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TLAMACHILLIZTLATOLÇAÇANILLI

A PERFORMANCE TRANSLATION OF THE NAHUATL
"WISDOM-DISCOURSE FABLES" FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF 1558

WILLARD GINGERICH

The 10 page Nahuatl manuscript included at the end of the so-called Codice Chimalpopoca and commonly referred to since 1903 as Leyenda de los soles, "Legend of the Suns", or the "Manuscript of 1558", is a fundamental witness to indigenous Nahuatl-Mexica memories of their own cosmogony and earliest history as they recalled these things some twenty-five-plus years into the colonial era. As supplement to the later Anales de Cuauhtitlán manuscript (ca. 1570-73) which accompanies it in the Chimalpopoca, the 1558 manuscript provides a privileged view of Nahuatl-Aztec genesis myths, from a Mexica informant. The narrative frame of this retelling makes it clear that by 1558 these memories had become "fables," tales, fictions - a mythology - but fables of still haunting power and beauty, unforgettable and irrepressible for all their putative demonic origins. I have chosen to call this witness record by the name it gives itself: Tlamachilliztlatolcaçanilli, "Wisdom Discourse Fables."

Performance Reading in Nahuatl Context

The text appears on internal evidence to be the redaction of a specific performance event or, more likely, sequence of events by an unknown Mexica Aztec speaker and recorded by an unknown amanuensis, from a lost pictographic manuscript (or manuscripts) beginning on the date mentioned in the prologue, "today, the 22nd of May, 1558". The final lines of the text refer to the arrival of "the Marqués," who is Cortés, in Mexico 'forty-two years ago' which would give a date of 1561 for this final entry. The bulk of the performance(s), however, must have been on or close to the first date. The Codex Chimalpopoca is a 17th century copy of the ori-
original redaction, also lost; and the Codex copy itself hasn’t been since 1949, so the only “original” now available is the photographic facsimile of the Chimalpopoca copy published in the Primo Velázquez edition.

We know this text is the result of more than an isolated instance of authorial inscription because liberally scattered through it are indicative and formulaic phrases giving repeated evidence of a speaker pointing to specific visual images as the prompts for his discourse-narrative which describes a pre-Christian Mexica account of origins of the cosmos as his ancestors believed it to be, a brief survey of their Chichimec ancestors, the fall of the Toltecs and rise of the Mexica, and a complete list of the conquests of nine Mexica Aztec “Speakers” or kings, from Acamapichtli through Motecozomoczmatzin II.

Gillespie has described how historical traditions specifically, often highly diverse and even contradictory amongs themselves, were nurtured and preserved in formal and informal teaching events within the preHispanic Nahua calmecac, “court or priestly school”: “Even given the Aztecs’ stated emphasis on the importance of rote memorization, the texts of these histories cannot have been fixed, because verbal art is recreated every time it is performed” (XXVI). “The transmission of historical traditions, she notes, was... subordinated to the form and context of these performances.” Somewhere between this traditional codex reading-performance and a solitary, single author occasion of writing, the Tlamachiltlattolcañanilli is a liminal document of the first order, nenañila “in the middle” (León-Portilla, 1974; Klor de Alva), and in it we catch a glimpse of the negotiation of spiritual and historical identities which evangelization had made inescapable. Every aspect of its form is a product of the dialogic frontier Louise Burkhart (1989) has described: the indigenous language transcribed into the Spanish phonetic alphabet, but with to Spanish words entering the performance; the neologism of its name which in itself juxtaposes ancient wisdom or tradition against frivolous fable or tale; the stories themselves which, as we can tell from supplementary sources, are probably not always complete; and the oral poetics which gets nearly lost in the scribbled blocks of transcription. James Lockhart gives us the best description of the modality by which such a document was generated in the period of Nahua transition from oral textuality to written literacy.

The products of the preconquest pictorial tradition have much in common with the items called “handouts” that play such a role in
academic and business presentations today. The handout contains some diagrams, numbers, and key words or concepts, useful both to the audience, who thereby get the core elements of the message in easily comprehensible form as a guide and reference, and to the speaker, who is reminded of the main points in sequence and, even if a polished prose statement has been prepared, may speak extemporaneously from the handout, reconstructing the largely memorized statement. In an alphabetically written text, the Nahua had in the first instance not something to compete with the skeletal, handout-like pictorial document, but something able to complement it through a faithful record of the extensive accompanying oral statement. Paradoxical as it may seem, the primary original purpose of alphabetic writing in the Nahua system of communication was to reproduce the oral component, and though things would change with time, this orality would always adhere to Nahua alphabetic documents more than to most comparable European texts. (Lockhart, 335).

It is this reproduction of the oral component that we see with special clarity in the 1558 manuscript and which gives us reason to believe some aspects of the original performance poetics might be recoverable in it. Of course, the preconquest tlacuilol "painter/writer" held his handiwork in far higher regard than we hold even our finest computer-crafted handouts, each one was in fact a work of pictorial art intended to be at least as permanent as the Kelmscott Chaucer or any medieval scribe’s breviary or book of hours. More specifically Lockhart also defines “reading” as it was performed in the preHispanic pattern.

The Nahua’s concept of reading was also different from the Europeans’. Pohua had the additional, actually primary, meaning “to count,” corresponding well to the very prominent numerical facets of preconquest records. The word also meant “to relate, recount, give an account of,” hinting at the oral recital that accompanied a preconquest document, interpreting and expanding on it. The visible artifact was thus only a part of the total communication, which proceeded on two partially independent tracks. The pictorial part could convey some things that were beyond spoken words and had the ability to pass through time unchanged but the oral part carried much of the burden of narration, formulation, and conceptualization (...327).

The visual artifact(s) on which the Tlamachiliztlolcanilli performance was based are gone; the oral recital is only partially reflected in the derivative manuscript witness which survives. In his Introduction to the first complete English edition of the two Nahuatl
section of the Codice Chimalpopoca, Bierhorst notes specifically how the 1558 manuscript fits this model of reading.

...In the Legend of the Suns, the second of the two Nahuatl texts preserved in the Codice Chimalpopoca, the reliance on pictures is much more obvious. Here the author speaks to us as though we were looking over his shoulder, while he points to the painted figures... In places the text reads like a sequence of captions, as though the unseen pictures could carry burden of the tale. Yet the narrative relaxes into an easier style wherever the story implied by the paintings happens to be already on the author's lips. The overall effect is of a knowledgeable traditionalist making his way through a single, well-integrated work of mytho-history. (Bierhorst, History, 7.)

Substitute "performer" wherever Bierhorst says "author" and we have a precise description of the scene of performance my translation attempts to restore. I am less sure that the performer worked from a single source, especially when we arrive at the conquest lists of Act 5, Episode II. Also, there seems to be an especially abrupt transition between the Stinking Giant episode and Huemac's ball game (Act 4, Episodes I & II).

Genre

The Tlachichilitlatolcachanilli has been called an "epic" by several commentators, but its true structural identity and aesthetic is only obscured by such a European comparison and the expectations it evokes. It is a dialogic form, poised somewhere between preHispanic and European genres, rather closer to the former, and identified by the unique name it gives itself. The performer is clearly echoing a xiuhltapoolli, a "year-reading," of a (te)xiuhmatl, "(each) year book," annal of some sort, but the performance also has features of a postconquest chronicle, telling sequential stories unmarked by specific year names. There is also the remnant of pictograph writing in the center of page 4 of the manuscript, describing the lineage and sacred landscape of Ce Acatl "One Reed." The text witnesses the narrative performance of a sophisticated traditional individual who is still competent to reproduce a preHispanic genre event, but under the genre constraints of a new historical consciousness: linear, monotextual, episodic, and plotted toward a unique terminal event—the arrival of "the Marqués."
Narrative Units

While the overall performance reading is a one-person dramatic event, hence “Acts,” the form of that event is clearly narrative, a narrative which encompasses vast panoramas of a past broken into events, not re-enacted in scenes; therefore I have chosen to designate these larger semantic units as “Episodes.” It seems to me this deliberate mixing of (admittedly alien) dramatic and narrative genre terms is the only way to represent the structure of this specifically American literary genre-event in terms which have recognizable meaning within our education in EuroAmerican literary structures but with minimal distortion from broad genre preconceptions; this performance is not an apic, drama, novella, one-act play, short story or narrative poem, but a thing uniquely itself and unknown in European genre taxonomies. There no specific textual cues of any kind for these divisions into prologue, act, episode, preface, body, or coda; they are imposed on the text as highlights of the narrative structure implicit within its movement and plot.

Verse Structure

Nahuaɬ verse structure has been discussed extensively (Bierhorst, 1985b, Bright, Gingerich, 1991, Haly, Karttunen and Lockhart, León-Portilla, 1983, Lockhart) but little of that discussion contributes to understanding the verse behavior of the Tlamachiliztlolcaçanilli. This narrative exhibits little of the widely observed parallel verbal structures characteristic of Mesoamerican oral poetics and which Tedlock notes is dominated in every language by two-fold or coupled patterns; in Nahuaɬ this is the well-known diphrasis. It certainly does not display the elaborate tropological language which is so remarkable in the tecpillahtolli “nobles’ discourse” style of formal prayers, private discourses of admonition and public discourses of investiture and in Nahuaɬ song, nor does it display the parallel verse patterns so typical of the latter. Nevertheless, there is a verse poetics of narrative performance which can be deciphered, to a point.

A sample of what the verse structure of this performance might look like is given below, using the prologue and first and two “ages”. From large to small the units are strophe (not stanza), verse-phrase, and stich. The only one of these which can be identified with near-certainty by the use of verse-initial particles (see note 3)
is the verse-phrase. Both the strophe and the stich are semantically or syntactically determined units, and the stich especially is a visual unit, corresponding to what we call lines in written verse, and therefore the most tenuous and artificial of the three. The strophe-unit is too irregular to be called a stanza and defined only by semantic units of narrative, not always evident. A verse-phrase may be a single stich or as many as three stichs in the sample below; it may be much larger. It may encompass less than, more than, or exactly one grammatically complete utterance. It may be as brief as four words-verse phrase 11: Inin tonatiuh nauhuecatl yoac — or as long as twenty-two — verse phrase 16-in this brief. The verse-phrase unit appears sometimes to be something very much like the "phonological phrase" Lockhart identifies as an essential unit of Nahuatl writing, a written image of the speech unit as perceived by Nahuas writing to their own performance of the language. "The phonological phrase, consisting of a nuclear nominal or verb stem with its affixes and its adverbial or other modifiers, is a far more obvious, detectable entity in Nahuatl than either the 'word' or the complete utterance (sentence); frequently the phrase in fact is a complete utterance" (358-39). But the verse phrase in the 1558 manuscript appears more consciously constructed and is probably more rhythmic and tending more to parallel structures of various sorts than the phonological phrase unit. The verse-phrase seem to be the closest thing to what Tedlock identifies as a "line" in Quiché performance. While my stich units closely parallel what William Bright, in his uniquely valuable poetic transcription of the Colóquios manuscript calls a line, a stich is not a line, the latter being an intonation unit which, following Tedlock, I agree can only be determined for an oral poetry in the measure of actual performance utterances and cannot reliably be equated to any syntactic unit. Without a more complete model of the actual performance modalities and practices of Nahuatl texts, such as Tedlock is able to reconstruct from contemporary Quiché performers, I don't believe a compelling definition of the Nahuat line as performed in a text such as this (and probably not for any 16th century transcription) can be reconstructed. The stich is a function of semantic, lexical or syntactic units, which may or may not have corresponded to the "cola" or "periods" (Tedlock) marked by open-ended pauses or falling-pitch pauses which define performance.\(^1\)

\(^1\) This theory has much in common with Charles Olson's theory of "projective verse" which has had such a wide influence in contemporary North American poetry;
Certainly the present text exhibits little of what Tedlock calls "paradigmatic verticality," the piling up of repetitious epithets or parallel modifiers and phrases with little forward movements of syntax or action, and little of the formal couplet structure and embedding that Bright finds in the Coloquios. The 1558 narrative is more inclined to display Tedlock's "syntagmatic horizontality," moving the syntax of utterance unit and narrative action on to closure-with the blatant exceptions, however, of the conquest lists in the last pages of the manuscript, which pile up vertical lists of towns conquered by the nine Aztec Speakers with almost no forward syntactic movement whatever. Very little of the dialectic Tedlock identifies in Quiché poetics "between paradigm and syntagm, or between the vertical movement of verse and the horizontal movement of prose" is identifiable here. The 1938 Lehmann transcription, incidentally, did a thorough job of measuring the text out in discreet discourse units, sometimes corresponding to my verse phrase.

My translation attempts to give an English approximation of these strophe, verse-phrase and stich units, but of course only a full transcription of the original could display the theory completely. Occasionally, where the verse-phrase seems to run at length, as in verse-phrase 6 below, I have allowed it to swallow up any visual stich units completely, considering the latter a print-medium invention.

Mythology and Other Sources

There are numerous texts which provide witness to the extensive body of origin and charter myth-narratives treasured and performed by the Nahua peoples of the basin city-states around Lake Tetzoco. Major sources for stories of the five ages and related events beside the Tlamachiltloltolcañiili and the Anales de Cuauhtitlan are Motolinia's Memoriales, Muñoz Camargo's Historia de Tlaxcala, Alva Ixillxochitl's Sumaria relación, Historia Chichimeca and Historia de la Nación Chichimeca, Book VII of Sahagún's Florentine Codex, the Codex Vaticanus A (important for Quetzalcoatl stories), and the Historie du Mechique and Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas, both attributed ultimately to Fr. Andrés de Olmos (see Moreno de los Arcos and Elzy for brief summaries). Of these, the most parallel is the Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas, which is compared to...
to the 1558 manuscript in detail in de la Garza. She claims that the coincidences of sequence, especially in the two accounts, "demonstrate that the author of the _Leyenda_ (1558 ms.) reasonably had at hand the same account on which the _Historia_ is based" (130). The conquest lists are closely parallel in both. Bierhorst also supplies a brief running comparison of the two narratives in his Introduction (_History_, 8-10). Gardner performs an interesting structuralist exercise on the 1558 text in an attempt to reconstruct "a hypothetical deep myth" (20) narrative for the five suns myth specifically and provides useful tables comparing descriptive details of the five ages as told in _Historia de los mexicanos_, _Hystoyre_, Motolinía, _Codex Vaticanus_, _Anales_, Muñoz Camargo, and Alva Ixtilxochitl. The 1558 manuscript is an important and unique source for some aspects of both the creation work of the demi-urge Quetzalcoatl and of the "historical" life work of the god-man culture hero, _Ce Acatl_ "Our Precious Lord One Reed Quetzalcoatl"; the torture death of his murderous uncles, for example, is interestingly out of character with many of the other accounts of him as the "enlightened" antagonist off all forms of human sacrifice.

**Editions**

Francisco del Paso y Troncoso first brought the text to light in 1903 with his edition in _Biblioteca Nahuatl_, vol. 5, cuaderno 1. Since then the 1558 text has been translated and published in four versions: Lehmann (1938) in German, with transcription; Velázquez (1947[1975]) in Spanish, with photographic facsimile of the manuscript; Bierhorst (1992) in English, with transcription. These three include the 1558 text with the much longer and more historically detailed _Anales de Cuauhtitlan_ text. An earlier, prose version of my translation appears in Markman and Markman (1992).
PROLOGUE

verse-phrase 1 In nican ca tlachilliztlatoçanilli ye huecauh mochiuh inic mamaca tlalli, cecentetl in itla mamaca
verse-phrase 2 inic peuh i[n] zuh ichuq izintic in izquitetl in omaca tonatíuh chiquacentzonxihuitl ipan macuilpohualxihuitl ipan malacxihuitl omei axcan ipan mayo, ic 22 ilhuitia de 1558 anos — 5

Strophe 1

verse-phrase 3 inin tonatiuh nahui ocatca—676 anos.
verse-phrase 4 inique in izcep ono[c]ca ocelloqualloque ipan nahui ocellod in tonatiuh.
verse-phrase 5 auh in quiuaya chicomte malinalli in i[n] tonacayouh catca.
verse-phrase 6 auh inic nenque centzonxihuitl ipan malacpohualxihuitl ipan yepohual xihuitl ypan ye no caxtolxihuitl oze. 10
verse-phrase 7 auh inic tequanqualloque malacxihuitl ipan ye xihuitl inic popoliuhque inic tlamito.
verse-phrase 8 auh iquac polluh in tonatiuh.
verse-phrase 9 auh in inxiuh catca ce acatl. 15
verse-phrase 10 auh inic peuhque in qualloque in cemilhuicatalli nahui ocelod, zan no ye inic tlamito inic popoliuhque—

Strophe 2

verse-phrase 11 inin tonatiuh nauhuecatl ytoca.
verse-phrase 12 inique in inic oppa onoca. 20

2 This prologue is not part of the traditional poetic structure.
3 Dashes, commas and periods are given only as they appear in the text.
yecatocoque ipan nahuecatl in tonatiuh catca.
verse-phrase 13 auh inic poliuhque yecatocoque, ocomatin mocuepque in inca no inquauh moch ecatococ.
verse-phrase 14 auh inin tonatiuh zan no yecatococ.
verse-phrase 15 auh in quiquaya malacacatmome cohuatl, in tonacayouh catca.
verse-phrase 16 auh inic nenca.
   caxtolpohualxihuitl ye no ipan yepohualpohuitl ye no ipan nahui xihuitl
   inic popolliuhque
   zan cemilhuitl in ecatoque.
nauhecatl ipan cemilhuitonalli
   inic poliuhque.
verse-phrase 17 auh in inxiuh catca ce tecpatl.
TLAMACHILLIZTLATOLÇACANILLI

“Wisdom-Discourse Fables”

Prologue

Here are the wisdom-discourse fables,¹ how in ancient times it happened that the earth was established, and each individual thing found its place. This is the manner in which it is known how the sun gave rise to so many things, two thousand five hundred and thirteen years before today, the 22nd of May, 1558.

¹ Tlamachilliztlatoñcanilli—Velázquez: tlamachihiti-tlahtolli-çcanilli. A neologism unattested, so far as I can determine, anywhere else. Bierhorst, 1985a, p. 15: "çasanilli (trifle) applies only to jokes, animal stories, and what Molina calls old wives' tales. Unfortunately, there are no recorded Aztec çasanilli—though the term was applied to a collection of Aesop's Fables translated into Nahuatl in the late 1500's." On leaf 179 of the Cantares Mexicanos manuscript a Nahuatl version of Aesop's Fables begins with this title phrase: Nican omtehua y çasanillatolli yuquitilati ce tlamati ytooc Eeso "Here begin the fable-discourses which were composed by that wise man named Aesop." In Book VII of the Florentine Codex, Chapter 2, Sahagún records the "Rabbit-in-the-Moon" myth—one of the finest extant Nahuatl accounts of the creation of the 5th Sun—and the informant concludes his tale with the following line: Nican tami yuhin nemonotzollii, çasanilli, in ye vocahu ye tolalnunutzoyi uoctop, yn impiel catca "Here ends the ancient legend, the fable, from long ago, so the elders narrated it, it was their treasure." (Sahagún 8). This text is repeated in the Memoriales con escolios text of the same story, found in Sahagún's Primero memoriiales and appended to the Anderson and Dibble edition of Book VII, p. 59.

Clearly the genre of çasanilli, whatever it was before evangelization, became a key term for desacralized narrative of the preHispanic past, now demoted to the level of Aesop. By labelling his performance with a derivative of this name, our Mexica narrator proclaims his distance from any faith or belief in these old stories, but respects them nonetheless (assuming the Prologue was composed by the performer—it may have been a scribal addition). The genre label assures that no reader any longer will believe these stories as cosmogonic truth, but implicitly recognizes, calling them "wisdom", that they stand in competition with the "new" accounts of Genesis.
Act 1 - The Five Ages in Creation

Episode I: Four Ages Rise & Die

Ocatca
This sun was Nahui Ocelotl, 4 Jaguar—676 years.
Those who lived here first were eaten by jaguars on [the day] 4 Jaguar, of this sun.
And they ate chicome malinalli, 7 Grass, which was their sustenance.
And so in this way they lived six hundred seventy-six years until they were devoured by jaguars in thirteen years.
So they completely perished, so they were abolished.
And then the sun disappeared.
And their year was the year Ce Acatl, 1 Reed.
And they were first eaten under this same day-sign 4 Jaguar; by just this means [Jaguars] they were abolished, they completely perished.
This sun is named Nahui ecatl, 4 Wind.
Those who lived in this second place were swept away by the wind; during the sun 4 Wind it was.
And this way they were destroyed: they became monkeys.
Their houses and even their trees were all swept away by the wind.
And this sun itself was carried away by the wind.

2 Inin tonatiuh—"this sun" indicates visual reading from a pictograph.
3 Auh—Anaphoric verse-unit indicator; appears throughout alone or in combinations: auh in "and so"; auh inin "and thus"; auh inic "and so this" or "and so here"; auh ic "and this"; auh niman "and then". See auh icacqui inic, note 44, below. Niman "then" also functions by itself as a secondary verse-indicator and more often (in the present text) as a stich-indicator within the verse unit.
4 Tonacayouh; to—"our" nacayo—"flesh, body," i.e., "what sustains the body." May also imply through rhyme a relationship with tonal—"day, day-sign, destiny," and the root tono—"vital heat" and tonatiuh "sun." My translation attempts to suggest all these meanings.
5 Nenque—In an earlier translation of this text I rendered this word as "wasted". Fr. Molina, nenc a, "estar ocioso y sin alguna ocupación" and Karttunen, nencah, "to be idle, without profit, in vain, futile." It occurs four more times below as nenca. However, as Karttunen points out, this adverbial contrasts phonemically with the preterit form of the verb nem: to live," which is nema—only by vowel length, which is not marked in this manuscript. Since in all four occurrences nenca is the only verb option in the phrase and clearly is not functioning adverbially, the more valid contextual choice must be "they lived.
6 Zan no ye inio—The narrator would seem to be highlighting, perhaps by pointing to the pictograph figure, the correlation between the day-name and the agency of destruction.
And they ate *matlactlomome cohuatl*, 12 Serpent; it was their sun-sustenance. 
And so in this fashion they lived three hundred sixty-four years; in this way they were utterly destroyed: in one day they were swept off by wind. 
Under the single day-sign 4 Wind they were destroyed; And their year way 1 Flint.

This is the sun *Nahui quiyahuitl*, 4 Rain. 
And these are the ones who lived during the sun *Nahui quiyahuitl*, which was the third. 
And thus they were destroyed, in a rain of fire; they were all transformed to birds. 
And the sun itself also burned; all their houses burned. 
And so they lived three hundred twelve years; And so they were totally destroyed by a rain of fire in only one day. They ate *chicome tecpatl*, 7 Flint; it was their sun-sustenance. 
And their year is 1 Flint. 
And in only one day-sign, 4 Rain, thus they were destroyed: they became the Pipiles.
This is why today children are called *pipilpipil*, “little gobblers.”

This sun is called *Nahui atl*, 4 Water. 
The water gathered for fifty-two years. 
These are the ones who lived in the fourth age, the sun of 4 water. 
And so they lived six hundred seventy-six years,

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3 *Inic poliuhque pipilin nata*—León-Portilla: “turkeys”; Velázquez: “niños”; Bierhorst: “children.” “Noblemen” would be another, particularly sarcastic, option, impossible here. But why would they become children? And if so, what sense are we to make of the next sentence? Could the narrator be saying that this previous race of proto-men became the Pipiles, Nahua-speaking groups to the south in Central America, suggesting their dialect, distorted to Mexica ears, sounded like turkey-talk? Consider the following citations:

3. *Pipiles.* (Del Azteca pipil, muchacho, porque en un principio hablaron el azteca en forma corrompida, como lo hablaría un niño.) Antiguas tribus indígenas de Centro América.” Diccionario General, p. 484.
4. *Pipilo.* (Del pipilpipil.) Del guajolotito tierno.” Diccionario General, p. 484.
5 *Momota coome pipilpipil*—León-Portilla: “The offspring of turkeys are now called pipilpipil.” Molina/Simeón: *pipilpipil* “muchachos”. Velázquez: “se llama a los niños pipilpipil (muchachitos).”
6 The years for the four ages total 2,028, the same total—but not the same order—for the ages described in the Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas. If the total given
And in this way they were destroyed: were inundated:
the heavens came down to inundate them,
and they were destroyed.
And they ate nahuí xochitl, 4 Flower; it was their sun-sustenance.
And their year was 1 House.
And on the single day-sign 4 Water they were destroyed in this way; all the mountains were destroyed.
And in this manner the water gathered for fifty-two years.

Episode II: The Deluge and Fire-Drill

And so their years being finished,
Then Titla[ca]huan, “Our Master”, [Tezcatlipoca] called forth the one known as “Our Father” and his consort known as “Nene.”
He said to them, “You will want nothing more.
Hollow out a large ahuehuetl log;
And you will enter it during the month of tocoztli when the heavens will come crashing down.”
And so they entered it,
And then he sealed them in.
And he said, “You will have a single ear of corn to eat and likewise your woman will have one.”
And when they had finally consumed all the kernels, they heard the water outside receding.
Their log no longer moved.
Then they opened the log, they saw a fish, they drilled a fire from the wood and cooked the fish for themselves.
Then the gods Citlallinicue and Citlallatonac gazed down on them and said, “Who has made fire? Who is now smoking up the heavens?”
And so then Titlacahuan we his servants Tezcatlipoca descended;
he scolded them and said to them, “What are you doing, Grandpa? What is this fire?”

in the Prologue, “2,513 years before today,” refers to time passed since the creation of the first sun (the most likely meaning), then the narrator is telling us the fifth age is 485 years old in 1558. Given the length of the first four ages, it is unlikely he means the fifth age itself is 2,513 years old.

10 Niman—“then”; verse-unit or sub-unit indicator.
11 The veintena (twenty-day “month”) corresponding roughly to April.
12 Teteo—Various anthropomorphic beings of varying power and influence. Tezcatlipoca was considered one of the most active, immanent, polivalent and dangerous.
Then he struck off their heads and reattached them over their buttocks; they became dogs.

And here at the sign 2 Reed [you can see] the way in which the heavens were smoked up.\textsuperscript{13}

Here are we ourselves, this was already us.\textsuperscript{14}

Here the fire-drill sticks \textsuperscript{15} fell [to earth];

Here the heavens were stabilized \textsuperscript{16} in the year 1 Rabbit.

And here how darkness covered everything for twenty-five years,

And when the heavens were stabilized, then the “dogs” smoked them up, as already mentioned.

And so finally the fire-drill sticks fell and Tezcatlipoca lit a fire, so that once again the heavens filled with smoke in the year 2 Reed.

Episode III: We Are Created\textsuperscript{17}

And then the gods called an assembly; they said, “Who will be seated there, now that the heavens have been established and the Earth Lord has been established? Gods, who will be seated?”

The gods Cihallinicue, Cihalltonac; Apanteuctli, Tepanquizqui; Tlaallamanqui, Huicdollinqui; Quetzalcohuad, Tidacahuan were distressed.

And then Quetzalcoahd went off to Mictlan, the Region of the Dead, where he came before the Lord and the Lady of Mictlan.

Then he said to him, truly thus to him, “I come to take away the jade bones which you so honorably guard.”

\textsuperscript{13} Performing-reader speaks directly to the transcriber.

\textsuperscript{14} I understand “we” to mean all Native contemporaries of our narrator who still inhabit the existing Nahua world. It is very doubtful that any Native speaker in 1558 could still be sufficiently bold or ethnocentric to include Europeans in such a creation account. However, this statement would suggest that he still clings to an oppositional account for American origins, assuming he has been catechized in biblical stories of human origin, as his title for this performance would suggest. This statement may also suggest that this performance was without Spanish participants and that the scribe was native.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Tlequahuitl-Siméon: “instrumento de madera para hacer fuego.” The ancient frictional tool for starting fires.}

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{O/maman in ilhuicatl—“se estancó.” See Siméon.}

\textsuperscript{17} See León-Portilla, \textit{Native Mesoamerican Spirituality}, p. 140-144, for another English translation of this section.
And so then the Lord of Mictlan said to him, "What is it you will do, O Quetzalcoatl?
And again he said, once to him, "The gods are anxious to know who will be settled on the earth."
And so once again the Lord of Mictlan spoke, "Very well: Blow on my conch trumpet and carry it four times around my jade-encircled throne."
But the conch trumpet had no holes for finger-stops.
Then Quetzalcoatl called the worms who filled it with holes,
And then bees and hornets quickly rushed inside and filled it with sound so that the Lord of Mictlan heard it.
And then once again the Lord of Mictlan said, "Very well, take them."
And then the Lord of Mictlan said to his messengers, the Mictecans, "Tell him, O gods, that he must leave them."
And then Quetzalcoatl went up quickly and took the jade bones, those of the man on one side and of the woman on the other. In this way he took them: he wrapped them in a bundle which he carried up with him.
And once again the Lord of Mictlan said to his messengers, "O gods, Quetzalcoatl is in fact carrying off the jade bones! Gods, go dig a pit."
Then they went to dig, so that Quetzalcoatl fell down into it. He was startled by a covery of quail and fell down as though dead, scattering the jade bones across the ground,
And then the quail nibbled and pecked at them.18 And then Quetzalcoatl revived; he began to weep and said to his nahual, "How can this be?"
And then his nahual answered, "As it must. Things have gone wrong but let us go on."
Then Quetzalcoatl gathered up the bones and made a bundle and carried them at once to Tamoanchan.
And as soon as he brought them the goddess named Quilaztli, who is also Cihuacoatl, ground them in her jade bowl.
And then Quetzalcoatl bled his penis over it.

18 Causing human mortality? An indiscretion for which they have paid ever since by being the primary bird offered in blood sacrifices.
Then all the aforementioned gods performed penance: Apanteuctli, Huiictlollinqui, Tepanquizqui, Tlallamanac, Tzontemoc, and the sixth, Quetzalcoatl.
And then they said, “The gods have given birth to men, the common people,” for certainly they performed penance on our behalf.

Episode IV: Quetzalcoatl Discovers Our Sun-sustenance

So once more they spoke:
“What shall they eat, O gods? Already they are searching for nourishment, a sun-sustenance.”

Then the ant went to take kernels of corn from within the Mountain of Food-Stuffs.
And then Quetzalcoatl encountered the ant and said to it,
“Tell me where you went to get it.”
And persistently he questioned the ant but it did not wish to tell him. Then finally it said, “Over there,” and led him to the place.
And then Quetzalcoatl transformed himself to a black ant, accompanied the first ant, and they went into the mountain together.

That is, Quetzalcoatl followed the red ant to the storage bin, gathered up the corn and carried it quickly to Tamoanchan. And then the gods chewed and ate of it.
And then fed it to us, to nourish and strengthen us.
And then they said, “What shall we do with this Mountain of Food-Stuffs?”
And the Quetzalcoatl went and tried to pull it with ropes but could not lift it.
So then Oxomoco performed divination with the kernels;
And then also Cipactonal, his wife, performed divination (Cipactonal is the woman).
And then they said, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, “The kernels revealed that only Nanahuatl would be capable of breaking open the Mountain of Food-Stuffs.”
And then the attendant gods of Tlaloc, the tlaloque, lords of rain, appeared: the blue tlaloque, the white tlaloque, the yellow tlaloque, the red tlaloque, and Nanahuatl broke open the corn.
And then the food-stuffs were all stolen away by the lords of rain; the white, black, yellow and red corn, beans, chia, amaranth, fish-amaranth—everything was stolen.

19 See macehualtin ... otopantlamacuehuque. Explain.
Te name of this sun is 4 Motion. This is now our sun, the one under which we live today. This is its figure, the one here, because this sun fell into the fire at the sacred heart in Teotihuacan. It is the same sun as of Topiltzin, Our Beloved Prince of Tollan, Quetzalcoatl. Before becoming this sun, its name was Nanahuatl, whose home was Tamoanchan. Eagle, Jaguar, Hawk, Wolf, 6 Wind, 6 Flower—all are names of this sun. This thing is called the "sacred heart", and it burned for four years.

And Tonacateuctli and Xiuhuieuctli called to Nanahuatl and told him, "Now you shall become guardian of heaven and earth." And then he was much saddened and said, "Truly the gods live, and I am only a sickly person." They also summoned there Nahuitecpatl, 4 Flint, who is the moon. Him the Lord of Tlalocan, Tlaloc, called upon, and also upon Napateuctli. Then Nanahuatl fasted in penance.

Then the Moon provided his own thorns and performed his penance.

Then Nanahuatl was the first to be bathed,

20 This material appears to be explanatory and introductory material which does not form part of the narrative performance itself. If the audience is Native, then we are witnessing a subversive event of cultural preservation and transmission. If on the other hand the transcription of this event was a piece of the Franciscan missionary-training enterprise, then the explanations are for quite opposite purposes—whether the performer knows this or not. This question of the relationship between the narrator and his most immediate audience, the amanuensis, is one of the most intriguing, and unanswerable, puzzles of this performance event.

21 Presumably pointing to a pictographic text.

22 Not the demi-urge seen in action above, but his human avatar and high priest, the "god-man" and culture-giver, "One Reed," who appears in Act 3.
And then the Moon was bathed also;
quetzal feathers for his pine branches and jade for his thorns,
he burns jade incense.

When four days had passed, they coated Nanahuatl in chalk and
down feathers and he went to throw himself into the fire.
Nahuicetepatl made a kind of female song for him.\textsuperscript{23}

Then Nanahuatl fell into the fire and afterward the Moon fell also
but only into the ashes.
When Nanahuatl fell, the eagle lifted him and carried him off.
The jaguar could not carry him, but only leapt into the fire was
spotted.
Then the hawk smoked himself and the wolf was scorched.
None of these three was able to carry him.\textsuperscript{24}

And so when he arrived in the heavens,
then [the high gods] Tonacateuctli and Tonacacihuatl bathed him,
then sat him on a mat of flamingo plumes,
then wrapped his head with red bands.

Then he spent four days in the heavens;
And then he stood still at the sign 4 Motion,
And for four days he did not move, only stands still.
Then the gods asked, "Why doesn't he move?"

Then they sent Itztli to speak and inquire of the sun.
He said to him, "The gods say, 'Ask him why he will not move.'"
Then the Sun answered, "Because I require the blood of their
legitimacy and their reign."

Then the gods consulted with each other
And then Tlahuizcalpanteuctli, Lord of the House of Dawn, became
angered and said,
"Why don't I put an arrow into him?
He'll wish he had never stood still!"

Then he shot at the sun but missed him.
For this the sun shot Tlahuizcalpanteuctli;
he shot him with the flaming plumes of the cuetzalini-
papagayo
and suddenly brought down the entire nine heavens on his face.
This way Tlahuizcalpanteuctli became the ice-god.

And then the gods Titlacahuan and Huitzilopochtli
and the goddesses Xochiquetzal, Yapaliicue and Nochpaliicue
gathered in council,

\textsuperscript{23} Quichuapanteuciatla.
\textsuperscript{24} Therefore the "names" Eagle, Jaguar, Hawk, and Wolf mentioned in the Preface
as ritual identifications of this Sun, the most powerful being Eagle, quauhtli.
and from then on the gods in Teotihuacan began to die. And when the sun rose into the sky, then the moon, which had fallen in the ashes, went also.

He had no sooner arrived at the edge of the sky than Papaztac came to smash his face with a rabbit-jar. And then the female demons and other demons came out to confront him at the intersections of the roads. And they said to him, “May you be welcome.” Nevertheless they stopped him there, clothed him in rags, and came to make offerings. And when the sun came to halt at 4 Motion it was also then that the sunset was stabilized.

Act 2: Origins of “One Reed” and Rise of the Toltecs

Episode 1: Mixcoatl and the Cloud Serpents

[Note: At this point in the manuscript the scribe inserts a crude pictographic sketch outlining the mythic precincts of Tula (Tollan) with Topiltzin Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl “Our Beloved Prince One Reed Quetzalcoatl” standing at its center. Marking the four corners are his “Four-part” temples: “Serpent House,” “Gold House,” “Jade House,” and “Turquoise House.” (In the Anales de Cuauhtitlan these are called “his turquoise-plank house, his coral-inlay house, his whiteshell-inlay house, and his quetzal-feather house.”) In the center under the glyph for town which bears the name “Xicococ,” the names of Ce Acatl’s parents, Mixcoatl and Chimalman appear on either side and are jointed by a long, chain-like umbilical, which attaches in the center under the glyph to an oblong figure which could be a supine child (Gillespie, 138). Directly below the figure stands Topiltzin. Mixcoatl’s age at the time of his son Topiltzin’s birth, 39, is written in the upper right corner of the pictograph, above the data 1 Flint.]

Preface

And so Mixcoatl had lived 39 years. And his wife was named Chimalman.

25 Coleletin—See Simon, and Bierhorst, Concordance, tsitsimit/coleletin.
26 Tzin no iquau in cumnaaco ye teotlac.
And Topiltzin lived 56 years [the drawing indicates 52, the figure given in other accounts.]
In the same year 1 Reed in which he moves, here he also leaves his city, Tollan.
And here he died on 4 Rabbit there in Tlapallan.

Body

In the year 1 Flint the mixcoa “Cloud serpents” were born, they were created. *Iztacchalchiuhuitlicue*
“White Jade Skirt” bore the Four Hundred Cloud Serpents.
Then they entered a cave:
And when they had entered the cave, again their mother gave birth;
Then “the Five” were born, also cloud serpents:
this one is named *Quauhtliicohuauh* “Eagle’s Twin”,
this second is named *Mixcohuatl* “Cloud Serpent”,
this third, a woman, is named *Cuitlachchihuatl* “Wolf Woman”,
this fourth is named *Tlotepe* “Hawk Mountain”,
and this fifth is named *Apanteuctli* “Lord of the River.”
And when they were born they entered the water, they threw themselves into the water;
And then they emerged again and were nursed by *Meciti*, she who is Lord [sic] of the Earth, *Meciti*.
And so it is that today we are “Mexica”, not properly “Mexica” but “Mecitin”.
And then the sun sent forth the Four Hundred Cloud Serpent. Giving them arrows, darts and shields, he said, "Here is that with which you will satisfy my thirst, with which you will serve my table."
And [he gave them] arrows, precious-feather arrows, fletched with quetzal plumes, heron plumes, troupial plumes, roseate spoonbill plumes, flamingo plumes, cotinga plumes.
“And,” [he said,] “furthermore, she is your mother, Lord of Earth.”
But they did not perform their calling; they only shot at birds, they only enjoyed themselves; so it is that place is called “Bird Arrow.”
And occasionally they caught a jaguar; they did not offer it to the sun.
When they did capture a jaguar, they decorated themselves with plumes and down, they slept with women, drank *tzihuac* [yucca] liquor

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27 *Tzihuac*-See Bierhorst, *Concordance*, p. 375; also *Florentine Codex*, Book xi, p. 218.
See illustration in FC xi, #752: may be *lechuguilla.*
and wandered about completely drunk, 
completely intoxicated.

So the sun then called "the Five" who had been born later. He gave
them tzihuac arrows [made with yucca tips] and lord's shields
and said, "Listen carefully now, my sons; you must destroy the
Four Hundred Cloud Serpents who offer nothing to Our
Father, Our Mother."

So they gathered together in a large mesquite, from which the others
saw them and said, "Who are these, so like ourselves?"

And the time came to make war:

- **Quauhtliicohuauh** hid inside a tree;
- **Mixcohuatl** hid within the earth;
- **Tlotepetl** hid within a hill;
- **Apanteuctli** hid in the water;
- and his older sister, **Cuachichihuatl**, hid in the ball court.

And so when the Four Hundred came near, none of the Five were
left in the mesquite tree.

Then the tree craked open and fell on them and out came

**Quauhtliicohuauh;**

And then the earth shook and out came **Mixcohuatl** from within
the earth;

And then the hill erupted and fell down and out came **Tlotepetl;**
And then the water boiled and out came **Apanteuctli.**

So then they eliminated and destroyed [the Four Hundred],
And then served the sun at his table and gave him to drink.

And others who had escaped came to supplicate and plead with
them, saying, "We have been a great trouble to you. Please,
won't your Honors go in to Chicomoztoc 'Seven Caves'; certainly
it is your beloved cave. Won't your graces please go in, since
it is your beloved home.

Could it be that you have just now damaged our caves, our home? 28
We will only sit outside the cave."

**Episode II: Xiuhnel and Mimich Discover**
the Star-Demon, **Itzpapalotl**

And then there came down two deer, each with two heads, and also
these two cloud serpents named **Xiuhnel** and **Mimich**, who
hunt in the Sacred Lands [to the north].

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28 Bierhorst, p. 92: **auh cuic quin ye testothc ca ye tspa testothc ca tocham ca oanquilacotoco...**
Facsimile nor clear.
Then Xiuhnel and Mimich pursued the two deer, trying to shoot them. A night and a day they pursued them and by sunset they were tired.

Then they said to one another, "You build a hut there and I'll build one here." Ah, soon the malevolent creatures come!

And then they came, they who were deer but had become women. They came calling, "Xiuhnel, dear; Mimich, honey, where are you? Come, come to drink; come to eat."

And when they heard them they said to one another, "Well, why don't you answer?"

And then Xiuhnel called to them and said, "You come here, sister." Then she said to him, "Won't you drink, dear Xiuhnel."

And so then Xiuhnel drank the blood and then immediately lay down with her; She lay down with him and then turned herself face down upon him, then devoured him, tore open his breast.

And then Mimich said, "Iyo! She has actually eaten my elder brother!"

And the other woman was still standing and calling, "Lover, won't you come and eat!"

But Mimich did not call her.

And then instead he took the fire-drill and lit a fire, and when it was lit, Mimich ran and threw himself into it. The woman, pursuing him, also entered the fire. She followed him there the entire night, until noon of the following day.

And then he descended into a thorny barrel cactus, fell into it, and the woman fell down after him.

And when he saw the star-demon had fallen, he shot her repeatedly. Only then could he turn back.

Then he returned, parting and tying up his hair, painting his face and weeping for his elder brother who had been eaten.

Then the fire gods heard it and they went to bring the woman, Itzpapalotl, Obsidian Butterfly.

Mimich went in the lead.

And when they took her, they burned her and she burst into bloom. First she blossomed into the blue flint; The second time she blossomed into the white flint, and they took the white and wrapped it in a bundle.

See Lockhart, p. 269, on the verb *tzonilpia*, for ritual hair binding.

See Bierhorst's lengthy analysis of this line.
The third time she blossomed into the yellow flint, but no one took it, they only watched.
The fourth time she blossomed into the red flint which no one took.
And the fifth time she blossomed into the black flint which no one took.

Episode III: Mixcohuatl Goes to War

Mixcohuatl, Cloud Serpent, took the white flint for a god and wrapped it and carried it in a bundle,
And then went off to make war in a place called Comallan.
He went carrying his goddess of flint, Itzpapalotl.
And when the Comalteca learned of it, they came out to meet Mixcohuatl and placed food before him, and with this put his heart at rest.
And then he went to Tecanma where also his heart was rested.
They said to him, "What does the Lord wish? May he be satisfied here.
And bring him his beloved tzihuac; let me here chop it up [and make him pulque]."
And then he went to Cocyama where at once he came pulling down the high places.
And he conquered there in Cocyama then went to Huehuetocan and conquered in Huehuetocan, Then went to Pochtlan and came there to conquer also.
And then when Mixcohuatl went to conquer in Huitznahuac, the woman Chimalman came out to confront him.
Then she lay down her shield and filled it with arrows and atlatl darts.
She stood naked, without skirt or shift.
And when he saw her Mixcohuatl shot his arrows:
The first went over her and she only turned aside slightly;
The second arrow passed by her side and she deflected it;
The third she merely caught in her hand;
And the fourth she passed between her legs.

1 Because Nahuatl has no contrasting phonemes for gender in the third person, this might also be "he...his" shield. The narrator plays on her name Chimal—"shield" man—"to be, to extend, to lie" in the phrase Chimalman tzihuac niman quimana in ichimal, implying her name is a shield; for this reason I believe he says "...the woman Chimalman, then she lay down her shield...." See Gillespie's discussion of this episode, p. 138-40.
And since Mixcohuatl had shot at her this way four times, he turned and immediately went away.
And the woman fled away at once to hide in a cave among the canyons.
And again Mixcohuatl came to prepare and supply himself with arrows.
And again he went to look for her but saw no one.
So then he attacked the women of Huitznahuac,
And then the woman of Huitznahuac said, "Let us go in search of her." They went to take her; they said, "Mixcohuatl is searching for you. On your account he is mistreating your younger sisters."
Then when they had taken her, they came to Huitznahuac.
The again Mixcohuatl went and again met her, finding her exposed as before.
Again he lay down the shield and the arrows and again he shot at her.
Again the arrow went over her head, and one went by her side and one she caught in her hand and one passed between her legs.
And then when this had occurred, he took the woman of Huitznahuac, the one who is Chimalman, and lay with her and so she became pregnant.

Act 3 - Life and Death of Ce Acatl

Episode I: Youth of Ce Acatl, "One Reed"

And when he [Topiltzin] was born, for four days he caused his mother to suffer.
Then One Reed was born and as soon as he was born his mother died.
And One Reed was then raised by [the divine women] Quillaztli and Cihuacoatl.
And being already grown, he accompanied his father on campaigns.
In this way he became exercised in arms, in a place called Xihuacan there he took captives.
The Four Hundred Cloud Serpents, the uncles of One Reed, they despised and killed his father,
And when they had killed him they went to bury him in Xaltitlan.
And One Reed then went in search of his father; he said, "What is this about my father?"
Cozcaquauhtli, King Vulture, then said, "Well, they killed your father; he lies over there where they went to bury him."

Maxauhticac—"naked" was petlauhticac.
And so [One Reed] went and took him and seated him in his temple, Mixcoatepetl, "Mixcoatl Mountain."
And the uncles who had killed his father were named Apanecatl, Zolton and Cuitlon.
Then he said, "How will I dedicate the temple?"
[the uncles] said, "If with only a rabbit, with only a snake, we will be angered; better would be a jaguar, an eagle, a wolf."
When they said this, One Reed spoke; "Very well, so it will be."
Then he called the jaguar, the eagle, the wolf; he said to them, "Won't you please come in, uncles? They say with you I must dedicate my temple. Certainly, you shall not be the ones to die. Instead you, my uncles, will eat these men and with them indeed will I dedicate my temple."
The ropes which tied the [maneaters] by their necks were rotten. And so then One Reed called the moles and said to them, "O Uncles; won't you come here? We will tunnel into our temple."
And the moles then promptly scraped down and tunnelled and One Reed entered into it and emerged at the summit of his temple.
And the uncles [who had killed his father] said to him, "We will light fire with the fire-drill stick there on the summit."
And they were delighted; they saw the jaguar, the eagle, the wolf and the weeping.
And as they came back to their senses, One Reed himself lit fire with the fire-drill stick.
Then the uncles became enraged, and they came running up, Apanecatl rushing to the front.
And the One Reed rose up and threw into his face a polished clay vessel so that he came falling back down.
And then he quickly seized Zolton and Cuitlon and whistled to the man-eaters, who proceeded to kill them. He brought them together and cut their flesh a little.
And when they had tormented them then they cut open their chests.

Episode II: Conquests and Death of One Reed

And then One Reed conquered once more in a place called Ayotlan. And when he had conquered there, he went on to Chalco and Xicco where he conquered also.

 awk canempanca in tepeuchmeayotilaco see Velázquez note 3, p. 139: "en vano les fue atado el pescuezo, te a personas, las que no pueden ser sino los animales dichos."
And having conquered there he went to Cuixcoc where he also conquered.
And then he went to Zacanco where he also conquered;
Then he went to Tzonmolco where he also conquered;
Then he went to Maçatzonco where he also came to conquer;
Then he went to Tzapotlan where he also came to conquer;
Then he went to Acallan where he crossed a river and also there conquered completely.
So he came to Tlapallan.
And then in that place he became sick and was ill for five days until he died.
And when he had died there in honor, they immolated him, he was burned.
And so then in Tollan no one remained.
...[section of text damaged by ink spill here]

Huemac was installed as Speaker,
and the second was this one named Nequamentl,
the third, this one named Tlalchicatzin
and the fourth, this one named Huitzilpopoca.
These four succeeded Topiltzin.

Act 4 - Decline of the Toltecs

Episode I: The Stinking Giant

The Speaker of Nonohualco is named Huetzin...
...[more inkblot damage]...
They were startled and horrified; they saw the tlacanexquimilli, the night-being without head or arms, the “long man.”
This then is he who ate people.
And then the Toltecs said, “O Toltecs, Who is this man-eater?”
Then they guarded him, they seized him; and having seized this huge young man, toothless, lipless and filthy-faced, they killed him.
And having killed him, they opened him up to look inside, and found no heart, no guts, no blood.
Then he stank, and whoever smelled him died and even he who did not smell him but only passed by.

34 See Lechmann’s, Velázquez’s and Bierhorst’s reconstructions. V. agrees with L; B. follows León y Gama copy.
“Ash-grey blanket-bundle man.”

Amo tlametemtzotzoyo—very problematical, very hard to read ms.
And in this way many died.  
Then they dragged him but he would not move, and the rope broke.  
And those who fell died where they fell.  
And when he did move, everyone died wherever he went, he devoured everyone.  
And when he did move along, everyone arrayed him, the lineage-bearers, the elders, the beloved sons, the matrons. They tied him with eight ropes and dragged him along to Itzocan.  
And then he stood up. Those who dragged him did not let go of the ropes but were carried along dangling from them.  
And all who hung on to the rope were lifted high in the air.  

Episode II: Huemac Loses the Corn  
And so then Huemac played ball; he played ball with the lords of rain, the tlaloque.  
And the lords of rain said to him, “What shall we wager?”  
Huemac said, “My jade and my quetzal plumes.”  
And again they said to Huemac, “None other than this shall you also win: our jade and our quetzal plumes.”  
Then they played and Huemac beat them.  
So the lords of rain went to transform that which they would give to Huemac, the ripe maize ear and their quetzal plumes the green maize leaves in which the ear swells.  
But he would not accept them; he said, “Can this be what I have won! Was it not jade? Was it not quetzal plumes? And this stuff? Take it away!”  
So then the lords of rain said to him, “Very well; ‘Give him the jade and the plumes and take away our jade and our quetzal plumes’.”  
Then they took them and went away, then said to Huemac, “Very well, for now we are hiding our jade; the Toltecs will continue to work in suffering but only for four years.”  
And then the hail fell; and it fell to the height of the knee, destroying all food-stuffs. The hail fell in the month of Teucilhuitl.  
And then especially on Tollan the sun shone; the trees, the nopal, the maguey all dried up;  
And even the stones broke, everything disintegrated because of the sun.

37 Transition to the following episode seems especially abrupt. Perhaps something was left out in copying the original transcription.
And the Toltecs struggled and died of hunger. Then a sacrificial prisoner, who was probably kept guarded in some place by his uncle [his captor], miraculously, somehow bought himself a small bird, made himself tamales from it and ate them.

And in a place called Chapoltepec Cuitlapilco, on Mt. Chapoltepec, an old woman sat selling paper banners. He went and bought from her a banner and then went to be sacrificed on the tecpatl stone.

And when the four years of famine had passed, the lords of rain again appeared there in Chapoltepec where there is water. Then suddenly to the surface of the water rose a green ear of maize that had been chewed upon,

And a certain Toltec man happened to see it; took up the chewed ear and chewed it himself.

And then from out of the water came a priest of Tlaloc who said, "Mortal, have you learned something here?"

Then the Toltec responded, "O most certainly, Our God. It has already been a long time that we lost it for ourselves."

Then the other spoke: "Mortal, that is very good; sit here while I speak to the lord."

And he returned once more into the water but did not tarry long; Then once more he emerged bringing with him an armload of fully ripened ears.

Then he spoke: "Mortal, deliver this to Huemac. And [tell him] the gods request the daughter of Tozquezue, the Mexitin [Mexica], for indeed as they will be eating this [the maize], a little at a time she will go eating the Toltec. For certainly the Toltec will be destroyed and the Mexica will be coming along.

Problematic passage.

Entire passage is ambiguous: auh conitlani inteteo in Tozquezue/... pohc in mexitin ca oe yehuan tin quicuazque ca achi/(first 4-5 characters of this line are smeared out)... in conquatiaz in toltecatl ca ye polhiuiz in toltecal, ca ye oltzaaz in mexicaal (very confused word—Lehmann and Bierhorst agree, but transcription is questionable).

Lehmann: auh conitlani in teto in tozquezue (im)ahpoch in mexitin ca oe yehuan tin quicuazque ac achiuaz in conquatiaz in toltecal, ca ye polhiuiz in toltecal, ca ye oltzaaz in mexicaal.

These lines are problematic and complicated by a smudging erasure in the left margin which completely wipes out the first 4-5 characters in the two lines where this statement occurs. Context must solve the ambiguity; only "she will go eating the Toltec" makes sense in context of the following line—"For certainly the Toltec will perish and the Mexica will be coming along". Mexica will replace the Toltecs in the favor of Tlaloc; their moment has come, so they must pay for the fertility over which they will now rule in place of the Toltecs. Therefore, a charter myth for atlcaualo festival: "bring me a daughter, if you want maize." But she is also the consumer, an eater of Toltec destiny.
And over there at Chalchiuhcuhyan in Pantitlan they will go to deliver her."

And so then he went to tell everything to Huemac; thus he said just as Tlaloc had commanded it. And then Huemac was filled with contrition and wept;

he said, "So it will certainly be;
so the Toltecs will indeed depart;
so Tollan will indeed be destroyed."

Episode III: Sacrifice of Quetzalxochtzin
and Arrival of the Mexica

And then he sent to Xicococ two messengers, Chiconcohuatl and Cuetlachcohuatl, to request of the Mexica the young woman named Quetzalxochtzin who was not very old, still a little lady. So then they went there to Xicococ, and they spoke: "Here have we been sent by Huemac; he says, 'the lords of rain have shown themselves in a sacred manner. They request a young Mexica woman'."

And so in a four-day fast the Mexica mourned for her. And when the four days were completed, then they carried her to Pantitlan; Her father went with her. Then they sacrificed her.

And then again there the lords of rain appeared and spoke to Tozcuecuex:

"Tozcuecuex, don't be lost in your grief, for you will be with your young lady. Open your tobacco pouch."

There they placed the girl's heart and all the many and varied foodstuffs. They said, "Here indeed is what the Mexica shall eat, for the Toltecs will certainly be destroyed."

And so then suddenly the clouds gathered and it began to rain furiously; for four days and four nights it rained without ceasing and the water was eaten [by the earth]. Then sprouted all the different green edible plants and all the herbs and grasses. And all were extraneous when our sun-sustenance [the maize] was created and brought to life. And then the Toltecs planted; twenty and forty days pass and we arrived,41 already it was rounded and full; in only a moment our sustenance [the maize] was produced.

41 The speaker is Mexica.
And when our sustenance was produced, 2 Reed was the year-sign.\textsuperscript{42}

In 1 Flint the Toltecs were destroyed.
Then Huemac went into [the cave] at Cincalco [where he committed suicide]. Some returned and others dispersed themselves in all directions.

Act 5: Sojourns and Establishment of the Mexica-Aztecs
The Historical Year-Count Begins

Episode I: Wandering and Humiliation

1. Tezcaacoatl Huemac. 2. Chiconcohuatl. 3. Cohuatlayauhqui. 4. Citlachcohuatl. Thirteen years. 1 Reed.\textsuperscript{43}

And the names of the four protectors who led them in their departure are—name of the first lord, Cohuatlayauhqui: name of the second, Citlachcohuatl: name of the third, Chiconcohuatl: name of the fourth, Tezcaacoatl (this one was Huemac).

They served as protectors for thirteen years, always wanderers.
And here they are coming from Colhuacan, from Aztlán; Here the Mexica are fleeing, fifty-eight years.
1 Flint. Here it shows\textsuperscript{44} they lived in Chapoltepec still in the time of Huitzillihuitl; they lived there forty years.
13. Rabbit, Here it shows they lived in Colhuacan, in Tićaapan, twenty-five years.

When the Toltecs departed in 1 Flint, the Mexica were arriving at the same time; they came from there, from Xicococ and it took them thirty-seven years to arrive at Chapoltepec. There they stayed, in Chapoltepec, for forty years.
And then the Colhua rented them out as slaves; the Xaltocameca came to rent them.
There the Mexica settled for a time, as the saying goes, “I’ll only sleep here nearby you, because I’m headed over yonder.”

\textsuperscript{42} A climactic moment in the narrative.
\textsuperscript{43} The performer now is reading literally from a Mexica pictographic xihuatl “year-book” which records the movements of the Mexica-Chichimec migration in a year-by-year account. This would seem to be a different codex than the one supplying the earlier cosmogony.
\textsuperscript{44} Auh izcatqui inie—Narrator pointing to pictograph. Occurs sixteen times from here to end of the complete ms.
So they “slept” there near the Colhua but in such a way that it seemed they went there only to guard them. And then the Colhua came forth and they met them; they said, “You have come into the home of the Colhua; “And where the Xaltocameca and the Quauhtitla are householders; also the Acolhua, also the Tenayo, also the Azcapotzalca, also the Quahuaca, also the Maçahuaca, also the Xiquipilca, also the Matlatzinca, also the Ocuilteca, also the Cuitlahuaca, the Xochimilca.” and others there were under watch of the Colhua. These [Colhua] captured [the Mexica chieftan] Huitzilliuhuitl. Then the Mexica were robbed of their woman, the princess. And other Mexica escaped into the tule marshes at Acocoleo and went to camp there for six days.

Episode II: The Founding of Tenochtitlan, The Sequence of Speakers, Conquests of Empire

And here it shows the arrival on dry land here at Tenochtitlan, which was still nothing but tule marsh, still nothing but a reedy place; there [the Mexica] endured their labors for fifty years. No one was their Speaker. The Mexica kept exclusively and singlemindedly to their own affairs. [Year] 51. 2 House: Colhuacan, Tenayocan. And here it was that the Mexica made their [first] conquests: only Colhuacan and Tenayocan.

1. And it was also there that Lord Acamapichtli was installed as The Speaker. He ruled twenty-one years. 20. 1 Flint: Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Quauhnahuac, Mizquic. And here are shown the conquests which he made: Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac and Mizquic and Quauhnahuac. In four places he conquered.

2. And here it is indicated that the son of Acamapichtli, named Huitzilliuhuitl, ruled for twenty-one years; here he ruled—21- -9 House: Xaltocan, Acolman, Otompan, Chalco, Tezoco, Tollantzinco, Quauhtitlan, Toltitlan. And here are shown the conquests which he made; Eight cities Huitzilliuhuitl conquered.

3. And here it is indicated that the son of Huitzilliuhuitl, named Chimalpopocatzin, ruled; for ten years he was The Speaker. Chalco, Tequixquiac. 10 years. 4 Rabbit.

Numbers appear in the margin of the ms., counting off the Mexica Speakers.
And here are shown the two cities which Chimalpopocatzin conquered.

4. And here it is indicated that the son of Acamapichtli, named Itzcohuatzin, was made The Speaker, and so he was Speaker for thirteen years. 13. 1 Flint.

And here are all the conquests which Itzcoatzin made: Azcapotzalco, Tlacopan, Atlacuhiuayan, Coyohuacan, Mixcohuac, Quauhximalpan, Quauhuacan, Tecocalhuiyocan, Tecpan, Huitzitzillapan, Quauhnahuac, Tetzco, Quauhtitlan, Xochimilco, Coyohuacan, Mizquic, Tlatelolco, Itztepec, Xiuiotepan, Tzualaquilpan, Chalco, Yohuallan, Tepequacuilco, Cuécallan.

5. And here it is shown that the son of Huitzillihuitl, named Ilhuicaminatzin Moteucómatzin the Elder, was made The Speaker, and so he ruled for twenty-nine years. 29. 1 House.

And here are the conquests which Moteucómatzin the Elder made: Coaixtlahuacan, Chalco, Chiconquiyauhco, Tepoztlán, Iyauhtepec, Atlatlahuacan, Totollapan, Huaxtepec, Tecatapepec, Yohualtepec, Quiahuhtopec, Tlacocuhatlitan, Tlachco, Quauhnahuac, Tepequacuilco, Chualtlan, Xilotepec, Itzcuicuitlapilco, Tlapacoyan, Chapalicxita, Tlatlahuitepec, Yacapichtlan, Quauhtochco, Cuétlauml.

6. And here is indicated how the grandson of both Speakers Moteucómatzin the Elder and Itzcohuatzin, named Axayacatzin, was made The Speaker; he ruled for twelve years. 12. 4 Rabbit.

And here are all the places which Axayacatzin conquered: Tlatilolco, Matlatzinco, Xiquipilco, Tzinacantepec, Tlacotepec, Tenantzinco, Xochiyacan, Teotenanco, Callimyan, Metetep, Ocoyacac, Capolloac, Atlapolco, Quapanohtuan, Xalatlauhco, Teculco, Tepeyacac, Oztoman, Tlaximaloyan, Ocuillan, Cuezcomatiyacac, Matlatlan, Oztoticpac, Tlaollan, Ahuilizapan, Tetzapotitlan, Mixtlan, Quetzaloztoc, Cuétlauml, Pozaquilpan, Tetzapotitlan, Mixtlan, Quetzaloztoc, Cuétlauml, Miquetlan, Tenexticpac, Tochpan, Tampatel, Quauhtlan, Tamooc.

7. And here is shown how the grandson of two Speakers, Moteucómatzin the Elder and also Itzcohuatzin was made Speaker. Five years he ruled. 5. 3 Rabbit.

*See Taehol for facsimile, transcription and German translation of the long-lost final leaf of this manuscript, discovered on p. 121 and 122 of a copy of the Codex Chimalpopoca made by Leon y Gama in the late 18th century. Bierhorst, History, p. 11, has a summary.
And here are all the places this Tiocicatzin conquered: Tonalliimo­quetzayan, Yecatepec, Toxico, Matlatzinco, Mazahuacan, Atezcahuacan, Cillan, Tlapa, Yaucuitlan, Tamapachco, Coat, Iquauhpechco, Xochiyedla, Miquetlan.

8. And here is shown how the grandson of both Speakers Moteucamatzin the Elder and also Itzcohuatzin was made Speaker. Sixteen years he ruled. 16. 8 Reed.

And here are the conquests he made: Tlapan, Tziuhcohuac, Molanco, Tzapotlan, Xaltepec, Tototepec, Xallapan, Apancalleen, Xihuacan, Acaapolco, Xollochiuhcan, Cozohuipliecan, Acatepec, Cozacauhtenanco, Amaxtlan, Xochtlan, Coyocac, Chiyapan, Tecpatpec, Huexollotlan, Tecuuitlatlan, Xiuhteucatlan, Xicochimalco, Tequantepec, Coyollapan, Hueuetlan, Huiipillan, Cahuallan, Iztatlan, Nantzintlan, Comitlan, Izhuatlan, Quauhxyayacuitlan, Iztactallocan, Huitzitlan, Xollotlan, Quauhucatzlan, Mactlan, Mapachitepec, Cuecalcuitlapillan, Quauhtlan, Tlacotepec, Mizquitlan, Quauhpilollan, Ayotochcuititatlan.

9. And here it shows how the son of Axayacatzin, named Moteucamatzin was made Speaker; he ruled sixteen years. 16. 11 Reed.

And all the places where this Moteucamatzin made his conquests: Achiotlan, Coctlan, Nocheztlan, Teuctpec, Huillotepoc, Tlanitztlan, Collin, Tzinacantlan, Huitztlan, Oxitlan, Piatlcan, Texotlcan, Chichihualtacallan, Iztactla­llocan, Icpatpec, Tlatlatepec Amatlan, Pipiohtepec, Caquantepec, Nopallan, Tecociuhuan, Hueiapan, Quimichitepec, Malinaltepec, Tlacqui, Auhco, Teochiaapan, Teca­tzinco, Pantepec, Caltepec, Tecpatlan, Centzontepec, Quecal­tepec, Cacemecahltahuacan, Cacatepec, Tlallapan, Xaltian­quito, Tollocomecuilco, Comaltepec, Atepec, Huexollotlan, Tliltepec, Iztitlan, Miquiztlan, Itzcuintepec.

Coda

The day-sign on which the Marques arrived was 1 Reed, forty-two years ago.

The one who lay down the dagger was the second one to enter Mexico.

47 Ahuitzotzin, named in other sources.
48 Ye tocomano—which seems to be readable only as teca—"dagger" from the Spanish daga, and mana—"extend, spread out," meaning "to make war"? The word is obscure.
1 Reed, 12 Flint, 13 House. 1 Rabbit, 2 Reed, 3 Flint, 4 House.  

BIBLIOGRAPHY


As no other Spanish loanwords appear in the next, this reading would seem to argue for a later addition of this coda. See Bierhorst’s note, History, 102.

* If “now” is forty-two years from Cortés’s entry into Tenochtitlan in 1519, 1 Reed, then the year is 1561, which does indeed correlate as 4 House.


*Nican ompehua y čacanillatolli...* (Aesop's Fables). In MS 1628 bis (Cantares mexicanos ms.), leaf 179: México, Biblioteca Nacional. Microfilm copy.


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