



HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.¹

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOÁ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL

First Chapter, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.²

The first place was there to the land of the dead³ where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

"My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

"And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnauacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath provided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.^{3a} For

Injc ce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjetlan, yoan in quenjn tocoia.

In juh qujmata in nican tlaca in vevetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxquichtin miquja. Excan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Injc ceccan vmpa in mjetlan, auh in vncan mjetlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecaciuatl, yn icioauh mjetlá tecutli.

auh in vmpa vi, mjetlá ichoantin, in jxquichtin talmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceoalt.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço piltōtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in momiquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vetztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjiotl ticmomachiti, otimociavilti, omitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocanchan in talticpac, ça çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh in axcan ca omitzalmanili in mjetlan tecutli, in Acolnauacatl in Tzontemoc, yoan in Mjctecaciuatl, ca omitzalmozotzontli, ca omjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocanchan, vmpa tocanpopolivjian, vmpa tlatlapatloa, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, ximooaian in viloaian, in apochquijiaoicā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal ticchioaz, ca ocmo tioalla-

1. *Tlacatecutl*, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read *tlacatecutli*.

2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.

3. Although Sahagún invariably translates *mictlan* as *infierno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.

3a. The terms *apochquijiaoicā* and *atlecalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For *ximooaian* we have read *temoayan*.

no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

"My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy] half-tortilla.^{3b} Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

"What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiqujmonjcnocauhteac, otiqujmontlacacauhteac, in mopilhoan, in moxvian, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaso quen popolizvique, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjcaca.

Nopiltze ma ixqujch xicmanili, ma ixqujch motlapal xjcmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapâqui, ma ximelaquaoa, quennel tiqju-toan, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techquelo, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtaluhj in tote-cujo, ca ie vncan ca itequjuh, ca ie vncâ ca itzonquj-çai, quen xoconchia in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtztintli conmotlanevianj in tlalticpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelehoatl ontoneoa, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelehoatl ontlao-oatica in vncan ontlacauhteac, in vncan ocontlatol-chiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjç xoconmomachiti in jcnopilot,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixqujch motlapal, ximochivili, ma nocuele iuhqujn tlacocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monaoa in motaoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel qujpoaia in choquizio, in ixaiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixqujch, injc mitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatztintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in vevetque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixoxotlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicocototztalia, icpac conteca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlalticpac.

auh njmâ achi contonco conteca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yzcatquj injc tonotlatocaz,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquimilaoa, quiteteuhquimilaoa, quiteteuhilpia, quicacatzilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlquui, auh in

about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochitonal*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the textile, her skeins, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wretched belongings, who went bare, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead ones on earth—the ceremonial papers,⁴ the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocontlamamacaque, njman ie conmaca centlamantli ixpan cōmana quilhuja.

Yzcatquj inic tonqujçaz in vncan tepetl imonami-quja.

auh izcatquj ic itla tonqujçaz in vtli qujipia yn coatl.

auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonqujçaz, in xoxouhquj cuetzpalin in xochitonal.

auh izcatqui ynjc tocontocaz chicuey ixtlaoatl.

auh izcatquj ic tonqujçaz in chicue tiliuhcan.

Yzcatquj ic tonqujçaz in itzehecaian.

auh in vncan y, ytzehecaian, quil cenca netolinilo, muchi hecatoco in jztzli, yoan in xaltel, auh ipampa in miquja in ouquichtin in jntlavizpetlalcac yn jnchimal, yn jnmaquauh, yoâ in ixqujchtn ymaltecoan, yoâ in ixqujch in itilma, yoan in jxqujch in tlein itlatlatqui, muchipan quitlatiaia;

ça ie no ivi in cihuatl in ixqujch in itana, in inea-naia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquatzō, yn ixiiouh in itzo-tzopaz, in itvtau, yn iteçacauh ytziquaoaz, no muchi ipâ tlatla,

quilmach quimotenâtiz, ic mehecacatzauiliz yn itze-hecaia, amo cenca motoliniz. auh yn aq'n atle itlatquitzin içan iuh iauh, cēca tlaibjiovia cenca motolinja, inic quiza itzehecaian.

Auh yoâ centetl chichiton quivicaltia ich in coci, concozcatia potonqui icpatl, quilmach quipanaviz chicunaoapan in mjetlan.

auh in iquac onaxioa in jtech mjetlan tecutli, quitamamaca i tlalticpac in tlein qujnchichivilia mimique in evilotl, ootlenamactli, yoan quiquimilaoia acaquavitl, yoan potonqui, yoan chichilicpatl, aço ytilma, anoço ymactli. auh in cihuatl icue, ivipil. yoa

4. Evilotl: meaning is problematical. In Seler's *Einige Kapitel* (p. 297, n. 3) this is offered: "wörtl.—Bohnenstaube, vgl. Molina evilotlatia—hazer cierta hechueria."

3b. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 295. This is the small child's ration as given in *Codex Mendocino*.

or his breech clout. And a woman, her skirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they bound together.

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].⁵

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,⁶ [where] lay a broad river.

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one]⁷ could bear one across.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they slew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Two old sextons took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the sextons stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body cracked and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

5. Cf. also Selser: *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f. Gifts given the prince of the underworld were a false mummy bundle of resinous wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for those who died far from home, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. Selser adds that if many fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which there were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a mummy bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Selser: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 17ff. The heavens likewise rose in tiers.

7. Red, according to Selser (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 144f.). See, however, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 298 (gelbe).

in ie muchi itlatlatquij, in oquicauhteac muchi quiquimilao,

in iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatla, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhitica. yoan in iquac oxiuhitica, yoan in iquac iexiuhitica: auh in iquac nauhxuihtica ça cen in conchioa.

auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxivitl, njman ie ic iauh in chicunauhmtctlan, icac atl patlaoc,

ie vncan in tepanavia chichime, quil in aqujn oquicato ivic oalachia in chichi. auh in oquioalixima yn itecujo njman ie ic oalmomaivi in atlan injc quipnaviz in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlanca cenca qujnemjtiaia in chichime.

auh quil in iztac chichi. yoã in tliltic, in tilca quil avel tepanavia yn mjtctlan, quil quitoa in iztac ca quin ononnotlapaquili. auh in tilca quitoa ca quin ononnoac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

auh in vncan chicunamjtctlan vca ocempopoliooa.

Auh in ie iuhqui yn oquicencauhque, njmã ie quivica in tleco, yoan in chchiton achto conmjctia, njman ie ic tlatla,

cenca quimocuitlavia in tlalhoaque vmentin, auh in cequjntin tlalhoaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ie tlatla inacao cenca qujmocuitlavia quixixiltinmj. auh in tonacao, tzotzoioa, cuecucopca, yoan tzoiaia: auh in ie iuhquj in ocontlatique, njmã ie ic collolalia, quitepeuhtitlalia in tlexochtl. Yoan qujtoa ma onmalti, njman ie ic caltia catequja capapachoa, capatzatza, in oceceuh, ie no ceppa collolalia in tecolli, njman ie ic tlatatata iaoaltic in quitlalia, tlatatactli,

Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the home or the tribal temple [of the dead one].⁸

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.⁹ And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,¹⁰ and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Thus they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.¹¹

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "en una camara de su casa."

9. See Pl. 15. *Quintolotiaia*: more literally, "made them swallow."

10. *Xollotl*: cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 165. See also Selser, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 299, n. 1: "Vermutlich verschrieben anstatt 'alo' = roter Arara." *Tzuihtli* and *cujxihuitl* are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 521 ff.) thus describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days later. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, as heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (unnamed); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the mummy bundle were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and chanting priests marched (without beating of drums) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining hair previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly thereafter, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, wine, flowers, and canes of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

ynjn qujtocaioia oztotl njman ie ic contentiquetza in teculli, tlatatactli vncã contoca.

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in maccualtin,

yn iquac otlataque, quipepena quicencuxitla in jmomio, contôco, xoctonco quiteniquetza, in omilt ipan cantalia chalcxivitl, quitoca ichan icalpolco.

auh in vncan qujntoca muchipa qujntlamanilia.

Yoan in iqē i miqia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti qujntolotiaia chalcxivitl. auh in çan maceçalti, çan texoxoctli, anoço itztl, quilmach iniollo muchioa.

auh in tlatoque mjec tlamantli, injc qujnchichioa, yn amatlatquilt quichioaia tecpanitl anoço nãmatl, anoço iëmatl, amatl quicçaloa. yoan itech quipipilao, in nepapan ihujtl, aztatl çaquan, xollotl, cueçali, tziuhitl, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl.

auh cequjntin tevicalti muchioa in tlatlacotzitzintin, aço cen tepantli yn oquichtli, no izqui i cihuatl iuh quitoaia in quenjn oqujmocuitlavique in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti qujntititlani, çan no iuh quimocuitlavique in mjtctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic qujmomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtla conaquia, amo yoan tlatla in tlatoanj, çan nonqua qujntoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioa tlatla in tlatoanj.



[Second Chapter]¹

The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,² green *chilis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

And there dwelt the Tlalocs, who were like priests, the long haired ones;³ who were like the fire priests.

And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,⁴ [who] thus died.

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

Injc vccan viloa vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltotonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquilitl, in oauhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl:

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iuhque in tlamacaque, pâpapaoaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque catca:

auh in vmpa vi iehoantin in viteco, yoa in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan iehoantin in teococoxque, yoan in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xixjoti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoaliztli quinvica, in tepanoacivi ic miquj,

in iehoân jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can qujntocaia, quimixolvialia, yoan michioauhtli, incamapan conpachooa, yoan quimjxquatexoviaia, yoan quim-ahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in qujntlaliliaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in qujnquequentiaia, yoan inmac qujnquequiaia oztopil quavitl:

iuh qujtoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlacelia, muchipa tlatzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopāmamanj.

1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Nahuatl version.

2. *Oauhtzontli*. Seler (*Einge Kapitel*, p. 300) has *cuauhtzontli* (*Baumhaar*). The corresponding Spanish text has *ramitas de bledor*.

3. Sahagún writes (Robredo ed., II, p. 321): "Cuando moría el señor o rey, para elegir otro juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatloque, y también los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achacauhtin; y también los capitanes, soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban yaotequiuaque, y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y también los sátrapas que llamaban tlenamacazque o papauaque."

4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Seler (*loc. cit.*) has sickness of the genitals for *xixjoti*, skin disease for *papalani*, infected sores which did not heal for *coacivi*, swelling of the body for *popoçavaliztli*, and infectious disease for *tepanoacivi*.



Third Chapter, in which are recorded those who went to heaven.

Jnic ey capitulo, vncã moteneoa in aquijue via ilhujcac.

The third place to which they went was there to the home of the sun, in heaven. Those went there who died in war, either, verily, those who died then in battle, to be despoiled there on the battlefield, where they breathed their last, where fate overtook them, or else [those who] were brought home that later they might die [as sacrifices]. Perchance [one such] was slain in gladiatorial sacrifice, or cast into the fire, or shot with arrows, or slain with pointed canes, or fought with and slain, or covered with resinous wood [to which they laid fire]. All [these] went to the home of the sun.

Injc Excan viloa: vmpa in ichan tonatiuh ilhujcac, iehoantin vmpa vi, in iaomiqui, in anoço vel vncan njman miqij iaoç, in iapaniocan, in vncan qujnna-moia, vncã ihiotl, quica, vncan intequjuh vetzi, yn anoço çan calaquilo, i çatepan miquizque. Yn aço oaoano, aço tlepantlaxo, aço tlaxichvilo, aço teocon-vilo, anoço cacalioa, anoço ocopotonjlo, muchintin vi in tonatiuh ichan,

It was said that they dwelt where was only a place like a plain; when the sun burst forth and arose, then they shouted and cried out to it and struck their shields together. And he whose shield was pierced in perhaps two or three places could well look at the sun. And he whose shield nowhere was pierced could in no wise see the sun nor look into its face. And there, where dwelt those slain in war, [were] the *agueyes*, the thorny shrubs,¹ and clumps of mesquites. And all offerings which [the living] offered them—these they could receive; these could reach them.

quil ça çemonoque, in canin iuhcan ixtlaoacan, in iquac in oalmomana in oalquicaia tonatiuh, nimã quicaoatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj, auh in aqujn ichimal, in aço vnca, anoço iexcan tlamintli vncã vel quitta in tonatiuh. auh in aqujn acan tlamintli ichimal, avel quitta in tonatiuh, avel ixco tlachia, auh yn vmpa onoç, in iaomjque nequametl, tzivactli, mizquitla; auh in jxqujch yn ventli in qujnmanilia, vel quitta vel itech aci.

And when four years had gone by, then they were changed into birds of precious feather—humming birds, flower birds,² yellow birds blackened about the eyes;³ chalky butterflies, feather-down butterflies, large varicolored butterflies,⁴ which sucked [honey

auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, njmã ic mocuepa, tlaçototome, huitzitzilti, xochitotol, totocoztli, mix-tetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapa-lotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. yoan in njcan

1. *Tzivactli*: according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, p. 56), it is probably a thorny plant found in the Chichimec highlands; he cites Hernández to identify it as a cactus with cylindrical stem. "It is, therefore, the national weapon in the hand of the god of the Otomí."

2. *Xochitotol*: Siméon (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a *coztotol*—a bird of yellow throat, breast, and stomach. Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 184) calls it an "*ave como flor; tiene la garganta, y el pecho, y la barriga amarillos, como flor muy amarilla; tiene en la cara unas vetas; tiene la cabeza y espaldas y las alas y la cola, ametaladas de negro y blanco; tiene los pies negros.*"

3. Cf. Seler: *Einige Kapitel*, p. 302.

4. The butterflies are thus described in Seler, *loc. cit.*, and *Collected Works*, IV, p. 82. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 214) mentions *xicalpapalotl*: "*son muy pintadas de diversos colores.*"

from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina coralloides*,⁵ the *carolina princeps*,⁶ the *colliandra*.⁷

talticpac oalhui in quioalchichina, in jxquich nepapan xochitl in equimjt, anōço tzonpanquavil xilohxochitl, tlacoxilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 302. He says *equimjt* is the leaf of the *tzonpanquavil*, the *erythrina coralloides* or *coralodendron*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, *Lib. IX*, caps. iii-iv, and Seler's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Robredo ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Robredo ed., III, p. 275) writes: "Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en las florestas que se llaman tzonpanquavil; es árbol mediano, tiene ramas apocadas, tiene la copa redonda y de buen parecer; tiene unas flores que se llaman equimjt-xochitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimjt."

6. Cf. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, loc. cit. In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 132-3, he defines it as "palo de rosa" (name in Chiapas), "cabello de ángel" (*mimosaceae colliandra*). The former is *bombax aquaticum* K. Schum or *carolina princeps* L. fil. Seler believes *xilohxochitl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, 276) describes them as "coloradas y a manera de bolas deshidadas; hácese en una hierba que se llama xilohxochitl: no son olorosas, pero son muy hermosas." See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, cap. xxviii.

7. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5: This passage is related to one in the song chanted every eight years when water tamales were eaten. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), V, pp. 136, 143 ff.; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 212.



Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the common folk left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.¹

When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They summoned, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [thus] prayed. They said:

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlaltecutil and Tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaotzin, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca.² Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penances, of weeping, of tears—the young

Injc navj capitulo: vncā mjtōa, in quenjn macehoaltin, qujmoncaoaia in inphilhoan yn vmpa telpuchcali, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh nezcaltiloia neoapaoaloa.

In iquac otlatac piltontli njmā caquja yn calmecac, in anōço telpuchcali, quitoznequi, quinetoltia, vmpā quivenchioa, quivenmana in teupan in calmecac injc tlamacazquj icz, yn anōço telpuchtlī.

Jntla telpuchcali caquja, qujnetoltia qujcēcaoa, in atl in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujnentalia, qujntla-tlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlatlauhtia in pilaoque. Quitōa,

Ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in tōtecujō in tloque naoaque. A ca njcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oqujmomacāvilī in tōtecujō ce cozzatl quetzalli, a, omecavi piltzintli, aviz nēlle axcan motetzaoaltiz-nequj, ic peioctzintli, cujx malacatl tzotzopatztlī, ymac tictequilizque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amoconetzin, ca amopiltzin,

amocuxantzico, amomamaloaztzinco tocontlalia ca amopilhoantzintzin, ca ātlacazcaltia, ca antlacaoapaoa, ca anquauhchioa, amocelochioa, anquitalacaoapavilia, in tonan in tota in tlattecutil tonatiuh.

auh in axcan ca ivic tiqujtoā in iovalli in ehecatl in tlatcatl in telpuchtlī in iaotzin in titlacaoan in Tezcatlipuca, aqō achitzin qujmotociliz in ichoatzin tōtecujō,

ticcaoa telpuchtliz, vmpa nemiz in tlamaceoalizcali, yn choquizcali, yn jiaicalli, in telpuchcali, in vncā

1. Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 199ff., says they were taken to the *telpuchcali* (as well as the *calmecac*) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Códes Mendoza*, Plates 53 ff. All went for three years of instruction (religion, good usage, good behavior). All also attended, he says, seminaries—nobility going to one type, commoners to another. Some trained children, some youths, and some girls. The sexes were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' vocations.

The *telpuchcali*, according to Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 54) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the *calmecac* and education less intensive. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 220-21) indicates a certain amount of laxity.

Clavigero (*loc. cit.*) and Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 471) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they went out only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Clavigero mentions temple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols); weaving and other womanly arts; and general preparation for marriage. Torquemada enumerates some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Tezcatlipoca was the patron of the *telpuchcali* and the education of warriors (Caso, *op. cit.*, p. 27). Cf. also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

men's house, where live and are formed the brave men of war; where they pour forth prayers and praises for our lord.³

"And there he instructeth them and giveth them gifts; there he showeth them his compassion. The [reward of] the soldier, the warrior,⁴ he giveth those who weep and suffer. From there our lord causeth them to come forth. They guard and protect [those who] rule⁵ [us, there] in the house of learning of him our lord.

"And perchance for us who weep and are in anguish, perchance, if it be our reward and our lot, he may [grow in] perception and ripen. Perchance this may not be—O unhappy we, unfortunate old men and women.

"Or you may indeed receive and take him; let him follow; let him learn where the sons of others wax strong and grow—those orphans of luckless leaders in war."

And behold how [the others] answered and replied. They said:

"Lo, put your hearts at rest, for here we have heard [on behalf of] our lord, the master, the young [god], the shadow and wind, Yaotzin. For it is to him that you pray and to whom you call; it is to him that you offer your jewel, your quetzal feather, the flesh of your flesh. For it is our office only to take and accept what you offer our lord. We have only listened [for him].

"What may our lord wish and require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? Truly, we who are afflicted, who are vassals, we speak in darkness. Our lord, savior and protector of all, Piltzintli, knoweth in what wise [your son] hath been bedight and instructed in the place of darkness [before all time]—what he was girt with and what he brought forth when he was born; and what his day sign is; and finally on [what day sign] he hath been bathed [in baptism]; and what the lot and reward of the child [will be].

"Verily is it said that we, his servants, may only imagine [these things. But] not out of nothing do they later come to pass on earth. For we come bring-

ioli tlacati in quauhtin in ocelo in vncan inxillan, intozcatlā māmaiaooan in totecujo.

auh yn vncan moteximachilia in vncan motetla-mamaquilia, in vncan moteicnoitilia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl qujnmoquilia in chocani, in tla-ocoiani, in vncā qujmoquixtilia in ichoatzin to.⁶ in petlatl, yn icpalli quipachoa in quipia, in itlaixima-choan ichoatzin totecujo.

auh injn cujx tichocanj, cujx titlaocoianj, cujx itla tolvil, tomaceoal, cujx tlachiaz, muzcaliz? acaçomo, omuchiuh ototlavelilic in ticnovetque, in ticnoilamatque,

manoço nelli xjcmocelilica, manoço xiqualmánica, ma qujmontoca ma qujmonmati yn izcaltilo, in oapaoalo, in tepilhoan, auh ie ichoantín in jcnote-pilhoan, in jcnouquauhtin yn jcnocelo.

Auh izcatquj injc quicuepaia tlatolli, injc tlanan-quilia quitoaia.

O tla cauquj in amoiollotzin, a ca nican tictotla-caquililia in totecujo, in tlatcatl in telpuchtli in ioalli in checatl in iavtzin, a, ca ichoatzin in anquj-motlatlauhtilia, in anqujmonochilia ca ichoatl yn anqujmomaquilia in amocozquj in amoquetzal, in amotlatlacatili, ca çan tequjtl ticuj, ticana yn anqujmomaquilia in totecujo, ca çan tictotlacauquililia,

quen ie qujmonequilitica. auh quen qujmonequilitica in ichoatzin totecujo, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ha nelli mach in tinentlamati in timacehoalti, hatlaioaia in titlatoa, quen ie quj-momachilitica in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, in piltzintli, quē chichioaloc, quen naoatiloc, in ioaia, tle ic apanaloc, tleh quioalitqujia, yn iquac motlacatili: auh tle itonal, auh iequene tle ypan malti tle yn imaceoal in piltzintli, tle yn jilhuil,

ha nelli mach, in tictonenpikuilia in timacehoalti, cuix mo haca qujn tlatitpac muchichioaz, ha njmā

ing [our fortune]; from the place of darkness it cometh forth as our property.

"And [as for] this one: may he enter into the service of the god,⁶ in the casting to one side [of rubbish], or the task of laying fires. May he pour forth praises to our lord, the shadow and wind.

"May he remain up here in the light with whatever favors he hath come clothed in, with whatever hath been given him, with whatever he hath been adorned in the place of darkness [before all time]. Perchance, in truth, now and here our lord will offer [these] to him. Perchance all will be lost. Mayhap it is our fate and our lot that, perchance, only for a little time the sun may make him grow. Maybe he will arrive to join him. Mayhap he will move and enter into the arms of the sun.⁷

"And how may we now speak and hearten you? We may not say, 'In this wise will this be; this one will be thus; this one will do so; this one our lord will transform, and thus will he be; he will be someone; he will attain honor; he will walk the earth.'

"And mayhap it will not be our lot and fate that he may live wallowing in dust and filth and living in sin; possibly he may die stoned or cast into a pond; men may mock him for taking after the women of others. Or else he may always be in misery and pain.

"Let us raise and nurture the children; let the word and command to motherhood and fatherhood be given. Perchance in him we may enclose and set in place our hearts; and also you [may do so] whose jewel and precious feather he is.

"And now, may you bring about that, with prayers, weeping, and tears, you may not, being asleep, be neglectful. Call out now in your anguish to the savior and protector of all [that you may learn] what he requireth of us and how he speaketh."

tiquitquitvitzte, ha njman ioaiaipa totlatquj oalie-tiuh.

auh in y, manoço itlan onaquj yn vchpanoaztli in tlacucuiliztli, in chico tlanaoac tlatequiliztli: auh in tletlaliliztli, manoço ixillan itozcatlan onmāmaiaivi in totecujo, in ioalli yn checatl,

ma vncan panj tlanezian oalmotlali in quenami ynemac, injc māpantivitz, in quenamj omacoc, injc ochichioaloc in ioajan aço nelle axcan vncan con-maniliz in totecujo, aço ixquitzin cōmopolhuiz, acaço tolhuil, acaço tomaceoal a cujx noço vel achitzin qujoallaliz in tonatiuh, cujx noço caxitiz in nepā Cujx noço vel conlaçaz, vel conaquiz in mavic in tonatiuh.

auh yn axcā quenami tiquitozque, cujx tamechto-iollalizque, a cujx toconitozque iuhquj iez, y, ie-hoatl iez, y, ichoatl qujchioaz, y, ichoatl quicuepaz, y, in totecujo. iuhquj iez. y, hitlatiz, panvetziz, nemiz in tlatitpac.

auh acaço tle tolhuil tomaceoal, aco teuhitl, tla-çolli, ic milacatzotinemiz in tlatitpac, aço teco mje, tecaxic maiaviz, at tecue, tevopil tepancanaz quima-viltiz, auh anoço icnoitl teupouhqui, cococ qujtz-tinemjz,

ma titlacazcaltia, ma titlacaoapaoa ma quica in cententli, in encamatl yn naniod, in taiotl. Cujx ijtic toncalaquizque, toillo tocontlalilizque: auh no yui in ticozque, in tiquetzale.

auh in axca manoçoc ic xonmoietztie in tlatlauhtli, in choquitzli, in ixaiotl ma amonmotlacocheviliti, ma oc xocōmotlaoculnonochilitinencā in tloque na-oque, quen techmonequilia, quen quimitalhuja.

3. *Inxillan, intozcatlā māmaiaooan*. In Lib. VI of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 203, the phrase *texillan tetozcatlan aquiz* is explained; cf. corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, Robredo ed., p. 247. Cf. also *mayani* and *mayanaloa* in Siméon, *op. cit.* Later in the present chapter the passage *ixillan itozcatlan onmāmaiaivi* occurs; and it is perhaps permissible to take the two passages as similar. *Jiuicalli: ixaiocalli* might have been intended. See Chap. VII.

4. *Ocelopetlatl, quappetlatl*. Cf. Lib. VI, fo. 202 v. Corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 246, reads: "... hay soldados y hombres valientes de guerra, que murieron por su defensión."

5. *Petlatl, icpalli*. Cf. Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875) pp. 218, 221; Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Siméon, *op. cit.* (*petlatl*).

6. *Vchpanoastli in tlacucuiliztli*. Cf. *tlachpanaliztli, tlacucujiztli*, in Lib. VI, fo. 207 r, where the sense is to enter the service of the god or of a nobleman.

7. Meaning of this passage, as well as others equally figurative, is problematical.



Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the customs which they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with sweeping [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,¹ then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs² of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tiachcauh*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlatō*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,³ general,⁴ [or] chief.⁵ And also [in those days] one rose to be called constable.⁶ Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguacil* [or constable], he who

Injc. 5. capítulo: itechpa tlatoa intlamanitiliz, yn-jc vncan nenca, in quichioaia in quitequipanoaia yn vncā muzcaltiaia moopapaoia telpuchcali.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpuchcali, niman yel quiquitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlaliliztli. auh njman conpeoaltia in tlamaceoaltiztli: yn iquac cujco joal-tica (in mjtoa: cuicoanolo), vncan tehoan nemj, tehoan mjtota, tehoan mjtoa cujcojanoja.

auh in iē telpuchtontli, njman quivica in quauhtla, quimamaltia, in quilhuja mimiliuhquj quavtli, aco çan oc centetl, anoco niman vncan ontetl ic quijie-coa, yn aco ie vel aciz iaoç, in iē vel telpuchticatontli, quivica in iaoç, çan oc chimalli in quimamañtliuh.

auh in ie vel telpuchtlī, intla mozcalia, intla imati, in tlatolmelaoac. auh oc cenca ichoatl intla iconoio yiollo, njman tachcauhtlalilo, tocaiotilo, Tiachcauh, auh intla ovelmacic oqujchtli, intla oc cenca mozcalia, niman tocaiotilo Telpuchtlatō, qujn-cenpachoa, qujncētlatallhuja im ixqujchtin telpuchtin, in cē tlatlacoa, ichoatl quitlatzontequilia, q'ntlatzontequilia, qujntlatlalilia, quichioa Justicia:

auh intla oquichti intla navi mani, vncan quica in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quauhtlatō: auh no vncan quica, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn axcan ipan povi, ipan momati in alguacil, in topile, ca no intofo-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "a los quinze años."

2. *Mimiliuhqui quavtli*: literally, round wood.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 114, n. 13. The corresponding Spanish text has: "regian, y governaron el pueblo." Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 343, translates *tlacatecatl* as lord of the *tlacateco*, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 85-61, describes him as an officer of justice, a manager, a military captain—offices given for life by the ruler, after which they reverted to the latter. He also says *tlacatecatl* is the same as *tecuitli*. Durán calls him "príncipe, ó condestable, ó otro supremo ditado" (*op. cit.*, p. 124). Siméon (*op. cit.*) defines it as "Titre accordé au soldat vaillant qui avait fait quatre captifs à la guerre; on donnait aussi ce nom au général qui commandait un corps de 8,000 hommes, appelé xiquipilli (Sah., Clav.)."

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.* Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, translates as lord of the spear house, and in *Collected Works*, *loc. cit.*, identifies him as the same as the *tlacatecatl*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest titles, directed the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and formed the king's special council; these were the *exquauacatl*, the *tlacatecatl*, the *tlacochcalcatl*, and the *tlilan calqui*. Siméon (*op. cit.*) defines *tlacochcalcatl* as "Magistrat, juge en matière civile," and also as "général, capitaine."

5. Siméon (*op. cit.*): "On désignait ainsi le soldat qui avait fait quatre captifs à la guerre et devenait par ce fait le chef de son pays (Sah.)."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "era como agora alguacil, y tenía vara gorda, y prendía a los delinquentes, y los ponía en la cárcel."

beareth a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud⁷ [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.⁸ Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted *maguety* fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in those times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud⁷ [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

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7. The word *polilli*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make *adobes*.

8. In *Einige Kapitel* (p. 344, n. 1), Seler offers a variant for *motlacuechmanilia* and *motlacotimanilia*. *Cuechtili* and *evatl*, however, may be warriors' garments, as here translated.



Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,¹ or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].² Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

When the masters of the youths had consented,³ when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his home.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals⁴ were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capítulo: vncan moteneoa in tetlatzacuiltiztli, in tetlamaceoaltiztli, ynjc qujntlatzacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaonaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cēca necujtlavilo, in nochpanoaztli, njman aiac quja in vctli.

auh in ie vel oqujchti, i ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vctli, cenca motlatiaia, çan njman amo teispan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla ittoia haca telpuchtli tlaona, in itto in at vctlica namjca, anoço vetzotc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaonatica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica maviztli vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aqujn, teixpan viviteco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miqij, anoço mecatl quicuiltia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchi ohome, iee in jnmeaoan oncatca, aço ce vel ichā in ca, aço quezqujntin chaiaotoque. auh in iquac quilhua motelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaoa injc qujntalcavia in telpupuchi quachtli, quicaao aço matlatli, aço cemipilli in mocuiltōna,

yn oazque in tachcaoan in oquimacauhque njmā (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihuatl conana in ichan qujpia.

auh in mozcalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaao telpuchiotl, cenca vca veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiollotlama in tlaotan, qujnaoatia,

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çā tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochcalca, achcacauhti yn.

1. *Quica*: probably *cuica* is meant. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 345, transcribes the Nahuatl as *ano'coquica*—"was filled with filth."

2. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 346, n. 1, says of *quauhtica vetzi quauhtica miqij*: "Parodie von quauhtica nemi, quiltica nemi—*labrador*, ó *maceual*."

3. *Oazque*: reference to the *Real Palacio MS* suggests that this should read *oazque*.

4. See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.

shals⁵ did not attain [their station] there, because the manner of life of the youths was not very good. For they were given to women and were vicious; for they took up pleasantries, they used vain talk, they spoke grossly, loud, and coarsely.

vncan ano, amo tlacatecutli, amo tlacochtecutli vncā quiça, ipampa in amo cenca qualli yn jnnemiliz tel-pupuchti, ca ipampa cihoa notzaia, avilnemini, ipampa in qujnotequjtia cacamanalli, ahauillatoa, totoquauhlatoa, tlatlaquauhlatoa, quaquauhlatoa.

Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.¹

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.²

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.³ The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,⁴ to him who is feathered in

Injc chicome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn que-njn tlatoque, pipiltin qujmōcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanitiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in aqujñ quinequi,

muchintin tlamaçque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nezcaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teizcaltiloian, chipaoaca nemoaiā, necxiiecoloia, nēma-choia ixtlamachioia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmā hatzoio, hateuhio, atle iniaioa in tlamaçque in-ne-miliz, yn calmecac neoapaoaliztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in içe quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentalia in tlamaçque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoā qujncentalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevētlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamaçque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamaçque, nican anoalmouica-tiaque amocxitzin anquialmānilique, aço tlācotl, çacatl cana oanquialmoxcinamiquilique, aço cana amocxitzin oanquialmocuelhuilique, oanquialmote-cujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecuj, anqujmo-cuilia, anqujmocaqujltia, a ca nelle, axcan centel cozcatl quetzalli, oqujmomacavili in toteujo, in tlo-que naoaque

titeiniqui, ticochitlcoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in piltōtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopatzli, aticmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlatquitzin, yn axcan ivictzinco tiqujtoa in tlatatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tilpotōqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 22, says they were taken by the *calmecac* at the age of four. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200, says the age for those entering both the *calmecac* and the *tepochoalli* was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the *calmecac* than in the *tepochoalli*. Cf. Caso, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Caso (*ibid.*, pp. 52) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the *calmecac*. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. Yn nanti, yn tati; an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Scler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "in guten Verhältnissen sich befindenden Mütter (und) Väter."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the *calmecac* and of the education of priests and noblemen (Caso, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

5. Of these Sahagún elsewhere says that they were *principales* over soldiers and captains. The *tlacatecutli* was a *pilli* (prince or nobleman); the *tlacochtecutli* was "principal en las cosas de la guerra," and Sahagún refers to them as *señores* (Robredo ed., II, pp. 117-18). Specifically of the *tlacatecutli* he says: "Tiene autoridad para matar a los criminosos . . . para reprender y castigar porque ya esta en la dignidad y estrado, ya tiene el principal lugar, donde le puso nuestro señor; ya le llaman por estos nombres tlacatlato tlacatecutli, por estos nombres le nombran todor los populares" (*ibid.*, p. 136). Of both officials, he writes: ". . . el señor es como corazón del pueblo; uno de ellos era pilli y otro era criado en las guerras. El uno de ellos se llamaba tlacatecutli, y el otro tlacochtecutli. . . ." Four personages—*tlacatecutli*, *tlacochtecutli*, *tlacatcatl*, and *tlacoch-cilcatl*—"eran electos por la inspiración de nuestro señor dios, porque eran más hábiles para ello" (*ibid.*, p. 138).

