirth, the delivery will be arduous. She will be in great suffering a long time — two or three days — and then, when she is giving birth, she will scream with pain. She might suffer for two days, perhaps, as the semen will be like liquidambar; that was not the time for her to have received, to have taken in the semen. In order that she give birth, the midwife will have to cut into her, or someone will have to shake her, will have to hold her up in her arms. And also she will have to dismember
the child so that it is reduced to bits inside her when she is giving birth. Some children die in the mothers' wombs because they adhere somewhere, or else are lying sideways. Also, because of this, the women often die when they give birth. They say the semen adheres to her loins, meaning her womb, that it spreads over the child's sac and, as a result, the child cannot be born, it cannot come into the world, and it dies there. Because of this, the mother also dies and is called a "woman warrior." For the child no longer absorbs the semen; it becomes like an oozing sore, it adheres to the healthy flesh of the woman.

(Something remarkable must also be told here. When the child adheres to the mother's womb, if the child has died, the midwife inserts an obsidian knife into the woman's womb. There she cuts up the child and removes it piece by piece. By this means the mother is helped.)

The midwife orders that the pregnant woman is not to weep, that she is not to be made unhappy, that she is not to be upset, as the child will become ill as a result.

The midwife orders that she eat well, that she drink well, that everything she eats be good, that it be hot and savory, particularly at the time they say, "the child is washing its feet," when the mother has her period, so that the child does not dry up, so that it does not become disordered.

The midwife orders the pregnant woman not to attempt to do too much, not to overexert herself, not to lift anything heavy, not to run. Neither is anyone to frighten her nor startle her now, for they say that then the mother will miscarry, they say the child will be born prematurely.

These few things related here are the instructions for the pregnant woman.

The midwife speaks:

O my children, beloved lords, our lords!
Here you are.
Are you children? Are you babies?
We who address each other are old women.
You understand that for all women, our death is in our wombs.
By chance does the child, the girl, know this yet?
Do not neglect the child;
have great concern for her now.
Now let your eyes, your labors, your care be exercised,
lest we meet with something,
lest something befall us at the time of the child's birth.

Behold, here I am, I who am called a midwife!
In truth, I am just a simple midwife.
By chance, do I have the remedy for death?
By chance, shall I snatch someone from it when something happens?
By chance, is the remedy for death in my hands?
Do I carry it around with me?
One is only aided, one is only helped by our lord,
and we merely fan away the flies.
By chance are we to say,
"Let it be thus, let the child be born without mishap?"

By chance shall we presume,
and shall we assume the mercy of Tloque Nahuaque?
However it is, so it shall be.
In truth now, let us all pray,
let us put our trust in our lord.
What does he will?
Perhaps something is our due, our reward?
Perhaps, also, nothing?
Only weeping, only tears are wanted now.
May you consider this, O our lords, O my grandchildren, beloved lords!

The Lying-In

When the time has come for the woman's confinement, they summon the midwife, the accoucheuse, the women in whose hands is the delivery. With respect to the offspring of the wealthy and prosperous, about four or five days before they are to give birth, the midwives take their places beside them. They take care of them, they wait with them for the time to arrive, and for the moment they will feel pain.

And when the woman now feels pain, when she is soon to give birth, the midwife quickly gives her a vapor bath. Then she has her drink a potion of an herb called *cihuapahtli* which is an impellent, and expellant. If the woman's labor is causing her great suffering, she has her drink a potion of about two small pieces of an opossum's tail. Finally she expels it completely, with this she gives birth easily.

If a woman has drunk potions of *cihuapahtli* and opossum, and if her womb does not react, the midwife and the old women become alarmed. They weep, they are sorrowful. The midwife says:

O my children, what does our lord will?
What is to befall us?
Let us await the word of Tloque Nahuaque,
that he snatch nothing from us!

Then the midwife begins. She holds the woman up, she shakes her, she beats her on the back with her feet, saying to her:

My daughter, the battle is yours.
What are we to do for you?
Here are your mothers,
yours alone is the task.

Take up the buckler, my daughter, my little one.
You are Quauhchiuatl; work with her!
This means, put forth all your strength,
emulate Quauhchiuatl, Cihuacoatl, Quilaztli.

And when the child was born, the midwife cried out, she gave the war cry which signified that the woman had fought her battle well, that she had been a valiant warrior, that she had taken a captive, that she had captured a child.

Then the midwife spoke to it. If it is a male child, she said:

You have come into the world, my little one, my beloved boy, my beloved youth.

(If it is a girl she said: “My beloved girl, my little one, noble lady.”)

You have wearied yourself, you have fatigued yourself.
Your father, the lord, Tloque Nahuaque, Creator of People, Maker of People has sent you.

You have arrived on earth where your relatives, your kin, suffer hardships, endure affliction, where it is hot, it is cold, it is windy.
It is a place of thirst, a place of hunger, a place without pleasure, a place without joy, a place of suffering, a place of fatigue, a place of torment.

O my little one, perhaps, for a brief time, you shall shine as the sun!
By chance are you our reward, our recompense?
By chance shall you look into the faces, upon the heads, of your grandfathers, your grandmothers, your kinsmen, those of your line?
And by chance shall they look into your face, upon your head?

And how have you been arrayed, how have you been adorned?
How has your father, your mother, Ometecutli, Omecihuatl arrayed you?
What have they bestowed upon you?
How have you come?
With what have you come arrayed?
By chance something is our reward?
By chance something is our recompense?
By chance our lord, Tloque Nahuaque, shall count you as something?
By chance he shall regard you as something?
Or perhaps there is no merit, there is no favor.
Perhaps you were born a blighted ear of corn.
Perhaps dirt, filth, is your lot, your destiny.
Perhaps you shall steal from other people’s bowls, from other people’s vessels.
With what were you arrayed, with what were you clothed in Yohuayan?

You have wearied yourself, you have fatigued yourself, my little one,
my beloved child, precious necklace, quetzal feather, precious one.
You have arrived.
May you rest, may you repose.

Here are your grandfathers, your grandmothers who have been awaiting you.
Here, into their hands, you have come.
Do not sigh, do not sorrow.
What's to be done? You have arrived, you have come!
Ah, in truth, you shall suffer torment, you shall endure affliction.

In truth, our lord has determined, has ordained, that there shall be torment,
that there shall be affliction, that there shall be pain,
that with toil, that with hardship, shall the sustenances of life be obtained,
that with sweat, fatigue, hardship, shall one eat, drink, clothe oneself.
Ah, in truth, you shall suffer torments, you shall endure affliction!

O my little one, my beloved child, you have wearied yourself, you have fatigued your own self.
May Tloque Nahuaque, your mother, mother father, the Maker, adorn you, provide for you!

And we who are parents, shall we, perhaps, regard ourselves worthy of you?
Perhaps wee as you are the Maker shall summon you, shall call to you,
Perhaps you shall merely pass before our eyes.
Perhaps we have had only a brief glimpse of you.
Let us await the word of our Lord, my beloved child.

**Cutting the Umbilical Cord**

Then the midwife cuts the child's umbilical cord, she removes the umbilical cord. And she takes what is called the afterbirth which had covered the baby, which had enveloped him. She buries this in a corner of the house. The child's umbilical cord is kept. It is set out to dry. Later, [the warriors] take it with them to battle.

(The midwife addresses the infant boy.)

My beloved child, my precious one,
here are the precepts, the principles
your father, your mother, Yohualtecutli, Yohualticitl, have laid down.
From your body, from the middle of your body, I remove, I cut the umbilical cord.

Know this, understand this:
Your home is not here.
You are the Eagle, you are the Jaguar,
you are the precious scarlet bird,
you are the precious golden bird of Tloque Nahuaque;
you are his serpent, you are his bird.
Only your nest is here.
Here you only break out of your shell,
here you only arrive, you only alight,
here you only come into the world.
Here, like a plant, you sprout, you burst into bloom, you blossom.
Here like a fragment struck from a stone, chipped from a stone, you are born.
Here you only have your cradle, your blanket, the pillow where you lay your head.
This is only your place of arrival.

Where you belong is elsewhere:
You are pledged, you are promised, you are sent to the field of battle.
War is your destiny, your calling.
You shall provide drink,
you shall provide food,
you shall provide nourishment for the Sun, for the Lord of the Earth.
Your true home, your domain, your patrimony is the House of the Sun in heaven
where you shall shout the praises of, where you shall amuse, the Everlastingly
Resplendent One.

Perhaps you shall merit, perhaps you shall earn,
death by the obsidian knife in battle,
death by the obsidian knife in sacrifice.

This cord that is removed from your body,
that comes from the middle of your body,
that I take from you,
is the property, the possession of the Lord of the Earth, of the Sun.
And when war stirs, when war breaks out,
it shall be put into the hands of the Eagles, the Jaguars, the valiant warriors.
They shall give it to your mother, your father, the Sun, the Lord of the Earth.
They shall bury it in the middle, in the center, of the battlefield,
and with it you shall be pledged, you shall be promised to the Sun, to the Lord of the
Earth.

With this, you shall make of yourself an offering,
with this your name shall be inscribed,
your name shall be set down, in the middle, in the center of the battlefield,
so that you are not forgotten,
so that your name, your glory are not lost.
This precious object taken from your body
shall be counted as your offering of maguey thorns, tobacco, reeds, pine branches.
It shall be your act of penance,
it shall stand as your vow.

And now, let us be hopeful.
Perhaps you shall merit,
perhaps you shall be worthy of some reward.
Work, my precious child!
May Tloque Nahuaque mold you, provide for you;
may he adorn you.

If the child is a girl, when the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, she says to her:

My beloved daughter, my little girl, you have wearied yourself, you have fatigued yourself.

Our lord, Tloque Nahuaque, has sent you here.
You have come to a place of hardship, a place of affliction, a place of tribulation.
A place that is cold, a place that is windy.

Listen now:
From your body, from the middle of your body, I remove, I cut the umbilical cord.
Your father, your mother, Yohualtecutli, Yohualticiti, have ordered, have ordained that you shall be the heart of the house.
You shall go nowhere,
you shall not be a wanderer.
You shall be the covering of ashes that banks the fire,
you shall be the three stones on which the cooking pot rests.
Here our lord buries you, inters you,
and you shall become worn, you shall become weary.
You are to prepare drink, you are to grind corn,
you are to toil, you are to sweat, beside the ashes, beside the hearth.

Then the midwife buries the girl's umbilical cord next to the hearth. It is said that this signifies that a woman goes nowhere, that her place is in the house, in the home; that it is not proper for her to go anywhere. And it means that it is her duty to prepare the meals: that she is to prepare drink, that she is to prepare food, that she is to grind the corn; that she is to spin, that she is to weave.

The Washing of the New-Born Child

When the midwife had finished, when she had cut the child's umbilical cord, then she bathed it, she washed it. All the while she spoke to it. If it was a boy she said:

Go to your mother, Chalchiuhtlicue!
May she take you.
May she cleanse you.
May she purify you.
May she carry away, may she remove, the filth you received from your mother, from your father.

May she cleanse your heart;
may she make it good, may she make it pure.
May she bestow upon you a good life, a pure life.

Then the midwife addresses the goddess, Chalchiuhtlicue, the water. She says:

O goddess, our lady, Chalchiuhtlicue, Chalchiuhtlatonac, the creature has arrived.
Our father, our mother, Ometecutli, Omecihuatl who are in Omeyocan, in the ninth heaven,

have sent him here.
What was given him in Yohuayan?
What does he bring with him?
In what does he come arrayed?
In what does he come swaddled?
Does he come free of imperfection, perhaps?
What evil, what taint of his mother, of his father does he have?
What blackness, what filth, what corruption of his mother, of his father does the child possess?

He is in your hands now.
Take him, cleanse him, purify him,
for it is you who know what must be done.
He has been left in your hands.
Remove from him the blackness, the filth, the corruption of his mother, of his father.
Does he come free of imperfection, perhaps?
Let the evil, the corruption with which he comes be carried off by the water;
let it be destroyed.
Let his heart, let his life, be made good, be made pure, be made clean,
that he may live his life on earth peacefully, tranquilly.
Let the water carry off the dirt, the filth, deposited on him;
let the water carry it off, let it be destroyed.

Now, O goddess, our lady, Chalchiuhchiuatl, Chalchiuitlicue,
Chalchiuitlatonac, mother of the gods, sister of the gods,

he is in your hands,
the creature has been left in your hands,
and you were given the gift, the power, in Yohuayan to cleanse, to purify people.
Now he shall come before you.
O, our lady, may your heart be bountiful!

Here is another prayer the midwife says, that she addresses to the goddess,
Chalchiuhtlicue. She says to her:

O, our lady, Chalchiuhtlicue, Chalchiuhtlatonac, the creature has arrived!
May you receive him.

The midwife takes the water; she blows her breath on it. Then she has the child
taste it and puts some on his head and chest. [As she does this] she speaks to the child. She says:
Oh my precious one, my beloved boy (or, she says, “my beloved girl”) go to your mother, your father, Chalchiuhtlicue, Chalchiuhtlatonac. Let her take you. It is she who shall bear you in her arms, it is she who shall carry you on her back, in this world.

Then she washes the child, saying to it:

Enter, descend into the blue water, the yellow water. May Tloque Nahuaque cleanse you, purify you. May he carry away the filth deposited on you, smeared on you, in Yohuayan. Let the evil, the taint, of your mother, your father, and the dirt, the dung, of your mother, your father, be gone!

After she has finished washing the child, she wraps it up. As she does so, she speaks to it. She says:

O precious necklace, O quetzal feather, O jade, O armlet, O turquoise! In Omeyocan, the ninth heaven, you were created; your father, your mother, Ometecutli, Omecihuatl, fashioned you, created you. You have come into the world, a place of suffering, a place of affliction, a place of searing heat, bitter cold, harsh winds. It is a place of hardship, a place of thirst, a place of hunger. It is a place of cold, a place of tears. Indeed, it is not an agreeable place; it is a place of weeping, a place of sorrow, a place where one suffers affliction. Here your task shall be weeping, tears, sorrow, fatigue. O my precious one, my beloved boy (or “my beloved girl”), you have arrived. Rest now, repose now on this earth. May our lord, Tloque Nahuaque, mold you, provide for you.

The Midwife Addresses the Newly Delivered Woman

O my daughter, o valiant woman, you worked, you toiled. You soared like an eagle, you sprang like a jaguar, you put all your strength behind the shield, behind the buckler; you endured. You went forth into battle, you emulated Our Mother, Cihuacoatl Quilaztli, and now our lord has seated you on the Eagle Mat, the Jaguar Mat. You have spent yourself, O my daughter, now be tranquil.
What does our lord, Tloque Nahuaque will? Shall he bestow his favors upon each of you separately, in separate places?
Perhaps you shall go off and leave behind the child that has arrived.
Perhaps, small as he is the Creator will summon him, will call out to him,
or perhaps he shall come to take you.
Do not be boastful of [the child].
Do not consider yourself worthy of it.
Call out humbly to our lord, Tloque Nahuaque.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún
J. Jorge Klor de Alva, translator

The Aztec-Spanish Dialogues of 1524

The not so secret Secret Archive of the Vatican has yielded many a treasure to persistent investigators. Even casual browsers there have often been rewarded; Father Pascual Saura was one of these. Having come upon a volume of the Códice misceláneo (Cabinet I, vol. 91), some sixty years ago, he noticed attached to it a curious bilingual manuscript, in quarto and of sixteen folios, with a long text in some exotic language, preceded by a prologue in Spanish. On the third folio, his eyes alighted on the ingenuous title, “Parte di discorso con il quale gli religiosi di S. Francesco convertirono gl’Indiani alla fede cattolica.”

The importance of such a discovery was not lost on him, and after carefully wiping the dust off, he turned the manuscript over to a priest in the Roman Curia, José Ma. Poú y Martí. Father Poú y Martí published the complete Náhuatl and Spanish text in 1924 with the more precise title, “El libro perdido de las Pláticas o Coloquios de los doce primeros misioneros de México.”

Thus was recovered the long lost ‘Colloquios y doctrina christiana’ by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, which had evaded the eyes of scholars for over 300 years. It was soon reproduced in Mexico by Zelia Nuttall in 1927, but it was not until 1946 that a translation of the Náhuatl text was published. Even this German translation, by Walter Lehmann, remained beyond the reach of interested students until it was corrected and revised in 1949 (Lehmann 1949). Simultaneously, but not in concert, Dr. Miguel León-Portilla and I both translated the Náhuatl portion of the manuscript in the spring of 1977. These are the first known complete translations of the text into Spanish. The present edition, completed in the spring of 1978, is the first complete English translation.

The Dialogues in Context

With the consummation of the military conquest of the central Mexican dominions in 1521 came the necessity to consolidate the precarious gains through an analogous spiritual conquest. Consequently, Emperor Charles V, with authority from Pope Adrian VI, dispatched to Hernán Cortés a small but highly efficient “shock troop” of spiritual warriors. These famous “Twelve Apostles” of the New World initiated the formal conversion of the natives soon after their arrival in 1524. An appreciation of the magnitude of the task before them, coupled with their scholarly training and intellectual dexterity, led these early missionaries to map out carefully a strategy by which to carry out their spiritual operations. In the process, substantial notes, memoirs, journals, and formal treatises.
proliferated, making possible the subsequent compilation of chronicles and histories by some of these early friars and those who would soon follow them in the first decades.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún stands out unrivaled among the most important authors of this period. This well known Franciscan ethnographer arrived in New Spain in 1529, too late to have been an eyewitness to the first debates between the twelve priests and the native religious and secular leaders. However, two important facts make Sahagún's version of these 'coloquios' historically significant. During his long and active life Sahagún was able to come in contact with all but two of the pioneer friars (Lehmann 1949: 55). His keen interest in all things native and religious would have surely moved him to inquire fully into the circumstances surrounding the original contacts with the indigenes. Furthermore, we know from a number of sources that religious debates, to the extent we can continue sporadically well into the end of the century. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Sahagún had had ample opportunity, in the first half of the sixteenth century, to observe and participate in a number of discussions on religion with informed natives.

The arguments themselves, their logical structure, and the rhetorical style in which they were delivered were quite familiar to Sahagún. In order to reconstruct in 1564 some Spanish-native dialogues which had occurred forty years earlier, Sahagún could also count on three important aids: some relevant "papers and memoirs" he had in his possession, the assistance of his trilingual native students from the College of Santa Cruz of Tlatelolco, and the cooperation of four older Nahua informants (Ibid., 52). (Henceforth Nahua will be used as a generic term for all Nahuatl-speaking indigenes). Sahagún was responsible for both the Spanish version of the 'Coloquios' historically significant. During his long and active life Sahagún was able to come in contact with all but two of the pioneer friars (Lehmann 1949: 55). His keen interest in all things native and religious would have surely moved him to inquire fully into the circumstances surrounding the original contacts with the indigenes. Furthermore, we know from a number of sources that religious debates, to the extent we can describe these tendentious discussions as dialogues, continued sporadically well into the end of the century. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Sahagún had had ample opportunity, in the first half of the sixteenth century, to observe and participate in a number of discussions on religion with informed natives.

The arguments themselves, their logical structure, and the rhetorical style in which they were delivered were quite familiar to Sahagún. In order to reconstruct in 1564 some Spanish-native dialogues which had occurred forty years earlier, Sahagún could also count on three important aids: some relevant "papers and memoirs" he had in his possession, the assistance of his trilingual native students from the College of Santa Cruz of Tlatelolco, and the cooperation of four older Nahua informants (Ibid., 52). (Henceforth Nahua will be used as a generic term for all Nahuatl-speaking indigenes). Sahagún was responsible for both the Spanish account in the manuscript and the organization of the native language text, but the real authors of the Nahuatl version were his students and colleagues: the distinguished Nahua scholars Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegeriano, Martín Jacobita, and Andrés Leonardo.

The setting for the dialogues along with the names of the native protagonists are lost to us. We know, however, that the initial meeting was arranged by Cortés (Ibid.: 51). A prototypical setting can be recreated from available descriptions of Nahua speakers in the process of delivering weighty discourses: the Spanish friars would be sitting down with the interpreter(s) standing at their side. The Nahua leaders, both secular and religious, with downcast eyes, would be in cuclillas (squatting close to the ground) before them. With much formality and elaborate ritual, both sides must have struggled to simplify their thoughts in order to make themselves understood.

Unfortunately, only the first fourteen chapters of the "Coloquios" were found, and the fourteenth is incomplete. In these chapters, which make up approximately half the dialogues, the Nahus remain unconvinced by the theological and demonological arguments of the friars. The very nature of Nahua theology made it possible to accept the God of the Christians as either another god or another name for the Nahua supreme god, who bore, among other names, the descriptive title Ipalnemoani, 'He by Whom all Live.' One argument, however, was irrefutable: The Nahua gods were dead or dying, and they had been killed or wounded—and surely defeated—by the God of the white men. In the summary of the thirty chapters, which is included in Sahagún's Spanish version of the dialogues, we note that Chapter 16 is described as consisting of "the dispute which took place between [the rulers] and [the priests] of the idols on the occasion of what was said in the last chapter, that is to say: that their gods were not powerful enough to liberate them from the hands of the Spaniards" (Ibid: 54). This argument, which became a Spanish refrain throughout the early conversion period, is repeated in Chapter 20, "where it is shown that their gods could not free them from the hands of the Spaniards, because [the devils] were subjects of the Almighty God, and He helped [the Spaniards]" (Ibid.). Because of ample evidence (in other texts) of the convincing nature of this argument, it is not surprising that in Chapter 21 the native lords and priests supposedly subject themselves to the Christian divinity and repudiate their own gods (Ibid.). And, lastly, by Chapter 29 we read the historically accurate description of the inception of the systematic Christianization process; the lords and priests are ordered to bring before the friars their idols, women, and children (Ibid.).

While writing about the "Coloquios," Ángel Ma. Garibay observed, with his customary good sense, that "the work is literature, much more than history" (Garibay 1971: Second Part, 241). Indeed, the didactic
purpose of the text and the theatrical staging presupposed by its structure (not to mention the many historical impossibilities involved) all conspire to fit the form and the content more within the canons of Náhuatl poetics than those of history. The style, clearly indigenous, is an excellent example of the rhetorical flair some Spaniards claimed was the legacy of all Nahuas.

The clusters of formulas, the parallelisms, the repetitive use of emphasis markers, the amassing of similar or contrasting lines and ideas, and the proliferation of simple and complex metaphors all attest to the oral roots of the text. What we have is a written record based on an amalgamation of fragments from the pre- and post-Contact oral tradition. These fragments, in turn, have been carefully joined to accommodate the propagandistic goals Sahagún had in mind. A comparison of this text with other relevant works of native origin, such as the *Huehuetlahotli* of Fray Andrés de Olmos (Bautista 1600?), assures us that the actual oral performances on this theme would have followed the same style and included much of the same content as the native scholars have left us.

### On Translation and Pronunciation

I have attempted to adhere to two basic principles: to create the most literal translation possible (but focusing more on connotations rather than denotations in the choice of words) and to resist changing the syntax of the original, even at the risk of some awkwardness. The end result aimed at is the fullest feasible reproduction in English of the nuances of texture, mood, and sense in Classical Náhuatl. Therefore, the translation cannot be expected to flow smoothly and must necessarily sound ‘foreign.’ Two things are certain: most metaphors have been left intact, and identical Náhuatl words have been translated by identical English words.

Náhuatl is both a polysynthetic and an agglutinative language. Since it is composed almost exclusively of “word-sentences” constructed by the accumulation of stems and affixes, a substantive noun is rarely found in its absolute form, and all verbs include a subject and, if transitive, an object prefix. I have made every effort to translate each affix and have restrained myself only out of occasional pity for the reader or because of my uncertainty as to whether all of the affixes were actually ‘heard’ by the Náhuatl speakers. I have added a number of pronouns and prepositions in order to make the meaning of some awkward lines clear, since Náhuatl has no prepositions and relational notions are usually only implied. Most words, even those with simple semantic equivalents such as *xochiqualli* (fruit), have been fully translated, in this case as ‘edible flower.’ Nonetheless some words have escaped this treatment, especially if the resulting term would have been unclear, as in the case of *cemanahuac* (world), ‘completely near the water’ or ‘completely surrounded by water.’

This translation differs in a number of places from those of Miguel León-Portilla and Walter Lehmann. In the attempt to limit the notes to the essentials, these discrepancies have remained unrecorded. Particularly difficult passages have been made less troublesome for me by having Lehmann’s German translation in the 1949 edition, and by the copy of Dr. León-Portilla’s unpublished manuscripts in Spanish which he himself graciously furnished. I have acknowledged in the notes, where appropriate, the assistance of both these scholars. Professor John Halverson, of the University of California at Santa Cruz, kindly persuaded me to make a number of critical changes in the translation in order to make the English text less clumsy. I am indebted to him for not letting me cast all the rules of English grammar out the window.

The analysis of three lines from the text will help to shed some light on the typical construction of a Náhuatl phrase. First, a closely analyzed line is offered:

A. Line 510 as found in the manuscript:

```nahuatl
ixquichtin quimotlaocolilia in tlalticpac tlaca
```

B. Line 510 without abbreviations:

```nahuatl
ixquichtin quimmotlaocolilia in tlalticpac tlaca
```

C. Line 510 analyzed into affixes and stems:

```nahuatl
ixquich-tin quin (m)-mo-tlaocoli-lia in tlal-t-icpac tlaca
```

1. *ixquich* (adjective meaning ‘all’), *-tin* (plural suffix): literally, ‘alls.’
2. *quin-* (because it is not preceded by a subject prefix and the verbal phrase is singular, a third person singular subject is implied; it is a direct object prefix, plural, used only with animate objects; the *n* becomes an *m* before the presence of another *m*), *-mo-* (reflexive prefix, second person singular), *-tlacoli-* (verbal stem whose meaning is dependent
on the affixes attached; the absolutive substantive noun *tlaocol-li* means ‘favor,’ ‘pity,’ or ‘mercy’; -*lia* (present tense causative suffix, also used as an applicative; when paired with the reflexive prefix *mo-* the resulting phrase becomes honorific with the literal meaning of ‘cause himself to . . . ’): literally, ‘He causes himself [to be] merciful to them.’

3. *in* (an adjunct which is rarely translated except as an article; however, its uses are manifold, before a verb it is usually translated as ‘this one,’ ‘these,’ ‘that,’ and sometimes ‘when’): in this sentence it means ‘the.’

4. *tlal-* (nominal stem meaning ‘land,’ ‘ground,’ or ‘earth’; with the absolutive nominal suffix -li it literally means ‘it is earth’), -*t* (variant of the connective infix -ti-), -*icpac* (a prepositional suffix meaning ‘on,’ ‘upon,’ or ‘above’): literally, ‘on [the] earth.’

5. *tlaca* (plural of the absolutive substantive noun *tlacatl* which means ‘it is a man’): Meaning ‘men.’

Liberally, line 510 means: ‘He causes Himself [to be] merciful to them, “alls” the men on [the] earth.’ My translation: ‘He is merciful toward all the men on the earth.’

Now, two lines are briefly analyzed:

A. Line 1801, *ahu catepan otlacat ochihualoc: ahu* (and) *catepam* (afterwards) *o-tlaca-t* (*[she]-PERFECT-a person-CAUSATIVE [apocopated] o-chihua-lo-* ([she]-PERFECT-make-PASSIVE-PERFECT): literally, ‘and afterwards she was made a person [metaphor for “born”], she was made.’ My translation: ‘And afterwards she was born, she was made.’

B. Line 2045, *ye omoiolilatloztino: ye* (by [this]) *omo-iotli-tlaco-tzino* ([he]-PERFECT-REFLEXIVE- [in the] ‘thing which lives’ *[yollotl]: heart’-injure-REVERENTIAL): literally, ‘by [this] He was Himself injured [in the] “little” “thing which lives.” ’ (Note that the reverential is essentially a diminutive.) My translation: ‘by this He Himself was injured in the precious heart.’ A less literal translation could read, ‘by this He was offended.’

Lastly a brief note on pronunciation is in order. Classical Náhuatl phonetics, like Latin phonetics, is a matter of educated guesswork and scholarly speculation based on an abundance of descriptive texts. Náhuatl has 23 phonemies: 8 are vowels /a, e, i, o/ long and sort, and 15 consonants /p, t, k, kʷ, h, λ, ç, ē, s, ñ, m, n, l, w, y/. These were reduced to Latin script and adjusted to the pronunciation of sixteenth-century Spanish shortly after the Conquest. The following pronunciation guide, relying primarily on J. Richard Andrews (1975), should be useful to the English-speaking reader.

A. The vowels should be pronounced as they are in Spanish.

- *a* as in *father*
- *e* as in the first part of the diphthong in *paid*
- *i* as in the first part of the diphthong in *seek*
- *o* as in the first part of the diphthong in *bowl*

Note: the pronunciation of *o* in Tetzcoco and some other Náhuatl-speaking areas tended more toward *u*, as in the *oo* in *book;* this explains the *u* in the orthography of many words ordinarily found with an *o.*

B. The consonants should be pronounced as they are in English, with these exceptions:

- *x* as in *key*
- *c* or *z*, like *ts* as in *hats* (‘but with the tip of the tongue farther forward toward the top front teeth’ [Ibid.: 6]).
- *h* is a glottal stop (like the middle sound in *oh-ok*).
- *tl* is ‘an unaspirated t-sound like the one in *style* except that it is pronounced with the tongue touching the upper front teeth rather than the alveolar ridge’ (Ibid.), after which the air is released at both sides of the tongue rather than at the center.
- *qu* is like *k* as in *key* before an *e* or an *i*.
- *qu* is like *kw* as in *squash* before an *a*.
- *ch* is like the *ch* in *church*.
- *w* in the last syllable is like the *wh* (hw) in *wheel*.

C. The emphasis, accent, or stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable, except in the case of the vocative ending in -*ē* such as in *totlācovānē* (line 18).

I have remained faithful to the original in the spelling of the Náhuatl text, but in the translation itself and in the notes I have used the standard spellings. Some careful reconstruction would be necessary to apply the above guide because of the variant spellings used in the 1564 manuscript. To get a better overall sense of the stylistic form and the linguistic variants, an initial reading without recourse to the notes at the end of the text is suggested.
COLLOQUIOS Y DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA
CON QUE LOS DOZE FRAYLES DE SAN FRANCISCO
ENBIADOS POR EL PAPA ADRIANO Sesto
Y POR EL EMPERADOR CARLOS QUINTO
CONUERTIERON A LOS INDIOS DE LA NUEVA
ESPAÑA EN LENGUA MEXICANA
Y ESPAÑOLA

DIALOGUES AND CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE
BY WHICH THE TWELVE FRIARS OF SAINT FRANCIS
SENT BY POPE ADRIAN VI
AND THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
CONVERTED THE INDIANS OF NEW SPAIN
IN THE MEXICAN AND SPANISH
LANGUAGE

(Fol. 29 v.)
Nican vmpeva yn temachtiliz tlatolli
Here begins the word which instructs,

yn jtoca Doctrina xpliana
its name: Christian Doctrine,

yn omachtiloque njcan yancujc españa tlaca
this one which they were taught here, the men of New Spain.

in oquinmachtique
They taught them,

in matlactin omome Sanct francisco Padreme.*
the twelve Fathers of Saint Francis,

in vel iancujcan qujinvalmjuali
these he sent hither very recently

in cemanavac teuyotica tlatoanj*
this one who, in the world, is the speaker of divine things,

yn Sancto padre papa Adriano sesto.
the Holy Father Pope Adrian VI.
Inic ce Capitulo
First Chapter

Vncan mitoa yn quenjn tlanonotzque*
There it is told how they recounted something

ynjquac yacujca maxitico
when first they came near,

yn vncan vey altepetl iioloco*
there, in the heart of the great city,

in mexico tenochtitlan,
Mexico Tenochtitlan,

^ matlactin omome. S. francisco Padreme:
the twelve Fathers of Saint Francis.

inic qujncetlalique, qujnnonotzque
Thus, they assembled them, they summoned them,

in ixq'chtin tetecuti tlatoque*
all the lords, the speakers,
yn vnca mexico monemjtiaia.
who were residing there in Mexico.

Tlaxiqualmocaqujltican totlaçovane,
Listen well, our beloved,

\( \text{y n} \text{jc} \text{\textasciitilde a} \text{moneltitique}, \)
you who caused yourselves to bear witness here,

\( \text{y n} \text{jc} \text{\textasciitilde a} \text{o} \text{amoc} \text{\textasciitilde e} \text{qujxtico} \)
you who came out together here,

\( \text{y ammexica y antenochca}, \)
you Mexicas, you Tenochcas,
in antetecuti, in antlatoque:
you lords, you speakers,

ma vel njcan xioalitztimotlalica,
please approach hither and consider well.

ma vel amoiollo caltitl\'a xictlalica
If only it be able to settle where your heart makes a home,

(yie tocotequjxtizque inic toconjtozque)
(when we set it forth, when we say it)
in netitlanjztlatolli.
the word of the message.

A

Atatamech tlapololtitin,
Let us not disconcert you as to something,

ma itla ypan antechittati,
take care lest you see us as something superior,

ca in tehoantin \( \text{can no tamov\'apova}, \)
indeed, we are only your peers,

\( \text{\textasciitilde a} \text{ no timacehoaltin,*} \)
likewise, we are only common people,

no titlaca in amjuhque amehoantin,
Furthermore, we are men, such like you are,
amomâ titeteu,  
we are surely not gods.

no tlalticpac tichaneque,  
We are also inhabitants on the earth,

no tatli, no titlaqua  
we also drink, we also eat,

no ticemjquj, no tittlemjquj,  
we also die of cold, we are also overwhelmed by heat,

no timjquijnj, no tipolivinj.  
we are also mortal, we are also destructible.

Ca çâ tititlanti,  
Indeed, we are only messengers,

çâ otioalivaloque ñ njca  
we were only sent here,

amochâtzinco,  
to the place of your homeland,

in amauh, in amotepeuh ipâ:*  
to your water, to your mountain.

tiquatitquitiaque  
We came bearing it,

yhiiotzin ytlatoltzin  
his honorable breath, his honorable word,

in novian cemanavac, tlalticpac  
of this one who everywhere in the world, on the earth,

vey tlatoanj teoiotica  
is the great speaker of divine things,

in itocatzin Sancto Pê Papa,  
his name is Holy Father Pope.

câ amocatzinco monôtlamachitia,  
Indeed, for you he causes himself to grieve,

qujmjtalvia.  
he says it:
Ma qujcaqujcan ma qujmatica,
Listen to it, comprehend it,

ma iiollopachivi in iehoâtin nopilhoâ,*
that the heart of my children be full, those

in iancujc tlalli ipâ in nueua españa tlaca:
on the new land, the men of New Spain:

in mexica in tenuchca,
the Mexicas, the Tenochcas,

in aculhoaque in tepaneca,
the Aculhuaques, the Tepanecas,

in tlaxcalteca, in michoaque,
the Tlaxcaltecas, the Michhuaques,

in cuexteca,*
the Huaxtexas,

auh in ie novia aoaque tepevaque,*
and those who everywhere possess water, possess mountains,

in nepapan tlaca,
these diverse men,

in iancujc tlalli ipâ onoque
who live on the new land,

(in motocaitia Indias occidâtales)
(this one named West Indies).

ca ai amo vecauh,
Indeed, it has not yet been a long time,

ca qujn jzquj onjccac, onjcmâ
because it was recently I heard of it, I knew of it,

yn jnteio, in jmjtoloça:
their renown, their reputation.

iehoatl onechmomachitili
He made it known to me,

in notlaçopiltzin Emperador
our dear son the Emperor,
in Rey de españa
King of Spain,
yn jtoca Karlos qujnto,
his name is Charles the Fifth,
onechmolhujli.
he told me:

C

Totlaçotatzine,
Oh, our dear father,

cä yiehoantin in nomacevalhoan Españoles,
indeed, they my Spanish subjects,
cètlamantin tpč titlaca,
one group of us men on the earth,
vecä tlalli ipä
on a distant land,
q'n axca iancujca oqujmjttaque,
which they saw recently, for the first time,
oqujnnextique, intoca indiosme:
they discovered them whose name is Indians.
auh ça in neiocol oqujchiuhque
And only they made their own determination

inic oqujmpeuhque,*
by which they conquered them,
ie nomacevalhoä ie notechpouhq.
now they are my subjects, now they belong to me.
ceca njmjtznottieauhtilia inic tiqujnmnonavatiliz,
Greatly I implore you so that you will send them,
tiqujmpeoiliz temachtianj,*
you will reckon them as ones who teach people,
in qujmachtizq Dios itlatoltzin,
so they will teach them the precious word of God,
in qujmititizque christiano nemjliztli
so they will show the Christian way of life to them who.
Making gods of the devils

catalteotocanjme,*
indeed, are followers of things as gods,

gentiles Diablome qujmoteotitinemj,*
gentiles who live making gods of the devils.

caiiehoatlhininticmucuilia
Verily, this is what you are assigned,
in ticmocaqujtia.
this which you hear.

Injquac oiuhniccac hin,
Then after I heard this,
njma oniqujnnonochili,
immediately afterward I convened,
onjq'n nocetlalili in muchintin noteicaahoa in Cardenales:
then I assembled all my younger brothers, the Cardinals.
Before them I laid it out, I caused them to hear it,

his word, his entreaty,

Emperador, this one of our beloved son, the Emperor.

Immediately on account of that we agreed among ourselves,

our joint word was made,

by which our messengers would go there,

our chosen ones,

they will teach them the precious words of Our Lord, God,

so that they will instruct them and,

thus, they will be able to save themselves.

And we gave them,

to them we left it, our authority,

so that nothing will impede them,

so that they will be able to accomplish my charge.

And now, our beloved,

indeed, here we are,
njca antechitta, antechiximati
here you see us, you know about us,

yn tehoantin tititlanti,
we are those, we messengers,

in titlanavatlilti,
we envoys,

in titlaixquetzaltli,
we chosen ones,

cati matlactin tomome*
indeed, we ten, we two.

in otechoalmjvali
He sent us hither,

in tpc vey teoiotica tlatoanj,
the one who on the earth is the great speaker of divine things,

in vmpa moietztica
there he resides

y vey altepetl iiolloci
in the heart of the great city,

in jtocaioc Roma:
the place whose name is Rome.

auh otech momaqujli,
And he gave us,

otiqujaltiaque in ivelilitzitzin,
we bore it hither, his sovereignty,

yoa in teuamuxtli*
as well as the divine book.

in vnca onoc vnca mopia
There it lies, there it keeps itself,

yn jhiiotzin injtloltoltzin
His venerable breath, His venerable word,*

in çan jceltzin nelli teutl,
of the One Sole True God,

jluicava, in tlalticpaque,*
the Possessor of Heaven, the Possessor of Earth,
yn jpanemoanj*
He by Whom All Live.

in aic oanqujmjximachilique.
He Whom you never knew.

F

Auh aoctle cëtlaamâtlili
And it is not something else

ypampa in otivallaque,
for which we came,

in otivalivaloque
for which we were sent hither;

câ ie iio ypampa in amotlaocoliloca,
only on account of spiritual compassion for you,

in amonemaqujxtiiz:
for your salvation.

nima atle tlalticpacaioi1 qujimequjxiltia
Then, nothing earthly does he desire,

in vey teuiotica tlatoanj,
the great speaker of divine things,

in aço chalchivitl, teucuitlatl*
hence, neither jade, divine excrement,

yn anoço quetzalli,
nor quetzal plumes,

anoço tlaçotli:
nor anything precious.

can ie vel ixqujch in amonemaqujxtiiz qujimequjxiltia. —
Now, only your completely total salvation he desires.

Inic ome Cap°
Second Chapter

(Fol. 30 v.)
Oncan mitoa Aquin yoa quenamicatzintli*
There it is told who as well as how he is,
in vey teoiotica cemanaaac tlatoanj
the great speaker of divine things in the world,

In iehoatzin Sancto padre papa.
he, the Holy Father Pope.

Otamechtolhujlique totlaçovane,
We told you, our beloved,

caca teoiotica cemanaaac tlatoanj
indeed, the speaker of divine things in the world

(ytocatzi Sancto Pö papas)
(his name: Holy Father Pope)

in otech valmjvali
sent us hither,

in njca amochantzinco.
here, to the place of your honorable residence.

Auh aço Aquitoa in axcan.
And perhaps now you say:

Aujj cemanavac tpc teoioticatlatoanj.
Who in the world, on the earth, is the speaker of divine things?

quenamj,
How is he?

cujx teutil
Perchance, is he a god?

cujx noço titlaca.
Perchance, like us men?

vel xicmocaquitic in aqujn, auh in quenamj:
Listen attentively to who and how he is,

inic amo itechpa
so that concerning him

anmotlapololtizque.
you will not cause yourselves to confuse something.
Ca in tœ in novian cemanavac
Indeed, on the earth, everywhere in the world,
teuitotica tlatoanj in Sancto padre.
he is the speaker of divine things, the Holy Father.

cœ tlacatl
He is one man,
oquichtli in tiuhque tehoñin,
a male like us, we,

œca qualli injiollo yn jnemiliz,
very good is his heart, his life.

vey tlamatinj,*
He is a great knower of things,

œ tœi xiptlatzin,
the venerable representative on the earth,
qujmotlapielilia in nelli teutl tlatoanj,
he guards things for Him, the Speaker, the True God.

yn jpalnemœanoj:
He by Whom All Live,
oqujmomaqujli
He gave him

ytechtzinco ca injvelilitilitzin,
from Himself, indeed, His authority.

In iehoatl in no miquñj, poliuñj,
He is, furthermore, mortal, destructible.
iniquac momiqujlia,
After he dies

occe tlacatl ommotlalia,
another person is installed,
occe tlacatl mixjptlaiotia,
another person is delegated,
in qujopia in qujpachoa
he safeguards it, he governs it,
yn jpetlatzin in icpaltzin*
His honorable mat, His honorable seat,

in jpalnemoanj
this one of He by Whom All Live.

ompa moietztica
There he resides,

in ompa otivallaque:
there from where we came

céca vey altepétli iiolloco,
in the heart of a very great city,

ytocaiocá Roma.
the place whose name is Rome.

B

Auh iehoatzin qujmopielia
And it is he who guards them,

in ixquich teutlatolli,
all the divine words,

in teuamuxtli:
the divine book.

ioan itencopatzinco ixquetzalo
Likewise, by him are elected

in ixquichtin teupixque*
all the divine guardians,

in temachtianjme.*
the ones who teach people,

in qujmocuðtlavia
these who attend to it,

in qujtequjpanoa teoíotl.
these who work on divine matters.

In iehoatzin sancto padre.
It is he, the Holy Father,

da no tlana vatilli,
who, indeed, also authorizes something,
qujmonavatili, qujmotequjtili
commands it, works for it,
in nelli çan iceltzin teut[1], tlatoanj.
so that the True and Only One God, Speaker,
inic qujmjxtlamachtiliz teutlatoltita
in this way, will be made known by the divine word,
in ixqujchtin tpc,
all over the earth,
noujan cemenaac tlaca:
to men everywhere in the world.
inic uel qujmixjmachilizque,
Thus, they will be able to know Him.
inic vel qujmjmacaxilizque,
Thus, they will be able to revere Him.
ioan inic vel qujmotaiecoltilizque
And, thus, they will be able to serve Him,
In iehoatzin teutl tlatoanj.
He, God, Speaker.
Auh in occequjntin tpc tlaca
And other men on the earth,
ca ic omachtiloque
verily, have been instructed by this,
yc oqujcaque in teotlatolli.
on account of having heard it, the divine word.
Auh in amehoatin
But you,
ca qujn oamjttoque,
indeed, after you were seen,
qujn oannezque:
after you appeared,

njma ic no amovicpa otechalmjoali,
immediately because of it, he likewise sent us hither to you,
inic no amehoatin teutlatoltica
so that you also, with the divine word,
tamechtlavilizque,  
we will illuminate you,

tamechtlanextilizque,  
we will reveal to you,

tamechixtlamachtizque  
we will teach you,

inic anquimjximachilizque  
so that you will know Him,

â anqujmjmacaxilizque,  
you will revere Him,

ioâ anqujmotlacamachitizque  
and you will obey Him,

in ipalnemoanj,  
He by Whom All Live,

in ilhuicava in tlalticpaque.  
the Possessor of Heaven, the Possessor of Earth.

C

Vel otoiollolopachiuh,*  
Greatly our heart was filled,

vel tixtelolo  
indeed, our eyes,

ica otiqujttaque  
because we saw it,

amo çan aca otechilhuj  
not merely that someone told us,

in quenjn amo anquimjximachilia,  
how it is you do not know Him,

amo anqujmjmacaxilia  
you do not revere Him,

amo anqujmomaviztililia  
you do not honor Him,
in iehoatzin nelli teutl tlatoanj:
He, the True God, the Great Speaker.

ca cēca mjectlamātlj
Indeed, many things,

in ceioval in cemjlhujtl anqujchiao,
by night, by day, you do

inic anqujmoiolitlacalhuja,*
by which you cause Him an injured heart,

inic itlaueltzin yqualantzin ipā annemj:
by which you live in His anger, His ire,

cenca amotechcopa
very much by your account,

amoili tlacotzinotica*
by the injuries of your heart.

Ipāpatzin oqujvalmjvali
Because of it He sent them hither,

in ovaliacattiaque
these who came before,

in imacevaltzitziva in españoles,
His subjects the Spaniards,

in oamechpeuhque,
these who conquered you,

in oamechtolinjque,
these who grieved you,

in cococ teupouhquj oamechittitique
these who afflicted you with tormenting sorrow,

ynic oantlatzacujltiloque
by which you were punished

inic oanqutzacque
so that you ceased

in amo çāquexqujch in jiolitlacocolatzin
these not few injuries to His precious heart,

in oanqujchiuhtinēca.
these in which you were living.
Auh inic otechalmjvali
And, thus, he sent us hither,

in iehoatzin tpa teoioitica tlatoanj,
he who on the earth is the speaker of divine things.

capa vel iehoatl ipampa
Indeed, truly it is, for that reason,

inic tamechmachtizque
so that we shall teach you

in quenjn vel anqujmoiolcevilizquez
how you will be able to cool the heart

yn ipalnemoanj
of He by Whom All Live,

in amo amechcempopuloz
so He will not completely destroy you.

capa vel tpa caiotl qujmonequiltia,*
Indeed, he desires nothing earthly,

amo motlaxtlaviznequj,
he does not desire to be satisfied with things,

amo teucujtlatl
not divine excrement,

amo ci tlatlatqujtl qujmitlanj
nor does he wish to demand them: a variety of riches.

capa caplaotlaliztica,
Indeed, only with love,

capa teicnoittaliztica*
only with compassion,

amech mocnelilia:
he favors you.

ie hica ca iuhquj qujmonequiltia
Because, indeed, in that way He wants it,

in toteouh in totlatocaugh
Our God, Our Lord,
inic tito nepatlaçotlazque,
that we ourselves will love one another,

tito nepa tlaocolizque,
we ourselves will be merciful to one another,

tito nepa icnelizque
we ourselves will favor one another,

in tpc titlaca,
we men on the earth,

amo ypapa in totlaxtlavil
not on account of this our recompense.

Inic ey Cap9
Third Chapter

Onca mjtoa, campa valla, campa nez
There it is told, from where it came, from where it appeared,

in teutlatolli
the divine word,

in qujmopielia Sancto padre
this one which the Holy Father guards.

Ca oancomocaqjtitique totlaçohoane
Indeed, attend to it, our beloved,

yn quenjn tonavatil valmochiuhtia:
how it came to be made our obligation.

technonaotili,
He obliged us,

technoteqjmaqjli
he distributed the responsibilities among us,

in vey teuiotica totlatocauh:
our great lord of divine things,

inic teutlatoltica tamechmachtizque,
so that with the divine word we will instruct you,

tlauilli ocotl tamechquechilizque,*
we will hold the light up to you, the ocotl,
tamechixtomazq,*
we will open your eyes,

tamechnacaztlapozque:
we will uncover your ears,

inic vel anqujmjximachilizque
so that you will be able to know Him.

in iehoatzin nelli teutl
He is that One, the True God,

nelli tlatoanj
the True Speaker,

in novian in ilhujcac in tpc,
everywhere, in heaven, on the earth,

in mjctlan*
in the region of the dead.

A

Auh aço antlatlanj
But, perhaps, you ask,

in axcan aço anqujtoa,
now, perhaps, you say,

in iehoatl teutlatolli
this one, the divine word

in anqujmajzteneva,
you mention with reverence,

càpa valla càpa nez,
where did it come from? Where did it appear?

ac amech mamac.
Who gave it to you?

ac amech ittiti?
Who showed it to you?

 cà qujcuic in vey teoiotica tlatoanj
Where did the great speaker of divine things acquire it?

vel xival monacaz quetzacà,
Be so kind as to raise your ears,
in vel anqujcaqujzqe
so you will be able to hear,
in campa valla teutlatolli
from where came the divine word
in tamech macaco,
we come to give you,
in tamech caqujntico.
we come to make you comprehend.
xicmomachiticâ
Understand,
ioâ velxicneltocacâ,*
and pursue earnestly the truth of it,
ma velpachivi in amoioillo.*
that your heart may be properly filled.
ca in ie vecauh
Indeed, already it has been a long time,
In iehoatzin nelli teutl, tlatoanj,
since He, the True God, Speaker,
in tloque, navaque*
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,
in ipalnemoani
He by Whom All Live,
qujmottititzino
showed it
in vel itlaçoâ
to His most beloved,
in itetla (Fol. 31 v.) ieculticâ,
to His servants,
in ceâ ca qualli iectli iniollo catca,
these whose heart was very good, upright,
vel itlaiximachâ
His great knowledge,
ytlapepenalhuan
His choices,
intoca Priarchas, prophetas:
their name is patriarchs, prophets.

auh ca njca tpc oquichtlj
And, indeed, here on the earth a man

mochiuhtzinoco
He came to make Himself,

vel iehoatzin oqujmotlacanochili
He was able, as a man, to appeal to them,

in apostolome in evangelistame.
the apostles, the evangelists.

Auh in iehoantin hin qujmomaquilj
And they are those to whom He gave

in ihiiotzin in itlatoltzin,
His venerable breath, His venerable word,

in teutlatulli:
the divine word.

ioa qujmonavatilj
And He commanded them

in qujcuiloq inic tpc pieloz:* so they will paint it, so that it will be preserved on the earth,
inic ixtlamachtiozque tpc tlaca so that the men on the earth will be instructed

teutlatoltica.
by the divine word.

Auh in Sancto Pº qujmopielia
And the Holy Father guards

in ixqujch teutlatolli,
all the divine words,
in quicauhtiaq these they left,
in omoteneuhque totecuyo Dios ytlacová, these formerly mentioned, His beloved of Our Lord, God.
muchi teuamuxpa tlillotoc, tlapallotoc,* All is in the divine book, it lies blackened, it lies colored.
muchi oncan ixq'ch mopia
All is there, everything is conserved,
in axcan, in ceca maviçauhquj teutlatolli.
these which now are the very marvelous divine words.

B

Auh no muchi otechvalmotqujtili in axcan
And likewise, he made us bear it hither now,
in iehoatzin Sancto Pę
he, the Holy Father,
inic tamechmacazą,
so that we will give it to you,
tamechcaquatizque.
we will notify you of it.

Ca in iehoatl in teutlatolli
Indeed, this one, the divine word,
amo qujnenevilia
does not resemble
in tpc macevallatolli,
the speech of the common people on the earth.

caca ceca maviçauhquj
Indeed, very marvelous,

caca nel yhiotzin ytlatoltzin,
indeed, true is His venerable breath, His venerable word,
teiocoianj ioan in temajuistianj,*
the Creator of Men's and this one of the Savior of Men,
in çan iceltzin teutl tlatoanj,
the One Sole God, the Speaker,

in tloq nava[q]
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding.

ic vel itoca teutlatulli,
On account of that it is properly named divine word;

cenca nel toconj*
very truly the one followed.
Absolutely no one will be able to contradict it,
even though he is a great knower of things on earth.

Indeed, this is the one we have come to cause you to hear,
the one we have come to give you,
you who are dwellers here,
the one like which you have never heard.
Because, indeed, everywhere,
accordingly, it is completely spread out,
extended on the earth, the world,
there is not another similar to the word,
the one which saves the people.
Verily, only, solely, is the divine word
the one we have borne hither,
the one he had us bear hither,
the great speaker of divine things,
the Pope, the Holy Father.
Auh açtle centlamatl tlatolli
And not another word
tamechtolhujlizq
will we tell you,
ic tamech tononochilizque
by which we will advise you,
ic tamechixtlamachtizque,
by which we will instruct you.
ca ċa iehtatl in teuotlatolli.
Indeed, only that one is the divine word.

Atle ċa toneioçol tiqu[j]tozque,
Nothing solely from our own creation will we tell you,
atle ċa totlaqualittal tamechilhuizque,
nothing solely from our fancy will we say to you.
ma ic amoioollo pachivi.  
Oh, that by it your hearts be full!

I nic navi Cap?
Fourth Chapter

Onca mjtoa in ac iehtatzin
There it is told Who He is,
vel nellj teutl, tlatoanj
the Very True God, the Speaker,
in jpalnemoanj,
He by Whom All Live,
in tloque navaque.
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding.

In iehtatzin Sancto Pê in tç
He, the Holy Father on the earth,
vej teoioitica tlatoanj,
the great speaker of divine things,
in otechvamjoali
who sent us hither,
(totla ho ome)*
(us twelve side by side)

technonavitili
who commanded us,
inic teutlatolitica
by the divine word,

tamech tiximachtiletzq
to make known to you

in iehoatzi(n) çã iceltzin vel nelli teutl,
this One, the Only One God, the Very True God,

tlatoanj, ypalnemoanj,
Speaker, He by Whom All Live,

tloque, navaq,
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,

ilhuicava tla[l]ticpaqeu*
Possessor of Heaven, Possessor of Earth,

in qujiocox in qujmochivili
He Who created them, He Who made them,

in ilhujcatl in tlalticpactlj,
the heaven, the earth,

ioã in mjctlan.
and the region of the dead.

A

Auh aço anqujtoa in axcan,
And now, perhaps, you say:

ca çã nequjzquj,
Indeed, merely useless,

atle ipã pouj in amonetitlaniz,
your message has no value,

çã ne in oanwallaque:
you came in vain

iehica ca in tehoatin no vnca toteuh,*
because, truly, we also have our god there,
no vncâ totlatocauh
also our lords are there,

no tic hiximachilia,
we also know him,

tictimacaxilia,
we also respect him,

tictomaviztililia,
we honor him,

ioâ tictotlacamachitia,
and we obey him,

tictotlaiecultilia,
we serve him,

no ypa nemoanj tiujtoa.
we also call him he by whom all live.

Auh ixpâtzinco titlalqua,*
And before him we eat earth,

titoxtlava, titicticopaltema,*
we acquit ourselves, we burn copal inside,

tlamaxotla, titoçava,
burn paper, we fast,

ioâ titlamjctia,*
and we cause something to be killed,
tictomāquilia in tlacaelli, in [io]llotli:
we offer him the entrails, the heart,

ioā occequj ceca mjeclamantli,
and also very many other things.
y cecpoaltica ticchiuhtivi,*
Every twenty days we go to do it,
inic tilhujqujxtia
thus, we celebrate the feasts.
tlein mach yeh antechmachtico.
Whatever did you now come to teach us?
aiamo iehoati in techcavilitehoaque
Is it that which they did not leave for us
in tlamanjtiliztli in oiaque,*
as a custom before they left,
in onemjco tpc,
these who came to live on the earth,
in tetecuti in tlatoq,
the lords, the speakers,
in totechiuhcava.*
these our makers?

B

tluximocaqujticā (totlaçovane)
Listen please (our beloved),
ie nelli ticmati.
in truth, we already know it,
otiveqttaque, yoā oticcacque:
we saw it, and we heard it:
ca in ameĥoati[n],
Indeed, you,
amo ca ce, cenca mjequjn.
not only one but very many,
vel ixachintin in anqujmoteotia,
greatly you have regarded a huge quantity of them as gods,*
in anqujmaviztilia,
these you honor,

in anqu[i] tlaiecultia,
these you serve.

amoçan tlapoaltin in tetl in quavitl tlaxixintin
Uncountable are these carved in stone, in wood,

anqujmpic,
you invented them,
in teteu ipan anqujmati, anqujtoa.
these which you know as gods; you call them:

tezcatlipuela,*
Tezcatlipoca,

vitzilopuchti,*
Huitzilopochtli,

quetzalcoatl,*
Quetzalcoatl,

m Josoatl,*
Mixcoatl,

tlaloc,*
Tlaloc,

xiuhotecutli,*
Xiuhteocihtli,

mictlantecutli,*
Mictlantecuhtli,

cioacoatl,*
Cihuacoatl,

piltzintecutli,*
Piltzintecuhtli,

cinteuctli,*
Cinteocihtli,

centzōvitznaoa,*
the Four Hundred Surrounded by Thorns,

centzōtotochtin,*
the Four Hundred Rabbits,

ioa occequjn in amo vel mopoaque.
and others that will not be able to be counted.

auh intla nelli teteu
And if they were true gods,

intla nelli impalnemoanj,*
if they truly are the ones by whom all live,

tlca in cēca t[e]ca mocacaiava.
why do they ridicule one so much?
Huitzilopochtli

Cihuacoatl

tleica in teca maviltia?
Why do they mock one?

tleica in amo qujmicnoitta
Why don't they have pity
86

in in tlachioalho.
on these their own creations?

tle yca in çâ no iehoätin
Why do they also,

in ixachin in amo çâ tlapoalli
many, without number,

tecoco tetolinj
diseases, afflictions,

amopâ qujchiva?*
to you they make?

Inhi ca vel amehôa anqujmati.
That, indeed, you know well.

Auh iniquac cêca ie amellelaci,
And when you are greatly distressed,

in aoc amontlaiecoa,
when you fight among yourselves,

in aoc amatlamati,
when you are arrogant,

amo qualcopa, amo tluelcopa
in your ire, in your anger,

ancava in amoteuh.
you abandon your god.

anquíhuja
You tell him:

titlacavane cujlompole,
Oh, you, whose men we are, oh, you big sodomite,

ilamaxoxolochpule,
Oh, you big wrinkled old woman,

necociaotle.*
Oh, you enemy of both sides,

otô motlatlamachtì.
you have been cunning,

otômoquequelô,
you have been mocking,
you have been tyrannical.

And then, every day,

ey demand blood, hearts.

On account of this they are very intimidating to the people,

greatly do they make the people faint.

Their images, their witchcraft,

are very black, very dirty,

very revolting.

In this way is how these, which you consider gods, are,

these you follow as gods, these to whom you make offerings.

Indeed, they tormented the people very much,

and they vomited on people.

But He, the True God,

Speaker, the true Creator of Men,

the True One by Whom All Live,

the True Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,
(Fol. 32 v.)
in tamechtiximachtilico.
the One we came to show you,

ca amo iuhcatzintlj,
indeed, He is not like these.

carna njman atle ic teca mocacaiauhtzinoa,
Verily, therefore, on account of nothing has He mocked anyone,

atle iztlacatiliztlj itetzinco ca,
nothing untruthful comes from Him, indeed,

atle nexicoliztlj.
nothing of envy,

atle tecocoliztlj,
nothing of hatred,

njman atle tliltic,
therefore, nothing black,

njm atle catzaauac qujmonequjltia.
therefore, nothing dirty does he desire.

Ca vel ixqujch quimocételchivilia
Certainly, He despises it all completely,

in aqualli in aiectlj
what is not good, what is not upright,

(in ixquich omoteneuh)
(everything which was said).

ca njm am vel qujmottilia,
Indeed, therefore, He is unable to see,

ixqujch qujmotecavaltilia:
all of that which He has prohibited,

ypampa ca cenqujzca quallj
because, verily, He is entirely good,

ca cequjzca iectlj,
indeed, entirely upright.

ytetztzinco mocemacitoc
In Him, united in One,

in ixq'ch quallj iectlj,
is all that is good, upright,
in chipavac,  
pure.

cenca motetlaçotilianj,  
He is the very loving One toward people,

cenca motetlaçotilianj,  
He is the very compassionate One toward people,

cêca motetlaçotilianj.  
He is the very merciful One toward people.

Auh in occenca tlapanavia*
And, especially, surpassing all things,
tetlaçotlaliztli tetlaoculiliztlj  
in love for people, in mercy toward people.

in topâ oquimochivili,  
For us He made Himself,

câ njcan tçc tlacatî,  
indeed, a man here on earth,
oqujchtîj omothluctznoco:  
a male, He came to make Himself,
in tiuhque in tehoantin timacevalti,  
such as we, those we are, we common people,

no iuhcatzintli omothluctznoco,  
also, likewise, He came to make Himself,

oqujmocujlico in tomacevalnaìo:  
He came to appropriate for Himself, our nature as common people.

auh topapa omomjqujlico,  
Likewise, for us, He came to die,
in itlaç ozcotzin topampa oqujmonoqujlico,  
He came to shed His precious blood for us,

ic otechmomaqujxtîlico  
by it He came to save us,
injmacpa in cenca tluelîliloque,  
from the hands of these very evil ones,
in cêca tecocolianjme,  
these who hate people very much,
in cenca tlaveleque, iollococoleque
these very wrathful ones, evil hearted ones,

in toiaovâ Diablome
these who are our enemies, the devils,

(in iehoantîn anqujteutlapiquja)
(those you falsely forged as gods)

in anqujtoa ca teteu.
these you call, indeed, gods,

in imjxpan âmiçô,
these before whom you bleed yourselves,

in amonêpan mjctia
you kill one another,

in amech cujtlaujltitinemj
these who live provoking you,

in ixquijch nepap[an] tlauelilocaioîl
to all the various perversions,

in necocoliliztlâ,
to hatred of one another,

in neiaochivaliztli,
to fight one another,

in tlacanacaqualiztli,
to eat human flesh,

ioan in occequj tlacacullâ
and other breaches,
cenca vevey.
very great ones.

D

In jcel teutl tlatoanj
The One Sole God, Speaker,

amo teca mocacaiauhtzînoa,
He does not mock anyone,

ieh cenca moteicnelilianj,
He is the very favorable One toward people,
He is merciful toward all the men on the earth.

Also you, you men here,

you who are named Indians,

thanks to Him you live.

He is merciful toward you,

He is loving toward you,

although you do not know Him,

you are not aware of Him,

you do not regard Him as God,

you do not regard Him as the Speaker,

you do not regard Him as lord.

Indeed, He is the One Who gives you

all earthly things,

the drinkable, the edible,

and the lordship, the dominion,

the noble, the glory.

And now something especially grand,
occenca tlapanavia,
especially surpassing all things,

occenca tlaçotlj
especially precious,

inic amech mocneliliznequj
by which He desires to favor you,

intla uel amo ceniollocopa ytetttzinco
if, with your whole heart in Him,

ampachivizque,
you become filled,

intla ue[1] anqujmoteutizque,
if, you will truly regard Him as God,

anqujmotlatocatizque.
you will regard Him as the Speaker.

E

Au̱h aço anqujmjtalhuija
And, perhaps, you say,

totlaço[v]ane,
our beloved:

tle itocatzin in amoteuh
What is the name of your God,

in an techmjximachtilico:
the One you came to show us?

ma ticmatican,
Let us know Him,

ma ticcaqujcan totlaçoane
let us hear Him, our beloved.

cəca cenca maviçauhquj
Indeed, very marvelous,

ioan cenca teiolalli,
and very consoling

cəca nemaquixtilonj
He is very much the One by Whom one can be saved,
in itlaçocatzin.
by His precious love.

Ca itocatzin Jesu Xpo
Indeed, His precious name is Jesus Christ,
nelli teutl,
True God,
ioan nelli ouqjchtli,
and True Man,

ipalnemoanj,
He by Whom All Live,
tloque, navaque
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,
ioan temaqujxtianj
and Savior of Men,
in novia cemanavac.
everywhere in the world.

In iehoatzin in ic teutl aic tzintic,
He, as God, never commenced to be,
aic peuh,
never began,
muchipa cemjcac moietztica.
always, forever, He exists,

iehoatzin qujmochivili in ilhujcatl,
He Who made the heavens,
in tlalticpa[c]tli, in mjctlan:
the earth, the region of the dead.

notechmuchivili in titlaca
He also made us, we men,
in timacevalti:
we common people.

no qujmochivili in Diablom[e]
He also made the devils,
in iehoantin axcan anqujteotlapiqujtinemj.
those whom today you live imagining to be gods.
inic teutl novian moietztica,
As God He is everywhere,

vel ixqujch qujmottilia
He is able to see everything,

vel ixqujch qujomachitia,
He is able to know everything,

atle iuhquj
there is nothing similar,

inic ceca mavitzic:
that is so very worthy of esteem.

auh inic oqujchtlj
And as a man,

vmpa moietztica in ilhuicatl itic
He is there in the interior of heaven,

in jtlatoca chantzinco.*
in the place of His precious speaker's abode.

Auh in njcan tlalticpac
And here on the earth,

oncah in jtlatocaiotzin,*
is His precious dominion,

amo quijnquezqujtzon xivitl:*
which has lasted not merely 400 years.

auh in axca amop[an]
And now for you

oacico in jtlatocaiotzin,
His precious dominion draws near,

oamocnopiltic,*
oh, you are fortunate,

oamomacevaltic.
oh, you are deserving.

in oanqujcaque much
Everything you have heard

teuamoxpâ icujliuhtoc.
is painted in the divine book.
Inic macujlli Cap°
Fifth Chapter

Onca mjtoa, ca in tlalticpac
There it is told, indeed, how on the earth,
onca in jtlatocaioztzin inic oquichtli
there, is His precious dominion as a man,
tot° Jesu Xpo.
of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

In iehoatzin in çan celtzin nelli teutl, tlatoanj,
He, the Only True God, Speaker,
in teiocoianj, ioâ temaquijxtianj Jesu xîpo
Creator of Men, and Savior of Men, Jesus Christ,
in njcan tpc qujmotelalili ytlatocaioztzin,
here on the earth He founded His precious dominion,
ipełlatzin, icpaltzin qujmotequjli
His honorable mat, His honorable seat, He set down,
auh in iehoatl in, ytoca ilhuicac tlatocaiohtl*
and it is this whose name is dominion of heaven,
ioan ytoca Sancta yglesia catholica,
moreover, its name is Holy Catholic Church.
yâpâa motenehoa ilhuicac tlatocaiohtl,
Because of that, it is called the dominion of heaven,
ca njma aic ilhuicac caiaquiz
indeed, absolutely no one will enter heaven
intlacamo itechpoviz in hin Sancta yglesia.
if he will not belong to it, the Holy Church.

A

Auh in onca hin ytlatocachâtzinco
And there, in the place of His precious speaker's abode,
cêca mjec tlam[ã]tli in necujltonollj
there are very many things, riches,
in netlamachtilj
prosperity.

mopia in ilhujcacaioi
The celestial things are kept there,

ytoptzin ypetlacaltzin
in His precious coffer, His precious hamper,

yp povi
these which belong

in tloque navaque.
to the Possessor of the Near, the Possessor of the Surrounding,

Vellaçotlj tzaccaio,
the well encased precious things,

auh vel pielo,
and well guarded ones.

in hin itlatocaiotzin ypalnemoanj
This, the precious dominion of He by Whom All Live,

in moteneua Sancta yglesia catholica,
which is called the Holy Catholic Church,

iehoatzin quimopielia quimopachilhuja
he is the one who guards it, he governs it,

in vey teupixquj in Sancto Pe.
the great divine guardian, the Holy Father,

iehoatzin qujmotqujlitica
he carries with him

in tlatlapolonj*
the instrument by which things are opened,

inic motlapoa.
by which it is opened.

çan vel iceltzin qujmotlapolhuja,
Only he alone is able to open it,

aiac occe aca.
not anyone else,

intla camo jtencopatiz,
if not by his commanding it.
Furthermore, he guards it,
that by which one enters heaven,

[no one will be able] if he, the Holy Father, does not open it,
or somebody by his honorable mandate,
because, truly he is the venerable representative

of He by Whom All Live,

Our Lord, Our God, Jesus Christ.

B

He, the Holy Father, governs completely,
he directs them all completely,
the great speakers on the earth, those whose name is kings,

(Pol. 33 v.)
also he, the great speaker, the emperor.

And now, for this reason, he sent us,
so that we will cause you to see His precious dominion,
and His precious riches,
His precious prosperity,
that of He by Whom All Live, Jesus Christ.

And, thus, you will also know,
ca inilhujcac onca qujiavatzintlj
indeed, that in heaven, there, is the entrance,

in onca calacoa*
there is that by which one enters,

inic ompa viloua.
by which one goes there.

Auh in tlatlapoloni
And the instrument by which things are opened,

caciehoatzinqujm[p]pielia
verily, he is the one who guards it,

in Sancto P€ynjixiptlatzin dions.
the Holy Father, the venerable representative of God.

C

Auh yn amehoantin
And you,

intla anquittaznequj
if you desire to see it,

intla anqujmoviçoaznequj
if you desire to admire it,

ytlatocaiotzin ioan in jnetlamachtiltzin
the precious dominion as well as the precious riches

ipalnemoanj,
of He by Whom All Live,

in njcan tlalticpac mopia:
these which are kept here on the earth,

ioan intla ompa aniaznequj,
furthermore, if you desire to go there,

intla vmpa ancalaquiznequj ilhujcac,
if you desire to enter there, into heaven,

in vmpa moietztica
there where He resides,

ypalnemoanj Jesu xpo.
He by Whom All Live, Jesus Christ,
it is very necessary for you

that you detest them,

you despise them,

you hate them,

and you spit on them,

these whom you have continually regarded as gods.

These gods which you esteemed,

indeed, are truly not gods,

indeed, they only make a mockery of anyone.

Furthermore, moreover, it is very necessary that you avoid them,

that you abandon them,

all these various transgressions,

these injuries to the heart

of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,

He by Whom All Live,

which you have continually caused.

And it is necessary
mopacaz muchipavaz
that it be washed, that it be purified,
in amotliltica in amo catzavaca
the darkness within you, the dirtiness within you,
ica in iatzin ypalmemoanj.
by the precious water of He by Whom All Live.

D

Auh inic uel mochivaz hi,
And so that it will be able to be done,

ma ammomati,
beware of thinking,

ma anqujtoti:
beware of saying:

aço vmpa tiazque
Will we, perhaps, go there,
in vmpa yhiiotli qujmomachitia
there where his breath shows itself,
in teoiotica tlatoanj ypapa?
this one of the speaker of divine things, the Pope?

Ca amo monequj vmpa vilovaz,
Indeed, it will not be necessary to go there,

caca otuallaque, otacico
indeed, we have come, we have approached,
in tititlanva, in tijtlaixquetzalhuá.
we are his messengers, we are his chosen ones.

Auh oticualcujque in iuelitzin
And we received it, his venerable authority,
techmom[a]qujli,
he gave it to us,
totech qujmocavili:
he granted it to us.

caca njcan ticate
Indeed, here we are,
tehoá muchi ticchivazque ytencopatzinco
we who will do all on his honorable behalf,

in ixqujch amotech monequj,
all that is necessary for you,

inic vel anqujcnopilhujzque
so that you will be able to deserve

in jtlatocaiotzin ioan in jnecujltonoltzin
His precious dominion as well as His precious riches,

inic vel amjmazevalhuá aniezque
so that you will be able to be His subjects,

inic vel itechtzinco ampovizque.
so that you will be able to count as His.

Ca çá oc ie ixqujch
Indeed, only this, before all else, is all,

in axcâ anqujmocaquistia
this you now hear,

in tamechtomaqujlia,
this we present to you,

in amonacazpan tiqueva
this we raise to your ears.

ma oc ximoceviti totlaçoane.*
Calm yourselves, our beloved.

Inic chiquacen Cap?  
Sixth Chapter

Vncâ mjtoa inquenjn tlanaqujlique
There it is told, how they answered,
jn tetecuti in tlatoque.
these lords, these speakers.

Iniquac Ítlan ontzonqujz
After it ended, it terminated,
in jntlatoltzin ñmatlactin omome Padreme,
this the venerable speech of the twelve Fathers,

njman ce iehoa in tetecutin tlatoque
at once one of those lords, speakers,

omoquetz, qujomtlapalhuj in teupixq[ue]
stood up, he greeted the divine guardians,

auh achitzin centetlj ontetlj
and a little bit, one lip, two lips,

ic oqujcuep in jmjhiiotzin in jntlatoltzin.*
by this he returned their venerable breath, their venerable words.

quito.
He said:

A

Totecujoane oanqujmhijoujltique,*
Our lords, you have endured much,

can otltaltitech ammaxitico,
indeed, when you came to approach us on this land,

can oancômopachilhujco
indeed, when you came to govern it

in amatzin in amotepetzin.*
from your honorable water, your honorable mountain.

Canjn?
From where?

quenamjca intotecuahcâ*
What kind of place is it, the place of our lords,

in vmpa ammoujcatze:
there, from where you came?
ca mjxtitlan aiauhtitlan*
Indeed, from among the clouds, from among the mist,
yn oammoqujxtico.
you have come out.
ca njcâ amjtztinco amocpatzinco
Indeed, before you, about you
titlatlachia:
we carefully observe,
tla maviöa in avaque in tepevaque
admire, the possessors of the water, the possessors of the mountain.
njcan toconcuñ toconana
Here we acquire it, we seize it,
in iancui tlatollj
the new word,
in ilhujcaciaotl in iuhquj
as if it were something celestial,
anqujmitalhuja.
that which you say.
auh njcan tittitilo titlapolhujlo
And here it is shown to us, it is opened for us,
in jtoptzin in jpetlacaltzin*
His precious coffer, His precious hamper,
in tlacatl totecujo,
that of the Man, Our Lord,
in ilhujcava, in tlalticpacaque:
Possessor of Heaven, Possessor of Earth.
auh inic amechalmotitlanj
And, thus, he sends you hither,
in tlacatl y vey tlatoanj,
the man, the great speaker,
in canjn yhjiotl qujmomachitia
from where his breath is made known,
in totecuaheca y Sansto. pe
from the place of our lords, the Holy Father,
Yoâ in Emperador.
and the Emperor.

Ca njcan tixpan anqujmotlalilia
Indeed, here before us you place

in teuxivitl in maquiztli,*
the turquoise, the bracelet,

njca ticmpavica
here we marvel at it

in juhquj ololiuhquj chalchivitl
as if it were a round jade

in vel cuecueioca,
able to shine,

in atle yyecauhio in atle iceio:*
without its shade, without its defect,

auh in iuhquj patlavec quetzallj
and as if it were a large precious quetzal plume,

in vel xopalevac.
extremely green.

Ca oiaque oqujmpopolo,*
Indeed, they left, He destroyed them,

ouqujntlati in tlacatl tot?
He burnt them, the Man, Our Lord,

in tlatoque ynoieco.
the speakers, these who came to be,

in onemjco in tlatopec:
these who came to live on the earth,

auh in oujpieco in oujpaehoco
and who came to guard it, who came to govern it,

in amopetlatzin in amocpaltzin,
your honorable mat, your honorable seat,

ycemjlhujztzintl in achitzinca,
for a brief day, for a moment,

in njcan in mexico in tenuchtitlan,
here in Mexico, in Tenochtitlan,
The Meeting of Cortes with Motecuhzoma and his lords

auh in njcan in aculhuacâ in tetzcoco, and here in Aculhuacan, Tetzcoco,

in njcan tlacotl itempan.* here in Tlacopan:

in motecuçomatzin.* Motecuhzomatzin,

in Aujtzotzin.* Ahuitzotzin,

in Axaiacatzin,* Axayacatzin,

in tiçocicatzin,* Tizocicatzin,

auh in itzcoatzin,* and Itzcoatzin,

in veve motecuçoma:* the elder Motecuhzoma,
auh in neçavalcoiotzin.*
and Nezahualcoyotzin,

in neçavalpilj:*  
Nezahualpilli,

in totoquivatztlj,*  
Totoquihuaztli,

auh in veve teçoçomocotluj,*  
and the elder Tezozomocotli.

intla oc iehoantin ñmatia mochuanj.*  
If it had occurred during their time,

câ iehoan quicuepazuqâja*  
indeed, they would have returned

in amjhiyotzin in amotlatoltzin:  
your precious breath, your precious word.

no iehaontin amechmotlatlauhtilizquja  
Likewise, they would have entreated you

in jpampa amotetlaczotlalitzin*  
by reason of your precious love for people,

in njcan ticmâviçoa.  
which we admire here.

Auh in tehoantin  
But, we,

tlein ie cuel toconjtozque.  
what now, immediately, will we say?

maciujn tehoâtin titecuchiva  
Supposing that we, we are those who shelter the people,

titenâti, titetati,  
we are mothers to the people, we are fathers to the people,

cujx nimâ tehoan njcan amjxpâltzinco*  
perchance, then, are we, here before you,

tocôpolozq (Fol. 34 v.) in veve tlamanjtiliztlj  
to destroy it, the ancient law;

in quj vey mattiuj  
the one which was greatly esteemed
in tocolhuâ in toçihuâ.*
by our grandparents, our women;

in velipan tlatottiuj
the one which they would go speaking of favorably,

in qujmaujcotitiuj
the one which they would go admiring,

in tetecuti in tlatoque.
the lords, the speakers?

Auh inhin totecujyoyane,
And these, oh our lords,

ca oncate in ocno techiacana,
indeed, they are there, they still guide us,

in techitquj intechmama
these who carry us, these who govern us,

ynjpampa in tlaiecultilo,*
in relation to these being served,

ca in toteouâ ynjntlamaceuhcavâ*
indeed, these who are our gods, these who have their merit,

cujtlapillj ahtlapallj,*
that of the tail, of the wing,

in tlamacazque, in tlenamacaque.*
the ones who offer things, the ones who offer incense,

auh in quequetz[al]cova mjtoa.
and those named the feathered serpents.

in tlatolmatinjme,
These are knowers of the word,

auh in jntequjuh in qujmocujtlauja*
and their charge with which they trouble themselves,

in ioalli in cemjhluitl,
by night, by day,

in copaltemaliztli,
is the act of burning copal,
Incense-burning and blood-letting

in tlenamaqujiliztlj
the act of offering incense,

in vitztlj in acxoiatl,*
thorns, acxoyatl,

in neçoliztlj.
the act of blood letting.

in qujtta in qujmocujtlauja
These see, these trouble themselves,

yn johtlatoquiliz in jnematacacholiz in ilhujcatl,
with the journey, the orderly course of the heavens,

in iuh iovalli xelivi.
according to how the night is divided.

Auh in quitzticate,*
And these continually look at it,

in qujpouhticate,*
these continually relate it,

in qujtlatlazticate in amoxtljl.*
these continually cause the book to cackle.

in tlilli, in tlapalli*  
The black, the color,
in tlacujlolli quitqujticate.
is in the paintings they continually carry.

Ca iehoantin techiqticate,
Indeed, they are the ones who continually carry us,

techiacana, techotlatoltia:* they guide us, they cause the path to speak to us.

iehoantin qujtecpana
They are the ones who put it in order,

injuh vetzi ce xivitl
such as how a year falls,

iniuh otlatoca in tonalpoallj,
such as how the count of the destinies-feasts follows its path,

auh in cecempoallapoallj*
and each one of the complete counts.

qujmocujtlauja,
They trouble themselves with it,

iehoantin yntenjz incocol
they have their charge, their commission,

<y> mamal in teutlatollj.*
their duty which is the divine word.

Auh in tehoantin
And we are those,

cà ça ye iyo totequjuh
indeed, who but have as our sole task

(in mjtoa) teuatl tlachinollj:* (what is called) divine water, fire.

auh è iehoatl ypan titlatoa,
And only we speak on it,

titocujtlauja yn jtequjuh
we trouble ourselves with the tribute,

yn cujtlapillj yn atlapallj,
of the tail, the wing;

inic concu
so that it seizes
yn jaztauh yn jmecaxicol,*
its headdress of heron feathers, its jacket of cords,
auh injvic yn jmecapal,*
and its digging stick, its tumpline;

inic ontlatililo in tlecujlixquac
that which is placed in front of the hearth;

ynic tetlacavati.
in this way people are made "slaves."

Ma oc tiqujnnechicocan
Let us, for now, assemble them,

yn tlamacazque, in quequetzalcoa,
the ones who offer things, the feathered serpents.

ma tiqujmacaca
Let us give them

in jhiyotzin yn jtlatoltzin
His precious breath, His precious word,

in tlacatl totecujo.
this one of the Man, Our Lord.

An iehuantin qujlochtizque
So that they, perhaps, will restore it,
qujcuepazque
will return it,

yn otoconcuque, yn otoconanque:
this which we have seized, this which we have grasped,
amelchiqujuhtzin amotzontecontzin
from your honorable breasts, your honorable heads,
tiquevazque totecuuyovane,
we will elevate it, our lords.

maxicmocevilican
If only you would calm

yn amoyollotzin y amo nacayotzin:
your precious hearts, your precious flesh;

ma yeh ypan in amopetlatzin y amocpaltzin
remain on your honorable mat, your honorable seat.
In ontlatoloc,
This having been said,
njmä yaq in ixquichtin tlatoque,
at once all the speakers left.
qujnnotzque qujncentlalique,
They called them, they assembled them,
qujçequjxtique in ixquichtin
they arranged them all together,
tlamacazque in tlenamacaque
the ones who offer things, the ones who offer incense,
in quequetzalcoa.
the feathered serpents.

Niman ie ic nenonotzalo,
Then immediately, thus, they held a dialogue with one another,
çeça vecauh nehettitiloci tlatoalli,
for a very long time, the discourse itself was made with great care,
oppa, expa caqujtiloque ytlatoalli
two times, three times, the words were made to be heard
in tletlenamacaque
by the ones who offer incense,
yn juh qujmjtahuja teupixque.*
just as the divine guardians say them.

Auh in yehuantin yn oqujcacque
And those who heard this were
cêça motlapololtique,
greatly disturbed,
cêça tlaocuxque,
greatly saddened,
iuhqujin onneuetzque, yoan momauhtique,
as if they had fallen and were scared,
mjçauhque:
frightened.
iece çatepan moquapano in tlatolli.
However, then when the word had been born,

auh injquac ocentetix tlatolli,*
and after the discourse was unified,

mocemjto inic imoztlaioc
it was resolved that the next day

muchi tlacatl cenhujloaz,*
all the men would go together,

tephuatiaz ynjmjxpantzinco*
would go assembled before the face

matlactin omomê teupixque.
of the twelve divine guardians.

Yn otlathuic,
At dawn,

njmâ valcenqujxoac yxqujch tlacatl1,
then, all the men came out together,

njmâ ic vmpa viloac*
then, because of that, they went there,

in vmpa moietzticatca Padreme.
there where the Fathers were.

Ontlatlapaloque in tlatoque
They went to greet, the speakers

yoâ in tlamacazque, conjtoque.
and the ones who offer things, they told them:

D

Totecujoane, ca ouallaque
Our lords, indeed, they have come,

yn totlamaceuhcavan*
these who are our ones who merit something,

auh ca oqujcujuque, ca ocanque
and, verily, they have seized it, indeed, they have received it,

in amihiyotzin ý amotlatoltzin
your precious breath, your precious word.
They have come,

that they may respond to you,

and that once again their hearts be full,

that once again they may hear it from the beginning,

in everything we heard.

Your honorable head, your honorable breast

we will elevate.

and the twelve Fathers,

after they heard this,

then one of them, once again,

truly from the beginning recounted it all to them,

he caused them to hear, these who offer incense,

all the words which were said.

A speaker of Nahuatl made it come out from his lips,

in the same manner as it was heard by the speakers yesterday.

And soon, in this way, the discourse was recited.

Then one man, a feathered serpent, raised himself,
qujmotlapalhuj in teupixque, tlatlatlauhti,*
he greeted them, the divine guardians, he implored,

achi veyx ynjtlatol
his speech was a little long,

inic qujmmonaqujlili
by which he responded to them,

inic quicuep tlatolli, q'to
by which he returned the words, he said:

    Inic chicome Capº
    Seventh Chapter

Onca mjtoa in tlein ic tlanâquilibique
There it is told what they responded,

inic tlacuepque tlamacazque.
by which they returned something, the ones who offer things.

Totecuijoane, tlatoquee, tlaçotitlache,
Our lords, speakers, beloved gentlemen,

oanqujmihiyouiltique,
you endured hardships,

car otlaltitech amacitico,
indeed, when you came to approach this land.

car njcan amitzinco amocpactzinco
Indeed, here before you, in front of you,

titlachia in timacevalti
we see, we common people,

car oam[e]ch maxitilico yn tlaçatl totecujo,*
indeed, that he caused you to arrive, this man our lord,

car oancomopachiluico
indeed, you came from there to govern

in amatzin in amotepehtzin.
your honorable water, your honorable mountain.

Canjn . quenamjcan
From where, what kind of place is it,

in oanvalmuicaque
this one from which you came,
in totecuaç in teteu in châ.*
the place of our lords, the house of the gods?

Ca mixtitlan aiauhtitlan
Indeed, from among the clouds, from among the mist,

teuatl itic in oammoquixtico.*
from within the divine waters you came out.

Ca amech mixtia amechmonacaztia
Indeed, He causes you to be the face, He causes you to be the ears,

amech motentia*
He causes you to be the lips

in tloque in nauaque
of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding.

Ca njcan iuhqujmma tictlacaitta,
Indeed, here, thus, we see Him as a man,

njcan tictlacanotza
here, we call to Him as to a man,

yn jpalnemoanj,
this one, He by Whom All Live,

in ioalli in ehecatl,*
the Night, the Wind,

ca amj(Fol. 35 v. )xiptlavâ, amjpatilloâ.
indeed, you are His representative, you are His substitute.

Ca oticcujuque, oticanque
Indeed, we seized it, we grasped it,

yn jhijo in jtlato in totecujo
His breath, His word, this one of Our Lord,

in tloque navaque,
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,

in oanquivalmotquilitiaque,
This one you carried hither,

in cemanavac yn tlatê tlatoanj
from this one who in the world, on the earth, is the speaker,

in topampa oamechalmjvali,
this one who sent you hither on our behalf.
ca njcan ticmaujcoa.
Indeed, here we are astonished by it,

can oanqujvalmotqujlitaque
indeed, by that which you carried hither,

yn jamux yn jtlacujlol,
His book, His painting,

in ilhuicac tlatolli in teotlatolli.
The celestial word, the divine word.

A

Auh in axcan tlein, quenamj,
And now, what, in what manner,

can tlehuatl in tiqujtozque
indeed, what sort of thing will we say,

in tiquevazque amonacazpantzinco:
which we will raise to your honorable ears?

mach titlatin,
Are we, by chance, something?

can çan timacevaltotonti,*
Indeed, we are merely insignificant common people,
titlalloque tiçoquiyoque*
we are covered with dirt, we are covered with mud,

tivaçoque, titoxonque,
we are bruised, we are poor,

ticocoque, titeupouhque:
we are afflicted, we are sorrowful.

cacanotechnology in tlacatl totociuo,
Indeed, the man, our lord, merely lent it to us,
inic ipetlanacazo, ycpalnacazo*
by which on the tip of his mat, on the tip of his seat

otech molalili.*
he placed us.

Ca cententli, òtentli ic toccuepa*
Indeed, with one lip, two lips we turn it back,

ic toconjlochtia yn jhiio yn jtlatol
so that we return His breath, His word,
in tloque, navaque:
this one of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding;

ic iqua tla ytzontlai tiqijca,*
from near His forehead, near His hair we come out.

ic tontotlaça in atoiac, in tepexic:*
Because of this we cast ourselves in the river, in the precipice.

ic tictemolia ic tiquitlanjlia
By it we search for it, by it we win it,
in jçomal yn jqualan,
His anger, His wrath,

ace' taquian ace topoliujan,*
perhaps our hole, perhaps our destruction.

aço titlatlatziujtique:*
Have we, perhaps, been negligent in doing things?

ieh campa nel noçoc tiazque
Oh, where, by chance, are we truly to go?

cacanotechnology,
Indeed, we are common people,
tipoliujnj timjquijnj,  
we are destructible, we are mortal.

ieh mah ca timjquijcan,  
Oh, indeed, let us die.

ieh mah ca tipolihujcan,  
Oh, indeed, let us perish,

tel ca teteu in omjcque  
since, indeed, the gods have died!

Ma motlali*  
If only it would settle itself,

in amoiollotzin amonacaiotzin  
your honorable heart, your honorable flesh

(totecujojvane)  
(Oh, our lords).

c a achitzin ic tontlaxeloa*  
Indeed, on account of this, we divide something very little,

in axcan achitzin ic tictlapoa  
now, on account of this, we open it very little,

in jtop in jpetlacal in tlacatl totecujo.  
his coffer, his hamper, this one of the man, our lord.

B

Anqujmjtalhuja*  
You tell them,

c a amo tictiximachilia  
indeed, that we do not know Him,

in tloque navaque,  
the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,

in ilhuicava in tlalticpaeque:  
the Possessor of Heaven, Possessor of Earth.

anqujmjtalhuja  
You tell them,

c a amo nelli teteu in toteuvan.  
indeed, that our gods are not real gods.
Ca yancui cuic tlatoalli
It is a new word,

in anqujmjalhuia,
this one you tell them,

auh ic titotlapololtia,
and because of it we are distressed,

ic titotetzauja.
because of it we are extremely frightened.

Ca in totechiuhcava*
Indeed, these our makers,

yn oieco, yn onemjco tlalticpac,
these who came to be, these who came to live on the earth,

amo iuh qujtotiuj:
did not speak in this way.

c a iehoamtin techmacatiuj
Verily, they gave us

yn jntlamanjtiliz,*
their law.

iehoantin qujneltocatiuj,*
They followed them as true,

quintlaiecultitiuj,
they served them,

qujn mavi sztilitiuj in teteu:
they honored them, the gods.

iehoantin techmachtitiaque
They taught us

in ixquich in tlaiecoltiloca,*
all their forms of serving,

in immaviztililoca:
their modes of honoring.

inic imjxpá tilialqua*
Thus, before them we eat earth,

inic titiço,
thus, we bleed ourselves,
inic titoxtlava,*
thus, we discharge the debt ourselves,

inic ticopaltema,
thus, we burn copal,

auh inic titlamjctia.
and, thus, we cause something to be killed.

Quitotiuj
They used to say that,

cia iehoantin teteu impalnemoa,
verily, they, the gods, by whose grace one lives,

iehoantin techmaceuhque*
they merited us.

in jqujn in canjn, ynoc iovaya.  
When? Where? While it was still night.

Auh quitotiuj,  
And they used to say,

cia iehoantin techmaca*  
indeed, they give us

in tocochca in toneuhca.*  
our supper, our breakfast,

auh in ixquich yno joanj, in qualonj,  
and all that is drinkable, edible,

in tonacaioi, in tlaolli, in etl,  
this our meat, the corn, the bean,

in oauhtli, in chie:*  
the wild amaranth, the lime-leaved sage.

iehoantin tiquimjtlanjlia
They are those from whom we request

yn atl, in qujavitl  
the water, the rain,

inic tlamochiva tlalticpac.  
by which the things of the earth are made.
No iehoantin mocuiltonoa,
Furthermore, they are rich themselves,
motlamachtia,
they are happy themselves,
axcavaque iehoantin tlatqujvaque.
they are possessors of goods, they are owners of goods,
inic muchipa cemj cac
by which always, forever,
tlatzmolintoc, tlaxoxouixtoc
it germinates there, it grows green there,
in inch an,
in their house.
in canjn in quenamjca tlaloc,*
Where? What kind of place is it, the place of Tlaloc?
aic tle maianaliztlj vmpa muchiva,
Hunger never occurs there,
atle cocoliztl i,
nothing is diseased,
atle netolinjli ztl i.
nothing is poor.
auh no ieho a quitemaca
And also, they give to the people
moquichchotl in tiacauhiotl,
prowess, courage,
in tlamaliztl i, auh in tēc a catl,*
the chase, and the lip-grass,
in tlapiloni, in ma xlatl, in tilmatli.*
the instrument by which something is bound, the loincloth, the mantle,
in xuchtl i in iyetl,
the flowers, the tobacco,
in chalchiuitl, in quetzalli,*
the precious green stones, the fine plumes,
in teucujtlatl
the divine excrement.

D

Auh iqujn, canjn in ie notzalo,
And when, where were these thus summoned,
in ie tlatlauhtilo, in ie neteutilo,
when implored, when held as gods,
in ie maujzttililo.
when honored?
Ca cenca ie vehcauh,
It is already a very long time.
yqujn ie tolla?
When? At another time it was in Tula.
yqujn ie vapalcalco?
When? At another time it was in Huapalcalco.
yqujn ie xuchatlappá?
When? At another time it was in Xuchatlapan (Xochitlalpan?).
yqujn ie tlamovanchan,*
When? At another time it was in Tlamohuanchan (Tamoanchan?).
in ie ioalli ychan,*
At another time it was in Yohualichan (Yoallichan?).
yqujn ie teutivacá?*
When? At another time it was in Teotihuacan.

cia iehoantin novian cemanavac
Indeed, they, everywhere in the world,
qujtetecatiaque
they caused the people to construct with stones
in įpetl in jmjcpal,
their mat, their seat.
iehoantin qujtemaca
They gave to the people
in tecuiotl in tlatocaiotl,
the lordship, the dominion,
in tleiotl in maujzcotl,
the fame, the glory.

E

Auh cujx ie tehoantin
And, perchance, now, are we those
toconitlacoztl
who will destroy it,
in veve tlamanjtiliztli?
the ancient law?
in chichimeca tlamanjtiliztlij?*
The law of the Chichimecs?
in tolteca tlamanjtiliztli?*
The law of the Toltecs?
in colhuaca tlamanjtiliztli,*
the law of the Colhuaque?
in tepaneca tlamanjtiliztli?*
The law of the Tepanecs?

Ca ie iuha toiollo,*
Already our heart is this way:
ypan ioliva,
through him one is made to live,
ypan tlacatiua,
through him one is given birth,
ypal nezcatilo,
on account of him one is made to grow,
ypa[l] nevapavalo
on account of him one is made to mature,
yjn nonotzaloca,
by means of this one who is summoned,
inin tlatlauhtiloca.
by means of this one who is implored.
Huj, totecujoane,  
Hear, our lords,  

ma itla anquchiualtihtin*  
beware of doing something to them,  

in amo cuiitlapiltzin, yn amatlapaltzin,  
this your precious tail, your precious wing,  

quenoc quilcavaz,*  
so much the more so that it will be abandoned,  

quenoc qujpoloz  
so much the more so that it will be destroyed.  

inic no ueue,  
In this way also the old man,  

inic no ylama yn jnezcaltiliz*  
in this way also the old woman had her growth,  

in jnevapaualiz?*  
had her increase in age.  

Ma techtlaueliti in teteu,  
Oh, that the gods be not angry with us.  

ma intlauel  
Oh, that their anger,  

ma inqualan ypantiatin:  
their wrath, not come.  

auh maic  
And let us beware that on account of that  

tixco tocpcac ieua  
it not rise before us, on us,  

in cuijtlapilli in atlapalli,  
the tail, the wing.  

ma ic ticconeuhti,  
Let us beware that on account of that we not stir it up,  

ma ic ticacomati  
let us beware that on account of that we not provoke it,
inic tiquilhuja
by saying to it:

ma ocmo quijnnotzaz,*
no longer will it summon them,

ma ocmo qujntlatlauhtiz.
no longer will it implore them.

G

Ma oc yvian yocuxca
In the meantime, calmly, peacefully,

xicmottilican totecujoane
consider it, our lords,
in tlein monequj.
whatever is necessary.

Ca amo vel toiollopachiuj,*
Indeed, our heart is not able to be full.

auh ca ça ayamo tontocaquj
And, indeed, absolutely we do not yet agree to it ourselves,

ayamo titonelchiua:*
we do not yet make it true for ourselves.

tamechtoiolitlacalvizque
We ourselves will cause you injury to the heart.

can jcan onoque
Indeed, here they lie,
in avaque in tepevaque.
the possessors of water, the possessors of mountains,
in tetecuti in tlatoque
the lords, the speakers,
in quitquj in qujmama*
these who carry it, these who bear it,
in cemanauatl.
the world.

Maçanoçoc ye inio yn oticcauhque
It is enough that we have already left it alone,
in oticpoloque in otoncuililoque,
we have lost it, we have had it taken away,

in otôcavaltihoque
we have had it prohibited,

im petlatl in icpalli:
the mat, the seat.

cà çà oncan tonotiazquez,*
Indeed, [if] we will only remain there,

cà tictzaccutiazque,*
we will only cause them to be restricted.

ma topâ xicmochiulîcâ
Do it to us,

in tlein (Fol. 36 v.) anqujmonequîltizque.
whatever it is you will desire.

Ca ixquich ic ticcuepa
Indeed, we return it all by this,

ic ticnâquilîa
by this we respond to it,

yn amjhîyotzin
your precious breath,

in amotlatoltzin
your precious word,

totecujoane.
our lords.

Inic chicuey Cap°
Eighth Chapter

Vnca mjtoa in quenjn yehuantin
There it is told how they,

matlactin omome padreme
the twelve Fathers,

oqujnnonâquilîlîque
responded to them,

in iehoâtìn tlenamacaç
those who offer incense.
Injquac otlan, otzonquiz intlatol
When it finished, their word having ended,

yn jntlanaquililiz tlamacazque,
the response of the ones who offer things,

in iehoatin matlactin omome teupixque
they, the twelve divine guardians,

njma qujmolhuilique.
at once said it:

Macamo ximotequjpachocan
If only you would not torment yourselves,
totlaçoane,
our beloved,

macamo xictetzamatican
if only you would not understand it as an evil omen,

in totlatol in otamechilhuique,
our word, the one we told you:

in quenjn, in quenjn
how, in what manner,

amo ceme nelli teteu,
not one of the gods is real,

in ixquichtin yn anqujmmoteutia,
all these whom you regard as gods,

in anqujntlatlauhtitinemj
these whom you have continually implored.

A

Tla xicmocaquiltica
Please hear it.

intla nelli vel teteu ienj,
If the gods were truly real gods,

cujx am[o] no tiqujntoteutizquja,
perchance, would we not also regard them as gods?

cuix amo no tiqujmjtlanjilizquia
Perchance, would we not also request from them
in tocuchca, in toneuh[ca].
our supper, our breakfast?

Auh iequene amo novian tlaltpc
And, likewise, would they not everywhere on the earth

no tzalozquja
be summoned,

tlatlauhtilozquja?
be implored?

Ca amo çâ ticpiquj
Indeed, we are not merely inventing it,
in tie axcâ tamechilhuia:
this which we now tell you.

câ uel ticmati
Indeed, we know it well,

yn aqujque in qnamjque
who they are, how they are,

in iehoantin anqujmotetutia
those whom you regard as gods,

in anqujntlatlauhtitinemj.
these whom you have continually implored;

in canjn, auh in [que]njn
where, and in what manner

otzintique, opeuhque,
they began, they commenced,

in aqujque catca
who they were,

in oc nepa, in iacachto*
beyond there, at first;

auh in quenamj inieliz in jniollo,
and of what sort is their being, their heart,

in intequjuh in intlanequiliz.
their function, their will,

auh campa vallaque:
and from where they came.
ca muchi tamechilhuizque
Indeed, we will tell you everything,

tamechcaquitizque
we will cause you to hear it,

intla anquinequj,
if you desire it.

yoe uel tam[e]ch iolpachiuitizque,
And we will be able to cause you to have a full heart,

ieh ica in tehoantin ticpia
because we guard it,

in teuamuxtli in teutlatolli
the divine book, the divine word,

in oncan neztoc ycuiliuhtoc.
there where it lies visible, it lies painted,

tlatlamantitoc*
it lies arranged

in ixquich ytlatoltzin
all that which is His precious word,

in tloque naoaque
this one of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding.

in cenca ie uecauh mochiuh.
This took place a very long time ago.

Auh in iehoatl hin teutlatolli
And that divine word

cenca vel nel[li] vel melauac,
is very properly real, properly upright,

vel neltococonj*
properly that which is followed as true.

auh noujan tlaltcp, cemanauac
And everywhere on the earth, in the world,

ocacoc, oneltococ
it has been heard, it has been followed as true.

in vmpa tiujtze,
There, from where we came,
yn ompa onoque y amo çanquexquächtin*
there they lie not a few

avaque tepeuaque,
possessors of water, possessors of mountains,

auh in tetecutin tlatoque
and lords, speakers,

in cenca vehuentin,
the ones who are very old,

in cēca chicauaque
the ones who are very strong,

in cenca mocuiltonoa
the ones who are very wealthy,

in cēca tlatqujvaque*
the ones who are very much in possession of things.

B

Auh in amehoatin ypampa*
And you, on its account,

in amo anqujmoteutia*
you do not regard them as God,

y amo anqujncualiztlamati
you do not know to abandon them,

in tlueliiloque
these wicked ones,

in teiztlacaujanj:
this one who is a deceiver of people.

ieh ica ca aic oanqujcacque
Because, indeed, you never heard it,

in jttloltzin Dios,
the precious word of God.

atle anquipia in teuamuxtli*
You did not guard it, the divine book,
in teutlatolli,
the divine word.

aic amopa oacico
It never came to reach you,

yn jhiyotzin yn jtloltzin
His precious breath, His precious word,

in ilhuicaua in tlaalticpaque:
this one of the Possessor of Heaven, the Possessor of Earth.

auh qujn amjxpopoiome
And, then, you are blind,

an nacatzatzame,
you are deaf,

iuhqujn tlaiovaian
as if in darkness,

mjaxtecomac amonemjtia:
in gloom, you live.

ic amo no cea uey in amotlatlacul.
On account of this your faults are, furthermore, not very great.

Auh in axca intlacamo anquicaquiznequj
But now, if you do not desire to hear it,

yn jhiyotzin in jtloltzin Dios
the precious breath, the precious word of God

(in uel iehoatzin amechmomaquilia)
(this one He gives to you),

cenca amouitjzque.
you will be in much danger.

auh in Dios in oqujmopevaltili in amopopoloca,
And God, Who has commenced your destruction,

qujmotzoquixtiliz
will conclude it,

ancempoliiizque.
you will be completely lost.
Ynjquac oiuhqujcacque
When they heard it thus,

hin in tlatoque,
these speakers,

njman qujmotlatlauhtilique in teupixque
at once they implored them, the divine guardians,

qujmolhuilique.
they said to them:

Totecujoane,
Our lords,

can ticcuj
indeed, here we grasp it,

nica ticana
here we take it,

iniuhquj amotlatoltzin.
as it is, your precious word.

manoço tlacaua in amoioillotzin.
Let your precious heart, perhaps, permit something,

Ma toiollopopachiuj,
that our heart may be full:

aqujque, quenamjque,
who are they, of what sort are they,

campa vallaq
from where did they come,

in tiqiujiotuteutia
these whom we regard as gods,

in tiqiujiotlauhtia.
these whom we implore?

auh in matlactin omome Padreme
And the twelve Fathers

qujmolhuilique.
said it:
Totlaçoane
Our beloved,

inic vel anqujemelauhcacaquizque
so that you will be able to hear it rightly,

in anqujnequi,
that which you desire,

yoan inic uel amoiollopachiuz.
likewise, so that your heart will be able to be full,

monequj oc achno tamechcaquitizque,
it is necessary that first we will cause you to hear,

tamechmelauilizque
we will manifest to you,

in quenamjcatzintli
of what precious sort is
totecujo dios
Our Lord God,

in ipalnemoanj
He by Whom All Live,

in tamechtiximachtilico.
This One we came to show you.

Auh ca ie tlâca
And, indeed, already it is late,

in axcan ye ueca tlaqualizpan,*
now, already, the time to eat is distant.

ma muztla ioatzinco,
Tomorrow at dawn,

valqujça tonatiuh
when the sun comes out,

valhuiloaz.
everybody will come hither,

njcan necêtllaliloz tlacacoz:
here one will be assembled, something will be heard.

ma oc uiuiloa,
For now all may depart,
ximouicaca
please go,

ximotlaqualtiti,
look something.

oc ximoceuiti,
For now rest,

ma motlali in amoioillo. 
let your heart be settled.

Inic chicunauj Cap  
Ninth Chapter

Vnca mjto in quenamjcatzintli
There it is told of what precious sort is

in ipalnemoanj in tot?.Dios. 
He by Whom All Live, Our Lord, God.

Oanqujmhiyoviltique totlaçoane, 
You have endured it, our beloved, 

oamechmotlathuiltili 
He caused it to dawn for you, 

in totecujo. Dios. 
Our Lord, God. 

oanvalmoujcatiaque 
You have caused yourselves to come hither

(in[i]uh tictlalique totlatol iahua) 
(just as we settled our word upon it yesterday),

inic anqujmocaquitizque 
so that you will hear it, 

in itlatoltzin 
His precious word, 

in tloque nauaque, 
this one of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding, 

in teutlatolli in nemaquixtilonj 
the divine word, the one by which all are saved.
Auh in axcan tlaxiqualmocaquitica:
And now, please listen well,

c in iehtozin teutl, tlatoanj
because He is God, the Speaker,
teneualo, tocaiotilo ypalmemoanj.
He is called, He is named, He by Whom All Live.

Auh inhin tocaitl,
And this name,

c qujnamqui in iyeliztzn:
indeed, is fitting for His precious nature

iehica ca inixquich in ioli
because, indeed, all these that are born,
in nemj in ilhujcacin tlalticpac.
these that live in the heavens, on the earth,
auh in mictlan
and in the region of the dead,

ypaltzinco ioltinemj.
have life by His precious grace.

Ca iehoatzin qujmotemaqujlia
Indeed, He gives it to the people:
in ioliliztli, in nemiliztli,
birth, life,
ioliliznelhuaiotl
the root of life,
yolilizameyalli:
the fountain of life.

iehoatzin muchi qdiocox,
He created it all,
oqujmochiuili in ixquich ittoni.
He made all that is visible,

(Fol. 37 v.)
auh in amo yttoni.
and what is not visible.
Auh in iehoatzin aic peuh,
And He never began,

aic tzintic:
He never commenced.

in ayamo peva,
Before beginning,

in aiamo tzinti
before commencing,

in tlaltpctlj in cemanauatl,
the earth, the world,

ie cemjcac moietztica:*
already He eternally exists.

auh amo ic tlamiz
And, because of this, He will not end,

aic tzøjqujçaz,
ever will He terminate,

aic tlatziujz,
He will never tire,

aic quê mochiuhtzinoz,
He will never alter,

aic moueuetiliz.
He will never cause Himself to become old.

Auh ixquich qualli iecltli,
And all that is good, upright,

in ixquich papaquiliztli
all that is joy,

in netlamachtilli
prosperity,

in ixquich necuiltonolli
all that is riches,

ytetztzinco mocemacitoc.*
are united in Him.

Auh in jnecuiltonoltzin
And His precious riches,

yn jnetlamachtiltzi,  
His precious prosperity,
in itecuyo in itlatocaio,
His lordship, His dominion,

in itleio in imauico
His fame, His glory,

aic peuh aic tzintic.
Never began, never commenced,

ano ic tlamjz
neither, because of this, will it end,

aic tzoqujçaz.
never will it terminate.

Yn ixqujch tlaltçc cococ teopouhquj,
All that on the earth is affliction, grief:

in netoliniliztli, in tlaocuyaliztli,
poverty, sadness,

in netlamatiliztli, in nexicoliztli,
discontent, envy,

in tecocoliliztli,
hatred,

auh in ie mochi occequj netequjpacholoztlj,
and all other things that now are a torment,

nimâ atle itetzttzinco ca,
absolutely none of that is in Him,

njma aic ipatzinco vallauh.*
absolutely never does it come into Him.

Ca uel iehuatzin ioliliztli, nemjiliztli,
Indeed, verily, He is birth, life,

papaquiliztli, netlamachtiliztli,
joy, prosperity,

necuñiltonoliztli neltiliztli cemicac.
riches, eternal truth.

Hacampa mouica,
He goes from nowhere,
hacampa mjquanja:  
He strays to nowhere,  

ça cemj cac ça noujan moietztica,  
solely, eternally, solely everywhere He exists,  

hacan cauhtica in iteuiotzin:  
from nowhere is His precious divinity remote.  

aic mocochitia  
He never sleeps,  

muchipa cemjac motztilitica:  
always, eternally, He sees,  

in jxquich ittonj yoâ in amo ittonj,  
all that is visible and what is not visible,  

much iuhquj in jmacpal iollotzinco ca,*  
everything is thus in the palm of His hand, in the precious heart,  

qujmotquilitica,  
He is carrying it,  

qujmotitzquilitica,  
He is clutching it,  

quj mopachihuitica,  
He is embracing it,  

qujmocujtlavitzmotica,*  
He bears along with Him seeing for its care.  

njmaâ atle in manel tepitoâ  
Absolutely nothing, although it be a very small thing,  

quimoxiccauili:  
does He neglect.  

ixquich iueli,  
Being all powerful,  

in çaço tlein quimonequiltia,  
no matter what it is He desires for Himself,  

njmaâ muchiva:  
at once it is done,  

aiac qujmelleltilia,  
no one hinders Him,
Ca nel dios,
Indeed, truly He is God,
teiocoianj, ixquichueili,
Creator of Men, all powerful,
oquiyocox oqujmochiuili
He created it, He made it,
in ilhuicatl in tlalticpactli. in mjctlux, the heavens, the earth, the region of the dead,
omo tlatequipanoliztica,
not by laboring,
can jtlatloltzin yca oqujmjtalhuj,
solely by His precious word, He said:
ma mochiuah, njma omochiuh.
Let it be made -immediately it was made.
Cenquizca quallj, cenca motetlaçotilianj
Perfectly good, much in the habit of loving people,
qujmotaçotilia in ixquich oquiyocox
He loves it, all this He created,
oqujmochiuili:
He made.
ocçêca tehoatin techmotaçotilia
Especially we, He loves us,
in titlaca in timazehualti.
we men, we common people.
Ca in ixquich qujmochivili,
Indeed, all that He made,
muchi topampa qujmochivili
everything, He made for us,
muchi tonemac, muchi toteh monequj,
everything to favor us, everything necessary for us,
muchi tech techtlaiecultia.*
everything for [us] that serves us.

D

yn tonatiuh, in metztli in cicitlalti.
The sun, the moon, the stars,
in ilhujcame, in tlalli. ŭ cemanavatl.
the heavens, the land, the world,
in vey atl. in ehecatl,*
the great waters, the wind,
in mamaça. in totochti,
the deer, the rabbits,
in totome, im patlātinemj.
the birds, these that live flying,
auh in mimjchti,
and the fishes,
in atlā nemj:
these that live in the water,
in quavitl, yn xiuitl
the trees, the herbs,
in itzmolintoc in xoxovixtoc.*
these that germinate, these that pale,
in teucujtlatl.
the divine excrement,
in chalchivitl, in quetzalli,
the jade, the quetzal plumes,
in maquiztli,
the bracelets

muchi to topampa qujmochivili.
-everything He made for each of us.
No yoa xicmomachitica,
Furthermore, also comprehend,

cenquizca tlamatinj
indeed, that He, He by Whom All Live,

ixquich qujomachitia
He knows it all,
in caço tlein omochiuh.
no matter what happened,
in muchiva.
is happening,
auh in qujmochipa
and that which will happen.

Auh mochipa
And always

qujomozitzquilitica,
He is clutching it,

ixpantzinco ca in toiollo
before Him is our heart,
in ti ceceme,
of each one of us,
in totlalnamjquilitiz,
our thoughts,

y totatlacol.
our faults,
in totlachival
our works,

muchi quimolnamjquilitica.
He is remembering it all,
qujmochipa.
He is reckoning it.
Auh in ixq'ch tlamatiliztli*
And all that is knowledge,

in ilhujcac in tlalticpac,
in the heavens, on the earth;

muchi iehoatzin
everything, He is the One

oqujmotemaquili
Who gives it to people.

in ticpia teutlatolli
This one which we guard, the divine word,

in iehoatzin in otechmomaqujli
He gave it to us.

In ixquich in.
All this,

muchi teutlatolli
everything, is the divine word,

îpa teuamoxpâ
on it, in the divine book,

ycuiliuhtoc.
it lies painted.

\*Inic matlactli Cap9
Tenth Chapter

\*Vnca mjtoa in quenjn qujmmochiuili
There it is told how He made them,

Angeles yn jpalnemoanj Dios.
the angels, He by Whom All Live, God.

Ma uel quitztimotlali*
Let it consider it well,

in amix in amoiiollo*
your face, your heart,

totlaçohoane.
our beloved.
ye hica ca aic oanquimatque.
Because, indeed, never have you known it,

aic oanqujacque
never have you heard it,

in axca tamechtolhuiliznequj
this we now want to tell you,

in teutlatolli.
the divine word.

A

in iehoatzin
He,

in jpalnemoanj
He by Whom All Live,

in tote? Dios
Our Lord, God,

in aiamo tzinti
when it had not yet commenced to exist,

tlalticpactlj in cemanavatl.
the earth, the world

(injuh achtq acocomocaquitique)
(just as you first heard it there),

ieppa muchipa cemjcac moietztica,*
before then, always, forever, He exists,

mopaq'ltitica, motlamachtitica.
with cheer, with prosperity.

Auh in oqujmoneq'lti
And when He desired it,

in quimuchiviliz cemanavatl.*
that He will make the world,

Vel achtq q'mochivili
at the very first He made it,
in jtecpacaltzin yn jlatocachantzinco,
His precious lordly mansion, His precious speaker's dwelling,
cenca maviçauhquej, cêca pepetlaca.
very admirable, very resplendent,
cêca cuecueioca,
very brilliant,
yoa cenca vey cêca tlacojava,
and very large, very spacious,
vel ompa mocemacitoc in ixquich necuiltonolli
properly, there are united all the riches,
in netlamachtillli
the delights,
ytocaïoca Cielo empyreo
the name of the place is empyrean heaven.
amo valneci amo uel toconitta*
It does not appear hither, we are not able to see it there,
cenca tlacpac
it is much above things.

Auh njma quijmochivili
And then He made them,
in amo ça tiapoaltin
these uncountable things,
yn jpilloua ytlatoaciaoan
His nobles, His speakers,
in ompa itlatocachantzinco
there in His precious speaker's dwelling
(intoca Angelesme)
(their name is Angels).
amo vel mjtoz
One is not able to say
in quenjn cêca maviçauhque,
how very admirable they are,
cenca tlanextia.*
very resplendent,
cenca qualthin.
very good,

yoâ cenca chicavaque.
and very strong,

âeca tlamatinjme:* 
very wise.

amo vel tiqujmjtta in tehoantin,
We are not able to see them, we,

câ amo nacaioque in tiuhque,
indeed, they are not possessors of flesh like we are,

in toca espûs. 
their name is spirits.

B

Auh ce ielhoâtin
But one of them,

in vel in tiachcauh catca,
this one who was fully the principal one,

in qujqceiacanaia,*
this one who had been developing in front of them,

in qujqpanaviaia chipavaliztica,*
he was surpassing them with purity,

chicaualiztica, yoâ tlamatiliztica
with strength, and with knowledge of things

(ytocâ lucifer) 
(his name is Lucifer),

yniquac omottac
when he saw

in qujnj cenca qujqpanavia
how much he surpasses them,

in ixquichtin angeles,
all the angels,
yc omopouh yc oatlama*
for this reason he was haughty, for this reason he was presumptuous,
omotachcauhnc,
he wanted to be the most important;
oquito.
he said:

Nicneneviliz
I will be equal to Him,
in tlacepanavia Dios.
this One Who completely surpasses things, God,
yn jpalnemoanj.
He by Whom All Live.

^ i nopetl ^ nocpal
My mat, my seat,

intla nictecaz
if I construct them,
in jpetlatzin in jcpaltzin.
to His precious mat, His precious seat,
tineneuhq tiezque.
we will be equals.

noconaciz
I will reach Him there.

Auh cen.
But as one,

(Fol. 38 v.)
c^ca mjequjntin ytlocpa momaque,
very many gave themselves to his side,
quitlauelcaquillique.
they willingly heard him,
qujmaujçoque,
they honored him,
quidalitattaque yn itlatol,
they saw it with pleasure, his word,
qujmolatocatique.
they made him their speaker.
Auh in neh occe vey angel
And there, another great angel,

ytoca Sant Miguel
whose name is Saint Michael,

njman quitlauelnamjc,*
at once he angrily went to meet him,

quiyaochiuh quito.
he made war on him. He said:

Ça njm̂a amouelitiz.
Absolutely it will not be possible,
in aca quineneuiliz dios,
that someone will be equal to Him, God,

ypalmemoanj,
He by Whom All Live;

ayac vel cahciz:
o no one will be able to reach Him,

cça yceltzin. teutl, tlatoanj.
because solely, He alone, is God, Speaker,

tlacepanavia maujztitilonj
He completely surpasses things, the Honored One,

njm̂a ayac yvivih*
absolutely no one by force.

yc vnca xeliuhque
On account of this they divided,

ixtlapanque y angeleme.
they split, these angels.

occan quizque, mjxnnamicque:* They came out in two parts, they went to meet one another's face,

yaoyutl muchiuh
war was wade,

in vmpa ilhujcatl itic
there in the interior of heaven.

icecan maca in lucifer
On one side was Lucifer,
yoan in ixquixtin ytechmopouhque:
and all who counted themselves with him.

occeccâ maca y Sant miguel
On the other side was Saint Michael,

yoan in muchintin icnjvan,
and all his friends;

vel vey temamauhti
very great, dreadful,

inic mjcalque.
when because of this they fought each other.

C

Auh in totecujo Dios
And Our Lord, God,

ypalñemoanj
He by Whom All Live,

qujmopalevili
helped him

yoa qujmochicavili
and fortified him,

in iaotachcauh S. miguel.
His war chief, Saint Michael.

ic vel tepanauj,
By this, he was able to surpass the others,

qujntopeuh qujmpopolo
he jostled them, he destroyed them,

intlueliloque.
these wicked ones.

Auh in iehoantin jn angeles
But they are angels

ca amo mjqujn*j.
indeed, not ones who die,
macivi in iaoyotl mochiuh,
although war was made,

çan aiac mjç,
simply no one died,

aiac çepopoluh.
no one was forever destroyed.

In iehoantin panaviloque
They who were surpassed,

in pevaloque.
these who were defeated,

ca cuiliilque,*
indeed, they were despoiled,

ca valtiloque
indeed, they were deprived,

in tecuyotl in tlatocaitol
of their lordship, their dominion,

in tleiotl in maviçotl,
their fame, their glory,

in qujmomaquilica
these which He had given them,

tloque, navaç:
the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding.

yoan valquixtiloque
And they were exiled hither,

vallaçaloque
they were flung hither,

in vapç cielo Empireo.
from there, the empyrean heaven.

valtotocoque,
They were taken
cemjac tlayoaç.
to where forever there is darkness,

tlaihiyouiloyan*
to the place where things are endured,
tlaliloque yvaloque,*
they were placed, they were sent,
cemjxnavatiloque.
they were condemned forever,
cemayan caltzaqualoque.
they were forever to remain confined.

Diablome mocuepque
They became devils,
in anqujntocaiotia
these you name
tzitzitzimj, culeleti*
tzitzitzime culeletin,
(ca no aqujtoa in amehoantin
indeed, these you also name
tzontemoc, piyoche.*
tzontemoc, piyoche,
tzompachpul, cueçal)*
tzompachpul, cuesal).

cenca tliltique, cenca catzavaque,
They are very black ones, very dirty ones,
cenca temamauhtique,
very dreadful ones,
cêca mopoanj, cenca moxicoanj,
very haughty one, very envious one,
cenca tecocolianj.*
very great one who causes people harm,
cenca teca mocaiavanj.
very great mocker of anyone,
cenca tlauleleque
very furious ones,

yoan cêca iollococoleque.
and very angry-hearted ones.
In iehoantin hin noujan cemanavac,
They, everywhere in the world,

tlalticpac teca omocacaiauhque,*
on the earth, have mocked anyone,

otlaztlacaujque
they have counterfeited something,

moteotlapirique,
they feigned gods.

mjequjntin oquįñeltocaq,*
Many followed them as true,

oquįmmeoteuitiŋ
y they regarded them as gods,

in iuh no njca̱̱̱ amopan oquichiuhque
just as also here they did it to you.

yehica
Because of this,

in axca̱ maueil pachiu̱ y amoioollo.
now may your hearts be extremely full.

cañ in ixquiixtin in anquį̂moteutia
Indeed, of all these, which you regard as gods,

njma̱ ayac teutl,
absolutely no one is a god,

ayac ypalnemoanj,
no one is He by Whom All Live,

cañ muchintin Diablome
indeed, all are devils.

oanquicacq
You have heard it,

quenjn otzintique
how they commenced,

yoan quenamique in amoteoan.
and of what sort are your gods.
Auh inhin in tamechtolhuilia,
And this we say to you,

ca muchi teuamuxpan onoc.
indeed, all exists in the divine book,

muchi iteutlatoltzin
all is His precious divine words,

in ipalnemoanj,
these of He by Whom All Live,

tloque. navaq
Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,

yn tamechtiximachtilico.
This One we came to show you.

Inic matlactl oce Cap9
Eleventh Chapter

Vnca n mjt in quenjn mononotzque
There it is told how they plotted with one another;

in motequjmacaque Diablos
these devils distributed the tasks among themselves,

inic muchipa quimiztlacauitimizque
by which they will always continually cause them to be deceived,

in tlalticpac tlaca.
these men on the earth.

Auh tlaxicmojuiti*ca
And you want, thus, to make yourselves similar to them.

totlaçoane.
Oh, our beloved!

ca ça tepã in ieioatin
Indeed, then they,

tlueliloque in Diablos
the wicked ones, the devils,

in ilhujcatl itic vallacaçaloq.
from the interior of heaven, were flung hither,
in iquac omottaq
then they saw,

in quenjn oqujmocetelch[i]vili
how He had completely scorned them,

in ipalnemoanj Dios;
He by Whom All Live, God.

auh in oqujcempoloque
And they completely lost Him,

yn occemayan cuililoque
besides, they were forever to remain despoiled

in ilhujcac petlatl icpalli,
of the heavenly mat, seat,

in tlatocaioltl.
the dominion.

Njmâ cêca ytetzinco omoxicoque
Therefore, they were very jealous of Him,

in tot? dios,
Our Lord, God.

cêca oqujmcocolilique*
They caused Him very much harm,

in inteyocuxcauh,*
Their Creator.

cêca oqujmochicoitalhuique
They spoke very badly of Him.

Inic iquzquilhuiyoc mocetlalique,
Thus, on a particular day, they assembled,

mononutzque muchintin.
they called together all,

Auh in intiachcauh
and their principal one,

in intiacaâcauh in lucifer
their chief, Lucifer,

qujmilhui.
told them:
Ye anquimottilia
Now you see it,

noteiccavane,
my younger brothers,

in tlein topâ omochiuh,
what has happened to us,

in quenjn çemayan otilchivaloque,*
how we have been scorned forever,

auh in tiualtotocoque*
and we were taken

-yyyy vmpa ilhuicac:
from there, heaven.

ypampa hi cenca monequj
On account of it, it is very necessary

in axca tiujiauchiuazque*
that we now make war on them,

in jtlachiualuâ Dios.*
the creations of God.

occeca yehoantin in tlatpä tlaca,
especially those men on the earth,

in imacevalti.
His common people.

cav el ypâpa chivaloque,
Because, in truth, on account of it they were made,

inic iehoantin qujcuitiuj,
so that they will go in order to take it,

qujmaxcatitiuj in topetl, in tocpal.
they will go in order to appropriate them, our mat, our seat,

in totlatocaio.
our dominion.

Monequi tiqujntlapololtizque,*
It is necessary that we disconcert them,
inic amo vel quiximatizque
so that they will not be able to know Him,
in intiociuxcauh.
This One Who is Their Creator.

B

Yn amehoantin
You,
in vel amixtlamati*
who truly have faces that know something:

monequj anqujemilnamictitinemizque,
that it is necessary that you will live causing them to remember,
anqujnccujtlavilititinemizque
that you will live causing them to be compelled,

^ tlalticp^ tlaca,
these men on the earth,
in tlalti, in çoqujme
[so that] these which are of earth, clay things,
in tlateutoquiliztli.*
[by] this one, the act of following things as gods,
qujmoteutizque,
they will regard them as gods,
qujtlatlauhtizque
they will implore them,
in tonatiuh in metztli, in citlalin,
the sun, the moon, the stars,
in tetl in quavitl,
the stone, the tree,
in tototl in coatl,
the bird, the serpent,
auh in ie muchi in itlachiual Dios
and all the creations of God.
yoâ in tehoantin techmoteutizq,
And us, they will regard us as gods.
Thus, they will always injure His heart,
in in teiocuxcauh
this one of Their Creator,
inic notohú muchipa cemjcac
so that also, along with us, always, forever,
telchivalozque
they will be scorned.
An qujmottitizq.
You will show yourselves to them,
anqujiotlacanotzazq
you will converse with them as humans,
cana tepeticpac, atlahúco,
somewhere on the tops of mountains, in the ravines,
yxtlavacā, oztoc:
in the plains, in the caves,
inic uel anqujiotlapololtizque.
in this way you will be able to disconcert them.

And you,
in anchicavaque.
you who are strong,
anqujiotlachalanjizq.
you will provoke them one against the other,
anqujiollococoltizq.
you will trouble the hearts of them,
äqujiotlacheuazq
you will incite them to rise against each other,
in tpc tlaca,
the men on the earth,
inic monepá iaochiuhtinemizque,
so that they will live making war on one another,
so that they will live mutually hating each other,

so that they will mutually kill each other;

they will never love each other,

they will never live contentedly.

And, in this way, all of you,

I dispatch you,

so that you will always live troubling them,

you will live causing them to remember,

these various faults,

these with which the heart of God is injured:

the act of coveting after dominion,

the act of desiring to be the most important,

the act of coveting wealth,

the act of being jealous,

the act of living debauchedly,

gluttony,

the act of drinking too much,
in tlatziuiztli,
the act of being idle,

ç y ç an nenemjlitiztli.
the act of only living in vain,

inic muchipa quiyolilacotinemjzque
by that they will always live causing Him injuries to the heart;

yn jnteiocuxcauh.
This One Who is Their Creator.

Noviâ xicemmanjca,
Everywhere disperse,

ximomoyavacâ in tlaltîc
spread yourselves out on the earth.

iehoâtl in atlâtlacamajnilîlîltî
This is the storm

anqujyolitizque in tlaltîc,
which you will bring to life on the earth,

in ehècatîpâc
on the wind,

yoân in veyapa
and on the great waters,

inic mjcoaz:
so that there will be death.

xixtoçocan
Keep awake,

ypan ximozcalican in amotequjuh.
be prudent in your task.

Yn aquîj occenca teiztlacauiz,
Whoever will much more deceive the people,

oc no çëca mauiztitiloz
will also be much more honored,
vecapanoloz.
he will be exalted.

E

Otlaxic mottilican,
Please consider it,

tlaamoiollotzin pachiuj
please satisfy your precious hearts,

totlaçoane
our beloved.

cia iehoantinjn in amocamocacaiauh tinemj,
Indeed, they are the ones who live causing themselves to mock you,

in amechpachoa,
these who domineer you,

in amopan tlato cati,
these who lord over you,

in anqujntlatlauhtia,
these whom you implore,

in anqujnteutoca,
these whom you follow as gods;

in imjxpa antlalqua
these before whom you eat earth,

in anmuxtlava,
you yourselves discharge the debt,

in antlamjctia.
you cause something to be killed.

Ammomati,
You yourselves think,

cia impal annemj,
indeed, that you live by their grace,

cia amechmaca
indeed, that they give you

in amocochca in amoneuhca.
your supper, your breakfast,
auh in ixquich occequj tlalticpacaïotl.
and all the other worldly things.

Auh ca ieh amo nelli,
But, it is not true,

câ ca amoiaovan,
indeed, they are only your enemies,

amo tecocolicauâ,*
your foes,

amo tetolij calla,*
your villages' ravagers,

câ teiztlacaujani, tlaueliloque
indeed, they are the ones who deceive the people, wicked ones,

teca mocacayavanj.
the ones who mock anyone,

hatlaca Diablos.
the inhuman devils.

Inic matlactlomome Cap.*
Twelfth Chapter

Onca mjtoa inqnj ntlacnopilhujque
There it is told how they are fortunate,

in ñltin Angeles,
the good angels,

yoâ in qnijn qujmonauatili*
and how He dispatched them,

tot? inic techmopaleujlizque.
Our Lord, so that they will help us.

In yehoantin in qualtin ictin Angeles
They, the good upright angels,

in jpilhuâ tot? Dios:
these, His sons of Our Lord, God,

injuquâ oqujpanavique,
when they overcame them,
in oqujvalmototoquilique  
they chased them hither,  

Vmpa ilhuicac in tlueliloque,  
from there, the heavens, these wicked ones.  

njman ixpantzinc mopechtcaque  
Then before His precious visage,  

yn ipalmemoanj in Jesu xo,  
this one of He by Whom All Live, Jesus Christ,  

cenca qujmotlaçocamachitiq  
they were very grateful to Him,  

qujmotlatlauhtilique,  
they implored Him,  

qujtoque.  
they said to Him:  

_A_  

Totñe, totlatocatzine,  
Our Lord, Our Precious Speaker,  

ca tehoatzin otitechmochicauli,  
indeed, You, You strengthened us,  

otitechmopaleuili,  
You helped us,  

inic otiqujmpanavique toyaon,  
so that we overcame them, our enemies,  

in tlueliloque  
these wicked ones,  

in omitzmotelchivilique:  
these who scorned You,  

ca amo tixcoyantochicavaliztica,  
indeed, we have our strength not by our own means,  

câ ça [a]motetlaoculiliztica  
indeed, only by means of your mercy  

in otiqujntlanjtlazque:  
we will subjugate them.
Because of this we are very grateful to You,

indeed, we who are your common people,

we who are your creations.

What You desire,

let it happen to us,

indeed, our power is nothing,

what we are is incapable ones, our strength is nothing.

And Our Lord, Jesus Christ,

then told them:

Come here,

my beloved children,

come take it,

come receive it,

the everlasting dominion

I also prepared for you,

always, forever, at my side, near me,
ampapaquizque âmotlamachtizque:
you will be happy, you will prosper,

antlatocatizque.
you will be considered speakers.

Auh çan ie ixquich namechnotequitilia,*
And but presently, I have a job for all of you,

ic ânechmotlaiecutilizque,
by which you will serve me.

anquimmopalevilizque,
You will help them,

anqujmopielizque
you will guard them,

in tlalticpactica, in notlachivalhuā.
these who are on the earth, these my creations,

inic amoquē qujnhivazque
so that nothing will be done to them

in tlaueliloque in Diablos,
by the wicked ones, the devils.

ie hica ca in iehoantin omocēnonotzque
Because, indeed, they called themselves together,

oqujcētlaliq in intlatol,*
as one they settled it, their word,

inic muchipa q'niaochiuhtinemizque,
by which they will always live making war on them,

qujntlapololtizque.
they will disconcert them.

Ca mjequjntin oncate
Indeed, many are there,

notlapepenavan
my chosen ones,

in tlalticpč tlaca,
the men on the earth,

in amouā tlatoctizq
these, with you, will be considered speakers,
in njca muchipa cemjcac  
here, always, forever,  

nochätzinco.  
in my precious residence.

C

An cequjntin muchipa notlā  
A few of you always near me

âmioietztiezque.  
you will be,  

aic cāpa âmouicazq  
never will you go toward some place,  

in â seraphines,  
you seraphims,  

in an cherubines,  
you cherubims,  

in â thronos,  
you thrones,  

muchipa njxpâtzinco ammanjzq  
you will remain always before my precious visage.

in an seraphines  
You seraphims,  

namechnomaquilia  
I give you  

in vei tetlaçotlaliztli,  
great love for people.

in â cherubines  
You cherubims,  

nâm[e]chnomaquilia  
I give you  

in vei tlamatiliztli  
great knowledge of things.

yn â thronos  
You thrones,
I bestow on you
great strength.

You dominations,

I give as personal property to you

the command,

You principalities,

I give as a reward to you

the administration.

You powers,

I have a task for you,

by which you will confront the devils,

you will obstruct them

so that they will not damage it,

the earth.

You virtues,

it will be your task,

you will instruct the guide on divine things
inc vel quichiuazque
so that he will be able to do it,
in intequjuh.
his task.

Auh in Am archageles
And you archangels,

can jyo yquac ammotitlanizque
only, solely, you yourselves will go as messengers, at that time

iniquac vei netitlaniztli monequj
when a great embassy is necessary,
tlatolli onyey.
the word will be there.

Y am ageles iehoatl in annechmotlaiecutilizque
You angels, in this you will serve me:
in netitlanjztli:
as embassies,
yo a anqujmopielizque
and you will guard them,
anqujmcuitlauizque in tlalticpac tlaca,
you will care for them, the men on earth,
Y a cecame,
you, each one,
ceceme anqujmpieliizque.*
each one you will guard.

O ca yujn totlaçoane
Oh, indeed, thus, our beloved,
in qujmo[c]nelili
He rewarded them,
in q'nmomauizçotili
He honored them,
in tot? D. tlatoanj,
This One, Our Lord, God, Speaker,
in iehoantin qualtin iectin Angeloti
those good, upright angels,

in itetztinco mopouh
these who counted themselves on His side,

quin q'momauiztililique:
these who respected Him,

io in qujmotequjmaquili
and, thus, He gave them a task:

inic tech mochicauilizque
that they will strengthen us,

techmopielizq
they will guard us,

in jvicpa in tlauelilo in Diablome.
against these wicked ones, these devils,

in toiao in tec[o]olianjme.
our enemies, the ones who cause people harm.

(Fol. 40 v.) Inic matlactlomei Cap9
Thirteenth Chapter

Vnca mjtoa in quen iehoatzin
There it is told how He,

ypalnemoanj qujmochivili
He by Whom All Live, made it,

in ixquich yttonj.
all that is visible.

Auh tla xicmocaquitican
But, please listen to it,

totlaçohane,
our beloved,

caca monequj in vel achto
indeed, it is very necessary that first of all

aqujmjximachilizque*
you yourselves know Him,
in jpalnemoanj,
He by Whom All Live,

in vel nelli iehoatzin teutl tlatoanj,
He, the True God, the Speaker,

in qujmochiujli
This One Who made it,

in ixquich yttonj in amo ittonj:
all that is visible, that which is not visible,

in ic çatepâ vel anquimjximatizque
so that afterwards you will be able to know

in ñnamjê in amoteoan.
of what sort are these your gods.

A

Tla xicomocaquiticancan,
Please listen to it,

câ in iehoatzin ypalnemoanj,
indeed, He, He by Whom All Live,

in qujmochivili
made it,

ixquich ittonj yoâ in amo ittonj.
all that is visible and that which is not visible.

vel ipan in achtocemjihuitl
Properly, on the first whole day

(yâ yntoca domjngo)
(this one whose name is Sunday),

qujmochivili in ixquich amo ittonj,
He made it, all that is not visible,

in amo tiquitta in tehohantis,
that which we do not see;

yoan qujmuchiuili
and He made it,

in tlanextli in tiquitta.
the light, this one we see.
Auh in ipan ic omjilhuitl
And on the second day

(yn jtoca lunes)
(this one whose name is Monday),

qujmuchiujli in ilhuicatl
He made it, the heaven,

in aco valneci
the one which here appears above;

in tiquitita.
we see it.

In ipan ic e ilhuitl
On the third day

(in tiq'toa martes)
(we call it Tuesday),

q'muchiujli in vey atl
He made it, the great water,

yn aqujtocaiotia teoatl
this one you name divine water,

ilhujca atl,
heavenly water;

yoa in tlalticpactli,
and the earth,

yoan in ixquich quavitl,
and all the trees,

in xiuitl, in xuchitl,
herbs, flowers.

yn jpan ic nauilhuitl
On the fourth day

(in itoca miercoles)
(this one whose name is Wednesday),

qujyocox, qujmochiuili in ipalnemoanj,
He created it, He made it, He by Whom All Live,

in tonatiuh, in metztli,
the sun, the moon,
yoá in cicitlalti.
and the stars.

Auh in jpaic macuililhuitl
And on the fifth day

(in itoca Jueues)
(this one whose name is Thursday),
quiyocox qujmochiuili
He created them, He made them,
in ixquichtin vehueintin tlacamjmjchtin
all the large fishes,
in ilhuicaatl ytic nemj.
which live in the heavenly waters,

yoan in nepapa totome
and the various birds,
im patlatinemj.
these that live flying.

Auh in jpaic chicuacemjlhuitl
And on the sixth whole day

(in viernes)
(this one, Friday),
oqujmochiuili in ixquichtin
He made them, all the ones

manenemj in vehueintin,*
that go about on their hands, the large ones

yoan in tepiton.
and the small ones.

B

Auh in iquac oceltan,
And when He was completely finished,

mo muchimochiuh
everything having been made,
in itlachivaltzin dios,
this one, the precious creation of God,
in omoteneuh:
the one that was mentioned,

in çatepan oquimochiuli
afterwards He made it,

in tlacatl in macevalli,
a man, a common person;

çâ ie no ipâ inic chicuacemilhuitl
but immediately, also on the sixth whole day,

in omoteneuh in itoca viernes,
the one that was mentioned, whose name is Friday,

achto ie hoatl ochiualoc in oquichtli,
first he was made, the male,

in tocenta in tixquichtin*
our complete father of we all,

tlalticpac titlaca
we men on the earth,

oqujmotocaiotili Adam,
He named him Adam.

auh çatepâ otlacat ochiualoc
And afterwards she was born, she was made,

in achto tonâ
our first mother,

oqujmotocaiotili Eva:
He named her Eve.

tlalli çoquitl itech qujmochiuli
Of earth, clay, He made it,

in inacayo in achto tota
his flesh, this one of our first father.

auh nima itic qujmocalaquili
And then in him He inserted it,

çêtetl teioltica
the one thing by which people have life,

itoca anjma,
its name is soul,
ic yol.
by it there is life.

njmâ vey ixtlamatinj, mozcalianj,*
Then, a great knower of the face of things, a discreet one,
iolizmatqui, chipauac,*
one with a knowing heart, clean,
amo miquinj,
not mortal,
in qujmochiuli ypalnemoanj:
thus He made him, He by Whom All Live.
auh çatepâ muchiuuh
And afterwards was made

in achto tonâ no iuhquj,
our first mother, also in this way:

vei ixtlamatin[i]
a great knower of the face of things,

mozcalianj chipauac,
a discreet one, clean,
amo miquinj.
not mortal.

Auh in iquac ouqjmmuchiuiti
And then, having made for them

cêca qualcâ, cenca ieccâ,
a very good place, a very upright place,
cêca tetlamachticâ
a very profitable place,
in qujmotlalili. y xuchitlatzinco*
He set them in His precious flowering place,
yto[c]aiocâ Parayso terrenal:* a place named earthly paradise.
in ipâ qujmmotlatocatlalili
On it He established them as speakers
in ixquichtin itlachiualhuā.
of all His creations,

in omoteneuhq:
these that were mentioned.

auh qujmmonauatili in cuel
And He ordered them briefly:

qujcuazque*
they will eat it,

in nepapan xuchiqualli.*
the various edible flowers

in vmpa muchiua.
growing there,

c̔a miectlaṃati
indeed, the many things,

yoā cenca velic, cēca ahuiac.
and very savory, very pleasing.

Auh ca ce xuchiquallqualquitl
But, verily, one tree of edible flowers

qujmocaualtili.
He prohibited it to them,

vel qujmotlaquauhnauatili
He rigorously ordered them

inic amo quicuazque*
so that they will not eat it,

in itlaaquillo in ixuchiquallo.
its fruit, its edible flower.

Auh in iehoantin in tlauelq'pienj
And if they are able to continually safeguard

in ihiyotzin in itlatoltzin
His precious breath, His precious word,

in ipalnemoanj:
this one of He by Whom All Live,

aiac nica nemizquia tetotocoya.
no one would live here who would be pursued by someone.
in tehoantin tlalticpac titlaca,
We, we men on the earth,

cà ixquichtin vmpa nemizquia
indeed, all would live there,

in jxuchitlatzinco,
in His precious flowering place,

in vmpa Parayso terrenal.
there in the earthly paradise,

anoac miquizquja.
likewise, no one would die.

ca timuchintin tiioiltiazquja
Only we all, we would live

in vmpa ilhuicatl itic,
there in the interior of heaven.

atle miquiztli, atle cocoliztli,
Nothing of death, nothing of sickness,

atle netequipacholiztli*
nothing of the burdens that crush one another,

tepa muchiuazquja:
would happen to people.

ca paca iocuxca
Only joyously, peacefully,

vmpa uilouazqz in ilhuicac.
would one go there, to heaven.

D

In iehoatl i ca cēca melauac tlatolli,*
This one is, indeed, the very straight word,

inic neci in quenjn otichiualoque
by which it appears how we were made,

in tehoantin tlaltēc titlaca.
we, we men on the earth.

Ca muchi teutlatolli:
Indeed, all are divine words,
auh ca ticmati,
and, verily, we know it,

caca mjec in amonetlapololti
indeed, many are your careless mistakes,
in oamechcauili
these they caused to be left with you,
tehjaque amotaua
the ones who already left, your fathers.
in itech pahi
In what concerns these,
atle melauac.
nothing is straight,
atle nelli.
nothing is real,
atle neltoconj,*
nothing is a following of truth,
ca muchi avillatolli.
all that is only frivolous words.

Auh in ixquich inin tamechtolhuilia,
But all this we tell you,
ca muchi teuamuxpa
it is all in the divine book,
onicuiliuhtoc.
there it lies painted.

Inic matlaclton navi Cap9
Fourteenth Chapter

Vnca mjto in quenj ncaca muxicoanj,
There it was told how very envious,
cenca tecocolianj yn diablome.
very great causers of harm to people, are the devils.

Vel xiquitztimotlalica totlacoane,
Fixedly consider well, our beloved,
inic vel anq'caq'zque
so that you will be able to hear it,

quenamjque in qujmoteotia.*
of what sort are these you regard as gods.

In iehoantin diablome
Those devils,

in ipc oujmatque,*
on their head they knew it,

moveliniollopachiuh*
they themselves had their hearts well filled,

in quenj iehoantin tlaltpe tlaca
how those men on the earth,

ouqjmmochiuili ypalnemoanj,
whom He made, He by Whom All Live,

inic vmpa iazq ilhuicatl itic,
will, thus, go there, into the interior of heaven,

iehoantin qujcuitiuj,
they would go to take it,

qujpachotiuj
they would go to govern it,

in inpetl in jmicpal
their mat, their seat,

in ocujliloq.
this one which had been seized from them.

Auh iequene in gnjn iehoantin
And also, how they,

ocemanyâ telchiualoque,
they were forever to remain scorned,

aoquic ceppa vmpa calaquizq
never once more will they enter there

in jtlatocachatzinco dios tlatoanj,
in the precious speaker's mansion of God, Speaker,

in ilhuicac:
in heaven.
Because of this, they were very jealous, because of this, the previously mentioned, they said:

Cate qualli.
They are good,

muchipa cemjcac tiqujcoculivi[z]que always, forever, we will go to cause them harm,

we will make war on them,
in tlaca, in maceualti: the men, the common people,

uel iehoatin toiaoan, extremely are they our enemies,

aic ceviz never will it be calm,

yn toiollo yn invicpa. our heart against them.

A

Auh ipampahi omononotzque.
And because of this which they had resolved,

ynyc (PoZ. 47 v.) in iehoatl ymachcauh lucifer accordingly he, their chief, Lucifer,

vmpa yaz in Parayso terrenal, will go there to the earthly paradise,

he will tempt them,

he will compel them to commit faults,
in achto tota, our first father,
in achto tonà, our first mother,
quinioleuaz*
he will raise the hearts of them,

quincuitlauiltiz
he will win them over,

inic quiquazque xuchiqualli,
so that they will eat it, the edible flower,

in qujn mocavaltili
which He had forbidden them,

ypalnemoanj.
He by Whom All Live.

Oyah qujmoiehecultito,
He went to tempt them,

auh uel oqujmiztlacauj,
and he was able to deceive them,

oquitlacamatque,
they obeyed him,

quiquaque in xuchiqualli
they ate it, the edible flower,

in qujmopieltili Dios
this one He, God, caused them to safeguard

in amo quiquazquja
so they would not eat it.

atle ypan oquittaque
They considered it as nothing,

in itenauatiltzin.
His precious mandate.

Yn quenin oqujtecpâ
How he put it in order,

in iteneiehecultiliz lucifer,
the temptation of Lucifer,

oc nepa tamechcaquitizque.
further on we will cause you to hear.
Cenca omoqualanalti,
He was very irritated,

o uel moiolitlacotzino
He was extremely injured in the precious heart,

in ipalnemoanj dios, tlatoanj:
of He by Whom All Live, God, Speaker.

njmâ ic qujmmocuilili
Immediately, because of this, He seized them,

in cêca vey in cenca tlaçotli,
that very great, that very precious thing,

in qujmomaquilia
which He had given them,

yn itoca Justicia original:
whose name is original justice.

yoâ cêca qujmahuili,
And He caused them to be very afraid

êca qujnopinauhtili,
much did He reproach them,

êca tecoco in tlatolli
very painful was the word

qujmolhuili:
He said to them,

inic qujmotelchiuili,
by which He scorned them.

oqujmomiquiztlatzêtequilibili
He condemned them to die,

inic miquizque
so that they will die,

inic tlaltiz yn jnnacayo,
so that it will become earth, their bodies,

ioâ mictlan qujmmotlaxiliz
and to the region of the dead He will cast them,
in imanjmâ:
their souls;

no tehoâtin timochintin
also we, we all,

in tipilhuâ.
we their children.

yoâ quâvalmoquixtili
And He pulled them out towards here

in vmpa yicc tlalpâtzinco:* from there, the interior of the place of the precious land,

njcan tlaltâc atlaughtla,
to here, on the earth, where ravines abound,

tepetzalan, yxtlauaacâ
in the midst of mountains, plains,

quâvalmototoquili.
He chased them hither.

C

Auh in iehoantin
And they,

cêca ic motolinjque, because of this, they were very impoverished,

vel chocaque, tlaocuxque, they cried considerably, they were sad,

aoquic paque nevermore did they rejoice,

aoquic avix in iniollo, nevermore was their heart content,

yn jnnacaio their flesh,

in nican tlaltâc here on the earth.

in in vel netoliniliztli Thus, in truth, misery,

1940

1945

1950
muchi ie hoatl topa oquitlaz
all of it, on us he cast it,

in toiaouh lucifer.
our enemy Lucifer,

in icnihu in ixquichti
his friends, all these

anqujntocaiotia teteo.*
you call gods.

Auh mopilhuatique,*
And they had children,

ometin in tlacatque inpilhu,
their two children were born,

cce ytoca muchiuh Cayn tetiachcauh,*
it happened that the name of one was Cain, the elder brother,

auh inocce ytoca Abel teteiccauh.*
and the other's name was Abel, the younger brother.

Auh in tecocolianj in diablo
And the one who causes people harm, the devil,

quiztlacaui in Cayn,
he deceived him, Cain,

inic quichtacmjecti
so that he secretly killed him,

in iteiccauh catca in abel.
his younger brother who was Abel.

ceca ic moqualanalti
Because of this He was very irritated,

in ipalnemoanj,
He by Whom All Live,

quimocetelchiuili in Cayn,
He completely scorned Cain,

yoan cenca qujmahuili,
and He caused him great fear,

vey netoliniliztli ypan quimochiuli.
great misery He made upon him.
Auh in iehoatl ixpapa ievac in itatzin y Adam:
And he, he fled from before his precious father Adam,
vecaia, quiuicac in iciuauh catca:
he went far, he went with this one who was his woman.
auh ceca tlaueliloc muchiuh,
And he made himself a very wicked one,
vel motlapololti,
he disconcerted himself considerably, 1975
motlauelnec yuicpatzinco
he himself desired to be furious against Him,
in tloque naoaque,
the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding,
vel itlauelco moxiuhtlati.
in his anger he tired himself considerably.

D

Auh cã ie no iehoã yn diablome
And quickly also they, the devils,
qujtlapololtique. quimjztlacuiqz
they disconcerted them, they deceived them, 1980
yn ipilhua Cajn,
these, the children of Cain.
ca tlateotocanjme muchiuhque.
Indeed, they made themselves followers of things as gods,
quimoteutique
they regarded it for themselves as god,
in itlachiualtzin dios,
the precious creations of God.

intech peuh, intech tzintic
With them began, with them commenced to be, 1985
in tlateutoquiliztli.*
the act of following things as gods.

Auh in adam yoã in ipilhoa,
But Adam and his children,
in čatepā tlacatque:
these who were born afterwards,

nōqua quiztineca,
separately, they lived withdrawn,

cētlamātitiñeca,*
they lived as one thing.

iehoatzin qujmoteutiaia,
He is that precious one, they were regarding Him as God,

qujmotlatlauhtiliaia
they were imploring Him,

in nelli teutl tlatoanj dios:
the True God, Speaker, God.

vel qujmocuitlaujaia
They were troubling themselves with it,

inic atle quichiuaazqz,
so that they would do nothing

in iiolitlacolocatzin.
that was an injury to His precious heart.

Auh iniqc omomiquili
And when he died,

in achtotl tlacatl in adam
the first man, Adam,

inic cenca moxicoanj diablome,
accordingly the very jealous devils

nima oqujntlapololtique,
then disconcerted them,

quimiztlacauj
deceived them,

in jnpilhua Adam,
these, the children of Adam

quinneloqz
who had mixed with them,

in ipilhua cayn.
these the children of Cain.
qujmociuauatique in imjchpuchua:* 2005
They had made them their women, these their girls,

yc oquicepantlapuijque, 2010
thus, they together increased it,

oquicepâ veilique in tlauelilocaiotl, 2015
they together augmented it, their wickedness,

in iyolitlacoloca ypalnemoanj, 2020
this was injury to the heart of He by Whom All Live.

yn ipampahin. cêca omoqualanalalti
On account of it, He was very irritated,

omoiolitlacotzino
He Himself was injured in the precious heart,

yn jcel teutl.
this one of the Sole God.

Vey apachiviliztlitl*
[With] a great satiation of water,

ic oqujmopopulhuj
thus He exterminated them,

in ixquixtin cemanauc tlaca.
all the men in the world.

Ça icel quimocauili.
He only, solely, left him,

qujmotlapopulhuili,
He pardoned him,

quimomaquixtili
He saved him,

in itlaço catca,
this one who was His precious one,

in vel itetlaieculticauh
this one who, in truth, was His servant
(ytocâ Noe)
(his name, Noah),

yocâ in jciuauh,
and his woman,
yoa eintin itelpuchu, 
and his three young sons, 

yoa yn iciuamo catca: 
and these who were his daughters-in-law. 

centeti vey quappetlacalli ytic 
In the interior of one large wooden chest 

maquizque: 
they escaped; 

yoa in occequi itlachiualhu, 
also others of His creations, 

in quappetlacalco calaquiloque they were introduced into the wooden chest 

ytencopatzinco tot Dios. 
by His precious order of Our Lord, God. 

E 

Auh injquac onoceppa 
And when, once again, 

tlapiuixque 
they increased, 

in tlalticpac tlaca: 
these men on earth, 

maciu in ceca ie ixachi catca, 
although already these were very many, 

cu ieh ca centlamatli in tlatolli catca, 
before, only one was their speech, 

inic tlatoloia noujac tlatp. 
by which they were speaking everywhere on the earth. 

Auh in tlaueliloque in toiaoua diablome 
But the wicked ones, our enemies the devils, 

ye no ceppa cetlamatli ic 
one more time, by one thing, 

quijntlapololtique 
they disconcerted them,
in cemanauac tlaca.
the men of the world.

oqujiollotique
They caused them heart,*

inic quichiuzque*
so that they will build it,

céca vecapan tepetl.
a very high mountain,

inic vmpa tlecozque ilhuicac:*
by which from there they will climb to heaven.

auh iniquac ye itechnemj,
And when already they are continually near it,

inic cenca ie vecapă tepetl quijquetza,*
already they raise it, the very high mountain,

yc omoiolitinacotzino,
by this He Himself was injured in the precious heart,

yn ipalnemoanj:
This One, He by Whom All Live.

auh iehoatl
And He,

icc oquijmotlatzacuitlip,
because of this, He punished them,

inic ytlacauh
in this way He obstructed it,

ynic xexeliuh tlatolli:
thus He divided the language,

am çã centlamantli tlatolli
not only one language,

çêca miec tlamâtli omuchiu,
very many ones came to be,

çêca ic omotlapololtique
because of this they were very disconcerted

yoan oquicauhque in tepetl.
and they abandoned the mountain.
Oca izquialmantli hin,
Oh, indeed, so many things

inici otechtolínique
by which they afflict us,

ytoiaoaan diablosme.
these our enemies, the devils,

cia iehoantin in anqujmoteutia.
indeed, they which you regard as gods.

Notes
5. Padreme, from the Spanish padre (father, priest) and the
Náhuatl plural suffix -me.
7. Tlatoani refers to the most important ruler. Molina
translates teyotica tlatoani as 'bishop or prelate,' that is,
'spiritual lord' (Molina, 1970). Literally, 'speaker of things.'
10. That is, 'here.'
12. Altepeltl is literally 'water, mountain.' It is a shortened
form for atli, tepeltl, used as a metaphor for 'city.'
16. Tlatoque means 'lords' or 'principal rulers.'
30. Macehualli (sing. macehua) is often translated as
'vassals,' 'subjects,' or 'commoners.' With the prefix ti-, 'we the
merited'; from macehua, 'to obtain' or 'merit,' especially
through penitence.
40. Thus, 'to your city.' See note to line 12.
49. That is, 'content' or satisfied.
54. This list includes some of the most important peoples in
central, western, and eastern Mexico on the arrival of the
Spaniards.
55. That is, those who dwell in towns or cities.
74. That is, they decided on their own to conquer them.
77. Temachtiani is singular.
80. That is, they are idolaters.
81. Diablene, from the Spanish diable (devil) and the Náhuatl
plural suffix -me. See note to line 5 and line 300.
91. That is, 'an accord was reached.'
107. That is, 'we twelve' (Franciscan friars).
115. That is, the Holy Scriptures, the Bible.
117. Metaphor used for 'speech,' 'discourse,' or 'words.'
119. Tlalticpaque, a pre-Hispanic term for an important deity,
possibly Tescaltipoca.
120. Ipalmemoani, a frequently used pre-Hispanic term
usually reserved for the most important god of the Nahuas
in the Valley of Mexico, Tescaltipoca.
129. That is, a precious metal; in particular, gold.
134. That is, what his nature is.
155. That is, a wise man or philosopher.
166. A metaphor for 'sovereignty' or 'authority.'
176. That is, 'priests.'
177. That is, 'preachers.'
207. That is, 'convinced.'
217. That is, 'by which you offend Him.'
220. Also, 'by your injuries from the heart.'
235. That is, 'console' or 'appease.'
238. Refers to the Pope.
243. Literally, 'to see one as an orphan.'
262. Ocotl is a species of pine-tree; also used to refer to a pine
torch. Figuratively used to mean 'the good example,'
therefore, the phrase means 'to illuminate spiritually' or 'to set
the proper example.'
263. Literally, 'your face.'
269. Mictlan was used by the friars to mean 'hell.' Before the
Conquest the region of the dead was located either somewhere
by the north or under the surface of the earth.
284. That is, 'believe it.'
285. That is, 'be satisfied' or 'content.'
288. Tlque Nahuque is an ancient designation formerly
applied to the foremost deity of the Nahuas, usually identified
with Tescaltipoca or whichever deity would fit the term
Ipalnemoani. This is the most abstract epithet for the Nahua
godhead and has been, therefore, variously translated. My
literal translation coincides, in general, with those translations
which are most widely accepted.
305. The verb (qui)-cuilo (a)-(zij) originally meant 'paint,'
after the Conquest it took on the added meaning of 'write.'
312. That is, 'it was written with both black and red inks';
figuratively, 'it was written with profound learning or
wisdom.' See note to line 790.
324. Teiocoiani, an ancient epithet for the creator god.
Temaquiztiani, literally, 'he who liberates (or saves)
someone.' After the Conquest it was used as the equivalent of
Redeemer or Savior.
328. That is, 'very worthy of belief.'
361. This phrase is unclear. I have accepted Lehmann's suggestion that it be read "to-tlan [matlactin] [t-omlome]."
368. Two pre-Hispanic titles for an important deity.
376. That is, 'here.'
381. This phrase is unclear. I have accepted Lehmann's a greeting, but more frequently it has a connotation of either
moistening one's fingers and touching the ground, after which the particles of earth would be licked off.
385. That is, 'we discharge our debts,' 'we atone,' 'we sacrifice,' or 'make an offering.' Copalli, a hard resin used as incense in
most religious rituals.
387. That is, 'we make sacrifices.' This term was also used for human sacrifices.
394. That is, 'these our makers of people.'
397. Also, 'these who engendered us,' 'our governors'; literally, 'these our makers of people.'
403. That is, 'we make sacrifices.' This term was also used for
human sacrifices.
409. One major feast was celebrated every month.
413. Tlaloc, the principal temple in Tenochtitlan. The term can mean
'hummingbird of the left' or 'left-handed hummingbird.'
415. Mictlantecuhtli, 'lord of the region of the dead,' is
identified in some texts with a black Tetzcatlipoca.
416. Chihuacoatl, 'female serpent,' coincides with many prominent female deities; as a consequence her functions are varied and not well delineated. The term was also applied to
the second most important political ruler in the hierarchy of
Tenochtitlan.
417. Pitzintecuhtli can signify a number of things: 'young lord,' 'boy lord,' or 'little noble lord.' His functions are related
to feasts, flowers, and pleasure. He is also considered the first son of the primal couple Ocomoco and Cipactonal.
418. Cinteotl, 'maize cob god.'
419. That is, the 'four hundred biznas' (an edible cactaceous plant). These were sons of the goddess Coaltlicue, the mother of Huitzilopochtli. They are usually described as having gone
south; the term for south is huitztlampa, which also means left
(see note to line 410).
420. These are the gods of pulque, the native fermented drink from the sweet sap of the maguey plant (agave).
423. The Nahua only used this term in the singular.
431. That is, 'they bring down upon you.'
441. Necoc Yaotl was another name for Tetzcatlipoca.
451. That is, 'surpassing all things by much more.'
457. That is, in his 'royal palace.'
459. That is, His 'kingdom.'
470. That is, 'not merely many years.' The Nahua numerical system is vigesimal; 400 is the figurative equivalent of
'innumerable' or, simply, 'many.'
473. Molina defines nocopil as 'ser dichos de recibir algun bien,' 'to be fortunate in receiving some good (or gift).'
485. That is, the 'kingdom' of heaven, the celestial 'kingdom.'
504. That is, the 'key.' The Nahua had neither doors nor keys.
See line 627.
507. That is, 'cause you to consider (or esteem) His precious
dominion.'
527. That is, 'door.' See note to line 604.
560. That is, 'they make a mockery of everyone.'
561. Also, 'that you forget them.'
588. A formulaic phrase primarily used as a closing statement.
697. The actual speaker here is an interpreter. See line 870.
699. A formulaic phrase used on the arrival of a welcomed but
unexpected guest of great distinction (Sahagún, 1975: 416, 736), also used to describe a region of mystery or any mystery in general.
716. A metaphor for 'secret.'
725. Lines 725-731 are an excellent example of the great
ability of the Nahua to create metaphors of singular beauty and descriptiveness. One must keep in mind that chalchihuitl, quetzalli (jade, plume) is a metaphor for beauty and riches
(since these two terms represent the objects most valued by
the ancient Nahua). See line 998 and note to that line.
729. That is, having neither a shade (dark or blemished spot) nor a defect.
732. That is, 'they died, He killed them.'
741. At the time of the Conquest the ruling groups of central Mexico had formed an alliance composed of three cities: Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tetzoco (located in the region east of Tenochtitlan and inhabited by the Aculhuauque), and Tacopan (lying to the west of Tenochtitlan and inhabited by the Tepanecs).
742. Motecuhzomatzin was the lord of the alliance mentioned above and, therefore, supreme ruler of the Valley of Mexico on the arrival of the Spaniards. His title in Náhuatl was tlatoani ('the one who speaks well' or simply, 'speaker').
743. Ahuitzotzin was the eighth tlatoani of Tenochtitlan.
744. Azayacatzin was the sixth tlatoani of Tenochtitlan.
745. Tizocica tzin was the seventh tlatoani of Tenochtitlan.
746. Itzcacatzin was the fourth tlatoani of Tenochtitlan. The rise of the Mexica state began under his rule (aprox. 1427–1440).
747. Motecuhzoma the elder was the fifth tlatoani of Tenochtitlan.
748. Nezahualcoyotzin was the most important tlatoani of Tetzoco. He was the Nahua poet-'king' of the fifteenth century.
749. Nezahualpilli was the son of Nezahualcoyotzin, he ruled Tetzoco until 1515.
750. Totonchiazti was a tlatoani of Tacopan in the sixteenth century.
751. Tezozomocztli was a tlatoani of Azcapotsalco, a Tepanec city very near Tacopan.
752. Lines 752–753 and 762–765 represent formulaic refrains repeated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but examples can also be culled from the literature referring to pre-Hispanic times.
753. That is, 'they would have responded to.'
756. This refers to the humility and kindness shown by the first Franciscans which greatly impressed the Nahuas.
762. See note to line 752.
765. That is, 'our ancestors.'
772. That is, these (the priests) govern us with regard to the serving (honoring) of the gods.
773. That is, our priests who are honored by these (the common people).
774. A metaphor for 'the common people,' 'the masses.'
775. The tlamacazque were pre-Hispanic Nahua priests who performed sacrifices. Sahagún (1975: 214) considered their ranking to be below that of the tlennamacaque which they assisted. In turn, these latter were considered to be inferior to the supreme priests called the quequetsalcoa (see line 776).
778. That is, 'their responsibility (or duty) which burdens them.'
782. Acxoyatl, a plant whose leaves were used by both priests and penitents to collect the blood drawn in various pre-Hispanic sacrificial rituals. Its branches were used to adorn the temples and to hold the thorns used in the penitential rites.
787. That is, 'read it.'
788. That is, 'recount what they read.'
789. The dried pages of the books crackled noisily when turned.
790. A metaphor for the paintings or writing in the ancient texts (codices). Also a metaphor for 'knowledge' or 'wisdom.'
793. That is, 'they cause us to understand which is the right path to follow.'
797. That is, each of the twenty day units. This is a reference to both the solar and the ritual calendars.
800. That is, the duty to speak about the gods and sacred things.
803. A metaphor for 'war.'
808. These refer to attire for warfare; therefore, this is a metaphor for 'going to war.'
809. A metaphor for hard labor in the fields and in commerce but used for all labor in general as well.
835. That is, 'said them.'
842. That is, 'was completed.'
844. Literally, 'will go together.'
845. Literally, 'will go assemble.'
849. That is, because it was dawn.
864. That is, 'our priests' or 'penitents.'
866. That is, 'hold in high esteem.'
870. That is, 'an interpreter recounted it.'
873. See note to line 775.
874. That is, he begged them to excuse the long speech.
876. It is not clear who the subject is. Charles V is probably the person referred to because of line 920.
891. The Spaniards are being referred to as gods.
893. Teoatl could also mean 'the vast (or immense) water' since teo- is sometimes used for 'greatest' or 'most important.'
899. Itzcacatl, 'heavenly water,' was also used before the Conquest for ocean because of the general cosmological belief that the seas met with the heavens in the horizon. The Spanish priests labored to replace these terms by huey atl, 'great or large water.' See line 1296.
900. A metaphor for representative, messenger, ambassador, image, or successor.
900. An epithet for the invisible and impalpable deity usually identified with Tescaltipoca or Quetzalcoatl. As god of wind, Quetzalcoatl is named Ehecatl (wind). See note to line 411.
916. 'Insignificant' is used here in the sense of smallness with overtones of contempt.
917. Figuratively, 'we are servants,' 'slaves.' Also used as a metaphor expressing subordination or humility.
921. Literally, 'on the ear of his hat, on the ear of his seat.'
922. This refers to Cortés and/or Charles V who had marginalized the Nahuas from the center of power.
923. That is, 'we respond.' The meaning is 'to answer by contradicting what has been said.'
926. That is, 'we come from and are sustained by Him.'
927. That is, we expose ourselves to danger by responding to you.
930. That is, 'our grave, our death.'
931. Also, 'lazy in doing things.'
938. That is, 'become tranquil,' 'still,' or 'calm.'
941. That is, 'we will share something.'
944. That is, the principal lords in the last chapter.
954. That is, 'our ancestors.' Literally, 'our makers of the people.'
958. That is, 'the customs or norms by which to live.'
959. That is, 'they believed them,' 'they held them to be true.'
963. That is, 'the various rituals.'
966. See note to line 384.
967. See note to line 385.
972. That is, 'through their sacrifice the gods made themselves deserving of us.' This could be a reference to the Nahua creation myth of the 'Fifth Sun.'
975. That is, the gods.
976. A metaphor for 'sustenance,' or 'nourishment.'
979. Huauhtli (amaranth) was known by the Spaniards as hied. Chian was called chia (Salvia Hispanica). Both were popular food sources before the Conquest; however, their extensive ritual uses prompted the Spanish priests to prohibit their cultivation.
989. Tlalocan was the paradise of Tlaloc where food, water, and riches abounded. Most sources claim that only those who died by drowning, lightning, dropsy, gout, and the like were allowed to enter the 'kingdom' of Tlaloc.
995. Tilapito was an ornament made out of some semi-precious stone which was worn under the lower lip by nobles and distinguished warriors.
996. Tilapito was an ornament for the head used to tie the hair.
998. This is a metaphor composed of the generic term for a stone considered precious by the Nahua and the generic term for a fine plume. See note to line 725.
1004. Tollan, among the rushes,' the capital city of the Toltecs, the cultural successors of the Teotihuacans. These latter were the dominant central Mexican civilization in the first millennium with their capital in Teotihuacan. Tollan, near the modern Tula, is located north of Mexico-Tenochtitlan.
1005. Huapalcalco, 'place of the house of beams,' may have been located near Tulancingo in the modern state of Hidalgo.
1006. Xochitlalpan, 'in the land of flowers,' used as a metaphor for some lush tropical area.
1007. Tamoanchan has an uncertain etymology. It is frequently used in the texts to refer to a mythical place possibly on the eastern coast.
1008. Yoallichan, 'house of the night,' Ángel Ma. Garibay suggests it was the name of an ancient sanctuary (Sahagún, 1976: 962).
1009. Teotihuacan, 'place where gods are made,' is located just north of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. This city was considered to be a sacred center by the Nahua whose origin myth of the cosmos takes place in this ancient cite. See note to line 1004.
1019. Chichimeca, its etymology is uncertain and its use very varied. In general, it refers to the ancient inhabitants of the north of Mexico including those who migrated south and later composed the majority of the inhabitants in the central region.
1020. The Toltecs were the cultural precursors of the sixteenth century Nahua. See note to line 1004.
1021. Colhuaca, the inhabitants of Colhuacan (located just south of Tenochtitlan). They were immediate ideological precursors and former political rulers of the Mexicas of Tenochtitlan, that is, the Aztecs.
1022. Tepaneca, former rulers of the Mexica when these first entered the Valley of Mexico in the thirteenth century. See note to line 741.
1023. That is, 'already our heart knows that.'
1031. Also, 'beware of forcing them to do something.'
1033. That is, 'all the more so,' or 'especially as by doing something it will be better.'
1036. That is, 'was raised.'
1037. That is, 'matured.'
1047. That is, the gods.
1052. That is, 'we cannot be content' or 'tranquil.'
1054. That is, 'we do not accept it as true.'
1059. That is, 'these who govern it,' referring to the land of the Nahua.
1065. That is, 'here.'
1066. Literally, 'stuck.' That is, by remaining here we will only cause these leaders to be imprisoned.
1108. That is, 'in past times' (in oc ye nepa).
1119. That is, 'it is properly written,' 'written in an orderly manner.'
1125. That is, 'that which is credible.'
1129. That is, 'exist' or 'inhabit.'
1135. Literally, 'these very possessors of things.'
1136. That is, 'on account of the fact that.'
1137. Quin- (them) should be -qui- (Him).
1143. That is, 'you did not have it.'
1187. That is, 'the time to eat has long since passed.'
1230. That is, 'already He had always been in existence.'
1240. Literally, 'rest (or 'are') completely with (or 'in') Him.'
1254. That is, 'from Him.'
1265. Also, 'in the precious heart of the palm of His hand.'
1289. That is, 'He cares for it constantly.'
1293. Read: totech for tech.
1296. See note to line 993.
1302. That is, 'the plants that germinate and die out every year.'
1323. Literally, 'the act (or quality) of knowing something.'
1337. Metaphor for 'your person.'
1349. That is, 'He existed.'
1352. That is, 'would make the world.'
1361. That is, 'it is not visible from here.'
1370. Literally, 'causing something to appear;' figuratively, something brilliant or shiny.
1373. Literally, 'those that know things.'
1379. That is, 'who governed' or 'led them.'
1380. Also, 'beauty' or 'clarity.'
1386. Oatlama, literally, 'he did not know something.'
1405. That is, 'he opposed him,' 'he quarreled with him.'
1413. That is, 'no one by force will be able to do such.'
1416. That is, 'the two sides quarreled.'
1434. That is, 'mortals.'
1440. That is, the vanquished were deprived of their dominion since it was, literally, 'seized from them.'
1451. Literally, 'the place where he is tormented by things.'
1452. That is, 'placed, sent there.'
1457. Tzitzimimime, the etymology is uncertain. These are enigmatic beings variously described as monsters, inhabitants of the air, and beings that were to descend from the heavens at the end of the present age and eat all the men, women, and children. Molina defines colectli as 'a certain demon.'
1459. Tzontemoc, 'he who descends on his head (or head first.).' The literature sometimes describes tzontemoc as the sun when it begins its descent. Therefore, it could be identified with Mictlantecuhtli who is the lord of the region of the dead. As such, he would be the sun of the dead which travels at night through that mictlan which is located under the earth's surface. See note to line 269.
Piochti is defined by Molina as the hair left on the hind part of the head of the young men when their hair is cut. Piyoche, therefore, may mean 'he with a small tuft of hair on his head,' that is, 'he with a small piocthi.'
1460. Tsonpachpul, 'he of the hair like moss' or 'he of the hairy moss,' with the augmentative pejorative -pol. Ángel Ma. Garibay defines cuezel as 'flame, vivid red color, a plume of that color,' and cuezlitzin as an 'venerable flame, epithet for fire.' (Sahagún, 1975: 926).
1464. That is, 'a hater of people.'
1469. That is, 'everyone.'
1472. That is, 'many believed them.'
1495. This phrase is not correctly written. I have translated Walter Lehmann's translation (und ihr wollt damit euch ihnen gleich machen). Miguel León-Portilla suggests the sentence be translated simply as 'come, our beloved.'
1509. That is, 'they hated Him very much.'
1510. Literally, 'their creator of someone' or 'of people.'
1520. Literally, 'how we have been forever to remain scorned.'
1521. That is, 'and how we were taken.'
1524. Literally, 'that we will now make war on them.'
1525. Literally, 'His things made, God's.'
1532. -Tlapoloti (a) - could also be translated as 'confuse,' 'make careless,' 'disturb,' 'agitate,' or 'perplex.' 'Disconcert' means all of these.
2042. That is, 'would climb to heaven.'
2044. That is, 'when they had climbed very high.' The phrasing is not clear.

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Notes and Comments

In this all Aztec/Nahuatl issue, the last issue of ALCHERINGA, we offer a number of firsts. Tim Knab's translation and presentation of contemporary tales from the Sierra Norte de Puebla reveal for us a style of narrative--one is tempted to call it startled or jumpy--not yet encountered in these pages. Thelma Sullivan translates a "classical" Nahuatl text with the delicacy and precision expected by those who already know her work, work whose appearance in these pages was long overdue. Beyond the text presented here lies a whole library of sixteenth-century Nahuatl literature, yet to be translated in a way that does justice to the grace and style of the original language. J. Jorge Klor de Alva gives us the first complete English translation of the 1524 dialogues between Aztec and Spanish priests. Mesoamericanists tend to favor texts with minimal European content, as if wishing history away, but a close reading of these dialogues shows us that we can have our Aztecs and our Europeans too, understood all the more sharply when they are brought together in the same text.

This last issue of ALCHERINGA is the thirteenth to appear since the magazine was founded by myself and Jerome Rothenberg in 1970. Whether we rule the decimal system or it rules us I do not know, but ALCHERINGA turns out to have been a phenomenon of the 70's. The present issue was delayed by a budget freeze here at Boston University, and the thaw, it turns out, is only enough to let us get this one last issue off the press.

Special thanks are due to the Literary Magazines Program of the National Endowment for the Arts for a grant, without which even the publication of this one last issue would not have been possible. Thanks, too, for a similar grant which helped us get through 1977-78.

Thanks to Patrick Gregory, Pat Mahon, and Norman Wells of the Boston University Scholarly Publications Office, whose extra efforts made it possible to complete this last issue and distribute it. And thanks to Fred Lyford of Puritan Press in Nashua, New Hampshire, for his patience, helpful suggestions, and the high quality of his work.

Thanks to our contributors, and above all to those who have provided camera-ready copy: David Antin, Kris Holmes, and Charles Bigelow in the recent past; J. Jorge Klor de Alva in the present issue; and William Spanos and David Locke in what would have been the next issue.

Thanks to all those who have assigned issues of ALCHERINGA as classroom texts; the present issue and a number of past issues (see inside back cover for list) will continue to be available for purchase.

And, finally, thanks to all our subscribers, whose loyalty has helped the magazine survive longer than it might have. Many readers have praised ALCHERINGA, but faint is the praise that is not accompanied by a subscription.

What lies ahead? One encouraging sign is that Richard Bauman, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Texas, will be taking over the editorship of
the Journal of American Folklore. He holds the view that one ought to be able to encounter folklore in that journal—as was the case under the editorships of Franz Boas, Elsie Clews Parsons, and Ruth Benedict—and not just people talking about folklore. Here at Boston University there may soon be a new journal of and on translation, including work of the sort that has appeared in ALCHERINGA (subscribers to ALCHERINGA will be notified of any such development). But there are other needs—for example, for a periodical that works exclusively with camera-ready copy provided by contributors, giving authors direct command of the appearance of their work and breaking out of the industrialized uniformity to which they all too willingly submit. Anthropologists have long needed a periodical devoted to dialogues and letters direct from the field, texts and textual interpretations, and essays, poems, photographic essays, and other alternatives to the journal article, a form that has nearly exhausted its possibilities for conveying anything new; perhaps such a publication will one day appear.

For the next year and a half, my own work will center on a new English translation of the Popol Vuh of the Quiché Maya of Guatemala, drawing on insights gained in my recent field work. Up to this point our knowledge of that book is such that we have not even given it the proper titles. The text itself explains that it is a popol vuh, or "council book" (a type of book, not a title), and that it is properly called The Light from Across the Sea, The Story of Our Darkness, The Light of Light. There is so much work to be done! The work of ALCHERINGA will go on, in this and in other ways, and I will always welcome correspondence from those who do such work or wish to hear of it, at The University Professors, Boston University, 745 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215.

---D.T.

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A Coyote Reader

I am hoping to compile a volume with the tentative title *A Coyote Reader*, to consist of several kinds of material, both new and reprinted, written partly by myself and partly by others, about the mythic Coyote figure of the Western U.S. and Meso-America. Unlike the volume of Coyote stories which I edited in 1978 for the IJAL Native American Texts Series, this book is to be entirely in English; it will be designed not only for anthropologists, but also for non-specialist readers.

Some of the types of things which I hope to include are the following:

(1) Traditional Coyote stories of Native American peoples, presented in new translations which aim for greater anthropological, linguistic, and poetic validity than most of those published up to now. I think it essential that the translator KNOW THE LANGUAGE of the original (I myself am working on some translations from Karok and Cahuilla). Two particular approaches to translation seem especially valuable here:

(a) that which attempts to convey the "paralinguistic" features of natural oral performance, as Dennis Tedlock has done with Zuni texts; and

(b) that which attempts to convey the character of Native American narrative as "measured verse", as Dell Hymes has done with Northwestern materials.

(2) Commentary on the mythic Coyote figure in Native American literature, including such possible topics as these:

(a) Coyote's role in the myths of particular cultures, as in Barre Toelken's study of Navajo material.

(b) The different types of Coyote story that exist, with their respective functions, in different cultures.

(c) The relationship of the biological coyote, as studied by ethologists like Don Gill, to the Coyote of myth.

(d) The relationship between Coyote and other trickster figures of native North America, such as Raven.

(e) The role of Coyote in Meso-American myth, both pre-Columbian and contemporary, as compared with North America.

(3) Modern literary work in English inspired by Coyote, written by poets both of Native American background (e.g. Simon Ortiz, Peter Blue Cloud) and of Anglo background (e.g. Gary Snyder, Will Staple). Add also commentary and evaluation of such work: how and why does the mythic Coyote CONTINUE to be important to us all?

* * *

I would like anyone who is interested in this undertaking to get in touch with me: send me suggestions, references to published materials, new "ethnopoetic" translations, and unpublished MSS of poetry or commentary. My address is:

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