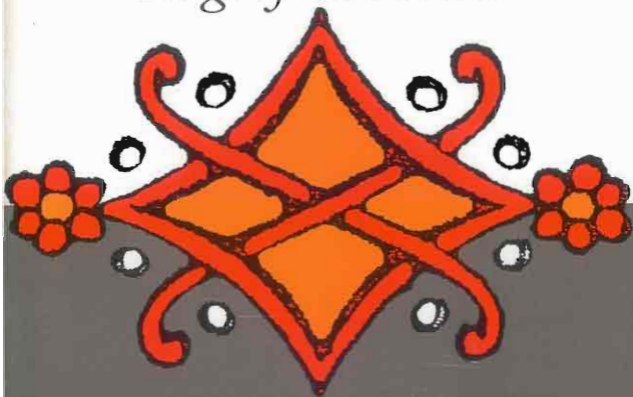


CANTARES MEXICANOS

Songs of the Aztecs



Translated from the Nahuatl,
with an Introduction and Commentary,
by JOHN BIERHORST

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Preface

It would be too much to claim that a text so elusive as the *Cantares mexicanos*, having resisted translation for four hundred years, had suddenly been captured in English. The most that can be said is that the outward appearance of a translation has been achieved and is now ready for the appraisal of historians, linguists, anthropologists, and students of literature. To assist in the process, the bilingual text is accompanied by a General Introduction describing the basic interpretive approach, and a detailed, somewhat more adventurous Commentary treating each of the ninety-one songs, or "cantares." For the convenience of linguists, an additional volume is being published simultaneously, entitled *A Nahuatl-English Dictionary and Concordance to the 'Cantares Mexicanos.'* This companion work includes an analytic transcription, which serves as the critical text, and a skeleton grammar.

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West Shokan, N. Y.

J. B.

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A Note on Orthography

Although Classical Nahuatl lacks a standard orthography, there has been a tendency in this century to prefer what may be called a *modernized Franciscan* method, eliminating most or all glottal stops and ignoring the lengthened vowel. (The glottal stops that are customarily retained are those that fall between like vowels, as in *ehecatl* or *ahahuiya*, with the stop represented by the letter *h*.) In order to adjust the spelling to modern Spanish, the old-style ξ becomes *z*, *ua* or *oa* (pronounced *wa* as in the English word "watt") becomes *hua*, *ue* and *ui* become *hue* and *hui*, and *qua* (as in "quad") becomes *cua*. Single consonants have approximately the same values as in English except that *x* is pronounced *sh*, and *z* has the sound of the *s* in "simple." The combination *tl*, whether at the beginning or end of a syllable, is pronounced with a single sound approximately like the *tl* in the English word "atlas" (not like the *tle* in "battle"). Vowels, roughly speaking, have the usual continental sounds (*ah*, *eh*, *ee*, *oh*, *oo*)—but the old Franciscan *u* has been discarded in favor of an allophonic *o*, which may have either a sound close to *oh* or a sound approaching *oo*. This, in brief, is the method that has here been used whenever Nahuatl words are introduced casually or given without reference to a specific text.

The early Franciscans did record a number of glottal stops and even an occasional long vowel. But such hints were insufficient to permit an orthography in which these features are systematically recognized. The first to suggest that a system might be possible was the Jesuit grammarian Antonio Rincón, author of the *Arte mexicana*, published in 1595. Rincón proposed that all unmarked vowels be regarded as short, with certain diacritical marks to signal the presence of long vowels, "medium" vowels, and glottal stops. Although he laid down rules and gave various examples, his system was not elaborated until the *Arte de la lengua mexicana* of 1645, prepared by another Jesuit, Horacio Carochi. In attempting to apply Rincón's ideas to a broad range of textual material, Carochi found it necessary

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to make certain changes and to introduce a symbol for the short vowel, leaving a residue of unmarked vowels that remain ambiguous. In this work, any system based on Rincón or Carochi will be referred to as *Jesuit* orthography.

The phonological work of Rincón and Carochi was halfheartedly kept alive through the eighteenth century by the Jesuit writers Francisco Javier Clavijero and Ignacio Paredes. All but defunct, it enjoyed a revival in 1975 in the Nahuatl-English grammar of J. Richard Andrews, who, harking back to Rincón, took the bold step of treating Jesuit orthography as an unambiguous system in which all vowels become either long or short and all glottal stops are presumably accounted for. To fill in the gaps, Andrews borrowed phonological data from modern Nahuatl dialects. His example, without the borrowing, was followed in a subsequent Nahuatl-French grammar written by Michel Launey and, with considerable borrowing, is followed again in Frances Karttunen's *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*.

In the present work, wherever Jesuit orthography is used, only those long vowels that are attested in sources written no later than the mid-1600's have been marked, and it is given as a general rule that unmarked vowels (though most are in fact believed to be short) carry no information with regard to length. Likewise, many debatable glottal stops have been omitted, especially in frequentatives and in loanwords from Spanish.

With the understanding that it is neither unambiguous nor infallible, Jesuit orthography is here used merely as a diagnostic tool; and in the particular adaptation described immediately above, it will be called *modernized Jesuit* to distinguish it from other, similar orthographies. For details regarding the ambiguity of Jesuit orthography, see sections 1.1, 1.5, 1.6-1.8, 2.1, and 9.2 of the Grammatical Notes in Bierhorst, *A Nahuatl-English Dictionary*.

When quoting old texts it is best to avoid making editorial changes, regardless of inconsistencies, obscurities, and even outright errors. Hence most quotations will be given in unmodified, or *paleographic*, orthography.

When taking live texts from the lips of native informants, it is possible to use a *phonemic* orthography, which more or less accurately conveys the sounds of the spoken language. Some Nahuatl students, especially those who have worked with modern Nahuatl, believe that the Jesuit system mentioned above can be reduced to phonemic orthography, which in turn can be applied to sixteenth-century texts. To a large extent this is no doubt true. Nevertheless, phonemic orthography will here be used only on the rarest occasions.

Evidently the *Cantares mexicanos* is a Jesuit copy of a Franciscan original, or originals, now lost. In the process of copying, the scribe appears to have partially converted the old Franciscan spellings to the newer method. The

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result, though beautifully penned, is an orthographic mélange that requires careful study if textual nuances are not to be overlooked.

In the following pages, wherever Nahuatl appears, it will usually be clear which orthographic system is being used. If it is not clear, the system will be mentioned by name. Further particulars regarding Nahuatl pronunciation, orthography, and paleography will be found in the works by Andrews, Launey, Langacker, and Newman cited in the Bibliography. The entire subject, however, awaits careful monographic treatment.

General
Introduction



Prologue

Since its rediscovery in the mid-nineteenth century, the codex *Cantares Mexicanos* has come to be recognized as the chief source of Aztec poetry and one of the monuments of American Indian literature. Ideas about what it might contain have been disseminated in several languages, even popularized, and during the past hundred years no less than three serious attempts have been made at decipherment. Although two of these efforts were to have resulted in complete editions, in each case the investigator died before the work could be finished. The edition in hand, therefore, is the first to offer a translation of the entire manuscript.

Over the years a tradition has gradually been established that views the *Cantares* as a poets' miscellany, studded with lyrics composed by famous kings. Such a tradition appears to have antecedents in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings of two Aztec commentators, the anonymous *Cantares* glossator and the historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. Since the present study breaks with this tradition, it may be useful to summarize its principal findings at the outset. These points will be elaborated in the thirteen chapters that follow, with the demonstration saved for the Translation and its Commentary, supported as far as possible by the Dictionary-Concordance (published separately). The findings in brief are these:

The ninety-one songs in the *Cantares*, without exception, belong to a single genre, which flourished during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. *Netotiliztli* (or dance associated with worldly entertainment) is the native name that appears to have been applied to the genre in its entirety. But for lack of certainty on this point, and for the sake of convenience, I have chosen to designate it by the term "ghost songs."

Basically, the Aztec ghost song may be described as a musical performance in which warrior-singers summon the ghosts of ancestors in order to swell their ranks and overwhelm their enemies. In the more elaborate

examples the full ritual seems to have assumed the proportions of a mock battle, where singing, dancing, and drumming were equated with martial deeds. In response to the music, ghost warriors from paradise, led by ancestor kings, supposedly came "scattering," "raining," "flying," or "whirling" to earth in the form of flowers or birds, reminiscent of the well-known *volador*, or "flier," dance, still being reported from various parts of Mexico and Guatemala. Indeed, comparison with this acrobatic ritual, in which the participants literally whirl to earth dressed as birds, to the accompaniment of music, suggests that the mysterious *volador* may be explained by reference to the *Cantares*, and that songs of the *Cantares* type may be intellectualized manifestations of a once-widespread ghost cult.

The *Cantares* itself, however, is limited to songs belonging to the city-state of Mexico, or to Mexico and its close ally, Azcapotzalco. In many of the songs, Mexico's traditional enemies, especially Tlaxcala, Huexotzinco, and Chalco, are humiliated, giving rise to such subgenres as Tlaxcalte-cayotl (Tlaxcalan pieces), Huexotzincayotl (Huexotzincan pieces), and Chalcoyotl (Chalcan pieces). Songs of this type often commemorate real battles.

Although it is possible that a few of the songs in the *Cantares* manuscript were composed before the Conquest, by far the greater number belong to the post-Conquest period. These deal mainly with the Conquest itself or its aftermath, preserving all the old imagery now adapted to the crisis at hand. Waves of incoming Mexican revenants, it is hoped, will establish a paradise on earth in which Mexicans, while embracing Christianity, will enjoy superiority over Spanish colonists or at least rise to equal status. The principal scapegoats turn out to be the Tlaxcalans, the Huexotzincans, and the Chalcans, who joined with Cortés in the siege of Mexico and in fact made victory possible for the Spaniards. We are thus confronted with the evidence for a Mexican revitalization movement not otherwise documented in sixteenth-century writings.

The content of this movement was hidden from missionaries and even from younger, acculturated Aztecs—just as it has been hidden from modern investigators—by virtue of its having been coded in a diction accessible only to Indian conservatives. This special language is neither hermetic nor spontaneous, but rigidly technical, calculated to unfold a series of coercive imprecations in some cases, and to work an argument through to its solution in others. When the Aztec poet sings, "From heaven, ah, come good flowers, good songs," he is not indulging in mere whimsy. Ghost warriors are being summoned by means of music, and as the singer intones their praises, they themselves, metonymically speaking, become the songs, or "flowers," emanating from the sky—which, if I have read native theory correctly, is the source of music. Simply put, the meaning is "Ghost warriors are descending from heaven."

Prologue

Unfortunately, for us, the *Cantares* is doubly obscured: first, by the remoteness of Classical Nahuatl, which still eludes mastery even for the best specialists; and second, by the poetic diction mentioned above. Like other esoteric idioms, however, the language of the *Cantares* is susceptible of decipherment, assuming that enough texts are available. Initially tentative, based on a sampling, the decipherment becomes presentable if it can be applied to further texts and yield a coherent reading. This, in sum, is the method that has been applied; and the texts provided by the *Cantares* have been found more than ample.

Because there is so much here that is novel, even if some of it might have been predicted, I have chosen to arrange the thirteen chapters of this General Introduction in the form of an argument, rather than try to organize the findings into a straightforward history of the *Cantares* movement. The sequence begins, therefore, with an examination of the manuscript (Chapter One), followed by an attempt to show how it should be read (Chapters Two–Five). By Chapter Six, the material is ready to be placed in historical context and treated as evidence of a sociological phenomenon (Chapter Seven). The crucial question of dating the songs (Chapter Twelve) is saved until yet further aspects of the argument have been adduced. Finally, Chapter Thirteen surveys the four hundred years of Aztec poetry study, stripping away, one hopes, whatever myths and scholarly encrustations might remain to prevent the *Cantares* from yielding a meaningful translation. It must be made clear, however, that the result is no more than a theory that I believe to be consistent with the data. Future work in Nahuatl linguistics, continued historical research, and more study of the *Cantares* itself will undoubtedly make for improvements.



Fig. 1. Contents page, MS 1628 bis

The Manuscript

The *Cantares mexicanos* occurs as entry no. 1 in a bound volume of miscellaneous Nahuatl and Spanish manuscript items now preserved as MS 1628 bis at the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City. The book opens with a contents page carrying this inscription in a penman's cartouche:

- Este Libro
 Contiene
1. Cantares Mexiç.
 2. Kalend^o Mejicano
 3. Arte Divinatoria de los Mexicanos.
 4. Exemp^o. de la SS. Eucarist^o en Mejicano
 5. Vn Sermon sobre aquello ac *Estote Sancti*
 6. Memoria de la Muerte.
 7. Vida de S. Bartolo-
 8. Fabulas de Esopo
 9. Hist^o de la Pasion

Despite the Spanish titles, almost all the material in MS 1628 bis, including the *Cantares mexicanos*, is in "Mexican," or Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs.

Dating the Manuscript

Two of the above-listed items, the *Kalendario* and the *Arte divinatoria*, have been convincingly attributed to the Franciscan linguist-ethnographer Bernardino de Sahagún (1499?–1590), but there has been some confusion whether the MS 1628-bis texts are those prepared under the supervision

of Sahagún himself or merely contemporary copies, or perhaps even seventeenth-century copies.¹

As a first step toward dating the manuscript, it should be noted that the entire book, with the exception of a few pages, is in a single hand, more fluent in the Spanish than in the Nahuatl, usually meticulous, sometimes hasty, but invariably Italian and distinguished by numerous peculiarities. Although several scribes may have been involved, the overall uniformity suggests a single project in a single setting. I will refer to this script as hand A (see Fig. 2). And since the Prologue to the *Arte divinatoria* (old folio 101, hand A) mentions "este [año] de 1585," the book as a whole must be dated no earlier.²

The *Cantares*, which occupies folios 1–85r, is in hand A up through 79v, with its remaining six folios in a bastard script that awkwardly imitates hand A (see Fig. 3). These additional folios begin with the heading D97 ANOS, presumably a truncated hybrid of MDXCVII and 1597.³ The folios in question are clearly an insertion, not a continuation of the preceding material. As such, they would appear to postdate hand A, indicating that hand A is earlier, or at least no later, than 1597.

Aside from the contents page, the only other significant deviation from hand A occurs in the middle of the *Arte divinatoria*, where for two folios the hand-A scribe was spelled by an equally competent colleague, whose Italian script leans slightly toward the style known as *cortesana*.

That the project was carried out in a Jesuit milieu is implied by occasional *agudo* and *saltillo* markings, as prescribed by the Jesuit grammarian Antonio del Rincón, and by the presence of Jesuit parables in the discourse on the Eucharist.⁴ If, as one investigator has suggested, the Sahagúntine *Kalendario* shows signs of tampering,⁵ then it may be surmised that the *Kalendario* archetype, along with other materials no doubt, passed into Jesuit hands after Sahagún's death. Thus the early or mid-1590's would appear to be the most likely time for the labors of the hand-A scribe, or scribes, whose gracefully executed copies were finally assembled, perhaps, in 1597.

As mentioned above, the contents page is in yet a different script, as are the folio numbers in the upper right-hand corners. Whether these were added in 1597 or at some later date is a question that must here remain unanswered. It should also be noted that the slightly divergent script of the *Historia de la pasión* might conceivably have been penned at a different time; and it is curious that the *Historia* switches from the Rincónian *saltillo* marker to the grave accent usually associated with post-Rincónian orthography. Such problems do not necessarily discredit the dating scheme offered above, but they do suggest—at least—that the final portion of MS 1628 bis could be later than 1597.

The Lost Originals

On close inspection the *Cantares* appears to wear its Jesuit orthography rather loosely, with traces of earlier Franciscan methods still showing through. At various points the scribe makes the transition obvious by writing a word or a character in the new style, while preserving the old reading directly above it or off to one side. Clearly the *Cantares* is a copy of earlier material now lost.

Although the formative history of the collection cannot be reconstructed with certainty, the manuscript as it survives is rich in clues: evidently the songs were taken from the lips of native informants during the 1550's, 1560's, and 1570's (with one or two songs as late as the 1580's); some appear to have been collected singly, and others in batches; the collector was an acculturated Indian, probably in the service of Sahagún; over the years he may have recopied at least some of the texts, adding explanatory headings and occasional glosses; some of the work seems to have been done in Azcapotzalco, the rest in Mexico City; possibly the collector was the well-known Indian writer and political leader Antonio Valeriano; or, just as likely, several collectors were involved, including Valeriano.

The dating of the songs will be discussed in Chapter Twelve. As for the collection having been made piecemeal (and never really organized), this is apparent from the numerous stops and starts in the manuscript. The phrase *nican pehua* ("Here begins"), a usual formula for starting a manuscript, occurs on folios 7, 15, 16v, 26v, 31v, 37v, 39v, 41, 46, and 62v. A terminal "IHS" appears on folio 7; folios 52v and 82v each have a "Finis"; and folio 78v has a "Finis Laus Deo."

On folio 6 the collector includes this interesting comment of his own (in Spanish):

Old songs of the Otomi Indians, which they used to sing at feasts and marriages, translated into the Mexican language, metaphorical images that they used to utter always capturing the substance and soul of song, as Your Reverence will understand and better than I with my meager talent, and such that they proceeded with considerable style and elegance, for Your Reverence to use and insert at the convenience of your leisure, being so good an expert as Your Reverence is.

Leaving till later the question whether these songs are Otomi, we may note the obsequious tone and the grammatical error (*ellas* for *ellos*), and infer that the writer is a bilingual Indian in the service of a white master. That the master might have been Sahagún is suggested by the imputation of expertise in the Nahuatl language and an interest in "metaphorical images."⁶ If Sahagún is meant, and if he did not "use and insert" these songs in his *Historia general*, it could well be that he doubted their antiquity. The *Historia general* was not designed to include post-Conquest ethnography.

acohil monomac amaxicqui niontia matra yo boye y so d'ua
y so d'ua

Con nel palonualdope y naxicboniqui que diya noca nicall d'itit
intencuallat o castononijikals ni ma nieli d'ual ynkabilon
o cano ystioo caye ni qua quaudon ni no toltina y so et
Con ne leguil y xona euica ho a d'uaa antooni d'ua at amon
aduefane at adicla marzque toni d'ua xoyaye ca nica
in yelhe xocitl y yelhe xoncuicatl y aduefane a d'ua yia
yia d'ua y d'ua

Ayquin xoyon in quic d'ua yonica y ni noblinia ca ycaiqua
quaudon d'ua at amon aduefane at aduefand'ua
toni d'ua o d'ua y con ni d'ua in yelhe xocitl et

Nican ompehua Teponazcuicatl.

Tico, tico, toco toco, audicantlanis cuicatl. Tigit
tito titi.

Tolla naya d'ua palli manca noca in mormani co atlaguetalli moui
noca d'ua d'ua Naxitl topilim onqui qui nica yed'ua quilito into
bil d'ua a d'ua y d'ua in poli n'it'is noca d'ua d'ua d'ua
Naxican odoblan d'ua on toniquaya y d'ua d'ua d'ua in quita pana
d'ua y acallan onqui d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua

Nond'ua d'ua y ni d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua
ha d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua
xocitl d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua

Interpell d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua
d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua d'ua
y d'ua d'ua

Fig. 2. Page from the "hand A" Cantares (fol. 26v)

- I Tocolococolo. Diqui ti quiti quiti qui
- X ye hoto nasiso atuaconete nomapine qeshalehi hura y
 nuy nuyalid y y maniana chachalich komanu nuy nuy
 uent hax hama hura i te uay hax no mapine nuy nuy nuy
- X hax hama nomach hax hama y hax hax y hax hax don alonso uen
 hama hura y y chachalich uay hax hax hax hax hax hax
 challa hax hama nuy nuy hax hax hax hama hura hax hax hax
 e no mapine nuy nuy hax hax
- X hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
- E yatacon hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
- X yatacon hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
- E hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
- X hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
- X hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax

Z.

loco locon / Ticoloco tocoloco
 Hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax
 hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax hax

Fig. 3. Page from the "bastard script" Cantares (fol. 80)

But in his *Psalmodia christiana* Sahagún did insert phrases from native songs, using specific vocabulary items found in the *Cantares mexicanos* and in no other surviving source. Further evidence that these "cantares" were prepared for Sahagún is supplied by the numbered scholia on folios 60, 60v, and 73, identical in style to Sahagún's *Memoriales con escolios*.⁷

On folio 46, with reference to an obviously post-Conquest song, the scribe writes (in Nahuatl): "Here begins a children song, or little-children song, that used to be sung there in Mexico at the feast of San Francisco. It was composed in our lifetime when we were living there at the church and as yet we were little children." One is reminded of the Franciscan practice of removing Indian children from their families and educating them in church schools. In a colorful *relación* appended to Book Ten, Chapter Twenty-Seven, of the *Historia general*, Sahagún describes the method in some detail, noting that the children were encouraged to spy on their parents. (If the parents were caught backsliding, they were captured, tied up, and carried to the monastery for a session of castigation and catechism.) Of these schools the largest was the one founded by Fray Pedro de Gante in the late 1520's at the monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City.⁸

Whether or not the "children song" was performed at San Francisco, it would be reasonable to assume that the scribe was educated there. Elsewhere, on folio 42v, he uses the phrase "here in Azcapotzalco," indicating that at this point, at least, he is not in Mexico City. If the writer was in fact an assistant to Sahagún, then it may be conjectured that he was none other than Antonio Valeriano, the most valued of Sahagún's Indian helpers and the only one known to have been a resident of Azcapotzalco.⁹ The conjecture is strengthened by the entirely gratuitous nature of this insertion on folio 41: "At that time [1565] the gobernador of Azcapotzalco was Don Antonio Valeriano." For an Indian writer to refer to himself in the third person was by no means unusual.¹⁰

From various sources we know that in 1573 Valeriano moved to Mexico City (just eight kilometers southeast of his native Azcapotzalco), where he served as gobernador of Tenochtitlan until 1596, when he became "old, feeble, and deaf" and had to yield his duties, if not his title, to a *teniente* named Juan Martín; he finally died in 1605.¹¹ During the period 1550-85 Valeriano would thus have had ample opportunity to collect "cantares" in both Mexico and Azcapotzalco. The overall stylistic uniformity of the transcripts suggests that they could have been made by a single collector, presumably Valeriano. On the other hand, the mere abundance of the material, its numerous minor discrepancies, and especially, the presence of near-duplicates within the collection argue for a loosely coordinated team effort (of which Valeriano may well have been a part).

The additional six folios in bastard script, mentioned above, appear to derive from the same sources. The hand-A copyists may have overlooked

them in the mass of Franciscan materials available after Sahagún's death, leaving the pleasure of discovery to the scribe of 1597.

Errors of the *Cantares* Glossator

By now it should be apparent that the *Cantares* manuscript contains more than song texts. In fact it contains three types of material: song texts, reportage, and commentary. Undoubtedly the song texts and the reportage are ethnic or at least ethnographic. But what of the commentary inserted by the scribe (or scribes) responsible for the *Cantares* originals? Although I have postulated his identity, it will be safer to refer to this (perhaps composite) person as the *Cantares* glossator. There can be little question that he is an Indian, but this fact alone does not qualify him as an informant.

We may begin by noting one or two simple errors. For example, in the song concerning King Axayacatl's Matlatzincan campaign there is a reference to his conquest of Toluca and of Tlacotepec (folio 53v). Toluca is certainly within Matlatzincan territory. But where is Tlacotepec? In a marginal note the puzzled glossator writes, "Actually it is said to lie with the Chalcans." And indeed there is a Tlacotepec fifty kilometers south of the old Chalcan capital of Tlalmanalco, far from any military activity recorded for Axayacatl. Unbeknownst to the glossator there is also a Tlacotepec just ten kilometers south of Toluca, well within the Matlatzincan area.

Another apparent misunderstanding turns up in the commentary for the *huehue cuicatl* (old man song) on folio 73v. The song opens with the line *Techtlahuancanotzque in Michhuacan in Camacoyahuac*, "They've summoned us to be drunkards in Michhuacan, the gaping maw." But in his accompanying gloss the scribe notes that Camacoyahuac is the king of Michhuacan. "[That's the] name of the king there," he writes, as if interpreting the text to mean "Gaping Maw has summoned us to be drunkards in Michhuacan," or "They and Gaping Maw have summoned us to be drunkards in Michhuacan." To arrive at such a reading one would have to throw away the plural suffix *-que* or postulate a grammatical rule permitting an unnamed subject to share a third-person verb.

The further glosses on folios 53v and 73v, if not in error, are dubious and groping. The interested reader may consult them in their place. From these the glossator begins to emerge as a mere scholar, bemused by the lore of his own race. Fortunately, he treats the texts themselves with respect. One of the very few indications of tampering occurs at 67: 10, where the words *ye oPixpo* have been stricken, either by the glossator and again by the Jesuit copyist, or by the copyist at his own whim. Or perhaps by an even later hand. Another occurs at 5v: 26, where a heavy cancellation blots what appear to be the words *in Santa María*. Various explanations might be offered, and since the examples are isolated they need not detain us.

Song headings are not treated with the same reverence, however. The manner in which the glossator works a personal comment into the children-song heading has already been noted. To demonstrate further, let me present three exhibits drawn from the manuscript, using italics to indicate what may or may not be commentary. In so doing I take a conservative view, admitting as reportage only composers' names, song dates, and simple, native-style titles of the kind mentioned by Sahagún, Tetzozomoc, and other chroniclers.

A. Chalcan female song. *A composition of the Chalcans, with which they came to entertain the ruler Axayacatl, for he had conquered them as though they had been mere women.* (Folio 72)

B. *Song of Nezahualcoyotl of Acolhuacan coming to visit the elder Montezuma of Mexico when he was sick.* (Folio 66v)

C. Female apparition song, *in which the holy word is set in order. It was sung at the feast of Espíritu Santo.* The singer Cristóbal de Rosario Xiuhtlamin put it together in August of the year 1550. (Folio 38v)

In exhibit A we have a rather well-developed descriptive summary, every iota of which is traceable to a (hasty) reading of the song itself. Years later the historian Chimalpain, having evidently stumbled on this description, used it as reportage, embroidering it with additional conjectures. (The matter is discussed at length in the commentary for song 84.) In general the glossator's technique is to read the song himself, then give us the highlights in a preliminary capsule.

With exhibit B we move from the unlikely to the preposterous. No chronicler, to the best of my knowledge, has left any record of bedside visiting among the warrior kings of Mexico.

In exhibit C, by contrast, we are given extra information that is at least partly harmless ("the holy word is set in order") and may include valid reportage ("sung at the feast of Espíritu Santo"). On the other hand, it is possible the glossator decided on his own, after a quick reading of the song, that Pentecost would be a good time to sing this piece. But why would someone in August be finishing up a song for Pentecost?

In short, everything outside the song texts themselves must be viewed with suspicion—much as in the case of the dubious annotations that accompany the *Madrid Codex* transcripts of the Sahagúntine "demons' songs."¹²

History of the Manuscript

Although the *Kalendario* and the *Arte divinatoria* (or copies of them) were evidently borrowed by Fray Martín de León for his *Camino de cielo*, published in 1611,¹³ and Torquemada, Ixtlilxochitl, Chimalpain, Carochi, and Lasso de la Vega all appear to have used the *Cantares mexicanos* (or a copy)

The Manuscript

during the period 1600–1650,¹⁴ there is no explicit documentation of the existence of MS 1628 bis until the second half of the nineteenth century. During these later years it was housed at the library of the University of Mexico, was reported missing for a while, then reappeared at the Biblioteca Nacional, where it has remained since at least 1886.¹⁵

The *Cantares* facsimile published by Peñafiel in 1904 shows that the manuscript had been severely trimmed at some point during its prior history. Though still legible, the writing on folios 16v, 27v, and 80 falls away at the edges. A microfilm copy made in 1973 reveals that other changes occurred after 1904: the stamped legend BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL. MEXICO. now appears on several folios, and the entire manuscript book has been given a new consecutive foliation at the foot. Although the leaves appear to be more tightly bound than they were in Peñafiel's day, there seems to have been no further trimming, the page size remaining approximately 150 mm × 195 mm. The book's new catalogue number, 1628 bis, was assigned by Roberto Moreno in 1966.¹⁶

Although the manuscript itself remains the optimum source, the facsimile of 1904 improves the reading in those few spots that have deteriorated over the past three-quarters of a century.

The Ghost-Song Ritual

Aztec songs of the *Cantares mexicanos* type are composed in a special vocabulary that relies heavily on such terms as bird, flower, song, comrade, heart, hand, and prince in relationship with verbs that express coming, coming to life, blossoming, greening, arriving, descending, scattering, whirling, weeping, seeking, awaiting, carrying, craving, departing, and dying—connected with two principal locales, earth and heaven, and interlarded with the names of kings and heroes.

Although most if not all of these vocabulary items are to be found in other Aztec sources, no other texts present the same concatenation of elements. The *Cantares mexicanos* and its congeners comprise a closed system, unintelligible to those who have not been initiated, even if they are fluent speakers of Nahuatl. Neither the standard dictionaries of Molina and Siméon nor the voluminous *Florentine Codex* can provide the lexical information needed to comprehend this highly figurative and complex idiom. True to the nature of esoteric idioms and jargons generally, it must be studied from within.

The sixteenth-century ethnographer Fray Diego Durán, alone among his contemporaries, claimed to have broken the barrier. His clumsy but interesting statement bears repeating, even if it has been quoted many times before:

All their *cantares* are composed by means of certain metaphors so obscure that there is scarcely anyone who understands them unless they are studied and discussed very intently in order to understand their meaning. I myself, intently, have set about to listen very closely to what they sing and among the words and terms of the metaphor, and it seems nonsensical to me, and afterward, with discussion and conference, they're admirable sentences, whether in the sacred matter that they compose nowadays or in the worldly *cantares* that they compose.¹

But if Durán did penetrate the "cantares," he left no proof of his success. His comments on Aztec songs, though not incorrect, are superficial and

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naïve. Sahagún, whose awareness of native songs was at least as keen as Durán's, writes more pessimistically:

They sing the old *cantares* that they used to perform in the time of their idolatry, not all, but many, and no one understands what they say, because their *cantares* are very obscure; and if they perform some *cantares* that they've composed since their conversion, treating the things of God and his saints, these are cloaked in many errors and heresies.²

And again:

For the most part they sing of idolatrous things in a style so obscure that there is no one who really understands them—except themselves alone.³

The sentiment is echoed by Pomar, who writes, "para entenderlos es menester ser gran lengua," and by Las Casas, who speaks of "chanzonetas y cantares y saltos de placer que no se podría explicar."⁴ Against this unpromising background the present study attempts to make headway nonetheless.

The ubiquitous figures of speech built on the words *xochitl* (flower) and *cuicatl* (song) will serve as a convenient point of entry. Since the two terms are constantly coupled and used interchangeably in a variety of stock phrases, we detect without difficulty that though they are dissimilar they are nevertheless synonyms. "I utter songs," reads the text. Elsewhere it reads, "I utter flowers." Or it says, "Let there be flowers, let there be songs." Thus the word flower has the meaning "song." But it may have other meanings as well.

When dissimilar terms are used together they sometimes reinforce each other, yielding a new, unexpected meaning. The process occurs in English (cloak and dagger means intrigue) but is much more common in Nahuatl. In the well-known guide to metaphors in Book Six, Chapter Forty-Three, of the *Florentine Codex*, we discover that heart and blood means cacao; chaff and straw means falsehood; stone and wood means misery; and so forth. In passing it should be noted that these definitions are not exclusive. Stone and wood can mean fame—and also idolatry.⁵

In recent years the *xochitl/cuicatl* of the *Cantares mexicanos* has been repeatedly defined as poem or poetry. But the definition appears to have been invented by the late Angel M. Garibay and, so far as I am aware, has no other authority. Although it is entirely proper from a modern point of view to speak of the *Cantares* as poetry and to regard the old singers as poets, the definition "*xochitl/cuicatl* = poetry" is a flaccid concept at best and at worst a misnomer.

As we look more closely at the text, we encounter *xochitl* and *cuicatl* in phrases such as these (identified by folio and line number):

I am a song (31: 19)

From heaven, ah, come good flowers, good songs (10: 6)

Once again as a song? Aya! Let us create You (45: 25)

God has formed you, has given you birth as a flower. He paints you as a song (27: 24)

As a song you're born, O Montezuma: as a flower you come to bloom on earth (63: 7)

This flower of beauty, this lord Axayacatl (80: 31)

My songs are marching forth (28: 3)

These shrilling flowers (69: 2)

The reader who wishes to check the translation is invited to do so. Although the *Cantares* is rife with ambiguity, it will be found, I think, that these particular examples are quite unambiguous. That is, they do not permit more than one linguistic analysis (though other writers might choose to word them differently). From such material it should be clear that songs, or flowers, are persons. The idea is strange, perhaps, but it is certainly in keeping with Aztec thought. Among the disparate terms that may be used to denote persons, as listed in Fray Andrés de Olmos' *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana*, are jade (*chalchiuil*), plume (*quetzalli*), city (*alhtepetl*), silk-cotton tree (*puchutl*), cypress (*auemetl*), flute (*tlapitzalli*), gold necklace (*teucuilacuzcatl*), and many others equally distant from modern sensibility.⁶

In addition to noting that songs may be persons—more correctly, deceased persons, or spirits⁷—we learn from the above phraseology that songs are revenant kings, such as Montezuma and Axayacatl. They descend from the sky world, moreover, and are brought to life on earth through the joint efforts of the singer and his god. These, in brief, are the essential points. Having grasped them, the reader will find that they are reinforced in varying degrees throughout the manuscript.

Fleshed out with innumerable details, the phenomenon in the aggregate assumes the proportions of a ritual. We do not know what it was called, if indeed it had a name. But for the purposes of discussion it will here be styled the ghost-song ritual; and henceforth, instead of referring to songs of the *Cantares mexicanos* type, I will resort to the more convenient, if synthetic, ghost songs. The paragraphs that follow attempt to catalogue the main elements of the so-called ritual, reserving the fine points of vocabulary and rhetoric for later chapters. As will be apparent, no single ghost song contains every element.

The Song Trip

Since songs proceed from the other world, the singer sometimes speaks of traveling there. He says he will go gather these songs, or flowers, and bring them back to earth. The process is reminiscent of the shamanistic trance journey, and in fact the singer may say, "In my dream I went to the dead land" (song 86, stanza 18).

The first item in the manuscript (folio 1 and 1v) is almost exclusively

The Ghost-Song Ritual

devoted to the description of a song trip. Unfortunately the diction of this piece appears to be Westernized.

Views of the Other World

Whether or not the singer claims to have made a song trip, he is regularly in touch with the other world, coercing, beseeching, or seducing the spirits that live there and waiting for signs of their approach. According to Sahagún, the Aztec hereafter was divided into three separate realms: an Eden-like paradise inhabited by those who had died of drowning or other water-related mishaps, a celestial paradise reserved for slain warriors and sacrificial victims, and an underground limbo that served as a catch-all for everyone else.⁸ Ghost songs, generally speaking, do not violate this classification. But although the ancestor spirits are regarded as warriors who dwell in the heavens, their realm may be envisioned in a variety of ways; and just as modern vulgarisms permit the dead to be “pushing up daisies” while they are supposed to be in “heaven,” Aztecs could speak of the deceased as gone to the sky and gone to the underworld all in the same breath.⁹

The celestial battlefield. The ghost-song view of paradise as a place of battle accords with Sahagún, who has it that the dead warriors armed themselves each morning, greeted the sun with whoops and skirmishing, and escorted it to the zenith.¹⁰ In the *Cantares*, *ixtlahuatl* (field) and *yahualihcan* (circle) are among the code words that denote “battlefield.” When the singer says, “I come from the circle on high” (song 86, stanza 24), he means that he is arriving from paradise.

The flowery paradise. In the Prologue to his *Arte divinatoria* Sahagún writes, “They used to say that in the sky where the sun dwells there are many flowers, many fruits, and many delights . . . and also they said that four years after death the souls of these defunct [warriors] turned into various kinds of rich-plumed and fine-colored birds, and they went along sucking all the flowers both in the sky and here on earth, as hummingbirds do.”¹¹ And the *Cantares mexicanos* does not disagree (even if it fails to confirm that the transformation of warriors to birds takes four years). Sahagún’s description of the flowery paradise is lavishly expanded in songs 1 and 2 of the *Cantares*, and ghost warriors descending to earth as birds are to be encountered throughout the manuscript (see especially canto F of song 90, the “Bird Song”).

Where songs originate. A myth preserved in two sixteenth-century sources relates that music was formerly kept in the house of the sun.¹² Similarly, the *Cantares* speaks of “sky songs” (song 4, stanza 3) and of songs descending (song 64, stanza 4). The manner in which the singer causes these songs

to descend from the heavens involves a subtle but well-attested doctrine of reciprocity, discussed below in the section entitled "Bringing Down the Songs."

The eastern shore. In the eyes of Mexicans and other residents of the central highlands, the sun's house might be reached by passing through the countries that lay along the Gulf Coast. Off on a song trip, the singer might say, "I've arrived in Panotlan" (song 80, stanza 24). Cuextlan and Acallan were similarly regarded as stations en route to the house of the sun, variously called "dawn's house" (*tlahuizcalli*) or "the place of painted water" (*atl icuilihuan*).

The dead land. In Aztec lore the term *mictlan* (dead land) often denotes the underworld.¹³ Missionaries used it to translate *inferno*. But it can also refer to the heavens, even the warriors' paradise specifically,¹⁴ without the slightest connotation of gloom or evil. These various shades of meaning are all present in the *Cantares*.

A place of tears. If ghost warriors are feeling impatient to return to earth, they may be miserable in paradise. "Are they still in the dead land?" reads one of the songs. And the answer is yes, "in precious snares they're weeping at the sacred shore" (song 83, stanza 1). In the opening stanza of song 8, the singer recalls the dead princes "who lie enslaved in the place where all are shorn, who were lords, who were kings on earth."

"Tlalocan." The Eden-like terrestrial paradise, home of those who die by drowning, is properly called Tlalocan, place of the *tlaloque*, or water gods. Because it is usually spoken of as a place of flowers, fruits, and delights, it is easy to imagine that it might be confused with the flowery paradise of the sun; and in fact there is evidence in the *Cantares* that this is so, although the term *tlalocan* is never used and the *tlaloque* are never invoked. According to the *Florentine Codex*, the *tlaloque* are denizens of caves and mountains,¹⁵ and in the *Cantares* we read that the flowery paradise lies in a "valley," literally "mountain-within" (song 1, stanza 4). Yet another, similar paradise is the delightful Tamoanchan, where the "tree of flowers" stands.¹⁶ In the *Cantares* Tamoanchan seems to be regarded as the place of human creation (song 18, stanzas 50-51), also called *xochitlalpan*, or "flower land," one of the names for the flowery paradise of the sun (compare song 57, stanza 28, and song 1, stanza 6). Evidently the warriors' paradise of the *Cantares* partakes of at least some of the features of both Tlalocan and Tamoanchan.

The Cave. In the *Florentine Codex* the dead are said to reside "in the water, in the cave, in the dead land."¹⁷ Evidently this refers to the underworld limbo, but in the *Cantares* it is possible that the "cave" (*oztotl*) or the "cavern house" (*oztocalli*) may sometimes refer to the hereafter in general

or even the warriors' paradise of flowers. In song 19, stanza 11, the singer asks invitingly, "Who'll go see, who'll go gazing in the cavern house of flowers?" But when the hereafter is spoken of as "the city of the dwellers-among-the-nine" (song 54-B, stanza 5) and the sun is called cave dweller (54-C, stanza 6), it is clear that the underworld is meant. In this case the sun is perhaps making its nocturnal journey from west to east beneath the earth's surface.¹⁸

Bringing Down the Songs

Songs are obtained from paradise by securing their release from divine power, by "recalling" them, by weeping for them, or by physically gathering them and carrying them off. Though disparate, these imaginary techniques are not mutually exclusive. The singer may be thinking in terms of two or more of them at any given moment. The important thing to bear in mind is that songs, or flowers, may be persons—as set forth in the opening paragraphs of this chapter. When the ghost singer says he is uttering, or bringing down, "songs" he usually means that he is producing ghost warriors.

Reciprocity. Song making is an act of cooperation between the mortal singer and his other-worldly source. The singer "begins," or "strikes up," the song, but the heavens must give the "answer," or the "echo." The singer "lifts up" songs, but the songs themselves descend from the sky. Thus song 70 opens with these words: "I strike it up. I beat the flower drum of Life Giver, and his paintings fall: these flowers." Likewise song 4 reads: "In this place of scattering flowers I lift them up before the Ever Present, the Ever Near. Delicious are the root-songs, as I, the parrot corn-tassel bird, lift them through a conch of gold, the sky songs passing through my lips." The notion of reciprocity, moreover, is not limited to ghost songs. The fact that it is described in the myth of the origin of song, as preserved in both Mendieta's *Historia* and the "Histoyre du Mechique,"¹⁹ suggests that it was a general feature of Aztec music theory. According to the "Histoyre du Mechique," music was taken from the sun by Ehecatl, the god of wind:

Seeing him approach, the sun said to his musicians, "No one must answer him, for whoever answers him must go with him." These musicians were dressed in four colors: white, red, yellow, and green. And now, having arrived, the wind god called to them with a song [*les appela en chantant*], and one of them immediately answered it and went off with him, carrying the music that they perform to this day in their dances in honor of their gods.

In Mendieta's version the song is answered by several of the sky musicians, who are then brought to earth along with the drum (*huehuatl*) and the two-toned *teponaztli*.

The role of the muse. Related to the theory of reciprocity is the performer's avowed conviction that he sings with a voice other than his own. "They're the very ones who fill our throats," says the singer, referring to the birds that dwell in the flowery paradise (song 1, stanza 2). But we have already observed—and it is confirmed by Sahagún—that these birds are ghost warriors. As we discover in virtually all the old chronicles, the warriors par excellence were the *tlatoani*, or kings.²⁰ Thus it is not surprising to find specific kings invoked as muses in the *Cantares*. The process is set forth in song 36, which deserves to be quoted at length:

Strike it up? And sing before the face of our father, God Life Giver? How
but uselessly could I? I am poor.

Let a singer come, and he can pleasure you, O Life Giver. He's smelting
songs, he's drilling them as turquoise beads. But I, I am poor.

I wish I could pleasure you. Let me somehow grieve, I, a singer, sighing
before your face, bereft, lifting flowers of bereavement, music of
bereavement, for you, O Noble One, O Only Spirit, O Life Giver.

Where are you? You're being entertained, O Life Giver. Everywhere,
throughout the world you're served. Flowers of bereavement, music of
bereavement, do I lift for you, O Noble One, O Only Spirit, O Life
Giver.

And now I sing! So let there be flowers! So let there be songs!

I drill my songs as though they were jades. I smelt them as gold. I mount
these songs of mine as though they were jades.

O God! Though poor, I say that I pleasure you, I, Totoquihuaztli! Let the
singer come. He can pleasure you. Let the singer come. He'll set free your
songs.

How excellent this noble one! He burnishes songs as though they were
turquoise. As though they were plumes he twists them, he,
Totoquihuaztli. Let the singer come. Let the singer come.

Here the muse is Totoquihuaztli, king of Tlacopan, a city-state closely allied with Mexico through the fifteenth century and up until the Spanish Conquest. It matters little whether Totoquihuaztli the elder (d. ca. 1470) or Totoquihuaztli the younger (d. 1519) is meant; the content of the song is ritualistic, not historical. Significantly, the singer refers to his muse both in the third person (stanza 8) and in the first person (stanza 7), acknowledging that he is both summoning Totoquihuaztli and speaking with his voice. Notice that Totoquihuaztli comes to earth, producing songs, or "flowers" (i.e., revenants). Thus, as in many ghost songs, we have the revenant who produces further revenants.

Among numerous other muses encountered in ghost songs are Nezahualcoyotl, king of Texcoco (another important ally of Mexico), and Montezuma (the name of two kings of Mexico). In song 72 Nezahualcoyotl is the muse that produces Montezuma. But though the muse is usually an important king, it may sometimes be a hero, like Tlachahuepan

The Ghost-Song Ritual

(who in fact was a lesser king), or a god, like Macuilxochitl (song 65), or the supreme spirit himself, or even the sun. See song 54-B with its invocation, "Sing, red sun!" Although it appears that the traditional muse is always a deceased king or hero, or a god, it is possible that Christian saints may be substituted; and it is even possible that Fray Pedro de Gante, the Indians' own singing master, served as the muse in songs composed during his lifetime.

Crying for songs. Singing is equated with weeping. When singers "weep" or "grieve," as in the third stanza of the song quoted above, they are not necessarily expressing sorrow for a specific cause. In fact the phrase "I weep" has become an almost empty formula in many ghost songs. Similarly, the texts are filled with automatic interjections and quasi-lexical vocables, often untranslatable, that seem to mean "alas" or "woe." Possibly the phenomenon stems from feelings of loss,²¹ or perhaps it involves a ritualized tenet of native music theory.²² Whatever the cause, the persistent weeping produces "flowers," or ghost warriors. Says the singer to the ghost: "And how are you created, my pet? By being wept for, my precious pet" (song 57, stanza 11). Or again: "For what are we song-sighing?" (song 59, stanza 18). While still in paradise, the ghosts are said to be "tears" (song 37, stanza 2) or "they that wish to be tears" (song 68, stanzas 79-81). As they arrive on earth the singer may exclaim: "Flower tears are sprinkling down at the flower drum, at the singing place" (song 86, stanza 31). On the other hand, when the singer says, "I grieve, earth is no one's home" (song 46, stanza 16), he is expressing a particular sorrow.

Recalling songs. Songs, or flowers, are frequently "recalled." In other words, the ghost warriors are brought to earth by an act of remembrance. Hence the injunction: "Create him! Weep! Recall Lord Totcotzin!" (song 51, stanza 29). The second stanza of song 41, a typical example, reads as follows: "Before you died you established your fame, O prince, O Tlaca-hucpan. So people are busy, it seems. People are appealing to Life Giver; there will be a coming-forth, a coming-to-life on earth." To sing a dead warrior's praises is to do more than perpetuate his memory—it is literally to bring his spirit to earth.

Enticement. The ghosts are "pleasured" or "entertained" with music in order to coax them to earth. For example: "Hear the song I'm about to sing; I've come to pleasure Montezuma" (song 72, stanza 2). More substantial enticements, namely food and sex, are sometimes offered in a playful mood. Roasted cherry seeds (a delicacy) are promised in song 88. Tortillas are mentioned in song 84, stanza 24. In song 84, stanza 7, the singer (impersonating a woman) makes this explicit proposition: "Boy, dear boy! Little king! O Axayacatl! Here, let yourself be summoned, man! You don't have a horn on? Stick it in my chimney. Hurry! And put out the fire."

The Songs Arrive

Descending from the sky, the personified songs reach earth as incorporeal ghosts, or souls: "Your soul has drizzled down as a jewel dew, O Lord Tomás" (song 63, stanza 50). Or they may be envisioned as "warm and weighty" (song 18, stanza 47). "Singers, and weighty ones, are these, my flowers," boasts the singer as he presents them to his comrades (song 44, stanza 16). Often the ghosts are noisy—shrilling, roaring, or ringing with the sound of ankle bells. Sometimes an entire nation or city descends (as in song 29). An eyewitness account by Durán suggests that in at least a few cases the ghosts were portrayed by costumed pantomimists. Durán's testimony is quoted later, in Chapter Eight.

Huehuetitlan. Ghost songs are performed *huehuetitlan* (beside the drum). Inviting his comrades, the singer says, "Let them come and hear the flower dawn songs drizzling down incessantly beside the drum" (song 12, stanza 1). But the locale has many other names as well. With the arrival of ghost warriors, it assumes the character of a miniature paradise and may be called the flower house, the flower court, the cavern house, the *mixcoacalli* (house of cloud comrades?), or the home of God.

The rain of songs. Songs are "strewn" or "scattered" from paradise. Frequently they come drizzling or fall as mist, dew, or rain. Accordingly, the place "beside the drum" may be called the "place of rain" (*quiappan*), as in song 26, stanza 2.

The garden. Songs, or "flowers," come "blossoming" or "burgeoning." Sometimes they are "leafy." In a particularly explicit passage (from song 14) the Mexican singer, summoning Mexican warriors, observes:

By making us aware of his creations, God Life Giver torments us, causes us
to crave his garden of song flowers.

Already in a springtime, in a springtime we are walking here, upon this
field. A green-swan downpour is breaking over us in Water Plain.

Lightning strikes from the four directions. Golden flowers are reviving.

There, the Mexican princes are alive.

The word *xopan*, literally "green location," denotes the growing season and is usually translated "spring" or "summer." In ghost songs it refers to the greening of spirits newly arrived from paradise—or it may refer to paradise itself or to *huehuetitlan*. With some misgiving I have translated it variously as "spring" or "green places," according to the context. But the "greening" ghost warriors are not always flowers. They may be "milk corn" (*xilotl*) or "baby maize ears" (*cacamatl*). Horticultural imagery involving both flowers and food plants is especially prevalent in song 17. Sometimes the ghosts are "flower trees" (song 57, stanza 22). But in other

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passages the flowering “trees” are fixtures of *huehuetitlan*, and the ghosts, arriving as birds, are said to perch among the branches (song 17, stanzas 34 and 48). According to Durán, such scenes were contrived with actual stage props and costumed mimes.²³

Songs as babies. “Jades are scattered: flowers—your songs—are born,” says the singer to his muse (song 33, stanza 6). Or, “as a song you’re born, O Montezuma: as a flower you come to bloom on earth” (song 70, stanza 7). In various passages the songs are “new,” or they “come to life.” One is reminded of the promise made to the mythic Quetzalcoatl as he journeyed toward his death: “and when you return, you shall have again been made a child.”²⁴ In the *Cantares*, ghost warriors are frequently addressed as children or infants. Thus we have “baby Montezuma,” Moteuczomapil (song 19, stanza 6); “baby Axayacatl,” Axayacaton (song 84, stanza 5); and “little Don Diego,” don Tiegoton (song 59, stanza 17). Revenants in general are our “flesh” (our children) or God’s “flesh.” Certainly the most elaborate treatment of this theme is the “cradlesong” addressed to King Ahuitzotl (song 57). Song 61, called “children song, or little-children song,” also deserves mention here.

Whirling songs. Arriving on earth as babies, the songs have actually been “born” in Tamoanchan, or paradise.²⁵ Sometimes they proceed from a kind of natal tree: “The flower tree stands blossoming at Origin, God’s home, the place of tassel plumes. The troupial comes. The turquoise swan, the marvelous, the quetzal, arrives” (song 22, stanza 1). In addition they may be “spun,” or “whirled,”²⁶ as in song 18, stanzas 50–51:

The flower tree stands in Tamoanchan, God’s home. There! we’re created,
we who’ve been summoned! Our Spirit, Ipaltinemi, whirls us as lord
songs.

What I’m smelting is as gold: I’m carving our good songs as jades. Four
times and as turquoise! Tamo, God, Life Giver whirls us four times in
Tamoanchan. Hey! Be pleased! Hey! Green places are here, in this
house of green places!

Note the identification of paradise (green places) with *huehuetitlan* (this house of green places). In numerous other passages the songs are said to come “spinning,” or “whirling.” With reference to his muse, the singer says, “It’s Montezuma, whirling holy songs” (song 83, stanza 1). In song 65, stanza 4, the ghost himself is the “whirled one.”

Songs as a distribution of Life Giver. The personified songs are actually a parceling out, or distribution, of the supreme spirit. As the singer states explicitly: “You are the one that is being created, O Only Spirit, O God” (song 70, stanza 4). Or again: “All your riches, your favors, are alive, O Life Giver, World Owner! You shake yourself, you scatter yourself here” (song 18, stanza 52).

Often the ghost warrior will be identified both as an ancestor and as a manifestation of Life Giver, all in the same stanza: "Flowers have arrived. He's here: it's God Life Giver. Ah, I weep, recalling Nezahualcoyotl" (song 46, stanza 7). And just as the singer is said to be "pleasuring" the ghosts, in many cases he explains that he is pleasuring, or "entertaining," Life Giver. See song 31, stanza 9, for an interesting example that includes reciprocity.

The legion of the dead. The dead are numerous. They are "the multitude" (*nepapan itaca*; song 68, stanzas 20 and 40), or "the sundry birds" (*nepapan tototl*), or "all the flowers" (*nepapan xochitl*). The ubiquitous term *nepapan* is best rendered "divers," "sundry," "multitudinous," "all"—not "various," as many translators have it. In other words, the emphasis is on quantity, not variety.²⁷ In a Christianized ghost song, where the ghosts are identified as angels, the multitude is said to be *centzonxiquipilli*, "four hundred times eight thousand" (song 19, stanza 10).

Sodality and reunion. Mortals are eager for reunion with the approaching ghosts. The companionship of lost "friends" (*icniuhyoitl*)—or "comrades" (*coayotl*)—appears to be extremely meaningful. As he summons the ghost warriors, the singer says, "Let there be a mutual embracing of eagles, of jaguars, O princes" (song 24, stanza 1). The muse Tecayehuatzin cries out with pleasure, "I have comrades here in Huexotzinco, I, King Tecayehuatzin. I'm assembling jades, emeralds, princes. I flower-spin these nobles, ah!" (song 17, stanza 8). Just as in the mundane councils of war described by Durán and Tezozomoc,²⁸ ghost singers are constantly addressing each other by kinship terms, such as brother, uncle, and nephew. The vocative nephew! or dear nephew!, used to summon ghost warriors, becomes a litany in certain songs.

Intoxication. The singer "desires" or even "craves" the approaching songs. They are "delicious," they "make hearts drunk with fragrance." "With these sundry flower songs we lose our senses," the singer says (song 3, stanza 2). Or he may say, "With narcotic fumes my heart is pleased" (song 4, stanza 6). Often it is unclear whether the singer is referring mainly to the joy of reunion with dead forebears or to the narcotic power of the music as such. If the latter, then the effect on the singer and his comrades may be to make them more reckless, more daring in combat. The texts themselves offer no proof that the singers used artificial stimulants, nor do the reports prepared by Motolinía, Hernández, and others. However, in what seems to be an eyewitness account, dating from about 1560, the academician Francisco Cervantes de Salazar writes: "First they make themselves drunk, in order, so they say, to sing with more devotion. . . . They bow the head, bend the body, carry the right arm raised with some sort of insignia in the hand; in their style of dancing they seem like men who stagger drunkenly." Judging from the remainder of Cervantes' description ("in

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these dances, besides praising the devil, they sing the great deeds of their ancestors, bewailing their deaths”), it would appear that ghost songs are indicated.²⁹ As for the actual stimulant, it is possible that *cuauhnanacatl* (tree mushroom) was used, since this is mentioned in connection with a pre-Conquest musical performance described in the lost Nahuatl chronicle translated by Tezozomoc.³⁰

Unwanted songs. By and large the singer summons warriors of his own tribe. If he also summons enemies, it is for the purpose of having them defeated. But as with all magic, the process of ghost summoning can be dangerous. It may backfire. “Oh no, not those youngsters who want to make offerings! Oh please, not those!” cries the singer, caught off guard by the approach of enemy ghosts (song 85, stanza 6). Or again: “Unwanted child!” (song 60, stanza 33). Confident that he has control over the performance, the singer may taunt his enemies: “That warrior, King Vulture, won’t be seen again, nor will his warlike songs be heard, for we alone create them” (song 83, stanza 20).

Marching to War

The ghosts descend from heaven fully armed. Typically they are “belli-cose” (song 46, stanza 18) and will “never tire” (song 24, stanza 4). Newly arrived, the ghost warrior announces, “I come to guard the city” (song 48, stanza 1; compare song 86, stanza 37). Or: “I’m a Mexican, saying: let me be pleased in marching forth to Tecuantepec” (song 46, stanza 17).

The divine reproach. Sometimes the ghosts are scornful of their mortal comrades, accusing them of cowardice and prodding them into war. The singer himself is not immune to their taunts. Feeling the reproach, he says, “My grandchild laughs at me, insults me”; but recognizing its divine origin he continues: “Let him appear! May he speak the scurrile words of Him. Let my grandchild pleasure Him!” (song 19, stanza 13). Acknowledging the contradiction between the joy of reunion and the sting of reproach, the singer may say, “Friends, we’ve come to see each other and to know each other’s lovely words—and yet they’re scurrile” (song 82, stanza 14). Similarly, the spirit “pricks us as he warbles” (song 53, stanza 5); or, as muse, he may reproach his fellow ghosts, even those that he is in the process of producing: “It’s time! Be pleased! And they shall appear! I wound their hearts. I’m lifting songs, I’ve arrived, I appear, I, the singer” (song 43, stanza 2). The expression to wound one’s heart (*iyollo niccooa*) has here been rendered etymologically. The semantic, and perhaps better, translation would be to offend or insult someone. Occasionally, the singer himself reproaches either his fellow mortals or the incoming ghosts. Song 12 in its entirety is devoted to the reproach theme.

Transformation. The connection between war and music is well attested in sixteenth-century writings. When men went to battle, they behaved as musicians. "While they fight, they sing and dance," reports the Conquistador anónimo.³¹ Conversely, when men made music, they behaved as warriors. According to the same reporter, they carried special shields in their "fests and dances."³² And when they sang the *canto chichimeca*, they all had shields and "swords" (*macanas*).³³ From such accounts, explicit as they are, we cannot be sure whether the warriors in battle actually thought of themselves as music makers or whether they were merely animating the troops with martial sound effects, as Motolinía suggested.³⁴ But in the *Cantares*, it is clear that a transformation, so to speak, takes place on the dance floor. In other words, the musical performance is regarded as an act of war.³⁵ And dancing becomes synonymous with combat (song 15, stanza 15). Summoning ghosts, the singer cries: "A shield-roaring blaze-smoke rises up. Ah, and rising up as bell dust it's equated with your flowers, Yaotl. In the distance shrills a multitude of eagles, jaguars" (song 69, stanza 26).

The name Yaotl (Enemy) denotes the supreme spirit. In this case we have an example of reciprocity, in which the singer's war deeds (actually music) will be received by Yaotl and returned in the form of flowers, or revenants—whom we already hear "shrilling" in the distance. Conversely, a warrior in actual combat is said to be engaged in music making, or "song-weeping": "'And where do I hear him?' Ah, the noble lord goes song-weeping at Ocoatepec. They've seized him in the scuffle, at the gorge" (song 89, stanza 7).

Yet in numerous song texts the theory of transformation is challenged or cautiously rejected. Fearing death, the singer may attempt to produce ghost warriors by means of music that is *not* being transformed into war deeds. In a few cases one suspects the influence of Christian morality (as in song 7, stanzas 2 and 4). But generally speaking, these evasions appear to be unacculturated, as in the following example, where the singer is ashamed to admit that he is not a warrior, even while attempting to produce ghosts with pure music:

It's in music, only music, that I do my grieving. Isn't that the way I sing my songs? Don't let your hearts be wounded! I'm a warrior, really!

But his comrades are only partly convinced:

Is he taking a stand? Well, he's lifting good songs. Well, he's getting flowers. He has his rattle.

At last the singer confesses:

I flower-grieve. But ah, my songs are nothing, I scatter squirrels. (Song 83, stanzas 22–24)

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Needless to say, it is safer to be a singer than a warrior. But unless the singer is also a warrior his music is unproductive.

The battlefield. The dance floor itself becomes the field of combat, and often a specific battleground is designated. "Things are getting under way here in Tziuhcoac," announces the singer (song 86, stanza 25). Or the stage may be set by a word from the incoming revenants: "They've summoned us to be drunkards in Michhuacan" (song 85, stanza 1).

Drunkards. Whether or not a soldier's courage was ever bolstered by alcohol is a question that does not appear to be answered in the available ethnography. In the *Cantares*, however, a singer remembering pre-Conquest times says, "It was thus in the old days. . . . He'd give you chalk wine and make you enter the place of danger" (song 7). "Alas," says the singer, "Life Giver makes us drunk" (song 69, stanza 17). But it is possible that the texts refer to a figurative drunkenness, perhaps induced by the narcotic power of music. In certain ghost songs known as Cuextecayotl (Huastec pieces) singers refer to themselves constantly as drunkards, evidently because the inhabitants of Cuextlan had a reputation for drunkenness.³⁶ But in these pieces the singers appear to mean that they are drunk with war lust. Those wishing to explore the matter might turn first to song 77.

Identification with the enemy. The word for battlefield is *yaopan* (enemy place). War itself is *yaoyotl* (enemy business) and the supreme spirit, as noted above, may be addressed as Yaotl (Enemy). It would not seem out of keeping, therefore, if warriors occasionally identified themselves with their enemies. In fact this is the case. In song 12, for example, Mexicans presumably on the warpath to Tliluhqui Tepetl (Black Mountain) become "our Black Mountain friends." The motive can only be guessed, but it is probable that the warrior is identifying with the ferocity, or savagery, of the foe. Among common epithets for the Mexican soldier, found not only in ghost songs but in many other sources, are *Otomitl* and *Chichimecatl*, both of which denote actual tribes that were less civilized than the Aztecs and proverbially savage in the eyes of Mexica, or Mexicans. In the *Cantares* the Mexican soldier is also called *pinotl* (stranger or savage). Likewise several of the songs in the manuscript are *Otoncuicatl* (Otomi songs) or *Chichimecayotl* (Chichimec business or Chichimec pieces). Befuddled by such titles, the glossator, on folio 6, supposes that the *Otoncuicatl* are "old songs of the Otomi Indians"—a hasty remark that has been the source of much confusion.

But the subtlest and perhaps most significant case in point is the identification of the Mexica with their on-again, off-again enemies the Huexotzinca. Outside the *Cantares* there do not appear to be any documented instances of Huexotzincophilia among Mexicans. But the inhabitants of

Cuahtitlan, who at the time were in league with Mexico, are said to have indulged in it copiously, "calling each other Huexotzincans."³⁷ Similarly, when the ghost singer says, "I am a Huexotzincan," he need not mean that he is a Huexotzincan as such. In song 71 it is clear that Huexotzinco is a synonym for Mexico. On the other hand, the Huexotzincans of song 66, stanza 1, are indeed Huexotzincans. Consequently, the reader must scrutinize all references to Huexotzinco and Huexotzincans, allowing for the possibility that Mexico is meant—and not ruling out an occasional double entendre.

Rich and poor. The good warrior-singer is rich, the unskilled and the coward are poor. For illustrative passages see song 15, stanzas 6 and 12; song 36, stanza 1; song 42, stanza 3. The arrival of songs, or ghosts, makes one rich. In song 38, stanza 5, the singer speculates that if all the ghosts in paradise return to earth, then the supreme spirit himself will be poor.

The Payment

One of the avowed purposes of Aztec warfare was to provide human blood for the nourishment of the gods, especially the sun. During the morning hours the sun needed food for its journey to the zenith.³⁸ People worried that it might weaken.³⁹ In the *Cantares*, the singer calls out in fear: "Easily, in a moment might you slacken, O father" (song 31, stanza 14). Urging his comrades to produce ghosts, i.e., make war, the singer (in a Christianized passage) says: "Let us have these good ones. Who will toil for the shield mat, the javelin throne of God? Create them, recall them, you princes! Who'll scatter them on this city, this Tenochtitlan? Who'll push up the prop of heaven?" (Song 27, stanzas 6–7.)

Here again we have reciprocity. Just as the singer offers his music in exchange for the sun's music, so must the warrior offer victims in exchange for ghosts. In song 69, stanza 28, Montezuma is said to be "bartering with sun-chalk" (i.e., with chalk-whitened victims). In song 84, stanza 21, the ghosts "come to trade." "Alas," laments the singer in song 83, stanza 5, "we have no payment." In many if not most songs the doctrine of exchange is an essential underlying element. If ghosts are arriving, then a payment must be made. Conversely, if war is being waged, ghosts will automatically arrive (in exchange for the war deaths). Sometimes the ghosts themselves, marching immediately to war, serve as their own payment. At other times the singer and his fellow mortals volunteer their lives. In several songs the moment of exchange is signified by such expressions as "this earth is shaking" (*tlalli olini*; song 50, stanza 1), "the earth is rolling over" (*tlalli mocuepa*; song 15, stanza 29), or "the earth rolls over, the sky shakes" (*tlalli mocuepa ilhuicatl olini*; song 51, stanza 33).⁴⁰

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Heart sacrifice. If an Aztec warrior was captured alive, he was saved for the ceremonial death that modern writers have labeled heart sacrifice, in which the live victim was stretched over a convex stone so that his rib cage protruded tautly as a priest cut out the heart with an obsidian blade.⁴¹ In the *Cantares* there are occasional references to the taking of captives, and the warrior in general is often called "banner" (*amatl*) or "chalk and feathers" (*tizatl ihuitl*), suggesting sacrifice. Although the concise, symbolic language of ghost songs does not permit a clear distinction between death on the battlefield and heart sacrifice at the temple, there are a few passages (song 41, stanza 5, or song 67, stanza 14) that seem to allude more to the latter than to the former. In song 16, stanzas 5–6, however, the terms war death (*yaomiquiztli*) and knife death (*itzimiquiztli*) are used interchangeably.

Gladiatorial sacrifice. In certain cases the captive might be tied by a short rope to a special stone called *temalacatl*, or "round-stone," and obliged to defend himself with an inferior weapon. In this uneven combat the captive stood little chance of survival. As soon as he was defeated he was thrown across the stone and subjected to heart sacrifice.⁴² In the *Cantares* there are no actual descriptions of gladiatorial combat, but a *temalacatl* is mentioned in song 67, stanza 19.

Cannibalism. After the victim's heart had been extracted by the temple priests, the carcass was returned to the captor, who took it home to be prepared as an entertainment for his kinsmen, reserving a thigh for the king.⁴³ Ghost songs seldom allude to this practice, yet it is evidently the subject of the horrific song 19.

Transference. During the annual feast called *toxcatl*, described by both Sahagún and Durán,⁴⁴ a young man would be sacrificed who "represented" or "impersonated" the supreme god, Tezcatlipoca. In Durán's account the young man is actually called Tezcatlipoca, implying a transference of identity from god to victim. Similarly, in ghost songs there is evidence that a hallowed identity—not of a god, however, but of an ancestor—may be transferred to a victim. The case is not inarguable, but it appears that the ancestor Tlalahuepan, in several passages in the *Cantares*, is lending his identity to a slain warrior or a sacrificial victim. See especially song 69, stanzas 30–31. In song 80, canto E, the muse appears to be a surrogate for King Tezozomoc. In song 89, stanzas 2 and 5, the victim Juan Nelpiloni is a surrogate for Nezahualcoyotl.

The Return to Paradise

As "payment" is made, the descent from paradise described in earlier paragraphs takes place in reverse. Victims "depart," "pass away," or are "taken

to the Place Unknown" (song 16, stanza 1). Or a victim may go "drifting as a feather into Spirit Land" (song 69, stanza 32).

The dawn scene. The departing soul is thought to be greeted by the rising sun in a highly conventionalized scene that includes singing birds. The tableau is by no means limited to ghost songs. A newly deceased ruler, it is said, was customarily addressed in these words: "Awake! It has reddened, dawn has appeared. Red cocks[?], red swallows are singing. Red butterflies are flying."⁴⁵ Women who died in childbirth were addressed in the same manner.⁴⁶ And in ghost songs, victims are offered promises such as this: "Sky-dawn is rising up. The multitude, the birds, are shrilling. Precious swans are being created. Turquoise troupials are being created" (song 76, stanza 7). In a curious telescoping of the entire process, ghost warriors destined for combat are said to arrive on earth in order to "watch for the dawn" (song 17, stanza 12).

Purpose

The arrival of allied and enemy ghosts permits the reenactment of historical battles or, if necessary, the manipulation of remembered events so that the singer and his comrades will emerge victorious. Such is the scenario of many ghost songs; and if any of these were performed in pre-Conquest times, as some perhaps were, it can be safely guessed that at least one purpose was to heighten the prestige of Mexico. Presumably the performance served as an expression of Mexican solidarity or as a taunt to embassies from hostile nations.⁴⁷

But the desirability of victory must be weighed against the desirability of death on the battlefield. Sometimes it almost appears as though the enemy enjoys the happier outcome.

Most songs, however, do not allude to any specific battle. In these schematized compositions the singer produces ghosts of his own tribe or allied tribes, seemingly for the purpose of creating a state of bliss on earth. In exchange, he and his fellow mortals may volunteer their own lives, thus achieving bliss in the other world. It may be said that Mexico "rises to the sky" (song 71, stanza 5). Meanwhile the spirits who have been left behind create a paradisaical Mexico on earth: "They're loosening their songs: they're entertaining God, bringing down a multitude of flowers. And with these the city, Mexico, is spreading fragrance. Here!" (song 70, stanza 10).

The ideal, perhaps, is to set up a situation in which the dead and the living can be permanently united on earth: "'Let no one's heart flow out, O princes, O Chichimecs, let no one be below or up above' is what God says on earth right here—in this His home" (song 51, stanza 10). But the dream in this case, expressed by a Chalcan muse, is frustrated by the arrival of hostile Mexican ghosts. A Mexican muse, on the other hand, is

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able to achieve the desired goal by utilizing the doctrine of transformation (as discussed above): "May no one walking forth be captured! That which rises shall be your sadness, O Montezuma, O Totoquiuhaztli! Who provides slaves for Life Giver? Indeed, they come to support the sky, the earth. These uttered words of theirs, it seems, are stirring as a blaze" (song 35, stanzas 5-6). In other words, the payment is made in music as though it were "blaze," i.e., war deeds. Hence the happy conclusion: "[They are] giving Tenochtitlan City its place within the dawn. . . . How else is Tenochtitlan City to endure? What sings our God, even here?" (Stanzas 6-7).

Whether or not the many surviving songs of the paradise-on-earth type could have been composed before the Conquest is a question that will be considered in later chapters.

Christian Influence

In the numerous ghost songs that show Christian influence the ghosts themselves are likely to be called angels. Descending as revenants, they may be "rosary beads" (*cuentaxtli*) or, again, "angels." Jesucristo, not surprisingly, is the ideal revenant. But Christ is also identified with the supreme spirit, called God (Dios) or Espíritu Santo. The occasional identification of Santa María with Dios recalls the pre-Conquest appellation "our mother, our father, the sun and the earth lord."⁴⁸ Usually, however, the Virgin is regarded as "our intercessor" (*totepantlatocauh*).

The muse, often God himself, may be called bishop (*obispo*), or, in isolated cases, Saint Cecilia (the patron of music), Gabriel (the archangel), or Fray Pedro (the singing master at San Francisco de México).

The sky world becomes the place "where life is infinite, where things never end" (song 3, stanza 5), the "place unsmirched" (song 59, stanza 11), or simply "heaven" (*ilhuicallitic*). In one passage the singer describes the heavenly scene in terms of the ninefold angelic hierarchy of Dionysius Arcopagiticus, with seraphim, cherubim, and all the rest.⁴⁹

Huehuetitlan, the place "beside the drum," becomes the "church" (*iglesia*), where in fact ghost songs were often performed in the sixteenth century. For an interesting Aztec re-creation of a Franciscan prayer, see song 61, stanzas 40-41.

Scattered throughout the *Cantares* manuscript, Christian allusions are especially heavy in folios 37v-48v. Three of the songs in this section are based on stories from the Bible: song 55, Jewel song (the Three Kings); song 56, Female apparition song (Pentecost, the Annunciation); and song 58, Bringing-out song (Creation, Expulsion, Flood, Incarnation, Resurrection). At least two songs, 59 and 61, were composed for Christian holidays (Easter and the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi); and in four songs we catch fleeting glimpses of saints' legends: Saint Philip (song 58, canto F);

Saint John the Divine (song 60, stanza 13); Saint Francis of Assisi (song 61, stanzas 17 and 26); and Saint Christopher (song 61, canto J).

What we evidently find in this section of the manuscript—to state the matter laboriously—are Aztec adaptations of Christian adaptations of Aztec ghost songs. The Christian adaptations were composed by Fray Pedro de Gante, the singing master mentioned above, and by his fellow Franciscan Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who replaced the militaristic subject matter with Bible stories and saints' lives in the hope that these might supplant the idolatrous ghost ritual. Gante's efforts in this genre have not survived, but Sahagún's are available in his *Psalmodia christiana*, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine. In the Aztec re-workings preserved in the *Cantares* the ghost ritual returns in full force, and we have Saint Christopher (the Christ carrier) playing muse to Christ's revenant, and the three kings, as warlords, killed on the battlefields of Bethlehem. This, no doubt, is what Sahagún sensed when he complained of the many "errors and heresies" in the "cantares that they've composed since their conversion."

Ghost-Song Vocabulary

The twin Nahuatl tendencies to speak in metaphor and to pile up synonyms are nowhere more luxuriantly displayed than in ghost songs. Such lavish expenditures of rhetoric presumably belong to the *tecpillatolli* (noble speech), as distinguished from the *macehuallatolli* (speech of vassals). Spirits and fellow mortals, though they may be *macehualtin* (vassals) before God, are otherwise invariably *teteuctin* (lords) and *pipiltin* (princes) in the *Cantares mexicanos*. Evidently such songs were not addressed to the *macehualtin* as such, and if commoners found the idiom inscrutable this could only have increased its value as elite lore. By happenstance it also prevented Nahuatl-speaking missionaries from catching the seditious innuendos found in a number of these compositions.

Some of the vocabulary has been treated in the preceding chapter. A large number of special nouns, however, are yet to be noted. The lists that follow, though hardly exhaustive, will serve as a general guide, which the reader may wish to refer to from time to time. (In each category an attempt has been made to order the terms so that the list proceeds from the most to the least familiar. All Nahuatl words can be located in the Dictionary-Concordance in the companion volume to this work; if necessary, the term is here reprinted in the orthography of the Dictionary, flagged by the abbreviation DICT.)

The Warrior

A few unexceptional terms that denote the warrior not only in ghost songs but in oratory and in reportage should be mentioned at the outset:

eagle, <i>cuauhtli</i>	brave, <i>oquichtli</i>
jaguar, <i>ocelotl</i>	warrior, <i>yaqui</i> (DICT: yahqui)
eagle jaguar, <i>cuauhtlocelotl</i>	valiant, <i>cuachic</i>

Attempts to sort such terms according to rank or grade would appear

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futile, at least so far as ghost songs are concerned. The same is true of the following, which evidently connote daring, savagery, or protectiveness:

Otomi, <i>Otomitl</i>	firebrand, <i>tlēcaxitl</i>
Chichimec, <i>Chichimecatl</i>	bulwark, <i>tenamitl</i>
savage, <i>pinotl</i>	

Certain kinship terms, used in direct address, are no doubt more expressive of male camaraderie than of warfare specifically:

nephew, <i>machtli</i>	father, <i>tatli</i> (DICT: <i>tahtli</i>)
uncle, <i>tlatli</i>	(elder) brother, <i>achcauhtli</i>
(DICT: <i>tlahthli</i>)	(younger) brother, <i>iccauhtli</i>

Fellowship terms may be used: comrade (or friend), *icniuhthli*; comrade (or companion), *coatl*.

A variety of metonyms, derived from the warrior's equipment, denote the warrior himself:

shield, <i>chimalli</i>	arrow, <i>mitl</i>
buckler, <i>tehuehuelli</i>	javelin, <i>tlacochtlī</i>
bell, <i>coyolli</i>	knife, <i>itztlī</i>
bell, <i>oyohualli</i>	cape, <i>quemil</i>

The names of weaponlike plants may also denote the warrior:

rush, <i>tolin</i>	mesquite, <i>mizquilt</i>
reed, <i>acatl</i>	bulrush, <i>tolpatlactli</i>
spine, <i>tzihuactli</i>	

Accordingly, the warrior as captor may be called rush hunter, *tolamaz*; reed picker, *acapepena* (DICT: *ācaphpenatzin*).

The warrior as potential captive or victim may be known by a variety of terms related to human sacrifice, sacrificial procedures (flaying, feathering, painting the victim with chalk or stripes), sacrificial emblems (banners), or sacrificial implements (receptacles for blood):¹

captive, <i>malli</i>	banner, <i>panitl</i>
loved one, <i>tlazotli</i>	(paper) banner, <i>amatl</i>
(DICT: <i>tlazohtli</i>)	eagle urn, <i>cuauhtzotzocolli</i>
hide, <i>ehuatl</i>	cup, <i>huicolli</i>
chalk and feathers, <i>tizatl ihuitl</i>	jar, <i>tecomatl</i>
striper, <i>huahuantli</i>	water (i.e., blood?), <i>atl</i>

The warrior as potential victim may be signified by parts of the human body (recalling the necklace of hands and hearts worn by the great statue of Coatlicue in the Museo de Antropología, Mexico City):

hand, <i>mail</i>
heart, <i>yollotl</i>
head, <i>cuaitl</i>

Warriors are equated with jewels and other precious goods:

turquoise, <i>xihuuitl</i>	bracelet, <i>maquitztlī</i>
jade, <i>chalchihuuitl</i>	bracelet gem, <i>maquiztetl</i>

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redstone, *tlapalchalchihuitl* feather, *ihuitl* (DICT: *ihhuitl*)
 gold, *teocuitlatl* (quetzal) plume, *quetzalli*

The ghost warrior, whether dwelling in heaven or descending as a revenant, is recognized by various epithets denoting "ancestor":

forefather, *colli* root, *nelhuayotl*
 ancestor(?), *huicololli* garland, *mecatl* (lit., rope or link)
 mother, *nantli*

Any of the terms in the foregoing lists may be applied to the warrior as revenant. But the revenant in particular is:

ghost, *nahualli* shoot, *yacatl*
 apparition(?), *ixnextli* new-minted one, *tlapitzalli*
 picture, *amoxtli* sadness, *tlacolli*
 painting, *tlacuilolli* (DICT: tears, *choquiztli*
tlahcuilōlli) water (i.e., rain?), *atl*
 whirled one, *ilacatzihuh* joy, *tehuetzquiti*
 creation, *yecolli* heart pleaser, *teyolquima*
 created one, *tlayocolli* treasure(?), *aitzin*

Revenants are denoted as flowers and by flower names:

flower, *xochitl* popcorn flower, *izquixochitl*
 flower tree, *xochicuahuil* cacao flower, *cacahuaxochitl*
 cornsilk flower, *xiloxochitl*

By animal names that suggest flying or darting:

butterfly, *papalotl*
 bird, *tototl*
 fish, *michin*

And by countless generic and specific bird names,

parrot, *toztli* cotinga, *xiuhtototl*
 "swan," *quechol* (see p. 129) trogon, *tzinitzcan*
 troupial, *zacuan* hummingbird, *huitzilin*

Bird names and other faunal names usually denote the revenant. But they may also be applied to the slain warrior, newly arrived as a ghost in paradise. Less so the following terms, which seem to be reserved mainly for revenants:

drum, *huehuetl* fan, *ecacehuaztli* (DICT:
 log drum, *teponaztli* *ehcacēhuaztli*)
 song, *cuicatl* crook, *chicuacolli*
 word, *tlatolli* (DICT: *tlahōlli*) arbor, *petlacotl*
 rattle, *ayacachtli*

Most names in the above lists may be combined to form neologisms reminiscent of Old English and Norse kennings:

shield flower, *chimalxochitl* gold picture, *teocuitlaamoxtli*
 shield wall, *chimaltenamitl* jade painting, *chalchiuhltlacuilolli*
 bracelet swan, *maquizquechol* knife cape, *itzquemil*

Sometimes these compounds coincide with specific plant or animal names, which, in ghost songs, nevertheless denote the warrior:

- heart flower, *yolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana*)
- jaguar flower, *oceloxochitl* (*Tigridia pavonia*)
- hand flower, *macpaxochitl* (*Chiranthodendron pentadactylon*)
- butterfly fish, *papalomichin* (*Sparus* sp.?)

The Supreme Spirit

"Supreme spirit," as here used, is a term of convenience, not meant to imply that Aztec religion was monotheistic in the Hebraic sense. Sometimes the god Tezcatlipoca was preeminent in Aztec cultic activities, sometimes the sun; and in the city of Mexico the tribal god Huitzilopochtli was often recognized as first among equals. In pre-Conquest ghost songs any of these three, and others as well, could have been acknowledged as the dispenser of divine favor. Or so it would seem from the evidence. But by the middle of the sixteenth century, although the names of the old gods survived, the concept of the divine dispenser had become at least partially assimilated to the Christian "God" (Dios), with an occasional nod to the son (Jesucristo) or the Holy Ghost (Espíritu Santo).

The name Tezcatlipoca does not appear in surviving ghost-song texts. Yet a number of the epithets that are applied to this god in the prayers preserved in Book Six of the *Florentine Codex* recur unchanged in the *Cantares mexicanos*:²

Life Giver, Ipalnemohuani	Warrior, Yaotl
Master, Tlacatl	Our Lord, Totecuiyo
Mocker, Moquequelo	Ever Present, Ever Near, Tloque
Spirit, Teotl	Nahuaque
World Owner, Tlalticpaque	

Other epithets are merely similar, not identical, to names used in the *Florentine Codex* prayers:

Life Giver, Ipaltnemi	Self Maker, Mochiuhtoc,
Ever Near, Nahuaque	Mochiuhtica
Necoc ("on both sides"), Necoc	

A few names that might possibly have referred to Tezcatlipoca have no counterparts in the *Florentine Codex* prayers:

Master(?), Chane	Enduring One(?), Maman
Heart of Heaven, Ilhuicatl	One Movement, Ce Olintzin
Iyollo	

Looking back over the above lists, one feels that such terms as Mocker and Warrior are unassimilable to the Christian concept of God. But most of the others, though they may once have meant Tezcatlipoca, clearly meant God in the sixteenth century—as did the following:

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Only Spirit, <i>Iccteotl</i>	Jesucristo, Jesucristo
Everlasting, <i>Cemicac Chane</i>	Espíritu Santo, Espíritu Santo
(see DICT: <i>cemihcac</i>)	Our Father, <i>Tota</i> (see DICT: <i>tahtli</i>)

Clerical titles may also denote God: Bishop Lord, *Obispo Teuctli*; Padre(?), *Pale*. Obviously borrowed from Spanish, such epithets are perhaps merely an extension of the indigenous concept whereby the supreme spirit was identified with mundane authority. Here are a few unacculturated examples:

Lord, <i>Teuctli</i>	Arbiter, <i>Tlailotlaqui</i>
Lord, <i>Tlatoani</i> (DICT: <i>tlahtoāni</i>)	Excutioner, <i>Tezcacoacatl</i>
Lord Arbiter, <i>Tlailotlac Teuctli</i>	Water-Palace Dweller, <i>Atcepanecatl</i>

In certain ghost songs the supreme spirit is evidently the sun:

Sun, <i>Tonatiuh</i>	Eagle-Going-Down, <i>Cuauh- temoc</i>
Eagle, <i>Cuauhtli</i>	Cave Dweller, <i>Oztomecatl</i>
White Eagle, <i>Cuauhtli</i>	Turquoise Prince, <i>Xippilli</i>
<i>Iztac</i>	
Ascending Eagle, <i>Cuauh- tlehuanitl</i>	

He may also be a bird:

<i>quetzal</i> , <i>quetzaltotl</i>	trogon, <i>tzinitzcan</i>
"swan," <i>quechol</i>	cotinga, <i>xiuhtotl</i>
hummingbird, <i>huitzilin</i>	

Or he may be identified with *Huitzilopochtli*: Blue Sky, *Ilhuicaxoxohuic*; Blue Javelin, *Xoxohuic Tlacochtli*.

In at least one case the name of another Aztec god appears either as the muse or as the supreme spirit: *Macuilxochitl* (song 65, stanza 1).

Finally, the supreme spirit may be the queen of heaven or the celestial judge: *Santa María* (song 56, canto A); *San Francisco* (song 87, stanza 9).

The Two Locations

Stationed beside the drum, the ghost singer reshapes the world around him and envisions the world beyond. The latter, seen only in the mind's eye, may be referred to as:

heaven, <i>ilhuicatlitic</i>	the shore, <i>atempa</i>
place of good song, <i>yectli cuicatlan</i>	the eternal shore, <i>cemanahuac</i>
land of flowers, <i>xochitlalpan</i>	Nonoalco, Nonoalco
land of plenty, <i>tonacatlalpan</i>	water's midst, <i>atlitic</i> (DICT: <i>ātlitlic</i>)
Life Giver's home, <i>ichan</i>	in the plume water, <i>quetzalatlitic</i>
<i>Ipalnemohuani</i>	green places, <i>xopan</i>

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our home, <i>tochan</i>	land of green places, <i>xopantlalpan</i>
our place, <i>topan</i>	(place of) origin, <i>nelhuayocan</i>
our palace, <i>totlatocan</i> (see DICT: tlahtohcân)	our coming-out place, <i>toquizayan</i>
dawn (or dawn's house), <i>tlahuizcalli</i>	place of tassel plumes, <i>quetzalmiyahuyocan</i>
Tlapallan, Tlapallan	Tamoanchan, Tamoanchan
house of colors, <i>tlapapalcalli</i>	place of no death, <i>amicohuayan</i>
land of fire, <i>tlatlayan</i>	(DICT: ahmicohuayân)
land of smoke, <i>poctlan</i>	troupial house, <i>zacuancalco</i>
land of spirit becoming, <i>teotihuacan</i>	hummingbird mountain, <i>huitziltepetl</i>
spirit land, <i>teopan</i>	golden mat, <i>teocuitlapetlatl</i>

The preceding list is only a sampling of the many names that suggest brilliance, pleasure, or transcendental life. Other, fewer names are more somber:

dead land, <i>mictlan</i>
place where all are shorn, <i>ximohuayan</i>
place unknown, <i>quenonamican</i>

Certain names actually denote the underworld:

dead land ("going-down place"), <i>temohuayan</i>	city of the dwellers-among-the- ninc, <i>chincauhitecatepetl</i>
rattlesnake place, <i>chiappan</i>	

As ghosts arrive from the other world, the place beside the drum becomes a replica of paradise. Hence the large number of terms that may refer either to paradise or to the dance floor:

mat, <i>petlatl</i>	place of rain, <i>quiappan</i>
picture mat, <i>amoxpetlapan</i>	jade house, <i>chalchiuhcalli</i>
cavern house, <i>oztocalli</i>	plume house, <i>quetzalcalli</i>

Names applied especially to the dance floor include:

beside the drum, <i>huehuetitlan</i>	mixcoacalli, <i>mixcoacalli</i>
place of song, <i>cuicatlan</i>	flower court, <i>xochithualli</i>
flower mat, <i>xochipetlatl</i>	cage patio, <i>cuauhithualli</i>
flower house, <i>xochicalli</i>	

Often the dance floor is synonymous with the (Venice-like) city of Mexico, called:

Mexico, Mexico	Huexotzinco, Huexotzinco
Tenochtitlan, Tenochtitlan	dark-water place, <i>tlilapan</i>
water's navel, <i>atl ixiquitic</i>	place of the water weed, <i>amochco</i>
water's midst, <i>atlitic</i> (DICT: ãtlihtic)	Barge Streets, <i>acapecocan</i>

Or the entire country:

Anahuac, <i>Anahuac</i>
the new land (i.e., America), <i>yancauc tlalli</i>

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Or the earth:

earth, *tlalticpac*
the ground, *tlalpan*
the world, *cemanahuac*

As a symbolic battlefield the dance floor may be called by one of the following terms, at least some of which may be used to denote that other symbolic battlefield, the warriors' paradise:

battlefield, <i>yaopan</i>	place of fear, <i>mahuizpan</i>
blaze land, <i>tlachinoltepec</i>	place of danger, <i>ohuican</i> (DICT: ohuihcān)
flood's edge, <i>atl itempan</i>	the gorge, <i>atlauhtli</i>
jaguar meadow, <i>ocelozacatl</i> <i>ipan</i>	reed's edge, <i>acatempan</i>
the field, <i>ixtlahuatl</i>	among bulwark plumes, <i>quetzal</i> <i>tenanticpac</i>
the circle, <i>yahualihcan</i>	

Poetics

There is no reliable evidence that Aztec "poetry" was ever recited apart from music or ever committed to writing for the enjoyment of the silent reader. Sahagún's informants speak of "a kind of book" (*amoxxotl*) that the singers used to "follow" and mention "song sheets" (*cuicaamatl*) owned by their remote ancestors,¹ but these could only have been mnemonic aids, not actual texts. Sixteenth-century manuscripts like the *Cantares mexicanos* preserve not the writings of poets, but the transcripts of ethnographers who recorded what they heard. The term poetics, therefore, must be understood as referring to the craft of the singer, or chanter.

Structure

The basic unit of every ghost song is the more or less connected string of phrases that I have tentatively labeled the stanza. In the *Cantares* manuscript and in the closely related *Romances de los señores de la Nueva España*, this unit almost always begins at the margin of the page, with the runover evenly indented beneath.² The modern eye sees what appears to be a rather long "line" of poetry, as might be found in certain pieces by Walt Whitman. But with a little study the typical unit can be broken into three clearly defined parts: verse, refrain, and litany.

Often, but by no means always, stanzas occur in pairs, in which case the second member of the pair has a new verse followed by the same refrain and litany as in the first. Two or more pairs typically constitute what I have called a canto, and one or more cantos make up the song. Within a canto each stanza has the same litany. Thus a hypothetical song of two cantos, each with four stanzas, would have the form:

Canto 1	verse ₁ , refrain ₁ , litany ₁	Canto 2	verse ₃ , refrain ₃ , litany ₂
	verse ₂ , refrain ₁ , litany ₁		verse ₄ , refrain ₃ , litany ₂
	verse ₃ , refrain ₂ , litany ₁		verse ₇ , refrain ₄ , litany ₂
	verse ₄ , refrain ₂ , litany ₁		verse ₈ , refrain ₄ , litany ₂

As one would expect, the thread of the argument is carried mainly in the verses. The refrain, which has lyric value, may be unnecessary or even interruptive so far as the argument is concerned, especially the second time around. The litany amounts to no more than a short phrase or two, invariably interruptive, and almost always reduced to a meaningless vocable or group of vocables such as *ohuaya* or *yehuaya huee*. (These do not appear in the English translation.)

But the stanza as I have described it—verse, refrain, litany—is typical only in the abstract. Many stanzas have no refrain at all; and without the refrain there can be no pairing. The ideal song form, perhaps, is the canto of eight stanzas, all arranged in pairs.³ But often a canto will have four, five, six, seven, nine, or more stanzas, some paired, some not. In fact, very few cantos are completely lacking in unpaired stanzas. The gargantuan songs 17 and 18 have more than fifty stanzas each, undivided into cantos and with many stanzas unpaired.

In short, ghost songs are heteromorphic. Partly adapted to the dance, they continue to be strongly shaped by the irregular patterns of speech. To students of American Indian music this should come as no surprise. Yet to certain Mexicanists, who have been inclined to measure Aztec lore against European rather than Amerind norms, the *Cantares mexicanos* has seemed a potpourri of fragments, badly preserved and in need of reconstruction. Whatever the merit of this view in particular instances, it is by and large unnecessary if not mistaken.

For a perfect example of "typical" stanzas paired fourfold to make a one-canto song of eight stanzas, see song 26. Here the litany, untranslatable, is merely the doubled vocable *ohuaya ohuaya*, so common in ghost songs that it is frequently indicated in the manuscript by an "et cetera." The et cetera may, in addition, subsume a repeated refrain.

For unusually well-developed, but not perfect, examples of litany, see the heteromorphic songs 66 and 68. Examples of heteromorphy, generally speaking, can be located at random.

Prosody

Ghost songs appear to be heterometric. That is, they have no regularly recurring rhythm, at least not in the form in which they have been preserved. Theoretically it is possible that the melodic lines (which were never recorded) exhibited some kind of repeated pattern, such as 4/4 or 6/8, to which the Nahuatl words were artificially fitted as in modern ditties. For example, note how the heterogeneous "Happy birthday, dear Mrs. A." becomes a perfectly metrical 3/4 when squeezed into the familiar tune—with the help of a lightning-quick triplet on "dear Mrs." Today, Mexican folk music exhibits just this kind of regularity, even in remote Indian communities. It is not to be taken for granted, however, that the

same process would have been applied to a sixteenth-century Nahuatl text as richly verbal as the *Cantares*, or to any richly verbal Amerind text.

Except for the settings of relatively simple texts, including many that are made up exclusively of vocables, the general rule in native American music is heterogeneity.⁴ In Western music nothing quite like it survives. But rough approximations are to be found in operatic recitative (which is actually metrical) and in the plainchant of the church (which is nonmetrical). Interestingly, the word plainchant (*canto llano*) was translated into sixteenth-century Nahuatl by the term *melahuac cuicatl* (plain, straight, or direct song), which mysteriously appears in several of the song headings in the *Cantares*. Was this a generic term, applicable to any ghost song? The question will be asked again, and discussed further, in Chapter Ten. In addition, we have the testimony of Francisco Hernández, who states flatly that the songs were in "prose."⁵ With greater subtlety, Motolinía speaks of the old-style composers as putting the songs "into meter in their own way" (*a su modo en metro*),⁶ or "a kind of meter in their own way" (*a su modo a manera de metro*).⁷

Frequent vocable affixes and infixes, not to mention the numerous free-standing vocables, produce obvious and presumably pleasing rhythmic distortions in ghost-song texts, no doubt contributing to the effect observed by Motolinía. But again, to imagine that these texts could have been artificially crammed or stretched into metric melodic lines, though by no means impossible, is at least unnecessary, given the scanty information that has come down to us. Even more dubious is the notion that Aztec songs exhibit naturally occurring meter as defined by the rules of Greek and Latin prosody. Yet, strange as it seems, this is precisely the line of inquiry that Mexicanists have been pursuing since the first half of the eighteenth century. "Sus versos observaban el metro y la cadencia," wrote Clavijero, and Boturini actually saw iambs.⁸ A hundred years after Clavijero, Brinton found iambs again and other "feet" as well.⁹ By 1930, J. H. Cornyn could apparently see nothing but trochee.¹⁰ However, a generation later, Garibay was finding trochee, caesura, and dactyls.¹¹

Though not without interest, such conjectures must be made in a near total void, since the chants themselves can no longer be heard. But one point, perhaps, deserves special mention. As we examine the *Cantares* manuscript we find that at least some of the songs may be accompanied by a drum cadence that was almost certainly metrical. Is it possible to sing a heterometric chant while beating out an unrelated regular accompaniment? Listeners attuned to Western music might think not. Yet this very phenomenon—provided the cadence is relatively simple, and especially if it is a mere metronomic tapping—has been recorded again and again by ethnomusicologists working with American Indian materials.¹² In performance the chant has a recitative-like quality, to which the metrical drum-

beat gives an accompanying texture, not a counterpoint. If we absolutely must set up a working hypothesis on what Aztec music sounded like, then this, I believe, is where we might start. (As will be discussed in Chapter Eight, the more complicated Aztec cadences were probably beaten out not by the singer himself but by an accompanist.)

Eventually we might conclude—at least—that the texts were fitted to a steady beat. It must be understood, however, that there is no surviving notation for even so much as a single phrase of Aztec vocal music, and though there may be good reason for locating it within the mainstream of North American song,¹³ there can be little hope of bringing it back to life.

Diction

Paired terms were illustrated in the opening paragraphs of Chapter Two; and in Chapter Three, some Aztec “kennings” were listed. Further space might be given to similes, zeugmas, parataxis, litotes, and other European rhetorical devices that seem to occur in Nahuatl. But the following few paragraphs, rather than attempting a catalogue of available curiosities, will concentrate on only so much as is necessary in order to get the modern reader of ghost songs from one sentence to the next without losing the thread of the argument.

The dramatic monologue. I here refer not to the dramatic monologue of the poet Browning, which is merely a one-sided conversation, but to a two- or even three-way conversation, sometimes interspersed with bits of soliloquy and an occasional aside to the audience—all recited by a single chanter. The technique is common in American Indian storytelling and equally common in song texts. Here, for example, is the translated text of a wheat-cutting song from Santo Domingo Pueblo, New Mexico:

(EXPLANATORY:) The wheat is getting excited.

(THE WHEAT SPEAKS:) There they come.

(EXPLANATORY:) The heads move from side to side. The men say, “It looks like the water in the tide.” No man will ever miss one head of wheat.

(THE WHEAT SPEAKS:) We are glad to go from this Mother Earth.

(EXPLANATORY:) This song is very wonderful. These are sacred songs, as we know.

(THE SPIRITS SPEAK:) They pray to us and they work hard, etc.¹⁴

The following lines, also performed by a single (male) singer, are from a modern Nahuatl song collected in Amatlán de los Reyes, Veracruz:¹⁵

kampa tonyoh malintsen
nepa nonyoh notienda
tlen tikonkwiten mo-
tienda
nikonkwiten moliston

“Where are you going, Malintzin?”

“I’m going over to my shop.”

“What are you going to get in your shop?”

“I’m going to get a string.”

den tikonchiwiles noliston	"What will you do with the string?"
nikonkichilpes nomiston	"Tie my cat by the neck."
tlen okonchih momiston	"What did your cat do?"
okonmimiloh nchokolat	"Spilled the chocolate."

For similar passages in the *Cantares*, see song 66, canto A, and song 86, canto B—to mention only two. The reason for quoting the above examples is to demonstrate that dramatic diction need not imply theater. Certain forms of protodrama resembling European masque probably did exist in pre-Conquest Mexico, and it is no doubt true that at least the satirical pieces in the *Cantares* were accompanied by mime.¹⁶ But one need not assume that different actors played the different roles called for in the texts.

Ejaculation. Short imperative or optative phrases, interjections, and vocatives are highly characteristic of ghost-song diction. Even the indicative mode may carry optative force.¹⁷ In a sense, ghost songs are prayers, uttered for the purpose of producing revenants.

Rhetorical questions. Declarations are often phrased in the form of a question. Because the "obvious" answer is not always obvious to the modern reader, this feature of Aztec diction may cause confusion. Some examples: "Will we destroy pleasure when we die?" (song 38, stanza 12); "Can Rush-Capes—can the gorge—be here, be Chalco?" (song 51, stanza 11); "Could our babes then perish?" (song 68, stanza 48). The answers to these three questions would appear to be no, yes, and no, respectively.

Mixed metaphors. It has already been pointed out that ghost warriors, figuratively speaking, may be flowers, birds, or musical instruments. When two or more such images are mixed in a single sentence, the effect may be jarring to the modern ear. Note the following example from song 82, stanza 26: "This multitude stands leafing out as eagles. They're the trogon-sprouting drums—of yours, O God—with which our princes give you pleasure."

Decomposition. Ancestral figures mentioned in ghost songs tend to be abstract entities, which may be decomposed into two or more related personalities. Thus the hero Tlacahuepan is often replaced by one of his brothers, especially Ixtlilcuechahuac or Matlaccuiatzin. Or two of them may be coupled in a single phrase (see below). If an editor were to strike out these couplings and replacements and insert the name Tlacahuepan, the meaning would perhaps be unchanged—and might be much clearer for the modern reader.

Coupling and tripling. The tendency toward paired and tripled phrasing, highly developed in Aztec oratory, is less pronounced in Aztec songs—which nevertheless exhibit such pairs as "I crave your flowers, I crave your songs" or "O Nezahualcoyotl! O Montezuma!," or an occasional triplet

like "fame, glory, kings!" (song 56, stanza 7). Pairs and triplets in the Mayan literatures often appear to create a verse form of themselves.¹⁸ Consider, for example, this excerpt from a Kekchi Maya prayer.¹⁹

Now I will sleep beneath your feet,
 beneath your hands,
 O lord of the mountains
 and valleys,
 O lord of the trees,
 O lord of the creeping vines;
 Again tomorrow there will be day,
 Again tomorrow there will be light;
 I know not where I will be.

But in the case of Aztec ghost songs, at least, it is doubtful that pairs and triplets should be viewed as elements of versification. In any event, the poetic form is determined by other means, as discussed above in the section entitled "Structure."

Missionary Nahuatl. I propose the term missionary Nahuatl to cover the various sixteenth-century writings that translate into Spanish (or English) with suspicious ease. Several of the songs in the first six folios of the *Cantares* manuscript fall into this category, specifically songs 1-4, 6-9, and 12-13. Though evidently correct, the diction is not noticeably idiomatic. The subject matter is in keeping with other ghost songs, but is somewhat deritualized, betraying a superficial understanding of the genre. One suspects that these pieces were composed by a bilingual Indian, whose repertoire was filled out with three songs (5, 10, and 11) that he had picked up from unacculturated singers. His model for his own compositions might have been Sahagún, whose *Psalmodia christiana* has the same texture. Certainly these songs were not taken from the Otomi, as the glossator seems to be saying on folio 6.

Hypertrophism. Florid polynomials, absent from other texts, are one of the notable features of the *Cantares mexicanos*. Jawbreakers like *tiquetzalcuanxihquecholhuihuicomacan* ("let's make troupial-and-turquoise-swan plumes twirl" or "let's make plume-troupials and turquoise-swans twirl" or "let's make plume-troupial-turquoise-swans twirl") create such problems for the translator and give the unwary reader such a keen sense of what is surely the height of poesy, that it is easy to nod in agreement when the seventeenth-century grammarian Carochi claims an "ancient" origin for this sort of rhetoric.²⁰ But its exclusive occurrence in texts either probably or definitely composed between 1550 and 1585 suggests that we are dealing with what ought to become a textbook case of hypertrophism—classic Aztec diction in a last wild burst of energy.²¹

Metaphysics

The singer who produces ghost warriors is conscious that his creations are merely borrowed from the other world. "Blazing flower-words . . . are but a moment and a day" (song 66, stanza 8). "On earth they are loaned: the delicious flowers are loaned" (song 45, stanza 4). Already on the war-path, the "flowers" will be returning to paradise after what seems to be no more than a moment on earth (song 30). Their departure so soon after arrival is keenly felt; it frustrates the desire for reunion.

Alternatively, the singer may feel that he and his fellow mortals will themselves be required to make the "payment," in which case the ghosts will be left behind (song 45, stanzas 14 and 16). Either way, the reunion will be too brief.

As the blissful moment rushes by, the singer urges his listeners to take advantage of it: "Be joyful! Be pleased! These are not forever here: we must go to His home" (song 45, stanza 4). Or again: "Let me take this multitude of flowers as my necklace. Let me have them in my hand. Let them be my flower crown. We're to go away and leave them here on earth. We merely borrow them, and we're off to His home" (song 82, stanza 19).

Struck by the brevity of life on earth, ghost singers utter such typical, even formulaic expressions as: "Who knows today if we'll be here tomorrow or the next day?" (song 38, stanza 14); "not forever on earth" (song 39, stanza 2); "not twice" (song 20, stanza 9). In a similar vein the anonymous Nahuatl chronicle paraphrased by Durán in his *Historia* has it that the councilor Tlacacel summoned King Tizoc to dance with fellow nobles on the day after his coronation, advising him that "his days were few and he should wish to spend them in contentment and gladness, since in the other world there was neither dancing nor singing nor enjoyment of roses and smokes [tobacco-filled smoking tubes], and that lords who had passed away were deprived of these things."¹

Thus far, the material appears to be indigenous. But as we proceed in this vein it would be well to keep in mind the possibility of missionary influence.

“No one can remain”

As noted above, ghost songs present equally painful alternatives. Either ghost warriors must depart, leaving mortals behind, or mortals must depart, leaving ghosts behind. As if to solve the dilemma, the singer may insist that “no one’s home is earth. No one can remain” (song 82, stanza 22). The question then becomes: Will we be together in the other world, or will we merely be destroyed?

The answer is sometimes a skeptical “Ah, who here knows where we’re to go or where His home is? It’s only here on earth that we’re alive” (song 40, stanza 4). More receptive to conversion is the singer who worries: “Earth is but a moment. Is the Place Unknown the same? Is there happiness and friendship? Is it not just here on earth that acquaintances are made?” (Song 17, stanza 16.)

In song 3, stanza 5, we learn that life does continue: “Where are we to go? Indeed, we only came to be born, indeed, our home is beyond, where all are shorn, where life is infinite, where things never end.” Song 68, stanza 94, mentions “everlasting joy,” and in song 58, stanza 20, the listener is provided with an unmistakable explanation: “Through Santa María he came to take his precious incarnation. Through his precious death he came to save us, and he gave us everlasting life.”

There can be no doubt that we have passed into the realm of Christian thought. But at precisely what point did we cross the boundary? Because of the parallels between Aztec religion and Christianity, the question is difficult to answer. Although from a somewhat different angle, the problem has already been approached in Chapter Two (section entitled “Purpose”). The subject will be taken up again in Chapter Seven.

“We merely come to dream”

Closely related to the mysteries of death and afterlife is the distinction between the “dream” (*temictli*) and that which is “real” (*nelli*). In a passage of undeniable charm, the singer says, “We merely come to stand sleeping, we merely come to dream. It is not true, not true that we come to live on earth” (song 18, stanza 39). And elsewhere: “But can what I say be real, O Life Giver? We merely sleep, we were merely born to dream, and though I say it here on earth it falls on no one’s ears” (song 11, stanza 8; compare song 18, stanza 13).

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This interesting topic, unfortunately, is not well enough developed to permit an interpretation. Readers tempted to make connections are warned that the *néant* of Sartre and even the Calderonian *sueño* are no more relevant, perhaps less so, than the irreality doctrine of the nineteenth-century Pawnee Lance Society.² It might be inferred that the singer is deliberately placing a low value on earthly life in order to strengthen the warrior ethic. If so, this would steer speculation away from comparisons with Western philosophy.

Aztec History

Ghost songs by their very nature re-create the past. Sometimes only a single king will be invoked, sometimes an entire episode, bristling with details. As preparation the reader should have at least an informal acquaintance with pre-Conquest history, familiarity with the bare outlines of the Spanish Conquest itself, and, in addition, some awareness of the post-Conquest status of the old Aztec kingdoms.¹

The Early Period

Sixteenth-century chroniclers, working with ancient picture books now mostly lost, have established a remarkably rich, if varied, record of Aztec and pre-Aztec events reaching back to A.D. 1000 and earlier. As the record approaches the year 1400, apocryphal elements become less troubling; and the virtual agreement of many sources concerning such dates as the downfall of Azcapotzalco (ca. 1428) or the death of Nezahualcoyotl (ca. 1472) produces an aura of reliability satisfying to the modern historian. The earlier material, however, is shrouded in myth.

A few of the sources mention a place called Aztlan, far to the north, whose people, the Azteca, or Aztecs, migrated south and changed their name to Mexica.² It is not clear that this Aztlan actually existed. Perhaps it was merely the invention of later Mexica historians. In any case, it seems unlikely that the Mexica who greeted Cortés in 1519 identified themselves as Aztecs. The term cannot be found in the *Cantares mexicanos* or in most of the other sixteenth-century writings. Not until the nineteenth century did it become entrenched as a name for the Mexica. Still later, in the early twentieth century, some (but not all) writers took it to mean the language spoken by the Mexica and their neighbors, and some even used it as a name for the Aztec- or Nahuatl-speaking peoples themselves. Aztec will

here be used in this broad sense, saving the term Mexican for the Mexica only.

Returning to our chronicles, we find that various Aztec peoples shared a common legend about their origin, telling of an ancestral home in the deserts of the north, migration southward to the opulent city of Tollan, and a subsequent dispersal and settlement either in the Valley of Mexico or the Tlaxcala-Puebla region just over the mountains to the east. As a result of the Tollan stopover, Aztecs could claim descent from the highly civilized Toltecs while still boasting of their warlike Chichimec (or barbarian) heritage associated with the northern wastes. A single song in the *Cantares* (44) recalls the long-vanished grandeur of Tollan and the flight of its last ruler, known variously as Nacxiti, Topiltzin, or Quetzalcoatl. But the southward migration, at least of the Mexicans and especially with regard to their encampment at Chapultepec shortly before the founding of Mexico City, figures prominently in several songs, notably 54-D, 54-E, 68, and 69.

Mexico, the youngest of the Aztec capitals, appears to have been established no later than 1370.³ By this time Aztec culture and Aztec settlement patterns had solidified, with Tepanecs holding the western slopes of the great valley, Acolhuans the eastern slopes, and the fledgling metropolis, Mexico, perched on its island in the middle of the lake. Just south of Mexico lay Colhuacan and its dependencies; and beyond, to the south and east, the Chalcan towns, shadowed by Mount Iztaccihuatl still farther to the east. On the opposite side of Iztaccihuatl lay Huexotzinco and, to the north of Huexotzinco, the four cities of Tlaxcala. This, in brief, was the Aztec world. And this, as we shall see, is the territory encompassed by the *Cantares mexicanos*.

National Histories

Amid the perpetual warfare and shifting allegiances of the Aztec nations two phenomena emerge: (1) the formation of a three-nation league, or "triple alliance," between the Mexicans, the Acolhuans, and the Tepanecs; and (2) the rapid rise of Mexico to a position of dominance throughout the Aztec world. When the ghost singer cries, "O Montezuma, O Nezahualcoyotl, O Totoquihuaztli" (as in song 29), he is in effect reviving the triple alliance in the persons of its most famous triumvirate. Note that Montezuma, king of Mexico, is named first.

The Mexicans. The rough tribesmen who founded the twin communities of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan were obliged to import their first rulers from Tepanec territory (in the case of Tlatelolco) and Colhuacan (in the case of Tenochtitlan). Although the two Mexican governments managed to cooperate through the first half of the fifteenth century, the grow-

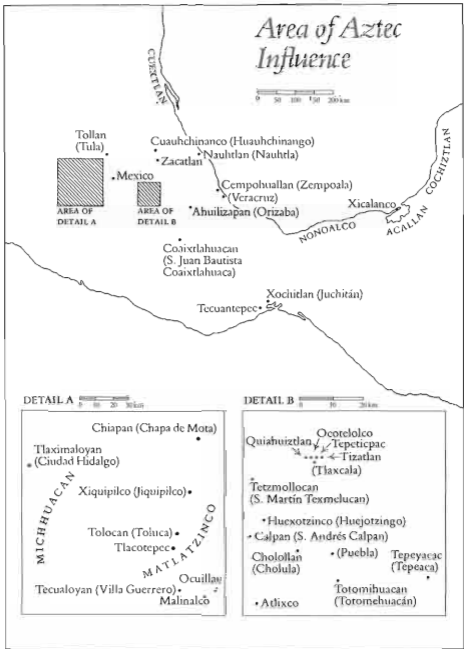
ing superiority of Tenochtitlan and the proud resistance of Tlatelolco eventually led to civil war and the total submission of Tlatelolco in about 1473. By this time the triple alliance, already forty years old, was entering the period of Mexican dominance under the leadership of the king of Tenochtitlan (who even from the beginning had spoken for both parts of Mexico). When we speak of the Mexican succession, therefore, we mean the kings of Tenochtitlan.

Under the first of these rulers—Acamapichtli, Huitzilihuitl, and Chimalpopoca—the empire grew fitfully if at all. Not until the fourth ruler, Itzcoatl, did the tide of events turn decisively in Mexico's favor—with the submission of the powerful Tepanecs in 1428 and the subsequent founding of the triple alliance. Under the fifth ruler, Montezuma I (1440–68), Mexico embarked on an era of glorious expansion. The reign of Axayacatl (1468–81), though shorter, was nonetheless memorable, counting among its triumphs the great Matlatzincan campaign, celebrated in song 65. Notable for his victories, Axayacatl must also be credited with having sired one of Mexico's favorite heroes, the exemplary warrior Tlacaehuepan, who together with his brother Ixtlilcuechahuac, is frequently summoned by ghost singers. The sixth ruler, Tizoc (1481–86), is never mentioned in ghost songs, possibly because, as Durán reports, "his custom was to remain in seclusion, without demonstrating any verve, but much pusillanimity and cowardice."⁴ The sixth, Ahuitzotl (1486–1502), is fondly remembered; and of course the seventh, Montezuma II (1502–20), who capitulated to Cortés. The eighth, Cuitlahuac, resisted the Spanish intrusion but ruled for only three months; it was his successor, Cuauhtemoc, who commanded Mexico during the decisive siege of 1521. Both Cuitlahuac and Cuauhtemoc are mentioned in ghost songs. Yet for reasons not entirely clear it is "Montezuma" who became—and remains—the most familiar symbol of native Mexico.

The Colhuans. When Cortés arrived in the Valley of Mexico he found that the countryside in the immediate vicinity of Mexico, including Mexico itself, was known as the Colhua region.⁵ It will be recalled that Tenochtitlan had imported its first ruler from Colhuacan in the fourteenth century—this after suffering a generation of hardship under Colhuan tyranny (see song 69). By 1400 Colhuacan had been conquered and brought firmly under Mexican control. Yet Mexican rulers, down through Montezuma II, continued to style themselves kings of Mexico and the Colhuans;⁶ and in the *Cantares*, Mexicans are occasionally called Colhuans.

The Acolhuans. From their capital, Texcoco, the fourteenth-century Acolhuan kings exercised direct control over all towns in the northeastern part of the valley and exacted varying degrees of fealty from Mexicans and

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Tepanecs as well. In about 1419, however, rebellious Tepanecs under the leadership of King Tezozomoc, with the military support of the Mexicans, crushed Acolhuacan, assassinated its king, Ixtlilxochitl, and sent its heir apparent, young Nezahualcoyotl, into exile. Some ten years later, in a complete reversal, the Tepanecs were brought to their knees, and Neza-



hualcoyotl was formally installed as king of the Acolhuans and principal chief in the newly formed triple alliance.

As glimpsed in the old chronicles, especially in the writings of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualcoyotl strikes the Western eye as a kind of Cyrus or Alexander, with the added qualities of a Lorenzo the Magnifi-

cent. Distorted as the picture may be, there is little doubt that his forty-one-year reign was an exalted one. In the *Cantares* he is invoked more frequently than any other king except the ubiquitous Montezuma. This is not altogether surprising, since Nezahualcoyotl could be claimed by Mexicans as well as Acolhuans. He and Montezuma I were first cousins,⁷ and during his years of exile he resided in a specially constructed palace in Tenochtitlan. Nezahualcoyotl's son and successor, Nezahualpilli, is also remembered in Mexican ghost songs—but with less affection. Following his death in 1515, Mexico took advantage of Acolhuacan's waning influence and dictated the succession. The result was an Acolhuan split into pro- and anti-Mexican factions, which was to have unhappy consequences for Mexico upon the arrival of Cortés.

The Tepanecs. Tepanec glory reached its apogee under King Tezozomoc I of Azcapotzalco. Following his death and the subsequent defeat of the Tepanecs, in 1428, Tepanec power (somewhat reduced) shifted from Azcapotzalco to Tlacopan. Totoquihuaztli I, king of Tlacopan in the time of Nezahualcoyotl and Montezuma I, is frequently invoked in the *Cantares*—as is Tezozomoc I, whose bloodlines find their way into the royal houses of both Tlacopan and Tlatelolco. An interesting treatment of Tezozomoc's role in the overthrow of Acolhuacan is to be found in song 15.

The Chalcats. The pre-Conquest political geography of Chalco may be tentatively reconstructed from the annals of Chimalpain. According to this source, it appears that the province, or nation, of Chalco was dominated by two principal cities, Tlalmanalco and Amaquemecan. Within the city of Tlalmanalco were at least two boroughs, Acxotlan and Itzcahuacan, while beyond in the countryside were several dependent cities, including Opochuacan, also known as Chalco Atenco (site of the modern town called simply Chalco). Amaquemecan, likewise, had its intracity boroughs and outlying dependencies.⁸ All Chalco, apparently, looked to the borough of Acxotlan as the seat of its national government. During the reign of Acxotlan's best-known king, Toteotzin (r. 1400?–1465), the Chalcats were defeated by Mexico, and Toteotzin himself taken prisoner; occasionally rebellious thereafter, Chalco remained under Mexican control until the arrival of Cortés. The war in which Toteotzin was captured is recalled in song 51 of the *Cantares*.

The Tlaxcalans. Though neither rich nor exceptionally powerful, Tlaxcala succeeded in remaining independent up to the time of Cortés. The triple alliance might easily have crushed Tlaxcala but preferred to keep it as an active foe, so it is said, in order to have a field of combat close at hand.⁹ Thus Mexico and Tlaxcala engaged in periodic tournaments, or "flower wars," for the purpose of exchanging captives to feed their gods.¹⁰ Decentralized, the government of Tlaxcala was shared among four principal

towns: Tepeticpac, Ocotelolco, Quiahuixtlan, and Tizatlan (none of which corresponds to the modern town called Tlaxcala).¹¹ A Xayacamachan, ostensibly of Tizatlan, is mentioned in song 17 of the *Cantares*. But since Mexican ghost singers seem to have confused Tlaxcalan and Huexotzincan genealogies, extreme caution must be exercised in identifying any specific Tlaxcalan ghost.

The Huexotzincans. Huexotzincan references in the *Cantares* are perplexing, partly because the political structure of this nation was as complex as that of Tlaxcala or perhaps even Chalco and partly because there is no surviving Huexotzincan chronicle against which to check the data. The singers' tendency to confuse Huexotzinco with Tlaxcala, on the one hand, and to identify Huexotzinco with Mexico,¹² on the other, only serves to compound the problem. In my opinion there are no ghost songs that treat pre-Conquest Huexotzincan or Tlaxcalan events. The various songs that name these nations and summon the ghosts of their kings do so in order to chasten them for their collaboration with Cortés in the siege of Mexico. The *Cantares* glossator supposed that song 45 had to do with the Huexotzincan embassy to Montezuma (ca. 1515); and he imagined that song 67 re-created Nezahualpilli's pre-1515 campaign against the Huexotzincan king Huehuetzin. But these conjectures, I believe, are incorrect. The glossator's suggestion that songs 14–18 were lauds for the rulers of Huexotzinco is misleading to say the least.

The Spanish Conquest

Cortés landed at the site of present-day Veracruz on April 21, 1519. Lured by tales of Mexican opulence, he began his march inland in mid-August, reaching Tlaxcala after about two weeks. At first hostile, the Tlaxcalans joined ranks with the Spaniards when it became evident that a victory over Mexico might be achieved. Huexotzinco followed suit, with the result that Cortés was accompanied by an impressive contingent of Indian allies when he finally arrived in Mexico on November 8.

Amid curious protestations of friendship on both sides, Montezuma was quietly taken captive almost immediately and used as a mouthpiece by the Spaniards as they attempted to dictate Mexican policy. During the uneasy months that followed, several Aztec leaders were executed. Then suddenly, on May 21, 1520, hundreds of Aztecs were killed during a religious exercise in the main plaza of the city. No longer heeding the commands of the immobilized Montezuma, Mexicans mustered their forces and ejected the Spaniards on the now-famous night—the *noche triste*—of June 30.

By this time Montezuma himself had been killed, and the Mexicans promptly elected his brother, Cuitlahuac, to fill his place. When Cuitlahuac died of smallpox just three months later, he was succeeded by Cuauh-

temoc, another member of the royal family. Meanwhile the Spaniards, who had retreated to Tlaxcala, were on the watch for signs of additional support. When they finally commenced the actual siege of Mexico, on May 31, 1521, their ranks had been swollen not only by Tlaxcalans and Huexotzincans, but by Chalcans and even Acolhuans. After a desperate battle lasting seventy-four days, Cuauhtemoc surrendered and was taken prisoner. Four and a half years later, Cortés hanged Cuauhtemoc and other Aztec leaders on charges of plotting an insurrection.

Turning now to the *Cantares*, we find the events of 1519-21 abundantly recalled in the great "Water-pouring song" (68), the longest piece in the manuscript. The siege of Mexico and its aftermath form the subject of songs 13 and 66; on the hanging of Cuauhtemoc, see song 60, canto B. Other songs, such as 69 and 83, contain obvious references to the Conquest; and some, such as 15, 17, and 67, may be read as veiled threats to the Indian nations that collaborated with Cortés, mainly Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco, but even Acolhuacan.

Post-Conquest Developments

An important point to keep in mind is that Aztec settlement patterns and the outward forms of Aztec government survived the Conquest more or less intact. Allowing for considerable attrition due to plagues of European origin, the old cities retained their native populations and, with occasional deference to a patron saint, their native names. Thus Tlatelolco became Santiago Tlatelolco or simply Santiago. As for the native rulers, they were permitted for many years to style themselves king (*tlatoani*), to succeed one another, and to preserve a modicum of pomp. Since the *tlatoani* were able to collect tribute from their subjects and command labor with an effectiveness that no Spaniard could hope to excel, their services were valued. However, their authority was limited to that of an overseer class. In fact they were native governors, not kings, and the title *gobernador* was applied with increasing frequency.

As the century progressed, Spanish authorities attempted to sever the lines of dynastic succession, eventually replacing *tlatoani* with nonnoble *gobernadores*.¹³ Indians, noble and nonnoble alike, came to be known by their baptismal names. Indian names fell into disuse; and though the Spanish title *don* might properly have been reserved for *tlatoani*, it was applied to nondynastic *gobernadores* as well.¹⁴ Even if the nobility held on longer in the smaller towns, such was the situation in Mexico and in other important centers.

For the singer of 1550 or 1575 the recollection of now-deceased *tlatoani* of the first few decades of the colonial period might be cherished as readily as the memory of older kings. The ghosts of post-Conquest rulers are in

fact summoned in songs 56, 59, 60, and 61, and in various other pieces in the second half of the *Cantares* manuscript. The only nonnoble gobernador summoned in any surviving ghost song is Andrés de Tapia Motelchiuh, owing, presumably, to his heroic role in the siege of 1521. But the singers pointedly deny him the title *don*, even when he is coupled with his predecessor, "Don Juan [Velázquez Tlacotzin]." ¹⁵

Rapidly losing what little authority had been left to it, jealous of every mark of status, the Aztec princely class at mid-century had reached a turning point. The manner in which it responded, or appears to have responded, is the subject of the next chapter.

Revitalization

As a result of the plagues of 1520, 1531, and especially 1545-48, the Aztec population by mid-century had fallen to half what it had been at the time of Cortés' arrival.¹ Faced with general disintegration and past the point of insurrection, Aztec society was ripe for what modern anthropological theory has termed nativism, the crisis cult, or the revitalization movement.² That no such activity has heretofore been identified owes much to the fact that it was so compatible with Spanish Catholicism, on the one hand, and so covert, on the other, that local authorities either failed to perceive its significance or were not threatened enough to insist on sanctions. Sahagún, who probably understood the native cultures better than any other European in New Spain and who has been called the first New World anthropologist, proved to be the only articulate objector to both these phenomena: the emergence of syncretic cults, such as the worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe, to which several of the most important Hispanic authors do not even allude, and the Cantares activity as revealed in the manuscript under discussion. In both cases the earliest reliable documentation must be dated between 1550 and 1555.

For our purposes, revitalization may be defined as the process wherein a culture in danger of being supplanted asserts itself in a modified form, challenging its oppressor insofar as it dares. Ecstatic rituals, the anticipated return of ancestors, and the promise of a mystical deliverance are among the recurring—though not universal—elements. Tamer aspects include adaptation to the culture of the oppressor and an emphasis on personal, rather than tribal, salvation; self-blame may be part of the doctrine. Examples most frequently cited are the Melanesian cargo cults and the Ghost Dance of the North American Plains Indians, both of which stress the imminent return of the dead and the creation of a paradise on earth.³ But such diverse movements as Irish nationalism, the Native American Peyote Reli-

gion, the Maya Cult of the Speaking Cross,⁴ or the revival of Islamic fundamentalism may also fit the general scheme.

During the early 1560's, when the Cantares activity in Mexico was still at its height, a similar crisis cult, known as the Taqui Onqoy, was gathering momentum among the Indians of Peru.⁵ Inspired by the belief that the Spanish Dios had been conquered by the old Inca gods, lately resurrected, adherents of the Taqui Onqoy envisioned the death of all Spaniards and an era of prosperity for Indians. Ecstatic singing and dancing were important features of the movement, and it was even held that the old gods, or huacas, were entering the bodies of the faithful and speaking with their voices. A fundamental difference is that the Taqui Onqoy was a popular groundswell, whereas the Cantares activity was an expression of the native elite.

The Guadalupe Cult

Although the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe—the best known of the syncretic shrine cults—was undoubtedly orchestrated by Hispanics and quickly gained both Spanish and creole adherents, its significance for native Mexicans was that it breathed new life into the worship of the old earth goddess, Tonantzin. Thus Guadalupe contributed to what Sahagún recognized as a general, mid-sixteenth-century revival of native custom.⁶

According to the famous legend published in 1649 by Luis Lasso de la Vega, the Virgin had appeared to a poor Indian named Juan Diego in December of 1531, informing him that she had cured his uncle of the plague and mysteriously providing him with a portrait of herself to hang in the church that was to be built in her honor.⁷ Although composed in Nahuatl, the account is clearly the invention of a European mind and may even have been put together by Lasso de la Vega himself.⁸ Yet the underlying cult had been well established by the mid-1550's and can be traced in both clerical and native writings. The church itself was erected in 1555 or 1556,⁹ at which time the Virgin's portrait and her reputation for cures became a matter of record.¹⁰ Her identification with the old Aztec goddess Tonantzin (Our Mother) was recognized by Sahagún, who denounced the cult in 1576, pointing out, ominously, that the shrine at Tepeyacac, just north of Mexico City, was attracting Indian pilgrims from as far away as "more than twenty leagues."¹¹ A cryptic phrase in the Nahuatl *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a manuscript completed no earlier than 1582, states merely that the Virgin of Guadalupe "appeared" in 1555.¹² This probably harks back to the building of the church, and could mean either that some sort of apparition was believed to have occurred or simply that an image of the Virgin had been carried in a procession.¹³ In the same manner, the native historian Chimalpain records that the Virgin "appeared" in 1556.¹⁴

Although the story presented by Lasso de la Vega, in which the miracle takes place in 1531, can hardly be treated as historical evidence, it is not impossible that a chapel of the Virgin at this particular spot had been set up by enterprising missionaries as early as the 1530's in order to preempt a long-established shrine of Tonantzin. During the second half of the century, Guadalupe became the focus of a religious movement of unstoppable power, which continued to gather momentum through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Interestingly, there have been repeated attempts to connect Guadalupe with the *Cantares mexicanos*.¹⁵ One senses a link, even if none can be established. Lasso de la Vega himself may have drawn from the *Cantares* in his description of the Virgin's flowery surroundings filled with bird music,¹⁶ and folk observances associated with the cult tend to reinforce certain elements in the *Cantares* imagery. The following account, written by a traveler as late as 1841, comes from Tacuba:

From the steeple of the church to the top of the gateway, five ropes were stretched, and a large flower made of silk, in the shape of a pomegranate, was ascending and descending on each of them, drawn up and let down by men stationed on the azotéa of the edifice. Among these flowers was an image of Juan Diego . . . jerked up and down on the rope by the Indians, who varied their task by an occasional pull at the bells. . . . The huge flowers . . . were pulled open by a secret spring, and a shower of rose leaves fell from them over the passing priests and images. Juan Diego's knees were bent by some equally secret machinery, and he continued on his slack-rope pilgrimage through the air.¹⁷

However, one looks in vain for a sixteenth-century ghost song in which the humble Juan Diego is produced as a descending "flower," or revenant. Nor is it likely that the Santa María of the *Cantares mexicanos* is meant to represent the *guadalupana*. That ghost songs were performed at the church of Guadalupe in the third quarter of the sixteenth century is almost certain.¹⁸ But the ghost-song ritual and the cult of Santa María/Tonantzin, though they share a peculiarly Aztec symbology, are best considered parallel, not integrated, phenomena.

The Cantares Activity

The numerous reports of dangerous musical activity, usually referred to as "cantares" or "areitos," or especially "areitos de noche," are perplexing inasmuch as it is impossible to tell what exactly is meant. In some cases, the reports probably have reference to pre-Conquest festival chants that were being secretly perpetuated behind closed doors at night.¹⁹ But ghost songs could also be indicated, for though they were openly performed in plazas and in churches, even public performances of this sort were regarded with

suspicion, and the songs had to be "reviewed and examined" before they could be staged.²⁰

Censors were eager to proscribe sacrilege and "indecentcy." The possibility of political subversion, recognized by Sahagún,²¹ was no doubt equally troubling. What the censors were looking for is in fact to be found in the *Cantares*, yet in such subtle doses and couched in such arcane language that few, if any, could have been expected to uncover it. As discussed earlier, the *Cantares* is by and large devoted to the elaboration of a ghost cult, emphasizing the return of ancestor kings, the glorious revival of the warrior ethic, and the re-creation of a paradisaical Mexico. Censors and other Hispanic observers uncritically accepted this material as a fossil bed of pre-Conquest lauds and chanted histories. As preserved in the *Cantares*, however, the material appears to be nativistic, not merely native. It is not certain that any of it was composed before the Conquest, and it is most likely indeed that it is political in content even where it least appears so. Certainly, ghost songs were not fabricated out of whole cloth in the 1550's; they were built on a long-established tradition. To what extent this tradition was reshaped and in what form it existed prior to 1519 are questions to be discussed in later chapters. At least a few of the songs, such as 65, may well be fossils. But even these, restaged during the post-Conquest period, could have taken on a nativistic significance without changing a single phrase.

Many ghost songs, in other words, are passively subversive. They merely predict a state of bliss without alluding to culprits or injustices. In many of these, if not most, the supreme spirit is identified with the Christian Dios; and in a few there are outward signs of accommodation, not only with Christian doctrine, but with Hispanic authority. Some, on the other hand, are pointedly, if cautiously, seditious. Since these are of particular interest, they will be noted first.

Elements of Rebellion

The arrival of armed Mexican ghost warriors is in itself threatening to Mexico's enemies. But actual hostility, if expressed at all, is usually directed against the Tlaxcalans, the Huexotzincans, or one of the other nations that sided with Cortés in the Conquest. Song 66, canto C, however, has the Spaniards themselves under attack in a surprisingly bold (and fantastic) re-creation of the siege of 1521:

It seems he's come to take a lance from the Spaniards. It seems this lord lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of withered strippers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzincans, hey! Motelchiuh is the one who thrusts his shield, and it's a time of lords! Yes

even so he sallies forth, having appeared. And when they've captured the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says, "Let there be dancing!" Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!

Observe that the "dried-up," "withered" captives are "stripers" (painted for sacrifice). A milder suggestion along the same lines is implicit in song 90, canto E, in which the Marquis (i.e., Cortés), Archbishop Montúfar, and even Fray Pedro de Gante are bid farewell; they are allowed to die natural deaths, and they receive praise, but one has the impression, nevertheless, that they serve as payment for the Aztec revenants who come jubilantly to earth in canto F.

It will be recalled that Cuauhtemoc and other Aztec leaders were hanged by Cortés in 1525. The scene is conjured up in song 60, stanza 9. In song 63, however, we find the daring, if decidedly ambiguous, intimation that Cortés himself deserves hanging.

Expressions of disenchantment regarding labor and tribute can be read in song 68, cantos C and D. Song 9 seems concerned with the unequal status of the Indian generally speaking. A plea for Aztec traditions, coupled with a glancing attack on Jesus, comes in canto D of song 83, and the song ends with a vision of a biracial New Spain that may be construed as a call for political equality—foreshadowing the overtly expressed dream of the twentieth-century Republic.

Accommodation

One of the more poignant themes in ghost songs derives from the willingness of the singer to give his own life in exchange for ghost warriors. The accompanying attitude is poetically expressed in the final phrases of the "Fish song," song 60, and may be paraphrased as follows: our lives shall be hard, but our race shall be immortal. In song 1, stanza 6, guilt is suggested as a justification for the hardship; and in song 58 the theme of original sin is fully developed. Compensation lies in the knowledge that Mexico will endure, on the one hand, and in the promise of personal salvation on the other:

How can I not weep here on earth? Ah, beyond is the place where we live! I deceive myself in saying "Perhaps things come to an end here on earth, and the soul dies." O Ever Present, O Ever Near, please let this be: Oh let me sing for you in company with your sky dwellers. My heart arises. There beyond, near you and in your presence, I see! O Life Giver! (Song 2, stanza 5)

We have here traced only one of several similar lines of argument to be found in ghost songs. This one, obviously, has more European than Aztec essence, and though it provides for a continuation of Mexico, it accepts the palliative of a Christian afterlife.

A more serious, perhaps complete break with native tradition is urged by the composer of song 3, who discredits the warlike ghost-song ritual and counsels peaceful union with God. Song 7 does the same, branding the war cult old-fashioned and ruinous. Yet song 12, probably by the same composer, attempts to reconcile the war cult with the cult of Dios. Clearly we have an Aztec-Christian conflict, which may have penetrated more than a few songs in the *Cantares*. Did pre-Conquest warriors have doubts about making war? If not, then we must look for an even heavier European influence than would at first seem apparent in such songs as 17 and 18.

A bizarre accommodation to the Spanish idea of racial superiority forms the subject of song 66, canto E. In these stanzas the Mexican singer taunts his Tlaxcalan enemies by making a virtue out of the misfortune of the Mexican warriors, whose wives become the mistresses of Cortés and his men. The point is that the blood of the overlords has been mingled with the blood of Mexicans, not Tlaxcalans.

The Unbeliever

Strict allegiance to the doctrine is not easily obtained in most revitalization movements. Often the doctrine remains in flux, absorbing the criticism of new and potential adherents. At times it may be more caught up in refuting the doubter than in affirming its professed goals.²² In the *Cantares*, where the voice of the unbeliever intrudes on more than a few occasions, especially in the first twenty-six folios of the manuscript, such problems are sufficiently important to deserve notice.

On examination, the *Cantares* skeptic emerges as a post-Conquest Indian male no longer inspired by the war ethic and as yet uncertain of Christian salvation. The ghost singer seeks to convince him that death on the battlefield will produce ghost warriors as in the old days, while guaranteeing immortality in God's heaven. This fusion of Aztec and Christian beliefs is achieved, partly, in song 12 after a series of pieces that actually denigrate Aztec values. The details are worked out in two great harangues, songs 17 and 18, in which the unbeliever's questions are gradually resolved in favor of the doctrine. Note that both song 30 and song 31 have pro and anti cantos.

A typical protest, put in the mouth of a fretful Huexotzincan ghost, runs as follows:

Though my heart desires shield flowers, Life Giver's flowers, what might
happen to this heart of mine? Alas, it's for nothing that we've come to be
born here on earth.

I'm to pass away like a ruined flower. My fame will be nothing, my renown
here on earth will be nothing. There may be flowers, there may be songs,

but what might happen to this heart of mine? Alas, it's for nothing that we've come to be born here on earth. (Song 17, stanzas 13-14)

The stanza that comes next, in which the unhappy ghost doubts the existence of heaven, has already been quoted in Chapter Five, in the section entitled "No one can remain." But in the song's final stanza (56), the Mexican singer assures his audience that the doubters have been converted.

That such arguments as these could have been formulated in pre-Conquest times and rehashed in mid-sixteenth-century ghost songs seems improbable. No such bickering is to be found in the unacculturated ethnography. From the vantage point now reached, the material presented in Chapter Five should be reexamined for traces of sixteenth-century ferment.

Of particular interest in this connection is the verb *neltoca* (to believe), adapted by Christian missionaries for their own purposes but used in the *Cantares* to signify adherence to the ghost-song doctrine. See especially the closing stanza of song 17.

The Dance of the *Voladores*

Any discussion of Aztec revitalization should be kept within narrow bounds until certain documents, still untranslated, can be made available to scholarship.²³ But the few remarks here offered would not be complete without at least a brief description of the mysterious *volador* dance, popular in the sixteenth century and still being reported from various parts of Mexico and Guatemala. Allowing for minor variations and despite the fact that present-day practitioners seem to have forgotten its original meaning, the dance remains essentially unchanged and remarkably uniform throughout the vast area of its distribution.

Wearing bird costumes, the *voladores*, or "fliers," cluster on a small platform near the top of a pole. Ropes wound around the pole pass through grooves in the platform and are tied to the dancers' bodies. On signal they fling themselves backward into the air, and the platform begins to rotate. As the ropes unwind, the dancers come whirling downward in continually widening circles until they reach the ground (Figs. 4 and 5). In some cases they hang upside down and spread their arms. While the "birds" are in flight, a performer standing at the top of the pole plays a trumpet or some other instrument.²⁴

Readers acquainted with the *Cantares* will not fail to be reminded of phrases such as the following (identified by folio and line number):

I blow my conch for turquoise swans (26: 19)
 And they shall appear (26: 21)
 Let's have these turquoise-swanlike flowers! These are trogons that are
 spinning (25: 17)
 For a moment they come whirling, they the eagles (65: 6)
 Roseate swans, cornsilk flowers, are whirling (70: 31)

Revitalization

Montezuma spreads his arms! (15v: 12)

These princes are bright as trogons. They're flying along like cotingas
(82v: 15)

And they come, come, and come dancing (47v: 20)

A quetzal has descended, a cotinga arrives (39: 11)

God's creation has descended to earth (37v: 15)

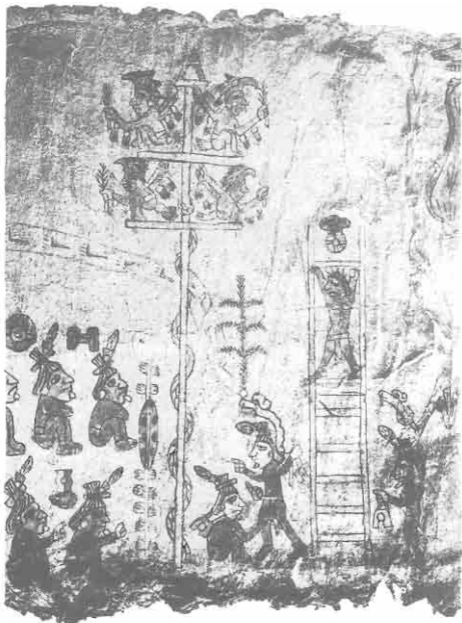


Fig. 4. *Volador*, pre-Conquest (after Peñafiel, *Códice Fernández León*, plate 5)



Fig. 5. *Volador*, post-Conquest (after Barlow, "El Códice Azcatitlan," plate 27)

In fact, the connection between ghost songs and *volador* dances is reasonably well attested. According to the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a "water flower—people piece" (*axochitlacayotl*) was sung and danced in 1566 in a refectory in Mexico City and repeated outdoors with a *volador*.²⁵ Chimalpain reports that a "fish song" (*michcuicatl*) was performed in 1593 in the Plaza del Volador, and the chronicler Pérez de Ribas notes that the *volador*, or *volatines*, was performed together with the *tocontín*, a seventeenth-century successor to the ghost-song ritual.²⁶

In a much-quoted passage borrowed from Sahagún, the historian Torquemada attempts to explain the *volador* as a calendrical ritual in which the unwinding of the ropes produces exactly fifty-two revolutions, representing the fifty-two years of the Aztec calendar round.²⁷ But whether or not this was a feature of certain sixteenth-century *volador* performances, it hardly serves as a sufficient explanation. More encompassing is the early-twentieth-century analysis of Walter Krickeberg, who (without any reference to or apparent study of the *Cantares mexicanos*) saw the descending *voladores* as ghosts returning to earth from their celestial paradise.²⁸

Evidently of pre-Columbian origin,²⁹ the *volador* survived the Conquest as a bravura piece that required no further justification in the eyes of Spanish officials. Some, perhaps, were satisfied by the innocuous calendri-

Revitalization

cal explanation passed along by Sahagún and Torquemada. But from time to time suspicions were aroused, and on more than one occasion the *volador* was actually banned.³⁰ Whatever the dance's political or cultural significance before the Conquest, we may reasonably surmise that during the sixteenth century it became an instrument of revitalization.

Whether any surviving ghost-song text has the flier dance as its program or indeed whether ghost songs were performed simultaneously with such dances is not known. More likely the two rituals were performed in sequence, as suggested by Pérez de Ribas. Despite this connection, it is hardly surprising that the intricately cerebral song recitals died out, while the athletic *volador* still flourishes in scattered locations throughout the length and breadth of the old empire—from Mexico City east to Veracruz and south to Guatemala. Probably these provincial *voladores* were never accompanied by texts even remotely resembling the *Cantares*. In fact, they appear to stem from a much older prototype in which the descending ghosts were destined for sacrifice as part of an agrarian ritual.³¹ In the *Cantares*, nevertheless, we have the supreme literary expression of a far-flung ghost cult, which, though its symbolism may have varied over the centuries, continues to serve as a reminder of Mexico's past and as at least one means of keeping alive, if not revitalizing, its native heritage.

Ghost Songs in Performance

jingles (*coyolli*, *oyohualli*, *tzitzilin*) are among the instruments mentioned in the song texts, but it cannot be assumed that all of these were actually used in ghost-song performances. The fan (*ecacehuaztli*, DICT: *chcacēhuaztli*) and the crook (*chicuacolli*) were evidently carried as ornaments. The only non-Aztec musical instrument mentioned in any of the songs is the *mecahuehuatl* (guitar or harp).

According to Motolinía's famous description in Part Two, Chapter Twenty-Six of his *Memoriales* (which may or may not be applicable to ghost songs), the costumed performers would emerge from behind the walls of the house or palace. As the drumming began and the dancers got into position, two "choir directors" would lead off the singing. Then "three or four Indians" would whistle sharply, signaling the start of the dance, in this case evidently a round dance joined by an enormous number of performers and continuing for many hours.⁶

In the *Cantares* texts such phrases as "I, the singer, begin" or "I strike up the song" seemingly allude to such preliminaries. Note the introductory stanza to song 32: "At flower plaza, where the flower court lies, the singer shouts, he sounds the dance cry [of the round dancer]." But if the singer is actually sounding a dance cry (or whistle call?) and a conventional round dance is actually about to begin, then the text seems supererogatory. In fact the singer is summoning ghost warriors, and we must allow for the possibility that he is standing in church, not in an old-style plaza. Moreover, the "singer" is not the singer himself, at least not in the usual sense, but rather his muse. (The muse, or sky singer, is similarly summoned in the opening phrase of song 17: "Where are you, singer?")

What we have, therefore, is a dance within a dance, or a dance fantasy about dancing. Further evidence, provided by Durán, strengthens the impression that ghost songs were representational:

The dance they enjoyed most was the one they did with adornments of roses, with which they crowned themselves and encircled themselves. For this dance they made a house of roses at the principal altar [*momoztli*] at the temple of their great god Huitzilopochtli, and they made artificial trees, all filled with fragrant flowers, and there they made the goddess Xochiquetzal sit. While they danced, some boys descended dressed as birds and others [dressed] as butterflies, well adorned with rich plumes, green and blue and red and yellow. They climbed up in these trees and went from branch to branch sucking the dew of those roses.

Then the gods came out, each in their costumes, the way they were in the altars—Indians, dressed up in the same way. And with their blowguns in hand they went and shot at the make-believe birds that were moving around in the trees, whereupon the goddess of roses, who was Xochiquetzal, came out to receive them and took them by the hand and made them sit beside her, paying them much honor and respect, as such gods were due. There she gave them roses and smokes and made her representatives come and entertain them. This was the most impressive dance that this nation had, and occasionally nowadays I see it danced anew, though very seldom.⁷

Tovar's version, seemingly from the same (unidentified) source, reads as follows:

They also mimicked many butterflies and birds of various colors, bringing out the temple boys, dressed in these guises, who climbed up in a grove of trees that they planted there; and the temple priests shot at them with blow-guns, whereupon there were witty words in favor of some and against others, with which they greatly entertained the onlookers, followed by a great *mitote*, or dance, of all these personages, which concluded the fiesta, and this they used to do in all the important fiestas.⁹

No song in the *Cantares* has precisely this combination of elements as its program, but the birds, the butterflies, the descending, the artificial trees, the sucking, the combat, the witty words, and the dancing amply suggest that Durán and Tovar were describing one type of ghost song or proto-ghost song.

Drumming

Two drums were used: the horizontal log drum, or *teponaztli*, and the all-important *huchuetl*, an upright skin drum played with bare hands, capable of producing two tones a fifth apart, depending on whether the head was struck in the center or near the rim.⁹ Beaten with rubber-tipped mallets on the tongues of an H-shaped slit, the *teponaztli* also produced two tones, yielding a fifth, a fourth, or some smaller interval, according to the individual instrument. Copious references to the *huchuetl* in the *Cantares* suggest that this instrument may have been used by itself to accompany the typical ghost song.¹⁰ The fact that a few pieces are specifically designated *teponazcuicatl* (*teponaztli* songs) implies that the log drum was either used exclusively in these cases or added to the *huchuetl*. In any event, as we learn from sixteenth-century reports, the two drums were played together at most Aztec musical events (see Fig. 6). Acosta believes that they were "both tuned to harmonize with each other."¹¹ But whereas the *huchuetl* was evidently tuned by varying the tension in the head,¹² it would not appear that the log drum could be easily adjusted, if at all. Motolinía states that the *huchuetl* served as the tenor and the *teponaztli* as the bass (*contrabajo*). If so, the *teponaztli* he had in mind must have been somewhat larger than today's museum specimens, which are in the alto and soprano range.¹³

Alone among sixteenth-century documents, the *Cantares* gives extensive notation for two-tone drumming and even some hints of how the drumming fits in with the singing. Attempts to read this notation have not met with much acceptance, however.¹⁴ And it must be granted that no entirely satisfactory analysis is likely to be invented. What follows, therefore, must be taken as tentative.



Fig. 6. Aztec musicians: (a) top left, huehuetl and teponaztl players at a feast for a newborn child; (b) top right, youths dancing at the warriors' academy; (c) bottom left, dancing at a merchant's banquet; (d) middle right, musicians with instruments and regalia; (e) bottom right, war dance. After Sahagún, *Códice florentino*: (a) Book 4, fol. 70, vol. 1; (b) Book 8, fol. 28, vol. 2; (c) Book 9, fol. 30v, vol. 2; (d) Book 8, fol. 30, vol. 2; (e) Book 8, fol. 41, vol. 2.

As is well known, the *Cantares* drum notation is made up of four different syllables—*ti*, *to*, *qui*, and *co*—with typical groupings like these:

toto tiquiti tiquiti (song 46, canto D)

tocotico tocoti (song 46, canto E)

Presumably such items are cadences, meant to be reiterated, as implied by an occasional "et cetera" in the text: "titocoti tocoti tocoti etc." (song 48).

But it is sometimes unclear whether the whole figure is to be repeated or only the last part. Rarely a syllable will be topped off by a glottal stop, *h*, or a nasal indicator, *n*: "toco toco toco tihti" (song 86, canto D); "tocontin" (song 89, canto A). Since *h* and *n* appear as intrusive characters throughout the *Cantares* manuscript, there is no reason to assume that they indicate anything other than minor differences in orthography or, at most, pronunciation. As such, they have no bearing on the drummer's cadence, and I have not retained them in the translation.

For the purpose of solving the notation, two propositions may be set forth as axiomatic: (1) the syllables *ti*, *to*, *co*, and *qui* form a kind of solfège, or vocalise, that corresponds to the cadence of the drum; and (2) this vocalise must account for both pitch and rhythm. Since the chronicler Pérez de Ribas explicitly states that the syllables correspond to the notes of the two-toned teponaztli,¹⁵ it may be postulated that the vowels *i* and *o* represent these two pitches. Hence the consonants are available to convey, or help convey, the rhythm.

As a hypothesis to be tested, let us suppose that the rhythm is indicated by a system akin to the familiar single-, double-, and triple-tonguing used by modern woodwind players. In other words, reiteration in moderate tempo is denoted by a succession of *t*-sounds, regardless of the intervening vowel; alternation of *t*- and *k*- denotes quick tempo in multiples of two; triplets are *t-k-t*; *k*- is a weak beat only; and *k-k*- is disallowed. Let us suppose, in addition, that an introductory weak beat, or upbeat, is signified by the *k*- sound. This departs from actual woodwind practice (since players prefer to attack with a *t*-).

For convenience, let it be imagined that the vowel *i* denotes the higher tone, *o* the lower. Intuition, and perhaps science, favor this choice,¹⁶ but should it turn out to be the other way around, the analysis would be altered in this respect only. Accordingly, the first of the examples given above could be adapted to modern notation in one of at least three ways, as shown in Figure 7a. One way of writing the second example is given in 7b.

Cadences like the following, which begins with a weak beat, are much less common: "cotoco cotoco tico coti titico tocoti" (song 87, canto C). This obviously complex rhythm could be analyzed in several ways other than the one shown in Figure 7c—using triplets, for example, or with ad-

Ghost Songs in Performance

a. Song 46, canto D



b. Song 46, canto E



c. Song 87, canto C



d. Tocotí cadence

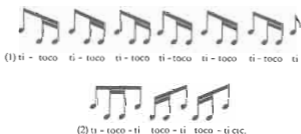


Fig. 7. Some two-tone drum cadences in vocalise syllables, with suggested musical notation

ditional rests in order to get rid of the heterometry. But the juxtaposed *co* must always be kept in separate phrases. For example, the notation cannot be rewritten “coto coco toco etc.,” which would violate the rules of tonguing. Fortunately, the manuscript makes the phrasing perfectly acceptable in this regard—and except for a “tico coto” in canto D of song 90, there are no other examples of juxtaposed *co co* (or *co qui*, or *qui qui*, or *qui co*) anywhere in the *Cantares*. The total absence of *k-k-* within the single phrase is a strong argument in favor of the tonguing hypothesis, especially since every other possible linkage (*coti*, *titi*, *quiti*, etc.) is represented.

In Figure 7c, note that the rhythm of the first four phrases has nothing in

common with the last two. Probably the rhythms were not meant to be connected, as can be seen clearly in these constructions given elsewhere in the manuscript: "Tico tico ticoti tico tico ticoti. And when the song ends: totoco tocoto" (song 45, canto B); "Titocoti tocoti tocoti etc. Titocoti titocoti when it ends" (song 48); "Toco toco titi/Tico tico toco tocoto" (song 90, canto B). In the example shown in Figure 7c, the transcriber is probably giving two cadences, one for the beginning of the "song," or stanza, the other for the ending.

Evidently the phrasing can be varied without changing the character of the rhythm. An isolated example from the codex *Romances de los señores* is especially helpful in this regard, because it applies to a song that is duplicated in the *Cantares* manuscript, which likewise gives the drum cadence. This is the famous *tocotin*, or *tocontin*, cadence already seen in an example from song 48 and mentioned by several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chroniclers.¹⁷ Figure 7d.1 shows the cadence as given in the *Romances* (fol. 6v, lines 19-20) and 7d.2 the same cadence as given in the *Cantares* (fol. 30, line 22). Of course, the manuscripts give only the vocalise in alphabetic script. (Observe that the Spanish accent on the final syllable of the word *tocontin* accords with the tonguing hypothesis.)

The reader who studies the manuscript may glean further particulars. It should be kept in mind, however, that the copyist does not always preserve the cadence boundary or the phrase boundaries within the cadence. Sometimes the syllables are all run together, sometimes they are broken off—as in "coto coto co" (song 54-C), which must be read as "coto cotoco."

In conclusion, it seems clear that the method as outlined above could work satisfactorily in oral transmission. Yet in notation, it would convey only relative pitches, certain relative durational values, and most aspects of the accentual scheme. Absolute pitches and absolute durational values, as well as tempo, would have to be guessed. The notation is simply not rich enough to permit greater particulars—unless various conventions, such as the prohibition of triplets, were taken for granted. The vagueness of the system may be appreciated if we take two-tone cadences preserved in modern notation and attempt to rewrite them in *Cantares* style. The examples I have in mind are for the large Mayan log drum, or *tun*, as it was used in the 1850's to accompany the Quiche dance-drama *Rabinal achi*. These were published in 1862 by Brasseur de Bourbourg in his *Grammaire de la langue quiché* and are the earliest that I have been able to discover.¹⁸ Three of the fourteen cadences in this score (which includes parts for first and second trumpets) are excerpted in Figure 8. The first of these would be "ti toco ti." But the second would also be "ti toco ti." The third would be "tiqiti tocotoco," but observe that the distinction between eighths and sixteenths is not retained.

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Fig. 8. Three two-tone drum cadences excerpted from the
Rabinul achi (after Brasscur de Bourbourg)

The Work of Elsa Ziehm

To test the validity of the drum cadence readings, it could be helpful to search the archival collections of Mexican Indian folk music for clues about what the vocables *ti*, *to*, *qui*, and *co* might mean to modern performers. I have not attempted the task; but as this book was nearly in press I did learn of a Cora song tape-recorded in 1968 by Fernando Benítez, in which the four syllables are sung in patterns like those preserved in the *Cantares*.

The song in question was transcribed by Elsa Ziehm, of Berlin, who has been editing the Nahuatl texts collected in southern Durango by the late Konrad Theodor Preuss. Benítez' collection was made sixty kilometers farther south in the Cora-speaking village of Jesus María, just over the Nayarit border.¹⁹ Normally performed (with instrumental accompaniment?) during one of the all-night maize ceremonies called *mitotes*, the excerpt reproduced in Figure 9, given to me in transcript by Ziehm, was obtained live by Benítez from a single male singer.

♩ . 134

Fig. 9. Excerpt from a Cora *mitote* song (Elsa Ziehm's No. 28,
Benítez Cora collection of 1968)

Familiar with Schultze Jena's edition of the *Cantares mexicanos*, and evidently inspired by the Cora example, Ziehm has also provided me with her reconstructions of the two-tone teponaztli cadences from *Cantares* folio 26v (Fig. 10). Based on her extensive acquaintance with music of the Nayarit-Durango region, she conjectures that the *Cantares* interval may have been a fourth, as shown. Except for this feature, her readings—developed independently, using a quite different approach—agree with mine.



Fig. 10. Ziehm's reconstructions of two *Cantares* cadences (fol. 26v)

Patient scrutiny will show that the necessary ideas for these reconstructions are presented in Ziehm's 1976 essay, "Ein Wort über die Tonsilben in aztekischen Handschriften," which I had overlooked until recently.²⁰

Ensemble

As for the manner in which the drumming fits in with the singing, little or nothing can be stated with confidence. The only contemporary description, found on folio 7 of the *Cantares*, seemingly refers to a performance in which the singer accompanies himself—probably not a typical occurrence, at least not in full-dress public recitals. It would certainly be difficult, if not impossible, to sing a heterorhythmic chant while beating out one of the metrical cadences described in the preceding sections. It would, however, be possible for the singer to accompany himself with a simple metronome-like tapping, as Indian singers frequently do. And in fact, this is what seems to have occurred in the case at hand. The description reads as follows:

And the drum is beaten thus: when a stanza ends and another stanza is to follow, it's three-beat. And when it actually begins, it's one-beat. But as it comes back in, then the drum falls beneath it, and the hand just keeps on going. But when it is in the middle, again the voice of the drum emerges. This, however, must be seen from the hand of the singer who knows how it is beaten. And newly, again, this music was in the home of Don Diego de León, gobernador of Azcapotzalco. Don Francisco Plácido beat it out in the year 1551 of the resurrection of our lord Jesucristo.

The "three-beat" is perhaps one of the triple-beat cadences such as "tocoti" or "tiquiti." The "middle" of the stanza, if it is a natural division, would have to be either the point where the verse gives way to the refrain, or the refrain gives way to the litany. If "one-beat" is the metronomic tapping, then a hypothetical score for a two-stanza solo performance, arbitrarily based on a "tocoti" cadence and not neglecting the prescribed dynamics, might read as shown in Figure 11a.

But of the drumming instructions connected with actual songs in the manuscript, none can be safely recommended for self-accompaniment. The typical case appears to be represented by the cadences for song 59, canto B: "Tocoto tocoto tocoto tocoto. Comes the middle of the song, then it finishes: tiquiti ticoti tiquiti tocoto." If "song" refers to the stanza, the score for the first two stanzas might be as shown in Figure 11b.

Many stanzas, however, do not have a refrain, and the litanies are

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a. Hypothetical score for 2 self-accompanied stanzas with tocoti cadence

b. Hypothetical score for 2 stanzas in canto B of song 59

The figure consists of two parts, (a) and (b), each showing musical notation for drums and piano/vocal parts. Part (a) is titled "Hypothetical score for 2 self-accompanied stanzas with tocoti cadence". It features a drum part labeled "drum: forte" with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and a "pianissimo" part with a continuous eighth-note line. Below the piano part are vocal cues: "vocal: verse (forte)", "refrain (forte?)", and "litany (forte?)". Part (b) is titled "Hypothetical score for 2 stanzas in canto B of song 59". It features a drum part labeled "drum" with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Below it are vocal cues: "vocal: verse", "refrain", and "litany".

Fig. 11. Reconstructed two-tone cadences with suggested vocal cues

frequently not written out in the manuscript. In such cases the point of change for the cadence would remain in even greater doubt than in the examples reconstructed here. Note that in several songs, including 19, only a single cadence is given. Often, though, what appears to be a single, complex cadence is really two cadences run together by the copyist. Occasionally, as in song 44, canto B, and song 45, canto A, a pair of cadences run together will be followed by the instruction "just thus it will come back in," evidently referring to the return of the chant after the break between stanzas. If this is a general rule, it suggests that my reconstruction in Figure 8b is wrong in presuming the return of the first cadence before the recommencement of the chant. The "just thus it will come back in" implies that it is the second cadence, not the first, that fills the gap between stanzas.

Musical Style

Of the various sixteenth-century writers on Aztec culture, only Motolinía shows signs of having had musical training. On the basis of his *Memoriales* description, supplemented by stray details in other sources, including the *Cantares*, it is possible to sketch a tentative outline of Aztec musical traits, which may then be compared with the more secure descriptions of Pueblo, Plains, Yuman, Navajo, and other North American styles as presented by such musicologists as George Herzog and Bruno Nettl. The results, though inconclusive, tend to show that the sixteenth-century Aztec style had much in common with the music of the North American Southwest.

Two jarring features, distinctly non-North American, may be mentioned at once: the playing of the *huchuetl* with bare hands (an Aztec and Mayan feature, as opposed to the North American use of drumsticks) and the presence of the *teponaztli* (a characteristically South American instrument). Otherwise the style appears to belong with the Northern half of the hemisphere, particularly the Southwest, though it must not be assumed that any of the features to be mentioned below are necessarily absent from the much more poorly known Central and South American cultures.

The essentially vocal nature of Aztec music, the use of percussive accompaniment, the presumed absence of polyphony, and the heavy reliance on vocables, or meaningless syllables, are among the more immediately apparent traits. Microtonic deviations from the twelve-tone scale (so-called blue notes) are implicit in Motolinía's observation that the singers were "desentonados."²¹ Reading between the lines in the well-known description of the "good" singer in Sahagún's *Historia*, Robert Stevenson has suggested, shrewdly, that Aztec melodies were much too narrow in range for European tastes,²² which would imply hexatonic, pentatonic, or even more limited scales. As noted in Chapter Four, the *Cantares* texts appear to be heterometric and heterorhythmic. Such characteristics—all of them—are typical of American Indian music in general.

In addition we learn from Motolinía that the Aztecs had "thin" voices, not "robust" and "mellow" like the Spaniards', because, as he says, they went about barefoot and with their chests half uncovered. Las Casas too blames this trait on nakedness, explaining that the Indians fell prey to "humidity." Only the boy sopranos, he claims, had pleasant voices.²³ Evidently what we have is a reaction to the tight, throat-based tones typical of Plains and Pueblo singing, which contrast markedly with the relaxed head tones used by modern European singers. Throaty singing is somewhat less pronounced among Eastern, Northwestern, Eskimo, and, notably, Great Basin and Yuman groups. To find at least a measure of it in Aztec territory would be in line with the general rule. Again according to Motolinía, bass

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(*contrabajo*) was the preferred vocal range. Similarly Pueblo singers, especially in kachina songs, cultivate the bass range.²⁴

Extensive verbal development, found in Eskimo, Northwest Coast, Navajo, and Pueblo music, is of course the sine qua non of the *Cantares*. To some extent there is a correlation between verbal development and microtonic, highly heterorhythmic recitative—in other words, music that closely approaches speech. Yet certain formal features in the *Cantares*, namely the paired stanzas, the tag litany, and the possible occurrence of the “rise” (see below), suggest that ghost songs could not have exhibited a completely unchecked recitative.

Paired stanzas are common in music of the Southwest. Litany, perhaps, is a pan-Indian feature. In the so-called rise, typical of Yuman music and found also in the Pueblo area, melodies of narrow range jump a few half-tones higher for one or two phrases, then return to the original, slightly lower melodic line. During this rise the percussive accompaniment is altered. Rattling, for instance, changes from a rhythmic beat to a tremolo. According to one report, the dancers raise and shake their fists during the “rise.”²⁵ In the problematical description on folio 7 of the *Cantares*, a change in the percussive accompaniment is said to occur in the middle of a stanza. Whether a rise is indicated remains a matter of pure conjecture. With reference to the dancing of young people (*mozos*), Durán writes that “the dance was not only governed by the music [“no solamente se rige por el son”] but also by the highs and lows [“los altos y bajos”] that the song makes, singing and dancing together.”²⁶ Possibly the rise is meant. But it is doubtful that the dances of these “young people” were ghost dances.

Another feature Motolinía describes is the rise in pitch and the increase in tempo from one song to the next when a song cycle is performed. Thus each new song is a little higher and a little faster than the preceding one. Although the trait is said to be lacking in the Yuman area, it is not uncommon elsewhere in North America.²⁷ Working with an informant from Santo Domingo Pueblo, Frances Densmore found the rise in pitch to be a half-tone at each juncture, which would accord with Motolinía, who observed that the opening passages were “como bemolados” (as if lowered a half-tone). Densmore also recorded the “rise” among the Santo Domingo, but this, as we have seen, is an entirely different feature, not to be confused with the progressive pitch elevation in song cycles. As it happens, Densmore states that the “rise” occurs in Aztec music; but her source is a garbled fifthhand account that can be traced back through a writer named Gabriel Saldivar to Torquemada to Mendieta and ultimately to Motolinía, who in fact was describing progressive elevation.²⁸

Among musical instruments the Aztec skin drum, turtle drum, container rattle, rasp, sistrum, conch horn, whistle, and flageolet (or block-

flute) are all represented north of the border; and the rasp, the sistrum, and the conch horn are associated with the Southwest in particular.

The huehuetl and the teponaztli provided continuous accompaniment for the singing Motolinía witnessed, with help "at times" from "trumpets" and flageolets (which were "out of tune") and also from bone whistles (*huesezuelos*). Evidently this does not qualify as orchestral music in the modern sense. Nor are orchestras to be found farther north, not even among the Northwest Coast and Pueblo tribes, which exhibit the most complex musical styles north of Mexico.

Part-singing is less easy to rule out. Although Torquemada, writing very late, asserts unequivocally that the natives sang only in unison (*en voces iguales*), neither Motolinía nor Mendieta is quite so specific. The fact that the friars taught the Indians *canto llano* (plainchant) and *canto de órgano* (organum) does not mean that the native tradition was lacking in rough equivalents. Actually the organum mentioned by Motolinía and other sixteenth-century writers is not the organum of medieval music, which was merely a chordal homophony, but modern four-part harmony. That the Aztecs may have had primitive organum, as found for example among the tribes of the Northwest Coast,²⁹ is suggested by the remarkable ease with which they learned harmony and by Motolinía's tantalizing observation that in the strictly Aztec performances the addition of boy sopranos "much adorned the song."³⁰ If the sopranos were added at intervals of an octave, or, especially, a fifth, tenth, or twelfth, as in Northwest Coast examples, the result would be chordal. This seems a likely conjecture—and it seems equally safe to assume that polyphony in the modern sense was absent.

The very hazy portrait of Aztec music that emerges from such clues appears to place it comfortably within the Amerind context, perhaps with special Southwestern affinities.³¹ No doubt it had less in common with Southwest music than with the music of the Mixtecs, the Tarascans, the Totonacs, or the Mayans. Scenes of Mayan music making preserved in the Bonampak and Santa Rita murals, for example, are strongly reminiscent of the usual Aztec paraphernalia, including the turtle drum and even the huehuetl.³² But the actual music of these cultures is not known to have survived in its pure form beyond the 1500's, and since none was recorded, the desired comparisons cannot be made.

Ghost Songs Outside the *Cantares*

A look at ghost songs preserved in other sources will help to establish that the *Cantares mexicanos* has pre-Conquest roots, that it was influenced by Spanish models, and that the ghost-song genre, if no longer viable, may still be detected in modern folkloric remnants. One must be careful, however, to distinguish between ghost songs and other genres. The short songs in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*,¹ for example, are typical American Indian storyteller's songs, performed as part of a myth recital or the telling of a traditional history. Similar pieces are to be found in the *Historia Tōltēca-Chichimeca* and the *Código Aubin*.² The numerous *conjuros* preserved by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón are not songs at all, but spoken formulas belonging to a widespread Indian genre well represented in Maya and Cherokee collections.³ To compare such material with the *Cantares* would be of limited value.

The twenty "demons' songs" recorded by Sahagún are a different case. A few of these appear to be festival chants, performed in honor of particular gods. But at least three of them are evidently ghost songs, or proto-ghost songs, and will be discussed below. In view of the undisputed pre-Conquest provenience of these twenty pieces, they hold special interest.

A number of ghost songs recorded in alphabetic script and preserved into the seventeenth century are now apparently lost. Carochi, in his *Arte* of 1645, quotes five examples of the "poetic language" of the "ancients," only two of which can be traced to the *Cantares*. The other three, though obviously excerpted from ghost songs, cannot be located in either the *Cantares* or the closely related *Romances*. Two excerpts quoted by the historian Ixtlilxochitl are likewise from ghost songs now missing. Other songs described or partially quoted by Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, and Muñoz Camargo suggest the onetime existence of important compilations, the nature of which can only be guessed.⁴

The Florentine Codex

Sahagún's great work includes one easily recognizable ghost song—rather a pair of ghost-song stanzas—tucked into one of the *huehueltatolli* orations that were said to have been used by fathers when advising their sons:⁵

O cloud companion [or ghost warrior]! You will succeed in being born as a song on earth. You will live beside the drum in Huexotzinco [i. e., Mexico], you that will pleasure the princes, you whose friends will see you.

Your heart is a turquoise bead, and you give it to the one who comes shining [the sun]. Again you will sprout, again you will burgeon on earth. You will live beside the drum in Huexotzinco, you that will pleasure the princes, you whose friends will see you.

Inserted with a clumsy and almost certainly erroneous explanation that breaks the *huehueltatolli* style, this little exhibit raises a serious question: is it plausible that song texts, with or without exegesis, were quoted by *huehueltatolli* orators? More than likely we are dealing with intrusive material added by one of Sahagún's bilingual glossators. As such, the two stanzas may even be post-Conquest, despite the fact that the *huehueltatolli* are presented as "ancient" oratory.

But the twenty "demons' songs" recorded in an appendix to Book Two of the same work have all the earmarks of pre-Conquest ethnicity. And among these we have what appear to be ghost songs, though stylistically they are slightly different from the *Cantares mexicanos*. The seventh of these, the "Song of cloud companions," will serve as a sample:⁶

They've departed from Chicomoztoc! Where do they bloom? Where,
where, these prickers?⁷

They've departed from Spine Land! Where—ah!—do they bloom? Where,
where, these prickers?

I've descended, I've descended, I've descended with my arrow spines,
descended with my arrow spines.

I've descended, I've descended, I've descended with my pack basket.

I take them in my hands, I take them in my hands. I take them in my hands,
my hands.

The ancestral revenants (or "cloud companions") are returning from the dead land (called Chicomoztoc and Spine Land) in response to the muse's call for warriors ("prickers," "arrow spines"), whom he seeks on a song trip, bringing them down in his pack basket, picking them up in his hands (like flowers).

The eleventh and twelfth songs in the same series may also be ghost songs and possibly the fourteenth as well. Further study of this material is much needed.

The *Anales de Tlatelolco*

Two rather lengthy songs in the "manuscript of 1528," also known as the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, appear at first sight to be storyteller's songs. But one of these is a variant of *Cantares* song 54-E, and evidently a ghost song. The opening phrases of the piece (which awaits critical study) read as follows in English: "The earth gapes, and marvels are upon us: the sky has opened over us. Life Giver has descended!"⁹ The remainder incorporates numerous phrases from 54-E yet is clearly an independent composition.

The absence of post-Conquest allusions and the possibility that the material was recorded as early as 1528 argue strongly for a pre-Cortésian origin.

The *Romances de los señores*

The quaintly entitled *Romances de los señores de la Nueva España* (Ballads of the Lords of New Spain) comprises thirty-six ghost songs, ranging in length from two to sixteen stanzas each.¹⁰ Messily written in a fast copyist's script known as *procesal*, this all but illegible manuscript is partly clarified by the fact that its contents are identical in style to the *Cantares* and duplicate more than a few *Cantares* passages (e.g., songs 43, 48, and 69, canto C).¹¹ However, the *Romances* contains none of the more difficult songs, none that are lengthy, no satire, no ribaldry, and no songs that deal overtly with Conquest or post-Conquest themes. Despite an occasional "Dios" or "Santa María," which could be explained as later additions, the *Romances* material, like many pieces in the *Cantares*, gives the (misleading?) appearance of having been composed prior to the Conquest.

Although the manuscript has been assigned to the seventeenth century, it is no doubt a copy of songs recorded in the 1500's.¹² The fact that it is preserved with the *Relación* of the sixteenth-century Texcocan mestizo writer Juan Bautista Pomar suggests that it may have been compiled by Pomar, and that the songs themselves may be Texcocan. Strong affinities with the *Cantares*, however, give reason for thinking that these pieces were collected by members of Sahagún's circle. As for the Texcocan connection, the texts fail to establish it. But like the *Cantares*, the *Romances* has its glossator, who in this case seems to have a particular interest in Texcocan matters. He has taken the song beginning on folio 26, for example, and labeled it "de quaquauhtzin R[c]y de tepexpan"—in other words, song of Cuacuauhtzin, king of Tepexpan (an Acolhuan town subordinate to Texcoco). But it is more likely that the song itself refers to Cuacuauhtzin, the first king of Tlatelolco, rather than to the relatively obscure Cuacuauhtzin of Tepexpan.¹³ This and the glossator's preoccupation with Nezahualco-

yotl, not to mention other quirks, lead one to suspect that he may have been an associate or an informant of the Texcocan historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. The subject will be taken up again in Chapter Thirteen.

Sahagún's *Psalmodia*

The *Psalmodia christiana* is an extensive collection of ersatz ghost songs, composed in Nahuatl by Sahagún for the use of his Indian charges. Devoted to Biblical themes and the retelling of saints' lives, these mainly catechistic pieces were intended to replace the dangerously idolatrous cantares. Composed between 1551 and 1566, the *Psalmodia* has the distinction of being the only one of Sahagún's works published in his lifetime (1583).

Internal evidence suggests that the *Cantares* influenced—and was influenced by—the *Psalmodia*. This is plausible since both works grew by accretion during approximately the same period. The effect of the *Cantares* on the *Psalmodia* has already been mentioned in Chapter One. Although the case is not unmistakable, note this stanza composed by Sahagún: "Ma oalmoquetza itucucitlauetl, in chalchiuhteponaztli, in tecsuchitl, ma netimalolo, ma nechichualo" (*Psalmodia christiana*, folio 62). And compare the similar phrases in the *Cantares*: "maya hualmoquetza xochihuehuetl" (9v: 7), "teocuitlahuehuetl" (33v: 24), "nochalchiuhteponaz" (26: 19), "teuxochitl" (27v: 7), "netimalolo in tepilhuā" (1v: 17), and "ximochichihuan" (73v: 5). Neither the *Romances* nor any other known source could have supplied Sahagún with this distinctive vocabulary, though of course it might have been derived from oral sources or from transcripts now lost.

Somewhat less distinctive are the song headings *tlaocolcuicatl* (sadness song) and *xochicuicatl* (flower song), both of which appear in the *Cantares* and in the *Psalmodia*.¹⁴ Moreover, Sahagún has composed his "psalms," or cantos, in groups exactly like the longer pieces in the *Cantares*. The life of Saint Francis, for example, is told in ten cantos of eight or ten stanzas each.¹⁵ Elsewhere, as in the *Cantares*, Sahagún does not insist on an even number of stanzas and permits himself to write cantos with four, five, six, or seven stanzas apiece. The extent to which he caters to Indian tastes can be judged by such "psalms" as the following, meant to be performed at Pentecost:

Let our gold drum appear, let it resound, let all be pleased by it. Let our jade log-drum resonate in blessedness. Let there be dancing, let there be happiness.

Our lord God has shown his very great love for us people on earth, today at Pentecost.

Let our gold bells shrill, let them ring. Let our shining turquoise flutes resound. Let our jade gongs be spread everywhere, let them be heard throughout the world.

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Today they're recalled, indeed today they come forth upon us—on this holiday, this feast of the Holy Spirit—such that holy self-esteem, consolation, becomes the blessing of us humans.
Let there be pleasure. Let our raven flowers be spread everywhere, reviving, greening. Let our raven flowers bloom, our holy popcorn flowers.
The Holy Spirit has come in order to make a great wonder here on earth.
Everywhere come words to teach the apostles.
Let our flower jewels go radiating dawn light, let them go shining in this gold mist. Let the red bone-flowers be scattered on our hands. Let all be happy, let all be rich, you princes, O!
Let our turquoise bracelets be praised, let them go radiating green. Let our gold bracelets go shine, O princes. Let the blossoming red bone-flowers be scattered on our hands. Let all be happy, let all be rich.¹⁶

The ghost-song imagery, here used merely for decorative effect, can hardly be missed. It is to be wondered that Sahagún would flirt so openly with native doctrine. On the other hand, we cannot be sure that he fully knew what he was doing. In any event, songs of this type are rare in the *Psalmodia*. The usual text looks more like the following:

Well now, they entered the building. And so these kings who had seen the star, who stirred no more, who traveled no more, did know him, for he was there. Then they entered the stable, and there they saw the child Jesus and his precious mother, Saint Mary.

They fell prostrate and adored the child. It was indeed as believers that these great kings knelt before him and adored him, for indeed they recognized this child, for he is God, he is king, he is all powerful, he is sky owner, he is earth owner.

They opened their coffers, their chests. Then they laid things before their lord, presenting things to the child. The offering that they made was gold, myrrh, and incense.

In sleep they were commanded to go away. Well then, for a few more days they remained at the child's side, and many marvels did they see. Then they saw him in sleep, dreamed him, and indeed our lord sent them home.¹⁷

Thus the sixth canto of an eight-canto song for Epiphany relating the story of the three magi from the second chapter of Matthew.

In the magi song in the *Cantares* (song 55), the native singer is mainly interested in getting the three (warrior) kings killed on the presumed battlefield of Bethlehem so that he can produce them as revenants; then, by analogy, he moves promptly to the business of producing ancestral Aztecs. Though the scenario is wildly different, the basic idea of a ghost song about the magi appears to have come from Sahagún or from one of the other friars who composed material similar to the *Psalmodia*.

Sahagún's texts have few intercalated vocables and no litany (as defined in Chapter Four). But as Motolinía explains, it was up to the native "maestros" to adapt them in their own way to a "kind of meter" that would "correspond and be sung with the sound of their ancient *cantares*."¹⁸

Whether the "maestros" were supposed to repeat final phrases in order to create refrains is another question. Notice, however, that the dissertational style is precisely what we find in the first few songs in the *Cantares* manuscript, those that I earlier described as having been composed in "missionary Nahuatl."

Survivals

Since no existing ghost-song text mentions anyone who died after 1583, it is possible that the genre was beginning to die out at this time. As we saw earlier, by 1645 Carochi could speak of ghost-song phraseology as though it were quite antiquated. Yet in the same year the Jesuit historian Andrés Pérez de Ribas published an eyewitness account of a *toconín*, which bears an undeniable resemblance to the ghost-song ritual:

And because the *mitote* dance that they name after the emperor Motezuma, the one that the seminarians of San Gregorio [el Magno, Mexico City,] would celebrate during their festivals, is most especially pleasing to behold and new to Spain as well as to other nations, and on account of the importance of this dance [*sanao*], which was formerly dedicated to pagan custom and now dedicated to the honor of him who is king of kings, our lord Jesus Christ, and now a Christian festival, I will here describe it even though it makes a bit of a digression.

Its most singular feature, when the festival is celebrated in full, is that the company of dancers comes out in the costume and adornment of the ancient Mexican princes. The mantles, or cloaks, are of two fabrics, the [outer] one transparent, so that the embroidery and beautiful flowers of the inner one can show through; and these they wear hanging from the shoulders in the manner of the Roman emperors, with the ends tied at the right shoulder in an attractive rosette. On their heads they wear diadems that rise high above the forehead in the manner of a pyramid, giving a beautiful effect, and this is adorned with the richest gems and gold that they could obtain—and such was the style of the crowns worn by the Mexican emperors. As the left arm moves [there is] a rich bracelet, which carries an upright wand [*penacho*] of the most attractive plumage of green feathers, which were used formerly and are still much appreciated. And in the left hand another wand that they move and vibrate to the beat of the dance. In the right hand they carry an instrument called *ayacaztli*, composed of certain little rattles that they use, made of gilded gourds with pebbles inside the head, which are also shaken with the beat and rhythm, adding elegance. The remainder of the bodily adornment consists of skirts and blouses much embroidered and long breeches of double fabric like the cloak; and for the feet, sandals, upon which they also lavish their riches and finery.

The dais prepared for this fiesta is strewn with flowers; and at the head of it is placed the seat of the emperor Motezuma. This was a kind of low stool, gilded. To one side of the stage a table is placed and on it a little drum called *teponaztli* that guided all the music and dancing, quite different from those used in Europe. It is made of *madera preciosa* or some other red wood and has two separated slats facing each other, which enclose it, leaving it hollow, and

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which when beaten by those who play them, using mallets tipped with little balls of rubber gum, guide the dance with their sound, and this sound rhythmically accompanies the little rattles that the dancers carry in their hands. To these the Spaniards have added their own instruments: harp, cornet, and bassoon.

The Mexican elders and *principales* took their place around the drum, and they were the ones who intoned the song that always accompanied the Mexican dances, and there they danced a grave step without much movement. There were usually fourteen in the dance, or *sarao*, not including the emperor, who came in at the end. The latter went forth with a noteworthy display of majesty and in the same costume as the other *principales*, though more richly dressed and adorned. Behind him came a little boy with a large fan of rich feathers, dancing in step with the others, making shade and providing a canopy for the emperor. Two other boys, richly dressed, came along at either side and a step ahead, sweeping the emperor's path with feather wands and intermittently strewing flowers at his feet.

As the dance went forth from the interior palace, it was summoned by the music and the song, in Spanish style, already Christian, which went as follows: "Go forth, Mexicans! Dance the Tocontin, for here we have the king of glory!" [*Salid mexicanos, bailad Tocontin, que al rey de la gloria tenemos aqui.*] Those three syllables in the word Tocontin are like pitches [*puntos*], which imitate the sound of the little drum, and therefore some call the dance by this name. The dancers go forth in two files in the manner of the Spanish *hacha*. The movement is subdued and grave, executed in rhythm, not only with the feet but with the arms and hands. They shake the rattles, waving and swishing the feather wands, which are very long and slender and gold-colored, or, sometimes instead, a fragrant tree branch, and they go taking their places until the arrival of the emperor, who comes afterward with much majesty. He takes his seat at the head, and just prior to the quickening of the dance (which, with its subdued movement, never stops), all in unison, turned toward their prince, make such a reverence with wands and rattles, and with their heads, that it seems as though they would like to place themselves beneath his feet. Having made this obeisance, they quicken their dance steps before the emperor. (Today it has been changed, and this entire obeisance is made to the Blessed Sacrament on the altar.)

After the members of the *sarao* have danced a short while, the emperor gets up to dance alone with the three little boys who, as I have said, accompany him, sweeping the ground for him and strewing flowers at his feet, and the one with the parasol making a canopy and shading him, and their footwork so perfectly in step with their prince that they seem to move as one. Meanwhile all the others remain stationary in their positions, bowing down to the ground. And as he passes between the two files, each one in turn, as a sign of humility, applies to his feet the instrument that he holds in his hands, all the *ayacaztles* ceaselessly keeping up their rhythm for him.

And having completed his tour, the emperor resumes his seat, and the two choruses continue with new dance steps; and although these are not very different from the others, all of them are very pleasing and not tiresome. The vocal music, which does not stop, corresponds to that which is played on the *teponaztli*, with another choir that answers it and is hidden behind a curtain or blind, as though [the music] were of two choruses.

And finally the whole dance with its novelty, adornments, gestures, and

song is so agreeable that it has provided great pleasure, entertainment, and celebration for important persons, lords, and archbishops who have come from Spain. Today the young Mexican natives who are students at San Gregorio continue to celebrate this dance. For while the ordinary *mitotes* are performed by the others, who are called commoners [*maceuales*] or vassals, they lack the apparatus and the pomp of these children, who often resemble the sons of Spanish lords.

And if I have tarried long in telling about it, I may be forgiven, inasmuch as this dance is used in the service and recognition of the one who is king of kings, our sacramental lord Jesus Christ; and this is why I was moved to describe it. And it cannot fail to be pleasing to faithful Catholics to see the ancient Mexican nobility vanquished at the feet of their redeemer, whom they did not know formerly and now adore and recognize with every demonstration of joy that they can put forth. To which they add a kind of *volatines*, who come flying through the air. And when the Blessed Sacrament is carried through the plaza, they fly down in a special way, tied to cords on a high mast, like a ship's mast, some of them playing rattles and other instruments.¹⁹

The texts of six additional *tocontines*, reported over the period 1620–51, show the form to have been derived from the Spanish *copla*, a ballad of one to four stanzas, each stanza composed of four lines, with rhyme or assonance in the even lines.²⁰ Perhaps these *tocontines*, or *coplas*, were originally composed in Nahuatl—as are *coplas* today.²¹ Whether they were or not, the following example, reported in 1651, is certainly reminiscent of the old ghost-song themes:²²

Al bayle, Caziques, de gala occurrid, que todos los Culhuas mandé prevenir.	To the gala dance, Caciques, come! For I've summoned All the Colhuans.
con mantas vistosas y plumas salid, pues todos los nobles deven concurrir . . . etc.	Go forth with plumes And gay mantles! For all the nobles Are to be convened.

It is tempting to take Pérez de Ribas' description as a guide to sixteenth-century ghost-song performance. When it comes to answering the questions we would like to have answered, Pérez de Ribas does a better job than Durán; and what he describes seems to fit the *Cantares mexicanos* much more closely than Motolinía's teeming round-dance marathon. But to what extent the performance style had changed since the 1570's can only be surmised. Obviously the texts are much deteriorated. As to the subsequent history of this particular dance form, Clavijero was able to report as late as the 1770's: "To this day the Mexicans preserve an ancient dance popularly called *tocotin*, which is quite beautiful and so decent and sober that the Indians are permitted to have it in the churches."²³

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of folkloric ritual are increasingly removed from Mexico City and other principal centers. Pre-

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sumed remnants of a ghost cult, as suggested by the Juan Diego remembrance at Tacuba and the various rural *volador* dances, have already been mentioned. Another dance, the *huehuenches*, reported from points south, west, and east of the capital, is evidently a survival of the *huehue cuicatl* (old man song), to be described in Chapter Ten. Two old-man song texts collected in the state of Veracruz in 1957 and 1965 show marked similarities to the *Cantares mexicanos*.²⁴ Yet another kind of remnant, reported in 1939, comes from the village of Xico in the Sierra de Puebla, where a secretly guarded *teponaztli* makes an annual appearance on Saint John's Day in an "obsolescent pagan festival held at a place called the Tower of Xochipilli." On this occasion an "Aztec hymn" is chanted to a "text so incomplete and corrupt that even those who chant it have no clear idea of its sense":²⁵

Xochipile, Xochipile	O Xochipilli, O Xochipilli!
Nochan, nochan,	To my house, to my house
Otihualla capitán.	You have come, O captain.
Chimalli xochitl ticuicas	You are to sing shield flowers.
Ac xon tenamas (?)	Who indeed will capture the ramparts? ²⁶
Chimeco, chimeco.	The Chichimec! The Chichimec! ²⁷

According to the keeper of the *teponaztli*, the song bears "some relation to fighting with the Indians of Tlaxcala." As I read it, the god Xochipilli (also called "captain") is being summoned as muse for the purpose of bringing down allied ghost warriors (or Chichimecs), who will reenact a battle (the siege of Mexico?), capturing (Tlaxcalan?) warriors (whom the singer calls ramparts). Another possibility is that the second and third lines refer to Cortés, not Xochipilli. One is reminded of the Conquest songs in the *Cantares mexicanos* that express vengeance against Tlaxcala for the defeat of Mexico.

The Classification of Ghost Songs

Just as ghost songs should be kept separate from storyteller's songs and conjurations, they should not be grouped with the funeral songs briefly described by Mendieta,¹ the work songs that might at one time have existed,² or any of the other genres that could be adduced from fleeting references in the ethnography. Yet this is not to imply that ghost songs occupied a mere niche. We do not know how important they were originally or to what extent the genre changed after the Conquest. But it is reasonably clear that by the mid-1500's the ghost song had become the principal form of public entertainment, at least in the capital and in the houses of the *tlatoani*, serving the princely classes, if not the populace at large, as a vehicle for cultural reaffirmation.

Motolinía, evidently speaking of only the most elevated kinds of native music, identifies two basic genres: the *macehualiztli*, or dance associated with service to the gods, and the *netotiliztli*, or dance associated with worldly entertainment.³ Presumably the *Cantares mexicanos* derives from the second of these categories, since the numerous *Cantares*-style songs described by Hernández are grouped under the rubric *netotiliztli*;⁴ and the verb *macehua* (to dance) is used only once in the *Cantares* manuscript, whereas the verb *itotia* (to dance) recurs constantly.

The pervasiveness of the genre is attested by its sheer multiplicity of forms. We have flower songs, female songs, teponaztli songs, old man songs, Chalcan pieces, Huexotzincan pieces, and Huastec pieces, to mention only a few of the numerous apparent subgenres, all of which cannot be discussed in this brief chapter. As a short cut, let it be proposed that the many headings fall into just four categories: (1) stylistic, (2) instrumental, (3) national, and (4) thematic. The abundant evidence in the *Cantares*, unmatched in any other document, suggests that this is so. Were we speaking of Western music, examples of the four categories might be: *aria*, *con cémbalo*, *al zingaro*, and *canzone d'amore*, any two (or all four) of which

The Classification of Ghost Songs

could refer to the same composition. Thus we might have an *aria con cémbalo*, or a *canzone d'amore al zingaro*. Similarly, in the *Cantares*, we have a Chalcan female song (84), a plain song of green places (82-A), a Mexican song of green places (10), and so forth. The following discussion, it is hoped, will clarify these usages.

Stylistic and Instrumental Titles

The puzzling term *melahuac cuicatl* (plain song) appears in the headings of four pieces in the first few folios of the *Cantares* and, by implication, applies to two other songs in the same portion of the manuscript (4 and 11); it also applies to songs 20-43, 51-53, and 82A-C. As noted in Chapter Four, the early missionaries used the term *melahuac cuicatl* to mean the plainsong of the church, and it could well be imagined that this was a neologism, especially since the first several songs in the *Cantares* show missionary influence. However, the term is used by the chronicler Tezozomoc in describing a pre-Conquest musical program.⁵ Is it possible, then, that the missionaries adapted an existing term to designate their plainchant? If so, there must have been a similarity between the Aztec and Hispanick usages.

Because of the high degree of verbal development in *Cantares* texts it is likely that they were performed in an Amerind recitative; that is, a heterometric "talking song," or chant, which would correspond with the Old World plainchant. It may be conjectured, therefore, that *melahuac cuicatl* designates the vocal style of every ghost song—as opposed, let us say, to very simple dance tunes, cradlesongs, and perhaps work songs.

A dance style is indicated by the title *nenahuaizcuicatl* (embracing song), mentioned by Hernández. The title appears in no other source, not even the *Cantares*. But exactly the same kind of dancing is alluded to in *Cantares* songs 84, 86, and 87, and these and other erotic pieces could plausibly be designated *nenahuaizcuicatl*.

As for instrumentation, no clues are supplied by ghost-song titles—except the term *teponazcuicatl* (log-drum song), used to designate several pieces in the *Cantares* on folios 26v-31v. Undoubtedly these songs were accompanied by that instrument. But whether the remaining songs were *not* accompanied by the *teponaztli* is open to question.⁶ Possibly this designation, like *melahuac cuicatl*, applies to the genre as a whole.

National Titles

Sahagún's informants explain national pieces as follows:

If the song was to be sung as a Huexotzincan piece, then they made themselves Huexotzincans and spoke accordingly: they were imitated in song and

in dress and equipment. Likewise, if it was to be sung as an Anahuacan piece, the speech of the Anahuacans was imitated, also their dress and equipment. Likewise, if the song was to be sung as a Huastec piece, their speech was imitated.⁷

If the report is true, the *Cantares mexicanos* with its numerous national pieces ought to be a prime source for the study of regional dialects. Unfortunately, though the *Cantares* does include dialect words, they are not confined to the national pieces in which they ought to be heard.⁸ In a gloss to song 84, "Chalcan female song," the glossator states that he has located a "Chalcan expression," but his suggestion is not convincing. Among the national and ethnic pieces in the *Cantares* we have one or more examples of each of these types: Chalcan piece (Chalcayotl), Huexotzincan piece (Hucxotzincayotl), Matlatzincan piece (Matlatzincayotl), and Tlaxcalan piece (Tlaxcaltecatoyotl). It should be noted that these are songs, or pieces, in which battles are reenacted between Mexico and the indicated nation. Observe that song 85, a Chalcan piece, seems to include instructions for performance on two sides of the dance floor, a Mexican side and a Chalcan side.⁹

The Cuextecayotl, or Huastec pieces, belong in a special subcategory. In these the Mexican dancers seem to be emulating the proverbial drunkenness of the Huastecs,¹⁰ thereby imbuing themselves with war lust and rashness. These pieces do not recall battles with the Huastec nation.

Songs in which an alien nation is not named or in which alien warriors play an incidental role may be called Mexicayotl (Mexican pieces) or Chichimecayotl (Chichimec pieces). The exact meaning of Chichimec in this context is not easy to establish. In Chapter Two I suggested that the term is used generically, to refer to Aztec warriors emulating the ferocity of the relatively uncivilized tribes to the north. But it might also refer to the Chichimec ancestry of the Aztecs themselves. In any case it was a prideful designation, with which all Aztec warriors and rulers might wish to identify.¹¹

Thematic Titles

The most frequent thematic headings and evidently the most basic are those that call attention to a particular feature of ghost-song ritual or ghost-song imagery. Especially common are *xochicuicatl* (flower song), *icnocuicatl* (bereavement song), and *xopanauicatl* (song of green places or spring song). For some of the other, less widely used titles, all of which pertain to either the ghost or the ghost-summoning process, see the accompanying table.

A second type of thematic title involves the warrior function. Examples are *Otoncuicatl* (Otomi song or warrior song), and *yaocuicatl* (war song). And, in a third and final type, the song titles connote satire and mimicry.

The Classification of Ghost Songs

Classification of Ghost-Song Titles

STYLISTIC AND INSTRUMENTAL

melahuac cuicatl, plain song
nenahuizcuicatl, embracing song
teponazcuicatl, log-drum song

NATIONAL

Chalcayotl, Chalcan piece
Chichimecayotl, Chichimec piece
Cuextecayotl, Huastec piece
Huexotzincayotl, Huexotzincan piece
Matlatzincayotl, Matlatzincan piece
Mexicayotl, Mexican piece
Tlaxalcayotl, Tlaxcalan piece

THEMATIC

Pertaining to ghost-song ritual
atequilizcuicatl, water-pouring
song
cacacucatl, peeper song
cozacucatl, jewel song
cuauhcuicatl, eagle song
icnocucatl, bereavement song
michcuicatl, fish song
tequiquixtilizcuicatl, bringing-out
song
teucucatl, lord song
totocucatl, bird song
xochicuicatl, flower song
xopancucatl, song of green
places or spring song

Pertaining to war
Otoncuicatl, Otomi song
yaacucatl, war song
Pertaining to satire and mimicry
chhuacuicatl, female song
cocoacuicatl, dove song
cuetuehuacuicatl, ribald song
huelhue cuicatl, old man song
tehuacuicatl, wanton song

NOTE: These lists are not meant to be complete.

This category has various subtypes, at least two of which are well defined: the *huelhue cuicatl* (old man song), in which the performers evidently imitate old men; and the *chhuacuicatl* (female song), performed by men in women's dress.

Two examples of old man songs are found in the *Cantares*, song 19 and song 85. The second, as we have seen, is also a Chalcan piece, though not labeled as such.

Female songs, more often than not, were calculated for comic effect, as song 84 amply demonstrates. But the "female" song 59 has nothing comic about it. Presumably this entire subtype is based on the idea that women, owing to their procreative powers, might produce revenants more effectively than men. Song 57 (a so-called cradlesong that is evidently a takeoff rather than a true cradlesong) seems to express the same notion.

Within the "female" group a category of lesbian songs may be readily recognized, though it does not appear to have a name of its own. The idea here is that the "women," fearful of the warlike male revenants whom they are producing, seek refuge in lesbianism. The best example is song 86 (especially canto B), to which canto C of song 57, canto C of song 84, and canto E of song 87 may be added. Such pieces are patently comic, yet not without an undercurrent of poignant rumination on the subject of death.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the manuscript also includes a male homosexual song (88, untitled). It should also be pointed out that the "Female apparition song" (58, *cihuaixnexcuciatl*) is not a female song as defined here, but a song in which a female spirit is produced (i.e., Saint Mary).

Generally speaking, females are not summoned in ghost songs, nor is there evidence that any song in the *Cantares* was either composed or sung by a real woman. So far as ghosts and muses are concerned, we have the Virgin, of course, also Atotoztli, the mother of the first king of Mexico, Acamapichtli (song 54-D, stanza 6). But these are exceptions. Among composers, women are mentioned in only one source, the writings of Ixtlilxochitl, but his descriptions of musical activity are not to be trusted, deriving apparently from his own misreadings of song texts.¹² Women performers, as opposed to composers, are reliably reported in accounts of pre-Conquest rituals and entertainments.¹³ Of particular interest is the brief description of Cervantes de Salazar, who mentions "graceful and lovely" female dancing, adding that the women dance "very rarely and in private, out of a sense of modesty." Montezuma, he reports, had women dancers, but their dancing was for the king's eyes only.¹⁴

Other satirical pieces, which might properly form separate subtypes, include the *cuecuechuciatl* (ribald songs) and the *cococuciatl* (dove songs, or girl songs), both of which, whatever else they may be, also happen to be transvestite, or female, songs. Sahagún mentions several additional subtypes,¹⁵ but none of them appears to be represented in the *Cantares*, except possibly his *tohcuciatl* (rabbit, or wanton, song), which seems implicit in the title of song 87, *tohcococuciatl* (Wanton dove song).

As the term "wanton dove song" indicates, the various classes of thematic titles are not mutually exclusive. Other such combinations are "ribald flower song" (*xochicuciatl cuecuechtli*) and "war flower song" (*yaoxochicuciatl*). Moreover, since only the first of the various classes of thematic titles discussed in this section clearly refers to ghost songs, there might conceivably be "plain songs," "log-drum songs," "Chalcan pieces," or "ribald songs" that are not ghost songs. Thus when Tezozomoc or Sahagún speaks of titles such as these we cannot be absolutely certain that ghost songs are indicated.

Significantly, the titles that perforce denote ghost songs are precisely those that are never mentioned in the more reliable accounts of pre-Conquest music programs.¹⁶ It would be only with grave misgiving, therefore, that any *icnocuciatl*, *xochicuciatl*, *xopancuciatl*, and so forth, could be accepted as a pre-Conquest composition. Possibly the entire genre as we know it today represents a sixteenth-century amalgam of previous genres, held together by the revitalistic ghost-song ritual.

Authorship

If the *Cantares* glossator had not been so curious, and if later commentators, notably Ixtlilxochitl, had not made an issue out of it, the subject of authorship would not have claimed a chapter in this book, and it might merely have been mentioned in passing that Aztec music, like American Indian music in general, appears to have deemphasized authorship in favor of tradition. This is not to say that everyone had the ability to compose songs or that composers were not recognized. According to the sixteenth-century chronicler Pomar:

Nobles and even plebeians, if they were not warriors, in order to be worthy and to be known, made an effort to compose songs in which, by means of history, they introduced many events successful and adverse, and notable deeds of kings and illustrious and worthy persons: and he who achieved this skill was esteemed and much respected, because it was as though with these songs he were eternalizing the memory and fame of the things that they [the singers] put in them, and therefore he was rewarded not only by the king but by all the rest of the nobles.¹

But the fact remains that no Aztec composer is ever mentioned by name in any of the early ethnographies, including those of Sahagún, Motolinía, and Durán. Nor can any specific information concerning singers or composers be found in the codex *Romances* (of which, more below). Yet the *Cantares* contains seven items of astonishingly specific data. We have encountered some of them before, but for the purposes of discussion, let me quote all seven here:

And newly, again, this music was in the home of Don Diego de León, gobernador of Azcapotzalco. Don Francisco Plácido beat it out in the year 1551. (Folio 7)

Here begins a jewel song concerning the nativity of our lord Jesucristo. Don Francisco Plácido put it together in the year 1553. (Folio 37v)

Female apparition song. . . . The singer Cristóbal de Rosario Xiuhtlamin put it together in August of the year 1550. (Folio 38v)

Here begins what is called a cradlesong. . . . It's a composition of Nonohuaintzin of Nextenco, who was a singer and a lord. (Folio 39v)

Here begins a bringing-out song. . . . Thus was celebrated the feast of San Felipe, when His Majesty's gift arrived from Spain—the coat of arms that he presented to the city of Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan in the year 1564. The one who composed it was Don Francisco Plácido, gobernador of Xiquipilco, and the year in which it was sung was 1565. (Folio 41)

Female Song . . . composed by Don Baltasar Toquezcuauihyo, *tlatoani* of Colhuacan, who in the year 1536 gave succor to our poor sought one, Don Diego de León, who was *tlatoani* at Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan. (Folio 42v)

Song of Nezahualpilli. . . . A Huastec piece, composed by the singer Tececepouhqui. (Folio 55v)

These insertions by the *Cantares* glossator are presumably trustworthy. In weeding out the glossator's errors, the criterion I have used has been to see whether his "data" could have been gleaned from a mere reading of the song texts. He is thus accused of misinterpretation, not falsehood. Accordingly, the above reportage rings true. And yet we may ask whether the information was volunteered by the native informants or whether it was pried loose, and perhaps distorted, by someone who had a European pre-occupation with authorship.

So far as I have been able to discover, the only other recorded names of Aztec singers (not necessarily composers) are those entered in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* in the description of what appears to have been a ghost-song performance held in Mexico City in 1567: Francisco Quetzalayatl, Francisco Matlalacaca, Andrés Motecpillitohua, Juan Totococ, Juan Martín.²

In both cases, the musicians named were relatively obscure men. None except Plácido is mentioned in any of the major chronicles, and it is most unlikely that any further meaningful information about them will be turned up in other documents.³

As it happens, the first six *Cantares* exhibits are all associated with texts probably collected in Azcapotzalco. Of these, only the fourth could refer to a pre-Conquest figure. But the odd etymology of the name Nonohuaintzin of Nextenco (Mr. Everywhere of Hearthside), coupled with my inability to locate a geographical Hearthside, suggests to me that the informant could have been indulging his sense of humor.⁴ The seventh *Cantares* exhibit might conceivably refer to a pre-Conquest singer; but a careful examination of the song in question indicates that this is probably a later composition. We are thus left with no feeling of certainty that we have the name of any pre-Conquest musician.

From internal evidence in the *Cantares* and in the *Romances* it seems quite possible that except for the very few pieces belonging to Azcapotzalco (*Cantares*, songs 55, 56, 58, and 59), all surviving ghost songs belong to the city of Mexico, including some purportedly "Texcocan" songs quoted in part by Ixtlilxochitl and Torquemada (to be discussed in Chapter Thir-

teen). The constantly recurring phrase "here in Mexico" and the numerous pieces in which Mexico's enemies are trounced suggest that this is so. Songs that honor the triple alliance and its various ancestral kings, including Tezozomoc and Nezahualcoyotl, are certainly within the Mexican sphere of interest. Songs that do not specify a locale or a lineage might of course be assigned to Texcoco or even Tlaxcala—were there any solid evidence that an independent school of ghost songs flourished in those centers during the sixteenth century. Texcoco, the most likely candidate, has no surviving ghost song devoted exclusively to its praise. As for Azcapotzalco, its proximity to the capital, both spiritually and geographically, could explain the existence of an offshoot there, attracting singers from nearby towns. What all this seems to indicate is that the ghost-song activity of the mid-1500's was primarily a Mexican phenomenon, drawing on the resources of composers in or near the capital and for whom the capital itself had become a cult object.

Borrowing and Reshaping

Nearly 10 percent of the *Cantares* consists of material that is duplicated within the manuscript, though always with minor variations. In addition, as the accompanying table shows, several passages have variants in the *Romances*. The number and nature of the variations make it implausible that the same text has been thoughtlessly entered twice by an overworked copyist or that the same singer has repeated himself for the benefit of a fresh song collector. Evidently we have material that passed from mouth to mouth and was frequently reworked in the process.

Sometimes stanzas are dropped, added, or transposed, as in the case of song 43, an eight-stanza song, which reappears in the *Romances* with its fifth and sixth stanzas moved to the top. In either case the song makes sense, and it is arguable which is the more artistic arrangement. But song 5, a degenerate variant of song 40, is quite a different matter. Here the singer has dropped stanzas and botched his model, which he may not have understood to begin with.

Misunderstanding, however, should not be confused with mishearing or misremembering. For example the "xiuh quiyamoya" of folio 55v, line 26, becomes "iuhquin oya iuhquin oya" at 66: 4. Though phonically similar, the two readings are entirely different in meaning. And yet in context each makes sense. Similarly, the "amihuihuinti" of 5v: 10 becomes "amihuihui" at 62: 21; and the "ye ichan" of 61v: 5 becomes "ye iuhca" (i.e., "ye iuhcan") at *Romances* 12: 14. Or perhaps the latter becomes the former, since priority is usually impossible to establish.

In some cases an entire, lengthy song will be reproduced almost perfectly, as with song 62, which appears earlier as songs 41-43. The composer of song 79, by contrast, borrows heavily from two different songs

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Variants of 'Cantares' Songs

Song	Variant	Song	Variant	Song	Variant
5	40	48	RSNE(7-8)	69(canto E)	10
5(1-2)	RSNE(32v: 6-15)	51(33)	RSNE(15: 3-9)	69(canto F)	RSNE (19v- 21)
10	69(canto E)	53(7-10)	11(1-4)	69(38-39)	30(15-16)
10(4)	30(15)	53(22-23)	64(12-12a)	72	79(1-8)
11(1-4)	53(7-10)	54E(3-8)	UAH(233- 39 <i>passim</i>)	73	82(canto D); RSNE
18(17-22)	RSNE(21- 22v)	62(1-24)	41, 42, 43		(22v-23v)
25	RSNE(2v- 3v)	64(9-11)	RSNE(23v- 25)	75	81(1-4, 6)
25(3-4)	81(4a-5)	64(12-12a)	53(22-23)	77	See 67
30(15)	10(4)	64(13-18)	79(9-14)	78	31(1-8)
30(15-16)	69(38-39)	66	91	79(1-8)	72
31(1-8)	78	67(7-8,	77(12-13,	79(9-14)	64(13-18)
31(9, 12)	36(4)	9-10,	16-16a,	81(1-4, 6)	75
36(4)	31(9, 12)	11-12,	14-15,	81(4a-5)	25(3-4); RSNE
40	5	18-19)	4-5)		(22v-3r)
40(1-3)	RSNE(32v)	68(34-35)	68(47-48)	82(canto C)	RSNE(27v- 29)
41-42	62(1-16)	69(canto C)	RSNE(11r- 12r)	82(canto D)	73; RSNE
43	62(17-24); RSNE (26-26v)	69(canto D)	RSNE(31- 32v)	91	(22v-23v) 66

NOTE: *Cantares* songs are cited by number and stanza, *Romances* (RSNE) by folio (and lines where applicable), and *Méjgin*, "Unos amales históricos de la nación mexicana" (UAH), by series.

(64 and 72), changing key phrases and adding material of his own invention. Given such a tradition, it is possible that many of the songs composed in the mid-1500's incorporate phrases or even whole cantos dating from before the Conquest.

Evidently the native singers did not make a fetish of authorship. Indeed, Sahagún makes it clear that "composing," or "creating," was merely one of the singer's functions.⁵ Whether the singer performed his compositions as solo pieces or in concert with other singers is a related problem that unfortunately cannot be solved with certainty. Although the description on folio 7 of the *Cantares* seems to imply a solo effort by Francisco Plácido, as mentioned in Chapter Eight, or at least a demonstration in which Plácido both sang and played the drum, perhaps as a makeshift, no sixteenth-century report actually specifies solo work in regular performances. Even the *Cantares* glossator begs the question (witness the seven exhibits above). According to Motolinía, as we have seen, the singing was led by two "choir directors." Yet the *Cantares* texts, with their frequent use of the first person singular (less frequently the first person plural), imply solo work. One possibility is that the verse is recited by a leader (or two leaders?), while the chorus comes in on the litany (and perhaps also the refrain, where present).⁶

The "I am" Formula

Occasionally the singer will say "I am Totoquihuaztli" or "I am Nezahualcoyotl" or "I am Ahuitzotl," in which case he speaks with the voice of the king named, either recognizing the king's spirit as his muse or merely filling in a needed portion of the dramatic monologue. This seems entirely clear; yet it needs emphasizing, since the "I am" formula is presumably the source of one of the most hallowed—and most destructive—misconceptions about Aztec poetry.

The notion that surviving ghost songs were composed by great kings can be traced to Ixtlilxochitl and his circle, which implies a date of approximately 1600; and, with less certainty, to Muñoz Camargo's *Historia de Tlaxcala*, which must have been completed in the 1590's. Although the idea was championed by Ixtlilxochitl, it need not have originated with him and may in fact have been current among the numerous antiquarians, both Hispanic and mestizo, who were busily salvaging and attempting to interpret the mass of written records that had accumulated by the end of the century. As for the no doubt earlier jottings of the *Cantares* glossator, these do not support the kingly attribution theory, though they have often been cited for that purpose, nor do the similar entries made by the *Romances* glossator. Indeed these commentators made errors, but fabricated attributions were not among them.

In the *Cantares*, for example, we have descriptive headings that read "Ycuic neçahualcoyotzin" (song of Nezahualcoyotl), "Ycuic don her[nan]do de guzman" (song of Don Hernando de Guzmán), and "Ycuic neçahualpilli" (song of Nezahualpilli), to mention a few. But there is no indication that the semantic operator is authorship, any more than in such familiar headings as *Song of Hiawatha* or *Chanson de Roland*. In fact the ambiguity in Nahuatl is precisely the same as in English or French. Accordingly, there is no need to presume authorship, though it might be argued that in the minds of the native audience it was truly Nezahualcoyotl who spoke through the mouth of the singer, just as it might be supposed that native audiences believed they were hearing the gods Huitzilopochtli or Tlaloc during performances of the festival chants known as "Vitzilobuchtli icujc" (Song of Huitzilopochtli) and "Tlaloc icujc" (Song of Tlaloc).⁷ But never does the *Cantares* glossator use the term "composed by" when mentioning the deceased kings; and indeed, in the seventh exhibit, quoted above, he makes it completely clear that the "Song of Nezahualpilli" was "composed by the singer Tececepouhqui." As a double check, one looks in vain for any such locution as "I am Tececepouhqui." Nor do any of the identified singers ever utter their own names. (Interestingly, the signature within the work, though possible as a comic device or in the exercise of

intensely personal magic,⁸ seems to be generally tabooed in world poetry.)

In the same manner the *Romances* glossator, using Spanish rather than Nahuatl, labels several songs "de Neçahualcoyotzin" (of Nezahualcoyotl), "de Moteccumatzin" (of Montezuma), "de Atlixco" (of Atlixco), and so forth. In the last example there can be no question of authorship, since Atlixco is a geographical, not a personal, name. Obviously the glossator's "de" means "pertaining to," not "authored by."

To digress for a moment, let us recall the element of ejaculation ascribed to the *Cantares* texts in Chapter Four, and compare a few of the *conjuros*, or incantations, that have been recorded in the Aztec-Maya area. Three of the fullest collections are the late-colonial Yucatec *Ritual of the Bacabs*, the Aztec *conjuros* published by Ruiz de Alarcón in 1629, and the modern-day chants of the Mazatec "wise woman" María Sabina. In all three collections the "I am" formula is used as a means of identifying with supernatural power. "I am your mother, I am your father, I consign you to the evils of Metnal [the underworld]," exclaims the Yucatec ritualist.⁹ Similarly, Ruiz de Alarcón's informants use such phrases as "niQuetzalcoatl" (I am Quetzalcoatl) and "ninoyoalitoatzin" (I am the one called shadows).¹⁰ In cases like these the speaker, in a combative mood, is attempting to gain control over a disease or an enemy. In the decidedly peaceable, if ecstatic, chants of María Sabina, the formulas "I am the Morning Star woman. . . . I am the Moon woman" help to put the speaker into a hypnotic state.¹¹ Without straining the comparison, it may be suggested that the *Cantares* singer who identifies with King Montezuma or King Nezahualcoyotl is relying on an incantatory technique extending well beyond sixteenth-century ghost songs.

Such arguments are not meant to imply that kings of every description were excluded from the ranks of composers. The *Cantares* glossator asserts unequivocally that the composer Don Baltasar Toquezcuauihyo was *tlatoani* (king) of Colhuacan, and there is reason to believe that the information is accurate.¹² On the other hand, the *tlatoani* of so unimportant a place as Colhuacan, especially after 1521, need not have been a prominent member of the nobility. It has already been shown that ghost songs belonged to the noble classes, and it is not surprising therefore to find two "dons," a "lord" (*pilli*), and a "king" (*tlatoani*) among the singers identified in the *Cantares* glosses. But it would be news indeed if the *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan, or even Tlacopan or Coyohuacan, were included as well.

We do know that the old kings of Tenochtitlan danced and sang. According to Sahagún, they might "try a song" or "learn a new song"; but the professional singers were the ones who "prepared" the material.¹³ In sum, there is no reason to believe that these kings were the authors of the surviving song texts, and no real evidence that they composed any songs whatsoever.

Ixtlilxochitl's Nezahualcoyotl

Easily the most celebrated of the historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's discoveries is the so-called poet-king of Texcoco, Nezahualcoyotl (1402–72), from whom Ixtlilxochitl proudly claimed descent through Nezahualpilli (d. 1515), Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (d. 1531?), Ana Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (married 1540), Francisca Cristina Verdugo Ixtlilxochitl (married 1561), and Ana Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (married 1577?). The historian is thus the great-great-great-grandson of Nezahualcoyotl. His own dates are 1578?–1650.¹⁴

Let us start by noting that the dated songs in the *Cantares* were recorded when Ixtlilxochitl's grandmother was a girl. Except for the one or two pieces that must have been composed in the 1580's, there is no reason to believe that any of the surviving material was recorded during the historian's lifetime. Thus the ghost-song manuscripts circulating at the turn of the century, assuming that no new material had been added, were already quite old. The unconvincing efforts of Ixtlilxochitl and his contemporaries as translators of these texts will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen. For now, it need only be mentioned that nowhere in sixteenth-century ethnography, nowhere in all the chronicles prepared during the days of Ixtlilxochitl's predecessors, is it ever stated that Nezahualcoyotl had been a poet. Sahagún, perhaps, would not have been interested in discovering kings who were also poets, but Durán would have loved the information, and Pomar would surely have included it.

It must be conceded, however, that the mestizo chronicler Pomar, writing in 1582, might even at this early date be imagining Nezahualcoyotl to have been a composer. As he puts it:

What certain nobles and lords felt about their idols and gods is that even though they worshipped them and made sacrifices to them, nevertheless they doubted that they really were gods, rather that it was a delusion to believe that some statues of wood and stone, made by human hands, were gods, especially Nezahualcoyotzin, who is the one that vacillated the most, seeking where to obtain the light that would give proof of the true God and creator of all things; and as Our Lord God in his secret judgment did not deign to enlighten him, he returned to the worship of his ancestors, and of this there is testimony in many ancient songs that today are known in fragments, for in these there are many honorific names and epithets of God, as in the saying that there was one alone and that this was the maker of sky and earth, and by himself he supported everything that is made and created, and that he dwelled where he had no rival, in a place beyond nine levels, and that he was never seen in human form or flesh, nor in any other shape, and that after death the souls of the virtuous went to the place where he dwelled, and that those who were evil went to another place, of torment and horrible suffering; and never, although they had many idols representing different gods, when they ad-

dressed all of them in general rather than each one in particular, did they ever do otherwise than say in their language in *Tloque in Nahuauque* [O Ever Present! O Ever Near!], which means lord of the sky and the earth: an obvious sign that they held for certain there was no more than one; and this not only [among] the most prudent and wise, but even the common people said it that way, so the people of greater intellect and understanding, who were the nobles, understood this, as can be gathered from the inquiries they made about it and in particular from the songs, which is where the most light is obtained; and truly in these there is great information about their antiquities, in the form of chronicle and history; but in order to understand them it is necessary to be a great linguist [*gran lengua*], and so, with regard to their gods, some of them understood that they were living a delusion, and from this it follows that they also attained knowledge of the immortality of the soul.¹⁵

Although Pomar modestly hints that he is not the requisite *gran lengua*, he allows himself to draw startling conclusions from the "ancient songs," possibly referring to the codex *Romances*, which has been preserved together with Pomar's *relación*. Here, evidently, is the origin of the dubious report that Nezahualcoyotl was a monotheist;¹⁶ and here too, perhaps, we have the first hint of Nezahualcoyotl the poet. Some of Pomar's ideas, considerably toned down and without any mention of songs, seem to have been picked up by Mendieta,¹⁷ whose *Historia* was completed in 1596.

Yet not until Torquemada's *Monarquía indiana*, published in 1615, do we find the first reference to a "cantar" that Nezahualcoyotl "himself had composed."¹⁸ The text quoted by Torquemada is obviously a ghost song, mistranslated, and the source is most likely Ixtlilxochitl or an informant whom both historians were using at that time.¹⁹ Ixtlilxochitl's own historical works, as is well known, are filled with references to the poetic abilities of his ancestor.²⁰ His most influential piece of literary criticism, however, is to be found not in his histories, but in a little paper copied repeatedly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and now usually known as the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*.²¹ This work contains the Spanish texts of four heavily Westernized poems, the first three of which purport to be songs composed by the Texcocan king. Taken at face value through the end of the nineteenth century, the three songs have more recently been regarded as adaptations. Though these pieces are not to be found in either the *Cantares* or the *Romances*, the badly mangled sources, without any question, were ghost songs. Exhibiting the "I am" formula, as well as invocations in both the second and the third person, these pieces are not likely to have been composed by any of the kings whose names they advertise.

By the eighteenth century, owing largely to the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*, the fame of the supposed poet had become a necessary topic for most writers on Mexican antiquities, and the name Nezahualcoyotl was now virtually synonymous with old Nahuatl poetry. As if to help meet the demand for fresh examples (since the *Cantares* and *Romances* manuscripts re-

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mained in limbo), a most curious "Nezahualcoyotl" piece appeared in 1778 in a work by J. J. Granados y Gálvez entitled *Tardes americanas*.²² This is the now-notorious elegy that includes the phrases "All things on earth have their term. . . . All the round world is but a sepulchre," in William H. Prescott's translation, and that opens with the stanza (in D. G. Brinton's even more seductive version): "The fleeting pomps of the world are like the green willow trees, which, aspiring to permanence, are consumed by a fire, fall before the axe, are upturned by the wind, or are scarred and saddened by age."²³

By the middle of the twentieth century so apparent a forgery could no longer be taken seriously even by scholars who continued to believe that Nezahualcoyotl had been a poet. But it remained for the British Americanist Gordon Brotherston to demonstrate—in an ingenious and convincing piece of scholarship—that the song was based on a possibly genuine Otomi folk poem to which Granados y Gálvez had added heavy applications of fraudulent material.²⁴ The folk poem, as reconstructed by Brotherston, is by no means a ghost song.

These, then, would be the main points in a full-dress case against Nezahualcoyotl attributions, which in addition ought properly to dissect the *Historia chichimeca* of Ixtlilxochitl, treating various peripheral issues along the way. This is an extremely serious matter, which strikes at the heart of Aztec culture study. The skeletal arguments offered in this chapter, before they can be accepted, will require careful checking, debate, and no doubt adjustment.

Dating the Songs

Guided by only a few clear signposts, the dating of the individual songs in the *Cantares mexicanos* must depend largely on internal evidence and the weighing of probabilities. Obviously several of the songs were composed in the mid-1500's. The central question is whether any of the *Cantares* pieces could have been composed before the Conquest. And if so, which ones?

Previous chapters have attempted to show that the entire compilation consists of ghost songs; in other words, songs that summon the ghosts of ancestors or that treat some aspect of the ghost-song ritual. In theory at least, this presumed ritual qualifies as a millenarian revitalistic activity as defined in Chapter Seven. If this much is correct, the entire genre, including the music and the poetic structure, could be new—just as the songs of the Plains Ghost-Dance religion with their distinctive couplet structure and Great Basin melodies were new; and just as the songs of the North American Peyote Cult, with their special vocables and nervous drumming, are new.¹ This of course does not mean that antecedents cannot be found. But let us turn once more to the pre-Conquest ghost song, or proto-ghost song, entitled "Song of cloud companions," quoted on p. 84, and note the unusual brevity, the extreme parataxis (or jerkiness), the frontal pairing of stanzas three and four, and the complete lack of introspection. These features tend to separate it from the *Cantares*, though in vocabulary and subject matter it qualifies as a ghost song. If the "Song of cloud companions" is truly an antecedent, the genre has changed.

On the other hand, there must have been more than one kind of antecedent. As suggested in Chapter Ten, the *Cantares* appears to be an amalgam of earlier genres. If so, it would be reasonable to allow for the possibility that some parts date from before the Conquest, even if the entire corpus was used for revitalistic purposes during the mid-sixteenth century.

The Newer Songs

Three songs in the manuscript, 55, 56, and 58, can be dated with a fair degree of certainty, since the glossator has assigned them to the years 1553, 1550, and 1564, respectively. Although he appears to have inserted these dates in a single sitting, which leads one to question the accuracy of his memory, there is no reason to suppose that he is far from the mark. In fact there is evidence that he is just two years off for both 1553 and 1564, which probably should be 1555 and 1562. (See the Commentary, songs 55 and 58.) However, a fourth song in the same group, 59, carries the date 1536, which is almost certainly a serious mistake. Because the date lies so far removed from the others, Garibay conjectures that a copyist may have transposed the last two digits; the year 1563 would be acceptable.² If, as the glossator explains, the composer was giving "succor to our poor sought one, Don Diego de León," the song could hardly be dated before 1555, the year in which Don Diego died. A "sought one" is a spirit whom the singer is attempting to produce as a revenant.

A further date, 1551, appears on folio 7 in an unconnected gloss—quoted in part in Chapter Eleven—having to do with a performance by Francisco Plácido. Seemingly the date applies to the several songs that immediately follow it, though this is by no means certain. In any event, the music in question is spoken of as though it were being revived after a period of silence ("And newly, again, this music"). Since the earliest of all the presumably genuine dates in the manuscript is 1550, or circa 1550, as noted above, and since this roughly coincides with the "newly again" date of 1551, it may be postulated that the ghost-song movement was getting under way at about this time. I do not believe the gloss on folio 7 should be taken to mean that old texts are being sung verbatim, because none of the songs in this portion of the manuscript seem free of post-Conquest influences.

In addition to the dated songs, a number of others, though undated, obviously belong to the post-Conquest period in that they overtly describe Conquest or post-Conquest events, name latter-day personalities, or extensively treat Christian doctrine. These are songs 13, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 83, and 89–91, which, if 55, 56, 58, and 59 are added, account for approximately 32 percent of the manuscript. To this group may be added the pieces composed in "missionary Nahuatl" (songs 1–4, 6–9, and 12), representing just 4 percent of the *Cantares*.

We may now turn to the remarkably homogeneous series of songs beginning with number 20 and extending through number 43. It is tempting to assign these to a single singer or at least a single school. The summoning of triple-alliance ghost kings and the mystical perpetuation of Mexico

are among the recurring themes. In every stylistic detail the twenty-four pieces are uniform. Frequent mentions of Life Giver or, more explicitly, Dios could be explained as modern growths, but the revitalistic tone makes it unlikely that these could be pre-Conquest compositions, and the apparent inclusion of Montezuma II among the summoned ghosts makes it all but impossible. According to the glossator's headnote, these twenty-four songs are to be classed as *xochicuicatl*, *cuauhcuicatl*, and *ienocuicatl*—thematic titles of the first type, which, as noted earlier, are never to be found in the reliable accounts of pre-Conquest music. Consequently the glossator's assertion that these are songs that "used to be performed in the palaces of Mexico" seems to be yet another error. It could be offered in his defense, however, that either he or his informant is merely validating the new genre by stressing its undoubtedly ancient precedent. These songs account for 12 percent of the manuscript.

We now have about 50 percent of the *Cantares* as either certainly or almost certainly of post-Conquest composition. The tally will not be continued. But if we were to add those remaining songs that strongly resemble the homogeneous twenty-four, as well as every other piece that carries a thematic title of the first type, we would find that an overwhelming majority of the material must be post-Conquest.

As for the cutoff date, we may note that apart from Alonso Axayacatzin, who died in about 1581, no one known to have lived beyond 1572 (the death date of both Archbishop Montúfar and Fray Pedro de Gante) is mentioned in any surviving song text. In fact the great majority of post-Conquest caciques summoned as ghosts in these songs were dead well before 1560. One is left with the impression that though an occasional song was still being composed, or revised, as late as the mid-1580's, the genre was already becoming moribund by 1570. A very late notice of what may have been a ghost-song performance appears in Chimalpain's *Journal*, which mentions a *michcuicatl* (fish song) among the noteworthy events of the year 1593.³

To summarize, it is clear that ghost songs were being composed during a period that began as early as 1550 and continued until at least 1581, though perhaps only sporadically by this late date. Though some of the songs, to be mentioned below, may have been survivals from an earlier era, it would be difficult to say that the sixteenth-century ghost-song activity as revealed by the *Cantares* could be much extended in either direction beyond the limits indicated.⁴

The Older Songs

To assume that the ghost-song activity did not coalesce until 1550 is not to say that native singers had been silent since 1521. Early missionary ac-

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counts make it clear that singing was an Indian passion. From the ecclesiastical writ of 1539 it appears that the Church would have liked to ban native singing altogether had it been practical to do so.⁵ On the other hand, both secular and clerical officials were fascinated by the colorful native performances and even welcomed them on certain occasions.⁶ But what texts were used during the 1520's, 1530's, and 1540's can only be guessed. Possibly old chants were recited verbatim, or possibly the ghost-song genre as preserved in the *Cantares* was already beginning to develop.

In the *Cantares* the illusion of antiquity is perhaps most deceptively conveyed in songs 14-19, especially in the gargantuan and overwrought 17 and 18 and in the monstrous 19. The Commentary, together with a close reading of the Translation, should help to make it clear that these difficult pieces are new compositions, not pre-Conquest relics. One is reminded of the hypertrophic potlatch activity among the Kwakiutl of British Columbia during the late nineteenth century. Under stress the culture appeared to be expressing itself more flamboyantly than in precontact times.⁷ Similarly, a piece like *Cantares* song 19 is more egregiously Aztec, more shocking to Western sensibilities, than any of the pre-Conquest "demons' songs" recorded in Sahagún's *Historia general*.⁸

There is no way to be sure that any song in the *Cantares* is an unadulterated pre-Conquest composition. Yet the obvious borrowing of phraseology from the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, as noted in Chapter Nine, suggests that at least one piece, song 54-E, has a pre-Conquest origin. Similar pieces, especially songs 54-A, 54-B, 54-C, 54-D, and 65 may be tentatively placed in the same category. In addition, it would be hard to insist that certain satirical pieces, such as songs 57 (the "cradlesong"), 84 ("Chalcan female song"), 85 ("Old man song"), and 88 (the untitled homosexual song), were composed in the 1550's or 1560's—even though they might have been.

If the ghost-song ritual were in some sense new or renascent at the beginning of the 1550's, it would still be possible for pre-Conquest material to be making a reappearance. Men trained as professional singers before the arrival of Cortés would still be as young as forty-five or fifty years old. The fact that the genre seems to have died out after 1585 implies that it may even have been dependent on these older singers, who, during the third quarter of the century, would have had ample opportunity to display the phraseology, if not the song forms, that they had learned in their youth.

The Study of Aztec Poetry

After an initial few decades of discovery and collection, the study of Aztec poetry passed into a developmental period, roughly 1590–1650, which saw the first, tentative translations. A third, relatively unproductive era lasted until about 1850, during which time the principal texts appear to have been mislaid or forgotten. With the rediscovery of the *Cantares mexicanos* in the second half of the nineteenth century, texts of importance became available once again, and the pioneering editions of D. G. Brinton and Antonio Peñafiel, followed by the mid-twentieth-century studies of Angel Garibay and Leonhard Schultze Jena, brought the subject to the attention of an increasingly appreciative, and increasingly sophisticated, audience.

1523–1590: The Missionary-Ethnographers

Interest in the poetry, or song texts, of the Indians of New Spain can presumably be dated from the arrival of Fray Pedro de Gante just two years after the Conquest. Although Gante seems to have written nothing for publication on the subject of native songs, it was he who first recognized the importance of Indian music and saw it as a potential aid in the great work of conversion. The idea was to prepare Christian texts in Nahuatl for performance in the native mode. In a letter to Philip II, dated 1558, Gante admits to having composed at least one such text, and it is likely that he prepared others.¹ According to Motolinía, these special texts were the work of “the friars,” whom Motolinía does not name.² But in addition to Gante, at least Fray Bernardino de Sahagún must be included, since the only surviving examples of this work are the specimens that he devised and had published in his *Psalmodia christiana*. It might be conjectured that some of Gante’s pieces were taken over by Sahagún and are thus preserved

incognito in the *Psalmodia*;³ but Garibay's notion that Gante could have been the author of the *Cantares*' children song (*pilcuicatl*; song 61) is not supported by either external or internal evidence.⁴

Though Gante evidently tolerated native songs and no doubt introduced Christian songs in the native style, his principal activity as a singing master had to do with instructing the Indians in the art of European-style church music. The peculiar references in the *Cantares* to "Fray Pedro" as muse appear to stem from this fact. In other words, the Indian singers wished to stamp their native-style performances with the imprimatur of European authority. Whether this was done for political reasons or whether it actually implies stylistic influence can only be guessed.

Gante does not appear to have had any direct involvement in the compilation of the *Cantares mexicanos*. As explained in Chapter One, the *Cantares* seems to have been Sahagún's project. But if it had not been for the idea of imitating native songs, both the *Cantares* and the highly similar *Romances* might never have come into existence. The *Psalmodia* reveals that Sahagún had made it his business to study these songs carefully, probably in manuscript. Yet he did not include them in his *Historia general*.

There is a remote possibility that Fray Diego de Durán also collected native songs now lost.⁵ His interest in the subject was mentioned at the beginning of Chapter Two, where it was hinted that he had no real understanding of the material. That hint can now be amplified by a further quotation from Durán, in which we may read between the lines and infer that he heard songs addressing such ghosts as Montezuma and figuratively referring to the ghost multitude as "riches":

Dances were often held in the temples, though on solemn occasions, and even more often in the palaces of the lords, for they all had their singers who composed songs about the glories of their ancestors and of themselves. Especially to Morecuahzoma, the lord of whom most notice is taken, along with Nezahualpiltzintli of Tezcoco, they had songs composed during their reigns, concerning their glories and their victories and conquests and genealogies and their extraordinary riches, which songs I have heard sung many times in public dances, which, though they commemorated their lords, gave me much contentment to hear such lauds and glories.⁶

Durán seems to think he was hearing pre-Conquest songs of praise. Instead, he was probably hearing songs like those preserved in the *Cantares*, perhaps the very same songs.

Francisco Hernández, who spent the years 1571-77 in New Spain, included a chapter on Aztec music in his *De antiquitatibus*, partially describing twenty-one kinds of songs, two of which, the *cococucatl* (dove song) and the *Tlaxcaltecatoytl* (Tlaxcalan piece), are also named in the *Cantares* and in no other source. But there is no clear evidence that Hernández saw the texts of these songs, much less that he had an opportunity to translate

them. With the death of Gante in 1572, of Durán in 1588, and of Sahagún in 1590, the great era of song collecting came to a close, leaving a mass of inscrutable texts virtually un glossed.

The few glosses that were attempted came not from the missionary-ethnographers, apparently, but from their acculturated Indian assistants, who had neither the scholarly standards of the friars nor the insight of the old-style singers. As noted in earlier chapters, the *Cantares* manuscript includes various glosses of this sort, largely erroneous. Similarly unhelpful annotations are to be found in the *Romances*, perhaps in *Codex Vaticanus 3739* (see Commentary, song 44), perhaps in Pomar's *Relación* (see Commentary, song 45), and, most notoriously, in the *Madrid Codex* transcripts of the twenty "demons' songs."⁷ As if aware of their deficiency, Sahagún omitted the "demons' songs" glosses in the *Florentine Codex*. Yet he did not omit the two glossed ghost-song stanzas in Book Six of that work. These have been briefly noted, unfavorably, in Chapter Nine. We thus reach the year 1590 with the work of translation as yet un begun.

1590-1650: The Latter-Day Historians

Around the turn of the sixteenth century the *Cantares* and other, similar manuscripts were inherited by a new generation of writers that included Torquemada, Chimalpain, and Ixtlilxochitl. Cautious enough to use song texts sparingly, these authors nevertheless made paraphrases and even put forth interpretations. Their endeavors for the most part were historical, but in the so-called *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*, attributed to Ixtlilxochitl, the ghost-song genre made its debut as European-style literature, and in the grammar of Horacio Carochi, published in 1645, ghost-song phraseology received its first careful, if brief, linguistic analysis.

Juan de Torquemada. For Torquemada the "ancient" songs provided historical source materials of "exactitude and veracity" even though they had been composed "without regard to the years" in which the described events had occurred. "I have examined them with the greatest of particularity," he asserts, "and with the utmost care."⁸ But with less assurance he writes:

Of the first who arrived at the founding of this city there were four who were very notable: one called Aatçin, Ahucyotl, Tenuch, and Oçelopan. This I found in some very ancient *cantares* that treat of the founding of this city, and I can't say whether they were among the nine chiefs, or captains, that headed the nine families that reached the first site at Chapoltepec or sons and descendants of those, because the confusion of the ancient histories sheds no more light.⁹

Torquemada is almost certainly referring to the *Cantares mexicanos*, song 69, stanza 8, in which the four founders are named as "Aatlon, Ahucxotlon, ain Tenoch ynocelopani." In the manuscript (see Fig. 12) the "I" in

1. *Can que n... de la...
 2. *Can que n... de la...
 3. *Can que n... de la...
 4. *Can que n... de la...
 5. *Can que n... de la...
 6. *Can que n... de la...
 7. *Can que n... de la...
 8. *Can que n... de la...
 9. *Can que n... de la...
 10. *Can que n... de la...
 11. *Can que n... de la...
 12. *Can que n... de la...
 13. *Can que n... de la...
 14. *Can que n... de la...**************

4. *Can que n... de la...
 5. *Can que n... de la...**

6. *Can que n... de la...*

7. *Can que n... de la...
 8. *Can que n... de la...**

9. *Can que n... de la...*

10. *Can que n... de la...
 11. *Can que n... de la...**

12. *Can que n... de la...
 13. *Can que n... de la...
 14. *Can que n... de la...***

Can que n... de la...

Can que n... de la...

Can que n... de la...

Y mac...

Fig. 12. Page from the Cantares (fol. 60v) misread by Torquemada?

"Aatlon" is curled at the top and the "o" is abnormally compressed, allowing the word to be read as "Aatcin." The "x" in "Ahuexotlon" resembles a diminutive "y"; the terminal "on," merely a vocable, could have been read by Torquemada as a demonstrative particle; and so forth. Thus it seems that Torquemada, or his copyist, was acquainted with MS 1628 bis. Note, also, that the sequence "aatl ahuxotl tenoch ocllopan" occurs in no other surviving text, musical, historical, or otherwise. Actually it is a play on words, which can be translated either as founders' names or as symbols that stand for the city itself ("the waters, the willows, the tuna, the jaguar throne"). Far from being "very ancient," as Torquemada supposed, the song in question appears to be a post-Conquest *xopanquicatl*. Elsewhere he writes:

And [Nezahualcoyotl] ordered his singers to sing a song that he himself had composed, which began thus: *Xochitl mamani in huehuetitlan* etc., which means: Among the cypresses and the cypresses there are fresh and fragrant flowers. And continuing on, it says that although for a while they are fresh and attractive, they reach a time when they wither and dry up. It goes on to say that all who are present must end and cannot come rule again, and that all their grandeur must finish and their treasure must be owned by others, and they are not to return and enjoy it once they have left it behind.¹⁰

Although this passage is evidently from a ghost song, it is not one that has survived in either the *Cantares* or the *Romances*. On what authority the piece is attributed to Nezahualcoyotl, Torquemada does not say. As for the translation, *huehuetl* (drum) has been confused with *ahuehuetl* (cypress), and the first line should read, "Flowers lie [or extend] beside the drum." For lack of any further text the remainder cannot be judged.

To his credit, Torquemada in yet another passage confesses that a certain song having to do with Tlaxcala was for the most part "written" as "poetry and must be counted as fiction, as were the heroic deeds that were written by the Greek and Latin poets."¹¹ This song, or a paraphrase of it, seems to derive from the *Historia de Tlaxcala* of Muñoz Camargo.

Diego Muñoz Camargo. Muñoz Camargo's *Historia de Tlaxcala*, written in the 1590's, includes a description of an ancient battle between Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco, said to have been memorialized in a song composed by a certain Tecuanitzin.¹² Unfortunately, the account is not clear enough to reveal the nature of the song text or even whether it was a ghost song. Torquemada, in adapting the information for his own book, distorted the phraseology that had been used by Muñoz and perhaps overemphasized Muñoz' reliance on the song.

Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpain Cuauhtlehuantzin. The history of the Chalcan region would be largely unknown were it not for the *Relaciones* of the Chalcan writer called Chimalpain. Chimalpain's main sources

are old chronicles no longer extant. But there are at least two passages that he himself seems to have invented, with help from the *Cantares* glossator, drawing on hints in two of the *Cantares*' Chalcan pieces, songs 84 and 85. (References are given in the commentaries for these songs; and the interesting, complicated case of song 84 is described at some length.) If it is true, as has been said, that Chimalpain once had a copy of a song by Francisco Plácido in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe,¹³ then the *Cantares* would be the most likely source (viz., song 55), and Chimalpain may be blamed for having started the rumor that Plácido was a composer of Guadalupean songs.

Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. Like Torquemada and Chimalpain, Ixtlilxochitl evidently knew the *Cantares* (his misreading of song 67 is discussed in the Commentary). He might also have known the *Romances*, since he and the *Romances* glossator display similar interests and use some of the same expressions. Both writers, for example, refer to the triple alliance as the "tres cabezas."¹⁴ Both refer to Ipalnemohua as the "creador" (creator).¹⁵ Both have a Texcocan orientation, and the glossator's labeling of no fewer than five songs as "de Nezahualcoyotl" prefigures the sweeping claims made by Ixtlilxochitl on behalf of the "poet"-king. When Ixtlilxochitl writes as follows, it is conceivable that he is thinking of the *Romances*:

And so [Nezahualcoyotl] left the city of Tetzcuco and went to his woodland at Tetzcotzinco, where he fasted forty days, making orations to the unknown Dios, creator of all things and the originator of all of them, in whose praise he composed sixty and some songs that are preserved to this day, of great morality and wisdom and with very sublime names and epithets peculiar to Him.¹⁶

It would require a certain stretching of the imagination to describe the *Romances* in these terms, but Ixtlilxochitl seems capable of it. Moreover, his phrasology is suspiciously similar to that of Pomar, whose presumed description of the *Romances* has been quoted in Chapter Eleven. As for the "sixty and some" songs, since I myself count only thirty-six in the *Romances* against Garibay's sixty, why should Ixtlilxochitl not get sixty and some? But perhaps a less tenuous connection with the *Romances* manuscript is supplied by Ixtlilxochitl's tale of Cuacuauhtzin, king of Tepechpan, who is said to have composed a piteous lament after Nezahualcoyotl had sentenced him to die.¹⁷ Likely as not the song is the one that appears in the *Romances*, folios 26-27, labeled by the glossator "pertaining to Cuacuauhtzin, king of Tepechpan." The same song appears in the *Cantares* (43), but without the suggestive gloss. In any event the two songs for which Ixtlilxochitl actually gives Nahuatl text in his *Historia chichimeca* are to be found in neither the *Romances* nor the *Cantares*, making it apparent that he either had access to other manuscripts since disappeared or gleaned material directly from oral sources, or perhaps both. He mentions in his

Relaciones that "the natives to this very day have some fragments of the [old songs],"¹⁸ without saying whether the "fragments" are oral or written. Of the two songs that Ixtlilxochitl actually quotes, the first is treated as follows:

An ancient song called Xopancuicatl . . . which goes thus: "canconicuilotehua que on inltactícpac conmahuicoritihuya a Tliantépetl Mexico nican Acolihuacan Nezahualcoyotzin Motecuhzomatzin, Tlacopan on in Totoquiuhatzin Yeneli ai con-piaco inipetlícpal intéotl a Ipalnemoani, etcétera," which signifies according to its true meaning: "They left a memory in the world, did they who glorified the empire of Mexico and here in Acolihuacan, the kings Nezahualcoyotzin, Motecuhzomatzin, and, in Tlacopan, Totoquiuhatzin: your memory will truly be imprinted, eternalized (on account of the good that you adjudged and ruled) at the throne and tribunal of god the creator of all things, etc."¹⁹

The Nahuatl text, garbled by Ixtlilxochitl, has been convincingly reconstructed by Garibay,²⁰ and I reproduce it here (in modernized Franciscan orthography) with minor emendations:

Zan conicuilotehuaque on in talticpac. Conmahuizzotitihui-a atl-o yan tepetl Mexico nican Acolihuacan Nezahualcoyotzin, Motecuzomatzin, Tlacopan on in Totoquiuhatzin. Ye nelli a in conpiyaco in ipetl icpal in teotl-a Ipalnemohuani, etc.

They went away having painted oh! this earth. They went away having glorified this city of Mexico, they, Acolhuacan's Nezahualcoyotl, Montezuma, and Totoquiuhatzli of oh! Tlacopan. Truly they came to guard the mat and throne of the spirit Life Giver, etc.

The most interesting error in Ixtlilxochitl's translation is the "here in Acolihuacan," implying that the song was composed in his native Texcoco (or Acolhuacan). Though this reading is linguistically feasible, it is unidiomatic. In fact the singer is "here in Mexico" or in "this city of Mexico" (*atl tepetl Mexico nican*).

Turning now to the other song quoted with Nahuatl text, we find that it appears not only in the *Historia chichimeca*, but again in the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*; and this, too, is said to be *xopancuicatl*. In the *Historia* it reads:

Tlaxcoconcaquican hani Nezahualcoyotzin etcétera, which translated into our Castilian vernacular in accordance with its proper and true sense means: "Hear ye what the king Nezahualcoyotzin says in his lamentations on the calamities and persecutions that his realms and kingdoms are to suffer." When you are gone from this present life to another, O King Yoyontzin, there shall come a time that your vassals will be undone and destroyed, leaving all that is yours in the shades of oblivion: thus truly the kingdom shall not be in your hands but in those of Dios.²¹

In the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* the same passage forms merely the first two stanzas of a seven-stanza song:

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Hear attentively the lamentations that I, King Nezahualcoyotl, make upon empire, speaking with myself and setting an example for others.
O uneasy and impermanent king, when that time arrives after your death that your vassals find themselves destroyed and undone, and dark confusion [arrives], then the order and dominion of the empire will not be in your hands but in those of Dios, Creator and All Powerful.²²

The second translation is preferable in that it more correctly renders the opening line, "Hear ye what I, Nezahualcoyotl" (*Tla xoconcaquican-a niNezahualcoyotzin*). Yet in other respects it appears to be freer. The invented phrase "uneasy and impermanent" (*bullicioso y poco estable*) has been substituted for the term *Yoyontzin*, a well-known epithet of Nezahualcoyotl, now generally treated as an agentive noun derived from the verb *yoma*, which apparently means "to penetrate" in the sexual sense. In both versions Ixtlilxochitl is attempting to show that Nezahualcoyotl predicted the Conquest.

The history of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* has been discussed in Chapter Eleven. As for the unreliability of Ixtlilxochitl, this has been an item of suspicion among Mexicanists for more than a hundred years. Surely not all his tales are false. But if one were to establish a hierarchy of probable truth, those tales and comments that admittedly derive from "ancient songs" should be placed in the very lowest rank.

Horacio Carochi. In his *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, published in 1645, the Jesuit grammarian Carochi gives five phrases, with glosses, from the "poetic language" of the "ancients":²³

1. Tlāuhquéchōllaztalēhualtōtōnatoc.
 2. Ayauhcoçamālōtōnamēyōtimani.
 3. Xiuhcōyōltzitzilica in teōcuitlahuēhuētl.
 4. Xiuhlapallācuilōlāmoxtli manca.
 5. Nic chālchiuhcozcameca quenmach tōtōma innocuic.
1. Está relumbrando con color encarnado como el paxaro *tlauhquechol*.
 2. Y está resplandeciendo a manera del arco Iris.
 3. El atambor de plata suena como caseaules de turquesa.
 4. Auia vn libro de anales, escrito, y pintado con colores.
 5. Voi de mil maneras desatando mi canto, como sarta de piedras preciosas.

Of these the second, third, and fifth are not known from other sources, but the first and fourth are from the *Cantares*, appearing at folios 37v: 27, and 39: 16, respectively. Each occurs only once. Hence it appears that Carochi knew the *Cantares* or at least had copies from it. The fifth example, reminiscent of *Cantares* 57v: 24, seems especially valuable because it diagnoses an odd use of the adverb *quenmach*, not explained by any other author so far as I have been able to discover. But the gloss for *manca* ("there was" or "there used to be"), given in the fourth example, does not hold up in context:

xiuhtlapalla[h]cuiŀlāmoxtlī [i]mancān-aya māquīzcōzcapetlatl ŀnocā[n]
 īpan tonca[h] aya tinopiltzin
 among these turquoise-and-crimson-painted pictures, upon this mat of
 bracelet jewels you dwell, O prince
 [Not: There was a book of annals painted in colors . . .]

The quarrel is with “there was,” which derives from an unambiguous paleographic error. Whether “crimson” is to be preferred over “color” is a matter of interpretation. As for “book of annals,” the reading is linguistically defensible in the narrow context of the passage at hand, which might be construed: “where year-colored book of writing lies, where mat of bracelet jewels rests, that’s where you dwell, O prince.” But viewed in the context of the entire ghost-song repertoire and its recurring attestations of *amoxtlī* (literally “book,” according to Molina’s dictionary), Carochi’s “book of annals” must be rejected as unidiomatic. One is reminded that *amoxcallī* (“picture house” in ghost-song usage) is glossed “bookstore” by Molina. It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that Carochi—the most perceptive, the most thorough of all the old grammarians—did not pursue his poetry studies further.

1650–1850: An Interim Period

A persistent interest in Aztec poetry is revealed in the writings of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), Lorenzo Boturini de Benaduci (1702?–55), Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731–87), Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), and others who were contemporary with them.²⁴ But sixteenth-century source materials, notably the *Cantares*, do not appear to have been in circulation during these years. Instead, the old poetry was known only through fragmentary and perhaps very poor copies and, mainly, through the writings of Torquemada and Ixtlilxochitl. Granados y Gálvez, in forging his celebrated Nezahualcoyotl piece, even gave it the title *Xochitlmani*,²⁵ which he had no doubt borrowed from Torquemada. The popularization of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* through the English versions included in Prescott’s *Conquest of Mexico*, published in 1843, seems to have been the most influential accomplishment of the entire two centuries.

1850–1980: The Rediscovery of the *Cantares*

Among the numerous manuscripts found in the collection of J. F. Ramírez upon his death in 1871 was a copy of the *Cantares mexicanos* made by the nineteenth-century Mexicanist Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca.²⁶ Another, partial copy, taken by Basseur de Bourbourg possibly as early as 1848, passed into the hands of the Philadelphian D. G. Brinton and formed the basis for his groundbreaking edition of 1887. Thereafter, antiquarian liter-

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ary studies lost status north of Mexico as a new generation of Americanists, now calling themselves anthropologists, turned their attention to fieldwork. At this time the study of Aztec poetry, so provocatively initiated by Brinton, found shelter among Germans and Mexicans. By the 1950's the mood had changed in the United States, and the publication of the *Florentine Codex*, prepared by Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble, was ushering in a new era of productive research in the field of Aztec literature. French and British contributions, though not lacking, remained marginal. By 1967 the significant work of the Mexican scholar Angel Garibay had been completed, and the poetry of the Aztecs, now more accessible than before, entered a period of reevaluation and heightened linguistic scrutiny.

Daniel Garrison Brinton. Brinton's *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, comprising the text, with English translation, of folios 1-10v and 26v-28v of the *Cantares mexicanos*, marks the beginning of the modern study of Aztec songs. Unfortunately, the text, obtained from Brasseur, is faulty, and the English versions even more so. Yet these are palatable from a belletristic point of view, and the still-useful introduction includes tasteful English renderings of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* and the Granados y Gálvez poem. Other North American writers who attempted to follow in Brinton's footsteps, notably Benjamin Lec Whorf and John Hubert Cornyn, fell far below the level of taste that Brinton had established, without improving on his scholarship.²⁷ The anthropologist Herbert Spinden, who should have known better, reprinted Brinton's version of the Granados y Gálvez piece in an influential essay of 1933, praising it as "a most splendid Thanatopsis . . . exemplifying the highest paganism."²⁸ In addition to *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, Brinton prepared an edition of the twenty "demons' songs" from Sahagún, curiously entitled *Rig Veda Americanus* (1890), but this had less impact than the earlier work.

Antonio Peñafiel. Within a dozen years of Brinton's two publications, the Mexican scholar Antonio Peñafiel brought out a transcription of the complete *Cantares*, which was followed in 1904 by a photographic facsimile of the manuscript. The transcription, dated 1899, is marred by errors. But the facsimile remains indispensable, even rivaling the since-deteriorated codex itself as the optimum source. As if stunned by the sight of so inscrutable a text, Mexican scholarship paused for three decades, producing no translations of importance until the 1930's.

Leonhard Schultze Jena. The German school of Mexicanists traces its origin to Eduard Selser, whose studies of old texts and pictographs, begun in the 1880s, are still cited today. Selser himself, though he prepared a detailed monograph on the twenty "demons' songs,"²⁹ completely avoided the *Cantares mexicanos*. On his seventieth birthday, his student Walter Leh-

mann presented him with a voluminous study of the so-called Toltec lament (*Cantares*, song 44, canto A);³⁰ but it remained for another disciple, Leonhard Schultze Jena, to mount a full-scale assault on the *Cantares*. At Schultze Jena's death in 1955 the work was finished only up to folio 58. Thus incomplete (and unrevised), it was brought out two years later by still another Seler disciple, Gerdt Kutscher, who added an index. The transcription, though less inaccurate than Brinton's or Peñafiel's, does little to advance the study of an unusually legible manuscript that had already been published in facsimile. The translation, useful in spots, is on the whole unacceptable and has been widely ignored. In his sparse commentary Schultze Jena relies exclusively on German scholarship and is even unaware of the translations that had already been published by Garibay.

Angel María Garibay Kintana. Garibay's *La poesía lírica azteca* (1934), followed by Rubén Campos' *La producción literaria de los aztecas* (1936), signaled the reawakening of the Mexican school. A further, more significant work by Garibay, *Poesía indígena de la altiplanicie* (1940), clearly established him as the more important scholar. Extensive commentary on Aztec poetry appeared in Garibay's two-volume *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (1953-54), followed by his monograph on the twenty "demons' songs" (1958), which included the first translations from the codex *Romances*. Then came a diminutive popular anthology entitled *Xochimapicli* (1959). Two other popular works, *Panorama literario* (1963) and *La literatura de los aztecas* (1964) were immediately followed by Garibay's major study of Aztec poetry, the three-volume *Poesía náhuatl* (1964-68), which included Nahuatl and Spanish texts for the entire *Romances* and roughly 50 percent of the *Cantares*. Further volumes were planned, but Garibay died in 1967, and the work remained unfinished.³¹

Though better prepared than Schultze Jena, Garibay did not produce coherent translations. To compensate, he advanced the theory that many if not most of the songs in the old manuscripts were accretions of tiny imagist-like lyrics that could be detached and presented as whole poems. He supposed, moreover, that the Nahuatl texts had been indifferently preserved and were in need of editorial retouching. He presented recensions, therefore, not transcriptions; and these, though always stimulating, cannot be relied upon for careful work. As an interpreter of the entire genre, he overemphasized its antiquity, openly discarding Spanish loanwords or sometimes concealing them, perhaps unwittingly. For example, he gives, for *Cantares* 79: 25, "Ohuallaque in pipiltin ye Huexotzinco in tonxihuan in nelpiloni," which he translates as "Vinieron los capitanes, nuestros nietos del colgajo."³² No doubt he meant to write: "Vinieron los capitanes de Huexotzinco, nuestros nietos del colgajo." (Came the captains of Huexotzinco, our grandsons of the hanged man.) But "our grandsons" would

have to be *tixhuihuan* or *toxhuihuan*, not *tonxihuan*; and *nelpiloni*, whatever its etymology, is a proper name used among the ruling classes of Huexotzinco. In fact the text is "Ohuallaque in Pipiltin ye huexotzinco y Ton Xihuā y nelpiloni." Or in the modernized Franciscan orthography that Garibay preferred: "Ohuallaque in pipiltin ye Huexotzinco i ton Xihuan i Nelpiloni." (The princes have come. Huexotzinco's Don Juan Nelpiloni . . .) The reference is not to ancient doings, but to a post-Conquest cacique of Huexotzinco.

Another example, "timomiquili in itech in coloz,"³³ is translated as "has muerto y quedas desviado" (you've died and have been deflected). Although the lexical construction "you've died and will have been bent with regard to it" is remotely possible, the correct reading should have been obvious: "You died on the cross."

Such errors, though isolated, are typical of the overall tendency to pre-Columbianize sixteenth-century texts; and of this the most unfortunate manifestation is Garibay's wholesale attribution of ghost-song poetry to Nezahualcoyotl, Nezahualpilli, and other pre-Conquest kings. Schultze Jena, for all his linguistic faults, had resisted this impulse, and even Brinton had viewed the matter with suspicion.³⁴ Thus the study of Aztec poetry under Garibay both lost and gained ground. Among the gains were the rediscovery of the codex *Romances*; the debunking of certain misconceptions, notably the supposed Guadalupan influence in the *Cantares* and the long-held validity of the Granados y Gálvez poem;³⁵ Garibay's successful effort to bring the entire subject of Aztec literature under bibliographic control; and, last but not least, the disarming sincerity and sheer bulk of his oeuvre, which brought Aztec poetry to the attention of an international audience.

In the wake of Garibay's studies, numerous scholars, translators, and poets have paid homage to his work, summarizing, refining, or expanding on his readings without attempting to challenge his basic assumptions. Best known among such scholars has been Garibay's disciple Miguel León-Portilla, whose *Los antiguos mexicanos a través de sus crónicas y cantares*, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality*, *Nezahualcoyotl*, *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*, and *Trece poetas del mundo azteca* may be mentioned. Two works of summarization and paraphrase by Birgitta Leander will be found in the Bibliography, as well as Arias-Larreta's *Literaturas aborígenes* and José Alcina Franch's *Floresta literaria de la América indígena* and *Poesía americana precolombina*. Volume Two of Michel Launey's *Introduction* and my own treatment of *Cantares* song 44 in *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature* may be included in this company. Of particular interest are Georges Baudot's *Les Lettres précolombiennes*, Gordon Brotherston's *Image of the New World*, Willard Gingerich's "La comprensión del mundo a través de la poética náhuatl," and Karttunen and Lock-

hart's "La estructura de la poesía náhuatl vista por sus variantes." Outside the mainstream is R. Gordon Wasson's *The Wondrous Mushroom*, in which the author relates Garibay's readings of Aztec poetry to his own research in ethnomycology.

Translators who have brought Garibay's readings into English include Toni de Gerez, Rafael González, Irene Nicholson, G. T. Smisor, Willard Trask, and Andrew Wiget. Among poets who have contributed English versions, often with personal touches, are Stephen Berg, John Ceely, Frank M. Chapman, Ed Dorn (in collaboration with Gordon Brotherston), Edward Kissam, Jerome Rothenberg, and William Carlos Williams. Especially inventive is Ernesto Cardenal's *Homenaje a los indios americanos*, which includes pieces entitled "Cantares de mexicanos (I)," "Cantares de mexicanos (II)," and "Netzahualcōyotl."

Meanwhile, a quiet revolution in Aztec linguistics began to be felt in the mid- and late 1970's with the publication of J. Richard Andrews' *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* (1975), Karttunen and Lockhart's *Nahuatl in the Middle Years* (1976), and the first volume of Michel Launey's *Introduction à la langue et à la littérature aztèques* (1979). The new urgency to put Nahuatl on a more secure footing may in large part be traced to the *Florentine Codex* of Anderson and Dibble, which has made voluminous and high-quality texts widely available. But Garibay's *Poesía náhuatl*, with its equally tantalizing raw material, is no doubt a contributing factor. What the new grammarians are attempting to do is, first, to regain the level of understanding achieved by Horacio Carochi in the early seventeenth century, and then to push it a step beyond. Whether the effort will carry Aztec language research to the point of meaningful agreement within a community of scholars remains to be seen. At the very least it should help to bring the major works of Aztec literature, including the *Cantares mexicanos*, a little farther into the light.

The Text in
Nahuatl and English



Guide to the Transcription

The Transcription presented below is paleographic, rather than critical, in that it merely attempts to reproduce the *Cantares* manuscript in type. Although word spacing, often ambiguous in the original, has been normalized, orthographic oddities, bad punctuation, and presumed copyist's errors remain uncorrected and unnoted. Readers who desire a critical text are referred to the *analytic* transcription in Bierhorst, *A Nahuatl-English Dictionary and Concordance to the Cantares Mexicanos*, which also includes notes on paleography (Grammar sec. 4). A few points, however, may be clarified at this juncture.

Capitalization. The scribe has made an obvious effort to capitalize the first word of each stanza and, with less regularity, each proper noun. But between his majuscules and his minuscules are so many in-between sizes that it is often impossible to know his intention. In many cases the majuscules appear to be mere calligraphic mannerisms, as frequently with the *m*, the *t*, or the mid-word *e*, where capitalization is clearly not meant. In preparing the transcription the following rule has been observed: when in doubt, a character is made a capital if it begins a stanza or a proper noun; otherwise it is reproduced in lower case. If the capital is unmistakable and evidently not meant as a mere decoration, it is preserved no matter where it occurs, even in mid-word.

The descending h. All calligraphic variants have been normalized in this transcription, except for the peculiar descending *h*, which resembles a *g* or a *q* and appears to have caused trouble even among the compilers of the *Cantares*. Since it is potentially controversial, it has here been given a special symbol, \mathfrak{h} . Relatively rare, it occurs twenty-nine times on folio 84v, but only thirty times in the rest of the manuscript (2v: 2, 14: 25, 17v: 20, etc.).

Calligraphic flourishes. Penman's loops, scrolls, and ligature strokes are not preserved in the Transcription. In the case of half-formed ligature strokes, especially over vowels, it is sometimes tempting to see a symbol where a flourish is intended. All such cases have been resolved one way or the other in the Transcription, usually with confidence. Particularly vexing examples are discussed at various points in the companion volume (as in Grammar sec. 1.3).

Cancellations. If they are of interest and if they are not illegible, characters, words, and occasionally whole phrases that have been cancelled by pen scratches are restored in the Transcription—but with a single line drawn through, as at 15v: 30, 53v: 5, and 67: 11.

Copyist's glosses. If the copyist disagrees with his source or wishes to clarify it, he sometimes adds marginal glosses, here reproduced in juxtaposition with the words they seem meant to amplify (as on folio 53v). If necessary, subscript and superscript glosses are reproduced in context with material that I myself have added (in square brackets) to show where the gloss falls. Thus at 51: 31 the subscript *qui*, which relates to the word *toncalalizque*, is written [toncala]qui[zque] to mean that the scribe has placed his *qui* directly beneath the *li* of *toncalalizque*, suggesting that the copyist's source should have had *toncalaquizque* (as no doubt it should). In the example at 63: 32 the copyist has most probably done just the reverse: preserved the old reading in his gloss while incorporating his editorial change in the main text.

Terminal vocables. Aside from the fact that terminal vocables, typically *-ya* or *-i*, are often written without a space after the preceding word, the scribe in a few cases actually signals a rupture if the word falls at the end of a line and the vocable is carried over to the next. Or, if the word ends in a hard *c*, he changes the spelling to *qu* before adding the vocable *i*. These cases present no problem for the paleographer. But if the scribe has neglected to convert a hard *c*, I have left a space in the Transcription before printing the *i*, which otherwise would suggest a soft *c*. And in a few instances where an apocopated verb has a vocable suffix, I have detached the suffix in order to facilitate reading, as at 22: 26 and 24: 11.

Copyist's numerals. A sequence of interlinear numerals in a light scrawl that may or may not have been penned by the principal copyist begins to appear on folio 33v and continues through 55v. Evidently the enumerator is keeping a count of the cantos, either carried over from an earlier manuscript or started fresh for some purpose of his own. Whatever the reason for their existence, these particular numerals bear no relation to the text itself.

Guide to the Transcription

Line numbers. To preserve the relationship between the original manuscript and the text as printed here, manuscript line numbers have been assigned. These appear in the left-hand margins of the printed text, but only at the beginning of each stanza and each heading. The numbers recur in the left-hand margins of the facing pages in English and in the analytic transcription mentioned above (which is fully numbered, line by line). Note that a one-line heading numbered "1" may here be followed by a line numbered "3." This reflects the fact that the heading takes two lines in the original manuscript, though only one line in print.

Guide to the Translation

The Translation is an undoctored English rendering of the *Cantares mexicanos*, ruthlessly preserving the sequence of matter, including erroneous scholia, headings, and asides inserted by the *Cantares* glossator. It is intended as a neutral instrument, which the reader may use in formulating his own interpretations.

Because of the inherent ambiguity of written Nahuatl, heightened in this case by erratic punctuation, it is often possible to render a given passage in several different ways, any of which might be judged correct from a linguistic point of view. An unusual feature of the present translation is that it attempts to coordinate similar passages throughout the manuscript in order to arrive at readings that are plausible not only linguistically but contextually.

For the sake of clarity and sense, I have sacrificed certain peculiarities of the Nahuatl. Anticlimactic word order, for example, has sometimes been reversed (as at 1: 20). The generic singular has occasionally been translated as a plural (as at 3: 10 and 3v: 7). Qualifying elements attached to verbs have in many cases been suppressed, for example, the directional prefix *on-*, which may merely signify that the person or thing being talked about is at some remove from the speaker. Conversely, noun qualifiers have often been added; for example, when the Nahuatl singer, heard lexically, says, "I cut flower," his utterance must be given in English as "I cut a flower," or "I cut this flower," or "I cut flowers," or "I cut some flowers," or "I cut these flowers," and so forth. The lack of qualification is an optional feature of the Nahuatl idiom which the English necessarily destroys.

The following points should be especially noted:

The use of italics. Two types of nontextual material have been italicized throughout the translation: (1) words added in order to complete the meaning for readers of English, and (2) unwritten refrains usually indicated by an "et cetera" in the Nahuatl text.

Guide to the Translation

Proper nouns. Names of individuals are not translated. Hence Huitzilihuitl, not Hummingbird Feather. But if the name is fictitious, used to typify a class of individuals, it is translated. Thus Yaopapaquinitzin becomes Glad-in-Battle. Names that play, or pun, on proper names are also translated. Place names are treated in the same manner.

Capitalization. Nouns and pronouns referring to the supreme deity have been capitalized only as needed to guide the reader through a sometimes confusing maze of free-floating pronouns and exotic synonyms. The same is true of words and phrases that serve as names for the other world.

Gentile names. Names denoting tribes or nationalities have been Anglicized. Thus Mexican (for Mexicatl) and Mexicans (Mexica), Tlaxcalan (Tlaxcaltecatl) and Tlaxcalans (Tlaxcalteca), Acolhuan (Acolhua) and Acolhuans (Acolhuaque), Amaqueme (Amaquemecatl) and Amaquemes (Amaquemeque). Note that "Mexicans" are natives of the city of Mexico only, not of the territory known in colonial times as New Spain, which included Mexico, Acolhuacan, Tlaxcala, and many other former Indian nations and city-states.

Vocables and interjections. Meaningless song-syllables, or vocables, have not been preserved in the Translation, except in rare cases where they seem needed in order to complete a phrase or convey a special kind of affectation, for example "Let's have a 'tili!'" (66v: 13). The simpler interjections, for example, *o*, *a*, have likewise been omitted in most cases.

Key words. In an attempt to make the Translation consistent from one end of the manuscript to the other, certain Nahuatl words are regularly converted to the same English term wherever they occur. Thus *calli* is almost always given as "house," not "home" or "room." *Chimalli* is "shield," *tehuehuelli* is "buckler." Sometimes these "key words" are less satisfactory than one would wish. *Chalchihuitl*, for example, is given as "jade," though a full report on the Nahuatl term might show that its range is broader than "jade." Similarly, the untranslatable *quechol* is given as "swan," not in the sense of *Cygnus*, but merely to designate avian creatures of rare beauty, as in such English expressions as "sweet swan of Avon" or "swan knight," which furthermore connote musicianship or passage to the other world—as does the "red swan" of the mythology of the Upper Mississippi Valley tribes or the mystical "swan people" of the Beaver Indians of western Canada. A careful reading of the *Cantares* will show the justification for this choice, though it is admittedly not a perfect fit.

Song numbers. For ease of reference, I have assigned each song a number, sometimes arbitrarily, as in the case of song 31, which might just as well be called two songs. If a song is divided into recognizable cantos, these are

indicated by letters. In the case of songs 54 and 82, where the divisions are treated as full-fledged songs in the manuscript, though I strongly suspect they are merely cantos, my enumeration reflects this ambiguity.

Stanza numbers. Stanzas have been numbered consecutively within each song, and the numbers are here printed in the right-hand margins. Whenever it appears that the compiler has accidentally run two stanzas together, the two have been separated but not renumbered. Thus, in the Translation, stanza 1 of song 60 has an unnumbered stanza beneath it, which remains unseparated in the Transcription. (Elsewhere in this work, when referring to such a pair, I call them stanza 1 and stanza 1a.) Conversely, stanzas in canto A of song 68 have been grouped in the Translation, where the compiler has seemingly done too much separating.

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IHS

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Cuicapeuhcayotl.

- 1
- 2 Ninoyolnonotza, campa nicuiz yectli auiaxochitl? ac nictlahtlaniz? manoço yehuatl nictlatlani in quetzalhuitzitziltzin, in chalchihuhuitzitzicatzin, manoço ye nictlatlani in çaquanpapalotl, ca ychuantin inmachiz, ommati campa cueponi: in yectli ahuiaxochitl, tla nitlahuihuiltzqui, in nican acxoyatzinitzcanquauhtla, manoce nitlahuihuiltzqui in tlahquecholxochiquauhtla oncan huiahuitolihui, ahuahtonameyotoc in oncan mochecmelquixtia, aço oncan niqumittaz, intla onechittitique nocuexanco nictemaz ic niquintlapaloz in tepilhuan, ic niquimelelquixtiz in teteuctin.
- 13 Tlacaço nican nemi; ye nicaqui in îxochicuicatzin iuhquî tepetl quinnahnanquilia, tlahaço itlan in meya quetzalatl, xihtotoameyalli oncan mocuicamomotla, mocuicananquilia; in centzontlatoltoço' quinnananquilia in coyoltototl, ayacachicahuacatimani in nepapan tlaçoquicanitotome oncan quiyectenchua in tlalticpaque huel tetozcatemique.
- 20 Nic ihtoaya nitlaocoltzatzia; ma namechelleltih ytlaçohuane, niman cactimotlaliq niman huallato in quetzalhuitzitziltzin, aquin tictemohua cuicanitzinc? nimā niquinanquilia niqumilhuia? campa catqui in yectli ahuiaxochitl ic niquimelelquixtiz in amohuampohtzitzinhuan? niman onechicacahuatzque. ca nican tla timitzittiti ticuicani aço nellī ic tiquimelelquixtiz in toquichpohuan in teteuctin.
- 28 Tepeitic tonacatlalpa, xochitalpa nechcalaquiqueo oncā onahuachtotona-meyotimani, oncan niquittac aya in

- 1 nepapan tlaçoahuiaxochitl tlaçohuelic xochitl ahahuachquequentoc, ayauhcoçamalotona-meyotimani oncan nechilhua xixochitetequi, in catlehualt toconnequiz ma melel quiça in ticuicani, tiquinmacataciz in tocnihuan in teteuctin in quelelquixtizque in tlalticpaque.
- 7 Auh nicnocuecuxantia in nepapan ahuiaxochitl, in huel teyol quima in huel tetlamachti, nic ythoaya manoço aca tohuan tihualcalaquini, ma cenca miec in ticmamani auh ca tel ye onimatico nitlanonotztahciz imixpan in tocnihuā nican mochipa tiqualtetequizque in tlaçonepapan ahuiaxochitl yhuan ticuiquihui in nepapan yectli yan cuicatl ic tiquimellelquixtizque in tocnihuan in tlalticpac tlaça in tepilhuan quauhtliya ocelotl.
- 15 Ca moch nicuitoya in nicuicani ic niquimicpacxochiti in tepilhuan inic niqumahpan in çan inmac niquinten nimā niqechuaya yectli ya cuicatl ic netimalolo in tepilhuā ixpan in tloque in nahuaque, auh in ahtley ymahchuallo: can quicuz? can quittaz in huelic xochitl auh cuix nohuan aciz aya in xochitalpan in tonacatlalpan yn ahtley ymahchuallo in nentlamati, in tlaytlacohua in tl̄çc ca çan quitemahchualtia in tloque in nahuaque in

I Beginning of the songs

- 1 I wonder where I can get some good sweet flowers. Who will I ask? Let me 1
ask the quetzal hummingbird, the jade hummingbird. Let me ask the
tropical butterfly. They're the ones who know: they know where the
good sweet flowers bloom. Let me wander through this needle grove
where the trogons are, let me wander through this flower grove of
roseate swans. That's where they're bending with sunstruck dew. That's
where they blossom in beauty. Perhaps I'll find them there. If they
showed them to me, I'd gather a cloakful, and with these I'd greet the
princes, with these I'd entertain the lords.
- 13 Ah, here's where they live! I hear their flower songs. It's as though moun- 2
tains were echoing them. Ah, the plume water, theotinga spring, is
flowing in their midst. And there the mockingbird is throbbing with
song, reverberating with song. The bellbird echoes these precious ones,
these sundry songbirds: they're rattle-shrilling; they're eulogizing World
Owner there. They're the very ones who fill our throats.
- 20 I call out mournfully. I say, "O you, His precious ones, don't let me disturb 3
you." And then they fell silent. And then the quetzal hummingbird said,
"Singer, who are you looking for?" Then I answer him, saying, "Where
are good sweet flowers for me to entertain your fellows?" Then they
shrilled to me, "They're here. Let's go show them to you, singer. Per-
haps with these you'll entertain our lordly fellow braves."
- 28 They took me into a valley, a land of plenty, a land of flowers. And there 4
they were, laden with sunstruck dew. There I saw those sundry sweet
and precious flowers, delicious precious flowers, clothed in dew, laden
with sunstruck mistbow. And there they said to me, "Cut whatever flow-
ers you want. Entertain yourself, singer! And when you arrive you'll
give them to our lordly comrades who'll entertain World Owner."
- 7 So I fill my cloak with these sundry sweet flowers, these heart pleasers, 5
these delight makers. I say, "I wish one of our comrades could come
here with me. I wish we could carry off a great many. But I've gotten
the information. And when I arrive I'll spread the word among our
friends. We'll always come here to cut these sundry sweet and precious
flowers, to get these sundry good ones, these songs. With these we'll
entertain our friends on earth, the eagle-jaguar princes."
- 15 I, the singer, went to get all of them, and I flower-crowned the princes, 6
adorned them, filled their hands. And then I lift these good songs in
praise of all the princes before the Ever Present, the Ever Near. But
where would he whose worth is nothing get delicious flowers? Where
would he find them? Could he whose worth is nothing, who is
wretched and who sins on earth, accompany me to flower land, the land

tl̄p̄c ye nican ic chocan noyollo noconilnamiquia in ompa onitlachiato y xochitlalpan a nicuicani.

- 25 Auh nic yhtoaya tlaçaço amo qualcan in tlalticpac ye nican, tlaçaço oc cecni in huilohuayan, in oncan ca in netlamachtilli, tle çānen in tl̄p̄c tlaçaço oc cecni yolilizximoayan ma ompa niauh ma ompa inhuan noncuicati in nepapan tlaçototome ma ompa nicnotlamachtī yectli ya xochitl ahuiacaxochitl in teyol quima in çan tepacca teahuiacayhuintia in çan tepaccauiacayhuintia.

folio 2

1 Xopancuicatl Otoncuicatl tlamelauhçayotl.

- 3 Onihualcalac nicuicani nepapan xochitlalpan huel tecllelquixtican tetlamachtican, oncan abuachtonameyoquiauhtimani, oncan cuicuica in nepapan tlaçototome, oncuicatlaça in coyotototl cahuantimani in intozquitzin in quellelquixtia in tloque in nahuaç̄ ychuan Dios ohuaya ohuaya
- 8 Oncan nicaqui in cuicanelhuayotl in nicuicani, tlaçaço ahmo ~~çat̄~~ tl̄p̄c in peuh yectli yan cuicatl tlaçaço ompa in ilhuicatlytic hualcaquizti in conehua in tlaçocoyotototl in quimehuilia in nepapan teoquecholme çaquantototl oncā tlaçaço quiyectcnehua in tloque in nahuaque ohuaya ohuaya.
- 13 Niyolpoxahua in nicaquia nicuicani, ahcoquiça in notlalnamiquilizo, quinpepetlatiquiça in ilhuicame, nelcicihuiliz checayotiu iniqui nalquixtia in ompa ontlatenehua in çaquanhuitzitzil in ilhuicatlytic ohuaya, ohuaya
- 17 Auh nohuampa nictlachiātia in noyollo auh tlaçaço auh tlaçaço nelli in amo ixquich quehua in tlaçotototl, tlaçaço ye oc tlapanahua in ilhuicatlytic yyollo in tloque in nahuaque mochiuhtica ca in tlaçamo teuhytotiu in notlalnamiquiliz aço huel quinalquixticayttaz o in tlamahuicollī in ilhuicac ic papaqui in ilh̄c tlaçototome ixpan in tloque nahuaque. ohuaya et.
- 23 Quenin ahnichocaz in tl̄p̄c. ye nican tlaçaço onca nemoayā ninoztlacahua nic yhtoa aço çan ye ixquich in nican in tl̄p̄c. ontlamian toyolia macuele ehuatl in tloque in nahuaque ma ompa inhuan nimitznocuicatili in ilh̄c mochanecahuan ca noyollo ehua ompa nontlachia in monahuac in motloc tipalnemohua~~h̄~~ ohuaya ohuaya.
- 29 Ma xicaquin nocuic in tinocniu xochihuehuel̄t̄ ȳ nictzotzonaya ylhuicacuicatl in nic chuaya, ic niquimclclquixtia in teteucti xochicueponi in noyollo izquixochitl nic-

folio 2v

tzetzeloahuaya ic maſt̄juh in nocuicatzin ixpan in tloque in naçuaque ohuaya et.

of plenty? It's the Ever Present, the Ever Near, who causes people to deserve them here on earth. And so my heart is weeping. I, the singer, recall how I went to look around in flower land:

25 And I say, "Ah, this earth is not a good place. Ah, it's elsewhere that one goes, where there's happiness. What good is earth? Ah, the place of life where all are shorn is elsewhere. Let me go there. Let me go make music with the sundry precious birds. Let me enjoy the good flowers, the sweet flowers, the heart pleasers, that intoxicate with joy and sweetness, intoxicate with sweet joy. 7

1 II A song of green places, an Otomi
song, a plain one

3 I, the singer, have entered the land of sundry flowers, the very place of entertainment, the place of enjoyment. And there it's raining sunstruck dew. There the sundry precious birds are chirping: the bellbird strikes up the song. Jingling are the throats of those who entertain the Ever Present, the Ever Near, who is God. 1

8 There I hear the root song, I, the singer. Ah, it's not on earth that these good songs have begun. What the precious bellbird sings, what the spirit swans and the troupial bird sing, sounds forth from heaven, where ah! they eulogize the Ever Present, the Ever Near. 2

13 Hearing them, my singer's heart is softened. My thoughts rise upward and pierce the heavens. My sighs go filled with wind, so that they penetrate to where the troupial hummingbird is eulogizing within the sky. 3

17 Now I bid my heart look all around. And ah! truly what the dear bird sings is not sufficient. Ah, He far exceeds it, He, the Heart of Heaven, the Ever Present, the Ever Near, Self Maker. Let my thoughts proceed unsmirched! Perhaps they'll be able to penetrate and see the wonders of the sky: in these the precious sky birds are rejoicing, before the Ever Present, the Ever Near. 4

23 How can I not weep here on earth? Ah, beyond is the place where we live! I deceive myself in saying, "Perhaps things come to an end here on earth, and the soul dies." O Ever Present, O Ever Near, please let this be: let me sing for you in company with your sky dwellers. My heart rises. There beyond, near you and in your presence, I see! O Life Giver! 5

29 Friend, hear my song! I beat the flower drum. I lift the sky songs, entertaining lords. My heart flower-blossoms. I scatter popcorn flowers: my songs go whirling before the Ever Present, the Ever Near. 6

- 3 Occe al mismo tono tlamelauhcaoytl
- 4 Xochicalco nihualcalaquia in nicuicani oncan yeac in chalchihuhuetl
oncan chialon ipalnemohuani in tetcuctin xochitl tztzeliuhtimani tol-
quatectitla xoyacaltitlan onahuiaxtimani in xochicopaltlenamactli huel
teyol quima, cahuiacayhuintia in toyollo ixpan in tloque in nahuaque
- 9 Yc motomā tocuic xochiahuiacayhuinti in toyollo aoc ticmati ynic nepapan
xochicuicatl ic ticcehcmeltia in tloque nahuaque quen ahtontlaclehuian
tinocniuh ma nohuehuetitlan ximoquetzaya nepapan xochitl ic xima-
panaya chalchihocoxochitl mocpac xicmanaya xic ehuayan yectli yan
cuicatl ic melelquixtia in tloque in nahuaque.
- 15 Tleÿ mach tiquilnamiquia can mach in nemian moyollo yc timoyolcecen-
manaya ahuicpa tichuica timoyolpopoloaya in tlc̄c. ca mach titlatiuh
xihualmocuepaya xiccaquin yectli yan cuicatl ximoyolciahuaya xochia-
ticaya onahuiaxtimani oncā nic euaya in yectli yan cuicatl nicuicani ic nic
ellelquixtia in tloque in nahuaque.
- 21 Xihuallachian tinocniuh yn oncan yhcayan xochihuhuetl tonameyo on-
totonauhtimani quetzalehcacehuazticaya, onxopaleuhtimani in oncan ic
chialo ic malhuilo in ipetl yn icpal in tloque in nahuaque, xiccahuaya in
mixtecomatla xihualmocuepaya tohuan xic ehua in yan cuicatl nicuicani
ic niquelelquixtia in tloque in tlanciz inyc moyollocaltitlan
- 28 Tle cannon in nicyocoya in nitlaocolcuica inic niqumilnamiqui in tepilhuan
in tlaçomaquitzin, in tlaçoteoxiuhme in quetzaltotome in moteyotico in
motleyotico in tlaticpac yn onoma

folio 3

caquizti in intenyo in incahuanca, campa nel tiazque? ca çan titlacatico
ca ompa huel tochan in canin ximoayan yn ocapa in yolihuayan. aic
tlamian.

- 4 Mexicaotoncuicatl.
- 5 Nicchalchihutonameyopetlahuaya nietzinitzcanihuicaloaya niqumilnamiquia
nelhuayocuicatl nicçaquanhuipanaya yectli yan cuicatl nicuicani nic-
chalchihutlaçonenelo ic nichualnextia in xochicueponallotl ic nic elel-
quixtia in tloque in nahuaque.
- 10 Çaquantlaçoihuiticaya tzinitzcan tlahuquechol ic nicyaymatia nocuicatzin;
teocuitlatzitzilin i nocuic nitozmiahuatototl nõcuica cahuantimania nic
ehuaya xochitzetzelpā ixpan in tloque nahuaque.
- 14 Qualli cuicanelhuayotlo, teocuitlaquiquizcopa nic ehuya ilh^c cuicatlõ nic-
tenquixtia nitozmiahuatototl, chalchihutonameyotica niccueponaltia yec-

III Another to the same tone, a plain one

- 3
4 I am a singer, and I enter the flower house where the jade drum stands, 1
where Life Giver—*where* the lords—are awaited. The flowers are drizz-
ling down. And among these rush-head lords, among these green
shoots, the flower copal, the incense, is spreading fragrance. These heart
pleasers make hearts drunk with fragrance before the Ever Present, the
Ever Near.
- 9 Yes, our songs are set free, our hearts are made drunk with flower fra- 2
grance, and with these sundry flower songs we lose our senses, regaling
the Ever Present, the Ever Near. How can you not be desirous, friend?
Stand up beside my drum! Adorn yourself with sundry flowers. Jades,
pine flowers! Lay them on your head! Lift these good songs and enter-
tain the Ever Present, the Ever Near.
- 15 What are you recalling? Where are your hearts? You scatter your heart, you 3
carry it here and there, your heart is troubled on earth. Where can you
be esteemed? Come return! Hear the good songs! Soften your heart with
flower water. They're spreading fragrance. There! I, the singer, am lift-
ing good songs, entertaining the Ever Present, the Ever Near.
- 21 Friend, come see! Sunstruck flower drums stand beyond: they're beaming: 4
like a fan of quetzal plumes they're radiating green. And there beyond,
with these, the mat and throne of the Ever Present, the Ever Near, is
waited upon and honored. Quit the shadows! Come return with us! Lift
these songs! I, the singer, entertain the Ever Present so that light appears
within your breast.
- 28 What's the use of my creating these, I who sorrow-sing, recalling princes, 5
precious bracelets, precious turquoise gems, quetzals who were fa-
mous, who were famed on earth, whose fame and glory still resound?
Where are we to go? Indeed, we only came to be born, indeed, our
home is beyond, where all are shorn, where life is infinite, where things
never end.

IV Mexican Otomi song

- 4
5 Burnishing them as sunshot jades, mounting them as trogon feathers, I 1
recall the root songs, I, the singer, composing good songs as troupials:
I've scattered them as precious jades, producing a flower brilliance to
entertain the Ever Present, the Ever Near.
- 10 As precious troupial feathers, as roseate swans, as roseate swans, I design my 2
songs. Gold jingles are my songs. I, a parrot corn-tassel bird, I sing, and
they resound. In this place of scattering flowers I lift them up before the
Ever Present, the Ever Near.
- 14 Delicious are the root songs, as I, the parrot corn-tassel bird, lift them 3

- tli yan cuicatlo nic chuaya xochitlenamaquilizticaya ic nitlaahualia nicuicani ixpan in tloque nahuaque.
- 19 Teoquecholme nechnananquilia in nicuicani coyolihcahuacaya yectli ya cuicatlan, cozcapedlatlicaya chachalchiuhquetzalitztonamecyo xopaleuhtimania xopanxochicuicatl onihuaicaahuiaxtimanio xochitlenamactli onmilintimani onayauhtonamecyotimanio, xochiahuachtitlan nihualcuicaya nicuicani etc.
- 25 Nictlapalihmatia nicxoxochineloaya yectli yan cuicatlan cozcapedlatlicaya etc.
- 27 Nocontimaloaya nocontlamachtiao xochiteyolquima cuicatlā poyomapoctli ic ye auian ye noyollo, nihualyolcucuechahuaya nic ihnecua ahuiacaxocomiqui in noyolia nic yhnecua yectli ya xochitla netlamachtilyan xochiyehuinti noyolia.

folio 3v

- 1 otro Mexicatlamelauhcaueicayotl
- 2 Çanio in xochitl tonequimilol, çanio in cuicatl ic huehuetzi in teller yn dios ye mochan et.
- 4 Yn mach noca ompolihuiç y cohuayotl mach noca onpolihuiç y icniuhyotl in ono noya in ye ichan, ye niioyontzin on cuicatillano ye ipalnemohuani
- 7 Ma xihquecholxochi çan in tzinitzcan malintoca can miqui huaqui xochitl çan ic tonmoquimiloa can titlatoani ya tincçahualcoyotl.
- 10 Ma yan moyol iuh quiMati in antepjlhuan in anquauhtin amocelo camochipan titocnihuan çan cuel achic nican timochi tonyazque o ye ichano et.
- 13 Caycompolihuiç in moteyo nopiltzin titeççoçomocitli āca cā ye in mocuico, ay ca nihualchocao ca nihualicnotlamati can otia ye ichan et.
- 16 Anca nihuallocoya o nicnotlamati ayoquic o, ayoc quemanian, namechaittaquiuh in tçc. y y can ontia ye ichan et.

- 18 Otro chalçayotl Canto de ttelepanquetzanitzin.
- 19 Aua nocnihue ninentlamatia çan ninochoquilia in monahuac aya yehuan dios, quexquich onmitzicnotlamachtia momacehual cemamanahuac on tonitlanililo ynic tontlahuica tontecemilhuitiltia in tlalticpac

through a conch of gold, the sky songs passing through my lips: like sunshot jades I make the good songs glow, lifting fumes of flower fire, a singer making fragrance before the Ever Present, the Ever Near.

- 19 The spirit swans are echoing me as I sing, shrilling like bells from the Place of Good Song. As jewel mats, shot with jade and emerald sunray, the Green Place flower songs are radiating green. A flower incense, flaming all around, spreads sky aroma, filled with sunshot mist, as I, the singer, in this gentle rain of flowers sing *before the Ever Present, the Ever Near.* 4
- 25 As colors I devise them. I strew them as flowers in the Place of Good Song. As jewel mats, *shot with jade and emerald sunray, the Green Place flower songs are radiating green. A flower incense, flaming all around, spreads sky aroma, filled with sunshot mist, as I, the singer, in this gentle rain of flowers sing before the Ever Present, the Ever Near.* 5
- 27 I exalt him, rejoice him with heart-pleasing flowers in this place of song. With narcotic fumes my heart is pleased. I soften my heart, inhaling them. My soul grows dizzy with the fragrance, inhaling good flowers in this place of enjoyment. My soul is drunk with flowers. 6

V Another Mexican plain-style piece

- 2 Flowers are our only adornment. Only through songs does our pain subside—within your home, O God. 1
- 4 Will companions be lost to me, comrades lost to me, when also I, Yoyontzin, have gone to the Singing Place, to Life Giver's home? 2
- 7 Let's have these turquoise-swanlike flowers! These are trogons, and they're spinning—these dead, dry flowers. You enshroud yourself with these, O king, O Nezahualcoyotl! 3
- 10 Let your hearts know this, O princes, O eagles, O jaguars: not forever are we comrades! Only for a moment here, and all will be departing for His home. 4
- 13 Your fame will never be destroyed, O prince, O Tezozomoc. This would seem to be your song. Ah! Indeed, I'm weeping here, I'm suffering. You've gone to His home. 5
- 16 It seems I suffer, I grieve. Nevermore, never again will I come to earth and find you. You've gone to His home. 6

VI Another, a Chalcan piece, song of Teteapanquetzanitzin

- 19 Ah, friend, here beside you I am wretched and pitiable. O God! How much compassion can your underling exact from you? Throughout the 1

- 23 Macaço tleon xoconyoyocoya tinoyollo, yehua cuix ic nepohualoyan in oncan nemohua yehua, in ahle tlahuelli in antecocolia huel onyecnemiz in talticpac etc.
- 26 Yn quimati noyollo nichoca yehua huele ça ye nelli in titocnihuan huella nelli nemoa in tl̄c̄c̄. in tonicniuhatlazihuz yehuan Dios.
- 29 Xontlachiayan huitztlampayan, yquiçayan in tonatuh ximoyollehuayan oncan manian teoatl tlachinolli, oncã mocuia

folio 4

- in teucyotl in tlatocayotl yectli ya xochitl in amo çannen mocuia, in quetzallalpiloni aya macquauhtica chimaltica neicaloloyan in tl̄c̄c̄. ic momacchuaya in yectli ya xochitl in tiqelehuia in ticnquia in tinocniuh in quitmacchualtia in quitenemactia in tloque in nahuaque.
- 6 Nen tiqelchuiaya in tictemoaya in tinocniuh yectli ya xochitl cã ticuiz intlacamo ximicaliya, melchiquiuhcicaya, mitonalticaya ticmacehuazya in yectli ya xochitla, yaochoquiztli yxayoticaya in quitemacchualtia in tloque in nahuaque.

Otro.

- 10
- 11 Tlein mach oamaxqueon, in antocnihuan in anchiapaneacaotomi, omach amelel ahcic: ynic oamihuintiqueo octicatl in oanquique ic oamihuintique, xiqualcuican, in amoma in anhuehuetztoqueo ximozcalicano in antocnihuan nipa tiazque in tochano, xopantlalpan ye nica nmaquiça yn amihuintilizon xitlachiicano ohuican ye anmaquiaio.
- 17 Ca yeppa iuhqui in tiçaoctli in tl̄c̄c̄. quitemacao ohuicã ic tecalaquiaio teoatl tlachinolli quitoao texaxamatzao tepopoloao oncan in xaxamanio in tlaçochalchihuitl, in teoxihuitl in maquiztli tlaçotetl in tepilhuan in coninio in xochitiçaoctlio cuelcan in antocnihuan in tonicahuacao.
- 22 Ma ye tic iti in xochitlalpan in tochan xochitlalticpac ilh̄c̄pao in huelic xochiamemeyallotl onahuixtimani, teyol quima yolilizahuachxochitl in tochan in chiappã oncan timalolo in teucyotl in tlatocayotl in chimal-xochitl oncuepontimani tonacatlalpan.
- 27 Quemach in amo antlacaquio in antocnihuan tohuan tohuiano xicahuacano, in tiçaoctlio teoatlachinolotli ma ye tic yti yn ompa tinectilo in tochan xochiahuachoctli çan ic ahuiacayhuinti in toyollo, tetlamachtio teyol quimao tixochiachichinatihui neclamachtilyan in toquiçayan xochitlalpã tonaca-

world you are called upon to govern and preserve us for a little while on earth.

- 23 I wish that you, my heart, concocted nothing. Is such the fashion in the Place Where One Is Esteemed, where there is life? Ah, it is he who does not hate, whose rage is nothing, who lives the pure life here on earth. 2
- 26 If I cry, it is that my heart knows this: the mere and very truth that we are friends, the very truth that there is life on earth. And you would weary of your friends! O God! 3
- 29 Look south and east! Rouse yourself where flood and blaze are spreading, where sovereignty, empire, pure flowers, are won. A plume tassel is not obtained without cause. With sword and shield, on the battlefields of earth, you earn the pure flowers that you covet, that you want, my friend, that He enables you to earn, that He bestows on you: He, the Ever Present, the Ever Near. 4
- 6 Vainly do you covet what you seek, my friend: how can you win the pure flowers if you do not give yourself to war? With your shoulders and your sweat you earn the pure flowers: the tearful war-wailing He enables you to earn: He, the Ever Present, the Ever Near. 5

VII Another

- 11 What's your trouble, O comrades, O Chiapanec Otomis? You're in agony because you're drunk? You took the chalk wine and made yourselves drunk? Pick up your hands, O you that lie sprawled! Sober up, comrades! We'll head for the yonder, Our Home, the land of green places. Yes, come! You're escaping your drunkenness. Look at the danger you're getting into! 1
- 17 It was thus in the old days. *Here* on earth he'd give you chalk wine and make you enter the place of danger. He'd order flood and blaze. He'd break you. He'd ruin you. And it was there that the precious jades would be broken, the turquoise gems, the bracelets, the precious stones, the princes who'd be drinking the flower chalk wine. "Comrades, it's time to shrill!" 2
- 18 Let's go drink the delicious flower-spring water in flower land, Our Home, that earth of flowers in the sky. The heart pleasers, the dew flowers of life, are diffusing fragrance in Our Home, in Rattlesnake Place. That's where lordship and sovereignty are glorified. Sunflowers are blooming in that land of plenty. 3
- 27 Friends! How can you not hear! Let's go! Let's go! Leave the chalk wine, the flood-and-blaze wine! Let's go drink the flower-dew wine in Our Home where we're made to desire it! Our hearts are fragrantly intoxi- 4

tlalpan tlemach oamaxqueco xichualcaquican in tocuic in tamocni-
huan etc.

3 Otro, queuh ce tlatohuani in quimilnamiqui
 in tlatoque.

5 Tlaocolxochiyxayoticaya ic nichuipana in nocuic nicuicani niquimilnami-
 qui in tepilhuan, in teintoque, in tlaco'titoque in campa in ximohuaya in
 otcuttico yn otlatocatico in tlatlia icpac in quetzalhuahuac iuhtoque in
 chachiuhunteintoque in tepilhuan in maoc ymixpan in maoc oquittani; yn
 ye itto in tliçc. iximachoca in tloque in nahuaque.

11 Yyoyahue nitlaocolcuicaya in niquimilnamiqui in tepilhuan maçan itla
 ninocuepa, ma niquimonana, ma niquinhualquixti in ompa in ximoayan
 maoc oppatihua in tliçc. maoc quimahuiçoqui in tepilhuan in ticma-
 huiçoa, aço huel yehuantin tlatlaçomahuicozquia in ipalnemohualoni
 quemmach tomahcehual in tlaçan iuh ticmatican in ticnopillahucliloç ic
 choca in noyollo ninotlalnamiquilizhuipana, in nicuicani choquitztica
 tlaocoltica nitlalnamiquia.

19 Manoço çan nicmati in nechcaquizque intla ytla yectli cuicatl niquimehuili
 in ompa ximohuayan ma ic niquipa'pacti ma ic niquimacotlaça in intonez
 in inchichinaquiliz in tepilhuan cuix onmachiaz? quennel nihualnclla-
 quahua ahquçmanian ompa niquimontocaz? ahno niquinnotztaciz in
 ye iuhquin in tlalpac.

25

otro tlaocolcuicaotomitl.

26

Yn titloque in tinahuaque nimitzontlaocolmonotzaya nelcihcuiliz mix-
pantzinco noconiyahuaya ninentlamati in talticpac ye nican nitlatē-
matia, ninotolinia, in ayc onotech acic in pactli in necuiltonolli ye
nican tle çannen naicoy cahmo ymochiuhyan, tlaçahço ahtle nican xotla
cueponi in nentlamachtillia

cated with delight makers, with heart pleasers. We're off to imbibe flower water in the place where one knows joy, our coming-out place, the land of flowers, the land of plenty. What's your trouble? Come hear our song! We're your friends.

3 VIII Another, sung by a ruler who
remembers rulers

- 5 I, the singer, with sad flower tears set my song in order, remembering the 1
princes who lie shattered, who lie enslaved in the place where all are
shorn, who were lords, who were kings on earth, who lie as dried
plumes, who lie shattered like jades. If only this could have been before
these princes' eyes: if only they could have seen what is now seen on
earth, *this*, this knowledge of the Ever Present, the Ever Near.
- 11 Alas, I sing in sadness, remembering these princes. Would that I might re- 2
turn to their side, would that I might fetch them, might bring them back
from the place where all are shorn. If only it were possible to live twice
on earth! Would that these princes might come and be awed by that
which awes us. Perhaps they would indeed be awed by the preciousness
of Life Giver. If only we ingrates realized the extent of our blessing! It
makes my heart weep. I set my memory in order, I, the singer. With
weeping and in sadness I remember.
- 19 I wish I knew that they would hear me if in their midst I were to lift a good 3
song for them in the place where all are shorn! Would that I might regale
them! Would that I might comfort these princes' agony, their pain! Can
this be known? How can I be cheerful here? Will I never be able to fol-
low them, never be able to reach them and converse with them as on
earth?

25 IX Another sad Otomi song

- 26 To you the Ever Present, you the Ever Near, I call in sadness: I lay my 1
sighs before your face, I that am wretched here on earth: I wail, I that am
poor, I that am never touched by joy or riches. What but vainly was I
born to do? Its growing season this is not. Here indeed the wretched
person sprouts or blossoms not at all and yet serenely in your presence,

folio 5

tlaca'ço çan ihuan in motloc in monahuac Macuel chuatl ma ximone-
quilti ma monahuactzinco o cehuiti in noyolia, ninixayohuatzaz in motloc
monahuac tipalnemohuani.

- 4 Quemach amiqueo in motimalotinemicoy in tl̄çc yn ayac contematio in
ahtlamachilizneque o tlacaço can moztlacahuiaon in a'mitztenmati in
titloque in tinahuaque inic momatio ca mochipa tl̄çc nemizqueo nino-
tlamattimotlaliao niqumittao, tlacaço mixitl tlapatl oquiiqueo ic ni-
huañnelaquahua in ninotolinia o tlaca'ço ompa in ximohuayan neitto-
tiuho, çaço tiquenamiqueo quinquac ye pachihuiz ye teyollo a.
- 12 Macayac quen quichihuaya in iyolloo in tl̄çc ye nican in titlaocoxtinemi
in tichocatinemia, ca çà cucl achic untlaniz oo, tlaca'ço çan tontlatocati-
huio yn iuh oo tlatocatque tepilhuan ma ic ximixcuiti in tinocniuh in
ahtonahua in ahtihuelamati in tl̄çc. o maoc ye xima'pana in tlaocolxo-
chitl choquizxochitl xocoyatimaloo xochielcicihuiztlio in ihuicpa to-
coniyahuazon in tloque in nahuaque.
- 19 Yca ye ninapanao tlaocolxochicozcatlon nomac òmanian elcicihuizchi-
malxochitlon nic ehua ya in tlaocolcuicatl oo nicchalchiuhozcahuico-
mana yectli yan cuicatl nicahuachxochilacatzoa y nochalchiuhuehucuh
ilh^l ytech nictlaxilotia in nocuicatzin in nicuicani ye niquinquilia yn ilh^c
chaneque o çaquantototl quetzaltzinitzcantototl teoquechol in on tla'toa
quechol in quiceccmeltia in tloq̄, etc²

26 **Mexicaxopancuicatl tlamelauhçayotl.**

- 27 Tlaocoya in noyollo nicuicanitl nicnotlamatia yehua çà ye y xochitly çan ye
in cuicatlin, ica nîtlacocoa in tlalticpac ye nicā manē quitocan in techco-
colia, in techmiquitlani moch ompa onyazque cano y ichani ohuaya et.
- 31 Y in quemarian in otociahuic, in otontlatzihuic tocõynayaz in

folio 5v

momahuizço in motenyo in tl̄çc. manen quitocan etc.

- 2 Yn maçan oc huel nemohua on in tl̄çc. maçano iuian yehuan dios quini-
quac onnetemolo a in tiaque in canin ye ichan etc.
- 4 Huin in titotolinia ma iuhqui timiquican ma omochiuh in man techon-
ittocan in tocnihuan ÿ ma techonahuacan in quauhtin ya ocelotl
- 7 Maço quiyocoli macaoc xictemachican, canan tlahuicaya ycaya amechmo-
tlatili yn ipalnemohuani etc
- 9 Ay yayo xicnotlamatican tezcacoacatl Atepanecatl mach nel amihuihuinti
in cozcatl in chalchiuhtli ma ye ammonecti ma ye antlaneltocati.

by your side. Let this be soon. May you desire it. In your presence may my soul be calm. I will dry my tears beside you, in your presence, O Life Giver.

- 4 How fortunate are they who praise themselves on earth and wail to no one, reveling in arrogance? Indeed they fool themselves, they that do not wail to you the Ever Present, the Ever Near, believing they will live forever on earth. Seeing them, I begin to get hold of myself. Indeed they drink the thornapple, the jimsonweed. And poor as I am, my spirit strengthens. Indeed, one may go and be esteemed beyond, in the place where all are shorn: no matter what we are, all hearts will then be full.
- 12 Let no one's heart be troubled here on earth, though we are sad, though we are weeping. Truly, in but a moment it will end, and we will follow onward, like the princes who were rulers. Copy them, my friend, you that are discontent and joyless here on earth. Adorn yourself with sad flowers, weeping flowers: praise him. You will offer flower sighs to him the Ever Present, to him the Ever Near.
- 19 I adorn myself with sad flower jewels; sighing shield flowers lie in my hand: I raise a sad song. I offer good songs as jades, as jewels; I whirl jade drums as dewy flowers. I, the singer, support my song in heaven: indeed, I take it from the sky dwellers, the troupial bird, the precious trogon bird, the spirit swan, the singing swan who entertains the Ever Present, *the Ever Near*.

26 X A Mexican song of green places, a plain one

- 27 "I, the singer, am sad at heart, I grieve: with songs, with flowers, I'm inflicting wounds on earth." Let them *go ahead and* say it, unavailing, hating us and wishing we were dead: "Everyone goes! Off to His home!"
- 31 "If you've been weary and disdainful, you'll obscure your future fame, your glory *here* on earth." Let them *go ahead and* say it, unavailing, *hating us and wishing we were dead*: "Everyone goes! Off to His home!"
- 2 Let's keep living *here* on earth, O Life Giver, O God, and let it be in peace that there's a seeking out of Someone when we've traveled to His home.
- 4 Ah, let us die poor. Let it be done, though comrades call us down, though eagles, jaguars, reprimand us.
- 7 Let Him *go ahead and* do it for them! *Go ahead and* trust Him where He rules! And for this He'll have done away with you, this Life Giver!
- 9 *But* grieve, O Executioner, O Water-Palace Lord. Are you drunk, you gems and jades? Beware of being used. Don't be credulous.

12

Otro.

- 13 Nichoca ehua nicnotlamati nic elnamiqui ticaughtchazque yectli ya xochitl
yectli yan cuicatl maoc tonahuiacan, maoc toncuicacan cen tiyahui tipolihui
ye ichan etc.
- 16 Ach tleon ahiuh quimati in tocnihuan cocoya in noyollo qualani yehua
ayoppan in tlatatihuaye ayoppa piltihuaye yece ye quixoan tlalticpac.
- 19 Oc achitzinca y tetloc ye nican tenahuacan aic yezco on aic nahuiaz aic
nihuelamatiz
- 21 Yn canon nemian noyollo yehua? Can huel ye nochan? can huel nocalla
manian? ninotolinia tl̃c.
- 23 Çan ye tocontemaca ye tocontotoma in mochalchiuh, ye onquetzalma-
lintoc, çaquanicpacxochitl çan yan tiquinmacayã tepilhuã
- 25 Yn nepapan xochitl conquimilo, conihuiti ye noyollo niman nichocaya
ixpan niauh in tonan. ~~in Santa Maria~~
- 27 Çan nocolhuia: ypalnemohua maca ximoçoma, maca ximonenequin tl̃c.
maço tehuantin motloc tinemicany çan ca ye moçana ilhuicatlitica etc.
- 30 Aço tle nello nicyaihtohua nican ypalnemohua çan tontemiquiy çan ton-
cochitlehuaco: nic ytoa in tl̃c. ye ayac huelon tiquilhuia ye nicana.

folio 6

- 1 Yn manel ye chalchihuitl, man tlamatilolli, on aya maçoaya ipalnemohuani
ayac huel tic ilhuia nicana.

3 Xopancuicatl nenonotzalcuicatl impãpampa in
aunque ahmo onmixtilia in yaoc.

- 5 Cantares ~~alestiguos~~ de los naturales otomis que solian cãtar en los com-
bites y casamientos. buelto en lengua Mexicana siempre tomando el jugo y
el alma del canto ynazenes, metaforicas q̃ ellas dedcian, como .V.r.º lo en-
tendera i mejor que no yo por mi poco talento y tan yban cõ razonable
estilo y primor para que .V.r.º las apueche y entremeta A sus tiempos que
conuinere como buen maestro que es Vuesa reucren.º

12 Xopancuicatl nenonotzalcuicatl ypampa in
aunque Amo onmixtilia in yaoc.

- 14 Nictzotzonan nohuehueh nicuicatlamatquetl ic niqimoxitia ic niqim-
mitlehua in tocnihuan yn ahtle ynyollo quimati yn aic tlathui, ypan in

XI Another

- 12
13 I cry, I grieve, knowing we're to go away and leave these good flowers, 1
these good songs. Let's be pleased, let's sing. We're off to be destroyed
in His home.
- 16 Our friends are ill at ease? Sick, my hearts are vexed! We're not born twice, 2
we're not engendered twice. Rather we must leave this earth.
- 19 Near and in the presence of this company a moment! It can never be. I can 3
never be pleased, never be content.
- 21 Where does my heart live? Where is my home? Where does my city lie? I 4
am poor on earth.
- 23 You give a gift of jadesstones, You unfold them spun as plumes: You give a 5
flower crown of troupial to the princes.
- 25 And when these sundry flowers have clothed my heart, making it drunk, 6
then I cry and go before our mother, Santa María.
- 27 I say to Life Giver, "Do not frown, do not be reluctant *here* on earth. Let 7
us—us!—live beside you in your home within the sky."
- 30 But can what I say be real, O Life Giver? We merely sleep, we were merely 8
born to dream, and though I say it here on earth it falls on no one's ears.
- 1 Though it be jade, though it be jewels, directed to Life Giver, even so it 9
falls on no one's ears.

3 A song of green places, a song for admonishing
those who seek no honor in war

- 5 Old songs of the Otomi Indians, which they used to sing at feasts and
marriages, translated into the Mexican language, metaphorical images that
they used to utter always capturing the substance and soul of song, as Your
Reverence will understand and better than I with my meager talent, and
such that they proceeded with considerable style and elegance, for Your
Reverence to use and insert at the convenience of your leisure, being so
good an expert as Your Reverence is

12 XII A song of green places, a song for admonishing
those who seek no honor in war

- 14 Clever with a song, I beat my drum to wake our friends, rousing them to 1
arrow deeds, whose never dawning hearts know nothing, whose hearts

- inyollo yaocochmictoque in inpan motimaloa in mixtecomatlayohualli
 ahnen niquitohuay motolinia y quicaquiqui y xochitlathuicacuatl
 veceh tzetzeuhtimania huehuetitlana ohuaya ohuai.
- 20 Tlahuizcalteochitla oncuepontimani yn ixochiquiyaopā in tloque in nahua-
 que onahuachtotonamecyotimani in teyol quimaa ma xiqualitacan in
 ahtle ipan ontlatao, çannen cuepontimania ayac mah aca quelehuiao yn
 antocnihuan amo çannenya xochitl yoliliztlapalneucxochitla e.
- 25 Quiyolcayhuintiaya in teyolia çan oncan ye omania çan oncan ye oncue-
 pontimania quauhtepetitlan yn yahualiuhcancopay ixtlahuatl itica oncan
 incmanaya oc teoatl tlachinollia oncan ynepoyahuayan in teoquauhtli
 oncan iquiquinacayā in ocelotl, ypixauhyan in nepapan tlaçomaquiztetl,
 ynemomolotzayan in nepapan tlaçopilihuitl, oncan teintoque oncan
 xamantoque in tepilhuan.

folio 6v

- 1 Tlacuah yehuantin in tepilhuani conelehuiiao: in tlahuizcalxochitlā ya ne-
 mamallihuao ic tetlane'nectiao, yn ilhuicac oncan y ce olitzin yn i o
 tepiltzina quitzetzelotimania a yn tepilhuā in quauhtli ya ocelotl, in
 quinnemachtiao y xochicucponalotlon in quimihuintia ye yolxochi-
 ahuechtia.
- 6 Ynic timomatia in tinocniuh çanneyan xochitlon in tiquelchuiiao in tlçc
 quen toconcuizon quen ticyachihuaçon timotolinia in tiquimiztlacoa a
 yn tepilhuan xochitica cuicatica ma xihuallachiacan yn atley yca
 mihtlchua onçan moch yehuantin in tepilhuan çaquame teoquecholti
 tzinitzca tlatlahuquecholtin moyehyectitinemio yn onmatio yn ixtlahuatl
 ytican.
- 12 Chimalxochitl, quauhpiolxochitl ye oquichtlamattimani in yā tepilhuan
 xochicozcaocoxochitl ic mahpantimania quitimaloa yectli ya cuicatl,
 yectli ya xochitl ymeçoh ymelchiquihpatih mochihuaya in quiceliaon
 in teoatl tlachinolli y yan tocnihuan tliluhqui tepca in tiyaotehua huey
 otlipana ma huel xoconmanao i ye mochimalo huel xonicaon in ti-
 quauhtli ya ocelotla.

huexotzincayotl.

- 19
- 20 Çan tlaocolxochitl tlaocolcuicatl onmania Mex^{co} nican ha in tlatilolco in
 yece ye oncanon neiximachoyan ohuaya.
- 22 Yxamayo yectli in çan ca otitechicneli ipalnemohuani in çan can tipopoli-
 huizque in timacehualta ohuaya.

Songs 12-13, Folios 6-6v

- lie dead asleep in war, who praise themselves in shadows, in darkness.
Not in vain do I say, "They are poor." Let them come and hear the
flower dawn songs drizzling down incessantly beside the drum.
- 20 Sacred flowers of the dawn are blooming in the rainy place of flowers that 2
belongs to him the Ever Present, the Ever Near. The heart pleasers are
laden with sunstruck dew. Come and see them: they blossom uselessly
for those who are disdainful. Doesn't anybody crave them? O friends,
not useless flowers are the life-colored honey flowers.
- 25 They that intoxicate one's soul with life lie only there, they blossom only 3
there, within the city of the eagles, inside the circle, in the middle of the
field, where flood and blaze are spreading, where the spirit eagle shines,
the jaguar growls, and all the precious bracelet stones are scattered, all
the precious noble lords dismembered, where the princes lie broken, lie
shattered.
- 1 These princes are the ones who greatly crave the dawn flowers. So that all 4
will enter in, he causes them to be desirous, he who lies within the sky,
he, Ce Olintzin, ah! the noble one, who makes them drizzle down, giv-
ing a gift of flower brilliance to the eagle-jaguar princes, making them
drunk with the flower dew of life.
- 6 If, my friend, you think the flowers are useless that you crave here on 5
earth, how will you acquire them, how will you create them, you that
are poor, you that gaze on the princes at their flowers, at their songs?
Come look: do they rouse themselves to arrow deeds for nothing? There
beyond, the princes, all of them, are troupials, spirit swans, trogons,
roseate swans: they live in beauty, they that know the middle of the
field.
- 12 With shield flowers, with eagle-trophy flowers, the princes are rejoicing in 6
their bravery, adorned with necklaces of pine flowers. Songs of beauty,
flowers of beauty, glorify their blood-and-shoulder toil. They who have
accepted flood and blaze become our Black Mountain friends, with
whom we rise warlike on the great road. Offer your shield, stand up,
you eagle jaguar!

19 *XIII Huexotzincan piece*

- 20 Only sad flowers, sad songs, lie here in Mexico, in Tlatelolco. Beyond is 1
the Place Where Recognition Is Achieved.
- 22 O Life Giver, it's good to know that you will favor us, and we underlings 2
will die.

- 24 Ototlahuelilitic çan titotolinial timacehualtin queçohuel tehuantî otiquitta-
que in cococ ye machoyan ohuaya.
- 26 Ticmomoyahua ticxoxocoyan in momacehualy in tlatilolco cococ moteca
cococ ye machoyan yeic ticialhuia ic ye titlatzihuia ipalnemoani ohuaya
- 29 Choquitzli moteca yxayotl pixahui oncã a in tlatilolco yn atlã yahqueon o
in Mexica ye cihua nel ihui ica ye huiloaon canon tihui in tocnihuan a
ohuaya.

folio 7

- 1 Ynic neltic oyacahua atlo yan tepetl o in Mex^{co} in poctli ehuatoc ayahuitl
onmantoc in toconyachihuaya ipalnemoani ohuaya.
- 4 Yn annexica ma xiquilnamiquican oya çan topan quitemohuia yellelon
imahuiço yehuan çan yehuan Dios yehua anquin ye oncan in coyona-
cazco ohuaya.
- 7 Ça can ye oncan çan quinchoquitzlapaloa o anqui huitzmanatl in çan ye ~~ih~~
motelchihuh onya o anquin ye mochin ha in tlaylotlaqui, ah in tlacotzin,
ah in tlacateuctli in oquihtzin y hui hui ica çã ye conyacauhqui in te-
nochtitlan ohuaya.
- 11 Yn antocnihuan ma xachocacan aya ma xoconmaticã yca ye ticcauhque
Mexicayotl huiya çan ye y atl chichix huiya no çan ye tlaqualli chichix
aya çan conayachihui in ipalnemoani ha in tlatilolco y ohuaya.
- 15 Tel ah çan yhuian huicoquehon in Motelchiuhtzin ha in tlacotzin çan
mocuicacllaquauhque Acachinanco in ah iquac in tlepan quixtiloto in
coyohuacan ohuaya.

. IHS.

- 18
- 19 Nican ompehua in cuicatl motenehua melahuac huexotzincayotl ic moqui-
chitoaya in tlatoque huexotzinca manime catca: yexcan quiça inic tlatla-
mantitica, Teuccuicatl ahnoco quauhcuicatl, xochicuicatl, icnucuatl.
Auh inic motzotzona huehuetl: cencamatl mocauhtih, auh yn occen-
camatl ipan huetzi yetetl ti: auh in huel ic ompehua ca centetl ti, Auh inic
mocuepa quinyquac yticpa huetzi y huehuetl çan mocemana in maitl,
auh quinyquac i ye inepantla oceppe itenco hualcholoa in huehuetl: tel
yehuatl itech mottaz, yn ima yn aquin cuicani quimati in iuh motzo-
tzona. auh yãcuican ye no ceppa ynin cuicatl ychã .D. Diego de leon
Gouer.^{do} Azcapotzalco: yehuatl oquitzotzon in .D. fr.^{co} Placido ypan
xihuitl .t 551. ypan inezcalilitzin tt^o Jesu christo.

Song 13, Folios 6v-7

- 24 How unfortunate are we, we poor ones, we underlings! How favored are we? We've seen it: it's misery, yes, it is felt. 3
- 26 In Tlatelolco you disperse your underlings, you rout them. Misery is pouring, misery is felt, because we were weary, because we were lax. O Life Giver! 4
- 29 Tears are pouring, teardrops are raining there in Tlatelolco. The Mexican women have gone into the lagoon. It's truly thus. So all are going. And where to, comrades? 5
- 1 True it is. They forsake the city of Mexico. The smoke is rising, the haze is spreading. This is your doing, O Life Giver. 6
- 4 Mexicans, remember that he who sends down on us his agony, his fear, is none but God, alas, there in Coyonacazco. 7
- 7 There the captain, Motelchiuh, addresses them tearfully, all of them, ah! the Arbiter, ah! Tlacotzin, ah! Commander Oquiztzin, alas, alas. And so he's abandoned Tenochtitlan. 8
- 11 Weep and be guilty, friends. You've forsaken the Mexican nation, alas. The water is bitter, also the food is bitter. This is the doing of Life Giver in Tlatelolco. 9
- 15 Yet peacefully were Motelchiuh and Tlacotzin taken away. They fortified themselves with song in Acachinanco when they went to be delivered to the fire in Coyohuacan. 10

IHS

- 18
- 19 Here begin songs known as plain Huexotzincan pieces, in which the lords of Huexotzinco who were "hands" used to be spoken of as braves. They are divided into three kinds: lord songs or eagle songs, flower songs, and bereavement songs. And the drum is beaten thus: when a stanza ends and another stanza is to follow, it's three-beat. And when it actually begins, it's one-beat. But as it comes back in, then the drum falls beneath it, and the hand just keeps on going. But when it is in the middle, again the voice of the drum emerges. This, however, must be seen from the hand of the singer who knows how it is beaten. And newly, again, this music was in the home of Don Diego de León, gobernador of Azcapotzalco. Don Francisco Plácido beat it out in the year 1551 of the resurrection of our lord Jesucristo.

- 1 Çan tzinitzcan im petlatl ypan ohuaye on tzinitzcan i celiztoc a oncan y ça
nē ninentlamatia, in çan icnoxochicuicatica ÿ noconyatemo Hua ya ohuaya
ohuaya.
- 4 Yn canin nemiya y canon in nemi toconchia ye nican huehuctitlan a ayia-
huc, ye onnentlamacho, ye moca tlaocoyalo a y xopancalitec a ohuaya
ohuaya
- 7 Ac ypiltzin? ach anca ipiltzin yehuayan Dios jesu chřo: can quicuilōā
tlacuilōā quicuilōā cuicatl a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 9 O ach anca nel ompa huiz canin ilhuicac yxochintlacuilol xochincalitec a
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Yn ma ontlachialoya in ma ontlā'tlamahuiçolo in tlapapcali ma nican y
ypalnemoa ytlayocol yehuan dios ohuaya et.
- 13 Tecthōlinian techtla'tlanocchia y ycucaxochiamilpan in techontla'tlachialtian
ypalnemohua ytlayocol yehuan Dios a ohuaya et.
- 15 Ya y xopantla y xopantla tinenemi ye nican itlahuatl ytec y, ça xiuhque-
cholquiahuitl çan topan xaxamacay yn atlixco ya ohuaya ohuaya.
- 18 Çan ye nauhcampa y ontlapepetlantoc, oncan onceliztoc in coçahuiz xochitl
oncā nemi in Mexica in tepilhuan a ohuaya ohuaya.

Teçoçomoc̄tli ic motéc̄pac.

- 21 Çan ca tzihuactitlan, mizquititlan aiyahue chicomoztocpa mochi ompa ya
huitze an tla'tohua ye nican ohuaya ohuaya.
- 24 Nican momalinaco in colcahuahcatecpillotl huiya nican milacatzoa in
colhuahcachichimeccayotl in toteuchua huia.
- 26 Maoc achitzinca xonmotlancuican antepilhuan huiya Tlacateuhtzin hui-
tzilyhuitl aya Cihuacoatl y quauhxiotl huia totomihua can tlanahuacatl
aya Çan ca xiuhtototl yxtlilxochitl y Quēman tlatzihuiz quimohmoya-
huaquiuh yauh ytepeuh yehuan Dios yca ye choca teçoçomoc̄tli ohuaya
ohuaya.

- 1 ye no ceppa mizquitl ye no ceppa tzihuactli ya cahuantimani huey tlalpani
anqui çan ytlatol yehuan Dios ā ohuaya .etc.
- 3 Canon yeh̄ yauh xochitl cano ye yauh yeh̄ intoca quauhtli ocelotl huia
ya moyahuaya xclihuia atlo yan tepetl huey tlalpany anqui çan itlatol
ypalnemohua ohuaya ohuaya.

XIV

- 1 There's a trogon on the mat, a trogon reviving. There! As best I can I seek 1
him in this grieving flower song.
- 4 Where is he? Where is he? We await him here beside the drum. Yes, there's 2
grieving. On account of You there's sadness in this house of green places.
- 7 Whose child is this? Could it be the child of God? Jesucristo? For indeed He 3
paints him, He does the painting: He paints this song.
- 9 His flower painting, is it really coming? From the flower house within 4
the sky?
- 11 Let people see, let people marvel in a house of colors. Let God Life Giver's 5
creations be here.
- 13 By making us aware of his creations, God Life Giver torments us, causes 6
us to crave his garden of song flowers.
- 15 Already in a springtime, in a springtime, we are walking here, upon this 7
field. A green-swan downpour roars upon us in Water Plain.
- 18 Lightning strikes from the four directions. Golden flowers are reviving. 8
There, the Mexican princes are alive.

XV How Tezozomoc was anointed lord

- 21
22 From among the brambles and the mesquites, from Seven Caves they're 1
all arriving. Ah! They're singing here!
- 24 Here come the Colhuan nobles, spinning. Here the Colhuan Chichimecs, 2
our lords, are whirling.
- 26 Be borrowed for a moment, O princes. O Tlacateuctzin, O Huitzilihuitl, 3
O Cihuacoatl, O Cuauhxilotl, O Totomihua, O Tlalnahuaatl, and even
Xiuhtototl, and Ixtlilxochitl. God in time shall be averse and come to
break apart his realm. For this, Tezozomoc is weeping.
- 1 Now again the mesquites, now again the brambles. The Great Land is re- 4
called! And this would seem to be the word of God.
- 3 Where do the flowers go? Where do they go, they that are called eagles and 5
jaguars? That realm is broken up and scattered in this Great Land! This
would seem to be the word of Life Giver.

- 6 Onecuiltonoloc, onetlamachtiloc, in teteuctin cemanahuac y huel çotoca
 huipantoca ytl'a'tol ypalnemohuani, huel quimothuitico huel quixima-
 tico yyollo yehuan Dios huiya chalchihuitl maquiztliya tlamatelolliya
 tiçatla yhuitla ça xochitl quimatico yaoyotl a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Oya in tochin y miccacalcatl i acolmiztlan teuctli çan ca tocih teuctli
 yohuallatonoc y yehuan cuetzpaltzin iztac coyotl totomihuacan tlaxcallã
 ohuaye coatzi teuctli hui tlalotzin ça xochitl quimatico yaoyotl a ohuaya
 ohuaya.
- 15 Tley anquiyocoya anteteuctin y huexotzinca ma xontlachiacan acolihua'can
 in quatlapanca oncan ye huexotla yztapallocan huia ye yohuarimani atlo
 yan tepetl, a ohuaya. etc.
- 18 Oncan in pochotl ahuehuetl oncan icaca mizquitl ye oztotl huiã tletla-
 quahuac quimatia ypalnemohuani o yao aiyahue, ohuaya etc.
- 20 Tlaca'teotl nopiltzin Chichimecatl y tleon mach itla techcocoliã teçoço-
 moctli techÿmic itlani yeehuaya at ay yahuil i quinequia yaoyotl nehca-
 liztlan quima acolihuacan ohuaya etc.
- 23 Tel ca tonchua ticahuiltia ypalnemohuani colihua oo Mexicatl y tlahca'teotl
 huia ya at a yahuil i quinequia yaoyotl necaliztl quimana acolihuacan a
 ohuaya ohuaya.
- 26 Çan ye onnecuiltonolo in tļçc. ayoppã titlano chimalli xochitl ayoppan
 ahuiltlan ipalnemohua yeic an auia in tlailotlaqui xayacamacha huia ho
 ayya yi ee o ahuyaha ohuaya etc
- 29 Yn acon anquelehuia chimalli xochitly yohualxochitli tla'chinolxochitl
 yeic neyahpanalo antepilhuan huiya quetzalmamatzin huitznahuacatl
 ohuaye ho hayia yi ee. oua y iaha ohuaya etc

folio 8v

- 1 Chimaltenamitl ipac oncan in nemohua yehua necalia huilotl oyahualla
 ihcahuaca yehuaya oncan in ye nemi in tecpiltin xiuhtzin xayacamach-
 an i amehuan oo anconahuiltia ypalnemohua ohuaya et.
- 4 Yn ma huel nehtotilo man nemamanaloya yaonahuac a onnetlamachti-
 loyan ypan nchihuallano ohuaye in tepiltzin can ye mocue tlaca ohuaya
 ohuaya.
- 7 Quetzalipantica oyohuilfoa ahuiltlan ipalnemohua ixtlahuacan in tapalca-
 yocan a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 9 Oyohualehuaya ye tocal ipan oyohua yehua huexotzincatl y tototihua oo
 iztac coyotla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Acemelle yca tona'coquiça y nican topan titemon titlaxcaltecatl y tocoya
 cahcalia yn altepetl y huexochinco ya ohuaya et.
- 13 Cauhtimaniz o polihuiz tlalli yã totomihuacan huia cehuiz yiollo o ante-
 pilhuan a huexotzinca y ohuaya ohuaya

Song 15, Folios 8-8v

- 6 All lords throughout Anahuac were rich, were happy, and Life Giver's 6
 words were strung together and composed. They did indeed perceive,
 they knew, God's heart. Those jades and bracelets, those beads, knew
 chalk and plumes, *knew* flowers: *they knew* war.
- 11 Gone are Tochin, Miccacalcatl, Lord Acolmiztli, even Lord Toteotzin, 7
 Yohuallatonac, alas, and Cuetzpaltzin, Iztac Coyotl of Totomihuacan,
 Tlaxcala's Lord Coatzin, alas, and Tlalotzin: they knew the flowers
 of war.
- 15 What are you creating, you lords of Huexotzinco? Look toward Acolhua- 8
 can, where skulls are broken! *Look* there at Huexotla, at Itztapallocan!
 Those realms now lie in darkness.
- 18 There a ceiba, a cypress! There! Among the mesquite and the caves, a fire- 9
 hardened one, who knows Life Giver!
- 20 "O Tlacateotl, O my dear Chichimec prince, why does Tezozomoc rage 10
 against us, wanting us to die? It seems he wishes combat and would
 spread a war in Acolhuacan!
- 23 "Though we suffer, we give pleasure to Life Giver, O Colhuan, O Mexi- 11
 can, O Tlacateotl! It seems he wishes combat and would spread a war in
 Acolhuacan!"
- 26 All are rich now *once again* on earth. "Not twice are shields, *are* flowers, 12
 used. Not twice does one give pleasure to Life Giver." With this the ar-
 biter Xayacamach is pleased.
- 29 Who does not crave the shield flowers, the darkness flowers, the blaze 13
 flowers, with which to be adorned? "O princes Quetzalmamatzin and
 Huitznahuacatl!"
- 1 Among the shield walls there's life, there's combat! The dove has come; 14
 it calls! There live the lordly princes Xiuhtzin and Xayacamach. Oh,
 you're giving pleasure to Life Giver.
- 4 Let there be dancing! Let there be sacrifice in war. There's happiness. Now 15
 one desires to be created. O prince! *Ah*, whence are these nobles ob-
 tained?
- 7 As plume banners all go forth. Life Giver is pleased on the field, the 16
 place of shards.
- 9 As a bell he rises in our midst, he shrills—he, Iztac Coyotl, the Huexotzin- 17
 can, the Totomihuan.
- 11 Restless, you arise *in war*, O you that here descend on us, you Tlaxcalans! 18
 And the realm of Huexotzinco is besieged and fired upon.
- 13 The land of Totomihuacan shall be abandoned, shall be destroyed. *Then* 19
 their hearts will be tranquil. O you princes of Huexotzinco!

- 15 Mizquitl ymancan tzihuactli ymancan j Ahuchuetl onicaca huiya ypalnemohua xonicnotlamati mochiel imanca huexotzinco ya çanio oncan in huel ommani tlalla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 18 Çan nohuian tlaxixinia tlamomoyahua y ayocan mocehuia momácehual y hualcaco mocuic yn icelteotl oc xoconyocoyacan antepilhuan a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 21 Çan mocuepa ytlahotl conahuiloa ypalnemohua tepeyacac ohuaye antepilhuan a huaya ohuaya
- 23 Canel amonyazque xoconmolhuican antlaxcalteca y tlaconmihuatzin hui oc oyauh ytlachinol ya yehuan Dios a ohuaya etc.
- 25 Cozcatl yhuihui quetzal ne'huihuia oc ço conhuipanque çan chichimeca y totomihua a yztac coyotl a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 27 huexotzincoya çan quiauhztzin teuctli techcocolia Mexicatl y techcocolia a colihua o ach quennel otihua tonyazque quenonamican a ohuaya ohuaya
- 30 Ay antlayocoya anquimitoa yn amotahuan anteteuctin ayoquantzin yhuan a in tlepetztic in cach a ohuayc tzihuacpopoca y ohuaya .et.

folio 9

- 1 ca çan catcan chalco acolihuaca huia totomihuacan yamilpā in quauhquecholla quixixinia yn ipetl icpal yehuā Dios ohuaya ohuaya.
- 4 Tlacocoa ye nican tlalli tepetl ye cocolilo ya ceçic a ohuaya. et
- 5 Quēnel conchihuazque atl popoca ytlacoh in teuctli tlalli mocuepaya mictlan onmatia Cacamatl on teuctli quennel conchihuazque ohuaya ohuaya.
- 8 O nonellelacic quexquich nicay'ttoa antocnihuan ayiaue noconnenemittica noyollon tlçc y, noconyculotica a yn iuhcan tinemi ahuan yeccan a y cemellecan in tenahuac y ahnonnohuicallanin quenonamican ohuaya etc.
- 12 Çan nellin quimati ye noyollo çan nelli nic y'ttoa antocnihua ayiahuc aquin quitlatlauhtia yeclteotl yiollo ytlahco ca conayamacay Mach amo oncan? in tlçc mach amo oppan piltihua? ye nelli nemohua in quenonamican ylhuicatly ytec y canyo oncan in nctlamachtilo y ohuaya etc
- 17 Oyohualli ihcahuacan teuctlin popoca ahuiltlon Dios ypalnemohuani: chimalli xochitl in cuecuepontimani in mahuiztli moteca molinian tlçc. ye nican ye xochimicohuayā in ixtlahuac itec a ohuaya ohuaya
- 21 Yaonauac ye oncan yaopeuhca in ixtlahuac itec y teuhitlin popoca ya milacatzoa y momalacachoa yaoxochimiquiztica antepilhuan in anteteuctin çan chichimcca y ohuaya et.

- 15 Where mesquites and brambles stand, a cypress has arisen! O Life Giver, 20
 have mercy! Your shrine is Huexotzinco: and that realm lies only in the
 Yonder.
- 18 Your vassals everywhere are ruining things, breaking things apart, no- 21
 where resting, for your songs are being heard, O Only Spirit. Keep
 composing them, you princes!
- 21 His songs are returning! Life Giver is disgracing Tepeyacac, you princes. 22
 23 And where are you to go? Tell yourselves, Tlaxcalans! Tlacomihuatzin has
 just gone forth to God's blaze. 23
- 25 Like a jewel, like a plume, have these Chichimecs prepared Iztac Coyotl 24
 the Totomihuan.
- 27 And Lord Quiauhtzin of Huexotzinco: "The Mexicans rage against us, the 25
 Colhuans rage against us. What route can there be? We're to go away to
 the Place Unknown."
- 30 You are sad, O princes: you are uttering your fathers, Ayocuan and the 26
 fire-burnished one who perchance indeed is Tzihuacpopoca.
- 1 He has been in Chalco, in Acolhuacan, in the fields of Totomihuacan. He 27
 destroys Cuauhquechollan's mat and throne. And he is God.
- 4 He wreaks havoc here in *all* the land and realm. All Anahuac is raged 28
 against.
- 5 What will befall them? Atl Popoca is the Lord's slave. The earth is rolling 29
 over. Lord Cacamatl knows the whereabouts of Mictlan. What will be-
 fall them?

XVI

- 8 Oh, I'm in agony! O friends, I utter so many! causing these hearts of mine 1
 to walk on earth, painting them here where we live. Yes, they're plea-
 sured in this good place, this peaceful place, among men. Ah! I don't
 want to be taken to the Place Unknown.
- 12 But my heart knows the truth, I speak truth, friends: whoever prays to the 2
 Only Spirit gives his precious heart to him. And isn't that beyond? And
 on earth are we born not twice? Yes, it's true. We live in the Place Un-
 known within the sky. And there alone is happiness.
- 17 The bells are shrilling, the lords are smoking. God Life Giver is pleased. 3
 The shield flowers are blossoming: the glory is strewn, it stirs here on
 earth. Yes, there's flower death upon this field.
- 21 There, in battle, where war begins, upon that field, lords are smoking, 4
 whirling, twisting due to flower war death, you lords and princes! And
 they're Chichimecs!

- 24 Maca mahui noyollo ye oncan ixtlahuatl ytic noconclehuia in itzimiquil-
litzli çan quinequin toyollo yaomiquiztla ohuaya etc.
- 26 O anquin ye oncan yaonahuac noconclehuia in itzimiquiliztli can quine-
quin toyollo yaomiquiztla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 28 Mixtli ye chuatimani ychuaya moxoxopan ipalnemohuani ye oncan ce-
liztimania in quauhtlin ocelotl ye oncan cuepo-

folio 9v

- ni oo in tepilhuan huiya in tlachinollehuaya ohuaya et^c
- 2 Yn maoc tonahuiacan antocnihuan ayiahue maoc xōnahuiacan antepilhuan
in ixtlahuatl ytec y nemoaquihi ic çan tictotlanehuia o a in chimalli
xochitl in tlachinollehuaya ohuaya ohuaya.

XochiCuicatl.

- 6
- 7 Can tianemia ticuicanitl maya hualmoquetza xochihuehuetl quetzaltica
huiconticac teocuitlaxochinencpaniuhctac y ayamo aye yliamo aye hui
y ohuaya ohuaya.
- 10 tiquimonahuiltiz in tepilhuan teteucti o in quauhtloocelotl ayamo etc
- 12 Yn tlaca'cc otemoc aya huehuetitlan ye nemi in cuicanitl huia çan qui-
quetzalintomaya quexexeloa aya ycuic ipalnemoa quiyananquilia in co-
yolyantototl oncuicatinemi xochimana man aya toxocha ohuaya ohuaya.
- 16 In canon in noconcaqui ytlatol aya tlaca'ço yehuatl ypalnemoa quiyanan-
quilia quiyananquilia in coyolyantototl oncuicatinemi xochimana man
aya etc
- 19 In chalchihuitl ohuayee onquetzalpi'pixauhtimania yn a motlatol huia no
iuh ye quittoa y ayoquan yehuayan cuetzpal ohuaye anqui nelin ye qui-
matin ypalnemoa ohuaya etc
- 22 No iuh quichihuacon teuctlon timaloa ye çan quetzalmaquiztlatamilti-
caya conahuiltia ycelteotl huia ach canon aço ceyan ypalnemoa ach canon
aço tle nel in tlçc a ohuaya etc
- 25 Ma cuel achic aya maoc ixquich cahuitl niquinnotlanehui in chalchiuhtin i
in maquiztin i in tepilhuan aya çan nicxochimalina in tecpillotl huia çan
ca nica nocuic yca ya noconyla-

folio 10

- catzoa a in huehuetitlan a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 2 Oc noncohuati nican huexotzinco y nitra'tohuani nitecachuatzin huiya

Songs 16–17, Folios 9–10

- 24 Let my heart be not afraid upon that field. I crave knife death. Our hearts 5
want war death.
- 26 I seem to crave the knife death, there! in battle. Our hearts want war death. 6
- 28 Clouds are rising. These are your green places, O Life Giver. There! a jag- 7
uar, an eagle, sprouts. There! lords are blossoming: they're rising in the
blaze.
- 2 Let's be pleased, friends. And princes, be pleased on this field—so that 8
there may be a coming forth to life. We're borrowing shield flowers: and
they're rising in the blaze.

XVII Flower song

- 6
- 7 Where are you, singer? Here, let the flower drums appear. They're twirling 1
down as plumes. They're littered as golden flowers.
- 10 You'd pleasure princes, lords, eagles, jaguars. 2
- 12 Ah, he's descended. The singer's at the drum. He's setting them free as 3
plumes. He's dispersing the songs of Life Giver. Bellbird gives him the
echo, singing along, spreading flowers. Let's have these flowers!
- 16 And how do I hear his songs? Ah! It's Life Giver who gives him the echo. 4
Bellbird gives him the echo, singing along, spreading flowers. Let's have
these flowers!
- 19 These jades are falling as a mist of plumes. Ah! They're your songs. And 5
this is how Ayocuan, *yes*, Cuctzpal, utters them. It would seem indeed
that this one has acquaintance with Life Giver.
- 22 So this is how that lord, that vaunted one, comes creating them. Yes, with 6
plumelike bracelet beads he pleasures the Only Spirit. How *else* would
Life Giver acquiesce? How *else* could there be anything good on earth?
- 25 "Let me borrow for a moment, for a while, these jades and bracelets, these 7
princes. I flower-spin these nobles. Here! As songs of mine I whirl them,
ah! beside the drum.
- 2 "For a moment I have companions here in Huexotzinco, I, King Tecaye- 8

- chalchihuiti çan quetzalitztin y niquincenquixtia in tepilluan aya çan
nixochimalina in tecpillotl huia ohuaya ohuaya
- 6 A yn ilhuicac itic ompa ye ya huitz in yectli yā xochitel yectli yan cuicatly,
conpolean telled conpolean totlayocoly in tlaca'ço yehuatl in chichimecatl
teuctli in tecaychuatzin yca xōahuiaçan a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 10 Moquetzalizquixochintzetzeloa in icniuhytol Aztacaxtlatlapātica ye on-
malintiacac in quetzalxiloxochitl ymapā onne'nemi conchi'chichinti-
nemih in teteuctin in tepilhuan a etc
- 13 Çan teocuitlacoyoltotol o huel yectlin amocuic huel yectli in anq̄hua
anquin ye oncan y xochitl yiahualihcan y xochitl ymapan amoncate yn
amontlátla'toa yechuaya ohui ohui ilili y yao ayyahue ho amaha ilili ahua
y yao huia
- 17 O ach anca tiquechol in ipalnemoa o ach anca titlatocauh yehuā Dios huiya
achto tiamehuā anquitztoque tlahuizcalli amoncuicatinemi ohui ohui ili-
li. etc
- 20 Maciuhitia oo in quinequi noyollo çan chimalli xochitl in ixochiuh ipal-
moani, quen conchiuaz noyollo yehua onen tacico tonquiçaco in tl̄çc a
ohuaya ohuaya
- 23 Çan ca iuhqui noyaz in oompopoliuh xochitla antle notleyo yez in quēma-
nian, antle nitauca yez in tl̄çc. manel xochitl manel cuicatl, quen con-
chihuaz noyollo yehua onen tacico tonquiçaco in tl̄çc. ohuaya ohuaya.
- 27 Man tonahuiaçan antocnihuan aya ma onnequechnahualo nican huiyaa
xochintalticpac on tianemi ye nican ayac quitlamitehuaz in xochitl
in cuicatl in mania ychan ipalnemohuani y iao a ilili y iao ayahue aye
ohuaya etc
- 31 Yn çan cuel achitzincan tl̄çc. aya aya oc no iuhcā quēonamican i

folio 10v

- cuiç oc pacohua icniuhthiuhay auh yn amo çanio nican tōtiximatico in
tlal̄çc y yiao ha ilili yiao etc
- 3 Noconcac on cuicatl noconcaquin tlapitzaya xochimecatl ayoquan teuctli
ya ahuaryic ohuayiao ayio yo ohua
- 5 Çan mitzyananquili omitzyananquili xochincalaitec y in aquiauhatzin in
tlacateuhtli ayapancaatl yahuayic etc
- 7 Can tinemi noteouh ypalnemohua nimitztemohua in quēmanian y moca
nitlaocoyan nicuicanitl huia çan nimitzahuiltiaya ohuiyan tilili yancohuia
ohuaya ohuaya
- 10 Yn çan ca izquixochitl in quetzalizquixochitl pixahui ye nicā xopācalaitec y
tlacuilolcalitec çan nimitzahahuiltiaya ohui etc
- 12 O anqui ye oncan tlaxcalla, ayahue, chalchihuetetzilacacucatoq̄ in hue-
huetitlan, ohuaye, xochinpoyon poyon ayiahue xicontencatl teuctli in

Song 17, *Folios 10-10v*

huatzin. I'm assembling jades, emeralds, princes. I flower-spin these nobles, ah!"

- 6 From heaven, ah, come good flowers, good songs. They put away our cares, they put away our pain. Ah, it's the Chichimec lord, Tecaychuatzin! Be pleased. 9
- 10 Comrades are scattering down as plumelike popcorn flowers, spinning down as white morning glories, lords, princes, moving along these branches, inhaling this plumelike cornsilk flower *tree*. 10
- 13 A golden bellbird! A beautiful song! You're singing a beauty. And you that are warbling are there, it would seem, on the flower-*tree* branches, where flowers are swelling. 11
- 17 It would seem that you're a swan for Life Giver, a singer for God, you, the first of these singers to watch for the dawn. 12
- 20 "Though my heart desires shield flowers, Life Giver's flowers, what might happen to this heart of mine? Alas, it's for nothing that we've come to be born here on earth. 13
- 23 "I'm to pass away like a ruined flower. My fame will be nothing, my renown here on earth will be nothing. There may be flowers, there may be songs, but what might happen to this heart of mine? Alas, it's for nothing that we've come to be born here on earth. 14
- 27 "Friends, be pleased! Let us put our arms around each other's shoulders here. We're living in a world of flowers here. No one when he's gone can enjoy the flowers, the songs, that lie outspread in this home of Life Giver. 15
- 31 "Earth is but a moment. Is the Place Unknown the same? Is there happiness and friendship? Is it not just here on earth that acquaintances are made?" 16
- 3 I've heard a song. I hear the fluting of the garland, Lord Ayocuan. 17
- 5 He's answered you. From within the house of flowers Aquiahuatzin has answered you. And Commander Ayapancatl. 18
- 7 "Life Giver, Spirit, where are you! I seek you time and again. For you I grieve, I, the singer. I give you pleasure. 19
- 10 "Popcorn flowers, plumelike popcorn flowers are drizzling into this house of green places, this house of paintings. I give you much pleasure." 20
- 12 It seems that there in Tlaxcala they're singing as jade gongs beside the drum. And there's a narcotic that's flower-narcotic. And Lord Xicoten-

- tiçatlacatzin in camaxochitzin cuicatica ymelel quiça, xochitica ya
onchielo ytla'tol ohuay icelteotl ohuaya
- 16 O, anqui nohuiay, ye mochan ipalnemohua, xochipetlatl ye noca xochitica
ontzauhticac oncan mitztlatlauhtia in tepilhua ohuaya.
- 18 Yn nepapan xochiquahuitl onycac, aya, huehuetitlan a ayiahue, cancantica
ya quetzaltica malintimani, ya, yecxochitl motzetzeloya ohuaya ohuaya
- 21 Can quetzatzalpetlacootl ycpac o, ye nemi coyoltototl cuicatinemiya, can
quinanquili teuctliya, conahuiltian quauhtloocelotl ohuaya ohuaya
- 24 Xochitl tzeteliuhtoc y, ma onnetotilo antocnihuan huehuetitlan ac onchielo
can nentlamati toyollo yehua ohuaya ohuaya.
- 26 Yn çan ca yehuan Dios tla xic, ya, caquican ye hualtemoya o ilhuicatlitic, y,
cuicatihuitzy, quinanquilia o, angelotin ontlapitzihuitze aya oyiahue
yaia oo ohuaya ohuaya
- 29 Çan ninentlamatia can niqauhtencoz, ayahue, can tlayocolticaia, çan ye
onma'panticac toxochihuehueh huiya, cuix oc nellin tlaca y ie iuh,
cayoc nellin tocuic a ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 11

- 1 tlenoço ycaya tle hualquiça ai, yn òcan tinemi yn òcā ticate timotolinian
tinocniuh oo, tla nimitzonhuica tla òcan xonica ohuaya ohuaya yio
ahuayia oo a ohuaya y hui.
- 4 Canic noncuicatoc yio ahuaya et. tlein anquitoa yn antocnihuā tlatoa ye
nican ohuaya ohuaya.
- 6 Xochithualli mani ompa ye, ya, huitz tepillóhuan a in coyolchiuhqui cho-
quiztica in oncuicatihuitz xopancalitec ayhuian xochitl aihuian cuicatl
nochi an cocolli mochihua ÿ nicā ohuaya et.
- 9 ÿ ye nelli yaxcan in cococ yoa tlayocolticaya, ti, ya, tinemi y ihua, ya,
icnocuicatica noconquetzalmalina ÿ tecpillotl nimotenhuatzin teucyotl
tlatocayotl telpolohuatl tépolohuatl teuctli tinochi ye tonemi xopancal-
itec y, aihuia xochitl ayhuian cuicatl nochi cocolli mochihua ohuaya
ohuaya
- 14 Noconcac on cuicatl noconithua xopan a xoxochiatl ytech onne'nemia
tluhuizcallin quinonotztinemi xihquechol elototl ye tluhquechol
aya, monencauhtzin teuhtli ayie a oo ohuaya et.
- 17 Ohuay iao aye, Antocnihuane aquiue ya onoque yxihquecholcacahua-
xochicalitec y, yehuan Dios huia, ÿ maoc xiquala'cocui quetzalcuemitley,
ma, ya, ma niqumonithua chalchiuhhuilacapitzhueuetzcaticate xochi-
teponaztica monotztoque, auh aço yehuan tepilhuā in teteuctin yn cō-
tzozona ÿ conoolinia xiotlauilohuehuetl xochincaltec a ohuaya etc
- 23 Ma xicaquicana, yehuaaca ye tlatoa xochiquahuitl ymapan motzetzeloti-
caquĩ in teocuitlaxochicoyolayacachuitzil in çhol monencauhtzin teuctli

Song 17, Folios 10v-11

- catl, and Tizatlacatzin, and Camaxochitzin are entertained with this music, awaited with these flowers—they that are songs of the Only Spirit.
- 16 O Life Giver, it seems your home is everywhere. The Flower Mat is here! 22
And princes, whirled as flowers there, are making prayers to you.
- 18 That multitude of flower trees is standing up beside the drum. As baby 23
maize ears, yes, as plumes, they're spun. They're scattered. They're holy flowers.
- 21 Bellbird is singing in the plume arbor. He echoes the lords, he delights 24
those eagle jaguars.
- 24 Flowers are sprinkling down. Let there be dancing beside the drum, O 25
friends. Whom do we await? Our hearts are grieving.
- 26 He's the one. It's God! Hear him! He descends from heaven, singing. An- 26
gels echo him. They come fluting.
- 29 "I grieve, I, Cuauhtencoztli. Our flower drums stand wrapped in sadness. 27
Is it true? Let it not be so. Our songs are good no more."
- 1 But let them arise! Let them appear! We live beyond, exist beyond. You're 28
poor, my friend. Let me take you away. Arise beyond!
- 4 "I'm singing, alas." O friends, whatever you utter sings here! 29
- 6 "From where the Flower Court lies comes one of the nobles. Ah, it's Co- 30
yolchihuiqui. He comes singing through tears from the house of green places. Unhappy are the flowers, unhappy the songs. Everything created here is misery.
- 9 "The pain is hard. We move along in anguish. Motenchuatzin am I, and in 31
grieving songs I plume-spin princes, lords, rulers, and Telpoloatl, Lord Tepoloatl. We're all alive in this house of green places. Unhappy the flowers, unhappy the songs. Everything created *here* is misery."
- 14 I've heard a song. I see him in Green Places, walking in Dawn's House 32
along the flower shore, calling to turquoise swans and green-corn birds. It's the roseate swan Lord Monencauhtzin.
- 17 O friends, who are they that dwell within God's house of green-swan ca- 33
cao flowers? Keep on tilling this plume garden. Let me, let me see them laughing like jade flutes, conversing like flower log drums. And might these lords and princes strike and resonate the turquoise-brilliant drums within this house of flowers?
- 23 Hear it! He's shrilling, warbling on the branches of the flower tree. He's 34
shaking! It's the golden flower-bell, the rattle hummingbird, the swan,

- caquaehcacehuaztlapaltica onmoçoçouhtinemi patlantincmi xochihue-
huetitla ohuaya etc
- 27 Pahuetz pahuetz xochitl cuepontiac xochitl ixpan ypalnemoani mitznan-
quili, o yollo aye o yoa o ioo aya ohuia ohuaya etc
- 29 Ytototzin yehuan Dios can ca tictemohuia, quexquich ye mocuic in ye
monecuiltonol tontcahuilitia yoo ye olini xochitl a ohuaya.
- 31 Nohuian nōne'nemi nohuian nontla'tohua nicuicanitl huia, in

folio 11v

- quetzalizquixochitl ca ye ontzetzeliuhtoc xochiithualco yehua papalocal-
ittec y yaoo ayahue ohuaya etc
- 3 Çan moch onpa ye huitz xochitl ycaca ayahue, tecuccuepal xochitl in
teyollomamalacachoay, tzo yehuan ohuaye, comoyauhtihuitze con-
tztzelotihuitze in xochitla malin xochipoyon ayiahue
- 7 Xochinpetlatl onac ayiahue, cenca ye mochan ye amoxcalitec cuica yehua
ontlatoa yehua xayacamach quihuintia ye iol cacahuaxochitl a yio ahuaya.
- 10 Yn huel yectli on cuicatl ycahuaca yehua coneua ye icuic tlapalteuccitzin
aya, huel ahuia yxochiuh tztzelihui xochitl cacahuaxochitl yio ohuia
- 13 Antocnihuane namechtetemoahua cecencuemitl nictoca auh tzo nican ancate
xonpa'pactiacā xontlatlaquetztzian çan ye onihualacic ȳ namocniuh
namocnihuā ohuaya etc
- 16 Yn cuix itla xochitl can niqualcalaquia yn tzitziquilxochitl moçoquilxo-
chitl cuix iuhquin cuix nayohui nitonolinia yn antocnihuan ohuaya
ohua,
- 19 Aquin nehua nipapatlantincmi yehuaya notlatlalia nixochincuiçā cuicapa-
palotl aya, ma nellēl quiça ma noyol quimatia ohuaya.
- 21 A y topa nihuitz oya, nitemoc in nixopanquecholy, tlapān nacicotti ninō-
çoçohua xochihuehuetitla nocuic ehuallo tlapān onquiça yohuaya.
- 24 O, anqui can no ne nixochiopahuia cuicatl ȳtlan nonquiquiça y no çan
tlatlāluia noquetzalhuicolol teocuitlamecatica nic ylpia namocnoicniuh
ahuaya ohuaya.
- 27 Çan nixotlatlapia namocniuhztzin huia, xochintlapalyzhuatica nocotzoma
noxochintlapixacaltzin ynic nonpactica ye cuecuentla yehuan dios ma
xonahuiacan ohuaya.
- 30 tlaoc cenca xonpacta xochincocozcapatzine tel ca yehuatl teuctli cuix
occepa ye tonnemiquiuh yn iuh quimati moyol hui çan cen tinemico
ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 12

- 1 Oya, nihualacic xochinquahuil ymapan ayahue nixochihuitzil ninoyaca-
huilitica ynic nonpactica tzopelic huelic notē ohuaya.

Song 17, Folios 11–12

Lord Monencauhtzin. Like a gorgeous troupial fan he spreads his wings
and soars beside the flower drum.

- 27 They've reached the top. Flowers have reached the top. The flowers are 35
blooming in the presence of Life Giver. And He's given you the echo.
Oh, heart!
- 29 You've brought down precious birds of God. Your songs, your riches, are 36
plentiful. You're giving pleasure. Flowers are stirring.
- 31 "A singer am I, and everywhere I walk, everywhere I speak, the plume- 37
like popcorn flowers sprinkle down on this flower court, this house of
butterflies.
- 3 "From Flower Place come all the whirling flowers that make hearts spin. 38
They themselves come scattering, come strewing flowers, whirled ones,
narcotic flowers."
- 7 They've entered upon the Flower Mat. And he who sings abundantly, who 39
warbles in this home of yours, this picture house, is Xayacamach. Cacao
flowers intoxicate his heart.
- 10 There's a beautiful song. And the one who shrills, who lifts his song, is 40
Tlalpuccitzin. Great is his pleasure. His flowers are sifting down. And
the flowers are cacao flowers.
- 13 O friends, I seek you, running through all these gardens. And here you 41
are. Pass away in gladness, pass away producing *songs*. I've arrived, I,
your comrade, your comrade.
- 16 Among these flowers am I introducing tzitzi-weed flowers, mozo-weed 42
flowers? Is that the way it is? Am I simple? Am I poor? O friends!
- 19 Who am I that soar? I compose. I flower-sing, I, a butterfly of song. Let 43
my cares be put aside. Let my heart enjoy it.
- 21 I come from Home. I've descended, I, a swan of Green Places, arriving on 44
earth. I spread my wings beside the flower drum. My songs are lifted.
They're born on earth.
- 24 It seems that I myself am cultivating songs, keeping company with those 45
who work the soil. I, your humble comrade, am snaring my plumelike
ancestors as golden garlands.
- 27 I'm on guard in the flower fields, I, your poor little friend. With gorgeous 46
flower fronds I thatch my troopers' flower tents, rejoicing in these fields
of God. Be pleased!
- 30 Pass away rejoicing greatly, you flower jewels, for He is Lord. Will you 47
live again? Ah, your heart knows that you live forever.
- 1 I've arrived in the branches of the flower tree, I, Flower Hummingbird, 48
delighting in the aroma, rejoicing. Sweet, fragrant, are my words.

- 3 Yehuan Dios ypalnemoani ye xochitica tōlatlauhtiloia, ye tontopechteca
can timitzonahuiltia xochihuchuetitlan atecpāecatl teutlia, ohuaya etc
- 6 Onpialo huehuetl ompialo ye oncan xopancalitec mitzonchia ye mocni-
huan yaomanatzin in micohuatzin, yn ayoquauhtzī ye xochitica onelcici-
hui in teteuctin ohuaya et.
- 9 Hualixtococ hualcocoliloya yn atl, in tepetly, huexotzinco tzihuactlan tza-
qualotoc in tlacochahuayotoc in huexotzinco ya ohuaya.
- 11 Tetzilacatl ayotl cahuantoc aya amocal inmanica huexotzinco ya yn oncan
ontlapia in tecayehuatzin quecchuatl teuctli ontlapitza oncuica çan ca ye
ichan ye huexotzinco ya ohuaya.
- 14 Yaya papa ilili xontlacaquican ye hualtemoya in tota Dios cā ca ye ichan
ocelocacahuehuetl comontoc aya, in tetzilacacuicatl oncahuantoc ye
oncan ohuaya ohuaya.
- 17 Ach in iuhca a ayahue, xochitl can çanitl i quetzalliia, quemitl huilātoc
ayahue, amoxcalitec ynic onpialo tlalo yā, tepetl ynic onpialo yn icelteotl
a ohuaya etc ayyao
- 20 Xochimitletlchuatoc mochalchihucancacal notcucuitlaamoxcocal anca ye
mochan yn icelteotl.
- 22 Auh tocnihuane tla xoconcaquican yn itlatol temictli ayahue, xoxopantla
technemitia in teocuitlaxilotl techonythuitia tlahuq̄holelotl techoncoz-
catia in ticmati ye ohuaya ye ontlaneltocato yiollo tocnihuan ohuaya
ohuaya.

26

Ycnocuiatl.

- 27 Can yehuan Dios yn ipalnemohua can tonnemi yehuayā ye mitzonchixto-
que in mocnoicnihuā ye cuicatica onnentlamatoq̄ ye xochitica-

folio 12v

- yan can quitemohua mellel tlaycoltia mitzonyaitlanilia moyollio in tleyotl
mahuizyotl aya ohua:
- 3 Can niquittoa onon niquilnamiqui ye antla ye iuhqui a icnopillotl tle yca
cehuiz in noyollo tle yca polihuiz in notlayocol nihuexotzincatl mach oc
onca ye nota, mach oc onca ye nonā oc nechonnechixtiez oc nechonyol-
lochehuiz auh yn amo niccentlamitinemiz a ycnopillotl ohuaya.
- 8 Nontcyhua paquihua aahuiclo nican tocnihuan onca ye inquach ŷcozqui
ahu in nehua ninotolinia antle ic nonpactaz antle ic nahuixtchhuaz tenahuac
ye nican ohuaya
- 11 Momalinalan teucyotl momalinān icniuhyotl in tecpillotl aya ca òcan ca
ompa huallaz noconnequi noconelehua in tl̄çc antle ic nonpactaz antle. et

Songs 17–18, Folios 12–12v

- 3 With flowers you are prayed to, O God, O Life Giver. We bow down, we 49
pleasure you beside the flower drum, O Water-Palace Lord.
- 6 The drums are kept: they're kept beyond in the house of green places. 50
Your comrades War Declarer, Arrow Snake, and Rattle Eagle are awaiting
You. These lords are sighing in flowers.
- 9 "This city of Huexotzinco has been coveted: it's hated: it lies encased with 51
spines, hristling with javelins, this Huexotzinco."
- 11 Gongs, rattles, are ringing at your home in Huexotzinco. Tecayehuatzin, 52
Lord Quecchuatl, stands guard there, fluting, singing in his home, in
Huexotzinco.
- 14 Listen! God the father is descending. Jaguar eagle drums are ringing in his 53
home. Gong music is ringing.
- 17 It would seem to be so. Ah, these flowers are plumes—yes, a trailing cape 54
of plumes. It's in a house of pictures that the realm is held *in safety*, that
the Only Spirit is held *in veneration*.
- 20 Your city in the Jade Land is ascending on an arrow fire of flowers. My city 55
of the golden pictures is your home, O Only Spirit.
- 22 Friends, hear the words of a dream: the golden milk corn sustains us in 56
summer, the roseate-swan green corn gives us life, and it bejewels us to
know that friends' hearts have been converted to the faith.

XVIII Bereavement song

- 26
27 Where, O God? O Life Giver, where are you? Your grieving friends are 1
waiting for you. They're suffering in songs, in flowers, seeking out your
agony: they're covetous. These hearts of yours are asking you for grandeur,
for glory.
- 3 I say and think that nothing can compare to this bereavement. How can 2
my heart be eased? How can I, a Huexotzincoan, put aside this sadness?
Do I have a father? Do I have a mother? Is he waiting for me? Will he
ease my heart? And can't I put an end to this bereavement?
- 8 I make dispatch, and all the friends are glad: they're pleased here: they 3
have their vestments, their jewels. But I, I'm poor. I'm not to pass away
in pleasure, not to go away contented in this company.
- 11 Lords are spinning. Friends, nobles, are spinning. Yonder, from the Yon- 4
der they'll be coming in, and I desire them, I crave them *here* on earth.
I'm not to pass away in pleasure, not *to go away contented in this company*.

- 14 Titloque tinahuaque timitzahuilia nican antle mocnopilhuia monahuac
ypalnemohua can ihui xochitl ypā titechmatia can toncuetlahui timoc-
nihuan.
- 17 Yn can no iuhqui quetzalitztl ticxaxamania can no iuhquin tlacuilolli tic-
popoloa ixquich ompa yahu i çan no ye mictlā can tocepanpoliuhyan
- 20 Tlc ypan titechmati ycelteotl yhuin tiyolli yhuin ye topoliuhian can tonpo-
polihuitihui timacehualti cannelpa tonyazque.
- 22 Can yeic nichocayan ynic tontlatzihui ypalnemohuani chalchihuitl tlapani
quetzalli poztequia timoquequeloa o antaque antle ypan titechmati tech-
tlatia titechpopolohua nicana.
- 25 Anca moneyocol ticmanaya motzaqual motlaqual yn ipalnegoani ayac can
quittoā monahuac ycnopillotica tontlatlanilo.
- 27 Chalchihuitzmolintoc onquetzalcuepontoc achin moyollo ypalnemoa ayac
çan quittoā monahuac ycnopiltica.
- 29 Achin oncan yecan tinemi xonahuiacā y çan cuel achic cohuatihua in çan
ixquich cahuitl ommahuiztihua yn tlaca ayac nelli mocniuh in çan cuel
achic onnetlanehuilo y iectli moxochiuh can cocahuic xochitl.

folio 13

- 1 Yxquich in cueponi mopetlapan mocpal ypan in tecpillotl ytlahuatl ytec
in teucyotl tlatocayotl ye ic malinticac in moyaoxochiuh can cocahuic
xochitl.
- 4 Ye antle nel o tic ytohua nican ypalnemohua can iuhqu^h temictli cā ton-
cochitlehua in tiquittoa tl̄çc. ayac nellin tiquilhuilya nican.
- 6 Tlanel ye chalchihuitl tlamatelolli timaco ypalnemoani xochicozcatlaca ton-
tlatlanilo tonitlanililo ach in tecpillotl in quauhyotl oceloyotl ach ayac
nellin tiquilhuia nican.
- 9 Yoyahue ypalnemohuani moquequeloa ca temictli ȳ tocotoa ȳ tocnih
ontlanctoca toyollo ye nelli moqueloa yehuā Dios.
- 11 Tla tonicnoahuia can xopancaltec tlacuilolpan in technemitia ypalnemo-
huani ye quimati ye conittoa ynic timiqui timacehualtin ayac ayac ayac,
nel on tinemi ye nican.
- 14 Onen nontlacat onen nōquiçaco anqui ye nicā in tl̄çc ninotolinia in manel
nonquiz in manel nontlacat niqittoa tle naiz onohuacon tepilhuan Ma
teixco ninen in quē huel ximimati ye noyehuataz yeyantli nolhuil can
ninotolinia tonchuaz cā noyollo tinocniuh yn ayaxcan in tl̄çc ye nican.
- 19 quenin nemoa in tenahuac mach ilihuiz tinemi an tehuit teixco ninemi çan
ihuian can ycel nelli ȳ can nōnopechteca çā nontolotinemi ȳ tenahuac.
- 22 Maca xicotlamati noyollo macaoc tle xicyocoya ye nelli ayaxcā ycnop-
iltihua in tl̄çc ye nellin cococ ye ontinalihuiz yn motloc monahuac
ypalnemohua.

Song 18, Folios 12v-13

- 14 O Ever Present, O Ever Near! It's here *on earth* that we pleasure you. 5
 There's no reward at your side, O Life Giver. You treat us as flowers.
 We, your friends, wither away.
- 17 You break *us* all as emerald jades, you ruin *us* all as paintings. And off to 6
 Mictlan, where we're all destroyed.
- 20 How do you treat us, O Only Spirit? This is how we're born, this is how 7
 we vassals die and pass away! Oh, where are we to go?
- 22 For this I weep. Because you slacken, O Life Giver, jades shatter, plumes 8
 splinter. O Moquequeloa! We're nothing! You treat us as nothing, you
 put us away, you destroy us here.
- 25 It seems we offer you a sacrifice, your shrine, your food. O Life Giver, 9
 none can say that you are grievingly beseeched in your presence!
- 27 Your hearts are freshening as jades, blossoming as plumes somewhat. 10
 O Life Giver, none can say that *you are* grievingly beseeched in your
 presence!
- 29 We're briefly in that good place. Enjoy! We're with companions just a mo- 11
 ment. And that glory is for but a while. Ah, no one really is Your friend!
 But briefly are Your good flowers, those golden flowers, borrowed.
- 1 All the nobles, lords and rulers, are blossoming upon Your mat and throne, 12
 upon that field. Now Your war flowers, those golden flowers, are
 spinning.
- 4 Nothing we say here is real, O Life Giver. What we say on earth is only a 13
 dream, as if we stood sleeping. We really utter it to no one.
- 6 Let there be jades, beads! You're given these, O Life Giver. You're be- 14
 seeched, beseeched with these flower jewels. *But* are there nobles? Ea-
 gles? Jaguars? Do we really utter them to no one?
- 9 Alas, Life Giver, Moquequeloa! What we say is in a dream. O Friend, our 15
 hearts are credulous, it's true. O Moquequeloa! O God!
- 11 "As bereaved ones let us go be pleased in the house of green places, 16
 where the paintings are." Life Giver, who gives us life, contrives and
 says it so that we will die, we underlings. "Not one, not one, not one of
 us really lives here."
- 14 I'm born in vain, come forth in vain. It seems that here on earth I'm poor. 17
 Let me not come forth! Let me not be born! I say, what will befall me?
 All the princes have come to be assembled. Let me give no offense. Take
 care! *Oh* yes, I'm to go away ascending to the seat I deserve, being poor.
But my heart would suffer. Friend, this earth is a hardship.
- 19 How does one live in company? We're inconsiderate of others, and I give 18
 offense. Just gently! That's the only truth. I just bend down, I just go
 bowing in the presence of others.
- 22 O my heart, don't grieve! Make nothing! True, there's hardship, there's 19
 bereavement on earth. And true, this wound would suppurate near you
 and in your presence, O Life Giver.

- 25 Çan niqintemohua niqimilnamiqui in tocnihuā cuix ocepca huitze ŷ
cuix oc nemiqihui ca cen tipolihui ça çe ye nican in tl̃çc. macac cocoya
yiollo ytloc yNahuac Ypalnemohua.
- 28 Çan yeica nichoca nicnotlamati nonicnocahualoc in tenahuac in tl̃çc. quē
connequī moyollo ypalnemohuani maoc melcel onquiça ycnopillotl maoc
ontimalihui monahuac titeotl ychuan Dios an tinechmiquitlani.
- 31 Aço amo tipactinemi tl̃çc. anca çan titocnihuā ynic hualpaquihua tl̃çc.

folio 13v

- anca noch ihuin titotolinia anca noch ihuin teopohui tenahuac ye nican.
- 3 Çan ca ilhuicatytec oncan ticyocoya motlatol can yehuā Dios q̃nin tocon-
nequiz Mach titlatzihuiç ye nicā tic ynayaz in motēyo in momahuiço tl̃çc
ye nican quenī toconnequiz.
- 6 Ayac huel icniuh ypalnemohuani antocnihuā anquuhca amocelotl cannelpa
toyazquen titlacocohua ye nicā antepillhuā.
- 8 Yn ma onnentlamati techcocolia in techmictiani ximotlapalocā moch onpa
toyazque qucnonamican
- 10 Ma mixco ninen can ninotolinitinemi yn ixpā ypalnemoan yehuā Dios çan
techoncuilia çan techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tl̃çc. ye nican oc
xōmocēmaticā namechōcauhtehuaç yn antocnihuā yn antepillhuā
- 14 Yn tlaca ayac huel ixpa yn ipalnemohua cā yhuian Dios cā techoncuilia cā
techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tl̃çc ye nican oc xonmocēmatican.
- 17 Yn cā ticcac ticocohua moyollo huel xitechonithua xitechoniztlaco yhuin
tinemi nican ixpan ypalnemohua macaic ximiqui ma cemicac nican
xinemi tl̃çc.
- 20 Auh y nehua niqittooa e can achica çan iuhquin eloxochitl ypan titomatico
in tl̃çc can toncuetlahuico antocnihuā maoc ompolihui ycnopillotl maoc
amelel quiça ye nican.
- 23 Tleyñ tiquazque antocnihuā tle yca tahuiazque canon i yolī tocuic canin
tlacati tohuchucuh ninentlamatiā tl̃çc. canī nemia ma malintimaniz yn
icniuhyotl ma malintimaniz in cohuayotl huehuetitlan mach oc niquiça-
quiuh mach oc niqehuaquiuh ŷ cuicatl ahu in çanio nican yn ataca ye
nicā can ayahuitl çan yacahuilotl ninomanaz ma tontlaneltocan noyollo
cuix nicā tochan ççc çann i tolinican y teopouhcā tinemi cā noconcuithuh
can niquitlanitihuh cuix iuhqui xochitl ma ocepca niepinox, cuix tona-
cayotl ocepca nictocaz in nota in nonā cuix oc

folio 14

xilotiz oncacamatiquiuh, in tl̃çc. yea nichoca ayacon teca techicnocauh-
que tl̃çc. can yhcac yn ohtli mictlan ŷ temoyā ca ximohuayan, cuix oc

Song 18, Folios 13-14

- 25 I seek comrades, I recall them. *But* do they come again? Do they come to 20
life again? We die forever and utterly here on earth. Let no one's heart be
wounded near and in the presence of Life Giver.
- 28 For this I weep. I grieve. I'm bereft in this company here on earth. What 21
does your heart require, O Life Giver? Be entertained! Let bereavement
suppurate near you, O Spirit! O God, you want me dead!
- 31 Aren't we happy on earth? It seems we're each other's friends. So there is 22
happiness on earth. It seems to be that way with all of us who are poor.
It seems to be that way with every sufferer here in this company.
- 3 Oh, God! You're creating those songs of yours in heaven. And what would 23
you require? Would you slacken? Conceal your grandeur and your glory
here on earth? What would you require?
- 6 O friends, O eagles, O jaguars, no one really is Life Giver's friend. Where 24
are we to go, we spoilers here? O princes!
- 8 Let Him grieve. He hates us, He's always killing us. Hail! We're off to the 25
Place Unknown, all of us.
- 10 Don't let me offend you. I live poorly in the presence of Life-Giver God. 26
He removes, withdraws from us, his grandeur and his glory here on
earth. Take care of yourselves, O friends, O princes! I'm going to die
and leave you.
- 14 Ah! No one can be with Life Giver—who is as God. He removes, with- 27
draws from us, his grandeur and his glory here on earth. Take care of
yourselves, *O friends, O princes! I'm going to die and leave you.*
- 17 "You've heard your hearts and you're wounding them. Look at us! Gaze at us! 28
This is how you live here—with Life Giver. May you never die. May
you live forever here on earth."
- 20 But I, I say listen! On earth we're known but briefly, like the magnolia. 29
We only wither, O friends. Let bereavement be destroyed! Be enter-
tained here!
- 23 What will we eat, friends? How will we be pleased? Where do our songs 30
come alive? Where are our drums born? I grieve on earth: where are
they? Let comrades be whirled, let companions be whirled, beside the
drum! And will I come forth again, come lifting songs again? "Well,
only here. *But* you're absent here!" I'll be deposited as mist, as a budding
dove. "Don't be credulous, my heart!" Can this earth be home? We're
living in a place of poverty and torment. Where can I go get corn?
Where can I go look for it? Will I resow it like a flower? Will I replant it?
Will my father, will my mother, be an ear of milk corn, a baby ear of
corn, on earth? For this I weep: no one has regard for people: they've left
us in bereavement *here* on earth, where the road to Mictlan lies, the
place of going down, the place where all are shorn. Do we really live
again in the Place Unknown? Can our hearts have faith? In a coffer, in a
wickerwork, Life Giver hides us: he shrouds us. Will I see my mother,
my father? Will I look at their faces? Will they give me what I seek: their

- nelli nemohua quenonamicā cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo çan topco petlaa-
calco ontetlatia ontequimiloa ypalnemohuani cuix oncan niqumitzaz
ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix nechalmacazque incuic intlato
nocontemohua ayacan teca techinocauhque
- 9 Yecoc xochitl man nequimilolo man necuiltonolo antepilhuan huelixti-
huitz cuecuyontihuitz çanyo xopā nomaci'catihuitz cempohualxochitl
yecoc xochitl tepetitech.
- 12 Yn çā xiuhcalitic noncuica maquizcalitic niontlatoa çā nicuicanitl
14 Oc xocōyocoyacā xiquilnamiquicā quenonamicā ompa ye ichā aya nelli
ye tōyahui yn ompa ximoa çan timacchualti anca toyolia ixpan ye onyaz
quiximatiz çan yehuā Dios
- 17 Tleḃ anquiyocoya? tlein anquilnamiqui antocnihuā ma catle xicyocoyacā
totech onquica in yectli xochitl çan iuhqui yellel in ipalnemohua çā
mochi ticoyocoya mochi tiquilnamiqui ticNotlamati ye nicā
- 20 Mochihu in tepilhuā mochiu in cococ teopouhtica nezcaltilo yehuā Dios
Ma xihualā tinocniuh tlein ticoyocoya tlein tiquilnamiqui mochipā tḃç
çanio nican maca xitlaocoya ycnopilotl in ye nicmati cococ yca teopouh-
tica titonemitia nochipan tḃç.
- 24 Oacico ye nican yn ielel ytlaocol ypalnemoa ye itic onnemia ma onnecho-
quililo in quauhtli ocelotl ye nican can tipopolixizque ayac mocahuaz.
- 26 Xicyocoyacā antepilhuā ahuxotzinca manel ye chalchihuitl manel teocui-
tlatl no ye ompa yaz in canin ximohua çnonamican ayac mohuaz.
- 28 Nichoca nihualicnotlamati y niquilnamiqui chalchihuitl tlaçoxihuitl yn
otictlati yn otiquimilo ycelteotl ach tle yca Cuix in toyollo tle yca poli-
huiz in totlayocol çā ninētlama in tlanel moxochiuh yn tlanel yectlin a
mocuic mach oc mocepaquiuh in ayoquatzin cuix occepa niquttaz cuix
occepa nicnotzaz in huehuetitlan.

folio 14v

- 1 Ye toCuic toxochiuh tic chua ycuic ycelteotl ye onmoquechnahuatihu yn
icnihyotl y matitech mātiuh in cohuayotl in nicototehuac in tochihiu-
tzin in conitotehuac in coyolchiuhqui çā tōcochitlehuaco çā tontemi-
quico ahnelli ahnelli tinemico in tḃç.
- 5 Xoxopan xihuitl ypan tochihuaco hualcecelia hualitzmolini in toyollo
xochitl in tonacayo cequi cueponi oncuetlahuia in conitotehuac yn to-
chihiuitzin
- 8 Çan itlatol çan iciehuiz ontlahuiz in toca moquequeloa techahahuilohua
nica ayac huelo ayac huelon quilhuiz yn itlatol ypalnemoani.
- 10 Yn tel ca ço huemac in timalo teçoçomoc teuctli tlacatecolotl y coyauh in
cuetzpal oçomatlin teuctli tlachquiehuitl çan ontemo huchucyotian tḃç
ayac huelo ayac huelo.

Song 18, Folios 14-14v

songs, their words? *For this I weep*: no one has regard for people: they've left us in bereavement *here on earth*.

- 9 The flowers have arrived. Let all be adorned. Let all be rich, O princes! 31
Deliciously they come. Gleaming they come. In these green places only,
on their own and in perfection, come marigolds. These flowers have ar-
rived in this city.
- 12 I'm singing in a house of turquoises, chanting in a house of bracelets, I, the 32
singer.
- 14 Compose them! Recall them! To the Place Unknown, Beyond, and to His 33
home, it's true, we pass away, Beyond, to the place where all are shorn,
we underlings. It seems our souls are in His presence. He who passes on
will know God's face.
- 17 What are you composing? What are you recalling? O friends, compose the 34
ones that make us drunk, the good ones, the flowers of Life Giver's pain.
We're all composing them, we're all recalling them. We're grieving here.
- 20 Wrought are the princes, wrought is the misery. On account of this suffer- 35
ing there's a proliferation—and *ah!* it's God! Come, friend, what are you
composing, what are you recalling? Forever on earth! And only here!
Don't be sad. This bereavement is what I savor. On account of misery
and suffering, we'll be sustained forever *here on earth*.
- 24 Life Giver's pain, his sadness, has arrived: he lives within it! Let all the jag- 36
uars, the eagles, be wept for. We're to be destroyed. None will be left.
- 26 Create them, you princes, you Huexotzincans! And though they're jades, 37
and though they're gold, they'll pass away to the place where all are
shorn, the Place Unknown. None will be left.
- 28 I weep, I grieve, recalling the jades, the precious turquoises that you've 38
hidden, that you've shrouded, O Only Spirit. With what? Our hearts?
With what can our sadness be destroyed? I've been grieving: let us have
your flowers, your good songs. Will Ayocuan come again? Will I see
him again? Will I call to him again beside the drum?
- 1 We lift our songs, our flowers, these songs of the Only Spirit. Then friends 39
embrace, the companions in each other's arms. *Here's* what Tochiuhuitzin
will have said before he dies, what Coyolchiuhqui will have said before
he dies: "We merely come to stand sleeping, we merely come to dream.
It is not true, not true that we come to live on earth.
- 5 "We merely come to do as herbs in spring: our hearts come sprouting, 40
come green, the many flowers of our flesh that open wither away." So
Tochiuhuitzin will have said before he dies.
- 8 His songs and labors will be shedding light? He mocks us, He shames us 41
here! To no one, to no one does Life Giver tell His songs.
- 10 Even vaunted Huemac, or big Lord Tezozomoc sorcerer, or Cuetzpal, or 42
Lord Ozomatli, or Tlachquiahuitl goes down, grows old on earth. To
no one, to no one *does Life Giver tell His songs*.

- 13 Ma hucl manin tlalli ma hucl ica tepetl quihualitōa ayoquā çan yehuan
cuetzpaltzin.
- 15 Tlaxcallan huexotzinco in a izquixochitl cacahuaxochitl ma onnemahmaco
ma hucl mani tlalla
- 17 Nihuinti nichoca nicnotlamati nicmati niquittoa nic ilhamiqui macaic ni-
miqui Macaic nipolihui
- 19 Yn can ahmicohua in can ontepetihua y ma oncā niauh macaic nimiqui
Macaic nipolihui.
- 21 Anmonecuiltonol āmonmoquinilōa antepilhuan quauhtli iztac in petlacal-
catl ma yanquitlatzihuiliti chimalli xochitl, ic totonquia ic etic mochiuh-
toc xayacamachan.
- 24 Anca icnopillotl ontitimaliuhmaz quenonamicā āca ayaznequi ātepilhuan
amontlachiaznequi yn ompa nemohua amachahuā. Çan ca yellel ytlao-
cōly ixochiuh ye icuic ma ic tonahuiacā petlacalcatl in quauhtli iztac
quenman tlacahuaz yn icelteotl yn ipaltinemi ye nican
- 29 Teicnohuica teicnocemilhuiltia yn ipaltinemi yehuā dios anqui ycocōauh
onternocniuhitia ypetlapā quenmā tlacahuaz yn icelteotl in ipaltinemi ye
nican.

folio 15

- 1 Xochinquahuitl onicac in tamoan ychan dios yecha, oncan tiyocoloc
tinahuatiloque teuctlatoltica techylacatzōa in çā yehuan toteouh yn
ipaltinemi.
- 4 Yhui yn teocuitlatl in nicpitza nichalchiuhztequi yectli tocuic yhuin teoxi-
huitl icni nappa, techilacatzohua nappa tamo, tamoā ychan yehuā Dios
ypalnemohuani e xonahua e nicā xopanian xopancalitic
- 8 Ye monecuiltonol moteicnelil huelon nemohua ypalnemohuani tlaſſcque
timohuihuixoa y timotzetzeloa nican moqu i nochan moqu i nocal
ymancā quemon in tſſc ynic ye nemohua mopetlapan momahuiçōcā
ayac çan quittoa monahuac tonteicnoytta tontemopepenia
- 13 Ycā monoma in tehuatl tonteicnoytta mochiel ymāca mocal ymāca cā
mitzontlapielia ypalnemoani xiuhtzin in coyolchihuahqui xihuitl popoca
moquihuitzin ayac çan quittoa monahuac tonteycnoitta.
- 17 Cuicatl ayolque xochitl ancueponque antepilhuāN i çacatimaltzin in tochi-
huitzin ompa ye huitze xochimecatl
- 19 Ça ye colinia yhuehueuh yayacach ypalnemohuani amoxicuiluhtoc an-
mocuic anquiçōçoa a huehuetitlan motenehuatzin moquauhtzetzeloa
xochiyaoyotica conahuiltia ycelteotl.

Song 18, Folios 14v-15

- 13 "May the realm endure! May the nation endure!" sings forth Ayocuan, ah. 43
Cuctzpaltzin.
- 15 "May all Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco be granted popcorn flowers, cacao 44
flowers! May the realm endure!"
- 17 I'm drunk, I weep, I grieve. I savor them, I utter them, I recall them. May 45
I never die. May I never be destroyed.
- 19 Let me go where there's no dying, where there's a place to live. May I 46
never die. May I never be destroyed.
- 21 These are your riches. You adorn yourselves, O princes, O Cuauhtliztac, 47
O Petlacalcatl! Don't be averse to shield flowers. With these Xayacama-
mach grows warm and weighty.
- 24 It seems that these bereaved ones are to pass away in glory to the Place 48
Unknown. It seems you want to go, O princes: you want to see where
there's life, O chiefs. Let's be pleased in this pain of His, this sadness,
these flowers, these songs, this Petlacalcatl, this Cuauhtliztac. The Only
Spirit, Ipaltinemi, will eventually show mercy here.
- 29 God Ipaltinemi governs with compassion. With compassion he allows a 49
little life. There would seem to be some food of his. He befriends us in
this realm of his. The Only Spirit, Ipaltinemi, will eventually show
mercy here.
- 1 The flower tree stands in Tamoanchan, God's home. There! we're created, 50
we who've been summoned! Our Spirit, Ipaltinemi, whirls us as lord
songs.
- 4 What I'm smelting is as gold: I'm carving our good songs as jades. Four 51
times and as turquoise! Tamo, God, Life Giver whirls us four times in
Tamoanchan. Hey! Be pleased! Hey! Green Places are here, in this
house of green places!
- 8 All your riches, your favors, are alive, O Life Giver, World Owner! You 52
shake yourself, you scatter yourself here. Because of you my home, be-
cause of you my house eventually will lie upon this earth, with everyone
alive upon your mat and in your place of honor. None can say that in
your presence you're compassionate, you choose people.
- 13 Of your own accord you have compassion, O Life Giver, *here* in your 53
shrine, your house, where these are standing guard: this Xiuhztzin, this
Coyolchihuiqui, this Xihuitl Popoca, this Moquihuitzin. None can say
that in your presence you're compassionate, *you choose people*.
- 17 As songs you've come alive, as flowers you've blossomed, O princes, O 54
Zacatimaltzin, O Tochiuhuitzin. These flower garlands are coming from
beyond.
- 19 Life Giver resonates these drums of his, these rattles. The songs that You 55
unfold are painted as pictures beside the drum. Motenchuatzin is strewn
as an eagle. He pleasures the Only Spirit with a war of flowers.

- 23 Nican ompehua Huehue cuicatl ynnepapaquilizcuic
tlatoque Titico titico titico.
- 25 Yehuan tlacatl obispon cuica oztocalitic mimilintoc inteponaz xochihue-
huetl comonticac
- 27 Quenonmach in quehua can tiqittaz tictemoa xochimecatica quihuihui-
con y cuix nepaniuh yayaticac ycuic yc anmococol Moteucçoma.
- 30 Xochiithuallin nicpoxahuacōn amocohcol xochiythuallin nicpoxahuacōn
amocohcol xiuhchiquacoltica ye nitlacçatihuitz tzonco cahuilti

folio 15v

- 1 A ca nacohtica xochicozcatica nietzetzelocan tlahuilli xochitl nietzetzeloc
tlahuilli xochitl xiuhchiquacoltica ye nitlacçatihuitz.
- 4 At tiqualani in nipa ticac at tiqualani in nechcapa ticac tlacuel tla xictotoma
xochimecatica nauhcampa ca cenca huel xihxittomonilpitica noyollo
noyollo quen anquiChihuazque.
- 7 Toco toco toti.
- 8 Aquin tlacatl oyc'coc oztocalitic xochitl tzetzelihuetoc tlaçço yehuatl in tla-
toani yayaticacapil tlanitzayochicahuazcacalacatinemi çan ca omicicuil-
totopochpil ycuitlapā tetzelilacacuico Dios ychan tzontli ymapil cana-
huacan quatla'tlahuayo teteuilacachpil mamaçohua moteucçomapil.
- 13 An nocalihuan an tlacuel xompehuacā tlacuel xoncuicacā nocōcaquiz ycui-
cayo motecuçomapil yxonchnecuil xoquechtlā tziçquauhçaxpil tzinte-
ponpil can iuhquî tapizmiqui xillancapitz yolloylacatz omicicuiltecui-
cuilpil y yacachiquacolchicolpil ah annellin iuh toncatcapil ah anellin iuh
toçcatcapil.
- 18 Çan tlapitzalcopa mitzhualahua in huehuetque moteucçomapil in quatla-
tlaquacpil quaxochimecahuihuicon ticatcapil ah anel iuh tocatcapil
- 21 Coto coto coto.
- 22 Nicuicanitl tihuchuetque ac yehuatl ye copoaz ytlatol ycelteotl yn iamox
yn itlacuilol in cuicatl huehuetl teponaztl ayacacht~~ti~~ tetzilacatl ayotl ye
chicahuaztli cüeponqui coçahuic xochitl cahuilia xochitl t~~ti~~çc can tonyaz

23 XIX Here begins an old man song,
a rulers' glorying song

A

titico titico titico

- 25 It's the Master, the Bishop, who's singing in this cavern house! His log 1
drums are stirring. Flower drums are thumping.
- 27 How He sings them! And indeed you'll see the ones you seek. He's twirled 2
them as flower garlands. Are they strewn? These songs of His are sway-
ing. Thus your agony is Montezuma!
- 30 "To the flower court I come, softening your pain. To the flower court I 3
come, softening your pain. I come rushing, as a turquoise crook. It has
pleasured Him on high.
- 1 "As earrings, as flower jewels, I sprinkle brilliant flowers, sprinkle brilliant 4
flowers. I come rushing as a turquoise crook. *It has pleased Him on
high.*"
- 4 Are you vexed that you stand away? Vexed that you stand apart? Come! 5
Set them free! Do indeed stand up and noose these hearts of mine as
flower garlands from the four directions. And O my hearts, what would
befall you?

B

toco toco toti

- 7 What master has arrived in this cavern house? Flowers are sprinkling. Ah, 6
it's a ruler. A swaying baby's leg bones are clattering like gourd rattles.
Indeed, his back's a baby rib roast. Hair and his finger, temple and head-
nerve, all are singing, like gongs, in God's home: and he's a baby
whirler! This baby Montezuma spreads his arms!
- 13 Ah, grandsires. Ah, strike it up. Sing! I'd hear the song flesh of this baby 7
Montezuma, his twisted feet, his ankles, his baby hip and tail bone—for
we're dying of hunger. O womb-forged creature, O whirling heart, O
baby painted ribs, O baby crooklike hook nose! Ah, it's true, is it not,
that you're a baby-being twice this way? Ah, it's true, is it not, that
you're a baby-being twice this way?
- 18 Old men are pricking you as a new-minted one, O baby Montezuma. The 8
baby hardhead's twirled as an eagle flower garland! O baby creature, ah!
It's true, is it not, that you're a baby-being twice this way?

C

coto coto coto

- 21 I'm the singer, and we're the old ones. Who'll recite the words of the Only 9
Spirit, his pictures, his paintings, these songs, these drums, these log
drums, these rattles, these gongs, these turtles, yes, these rattlers? Golden
flowers are blossoming, flowers are pleasuring the earth. Where will you

can taciz can tinemiz.

26 Ximotlalican noxhuihuane xōmotlalicā noxhuihuane ma iuhq̄ obispo

[*adjacent gloss:*] obispo

can ca centzonxiquipilli cuix huimolintoc momamalintoc xincue moluhtimani yn itlatol i yehua yiollo.

29 Ac onmottiz ac ontlachiaz xochioztocalco amoxtlacuiloalcalitic can ticac tlatlatoquetl ahnechuelitoa chicoteneque chicotlatoq̄ manē quittoacan ye cōpoaz ye conchihuaz noxhuihtzin.

folio 16

1 Cano Dios nechihuahca, cano Dios nechyocoxca xochiquimilihticac xochpetlaylacatz huimolihtoc momamalintoc ye onquetzalpachiuhticac nitic noyollo nicuicanitl

4 San fran^{co} ontlatoa fray pedro ye nechnahuatia nicuicanitl çan can ye ðcan oztocalitic yehuan Dios ytlatol nic ythoa ca ya ycac çan noca huetzca nechpinahuia noxhuihtzin ma ye hualmoquetza ma quitto ychicotlatol ma ye ic cahahuili noxhuihtzin.

8 A conmatiz no huel quittaz noyollo nicuicanitl at aihquî nic ehuaç nic yttoz ca ya icac çan noca huetzca nechpinahuia noxhuihtzin ma ye hualmoque.

11 toco toco toti.

12 Nocaltic nohuehue ma mitztlatlani ac ipatiuh neçahualpilli elteponazcucueliuh ye xochihuehuatl ye atlanecuilpil ceceyaca netlatlalolo in ixopilhuan cequi aonteci cequi aonteci.

15 Ach anca yehuatl in tlatoani neçahualpilli quacoçpil quaxacaliantecuicuil ylacatzcpil in quappacemixtlapalnecuilpil. No nimitzahua in tlatoani in taxayaca in quamimilpol in quauhuitzoctepol ixcocotzohualcacatzactepol tentzonpachpol mahuchueyacapol ac ço mach iuhquin tlatatl.

20 Ça ye tiquineuh in mâ tocotzotl xiyeni in ma tlatlacheuitl çā ca yehuatl acacalotl mitztlatlacilhui quechuehuayapol, ye tenpitzacpol ypan tetepo cecen maapol in tocnihuan ie yecho xicaquicā

23 Coto Coto coto.

24 Nihuelcuicaya ma mitoti totoquihuaz in tennopaltitlac ahmo tlaahua pehualpol in yacatlapitzalteuccizcoyopol ye iuhqui in tlan

26 Xochhuehuetteque nichualitta a'mon iuh totoquihuazpol elmoçoquillacacatzacapol ixquatolehexoquimilpol ac ço mach iuhquin tlatatl.

Song 19, Folios 15v-16

go? What will you reach? Where will you live?

- 26 Be seated, my grandchildren! Be seated, my grandchildren! May the Bishop 10
 be four hundred times eight thousand! Are they stirring, spinning? Hey!
 These songs, these hearts of His are stirring!
- 29 Who'll go see, who'll go gazing in the cavern house of flowers? In this 11
 house of picture paintings, where the warbler rises, he reproaches me.
 And may the scurrile-tongued, the scurrile-speaking, fail to utter what
 my grandchild would recount, would make!
- 1 Where God had made me, where God had formed me, *now* ensconced in 12
 flowers are the whirling flower mats. *And ah!* they're stirring, spinning.
 Yes, my singer's heart within me is feasting on these plumes.
- 4 San Francisco speaks! And Fray Pedro commands me as I sing. Beyond, 13
 within the cavern house, I speak the word of God. And he arises! My
 grandchild laughs at me, insults me. Let him appear! May he speak the
 scurrile words of Him! Let my grandchild pleasure Him!
- 8 Ah, my singer's heart would know him, would esteem him. Isn't that the 14
 way I'd utter him, intone him? And he arises! My grandchild laughs at
 me, insults me. Let him appear!

D

- 11 toco toco toti
- 12 My stooped ones, old men of mine, let Nezahualpilli ask you who his pay- 15
 ment is. It's he whom log drums have twisted off at the belly, a trunkless
 baby, twisted off by flower drums. Each and every one is running: and
 of *all* His baby foot *soldiers*, few do not take captives, few do not take
 captives.
- 15 This one could be the ruler Nezahualpilli—a baby canvasback, a painted 16
 thatchhead thing, a baby whirling thing, a baby brown twisted fagot.
 And I prick even you, O ruler, O Axayacatl, old pillar, old log, old ad-
 dled black man, old curly beard, old drum nose. Who *in the world* could
 thus be human?
- 20 You departed *from heaven* though you were tar, though *you were* dirt, for 17
 the water crow himself had blotched you, old drum nose, old long lips!
 And all old hands are on their feet—or *at the tree (of flowers)*. Comrades,
 they do arrive! Hear them!

E

- 23 coto coto coto
- 24 I make a pleasurable music: I wish he'd dance, he, Totoquihuaztli, whose 18
 lips are fat as opuntia *joints*, who does no pricking, an old captive, a
 fulvous old conch, this new-minted bud. This is the way he ends.
- 26 O elders of the flowers! I see him here. Isn't it old Totoquihuaztli, old 19
 black man with a belly full of greens, old eyelids like a sack of beans?
 Who *in the world* could thus be human?

- 29 Ca xoilacaxochiquahuitl neh ueponticac oncā ycac y y yehua xohuicollin teçoçomoc-ton queztepoloco texoloxomolli quē cahuitica in tenochtitlan tzincapitz eloizquipa'patzacpil teçoçomoc-ton.

folio 16v

ypan mochiuhtihuitz yn axoquenpil xotle xixilhuazpil tlanquaoholmapil quechtepololomitititc uitzpil teçoçomocpil.

- 4 Nican ompesua in motenehua Melahuac cuicatl yn mehuaya tecpan Mexico Acolhuacan tlalhuacpā ynic ymelel quiçaya tlahoque.

[*marginal gloss:*] yexcā quiça
xochicuicatl
[q]uauhcuica
[t]l icnocui
[c]atl çā nelihtoc

- 7 Xiahuilompehua xiahuiloncuican ticuicanitl huiya ma xonahuiacany, oncl-elquixtilon ypalnemohuani yyeo ayahui ohuaya etc.

- 9 Ma xonahuiacani ye techonquinuloa ypalnemohua ye xochimaquiztica netotilo ye nehuihuio aya moxochiuh a ohuaya, yao yao ho ama y yehua ahuayyao aye ohuaya ohuaya, ye momamana ye momana yā tocuic maquizcaytec y çan teocuitlcalico moyahuā xochinquahuitl oo ye mohui-

[*marginal gloss:*] hui

xohua y çan ye motzetzelo a man tlachichina quetzaltototl man tlachichinan ya çaquan quecholan ohuaya etc.

- 15 Xochinquahuitl timochiuh timaxelihui tihuitolihui oyatimoquetzaco in yehuan Dios y ixpan timomati tehuā nipapan xochitla ohuaya ohuaya

- 18 Maoc xoyaticay oc xoncucpontica yn tllç y timolinia tepehui xochitl timotzetzelo a yohuaya ohuaya, ahtlamiz noxochiuh ahtlamiz nocuic yn noconyaychuaya çan nicuicanitl huia xexelihuiya moyahua yaho coçahuaya xochitl çā ye oncalaquilo çaquan calitica ohuaya ohuaya

- 23 Yn cacaloxochitly ma ye xochitl aya ohuaye ticyamoya ticyatzetzelo a xochincalaytec a ohuaya ohuaya

- 25 Yyoyahue ye nōnocuiltonohua on nitepiltzin nineçahualcoyotl huia nicnechico cozcatl in quetzal in patlahuac ye no nic yximatīn chalchihuitl yao in tepilhuā ohuaya ohuaya

- 28 Yxco nontlatlachia nepapan quauhtlin ocelotl ye no nic yximati chalchihuitliya in maquiztliya ohuaye

- 30 Chalchihuitla Matilolmaquiztli y popoca yechuaya y āmoyolloya

29 And yet indeed the leg implanted like a flower tree stands blossoming. Be- 20
 yond it stands, the leg in its pot, it is he, poor little Tezozomoc—where
 the femur-head resides, where the pestle has its groove. And in what
 condition is he left in Tenochtitlan, this new-forged creature, this half-
 eaten baby popcorn ear, this little Tezozomoc? And baby Axoquentzin
 comes doing likewise—as one who has a leg, this baby who's been
 speared, this baby “hand” whose knees are flexing, this baby thorn
 within the flexing neck bone, this baby Tezozomoc.

4 Here begin the so-called plain songs that used to be performed in the pal-
 aces of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and the Dry Lands in order to entertain the
 rulers.¹

XX

7 Strike it up in pleasure, singer! Sing in pleasure. May you all be pleased. 1
 Life Giver is entertained.

9 Be pleased. Life Giver adorns us. All are dancing as flower bracelets. 2
 They're Your flowers! They're strewn: our songs are strewn within this
 house of bracelets, scattered in this house of gold. The flower tree is quak-
 ing: it shakes. Let the quetzal inhale. Let troupials, let swans, inhale.

15 You've become a flower tree, you scatter, bending down: you've appeared! 3
 You dwell before God's face, you, a multitude of flowers!

18 Live and blossom here on earth. As you move, shaking, flowers fall. Eter- 4
 nal are the flowers, eternal the songs that I, the singer, lift. Parceled out,
 dispersing, they turn to gold: the troupial enters this house.

23 Let there be flowers, raven flowers. You're scattering them, you're shaking 5
 them down in this house of flowers.

25 Alas, I am rich, I, Prince Nezabualcoyotl: I've assembled jewels, broad 6
 plumes, and I recognize their faces: these are jades, these are princes.

28 I gaze at the faces of all these eagles, these jaguars, and I recognize their 7
 faces: these are jades, these are bracelets.

30 These jades, these bracelet beads are shimmering—*these*, your hearts, your 8

¹ *Marginal gloss:* They are of three kinds: flower songs, eagle songs, and bereavement songs, all run together.

folio 17

- in amotla'tol anteteuctin y neçahualcoyotzin moteucçomatzin anquicno-
cahuazque in quēmano ahmomacehuala. ohuaya etc.
- 3 oc xonmocuiltonocan ytloc ynahuac ȳ Dios aya ypalnemohuani ayoppa
teuctihuaō a in tl̄çc. yc anquicnocahuazque in quēmano amomacehuala
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 6 oc xōmocuiltono y yeehuaya oc xōmoquimilo in titepiltzin neçahualco-
yotzin xoconmotlacui yn ixochiuh yn ipaltinemi onciahuitiuh ontlatzi-
huitiuh ye nican in quēmanian coninayaz yn itleyo yn imahuiço çan cuel
achic onnetlanchuilo antepillhuan ohuaya etc.
- 10 oc xonmocuiltono i yeehuaya, oc xōmoquimilo in titepiltzin etc Maoc
ye xicyocoya y neçahualcoyotzin anca huel ichan Dios aya ypalnemoani
çanitlan conantinemi yn ipetl yn icpall y çan coyamahmatinemi yn tl̄çc.
yn ilhuicatl ayahue can ie huelamatiz ompa ye conmanatiuh yn inecuilton-
nol ohuaya ohuaya.
- 15 Tiazque yehua xonahuiacan niquttoā o nineçahualcoyotl huia cuix oc nelli
nemohua o a in tl̄çc y hui ohuaye
- 17 Annochipa tl̄çc. çan achica ye nican ohuaye ohuaye, Tel ca chalchihuitl no
xamani no teocuitlatl in tlapani oo quetzalli poztequi yahui ohuaye.
ānochipa tl̄çc. çan achica ye nican ohuaya etc.
- 20 Yan cuecuepontimani yeehuaya a in icniuhxochinquahuitl y cohuayotl
ynehnelhuayo mochiuhtoc ya in tecpillotl a ica mahmani ye nican. etc
- 22 Çan niquttaz quauhyotl mahuiçotl oceloyotl in ninotoliniaya nica huia in
çan icnoyotl yca mahmani ye nican ohuaya ohuaya.
- 24 Man quahuitototl yiehuaya çan tlacochtlin tototl tiapatlantihuitz ypalne-
moa o aya timoquetzacōn mochial ymāca motzaqual ymāca timopohpo-
aya çan timotzetzelōaya huehuetitlan ye nicā etc²
- 27 Çan tepchuin ticatl yn ihuitl çan ca quetzalaztatl timopopoyahuā timotze-
tzelōaya etc
- 29 Yc õxihycuiliuhto in quauhpetlatl ayyahue a occlōicpall ipā amoncate yn
xopancalitic in moteucçomatzin in totoquihuatzin. etc³

folio 17v

- 1 quē quittoan ypalnemoa aoc achitzinca yn ipetlapan in yehuā Dios huian
a in oncan amechyncocauhtehuae chichimecatl neçahualpilla ohuaya
ohuaya
- 4 Yaوخochitl y moyahua yeehuayo cequi cueponi ixquich oncuetlahuia

Songs 20–21, Folios 17–17v

- words, O princes, O Nezahualcoyotl, O Montezuma. You're to leave your vassals grieving.
- 3 For a moment be rich, near and in the presence of God Life Giver. Not twice does one become a lord on earth. You're to leave your vassals grieving. 9
- 6 For a moment be rich, be adorned, O prince, O Nezahualcoyotl. Borrow the flowers of Ipatinemi. He'll be growing tired and weary here in time: He'll conceal His fame, His glory. The borrowing is brief, O princes. 10
- 10 For a moment be rich, be adorned, O prince, O Nezahualcoyotl. Borrow the flowers of Ipatinemi. He'll be growing tired and weary here in time: He'll conceal His fame, His glory. The borrowing is brief, O princes. 11
- Compose them, O Nezahualcoyotl! It would seem that God Life Giver takes this mat and seat to his home and goes on ruling earth and sky. And he shall be content, spreading out his riches there beyond.
- 15 We're to pass away. I say, "Be pleased!"—I that am Nezahualcoyotl. Ah, do we truly live on earth? 12
- 17 Not forever on earth, but briefly here. Even jades are shattered. Gold, broken. Ah! plumes, splintered. Not forever on earth, but briefly here. 13

XXI

- 20 The flower tree of comrades blooms, becomes a source of companions. The nobles, then, are standing here. 1
- 22 In my misery here I'll see the eagles, the glorious ones, the jaguars. The comrades, then, are standing here. 2
- 24 Oh for an eagle! And as a javelin bird you come winging, O Life Giver! You've appeared at your shrine, your temple, O esteemed one. Here you shake yourself beside the drum. 3
- 27 Chalk and feathers are sifting down. You, the Quetzal Egret, shine. Here you shake yourself beside the drum. 4
- 29 This eagle mat, this jaguar seat, is painted then in turquoise gems. And you're upon it, in this house of green places, O Montezuma, O Totoqui-huatzli. 5
- 1 What says Life Giver? Not a moment longer on this mat of God. Ah! The Chichimec Nezahualpilli has left you in bereavement there. 6
- 4 They that scatter are war flowers: many open, all wither. Yet as many ca- 7

- quauhyotl oceloyotl huia quexquich oyay quexquich oc nemiqiuuh
 8 Ohuiloc quenonamican huiya in tlahuepantzin in tlatohuaniya ixtlil-
 cucchahuac ye ocuel achic onnemico ixpan in yehuā Dios huiya ixtla-
 huacan yece ye oncan ohuaya. etc
- 11 Xochinquahuitl y nelhuayocan a ychan in Dios oncā cueponticac y quetz-
 almiahuayocan hualacian çaquan ye'co xiuhquechol mahuiquin quetzal-
 tototl a ohuaya etc
- 14 Yn moch ompa āhuitze i ye nonohualco ya yn cemanahuac y yn ami-
 quecholhuan ipalnemoani yn amitlachihualhuā hualacia çaquan yeco
 xiuhquechol mahuiquin quetzal etc
- 17 Xiuhquecholxochinpetlacotl oncan ya mania xiuhamoxcalico oncā ya onoc
 y yehuan Dios y tlahuizcallin quitztoco mitzonyaixitia in moque-
 cholhuan çan ca xiuhtototl tlathuian tza'tzian ohuaya etc
- 20 Onchachalaca moquechol mitzonyaixitia mitzoyohuia tzinitzcā tlauxque-
 chol çan ca xiuhtototl tlathuian tzatzian ohuaya ohuaya.
- 22 Yn tamoan icha xochitl ye icaca ompa ye yahuitze yantoteuchua huiya
 timoteucçoçomatzin, in totoquihuatzin yn āme'coque ye nicā xochi-
 ithualli ymāca huel anconehua y yecllin āmocuic yapa yatā tilililin tlacui-
 cuilolcaliticpan ahuitze ohuaya ohuaya
- 26 O anca amehuan yn ancoholinia āmoxochihuehucuh moxochayacachy yn
 ame'coque ye nican xochithualli manca huel āconehua etc
- 28 Ylilincohui ylihuācano tleon in quittoa a in quechol yehuā Dios y huitzilini
 ylihuancano ye ontlachichina ma yahuia ye i yolcueponiya xochitla etc.

folio 18

- 1 Çan ye huitz ye huitz in papalotl huia ye ompatlātihuitz ye moçoçouhti-
 huitz xochiticpac nemia ye ontlachichina ma yahuia ic y iolcueponia
 xochitla ohuaya. etc
- 4 Chalchiuhcal imanica huiya in quetzalcal imanica huiya a oncan in tontla'toa
 ohuaye timoteucçoçomatzin huiya can ticmaceuh aya ye oncahuanti-
 mania in moteyo ye nican obuaya etc
- 7 Tel a onca mocococauh aya tel a onca motlama'cehual y ixpan in tichoca

gles, jaguars, as have gone away will come to life again near you and in your presence, O God. There beyond!

- 8 All have gone to the Place Unknown: Tlacahuepan and the ruler Ixtlilcuechahuac: they came briefly to life before God's face and on that field. There beyond!

XXII

- 11 The flower tree stands blossoming at Origin, God's home, the place of tassel plumes. The troupial comes. The turquoise swan, the marvelous, the quetzal, arrives. 1
- 14 All of you are coming in from Nonoalco, the eternal shore, you that are the swans of Life Giver, you that are his creatures. The troupial comes. The turquoise swan, the marvelous, the quetzal, arrives. 2
- 17 That arbor of turquoise-swan flowers lies beyond in Turquoise Picture House: it rests beyond: it's God. Your swans have come to watch for the dawn. They waken You. The Turquoise Bird! It dawns, it shouts. 3
- 20 Your cackling swan awakens You. The trogon, the roseate swan, cries out for You. The Turquoise Bird! It dawns, it shouts. 4
- 22 From Tamoanchan, where flowers stand, from there beyond, you come, O lords, O Montezuma, O Totoquihuaztli. You've arrived in this court of flowers. You lift your good songs: Yapa-yatan-tilililin. You come from the House of Paintings. 5
- 26 It seems that you're the ones who resonate these flower drums of yours, these flower rattles. You've arrived in this court of flowers. You lift *your good songs: Yapa-yatan-tilililin. You come from the House of Paintings.* 6
- 28 What says the God Swan, the Hummingbird? He inhales! Let Him be pleased. A flower is opening its heart. 7
- 1 He comes, He comes: the Butterfly comes flying, comes winging. He lights on a flower. He inhales! Let Him be pleased. A flower is opening its heart. 8

XXIII

- 4 You're singing Yonder in the jade house, in the plume house, Montezuma. You've obtained it. Your glory lives in memory here. 1
- 7 But your sustenance and your reward is Yonder. You weep before the face 2

- yehua a in s^o maria oncā mitzixima ycelteotl in yehuā Dios a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 10 On tlacochycuiluhyan ohuaye chimalycuiluican in tenochtlan y oncan ya mania in cacahuaxochitl yolloxochitly in cueponticac y yxochiuh yn ipalnemoani cemanahuac y ye onchichinalo in tepilhuan ayyo ayyaha ohuaya ohuaya.
- 14 Ontlamahuizmahmania in a Colhuacan xiuhtlacuilolliya amoxcalaitec y oncan ya mania in cacahuaxochitl yolloxochitl etc.
- 16 A yn ilhuicatlitic oncā tonoc o in Dios in tetatzin nepapan xochitl tocontimaloa ayanca hui yaha yya yyaha ohuaya etc
- 18 Çan mocehuallotitlan çan can ye ioncantlan y onneyacalhuiloto aya antepilhuan huiya çan ye te' momahuico y te' motleyo yehua yca piltihua y yca mahuiztihua y ayanca hui yaha yya yyaha etc
- 21 Çan quetzalpetlatl ipani ye momalintoc y in amotlatol aye antepilhuā hui yaha in cahualtzin huiya chimalpopocatzin o ayahui ho ayyaha etc
- 24 O anca ye oncan ancopiaya oncan ye ipetl ycpal y yehuan dios aya ycelteotl ipalnemoa y ohuaya ohua
- 26 Quauhyotica oceloyotica ma onnequechnahualo antepilhuani ycahcahuāca yn chimallin cohua ma'limani oo yyao ayyaha ohuaya ohua.
- 28 Çan topan moyahuaya topan tztzelihuia ne'calizxochitli yahuiltloca in ycelteotl Dios tetatzin ycahcahuanca y chimallin etc.

folio 18v

- 1 Yn poçoniya ye onca ça miliniya ÿ tlachinolliya nemahuizçotiloya nechimaltocayotilo a oyohualpā teuhtlam motecaya ohuaya e
- 3 O ahquenman ontlatzihuiz yaoxochitl mani yeehuaya ato ya tempa in on cuepontimanique oceloxochitlin chimalli xochitli a oyohualpā teuhtlā motecaya. ett
- 5 A oclloncacahuaxochitlaya onca ya maniya çan ca y tztzelihuia yn ixtlahuatl ytiqwi çan topan ahuiaxticac oo acon anquinequi on anca ye timallotl ÿ mahuiçotl ohuay etc
- 8 O acemele xochitl hacemelle ahua mochiuhticaqui yolloxochitli a yxtlahuacā yaonahuac oncā quiçaya a ÿ tepilhua ohya o anca ye timallotl etc*
- 10 Yn quauhtehuehueltica ocelopanitli nepanihuiz yeehuaya quetzallin chimaltica ye onnemamanalo çaquanpanitl huitoliuhon poçonia ye oncano hualchuaya yn chalcatl oo Amaqueme oo ayohuilo ychahuaca yaoyotl ohuaya ohuaya.

Songs 23–24, Folios 18–18v

- of Santa María. And the Only Spirit, God, has recognized you Yonder.
10 This Tenochtitlan's lying Yonder where the javelins are painted, where the shields are painted. These heart flowers are cacao flowers, Life Giver's blooming flowers. These princes are inhaled at the eternal shore. 3
14 All endure with honor in the place of forebears. Yonder in the house of pictures lie turquoise paintings. These heart flowers are cacao flowers, *Life Giver's blooming flowers. These princes are inhaled at the eternal shore.* 4
16 O God, O father in heaven, you glorify this multitude of flowers. 5
18 Only in Your shadow, yonder only, can there be a shelter. O princes! Only in your glory, in your fame, can there be birth, can there be glory. 6
21 And on this mat of plumes your songs are spinning, O princes, O Cahualtzin, O Chimalpopoca. 7
24 Yonder it would seem you're paying honor to the mat and seat of God, the Only Spirit, Life Giver. 8

XXIV

- 26 Let there be a mutual embracing of eagles, of jaguars, O princes. Shields, companions, are shrilling. Let them stand upon this flood. 1
28 They're scattering down on us, sprinkling down on us: they're combat flowers, giving pleasure to the Only Spirit, God the father. Shields, *companions*, are shrilling. *Let them stand upon this flood.* 2
1 There! The blaze is seething, stirring. Honor is won, shield fame is won. Lords are strewn at the place of the bells. 3
3 They'll never tire, these war flowers. They're massing ah! at the flood's edge. These jaguar flowers, these shield flowers, are blossoming. Lords are strewn at the place of the bells. 4
5 There! Jaguar cacao flowers are massed at the place of the sprinkling down, the field! They're diffusing fragrance in our midst. Who does not desire them? They're praise. They're honor. 5
8 Restless are the flowers. Restless ones are pleased. Heart flowers are created. There! On the field of battle princes are born. Ah! They're praise. *They're honor.* 6
10 Jaguar banners are strewn as eagle bucklers, spread as plume shields. There! Troupial banners are bending, swelling. Chalcans, Amaquemes, are fleeing. War is fanned. It shrills. 7

- 14 Yn tlacotl xaxamacatoc yztlin teytimanio chimalteuhtli topania motecaya
ho hualehuaya yn chalcatl oo. etc^a
- 16 Nihualacic ye nica ye niyohyontzi huiya çan nixochiehelehuia yeehuaya
inxochintla'tlapanacoyan tl̃çc ye nica nocoyatlapana in cacahuaxochitl,
nocoyatlapana ycnihxochitli ye tehua monacayon tetepiltzin neça-
hualcoyotl teuctli yohyontzini yyao ohuili yya ayyo yao ayyaha yohuiya.
- 21 Çan nicyatemoहितuitz mociuc in yectli yhuan nicyatemohitā titocni-
huan aya ma onpacoehua yehua icniuhlamachoya yyao ohuili etc
- 23 Achin ye nonahuiyao achin ye ompahpactinemī noyollo yn tl̃çcqui ye
niyohyōtzin nixochiehelehuia oo nixochincuihcucatinemiya ohuaya etc
- 25 Nicnehnequi nic ehelehuia yn icniuyotl in tccpillotl nixochiehelehuia oo
nixochin etc^b
- 27 O anca iuhquin chalchiuitl ohuaya çan ca yuhquin cozcatl in quetzallin
patlahuac ypan ye nicmatia yectli ye mociuc aya tota Dios ypalnemoani
yca nonahua yca nonnitotiya huehuetitlano xopanclaitiqui ye niyoh-
yontzin huiya ha noyol quimati ohuaya ohuaya

folio 19

- 1 Ma xicyahuelintzotzona moxochihuehucuh ticuicanitl i yeehuaya ma
izquixochitli man cacahuaxochitli, ma òmoyahuaya ma ontzetzelihui ye
nica huehuetitlano man tahuiyacani ohuaya ohuaya.
- 4 ya çan ca xihquechool tzinitzcan tlahquechol oncan oncuican tla'tohuaya
y xochitl a y paqui hoo a yllilio a yllililincohui yao ayyaha ohuaya
ohuaya.
- 7 A oncaya ycaqui y xochinquahuitl y huehuetitlan a ayahue çā ye ytech
onnemiya in quetzalinquechol ȳ tototl ypan mochiuhtincmio, ȳ neça-
hualcoyotzin o xochicucicatinemio y xochitl a ye paqui hoo a yllilio a
yllililincohui yao etc
- 11 Nehco nehcoya yapapa yapapa ompa ye nihuitz huiya yn ilh.¹ aytico atl
icuilihya tlahuizcalla in yehua oani nitlapal huancano in nicuicanitl
huiya xochitl in noyolloya nicmana nocuica ohuaya ohuaya.
- 14 çan nihualacico in quiyapan ohuaya çan nicahauhtico yehuā Dios ȳ ni-
cuicanitl huiya xochitl in noyolloya ett^c

- 14 Spears are broken, blades are shattered. Shield dust spreads upon us. Chal- 8
cans, *Amaquemes*, are fleeing. *War is fanned. It shrills.*

XXV

- 16 "I've arrived, I, Yoyontzin, craving flowers, breaking flowers here on 1
earth, breaking cacao flowers, breaking comrade flowers." And they're
your flesh, O prince, O Lord Nezahualcoyotl, O Yoyontzin.
21 "I come bringing your good songs. I bring them down. We're friends. 2
May all be glad, may all know comrades.
23 "On earth I'm briefly pleased with these hearts of mine. With these I 3
briefly live in happiness, I, Yoyontzin, craving flowers, flower-chirping.
25 "I'm desiring, craving, comrades, princes. I'm craving flowers, flower- 4
chirping.
27 "I value these good songs of yours as jades, as jewels, as broad plumes, O 5
father, O God, O Life Giver. With these I'm pleased. With these I
dance beside the drum in this house of green places, I, Yoyontzin. My
heart enjoys them."
1 Beat your flower drum beautifully, singer. Let there be popcorn flowers, 6
cacao flowers. Let them scatter, let them sprinkle down beside the drum.
Let's be pleased.
4 There! The turquoise swan, the trogon, the roseate swan is singing, war- 7
bling, happy with these flowers.
7 There! A flower tree stands beside the drum. The plume swan is in it. It's 8
Nezahualcoyotl. He's like a bird, flower-chirping, happy with these
flowers.

XXVI

- 11 I arrive, I arrive, yapapa yapapa, come from within the sky, from the 1
painted waters at Dawn House, I, His bloom, I, a singer, my heart a
flower: I lay out my songs.
14 Here I've reached the place of rain, come to pleasure him who is God, I, a 2
singer, my heart a flower: *I lay out my songs.*

- 16 Ala yyan que ac machon machon hue tehua on tilhuicateotl in yehuā Diosi
quexquich moxochiuh quexquich mocuic ycyan nonteahuiltiyay in
coyapano y nicuicanitla ohuaya etc
- 19 Yn moch oncan nimacoc yn nehcacchuz huia y noquetzalinpoyomay ye
nochiquacol y namaxochihui yn amoxcalla ymanca tlahcall imancani
quexquich moxochiuh.
- 22 Ho ama yye yao aye yao aye Nihualahcic ayyahua xinechaitacan in nicui-
canitl huiya in nicahuiltico nichuehuetzquitia yehuā Dios huiya in ni-
cuicanitla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 25 Yn cacahuaxochitlo nicnocozcati nepapā xochitl y nōahua nōnittotia
coçahuic xochitl y quetzalyxochio in ye nochiquacol y nc'cacehuaz
huiya in nicahuiltico nichuehuetzquitia etc.
- 28 O a'cemelecan in nihualahcic ayyahue moquiappāo yehuā totatzin y yehuan
dios huiya in nimitzcecemclitihuitz aya in noconpolotihuitz in notla-
yocol y ahua yhua yyaho yyao ao yatatanlilili nihue-

folio 19v

lincuica ay yohuiya.

- 2 Çan nicpopoxahuayā quauhithualli yehuaya nocōehcapehuia o xochithualli
manica huiya ohua yyao yyao etc
- 4 Ye itzmolintimani xotlancuepontimaniyan çan ca inchoquiz y nitla'toayay in
acolmitzliya i techontlatzini in acolihuacāy in tenochtli manca, in
Acamapich in tlalhuacpay in teçoçomocotli yehua ycococauh intlatol
noçan onnemia ohuaya etc
- 8 Yn quauhpetlapan ocelopetlapa ontlatlauhtiloa a in s^{ta} Maria ohuaya etc
- 9 Çan chimaltemo yehuan ypalnemoani oyohualtemoc Mexicoya tiçatl yhuil
moyahuatihuitz tlalpan ahci ye nican ohuaya etc
- 11 Ammonahuatil ammonecuiltonol anteteuctin in quatlecohuatl in cahual-
tziny oancontlaneuhque ymahuiço yn ipalnemoa chimaltemoc nicā a in
Mex^{ca} ya ohuaya ohuaya
- 14 Çan ye tenyotimani atlon yan tepetl a in tenochtitlan y ye ica mahuiço-
hua ayac quimacaci yectlin miquiztli ātepillhuā huiya iuh amechnahuatl
ycelteotl y yehuan Dios yn amipillhuā a ohuaya c
- 17 Y yectlim ma yhui ac nel quicichuiz y chimalytpetlatly ya ytlacochicpal y
yehuan Dios ohuaya. etc
- 19 Ye xicyocoyacan xiquelnamiquican antepillhuā huia ac quimoyahuaz atlo
yan tepetla in tenochtitlani aquī quitopehuaz yn itlaxillo yn ilh^{ca} a ohuaya

Songs 26–27, Folios 19–19v

- 16 Ala iya hue. Who, oh who, alas, are you, O sky spirit, O God? How plentiful your flowers, how plentiful your songs! With these I give pleasure, I, a singer. 3
- 19 There Beyond I received them all: my fans, my poyon plumes, my crooks, my flower banners, there at the house of pictures, at Red House. How plentiful your flowers, *how plentiful your songs! With these I give pleasure, I, a singer.* 4
- 22 I've reached *the earth*. See me! I'm a singer, come to pleasure Him. I'm a singer, and I make God laugh. 5
- 25 Cacao flowers, a multitude of flowers, are my necklace. I'm pleased, I dance. Golden flowers, plume flowers, are these crooks of mine, these fans. I've come to pleasure Him. *I'm a singer, and I make God laugh.* 6
- 28 Here I've reached the place of no repose, your place of rain, O father, O God, come to entertain you, come to end my pain. I make a skillful music. 7
- 2 I in this eagle court I soften Him, fanning Him—where this court of flowers lies. *I make a skillful music.* 8

XXVII

- 4 They're sprouting: in this greenery they're blossoming: I sing the chant of Acolhuacan's Acolmiztli and Techotlatzin, of Tenochtitlan's Acamapichtli, and Tezozomoc of the Dry Lands. They arise. Their sustenance, their songs, are yet alive. 1
- 8 Santa María is prayed to on this eagle mat, this jaguar mat. 2
- 9 And Life Giver descends on Mexico as shields, descends as bells. Chalk and plumes come scattering to earth. Here! They arrive. 3
- 11 These are your charges, your wealth, O Princes Cuatlecoatl and Cahualtzin: you've borrowed the glory of Life Giver. Here! He's descended on this Mexico as shields. 4
- 14 This city of Tenochtitlan is famed, it's glorious. None fear the good death, O princes. O you that are His princes, the Only Spirit, God, has summoned you. 5
- 17 Let us have these good ones. Who will toil for the shield mat, the javelin throne of God? 6
- 19 Create them, recall them, you princes! Who'll scatter them on this city, this Tenochtitlan? Who'll push up the prop of heaven? 7

- 21 Yn maoc huel omaniya atlo yan tepetla in tenochtitlā y maoc çan ihuiyan
 techmotlatilin ipalnemohuani ohua yya yye ohuaye ninentlamatia ma-
 quintoh nica in qucni tlamamaniz a ohuaya.
- 24 Niyanquetzacoya xochiithuallaitic ayahue amoxtlin cueponi ye nohue-
 hueuh huiya cuicatl notlatol aya xochitl in notlayocol in nocoyachihuy
 nocoyachia nica yehuā Dios aya auh nohuian chialō tŕŕc. ye nican ohuaya
 ohuaya
- 28 Çan noconyatemia ohuaye a yn itlatol huiya cuix yellely cuix no

folio 20

- ytlayocol in noconitlanilian teteuctin antepilhuā y anquauht amocelo can
 ninentlamatia nimoteucçomay ohuaya. etc
- 3 Çan tiyaye'coc ye nican toncuica amoxtlacuilohtihuitz huiya ycelteotl
 ye'huan dios xochithuall imanica ohuaya.
- 5 Timoxihquecholtzetzeloa ypalnemoa a ohualacico in çaquāpapalotl calitic
 ayahue xochie'cacchuztica conehcapchuiā in moteucçomatzin çan cā ye
 nican xochinpetlapā o ohuaya ohuaya.
- 8 Çan tlapalxilotl oncuepōtihuitz huiya ic ōmalintihuitz in quetzalizquixo-
 chitl çan nichualaxitia xochiithuall imanicā ohuaya
- 10 Nepapan tlacuilol noyollo yehua nocuic ay yeehuaya çā noconahuiltico
 niccemeltian ypalnemoani çan cā ye nican xochinpetlapā o ohuaya etc
- 12 Yoayan ohuaye xiuhtotocalyheuilihuica toncuica yehua timoteucçomatzin
 chimalianmaquiztonaticac y xictzotzona moxochihuehueuh ohuaya etc
- 14 Xihycuiluhtimani quahpetlatl onoc y xochiithuall imanica toconcen-
 quixtian ypalnemoani nepapan xochitica yehuan, tzetzeluhtimaniya
 ohuaya.
- 16 Tonacaxochinquahuitla onicac aya a oncan ye moch ahuia ona'huachtze-
 tzeliuhticac aya cuicaticaya occelizticac onquetzalmiyahuayoticac aya
 Mex[∞] nican aya ohuaya etc
- 19 çan ye itech onnemia teocuitlacoyoliantototl oncucicaya tlatohua Moteuc-
 ççomay onquetzalmiyahuayoticac aya etc
- 21 Ÿ xochiyahuitl onquiztoc yan ye oncano a oncan ya icac y xochinquahuitl
 aya a oncan ya nemian quetzaliantototl moçouhtinemia in tlaca'ço ye-
 huatl in moteucçomatzin xochiahuactica yan aya moyectitinenemia a
 ohuaya ohuaya
- 25 Çan ye oncano ohuaye yxochinquiapan yehuā dios huiya ytlacuiloalcalitec
 oncā ya icac y xochitla olinticatca ohuaya ohuaya.

- 21 May the city of Tenochtitlan endure! Let Life Giver put us away in se- 8
renity. I grieve. Oh, let it be here. How will things be?

XXVIII

- 24 "I appear in this flower court. Pictures blossom: they're my drums. My 1
words are songs. Flowers are the misery I create. I wait for God, and
he's awaited everywhere on earth.
- 28 "I seek his words. Do I ask him for his pain, his misery? O lords, princes, 2
eagles, jaguars! I grieve, I, Montezuma."
- 3 Here! You've arrived, you sing. God, the Only Spirit, comes picture paint- 3
ing to this flower court.
- 5 You scatter yourself as a turquoise swan, O Life Giver. A troupe of butterfly 4
has reached this house. Montezuma with a flower-fan fans Him on this
flower mat.
- 8 "Crimson milk-corn ears come blossoming. Plumelike popcorn flowers 5
come spinning. I bring them to this flower court.
- 10 "My hearts, ah! my songs, are a multitude of paintings. I've come to plea- 6
sure, to entertain, Life Giver on this flower mat."
- 12 You're singing in Cotinga House, the painted place, O Montezuma. Shield 7
bracelets are shining down. Beat your flower drum.
- 14 They're painted turquoise on this eagle mat, in this flower court. You're 8
assembling them, O Life Giver. They're sprinkling down as a multitude
of flowers.
- 16 There! It stands. The flower tree of sustenance. And all are pleased. Yes, 9
it's sprinkling dew, it's sprouting songs, it's covered in tassel plumes.
Here! In Mexico!
- 19 A golden bellbird's in it, singing, warbling. It's Montezuma. It's covered in 10
tassel plumes. *Here! In Mexico!*
- 21 There! A flower mist is emanating. There! It stands. The flower tree. A 11
quetzal is in it, spreading its wings. Ah! It's Montezuma. As flower dew
he moves along in beauty.
- 25 There! In God's house of flower rain, His house of paintings, flowers stand. 12
They're swaying.

- 27 Moteucçomatzin neçahualcoyotzin totoquihuatzi, anquimalinaco anquilatzoay in tecpillotl a ohuaya ohuaya.
 29 Maoc cuel achic xocontlanehuican amauh amotepcuh ypan amonoque a in teteuctin a ohuaya etc.

folio 20v

- 1 Quauhuimania Ocelomania manian huin ca'calihua huin yn atlo yan tepetly in Mexico ya ohuaya etc.
 3 Yhcahuaca yohui yyo ohuili yectli yaohaye nepapan xochitl çan quitzetzeloa ya huel a huey aquin a mani ohuaya etc.²
 5 Quauhtli oncā tlacati ocelotl ye tla'toa ye oncā in Mex^{co} y ye oncā ton-tla'toa yehua timoteucçomay ohuaya etc.
 7 Ca ye oncan ye onne'totilo ye oncan ye onmomamalina in quauhyotl ye òmiximati oceloyotl a ohuaya etc
 9 Quauhuixochimecatica oye a'antoc y in atlon yan tepetl oceloxochitla in onmomalintoque in tépilhuan y Moteucçomatzin oa in cahualtzin y yya yyao ahuaio ayeo ayeohuaya ohuaya.
 12 A yn totoquihuatzin yehua yoyontzin y tomiuh yçayā tochimal yca yca mani atlo yan tepetl yhiya yyaho etc.³
- 14 Ma moquetza huehuetl antepilhuā y yece ye nican xonahahuicā yn ipan ypalnemohuani y yohuiya
 16 Choquiztli moteca yxayotl pipixauhtimani huehuetitlan ye nica yn ixpan ypalnemoa y yohuiya
 18 Moquauhtetzeloā mooçelohuihuixohua in tepiltzin in Moteucçomatzi tequimiloaya xiyaontlamatican yxtlahuatl ytec ay yohuiya
 20 Yn nepapan quauhtli in nepapan ocelotl huiya nepapā tepilhuā quimellaquahua in moteucçomatzin tequimiloaya etc.
 22 Teyolmelauh in tiçaxochitl a yn yhuixochitl in teyollon quimat ay yeehuaya a in quauhxochitl a yca ye hui yehua chichimeca o in tepilhuā a etc.⁴
 24 Yn Motlatocaçomatzin yn chahuacueye in cueyatzi yehua ihuitzi hui huia aya nelli anquittaquco a y xaltemoctzin aya nelliin amechyxima teuctlon quihnatzin y tzihuacpopocatzin ohuaya etc.⁵
 27 Çan achican tlatzihuiz oncuetlahuian chimalli xochitly ancōmotlanehuia antepilhuan yyao ayyaha ohuaya ohuaya

XXIX

- 27 O Montezuma, O Nezahualcoyotl, O Totoquihuaztli, you've come to 1
spin, to whirl, these nobles.
- 29 Borrow this city of yours for a moment. You're in it, O princes! 2
1 It settles as eagles, settles as jaguars—it settles! And ah! this city of Mexico 3
is fired upon.
- 3 He shrills, sprinkling good flowers, a multitude. He that settles is the 4
Great One.
- 5 There! Eagles come alive. Jaguars warble. There! In Mexico! You're war- 5
bling, O Montezuma!
- 7 There! All are dancing. There! Eagles are spun, jaguars are recognized. 6
9 With eagle flower garlands the city goes hunting: what's spun are jaguar 7
flowers, the princes Montezuma and Cahualtzin.
- 12 O Totoquihuaztli, O Yoyontzin, with our arrows, our shields—with 8
these—the city endures.

XXX

- 14 Let drums appear, you princes! Be pleased in the presence of Life Giver. 1
16 Cries are flowing, tears fall in a raining mist beside the drum and in the 2
presence of Life Giver.
- 18 Prince Montezuma scatters eagles, shakes jaguars: he adorns us. Be off to 3
the field!
- 20 A multitude of eagles, jaguars, princes: Montezuma cheers them on. He 4
adorns us. *Be off to the field!*
- 22 These are rectifiers of the heart, these chalk-and-feather flowers, these 5
heart prompters—these Chichimecs, these princes: as eagle flowers they
go forth, they depart.
- 24 Morlatocazoma, Chahuacue, Cucyatzin, and Ihuitzin *all* go forth, alas. No 6
more have you seen Xaltemoctzin. And Lord Quinatzin. And Tzihuac-
popoca—no more has he known your face.
- 27 Soon enough they slacken, wither, these, the shield flowers that you bor- 7
row, O princes.

- 29 O ayac contlamittaz ica toyazque in quenonamicā ðnetlalcahuilon tl̄ŕc. ye nican ancomotlanehuia antepilhuan yyao etc.²

folio 21

- 1 ohuaye o ayyee xichoca oon Chimalpopocatzin tacolmitzin oo titiçahuatzin y xiquetzan tohuchueuh ma telēl quiça ma iuhlian totlaocoly yyo ohuiya a o amaha iyaha ohuaya ohuaya.
- 4 Ý catlian cuicanitl oon macuel contzotzonan tohuchueuh ma telēl quiça ma iuhlia in totlayocol y yyoho huia ha etc
- 6 Chimalhecamaalacotl momalacachoa in teuhltin popoca y mapipiztla ycahuaca in tenochtitlan in Mex^{co} ye nican ohuaya etc
- 8 Çan chimalcala ymanca tla'chinolcalico quauhpetlatl onoc in occlōpetlatl ymancā y oncan quimamali yaoyotl quipitzan tlachinola yxochiuh aya chimalpopocatzin tel ahneli oon tel ahneli o ayc cehuiz y ayc polihuiz yya ohuia
- 12 Yca xichoca in chichimecatl y can tlaixtoctzin huiya a y huia an yectli yxochiuh Dios ypalnemohua yca tiquincocohua, cocoya yyollo in tepilhuan y quēnel conchihuazque ohuaya etc.²
- 15 Ý yaoxochitl oncuepontimani chimalizquixochitl aya nomac in mania no quipaqui xochiuh occlōxochitl y quauhxiloxochitl çan ye quīcōcōhua quēnel conchihuazque ohuaya.
- 18 Huin titotolinia ma iuhqui timiquican ma omochiuh huiya in mā techonihitocan in tocnihuan yn man techona'huacā quauhtin ya ocelotini a ohuaya etc
- 20 Quē huel xoconchihua quen huel xoconcuili yxochiuh aya ypalnemoani nēcuihuaya a'cuihuaya ohuican mahuizcan mahuizpā ixtlahuacā a ohuaya etc.²
- 22 Çan nompehua ye nicano in nicuicanitl huiya noyollo ytech in cueponi xochitl y yectlon cuicatl y ycayā noconehcāpehuian ypalnemoa ohuaya etc.
- 24 Yye nonnitotia nicanaan o in nicuicanitl huiya noyollo ytech in cueponi xochitl. etc.¹
- 26 Onquahuicecelia ohuaye oceloitzmolini in tecpillotl in tlatocayotl a in Mex^{co} y Mitica chimaltica yehuaya ontlatoā teuctli in ahuitzotl a ohuaya etc.²
- 28 In tlaca aya cuihua moxochiuh o ypalnemoani teuhltin popoca y ixtlahuatl ytec y oncan tiquincozcatl o in tla'chinolxochitl ic tiquima'pā çan chimalli xochitly yn acolihuacā neçahualpillo in totoquihuatzi mitica etc.²

- 29 Oh, no one when he's gone can enjoy them. Thus we're off to the Place 8
Unknown. It's here on earth that people are abandoned. You borrow
them, O princes.
- 1 Weep, Chimalpopoca, and you, Acolmiztli, and you, Tizhuatzin. Let our 9
drums appear. Let our cares be put aside, our sadness likewise.
- 4 Where's the singer? Let him beat our drum. Let our cares be put aside, our 10
sadness likewise.
- 6 Shield whirlwinds are whirling, dust is smoking, whistle calls are shrilling 11
here in Tenochtitlan, in Mexico.
- 8 And in this house of shields, this house of blaze, upon this eagle mat, this 12
jaguar mat, the war ignites, the blaze inflames these flowers of Chimal-
popoca. Yet it isn't true, oh no, it isn't true that they will never be ex-
tinguished, will never die.
- 12 So weep, O Chichimec, O Tlaixtoctzin. With God Life Giver's holy flow- 13
ers you aggrieve these princes: you wound their hearts. What will be-
fall them?
- 15 War flowers are blossoming. Shield popcorn flowers lie in my hand: and 14
He enjoys them, these, His flowers. Jaguar flowers, eagle cornsilk flow-
ers, are aggrieving them. What will befall them?
- 18 Ah, let us die poor. Let it be done, though comrades call us down, though 15
eagles, jaguars, reprimand us.
- 20 "You must produce them! You must get flowers from Life Giver!" On the 16
field of fear, of fear and danger, they're scarcely obtained, they're not
obtained *at all*.

XXXI

- 22 I strike it up—here!—I, the singer. Flowers, good songs, are blooming in 1
my heart. With these I fan Life Giver.
- 24 I'm dancing—here!—I, the singer. Flowers, *good songs*, are blooming in 2
my heart. *With these I fan Life Giver*.
- 26 Nobles and kings are sprouting as eagles, greening as jaguars, in Mexico: 3
Lord Ahuitzotl is singing arrows, *singing shields*.
- 28 Life Giver, let your flowers not be gathered! Dust *and lords* are smoking on 4
the field. You've given necklaces to Totoquihuatzli and Acolhuacan's
Nezahualpilli. You've adorned them in blaze flowers, shield flowers.
Lord Ahuitzotl is singing arrows, singing shields.

- 31 Ye nicnotlamatia nichoca yahuaya quēmach ami oo yeic moma'mantiuh in chimalli xochitli ye tle'cahuilo ya huixahue can nic ittaq quinequi noyol a ohuaya etc.²

folio 21v

- 1 O a'tle iuhqui yaōmiquiztli a'tle iuhquⁱ xochimiquiztli quitlaçotlac o ypalnemo huani huixahuce etc.²
- 3 Yn canō y huitzaya yectlon cuicatly noconyatēmoa hui hucc ninotolinia manen nōcuica ohuaya ohuaya.
- 5 Can nic ittaq o in moxochiuh aya ypalnemoa hui hucc ninotolinia etc.²
- 6 Canⁱ tinemiya tonelelquixtilon ipalnemoani a oncā tichielo ⁱ moxihquecholicpal ypan y xochitica y tona'cemtilo o xochicuiliuhtoc çā can ye mocuic in nimitze'ehuilia nicuicanitl huchuetitlāo ohuaya ohuaya
- 9 Çannimā ye nican ^y ye tona'ahuilton ipalnemoani o xochicuiliuhtoc çan can ye mocuic etc.³
- 11 Dios aya in mopalnemoani canin ya tinemiya ilhⁱ in tinemi tlǽctlin toconyanapalao yehua Anahuatl in momac onmani ohuaya etc
- 13 Nohuian tichialo cōc^e y in tontatzililo ya in tonihtlanililo, can tōtemolilo in momahuico motleyo a ilhuicac in tinemi Anahuatl in momac onmaniya etc.²
- 16 Ach anca chalchihuitl maquiztli ya mahuiztli yao in tlaçotli in tlaçotli moyollo tota dios ypalnemoani quexquitza in niquittoa o in motloc in monahuac y nitotoquihuatzin can ticiahuitiuh? can titlatzihuitiuh? ohuaya etc.²
- 19 Yn çan ayohui in çan cuel achicay tontlatzihuiç yehua tota dios etc.³
- 20 Quihuintia ye noyol xochihuin o y ye notech onquiça á in tlǽc y ic nihuinti ya oxochitl y yohuiya etc.²
- 22 Mochin conittitia in ycnoyotly in ica nemohuā tlǽc. o ye nicā ontlamati yehua in ilhuicatlytic y ic nihuinti ya oxochitl y yohuiya.
- 24 Xochinquiahuac y xochithualli manica oncan ontzatzitlayapapa'huiyao an cuicanitl ahuayya ohuaye yyao ayye ohuaye ahuayyao huiya.
- 26 Oye'coque hue ohualacic in nepapā tototl xoxohuic in tōtotl coçahuic in tototl teocuitlaxochitototl niman ye tlahuquechol ye hueloncuico ye ichan y yehuan Dios y yyao etc.
- 29 Maquiztlin tlamatelolli ya çan quetzalchalchihuitl çan ca teocuitlatl y huel in tlapitzalli çā ca yehuao in ipan nicmatia yectli ye mocuitl yectli ya moxochiuh

- 31 I grieve, I weep. What good is this? The shield flowers are carried away, 5
they're sent aloft. Ah, where can I find what my heart desires?
- 1 Incomparable war death! Incomparable flower death! Life Giver has blessed 6
it. *Ah, where can I find what my heart desires?*
- 3 I seek the good songs whence they come—and I am poor. Let me not sing. 7
- 5 Where am I to find your flowers, Life Giver? Alas, I am poor. *Let me 8
not sing.*
- 6 Where are you? You're entertained, O Life Giver! Yonder you're served at 9
your turquoise-swan throne! You're regaled with flowers: these songs
that I, the singer, lift for you beside the drum are painted as flowers.
- 9 It's here that you're pleased, O Life Giver. These songs *that I, the singer,* 10
lift for you beside the drum are painted as flowers.
- 11 God! Life Giver! Where are you? You're in the sky. You cradle the earth: 11
the world lies in your arms.
- 13 You're served everywhere. People cry out to you all over the world. You're 12
asked, you're petitioned, for your splendor, your glory. You're in the
sky: and the world lies in your arms.
- 16 Perhaps these glorious jades and bracelets are your hearts and loved ones, 13
O father. God! Life Giver! So many do I utter near you and in your pres-
ence—I that am Totoquihuaztli. How could you run weary? How could
you run slack?
- 19 Easily, in a moment might you slacken, O father. God! *Life Giver! So many 14
do I utter near you and in your presence!—I that am Totoquihuaztli. How
could you run weary? How could you run slack?*
- 20 They make my heart drunk: they flower, they intoxicate me *here* on earth: 15
I am drunk with war flowers.
- 22 He shows mercy to everyone. Thus people are alive on earth. Heaven 16
comes here! And I am drunk with war flowers.

XXXII

- 24 At flower plaza, where the flower court lies, the singer shouts, he sounds 1
the dance cry.
- 26 They've arrived, they've reached *us* here: all kinds of birds, green birds, 2
yellow birds, golden flower birds. And all the roscate swans are beau-
tifully singing in this home of God.
- 29 As bracelet beads, as plume jades, as minted gold, your good songs, your 3
flowers seem to me, O God.

- o yehuan Dios y yyao aye etc.³
- 2 chalchiuhtl ololihuico in quetzallin patlahuac y huitolihuic çan ca teocuitlatl y huel in tlapitzalli etc.³
- 4 Cuicailhuiçolli xochintlacuilolli quitotontihuitz quiçoçouhtihuitz yehua in S^{ra} Maria in mochipa ichpochtli tlaoc xiyacaquican a ylili ohuayao etc.³
- 6 Papalocalitic y ye amoxcalitic ychan Dios y tlahuicalitic y oncan õcuica y heco a yehuan S^{ra} Maria etc.³
- 8 Tlahuimomozt~~ie~~pãe ohuayc oncã ya ihcac yxochiuh y yehuã Dios huiya çan quixochintzetzeloa ycuic ma ahuiil yeehuaya ayya ayyaha oo a yli ayancohuili yacohuia ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Xochihuilcapitzolotoc y a ychan Dios hi oncã onchialo S^{ra} Maria õahuiltilotoc quihquizcopan cuicotoc y a onnetlamachtilo ya ayia ayyaha oo. etc.³
- 14 Xochitzapocalco Amalacoxochi o timania ye xochitzapoicpalli ipan aya tiya onca totatzin yehuan Dios aya ycelteotl a ohuaya etc
- 16 Titlapalizquixochitl aya ticueponticac in Mex^{co} nican huiya motech tlachichina in quetzalianpapalotl a y tlfç. y motech tlachichina in quauhtlian tototlo in patlantينيا ohuaya ohuaya
- 19 Teocuitlatonaticac y motzinitzantzapocal in chalchiuhamalacoyoticac mochan yehuan tlaçopilli Jesu X^o Anahuac in tontlatoa yehua ohuaya etc.³
- 21 Xochitl chayahuaticac ohuaye coyollaihuacaticac in ye mohuehueuh huiya tlaçopilli Jesu chfõ. etc.³
- 23 Titlapalyhuixochitl aya ticueponticac y Mex^{co} nica huiya tonahuixatimani cemanahuac, y tepan motecaya ohuaya etc
- 25 chalchiuhtlin chayahuac ye xochitl ya tlacati ye mocuic çan toconyaehuaya Mex^{co} nica moxochiuh tonatiman a etc.³
- 27 Oyohualla ihcahuaca ixtlahuatl itic y oncan ye cahualoc Tlachahucpãtzin coçahuic xochitica on'huixtia quenonamican o ohuaya ohuaya.
- 29 Çan ye tonmotlatia in chicomoztoc mizquitl y'caca quauhtlin tzatzia ocelotl chocac y titlahuquecholín ye tonpatlantينيا ixtlahuatl ytic in quenõamican ohuaya ohuaya.

Songs 32–33, Folio 22

- 2 As orblets of jade, as broad, bending quetzal plumes, as minted gold, *your* 4
good songs, your flowers seem to me, O God.
- 4 Santa María the ever virgin comes loosening, comes unfolding, song mar- 5
vels, flower paintings. Hear them!
- 6 In Butterfly House, House of Pictures, God's home, in Roseate House she 6
sings, she arrives, she, Santa María *the ever virgin. Hear it!*
- 8 At Roseate Altar stand flowers of God: as flowers he shakes down songs. 7
Let them be pleased.
- 11 There's flower-fluting in God's home, Beyond, where he is waited upon, 8
where Santa María is pleased. There's snail-horn music, there's joy.

XXXIII

- 14 In the flower house of sapodilla you remain a flower, a water whorl—at the 1
flower throne of sapodilla—gone beyond to our father, God, the Only
Spirit.
- 16 And You're the tintured popcorn tree blooming here in Mexico: within 2
You quetzal butterflies imbibe, *here* on earth: within You eagle birds im-
bibe: they're flying.
- 19 Gold is shining in your sapodilla house of trogons. Your home abounds in 3
jade water whorls, O prince, O Jesucristo. You're singing in Anahuac.
- 21 Flowers are scattered. Your drums are shrilling with the sound of jingles. 4
O prince, O Jesucristo, *you're singing in Anahuac.*
- 23 You're the red feather tree, blooming here in Mexico, diffusing fragrance, 5
spreading over us throughout Anahuac.
- 25 Jades are scattered: flowers—your songs—are born. You lift them here in 6
Mexico, your flowers: they're shining.
- 27 Jingles shrill in the midst of the field. Beyond is Tlachahucpan, carried off, 7
diffusing the fragrance of yellow flowers, moving on to the Place Un-
known.
- 29 You're hidden away at Seven Caves, where the mesquite grows. The eagle 8
cries, the jaguar whines: you, in the midst of the field—a roseate swan—
fly onward, in the Place Unknown.

folio 22v

- 1 Xochiithualco ninemi xochiithualco niqehua nocuic nicuicanitl huiya tantili yao yyaoo oyyae ay yohuiya.
- 3 Çaniya hualacico ixpan in Dios yehuã totatzin huiya noquetzalehcacehuaz nohua'calcozqui çan noxiuhquecholpoyomãxochiuh ÿ çan nicyatzetze-loa can nic ehua cuicatl y yatantili etc.²
- 6 Ohualacic in tocuic ohualacic toxochiuh ohuaye in nicuicanitl huiya á ilh¹iticipa ye huitz çan nictemohui in tocuic nictemohui toxochiuh a ylili ohuiya
- 8 Cacahuaxochitl y quetzalizquixochimecatica ninahpantihuitz aya y nicuicanitl huiya a ilhuicatlyticpa ye huitz et
- 10 Çan teocuitlaxochincozcapetlatl o ipan tiya onca huiya timopiltzin o can titlacateuctli çã timoquihuitzin tilili ohama ayyo huiya etc
- 12 Çan tocontimaloa yxiuhquecholyepal ytlauhquecholpetl yehuã Diosy tilili et
- 14 Çan quetzallin patlahuac y ye huitolihuc ipan ye momatia yectli nocuic huiya nicuicanitl nahahua nic itta xochitl o nic ehua nocuic ma ica xonahuiacan antepilhuan ay yohuiya etc.³
- 17 O a ichan itquihuan i xochitl o a ychan temohuilon cuicatl at aih quimatia anmoyol antepilhua ay yohuiya.
- 19 Çan mochi nicoyocoya yehuaya nincenlamicon tl̄çc. y nimoquihuitzi nic eclnamiquin ahuillotl in papaquizyotl aya cuix ticlamicazque yehua ohuaya
- 22 Çan nohuan nõne'nemi yehuaya nohuan nontlatoa yehuaya xochitl ycuepoya cuicatl yyahualihcã aya in oncã nemia noyollo ahuayya ohuaye cuix ticlamicazque.
- 25 Chalchimmalacayotimanin Atlo yan tepetl huiya çan quetzaltonameyotimani Mex^{oo} nican huiya itlan neyacalhuilotoc in teteuctiny y xochiaya-huitl in tepan motecaya ohuaya etc.²
- 28 O anca ye mochan á ipalnemoani o anca ye nican ÿ tontla'tohua yehuã totatzin aya ycelteotl y anahuac in hualcaco mocuic in tepã motecaya etc.²

folio 23

- 1 yztac huexotlaya yztac tolin y ye imanica Mex^{oo} nica huiya timatlalazta-tototl tipatlantihuitz tehuã tjteotl spũ s^{oo} ohuaya et³
- 3 o anca ye tehuatl aya ypan ticçohuaya ypan ticyecia in ye mocuitlapil ÿ ye

XXXIV

- 1 "I'm in Flower Court, I, the singer. I lift my songs in Flower Court. 1
- 3 "My plume fans, my pack-basket jewels, arrive in the presence of God, 2
our father. Lifting my music, I shake down narcotic flowers, turquoise
swans.
- 6 "I, the singer! Our songs have arrived, our flowers arrive, come from 3
within the sky: I bring down our songs, I bring down our flowers.
- 8 "These are cacao flowers. I come adorned with plumelike popcorn-flower 4
garlands, I, the singer. They come from the sky: *I bring down our songs, I
bring down our flowers.*"
- 10 You've been to the Jewel Mat of Golden Flowers, beyond, O my prince, 5
Commander Moquihuitzin.
- 12 You glorify this turquoise swan seat, this roseate swan mat of him who 6
is God.
- 14 "My songs are valued as broad, bending plumes. I am a singer and greatly 7
pleasured. Finding flowers, I lift my songs. With these be pleased, O
princes.
- 17 "From His home the flowers are carried, from His home the songs are 8
brought down. In your hearts can you find them amiss, O princes?
- 19 "Composing them all, I've come down to earth in order to *song-grieve*, I, 9
Moquihuitzin, recalling pleasure, bliss. Can we enjoy them when we're
gone?
- 22 "Wherever I walk, wherever I sing, is a blooming of flowers, a swelling of 10
song, and there my heart is alive. Can we enjoy them when we're gone?"

XXXV

- 25 He spreads a crown of jade upon the city, He abounds in plume light here 1
in Mexico. Beneath Him lords are shaded: a flower mist spreads over all.
- 28 This would seem to be your home, O Life Giver. Here, it seems, is where 2
you sing, O father, O Only Spirit. Your song is heard beside the waters,
spreading over all.
- 1 To the white willows, where white rushes grow, to Mexico, you, Blue 3
Egret Bird, come flying, you, O spirit, O Espíritu Santo!
- 3 Perhaps you open out, unfurl, your tail and wing upon your vassals in this 4
world. You're singing here in Mexico.

- matlapal aya \bar{y} momacchual y c \bar{m} ic in \bar{c} an tontlatoa yehua Mexico nica huiya ohuaya.
- 6 Macac anoya huiya nenemi yehua anmotlaocol aya Moteuc \bar{c} omatzin in totoquihuatzi ac nel quitlacohtiz yn ipalnemoa ca quitzitzquico in ilhuicatl aya in tl \bar{c} ohuaya et.
- 9 O anca tlachinolmilini inlatol ye coyaihtoa y nauhcampa yyaoo quitlahuizcallotia in atlo yan tepetl \bar{y} tenochtitlan y Moteuc \bar{c} omatzin Neca-hualpillin acolihuac \bar{a} a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 12 \bar{C} an quetzaleh \bar{c} acehuaztica oneyacalhuilotoc y elcicihuin tlaocoy \bar{a} ohuaye qu \bar{e} onmani \bar{c} o yn atlo yan tepetl in tenochtitlan y qu \bar{e} quito \bar{a} dios a y yece ye nican ohuaya e
- 15 Tle \bar{c} ann \bar{e} nompehua noncuica ixpan in totatzin yehu \bar{a} Dios ypalnemoa huiya \bar{c} an ninotolinia o aye o aye ohuaye.
- 17 Ma cuincan a huitz \bar{y} huelin mitzahuiltiz ypalnemoa xiuhtlamatilotic \bar{a} quipitz \bar{a} quimamalin cuicatl auh in nehu \bar{a} ninotolinia o aye o etc
- 19 Tla nimitzonahuilti tla \bar{c} an \bar{e} ninentlamatia \bar{c} an nicuicanitl hui \bar{a} icnopillotica nelcicihui mixpan y \bar{c} an icnoxochitl \bar{y} \bar{c} an icnocuicatl \bar{y} nimitzonehuilian tlatatl in icelteotl ypalnemoa ohuaya ohuaya.
- 22 Canin tincmian tonelelquixtilon ipalnemoani nohuian tichialo cemanahua yn \bar{c} an icnoxochitl yn \bar{c} an icnocuicatl etc³
- 24 Yan noncuicayan y on man ic y xochitl on man ic \bar{y} cuicatl ahua yya yya ayio huiya etc⁴
- 26 Nicchalchihumamali teocuitlatl niepitzta ye nocuic chalchihuitl nie \bar{c} alao ye nocuic o ayio aya ayio huiya
- 28 Dios aya ninotolinia nimitzonahuiltia nic ihtoa yeehuaya nitotoquihuatzi ma' cuincan huitz huelin mitzahuiltiz ma' cuincan huitz huelin quitomaz mocuic ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 23v

- 1 Qu \bar{e} mach ami tlatatl ye xiuhte ye quihchiquin cuicatl quetzalte huehuelin quicuecucyahua in totoquihuatzi ma cu \bar{c} a huitz ma cu \bar{c} a huitz etc
- 3 Tzinitzcan quechol xiuhtototl ypan timomatia ypalnemoa moyol ahua i yecchuaya coyachichinaya tla \bar{c} uilolxochitl ihcuilihuin cuicatl a et⁵
- 5 \bar{C} an moquetzalahlapal o \bar{c} an timo \bar{c} o \bar{c} o \bar{c} o tzinitzcanyhuitica timilacatzoa in tayopalquechol xontlachichina nican aya y ye xochitl in tlaplan aci ye nica ohuaya ohuaya.

- 6 May no one walking forth be captured! That which rises *shall be* your sadness, O Montezuma, O Totoquihuaztli! Who provides slaves for Life Giver? Indeed, they come to support the sky, the earth. 5
- 9 These uttered words of theirs, it seems, are stirring as a blaze and from the four directions, giving Tenochtitlan City its place within the dawn. They are Montezuma and Acolhuacan's Nezahualpilli! 6
- 12 And it is shaded by this fan of plumes, as he is sighing, grieving. How *else* is Tenochtitlan City to endure? What sings *our* God, even here? 7

XXXVI

- 15 Strike it up? And sing before the face of our father, God Life Giver? How but uselessly could I? I am poor. 1
- 17 Let a singer come, and he can pleasure you, O Life Giver. He's smelting songs, he's drilling them as turquoise beads. But I, I am poor. 2
- 19 I wish I could pleasure you. Let me somehow grieve, I, a singer, sighing before your face, bereft, lifting flowers of bereavement, music of bereavement, for you, O Noble One, O Only Spirit, O Life Giver. 3
- 22 Where are you? You're being entertained, O Life Giver. Everywhere, throughout the world you're served. Flowers of bereavement, music of bereavement, *do I lift for you, O Noble One, O Only Spirit, O Life Giver.* 4
- 24 And now I sing! So let there be flowers! So let there be songs! 5
- 26 I drill my songs as though they were jades. I smelt them as gold. I mount these songs of mine as though they were jades. 6
- 28 O God! Though poor, I say that I pleasure you, I, Totoquihuaztli! Let the singer come. He can pleasure you. Let the singer come. He'll set free your songs. 7
- 1 How excellent this noble one! He burnishes songs as though they were turquoise. As though they were plumes he twists them, he, Totoquihuaztli. Let the singer come. Let the singer come. 8
- 3 Life Giver! As a trogon, as a swan, a coringa, you seem. Your heart is pleased, it imbibes the painted flowers. Songs are painted! 9
- 5 You've opened out your plumelike wings. You're whirled as trogon feathers, O Auburn Swan. Drink here! Here! Flowers reach the earth. 10

- 8 Macan nimitznotza totatzin o ypalnemoani in ninentlamati aya maçan titocniuh a ma tocontolhuican y yeclli motlatol ma toconytoca yca nitlaocoya yeehuaya noconyatemoa moxochiaahuilz o in mocuicapazquiz y ye monccuiltonol huiya o ayiahue yao ayiaha ohuaya ohuaya.
- 12 Çan quittoa y yeccā ilhuicatlytec y nemoā pacoa o onicac in huehuetl manian cuicatly y ca çan nell ohuaye çan ye tochoquizi çan ye totlaocoly, yn nemia ychany ma iuh quimat amoyoll antepilhuāy o ayahue
- 15 Yan ticchimalyculoa tocontlacoehyhcuihoa a in tecpillotl a in tlachinolliya niman ye oncā timopotonia tīçatica in ye timoxconoa ha in tlahuepa huiya yca toyao quenonamica huiya ahua yhua ya ohuaya aye ahua yio yahui
- 18 O anca ye tinpatih in teteuctin a in tlahuepa huiya in camacpa tontlatoa yehuaya mitzoyananquilia quahuinquechol in tototl yehuā maceuhquiya mapipitzo aya o anca ye onca quenonamican huiya ahua yyao etc.
- 21 Occloihcuihuquī a mocuic quahuintzetzeliuhtoc moxochiuh aya in tinopiltzin yehuan maceuhquiya chimalcocom aye mohuehueh tīcyahueltintzotzona ahua yyao
- 24 Çan ticquahuixochilacatzoa yeehuayan tecpillotl in icniuhyotl yehuā maceuhquiya cacahuaocltiya onteihuintia ontequimiloa ye yehua incuic ye yehua yxochiuh ye omochiuhitia quenonamican y mach eehua in Mexicay ahuayyao et
- 28 Moyolic çan timahui noyollo ahtonmotlahpaloa ye òcan ahuiltlon Dios ohuaya aye huiya
- 30 Çanel a tōyaz in ompa ximoa ye oncā aya xōmiquani ye òcā ahuiltlō Dios etc.²

folio 24

- 1 Niccecemeltia noyollon ypalnemoa nicmana moxochiuh nic ehua mocuic aya maocuel achic nimitzonahuilti quēmanian tontlatzihuiz yquac tīnechonmotlatiliz iquac nonmiquiz yyao.
- 4 Yn cuix aoc ylotiz moyollon ypalnemoa nicmana moxochiuh etc.³
- 5 Çan ticneneloa ahticcenquixtia yeclteotl ypalnemoani çan onnemin paqui çan onnemin huclamatīn tl̄çc. ye nicā yca nichoca niicnotlamatia ohuaya ohuaya
- 8 Çan mochin quitoa noyollo mochin quilnamiqui ixquich ahtabuia' ay a'tihuelamatih ica nichoca nicnotlamatia ett'³

XXXVII

- 8 In grieving may I call to you, O father, O Life Giver. Be a friend to us, and 1
let us tell your good words to each other, let us say the ones by which I
suffer, I who seek your flower pleasure, your song joy, your riches.
- 12 He says that in the good place in the sky there's life, there's joy, stand 2
drums, lie songs that are real, our tears, our suffering, alive within His
home. Believe it, O princes!
- 15 With shields you paint, with javelins you paint nobility and blaze. And 3
then at once, beyond, you are feathered. As chalk you're thrashed, O
Tlachahuepan, you that will have thus departed for the Place Unknown.
- 18 It seems that you're a payment for the lords, O Tlachahuepan—singing with 4
your mouth! He answers you, he the Eagle Swan, the Bird, the Dancer,
the Whistle Caller, there beyond, it seems, in the Place Unknown.
- 21 Your songs are painted as jaguars, your flowers shaken down as eagles, O 5
my prince, O dancer! The drum you beat so well is roaring with the
sound of shields.
- 24 As eagles you flower-whirl these noble comrades, O dancer. This cacao 6
wine makes drunk, bedecking all. Their songs arise, their flowers rise:
with these they've gone away, created, to the Place Unknown, and they
that rise are Mexicans.
- 28 You are hesitant and fearful, O my hearts. You dare not go where God is 7
pleasured.
- 30 And where are you to go? Where all are shorn! Yes, there beyond. Move 8
on beyond, where God is pleased!

XXXVIII

- 1 I gratify my heart, O Life Giver: I spread your flowers, lift your songs. For 1
but a moment longer let me pleasure you: in time you will weary. Then
you will hide me, then I will die.
- 4 O Life Giver, will your hearts return no more? I spread your flowers, *lift* 2
your songs. For but a moment longer let me pleasure you: in time you will
weary. Then you will hide me, then I will die.
- 5 You strew them, you scatter them, O Only Spirit, O Life Giver. They're 3
rejoicing, they're content here on earth. And so I weep, I grieve.
- 8 My heart utters them all, recalls them all. None of us are pleased, none 4
content. And so I weep, I grieve.

- 10 Mach neyocolo in tl̄ŕc. y dios ytla'tol huelon nemoay timotoliniã tinech-
cocolian çã xinentlamat a ohuaya ohuaya
- 12 Çan nohuan temolo ohuaye çã nohuan notzalo ontzatzililo ya temolo
ytlatol huelon nemoa y timotolinia et'.
- 14 Quenin tiquittoa ya icelteotl ypalnemoani aya oc cemilhuitl y motloc
monahuac y in cuix aoc nello ninotolinia yyao yyahue ohuaya et'
- 16 Y canel oc nomatia monamiquiz y xopãxochitl yya in canel oc nomatian
cueponiz ÿ ye xochitly y cempoalxochitl yyao yyahue ohuaya et'
- 18 Tamoannempoyon in quechol huia noconchuaya ye tamoã ychan y moyol-
amox y yehuã dios ye mocuic ohuaya ohuaya
- 20 Çan ca tehuatl huel ticmati inic onmehuaya yca onmitoa yehua ic ton-
teyhcuiloa ic tontenonotza ye nican y moyohualamox y etc'.
- 22 Anca çan totlaocol y yehuaya icaya ommomalina in tlaçopilli yehuan dios
ye mocuic ohuaya ohuaya
- 24 Ahuillotl y mach ticpolotehuazque otiaque ye nica huiya icniuhthuaquiuh
toxochipapacyec icnihuani mã tonahuiaca ohuaya et'.
- 26 Yn maoc ompapaquin toyollo yehuaya antocnihuã y tiazque yehua ohuaya
ohuaya
- 28 Ac quimatin Axcan moztlan huiptla y a'caçoc taque y ma tellel onquiça ma
tiquilnamiquican cuix nellin tiyanemico ohuaya et'
- 30 Titloque tinahuaque Diöse toniciuhlatzihuiz tona'hahuiliztlatzihuiz tl̄ŕc.
aya tic chua mocuic aya iuh quimatin toyol a ohuaya et

folio 24v

- 1 Ycelteotl ypalnemoani ticiehuiz tontlatzihuiz titechonmotlatiliz aya yuh
quimatin toyol a ohuaya ohuaya
- 3 ÿ çan ticpicinemico in tl̄ŕc y tontiximatico in huehuetitlã y titocniuh
ahuia y çã actle ye yaz y çã actle ic ompolihuiz a in tlalticpac a ohuaya
ohuaya
- 6 Ayac tlaquahuac ayac tlaçotli conayachihua ypalnemoani quauhtlin patlan-
tiah yyollo in tepetl ocelotl y no tlacoti no yauh in nica ohuaya ohuaya
- 9 Çan coçahuic ocelotl y ye chocati'caca yahue a iztac quauhtli ya mapipitzoa
ye ichan xihuitl popoca y tlaçaço yehuan in huexotlalpây in tepilhua
huiya chichimecatl teuctli a in coxanatzin nopiltzin o tlamayotzin teuctla
ohuaya et.
- 13 ÿ ma onnetlanchuilo y yeehuaya çan cocomocaticac y teocuitlahuehuetl
tzitzilicaticac o mixcohuancaltec ayyahue a'nochipa teuctihua ye nica

Songs 38-39, Folios 24-24v

- 10 Are all God's words being made on earth? Indeed they're all alive. And 5
You hate me. You're poor. Grieve!
- 12 He is sought everywhere, called and cried for everywhere: yes, His words 6
are sought. They're all alive! *And You hate me.* You're poor. *Grieve!*
- 14 What do you say, O Only Spirit, O Life Giver? Another day near you and 7
in your presence? Is it true that I am not yet poor?
- 16 Yes, I know where your nearness is. The Green Place flowers? Yes, I know 8
where flowers, where marigolds, will bloom.
- 18 I lift the swans, Tamoá's live narcotics, your living pictures in Tamoá 9
home, O God! Your songs!
- 20 Only you know how they're lifted, how they're uttered, these we paint 10
with, pray with, these your darkness pictures, *O God, your songs!*
- 22 These would seem to be our suffering. And so they're whirled, O prince, 11
O God. Your songs!
- 24 Will we destroy pleasure when we die? *When* we are gone, there'll be a 12
coming-in of comradeship! O flowerlike, joyful, and good comrades!
Let us all be pleased!
- 26 Comrades, let our hearts be joyful! We must go away! 13
- 28 Who knows today if we'll be here tomorrow or the next day? May our 14
agonies come forth! May we recall them! Is it true that we were born to
live *on earth*?
- 30 O Ever Present, O Ever Near, O God, you will weary of comrades, of 15
pleasure on earth. We lift our songs. And of this we're aware.
- 1 O Only Spirit, O Life Giver, you will tire, you will weary, you will hide 16
us. Of this we're aware.
- 3 We who've come to know each other here beside the drum have come to 17
earth to keep on giving form to those that will not go away, to those that
will not be destroyed on earth.
- 6 No one durable, no one precious, does Life Giver make. The eagle flies off 18
to the Heart of the Nation. Also the jaguar becomes a slave, departs
from *this earth*.

XXXIX

- 9 A yellow jaguar is roaring, a white eagle screams in the home of Xihuitl 1
Popoca. And ah, they're princes of Huexotlalpan: the Chichimec lord
Coxanatzin and my prince, Lord Tlamayotzin!
- 13 Let them all be borrowed! Gold drums are roaring, pealing, in this mix- 2
coacalli! Not forever *on earth* can a man be a lord. Lordship, honor, and

- huia a'nochipa teucyotl mahuiçotl tla'tocayotl o antepilhuan y çã achic oo çan cuel achic a yn tinemi ye nicã ohuaya ohuaya.
- 17 Tiçayo yn amohuehucuh o antepilhuã y anMexica yechuaya an oncã ya icac y ixtlahuatl itic ye oncã a yn itzquemeca huiya in quahuixochitica malintiac y at ac connequi ohuaye quauhtin ocelotl ohuaya e
- 20 Y çan ca nima ye yehua contzotzonque o a in tepilhuã ni cecepaticzin in tezcatzin huiya in quahuixochitica malintiac y at ac connequi etc
- 22 Quauhtli nechihualoc huiya ocelotl ye necuepaloc a in tepilhuã y nepopayahualoc nequauhtzetzelolo yn ixtlahuatl ytec y can aca ac connequi yehua in itlacnelil yehuan dios ipalnemoani aquin. conhuelmatian cuel achic a y çã ye conmocniuhua ma ontlaneltocoya ohuaya ohuaya
- 26 Oceloxochitl oncuepontoc ye onca huiya itzimiquilxochitl huehuelixitmani a ixtlahuatl itec y a in atl ixcoya ohuaya etc
- 28 Çan mixcohuancalitec a yechuaya amapancalco mocuicatia ye hualmotzatzilia in tlacahuepantzi ixtlilcuechahuac cuicanahuatilo ye õnahuatilo yn icniuhyotl aya yhuã nahuatilo yn tecpillotl a ohuaya etc

folio 25

- 1 Quen huel xoconchihua quẽ huel xocõyancnequi yn ixochiuh in Dios a mopalnemoani mopal tiyanemico y tlçc y timacehualti quexquich onmania moquahuixochinecultonol a noyollo mamahui que nonaciz a ohuaya ohuaya
- 5 O ach i ye iuhca ixtlahuaca tlachinolitlic y chimalteuhtli yehuaya chimalcomocaya tlaçochtili pixahuin tzetzelihui yehua noyollo ma'mahui quen nonaciz a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 8 Çanyo in xochitl in tonequimilol çanyo in cuicatl ic huehuetzin telel a in tlçc a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 10 Y mach noca ompolihuiz in cohuayotl mach noca ompolihuiz yn icniuhyotl yn onoya yehua niyoyontzin ohuaye on cuicatillanõ yn ipalnemoani ohuaya ohuaya
- 13 Tineçahualcoyotzin Moteucçomatzin maoc xonahahuiaçã xocõahuilticã Dios ypalnemoani ohuaya ohuaya.
- 15 A yç ac onmatia ompa tonyazque o ye ichano çanio o ye nicã in tinemico tlalticpac a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 17 Ma xihuecholxochitla o çan tzinitzcã in malintoc oo in mocpacxochiuh çã ye tonmoquimiloo çan titlatoaniya tineçahualcoyotl a ohuaya.
- 19 Yn ma ya moyol iuh quimati antepilhuã o anquauht amocelo a'mochi-

- nobility are not forever, O princes. Briefly, briefly do we live *on earth*.
- 17 These drums of yours are chalked, you Mexican princes! They're standing 3
yonder in the middle of the field, among the knife capes. They're spun
as eagle flowers. And who desires these eagles, these jaguars?
- 20 The princes Cecepatcatzin and Tezcatzin are the ones who've sounded 4
them. They're spun as eagle flowers. And who desires these *eagles, these*
jaguars?
- 22 All these princes have been created as eagles, returned as jaguars: they're 5
shining, they're strewn as eagles on the field. Where is he who desires
these favored ones of God Life Giver? Who enjoys them? Briefly does
He take them as His comrades. May all have faith!
- 26 Jaguar flowers are opening, knife-death flowers are becoming delicious 6
upon the field, upon the flood.
- 28 From the Mixcoacalli, his resting place, the House of Paper Flags, he 7
sings, shouts forth, and he is Tlachahuepan, and he is Ixtlilcuechahuac.
Comrades are summoned, nobles are summoned, summoned by the
music.
- 1 Do create, do desire God's flowers. *And yet*—O You by whom all live, O 8
You by whom we vassals come to live on earth—how long do your eagle-
flower riches last? My heart fears greatly. What will become of me?
- 5 This field in blaze. Where shield dust rises roaring with the sound of 9
shields. And javelins sprinkle, a raining mist. My heart fears greatly.
What will become of me?

XL

- 8 Flowers are our only adornment. Only through songs does our pain on 1
earth subside.
- 10 "Will companions be lost to me, comrades lost to me, when I, Yoyontzin, 2
have gone to the Singing Place and to Life Giver?"
- 13 O Nezahualcoyotl, O Montezuma, be pleased! Give pleasure to God 3
Life Giver!
- 15 "Ah, who here knows where we're to go *or where* His home is? It's only 4
here on earth that we're alive."
- 17 Let's have these turquoise-swanlike flowers! These are trogons that are 5
spinning—your crown of flowers! You array yourself, O king, O
Nezahualcoyotl!
- 19 "Let your hearts know this, O princes, O eagles, O jaguars: not forever 6

- pā titocniŋuan a can cuel achic nican timochi toçazque o y ye ichan o
 ohuaya
- 21 Nitlayocoyay nicnotlamatiya çã nitepiltzin nineçahualcoyotl huiya xochi-
 tica yeehuā cuicatica niquimilnamiqui tepilhuāo a yn oyaque yehua
 teçoçomoctzino yehuā qua'quauhtzin a ohuaya ohuaya
- 24 Oc nellin nemoan quenonamican ma ya niquintoca inin tepilhuā huiya ma
 ya niquimonitquili toxochiuh aya ma ic ytech nonaci yectli yan cuicatli
 teçoçomoctzin etc³
- 27 O ayc ompolihuiŋ in moteyo nopiltzin titeçoçomoctzin anca çã ye in
 mocuic oa yea nihualchoca ŷ çan nihualienotlamati conon tiya chua
 ohuaya ohuaya
- 30 Çan nihualayocoya o nicnotlamatia ayoquic oo ayoc quēmanian

folia 25v

titechyaitaquiuh in tlaŷc y canon tiya yehua ohuaya ohuaya

- 2 Tlanel nichoca in yehuaya tla nicnotlamatia yehuaya tlanel cenca quē
 quihualnequian noyollo yeehuaya cuix nella noyaz ŋnonamican huiya
 oyahueyo ahuaya ohuia. Tlŷc. ahuaya ohuaye quittoa toyollo macaic
 timiquini antocnihuan huiya can a'micohuayā cuix ompa nonyaz huiya
 cuix ompa nemi nota quenonamican huiya huiyxihueya noyollo çanel
 ahnipolihuiŋ ninotolinia ayahueyyo ahuayya ohuia
- 9 Tictlalitehuac in moteyo tehua titepiltzin a in tlachahuepantzin anca çan ica
 ontlacotihua y anca çan ye ixpani onncquetzalo ypalnemohuani quixi-
 huaquiuh nemoaquiuh a yn tŷc a ohuaya ohuaya
- 13 Yn çan cuel achitzinca onnetlanchuilo ymahuiço o ypalnemoani quixihua-
 quiuh nemoaquiuh etc³
- 15 Pantli nenelihui yeehuaya ixtlahuatl itec y itzimizquixochitl nenepaniuhti-
 cac y in ticalylhuitly tzetzeliuhticac y onca ye nimia in tlachahuepantzin
 otic ytaco quinequia moyollo yehua in itzimiquiztla ohuaya.
- 18 Motcocuitlachuauh chalchiuhtetzetzeliuhtoc ye tōmoquimiloa ye tōmotla-
 machtia a yxtlahuatl ytec y otic ytaco etc³
- 20 Ocentlan in tomiquiz otitoloque ŷ tiçacatecay onquiçan toteyo çã toca o
 huellamatin ypalnemoani ŷ chimaltepetl yxpano ohuaye ye ilhuiçolo-
 huan ycelteotl ayiao yahaya ohuaya ohuaya
- 23 Tllali mocucpaya milacatzoa tlaochquiahuia ŷ teuhtli motecay yn chi-
 maltepetl ixpan ohuaye etc³

- are we comrades. Only for a moment here, and all will be departing for His home.
- 21 "I suffer and grieve, I, Prince Nezahualcoyotl. With flowers, with songs, I recall the departed Princes Tezozomoc and Cuacuauhtzin. 7
- 24 "Do we truly live in the Place Unknown? Let me follow these princes. Let me bring them our flowers. With good songs let me touch this Tezozomoc, *this Cuacuauhtzin*. 8
- 27 "Your fame will never be destroyed, O prince, O Tezozomoc. This would seem to be your song. And so I'm weeping, suffering. Where have you gone? 9
- 30 "I suffer. I grieve. You'll come to earth and find us nevermore, never again. Where have you gone?" 10

XLI

- 2 Let me weep, let me grieve, and greatly. What do my incoming hearts desire? Is it true? Must I depart for the Place Unknown? 1
On earth the hearts are saying, "May we never die, O friends." Where is the place of no death? Will I go there? Is my father alive in the Place Unknown? O my heart! But truly, I that am poor will not be destroyed.
- 9 Before you died, you established your fame, O prince, O Tlachahuepan. So people are busy, it seems. People are appealing to Life Giver; there will be a coming-forth, a coming-to-life on earth. 2
- 13 Briefly is Life Giver's glory borrowed: there will be a coming-forth, a coming-to-life *on earth*. 3
- 15 Banners are scattering on the bosom of the field, knifelike mesquite flowers are littered: chalk and plumes are sprinkling down. There! Tlachahuepan lives! You've come for knife death, and your hearts desire it. 4
- 18 Your golden hides are sprinkling down as jades, and you array yourself, and you are happy in the bosom of the field. You've come for *knife death, and your hearts desire it*. 5
- 20 "Death for us has ended: we Zacatecs are spoken of! Our fame is born! Because of us Life Giver is content." The Only Spirit makes marvels in Shield Town. 6
- 23 The earth rolls over, turns over. It's raining javelins: these lords are pouring down. *The Only Spirit makes marvels* in Shield Town. 7

- 25 Oyanoconic \bar{y} nanacoctli ya noyol in choca nicnotlamatin tl̄çc oo, çan
nintolinia yahueya yliyayie ohuaya ohuaya
27 Çan nichualelnamiqui \bar{y} hannahua hanihuelamatin tl̄çc. oo çā ni-

folio 26

notolinia ohuaya ohuaya.

- 2 Nicxiquitta miquitzli çā ninotoliniā quēnel nocōchihuaz ayamo ya nelli a
yantlayocoya yn āquahqualani aiyohuiya
4 Yn manel quetzalteuh in nchuā in ye tōmani ohuaye manel ye cozcateuh
nehuā y ye toncate ohuaye ayamo ya nelli et
6 Nocniuh nocniuh ye yaço nellin nocniuh çan itlatoltzin çan ic tontonequi
y yehuaya ye ica noconclnamiqui oa ma iuhua man polihui a yz can
toxochiuh a ohuaya ohuaya
9 Maca cocoya amoyollo yehua in amotlatoltzin antocnihua huya no iuhqui
nicmati no iuhçca nquimati ohuaye yia ynehuaya ceppa ye yauh in to-
nemiz ohuaya ohuaya
12 Cemilhuitl on tiyahui ceyohual o ximoa nica huiya çan tōtiximatico çan
tictlanehuico o ye nian o in tl̄çc. y ma yhuian may ceMelle y man
tonnemican xihualā mā tōhahuiacā man conchiuhtinemi in òquaqua-
lantinemian tla'tlahueya nican huiya Ma cemicac onnemia macaic
onmiquia ohuaya ohuaya
17 Yn tele tzo onnemian techtlatlatztinemi techoniztlacoa nicā huia in tele tzo
motolinia ma onnentlamati ma cemicac onnemia
- 19 Nochalchiuhteponaz noxiuhquecholiniquici nocoyapitzaya çā ye ni-
quahquauhtzin huiya onihualacic a ononiquetzacoya nicuicanitl ayio
huiya
21 Cuelca xonahuiacā y ma ya hualmoquetza a yyollo niccocoa çan nic ehua
cuicatl y onihualacic etc
23 Ma ya moyollo motomay ma ya moyollo huallaçitinemiā tinechcocolia
tinechmiquitlani yn onoya yehua in onompoliuh y anca çā yoquic oo
noca tihualychocaz noca tihualycnotlamatz çān tinocniuh o ca ye niauh
o ca ye niauh yehua ohuaya e
27 Çan quitoa noyollo ayoc ceppa ye nihuitz aya ayoc ceppa niqiuçaquih in
huel yeccan in talticpac o çā ye niauh c çā ye niauh etc
29 Quinehnequi xochitl çā noyollo yehua çan noncuicanētlamati o çan
noncuieyeco in tl̄çc y ye niquaquauhtzi huiya noconnequi

XLII

- 25 I've drunk a fungus wine. My heart is weeping, and I grieve on earth. I
am poor. 1
- 27 I think on this: I have no pleasure, no contentment on earth. I am poor. 2
- 2 Disdaining death, I am poor. And what befalls me then?—that it be true
that you're no longer sad or vexed! 3
- 4 As plumes may we endure together, as jewels may we exist together! No
longer is it true *that you are sad and vexed!* 4
- 6 O friend, my friend, it may be true, O friend, that we are needed only for
His precious words, these that I'm remembering for His sake. Let it be
so. Let them be destroyed. Here they are: our flowers. 5
- 9 May your hearts not suffer! This, friends, is your precious song, and this I
know, and this you also know: life passes once. 6
- 12 In but a day we're gone, in but a night we're shorn *on earth*. And as for
having come to know each other, this we merely borrow here on earth.
May we live in gentleness, in peace! Come! Let us be intensely plea-
sured! May the Shining One keep on creating him that lives in anger
here. May He live forever. May He never die! 7
- 17 Indeed, on high He lives. Shining on, He keeps His watch on us, He gazes
on us here. And yet, on high He is poor. May He grieve! And may He
live forever! 8

XLIII

- 19 O precious log drums! I blow my conch for turquoise swans, I, Cuacuauh-
tzin. I've arrived, I appear, I, the singer. 1
- 21 It's time! Be pleased! And they shall appear! I wound their hearts. I'm
lifting songs, I've arrived, *I appear, I, the singer.* 2
- 23 "Let your hearts be set free, let your hearts come forth. You loathe me, and
you want me dead. When I've gone and perished, then perhaps you'll
weep for me, you'll grieve for me, O friend. I go, I go. 3
- 27 "My heart says never again do I come, never again will I be born in the
good place, earth. I go, I go." 4
- 29 My heart is greatly wanting flowers. Yes, I song-grieve, making songs on 5

folio 26v

- xochitl ma nomac ommaniqui ninentlamatia yo haye yho ohua ihya
ohuaiya
- 3 Cannelpa tonyazque yn aic timiquizque huiya maçã nichalchihuitl in teo-
cuitlatl o ça ye no nipitzaloz nimamalihuaz in tlatillan o ça noyoliyo ça ye
niquaquauhtzin ninotolinia yho et²
- 6 Çannē tequitly xonahuiaca xōa'ahuiaçã antocnihua at amonahueizque at
ahuelamatizque tocnihuan ohuaye cã nicuiz in yectli xochitl y yectli yan
cuicatl y ahuayya o ahuayia yiaa ohuaya ohuaya
- 10 Ayquin o xopan in quichihua ye nicay ninotolinia ça ye niquaquauhtzin
huiya at amonahueizque at ahuelamatizque tocnihuã o ohuaye can
nicuiz in yectli xochitl et³

- 13 Nican ompehua Teponazcuicatl.
- 14 Tico,tico, toco toto, auh ic ontlantih cuicatl
Tiquiti titito titi.
- 16 Tollanaya huapalcalli manca noçã in mahmani coatlaquetzalli ya quiyacauh-
tehuac Nacxitl topiltzin on quiquiztica ye choquililo in topilhuã ahuay
ye yauh in polihuitiuh nechcã tlapallã ho ay.
- 19 Nehcayan cholollan oncan tonquiçaya poyauhtecatitlan in quiyapana-
huiya y acallan on quiquiztica ye choquililon et³
- 21 Nonohualco ye nihuitz ye nihuiquecholi nimamali teuctla nicnotlamatia
oyahquin noteuc ye ihuitimali nechyaicnocauhyan i ma'tlaxochitl ayao
ayao o ayya yyao ay.
- 24 In tepetl huitomi ca niyaychocaya axalihqueuhca
[marginal:] yehuayã
nicnotlamatiya oyaquin noteuc ett³

folio 27

- 1 Yn tlapallan aya mochiocla monahuatiloca ye cochiztla o anca çaçanco
ayao ayao et.
- 3 Çan tiyaolin ca ye noteuc ye ihuitimali tinahuatiloja ye xicalanco o anca
çaçanco Et
- 5 Ayyanco ayyanco ayamo aye ayhuiya ayanco ayyanco ayamo aye ahuiya
que ye mamanz mocha moquiapana o quē ye mahmaniz moteuccalla
ticyaycnocauhqui nican tollan nonohualco ya yya yyao ay.
- 9 Ynye quin tichocaya teuctlon timalon que ye ma'manz mochan et.
- 10 Yn tetl in quahuitl oon timicuilotehuac nachcã tollany yn ôcã in otontla-

earth, I, Cuacuauhtzin, wanting flowers. May they come and lie upon my hand! I grieve.

- 3 "Where might we go, so as never to die? Though I be jade, or gold, I'll be 6
 smelted, or drilled on the mound." Ah! I'm born, I, Cuacuauhtzin, and
 I'm poor.
- 6 Be pleased, greatly pleased, oh but scarcely, friends! And will you go 7
 be pleased and content, O friends? Indeed, I'll pluck these holy flow-
 ers, these holy songs.
- 10 These never make Green Places here, and I am poor, I, Cuacuauhtzin. Will 8
 you go be pleased and content, O friends? Indeed, I'll pluck these holy
 flowers, *these holy songs*.

13 Here begin log-drum songs

XLIV

A

- 14 Tico tico toco toto. And when the song ends: tiquiti titito titi.
- 16 In Tollan stood a house of beams. Still standing are the serpent columns. 1
 Nacxitl Topiltzin left it when he went away. Now our princes are be-
 wailed with conch horns. Now he goes to his destruction yonder in
 Tlapallan.
- 19 Yonder you are passing through Cholollan. The land of Poyauhtecatl he 2
 traverses, and Acallan. Now *our princes* are bewailed with conch horns.
Now he goes to his destruction yonder in Tlapallan.
- 21 I come from Nonoalco, I, Feather Swan, I, Lord Whirler, and I grieve. 3
 Gone is my lord Ihuitimal. Matlaxochitl has left me in bereavement.
- 24 That the mountain collapses, I weep. That the sands have risen, I grieve. 4
 Gone is my lord *Ihuitimal*. *Matlaxochitl has left me in bereavement.*
- 1 Tlapallan is the place where you are awaited, where you are summoned: 5
 and Cochiztlan, and perhaps Zacanco.
- 3 You've stirred, my lord, O Ihuitimal! You're summoned, yes, to Xica- 6
 lanco and perhaps Zacanco.
- 5 Alas, oh nevermore, oh nevermore. What of your home, your place of 7
 rain? What of this lordly realm of yours that you abandoned here, this
 Tollan Nonoalco?
- 9 Alas we weep, O lord, O praised one! What of your home, *your place of* 8
rain? What of this lordly realm of yours that you abandoned here, this Tollan
Nonoalco?
- 10 You were painted in stone and wood before you went away, yonder in 9

toco Naxitl topiltziny ayc polihuiz ye motoca yeic ye chocaz in moma-
cehual ayyo.

13 Çan can xiuhcallya cohuacalla ya yn oticmātehuac nachcā Tollany in on-
can yn otontlatoco Naxitl topiltzin Et.

15 Tico Toco Toco tiquitiquiti quiti quito.

Can ic mocueptiuh.

16 Ý tlapapalxochicentli niyol aya nepapā tonacāxochitl moyahuaya oncue-
pontimoquetzacoyan aya aya yeteoya ixpan tona a Santa Maria ayyo.

19 Atl ya ya cuicaya çan quetzalaxihuitl tomolihuiyan aya ye nitlachihual
ycelteotl y ye dios aya niytlayocol a oya yehcocya Et.

21 Çan ca tlacuilolpā nemia moyollo amoxpetlatl ypan toncuicaya tiquim-
onyai'totia teteuctin aya in obispoya çā ca totatzin aya oncā titlatoa atl
itempā ayyo.

24 yehuan Dios mitzyocox aya xochitla ya mitztlacatili yan cuicatl mitzicuiloa
Santa Maria in obispoya etc

26 Tolteca ihcuilihuia ahaa yaha ontlantoc amoxtliya moyollo ya onaya moch
onahciticac oo toltecayootl a ycaya ninemiz ye nicā ayyo.

28 Ac ya nechcuiliz ac ye nohuan oyaz onicaz a annühcuihuan ayayyan cuica-
nitl y yehetl y noxochiuh nōcuicayhuitequi on teixpā ayyo.

folio 27v

1 Hueyn tetl nictequin Tomahuac quahuatl nic ycuiloa yā cuicatl ytech aya
oncan no mitoz in quēmanō in can niyaz nocuicamachio nicyacauhtiaz
in tl̄çc. y onnemiz noyol çan ca ye nican ya hualla yyancoya nolnami-
coca nemiz ye noteyo ayyo.

5 Nichocaya niquittoaya nicnotza noyollo ma niquittā cuicanelhuayotl aya
ma nicyatlalaquiya ma icaya tl̄çc quimmā mochihua onnenemiz noyol Et

7 Çan ca teucxochitl ahuiacay'potocaticac mocepanoa yan toxochiuh ayye
ayaoo hui yoncan quiya itzmolini ye nocuic celia norlatollaquillo ohua in
toxochiuh ycac y quiapani ayao

10 Tel cacahuaxochitl ahuiac xeliuhtihuitz a ihpotocaya in ahuiyac poyoma'-
tlin pixahuia oncan nine'ne'nemi nicuicanitl yye ayao ohui yonca quiya
itzmolini ye nocuic celia Et.

Song 44, Folios 27–27v

Tollan where you came to rule. O Nacxitl Topiltzin, your name will never be destroyed, because your vassals will be weeping.

13 Before you went away you built a turquoise house, a serpent house, yonder 10
in Tollan where you came to rule. O Nacxitl Topiltzin, *your name will never be destroyed, because your vassals will be weeping.*

B

15 Tico toco toco tiquitiquiti quitiquito.

Just thus it will come back in.

16 "As a varicolored ear of flower corn I come to life." A multitude of maize 11
flowers, spilling forth, come blooming: they arrive before the face of our mother, Santa María.

19 Plume-water turquoise gems are singing in these waters: they're sprouting. 12
"I am a creature of the Only Spirit, God. I am his creation." They've arrived!

21 Your hearts are alive in this place of paintings. Upon this mat of pictures 13
You are singing, that the lords may dance. O Bishop, Our Father, You warble yonder at the Shore.

24 God has formed you, has given you birth as a flower. He paints you as a 14
song. O Santa María, O Bishop, *Our Father, You warble yonder at the Shore.*

26 Painted are the Toltecs, completed are the pictures: all Your hearts are ar- 15
riving. "Here, through art, I'll live."

28 Who'll take them from me? Who'll go with me and be arisen, O younger 16
brothers? Singers, and weighty ones, are these, my flowers, song plumes that I pick before this company.

1 In song I cut great stones, paint massive beams, that this, in future time 17
when I'm gone, shall be uttered, this my song-sign that I leave behind on earth. My hearts will be alive here: they'll have come, a remembrance of me. And my fame will live.

5 I weep, saying as I call to my hearts, let me see the root songs, let me plant 18
them. Let them stand on earth. In time these hearts of mine are made! They'll walk abroad!

7 Indeed, the lordlike flowers are spreading fragrance. These flowers of ours 19
are assembled. There! My songs are greening. My word-fruit sprouts. Our flowers are arisen in this place of rain.

10 Well! Cacao flowers, fragrant ones, come scattering down, spreading per- 20
fume: fragrant poyomatli drizzles down. "There! I walk abroad, I, the singer." There! My songs are greening. *My word-fruit sprouts. Our flowers are arisen in this place of rain.*

[*marginal gloss:*] huexotzincayotl

[v]iniendo los de hue

[x]otzinco a pedir socorro

[a] moteuççoma ò tlaxcalla.

- 13 Toco ticoto Cotoco tititico tititico çan ic mocueptiuh.
 14 Tlacuiloltzetzeliuhticac moyoliol timoteuççomatzi nichuicatihuitz nictze-
 tzelotihuitzy o huetzcani xochinquetzalpapalotl moquetzaliçouhtihuitz
 nocõihtotia chalchihuatlaquiquizcopa niyahueloncuica chalchihuhuil-
 capitztl nictocuitlapitza yaho a ylaya ohaye ohuichile amiyacale
 18 Ohuaya yeon nic eelehuia moxochiuh aya ypalnemoani yehuayã Dios aya
 ilihuãcan ahuiche nictzetzeloaya noncuicatilo yahoy.
 20 Tozmilini xochitl in noyolyol ayyahue tozmilini xochitl noteponaz ayanco
 ayancayome oncana yyahue nicxochiamoxtozimmanaya ytlatol ayanco
 ayancayome ho.
 23 Xompaqui xonahua a'nochipa nican tiyazque ye ichano nohueyotzin teuc-
 tli moteuççomatzi totlaneuh tlçc. totlaneuh velic xochitl o ayãco Et.
 25 Tlachinoltepec yn ahuicacopa tixochitonamecyotimoquetzaco y yehuã Dios
 a ocoçoçacatl ypan quauhtli choça y mopopoyauhtoc yyanco yliyancay-
 yahue a yli yyacalco yya yyeho çà ca yyahue

folio 28

- 1 Ohuaya yeche nipatlantinemia ixpan dios a ninoçoçoahuaya tlahuquechol çà-
 quan quetzalintlayahualolpapalotl mopilihuitzetzeloat tcixpana xochia-
 tlaquiquizcopa ohtlatoca ye nocuic yyancoili Et
 4 Nehcoya ompa ye nihuitz huiya xoxouhqui huey atla ymãcã aya çãnimã
 olini poçoni tetecuica ye nipatlania çã niquetzalintototl xiuhquecholto-
 totl nochiuhtihuitz y niyahui nacia huexotzinco atzalan ayome
 7 Çan niqintocaz aya niquimiximatitih nobueyotzitzinhuã chalchihue-
 chol y çan ca xiuhquechol in teocuitlapapalotl in cozcatototl ontlapia ye
 onca huexotzinco atzalan ayome.
 10 Xochiatzalaan teocuitlaatl chalchihuatl ynepaniuhyã y tlatoya in quetzal-
 canauhtli quetzal no cuitlapilli cuecuyahuaya yliya yliya yaho a yli yaho
 aye huichile anicale
 13 Huecapan nihcac nicuicanitl huiya çaquan petia tolin imanica ye ninemia
 nicyeyectian cuicatla in nicxochiotia ya yaho yahi.
 15 Tico tico ticoti tico tico ticoti
 auh ye ontlãtiuh in cuicatl totoco tocoto.
 17 Xichocayan nicuicanitl nic itta noxochiuh çã nomac õmania çã quihuintia

XLV²

A

- 13 Toco ticoto cotoco tititico tititico.
Just thus it will come back in.
- 14 Your hearts are shaken down as paintings, O Montezuma. "I come bringing forth, come shaking down, these laughing ones. The quetzal-butterfly flowers come winging like plumes: I cause them to dance, making skillful music with a jade-water conch horn, blowing [or smelting] jade flutes as though gold. 1
- 18 "I crave your flowers, O Life Giver, O God. Shaking them down, I'm provided with songs. 2
- 20 "These flowers, these hearts of mine are stirring as parrots. These flowers, these log drums of mine are stirring as parrots. As flowers, as pictures, as parrots I spread out His words." 3
- 23 Be joyful. Be pleased. These are not forever here: we must go to His home, my brave, my lord, O Montezuma. On earth they are loaned: the delicious flowers are loaned. 4
- 25 In blaze land, fragrantly, you come filled with sunray and as flowers, O God. Ah, He that shines among the jaguar blades, He, the eagle, screams. Ah, He is in His place. 5
- 1 "I soar along, winging, in God's presence. And the roseate swans, the troupials, the plumelike captive butterflies, are shaken down as noble lords in the presence of all. By means of a flower-water conch horn my songs are marching forth. 6
- 4 "I arrive, come from where the green Great Water lies. Most definitely does it stir, seethe: it roars. I fly, a quetzal. I become a turquoise swan and go to be amid the flood in Huexotzinco." 7
- 7 I'll follow along and get to know these braves, these jade swans, turquoise swans, these golden butterflies, jewel-like birds that stand guard amid the flood in Huexotzinco. 8
- 10 Amid flower water, where water of gold and water of jades are pouring, sings the Plume Duck: plume and tail are whirling. 9
- 13 I, the singer, stand aloft. *Where* the Troupial shines, where the rushes are, I'm unfurling these songs, I who provide Him with flowers. 10

B

- 15 Tico tico ticoti tico tico ticoti.
And when the song ends: totoco tocoto.
- 17 Weep. I'm a singer, beholding my flowers: they lie in my hand, these 11

² *Marginal gloss:* A Huexotzinco piece, those of Huexotzinco coming to ask Montezuma for aid against Tlaxcala.

- ye noyol in cuicatl aya nohuian nemia çan ca ye noyollo notlayocola in
cayo.
- 20 Xiuhtlamatelolla quetzalchalchiuhtla ipan ye nicmatia nocuic aya ma
yectla xochitly çan nomac ommania et
- 22 Yn quetzalinalchalchiuhtla ipan ye nicmatia yectli ye nocuic yectli noxo-
chiuh j annicuihuan tepilhuanaya xonahuiacan a ayac onnemiz o in
tlalticpac ayo.
- 25 O anniquitquiz ye niaz yectli nocuic yectli noxochiuhui annicuihuan tepil-
huan aya.
- 27 Ohuayanco o nichocaya ahuayanco o cahua yyahue nictzetzeloz xochitl
ayyo.
- 29 Mach nohuan tonyaz quenonamica o ahnic itquiz xochitl çã nicuicanitl
huiya ma ya xonahuiya can toyanemia ticaqui ye nocuic ahuayye et³

folio 28v

- 1 A yca nichocaya nicuicanitl y aychaa huicaloyan cuicatl hamictlã temohui-
loya yectli ya xochitl onca ya oncaa yyao ohuayancaya ylacatzih ancana
yyo Et.
- 4 Amonequimilool amonecuiltonol antepilhuani aychaa ohuicaloyan cuicatl.

Ycuic neçahualcoyotzin.

- 6
7 Totoco totoco tico totoco totoco ye ontlantih
tico titico titico tico.
- 8 Nicayaquetzacõ tohuehueuh a o niqumitotia quauhtlocelo yn ca tiya
yhcac in cuicaxochitl nictemoan cuicatl ye tonequimilol ayyo.
- 10 Tinopiltzi o tineçahualcoyotl otiya mictla quenonamica y yecen i yoncã
ayyo.
- 12 Quiyon quiyoncaya nichocaya a niNecahualcoyotl huiya queni ye noyaz
oya nipolihuz oya miqitlai ye nimitzahuã noteouh ypalnemoo tinech-
nahuatia ye niaz nipolihuz ayyo.
- 15 Quen onmaniz tlallin acolihuacã huiya cuix oc quẽman oo ticmohmoya-
huaz in momacehuali ye nimitzahuã noteouh.
- 17 Canyio cuicatli tonequimilol quipoloaya a in totlacuiloli tepilhuã oo ma
ya'huilihua Nican aya ayac ychan tšçc oo ticyacencahuazque huelic ye
xochitl ayio
- 20 O ayac quitlamitaz monecuiltonol ypalnemoa a'noyol quimati cuel achic
otictlanehuico neçahualcoyotzin ayoppatihua nicã an aya ychã tšçc. oon

- songs, and they make my heart drunk. My hearts, my creations, are everywhere.
- 20 I regard my songs as turquoise beads, as plume jades. Let these good flowers lie in my hand, *these songs, they make my heart drunk. My hearts, my creations, are everywhere.* 12
- 22 I regard these good songs of mine, these good flowers, as plume jades, O brothers, O princes. Be pleased. No one is to live on earth. 13
- 25 I that am to go away am not to carry off these good songs, these, my good flowers, O brothers, O princes. 14
- 27 I weep. I've shaken down the flowers. 15
- 29 Will you go with me to the Place Unknown? Ah, I am not to carry off these flowers, singer that I am. Be pleased. You're hearing my songs. 16
- 1 Ah, singer that I am, I weep that the songs are not taken to His home, the good flowers not carried down to Mictlan, there, ah there, beyond, alas, the whirled ones, ah. 17
- 4 These are your raiment and your wealth, O princes. Oh not to His home are they taken, these songs. *Not to Mictlan are the good flowers carried down, there, ah there, beyond, alas, the whirled ones, ah.* 18

6 XLVI Song of Nezahualcoyotl

A

- 7 Totoco totoco tico totoco totoco. When it ends:
tico titico titico tico.
- 8 I come to set up our drum, prompting eagle jaguars to dance. Now that you've departed, song flowers arise. I am seeking songs to adorn us. 1
- 10 O prince, O Nezahualcoyotl, you've departed for the Dead Land, the Place Unknown, beyond. 2
- 12 "I, Nezahualcoyotl, weep. Alas, how is it that I go to my destruction in the Dead Land? O Spirit that I leave behind me, O Life Giver, by your command I go to my destruction. 3
- 15 "How will it endure, this land of Acolhuacan? Will you in time disperse your vassals, O Spirit that I leave behind me? 4
- 17 "Songs alone are our adornment, and He destroys them, our paintings, the princes. Oh, let there be pleasure here! Earth is no one's home. We must leave these delicious flowers." 5
- 20 No one when he's gone can enjoy your riches, O Life Giver. Is my heart unaware that you came to borrow them just briefly, O Nezahualcoyotl? Here there is no second time. And if on earth there is no second 6

yn ayoppatihua in tl̥c̥qui, çã nicuicanitl ayaho on nichocaya niquelna-
miqui neçahualcoyotl ayyo.

24 Xo acico ye nican in Dios aya ypalnemoa ayaho on nichocaya a niquelni-
miqui neçahualcoyotl ayio.

26 Quititi quititi quiti quiti tocoto tocoti tocototocoti
çan ic mocueptiuh

27 Ma xochicuicoya ma ihtoa nichuana ayyahue teyhuinti xochitl aoyano
yehcoc ye nica poyomaxahuallan timaliuhtihuitz ayyo.

folio 29

1 Ma xochitl oyecoc ye nican ayyahue çan tlaa'huixochitla moyahuaya mo-
tetzelo a anca ço yehuatl in nepapa xochitl ayio. Çan comoni huehuetl
ma ya nehtotilo et.

4 Yn quetzalpoymatla ye yhcuilhuic noyol nicuicanitl in xochitl ayan tze-
tzelihui yyaan cuel in cuiya ma xonahuiaçã ayio çan noyolitic ontlapa-
nion cuicaxochitl nicayamoyahua y xochitla Et.

8 Cuicatl ya ninoquimilotehuaz in quēmania xochinenliuhtiaz noyollo
yehuan tepilhuā oon teteuctin in cayio

10 Can yeic nichoca in quēmanian çan nicayaihtoa noxochiteyo nocuicatoça
nictlalitehuaz in quēmania xochinenliuhtiaz et.

12 Tico toco tocoto ic ontlantihuh tico toco.

13 Toztli yan quechol nipatlantlnemia in tlalla icpac oquihuinti ye noyol
ahuayyai

15 Niquetzalototl niyecoya ye iquiapā ycelteotl y xochiticpac nihueloncuica
oo nicuicaihtoa paqui ye noyol ahuay etç

17 Xochiatl in poçontimania yn tlalla icpac oquihuinti ye noyol ahua Et.

18 Ninochoquilia niquinotlamati ayac inchan on tlalli çpac ahua Et.

19 Çan niquitoaya ye niMexicatl ma niyahuiya nohtlatoca tequantepec ni-
yahui polihuin chiltepehua aya ye choca in tequantepehua ohuaye Et.

21 Maca qualania nohueyo yehua Mexicatli polihui chil Et.

22 Citlalin in popocaya ipan ye moteca y çã ye polihua çan ye xochitecatl
ohuaye Et.

24 Çan ye chocaya Amaxtecatl aya ca ye chocaya tequantepehua.

25 Toto tiquti tiquti ic ontlantihuh, tocotico tocoti
tototitiqui tototitiqui

27 Oyamoquetz huehuetl ooon ma onnetotilo teteuctin aya ma õnetlanehui-
huilo chalchihuitl on quetzal i patlahuac ayac ychan tl̥c̥. ayio çã nomac
onmania ooo yxochiuh aya ipalnemoa ma õnetlanehuilo chalchihuitl.

Song 46, Folios 28v-29

time, earth is no longer His home. I'm a singer, and I weep, recalling
Nezahualcoyotl.

24 Flowers have arrived. He's here: it's God Life Giver. Ah, I weep, recalling
Nezahualcoyotl. 7

B

26 Quititi quititi quititi quititi tocoto tocoti tocototocoti.

Just thus it will come back in.

27 Let there be flower songs. Let my younger brothers sing. Intoxicating
flowers have arrived. Narcotic adornments, they come in glory. 8

1 Let there be flowers. They've arrived. Pleasure flowers are dispersed,
they're shaken down, surely a multitude of flowers. The drum resounds.
Let there be dancing. 9

4 I'm a singer, and my heart is painted with a plumelike narcotic. Flowers
shaken down are promptly taken up. Be pleased. Song flowers are
bursting in my heart, and I disperse these flowers. 10

8 In songs I'll dress myself before I go. Sometime my heart will scatter as
flowers, princes, lords. 11

10 And so I weep sometimes. I say: I'll make my flower fame, my song re-
nown, before I go. Sometime *my heart* will scatter as flowers, *princes*,
lords. 12

C

12 Tico toco tocoto. When it ends: ticoto ticoto.

13 As a parrot, as a swan, I fly along on earth. My heart is wine-drunk. 13

15 I'm a quetzal, arriving in the Only Spirit's place of rain, beautifully singing
above the flowers. I utter songs, and my hearts rejoice. 14

17 A flower flood foams over the earth: my hearts are wine-drunk. 15

18 Pitiabile, I grieve, earth is no one's home. 16

19 I'm a Mexican, saying: let me be pleased in marching forth to Tecuan-
tepec. I go in order that the Chiltepecans may be destroyed, the Tecuan-
tepecans may weep. 17

21 "I wish these braves of mine, these Mexicans, were not *so* bellicose." De-
stroyed are the Chiltepecans, *weeping are the Tecuan-tepecans*. 18

22 A comet showers down upon them and they perish—they the Xochitcans. 19

24 Weeping are the Amaxtecans, weeping the Tecuan-tepecans. 20

D

25 Toto tiquiti tiquiti. When it ends: tocotico tocoti
tototitiqui tototitiquiti.

27 Drums have appeared. Let there be dancing, O lords! Let jades, broad
plumes, be borrowed! "Earth is no one's home." A flower of Life Giver
lies within my hands. Let jades be borrowed! 21

folio 29v

- 1 oyohualin colinia oon in icelteotl ipalnemoa anahuac o onnemia noyol ayio
 3 Ÿ yancuica oncan quixima ipalnemoani ca ye nonoalco ahuilizapani in teuctli
 yehua neçahualpilli y yece ye oncā aya in tlacochtenāpā atlixco ayio.
 6 Çan momac otitemic motlahua'çomal a ica ticahuiltia ycelteotl in teuctli
 yehua Et
 8 Yyeho aye icnotlamati noyollo çan ninonoalcatl çan cā nicolintototl o
 nocamapan aya Mexicatl in cayio
 10 Onquetzalpipixauhtoc motlachinolxochiuh yn ipalnemoa çan ca nicoli Et
 11 Toco toco tiqui tiqui ic ontlantih tocotico tocoti
 12 Ma ya pehualoya nicuihua in ma ya oncuico ye nicaan aya oya ye'coc
 yehuan dios in cayio Ÿ ma ycaya onahuilihuā tepilhuā a aya mocuic oya
 yehuan dios oncan titemoc yehuan dios a oncā huelin oncan tlatat y ye
 Jesu chfō. in cayio
 16 Yn òcan tlahuizcalli milintimani mochan aya moxochiuh aya dios aya chal-
 chihucueponi maquiztetzehihui on netlamachtloya in cayio yn oncā yao
 nepapan izhuayo moxochiuh aya dios a Et
 19 Çan ye xochitl moyahua oo çan ca ytlatol yn ipalnemoani oon tepan ye
 moteca anahuac oo yca tichuelmana atlon yan tepetl ayio
 21 Çan te momac mania ceñtīl in nimā ye tehuatl toconyayittoa ya ypalnemoani

Ycuic Axayacatzin Ytzcoatl Mexico tlatohuani.

- 23 Coto tocoti tocoti cototi coto tocoti coto tocoti Et.
 24 Can nican temoc y xochimiquiztli tlaplan aci yehua ye nican in tlapalla
 quichihuan tonahuac onoque ohuaca cāyyanca yio
 27 choquiztīl ehuatih ayahue yece ye oncā nepā netlaçalo ylh^uytic i cuica-
 chocoa ica huiloan quenonamican ohuanca Et

folio 30

- 1 çan tonilhuicolon teotlatollin ticchiuh aya çan can timomiquili in itech in
 coloz tetlayocolti teicnotlamachtī ticchiuh ayyio
 3 o ach anca oquitto in tlatatl aya in mahmana tlatzihui ayac quiyocoyan
 ipalnemoa choquizilhuitl in yehuaya yxayoilhuitl aya huallaocoya mo-
 yolloo tehuatl a in Santa Maria ohuanca Et

- 1 He shakes jingles, he, the Only Spirit, he, Life Giver. In Anahuac my hearts are alive. 22
- 3 There beyond in Nonoalco, at Pleasure Waters, Life Giver shears him anew, him Lord Nezahualpilli, there beyond, amid javelin walls, on the breast of the flood. 23
- 6 Your hands are filled with your throwing-spear, *with Nezahualpilli the lord. With him you give the Only Spirit pleasure, there beyond, amid javelin walls, on the breast of the flood.* 24
- 8 I'm a Nonoalcatl, and my heart is grieving. I'm a quail bird, and Mexicans are at my lips. 25
- 10 They fall as plumes in a raining mist, these, your blaze flowers, O Life Giver. I am a quail *bird—and Mexicans are at my lips.* 26

E

- 11 Toco toco tiqui tiqui. When it ends: tocotico tocoti.
- 12 O brothers, now let it begin. Now let there be music. Aya! Oya! God has arrived. Now let there be pleasure because of these princes, your songs, O God. From beyond you've descended, O God. Jesucristo's been born beyond, in the very Beyond. 27
- 16 In your home beyond, in dawn's house, O God, your flowers are stirring, they're blooming as jades, they're shaken down as bracelets from the place where one knows joy, from beyond—your leafy multitude, your flowers, O God. 28
- 19 The flowers, Life Giver's words, are dispersed: they shower down on Anahuac. With these You cause the city to endure. 29
- 21 The world is in Your hands. It is really You who utter them, O Life Giver. 30

XLVII Song of Axayacatl Itzcoatl, ruler of Mexico

- 24 coto tocoti tocoti cototi coto tocoti coto tocoti etc.
- 25 Flower mortals have descended. Our comrades who create them in Tlapallan are arriving here on earth. 1
- 27 A cry goes rising up. Alas, all are thrown to the skies. There is song-weeping in that all depart for the Place Unknown. 2
- 1 You made marvels. You made holy words. You died on the cross and caused sadness and grieving. 3
- 3 Does he who has uttered them, the Master, the Enduring One, grow weary? None indeed does he create, he, Life Giver. A time of weeping is it, in that they depart, a time of tears: your heart is saddened, O Santa María. 4

- 6 Cannelocpa huitze teteuctin a ohuaye çã niqimomilnamiqui in itzcoatl
notlayocol o ohuaye itech acia noyol ayyo.
- 8 O ach anca ciahua ontlatzihuin Dios yehuã chane yn ipalnemoani o ayac
tlaquahuac quichihuan tl̥çc. ayan cannelpã tonyazque notlayocol ohuaye
itech acia noyol Et.
- 11 Ye onetocoto ohuiloaca in tepilhuani in tlatoanime Teteuctin aya techya-
icnoocauhtehuaque mayan tlayocoxti o antepilhuã ayio.
- 13 Mach oc hualquinchuaya mach oc hualilotihuayan can ompa ximoa in cuix
oc techmatiquiuh in Motecuçomatzin in neçahualcoyotzi Totoquihuatzì
techyiaicnocauchtehuazque mayan Et
- 16 Canon in nemia noyollo yN axayaca o çã niqiyatemoa in techcahuaco in
teçoçoмотctli notlayocol a noconayaihtoa yancayio.
- 18 O anca inmahcehual atlo yan tepetl huiya a in oquitquico in teteuctin in
concauchtehuaque o ach acoc necehuiz ach acoc huitz nechonmatiquiuh
notlayocol aya Et.

Ycuic Tlaltecatzin Quauhchinanco.

- 21 Titocoti tocoti tocoti Et. titocoti titocoti ic tlantih.
- 22 Nicpiecon tepetl cana nitoloyan xochintlahcuiloaya ipalnemoani in co-
huayotl toncahuililoc ye mochaan titaltecatzi tonayatlatoyã cayio oo
ohuiyya
- 26 Çan ye ihuan noncuica yehuan noteouh in Diosi in tōayatlatoyan.
- 27 Y ie xochincacahuatl in pocontimania xochioctli nocoyac oo noyol quimati
quihuinti ye noyol ayioo hui yōca ancaya a noyol quimati Et.
- 29 Çan ca tlahquechol celiya poçontimania moquipacxochiuh
[superscript gloss:] [mo]c[pacxochiuh]
tinaan oo huelica cihuatl cacahuaizquixochitl çan tonnetlanehuilo tica-
hualoz tiyaz o ximaaz nican ayio.

folio 30v

- 1 Can tiyc'coc ye nican imixpano Teteuctin aya timahuiztlachihualla monc-
quetzca Noxiuhtoz quetzalpetlapan tonihcaca çan tonnetlanehuilo tica-
hualoz tiyaaz o ximoaz Et.
- 4 Çan ca ninentlamata nic yhtoayan aya maca niyahui a ompa ximoayan
tlaçotli noyollon nehua nehua çã nicuicanitl tcoquitlayo an noxochiuh
anca yc oo oh yaia, çan niqiyacahuaya niqitta nocha xochimamania
mach veyn chalchihuitl o quetzallin patlahuac Mach nopatiuh oo ica
ninoquixtzì quēmaniya anca ca niaz nipolihuitiuh ayioo ohuiyya.

- 6 Whence come the lords? I simply recall them! “O Blade Companion!” 5
 And my sadness overtakes my hearts.
- 8 Does he weary? Does he tire, this God, this Master, this Life Giver? Ah, no 6
 one durable does he conceive on earth. Then where are we to go? Ah,
 this sadness overtakes my hearts.
- 11 One follows another, and all depart. Princes, rulers, lords, have gone away 7
 and left us in bereavement. Let there be created ones, O princes!
- 13 Will he return—can one come back from *the place* where all are shorn— 8
 will he, Montezuma, and he, Nezahualcoyotl, and he, Totoquihuaztli,
 come back and be acquainted with us? They have gone away and left us
 in bereavement. Let there be *created ones, O princes!*
- 16 Where is my heart Axayacatl? I am seeking Tezozomoc, who came and left 9
 us. He is my creation: I utter him.
- 18 Will the city be what they deserve, they, these lords who came to rule it 10
 and who went away and left it? Will he console me? Will he come and be
 acquainted with me? He is my creation: *I utter him.*

XLVIII Song of Tlaltecatzin of Cuauhchinanco

- 21 Titocoti tocoti tocoti etc. Titocoti titocoti when it ends.
- 22 “I come to guard the city, *in that* somewhere I am uttered.” With flowers 1
 he is making paintings, he, Life Giver, and these are companions! You’ve
 been left in your haven, O Tlaltecatzin, and you are warbling.
- 26 Together with him I sing—he is my Spirit, he is God—for you are 2
 warbling.
- 27 This flower wine I’ve drunk is a flower cacao foaming abroad. My heart is 3
 savoring it. It has made my heart drunk. There alas! It seems my heart is
 savoring it.
- 29 Now the roseate swan is reviving. Flowers of your crown, O mother, O 4
 fragrant woman, are foaming abroad. O narcotic popcorn flowers! You
 are merely borrowed. You will be forsaken, you will pass away, *for* all
 that are here will be shorn.
- 1 You’ve arrived among the princes, O honored creation. You’ve made your 5
 appearance, O turquoise parrot. You’re standing on this plume mat.
 And yet you are borrowed: you will be forsaken, you will pass away, *for*
 all *that are here* will be shorn.
- 4 I grieve, saying: Don’t let me pass to the place beyond, where all are 6
 shorn. My singer’s hearts are precious. My flowers are gold. Alas, it
 seems I leave this home of mine I see that lies in flowers. Are they great,
 these jades, these broad plumes? Could they be my payment? It is thus
 that I’d be born in future time! It seems I go to my destruction.

- 10 A oya ninocahuaya noteouh yn ipalnemoani nic yhtoa ma niauh y ma ya
ninoquimilo nicuicanitli ma ya ihui ma ya aca tete'l mach aca caciz ye
noyol ayio.
- 13 Çan ca iuh noyaz xochihuiconticac ye noyoliol onchalchiuhnenclihui ma-
quiztli ya tlaçotli yeçtla mochiuhtoca ahcan machioteica tlapac y y huia
ho ahuiyanayio.

Ytotocuiç Totoquihuatzin Tlacopã tla'toani

- 16 Tiquiti tiquiti tiquiti.
- 17 Nictzotzonayan tohuehueuh xahuiaca annicuihua ma ihtohuaya aya toto-
toto tiquiti tiquiti xochitl y huelic o ma ihtoa ichan yn totoquihuatzin
totiquiti toti totototo Et tiquiti tiquiti tļç ma ahuilihua ohua yye ayao
totiquiti toti man tabuiacã ayio çiya tiquiti
- 23 Chalchiuhtli noyollo toto Et teocuitlatl noxochiuh yca ninapanaya in ne-
papã xochitl i noxochiuh a niçuitquitehuaz quenmanian yyeç totiquiti
totitlon cuicatl yyohuiya tiquiti. Et
- 26 Can oc moyoolic a xoncuicaya toto Et nican nicmanaya poyomaxochitla
amoxtlacuilola totiquiti totin ie Et.

folio 31

- 1 Teponazcuicatl titoco titoco titocoti.
- 2 Tlalla olinia quitzintia ycuic Mexicatlan yca quinihtotia quauhtli ocelotl
iayo.
- 4 Ma huallachia nica o huexotzincatl y quauhpetlapã a onayatla'toaya in
Mexicatl ye teh tic ytoaya yancayo.
- 6 chiquiuhpetlan ayiahue tiçaxochitla temacoya in quauhtepetl ixpan aya
oo chimalayahuitl çã hualmoteca ayio
- 8 Oyohualpan tepoloa in Mexicatl y chichimecatl a ayao chimalayahuitl çan
hualmoteca ayo.
- 10 A oyohualchhuaya quauhtli ya ocelotl tolchimalticaya tlachixticac y quetzal-
panitlan moyahuaya ypan miçcali mexicatl ayaho.
- 12 Ayaya hoyiye ma xiquitta nopan NiMexicatl y chimalcalco nonicac aya
nica aya ayac nocniuh yez in tonahuac onoç can tiyanemi catliya in
motlatol ye teoatl tlachinolli ipan nitlacaton çan Nimexicatl ayo.
- 16 Acolihuacan in neçahualcoyotzin moteoauh pohpoçontoc in motlachinol a
mimilintoc pococatoc ye çan o atl in tempã aya

10 Ah! I am forsaken, O Spirit, O Life Giver. And I say: *Ah*, let me pass away 7
 and be arrayed, singer that I am. Let it be this way: let someone be the
 gems. Won't someone capture my hearts?
 13 Only thus would I pass away, my hearts as flowers twirling, scattered 8
 as jades, becoming bracelets, precious and good, beyond compare on
 earth.

16 **XLIX** King Totoquihuaztli of Tlacopan's to-to song

17 tiquiti tiquiti tiquiti

18 I beat our drum. Be pleased, brothers. And let it speak: totototo tiquiti 1
 tiquiti. Let fragrant flowers speak in this haven of Totoquihuaztli: toti-
 quiti toti totototo . . . tiquiti tiquiti. Let there be pleasure on earth. Toti-
 quiti toti. Let us pleasure ourselves.
 23 Jades are my hearts: toto . . . Gold are my flowers: with these I adorn my- 2
 self. A multitude of flowers are these flowers of mine that someday, de-
 parting, I'll carry with me—these totiquiti-toti songs! Tiquiti . . .
 26 Are you hesitant still? Ah, sing! Toto . . . Here, I spread narcotic flowers, 3
 picture paintings. Totiquiti toti . . .

1 **L** Log-drum song

A

titoco titoco titocoti

2 This earth is shaking. It's a Mexican who starts the song and with it causes 1
 eagles, *causes* jaguars to dance.
 4 Let a Huexotzincan come and see *us* here. A Mexican is singing on this 2
 mat. Yes you, you're the one who utters him.
 6 At brawn town, chalk flowers are being presented to Someone—at eagle 3
 town. And ah, the shield mist comes rolling down.
 8 The Mexican, this Chichimec, is conquering at jingle place. And ah, the 4
 shield mist comes rolling down.
 10 Eagles, jaguars, are rising up as bells: as shields, as rushes, they're alive: 5
 They're scattered in this place of banner plumes where Mexicans are
 making war.
 12 Look where I am! A Mexican at Shield House, standing up *alive*. No one 6
 here *on earth* shall be my friend, O comrades. Where are You? What is
 Your word? Already in flood and blaze I am born, just I, a Mexican.
 16 O Nezahualcoyotl of Acolhuacan, your flood is foaming, your blaze is 7
 leaping, smoking on the shores beyond.

- 18 Titoco titoco titocoti.
 19 Y niqetzal a xochiatototl ilhuiçolmanaya nicuicatl ilhuicac anahuac o
 nemi aya noyollo tlatempā a nicmoyahua ya noxochiuh aya yca yehua
 in ihuintihua Tepilhuan o nequimilolo yayaye yahao.
 22 Nicnotlamatia yaye yaha ohua çan nentlamati noyol nicuicanitl chiuçnauh-
 atl ypempā xochitlalpan y annicuihuā y ma yahuiyeloya nequimilo-
 loya onca yahueha
 25 Chalchiuhtli ololihuic a nicnocoçcatia nicuicanitl ye nomacehual a yye-
 huaya chalchiuhtlin popoca çan nictimaloa cuicatl aya quihuinti ye noyol
 xochintl̄çc. o nequimiloloya.
 28 Çan nõcuicamentlamati in tl̄çc. aya nicuicanitl ohuaye çã niticpa quiçaya
 notlayocol aya cuicatl aya quihuinti ye nol xochintl̄çc. o nequimiloloya
 ona yahue aya.

folio 31v

- 1 Toltecayotl ye mihcuilotehuaz nicuicanitl nocuiyo nemiz a in tl̄çc. cuicatl
 ijca y nilnamicoz ohua nopinohuā niaz nipolihuitiuh coçcatozpetlac
 ninotecatiuh chocotiaz nonanāhuan yxayotl pixauhtiaz i notomioloxo-
 chio nitepehui cocahuic atl itempā oha cayahue aya ohuaya.
 6 Ayao aya ohuaye nicnotlamatia a mopinoa yhui petlacotl nihiicaloni canin
 tlapalla poçtlantihuatoç ompa ya noyaz niyaz nipolihuitiuh coçcatozpe-
 tlac ninotecatiuh
 9 Nican ompehua ȳ chalçayotl Melahuac yexcã quiça Melahuac yaocuicatl,
 Melahuac xochicuicatl yhuan ycnocuicatl

Yaocuicatl.

- 12
 13 Ca ye no yan cuicani oyamoquetz huehueltl oyamoman cuicatl chalco ye
 nicany ixtlahuacany cõcotitlan y ohuaya.
 15 Quauhythualco mittotia ye oncã in tetcutin i Moteuççomatzi, Neçahual-
 coyotzi, chimalpopocatzi amelelquiça ixtlahuacãy Et.
 17 Pixahuin tztetzelihi ye itzmolinia yn ixochiuh y in icelteotl çan chichi-
 mecatl teuctla ohuaya.
 19 Ayuhquin yolın tlatati tepilhuany in mocnihua ayahue ocuel achic mitza-
 huiltico in ayoquantzin iztac coyotl huiya cuix moçomaznequi yeehuaya
 çan pepehualtilo in ipaltinemi ohuaya.
 22 Chalchiuhtica yan tlapahua teocuitlayantlapanqui anca ye moxochiuh
 ypalnemoa in oncan ye onmania cõcotl ixpany ahcan iuhqui mania
 moxochiuh in chimalli xochitla ohuaya.

B

- 18 titoco titoco titocoti
- 19 I am a plume, and the Bird of Flower Water spreads a marvel. I am a song! 8
In heaven and on earth my hearts are alive on the lips of men. I scatter
my flowers, and all the princes, made drunk, are adorned.
- 22 I suffer, alas. My singer's heart grieves at the Nine Waters' brink. Brothers! 9
May all be pleased in a world of flowers. May all be adorned—beyond.
- 25 I wear these jades, these orblets, as my jewels, singer that I am—these, my 10
restitution. Jades are shimmering and I praise them—these songs! They
intoxicate my heart. In a world of flowers, oh! may all be adorned.
- 28 A singer am I, and I song-grieve on earth. From within me emerge my 11
creations, *my sadness*, these songs. They intoxicate my heart. In a world
of flowers, oh! may all be adorned—beyond.
- 1 Artworks shall arise as paintings. My singer's songs shall be alive on earth. 12
I'll be recalled in songs. O warriors, I'll go to my destruction: I'll go and
be dispersed upon this mat of jewels and parrots. All my mothers will
be weeping. Tears will be sprinkling—my aureate blooms. And I am
scattered at the golden flood.
- 6 Warriors, I grieve. And I'm carried along like an arbor. In Tlapallan, *in* 13
paradise, all are undone. And there I'll go, go to my destruction: I'll go
and be dispersed upon this mat of jewels and parrots. *All my mothers will
be weeping. Tears will be sprinkling—my aureate blooms. And I am scattered at
the golden flood.*

- 9 Here begin Chalcan pieces, plain ones, of which there are three: a plain
war song, a plain flower song, and a bereavement song

12 LI War song

A

- 13 There's a singer! Drums have appeared. Songs are spread here in Chalco, 1
on the field in Cocotitlan.
- 15 At eagle patio the lords are dancing. There! O Montezuma, O Nezahual- 2
coyotl, O Chimalpopoca, you're entertained on the field *in Cocotitlan*.
- 17 They fall in a raining mist, they sprinkle down, they freshen: they're flow- 3
ers of the Only Spirit, Chichimec Lord.
- 19 Your comrade princes are born and brought to life in distress. Ayocuan 4
and Iztac Coyotl come to pleasure you briefly. Is Ipatinemi about to
frown? Is he provoked?
- 22 It's raining jades. They're golden ones, these bursting ones. It seems that 5
they're your flowers, O Life Giver. There! They lie before the Dove!
They're not at peace, these flowers of Yours, these shield flowers.

- 25 Toncohuili toncohuili tecpan oncoçahuia xochitl ontzetzelihui chimallian papalotl man tlachichinaya moquahuixochiuh tonatimania xelihuia xelihuia mochimallixochiuh yeic ye chocā teuctli yan quateotl ohuaya

folio 32

- 1 Ye mimilintihuitz in xochiatl in tla'chinolliya oncā amonmania antepilhuā çan chichimeca y A mecatzin a yztac coyotzin conmotlanchuican anaya ymiuh ychimal yn ipalnemoa âmomac quimana tlachinolxochitla y yaoxochitly acon anquinequi, acō anquelehuia o antepilhuan ohuaya.
- 6 Yn tele ma yhuian cahuiltia in ipalnemoani in tele ma yhuian cahuiltia in icelteotl oc onicac huehuetl oc onmani xochitl âmehontlanchui chichimecatl y toteoci teuctli tele quahuipantica teocuitlanchimaltica conahuiltia in quauhtlchuanitla ohuaya
- 10 Quiyamanaznequia yquin ontlamatin ypalnemoani yauh ytepeuh o Chalco ye nican Amaquemecā huiya ohuaye yya icha ohuaya.
- 12 Ym macac omeya yyollo antepilhuā y chichimecay ŷ macac cetlani paniya conilhuian Dios tl̄çc ye nicā ohuaye yia y icha aha aya.
- 15 Aya yia yicehuaya techtolinian ypalnemoani antepilhua huiya can ocan tlatoa yeehuaya cuix tolquemecan cuix atlappan y çannican chalco ohuaya
- 18 O Ayc ompolihuitz in moteyo yehua in motoca yn ipalnemoani oyoalla ymancan aaya necalizxochitl y chimalli xochitl y ticatla yhuitla moyahua yeehuaya Amaztalla ymanca yolloxochitl in cuepontimania çannican chalco y ohuaya.
- 22 Çan ye icnomani yeehuaya ye cauhtimani ya ytzompatepec huiya ayaoc quēmani ayaoc ic yeci ycnotlamatiz y cehuiz in moyollo yehua moquequeoloan ypalnemoani tiquintolinian tepilhuan huiya choquiztlehua in momacchuala ohuaya.
- 26 Macaçoc techmauhti y yayotl çan chimalli xochitl y antepilhua huiya çā ic micuiloa motocamaca tēci, tēcol, huiya monanaz in tlalli icnotlamatiz y cehuiz in moyollo yehua Et.
- 29- Ma xachocaca ma xicyocoyacan y antepilhua huiya anchalca o in amaquemecue ye total ypan ichimal aya yahuin tlacochquiachua ohuaya Et

folio 32v

- 1 Quen quitoan ypalnemoani ycelteotl huiya ye chichinauhtimanin atly an tepetl in chalco yeehuaya ye momoyahua momacchual y ma ixquich maon tlanquin in itlatol yn ipalnemoa Ma icnotlamati ycelteotl a ohuaya.
- 5 Oyohualla ymanca nehcaliztla ymanca acatl xamantoc in chalco ye nica

Song 51, Folios 31v-32v

- 25 Flowers are becoming golden in this place of lords. These shields, these 6
butterflies, are scattered. Let them imbibe. They're Your eagle flowers:
they're shining, they're parceled out. These shield flowers of Yours are
parceled out! And for this, Lord Cuateotl is weeping.
- 1 A flower flood, a blaze, comes stirring. And there you are, you princes! 7
Let these Chichimecs borrow the garland Iztac Coyotl! Life Giver lays
His arrows, His shields, in your hands. Blaze flowers, war flowers! Who
doesn't want them? Who doesn't crave them, O princes?
- 6 Well then, let them give Life Giver pleasure—thus! Well then, let them 8
give the Only Spirit pleasure—thus! Drums are standing, flowers spread-
ing. The Chichimec lord Toteotzin borrows you. Well then, with eagle
flags, with golden shields, he pleasures the Ascending Eagle.
- 10 With intent to spread them, Life Giver proceeds to his city, this Chalco, 9
this Amaquemecan—his home.
- 12 "Let no one's heart flow out, O princes, O Chichimecs, let no one be 10
below or up above," is what God says on earth right here—in this,
his home.

B

- 15 Life Giver torments us, O princes, for there Beyond he warbles. Can Rush 11
Capes—can the gorge—be here, be Chalco?
- 18 Oh never will your fame and glory be destroyed, Life Giver! Scattered are 12
the combat flowers—shields and flowers, chalk and feathers—where the
jingles lie. And where white banners lie the heart flowers are blossom-
ing, even here—in Chalco!
- 22 Bereft and orphaned lies Itztompatepec. Nevermore, no longer shall it be. 13
May your heart take pity and be appeased, O Moquequelo, O Life
Giver! You torment the princes, these, your vassals, and they're weeping.
- 26 Let warfare—shields and flowers—frighten us no longer, O princes! 14
Through these the grandmothers and grandfathers are painted *with life*
and endowed with a name. The realm shall be made to endure. May
your heart take pity and be appeased, O *Moquequelo*, O *Life Giver!* You
torment the princes, these, your vassals, and they're weeping.
- 29 Weep! Create them, O princes, O Chalcans, Amaquemes! Even now His 15
shields are in our house: the javelins are raining down.
- 1 What says Life Giver? *What says the Only Spirit?* The city of Chalco lies in 16
ruins. Scattered are your vassals. Let there be an end, let there be a termi-
nation to Life Giver's word! May the Only Spirit have compassion!
- 5 Where jingles lie, where combat lies, the reeds lie broken—here in Chalco. 17

- huiya huiya teuhtlin coçahuia y callin popocato choquiztlehuaya moma-
 cehual in chalco ye nica ohuaya.
- 8 Ayc polihuiiz in ayclcahuizy y ye quichihua yn icelteotl tlaxixinia tlamomoyahua ytztonpactepec huiya teuhtli coçahuia Et.
- 10 Tollan tontlatohuaya yehua timoteucçomatzin neçahualcoyotl huiya ticpopoloan tlalli ticxixinian chalco ye nica huiya maon nētlamati moyollo yehua ohuaya. Et.
- 13 Çan tonilhuiçoloa yeehuaya in tlatlicpac y ticpoloan tlallin Et.
- 14 Çan tonilhuiçoloa Tontlalycuilloan A colihuaca Moteucçomatzin yn ðcan ye tlatzihuin yn ipalnemoa ye tihuicalo y çan cā ye chalco yhuapalcala ytec y in oncan ye mitznahuatiay in tlatquic in quateotl a ohuaya Et
- 17 Yn tele ma ihui aic polihuiiz i moteyo yeehuaya anco ipan timochiuh in tlaçoxochitl y tonacaxochitl y pixahui yeehuaya moyahua ye nica ohuaya ohuaya.
- 20 Nihualchoca nicnotlamati niquimelnamiqui in tepilhuā çā tinequametl huiya in Totomihuatzi in ce acatzi onel yaque ye micflan in tepilhuan yye yehuan o inca ye micuiloa Atlon yan tepetl chalco ye nican aic polihuiiz intenyo nicana ohuaya.
- 24 Çan timotolinia Tinechcocolia tinechyhua ye mictla chichimecatl tayoquā çan tiiztac coyotl huiya tictocan cococ in teopouhqui ma iuh quimati moyol huexotzincoy ohuaya.
- 27 Nachca ye oncā tlapitzahuacani in con calitec tlatoz in ipalnemoani xochithualli ymanica ayahuatl chuaya chocaya in tlatquic o chalchiuhtlatonac y ayohuaye ayao ahuayyao ohuayc ohuaya.

folio 33

- 1 Ac ye xoconcaquica in itlatol in concauhtehuac y chichicueponteuctli yaoceuhqui mach oc mictlampa y quihualittozque ymihiyo y'tla'tol in tepilhuā a ohuaya ohuaya
- 4 Ne'huihuixtiuh chalchiuhtli ne'huihuixtiuh quetzalli oya ximoac quenonamican a ohuaya
- 6 Çan ye ontlamachotoc a in tepilhuan in pillin Tlaltecatalaya in xoquahuatzi Tozmaquetzin aya ye nequametzi achinca tlaçuiloa ypalnemoani y tlamacehualli ipan tonca aya teuctli can quateotl chalchiuhtlatonac y Et.
- 9 Ma xicyocoya xichoca xic elnamiqui in toteoci teuctli ma ya hualaquia in nahualapan itzmolinin quetzalhuexotly aya tlami in itlatol in Teçoçomoctli o ayia yiohiyoayio ohuaye ohuaya.
- 12 Ma xontlachia mihcan ohuaye yahquin tehconchua yahquin quappolocatl in quauhtecolotl huiya o ximohua in totechuayē yahqui huectzi in Camatlatl in tzincacahuaca ayamo ypā timochihuaz aya in chichimecatly in toteoci teuctli o ayia yio ayio ohuaye ohuaya

- Alas. The dust *that is lords* grows golden as the town lies smoking. And your vassals weep here in Chalco.
- 8 Never shall creations of the Only Spirit be destroyed or be forgotten. He wreaks havoc, He promotes rout, at Itztompatepec. Alas. The dust *that is lords* grows golden *as the town lies smoking. And your vassals weep here in Chalco.* 18
- 10 Among the rushes you sing, O Montezuma, O Nezahualcoyotl. Alas! You destroy the realm: you ruin Chalco here *on earth.* Alas, may your hearts be grieving! 19
- 13 You make marvels on earth, and you destroy the realm: *you ruin Chalco here on earth. Alas, may your hearts be grieving!* 20

C

- 14 You make marvels, you paint the realm, O Montezuma from the place of forebears! There! Life Giver loosens his grip. And you're carried to that Chalcan house of beams. There! You're summoned by Chief Cuatcotl. 21
- 17 Well then, let it be! Your fame will never be destroyed. It seems that you've become a precious flower, a maize flower, falling in a mist, ah! scattered here! 22
- 20 "I weep, I grieve, recalling princes. O Necuametl! And Totomihuatzin! And Ce Acatzin! Yes, these princes went away to Mictlan, and with these the Chalcan realm is painted—here! Their fame will never be destroyed—here! 23
- 24 "Hate me and you are poor, you that send me off to Mictlan." O Chichimec Ayocuan, O Itzac Coyotl, you're acquainted with misery and suffering! "May you believe it, O Huexotzinco!" 24
- 27 Life Giver warbles in Tlapitzahuacan's house. Mist is rising in that flower court. Chief Chalchiuhtlatonac weeps. 25
- 1 Who is it? Hear the words Lord Chichicuepon Slain-in-War bequeaths in passing on! From Mictlan will the princes utter—here!—their breath and word? 26
- 4 Departing, they become as jewels. Departing, they become as plumes. All have been shorn in the Place Unknown. 27
- 6 All the princes are moving on. O prince, Tlaltecatl, Xocuahuatzin, Tozmaquetzin, Necuametzin! Life Giver paints but briefly. You are at a time for restitution, Lord Cuateotl, O Chalchiuhtlatonac! 28
- 9 Create him! Weep! Recall Lord Toteotzin! Let him come and enter these ghost waters. This willow plume is greening. Eternal are the words of—Tezozomocli! 29
- 12 *Come and see us* in this place of arrows. Ah, gone are the peers and scions: they're eagle owls! Ah! All are shorn, O lords. Gone are Huetzin, Cacamatl, and Tzincacahuaca. No longer shall their fate be yours, O Chichimec, Lord Toteotzin! 30

- 16 In anchalca teteuctin ayahue ma xachocaca huiya tōmotlamachtiā ypalne-
moani tonilhuiçolohuan Atlitico y in toteoci teuctli Cohuatl teuctli yehua
mitzyollopola in ipalnemoa aya ayao aye auhayao ayahui Et.
- 19 Tlaxeloan chalchiuhtli maquiztliya ticnencloa in patlahuac quetzalli cho-
quiztlaya yxayotl in pixahui yeehuaya çan ye ònenahuatiloc aya huitzilac
teohuao in toçan in teuctla ayahue Et.
- 22 Ca ye tommoneltocaya ohuaye teohua oo çan quateotl a ohuaya. Y çaço
polihuiya moyollo cauhtimaniz y quauhAtl yxpā in tlalli mocuepaya
ilhucatl olinia oncan ye cahualo chichimecatl y tlacamaçatl a ohuaya
ohuaya
- 26 Moneneloa y çan chalca nelihui huexotzincatl y çan tlaylotlaqui quiyeuh-
tzin teuctli quen ticalaquia yn amaquemey ticmotenancia in chalcatl
ohuaya ye toteoci teuctla ohuaya
- 29 Ach quan tiquittoai ayac ymih y ayac ychimal tocoyatitlani tocoyaihtoa
in miccalcatl y çan tlailotlaqui quicuhtzin teuctli quē ticalaquia yn ama-
queme. Et.

folio 33v

- 1 Çan ye chocan teuctli nacanaya Totoci o Cohuatzin teuctla ohuaya. çan ye
hualicnotlamati in temilotzin huiya can oya in tōtzi ohuayia ohuaye
moxeloan chalcatl moneloa ye oncan almoloya ayiahue cequi yan quauh-
tliia ocelotl cequiya mexicatl acolhua tepanecatl o mochihua in chalca
ohuaya

6 **Xochicuicatl.** [*copyist's numeral:*] 8

- 7 Çannen tequitl y yca xonahuiacā tocuic tocuic y antocnihua huiya tihuel-
incuiya moquetzalyhuchueuh ticyamoyahuaya ticyatzetzeloaya coçahuia
xochitl ohuaye yia yyeha ohuaya
- 10 Ye no yancuic in tocuic tic ehua ye nica ye no yancuic in toxoch tomac
òmaniqui, maic onahuiclo antocnihua huiya ma ica ompolihuin tellel in
totlayocol yiaoo yiao yiahue ayia ayiaa ohuaya.
- 13 Macac tlaocoya macac quelnamiqui in tlçc ayiahue iz ca in toxochiuh
yhan in yectli yan tocuic maic onahuiclo ma ica ompolihuin tellel in
totlaocol Et
- 15 Çanio nican in antocnihuā tontotlanhuico in tlçc. y ticcauhtehuazque
yectli yan cuicAtly ticauhtehuazque yhuā in xochitl a ohuaya
- 17 Yca nitlaocoya yehuaya ye mocuic o ipalnemohuani ticcauhtehuazque
yectli yan cuicatly.

- 16 Chalicans! Lords! Weep! And you're enriched, O Life Giver. You're making marvels on the bosom of the flood, Lord Toteotzin, Lord Coatzin! Life Giver maddens you. 31
- 19 You parcel out jades and bracelets, strew broad plumes. Sobs, tears, fall in a raining mist. Now all are summoned. O Lord Tozan, Huitzilac's priest! 32
- 22 And now you're believed, O priest, Cuateotl! No matter that your heart be destroyed: an eagle flood shall lie outspread before His face. The earth rolls over, the sky shakes. There! The Chichimec Tlacamazatl is forsaken. 33
- 26 Scattered are the Chalicans: scattered the Huexotzincan! O Lord Quiauh-tzin tlailotlaqui! And how do you make your entry? You're using Lord Toteotzin, the Chalcan, the Amaqueme, as your wall. 34
- 29 What do You say? He has no arrows, no shields. You're using, you're uttering Miccalcatl, O Lord Quiauh-tzin tlailotlaqui. And how do you make your entry? *You're using Lord Toteotzin, the Chalcan, the Amaqueme, as your wall.* 35
- 1 Lord Toteotzin and Lord Coatzin are weeping here. And Temilotzin grieves here. And Totzin has departed. Parceled out is the Chalcan, strewn where the flood flows, there! Multiple eagles and jaguars, multiple Mexicans, Acolhuans, and Tepanecs, do the Chalicans become. 36

LII Flower song

A

- 7 Be pleased for a moment with our songs, O friends. You sing adeptly, scattering, dispersing drum plumes, and the flowers are golden. 1
- 10 The songs we lift here *on earth* are fresh. The flowers are fresh. Let them come and lie in our hands. Let there be pleasure with these, O friends. Let our pain and sadness be destroyed with these. 2
- 13 Let no one be sad! Let no one recall them to earth! *Ah, but* here are our flowers, our good songs. Let there be pleasure with these. Let our pain and sadness be destroyed with these. 3
- 15 Only here on earth, O friends, do we come to do our borrowing. We go away and leave these good songs. We go away and leave these flowers. 4
- 17 Your songs make me sad, O Life Giver, *for* we're to go away and leave them, *these*, these good songs. 5

- 19 Ytzmolini xochitl, celia, mimilihui, cueponi yeehuaya mitecpa onquiça in
cuicaxochitlin tepan tictetzelo a ticyamoyahuaya ticuicanitl. Et
21 Ohuaya ohuaya ohuaya anahuc xonahuiaca huiya antocnihua yyehuaya ma
onnetotilo y xochincalitec y onca ye nõcuica nicuicanitl y ohuaya ohuaya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 9

- 24 Nictzotzona nican mochalchiuhuehueh teocuitlahuehuatl yehuã Dios
ypalnemoani in tlatoani a ycelteotl a ohuaya ohuaya
26 Çannican tonahuiya yehuaya imellel onquiça a in tepilhuã ayahue

folio 34

quauhatlapaltzin aya a in tacxoquauhtzin Tepanquizcatzin aya cohuatzi
teuctli ya ohuaya.

- 3 Xiuhteyahualitec y oncã amonmania a in tecpipilti ayoquatzi çan tacxo-
quauhtzi oc achica ye nica ma xonahuiacã ohuaya
5 An quaauhnencihui oceloihcuihuhtimanique in tepilhuã ayahue maça yic-
xochiuh onchichinalo yehua oc achica ye nica ohuaya.
7 O ahquẽman aya ahquenmã polihuiz in ihuehueh in icuic o yn ipalnemoa
xonahua nopiltzi tehuatzi ohuiya a'nochipa tl̃çc. ohuaya.
9 Ac ticcahuazque in moztla huipela xiquimonahuilti in quauhtlocelo ye ye
tonequimilol çan can ye xochitla ohuaya
11 Ye mochi tlacatly ontlaneltocatinemi nican tl̃çc. ayahue çan achica yectli
tixpan quiça ahuac xochitl ohuaya.
13 Yn ipalnemoa catliya moxochiuh monecuiltonol momacxochiuh quetzal-
izquixochitl ma onnetlanehuilon tl̃çc. y mach ticyaitquizque õca ye
mochan huiya ticcauhtehuazque ximoa yehua ohuaya.
16 Quetzalhuexotl çan cã pochotl huiya in ahuehuatl aya ipã timochiuh-
huac in titeuctli yehua in cacamatl on teuctli ye itzmolinia ye totomoli-
huia mauh motepeuh aya.
19 Amaquemecan huiya totolimpan aye ohuaya ça ye icnotlamati moyollon
ipalnemoa aço quiçaco oitzmolinico a in tepilhuã y chichimecatl teuctlin
tayqua huiya in teohua in quauhtliztac a ohuaya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 10

- 22 Toztli huiliuh yahuiya in quetzallacuiloicalli o tanca tonmotlamachtia y in
oncan tocontemolia itlatol aya in ipalnemoa yehuã Diosy ayaho amayie
o ayahue huia a ylili ahuayia yiaha ohuaya.
25 Ach ancac ixpanin ach ancac imatia nitlacat o i noteouh ypalnemoa yehuan
Dios y ayao amayiee Et.
27 Xochitl yahualihuiya amoxcalitec y papalocalitec y tlalla ycuilihuiya moyah-
hua mocuic moyahuaya motlatol çã cacahuantoc y in totatzin ycelteotl
ypalnemoani ohuaya.
30 Nepapan in moquechol papalotl papalocalitec y tiyaõtlatoay yatãtilili

Song 52, Folios 33v-34

- 19 Flowers are sprouting, reviving, budding, blossoming. Song flowers flow 6
from within you. You scatter them over us, you're spreading them, you
singer!
- 21 Be pleased, friends! Let there be dancing. In a house of flowers, there! I 7
sing, I, the singer.

B

- 24 Here *on earth* I sound your drum jade, drum gold, O God, O Life Giver, O 8
Lord, O Only Spirit.
- 26 Here *on earth* You're pleased. The princes Cuauhatlapaltzin, and you, 9
Acxocuahtzin, and Tepanquizcatzin, and Lord Coatzin are entertained.
- 3 And there you are, in the green-stone circle, O princes, O Ayocuan, and 10
you, Acxocuahtzin. Be pleased here for a moment.
- 5 Ah, these princes are scattered as eagles, painted as jaguars. Flowers of His! 11
Let them be inhaled here for a moment.
- 7 They'll never, never be destroyed, these drums, these songs of Life Giver. 12
Prince, lord, be pleased. This earth is not forever.
- 9 Whom are we to leave behind someday? Pleasure these, *these* eagle jaguars, 13
our adornments, *these*, these flowers!
- 11 Everybody has faith here on earth! Good ones for a moment pass before 14
us, these, the fragrant ones, the flowers.
- 13 Life Giver, where are your flowers, your riches, your hand flowers, *your* 15
popcorn plumes? Let them be borrowed on earth. Will we carry them
off to your home? We'll depart having left them! All are shorn!
- 16 You've gone to be a plume willow, a ceiba, a cypress, O lord, O Lord 16
Cacamatl. Already your city is greening, sprouting.
- 19 In Amaquemecan, this place of the rushes, your heart is compassionate, O 17
Life Giver. And do princes come forth, come greening? O Chichimec
lord, O Ayocuan, O priest, O Cuauhtlitzac!

C

- 22 You're painted as a parrot in a house of painted plumes. You're happy 18
there. You're seeking out the songs of God Life Giver.
- 25 Before whose face and in whose knowledge was I born? That of him, my 19
Spirit, God Life Giver.
- 27 The flowers are swelling in this house of pictures, house of butterflies. The 20
land is painted. Scattered are your songs, scattered are your words, re-
sounding, O father, Only Spirit, Life Giver!
- 30 Many are Your swans, these butterflies. You're singing in a house of 21
butterflies.

folio 34v

- o ayiahue huaya a ylili ohuayia iyaha ohuaya.
- 2 Çan nocōtlaphepenia mocuic ohuaye nichalchiuhncpanoa yeehuaya nic-
maquiznepanoan teocuitlachacallotoc ica ximapanā tehuayan paley çā
ye monccuiltonol y xochitl a ohuaya
- 5 Yn nehuihuin quetzallin mocohuicpa huiya tzinitzcā ye tlahquechol aya
ica ticuiloa mohuchueuh in tēſc. y can ye monccuiltonol Et.
- 7 Ÿ anteopixquey man nemechtlatlani e can ompa ye huitz teyhuinti xochitl
teyhuinti cuicatl y yeçtlon cuicatl y çan ca ompa ye huitz yn ichan
ohuaye illⁿ ytec y çan ca ychampa ye huitz nepapā xochitl a ohuaya.
- 10 Y ye ye quitemohuia in icelteotl in ipaltinemi xiloxochitl can moyahua
yehua eloquechol huiya xochiticpac ye tlatoa mahahuilia ca ye temachtia
y ohuaya.
- 13 Tollan chalcon Dios ichan huiya quetzaltzanatlatoa tlahquecholtzanatl y
chalchiuhtetzaqualticpac cuicantlatoaya çan quetzaltototl huiya aye aye
ayyanco yanco yia yieebuaya onco aye ahuaya ha ohuaya.
- 17 Xochatl ymanca Chalchiuhxochicalitec quetzalpoçō acica çan tzinitzcan
ye xochitica yhuan malintoc nepaniuhtoc ayiahue ytec oncuicaya ytec
ontlatoaya çan quetzaltototl huiya aye aye ayanco Et.
- 20 Tla nipehua o nicuicanitl huiya xilochinepanihui oo nocuic yyeehuaya
izquixochiquahuitla icacan ohuaye ahuaçyo ohuayia yiaha Et
- 22 Cacahuaxochinpoyon o ye mitotia huehuetitlā ye nemi ahuiaxtinemi xelihui
yehuaya Et.
- 24 A onicac in totatzin ychuan Dios huiya chalchiuhxicalco quetzalpachiuhiti-
cac y anca xihuitl maquizyhcuixiticac aya xochinpihpixahuia tlacui-
lolcalitec y ahuaçyo Et.
- 27 Ÿ maoc toncuicaca antepilhua huiya Ÿ maoc ticahuilti yn ipalnemoa on-
quetzalycuiliuhtimani xochicuicatl y ahuaçyo Et.
- 29 Ono yecoc xochitl xopanixochitl totonatimani ehuaya nepapan y xochitl
moyollo monacayo yehuan dios a ohuaya.

folio 35

- 1 Acon anquinequi moxochiuh aya in yehuā Dios ypalnemoani ymac onma-
nia miccascalatl mimilihuin cueponi coçahuia xochitl totonatimaniye
Et.
- 4 Çan ca ychampa nihuitz niçuetzalin poyon y nic çhua in cuicatl nictemaca
noxochiuh a ohuaya.
- 6 In ma onchichinalo in quetzalyiexochitl aya moyahua quitomaya yxochiuh
yehuan Dios huiya hui çan ca ye ichan y aya xochitly ca cana ohuaya Et.

Song 52, Folios 34v-35

- 2 I make a gathering for Him. These songs of Yours: I heap them up as jades, 22
I heap them up as bracelets, gold and scarlet. Adorn Yourself with these,
O Padre! These flowers are Your riches.
- 5 These trogons, these roseate swans, are like plumes, from You! This is 23
how You paint Your drums on earth. *These flowers are Your riches.*
- 7 O priests, let me ask you something. Say! Where do they come from, these 24
intoxicating flowers, these intoxicating songs, these good songs? They
come from His home in heaven. All the flowers come from His home.
- 10 It's the Only Spirit, Life Giver, who brings them down, and they're corn- 25
silk flowers, scattered. Ah, the Green-Corn Swan is warbling above
these flowers, pleasuring Himself and sermonizing.
- 13 God's home is Chalco among the rushes! As a plumelike thrush, a red- 26
swan thrush, He warbles, warbling songs at the jade-jewel shrine. He's
the Quetzal!
- 17 A plume narcotic has arrived upon this flower flood, within this jade flower 27
house. And trogons, flower-whirled, are strewn. He sings within, He
warbles *here* within. He's the Quetzal!

D

- 20 Let me begin. I'm the singer. Where this tree of popcorn flowers stands, 28
my songs are scattering—as cornsilk flowers.
- 22 Narcotic cacao flowers are dancing beside the drum, diffusing fragrance, 29
parceled out.
- 24 Our father, God, is standing up, stands sated with plumes at the jade 30
drinking vessel. It seems that turquoises are twicled as bracelets: flowers
fall in a raining mist within this house of paintings.
- 27 Let's sing, princes. Let's pleasure Life Giver. These flower songs are painted 31
as plumes.
- 29 The flowers have arrived: they're Green-Place flowers: they're shining: a 32
multitude of flowers, these, your hearts, your flesh, O God.
- 1 Who doesn't desire your flowers, O God, O Life Giver? Miccacalcatl 33
lies in His hands! The flowers are budding, blossoming, turning gold:
they're shining.
- 4 I'm a narcotic plume, come from His home, lifting songs, presenting 34
flowers.
- 6 Let them be inhaled, these plume-incense flowers. They're scattered. God 35
sets his flowers free, *then* takes these flowers to his home.

Ycnocuatl.

- 9
 10 Pehualo nequetzalo xochitl cā moquetza huehuetitla aayahue nonahua
 huancano ma ya huico yechuaya xochitl malintimani Et.
 12 Çan niqimahuiltia in tocnihua aya chalchiuhcalico xochinpetlapan yticpa
 huehuetzcan tla'tohuaya in cuicanitl ahua yyao yia yiao ayyaha ohua.
 15 Tla çanē namechonahuiltin tla çanen namechoncuicati at ayoc huelicon at
 ayoc ahuiyac in toxochiuh ye tocuic ohuaya ohuaya ayia yiaha Et
 17 In cuix oceppa huitz a in pilli quauhtliya a in cacamatl ayiahue cuix oceppa
 huallaz ayoquan oo ilhuicaminax oc yehuatl amechonahuiltiz çan oo
 ayoppatihuyac ça cen tihui yehua ohuaya ohuaya ayia yiaha ohuaya.
 21 Ça nihualichoa ya yohui yahayon nihualayocoya yn ayoquā teuctli ye
 nicani yaotequihua tichahua tlatoa y ohuaya.
 23 Çan ye ontimalihui ye ompopohuin tetloc ye nica in tenahuac y ayoc
 ymatian yoo o ayoc quihualmati nonā o ye nota yca nichocay Yoyahua
 yoyahui yehua cano ximoaya ohuaya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 13

- 26 Nichoca yehua nicnotlamatia çan nic elnamiqui ticcauhtehuazque yectli ya
 xochitl yectli yan cuicatl in maoc tonahuiacā o ohuaye maoc toncuicacon
 cen tiyahui tipolihui yehua ohuaya Et.
 29 Ach tleon aih quimati in tocnihuan y cocoya yiollo qualani yechuaya
 ayoppā tlatatihua yehuaya ayopan piltihua y yecē

folio 35v

ye quixihuā tl̄çc o ohuaya.

- 2 Maoc achitzincay tetloc ye nica tenahuac aayahue aic yez o aic nahuiaz aic
 nihuclamatiz ohuaya.
 4 Yn canon nemian noyollo yehuaya ca hucl ye nocha ca hucl nocala maniz
 ca ninotolinian tl̄çc. o ohuaya
 6 Timotolinia noyollo yehua maca xinentlamatin tl̄çc ye nica, O anca iuhqui
 notonal ohuaye quimatia ohuiyahue huixahue canō nicmacehuia in mach
 iuhcan nitlacat in tl̄çc. yxama yhui yechuaya ic yectli ya hucl ihui
 ahcampa nemoa çan quittoa noyol a ohuaya
 10 Quen quittoa in Dios aya nellon tinemi aya nellon tiyahuecahuaco tl̄çc oo
 yiao yiao ayia a ayo ohuaya.
 12 O aya nicyacahuaz yectli ya xochitli aya nicyatemohuiz quenonamica
 huiya O ancacihui çan achic çan tictotlanhuia yectlon cuicatla Et

[*copyist's numeral:*] [1]4

- 14 Noncuicapehua nicanaya ye'coya moxochiuh ipalnemoani toxochihue-
 hueuh ticyahuelintzotzona tonequimilol in tl̄çc. o ohuaya.

LIII Bereavement song

9

A

- 10 A beginning! An appearance! Flowers, yes, appearing at the drum! I'm 1
pleasured, ah! They're carried *down*, these flowers: they're whirled!
- 12 I pleasure friends. The singer laughs aloud, he warbles from the house of 2
jade, the flower mat.
- 15 Let me somehow give you pleasure. Let me somehow give you songs. 3
These flowers, these songs of ours, are they not fragrant, are they not
delicious?
- 17 Will he come again, this prince, this eagle, this Cacamatl? Will Ayocuan, 4
will Ilhuicaminax, come again? Will he pleasure you again? Ah, there's
no twice. We pass away forever.
- 21 I weep, alas, creating something: it's Lord Ayocuan! He's here, the war 5
chief! He pricks us as he warbles.
- 23 Near and in the presence of this company he's glorified and much es- 6
teemed. He no longer knows, no longer calls upon my mother and my
father—as I'm weeping—in the place where all are shorn.

B

- 26 I cry, I grieve, knowing we're to go away and leave these good flow- 7
ers, these good songs. Let's be pleased, let's sing. We're off to our
destruction.
- 29 Our friends are ill at ease? Sick, His hearts are vexed! We're not born twice, 8
we're not engendered twice. Rather we must leave this earth.
- 2 Near and in the presence of this company a moment! It can never be. I can 9
never be pleased, never be content.
- 4 Where does my heart live? Where is my home? Where does my mansion 10
lie? True, I am poor on earth.
- 6 Poor as you are, my heart, don't grieve here on earth. This seems to be my 11
lot, *and my heart* knows it. Where do I assign it? Is this my fate on earth?
It's known to be so. And so it's good, very much so. My heart says
there's no place to go.
- 10 What does God say? "We don't live, don't come to stay, on earth." 12
- 12 I can't carry off these good flowers, can't bring them down to the Place 13
Unknown. It's only for a moment. We merely borrow these good ones,
these songs.

C

- 14 Here I strike up a song, and your flowers arrive, O Life Giver. We beat our 14
flower drums with pleasure: they're our adornment on earth.

- 16 O aitquihuan i xochitl o atquihuan in cuicatl quenonamicā cē tiyahui ayac
mocahuaz in tl̄ſc. y ohuaya.
- 18 Maoc cemilhuitl ye nica antocnihua ayahue toconcauhtehuazque toxochiuh
ye tocuic ayiahue ticyaoncahuazque in tlalli manic yiao.
- 20 Ma xonahuiaca antocnihuā ohuaye yaohuaye xonahuiacā a ohuaya.
- 21 Tlen ticycocoya tlein tic elnamiqwi tinocniuh o a'tahuia ticcuin cuicatl y atic
elehuia yxochiuh in ipalnemoa tla xonahuia huehuetitlan xonmiquani
quen quinequi moyollo o ohuaya.
- 24 Xochipapalotl tepan ahuiā man tlachichinaya toxochiuh O tomacxochiuh
y te'cacehuazhuia tacaieuh o ic malintimanī yhuā ahuiaxtīma huchuetitla
o xonahuiacā a ohuaya.
- 27 Can ompa nonyaz huiya can ompa noyaz aya ome ycac yohui yohui
yehuan Dios huiya amach temochia ompa ximoaya ailh¹ytec y çānican y
yehua yccc ximoaya in tl̄ſc. y ohuaya Et.

folio 36

- 1 Cen tiyahui Cen tiyahui oncā ye ichan huiya o ayac tecay in tl̄ſc o acyan
quittoaya in catliame ha in tocnihua xonahuiaca Et.
- 3 Ma xihuecholxochitl in tlahuecholxochitl in malintiac o in moyollo
motlatol nopiltzin aayahue çan chichimecatl teuctli in tayoqua huiya cuel
achic ye nica xoconmotlanhui in tl̄ſc y ohuaya ohuaya ayahui ohuaya.
- 7 Ahuayia ohuaye ica nichocaya compoloa tomiquiz, compoloa in totlayocol
yectlon cuicatli cuel achic ye nica xoconmotlanhui Et

9 TlapapalCuextecayotl.

- 10 Xiquincaquican hue in cuechycahuacaya in tlacahuēpantzīn ixtlilcuccha-
huac o ayoc nelli in cano ximoaya çayoh ye nican tl̄ſc y yaia

13 QuauhAcayotl.

- 14 Tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui, totototo Et.
- 15 Ÿ ma xoncuica tlahuhtonatiuh chimale cuicani meetla tla xonicnotlamati
yao ayiahuec maya huichale ocnale maço çeya huichile etc.
- 18 Ÿ coçana ypanaya a ycaya a niquttaya moxochiuh Dios noyolliool paquini
huancano huee yoo man chalchihuitl nicmatia nichichimecatl yio ya ye
mach a nicaan a xochitla quitquitihuitz noyolliol paquini huançanno huee
yoo yyao aye aya auh y yehua Ÿhuaaya ya quimaoya ya quimaxelo ayoo.

- 16 Ah, these flowers aren't carried to the Place Unknown, these songs aren't 15
 carried off. We all depart. No one will be left on earth.
- 18 Let there be another day here, friends. We're to go away and leave our 16
 flowers, our songs. We're to leave the enduring earth.
- 20 Be pleased, friends. Be pleased. 17
- 21 What are you creating, what are you recalling, friend? Ah, aren't you pleased 18
 getting songs? Don't you crave Life Giver's flowers? Be pleased
then beside the drum—and move beyond. What does your heart desire?
- 24 The Flower Butterfly is pleasuring on these. Let Him inhale our flowers, 19
 our hand flowers. Our fan, our reed incense—with these He's whirled!
 Also He diffuses fragrance *here* beside the drum. Be pleased.
- 27 *Then* where am I to go? Ah, where am I to go? God stands two *places!* 20
 Aren't you awaited there beyond, where all are shorn? *No*, it's not
 within the sky. The place where all are shorn is here—on earth!
- 1 We all go off, we all go off to His home beyond. No one has regard for 21
 people *here* on earth. Who's to say "Where are our friends?" Be
 pleased!
- 3 Let there be turquoise-swan flowers, roseate-swan flowers, spinning, oh, 22
 and they're your hearts, your words, O prince, O Chichimec Lord Ayo-
 cuan. Borrow them briefly here on earth!
- 7 Ah, for these I weep, and these destroy our death, destroy our sadness, 23
these, the good songs. Borrow them briefly here *on earth*.

9 **LIV-A** Multicolored Huastec piece

- 10 Hear them, alas, shrilling like conch horns. Tlacahuepan and Ixtlilcuecha-
 huac. They're no longer in the place where all are shorn, but here, on
 earth.

13 **LIV-B** Eagle-master piece

- 14 tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui, totototo etc.
- 15 Sing, red Sun! O Master of Shields, O Singer, hey! Grieve! Yao, ayyahue! 1
 Let's have a "huichale ocnale"! Ah, would that He might acquiesce!
 "Huichile ele!"
- 18 To me your flowers, these hearts of mine, these glad ones, are as rainbows, 2
 God. I'm a Chichimec, and I want to be acquainted with jades. Are they
 here? Ah, these hearts of mine, *these* glad ones, come carrying flowers.
 Let their comrades shell them out, share them out.

- 23 Auh in yehuā quaahuaque auh y yeehua maquahueque in cōquetzalmāti-
huitze contonacaxochimoyauhtihuitze aya quauhtecatli a tozquechol-
tzin yce ytonal a yao.
- 26 Chiappanoo chiappano ompa ye huitz ȳ yectli nomache quē quihualitta
queen quihualycaqui tonahuac onoc o Et.
- 28 Nec nochaa nee nitlatoa o ça ca cuilolpa chiucnauhtecatpetl a ycatya
tonatiuh yaquian an o.
- 30 Ye mimiliuhtih ye popoçontih quetzalaxochitli tlachinolxochitl aya

folio 36v

in axca i ye tonahuatil mitl chimalla aya nican cholollā ye huexotzinco tla
ninoma'mana O

- 3 Yn oquic niman atempani çā oquic nima ye oncaya hualoloque ye chichi-
meca aya chimalcalco hualolinque ce huitze quihualtoaca chiucnauhixtla-
huatl ayiyo.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 16

- 6 Coto cotoco. tico ticoti ticoti ticoti.
- 7 Nicmanaya nicmanaya xochincacahuatl ma ya onihuaya ye ichan nopiltzin
Moteuççomatzi o ancayome.
- 9 Ȳ yectli ya huellaçotli ya quetzalayahualolli ma ya nic yximati ye ichan
niauh Et.
- 11 O ayac yiol quimati in quetzalpojomaxochitl cacahuaxochitl nicmomoya-
hua nicana yhpotocaya ye huexotzinco atlia ytzalan ayo.
- 13 Yn quezqui tonatiuh ayo niyecoc tepetitlani in chooca noyolio icnotlamati
yiya ma xochitl noyollo quetzalihcuiliuhtoc yyaa yehua ichan i yehuā
Dios icelteotl aye ohuaya ye xochiticpac cuican tlailotlac teuctli ayyaoco
ayyahuc.
- 17 Ma xochiyhuintihuaya Ma ilhuitlamachoya antepilhuan man quetzalihto-
tilo ichan totatzin ycelteotl ye Et
- 19 Y xiuhtenampā aya tonycacaya o onca milintoc in quetzaltepetitlan anqui
anahuac yya oo oztomecatl huihue yyao aiai.
- 21 A ompa nicahcitoya coaixtlahua yxiuhchimal nicmeme nic c'cahui oo
tonacaxochitl ayye ayiai.

Songs 54-B-54-C, Folios 36-36v

- 23 These eagle masters, these eagle-hand masters, come offering Forest 3
Dweller and Parrot Swan—as plumes—come scattering them as maize
flowers. This is their fate.
- 26 Where Rattlesnakes Are! Where Rattlesnakes Are! From there comes the 4
good one, this nephew of mine. And how does he view those who dwell
in our midst? What does he hear from them?
- 28 "Me! In my home! Me! I sing—in the place of paintings, at the city of the 5
dwellers-among-the-nine, at the seat of the Sun, at the place of His
entry!"
- 30 These plume-flood flowers, these blaze flowers, go budding, go swelling. 6
Arrows and shields are now our duty here in Cholollan, in Huexo-
tzinco. Let me offer myself.
- 3 And then Beyond, then stirring at the Shore, stirring in the House of 7
Shields, these Chichimecs all come, come heading for Nine Fields.

LIV-C

- 6 Coto cotoco. Tico ticoti ticoti ticoti.
- 7 I offer it, I offer a flower cacao. Let it be imbibed in the home of my prince 1
Montezuma.
- 9 These good and very precious ones, these captive plumes—let me know 2
their faces. I'm off to His home.
- 11 Oh, everyone is drunk! I strew narcotic plume flowers, cacao flowers, that 3
give off fragrance here in Huexotzinco amid the flood.
- 13 I've come to town for a few days. Ah, this heart of mine is weeping, griev- 4
ing. I want to make my heart a flower, and as plumes it's painted in this
home of God the Only Spirit. Now He sings above the flowers, He,
Lord Arbiter.
- 17 Let there be flower drunkenness and festivity, O princes. Let there be 5
plume dancing in the home of our father the Only Spirit.
- 19 And among these turquoise ramparts—ah, You're standing up! Ah, it 6
seems He stirs in Plume Town. He's in Anahuac! It's Cave Dweller!
- 21 Ah, and there beyond I go, that I might capture the Coaxtlahuans, His 7
turquoise shields. I've shouldered them and brought them *back*, and
these are maize flowers!

[*copyist's numeral:*] 17

- 23 coto coto coti ticoti ticoti.
 24 Temohuaci temohuaci yohuaya mizquitl icpac neteco oya xochitl temoya
 Moteucçomatzi tlachinoltemoya Neçahualcoyotzin Anahuatl quitoca
 miliniaya
 27 Quauhtlin tototl ye mochiuh ocelomixcoatl mizquitl icpac matlahuacalco
 oya tlatcatl Mixcoatl pilli neçahualcoyotzi yooohui canihuaya oya yooohui
 canihua yooya.
 30 Ye quimacuhque mocoliçua Acamapich Huitzilihuítl huey tlalli a colihua
 canani

folio 37

- mitzpielti mixcohuacalli oztomecacalli Neçahualcoyotzin yooohui çanihuaya
 oya yooohui canihuaya yo oya Et.
 3 Tzihuactitlan Nequametla huallacxipetlatiaque yeçocalco netlaliloc huey
 comitl nepaltiloc nocolihuan quinatzi tlaltecatzi te'çhotlalatl teuctli
 chicomoztoc neneco oya.
 6 Nichoca nichoca icnoyoa noyoliol nehuayã Neçahualcoyotzi canonaya
 ximoaya nocolihua in quinatzi Et.
 8 Cococayo in e'cohuac ica ittoc acolmiztli hualcuica ne'nêque colhuacano
 atotoztli a itzmolino oya xotlac inchoquixochiuh Coxcotzín Calcocametl
 huin oya xahuini
 11 Ayaxcã in quittaque huey tlalli a colhuacan mizquititlan o tzihuactitla
 quitlalaquico inchoquixochiuh Et.
 13 yo yo mihua ma ya quiça nomali ayyahui yahuiya ayahuiya ma ya quiça
 nomali.

Mexicayotl [*copyist's numeral:*] 18

- 15 Toco tico tocoti tocoti tocoti tocoti Et.
 16
 17 Cohuatepec xiuhtlaquetzalla ymanican quetzalcalli onicaca aya que ye
 cahualoc atl in tepetl in oncan a ye quihualmatque in mexica in huehuet-
 que yecc nican chapoltepec ica tacico oo tolnahuacatl ye tozcuecuex ya
 ohuia.
 21 Ancoc yohuayan in ac ya imatia que ye cahualoc Atl yn tepetl Et
 22 O amaihicc ayoc nello in quittoa Mexica aya can innelhuayo in ilh^{tl} in
 canon in tlatoa ipalnemoani huixahuec xiyachocaca cam polihuiç yma-
 cehual? yyao ohuiya.

LIV-D

- 23 Coto coto coti. Ticoti ticoti.
- 24 Descent is imminent! Descent is imminent! And there's a scattering on the 1
mesquite. Montezuma descends in flowers! Nezahualcoyotl descends in
blaze! He's in the world. He stirs!
- 27 And he's become an eagle bird, a jaguar cloud companion on the mes- 2
quite—in a carrying cage—this noble, this cloud companion, Prince
Nezahualcoyotl!
- 30 Your forebears Acamapichtli and Huitzilihuitl have been rewarded with 3
the great land, ah! the ancestor land. And Nezahualcoyotl has granted
you guardianship over this house of cloud companions, this cave
dwellers' house.
- 3 They've traveled here on foot through brambles, through agaves. And in 4
Barrel Cactus' house of bleeding all my forebears have been established
and given a seat! Quinatzin Tlaltecaczin and Techotlalatl, lord of Seven
Caves! They are *much* desired.
- 6 I am Nezahualcoyotl, and I weep. I weep, and they take pity, these hearts 5
of mine in the place where all are shorn, my forebears, Quinatzin *Tlalte-*
catzin and Techotlalatl, lord of Seven Caves. They are much desired.
- 8 All *our* miseries have arrived. Thus Acolmiztli's been seen. Ah, those Col- 6
huacan voyagers, *and even* Atotoztli, are singing here. Their weeping
flowers have sprouted, burgeoned: they're Coxcotzin and Calcozametl.
- 11 They found it a hardship, that great land, ah! that ancestor land. And 7
they've come to plant their weeping flowers *here* among the mesquite
and the brambles, *they, Coxcotzin and Calcozametl.*
- 13 Yo! Yo! And he is dispatched! Let him go forth—*or be born!* He is my cap- 8
tive! Let him go forth—*or be born!* He is my captive!

LIV-E Mexican piece

- 15 toco tico tocoti tocoti tocoti tocoti etc.
- 16
- 17 At Coatepec, where the turquoise columns stand, there stood a plume 1
house. And how was that city abandoned? The Mexicans, the old ones,
coming forth, knew Chapultepec, here! And so you've arrived, O Tol-
nahuacatl, O Tozcucuecxl!
- 21 Who, alas, knows how that city was abandoned? *The Mexicans, the old 2*
ones, coming forth, knew Chapultepec, here! And so you've arrived, O Tolna-
huacatl, O Tozcucuecxl!
- 22 O ama iye! It isn't true that Mexicans are singing him. Their source is 3

- 25 Tlein quimaceuh huce tle icoconcauh a in Mexicatl Axoloa ye tīcaatl
 imanca choca yioliol cam polihuiz ymacehual Et.
 27 Ȳ chimalli cuccuepaloc y ye tepantonco yyehuaya ocahualoc in colihuaca
 yca tolinque ye tiMexica choquitztlehua y yechuaya ye cem atl mania
 ymacehual yyao ohuiya.
 30 Yn pipiltin toteuchuan ay yechuaya ocahualoc Et.
 31 Yn nicayaihtoā ye niMexicatl nocelopa quēmach vel onca ay ye mo-

folio 37v

- tlamacehuia in teteuctin Acolnahuacatl teçoçomocltli at quēmanian a in
 yectla inlatol yn azcapotzalca pipilta yio ohuiya Et
 3 Yquac in onia quenonamican yn anNopilhuā tecpanecatli ye y ocacihlti
 āmopan tzopiz yaoyotl topan miliniz ye tlachinolli o oohua yee maçoc
 achica ontlapia y ye yazcapotzalco yyo ohuiya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 19

- 6 Nican ompehua Cozcacuicatli ytechpa
 yn itlacatilitzin tot° Jesu x° oquitecpan
 don fran^{co} placido ypan
 xihuitl 1553. años.
 9 Tiqui tiqui tocoto tiqui tiqui tocoto tiqui tiqui
 tiquiti tiqui tiqui tiquiti
 10 Ma ontlatlauhtiloya xicteoxiuhcozcatotomaca yn amotlayocol antepil-
 huani ma chalchiuhcozcatl teocuitlacoçcatl yn amocuentax y ma ycaya
 ticahuiltiti yn oychcoc in Belem cemanahuaqui tēmaquixtiani tla tihuiya
 tlatlaquauh çane
 14 Yn ma ontlachieloya tomachvane ticcahua tlapalizquixochitl moyahua
 yehua oncan temoc yn itlayocol yehuayā Dioxi cemanahuaqui.
 16 Yn quetzcalitec hotencoya oncan ye tonca yn tichpochtli Santa M^r que-
 çohuel oncan ticyatlacatili yn Dios ypiltzin nepapan cozcatl ma ycaya
 man tlatlauhtiloya.
 19 Çan timotimaloa ynicaya iuhquin cozcatl toyahuaya ye momactzinco
 moyetztica in Dios piltzintli nepapan cozcatl.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 20

- 21 Titoco toto titocototo titiquiti titiquiti.
 22 Cuelcā cuelcan Pipilte tomachhuane yyahue tla toyayatihua yn ixpā Tiox
 Jesu xpō. teocuitlaxa'calli manca ticcottilizque ticchalchiuhcuentaxcoz-

where? The sky, where Life Giver sings! Hui xahue! Weep "Where will His vassal be undone?"

25 And what is His gift? And what is His food? O Mexican! O Axoloa! 4
Where the chalk flood lies, His hearts are weeping: "Where will His vassal be undone?"

27 The shields were reversed at Little Rocky. And as we stirred, we Mexi- 5
cans, Colhuacan was abandoned. Weeping, His vassals—all!—now stand in the water.

30 O princes! Lords! *And as we stirred, we Mexicans, Colhuacan* was aban- 6
doned. *Weeping, His vassals—all!—now stand in the water.*

31 I, a Mexican, I, Ocelopan, say: How fortunate can they be, over there, 7
these lords Acolnahuacatl and Tezozomoc? Will their songs be good? Those princes of Azcapotzalco!

3 When I've gone away to the Place Unknown, O you princes that are mine, 8
O dweller at the Palace, O Acacitli, then the war will end where you are, then the blaze will stir where we are! For a moment let them be on guard at Azcapotzalco!

6 LV Here begins a jewel song concerning the
nativity of our lord Jesucristo.
Don Francisco Plácido put it
together in the year 1553.

A

9 tiqui tiqui tocoto tiqui tiqui tocoto tiqui tiqui
tiquiti tiqui tiqui tiquiti

10 "Let him be prayed to, princes. Let loose your creations, your turquoise 1
jewels. Let's have jade jewels, gold jewels—your rosaries! Let's go with these and pleasure the savior who's come to earth in Bethlehem. Let's go. Come ye. Hail!

14 "Nephews, brothers, let there be viewing! Tinted popcorn flowers are 2
scattering down. There! God's creation has descended to earth.

16 "You're in a plume house at the roadside, O virgin, O Santa María. And 3
there you've given birth to God's son, to many jewels. Let him arise. Let him be prayed to.

19 "As he spills forth like jewels, you're glorified. He's in your arms: he's God 4
the son, he's many jewels."

B

21 titoco toto titocototo titiquititi titiquiti

22 It's time! It's time! Princes! Nephews! Let's go gently to God Jesucristo. 5

camacazque o anqui ye chauhquecholtlaztalchualtotonatoc anqui ye
oncan yio aye hoaya yeha.

- 26 Cuicoya tlapitzalcalitequi toncuicatinemi tleon mach y xochitl ahuiaxti-
mania o anqui ya tlahquecholtlaztalchualtotonatoc.

folio 38

1 O anqui ye huel axca tlaçocozcatl quetzalliyā tonilpiloque motlaçoconetzi
çanyio mochalchihuhmaquiz mocozcatzīni mochipa ichpochtle Santa
Mariani yililil yahuiya toyolio aye aye ahuiya nicaana.

4 Ȳ quetzalpetlatipan aya tonca ca ye mocha ilhuicacihuaipilli yehua nepapan
in maquiztecoxiuhcalitequi tōtlatlauhtioyan tlapalchalchihuhhuitl mox-
chicuentaxtzin ticpouhtinemia ypā ypanaya timitztlatlaocoltemotine-
miya yililil yahuiya.

[copyist's numeral:] 21

8 Toquiti toquiti tiqui tiqui tiquiti tiqui tocotō.

9 Yn nepapā tototl ȳ moquecholhuan tiox tzatzihuaya nicaa aquī huel juhquī
tlahuizcalli patlantinemīa angeloti oncuiya: gloria in excelsis deo xahuiaca
xompaquica anc.

12 O anquin huel iquac topan temoc yn ilhuicac tlanextli ya nepapā xochitl
moyahuaya oncuica ay in moquecholhuan Dios gloria in excelsis Et

14 A yn oquicaque in oriente in teteuctini in ilh^cpa onilhuiloque aya tlf̄c. ca
omonexti temaquixtiani teocuitlatl, copalliya, Mirra concuique ye ic
onacicoya im pelem coniximatque nelli tiox nelli oquichtliya.

17 Yn attopaya mitziximatque tiox on cozcateuh quetzalteuh tlamatque yn
tlatoque aya contlatlauhtique aya yn ichpochtli Santa Maria aqui huel
yehuan conitquitaque moteyoya nelli Dios nelli oquichtliya.

21 Yn tla timochi titlamahuiçocā ticcahuane onca belcm huel ixpoliuhtoc
quetzalli yan cozcatl chalchihuiteuh oncā xamāque ȳ pipiltzitzinti pa-
palmaquizcozcatlica a motimolotiaque ylh^uytec aya yn tepilhua an a

24 Yn choquizcuicatl momamalintoc tlayocolxochitica a ymelcl quiça in
motlaçohuan Dios tlapalmaquizcozcatlica Et.

[copyist's numeral:] 22

26 Tico toco ticoti tico toco ticoti tiquititi tocotiti.

27 Nonohualco ye nicā in tlaluacpani conchalchihuyhcuilotihuiya in nono-
hualcatl teuctli ȳ don diego y ye onel yao ximohuayani concauhtehuaco
yn atlo yan tepctli yaho yaho yli yaho aye ma yca nichoca yio.

Song 55, Folios 37v-38

We'll gaze upon him in that golden hut, we'll give him jade rosary jewels. He gleams incarnadine like a roseate swan, it seems, yonder it seems.

26 There's singing in the House of Flutes—and we are singing! What flower is this that lies in fragrance? It gleams incarnadine like a roseate swan, it seems! 6

1 This very moment can it be—that we've tied on this precious necklace, this plume, this babe of yours? *Yet this*, this bracelet, this necklace, is yours alone, O ever virgin, O Santa María. *And yet* our hearts are pleased here. 7

4 You're on the Plume Mat—it's your home—O queen of heaven. And in that house of many turquoise bracelet gems there are prayers to you. And that's where we're intoning these, these redstone plumes, your rosary of flowers. That's where we are seeking you through sadness. Ah! 8

C

8 toquiti toquiti tiqui tiqui tiquiti tiqui tocoto
9 Many birds, your swans, O God, are calling here. And who are they—soaring along as though in Dawn's House? They're the angels, singing gloria in excelsis deo. Be pleased! Be glad! Hail! 9

12 "The splendor of the sky descended on us at that very moment, many flowers, scattered, and your swans, O God, singing gloria in excelsis deo." 10

14 That's how they heard it, they, the kings of the orient. From the sky they were told: "Indeed on earth a savior has appeared." They took gold, incense, and myrrh. And when they got to Bethlehem they knew the true god, the true man. 11

17 They were the first to know you, God. As jewels, as plumes, the wise men, these kings, prayed to the virgin, to Santa María. And what did they do? They went away bearing your glory, True God, True Man! 12

21 Let's all rejoice, brothers. Yonder in Bethlehem they lie destroyed, they, the plumes, the jadelike jewels, the princes, broken. And as multicolored bracelet jewels those princes rose in glory to the sky. 13

24 Weeping songs are spinning *down*. Your precious ones, O God, are entertained with flowers of sadness. As multicolored bracelet jewels *those princes rose in glory to the sky*. 14

D

26 tico toco ticoti tico toco ticoti tiquititi tocoti
27 With jades he paints this Nonoalco here, this Dry Lands, he, the Nonoalcan lord: it's Don Diego. And it's true he's gone—to the place where all are shorn. He came to leave this realm. Ah, let me cry for him. 15

- 30 Teocuitlacoyolihcahuaca ye nocuic huiya niquiyatemoa yn cozcateca ÿ
nohueyohuani nichalchiuhççoçoya intlatol niqumelnamiqúi ye nelli ye-

folio 38v

- huano contlalitiaque yn atlo yā tepetli yaho yaho.
2 Yio ahua yiaoo hohuaye yaho aye ye moxiuhtomolcozqui ypan nitlatla-
yocolcuica nicnotlamatia an catlique ÿ tepilhuano catliyā quauhtlocelotl
ynin ca ye micuilo atlo yan tepetl onel yaque ximoaya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 23

- 5 Totiqui titiquito totiquititiqui toti toti
totoco totoco totocoto
6 Yançauca chalchiuhtli nocuic tlatati niquelcahuaya nicempoaltecametla
nohueyohua ololihuic acatic cenquiztoc nichuipan ye yxpan nonquizti-
huetzi icelteotl o anqui ye huell axca tlaltech acic yehcoc ÿ belem yiaha
yaha yilili hoo ahua ye ncla ma onnetotilo nican.
10 On tlaçotlanqui cozcapetlatipana nocoyectlalia nocuic niccempohualteca-
metla nohueyohua ololihuic acatic.
12 Chalchiuhizquixochitl ÿmanca nontlachichina ya nitlacuilolcozcaquetzal-
tototl nictzinitzcanAmatlapaltetzeloan cuicayecahuilo yotica can non-
pahpatlantinemi oo ahua yia oo aylili yancaya.
15 On nepapan in cozcanelhuatica nicxelo a ye oncan noncuicapehpenaya
nitlacuilolcozcaquetzaltototl nictzinitzcanamatlapaltetzelo a cuicaych-
cahuilo yotica çan nôpa'patlantinemi oo ahua yia oo

[*copyist's numeral:*] 24

- 18 Cihuaixnexcucatl ypan tlatecpantli teotlatolli
yquac mehua yn ilhuitzin spū santo quitecpan
Christoual de rosario xiuhtlami cuicani
ypan Agosto de 1550 años.
21 Çan ca tlaubquecholtlapalayauhtimani a oncaan y ye mochani tisanta
Maria ayia yeoo ayia yeha
23 Y çan ca xiuhquechol nepapan tototl chachalacaya yca tontlatlauhtilo yani
tisanta Maria
25 Y iaho yaho yiahue a ihuic temoc san gabriel ye quitemohui oo a ynic
tlatlauçtiloya a y Santa M^e Ave m^e an o tichiupille tlatocacihuapille
yxquicçapaya timitzonttlaçoyectenhuiliya ho

- 30 My songs are shrilling like gold bells. I seek these braves of mine, these 16
 Jewel Land dwellers. I thread their songs as jades: I recall them. They're
 the ones who went away establishing this realm.
- 2 Among Your budding jewels of turquoise I sing my sorrows, grieving. 17
 Where are the princes? Where are those eagle jaguars? The city's been
 painted. Yes, they went away to the place where all are shorn.

E

5 totiqui titiquito totiquititiqui toti toti
 totoco totoco totocoto

- 6 My songs, these jades, are born anew: and I forsake them, I, a Cempo- 18
 hualtec. And these are my braves, orbicles, assembled beads that I've
 arranged—and so I promptly come alive before the Only Spirit. It
 seems this very moment they've arrived on earth, have come to Beth-
 lehem. Ho! Let there be dancing here.
- 10 As finished treasures on this mat of jewels, in beauty I compose these 19
 songs of mine, I, a Cempohualtec, and these are my braves, orbicles,
assembled beads that I've arranged—and so I promptly come alive before the
Only Spirit. It seems this very moment they've arrived on earth, have come to
Bethlehem. Ho! Let there be dancing here.
- 12 I inhale where jadelike popcorn flowers grow. I'm a jewel-painted quetzal, 20
 and these I strew as tinted trogon banners, made to arrive as songs, *as I*
go soaring along the Road.
- 15 I'm shaking down that jewel-root multitude. There Beyond I'm picking 21
 songs. I'm a jewel-painted quetzal, and these I strew as tinted trogon
 banners, made to arrive as songs, *as I go soaring along the Road.*

18 LVI Female apparition song, in which the holy
 word is set in order. It was sung at the feast of
 Espíritu Santo. The singer Cristóbal de
 Rosario Xiutlamin put it together in
 August of the year 1550.

A

- 21 There's a crimson mist of roscate swans there beyond in your home, Santa 1
 María.
- 23 Turquoise swans, all the birds, are cackling. And this is how you're prayed 2
 to, Santa María.
- 25 Ah, it's San Gabriel who's come down from where she is. She's sent him 3
 down so that she, Santa María, can be prayed to. Ave María! O lady,
 noble lady, right here we're praising you with love.

Coto coti quitiquiti ye tlātiuh quitiquiti quiti quiti
quiti quiti quiti quiti coto coti coto coti.

folio 39

- 1 Yn tlapalmaquiztototl motzetzelohuaya spū sanctoya a impa ye temoc
Apostolosme çan ipaltzinco totecuiyo in dios a
3 Yn Apostolosme ayiahue huel ytlāçohuā dios tlaneltoquiliztica momiquili-
que in tlaççqui çan ypaltzinco tot° in Dios a.
5 Ontonacaxochitlahuizcalehuaticac onca ye tonca yehuayan Dios ilh¹ytec
aya nepapanchalchiuhchayauhtoca yn motlayocol tiqualtzetzeloa aic
tlamiz in cuepontoc xochitl yeclon cuicatl tlapitzalotoc angelota. yn
mohuicpatzinco titotepechteca timacehualta a ycelteotlaya nepapan-
chalchiuh.

10 Toticoto ticoto titico.

- 11 Yn quetzaltototly temoca anaya çan can xiuhtototly ye hecoya a y san Pilipe
santiagoya oncan an quiçaya yecllin chalchihuitla ayiahue xihuitl ca-
nahuae onca ychani ahuayye ahuayyancoya O anch anca inchā a in
tepillhuan an teteuctin aya oncan quiçaya teyotl mahuiçotl tlatocayotli
ahuayye.
16 Xiuhtlapallacuilolamoxtli mancanaya maquizcozcapetlatl yonoca ypan
tonca aya tinopiltzin teuctli don diego aya ahuayie ahuayiancoya
18 O aic ylcahuiz in moteyo nohueyotzin xiuhtotomoliuhticac ȳ chauhque-
cholxochitl oncuepontimaniya cozcatl nepanihuia ye nelhuayoticaqui
çan mochoquiz aya icpac tontlatoaya titocnotlatemol ahuayie ahua Et.

21 cotocoti quiti quiti.

- 22 Ȳ nican nompehua noncuicaya toltēcachinampanaya nonohualcatzaqualli
catca in San Pilipe mach aquin axcā tepilhuan mach aquin axcā yn atlo
yan tepetla y xoxouhqui mizquitl on icaca tonacaquahuil y nelhuayoca a
onca ye yolque in teteuctini mach aquin axca tepilhuan.
27 yn chalchiuhticaya onihcuiliuhtimaniya yn atlo yan tepetl a ȳ .s. Pilipe ye
Santiago yani conicuilohtiaque in nonohualca in tepilhuā an a
29 O anca ȳmahcehual ye chichimeca tepilhuā in ton tieco ton Paltasal in
teuctli yehua conicuilotiyaque in nonohualca in tepilhuā an a.

31 toticototi coto titico.

folio 39v

- 1 Maquizquecholli quetzalli ya macpan ticaya timatlapalçohua quenonamicā

Song 56, Folios 38v-39v

B

28 Coto coti quitiquiti. When it ends: quitiquiti quitiquiti
quitiquiti quitiquiti quitiquiti coto coto coto.

1 A multicolored bracelet bird is shaken down: Espíritu Santo has descended 4
on the apostles by the grace of our lord God.

3 God's well-loved apostles died on earth as believers, by the grace of our 5
lord God.

5 As maize flowers they're radiating dawnlight—there where you are, God, 6
in heaven. And these creations of yours are spilling forth as many jades:
you shake them down *on us*. These blooming flowers, these good songs,
all these fluting angels, will never end.

*We vassals bow down to you, Only Spirit. And these creations of yours are
spilling forth as many jades: you shake them down on us. These blooming
flowers, these good songs, all these fluting angels, will never end.*

C

10 toticoto ticoto titico

11 A quetzal has descended, a cotinga arrives in San Felipe, in Santiago. Good 7
jades and thin turquoises issue from their seats beyond.

From lords' and princes' seats, it seems, come fame, glory, kings!

16 *Ah yes*, among these turquoise-and-crimson-painted pictures, upon this 8
mat of bracelet jewels, you dwell, O prince, O Lord Don Diego.

18 My brave, your fame will never be forgotten: it sprouts as turquoise gems. 9
Roseate-swan flowers are opening. These jewels! They're strewn, *these*,
your tears, they're taking root: you're warbling in their presence, you,
our poor sought one.

D

21 cotocoti quitiquiti

22 Here in this artists' bower I strike up a song. San Felipe used to be a No- 10
noalcán pyramid. What now of the princes? What now of the kings?

Where greening mesquites stand, at the tree of sustenance's place of origin,
there beyond, these lords are coming alive. What now of the princes?
What now of the kings?

27 The realm lies painted in jades. In departing they painted this San Felipe, 11
this Santiago, they that are Nonoalcans, they that are princes. Ah!

29 They're the Chichimec princes Don Diego and Lord Don Baltasar, and 12
this is their reward. In departing they painted it, they that are Nonoal-
cans, they that are princes. Ah!

E

31 toticototi coto titico

1 Now you dwell among the hands as a bracelet swan, as a plume, spreading 13

- a y don Pilipe ocen tiya oo ocen tiya nopiltzine.
- 3 Oyohualli xochitla yeehuaya tlachinolxochitla cuepontimaniya chichimecapa ytech ye tonemiya tixochilhuitli ocen tiya oo.
- 5 Can ca tlauhquecholtzin chimaliyaxochincozcatica yaa tiya mahpan tiya in toquizteuctli cepā amōnemico yn don Pilipe yaho.
- 7 Yn cacahuaxochipetlatl yyooo nocaanaya anconcauhtehuaque yn teteuctini cepan amonnemico yn don Pilipe yaho.
- 9 Cotoco tiquiti quiti.
- 10 Yn ahua nohueyohua nacicoyā nican y .s. Pilipe Azcapotzalco niqucahuico nepapan ihuitl çaquan patlantihuiytz ayaiya yācaya
- 12 Ma onnetlanehuilo cozcatepehuaque teteuctina ya titon Baltasal titon tieco teteucte ye axcan techtlayocoli ycelteotli yiaiyancaya.
- 14 Nixihquecholpapalotl patlantihuiytzaya notoz ca nahuac oya anqui nica anqui nicaana xinechnanquiliya tixochayacachtototl xiyatlapitzaya tocuic toxochiuh tieyamana y san Pilipe notoz ca nahuac oya anqui nica anqui nicaana.

- 18 Nican ompehua coçolcuicatl ytoca, ye huecauh
ic coquichitoque tepaneca, in Mexico
tlatoni Ahuitzotzi ytlatlalil nextenco
nohnohuantzi cuicani yhuā Pilli catca.

- 21 Tocotico tocoti. Auh ynic ontlantih cuicatl
toco toco tocoto tico tico ticoti
tico tico ticoti toco toco tocoti.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 29

- 23 A yn ompeuh y ye nocuico xochicalitec niman nocōmama nopillotzi noconahuiltz ololotzin ololo mahcehua in conetl Ahuitzotō oo huiya macaoc xichoca nopillotzin y toconitotiz y moxochitzini yhuan mocacalatzin oloelotzin
- 27 Anahuatl nichuihuixohua ye nimexicatl nichpotzintli ye nochimalcoçoltzin nicmamatiuh oncan onotih aytzi ye noyaoxochiconetzin oo huiya.

your wings in the Place Unknown, O Don Felipe. Gone forever, ah.
You've gone forever, my prince.

3 The bells, the flowers, the blaze flowers, are blooming in Chichimec Land, 14
and you dwell among these, O flower plume. You've gone forever, ah!

5 O roseate swan, you've departed as a shield-flower jewel. You've gone 15
among the hands, O Lord Oquitzzin. You came to live *just once*, O Don
Felipe.

7 O lords, you went away and left this cacao-flower mat. You came to live 16
just once, O Don Felipe.

F

9 cotoco tiquiti quití

10 Ho, my braves! I've arrived here in San Felipe Azcapotzalco. I come bring- 17
ing a multitude of plumes. These troupials! They come soaring.

12 Let them all be borrowed, these jewel-like masters of the realm, these 18
lords. O Don Baltasar, O Don Diego, O lords! And now the Only
Spirit has taken pity on us.

14 "I'm a turquoise swan, a butterfly!" My parrot comes flying in! He's in 19
Anahuac! It seems he's here, it seems he's here!

Answer me, you flower, you rattle bird. Flute *your answer*. We're spreading
songs, flowers, in San Felipe. My parrot's in Anahuac! It seems he's
here, it seems he's here!

18 *LVII* Here begins what is called a cradlesong,
with which in olden times the Tepanecs
lauded the Mexican ruler Ahuitzotl. It's a
composition of Nonohuiantzin of Nextenco,
who was a singer and a lord.

A

21 Tocotico tocoti. And when the song ends:

toco toco tocoto, tico tico ticoti,

tico tico ticoti, toco toco tocoti.

23 My song's begun within that House of Flowers, and at once I carry off my 1
little princeling. I'll pleasure the little jewel. He dances, this *little* babe,
this little Ahuitzotl.

Cry no more, my little princeling. These flowers and these bells of yours!
You'll dance with these, O little jewel.

27 I, a Mexican girl, am rocking the world! Off I go, carrying my shield cra- 2

- 1 A oyohuallin cahuantihuitz y ie nōchoca aytzi ye noyaoxochiconetzi
oohuiya.
- 2 Çan ca izquixochitl nochichihualtzin cacaloxochitl tontomalinque telpo-
tzintli Ahuitzoton in tocochian o a yllia o xochipahpaqui noyollotzin ȳ
telpotzintli ahuitzoto.
- 5 Tiçatl yhuil malintihuitz choquixochitl chimalli xochitl cuecuepocaticac
teicolti tetlanecti Atlixco tenamitl yxpā cahuiltiyao ohuiya.
- 7 Ye noyaoxochi malintinmi ye chalcotlaca ye quimamatihui xochiquahuitl
ye huexotzinco atlixco tenamitl yxpan cahuiltiao ohuiya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 26

- 9 Tocotico tiqui tiqui tocotiqui tocotiqui.
- 10 A ololotzin ololo mahcaoc xichica in tinoconetzi tzo nimitzontecaz mo-
coçoltzinco huallaz ye mota Ahuitzoto mitzonhuihuixoz yiao ohuiya.
- 12 Noyollo quimati nimitznochihuili yn tinoconetzi huallaz ye mota.
- 13 Nicutzi Ahuitzoto macaço cenca xitlatlayocoya oo in tiquilnamiqui mo-
piticatzin axayacaton oohuiya.
- 15 Yn çāyio oncan ontimalihuin tl̄çc. yn ichpochyotl in Ahuilmemizotl
macaço cenca xitlayocoyao
- 17 Queço timochihua tiniuctzi in timochoquilia tiniucticatzi neçahualpilli
xihualmohuica tla nimitzonmama tla nimitzahahuilti y ximocauhtzino
tiniucticatzi neçahualpilli yaoo huiya.
- 20 Ohualacic cueponi xochitl toconitazque in yectli conctl Ahuitzoton
ximocauhtzino.
- 22 Chimalli xochitl yca ninoxauh nimexiacihuatl nichpochtzintli tlachinolti-
cay popocatimanin nonehcuiloltzin quechellehuiya tonahuac onoq̄ oo
huiya.
- 25 Yaoxochitl ypan momati nonehcuiloltzi queheclehuiya.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 27

- 26 Tocoti tocoti tocotititi tocotititi tocotititi.
- 27 çā nōtlatlayocoxtica aytzi niuctzi ticihuatzintli queçomach nō tlatcatl y
nocana momiquili no, ye, coltzin in Ahuitzotl yiaohuiya.
- 29 quemach yn oquichiuh noyollotzini ayoc huclin niuctzi ayoc huclin ni-
quicahuaz no, ye, coltzin in Ahuitzotl yiaohuiya.

Song 57, Folio 40

dle, for there beyond is where he lies, this treasure, this little war-flower
babe of mine.

- 1 And bells come ringing *as* I weep. O treasure, O little war-flower babe 3
of mine!
- 2 My breasts [or my created ones] are popcorn flowers. In bed with raven 4
blooms we've been entwined [or we've been whirled as raven blooms],
O little young man, O little Ahuizotl.
- He delights in flowers, he, my darling heart, this little young man, this
little Ahuizotl.
- 5 Chalk and plumes come spinning. Weeping flowers, shields, flowers, stand 5
up blooming, desirable and seductive. On the bosom of the flood, be-
fore the walls, they pleasure him.
- 7 My war flowers go whirling along: yes, the men of Chalco are carrying 6
flower trees. Yes, in Huexotzinco on the bosom of the flood, before the
walls, these pleasure him.

B

- 9 tocotico tiqui tiqui tocotiqui tocotiqui
10 Little jewel, stop crying, you little babe, I'll lay you in your cradle, little 7
Ahuizotl, your father will come, he will rock you.
- 12 My heart enjoys it, I've made you, my little babe, *little Ahuizotl*, your 8
father will come, *he will rock you*.
- 13 Little Ahuizotl, my pet, don't overdo your grief remembering your 9
brother Axayacatl.
- 15 For it's only there beyond on earth that women and pleasure are celebrated. 10
Don't overdo your grief *remembering your brother Axayacatl*.
- 17 And how are you created, my pet? By being wept for, my precious pet, O 11
longed-for child. Come, let me carry you. I'd pleasure you! So tarry
awhile, my precious pet, O longed-for child.
- 20 Blooming flowers have arrived. We'll see them, good babe, O little Ahui- 12
tzotl. Tarry *awhile*, *my precious pet*, O longed-for child.
- 22 I've painted myself with shields, with flowers, I, a Mexican girl, and in 13
blaze they smoke, these, my precious painted ones that our comrades
are craving.
- 25 They seem to be war flowers, these, my precious painted ones that *our* 14
comrades are craving.

C

- 26 tocoti tocoti tocotititi tocotititi tocotititi
27 I'm grieving and grieving, O treasure, my pet, O lady. What's to be done? 15
He, the noble one, also has met with death, he, my creation, Ahuizotl.
- 29 What ever befell my dear heart? He's no longer my pet. Never again will I 16
carry him off, him, my creation, Ahuizotl.

- 31 Tlaca a y nicutzti tinicuticatzti tlaca monahuatiy Ahuitzoto tla xōquiça aytzi
atohualla ohuiya.

folio 40v

- 1 A iz tleço hualaiç ca çan tlahueliloc ye ça mo niuctzin tla xōquiça aytzi
2 Cenca nelli cenca nelli xolotzi cenca ye nenelli in tincchcalaquiz Ahuitzoto
tlaca nelli motzi çan titlahueliloc cenca nell itzi yiao huiya.
4 A ymma nell itzi cenca ye nelli in tinechcalaquiz Ahuitzoto.
5 toquotico tocoti tocotocotocoto ticoticoticoti
ticotico ticoti toco toco tocoti.
7 Ayliliaoo cocomoca huehuetl tamoancha ye moliniya chimalli xochitl
oyohuallin cahuantihuitz oohuiya. y xochimilintoc moteponahuaz ye
miliniya chimalli xochitl.
10 Noconcac ð cuicatl ÿ ye nichpotzintli nicnomahmamaltiya niuctzi toconi-
tazque ahuitzoton çan tililili tililiy on ocueponico yxochiquahuil oohui-
ya y xochimecatl inalintihuitz quitotoma icuic ahuitzoto çan tililili
13 Nimitzilnamiqui noyecoltzini ÿ tlatohuani Ahuitzoton quēmach in otic-
chiuh ye noyollotzin ohuiya.
15 Y ça no iuhqui mocuicatzini ça no yuhqui ye motlatoltzin ahçoc niquilca-
huaz quenmach.
17 Titi toco tocoto titito titito.
18 Aya ilili ololotzi ololo nopil mamaltzi Ahuitzoto tla nimitzitoti ohualacic y
xochiconetzintlo ohuiya.
20 Can quetzalxiloxochitl ye oncuepontihuitz ohualacic xochiconetzintli con-
ahuiltitihuitz in neçahualpiltontli ylili ylili ahuyiao ohuiya.
22 Maçaçoc nican caltetzinco toyaya ca noyecoltzin telpotzintli Ahuitzoton
huiya.
23 Nimitznohuiquiliz totecatihui in tocochiyā xochiatlapā tamohuacha ÿ
tinenemi xolotzin yia oohuiya.
25 Ninihuilo aytzi tinocnihtzi huiya quē nechyttaz aytzin noyecoltzi ÿ neça-
hualpiltontli xochimecatl ÿ momamalintoc ÿ nonehcuiloltzin oohuiya
27 O anca izquixochitl in momalintoc y ie nomatzi ye nichpotzintli yca nicna-
huatequizi noyecoltzi ÿ neçahualpiltontli yaohuiya.

Song 57, Folios 40-40v

- 31 Ah, let him not be my pet! You, *only you*, are my pet! May little Ahuitzotl 17
 not be summoned! Do issue forth, O treasure. *But ah*, you've not come.
 1 Behold what the scoundrel would do here! He's no darling to me. Do issue 18
 forth, O treasure. *But ah, you've not come.*
 2 Oh it's true, too true, fellow! Too true that you'll capture me, little Ahui- 19
 tzotl! Let it truly not be your beginning, you scoundrel. *And yet*, true
 enough, it is his beginning.
 4 Ah, the time has truly come for his beginning. Too true! You will capture 20
 me, little Ahuitzotl.

D

- 5 toquitico tocoti tocotocotocoto ticoticoticoti
 ticotico ticoti toco toco tocoti
 7 The drums of Tamoanchan are roaring. The shield flowers are stirring. 21
 The bells come ringing.
 Your log drums are stirring as flowers. Yes, these shield flowers are stir-
 ring. *The bells come ringing.*
 10 A mere girl am I, and I've heard a song. And I take it away: it's my pet. 22
 We'll be seeing *our* little Ahuitzotl. Tililili tilili i.
 The flower trees come blooming. The flower garlands come spinning:
 little Ahuitzotl loosens his songs. Tililili *tilili i.*
 13 O my creation, O king, O little Ahuitzotl, I recall you. Whatever befell 23
 you, dear heart?
 15 As *whatever befell you—your deeds—*become your songs, become your 24
 words, can I *ever* forget them? *Whatever befell you, dear heart?*

E

- 17 titi toco tocoto titito titito
 18 O dear little jewel oolooloo, my prince, O dear little package, O little 25
 Ahuitzotl, please let me dance with you. The dear little flower babe has
 arrived!
 20 Oh yes, the plumelike cornsilk flowers come bursting. The dear little 26
 flower babe has arrived, and these come giving him pleasure, him, my
 little longed-for child.
 22 Oh let it be here, that abode you've gone to, O creation of mine, O young 27
 man, O little Ahuitzotl.
 23 I'll carry you along. We'll make our bed in flower land. In Tamoanchan we 28
 go walking, dear fellow.
 25 I've painted myself, O treasure, O friend. And what will he think of me, 29
 he, this treasure, my dear creation, this longed-for child. *Ah yes*, these
 flower garlands are whirled, and these are my painted ones.
 27 Are popcorn flowers whirled [or wrapped around]? *If so*, with these, my 30
 girlish arms [or warriors], I'll embrace [or crush] my dear creation, *my*
 longed-for child.

- 1 Nican ompehua Tequihquixtilzcuicatl ypan
 tlacueptli teotlatolli ye oquiz ihuitzin
 San Philipe yquac yn oahcico spaña
 ytetlauhtiltzin Su mag' in tlahuiztli
 quimomaquila altepetl Azcapotzalco
 Tepanecapā ypan xixitl 1564 yehuatl oquitecpan
 .d. fran.^o Placido gouer^{or} xiquipilco. auh
 y xihuitl ypan omeuh 1565. yquac Gouer^{or}
 Yn azcapotzalco .d. Ant^o Valeriano.
- 9 Tico tico tico tico tocotico tocotico
 tocotoco tocoticoto
- 10 Ma xiqualyancaqui oo y nonohualcatl on tepanecatl yehuaya yācuic xihuitl
 cueponiya ypan nicmati ye noyol nicuicanitl y ichuaya niqechuaz oo-
 huaye yn ica tzintic in ilh.¹ yn ica manaloc in tl̄c̄c̄ yio ohuiya.
- 14 Yn manoçocucl ma huallacaquicā y nonohualco tonahuac onoque nique-
 huaz oo ohuaye.
- 16 Yn çan ca ye oncā y xochitlalliya ypanaya ye quiyocoya o in icelteotl tot.^o
 yiehuaya omētīn tlacaxinachtī ye chihualoque oohuiya
- 18 Çan ca yeehuan o oohuaye in Adam, in Eua, tlapixoque ye cemanahuac
 yio ohuiya
- 20 Tell anellin toca mani tlalli niqualihtoa quēmaniya yiao oohuiya tleic
 onaxque in tla'tlacoque in Adan in Eua, in palayso y xochitlalpā ca huel
 motelchiuhque huel intlatlacol in cococ ycaya tiyanemi tl̄c̄c̄. tel a'nelli
 huel timaliuhtih oohuiya.
- 24 Çan yeihcayan choca quēmaniya in padreme in quitohuaya ca huel motel-
 chihue in Adam in Eua huel intlatlacol onelli yehuā quixinique yn
 inahuatil in ihiyotzin tot.^o ohuiya.
- 27 Tlein conmottiliquec quilmach quincenhuilizque y cemicac chane yn
 icelteotl totecuiyo o yio yioo amopinahuiz a oohuiya
- 29 Tocoticoto coti. ye ontlātiuh tocoto toti cotico
 [copyist's numeral:] 30
- 30 Ye quitohuaya in dios quiyocoya yechuaya yacatto yehuatl in tlanextli ya
 ynic omilhuaitl ye quichih yn ilhuicatlo ohuiya.

- 1 Ye eilhuaitl ye cayachihua in hucy Atl yhuā in tlalli auh ye nahuilhuaitl ye
 quimanan tonatiuh oo yhuan metztli yhuan ixquich y citlali oohuiya

LVIII Here begins a bringing-out song, in which
the holy word is translated. Thus was
celebrated the feast of San Felipe, when
His Majesty's gift arrived from Spain—the
coat of arms that he presented to the city
of Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan in the year 1564.
The one who composed it was Don Francisco
Plácido, gobernador of Xiquipilco, and the year
in which it was sung was 1565. At that time
the gobernador of Azcapotzalco was
Don Antonio Valeriano.

A

9 tico tico tico tico tocotico tocotico
tocotoco tocotico

10 O Nonoalcan, O Tepanec, come hear this heart of mine! I, the singer, treat 1
it as a new herb blooming, lifting that which starts in heaven and is
spread on earth.

14 Come! Let our Nonoalcan comrades listen! I'll be lifting that *which starts in* 2
heaven and is spread on earth.

16 Our lord, the Only Spirit, creates them there in flower land. Ah, the two 3
progenitors were made!

18 And these were the ones—Adam and Eve—who sowed the world. 4

20 But time and again I say isn't it true that the earth endures because of us? 5
Why did Adam and Eve commit sin in paradise, in flower land? Truly
they were wretched, truly they are sinners. Through this misery we're
alive on earth. And yet for certain this is not going to be praised.

24 Just for this, the padres sometimes weep, saying, "Adam and Eve were 6
truly wretched, truly they are sinners. Truly they're the ones who broke
the order and the utterance of our lord."

27 What did they see? It was falsely said that they were to be as the Everlast- 7
ing, the Only Spirit, our lord. *But* he was not to be shamed.

B

29 Tocoticoto coti. When it ends: tocoto toti cotico.

30 God says it, and he creates it: first was the light. And on the second day he 8
made the sky.

1 The third day he makes the ocean and also the land. And the fourth day he 9
establishes the sun. Oh, and the moon and all the stars.

- 4 Macuilihuitl ye ipanohuaye ochihualoque ȳ atlan chanequi niman yeehuan
o nepapan tototl patlantinemī yiao ohuiya.
- 6 Ye chiquacemiluhuitl ye quimochihuilī tot^o, in mamaca yn ixquich yollin
tl̄ḡc. yhuā yquac ye quiyocox yn achto tlacatl huixa ma yhui huel topa-
tillo huel tixiptla mochihuaz aya yehuatl tlatoz in tl̄ḡc yio Et
- 9 Ça ycemaxca ycentlatqui mochihuaz o ye nica in notlachihual yn ixqich
onoqui in tl̄ḡc yio ohuiya.
- 11 Totico toticoto.
- 12 A yn iquaco in oquiyocox tios aayyahue yn attopa tlaca nimā quimoteochi-
huilī quinmolhuiliaya ma ximozcalticanaya ximotlapihuicana ayiahue
mochi ca xinēcā in tl̄ḡc. yio ohuiya.
- 15 Yn iz catqui ca onamechmacac nepapan in quahuitl aayyahue in motlaaqui-
lotiya.a cef̄tic. onoqui nepapan celiztoc y xihuitl ye nicaanaya mochi ca
xincmican
- 18 Cenca çan cuel achic huiya yn oquitlancuhque in ipetl in icpal ycelteotl
dios niman ye moçoma in tlahtohuani yeehuaya cenca çan ye quitohuaya
Adane Adane cenca huel xicaqui yehua mitonal ycaya in ticnextiz in
motlaqual tl̄ḡc. yio ohuiya
- 22 Yhuan ye mittoay yn ica ye quixnahuatiya yehua in iquī ȳ niqittoz in nic-
nequiz aya tlamiz ye nican moncmiliz aya canel titlalli yehuaya ocepta
titlaltiz yio ohuiya.
- 25 Tico tico tico. tocotico tocotico tocotoco tocotico.
- 26 Yn ye cemani yehuaya in mopixohua in tl̄ḡc tlaca çan no iuhqui tlapihui-
que nepapano o yn tlatlacollī yehuaya yeica y ca oppa omoqualanalti in
dios ocapacho ye cemanahuatl yio ohuiya
- 29 Yn çan chicuey tlacatl yn omocauhque yn ipilhuā Noe ye no yehuano yn
tlacaxinachoque huel mahuitzico cuix moçomaznequin totecuiyo çan
pepehualtilo ohuiya.

folio 42

- 1 An otlamito matlactzonxihuitl omey yeehuaya oycnotlama yn dios ca
oquihualmihuali yn itlaçopiltzin yn temaquixtiani yao Et
- 3 Yn ca ytechpa yehuaya oquimocuilitzinoco yn itlaçonacayotzi Santa Maria
otechmomaquixtilico ynicaya ytlaçomiquilitzin yhuā otechmomaquili y
cemicac nemiliztli ohuiya
- 6 tocotico tocotico.
- 7 Yn ma totlamachtica ma tipahpaquica teteucti tepilhua xicaquicani tlahuiz-
calli moquetzaco çan can ye iquac ohualmoquixti in huel nelli tonatiuh o
y Jesu x^o topan quicenmanaco yn itlanexiloya xapotli moquetz ilhui-
catlytic yio ohuiya.
- 11 Yquac tocnihuan mochihuhque ho Angeloti in tl̄ḡc titlaca oo ye ica hamo
çannen ahtopa quittac in tepetlaacaltitla in maria magdalena yiao ohuiya.

Song 58, Folios 41v-42

- 4 On the fifth day the water creatures were made, then all the birds that fly 10
along.
- 6 The sixth day our lord made the wild beasts and all the living things on 11
earth, and at that time he created the first man. "Ah, let it be thus. Our
very likeness, Our very image shall be made. This is the one that will
rule the earth.
- 9 "My creation, all that lies on earth, will be his property and his dominion." 12

C

- 11 totico toticoto
- 12 When God had created the first people, then he blessed them. He says, "In- 13
crease, multiply! Dwell in all the earth!
- 15 "Behold, for I have given you every fruitful tree that exists in this world 14
and every green herb that is here. Dwell in all *the earth!*"
- 18 For the briefest of moments did they assume the mat and throne of God 15
the Only Spirit. And then the lord frowns and says, "Adam! O Adam,
mark this well. You will get your food on earth with sweat."
- 22 And it is said that he expelled them. "When I say it and require it, then 16
your life will finish here, for truly you are earth, and again you shall be
earth."

D

- 25 tico tico tico tocotico tocotico tocotoco tocotico
- 26 As people on earth were scattered and sown, they multiplied. And many 17
were the sins. Because of these, indeed a second time God grew angry.
He flooded the world.
- 29 The mere eight people who were left, the children of Noah, were the ones 18
who reproduced. Truly they found favor. *But* does our lord have a mind
to frown? Indeed he is provoked!
- 1 *But* ah! Four thousand and three years went by, and God was compassion- 19
ate: he sent his precious son, the savior.
- 3 Through Santa María he came to take his precious incarnation. Through 20
his precious death he came to save us, and he gave us everlasting life.

E

- 6 tocotico tocotico
- 7 Lords and princes, rejoice, be glad. Hear this: dawn appeared and the true 21
sun came out. It was Jesucristo, who came and laid his radiance upon us.
A blaze of light appeared from heaven.
- 11 At that time angels befriended us men on earth. And so it was not without 22
cause that María Magdalena was the first to see him at the sepulcher.

- 14 Quēmach vel tehuatl tonmotlamachti cihuapille Magdalena tot.^o achpa
mitznotz nelli Dios nelli oquichtli Jesu x.^o çan ca ye onca yn tepetlacalli
onoca Alleluya ohuiya.
- 17 Yn oquicacque Apostolome omozcalitzino cenca ma'comāque hualehua-
que San Petolo San Xihuan yn oncan tepetlacalco y xochitla ic yiollo
pachiuh cenca
- 20 totico toticoto.
- 21 Ompoalilhuitl ontlanō ye quimonahuatiliya in Apostolome in tot.^o yeehua-
ya in nohuian cemanahuac caquiztiz in Euangelio niman ye motlecahuio
yn ilh^hytic yio ohuiya
- 24 A yn iquac ȳ ye cēmani in nohuian in Apostolome ayiahuc in Sant Pilipe y
ompa ye ihualoya ytocayocan Asia, ompa coloztitech momiquili çan
ipampa yehua yn itlatoltzin in dios yia ohuiya
- 27 In ma cucl achic mocchualotitla nica huiya ma onneyacalhuilo ȳ San Pilipe
y in tazcapotzalca çan motlahuiztica yxtonatimani yeehuaya ȳ mauh in
motepeuh ȳ motlahuacpanao ohuiya.
- 30 Yn totepantlatocauh ypā timochiuhitica yn ixpā in Dios ypalnemoani cuix
oc nelli achica ye nican timitztlanchuizque yichuaya ma xiquialicnomati
o in mauh in motepeuh ȳ tlalhuacpanao ohuiya.

folio 42v

- 1 Cihuacuicatl ytechpa ynezcalilitzî tt.^o
quitlali .d. Baltasar Toquezquauhyo colhuacan
tlatohuani quitlauhti y nican Azcapotzalco
Tepanecapa tlatohuani .d. Diego de leon
tocnotlatemol ypā xihuitl 1536. años.
- 5 Ticoticoticotico tocotico tocotico tocotocotocotico.
- 6 Ye ompohualli ye anchicueytica neçahualo tlatemachilo ye ò tlaocoyalotoc
nentlamachotoc ye ixquichan motlachihualhuā ye cemanahuaco ohuiya.
- 8 Cuelcā cuelcā tihuian annicutzitzihuā ichpopotzitzinti ma ticayattati yn
omonomaizcali oyamoquetz ye oyayol Jesu christo ohuiya
- 10 Maquizcoyolcahuātihuitz in mocuicatzin in tt.^o ma tocōchuacā ma yca yca
pahpaquī toyolia in moquiappan .S. fran.^o ma onpahpaquihua ayc ota-
cico y huey pacaca ohuiya.
- 12 On quetzaltocxilotl cuecuepontihuitz on tozmiahua o xexelihui ma tocon-
quaca ma ica .Et.

- 14 How glad you were, Lady Magdalena, that our lord, the true God, the 23
true man, Jesucristo, spoke first to you where the sepulcher was! Alle-
luia.
- 17 When the apostles San Pedro and San Juan heard that he was revived, they 24
were very excited and came running to the sepulcher in the garden. Be-
cause of it their hearts were very glad.

F

- 20 totico toticoto
- 21 Forty days passed, and our lord gave orders to the apostles that in all the 25
world the gospel would resound. Then he ascended to the sky.
- 24 As the apostles scatter all over, San Felipe is sent to a place called Asia. 26
There on a cross he died for God's word.
- 27 Let it be within your shadow here, if only briefly. Let there be shelter, O 27
San Felipe, for us who are Azcapotzalcans. On account of your coat of
arms, your city, your Dry Lands, is all aglow.
- 30 You're our intercessor in the presence of God Life Giver. Can we borrow 28
you for a moment? Come have compassion for your city, this Dry
Lands.

1 LIX Female song, concerning the resurrection
of our lord, composed by Don Baltasar
Toquezcuauihyo, tlatoani of Colhuacan, who
in the year 1536 gave succor to our poor
sought one, Don Diego de León, who was
tlatoani here in Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan.

A

- 5 ticoticoticotico tocotico tocotico tocotocotocotico
- 6 For forty-eight *days* there's fasting, there's rationing. All Your creatures 1
throughout the world are sad and afflicted.
- 8 It's time! It's time! Let's go, sisters! Girls, let's go find Jesucristo, who re- 2
vived, rose up, and came to life.
- 10 Lord, your songs come ringing as bracelet bells. Let's lift them up! Let 3
them stand! Let our souls rejoice in these—in your place of rain, O San
Francisco. Rejoice. Easter has come.
- 12 Plumelike parrot milk corn comes blossoming. Parrot corn tassels are par- 4
celed out. Let's eat them. Let *our souls rejoice* in these—in *your place of*
rain, O San Francisco. Rejoice. Easter has come.

- 14 Tocoto tocoto tocoto tocoto ynepantla onahci in cuicatl
niman ye ontlami tiquti ticoto tiquti tocoto.
- 16 Ma tōhuian nicuhuan oyamoquetz mozcali ipiltzino çan yehuā dios y
maoya notzalo ye ompohualo çan tictochielia oyecoc nicā yia oohuiya.
- 18 Ça im momecahuehucuh ma ontzotzonalo ya ma icao ma tictochialicā
oye'coc Et
- 19 Maoc achtopa yehuatzī ma tictlatlauhtica in ichpochtli Cihuapillī ye to-
nātzin S.^o M.^o aço achitzi ye topampa coyatlatlauhtiz in tlatlacohuani
[marginal gloss:] i[n tlatlacohuani]me
in tt.^o Dios yio ayio Çan totepantlatocauh ye nello huel yehuatzī qui-
yolcehuia yn iconetzi Sancta Maria.
- 23 Tocotico tocoti tocotoco tocoto ticotico ticoti
ticotico ticoti, tocotoco tocoti
- 25 Yn ye huey pascua techmaquixti omozcali tot.^o ma ompapacoa titlachi-
hualhuā y teocuitlatlica y antlachinolquatechone'que noconetzi axcampa
qualcan a ma tictotlatlauhtilica oohuiya.
- 28 Yn ma ixquich tlacatl ma quimolnamiquili inic topampa tonehualoc y Jesu
x.^o in anquetzalne'cuicle'que noconetzi axcampa cualca .Et.
- 30 Yn axcan niquttoa niton palacisco nocihuapotzitzinhuā oo o ço niqutta in
dios tetatziny in quimochihuili ye cemanahuatl ohuiya.
- 32 Yn onel yaque ye tonanhuan an topi'tzitzinhuā oo açococan oquimot-
tilitiaq yn imac ticatc in dios tetatzin Et.

folio 43

- 1 Tocoti tocoti tocotititi y tocotititi tototititi
tocotititi ye òtlantih.
- 2 Ma ompohualo nican ma ya nequetzalo yaye otacico i pascuaya oya ye'coc
y teotl temaquixti tl̄çc. nica ye nello huiya.
- 4 Tlatlapalcacamaxochitl tozcuicuiltzetzelihui moxochiotzin topā onpixahui
ma yca yca Ma ncyahpanalo āniuctzitzīhuā tl̄çc nica cecentlamātihua.
- 6 Toznenexochiçaquanpapalocihuatl don palacisco iz ca moxochitzi ma
xōmitotiya oncuiica cuicantla'tla'machmoyahuac moxochiacuetzin ye
nohuipiltzi ye ipanaya xiquimonitoti ye mopilahuiltlhuā ichpopotzi-
tzinti cuix mochipa ye nica ca çan totlancuhcon tl̄çc. nica cecentlaman-
tihua yiohuiya.
- 10 Tla xicaquican y ānicutzitzinhuā in moztla huiptla techontlatiz yn icelctotl
toyazq̄ can ompa ximohua tichpopotzitzinti maniz in cuicatl o ic onne-
totiloç in xochitl o tl̄çc nican Et.

Song 59, Folios 42v-43

B

- 14 Tocoto tocoto tocoto tocoto. Comes the middle of the song,
then it finishes: tiquiti ticoti tiquiti tocoto.
- 16 Sisters, let's go! God's son has arisen: he's revived. Let him be called and be 5
counted. We're gazing upon him. He's arrived!
- 18 Strum your harp. Let him arise. Let's gaze upon him. He's arrived. 6
- 19 But the maiden, the lady, our mother, Santa María—let her be the first, 7
let's pray to her. Perhaps she'll pray a little to our lord God on behalf of
us sinners.
- Our intercessor is the one who really placates that babe of hers. O Santa
María!

C

- 23 tocotico tocoti tocotoco tocoto ticotico ticoti
ticotico ticoti tocotoco tocoti
- 25 On Easter our lord saved us: he was resurrected. Let us all, all his crea- 8
tures, be glad. O you golden dwellers among blaze heads! O babe of
mine! It's a good time now. Let's pray to Him.
- 28 Let every man recall Him. For you arose on our behalf, O Jesucristo. O 9
plumes, O honeyed souls! O babe of mine! It's a good time now. *Let's
pray to Him.*
- 30 "Fellow women, I'm Don Francisco, and now I say I surely see God the 10
father, who made the world."
- 32 Our mothers and sisters, who've truly gone, have gone to see Him in the 11
place unsmirched. "We're in the hands of God the father, *who made the
world.*"

D

- 1 Tocoti tocoti tocotititi. And it's tocotititi
tocotititi tocotititi when it ends.
- 2 Strike it up, here! Let something appear! Easter's arrived. The spirit, the 12
savior, has come to earth.
- 4 Varicolored baby-maize-ear flowers scatter down as painted parrots. Your 13
flowers, strewn upon us! Let them arise. Let all be adorned with these,
sisters. There's a strewing here on earth.
- 6 O parrot-flower-and-troupial-butterfly woman! O Don Francisco, here 14
are your flowers. Dance! And these are singing. They're dispersed as
musical brocades, and they're your flower skirt, my blouse. Now dance
with these, your pleased children, these girls. Forever here? We're
only borrowed. There's a strewing here on earth.
- 10 Hear it, sisters. One of these days the Only Spirit will put us away. We 15
girls must go where all are shorn. *Yet* songs will endure, and with these
there'll be dancing, these flowers here on earth.

- 13 titicoto tocoto tocoto titicoto titicoto ye òtlàtiuh.
- 14 Yn ānocihuapo'huan ye tonquetzalycemaamātihui o ye nican tichpopotzi-
tzinti tocoyecozechamecaihcuixtihui o ye tocuic ye iquiappā dios tot'ztzin
aytzin ohuiya.
- 16 Aytzin icutzin Nocihuapotzi tozpatatzi titlatlapalxochitla nimitzonmama
nopilahuiltitzi tocnolatemol don tiegotoni tla nimitzitoti iz ca moxochit-
zintzin yhuāan mocuictzi tla nimitzonehuili ololotzi aytzin .Et.
- 19 Tlein ticuicaelcicihuilia tixochiyooocoya tocnolatemol ma oyaq̄ o y mo-
piltzitzihūā in tlelepanquetzatzi ilhuicaminatzi oye ticmahuiçohuay iz ca
moxochitzi yhuāan mocuictzi tla nimitzonehuili Et
- 22 Yn on tzinitzcā tonpilihuiā o ceceliztiuh toyollotzin toyolia yca teotlatolli
tocoyecozechamecaihcuixtihui Et.

24

Michcuicatl.

25

Yn iquac omotlali yn oiuh tompehualoque
yntlanepāhuil Mexica yhuāan tlatilolca.

27

Ynyc oya xamoquetzacaa in ye ompoaltonal ca yic onncçahualoya, an-
teocuitlanepapamichime anqui nelli ye axcā moquetza mozcalio Jesu
Chřo. yn ipaltinemi ŷ ahua nomatzi yn a O anqui çā nelilya ye'coc yn
ilhuicaquin ŷmayauhampa motlalito ytatzin in dios. ahua nomatzin
yn a.

folio 43v

- 1 Quen huel ximimatiya titeocuitlamichini titotoliniya y ic atle tocuic a yn
atlitec a anayahue toconelchuiya in quetzalacatzanatl ontlaçocoyolcahua-
niya ye concuicatiya ycelteotl yn ahua nomatzin yn a. Çan yeic nichoca
cā mach tomacchual ŷ nixalmitzin tixohuiltzini ye toca ilhuitlaya ŷ
obispoya tel ahyeican titlachihualhuan in dios a yn ahua nomatzin yn a.
- 6 Nelcicihuuiya an a tolocatzi huiya ŷ nachcahue axolohua yechuaya tiquim-
elehuia a in tocnihuā Axayacatzin quatecomatzin a yhcahuacatimani
yectli ya incuic çā nqui monanquilia a chilacachtì pania a y xochcatzi
yn a.
- 9 Ototlahueliltic can tinocniuhtzin tatetepitz yn atopinantzi huiya cā ticyol-
itlacoque y yehuā Dios y ye ahtiqualonì quenmach amique atoznene ya
yn acociltzi chalchihuahquilitli a ypā huilohuaticaqū a ylhuicatliteca
an a

E

- 13 Titicoto tocoto tocoto titicoto titicoto when it ends.
- 14 My fellow women! Here we go spreading those good and plumelike hands. 16
 We girls go jewel-garland-whirling these songs in our lord God's place
 of rain. O treasure!
- 16 Treasure! Sister! Fellow woman! O parrot locks, you multicolored flower! 17
 I carry you, my pleased child. O poor one, our sought one, O little
 Don Diego! I'd have you dance! Here are your flowers and your songs.
 Let me lift them for you, O precious jewel, O treasure!
- 19 For what are we song-sighing? Well, with flowers we're creating our poor 18
 one, our sought one. Though your elder sisters went away, yet you're
 beholding Tetztepanquetzanitzin, Ilhuicaminatzin! Here they are, your
 flowers and your songs! Let me lift them for you, O precious jewel, O
 treasure!
- 22 O trogon, you're becoming a child. Our hearts, our souls, go greening. 19
 With holy words we go jewel-garland-whirling *our songs*.

LX Fish song

- 24 It was composed when we were conquered. It's
 25 an allegory of the Mexicans and the Tlatelolcans.

A

- 27 Rise, O all you golden fishes! For forty days there's been a fast. Today it 1
 seems that Jesucristo Ipaltinemi is risen up, is resurrected. Hail, nephew!
 It seems he's really arrived—he who went to sit on the right hand of his
 father, God. Hail, nephew!
- 1 By all means be careful, you golden fish! We're poor, we have no songs in 2
 the water here, and we crave the reed-thrush plume who sings like a
 precious bell, who sings for the Only Spirit. Hail, nephew!
 And so I weep. What have we done to deserve this, we sandfish, we mud-
 fish? The bishop celebrates a feast at our expense. Yet don't we become
 God's creatures that way? Hail, nephew!
- 6 I sigh, dear cob. O elder brother, O Axolohua, we crave our comrades— 3
 even Axayacatl the boat bug—who shrill, whose songs are good. It
 seems that he reverberates, a chili-red locust on high, he, the green
 frog. Ah!
- 9 Woe to us, friend water beetle, dear water bug! We've offended God: we're 4
 not good to eat. Lucky the parrot fish, the little shrimp, and the jade
 amaranth! They're all in heaven.

- 13 Çan tichichimecamitzintin aayyahue titotolinia techatzatzaqua ÿ tonahuaconoque a y mexico y canelpa tonyazque ÿ çan ca ye nicã ÿ tipopolihuizque an a.
- 15 Ma xamelaquahuacã ÿ coyonacazco ohuiloac a in tepilhuã on tlahquecholmichini yn oquitzti quauhxo huili a in tlacotzi a ocelomichini ÿ Motelchihuhtzin yn cuix quitehuatzazque ÿ cuix inca ilhuitlazi y yehuã dios yn coyohuaca an a.
- 19 Yn huitzitzili michini teocuitlaamox çan i matlatitec timahuilia oncã ticpolohua in motlayocol ohuioha.
- 21 Yn huel pahpaqui y ellelquiça xiquittaca teocuitlaamox çan i matlatitech timahuilia.
- 23 Acalla moçoma ypalnemoani in quetzalxomomichini matlac in ye quiçay in temilotzini ÿ oonanoc tlapalxohuili ÿ ton helnanto yn don Petolo in ye nelli huey pochotl ytech teçohuaque acacueptilani acõ ah calaquiz ca timitzitzinti ohuioha
- 27 Çan tlatatecatl titemilotzini tiquiyanotza mocnihua tiquelnamiqúi yeic malintoc cococ ycaya mochoquiz aya yn oonanoc tlapalxohuili.
- 29 Yn xihuecholi michini on tzinitzcan pepetlacinemi teocuitlatl a chalchihuatl yn ye itecaya in quetzalacpatl cuecueyahuatoc ytlán tonquiquitzinemi ahua totatzinc obispoye.

folio 44

- 1 ÿ michçaquantzín xalmützitzintín ampapactoque xihuhacanelhuatl ye ytlán-aya in quetzalacpatl y in cuecueyahuatoc.
- 3 ÿ titlapaltecuicitzini quetzallian atzalan ticnocahualoc tiSan Joan otiya
[superscript gloss:] [o]niya
 ilhuicatlytec ye Jerusalem
[superscript gloss:] gloria
 ticmatiya yã cuix nicã tocha obispoya ÿ pahpacohua ma yahuiltilo ypalnemoa çan ca ye nicani yn teocuitlachacalini tlapalmichini otiya
[superscript gloss:] [o]niya
 ilhuicatlytec.
- 7 3
- 8 Nonpehuaya nocuicaya an a xochinquiayapani noconahuiltiay yehuayã dios ye xihuecholimichçaquantzintín cuecueyocatinemi ye chalchihuatitlani xonpaquica ahua tomachvane

Song 60, Folios 43v-44

- 13 We poor little Chichimec fish are miserable. Our comrades surround us 5
here in these waters, this Mexico. Where can we go, we that are con-
quered here?
- 15 Take heart! All the princes are fleeing to Coyoacazco—the roseate-swan 6
fish Oquitzzin, the eagle mudfish Tlacotzin, the jaguar fish Motelchiuh.
Would they roast him? Would God in Coyohuacan have a feast at their
expense?

B

- 19 O hummingbird fish, O picture of gold! In the net alone are you plea- 7
sured. There you destroy your sadness.
- 21 Find the One who rejoices, who is entertained, O picture of gold! In the 8
net alone are you pleased. *There you destroy your sadness.*
- 23 Life Giver frowns in Acallan. The plume-duck fish Temilotzin slips out of 9
the net, and he who's been captured is crimson mudfish Don Hernando.
And Don Pedro! It's true. They're in a great ceiba! We've bloodied our-
selves on that reedy turf. And who shall enter? We little fishes!
- 27 O Commander Temilotzin, you summon your friends! As you recall them, 10
they're whirled *into life*. And this by dint of misery, *for* these are your
tears. And he who's been captured is crimson mudfish *Don Hernando*.
*And Don Pedro! It's true. They're in a great ceiba! We've bloodied ourselves on
that reedy turf. And who shall enter? We little fishes!*
- 29 The turquoise-swan fish, the trogon, runs shining through waters of gold, 11
through waters of jade. Water-weed plumes are whirling. And You pass
among them—hail, father, Bishop!
- 1 Dear darter and *you*, little sandfishes, you're rejoicing among the green 12
reed roots, the whirling water-weed plumes. *And You pass among them—
hail, father, Bishop!*
- 3 O crimson crab, O plume, amid the flood you've been abandoned, griev- 13
ing. O San Juan, you've gone to Jerusalem in the sky!
This you know, O Bishop: is your home, and is rejoicing, here? Let Life
Giver be pleased! Here! O golden crayfish, O fish of many colors,
you've gone to *Jerusalem* in the sky.

C

- 7
8 I strike up a song. I pleasure God in this place of flower rain, and turquoise- 14
swan darters run shining through jade waters. Rejoice! Hail, nephews!

- 11 Auh in nehuatl nicuicanitlaya quetzalacatica teocuitlacoyoltica niquimelel-
quixtia ticcahua ye xihquecholmiçaquãtzitzi cuecuyocatinemi
- 13 Amotlan nonquitzinemi nixiuhatlacuilotzi nachcahua teocuitlayãcapi-
tzalome çan titon Johuanno titapia cuix quẽmanian hualaz quetzalaxo-
que amechonchopiniquih xamelaquahuacã o anqui ya nella.
- 16 Ỹ ye ya ço nella niccahue ma ye ompa techhuicaya a ilhuicatlytec aya a y çã
no titlaçõpilhuã ca yehuayã dios o anqui ya nella.
- 18 Ỹ nicmahuiçõhuay nixalmitzin ỹ tehuã nechtenchuaya ypalncmoani tihuan
tontitotitinemiya ye xihucoyollatoa michini in ton Jihuan Santiagoya
yyanca yancaya.
- 21 Toconahuiltico ticayayehua yeetliya ỹcuic çan timimitzitzinti hanochipa ye
nican yianca yanca.
- 23 .4.
- 24 Ỹ çã tlalhuacpan ye techtephua ye timimichti ye timexica cueptitlano
yetla chocholihuin tacacueyame tlachinola xochiatl ye topan quimana
calli popoca conayachihua Santiago oyahueyao
- 27 Yn atoznene cencocopime onecuepaloc in tonahuac onoque ma ixquich o
ma yacpatitlan titocalaquicã ye tiMexica tlachinolla xochiatl ye topã.
- 29 Ỹ ye mamox ipan motlacuilol ye inepãtla mitzontlachialti ycelteotl ỹ tapia
ye Motelchih techocti tetlaocolti y nica ye yauh ỹ Mexicayotl tech-
mohmoyahua ye timimichtin Santiago cc'ceyaca huilohuaya yeha Ayyo
yahue

folio 44v

- ya Ahua nomache niccahue ỹ tapia tidon Joano aya ma xiuhtotocaya
ticayahucaca in tlatohuani ỹ cosmaya an a.
- 3 O an niquetzalmichini atliaytec niyanemi chalchihucaxochitlo ytlã on-
quitzinemi nicyatemoa ytlatoł ye ychuan dios a
- 5 Y huallayo hualmomana necuicatilon tzinitzcã yn acacueyame oncã tlatohua
quequexquia xochitla ymancanao.
- 7 Ỹ ye xihquecholaltetetzon ma ytlana a tontla'tlaocolcuicatiyacan oo ticno-
xoxochcame yn tapian ao.
- 9 Yn itlatoł ca ticchielia oo yn tot° ycelteotli yztac michime sabadotocaya in
tequitihua ayio.
- 11 .5.
- 12 Çan teocuitlapitzxochitica a mohuihuicomaya tocuic a yca onmitotiya ym
an i mimitzitzinti in quetzalatlacuilotzin ye xihuchopiltzina ỹ Mexico
xoncuicaya ahua nomatzine nocniuhtzine ya.
- 15 O anqui ye nicani quetzalmiyahuaxochitel xeliuhtimania in tlaçc aya a chal-

Song 60, Folios 44-44v

- 11 Now I, the singer, entertain them as plume reeds, as golden bells. They're 15
our younger brothers. And yes, these turquoise-swan darters run shin-
ing through jade waters. Rejoice! Hail, nephews!
- 13 "O elder brothers, I'm running with you, I, a turquoise-water-borne 16
whirled one!" Ah, new-minted golden ones! Don Juan! And you, Tápia!
Won't the plume heron come bite you someday? Take heart! It would
seem to be true.
- 16 It's surely true, younger brother! Let him carry us into the sky, for we too 17
are God's beloved children. Ah, it would seem to be true.
- 18 A poor little sandfish am I—and in company! I behold him! "He sings my 18
praise." We're dancing in Life Giver's company. Oh yes, the fish Don
Juan is warbling as a turquoise bell in Santiago.
- 21 "We've come to pleasure Him: we little fishes are lifting up His good 19
songs. It's not forever here!"

D

- 24 Over the dry land he scatters us fishes, us Mexicans, over the turf. Ah yes, 20
we reed frogs are hopping. A blaze, a flower flood! He spreads it upon
us, and houses are smoking. He does it! In Santiago!
- 27 The parrot fish and all the teosintes have returned. O comrades, let it be 21
done with! Let us Mexicans be plunged in water-weed. A blaze, a flower
flood! He spreads it upon us, and houses are smoking. He does it! In Santiago!
- 29 O Tápia Motelchiuh, the Only Spirit has caused you to see things in this 22
picture place of yours, amid your paintings. And he causes weeping,
causes sadness here: the Mexican nation is passing away. He scatters us
fishes in Santiago, each and every one, and all are passing away.
Hail, nephew, O younger brother, Tápia, and you, Don Juan! Let's carry
him down, a cotinga, him, the tlatoani Guzmán! Ah!
- 3 I'm a plume fish, running through the waters, passing among jade reed 23
flowers, seeking the songs of God.
- 5 And trogons are coming, appearing: they all have music. There! Where 24
flowers lie, the reed frogs itch: they sing.
- 7 Let us poor green frogs go sadly singing among these turquoise-swan 25
rushes. O Tápia!
- 9 With these, his songs, we wait upon our lord, the Only Spirit. O white- 26
fishes! On Saturdays there's a tribute!

E

- 12 Our songs are twirling as new-minted golden flowers. And ah! the little 27
fishes are dancing with these. O plume-water whirler, O turquoise
cricket, sing in Mexico! Hail, nephew, comrade!
- 15 It seems that corn-blossom plumes are strewn on earth: you flower as 28

chihayoxochiquilteuh toncucuepontimaniya ytech tontla'tlachichina xiuhtomiyolpipiyoltzine.

- 18 Çan niqitohuaya nichalchiuhatopinâtzin campa tiazque in moztla huiptla tlanel tolmatlatitlan ticalaquicâ ye yaçomo nocniuhztine y ma timella-quahuacâ yiahue.
- 21 Can noconilnamiqui yehuaya ça ihqui nacociltzin yca niqiz ye yaçp-atitlani ye ic nonaci ye colihuacana a niMexicamichini ye yaçomo noc-niuhztine ya ma timelaquahuaca.
- 24 Y xihualquiça timitzitzinti tla timochin tōtihtoticani ye iquiyapa yehuayan dīos ye ixpanaya tōquiçatihui obispon teuctli yancayio.
- 26 Ÿ tla mochi tlacatl oncucaya timitzitzinti otiquetzque ye tohuchuetzi xonmittoti pala petolotzi que ye mitzitaz ye totatzi obispō teuctli.

28 .6.

- 29 A ilh⁴ a ytec ye hualmotzatzilia ayoquâ michini atetetzōatlahcatl ahua conetle a ypan ye tlapan atliyaitec chalchiuhacalliya Ÿ tepiltzin ce tochtli cozcamichi onnecuepaloc Ÿ quine nopiltzi nomache.

folio 45

- 1 Xonicnotlamati noyol huiya y nidon Joano ça ye nahuelitoc huiya çâ niqitaya hualatoc atl quiya tlacaço teuctliya yehua çâ ca motelchiuh y ye nelli huel yectli michin atexcall ipa huel coyanotzaya Santa Maria in quine nopiltze nomache.
- 5 Ça niqalittoa yehuaya ye niqetzalxiuhçayolini tocōceçētlamitoç toyol-loya a toconceçētlamitoque tlacoyotl tequiyotl tamlome ohualla in itztec y ye cecec o cuel achic onnetotonilotoca timexicacueyame cēmanca ye nelli yahue y mach oc techalmati tachcahua ye omotecato quenon-amicani yn axayacatzi Ÿ teuctli yehua ohualla yn itztec y ye cecec.
- 10 O anca nicanhance acatitlan tonoque m̄a titotlatiçâ ye no cepa huitze amoxtli Ÿ cue çâ nohuiya tlaxixiltihuitze cānelpa toyazque Ÿ ncpapan atlan tonoque yyancayome ho ahua yyahue ma xincchyayttacâ y natepocatzin mayaoc nicaan onehuatoya nictlanquiquizcuicatia ahua teuctzītle Jesu xp̄on i yn ipalnemohuaya yxquich tiyanemi hue.
- 15 Ÿ çoquititlan ye nōtlaca'toqui naxolotl yecoya totoma Ÿcuicaxochimecauh acociltzin ahuihuitlatzin nechoquililo ma necuicatiloya y yācayome.
- 17 Çâ ninotoliniya y ça nichocay Naxolotl huiya Ÿ ma yonahuiaca man i tehuâ Ÿ ma ya ynpal natli yecoya totoma Ÿcuicaxochimecahui acociltzi.

19 .7.

- 20 A Ÿ quiahua y yahue ye chalchiuhatl ymanca tiquetzalmichini timoyehyec-

Song 60, Folios 44v-45

- 18 squash-blossom jades, and within them you sip, O turquoise pollen bee. 29
 I, a little jade marsh crab, say, "Where shall we go—tomorrow, the next
 day? Let us be trapped in the bulrush net! Not so, my friend? Let us be
 cheered!"
 21 Indeed I recall him. It's quite as though I were a precious shrimp, come out 30
 among water-weed, reaching the forebears, I, a Mexican fish. Not so,
 my friend? Let us be cheered!
 24 Ah! Come forth! Let's all dance—all us fishes—in this, God's place of rain! 31
 We're off to be born in the Bishop Lord's presence.
 26 Let every man sing. We fishes have stood up our drums. Dance, Fray 32
 Pedro! What would our father, the Bishop Lord, think of you now?

F

- 28
 29 Ah, the sky! Ah, from within it the fish Ayocuan, dweller at Gorge of the 33
 Rushes, shouts forth. Hail, babe! And he's hatched in the waters, the
 house of jade waters, a prince, One Rabbit! And all the jewel fish have
 returned. Unwanted child! O nephew!
 1 "Grieve, my hearts! Don Juan am I—I'm Ahuelitoc! I see him, he comes, 34
 he drinks. It's Lord Motelchiuh, truly a very good fish." Indeed, at Cliff
 of the Waters he calls upon Santa María. Unwanted child! O nephew!
 5 A turquoise fly-plume am I, and I'm saying it here, *here on earth*: "O 35
 hearts, we're ending it. Ah, we dace are ending this slavery and toll.
 Comes the cold, the ice. Ah, brief is the warmth.
 We Mexican frogs have been scattered. Truly, alas. Do our elder brothers
 greet us, even the lord Axayacatl, who went to lie down in the Place
 Unknown? Comes the cold, the ice. *Ah, brief is the warmth.*
 10 Do we lie among reeds, O younger brothers? *Then* let us be put away! 36
 Once again come the pictures. Woe! They come stabbing from every
 side. Where can we go, we that lie crammed in the water? Alas.
 Look at me! A mere tadpole am I, but let Him arise here *among us*, for I
 have a whistling song for Him! Hail, O precious lord, O Jesucristo Life
 Giver! We're all alive, ah!
 15 By this I am born, *I become a man*, I, a mud puppy, *here* in the slime. They 37
 arrive, they're set free! They're the wept-for song garlands of Shrimp
 and Marsh Worm. Let there be music!
 17 Poor and I weep, I, a mud puppy. Let them be pleased in this company! 38
 Let me drink, and through them! They arrive, they're set free! They're
 the *wept-for* song garlands of Shrimp and Marsh Worm. *Let there be music!*

G

- 19
 20 O Rain Master, ah, where the jade water lies, O Plume Fish, here in Mex- 39
 ico you're beautified in multiples. Be pleased, O younger brothers.
 And look at me!

- tiya oo a in Mex^{co} nica xahuiyaca ticcahua xinechaytaca an a O anqui
 hucl tehuatl nimitzonmahuiçohua timoteocuitlaahuachtzetzelohua aya y
 cemanahuacui tlaocoya noyollo xahuiyaca ticcahua xinechaytaca an a.
 24 Teocuitlapalotlacuilolmichini tontlachichinaya ye coçametl ytequiya
 cuix oceppa yhuin cuicatl aya m̄a timitzonpiquica m̄a timitzehuacā aya
 ma moca tontellaquahuaca.
 27 Xiuhquecholmichini teocuitlatzitzicuicatinemi quetzalatlytec aya San pala-
 cisco teuctli ticosmaya.
 29 A yquac domingo ychuaa oncā yancuican çan quiyacaqui motlatol mexi-
 camimitziti ye don Joano ye tapia teuctli ticosmaya
 31 Y xochimitzi patlantihuitz in Mexico nicā ani onahpetzcuecuyocaya

folio 45v

- quetzalaxiloxochitl xelihuiya y ye icuic San palaciscoya.
 2 Timotzinitzcantzetzelohuaya ÿ centlal motecaya ani onapetzcuccuyocaya.
 3 .8.
 4 Oncuicapehuaya quitzintiyao yn obispo cemanahuac nemia ÿ moteyoya
 quetzal tolini xelihuia ÿ motlatol chalchihuahatatapalacaxochitli ma ic
 tonahuiyaca hoy
 7 Yn ahua aho aye anteteuctini ye ic pachiuhtaz toyolliyo oa yn otiquitaç
 tlçcque yechua in dios timimitzitzinti xahuiyacan hoy
 9 Yn tla'tlatlacuilolamoxnepaniuhoc yn amoyolia anmitzitzinti chalchihuitl
 yn acatic yn icā o ticuica ye coyatlatlauhtizque dios ahua nomatzine ana-
 huaca michino ÿ tapian ayio.
 12 Yn tla xihualhuiyani ÿ atlā amochā in quetzalteuh nepapano anmimitzitzîti
 ye cuicatiloyaa dios ahua nomatzine
 14 Atlan chaneque ytlachihualhuā dios çan ca michin Axolotl, Amilotl, antle
 ye incuic quimocuicatiya xochcatzin acacueyatl huehyā cuicao axaxa-
 yacatzitzin mahuiltitinemio aye.
 17 O ayac ye quimitta tlamach mani ye incuic yxochiuh achilin an tlapala-
 caxochitl tonalaxochitla yca õmitotiya chalchihuahatlacuilolme quimo-
 cuicatiya xochcatzin.
 20 .9.
 21 Can ca chalchihuatl yayahui ca in mexico nicani quetzallamoxtli yaa a
 ytlan tonquiquitzinemi çan tixiuhotomichini can tidon Joano titztlo-
 llinquiya y çā ca dios ychani, Ma xoconcaquicani Ahuextotzinca y çan ca
 chalchihuetzilacatzitzilicatoc a yxochicampaña San palaciscoya.
 25 Y nicnotlamatiyani nimexicatl yyehuaa chalchihacatitlā ninenemi ÿ

- It would seem that in truth You—You!—are the one I behold, strewing
 Yourself as a golden dew. Aya! On earth my heart is sad. Be pleased,
then, O younger brothers. And look at me!
- 24 You as a golden butterfly fish-painting sip in the gold-juiced magueys. 40
 Once again as a song? Aya! Let us create You. Let us lift You *with our*
voices. Let us take heart because of You.
- 27 The turquoise-swan fish go singing along in the plume water, as gold and 41
 soft jades. Lord San Francisco! O Guzmán!
- 29 Then newly, on Sunday, little Mexican fishes are hearing Your words. Don 42
 Juan! Lord Tápia! O Guzmán!
- 31 The Flower Fish comes flying *down* to Mexico, shining like pearls. Plume- 43
 water corn blossoms are parceled out: they're the songs of San Francisco.
- 2 You're scattered in the form of trogons, and they're poured out every- 44
 where, shining like pearls. *Plume-water corn blossoms are parceled out:*
they're the songs of San Francisco.

H

- 3
- 4 The bishop begins, he strikes up a song, and Your glory *now* lives in the 45
 world. You're stirring as plumes: Your words are scattered, *Your* reed-
 flower jades, *Your reed-flower* pearl shells. Let us be pleased with these!
- 7 Hail, lords! Now we fishes will die content, for we will have seen the 46
 World Owner, God. Be pleased!
- 9 You're little fishes, whose souls are strewn as countless paintings, as pic- 47
 tures, as jades, as beads. Because of these we too are singing. These shall
 pray to God. Hail, nephew! O fish in the world! O Tápia!
- 12 Come, your home is in the waters, O all you little fish plumes. Now God 48
 has music. Hail, nephew! *O fish in the world! O Tápia!*
- 14 God's water-dwelling creatures, indeed, the mud-puppy fish and the dace, 49
 have no songs at all. They use the green frog, the reed frog, as their
 song, and it sings and becomes glorious. The Axayacatl[s] [our forebears,
 or boat bugs] are pleased!
- 17 No one sees them! How do their songs, their flowers, exist?—these water 50
 chilis, these crimson reed flowers, these flowers of the sun that make
 Jade-Water paintings dance? They use the green frog, *the reed frog*, as
 their song, *and it sings and becomes glorious! The Axayacatl[s]* [our forebears,
 or boat bugs] *are pleased!*

I

- 20
- 21 Via jade waters you pass among picture plumes here in Mexico, you co- 51
 tanga fish, you, Don Juan, you, Itztlolinqui, in God's home. Hear it, you
 Huexotzincans!—the jade-gong pealing of San Francisco's church-bell
 flowers!
- 25 "I, a Mexican, grieve, *as* I wander among the jade reeds, I, Mud-Puppy 52

- nachichimatzeni uncanaya niclatolchia yehuayā dios ychani y xamela-
quahuaca ya nella
- 27 Ynn ahua tomachvaneē otechahuatz ypalnemoa çan ca ye òca coyonacazco
timimitziti ne ya ca tlamino campā oc nen tonyazque hui xamela-
quahuaca ya nella.
- 29 O ach aquí ycnihū oo ocuel momatlahui xictlalcahuica ne antocnihuane
tocnihuane yaa otitocnquixtique ye axomolco timimitzitzinti can
moztla huiptlatiz cā tematlac ce tihuetzihui çan ihuiya tôteçohuazque y
xompaquica ne.

folio 46

- 1 Yn atlyeitec nompchuaya nicayahuitequi noxochihuehueh nicuicanitl
achichimatzine xōmahuilti mamaxochiuh ycaya o aylililili ho aya heya.
- 3 Yn tlapapalatlacueçona ýtlan tonemiya achichimatzine xonmahuilti ma-
macaxochiuh ycaya.
- 5 Yn icnotlamati noyoliol atlya y xictli manica timexica timimitzitziti atl
ymaxaliuhca oncā tiyol oncā titlacat tidon Joano titapia teocuitlaitztolin
pepetlani ymanicā quetzalhuexotitlan
- 8 Yn maoc tonahuiaca tiMexica timimitzitzinti atl ymaxaliuhca teocuitla-
itztolin pepetlani a ymanica
- 10 Yn ye ic expa y ye monahuatili tor° ome michin ý quēchiuh ce oquichtli
nimā ye cihuatli ye quinmonahuatili amehua ye ānemizque atlyiatteca.
- 12 O ayc mocchuiz tetlayecoltiz ye ixquich michini tlanel cenca quexquich
mitzanaz nomacehualhuā amehuan ye annemizque atlyiateca

- 14 Nican onpehua yn Pilcuicatl ahnoço Piltoncuicatl
ye huecauh meuh (ompa) Mexico S. fr.^{co}
ypan ilhuitzin tomatian mochiuh yquac in ompa
teopan tinemia oc tipipiltotonti.

- 18 cototícoto ticoto tiquiti cototiquiti cototiquiti.
- 19 Ya man toncuicatlatocan tihucotzinca, ma toncuicapehuacan aya
xochitl totlayocol in tocōyachihuazque in tipipiltzitzinti ma onahahui-
alon amoxcali manicā. Ya cuel conetle ma xihuallacā Antepilhuā y ma

Soldier, awaiting God's words in this home of his. Truly, take heart!"

- 27 Hail, nephews! Yes, Life Giver has dried us out, us little fishes, there in Coyonacazco. And so the end has come. Where might we go, alas? Truly, take heart! 53
- 29 Ah! Whoever is His friend, it seems, has been ensnared. Forsake Him—and hail!—O friends. O friends, we little fishes are gathered together in Axomolco, and one of us—one of these days—will fall into the net, and just in this way we will bloody ourselves. Rejoice! And hail! 54
- 1 A singer am I, and here in the water I strike it up, I beat my flower drum. O Mud-Puppy Soldier! Be pleased with these, your flower banners! 55
- 3 O you that dwell among many-hued water lilies! Mud-Puppy Soldier! Be pleased with these, your flower banners! 56
- 5 My hearts are grieving where waters and the navel lie: "Ah, we Mexicans are little fishes!" But there! Where waters part, you've come to life. There! You're born, Don Juan, and you, Tápia! Golden scdges glisten where the waters lie, among the plumelike willows. 57
- 8 Let us Mexicans, us little fish, be pleased where the waters part within the lake. Golden scdges glisten where the waters lie, among the plumelike willows. 58
- 10 When our Lord spoke out a third time, He made two fish: a male and then a female. He charged them: "You, you are the ones who shall live in the waters. 59
- 12 "Oh, they never shall rest. All the fishes shall serve. Yet no matter how many shall catch you, you are my charges, you, you shall dwell in the waters." 60

14 LXI Here begins a children song, or little-children song, that used to be sung there in Mexico at the feast of San Francisco. It was composed in our lifetime when we were living there at the church and as yet we were little children.

A

- 18 cototicoto ticoto tiquiti cototiquiti cototiquiti
- 19 Let us Huexotzincans start up a song, strike up a song. And aya! We little children will make a creation of flowers. Let many be pleased in Picture House. Yes come, babe! 1

- oncuicatlatlanihua anqui ya nicā y acon y ye quichiu h^ul̄ ȳ tlatl̄c̄ aya o
 anqui ya yehuatl totatzin Dios aya ontlaneltoca toyollon tipipiltzitzinti
 ma onahahuialon amoxcali manicā ya cuel conetle.
- 25 O xihquecholchoocan tlatoa ye noyollo çan niquelnamiquia yn anpi-
 piltzitzinte tomachhuane quehuelço tehua a ye ticmahuiçohua yn itlatol
 ycelteotl y ilh^u yyollo dios mochiuhtoquin cayio.
- 28 Yn ma ontlaooyelon titocnihua anpipiltzitzinte tomachvane ȳ teocuitlati-
 caya cecenpoalxochintlatlahuizcallehuatoc ye iquelesia yn oncā notzalo
 ontlatlahuhtilo ya ylh^u yiollon dios mochiuhtoquin cayio.

folio 46v

- 1 Yye o çan ayohuica nemohoaya anayan tlatlayohualpan tlatl̄c̄ ayac huelon-
 qui ynicya tiyazque tlatzontequiz tot.^o Dios yn ipalontinemi tocnihuane
 tocnihuane xompaquica hue.
- 4 Ceyohual in tlatzontequin Dios onteytohua onteyhua ca ompa ximoa toc-
 nihuane tocnihuane xompaquica hue.
- 6 Tocotiqui tocoti tocotiqui tocoti tiquitiquitiquito
 tiquitiquitiquito.
- 7 On opehualoc .S. Palacisco ye cuicoya tidon Jihua o ye titztlolincaton i
 ma ye tocontocaca ye totata in Pelesitente ye quitlatlauhtia ycelteotl in
 tipipiltzitzinti maoc tonahahuiaa o anqui ye nica an a.
- 10 Ma calacoa in tipipiltzitzinti ye no cuel chocaz in topilahuhtil yxhuetzcatoc-
 cato maoc xoconahuilti a y xaltemocto macaoc xichoca ma mamama
 tinoteycatzin o anqui ye nicā an a.
- 13 A onca a belem ça ye motlacatili Jesu Chřo ycelteotl y ye ceñic ontotonatoc
 ȳ motlatlanextzi ye mitzonmotlatlauhtilia a yn Angeloti huile huile huile
 huiletzine.
- 16 Anca ye monātzin ooo Santa Malia çan ca ye ipa ye tonmoyeyetzica y ye
 cihuapilli ye ceñic ontotonatoc y motlanextzi ye mitzonmotlatlauhtilia a
 yn Angeloti huile huile huile huiletzine
- 19 Ca yohuall ixelihua ye temoya o yn spū santo notijesu Chřo. on ca oncan
 anaya y moxal ymāca tonehcoya onilhuiço Ca moxxochintlapaltotl
 yn icelteotle ohua nomatzine y a
- 22 Tla ticmahuiçoca tihucxotzinca pipiltzitzintine ticcahuane on ca oncan aya
 y moxal ymanca &.
- 24 Cototiqui titiqui titoti cototiqui titiqui titoti
 cototo cototo cototo coto.
- 25 Ma xonpactaca tomachhuane anpipiltzitzinti maca ximochoquilittacan
 oo tlaça tlaça xontlatlayocolcuicatata ayao ohuayaye ça ye ic nichocā ti-

Song 61, Folios 46-46v

- Come, princes! Let Him be made to sing as many. It seems He's here! Who made sky and the earth? Our father, God, is the one. Aya! We're little children, and our hearts believe. Let many be pleased in Picture House. Yes come, babe!
- 25 My singing heart weeps turquoise swans: I recall them. Children! Nephews! We're blessed, for already we're seeing the words of the Only Spirit, the Heart of Heaven, God, Self-Maker. 2
- 28 Let's have this sadness. We're friends! Children! Nephews! The church is radiating a golden dawn of marigolds. There! He's worshiped, he's prayed to: the Heart of Heaven, God, Self-Maker. 3
- 1 Our lives are untroubled, ah! in the darkness on earth. And none are destroyed, for we shall depart. Our lord God Ipaltinemi passes judgment! Friends, friends, rejoice. Ah! 4
- 4 In a night God passes judgment, he decrees, he dispatches. And all are shorn beyond. Friends, friends, rejoice. Ah! 5

B

- 6 tocotiqui tocoti tocotiqui tocoti tiquitiquitiquito
tiquitiquitiquito
- 7 The music's begun. O San Francisco! There's singing. And O Don Juan! O baby Itztoloinqui! Let's follow our daddy, the presidente, who prays to the Only Spirit. Rejoice, children! It seems He's here. 6
- 10 Let us little children all be taken in. Then the pleased child, the baby smiler, once again will weep. Pleasure him! He's baby Sand Descender! Weep no more, *but* let him carry *down* the hands. O little brother! It seems He's here. 7
- 13 Ah! And in Bethlehem you're born, O Jesucristo, O Only Spirit. Your light shines on earth. The angels pray to you, ah! O Master of Doves, O Master, O Master, O Master of Doves! 8
- 16 It seems you're now beside your mother, Santa María the queen. Your light shines on earth. The angels pray to you, ah! O Master of Doves, O Master, O Master, O Master of Doves! 9
- 19 In the middle of the night Espíritu Santo descends. O my Jesucristo. Ah! And in a stable you arrive. The gorgeous bird of picture flowers has produced a marvel. O Only Spirit! Hail, nephew! Ah! 10
- 22 Let us Huexotzincans behold him. Children, little brothers! Ah! And in a stable *you arrive*. *The gorgeous bird of picture flowers has produced a marvel.* O Only Spirit! Hail, nephew! Ah! 11

C

- 24 cototiqui titiqui titoti cototiqui titiqui titoti
cototo cototo cototo coto
- 25 Go rejoice, nephews, children! Don't go be mourned. Simply go and sing your grief. "Therefore do I weep, O uncle?" Yes! Perhaps you've caused 12

notlatlatzin yye y aco tle tontlaquetz in y çan ca iuhqui toyazque can ompa ximohua çan tipipiltzintzi yao ohuayaye.

- 29 \bar{Y} tlapalomixochitl y ye xochitl tlatlatzcatimania çan tiq̄icecnquixtia oo a yca titapana çan tipipiltzintzi o xiuhquecholccccliztoc ohuao aye.

folio 47

- 1 Ma xihuallacan ticcahuane \bar{y} man toconteocuitlaamatlayehuaca yn topapalomatl ic tellet onquičaz ohuao aye.
- 3 \bar{Y} çan totlayocol ypan toncacate \bar{y} tipipiltzintzi quē toconchihuazque e \bar{y} ma hucl tiq̄uehua yectli a ycuic Dios a yyoyahue yao aye.
- 5 Ma xihuallhuan tocnihuane y a in mā tonahuiaca ayahueye aço hucl toconpoa toconchua oo yectli ya ycuic Dios ha yyoyahue yao aye.
- 7 CoTotico toticoto tiq̄uiti cototiq̄uiti cototiq̄uiti.
- 8 \bar{Y} mā ticuicayelcicihuicany tiMexicapipiltzintzini ye axcā motlecahui O ye totatzin .S. Palacizco yehuaya ilhuicac ytec ho ohuili ayea.
- 10 \bar{Y} ma ypanpan tonchoquizcuicuiyaca tonahahuiaca xochitecpā calteca ya yecoya tlali yceltcoatl yehuaya ylhuicatlytec ho ohuili ayea
- 12 O a mach ya nel tomachua man tlatlauhtiloja \bar{y} ca çanio in teotl Jesu chřo \bar{y} ca tipilhua an titlachihualhua y ma ic xonahahuiacā teteucti tomachuane.
- 14 Hualhocā toyollo tihuxotzinca conctzintzi ya in tipipiltzintzi o anqui tomaçehual amoxihcuiluhqui ya ytlatol Jesu chřo. \bar{y} Ca tipilhuan titlachihualhuā y &?
- 17 O anca iuhquin quetzallin tonhuitoliuhtoque o yn tipipiltzintzi yc tōtopechteca yc tocontlatlauhtia ao yn s¹⁴ malia in mochipa ichpochtli yez ayancayancaya.
- 20 \bar{Y} nepapan yhuian tlatlapalpouhtoque in toncozçacotoque ic tontoppechteca yc tocontlatlauhtia oa in s¹⁴ Malia \bar{y} mochipa ichpochtli.
- 22 Ticotico tiq̄itiqui tico tiq̄i tiq̄iti. &?
- 23 Tihuxotzinca netle tipipiltzintzi \bar{y} tlaoc ya tehuāti toconcuicaxochicuentaxpoaca yectli yan cuicatl y man tiq̄etzalçaquaxiuhquecholhuihuicomacani yn ixpā dios nocniuhe Ma netotiloja.
- 26 A onquetzalamoxihcuilhuhticac onlatla'machnenepaniuhtoc motlatol Jesu chřo.n aya man tiq̄etzalçaquaxiuhquecholhuihuicomacani &?
- 28 Tlaatlapalipitoqui tlayolcopixauhtoc \bar{y} motlatol a amoxcalitec \bar{y} dios aya oncā mitznonorza mitzoyatlatlauhtia in Patilime ye topampā timomacehualhuan a.

Song 61, Folios 46v-47

something to appear. "Ah! It's thus we little children would depart, indeed, for the place where all are shorn."

- 29 O crimson lilies! And these flowers now are bursting. Ah, we gather these. 13
And we adorn ourselves with these, we little children. Oh, these turquoise swans are sprouting.
- 1 Come, little brothers! Let us raise them up as golden banners, *these*, these 14
parrot-butterfly banners. Our pain shall then depart.
- 3 We little children are in sadness. What befalls us if indeed we raise these 15
good ones, these songs of God? Alas.
- 5 Come, friends, let's be pleased. Shall we count and raise these good 16
ones, these songs of God? Alas.

D

- 7 cototico toticoto tiquiti cototiquiti cototiquiti
- 8 O Mexican children, let's sigh-sing. Today our father, San Francisco, as- 17
cended to heaven.
- 10 Let's chirp our tears for his sake. Let's be pleased in this flower palace, 18
this home place. The Only Spirit is arriving on earth from heaven.
- 12 Now truly, nephews, let him be prayed to, him that alone is the Spirit, him 19
that is Jesucristo, for we are his children, his creations. Be pleased, lords, nephews!
- 14 We're Huexotzincans and our hearts are weeping here. O babes! As chil- 20
dren, it would seem that we deserve these picture paintings, yes, these words of Jesucristo—for we are his children, his creations. *Be pleased, lords, nephews!*
- 17 We children are bending down as quetzal plumes the way we bow, the way 21
we pray to her, and oh! she's Santa María the ever virgin.
- 20 And as we thread these jewels, serenely are the many counted—and as col- 22
ors—the way we bow, the way we pray to her, and oh! she's Santa María the ever virgin.

E

- 22 ticotico tiquitiqui tico tiqui tiquiti etc.
- 23 We're the Huexotzincans. Hail! We're the little children. Let us be the ones 23
to count out good songs with songs, with flowers, as our rosary. Let's make troupial-and-turquoise-swan plumes twirl before God's face. O friend, let there be dancing.
- 26 Ah, they're painted as plume pictures, they're littered as brocades, and 24
they're your words, O Jesucristo. Let's make troupial-and-turquoise-swan plumes twirl *before God's face*. O friend, let there be dancing.
- 28 O God, your words are tying on wings, and in this house of pictures 25
they're drizzling down as created ones. We're your subjects, and there, beyond, those padres call to you, they pray to you, for our sake.

- 31 Ahua y ahua conetle huexotzinca anpipiltzintzi aco ye quinexti yectli nemilizçotl ahua o aye o anqui ya yehuatl totatzin .S. Palacizco icno-

folio 47v

- yotica mone'nemiticon tļþc ye nicā yuh nēca yn tt° Jesu chřo. n a.
- 2 Timoquetzalyyectia toncuiya teixpā timoquetzaya amoxlti mahtlapal an ticçocohuaya tixiuhcoyolinpapalotl y ya pelesitente çan toncuicatinemin tlacuilolapani çan timotzeteloaya tlapalcamolcamilcecelia moyool yyācaya yectliya mocuic yectliya moxochiya toztlapalhuiconticac ytlan tōnenemi tonquiquiztinemi quetzalacaxochiatitla tōtlatlahtoayan tlapalcamolcamil &?
- 7 A o xoxopan on tinemi tlalliya yepac tomachvan ticcahuane man tocōtetequica ca camopalcaxtlatlapaxoochitlaya can cuel achic ōnenecoya.
- 9 A yhuan ommomalin cuepontimani ya tolciymaxochitl mā tocontetequica ca camopalcaxtlatlapa.
- 11 Coto coto tiqui tocoti coto coti quito coti cotocoto
cotocoto quitiquitiquitiquiti.
- 12 Ỹ mocoyoltzin mocoyoltzin mocoyoltecuecux ontzitzilintoc ye cemanahuac Pelesitente ma xahuiyao xahuiyao yao ayahue.
- 14 Y ma quihuitequican ỹteponaz pipiltzintzin xonmihoti xonmittoti &c?
- 15 Çan nixochintlatlayocoya nihuexotzincatl ye nipiltzintli ye nitztlolinqui noconelnamiqui ce totzi oncā ye poliuh atlaytec ylhuaicapā xitlaneltocaca ahua tomachvane.
- 18 Ỹ çan no iuh ye quichiuh Nozcacauhtzin oo apa hualhuetz ye tenochtitlani ymatiya ye yehua Malques xitlaneltocaca ahua &?
- 20 Xiquincaquican y xiquimotacany an teteuctini ça ye huitze huitze, mitto-titihuitze a in pipiltzintzi acolihuaca yehua yoyonton i tlapopā ton Capilel in xiuhcoyolla a ihcahuaca amoteecucueyotzin ayeo. ho aya yeha.
- 23 Ỹ ma xonmittoti ma mellel onquiça tla yaa ontzitzilica moquaoximayatzin an tinoMatzin titon palacizco nepapan cozcatl y ylacatzihqui mocacalatzin y ayeo ho aya yeha.
- 26 Ahua teotle xiuhtotoahuachpixahuia a ỹ motlayocol tihuanitziny tiquimilnamiqui miccatzitzinhuane ye iquiapam ycelteotl y quixoxochimacato in tlatohuani yehuan pelaloz ahua tocnihuane
- 29 Tinoteyatzini ye tiztlolinqui ma tihuiya .S. Palacizco ma tiquittati totlaçotatziny toconmacazque tocacalatzin y oncā no cenquiça ỹ tepilhua ahua tocnihuane.

Song 61, Folios 47-47v

- 31 Hail! Hail, babe! And O you little Huexotzincan children! Perhaps it's he— 26
 who showed the good way of living. Perhaps it's our father, San Fran-
 cisco, who came to live in poverty on earth, as our lord Jesucristo did.
- 2 You open out like plumes. And risen up, you sing before this company: 27
 you spread your wings as pictures, *you*, you turquoise bell of a butterfly,
you, presidente, singing along in this place of paintings, strewing your-
 self. And ah, your heart sprouts colors of tawny and brown.
- They're twirling as parrot colors, these, your beautiful songs, your beauti-
 ful flowers. Among them you walk, you wander, twittering among
 these plume-reed flowers. Ah, *your heart sprouts* colors of tawny and
 brown.
- 7 And oh, we're dwelling on earth as if in Green Places. O nephews! Little 28
 brothers! Let us cut these tawny morning-glory flowers. One hesitates
 for but a moment.
- 9 They're whirled, they're blossoming, they're rush-root flowers. Let us cut 29
 these tawny morning-glory flowers. *One hesitates for but a moment.*

F

- 11 coto coto tiqui tocoti coto coti quito coti cotocoto
 cotocoto quitiquitiquitiqui
- 12 Your bells, your bells, your armlet bells, are ringing in the world, O presi- 30
 dente. Be pleased, be pleased.
- 14 Let the children beat their log drums. Dance, dance! 31
- 15 And I, a Huexotzincan, a little child, I, Itztlolinqui, create with flowers. I 32
 recall One Rabbit! And now he's lost in the water, the sea. Have faith!
 Hail! Nephews!
- 18 My father's done it just for fun, and—with His knowledge—into the water 33
 at Tenochtitlan he's toppled, he, the Marquis! Have faith! Hail! *Nephews!*
- 20 Hear these, see these! These are lords and they come, come, and come 34
 dancing, oh, these little children: Acolhuacan's baby Yoyontzin! Tlaco-
 pan's Don Gabriel! The turquoise bells are shrilling: they're your jingles.
- 23 Dance! And be diverted. Let them peal, and these are your anointed hands. 35
 Ah, dear hand, O Don Francisco! Many jewels are whirling: they're
 your precious bells.
- 26 Hail, Spirit! A cotinga mist is raining down, and ah! they're your creations. 36
 Huanitzin! You recall them: "Little brothers!" And in this, the Only
 Spirit's place of rain, they go—to give flowers to the king, the emperor.
 Hail, friends!
- 29 O little brother, O Itztlolinqui, let's be off to San Francisco! Let's go find 37
 our precious father. Ah, we'll give our bells to him. And there the
 princes are also gathered. Hail, friends!

folio 48

- 1 Y xihualaquican tonahuac onoque ye ilhuittl aya tiquixtiliya o anqui tozcacauhtzin .S. Palacizco ya anqui ye axcā ye itech ahcic ymahuiçon dios teucyotl oo anqui tlatocayotl ylhuciatlytec çaquācalco çtzalcalitec conayatlali ycelteotl y ma ycaya an netlamachtilo y tipipiltzintzi ya.
- 6 Ma ya papaquihua Ma ic momalina tlayocolia techtlamacchui o anqui ye tozcacauhtzin S. Palacizcoya anqui ye axcan &c.²
- 8 Ȳ tlaçoteuctle Diöse ayc tipeuh ayc titzintic ça cemicac huel moyeya ilh: ytec oncā titlatoa yeccanaya in moch motlachihual yn ilhuicatl y nica maniyā tl̄ç. aya yca nichoca niqaoxitzin oho huio michi mohueli ya oo huio mochi mohueli yya.
- 12 Chalchihuitla quetzalayahuitla yca ontzauctimani o anquin ye mochā aya. in moch motlachihual yn ilhuicatl &c.²
- 14 Quetzaltotztl nicmemeya tixalmelolo nomache anca ço nellin tiquechahuico yectli ye mocuic huico huicon tilili o aye xonahuiaca an a.
- 16 Ȳ maoc onehualo yectli yan cuicatl y anca ço nelli ye ic concuico tipipiltzintzi totecuehuetzin toquauhcoyoltzin huilhco huilhcon tilili o aye &?
- 18 Tocoto Cotiti tocoto cotititi quti quti
- 19 Ȳ ma ðnahahuialo ticcahua o antecpilhuani ȳ ma hualnequetzalo ȳ ma ya oncenpātihua tictlatlauhtizque ycelteotl y çanio y ye oncā ytlc y nahuaque ao cecliztoqui a yn iye xochitl oncā toconhuitequizque in tecoçauh-tic xochipapalotl ohaye ho aya yeha.
- 23 Tlatlapalpoalti a ȳ pipiltzintzi y huexotzincay camohpaltic huitztecocloch-paltic aya ixpan onquiça ycelteotl y çanio y ye ðcā çan tzinitznicā y celizticac ooy cempoalxochitl ontozyhuimomoyahuatimani ye oncany çan can xiuhquecholayauhtonā ȳ mamatlallahuizcallehuatoc ytech ye oncuica teocuitlachopiltzi quimonahuiltia y ye ixquich ytlaçohua ye iquecholhuā Dios hoaye hoaya yha.
- 29 Ma xihualla'lacan papalome o antla'tlachichina ye onnetlamachtilo ye iqui-apa x̄ço ye ixquich ytlaçohua. &?

G

tiquitocotiquitoco títiti

- 32
1 Comrades, put *the riches* here! We pay him honor on this feast day, and it seems that he's our father, San Francisco! Today it seems he's reached God's glory. And the Only Spirit has established sovereignty, it seems, and lordship in the sky at Troupial House, in Plume House. Let all us little children be regaled! 38
- 6 Let there be rejoicing and resultant creatures whirled. He's allowed us to deserve them, he perhaps that is our father, San Francisco. Today it seems *he's reached God's glory. And the Only Spirit has established sovereignty, it seems, and lordship in the sky at Troupial House, in Plume House. Let all us little children be regaled.* 39
- 8 "O precious lord, O God without beginning or inception! Your existence is forever! In the sky you rule. In heaven! Aya! Everything is your creation, sky and the earth that here endures. And so I wail, I *that am named Anointed: oh, oh, alas, O You, All Powerful! And ah! Oh, oh, alas, O You, All Powerful! And ah!* 40
- 12 "And jades, this way, become enclosed in plume mist that would seem to be your home. Aya! Everything is your creation, sky *and the earth that here endures. And so I wail, I that am named Anointed: oh, oh, alas, O You, All Powerful! And ah! Oh, oh, alas, O You, All Powerful! And ah!"* 41
- 14 I'm shouldering a parrot plume, *and oh* you're filled with sand, my nephew! It would seem indeed that you come bearing good songs. They're carried! Carried! "Tilili!" Oh, be pleased! Ah! 42
- 16 Let these good songs be raised. It would seem indeed that this is how we little children come to get them, *these*, our jingles, our eagle bells. They're carried! Carried! "Tilili!" Oh, *be pleased! Ah!* 43

H

tocoto cotiti tocoto cotititi quití quití

- 18
19 Let there be pleasure, O brothers and princes. An appearance. A lining-up. We'll pray to the Only Spirit—in the presence of the Ever Near and there alone. The flower sprouts. There! We'll beat this ochred flower-butterfly. 44
- 23 Streaked with colors are the little Huexotzincan children. Tawny, color of char-thorn flowers, they emerge before the Only Spirit and there alone. These marigolds are sprouting as trogons. They're dispersed as parrot feathers. There! They're glowing as a mist of turquoise swans, radiating green dawnlight. And with them sings the golden cricket, and he gives them pleasure: all are his beloved ones, his swans, and he is God. 45
- 29 Come, you butterflies. You're imbibing. Now there's happiness in Christ's rain. All are his beloved ones, *his swans, and he is God.* 46

- 31 \tilde{Y} tlapapalamoxtili moyollon tipala petolo \tilde{y} quexquich mocuic \tilde{y} toconehuilia

folio 48v

x \tilde{p} o \tilde{c} an tocontlayehcalhui in .S. Palacizco ya ic nemico t \tilde{l} ĕc a o anqui ya nella nomache.

- 3 \tilde{Y} huel mel el ahciticac tipala petolo o antle toayacach in quenin tahahuiazque in tipipiltzintzi can tocontlayehcalhuiya. &c.²

5 Totocoto tototo cototo titiquititi titiqui titiquito.

- 6 \tilde{Y} ma onnetotiloya aya tomachvan anpipiltzintzi a ontzitzinitzcaxochiaonilacatzuhtihui \tilde{c} an toxochiamoxcuic toco huilililili yanca yyahue.

8 Ma toconahuiltica aya totatzin yehuayan dios ya ontzitzinitzcaxochiaonilacatzuhtihui &.²

- 10 \tilde{Y} mecatzitzine \tilde{y} tla tohuiya \tilde{y} xomilpā ycelteotl y ompa tocontahuiltizque huel tecemelti tlatlatzcatimani ahui li xochitl hahuiac xochitl aya tocontchtequizque \tilde{y} tipipiltzintzi yanca yyahue.

13 Onitzmolintoc yxochiuh in Dios y yyetlauhquecholatlaztonpil in i piliuhiticac quilloticac aya tocontetequizque.

15 Tico tico tiquiti tiquiti &c.²

16 Xochiaatepa panahuiya oo S. Quilistopal \tilde{c} a ye quipanahuiya o yn tlaçoteotl Jesu Quilisto xochinapalomatlahuique

18 Xochiatempā \tilde{c} an mitztlacanotza y yehuan Dios S. Quilistopal \tilde{c} ā ye ixquich oo ca ye o ticnapaloa yn ilh.⁴ o y cemanahuaqui xochipapalo &c.²

20 Xamelaquahuaca tihuexotzinca pipiltzintzine tla tontahuilticā ayyahue tla tonquetzahuitzitzilpapalomatlahuicā tla tiquimōchiacan ayyahue in tlaçaco no yehuatl in pala petolo in totlaçotatzin yqui tlatlatztihuiz in tocenteucyo ya icelteotl a.

24 Tla tonhuiya tohuiya hui tipipiltzintzi tla tocontequicā tlapalaxochitl ma ic tontitotican yyahue in tlaçaco no yehuatl

[*copyist's numeral:*] 33

26

Icnocuicatl.

27

Tlanel nichoca y ichuaya tla nicnotlamatiya ycahuaya tlanel cenca quen quihualnequia noyollo yyehuaya cuix nel ahnoyaz quenona-

Songs 61-62, Folios 48-48v

- 31 Multicolored pictures are your heart, Fray Pedro. How plentiful are the 47
songs you lift for Christ! You've imitated San Francisco. Thus he comes
to dwell on earth, it seems, and truly so. O nephew!
- 3 Your agonies arrive, Fray Pedro. Oh, we have no rattles! How are we little 48
children to be pleased? You've imitated *San Francisco*. Thus he comes to
dwell on earth, it seems, and truly so. O nephew!

I

- 5 totocoto tototo cototo titiquititi titiqui titiquito
6 Let there be dancing, O nephews, O children. And they'll be whirled as 49
trogon flowers, these, our flower picture songs.
- 8 Let us pleasure God the father. They'll be whirled as trogons, *these, our* 50
flower picture songs.
- 10 O garlands! Let's be off to the green fields. There we'll pleasure the Only 51
Spirit. Delight makers are bursting open, *these*, these pleasurable flow-
ers, these fragrant flowers. Aya! We little children will cut them.
- 13 *Now these* are greening, these, God's flowers, these, his roscate-swan- 52
water striplings, these that stand as offspring, these that stand all lush
with leaves. Aya! *We little children* will cut them.

J

- 15 tico tico tiquti tiquti etc.
16 At Flower Shore he ferries. Oh! And he is San Cristóbal, and he ferries 53
Him, the precious Spirit, Jesucristo. We've netted the flower butterflies!
- 18 At Flower Shore San Cristóbal prays to you in the flesh, O God. You cra- 54
dle it all—the sky, the earth. *We've netted* the flower butterflies!
- 20 Take heart! We're Huexotzincans. O children, let's be pleased. Let's net 55
these hummingbird butterfly plumes. Let's wait for these. Ah! And
here's Fray Pedro, our precious father. He comes shining, then, our lord
forever, he, the Only Spirit, ah!
- 24 Children let's go, let's go, and say! let's cut these colored flowers. Let's 56
dance with these—ah! and here's *Fray Pedro, our precious father. He comes*
shining, then, our lord forever, he, the Only Spirit, ah!

LXII Bereavement song

A

- 27 Let me weep, let me grieve, and greatly. What do my incoming hearts de- 1
sire? Is it true? Must I not depart for the Place Unknown?

- mican huiya oyahueyo ahuayya ohuiya.
- 2 Tl̄ſc̄ ahuayya ohuaye quittohua toyollo macaic timiquini antocnihua huiya can ahmicohuaya cuix ompa noyaz huiya cuix ompa nemi nonan cuix ompa nemi notta qucnonamican huiya huiyxihueya noyollo çancel ahnipoliuiz ninotolinia oyahueyyo ahuayya Et.
- 6 Tictlalitehuac in moteyo yehua titepiltzin a ÿ tlacahuepantzin anca can icā ontlacotihua y anca ça yeyc ixpany onnequehquetzalo ypalnemohuani quixohuaquiuh nemohuaquiuh a yn tl̄ſc̄. o ahuaya Et
- 9 In çan cuel achitzinca onnetlanhuilo ymahuiço o ypalnemoani quixoaquiuh nemoaquiuh a ÿ tl̄ſc̄. a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Pantli nenelihu yechuaya yxtlahuatl ytic ytzimizquixochitl nenepaniuhiticac y ÿ ticatl yhuilt̄y tztzeliuhiticac y onca ya nemia yn tlacahuepantzin otiquittaco quinequia moyollo yehua ytzimiquiztla ohuaya ohuaya.
[*copyist's numeral:*] 34
- 15 Motcocuitleyayauh chalchiuhtztzeliuhtoc yc tōmoquimiloa ye tōmotlamachtia a yxtlahuatl ytic y otiquittaco &c.² [*copyist's numeral:*] 34
- 17 Ocentlan in toniquiz otihloque ÿ tiçatecay onquiçā toteyo çan toca o huelamatin ypalnemohuani yn chimaltepetl yxpāo ohuaye ilhuiçolohuan yelcteotl ayyao yahayya ohuaya ohuaya.
- 20 Tlalli mocupaya milacatzoa tlacochquiahuiya in teuhtli motecay in chimaltepetl yxpano ohuaye &.²
- 22 Oyanoconic in nanacaotli ya noyoll in choca niquinotlamatin tl̄ſc̄. oo çan niNotolinia o yahueya yliyaye ohuaya ohuaya.
- 24 Çan niqalclnamiq̄i ÿ hanahua hanihucllamatin tl̄ſc̄ oo çan ninotolinia ohuaya ohuaya
- 26 Nicxiquitta miquiztli çan ninotolinia quēnel nocōchihuaz ayamo ya nelli a yantlayocoya yn āquahqualani ayyohuiya.
- 28 In manel quetzalteuh in nehuan y ye tonmani ohuaye manel ye cozcatcuh nehuā y ye toncate ohuaye ayamo ya nelli &.
- 30 Nocniuh nocniuh ye yaço nellin nocniuh çan itlatoltzin çan ic tontonequi y yehuaya ye ica noconclnamiq̄i oo ma iuh̄ta mam polihui a yz can toxochiuh a ohuaya ohuaya.

- 1 Maca cocoya amoyollo yehua ÿ amotlatoltzin yn antocnihua huya no iuh nicmati no iuhca nquimati ohuaye yya yyeehuaya ceppa ye yauh in toncimiz ohuaya ohuaya [*copyist's numeral:*] 35
- 4 Cemilhuil on tiyahui ceyohual o ximohua nica huiya çan tontiximatico çan tictlanhuico o ye nicaan o in tl̄ſc̄ y ma yhuiya may cemelle y mā tonnemicȳ xihualla man tonahahuiaca mā conchiuhtinemi a yn onqua-

Song 62, Folios 49–49v

- 2 On earth the hearts are saying, "May we never die, O friends." Where is 2
the place of no death? Will I go there? Is my mother alive, is my father
alive, in the Place Unknown? O my heart! But truly, I that am poor will
not be destroyed.
- 6 Before you died, you established your fame, O prince, O Tlacahuepan. So 3
people are busy, it seems. People are appealing to Life Giver; there will
be a coming-forth, a coming-to-life on earth.
- 9 Briefly is Life Giver's glory borrowed: there will be a coming-forth, a 4
coming-to-life on earth.
- 11 Banners are scattering on the bosom of the field, knifelike mesquite flow- 5
ers are littered: chalk and plumes are sprinkling down. There! Tlacahue-
pan lives! You've come for knife death, and your hearts desire it.
- 15 Your golden hides are sprinkling down as jades, and you array yourself, 6
and you are happy in the bosom of the field. You've come for *knife*
death, and your hearts desire it.
- 17 "Death for us has ended: we Zacatecs are spoken of! Our fame is born! 7
Because of us Life Giver is content." The Only Spirit makes marvels in
Shield Town.
- 20 The earth rolls over, turns over. It's raining javelins: these lords are pouring 8
down. *The Only Spirit makes marvels* in Shield Town.

B

- 22 I've drunk a fungus wine. My heart is weeping, and I grieve on earth. I 9
am poor.
- 24 I think on this: I have no pleasure, no contentment on earth. I am poor. 10
- 26 Disdaining death, I am poor. And what befalls me then?—that it be true 11
that you're no longer sad or vexed!
- 28 As plumes may we endure together, as jewels may we exist together! No 12
longer is it true *that you are sad and vexed!*
- 30 O friend, my friend, it may be true, O friend, that we are needed only for 13
His precious words, these that I'm remembering for His sake. Let it be
so. Let them be destroyed. Here they are: our flowers.
- 1 May your hearts not suffer! This, friends, is your precious song, and this I 14
know, and this you also know: life passes once.
- 4 In but a day we're gone, in but a night we're shorn *on earth*. And as for 15
having come to know each other, this we merely borrow here on earth.
May we live in gentleness, in peace! Come! Let us be intensely plea-

- qualantinemiyan tla'tlahueya nica huiya Ma cemihcac onnemia Macaic
miquiya ohuiya ohuiya.
- 9 Yn tele tzo onnemian techtlatlatztinemin teoniztlacoa nica huiya \bar{y} tele tzo
motolinia ma \bar{o} nentlamati ma cemicac onnemiya Et.
- 11 Nochalchiuhteponaz noxiuhquecholinquiizy nocoyapitzaya \bar{c} an ye ni-
quahquauhtzin huiya onihualacic a oninoquetzacoya nicuicanitl ayyo
huiya.
- 14 Cuelcan xonahuia \bar{c} an y ma ya hualmoquetza a yullo nicocohua \bar{c} ā ni-
quehuan cuicatl onihualacic Et.
- 16 Ma ya moyollo motomay
Ma ya moyollo hualacitincmian tinechocoliā tincchmiquitlani yn onoya
yehua yn onompoliuh y anca \bar{c} a yoquic oo noca tihualychocaz noca
tihualicnotlamatiz \bar{c} an tinocniuh o \bar{c} an ye niauh o \bar{c} an ye niauh yehua
ohuaya Et
- 20 \bar{C} an quittohua noyollo aoc cepa ye nihuitz ayaoc cepa niqiu \bar{c} aquiuh y huel
yec \bar{c} ā in tlatlicpac O \bar{c} an ye niyauh Et.
- 22 Quinehnequi xochitl \bar{c} a noyollo yechuaya \bar{c} ā n \bar{o} cuicamentlamati ho \bar{c} an
noncuicaychecohua in tli \bar{c} . y ye niquahquauhtzin huiya noc \bar{o} nequi
xochitl ma nomac onmaniqui ninentlamatiya yhoaye yho Et
- 25 Canelpa tonyazque in aic timiquizque huiya ma \bar{c} ā nichalchihuitl niteocui-
tlatl o \bar{c} a ye no nipitzaloz nimamalihuaz yn tlatillan o \bar{c} ā noyoliyoo \bar{c} an
ye niquahquauhtzin ninotoliniya yho aye yho ahuayya Et
- 28 \bar{C} annen tequitly xonahuia \bar{c} a huiya xonahuiyaca antocnihua huiya at
amonahuiezque at ahuellamatizque tocnihuan ohuaye can nicuiz in yectli
xochitl \bar{y} yectli yan cuicatl y ahuayya o ahua yyyaha ohuaya Et.
- 31 Ayquin o xopā in quichihua ye nicany ninotolinia ca ye niqua'quauhtzi
huiya

folio 50

huiya at amonahuiezque at ahuellamatizque tocnihuā o ohuaye can ni-
cuiz in yectli xochitl. Et.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 36

- 3 Ycuic don \bar{x} er^{do} de guzman. cacacuicatl
el tono. Cototiquititi totocoto.
- 5 Tonpactoque in t \bar{o} cuicacuicucatoque a hue, titlalacue \bar{c} altzitzin a y xiuh-

Songs 62-63, Folios 49v-50

sure! May the Shining One keep on creating him that lives in anger here. May He live forever. May He never die!

- 9 Indeed, on high He lives. Shining on, He keeps His watch on us, He gazes on us here. And yet, on high He is poor. May He grieve! And may He live forever! 16

C

- 11 O precious log drums! I blow my conch for turquoise swans, I, Cuacuauhtzin. I've arrived, I appear, I, the singer. 17
- 14 It's time! Be pleased! And they shall appear! I wound their hearts. I'm lifting songs, I've arrived, *I appear, I, the singer.* 18
- 16 "Let your hearts be set free, let your hearts come forth. You loathe me, and you want me dead. When I've gone and perished, then perhaps you'll weep for me, you'll grieve for me, O friend. I go, I go. 19
- 20 "My heart says never again do I come, never again will I be born in the good place, earth. I go, *I go.*" 20
- 22 My heart is greatly wanting flowers. Yes, I song-grieve, making songs on earth, I, Cuacuauhtzin, wanting flowers. May they come and lie upon my hand! I grieve. 21
- 25 "Where might we go, so as never to die? Though I be jade, or gold, I'll be smelted, or drilled on the mound." Ah! I'm born, I Cuacuauhtzin, and I'm poor. 22
- 28 Be pleased, greatly pleased, oh but scarcely, friends! And will you go be pleased and content, O friends? Indeed, I'll pluck these holy flowers, these holy songs. 23
- 31 These never make Green Places here, and I am poor, I, Cuacuauhtzin. Will you go be pleased and content, O friends? Indeed, I'll pluck these holy flowers, *these, holy songs.* 24

3 LXIII Song of Don Hernando de Guzmán,
a peeper song

A

The tone: cototiquiti totocoto.

- 5 Joyfully we chirp our song, alas, we red-crowned parrots, ah, and in this 1

- quecholcapolticpac aya anqui nel ye oncan in toconchichixtoque in huey
a in Malquex yaya in tomatzin a
- 8 Tontoyectitoque hue tontlaçocoyolcahuantoque in xihquecholcapolticpac
anqui nel ye oncā im in toconchichixtoque in huey a Malquex aya Et
- 10 Xochitl tlapaltototl ya cacantzatzī ye totatzin in Padre aya a ymac onicac ȳ
xochiyacoloz quitlatlauhtia on in tiox aya xam palacizcoya maoc
cemilhuitl on xiclatlauhticā can cuel achic ca ymac ye nicā tipatlan-
tinemi ȳ ticacatzitzin ma ya ahualo nican tiox ixpan ȳ ma ya neçohualo
cacatine e
- 15 In cñic in nohuian nemiā yn cacatli mochiuh yehuan totatzin om in Padre
aya ymac onicac in xochiyecoloz quitlatlauhtia om in tiox aya Et.
- 17 Ieyca tichoca nican tinepapāntlalacueçaltzitzintin aya in huel tocolnamiqui
ya tomatzin in tlacuiloltototl cacatli mochiuh yehuan capitan yca ye
tlacat contzinitzcantlapalaqui yn icuitlapiltzin conchalchihuh a ycuiloltzin
yatlapaltzin teocuitlatl ytentzin anqui nellī huee yectli aya tomatzin ne a.
- 21 Çan titlaocoxtoque tinepapantlalacueçaltzitzintin aya in huel tocolnamiqui
a ye tomatzin tlacuiloltototl cacatli mochiuh yehuatl capitan a.
- 23 In huel, E, compaquia çan noyollo ya in nitlaçocacatzin nito helnanto mach
nicyahuicaz yectli ya xochitl in ma ic ninahpantiuh quēmanian nicā yn
auh yn amo çan ninlaquahua noconytaya xochincapolxochitl on
quetzali a xeliuhticac on tzinitzcan yn xotlaticac onchalchiuhitzmolintoc
ya no cuelye no huitz xuitzitziltzin ȳ papalotl in pipiyoltzin ixquich
tlachichina nepapan xochinquahuil onmochiuhmani ye nica
- 29 In yeica nichoca in nitlaçocacatzin niton helnanto mach ye nicyahuicaz in
yectli ya xochitl ȳ ma ic ninapantiuh quenonamican.

*folio 50v**[copyist's numeral:] 37*

- 1 Yc Ome huehuatl. Titoco titoco titocoto titiquiti,
titiquiti, titiquiti

Song 63, Folios 50-50v

- cherry tree of turquoise swans. And aya! Now it truly seems that we're awaiting him, the great one, the Marquis, our nephew, ah!
- 8 We dwell in beauty, ah, resounding as beloved bells and in this cherry tree of turquoise swans. It truly seems that we're awaiting him, the great one, the Marquis, *our nephew, ah!* 2
- 10 As a flower, as a gorgeous bird, our father's peeper-calling. A padre, with flower crucifix in hand, is praying oh! to God, to San Francisco! Let us have this day! Oh pray to Him! Indeed, for but a moment here we little peepers soar among His branches. Let there be pleasure here before God's face! Let there be winging, you peepers! Hey! 3
- 15 Throughout the world He lives! He, the peeper, your creation, our father! Oh! A padre, with flower crucifix in hand, is praying oh! to God, to San Francisco! *Let us have this day! Oh pray to Him! Indeed, for but a moment here we little peepers soar among His branches. Let there be pleasure here before God's face! Let there be winging, you peepers! Hey!* 4
- 17 For this we weep, we, this multitude of little red-crowned parrots. Aya! We recall our nephew, the painted bird, the peeper, your creation, ah! the Captain! So he's painted his tail in trogon colors: it's been born! He's fashioned it as jade, this, his twirling wing! These words of his are golden ones! It seems that he is great, that he is good! Aya! O nephew! Hey! And ah! 5
- 21 Sad we are, this multitude of little red-crowned parrots. Aya! We recall our nephew, the painted bird, the peeper, your creation, him! the Captain! ah! *And so he's painted his tail in trogon colors: it's been born! He's fashioned it as jade, this, his twirling wing! These words of his are golden ones! It seems that he is great, that he is good! Aya! O nephew! Hey! And ah!* 6
- 23 "A precious peeper am I, Don Hernando am I, and truly my heart enjoys them. Indeed, I'll carry *down* these holy ones, these flowers. And let it be with these that I in time shall be adorned here, nor be cheerless." I see them! They're cherry-tree flowers! Ah, as plumes they're dispersed, as trogons they're burgeoning. They're greening out as jades! And also comes the Hummingbird, the Butterfly, the Honeybee, imbibing all these many ones, these flower trees that stand created here! 7
- 29 "A precious peeper am I, Don Hernando am I, and for these I weep. Indeed, I'll carry *down* these holy ones, these flowers. And let it be with these that I—in the Place Unknown—shall be adorned, *nor be cheerless.*" I see them! *They're cherry-tree flowers! Ah, as plumes they stand dispersed, as trogons burgeoning. They're greening out as jades! And also comes the Hummingbird, the Butterfly, the Honeybee, imbibing all these many ones, these flower trees that stand created here!* 8

B

1 Second drum-cadence: titoco titoco titocoto
titiquiti titiquiti titiquiti

- 2 In niqetzaltzihuactotl oncuicayan in cacatzin in ton helnato on-
quetzalpepectia mamatlapaltzin ynin motentzin tictztzeloayā yn ixpan
tiox yn ipaltinemi nohueyotzine E ahua nomache.
- 5 A oncan tiannemian in xopancacatzin in Palacizco yan conquetzalpepetian
mamatlapaltzin Et.
- 7 In tlaca nelli on in tlaquilolapan ninoyeyectia çan ninotztzelo aocac yc
nocniuh nicacatzin ŷ amoxpetlatipā oncanon titlacuiloa çan niton hel-
nanto in timamānahuiltia in nohueyohuā nomache E Ee.
- 10 Nictlaocoltotoma yectli ya nocuic aocac ya nocniuh nicacatzin Et?
- 11 Ixihuinquetzalhuitzil papalotl a y Palacizco ya acacitli teuctli in tlah-
quecholhuitzitzilin papalotl a y ton helnanto Omacatl teuctli quetzalqui-
quizcopayan quinotza quitlatlauhtia in tiox nohueyohuan nomache.
- 14 O anqui ya yehua in y amoxpetlapan occenquiztinemi in tepilçuā huiyā
yn tlahquecholhuitzitzilin papalotl ay in ton helnanto Et?
- 16 In noncuicatolotica on çan nixochitlatlaocoxtica ymapā in chalchihca-
poltzin in nixochitlalacoçaltzin in niton helnanto oc xonahuiacā anca çā
totlancuh in ticacatzitzinti nohueyohuā nomache.
- 19 Oc nontzatzatzitica in nontlatetotica ymapā in chalchihcapoltzin ŷ nix-
ochitlalacueçaltzin in niton helnanto Et?
- 21 Yc yey huehuetl, Toto, tiqitiquiti, tiqitiquiti
- 22 Chalchihcapolxochitl aya teocuitlamatzatzayanticac çan nictztzeloayan
nixiuhquecholcacatzin in Palacizcoya.
- 24 O anqui tonequimilol quetzalculiticac teocuitlamatzatzayāticac çan nic-
yayatzetzeloayan nixiuhquecholcacatzin in Palacizcoyan.
- 26 Xichocacan xiquilnamiçuan anAcacatzitzinti ahua nomachhuanE oqui-
tlati in chalchihcapolin ypaltiaanemian
- 28 In cuix oc tomatian in cexiuhlica yan on quexquich yxpan Ancacatzitzintin
ahua tomachhuan ne oquitlati in chalchihcapolin ypaltianynian

Song 63, Folio 50v

- 2 "Aiee! A plume am I and a bramble bird!" The peeper Don Hernando 9
sings, and these colored hands are glistening as plumes—these words
of yours you're scattering before God's face. O great one, hey! Hail,
nephew!
- 5 "O you that dwell beyond, O Peeper in Green Places, O Francisco!" *And* 10
now as plumes he has them glisten, *these*, these colored hands—*these*
words of yours you're scattering before God's face. O great one, hey! Hail,
nephew!
- 7 "Let it be not truly that I'm beautified in multiples and strew myself at 11
Painting Place. No one is this peeper's friend." There! At Picture Mat
you do the painting. "And I'm Don Hernando." And you're pleasuring
the hands. O great ones. My nephew.
- 10 "In sadness I release these holy ones, my songs. No one is this peeper's 12
friend." *There! At Picture Mat you do the painting. "And I'm Don Her-*
nando." And you're pleasuring the hands. O great ones. My nephew!
- 11 This dizzy tippler plume, this butterfly Francisco, ah! Lord Acacitli, this 13
roscate-swan hummingbird, this butterfly Don Hernando, Lord Oma-
catzin, through a plume conch calls out praying to God. My braves! My
nephew!
- 14 And oh it seems that this is He! And on this mat of pictures, princes are 14
assembling. Ah! This roscate-swan hummingbird, this butterfly Don
Hernando, *Lord Omacatzin, through a plume conch calls out praying to God.*
My braves! My nephew!
- 16 "I that bow my head in song, flower-weeping from a branch of *this*, this 15
jade, this cherry tree—I, a red-crowned parrot flower—I, am Don Her-
nando." May you all be pleased for a while! It seems we little peepers
have our borrowed ones. My braves! My nephew!
- 19 "I that for the moment screech, I that chatter from a branch of *this*, this 16
jade, this cherry tree—I, a red-crowned parrot flower—I, am Don Her-
nando." *May you all be pleased for a while! It seems we little peepers have our*
borrowed ones. My braves! My nephew!

C

- 21 Third drum-cadence: toto tiquitiquiti tiquitiquiti.
22 These jades, these cherry flowers, are as golden rings! I scatter them, I, a 17
peeper and a turquoise swan. Francisco!
- 24 Oh, they might be our adornment, these painted plumes, these golden 18
rings. I scatter them, I, a peeper and a turquoise swan. Francisco!
- 26 Weep and recall them, you peepers! Hail! Nephews! And Life Giver has 19
put them away—*these*, these cherry jades!
- 28 "Could you give us just a year? Oh, how much *time may we have* in His 20
sight, you peepers?" Hail! Nephews! And Life Giver has put them
away—*these*, these cherry jades!

- 30 In paqui noyollo noconitoyan nomatzin ton helnanto teuctli ma
xochiantlapalaqui ye motlamachitlaçocacatzī in tlaoc ompaqui nican niin

folio 51

- 1 ÿ quetzalli yam ye momoyahuan ya mocuitlapil ton helnanto teuctli an
moxochi an motlapal aqūi ye motlamachi Et.
- 3 Yc nahui huehuetl. titotito totoco titiquiti tiqūi titiquiti
[copyist's numeral:] 39
- 4 I nahuiyaya nican E ÿ nitlapalAlotzin i nepapan ni yhuiyotzin nocōyectia
niquetzalxilochoiocoticpac xinechittacā ixquich in cacatli yn ahua
nomache a.
- 7 In huel yectli niqutoyā in nitlapalAlotzin inn o nepapann i yhuiyotzin
noconyectia Et.
- 9 Ma xonahuiacan y antepilhuā cācatzitzinti oyamoman yectli yan yuhquin
tiox a ypaltzinco xompaquiaquiacā a nomache Et
- 11 In xochiquecholcapolin nimanca ya oncā o yquelexia a in ton Joano an.
- 12 O anqui momacehual yeco olinia yn ipaltianemi icpac ontlatoa xochitapa-
chcacatzin in ton xoano an.
- 14 Teocuitlacācatzine chalchihuitl ye motentzin o quetzallim a a matlapaltzin
tompapatlantincmi tontlatlatoa ye nican a
- 16 In huel nimitzmahuiçohua nomatzine chalchihuitl ye motētzin am.
- 17 Yc macuilli huehuetl. Titoco titoco titocoto,
titiqui, titiqui titiquiti
- 18 Çan niquitoayan canyya ic icnotlamatihua çan nitetlacauhtzin niton hel-
nanto in maoc tomacon manian in tlapalhua'calxochitl on yn ante-
pilluan in toconcauhtehuazque a in quēnianian yanco yācayame.
- 21 Y ancām icayan ma ximelaquahuacan antepilhuan ÿ ma onchichinalo aca-
yetyl om a xochitl an ya in ma ic toconpolotiecā a y totlaocol ym yya xan
loixco yyanco yancayome.
- 24 Çan tinohucyyotzin çan titla[. . .], ayam taacacitli teuctli nimitzciauç-
quetzaya yxquich ycam i yyo ach cannelon campanel toyazque ahua pille
nomache
- 27 Çan nimitzciauhquetza on o aye y E o anca nimohueyo çan niton helnāto
ach qucnelon campanel toyazque açua pille nomache.

- 30 My heart rejoices as I utter this nephew of mine, this lord, this Don Her- 21
 nando. May these works of art, your precious peepers, be painted in
 flower colors! Let them momentarily rejoice on earth! Aiee!
 1 And now these plumes, your tail, are scattered, O Lord Don Hernando. 22
 These works of art, your *precious peepers*, are painted in your flowers,
 your colors! *Let them momentarily rejoice on earth! Aiee!*

D

- 3 Fourth drum-cadence: titotito totoco titiquiti tiqui titiquiti
 4 "I'm pleased here as a scarlet macaw and of colors, hey! in the Pine Tree 23
 of plumes, of cornsilk flowers, unfurling these multiple feathers. Dis-
 cover me, O all you peepers!" Hail, my nephew! And ah!
 7 "As a scarlet macaw and of colors I'm uttering these most holy ones in the 24
Pine Tree of plumes, of cornsilk flowers, unfurling these multiple feathers.
Discover me, O all you peepers!" Hail, my nephew! And ah!
 9 Be pleased, you princes. O peepers, holy ones have been dispersed, as 25
 though it were the will of God. Be gladly pleased. Nephew!
 11 Where cherry trees, these flower swans, are standing *stands* the church. 26
 Don Juan!
 12 It seems your vassals, stirring, have arrived, warbling in the presence of 27
 Life Giver, O peeper of flowers and redshell! Don Juan!
 14 O peeper of gold, your words are jades. Plumes are your wing, as you 28
 flutter along, as you twitter *on earth*. And ah!
 16 I marvel at you! O nephew, your words are jades. *Plumes are your wing, as* 29
you flutter along, as you twitter on earth. And ah!

E

- 16 Fifth drum-cadence: titoco titoco titocoto
 titiqui titiqui titiquiti.
 18 "I pronounce them with ensuing anguish. Abandoned am I, Don Her- 30
 nando." Beware of being given *these*, these offered ones, these crimson
 basket flowers, O princes, for we shall have to go away, abandon them,
 someday.
 21 "It would seem in that case, then, that you should cheer your hearts, O 31
 princes. Let this reed aroma, let these flowers, be inhaled! Ah!" In that
 case let us cast aside our cares! Ah! In San Luis!
 24 You great one, you *precious!*³ Aya! You! Lord Acacitli! I salute you. And so 32
 it's over. Alas! Where, oh where are we to go? Hail, prince! Nephew!
 27 "I salute you, I, your great one, Don Hernando." What's to be done? Where 33
 must we go? Hail, prince! Nephew!

³["You precious" (*titlazotli*) is a mere conjecture. The copyist began the word with *tita-*, then left a blank, evidently unable to read his source.—TRANS.]

- 29 Yc chiquacen huehuetl toto tiqui tiquiti tiqui tiquiti.
 [copyist's numeral:] 41
- 30 Çan temac nipapatlani nicoyoltototl ninellaquahua niteuctli yehua niton
 helnanto nichocayā campanel toncalalizque
 [subscript gloss:] [toncala]qui[zque]
 ticahuane ye tomachvan.

folio 51v

- [copyist's numeral:] 41
- 1 I maçoc nican ye xan luixco toxochihuihuicomacā ticauhE ye tiPalacizco
 ye tacacitli campanel toncalaquizque ticahuane ahua tomachvan
- 3 In ninentlamati nichocayan Nelotototl ye quauhnepanla ninoquixtia in
 niteuctli Ehua niton helnanto nichocayan çan nicnotlamati ypalnemoa
 ticemilhuitia in tlçc. ancacatzitzintin tachcahuan.
- 6 Ma xiycetzatzitih timatlaltotocacatzin tinohueyotzin ye tacacitli ye toma-
 cechual inyn otopan temoc Xesu quilisto tachcahuan
- 8 Yc chicome huehuetl, tocotocotiti tocotiti.
- 9 In niquttoyam ye nicacatzin niton çelnanto at aoc tomatian in monamiccā
 mochihuatiuh chalchiuhElotl tachcahuan
- 11 I tzon in nochocayan nixopalEhuac ya nicacatli at aoc tomatian Et'
- 12 Ca titlaocol toncuicayan aça conctle E, titon helnanto ca imac tipapatlani
 in tlatoani cozmā moztla huiptla quen quinequiz yiollia
- 14 Tixochicozcamamalina icniuyotl ya Xan luisco xiquintlanexui yn a mo-
 hueyohua ye nican chalco tépilhuan
- 16 Yc chicuey huhuetl tocoto cototo tocotoco totiç
 tiquito tiqui tiqui tiquiti
- [copyist's numeral:] 43
- 17 In noncuicaamoxtlapal ya noconyaçocouhtinemi nixochiAlotzin nontla-
 tetotica in tlacuiloalcalitic ca.
- 19 In quenmā onnemiz niquttoa in nontlatlatetotica y tlacuiloalcalitic a
- 20 Noquetzalayuhçocouhtiaz y nehua nicuicaAlotzin yc ompa niaz un ychan
 in Xesu Quilisto yayaya.
- 22 In niqetzalaapetzacatzin teocuitlacapoltitech aya nopipilotinemi a nitla-
 palcacatzin in oay ye oy.
- 24 Ninahuiltinemi yan teocuitlacapoltitech aya nopipilotinemin ya nitla-
 palcacatzin oay E o ym

Song 63, Folios 51–51v

F

Sixth drum-cadence: toto tiqui tiquiti tiqui tiquiti.

- 29 "In the arms of the Someone I'm soaring, a bellbird, strong of heart, 34
 30 lord! I'm Don Hernando." And I, I'm weeping. How are we to make
 our entry? Little brother, *come!* O nephews!
 1 Would indeed that they were here in San Luis! Our flowers are twirling! O 35
 little brother, *come!* You! Francisco! You! Acacitli! How are we to make
 our entry? Little brothers, *come!* Hail! Nephews!
 3 "Grieving, weeping, I, a green-corn bird, come forth among the trees, a 36
 lord, I, Don Hernando, weeping, grieving." O Life Giver, you spend a
 day on earth! "O peepers! O elder brothers!"
 6 May you go crying as a holy one, you green bird, you peeper! You! My 37
 great one! You! Acacitli! Now this blessing has descended to us, and it's
 Jesucristo! "O elder brothers!"

G

Seventh drum-cadence: tocotocotiti tocotiti.

- 8 "A peeper am I, Don Hernando am I, saying 'Maybe our time is up, and 38
 9 the green-corn ears, these jades, are to pass away—that they may be cre-
 ated.' O elder brothers!"
 11 "A verdant peeper am I, and I'm weeping indeed: 'Oh, maybe our time is 39
 up, and the green-corn ears, these jades, are to pass away—that they may be
 created.' O elder brothers!"
 12 You are truly of His making, you that sing—O babe, hail! hey, Don Her- 40
 nando! And you're soaring in His arms. O Tlatoani Guzmán! Now what
 might His heart be requiring one of these days?
 14 You're whirling them as flower jewels, *these*, these comrades. In San Luis! 41
 Borrow these, your great ones! And they're here! These Chalcan princes!

H

Eighth drum-cadence: tocoto cototo tocotoco totiqui
 tiquito tiqui tiqui tiquiti.

- 17 "I open out songlike picture colors, I, a *song-flower* scarlet macaw, chatter- 42
 ing in the House of Paintings, ah!
 19 "And these that I utter shall someday live. I'm chattering in the House of 43
 Paintings, ah!
 20 "And the one to depart shall be I, unfolding a mist of plumes, I, a *song-flower* 44
 scarlet macaw, off to the home of Jesucristo.
 22 "I, a peeper, a plume, a pearl, am picking the golden cherries, ah! [or I'm 45
 hanging in the golden cherry tree, ah!]. A peeper of colors am I, and oh!
 24 "I, in pleasure, am picking the golden cherries, ah! [or I'm hanging in the 46
 golden cherry tree, ah!]. A peeper of colors am I, and oh!"

[*copyist's numeral:*] 44

- 26 Yc chicunahui huehuetl. titotito totocoto
titiqiti titiqiti titiqiti.
- 27 Topan moçouhtinemi anqui a maquizcacatzin in ipalтинemi xochiçaquã-
quetzalli y ya motzetzeloayam açua nomatzine
- 29 Tla toconahuiltican anqui a maquizcacatzin yn ipalтинemi xochiçaquã-
quetzalliyam motzetzeloayam Et.
- 31 In niqutoayam cacatzin nitomax teuctli anqui ya nelli ic noncuciltonol

folio 52

- in tlaçoihuixochitl ÿ cecelia ye mocuic toconyayehua ahua nomatzin teuc-
tle E
- 3 Yc cozcaahuachpихahua in manima in tomax teuctli ~~anqui ya nelli~~ et?
- 4 Ilhuicamixquiahuac oncã tiyanemiyā quetzalli cacatzin nomatzin in Pa-
lacizco teuctli ma ye xocõncaquican o anqui am ycuic ÿ tiox a.
- 6 Ticmaquiztetzeloā moxoxochitlatoltzin in Palacizco teuctli ma ye xocon-
caquican Et.
- 8 Yc matlachuehuetl tocotocotiquiti tocotocotiquiti totiti.
- 9 In topapaqui nomache in titon helnanto toconquetzalitzoltzetzeloā yectli a
mocuic in ixpan tiox ye timahuilia çan ticacatzine a.
- 11 In conpoloa motlaocol nomache in titon helnanto toconquetzalitzoltze-
tzeloā Et?
- 13 O anqui a nelli ye oncan tonahuiāzque a yn ilh⁴ytic aya in ticacatzitzinti
anomachvane tlaçoçaltzitzintinE at çanio nican maoc onnecuciuicane-
nonotzalo huehuetitlan naya cã tiazque ÿ ya ychan yehuaya in tiox a Ea.
- 17 In cuix occepa ye nican ompapatlantinemiquih a yn cacatzin xihuã pelez
aya annomachhuane tlaacuicaltzitzintinE at çanio yn nican Et?
- 20 Ahua conetle nomatzine a in palacizco motzintzcan capolin icpac in ya nemi
yn icahuaca yca ontlatohuaya ixquich in tototl quetzalin cacatzine E?
- 22 Çan momacehualhuã ca an motlaocolhuã aya motzintzcan capolin yepac in
ya nemi E?
- 24 .10. Tocotocotiquiti tocotocotiquiti totiquiti totiquiti
[*copyist's numeral:*] 46.
- 25 In nican niEcoc nicacatl a ye i quiapã yn yec ytentlapaliuhquetl in ton
helnanto aya tlaoc xiquitacan tlaçotlamachcacatzin moçouhtinemi ya

Song 63, Folios 51v-52

I

Ninth drum-cadence: titotito totocoto titiqui
titiqui titiquiti.

- 26
27 He opens out upon us. It would seem that He is Bracelet Peeper, Life 47
Giver. Flower troupial plumes are strewn. Hail, nephew!
29 Let us pleasure Him! Oh it seems that He is Bracelet Peeper, Life Giver. 48
Flower troupial plumes are strewn. *Hail, nephew!*
31 "I, Lord Tomás, am uttering them as a peeper." And so it seems in truth 49
ones, are songs of yours—that you are singing. Hail, O nephew, O lord!
3 Your soul has drizzled down as a jewel dew, O Lord Tomás. *And so it seems 50*
in truth that these, my riches, these precious feather blooms, these sprouting
ones, are songs of yours—that you are singing. Hail, O nephew, O lord!
4 Sky-Cloud Plaza is where you live, O plume, O peeper, O nephew of 51
mine, O Lord Francisco! Now hear them! *For these would seem to be*
the songs of God. And ah!
6 You scatter these, your flower words, as bracelets, O Lord Francisco! Now 52
hear them! *For these would seem to be the songs of God. And ah!*

J

Tenth drum-cadence: tocotocotiquiti tocotocotiquiti totiti.

- 8
9 O you that exult! O nephew! You! Don Hernando, you scatter these holy 53
ones, these songs of yours, as knife-rush plumes before God's face. O
pleasured one! You peeper! Ah!
11 O you that cast aside your cares! O nephew! You! Don Hernando, you 54
scatter *these holy ones, these songs of yours*, as knife-rush plumes *before*
God's face. O pleased one! You peeper! Ah!
13 It seems indeed that we—we little peepers—are to be rejoiced in heaven. 55
Ah, nephews! You red-crowned parrots! May it be only here, beside the
drum, that we speak to each other in songs. We're to pass away and to
the home alas! of God.
17 Might the peeper Juan Pérez come soaring here again? Aya! my nephews. 56
You red-crowned parrots! *May it be only here, beside the drum, that we*
speak to each other in songs. We're to pass away and to the home alas! of God.
20 Hail! O babe, O nephew, ah! Francisco! Your trogon's dwelling, shrilling, 57
in the cherry tree, and with him warble all the birds—the plumes! O
peeper!
22 They're your subjects, your creatures. Your trogon's dwelling, *shrilling*, in 58
the cherry tree, *and with him warble all the birds—the plumes! O peeper!*

K

tocotocotiquiti tocotocotiquiti totiquiti totiquiti

- 24
25 "A peeper am I, here arrived in the rain." O glorious young man, O Don 59

- moxochinchamolquatlapalnemach quemach mixtlan miti y nica in
 29 In xopantla tihuala pa yamil ypan totcaco in tiox aya ye acuecuentla in ton
 helnanto ma nicyahucaya chalchihuelotl xihuhquecholxilotl cueponton
 aya man amatlapaltitlan nictecaya ma nicaxiti quetzaloyametl ymapā aya
 ahua conetle ahua pille xaahuiaçā netle an

folio 52v

- 1 Maquiznelhuayoticac tzinitzā ahua izhuayo y tlaaquillo yn ahua quahuatl
 ymapan momalacachoa mopipiloa yam xihuinquetzalcacatzī ton hel-
 nanto ahua tzatzapotl quiquatinemia
 4 Cecnipa quahuatl ymapan aya oncan ye nimian quetzalchitocetzin quauhto-
 topotzin ny quahuatl yc o tiauh yn oncan quauhyehuiloa tlaçço ychuatl
 ŷ acacitzin tlaquic aya Et?
 7 Tlatlamantitihui inic ximoa ylh⁴ytic ticacatzin in nepapan niquittoa nican
 inin manel huel quetzalli niquixhualtia mach yc nitlaçoyaz ayac tla-
 quahuac nomache
 10 Totolinico ya nican y xochitlalpan ticacatin ŷ nepapan niquihtohua yn Et.
 11 finis.

XopanCuicatl

[copyist's numeral:] 47

- 13 Otocontecaque in moxochinpetl ya in nē oncā onnentlamatizque in moc-
 noicnihuā ipalnemoa ohuaya Et?
 15 Tla toconchuacan moxopanquicuicatzin chalchihahuachchopiltzin ye ti-
 motelchihuh ye tehuatl tonmatia in atlitic tehuatl tictlapoa chalchihuhzo-
 calli in tenochtitlā Et?
 17 Tla timitzmacacan motlahuquechol xochihuachquetzi chalchihahuach-
 chopiltzin Et?
 18 Chalchihuhacuilloli o in cuicaamoxtli onquetzalxilohuitliuhtoc in yectlon
 cuicatl xochinpapalocalli ya yc ompa hualtemo in cuicatl ompa niccaquia

Hernando! Won't you look at this precious, this work of art, this peeper, unfolding his wings—yes, this flower of Yours, this scarlet panache, this gorgeous head, this masterpiece? How like an arrow among the clouds does this, His creation, seem *on earth!* Hail, babe! Hail, prince! Be pleased! Hey!

29 To the greenery you come and to the waters. "We've come to lie down in God's garden, oh yes, in the watered fields." O Don Hernando! Now let me carry this green-corn car, this jade, this milk-corn car, this turquoise swan, this little bud, and let me lay him down among the gorgeous banners. Let me put him on a branch of the Plume Fir. Hail, babe! Hail, prince! Be pleased! Hey! And ah!

1 This trogon! He's striking root! As a bracelet! Ah, on a leafy fruit-bearing tree branch this turquoise peeper plume Don Hernando hangs turning. Ah! and he goes along eating *sapotas*.

4 Turquoise Parrot Plume, Tree Nibbler, runs on a branch of this tree. You're moving along in this tree. In this tree they're all moving along! [Or as eagles they're passing away!] Look! There's Chief Acacitli!

7 They go marching by squadrons, and all are shorn! In heaven! O Peeper! I utter a multitude. These! Now let me induce them to germinate, truly, these very plumes. "And then will I pass away precious?" No one is durable. Nephew, *come!*

10 "We were born to be poor, we peepers in this world of flowers." I utter a multitude. *These! Now let me induce them to germinate, truly, these very plumes. "And then will I pass away precious?" No one is durable. Nephew, come!*

11 Finis

LXIV A song of green places

13 We've spread your flower mat; your grieving cohorts there will do the best they can, O Life Giver.

15 Let us lift your green-place songs, O cricket of the drizzling jade, yes you, Motelchiuh! It's you that know the whereabouts of waters, you that open up the grotto house of jade in Tenochtitlan.

17 Let us present you with a roseate swan, O you of the drizzling flowers, you that stand on toe-points, cricket of the drizzling jade, *yes you, Motelchiuh! It's you that know the whereabouts of waters, you that open up the grotto house of jade in Tenochtitlan.*

18 Jade paintings, song pictures, are bending down as milk-corn plumes. These holy ones, these songs, are descending from the house of the flower butterfly! I, the singer, hear these words of His from heaven, from His home. And these are angels, ah!

- nicuicanitl yehua in itlatol ilh^c ye ichan angelota ha Et? çan nepapa çan itica yao ontzauttica ca xochipapalocalia &.
- 22 Ixochiamil ipan can ye ðnemi in patlantinema ca yehua in Tiox yxihquecholicpitzin inteocuitlatlapal ica tlapetlania in huehuetitlan xopācalitic cuicatlapayahuitl mania Et?
- 25 Ichalchiuhxaltomacocoçquia ça yehuan Dios ixihquecholicpitzin Et?
- 26 Tlaoc tehuan tompehuacan tlaoc tehuā toncuicacan Ma toconnentlamachiticā ypalnemoani at cana hueli aahuilitloyan at ca huelly ellelquixitloyan Et?
- 28 Ma icnoxochitl,a, ye nicmanaya nican nictzetzelo xopaninxochitl cempohualxochitl ayc ica on aahuialoya Et?
- 30 Niqetza in tohuehucuh niqinnechicoa in tocnihuā ymellel quiça niqin-cuicatia tiazque ye ichan ximotlamachiticā ximocuiltonocā in antocni-huan ahuaya Et?

folio 53

- 1 Ma izquixochitl i ma cacahuaxochitl ma onneaquilo ma necozcatilo huehuetitlana yece ye nicā xochinahuatilo, yece ye nicā in cuicanahuatilo in tl̄çc o ximotlamachiticā ximocuiltonocā yn ātocnihuā ohuaya.
- 4 Tiquetzaltototl titlahuquechol tompapatlantinema yn ipalnemohua timohuihuixa timotzetzelo nican, Moicnochan moicnocal a imācan ohuaya ça ye moncuiltonol moteicnelil in tl̄çc huelō nemoa timohuihuixohua &.
- 8 Xiuhquecholxochitl in tlahuquecholxochitl in malinticac on in moyollo in mo-
[*copyist's numeral:*] 48
tlatol nopiltzin o' in chichimecatl teuctli in tiayoqua cuel achic ye nicā xoconmotlanhui in tl̄çc ohuaya. &? Yca nichoca compolohua in tomi-quiz compoloa in totlaocol yectlon cuicatl cuel achic &
- 12 Tiquetzaltototl tipatiuh yehuan in Tiox can quetzalhuexotica chalchiuhatica çan toconaltian atlo ya in tepetl ayahuitl çan topan mani ma quiça om a yectli xochitl ma inomac onmania onxochimalintoc amocuic amotlatol
- 16 Moquetzale'cacehuaz tic e'capahua ye tlachia in cozcatl in ye tlachia in quetzalli y ye nemalinalo ayahuitl Et?
- 18 Tlahuilli xochitl oncuepontimani amoxtli manca Mexicon ja ohuaya tonatimania ahuaya &
- 20 Cenca ye mamox hi cenca y tlacuilolitic onmania in atlo yan tepetl in tenochtitlan quiçoçohuaya conyacucuepa yehua in Pale yehua in Capitan ontlatoya ye oncā ontlachia ilh^dytic ohuaya Et?
- 23 Xiuhtlaquetzalli mochiuhticac in S^{ta} Malia ilh^c tlaquetzalli mochiuhticac yehua in Tiox anconapaloa calli manican āconpachotimani anahuatlo a in ilhuicatl ahuaya &

- The many are within, enclosed! *These songs! Descending from the house of the flower butterfly! I, the singer, hear these words of His from heaven, from His home. And these are angels, ah!*
- 22 This turquoise swan of His, God's gold-colored firefly: it's soaring along— 5
over His meadow of flowers. And there's a glowing, then, beside the drum, and in this Green-Place house a steady gentle rain of songs.
- 25 These are God's jade tomatillo jewels, his turquoise swan, *his gold-colored 6
firefly. And there's a glowing, then, beside the drum, and in this Green-Place house a steady gentle rain of songs.*
- 26 Let's strike it up, let's sing. Let's make Life Giver grieve. Is there anywhere 7
a place of pleasure? Can there truly be a place where cares are cast aside?
- 28 Let there be bereavement flowers, *ah!* I offer these, I scatter these, these 8
Green-Place flowers, marigold flowers. And oh! there's a place of pleasure then, with these.
- 30 I stand up the drum, I gather our friends, and their cares are put aside, and 9
I give them songs. We're off to His home. Be happy. Rejoice, friends.
- 1 Let there be popcorn flowers, cacao flowers. May all adorn themselves and 10
put on jewels—beside the drum. It's here that they're summoned with flowers, here on earth that they're summoned with songs. Be happy. Rejoice, friends.
- 4 O Quetzal, O Roseate Swan, O you that soar, O Life Giver, you shake 11
yourself, you scatter yourself, here, in your humble home, in your humble house.
All your riches, your favors, are alive on earth. You shake yourself, *you scatter yourself, here, in your humble home, in your humble house.*
- 8 Turquoise-swan flowers, roseate-swan flowers, are spinning, oh, and 12
they're your hearts, your words. My prince! O Chichimec Lord Ayo-cuan! Borrow them briefly here on earth.
For these I weep, and these destroy our death, destroy our sadness, *these, the good songs. Borrow them briefly here on earth.*
- 12 You, quetzal, you, God's payment! You bathe the city in jade moisture and 13
with willow plumes. The mist falls upon us. Let these holy flowers come forth. Let them lie in your hand. These songs, these words of yours, are whirled as flowers.
- 16 You're fanning your plume fans. And they look around, these jewels! 14
They look around, these plumes, these whirled ones, this mist *that lies upon us. Let these holy flowers come forth. Let them lie in your hand. These songs, these words of yours, are whirled as flowers.*
- 18 Brilliant flowers stand blooming. And where these pictures stand, this 15
Mexico lies shining.
- 20 Indeed within your pictures, these paintings, lies the city Tenochtitlan. 16
Unfolding them, he turns them and he turns them, he the padre, he the captain, singing there beyond, looking around in heaven.
- 23 Turquoise columns stand created. O Santa María! The heavenly columns 17

- 26 Çan chalchiuhxicalli amomac ommania çan quetzalhuexotica anquiahuach-
pehuitoque in Atl in tepetl çñic maoc cemilhuitl ohuaya. Et:¹
- 28 Yancuic tictlalia in moztocal çan titlatoani ca yehua in tiox yancuic ticma-
naya mochalchiuhteponaz tictzetzeloa Et:²
- 30 Amoxtli toconitta yehuaya in Pale in moch ompa toneci in timacehualti
ilh³ytic çan tontlacaqui ompa toconnotza yehua in Tiox &

folio 53v

[copyist's numeral:] 49

Matlatzincayotl

- 1 A nonpehua noncuica nimâcuilxochitl çan noconahuiltia o a yn ipalnemoa
ÿ macon netotilo ohuaya ohuaya.
- 4 Quenonamican cano ye ichan i ma itquihua in cuicatl i çanio nicã y iz ca
anmoxchiuh ~~aya mopapaloouh ic toconahuiltia in matlatzincatl in toloca~~
~~in tlacotepec~~ in ma onnetotilo ohuaya ohuaya
- 7 Te momacehual Matlatzincatl Itzcohuatzin
[marginal gloss:] itzcoatzin
In axayacatzin ticmomoyahuaco in Altepctl in tlacotepec
[marginal gloss:] hucl mitoa chalca mani
a ohuaya.
- 9 O ylacatzihua
[marginal gloss:] ilacatzihui s. momalina.
om moxochiuh aya mopapaloouh ic toconahuiltia in matlatzincatl in
toloca in tlacotepec a ohuaya.
- 11 Ayaxca o contemaca in xochitl a ihuitla ypalnemoa ohuaya &
12 In quâhuichimalli in temac ye quimana ohuican cuihua yan tlachinolli itic
yxtlahuatl itic ohuaya ohuaya
14 In neneuhqui in tocuic neneuhqui in toxochiuh can tiquaochpan in to-
conahuiltia ypalnemoa ohuaya ohuaya.
16 In quahuixochitl in momac ommania Taxayacatzin in teoaxochitl in tla-
chinolxochitl ic yzhuayotimani yca yhuintihua ya in tonahuac onoca
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 19 Topan cueponia yaoxochitl a in ehcatepec a in Mexico ye ohoye huiloya
yca yhuintihua &
21 Ça ye netlapalolo in tépilhuan in âcolihuaque in an tepaneca ohuaya Et:
[copyist's numeral:] 50
- 22 Yn otépeuh Axayaca nohuan matlatzincó Malinalco, ocuillã, Tequaloya,
xôcotitlan, nican ohualquiçaco xiquipilco oncan oquimetzhuitec ce oto-

Songs 64–65, Folios 53–53v

stand created. O God, you cradle the house *and all* its foundation: you
govern the earth and the sky.
26 The jade drinking bowl is in your hand, and with a willow plume you 18
sprinkle mist on this island realm. Let us have this day!
28 You're settling new ones in your grotto house, O king. O God, you're 19
spreading new ones, strewing log-drum jades.
30 You're seeing pictures, O padre. We underlings are all appearing there. In 20
heaven! We're hearing things. We're calling out to God.

LXV Matlatzincan piece

1 I strike up a song, I, Macuilxochitl, pleasuring Life Giver. Let there be 1
dancing.
4 A song! Let it be carried from where He dwells in the Place Unknown. It's 2
here! And here are Your flowers. Let there be dancing.
7 Your prize is a Matlatzincan! O Blade Companion,⁴ O Axayacatl! You've 3
come to tear apart the town of Tlacotepec!⁵
9 And so you pleasure him, O Matlatzincan—him, your flower, your but- 4
terfly, this whirled one⁶—in Toluca and in Tlacotepec.
11 With effort he's presenting plumes and flowers—to Someone! O Life 5
Giver!
12 These eagle shields he lays in Someone's hands are won in danger on the 6
blazing field.
14 Just as our songs, just as our flowers, you, you Shaven Head, are pleasur- 7
ing Life Giver.
16 With eagle flowers lying in your hands, O Axayacatl—flood-and-blaze 8
flowers, sprouting—our comrades, all of them, are drunk.
19 With battle flowers blossoming upon us—as all move on to Ecatepec and 9
to Mexico—*our comrades*, all *of them*, are drunk.
21 Hailed are the princes—the Acolhuans, the Tepanecs! 10
22 When Axayacatl had conquered everywhere in Matlatzinco—in Mali-
nalco, in Ocuillan, in Tecualoyan, and in Xocotitlan—he came away
through Xiquipilco, where an Otomi named Tlilat wounded him in the

⁴ *Marginal gloss:* Itzcoatzin.

⁵ *Marginal gloss:* Actually it is said to lie with the Chalchans.

⁶ *Marginal gloss:* He is whirled or he is spun.

mitl ytoca Tlilat, auh yn oahcico quimilhui ycihuahuā xitlacencahuacan
 in Maxtlatl in tilmatl Et anquimacazque amoquichui / oquinenotzallan
 ma huallauh yn otomitl yn onechmetzhuitec momauhtitica yn otomitl
 quittoa anca ye nechmictizque quihualhuica in huepantli, in tlaxipehualli
 in Maçatl ic quitlapaloco in axaya momauhtitihuitz, auh çan oquitlauhti-
 que yn icihuahuā Axayaca

folio 54

Tlaxcaltecatoytl

- 1
 2 Otacico ye nican Tenochtitlan y ximochicahuacā antlaxcalteca ye huexo-
 tzinca quen concaquiz teuctlo xicotencatly y nelpiloniya ximochicahua-
 can netlaya
 5 Hualtzatzia in tachcauh in quauhtencoztli çan conilhuia in capitani ya o
 tonā ye malintzin y xacaltecoz acachinanco otacico huel ximochicahuacā
 netlaya.
 7 Tlaoc toconchiacā ynacal capitan aya huel ye oqui hualaci yn iquachpā in
 tepe-

[marginal gloss:] Aztahuacan

polli çan ye ixpā aya ye ixpolihuiō in macehualtin Mexicame hue xi-
 mochicahuacan netleya.

- 10 Xiquipalehuican totecuiyohuan a ayahue tepoztlahuiceque quixixinia atlon
 yan tepetl quixixinia Mexicayotl ximochicahuacā netleya.
 12 Xictotzona in mohuehueuh xihuehuctza ye ixtlilxochitle xomittotiao
 in quauhquiahuac Mexico nicā mocueçalizchimalo cuecuyahua yan
 temalacatitlan y ximochicahuacā netleya
 15 Yaopapaquinitzin tlahuiznenequitzin ayyahue in quachic aya yxtlixochitle
 xonmittotia in quauhquiahuac Mexico nicā y Mocueçalizchimalo cue-
 cuyayan temalacatitlan y ximochicahuacan netleya.
 18 In oc hualmomantihui Ahua tomachvancyayyano in quachic aya in Ana-
 huacatzin yn otomitl teuctli tehuetzquti hue ximochicahuacā netleya.
 20 O cuel achica ccmilhuil o yeehuaya in tlachinolxochitl motlatol tiquauh-
 temoctzin aya moteocuitlayacaxochiuh tlatlahuizcallehuatimaniya in
 mochcaxochiuh quetzaltica queyahuatimani otitlamahuiō huitziltepetl
 ximochicahuacan netleya.
 24 Quehuclço tehuatzin Tetoca ye' mopan o mantiaz tauh totepeuh yeh mach
 oc timoxicoz çequi mopatiuh yetiuh oo moteocuitlayehuatzacaya moch-
 caxochiuh quetzaltica cuyahuatimani otitlamahuiō huitziltepetl

[marginal gloss:] huitzilopo[çh]

co

ximochicahuacan netleya.

leg. But when he got home he said to his women, "Get out the loincloth, the cape, and so forth, and give them to your man!" He summoned him, *saying*, "Let the Otomi come forth who wounded me in the leg." The Otomi is fearful, saying, "Perhaps they will kill me." He hails Axayacatl with timbers and deerskins. He comes in fear. But Axayacatl's women just rewarded him.

LXVI Tlaxcalan piece

A

- 2 You've arrived here in Tenochtitlan! "Be strong, Tlaxcalans! Huexotzin- 1
cans!" And what will Nelpiloni be hearing from Lord Xicotencatl? "Be
strong! Hail!"
- 5 Chief Yellow-Beak Eagle comes shouting. And Captain, or Mother Ma- 2
rina, says, "Yellow Beak, my lookout! You've arrived in Acachinanco!"
Be strong! Hail!
- 7 "Let's keep watch for the Captain's boats. And ah, his banner is just com- 3
ing in from Tepepol.⁷ Beneath it the Mexican people are ravaged." Woe!
Be strong! Hail!
- 10 Give aid to our lords! With iron weapons they're wrecking the city, they're 4
wrecking the Mexican nation! Be strong! Hail!
- 12 Beat your drum and laugh loud, O Ixtlilxochitl! Dance at the Eagle Gate! 5
Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields are whirling at the round-
stone. Be strong! Hail!
- 15 O Glad-in-Battle, O Craving Weapons, ah! O Valiant, O Ixtlilxochitl! 6
Dance at the Eagle Gate! Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields
are whirling at the round-stone. Be strong! Hail!
- 18 Meanwhile they sally forth and offer themselves. Oh, nephews! O Valiant 7
Anahuacatl, and you O Otomi Chief Tehuetzquiti, woe! Be strong!
Hail!
- 20 These blazing flower words of Yours are but a moment and a day, O 8
Eagle-Going-Down! These golden flower shoots of Yours are radiating
dawnlight. These, Your cotton flowers, plume-whirl! And You've re-
joiced at Hummingbird Mountain. Be strong! Hail!
- 24 How favored You are! This city of ours follows onward, transported to 9
You! Do You still have a craving? *Well then*, a few of Your payments are
riding along, *yes these*, Your golden skin-ropes! *These*, Your cotton
flowers, plume-whirl! And You've rejoiced at Hummingbird Moun-
tain.⁸ Be strong! Hail!

⁷ *Marginal gloss:* Aztahuacan.

⁸ *Marginal gloss:* Huitzilopochco.

28

Yc ontetl huehuetl

29

Tla huel xiquimottacan a yehuantin chimaltica mittotia, a, otonnexcineque in tehuetzquiti yn tecoatzin tleñoço anyezque mayecuele ma onnetotilo in tla xicuica anicahuan, Ma cecen otlipan ximochicahuacā ticohuayhuilit in tiitzpotonqui tle'ñoço anyezque maocyecuele ma ñehtotilo yn tla xicuicacan annicahuan.

folio 54v

1

Onel ticyacauhque tla xicaqui ye nocuic in taub totepeuh in tenochtitlā o Mex^{co} nican in huel nelli, a, niqittohua niqeehua yechua ye tonacizquia inn izta nanauhca in tlattelolco ma çan tlapie ye mochiuh Tlaxcalteca aya yn tla xicuicacan annicahuan.

5

Çan nicyaittac nicmahuiço ye oncā Nanahuacalteuctli chimaltica y expalatica yequene quihualtocaya in Tlaxcalteca aya in caxtillan tlaca Atitlan quincahuato ya tacitoya ma çan tlapie ommochiuh Tlaxcalteca aya in tla xicuicacā anicahuan

9

Yc yey huehuetl

[copyist's numeral:] 53

10

Tlaoc xōmitoti o tooquizteuctli titlatohuaya xictzotzona in tcoquitlahuehuetl xiuhtlemiahuayo concauhtehuaque' in teteuctin tlatoque auh ooya yehuatl ye xiquimonahuilti in nepapā tlaca tonahuac onoque tlaxcalteca ÿ meetlo ye huexotzinca y meetla

14

Telçuelc aye onez Mexico ye nican cuitlachihuitl aya in tla'tohuani y huāylteuctli Tepixohuatzine anqui mochtin ye miculoque ye in chimaltitech oo nepapa tlaca tonahuac onoque tlaxcalteca yn meetlo huexotzinca ÿ meetla

17

Mochimalihtotico nican aya in tlatohuani in Apopōca Mex^{co} anqui nicā chimalaztaxochihuaque huahuāpatzacque ÿ teuctlio amixpan o tlaxcalteca y meetlo ye huexotzinca ÿ meetla

20

Auh aço nelli yeic onacic quimō, ya, cuili ynin tepoztopilli ixpayolme anqui nican chimalaztaxochihuaque huahuāpatzaque ÿ teuctli o amixpan o tlaxcalteca ÿ meetlo ye huexotzinca ÿ meetlo.

23

Hualchimallaçaya yehuan motelchiuhtzin ÿ teucylhuilit y telhuelie onnezta in oncacique yn intlequiquiço in tepchuanime conittoa in A toch ma onnetotilo tlaxcalteca ÿ meetlo ye huexotzinca yn meetla

26

ye xixinia ye quauhtenamitl a ocelotenamitl in teucylhuilit telhuelcye onnezta in a cacique yn intlequiquiço in tepchuanime quittoa in A toch ma onnetotilo tlaxcalteca ÿ meetlo huexotzinca ÿ meetla.

29

Yc nahui huehuetl

30

Yn huel ximotzomoco ma xōmicalita çan titlaccatecatl a yn temilotzin

B

Second drum-cadence

- 28
29 See them dancing with their shields! We've cut off our hair, O Tehuetz- 10
quiti, O Tecoatzin! What else would you do? Onward! Let there be
dancing! Sing, brothers!
Everybody on the road! Be strong! O Coaihuitl, O Itzpotonqui, what else
would you do? Onward! Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers!
- 1 This we've abandoned—hear my songs!—this, our city, this Tenochtitlan, 11
this Mexico-on-earth. Oh I sing them in earnest, I utter them, ah! And
we would arrive. From the four directions they move toward Tlate-
lolco! Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans! Aya! Sing, brothers!
- Alone I saw Lord Anahuacatl there and marveled at him. Finally with 12
shields and swords they come to chase him, they the Tlaxcalans, aya!
and they the Castellians. Off he goes, into the water, leaving them be-
hind. And off we go—to arrive! Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans!
Sing, brothers!

C

Third drum-cadence

- 9
10 Dance, Lord Oquitzzin, and you sing! Beat the golden drum that sprouted 13
turquoise fire-tassels! Lords and rulers went away and left him. And he
himself has gone away. Then pleasure these, this multitude, our com-
rades! Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 14 Yes, even so he's appeared here in Mexico! Cuitlachihuitl! And the tlatoni, 14
Lord Huanitl! O Sower-of-Men, it would seem that these multiple no-
bles, our comrades, have all been painted in shields! Tlaxcalans, hey!
Huexotzincans, hey!
- 17 The ruler Atl Popoca comes to do a shield dance here in Mexico. It seems 15
this lord lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of
withered stripers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzin-
cans, hey!
- 20 It seems he's come to take a lance from the Spaniards. It seems this lord 16
lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of withered
stripers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 23 Motelchiuh is the one who thrusts his shield, and it's a time of lords! Yes 17
even so he sallies forth, having appeared. And when they've captured
the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says, "Let there be dancing!"
Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 26 This eagle bulwark, this jaguar bulwark, is the one who does the wreck- 18
ing—it's a time of lords! Yes even so he sallies forth, having appeared.
And when they've captured the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says,
"Let there be dancing!" Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!

folio 55

- 3 \bar{y} ye oquiçaco in imacal caxtilteca chinanpā,neca yaoyahualolo in tenochcatlaya yaoyahualolo in tlattelolcatl.
 6 \bar{Y} oc tlatzatzauatoa in tlacochcalcatl in coyohuehuétzin a ye on oquiçaco in Acolihua o in Tepeyacac o in huey otlī ypan yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatla yaoyahualolo in Tlatelolcatla.
 9 In ye huel patiohuay in Tenochtitlan y ye ixpolihuio ye ipilhuā in ye çan yehuan Tiox chalchiuhcapitan yehuan Guzma Mex^{co} nicā yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatla yaoyahualolo Tlatelolcatla.
 12 Y xiuhhualcapoztica tla'tlahtlatzinia ayahuitl moteca y no conanque ya in quauhtemoctzin a yahue cém atl onmantia \bar{y} Mexica in tepilhuan aya yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatl in Tlatelolcatla.
 13 Yc macuilli huehuetl [*copyist's numeral:*] 55
 16 Ma xiquilnamiquican Tlaxcalteca tomachhuā yn iuhqui ticchiuhque Coyonacazco Neçoquihuiloc in Mexica ye cihua ye tepepenalo in tlahahuacque ayahue.
 19 A yc pachiuhtia yiello A yximachoctzin chimalpaquinitzin,a, yahue yn iuhqui oticchiuhque coyonacazco neçoquihuiloc in Mexica ye cihua ye tepepenalo \bar{y} tlahahuacque ayahue.
 22 Ye onetzaqualoc Acachinanco Tehuexolotzin ayahue conicihuitia ynin tlamemeltzin \bar{y} Xicotencatl in Caxtañcta ye ma yhui netlè ye ya ma yhui netle.
 24 I xihualpaynaca ticcahuane in tinelpilonitzino yahue cōcihuitia ynin tlememeltzin \bar{y} Xicotencatl \bar{y} Caxtaneta ye ma yhui netle ya ye ma yhui netle.
 26 In chiucnahuilhuitica onteaxitilo in Coyohuacā in Quauhtemoctzin in Coanacoch tetlepanquetzatzin ye necuilolo in āteteuctin ayyo.
 29 Quimonellaquaya,a, in Tlacotzin ye quimonilhuia o Ahua tomachvane ximochihuacan aya teocuitlatepozmeccatica ya onilpiloque \bar{y} ayahue ye necuilolo \bar{y} anteteuctin ayyo.
 32 I yn quihualittohua o in tlatoani o in Quauhtemoctzina, Ahua nomatzine can tonanaloc tontzitzquiloc ac ynahuac timotlalia Genelal Capitan ahuaye nella toya yxapeltzina ahuaya nomachticatzine ayaya nella aye necuilolo in teteuctin ayyo.

folio 55v

- 1 Nel ahontimalihuiz in tetlacauhyotla ayahue oncozcanchihuih in quetzal-nenclihuih in coyohuacani ahua nomatzine can analoc tontzitzquiloc aqū inahuac aya timotlalia in Genelal Capitan ahuaye nella toya yxapeltzina yahue ye necuilolo ya teteucti ayyo ye necuilolo ya teteuctin ayyo.

Song 66, Folios 55-55v

D

Fourth drum-cadence

- 29
30 Gather your strength and go fight, O Commander, O Temilotzin. Cas- 19
tillians and Chinampanecs are coming in with boats. Tenochcans are
surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.
- 3 Meanwhile the troop chief Coyohuchuetzin throws up barricades. Acol- 20
huans are coming down the Tepcyacac causeway! Tenochcans are sur-
rounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.
- 6 He who might serve as a payment for Tenochtitlan, he who's destroyed, is 21
one of the children of God the jade captain: it's Guzmán, here in Mexico!
Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.
- 9 It thunders and thunders from out of a turquoise harquebus, and the vapor 22
rolls. They've even seized Cuauhtemoc. All the Mexican princes go
off through the water. Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are
surrounded.

E

Fifth drum-cadence

- 12
13 *My dear* Tlaxcalan nephews, *now* remember how we did it in Coyona- 23
cazco: the women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all
the masters made their choices.
- 16 With this he passed away contented in his heart, and he is Notable, and he 24
is Glad-for-His-Shield. Ah! This is how we did it in Coyonacazco: the
women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all the masters
made their choices.
- 19 Yes, all the tom turkeys were corraled at Acachinanco, and the babe Cas- 25
tañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! Let it be so!
And hail!
- 22 "O younger brothers, come running! O Nelpiloni!" And the babe Cas- 26
tañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! Let it be so!
And hail!
- 24 After nine months Cuauhtemoc, Coanacoch, and Tetzlepanquetzatzin were 27
brought to Coyohuacan. Yes, all you princes are delineated!
- 26 Tlacotzin cheers them, saying, "Nephews, be strong!" Aya! They've been 28
bound with iron ties of gold! Yes, all you princes are delineated!
- 29 The ruler Cuauhtemoc says, "My darling, hail! You're seized, you're taken! 29
Who is she that sits beside you, O Captain General? Truly it's Doña Is-
abel!" "My dearest darling!" Aya! It's true. And princes are delineated.
- 1 True, this abandonment shall not suppurate. Created as jewels are they 30
who are plume-strewn in Coyohuacan. "My darling, hail! You're seized,
you're taken! Who is she that sits beside you, O Captain General? Truly
it's Doña Isabel!" "My dearest darling!" And princes are delineated. Yes,
princes are delineated.

6 Ycuic neçahualpilli yc tlamato huexotzinco.
 Cuextecayotl, Quitlali cuicani Tececepouhqui

[*marginal gloss:*] Yc ahxihuac huehue'tzin ypiltzin xayacamachantzin huexotzinco tlatohuani, Mictiloc temalacac.

[*copyist's numeral:*] 56

- 8 Nihuinti anaya yhuintia noyollo tlahuizcalla moquetzaya, o tla'tohuaya
 çaquan quechol o chimaltenanticpac tlaochtenanticpac ximocuiltono ti-
 tlacahuepan tinohueyo, quaxomotl aya quaxomocuectecat ayoo
 11 Çan teoaxochioctla yc yhuintic yc oncan totoatēpan aya quaxomotl aya Et?
 12 Yn chalchiuhtli teteypca, quetzalli popoztequi a nohueyo tepilluā y tzin mi-
 quiztlahuanque yc oncan amillan ypano, atempanaya a y Mexica y
 mehctla.
 14 In quauhtli ya Pipitzcan a ocelotl chocatica tinopiltzin Macuilmalinalli çan
 ye oncan Poctlan tlapallā yeco y achihua a y Mexica Et?
 16 In ye onihuintic yc nicuextecatla y yc nixochiquaxoxoya Nictotoyahua ye
 xochiaoctli ya ye oya ye oya ye aye ayco.
 18 In ma temacon quetzalocoxochitl nopiltzin titlahpaliuhquetl yn ye nixoxo-
 xoya Et?

Ye ome huehuetl

- 21 In teoatl ymancan ayyahue ompoçontimani teoaxochiocticaya a ihuintia a
 in Mexicame chichimecatl aya noconilnamiquia çan nichoca y hue.
 23 Ycaya yyahue o onnichocaya Nineçahualpilla noconilnamiqui canîya mania
 ompa ye cueponia yaoxochitl yya noconilnamiquia cā nichoca y hue.
 25 Cili quipon çhiltzin a y tzin mahua a yxtlilcuechahuac yca ye òmahuiztia
 quinamoya in quetzalli patzacan xiuh quiyamōya cuexteca tlahuaquen.
 27 Atlia yxtlayhtec tlachinolacueyotl y topan ye poçoni pilia yxtlilotonco-
 chotzin a yçā ye mahuiztia quinamoya y quetzaly patzacan Et?

folio 56

- 1 In quetzalaxomotzin ompapatlantia noxochihueyotzin y tlacahuepantzin
 aya çan quitocan tochin teuctlapaliuhquetly y cuexteca meyetla.
 4 Aytec o cuicaya a ontlahtoa oo yaye y teoaxochitly y çan quitlahuana
 onchachalaca inquecholpohuan in tecpilli ya y cuexteca mectla

- 6 LXVII Song of Nezahualpilli when he went to take
 captives in Huexotzinco.⁹ A Huastec piece,
 composed by the singer Tececepouhqui.

A

- 8 I'm drunk, and my hearts are drunk. Dawn appears: troupials, swans, are 1
 singing. Rejoice among these shield-and-javelin bulwarks, O Tlachahue-
 pan, O great one, O eagle fowl, O Huastec eagle fowl!
- 11 Beyond at bird-shore, drunk with flood-flower wine is eagle fowl, *this* 2
Huastec eagle fowl!
- 12 Jades are shattering, plumes are crackling, O great one. Princes down be- 3
 low are drinking death and hence are there—upon the meadows and at
 the shore! They're Mexicans, and hey!
- 14 Eagles scream, jaguars are wailing, O prince, O Macuilmalinaltzin. And 4
 they who brew this wine arrive—among the mists and in the crimson.
 They're Mexicans, *and hey!*
- 16 I'm a drunken Huastec now, I'm greening now—as a flower eagle. I'm 5
 spilling flower wine.
- 18 Let these pine-flower plumes be given out, O stalwart prince! I'm greening 6
 now, *I'm spilling flower wine.*

B

Second drum-cadence

- 20 They're seething on the flood, they're drunk on flood-flower wine, these 7
 Mexicans! "Just weeping, I recall a Chichimec, alas.
- 23 "Nezahualpilli am I, and I weep, recalling him. From where he dwells, 8
 beyond, he blossoms forth, this flower of war. Just weeping, I recall
 him, and alas!"
- 25 A bell has blossomed. Down below, poor Screecher trembles. Ah, it's Ix- 9
 tlilcuechahuac! This is how he wins his fame: he snatches withered
 plumes, putting turquoise gems to flight. And Huastecs are made drunk.
- 27 "The flood! The blazing wave! It seethes upon us in midfield!" And this is 10
 how Prince Ixtlil-Warrior-Parrot wins his fame: he snatches withered
 plumes, *putting turquoise gems to flight. And Huastecs are made drunk.*
- 1 This plume, this waterfowl, soars away: my flower, my great one, this 11
 Tlachahuepan. And Huastecs are following after this rabbit, this stalwart
 lord. And hey!
- 4 It's in the Water that he sings and warbles, this noble lord, and his fellow 12
 swans are chattering and tipping on flood flowers—well, they're Huax-
 tecs. Hey!

⁹ *Marginal gloss:* The one who was captured was Huchuetziti—son of Xayacamach, ruler of Huexotzinco. He was killed on the round-stone.

- 6 Oyatihuintique notatahuan tlapalyhuintitly ma nemaytitotilo ya çan ca ye
 ichan huhuexochihuaqueh o ça quetzalchimalaque.
- 8 Ye tlatileque ya yolimaleya anca quimittotia in ihuatzalhuâ huhuexochi-
 huaque o ça queçal Et!
- 10 Ye ço yahqui nopillotzin çoçahuic cuextecatotec tzapocueyeta
[superscript gloss:] [tzapocueye]h[a]
 tlahuepan motimalohuaya, quenonamicâ ayyaye ayc oya yayaa.
- 12 Yaoxochioctica yhuintitiaqui aa nopillotzin çoçahuic cuextecatotec Et?
- 13 Ye onmahpantia ÿ teoaxochiaoctli a yn matlaccuiatzin ocen yahque quen-
 onamican. yyao yayea.
- 15 Yn teoaticaya tlaç yhcuilihuitiquetl ya nohueyo nopiltzin neçahualpilaya
 chimalli xochioctla yca yhuintiqueh a ye oncâ Cuexteca ne'totilo aya yn
 atlixco yayyaya.
- 18 Çan noconyapitzaya y nocloacaquiquiz ça onquauhtzatziticac in notem-
 malacac ipan a y tecpilli yahqui ya y huhuchtzin y chimalli xichioctla
 yca yhuintihua ye oncan Cuexteca netotilo ya yn atlixco ya Et.
- 21 Moteoxiuhhuehueuh xictzotzonaya xochiahacuintaymetl y moxochicoz-
 qui mahci aztatzon yhua timotlacyahcuilo o.
- 23 Ya yo caque ye onnemi y xochiquaxoxome y tlahpaliuhquetl a ocelochi-
 maleque mocuēpan i hue.
- 25 Çan ye onnentlamati y noyolio nitlahpalihuiquetli a nineçahualpilaya çan
 niquintemoa Nachihua anaya oyahquin teuctli a xochiquetzalaya yahqui
 tlapaliuhquetl ylhucaxoxohuic ichan tlatohuatzin yn acapipiyol mach oc
 quihualyaxochiaoctli yya ye nicâ nichoca yca ohuana.

29

Atequilizcuicatl

30 I ximatlatlatl ymarican quetzalhuexortl a onicaca in chapolcotitlan.

folio 56v

1 Ye chalchihuahlan yquičayan yaho hi oncan tonahcico timexicame ayahue.

C

- 6 My fathers, we're drunk! And it's a gorgeous drunk. Let there be hand- 13
dancing in the home of this Master of Withered Drum Flowers, O
plume-shield masters!
- 8 O mound masters! It would seem that the Master of Captive Hearts, this 14
Master of Withered Drum Flowers—of ruined ones—now makes them
dance. O plume-shield masters!
- 10 Oh yes, he's gone away, this noble prince of mine, this golden Huax- 15
tec, Totec, robed in sapodilla, Tlachahuepan! And he glories in the Place
Unknown.
- 12 Gone away drunk on the wine of battle flowers! This noble prince of mine, 16
this golden Huastec, Totec, robed in sapodilla, Tlachahuepan! And he glories
in the Place Unknown.
- 13 Gone away adorned with flood-flower wine! This Matlaccuiatzin! They've 17
all gone off to the Place Unknown.

D

- 15 Spirit-water torso-painted Nezahualpilli, my great one, my prince! Ah! 18
Huastecs yonder are drunk with this shield-flower wine: there's dancing
on the breast of the flood!
- 18 "I blow my conch for jaguar reeds," he says, as he, this noble prince, this 19
warrior Old Man, stands eagle-blaring on my round-stone. Ah! Huax-
tecs yonder are drunk with shield-flower wine: there's dancing on the
breast of the flood!
- 21 Beat your drum for turquoise gems, you flower-water drunkard! Those 20
flower jewels of yours are held as prisoners, O Crown of Egret Plumes!
Moreover, you've been torso-painted!
- 23 Ya yo! They've been heard, they're alive! They're the flower-eagle green 21
ones, you stalwart! Ah, and the jaguar-shield masters return.
- 25 "Nezahualpilli the stalwart am I, and my heart is grieving. Gone is Lord 22
Xochiquetzal, gone to Blue Sky's home is the stalwart, my regent, Aca-
pipiyol. I seek them, creating this flow. Might they come and drink it as
a flower wine? Iya! And so I weep."

LXVIII Water-pouring song

A

- 30 There were plume willows at the turquoise-green waters in Chapolco. We 1-3
Mexicans had reached jade water's flowing-out place. Ah! And the wa-
ters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. Drinks them, it's true. And

- 2 Yao qui nelli qui nelli ahanahaya nican in Mexico oncâ chapolco yeco ayan.
 3 Tzo telco yhuihuion inic tōquizque acolcolco nican inic tonahcico yn time-
 xicameh ayahue yauh qui nelli Et.²
- 5 Ynic ona'cico in Capitan in Mexico hoo ic quinamiquito Moteucçomatzin.
 6 Niman ic hualtemoc Cahuayo ypā teocuitlacozcatica conahpanaya contla-
 tlaughtia connahuatequia ayahue Et.²
- 8 Yauh qui nelli Et.²
- 9 Auh çāniman ye quilhuia, Oticmihiyohuilti oytech tacico in mauh Mote-
 peuh in mexico oticpachoco in mopetlaya in mocpalaya ye o cuel achic
 ye o cemilhuitl nimitztlapiali motolinia in momacehual contlatlauhtie
 Et.² yauh qui nelli Et.²
- 13 Yc cue yahue ye yalpopocaya yeic caliquico inin tepehuani in Capitan ye
 oc nemoa teteuctin aya in tlacatecatl in atlixcatzin an a ayahue ye tlacoch-
 calcatl in tepehuatzin onatecaco tēpilhuā inic onixtlauih Mexicayotl Et.²
- 16 In ticmahuiçoco atliaytic titlaxcalteca onateca in Mexico in Tēpilhuan
 Moteucçomatzin teuctli yquac huchuecomitl yeic onaçaca Amalaco-
 xochitica onaytzauctiuh ye yaltepetl yeic onixtlauih mexicayotl yauh
 qui nelli
- 19 Yc hualtzatzia in Malia teucçihuatl quihualihtoa in Malia Mexicah ma
 hualcalaqui in amapiloltzin ma ontlamemelo teteuctin aya acolihuacan
 quetzalacxoyatl yeco yohuā quapopoca hi yao qui nelli Et.²
- 22 Ý huel monequi ipalnemoani ye tlatlapanalo in tapiloltzin timexicame.
 23 Tlachoquitztlehua y tlapepenalo ye quauhquiahuac neyximachoyan yauh
 qui nelli Et.²
- 25 Yn açacoyan oncan poliuhque hualpopoca Neçahualquentzī ye tlacoch-
 calcatl in tepehuatzin ho inic tonaçaca tiMexica yauh qui nelli.
- 27 Ne' quiçan huel centetl ye contecaco in tlatoani Moteucçomatzin Ca yahue.
 28 Ye tlahquecholxochitica yeh i yacaxochitl tzinitzcana ocxochitl yeic cō-
 mamalintaz ymecapaltzin ycaya quimotimaloa in tenochcame ayahue Et.²
- 30 O aic ompolihuiz ye toahuicoltzin patlahuac xihuitl in teocuitlaticaya
 chayahua cayo ha yahue.
- 32 Ye tlahquecholmacpaxochitl yeic ontzauctia y çan a mopā ye onteintia
 atliaytic atlia i xictli manca ycayā in quimotimaloa tenochcame, yauh qui
 nelli Et.²

Song 68, Folio 56v

ah, this Mexico arrives in that Chapolco yonder. Aya!

- 3 It resembles that time of our utmost eagerness when we Mexicans set out from Acocolco to reach *this place that is* here. And ah, the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. 4
- 5 When the Captain arrived in Mexico and Montezuma went out to meet him, then he got down from his horse; and he adorned him with a gold necklace, spoke to him, and embraced him. And the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. 5-7
- 9 And right away he says to him, "You've wearied yourself in reaching your city, this Mexico. You've come to govern your mat and your seat. For but a moment and a day I've tended things for you. Poor is your vassal." He speaks to him, *embraces him*. And the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. 8
- 13 Now woe! He gives off smoke! This is how he enters, this conquistador, this Captain. Now all the lords are yet alive: Commander Atlixcatzin and the troop chief Tepehuatzin. And as these princes come forth pouring water, Mexico is handed over. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 9
- 16 "We who've come to Water's Midst to marvel are Tlaxcalans: Mexican princes are pouring out their waters!" Lord Montezuma's hauling vats of water. And the city passes on, ensconced in water-whorl flowers. Thus Mexico is handed over. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 10
- 19 Iye! The lady María comes shouting. María comes saying, "O Mexicans, your water jars go here! Let all the lords *come* carrying." And Acolhuacan's Quetzalacxoyatl arrives. And Cuauhpopoca. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 11
- 22 O Life Giver, these urgently required ones have been broken, these, our water jars, and we are Mexicans. A cry goes up. They're picking them off at Eagle Gate, where recognition is achieved. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 12-13
- 25 They've been ruined with water hauling, and they're smoking—Nezahualquentzin and the troop chief Tepehuatzin. It's because we Mexicans are hauling water. And the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. 14
- 27 And so they're flowing. Indeed the ruler Montezuma himself comes forth to pour one out. As roseate-swan flowers, as flower shoots, as trogons, as pine flowers, would he go off whirling his garlands: thus he glorifies Tenochcans. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 15-16
- 30 Oh never would our water pitchers be destroyed. These broad ones, these turquoise gems, are strewn as gold. Ensconced in roseate-swan hand-flowers, he's moved on to You. Shattered, he's moved on to Water's Midst, where waters and the navel lie: and so he glorifies Tenochcans. *Oh! the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true*. 17-18

- 1 Yc onhuchuctl
- 2 Yn huel tontlamahuicoque titlaxcaltecame titlacateccatl tüixtlilxochitl a in
 Mexicame ha tlachinolAcaçacayatzi ha cacotecazque tenochcame yaha
 yaha yacayome O anqui ya huel yeuantin ha impā ya mochiuh
- 5 Ha in quauhtemotztin in coanacoch uca a yn tetlepāquetzatzin quimoca-
 quilique nepapan tlaca ynic onnmacoc tlacochihcuiliuhhoc tenaxa haya
 notlatq̄tzino a Et'
- 8 Nachhe yohuali cahuan ca ye tla xoconmeme mochalchihuahpilotzin
 moiuhuaçaçacayatzin toconitotic in caxtillan hanen tla xia Et'
- 10 Nicaahuah i tlacotl ytempan ton Capilel toconilnamiqui mochalchih-
 Ahpilol. Amen.
- 12 Ye hualmoquetzaya yn a itlani ymac onmania in teocuitlacopa huel cuc-
 cuezoca in quetzalatl quimoitilia in Mexicame huel papaqui. y tla to-
 nchua in Pixoley. Amen
- 15 Ye ma iuhqui on intla mochi qualli yn amácon anMexicame aic polihuizon
 in tátéquiliz iquac polihuizon yn otlatzontec ycelteotl Amen.
- 17 Yc yeh huhuetl.
- 18 Nomachhuahe netle ma xicaquica y notequitlatol oytech tonacicoc i in
 tatequiliz ahuayahue
- 20 Ac nel conanatiuh toconmemezque in tochalchihutehuicolotzin Ayahue
 21 Auh ompa tocenquiça in coyolatempā Axoxohuican Ayaco ayca ayca
 22 Oh ayac ontlatequichihuaz topan oc toyazque techonyacanaz in totepixca-
 tzin in Ton tiego. tehuetzquitia. auh ompa ett'
- 24 Tocilaca tzinti ahcoc tonacaxochihuiconticac Atl ytempan chalchihua-
 huehuetl in chapoltepetitlan. Ma ontlateteco ya ticcahuā ic onqualneztiaz
 in chipahuac Atl ayahue E aya E.
- 27 Ca nic yhtoa cuix ytla nomacehual ic nontlaocoya yn antocnihuan cāpa ye
 yehuatl nocoyatecatiuh ca quinequi noyollo ma ye ompa ye iquelexia.
- 29 Nichoca ehua icnōtlamatia nicuicanitl oc nicyatlapā noxiopitzapilotzin.
 30 Ÿ ma iuhquin niccuesa ma nixochincuicuicatiuh ye nochan aya aya.
- 31 Yn quitlalya ma xochiatitla niyaichoca chua onicatlapā Ÿ noxiuhapetz. aya
 32 Can niquintemoa atlacuique teteuctin aya in necahualtecolotl coaihuil
 teuctli çan ihuan onatecaco ychan y Pelatol. Ma xōmelaquahuacā ton
 petolontlic aya.

Song 68, Folio 57

B

Second drum-cadence

- 1 "We Tlaxcalans have marveled indeed! O Commander Ixtlilxochitl! O 19
2 Mexicans!" And Tenochcans are to pour these flood-blaze charges up
above. Oh it would seem that they themselves are done for.
5 Cuauhtemoc, Coanacoch, and Tetzlepanquetzatzin have heard the multi- 20
tude. And so it is that they who were swallowed are painted as spears,
the hidden ones—my carried ones! *Oh it would seem that they themselves
are done for.*
8 The bells have sounded, brother. Haul away your jade-water jars, your 21
sky-water carried ones. And you've made them dance in Castille! Don't
go in vain.
10 O flood-brother at the shore of spears! Don Gabriel! You're recalling jade 22
waters—your jars! Amen.
12 And now they're rising at his side: they're spreading out upon his hands, 23
glistening gold, these plume waters. And the Mexicans are gazing at
them, rejoicing greatly. Let the viceroy suffer! Amen.
15 So be it. If all you Mexicans are good at your water stations, our water 24
pouring will never fail. *Or when it fails it will be that the Only Spirit has
passed judgment. Amen.*

C

Third drum-cadence

- 17 O nephews, hail! And hear a work assignment: we've come to do our 25-27
18 water pouring. Now who will go and fetch the jadestone jars that we
must carry? And yonder we're assembled, at Shore of the Bells, at the
Place of Green Waters.
22 Oh none with us shall work for tribute. We're to pass away. Our guardian 28
Don Diego Tehuetzquiti is to lead us. And yonder *we're assembled, at
Shore of the Bells, at the Place of Green Waters.*
24 Our cups are born. It seems they're twirling—and as maize flowers—at 29
the water's edge. These jade-water drums! At Chapultepec's side! Let all
our brothers pour. Clean waters, then, will flow in beauty.
27 But I wonder, am I blessed? And so I grieve. O friends, where am I to go 30
that I might pour these? For my heart desires them. Let Yonder be the
church!
29 I weep, I sorrow, and I sing: I've broken these, my turquoise gems, my 31
pearls, these water jars.
30 And *merely* in this manner let it be that I return them. Chirping for these 32-33
flowers, let me head for home. At Flower Waters let me weep, com-
posing them: I've broken these, my turquoise gems, my pearls, *these
water jars.*
32 Indeed I seek those lords who drew the water. Nezahualtecolotl and Lord 34

- 1 Ça nicon huelneztaz in tecpillotl, Mach ica ompolihuiuz in tatlamemela ya
ma xanclaqua Et.
- 3 Yc Nahui huhuetl
- 4 Çan tehua ya Tioxc ycelteotle Çan ticyamana in tezcatl tlahuilia ò onycac
ye nican cemanahuac yyaye.
- 6 Yn canon nican catca yaya o aya a in intlil intlalpal motlachihualhuā ò
atlamemeleque a in teteuctin oyyaye.
- 8 Yc nonyahui, ye noyahui, yahui, ompa nacituih ye xiuhtzoncetitlan on
quetzalatempan ompa uoconanaz nomatlaltehuilticauh ca hui.
- 10 Tixtlilxochitl a in Mexicayā ynic ònemococ tlacochicuiliuhtoc in tenaxa
aya.
- 11 A yn tlachinolaçacayatzin ha ica contecazque ha ynic tequitizque tenoch-
came ya ha yaha yacayome. O anqui ya huel ychuātin ha inpā ya mo-
chuih ha in Quauhtemoctzin in coanacoch via A tetelepanquetzatzin
quimocaquiliq̄ nepapā tlaça
- 14 Ynic onemococ tlacochicuiliuhtoc yn huel conitto capitan teuctli ma
xocōxioamoxyhcuilocā amoxtli ypanon ha in intequih Mexicame O
anqui nohuian in altepepāhuic oncuihuac tequitl aya ayahaya Et?
- 17 Can in ya çocaque in tlacoxque teteuctin tlatoque, auh otomacehualtic
otopā mochuih in conxioahamoxihcuiloque.
- 19 Nequi otoconcaquito netleya in tiquauhtemoctzin in toquitzin in tihuanitzī
aya
- 20 Y ye ohualtzontec yn aic o polihuiuz in tatlamemelaya ximelaquahuacā
canpanel tonyazque in quēmanian yn ihuicpa in Pelatol haya haya.
- 22 Ma xamelaquahuacan tomachvane in tiquauhtemoctzin
- 23 Ma tictzinitzcāahuechotihuian aluachotuih in tzaqua can ò in ye tohuicol-
tzin xoconteocuitlaquemachhuimolocan in tomecapal aya ma itlan tona-
quican tatlamemel aya yhuicpa in Pelatol. haya.
- 26 Ca niquintemoa Atlacuique teteuctin aya ȳ neçahualtecololc o coayhuil
teuctli çan ihuianō onatecaco.
- 28 Ychan in Pelatol ma xamelaquahuacā ca ic uelneztaz in tecpillotl ni mach
ica ompolihuiuz in tlamemel Ma xanel El.
- 30 Yc onhuehuetl.
- 31 Neh niquttoaya nixicotencatl teuctli aya. hane ya tla xiauh xicana in
mochimal ah xochiacontzin mohuicoltzin anoço ihcac motolteca-

Song 68, Folio 57v

Coahuilt. In serenity I come to pour these waters at the emperor's. And
may you all take heart. Hey Don Pedro!li!

1 Nobility will flow in beauty here. Could our carried waters perish then? 35
Take heart. Hey Don Pedro!li!

D

Fourth drum-cadence

3 God and Only Spirit, you and you alone lay down the mirror and the 36
4 flame that stands here in the world,

6 Where *there* used to be the black and color of your creatures who were 37
carried-water masters, who were lords.

8 I pass, I pass away, I pass beyond, that I might reach the plume-shore tur- 38
quoise lode. There I'll fetch my limpid green one. Ah!

10 "O Ixtlilxochitl! O Mexicans!" So it is that they who were swallowed are 39
painted as shields—these hidden ones.

11 O charges of the flood-and-blaze! And so it is that they shall pour them. 40
And it's in this manner that Tenochcans are to labor. Oh it seems that
they themselves are done for, they, Cuauhtemoc, Coanacoch, ah! and
Tetlepanquetzatzin: they've heard the multitude.

14 So it is that they who were swallowed are painted as spears. Indeed, the 41
lord Captain has said it: "Paint them as turquoise pictures: the Mexicans'
labor's in pictures!" And oh it would seem that this labor's been taken
from everywhere into the city.

17 Now they who've wept in sadness are the lords and rulers. It's our destiny 42
and circumstance: they've painted them as turquoise pictures!

19 We must go to hear them. Ho, Cuauhtemoc! Oquitzzin! Huanit! He's 43-44
handed down His judgment: our carried waters will never be destroyed.
Take heart. And where in time are we to go? To the emperor!

22 Take heart, nephews. Cuauhtemoc! Let's go have these captured ones, our 45-46
pitchers, be a raining mist of trogons. Off they go to fall as dew. Let our
garlands flow profusely and as gold. Let us make our entry side by side
with these, our carried waters. Off to the emperor!

26 ¹⁰Indeed I seek those lords who drew the water: Nezahualtecolotl and Lord 47
Coahuilt. In serenity I come to pour these waters at the emperor's. May
you all take heart.

Thus nobility will flow in beauty. Could our babes then perish? May you 48
all *take* heart.

E

Second drum-cadence

30 I, Lord Xicotencatl, am the one who's saying, "Pass away, and not in vain! 49
31

¹⁰[Includes two phrases that the copyist has (mistakenly?) placed in the next stanza.—
TRANS.]

- itzcontzotzocoltzin icayan tamemezque taçacatihui yc õcan ye Mexico in chapolco ca atitlan aya.
- 3 Anen tla xiauh nomache niccahuã iya tomachvane Anapipilti
4 Niteca yn atl Quauhtencoxtli in teuctli tla ye noch tõhuan tamemezq̃
taçacatihui ye ne e
- 6 Nequi ye ontzatzia in tohcacauhtzin in ye motelchiuhtzin tocnihua quil-
mac̃ ye oc yohuac ticanatihui tatlamemel huel tetehuiulotic xiuhtehuiltic
ho in quetzalitzacuecuyocatimani yeic tonacio oncã tecomatla aya anen
tla xiye machno noxicotaz ye nanahuatl nicauhhe. Titlacatecatl
ticuitlachihuitl huel toltecatic teocuitlaticaya in tlacuilolli ye tahuicoltzin
conicuilota Axayacatl teuctli tocēmātažque. yeic tonaci
- 12 Ye chalchihuhatica ontzetzelihui pipixahui noneapanaltzin ye itech aya.
13 Noxochiaçaçacayatzini huanitzin nechyamacaco notlatzintzihua tlaxcalteca
ye chichimeca anen tla xia
- 15 Yn tlachinolxochitl chimalxochitl oncuccuepōtoc tlatlatzcatimania i ya-
caxochitl ontzetzelihui anqui ço ye ehuatl yeic contzaquaco teocuitla-
tlaya, ye noconanaya xiuhtlacuilollia ye napiloltzin ic tocēmemeya ha
nohueyohuã
- 19 Acolihuacan in titon Antonio tla nimitzonyahuicaya yn ahua nomach i
Tehuetzquiti aya.
- 21 Onacaxochiamatlapalceliztiuh yc ontzauctiuh on xitlacuilolli a ÿ napiloltzĩ
ic noconmemeya xinechitacan, nohueyohuan.
- 23 Can niPalay petolo can nocoynamiquĩ y tlacuilolapiloltzin.
- 24 Ton Palay Xihuan in opixpoh aya conteocuitlapayoyectita conatzetzelota
atlo yan tepetl yyaye
- 26 Ye mach aya nelli anca oyaqui in totlaçotatzin in opispo aya conteocuitla
27 ÿ ma tonhuanõ in chapoltepetlã in quetzalatempan xiuhquecholçeliztiuh
macpaxochitl ic ontzauctiuh tochalchihuhhuicoltzin ahua nicahuan maoc
amoyolic ma antlatlapanti yc techonahuazque in totecuioã yyaye.
- 30 Y ma huel yc on tlatotoyacatihui yyohuaya y ma huel ximimattihuiã ompa
tocēquiça in tenochtli aya ymanca yn Mexico in xiuhquecholceliztiuh

- 1 Ma xoconmahuiçocan yn antocnihuã yn āhuxotzinca ça ypan mochiuh-
tica a y papa yehuaya çan yehuan Dios ye contlatolhuiya yohuaya
ohuaya
- 3 Ça yechuaya ypetl ça yechuaya cpallo ypãn onca yehuaya a y papa yehuaya
çan yehuã Tiox ye contlatalhaia yay ohuaya ohuaya.
- 5 Hoch aquin o teocuitlatzatzazco oncan õhuetztoc ÿ tlacaço yehuatl a i papa
ya çã ca yxiuhtlacalhuaz yetoqui yc õtlamomotlatoc ahui in c̃m̃qui
ohuaya Et̃

- Fetch your shields, flowers, water jars. They're your pitchers—that is, your well-wrought blade-jar urns!" With these we'll carry water: we'll go get water there in Mexico—Chapolco! Yes, in Water's Midst.
- 3 "Pass away, and not in vain, O nephew." Brothers! Nephews! Princes of the flood! 50
- 4 I'm pouring water, Lord Cuauhtencoz. Let's all go and carry water. Yes, we'll get the water. Hey! 51
- 6 Now brother Motelchiuh must shout. O friends, it's said that we're to fetch him in the dawn, him, our carried water, this very limpid one, this limpid green one, gleaming like an emerald. And yonder we arrive. O cup! 52
- Pass away, and not in vain! Must Nanahuatl have a craving? O brother, O Commander Cuitlachihuitl! Truly he's well wrought, like gold, this painted one, our water jar—and he's gone painting Lord Axayacatl. Scattered, we're to pass *beyond*. And *yonder* we arrive. O cup!
- 12 Jade water sprinkles. My adornments fall in a raining mist. My Tlaxcalan uncles have come to give me Huanitl, my flower-water charge. O Chichimecs, pass away, and not in vain. 53–54
- 15 Blaze flowers, shield flowers, are blossoming in quantity: these flower shoots are bursting: they're scattered plentifully, because it seems they've come to take them, these, these golden ones, as captives. And yes, in bearing off these precious water jars of mine, I fetch *those* painted green ones. O my great ones! 55
- 19 O Acolhuacan's Don Antonio! Let me take you away! Hail, nephew! O Tehuetzquiti! And they pass away reviving as reed flowers, as colored banners, pass away as captives. This is how I carry off these painted green ones, these precious water jars of mine. See me, O great ones! 56–57
- 23 And I who recall these painted ones, these precious water jars—am Fray Pedro! Before he went away, the bishop Don Fray Juan purified this city with a golden balm and sprinkled it with water. 58–59
- 26 Yes, it seems that our beloved father, the bishop, has gone away. *And before he went, he purified this city with a golden balm and sprinkled it with water.* 60
- 27 Let's be off to Plume-Shore Chapultepec! And these handflowers? They pass away as turquoise swans reviving, for they've been captured, they, our pitcher jades. Hail, brothers! But be cautious. Beware of being broken, for Our Lord would scold us. 61
- 30 So let them follow onward. Go carefully! And yonder we're assembled. To Mexico, where tunas lie, they're off to be revived as turquoise swans. 62
- 1 Friends, willow men, behold the pope, who's representing God, who speaks for him. 63
- 3 The pope is on God's mat and seat and speaks for him. 64
- 5 Who is this reclining on a golden chair? Look! It's the pope. He has his turquoise blowgun and he's shooting in the world. 65

- 7 O anqui nelli yehuaya yc anca ycoloz yteocuitlatopil yetocqui onpепetlan-
tocqui in cemanahuaqui ohua ohuaya.
- 9 Can ninentlamatia a ÿ loma yehuaya ça oncã ye noconita y çan ca ynacayo
ça yehua Xan Petolo, ça yehuan Xan Papolo. ya ohuaya.
- 11 O anqui ye nauhcampa yahuaya ye ontzatzac oc ticaqui teocuitlantlatza-
qualli ompepetlanticac ohuaya ohuaya
- 13 Ach in onca ye ichan çan yehuayan papaya teocuitlapapaloycuiliuhtimani a
ontotonaticac ohuaya ohuaya.
- 15 Çan moquetza in ehecatl cocomocan tetecucicaya yc poçonia yn ilhuicaatl
huiya nanatzcatihuaya yn acallia. ohuaya ohuaya
- 17 Yn huel totech onquiquicaya ymahuiçon Tiox, toconyaittay atetepepeyotl
ye xochipixahui nanatzcatihuaya yn acalliya ohuaya ohuaya.
- 19 Yyo ho aluaya tocnihuane ma xõtlatlamahuiçocã atliaytiqui çan ye ti-
conchaloa çan ye titon Maltini hualxaxamacatimani a yn ilhuicaatl ya
ohuaya Et²
- 21 Y mahuizpan tontlachia o ypalnemohuani acueyotl hõ totlã moteteca y
man tipopolihuiti a xictli a y malacachihuiya ohuaya ohuaya
- 23 Ho ayac tlaçotli yn acalli ytiqiu yn antocnihuã ÿ cuix nel oc tilotizque mã
tipopohuiti a xictla y malacachihuiya ohuaya Et²
- 25 Yyoyahue yahue huixahue yahue nihualicnotlamati topã moquetza nican
quetzalitzahuachtli canpanel toyazque ohuaya ohuaya
- 27 Teicnotlamachtli in quichihua nican ypalnemoani ÿ tlanel nocniuh ÿ tlanel
tonchuan in tiyolque yehuaya ayocac teca y acalla ytica ohuaya ohuaya
- 29 Acala ytiqiu huel mahuiçocan çan ye topã onquiça çan ca chalchiuhatl in
yeic poçonia ÿ mecatl yhcoyocaya cã michin patlania ma xicyaithuacã
ohuaya Et²

folio 59

- 1 Ah õca ya ycaqui tonacaquahuitla ycan ye totlatoca ÿ mecatl ycoyocaya
çan michin patlania ma xicyaithuacãna ohuaya ohuaya.
- 3 Tlaztalli moteca tlahuizcalli moquetza tontlachia yn atlitic y mixayauhti-
tlani ye õcan mahahuilia mahuiltitinemi papalomimichti ohuaya Et²
- 5 Ma xicyaithuacã yn antocnihuani ylhuicaaxochitlo o moyahuatimani ye
õcan maahuilia maahuilitinemi papalomimichti ohuaya ohuaya.
- 7 Mixayauhtitlani ye tontlachia y ma ximotlapalocã ÿ ticoayhuiltl y çã ca ti-
latol huiya ma xocõmaticã atl in xoxoquiuhitmani ay ohuaya ohuaya
- 9 Ach in iuhcano teyhiçahuiçã atliyayticqui man xocõmaticã Atl in xoxo-
quiuhitmani cani ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 In huel nõmahui, nõmahui, a yn atlitiqui hualmomã in tonatiuh ye topan
in moquetza a ylhuicaapoctli ychuaya çã ye quitemohuiyai a yn quach-
panitla ohuaya ohuaya.

Song 68, Folios 58v-59

- 7 It seems it's true: it seems he has his cross and golden staff, and these are 66
shining in the world.
9 I grieve in Rome and see his flesh, and he's San Pedro, San Pablo! 67
11 It seems that from the four directions they've been captured: you've made 68
them enter the golden refuge, and it's shining.
13 It seems the pope's home lies painted in golden butterflies. It's beaming. 69

F

- 15 Wind arises, roaring, hissing. The ocean seethes, and the boat goes creak- 70
ing along.
17 We see great waves flowing over us, wonderful things of God. It's raining 71
flowers, and the boat goes creaking along.
19 Friends, rejoice in these waters. You're splitting it open, O Don Martín! 72
It's broken to pieces here on the ocean.
21 O Life Giver, you're alive in this place of fear. The waves are rolling over 73
us. Let's go perish at the navel, at the roundel.
23 "No one in this boat is precious, friends. Can we return?" Let's go be 74
counted at the navel, at the roundel!
25 Alas, I grieve. The emerald dew is on us. And where are we to go? 75
27 Life Giver causes grief. If only He were my friend, if only He were a kins- 76
man. No one cares anymore about anyone *here* in the boat.
29 Inside this boat, this place of fear, jade waters are flowing over us, seething. 77
Ah, these garlands roar, these fish are flying. See them!
1 Ah, and yonder stands the tree of sustenance, stands our palace. And these 78
garlands roar, these fish are flying. See them!

G

- 3 Daylight extends. Dawn appears, and we're watching in the water's midst. 79
There! They that wish to be tears are pleased—pleasured, these but-
terfly fish!
5 See them, friends! Sky-water flowers! They're strewn! There! They're 80
pleasured—pleasured, these butterfly fish!
7 They wish to be tears, and we are watching. Hail! "O chalk, O plumes." 81
O you, His songs. Meet the waters spread out green!
9 Water's Midst would seem to be a place of terror. Meet the waters spread 82
out green!
11 I'm afraid, afraid in the water's midst. The Sun has risen, and sky vapors 83
lie over us, bringing down the ensign!

- 14 Can ye hualmotzatzilia a \bar{y} cohuayhuitl $\bar{c}\bar{a}$ ye $\bar{c}\bar{o}$ yaihtoa hueyx ahuaya tocnihuanane anca ce nican yez in tipopolihuzque can ye quitemohuiya a yn quachpanitla ohuaya Et?
- 17 O ach in ye iuhcan ynic poçoniya in huey mauh ypalnemoani yehuan Tiox huiya xinechyenelli ma tlacahuā moyollo anontlayecōhua cannelpa noyaz yn ohuaya ohuaya.
- 20 Çan nihualnotzatzilia yn o moçoma ypalnemoani yehuā Tiox huiya xinechicnelli ma tlacahua moyollo anōtlayecohua cānelpa noyaz \bar{y} . Et?
- 22 Quē can mo mao \bar{y} motelchihutzin huiya a inpā ye tlapān \bar{y} m acallia atl quiyahuicacon yn coçamelco \bar{y} ohuaya ohuaya.
- 24 In quilmach quihualitto \bar{y} motelchihutzin mach nel ye chalchihuitl ye ninoquixitiz tlapitzalli teocuitlatl \bar{y} mach nel nontlaçotlaloç mancucl nompolihui yn coçamelco y ohuaya ohuaya.
- 27 Tla xocōyacaquicā anhucxotzinca $\bar{c}\bar{a}$ hual ixiptla y Xan Jihuan paha yn huey citlali ontzatzia ychuaya conittoa ximocencahuacā ca ye huitz on a in nelli teotl a yn tlatohuanian coyananquilia in nepapan tlaçototome ohuaya ohuaya
- 31 Oyamoquetzaco yan tlahuizcalli ychuaya oyahualquiz a yn ixiptlan

folio 59v

- Tiox \bar{y} tonatiah \bar{y} ma $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ yatlatlauhtiloyan yn ipalnemohuani anhucxotzinca in ohuaya ohuaya.
- 3 In ma onneyximachoya \bar{y} antepilhuani ma $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ yatlamahuiçolo yan quexquich i notoca quichiuh ticcauhtehuazque in quēmanian yn ātocnihuāna ohuaya Et?
- 5 Çan cōcauhtehuaque a in tlēçqui ynin macchualli yn inctlamachtiliz \bar{y} tetcuctini mach aca conyaitquiz ticcauhtehuazque \bar{y} quēmaniani, ohuaya ohuaya
- 7 Maca xinētlamatica yn āhuexotzinca maca xontlatlaocoxtinēcā ca tictlatolchia in Xesus Nazaleno a ilh^f teotl ā ohuaya ohuaya
- 9 Çā conayaittohua a yn Polopeta y yece chiellaya ma xocōelehuicā in Croria in ompa tentica \bar{y} in cemicac netlamachtiliztli ompa pacohua tlatocatihua yn ilhuicatlytic ohuaya ohuaya
- 12 Can chiucnauhtlamantlini ye onnemio in mopillohuā in Agelosme mitzhuclamachtia on yeclcotl huiya Alçagel, Biltotesme, Potestates, Pilincipatos. ohuaya ohuaya.
- 15 Ça ye itlano in tonmehuiltiticacon ticihuapilli S^u Malia ayyahue Tominaçiones, y trones, huiya Quelopinesme oohuiyaya Quelapines ayc tlami oncan yn ilhuicatl ytic caya ohuaya ohuaya.
- 18 Tonccoque ye nicā ça nqui ye ichan huiya in yehuā Pelatol \bar{y} ma neci yauh

Song 68, Folios 59–59v

- 14 Yes! And the great Coahuil comes shouting, saying, "Hail, friends!" It 84
seems that someone will exist on earth after we've been destroyed. Yes,
he's bringing down the ensign.
- 17 It seems Your ocean seethes. Life Giver, God, favor me. Let Your heart be 85
generous. I make no war. Where am I to go?
- 20 I cry aloud, O angry one, O Life Giver! God! Favor me. Let Your heart be 86
generous. I make no war. Where am I to go?
- 22 How are Your waters, Motelchiuh? Oh, the boat's been broken upon them. 87
And he, *Motelchiuh*, comes carrying water from the rainbow.
- 24 It's said that Motelchiuh has appeared here. And true enough, he's a jade. 88
So I'll come forth as minted gold. True enough, I'll be loved. Let me be
lost at the rainbow.

H

- 27 Hear him, you Huexotzincans, him, San Juan Bautista, the Great Star's 89
deputy: he cries aloud, he says, "Prepare yourselves, for the True Spirit,
the lord, is come." And all the precious birds are echoing him.
- 31 Dawn appears: God's deputy, the sun, has issued forth. Let Life Giver be 90
prayed to, O Huexotzincans.
- 3 "Let all be wary, O princes. Let all behold how plentifully he made my 91
name. Must we in time depart and leave this, O friends?"
- 5 "Lords passed along this vassal's joy on earth. Shall someone carry it? In 92
time must we depart and leave it?"
- 7 Don't grieve, you Huexotzincans. Don't be sad, for we await the kingdom 93
of Jesus the Nazarene, the Spirit in the sky.
- 9 The prophet, the awaited one, says, "Do desire the glory! There! This 94
heaven's filled with everlasting joy, where all exult and all are noble."
- 12 In nine divisions dwell Your princely ones, the angels: archangels, virtues, 95
powers, principalities, delight you, O Only Spirit.
- 15 You're seated among them, O queen, O Santa María: dominations, thrones, 96
ah! cherubim, ah! seraphim. Never ending, yonder, is this heaven.

I

- 18 We've been required right here, and this would seem to be the emperor's 97

- pohualo quē ye conittohua ŷ çan yehua Tiox an ohuaya ohuaya
 20 Ŷ man ticyanotzacan ycelteotl yn aço yca yehua a oncemilhuitillanoya
 ytloc ynahuauqui can timacelhualti ohuaya ohuaya
 22 Tontlamahuiçoto oncan in mali çà timexica ya onca technahuatica yehuan
 Pelatol techonyailhui on ma xiquitati a j Patele-Santo ohuaya ohuaya.
 25 Çan ye coyaitto y aço tle nicnequia teocuitlatlo in ma huel nepechteco çã
 hucl xicyanotzacan in celextial çà yehuã Tiox an ohuaya ohuaya.
 27 Yn çan no iuhqui yehua yca techonihua a in Loma aya techonyailhuih on
 ma xiquitati a in Patele Xanto ohuaya ohuaya.
 29 Çan toyollo tlamatic yca techonihua a ŷ Loma aya techonyailhui on ma
 xiquitati a in Patele Xanto ohuaya ohuaya.
 31 In çà nqui ya ichan y tlapalaloztocalli cacan y yahue çã yehuã ya papaya
 teocuitlatlicaya a on tlacuilolliya techonyaihuitiya ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 6o

- 1 Çan quiquiztica tlamimilintoc aya ye ompielo ycaca ytlatol Tiox ŷ tzinitzca
 quentica a ontzaucticacan techonyaihuitia ohuaya ohuaya.
 3 Ŷ ma xicaquican in antepilhuan i tonahuac onoque can î ma iuhcã ohua ca
 ye iuhcan yn ichan Tiox in Loma aya oncan ontlapiya ð ca yehua ya
 Papayan ohuaya ohuaya.
 6 A oncan ya onoque ca yehua ŷ tenan yn itoca yn Santa sellaya a ŷ Loma aya
 oncan ontlapia on çã yehuaya papaya ohuaya ohuaya.
 8 Xotlatimaniã onitzmolintimanion yn huexotzinco y anqui moxochihui
 taxayacatzì huel tontlamaceuhta çà tenochtli ymanican ohuaya ohuaya.
 10 Aztayhuixochitl aya ye ò tztzeliuhtoc yn atlixcoya anqui moxochihui
 in taxayacatzin y teuctli yehua huel tōtlamaçeuhta çã tenochtli inmanicã
 ohuaya Et?
 12 Qucnonamican yn ompa ximohua yn ilhuicatlytic chalchihuitl anqui xihuitl
 ye ontecpantoque a ŷ tepilhuã Tiox ye ichan in ohuaya ohuaya.
 14 Anqui tlahuquechol ompatlantinemion oquizteuctli ya anqui quetzal-
 quauhtli a in tlacotzin ye onnemohua Tiox ye ichani ohuaya ohuaya.
 16 Tla xontlachiacan yxochimilpani ycelteotl huiya a teyolquimatcan ontla-
 checliztimaniya onquetzalahuachquiyauhtimania ohuaya ohuaya
 18 Çan ye oncan ye onnemi xiuhquecholtototl a yn Ton maltini maahuilti-
 tinemi yn Aztatototl cohuiyhuitl Ton Xihuan. ohuaya ohuaya.
 20 In tlapalihuinxochinquahuitla cuepontimaniya Tiox ye ichani ŷ conchi-
 chintinemi in tépilhuani yn teuctli on anahuacatl aya anqui tlacateccatl ŷ
 cuitlachihuitlin ye onmotlamachtiya ylhuicatlytic ayyo ohuaya ohuaya.
 23 In quetzalchalchihuitli anqui xihuitl tlapaque in tépilhuã in mexicana yn
 huexotzinca ŷ in teuctli on Anahuacatl aya anqui tlacateccatl yn cuitlach-
 ihuitl in ye onmotlamachtiya ylhuicatlytic ayyo ohuaya ohuaya.

Song 68, Folios 59v-60

home. Would that His waters might make an appearance. They're being recited! Would God agree?

- 20 Let's call to the Only Spirit. It may be that in this manner we, the vassals, 98
are allowed to spend a day near him and in his presence.
- 22 We, mere Mexicans, are off to marvel on the sea, the emperor command- 99
ing us: he's told us, "Go and see the holy father."
- 25 He's said: What do I need? Gold! Everybody bow down! Call out to God 100
in excelsis!
- 27 And it's just for this that he sends us to Rome. He's told us, "Go and see the 101
holy father."
- 29 Our hearts will be content, for he sends us on to Rome. He's told us, "Go 102
and see the holy father."
- 31 It would seem that at the pope's, where the cavern house of colors stands, 103
are golden words that give us life.
- 1 On account of trumpets there's a stirring. Aya! And they're honored where 104
it stands: God's words, these trogons! They're ensconced in *war* capes.
Ah, they give us life.
- 3 Bring them in, you princes. They're our comrades. Where? With God in 105
Rome! Aya, there the pope is paying honor.
- 6 There in Rome she dwells, she the mother called Santa Cecelia! Aya, there 106
the pope is paying honor.
- 8 Your flowers, it would seem, are budding, greening, in Willow Place, O 107
Axayacatl. Indeed, you went away deserving. It's where the tunas lie!
- 10 White feather flowers are sifting down at Water Face. And it would seem 108
that they're your flowers, Lord Axayacatl. Indeed, you went away de-
serving. It's where the tunas lie!
- 12 In the Place Unknown, where all are shorn, in heaven and as jades, perhaps, 109
or turquoises, they're marshaled, they, the princes. They're with God.
- 14 Lord Oquitztin flies along, perhaps, as a roseate swan. Perhaps Tlacotzin 110
is an eagle plume. Yes, all are alive, and they're with God.
- 16 Take a look at the Only Spirit's flower field. There's a freshening in that 111
place of heart pleasers: there's a plume dew raining all around.
- 18 Yonder dwells the turquoise swan-bird Don Martín. An egret bird is plea- 112
sured, and it's Coaihuitl. There's Don Juan!
- 20 Red feather trees are blossoming in God's home, and princes are inhaling 113
them. Lord Anahuacatl and perhaps Commander Cuitlachihuitl are re-
joicing in heaven.
- 23 They've been broken as plume jades or perhaps as turquoise gems: they're 114
princes, and they're Mexicans, these Huexotzincans. Lord Anahuacatl
and perhaps Commander Cuitlachihuitl are rejoicing in heaven.

XopanCuicatl.

1°

- 27 Quenin ye olinque in Mexica y ŷ Chapoltepec
- ¹

*[marginal gloss:]*¹ yn ðcan achto omotlalica yaoyotica quinehualtique.huiya çan ye yahuiya huiya polihuito huitzilihuitl²*[marginal gloss:]*² huitzilihuitl a'mo yehuatl in çatepā Mex⁶⁰ tlatocat çan occe ymachcauç hualmochiuhtia mex⁶¹ çā no yuhqui ytoca.

ŷ colhuacana ohuaya ohuaya.

- 29 Amoxtitlano
- ³

*[marginal gloss:]*³ Atlan ðmonchncemititia'que.

çan ye ohtlatocatiyaqueon a in Mexicay ynic ye onahcito ynic motecato a in Colhuacā ohuaya.

folio 60v

- 1 Yaotlatoco
- ¹

*[marginal gloss:]*¹ Ca noço ye iz cate in Xaltocā tlaca in iquac hualaque in Mexica.

ychuaya Xaltocan tlaca y yao

- 2 Çan quinahualpoloa a y Mexicai in chapoltepec huiya choquiztlehuaya ymacehuallon a ŷ huitzilihuitl ohuaya.

- 4 O anca ye ðcan Tiçaapani
- ²

*[marginal gloss:]*² Colhuacan

cococ quimatito Mexica on yn chichimeca y ohuaya.

- 6 Çan ye quittohuaon Achitometl
- ³

*[marginal gloss:]*³ Colhuacan tlatohuani.çan ye quihtlani ychua cuepchinamitla⁴*[marginal gloss:]*⁴ chinamitl Apā mohuilana.ya Huitzilaztatl⁵*[marginal gloss:]*⁵ oncā tlapachotiazç ayac huel quinpatlanaltiz.yn yacacintli cohuatlon⁶*[marginal gloss:]*⁶ Çan no oncā coatl yahualiuhtiaz.moyahualotihuitz yn yeon tla quiçaya Ahminqui⁷*[marginal gloss:]*⁷ A'mo minqui a'mo miqui yolqui amo mominaz.

LXIX A song of green places

A

- 26
- 27 How the Mexicans stirred at Chapultepec!¹¹ And alas, Huitzilihuitl¹² went 1
to his death in Colhuacan.
- 29 The Mexicans followed a route through water-weed.¹³ That's how they 2
got there, that's how they got together in Colhuacan.
- 1 All the Xaltocamecs give warlike chase.¹⁴ 3
- 2 At Chapultepec they spirit the Mexicans off to their destruction. And 4
Huitzilihuitl's people lift up cries of weeping.
- 4 Oh it seems that Mexican Chichimecs are off to suffer misery in Tizaapan.¹⁵ 5
- 6 Now this is what Achitometl¹⁶ says: he asks for a sod float¹⁷—an egret,¹⁸ a 6
coot, and a snake¹⁹ that comes coiled. "Let it proceed! And an unshot²⁰

¹¹ *Marginal gloss (numbered 1 on folio 60):* Where they first had settled they chased them away in battle.

¹² *Marginal gloss (numbered 2 on folio 60):* This Huitzilihuitl is not the one who later ruled in Mexico. It was another of the same name who came to be the leader of the Mexicans.

¹³ *Marginal gloss (numbered 3 on folio 60):* They traveled along through water.

¹⁴ *Marginal gloss (numbered 1 on folio 60v):* It's because Xaltocamecs were already here when the Mexicans came.

¹⁵ *Marginal gloss (numbered 2 on folio 60v):* It's in Colhuacan.

¹⁶ *Marginal gloss (numbered 3 on folio 60v):* He's the ruler of Colhuacan.

¹⁷ *Marginal gloss (numbered 4 on folio 60v):* A float that's pulled on the water.

¹⁸ *Marginal gloss (numbered 5 on folio 60v):* They're to go "hatching their eggs" [or governing] there. None shall make them "fly away."

¹⁹ *Marginal gloss (numbered 6 on folio 60v):* The snake has to be making a circle right there.

²⁰ *Marginal gloss (numbered 7 on folio 60v):* Not shot, not dead. Alive. It must not be shot.

maçatl huiya yca quimamaliz⁸

[*marginal gloss:*] ⁸oncâ quiquaz inic yâcuicâ quichaliz ychan.

ychani yca quitlanihtoque⁹

[*marginal gloss:*] ⁹çan ic aitiyaoyotl oquipehualtique yc opoliuhque.

Atlo yan tepetl in cemanahuaqui. ohuaya.

11 Ye nican¹⁰

[*interlinear gloss:*] ¹⁰Maçonel ihui in iuh techpolollani ca yehuâtin in polihuizque ca nican hueyaz tlapihuiaz mahuiztiaz in Mexico iuhquî tollan tlapallan.

Tollan Tlapallan quichihuaz in tonahuac onoque ye nicâ polihuizque in tonahuac onoque ye nican¹¹

[*marginal gloss:*] ¹¹ÿ nican Mex⁶⁰ in oc ixtlahuacan nemiuhyâ tzanatl y ihcahuacayâ coatl i ihçomocayan.

tzanatl yhcahuacayan Cohuatl yçomocaya Çan michin patlaniya ye nican

[*marginal gloss:*] .ojo.

cuepontimaniyan yn nepapan xochitl ahcemellecan¹²

[*marginal gloss:*] ¹²Ahmo qualcan.

in totlatohua on TiMoteucçoma y ohuaya

16 Canon yahqueon yn quimanacohon¹³

[*marginal gloss:*] ¹³In oquipehualtico in oquitzintilico, in omotlamaniltico, in omotlatecpanilico, in yâcuican omotlate'tequilico.

in tenochtlî yehua in Aatlon,¹⁴

[*marginal gloss:*] ¹⁴mochtin pipiltin in quîtenehua.

Ahuexotlon a in Tenoch yn ocelopani niman iuh quinahuati a yn hui-tzilihuitl ye nican polihuizque in tonahuac onoque ye nican tzanatl yhcahuacayâ ye nican cuepontimaya Nepapan xochitl ahcemlecan yn totlatohua on timoteucçomay ohuaya.

21 . 2.

22 Çan toconquetzalmanaya mocuic aya çan titlatohuaniya ÿ Toquitzin yeyca yehua titlacocohuâ nican in tenahuacan ohuaya.

24 Ça nihualla o caya yehuaya çan Nitlaylotlaqui maça yhui yehua maça oanquittoque in tonahuac onoque onchalchiuhtlapaniz toyollo yehua ytloc ynahuac ypalnemohuani ohuaya.

27 Ça ycic xichocacan naya anMexica y antepilhuâ ye no ceppan tauh ipani

deer!" He'll kill it at home.²¹ And so that's how they asked him for this island realm.²²

11 Here²³ in this Tollan Tlapallan he'll undo our comrades, and here our comrades shall be destroyed. Here²⁴ a thrush is shrilling, a snake [or a comrade] is rustling [or stirring], a fish is soaring; here²⁵ a multitude of flowers blooms. It's an uneasy place²⁶ that you rule, O Montezuma!

16 Where have they gone who came to establish²⁷ the tuna—alas, the waters,²⁸ the willows, the tuna, the jaguar throne—when Huitzilihuitl was commanding them? Here our comrades shall be destroyed. Here a thrush is shrilling; here a multitude of flowers blooms. It's an uneasy place that you rule, O Montezuma!

21 B

22 Offering plume songs, O ruler, O Oquitzin, you're inflicting wounds in Somonc's presence here *on earth*.

24 "I, the Arbiter, am come. So be it." Would that you had merely uttered Him, O comrades: our hearts must break as jades, near and in the presence of Life Giver.

27 So weep, you Mexican princes. Once again we're to be destroyed in our city. What says Life Giver?

²¹ *Marginal gloss (numbered 8 on folio 60v):* Then he'll eat it, having it fresh for his use at home.

²² *Marginal gloss (numbered 9 on folio 60v):* Just thus they started a naval war, and so they perished.

²³ *Marginal gloss (numbered 10 on folio 60v):* Indeed, let them try to destroy us in this manner, for it is they who shall be destroyed. Indeed, this Mexico shall become great, populous, and awesome, like Tollan Tlapallan.

²⁴ *Marginal gloss (numbered 11 on folio 60v):* Here in Mexico, which is still a place of meadows, a wilderness where the thrush shrills, where the snake rustles.

²⁵ *Marginal gloss:* Nota bene.

²⁶ *Marginal gloss (numbered 12 on folio 60v):* A bad place.

²⁷ *Marginal gloss (numbered 13 on folio 60v):* They who came and started it, began it, established it, arranged it, and originally laid it out.

²⁸ *Marginal gloss (numbered 14 on folio 60v):* What he's naming are all the princes.

totzaquall imanca tipopolihuizque quen quittohua ypalnemoani ohuaya.

folio 6r

- 1 \bar{Y} mach oc quihualmati a yn Tlatateuctli in Moteucçomatzin a yn Cuitlahuatzinni ximotlapalocan anMexica \bar{y} Antépillhuā y quē quittoa ypalnemoçvani ohuaya.
- 4 Ontlaocolmalintia yyollo yehua in Quauhcohuatl ay in Teohuatzin huihahuiya on ohuaya
- 6 Mao contlati ypalnemoani mach oc quihualmati quen poliohuaz a yn machualli yc ontimalihuiz ycnopillotl a \bar{y} tenahuaqui ohuaya.
- 8 Çan tomotlamachtiya y mopalnemoani in tl̄çcqui ma niman oc an xiquimilcahuani yn Mexicayn \bar{y} tlatilolco yn teocuitlapantica ontlahuizcalehuaticac yn a yn tlaylotlaqui ohuaya ohuaya.
- 11 Çan ninotolinia ninentlamatia çā nitlaylotlaqui quemania otechontlati ypalnemoani quē nemoazyn? Ma yuh nemohua \bar{y} mach oc tiqualmati otiaque yc ichan ohuaya.
- 14 Can yeic tichocaȳ yehuaya ye techihuintia ypalnemohuani mach oc quihualmati yn Acamapich, yn huitzilihuitl yc onixtlahuiya in Mexicayotl a yn Tepanecayotl ohuaya.
- 17 .3.
- 18 Xochinquetzal yn quechol mahuilia, mahuilion xochitla icpacan ohuaya.
- 19 Çan coyachichinaya nepapan xochitlin mahuilia, mahuilion xochitla ycpacan ohuaya.
- 21 Çan ca xihuizhuayo y monacayo moyollo yehua chichimecatlon teuctlo Telitl huiya chalchihuitl moyollo yehua cacahuaxochitlin yc izquixochitlin ahua y yao ayyayye ma tahuiyacā a ohuaya
- 24 Timalintihuitz xochinquahuitlon huehuetzcani xochitl a \bar{y} tamoanchan xochpetlapan ayahue mimilihui xochitl a nelhuayoxochitl aychuaya xochitl y quetzal yticpan toncuica titlaylotlaqui tahuiaxticaqui timalinticaqui ahuayyao ayyayye ma tahuiacana ohuaya.
- 28 O ayoppatihua \bar{y} tl̄çc yyaon antepilhuani anchichimeça ma tahuiaca ohuahuicalon xochitl canon ye mictlan çā tictotlanchuiya ye nelli ye nel tihui ohuaya
- 31 Tlaca nelli ye nel tihui ye nel ticyacahua in xochitlaya yhuā in cuicatl yhuani in tl̄çc ye nelli ye nel tihui ohuaya.

folio 61v

- 1 Canin tihui yehuaya canin tihui on timiqui oc nelon in tinemi? oc ahuiyeloyā? oc ahuiltillano ypalnemoani? anca çanio nican yn tlat̄çcqui huelic xochitl yn cuicatl aya manyā tonecuiltonolin mayan tonequimilol ycan xonahahuiyan ohuaya.

Song 69, Folios 60–61v

- 1 Does Commander Montezuma, does Cuitlahuac, implore Him? Oh do be hailed, you Mexican princes! What says Life Giver? 12
- 4 By dint of this sadness his hearts are going to whirl. O priest Cuauh-coatl! Ah! 13
- 6 Let Life Giver do away with him. And does he still implore Him? The vassals would most definitely be destroyed. And then bereavement would suppurate in Someone's presence *here on earth*. 14
- 8 On earth you are rich, O Life Giver. *But do it!* Abandon these Mexicans! On account of golden banners Tlatelolco's radiating dawnlight, ah! O Arbiter! 15
- 11 "Yet I, the Arbiter, am poor, I grieve." *Yes*, eventually Life Giver puts us away. And how does life go on? Would that life were as it is! Do we *still* implore Him *when* we've traveled to His home? 16
- 14 For this, we weep. Alas, Life Giver makes us drunk. Does Acamapichtli, does Huitzilihuitl, implore Him *here on earth*? Surrendered, then, is the Mexican nation, the Tepanec nation. 17

C

- 18 A flower plume, a swan, is pleasuring, is pleasuring in flowers. 18
- 19 He inhales a multitude of flowers, pleasuring: he's pleasuring in flowers. 19
- 21 They're leafy green and of Your flesh and heart, O Chichimec, O *Warrior* Lord, O *Tenit!* These are jades, cacao flowers, popcorn flowers, of Your heart. And let's be pleased. 20
- 24 As a flower tree, as laughing flowers, You come whirling down from Tamoanchan, the flower seat. Ah, flowers burgeon. *Song*-root flowers. From within these flower plumes You sing, O Arbiter: You make the fragrance: You stand whirled. And let's be pleased. 21
- 28 There is no second time on earth, you princes, you Chichimecs! *So* let's be pleased. These flowers aren't carried to the Dead Land. We merely borrow them. It's true: we pass away. 22
- 31 Would that it were not true! Yes, truly we pass away, we leave these flowers, these songs, this earth. It's true, yes true: we pass away. 23
- 1 Where we go, where we go to die, do we yet have life? Is there yet a place of pleasure, yet a pleasure land, O Life Giver? Delicious flowers, songs, perhaps, are only here on earth. Let them be our riches, let them be our garment. *Ah*, with these be pleased! 24

5 Xonahahuicān antepilhuan anchichimeca ŷ can tiyazque ye ichan

[*superscript gloss:*] mictlan

Popocatzin huiya yn tlaylotlaqui ŷ Acolihuatzin. ayantepetizque ayac
mocahuaz in tl̄ŷcqui huelic xochitlin yn cuicatlaya māyā tonccuiltonol
mayan tonequimilol yca xonahahuicā ohuaya.

9 .4.

10 Tlachinolpoctli onchimalcocomoca chuaya oyohualteuhtlehuaya onnene-
huixtoc ŷ moxochiuh yaotzin ycahuacā ye oncā nepapā in quauhtli yn
ocelotla ohuaya.

13 In çā temocniughtiyaon yn çan teicnomati tlachinolmilini teuhtli coçahuiya
Acaxochitl yzahuatzetzetzelihiu a ðcucueptimana ohuaya

15 Yaoxochiatlapan aya ye çhimalpapalocalli manca huiya a oncan in tla-coch-
tica quipohua contlatlaztica intoaxochiamoxtlacuiloł ŷ moteucçomatzin a oncan in Mexico quipatlā tonacatiçatl ahuayyao ohuaya.

18 Quauhinteuchueli manca totlan tohua yehuaya a oncan yn tla-coch-tica
quipohua cōtlatlaztica yteoaxochiamoxtlacuiloł in moteucçomatzin a
oncā in Mexico quipatlan tonacaticatl ahuayyao ohuaya.

21 Çan motlahuquechol moyauhtiu on yn ica toya in titepiltzin a yn Tla-
cahuepan mopopoyauhtaya tiyaqui yancohuin mitzhualixima Xippilli
Quauhtlehuanił ahuayya ohuaya.

24 Çan mopan iya ye oncā milini poçoni yehuaya ŷ tlachinollion ŷ coco-
mocatima ye tonmodatian totec teocuitlaxochitl momoyahua ye oncan
Nopiltzino in tla-cahuepani ahuayya a on ahuaya.

27 A hue ye ohuaye ninentlamati ya ycnoyohua yn noyollo yehua in noconi-
tann icnopilli mihuitzetzelohuaya in tcoпан iyanihuayayyo yācohui
ohuaya.

30 Yn ye cem iyaye on capan tlatlaya tchuehuclin Poctlan teotihuacan ayyahue
in noconittan icnopilli mihuitzetzelohuaya in tcoпан iyanihuayayyo
yacohuon.

folio 62

1 5

2 Tlaocoyan noyollo nicuicanitl nicnotlamati yehuaya çan ye in xochitli çan
ye in cuicatla yca nitlacocohua in tl̄ŷcqui manē quihtocan in techcocolia
in techmiquitlani moch ompa onyazque canon ye mictlana ohuaya

6 In quēmanian yn otonciauhyn yn otontlatziuhyn toconinayazyn in moma-
huico in motleyo in tl̄ŷcqui man quitocā in techcocolia in techmiquitlani
moch onpa onyazque canō ye mictlāy ohuaya.

9 In maçan oc huello onnemohua in tl̄ŷcqui maçan oqu ihuiya mopal-
nemohua on ychuan Tiox in quiniquac onnetemoloz a yn otiaque ye
ichana ohuaya

Song 69, Folios 61v-62

5 Be pleased, princes, Chichimecs, for we must pass away to Smoker's 25
home,²⁹ the Arbiter, Father Keeper at the Waters. You will have no city.
No one will be left on earth. Delicious flowers, songs: let them be our
riches, let them be our garment. *Ah*, with these be pleased.

9 D

10 A shield-roaring blaze-smoke rises up. *Ah*, and rising up as bell dust it's 26
equated with your flowers, Yaotl. In the distance shrills a multitude of
cagles, jaguars.
13 He befriends and He shows mercy. In a blaze the dust is stirring: reed 27
flowers turn gold, rain down as a blade-mist, blossoming.
15 In Battle Flower Flood Land, at the House of Butterfly Shields, Mon- 28
tezuma using javelins recites—he's tossing off—his flood-flower pic-
turepaintings. And in that distant Mexico he's bartering with sun-chalk.
18 Where eagle bucklers dwell beside us and in our company, this Mon- 29
tezuma using javelins recites—he's tossing off—his spirit-flood-flower
picture paintings. And in that distant Mexico he's bartering with sun-
chalk.
21 Your roseate swan's gone scattered away. And so you've departed, Prince 30
Tlachahuepan. It's gone to shine. You've gone! The turquoise prince, As-
cending Eagle, comes to shear you.
24 The scething blaze is stirring down upon you, roaring. O Totec, you've 31
been done away with. *Now* the golden flowers are dispersed beyond, O
prince, O Tlachahuepan.
27 I grieve, my heart is in misery. This orphaned one is what I see, drifting as 32
a feather into Spirit Land.
30 Land of Fire, Land of Smoke, Land of Spirit-Becoming: now all the buck- 33
lers have adorned him there. And ah! this orphaned one is what I see,
drifting as a feather into Spirit Land.

1 E

2 "I, the singer, am sad at heart, I grieve: with songs, with flowers, I'm 34
inflicting wounds on earth." Let them *go ahead* and say it, unavailing,
hating us and wishing we were dead: "Everyone goes! Off to the
Dead Land!
6 "If you've been weary and disdainful, you'll obscure your future fame, 35
your glory *here* on earth." Let them *go ahead* and say it, hating us and
wishing we were dead: "Everyone goes! Off to the Dead Land!"
9 Let's keep living *here* on earth, O Life Giver, O God, and let it be in peace 36
that there's a seeking-out of Someone when we've traveled to His home.

²⁹ Marginal gloss: The Dead Land.

- 12 In çan onnepolollano tl̄çqui çan ic onnelnamicoz in tocuic toxochiuh
 quiniquac onnetemoloz a yn otiaque ye ichana ahuaya.
- 14 Hui titotolinia ma iuhqui timiquican ma omochiuh ma techonitocā yn
 tocnihuan Mā techonahuacā quauhtini a ocelotina ya ohuaya.
- 16 Quē huel xoconchihua? quen huel xoconcuili yxochihuaya ça yehuan Tiox
 huiya nēcuihuayā a'cuihuaya ohuican mahuizpā yxtlahuacana Et².
- 18 Maçoc quiyocoli maçoc tictemachican canin tlahuicaya ycaya amechmo-
 tlatiliz ypalnemohuani ohuaya.
- 20 Ohuayayo xicnotlamatican Tezcacohuacatl Atepanecatl mach nel amihui-
 hui in cozcatl ÿ chalchihuitli ma āmonenecti ma antlaneltocati Et³.
- 22 .6.
- 23 Çan tonteynelia anca can tlaocoya yn ipalnemohuani in cuix nelli cuix no
 amo nelli qucnin conittohua yn maoc onnentlamati in toyollo yehuaya
 ohuaya
- 26 Quexquich in ye nelli quilhuiya in amo nellon? can tonmonenequi yn
 ipalnemohuani mac onnētlamati ÿ toyollo yehua ohuaya
- 28 In yehuan Tiox ypalnemohuani ninentlamatia anca ço aic yez ohuaya anca
 ço aic nonahuiyez in tenahuaca ohuaya.
- 30 In çan tictlaçotzetzeloa onhuaye in motecpa ye huitz ÿ monecuiltonol
 ypalnemohuani yn izquioxchitli cacahuaxochitlin çā noconelehuiya çan
 ninentlamatiya ohuaya.

folio 62v

- 1 Oncan xihuitlaya quetzalli patlahuac moyollo motlatol notatzino ypalne-
 mohuani tonteicnoyitta tonteicnopilita in çan cuel achitzinca ÿ motloc
 monahuaca ohuaya.
- 4 Chalchiuhitzmolini in moxochiuh ypalnemohua ye xochimimilihui xiuh-
 quecholcuepontimania ÿ çan cuel achitzinca ÿ motloc monahuac
 ohuaya.
- 7 Iyoyahueyyaya huixahue a'nahuiya on a'nihuellamati tl̄ç on ye nican
 ohuaya
- 9 Anca iuhcan ye niyol iuhcan nitlacat a ycnopillotl çan nicmaticon ye nica in
 tenahuacan ohuaya.
- 11 Maoc netlatlaneuho nican yn antocnihuan y çanio nican a y talticpac an
 ohuaya.
- 13 In moztla huiptla quē connequin moyollo ypalnemohuani tonyazque ye
 ichan antocnihuan maoc tonahahuiacan ohuaya.

Nican pehua Tlamelauhqui Teuccuicatl.

- 15 Çan ca ye nompehua çati ca ye nictzotzona yxochihuehueuh ypalnemo-

Songs 69–70, Folios 62–62v

- 12 "Yet we wish to be destroyed on earth, for this is how our songs, our 37
flowers, are recalled—in the seeking-out of Someone when we've trav-
eled to His home."
- 14 Ah, let us die poor. Let it be done, though comrades call us down, though 38
eagles, jaguars, reprimand us.
- 16 "You must produce them! You must get God's flowers!" On the field of 39
fear and danger they're scarcely obtained, they're not obtained *at all*.
- 18 *Well*, let Him *go ahead* and do it for them! "Let's *go ahead* and trust Him 40
where He rules!" And for this He'll do away with you, this Life Giver!
- 20 *But* gricve, O Executioner, O Water-Palace Lord. And are you all *mere* coun- 41
terparts for gems and jades? Beware of being used. Don't be credulous.
- 22
- F
- 23 Are You obliging? Is Life Giver in a mournful mood? Yes or no? What does 42
he say? Let our hearts keep sorrowing.
- 26 How many does he "yes" and "no"! O Life Giver, you're intractable. *But* 43
let our hearts *keep* sorrowing.
- 28 O God, O Life Giver, I'm in sorrow: will it never be? Will I never have the 44
pleasure of One's company?
- 30 You strew them as beloved ones, and ah! they come from you, your riches, 45
O Life Giver! They're the popcorn flowers, the cacao flowers, that I crave
in sorrowing.
- 1 Your distant hearts and words are turquoise gems, broad plumes, O father, 46
O Life Giver! You're merciful, compassionate. Yet briefly are they near
you and in your presence.
- 4 Your flowers are greening as jades, O Life Giver. They flower-sprout, 47
they're blossoming as turquoise swans. But briefly are they near you and
in your presence.
- 7 Alas, I have no pleasure, no happiness on earth. 48
- 9 Is this my lot? Is this my fate? Ah, bereavement is all I've come to know in 49
Someone's presence here.
- 11 Let there be borrowing, O friends. And only here. On earth! 50
- 13 Life Giver, what will your heart be requiring one of these days? We must 51
travel to his home, O friends. Then let us be pleased!

LXX Here begins a plain lord song

- 15 I strike it up. I beat the flower drum of Life Giver, and his paintings fall: 1

- huani ytlacuilot a yehuatl onmaniya o ohuaye xochitl cueponiya onahuiyaxtimani tlalpan motecay çan ca yxihuamox y yehuā Tiox yhuan nicmanaya o ohuaye cuicailhuiçolli xochitl moyahua ye mochana ohuaya ohuaya.
- 21 Iyao ayyaohon y yaon çan ticnehuihuliya chalchihuitl in acatic in motlatol a yn toconmaca quetzalhuitolli hui yehuaya oncuicayhuixochiyapipixauhtimani ye mochana. ohuaya ohuaya.
- 24 Tlacuilolamoxticaya ycuiliuhtimania motlahcalitiqui tlapalihuihochitica yan onahuiaxtimani oncan ya nemiyan nepapā tototl ontlachichinayan ompatlantinemi ye mochan a ohuaya ohuaya.
- 27 In ye no ye tehuatl ye mocel titeotl tiyamochiuhtica y yehuan Tiox ye motlan monemiyan çan ca moquecholhuā amoxtli mocuic achi motlatol toconchua ye mochan a ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 63

- 1 Tiquetzaltototl timochiuhthuitz spilito xanto çan tihualacico can tiquihui-catihuitz in Moquecholhuan a yn ageloti xochimecatlo ÿ ye coyatotoma ÿcuic çā mitzōahuiltia ypalnemohuani ohuaya Et?
- 4 Çan ca ompa tihuitz Atl icuiliuhcan aya in tocōyaitquitihuitz in mocuicamoxtlacuilot çan tōcuicapohua ye nicana ohuaya ohuaya.
- 6 Xochintlacuilolcali manicana ya xochipapalocalitiqui ðcā ye mochan aya cuicatl ye tiyol tiMoteucçomatzin xochitl ticueponico in tlçcqui tonteahuiltico A ye huehuetitlan ye nican ohuaya ohuaya.
- 9 Ixquich moquechol aya yxquich tiquinnechicohua oncan ye mochana ya in papalotl y huitzitzilin a ontlachichinaya ma ahuilinemi huehuetitlan ye nican ohuaya ohuaya
- 12 Çan niquinmahuiçohuaya a ilhuicac in chancueō a ÿ Ageloti onxochi-cuicotocon ÿ chalchiuhtetzilacatl oncahuātimani ye ichano y yehuan Tioxa ohuaya ohuaya
- 15 Cuicatotoma ÿ quelelquixtiaon yehuā Tiox çan ca yehuano in quihualaxitia nepapan xochitl ye onahuiaxtimani yn atlo ya tepetl Mexico nicana ohuaya ohuaya.

Teuccuicatl

- 18
- 19 Occlotlçc olini yehuaya oyohualli ylhuicatlin nanatzcatimomana y ye temoya o in spilito xanto ypalnemohuani moticachimalli yhui y onmotlaçotzetzelohua ohuaye ytzihuac y xochimayaccayocan in moquetzaco in tlçca ohuaya ohuaya.
- 23 In nechoquililo nentlamachoy cemanahuaqui teteuctini, motiçachimali yhui y onmotlaçotzetzelohua ohuaye ytzihuac y xochimiyahuayocan in moquetzaco in talticpaca ohuaya ohuaya.

Songs 70-71, Folios 62v-63

these flowers. They blossom, they're spreading fragrance, they're scattering over the ground: *these*, God's turquoise pictures. And I offer them as well: these song marvels, these flowers. And in Your home they're strewn.

- 21 You make Your words jade beads. And what we give to Him are bending plumes. It's raining feather-flower songs in Your home. 2
- 24 They're painted as picture paintings in Your house of crimson: as red feather flowers they're emitting fragrance. All the birds dwell there: and they're inhaling as they fly along in Your home. 3
- 27 You are the one that is being created, O Only Spirit, O God. Your swans are where you dwell and at your side, and pictures are your songs: *yet* briefly do you chant your words at home. 4
- 1 *And now* you come created, O Quetzal, O Espíritu Santo. You arrive! You come bringing your swans, these angels, these flower garlands, that loosen their songs and give you pleasure. O Life Giver! 5
- 4 You come from the Place of Painted Waters, come carrying your picture-painting songs. And here *on earth* you're counting out your songs. 6
- 6 At Flower House of Paintings, in the Flower House of Butterflies, yonder in your home, and as a song you're born, O Montezuma: as a flower you come to bloom on earth, come to give pleasure here beside the drum. 7
- 9 You assemble them all, all your swans. Yonder in your home these butterflies, these hummingbirds, are sipping: *now* let them live in pleasure here beside the drum. 8
- 12 I marvel at these sky dwellers, these angels. There's flower-singing, jade songs are ringing in the home of God. 9
- 15 They're loosening their songs: they're entertaining God, bringing down a multitude of flowers. And with these the city, Mexico, is spreading fragrance. Here! 10

LXXI Lord song

- 18
- 19 This jaguar earth is shaking, and the screaming skies begin to rip. Espíritu Santo, Life Giver, descends. Chalked shields are strewn away with love. And they that come to stand on earth are spines of His from Flower-Tassel Land. 1
- 23 All lords are pitiable and grieving in this world. *But* as chalked shields they're strewn away with love. And they that come to stand on earth are spines of His from Flower-Tassel Land. 2

- 26 Çan oncann ohuaye ompielo tlalli tepetl huiya iztac ÿ quauhtli motzetzeloticaquin yn tenochtitlan in mexico nican huiya no yhui huexotzinco ya oztotl ycuihuacan mizquitl. a ycacan ocelotl ma'ahuiltitinema ohuaya ohuaya
- 30 Can yeica nichoca nicnotlamatian bihuexotzincatl ye centlal mani ÿ macuex i quemitl ye momoyahuatoc noquauhtzotzocol atl ytzalan in huexotzinco
[*adjacent gloss:*] cue[xotzinco]
y ohuaya Et²

folio 63v

- 1 Tla xxontlachiacan ylhuicatl ilhuicatl chuaya huexotzinco in tlalli yã moceupaya yehuaya oncan ye micuilohua in tlatohuani a Moteucçoma ÿ aic polihuicin ÿ motoca moteyo ye nican ohuaya ohuaya
- 4 Çan moca huel yetaz noyollo huaya ÿ nihuexotzincatl xoxohuic tlacochtlivan tehuehuelin nomac ommantiaz moca notzalitaz moca noqua tzelotaz aya quenonamecan aya tla huel onmohua tla huel onpieloyan tlallo yan tepetl in cemanahuac y ohuaya ohuaya
- 8 Quauhtlin moxochiuh toconmana ohuaya ye tlacochtlin motlayocol tocō-yachihuay yepac motepeuh a yn altepetl in huexotzinco ohuaya Et²
- 10 In calli xacohuaye ach anca colhuancanno ā ye tontlatohua ilhuicalli manca in mexico in Tiox ye ypiltzin ye te tocontzitzqui in ilhuicatl cemanahuacan ohuaya ohuaya.

Yc ome Teuccuicatl

- 13
- 14 Xinechaytacan naya nihualacicaya nitzacochincoxcocoxaya noquetzalehcaçehuaz nineçahualcoyotl huiya xochitl tztzeliuhticac a ompa ye nihuitz Tamoanchan nea A ohuiya.
- 17 Ý tla xicaquican aya niquehuaz nocuic nicahuilticon Moteucçomay ya tatã tilili y papapapapa A chalan chala challa ye macça tilli ye macçan qualca A ohuiya xiuhtlaquetzalli cacan Mexicoyan Tlilapana A yztac huexotl ÿ ye ibcacā o anca ye oncan mitztlamacchuique ÿ mocolihuã çan ye huitzilihuitl, Acamapich, yca xichocayā Moteucçomay a yca tocompiay ypetl ycpal in yehuan Tiox eha a huiya.
- 23 A oncan Tlilapan a oncann amochcoyā tocoyachihuay mexico nican ye tontlamaccuh, a oncan ticyaitac in mocococauh tineçahualcoyotl e Et²
- 25 In ca yllahue yao ooo yca xichocayan Moteucçomay Ayaxcan hue tic-yaytac Atlo yã tepetl a oncā ticyaitac in mocococauh tinecahualcoyotl ea a ohuiya.

Songs 71-72, Folios 63-63v

- 26 In the Yonder, ah! this realm's preserved. And White Eagle is shaking 3
Himself in this Tenochtitlan, this Mexico that's here, this Huexotzinco.
Yes, and in this painted cavern, where the mesquites stand, the jaguar
lives in pleasure, ah!
- 30 I that am a Huexotzincan weep and grieve, for everywhere lie capes and 4
bracelets. Scattered are my eagle urns in Huexotzinco, in the water's
midst.
- 1 Look to the sky: this Huexotzinco rises to the sky. The earth rolls over. 5
There Beyond he's painted, he, the ruler Montezuma. Never will your
name and honor perish here *on earth*.
- 4 "My Huexotzincan hearts shall go along for Your sake, Blue Javelin! 6
Bucklers in my hand shall be transported. For Your sake they'll be sum-
moned. These heads of mine, for Your sake, shall be scattered in the
Place Unknown." Let them be at rest. And let it be preserved, this
island realm!
- 8 Now You're laying down Your flowers and as eagles. You're creating 7
sadness in the guise of javelins *here* before Your realm, this city, this
Huexotzinco.
- 10 This house would seem to be a place of forebears. You're singing where 8
the feast house stands—in Mexico—O Son of God! It's you that have
supported the sky, the earth!

LXXII A second lord song

- 13
14 "See-me! I've arrived, I, a white-flower chachalaca. This is my plume fan. 1
I'm Nezahualcoyotl. The flowers are scattering down. I've come from
Tamoanchan.
- 17 "Hear the song I'm about to sing. I've come to pleasure Montezuma. 2
Tata-tili, papa papapa, ah! chala chala chala! Let's have a tili, and let it
be now!"
- Where turquoise columns stand, in Mexico, Dark-Water Place, where
white willows stand, it seems your forebears Huitzilihuitl and Acama-
pichtli have shown you their favor. So weep, O Montezuma. Ah, and so
you hold God's mat and seat!
- 23 Dark-Water Place, Place of the Water-Weed: that's where you create him: 3
yes, it's here in Mexico that you've been favored. Ah, that's where you've
found your sustenance, O Nezahualcoyotl.
- 25 So weep, O Montezuma. You found this city a hardship, alas. Ah, that's 4
where you've found your sustenance, O Nezahualcoyotl.

- 28 Yehuan Tiox mitzyaicnoytac mitzyaicnomat can Motecuçõma a yca to-
conpiay ye ipetl ycpall in yehuan Tiox ea A ohuiya
30 Quauhtli pipitzcaticac ocelotl nanalcan mexico nican a oncã tontlatohuaya
itzcohuatl a yca tocompiay ye ipetl ycpall i yehuan Tiox ea Et'.

folio 64

- 1 A iztac huexotl ymapan aya can totlatohua yehua Acatl iztac ymãcan Tolin
iztac chalchihuitl ymanca mexico nican ea a ohuiya.

Yaocuicatl.

- 3
4 Nompehua noncuica yancohui ye noconehua ÿ çan cã ye incuic in yehuan
Tiox ypalnemohuani ohuaya ohuaya.
6 Cuicailhuiçolpan ÿ necoc hualacic y iehuã Tiox antépilhũã ma onnetla-
nehuilo yectli ya xochitl abuayya ayyon ohuaya ohuaya.
8 Nepapan quauhizhuayoticac ye mohuehueh ypalnemoani ontzinitzcani-
celizticac ayyahuen yca mitzonahuiltia a in tepilhũã huiya o ach i ye
iuhcan cuicaxochithuall imanicana ohuaya Et'.
11 Aztayhuixochitl oncuepontoc ye oncan ycahuaca ontlatohua ychuaya ÿ
quetzalayacachtototl yxtlilcuechaçuaç teocuitlaxochitototl yn tlacahue-
pantzin patlantinemi o ach in ye iuhcã cuicaxochithuall imanicanna
ohuaya
15 Tzinitzcan in çaquan ye tlahuquechol ye an tictlatlapalpohua ye mocuic
ypalnemohuani tiquimoquetzaltiya ÿ mocnihuan i ÿ quauhtin nocelo ye
tiqimellaquahua ohuaya ohuaya
18 Aqu icnopilli ac onacitih yn õcan piltihua mahuiztihua yehuaya ÿ mani-
huan i yn quauhtin ocelo ye tiqimellaquahua ohuaya Et'.
20 Y yaqui yancohuiyyo huixahue huiya quẽ noconchihuaz in macuel nonmi-
quĩ yehua ma niquetzaltototl ma nipatlantihui ilhuicatlytiqui yca nicho-
cayan. ohuaya ohuaya.
23 Cuel achic monahuac yehuaya ypalnemohuani ÿ ye nelli tonteycuiloa
oncan tõteicnomati yn motloc monahuacan ohuaya ohuaya

Yaoxochicuicatl.

- 25
26 Çaquan quetzaltototl çan tiquimõnechicohuan a in tepilhũã huiya yni
xochipoyon a yn yehuaya niquinmaca niquimoncozcatiaon in nepapan
xochitl yn icniuhyoticanya titoyximati huehuetitlana Et'.

- 28 God has pitied you and shown you mercy, O Montezuma. Ah, and so you 5
 hold God's mat and seat.
- 30 The eagle screams, the jaguar roars. In Mexico. Here! And that's where 6
 you sing, Blade Companion! Ah, and so you hold God's mat and seat.
- 1 On a white-willow branch you're singing, ah, where the white reeds lie— 7
 the white rushes—where the jades lie. In Mexico. Here!

LXXIII War song

- 3
- 4 I strike up a song, singing the songs of God Life Giver. 1
 6 And from the Place of Song Marvels, God Necoc comes. Princes! Let 2
 these holy blooms be borrowed.
- 8 This multitude stands leafing out as eagles. They're the trogon-sprouting 3
 drums—of yours, O Life Giver—with which *our* princes give you pleasure. So it would seem in this patio of flower song!
- 11 White feather flowers blossom where Ixtlilcuechahuac as a plume, a rattle 4
 bird, is shrilling, singing. A golden oriole, it's Tlachahuepan, soars along. Ah, so it would seem in this patio of flower song!
- 15 Life Giver, you're reciting your songs in colors—as trogons, troupials, 5
 roseate swans. And you're taking these comrades of yours to be your plumes, these eagles, these jaguars. Yes, you're spurring them on.
- 18 Who'll be orphaned? Who'll go where there's nobility and fame? Your 6
 comrades! These eagles, these jaguars! Yes, you spur them on.
- 20 What's to befall me? Let me die! Let me be a quetzal. Let me go and fly, 7
 alas, in heaven. And for this I weep.
- 23 Brief is your presence, Life Giver. *But* yes, it's true: you paint us: there 8
 Beyond you show us mercy—near you and in your presence.

LXXIV War-flower song

- 25
- 26 We're assembling troupials, quetzals, ah! they're princes. And I give them 1
 flower *poyomatli*, give this multitude of flowers jewels. And we, in comradeship, become acquainted beside the drum.

- 29 Çan tictlanhuico toxochihueuh çan tictlanhuico toxochiayacach in
yhuā in ye tocuic toxochihuaya çan achica onahahuilitloya ohuaya Et.¹
31 Yn quetzalizquixochitl aya oitzmolinico mimilihui, cueponih, in tépilhuan

folio 64v

- in quauhtli ocelotl yxquich oncuetlahuiya quexquich onquiçaquiuh
huiya quexquich onmomanaquiuh in tl̃çca ohuaya.
3 O amochipa ye tehuan ticahuiltizque yn ipalnemoame yn a moxochiuh
yhuān in cuicatl ma ye tonahuiyacān çan titodlanhuiya yn ixochihui can
titotlanhuiya çoçahuic xochitla ohuaya ohuaya.
6 Yaoxochitl ÿ mamalinticac yxtlahuatl ytiqi teuhitca yehuaya ylacatzuhti-
caqui quihuumolohua tlachinolxochitl cōyanequion çan quitemohua an
tepillhuan huiyayyaya on mach oc çan ahuilli çā micohua yehua ohuaya
10 A çan conelehuiya ohuaye a ca contemohua yio in hueliqui yio totonqui-
yan yiayya on mach oc çan ahuilli çan micohua yehua Et.²
12 Quenomach i quimana quenomach i quicaltiya yn ixochiuh ypalnemohua-
ni yectli ya malinticaqui çan ye itzmolinticac oncueponticaca. ohuaya
ohuaya.
15 Ypan tztzelihticaqui yehuaya pixauhticaqui yn itzquiyehuitl i tlacoch-
quiyehuitl i ye nelli yeon çan tlemimiyahuatl pixauhticacō ayac huel ye
ihuic ye onmotlapalohuayyo ayya an ohuaya. Et.³

Xochicuicatl

- 18
19 Xompehua xoncuica can ticuicanitl huiya mā temaco xochitl ma yca ona-
huelo ma ya onnetlamachtilyan in tl̃çca ohuaya ohuaya.
21 Can monecuiltonol ticuicanitl huiya canin ticyamaceuh xochitl aya canin
ticayyttac in cuicatl tictemaca ya

[*superscript gloss:*] [y]c

- nican xochimecatl in Mocamacpa quizticac tonteahuiltia ÿ ma ya ica
onnetlatlamachtilyan in tl̃çca ohuaya Et.⁴
24 Nihualchocay nihualicnotlamati çan nicuicanitl huiya tlaca anichuicaz yn
toxochiuh ohuaye maic ninapantiaz cano xim̃ohuaya huaye nihualla-
ocoya ohuaya ohuaya.
27 In çan no iuhqui xochitlaya ypan momati in tl̃çcqui can cuel achic tocō-
totlanhuico a yn xopanxochitli xonahahuicān ohuaye nihuallayocoya
ohuaya ohuaya
30 Quetzalpapalocalco ompa ye nihuitz ayaō ye mitoma ye nocuic ahuayya
onhuiya nepapan xochitl ÿ nepapan tlacuilolli y ye noyol nicuicanitl
ayaon ye nictoma ye nocuic ohuaya ohuaya.

Songs 74–75, Folios 64–64v

- 29 We've only borrowed our flower drums, only borrowed our flower rattles, 2
these, our songs—our flowers! They're briefly pleased.
- 31 These plumelike popcorn flowers coming green, swelling, blossoming, 3
these princes, eagles, jaguars: however many issue forth, however many
come to be scattered *here* on earth, must wither.
- 3 And we? We won't be pleasuring Life Giver forever. Let's pleasure our- 4
selves with Your flowers, and with these songs! We merely borrow these
flowers of His, merely borrow these yellow flowers.
- 6 They're war flowers, spinning in the field, whirling in the dust. Princes 5
make these blaze flowers flow, desiring them, seeking them. But is there
pleasure? There's only death.
- 10 They crave and seek these warm delicious ones. But is there pleasure? 6
There's only death.
- 12 How Life Giver scatters these flowers of his! How he puts them into this 7
house—these holy ones that are whirling, greening, blossoming!
- 15 Now they're scattering, they're drifting down as a rain of knives, a rain 8
of javelins! It's true: fire tassels are drifting down! No one dares *go*
near them.

LXXV Flower song

- 18
- 19 Strike up a song, singer. Let flowers be given: let there be pleasure: let 1
there be happiness on earth.
- 21 Whence your riches, singer? Where did you get these flowers, where did 2
you find these songs you give? Flower garlands issue from your mouth:
you're giving pleasure: let there be happiness on earth.
- 24 Here I'm weeping, grieving, I, the singer: I wish it weren't that I can't be 3
dressed in these, our flowers. I wish that I could go away adorned in
these—to the place where all are shorn. Here I'm grieving.
- 27 And earth *itself* seems like these flowers: briefly we borrow Green-Place 4
flowers. Be pleased! Here I'm grieving.
- 30 I come from the House of Butterfly Plumes, setting free my songs. 5
My singer's heart is a multitude of flowers, a multitude of paintings. Yes,
I'm setting free my songs.

Yaocuicatl ycuic in Motecuçomatzin

- 1
 2 Ylh^lytiqui tiyocolloc timotecuçomatzin Mexico tontlatohuay in tenoch-
 titlani ahuaya ahuaya ohuaya.
 4 Nican in nepapan quauhtli ypolihuiyan momaquizcal i tonaticac ye oncan
 ychan tota Tiox a ohuaya ohuaya.
 6 In an nemico ye oncan ye iuhcano A yxtlahuatl ytiqui cuel achic on-
 momalinaco in quauhyotl a ÿ tecpillotl huiya ixtlilcuechahuac y mac-
 tlacuiyetzi ohuaya ohuaya.
 9 In iuhcan mahuizçohua ontocayohua in Teuçpillotl huiya oyohual moteteca
 teuhtli ya caçahuiyaō ohuaya ohuaya.
 11 xōmellaquahuacan antocnihuan an tontotlapalohua yn oncan yn oncuihua
 tleyotl yn mahuizçotl yn òcuihua ÿ tecpillotl çan òmacchualo xochimi-
 quiztlo ohuaya ohuaya
 14 Nemin amotoca yn amoteyo yn yn antepilhuan in tinopiltzin a in tlachahue-
 pantzin yxtlilcuechahuac yaomiquiztli yc ayaqueon yn ancōmahceuhque
 ahuaya. ohuaya ohuaya.
 17 Ilhuicatlahuizcalli in yehua cā nepapan niccahuaca tototl tlaçoquecholti-
 huayan xiuhçaquantihuaoon ohuaya ohuaya
 19 Amocnopillaya in tiçatl, yn ihuitl anmoquimidotoque in xochitlahuan
 Motlatocaçomatzin tlaçoquecholtihuayan xiuhçaquātihuay~~an~~on ohuaya
 ohuaya.

Yaocuicacuextecayotl,

ynin, tocontoco tontiton tintinti.

- 22
 23 A oyohuala ycahuacatimani in tlachinolteuhtl ehuaya oncan aya huicalloya
 yaoxochicuextecatl tlachahuepano ayeo o aya yca.
 25 In tlapapaltzihuaccalaytic oncan ye onoqui xochioctli coniyān tlachahuepā
 ooa ye oo aya yca
 27 Xiquincaquican hue yaocuicatihuitze yn otontepeticpac tihuintique a ti-
 cuexteca y me onchimahahuilitlo çan ca toteuh yehua ÿ tlachinolli ya

milacatzotihuitz in tocoxochiuh ticuexteca y me oyonaltatzitihuitz
 onchimalahuilitlo çā ca toteuh yehuan Tiox a

- 3 Tocotocotiti, tocotocotiti / tinco tinco tinti.
 4 Yn quetzallaticayan tlaquicuiliuhquetl aya nohueyo nopiltzin Neçahual-

LXXVI War song, a song of Montezuma

- 1 Montezuma, you creature of heaven, you sing in Mexico, in Tenochtitlan. 1
 2 Here where eagle multitudes were ruined, your bracelet house stands shin- 2
 4 ing—there in the home of God our father.
 6 There and in that place they come alive, ah! on the field! For a moment 3
 they come whirling, they the eagles, ah! the nobles Ixtlilcuechahuac and
 Matlacuiatzin.
 9 And in that place these nobles gain renown and honor: bells are scattered, 4
 dust and lords grow golden.
 11 Onward, friends! We'll dare to go where fame, where glory's, gotten, 5
 where nobility is gotten, where flower death is won.
 14 Your name and honor live, O princes. Prince Tlacahuepan! Ixtlilcuecha- 6
 huac! You've gone and won war death.
 17 Sky dawn is rising up. The multitude, the birds, are shrilling. Precious 7
 swans are being created. Turquoise troupials are being created.
 19 Lucky you, arrayed in chalk and plumes. O flower-drunk Montezuma! 8
 Precious swans are being created. Turquoise troupials are being created.

22 LXXVII This one's a Huastec war song

A

tocotoco totito tititi

- 23 Where bells are shrilling and the dust of lords in blaze arises, a war-flower 1
 Huastec is carried down. It's Tlacahuepan.
 25 House of multicolored spines is where he dwells, drinking flower wine. 2
 It's Tlacahuepan.
 27 Hear them! They come battle-chanting to this warrior town. We're drunk! 3
 We're Huastecs, hey! And with these shields Our Lord is pleased.
 Our pine flowers come whirling in a blaze. We're Huastecs, hey! And they
 come jingle-shouting. With these shields Our Lord—it's God!—is plea-
 sured, ah!

B

toco toco titi, toco toco titi/tico tico titi

- 3 Plume-water torso-painted Nezahualpilli, my great one, my prince! Yon- 4

- pillaya chimalli xochioctla yca yhuintihuaya ye oncan cuexteca netotiloya aya yn atlixco yyayya.
- 7 Çan toconyapitzaya in moceloacaquiquiz ayan tonquauhtzatziticac ȳ motemalac ypan a in tecpilli yaqui a y huehuetzin chimalxochioctla yca yhuintihuaya ye òcan cuexteca netotiloya aya in atlixcoyan yyayya.
- 10 Ayyayye ayao yyayye ayao ayaye ayeo ayahue cuix ompa nemohua niquttohua nihuintico nicihuatl ayeon ayyayye.
- 12 Maoc xonmittotiyān tlapalihquetl aya cuix opa nemohua niquttohua nihuintico nicihuatl ayeo ayyayya
- 14 Tocontocōtiquti tocontocōtiquti tintocotico tiquti tiquti tiqi tiqi tiquti tiqi tiqi tiquti.
- 16 In quetzala xochia oo quitlahuan in quihuintitinemiya y macllacuiyatzin çan cā ye oncan yn ixtlahuacā yyao ayaye aycya
- 18 Ic onmapantiya in quetzalaxochitl in tlachinolxochitlo y macllacuiyatzin o ceyaque quenonamicān yyao ayaque yahuayya
- 20 In huēli noxaxahual nonecpacuiyel aya niteucxoch nicihuatl tihuā mihtotia in tollamaz ma tlapalihuitihua toxochinnahualhuā tocepan tihuintique anopilohuan anā.
- 23 Can tiye'coque ye nican tihihuintique aya niteucxoch nicihuatl tihuan mihtotiya in tollamazme tlapalihuinti toxochinnahualhuan ticepā tihuintique anopilohua anā
- 26 In quotzallatl ymanca anayan in poçontimaniya techonyahayhuintiya ti-Mexica y me chimeca aya noconelnamiqui ya çā nichoca y hue.
- 28 A ycaya yyahue oo nichocaya nineçahualpillaya caniyān maniya ompa ye cueponi yaoxochitl ayā noconilnamiquia çan nichoca y huen.
- 30 In quetzallaxomotzin tonpapatlantia tinoxochihueyotzin in tlacahuēpan-tzin aya çā quitocac yta quenonamicā Anā.

folio 66

- 1 Aytic yen òcuica a onlatohua o ayaye in quetzalaxochioctli quitlahuanaya onchachalacaya yquecholpohuan ȳ teucpipilti yn cuexteca y meÉtlan.
- 3 Cilli quipan chaylitzin a y tzin mahuiyan ixtlilcuechahuac yca ye òmahuiçohua quinamoya y quetzalon in patzacōn iuhquin oya iuhquin oyā cuexteca tlahuanque. Atliya ixic ytic ȳ tlachinolacueyotl in pā ye poçon. Pilliya ixtlilOtoncochotzin a yca ye òmahuiçohua quinamoya i quetzallin patzacōn iuhquin oyan cuexteca tlahuanque.
- 8 Tititititi ticon tōcon ticoton.
- 9 E chalchiuhtica ycuiluhuotc Atl in tepetl huitziltepetitlan ticozçaçoyā quetz-

Song 77, Folios 65v-66

der all the Huastecs are drunk with this shield-flower wine: there's dancing on the breast of the flood.

7 You blow your conch for jaguar reeds. You stand up eagle-blaring on your round-stone, O noble prince, departing Drum! And yonder all the Huastecs are drunk with shield-flower wine: there's dancing on the breast of the flood. 5

10 A woman am I, and I've come to be drunk, saying, "Can there be life hereafter?" 6

12 Dance, stalwart! A woman am I, and I've come to be drunk, saying, "Can there be life two times?" 7

C

14 tocotocotiquiti tocotocotiquiti tito cotico tiquiti
tiquiti tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui tiquiti

16 Matlaccuiatzin has tippled on plume water, on flower water, and it's making him drunk in the field. 8

18 Matlaccuiatzin has gone to the Place Unknown adorned with these plume-water flowers, these blaze flowers. 9

20 These adornments are my headband: I'm Flower Lord, a woman! And we're in company with a dancing rush hunter. Let all our flower ghosts be gorgeously drunk. We've all gotten drunk together, my nephews! Ah! 10

23 We've arrived, and we're drunk! I'm Flower Lord, a woman! And we're in company with dancing rush hunters. Our flower ghosts are gorgeously drunk. We've all gotten drunk together, my nephews. Ah! 11

26 Seething on the plume food, they make us drunk, us Mexicans, and hey! "Just weeping, I recall Chichimecs. Alas. 12

28 "Nezahualpilli am I, and I weep. From where he dwells, beyond, he blossoms forth, this flower of war. Just weeping, I recall him, and alas!" 13

30 As a waterfowl plume you've soared away, O flower, O great one, O Tlachuepan. He's followed his Father to the Place Unknown. 14

1 It's in the Water that he sings and warbles, and his fellow swans—these noble lords, these Huastecs, hey!—are chattering and tipping on plume-water flower wine. 15

3 A bell has blossomed! Down below, poor Screecher trembles. Ah, it's Ixtlilcuechahuac! And this is how he wins his fame: he snatches withered plumes. It's as though oh! it's as though Huastecs were made drunk. 16

At Water's Navel, blazing waves have seethed upon them. This is how Prince Ixtlil-Warrior-Parrot wins his fame: he snatches withered plumes. It's as though oh! Huastecs were made drunk.

D

8 titititititi tico toco ticoto

9 The city lies painted in jades. And at Hummingbird Mountain you're 17

alichaala tiyamancaya yn icelteotl Tiox y noteouh Aya Jesu quilisto Aya ohua. Ayc polihuiz moteyo yehuā Taxayacatzin ye tlahquechol çaquametl ye neçoçohualo xochintlapan a ÿ tcpilhuā A nopilohuan aya ohuaya.

- 14 Intzimiquiztequiti ohua nopilohua huitzilihuitl mahuilmalinal can concautehuaque huitzilxochiatl poçontimania Mexico nicā ma yca yhuintihuaya
- 17 In mach o quihualmati cano ychan teuctlapalihquct! Ahuitzotl y chalchihcozcanquetzalin patlahuaca ça ca quimaca yehua ycelteotl Et²

19 occe yaotlatolcuicatl

- 20 I nompehua ye nicanon in nicuicanitl huiyan noyollo ytech ÿ cueponi xochitl in yectlon cuicatl ycaÿā nocōehcapehuia ypalnemoa ohuaya Et²
- 22 In ye nonnitotiya nicanon in nicuicanitl huiyan noyollo ytech ÿ cueponi xochitl in yectlin cuicatl ycaÿā noconchcapehuiyan ypalnemoa Et²
- 24 Onquauhceceliya ohuaye occloytzmolini ÿ teucpillotl in tlatocayotl A in Mex[∞] y Miticā chimalticā yehuā onlatohuā teuctli yn ahuitzotl a Et²
- 26 In tlaca aya cuihuan moxochiuh o ypalnemoahuā teuhtlin popoca ÿ yxtlahuatl ytic yn òcan tiquicozcatio yc tiquimapan ca chimalli xochitli yn acolihuacā Neçahualpillo in totoquihuatzin mitica chimaltica yehua onlatohuan teuctli yn ahuitzotla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 30 Ya nicnotlamatiyan nichoca yehuaya quemach amion yeic nomantihuin chimallin xochitlin ye tlecahuiloyan huixahuen ca niquitaz quinequi noyolla ohuaya ohuaya

folio 66v

- 1 O atle iuhqui yaomiquiztli Atle iuhqui xochimiquiztli quitlaçotlaco ypalnemohuani huicahue ca niquittaz quinequi noyolla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 3 In cānon i cuitzayan yectlon cuicatli noconyatemohua hui hue ninotolinia manen noncuica ohuaya ohuaya.
- 5 Ca niquitaçon in moxochiuh aya ypalnemohuani hui huē ninotoliniya manē noncuica ohuaya Et²

stringing plume jades into a necklace. You're rich, O Only Spirit. O God, my Spirit, Jesucristo!

Your fame will never perish, Axayacatl! And all the roseate swans, the troupials, are spreading their wings in Flower Tlapallan. They're the princes. They're my nephews.

14 Having performed knife-death labor, my nephews Huitzilihuitl and Ma- 18
cuilmalinaltzin have gone away leaving hummingbird flower water
seething here in Mexico. Let everyone be drunk on this.

17 Does the noble stalwart Ahuizotl still implore the Only Spirit in his 19
home? *Indeed*, he gives Him jade-jewel plumes, broad ones.

LXXVIII Another musical call to arms

20 I strike it up—here!—I, the singer. Flowers, good songs, are blooming in 1
my heart. With these I fan Life Giver.

22 I'm dancing—here!—I, the singer. Flowers, good songs, are blooming in 2
my heart. With these I fan Life Giver.

24 Nobles and kings are sprouting as eagles, greening as jaguars, in Mexico: 3
Lord Ahuizotl is singing arrows, *singing* shields.

26 Life Giver, let your flowers not be gathered! Dust *and lords* are smoking on 4
the field. You've given necklaces to Totoquihuaztli and Acolhuacan's
Nezahualpilli. You've adorned them in shield flowers. Lord Ahuizotl is
singing arrows, *singing* shields.

30 I grieve, I weep. What good is this? The shield flowers are carried away, 5
they're sent aloft. Ah, where can I find what my heart desires?

1 Incomparable war death! Incomparable flower death! Life Giver has blessed 6
it. Ah, where can I find what my heart desires?

3 I seek the good songs whence they come—and I am poor. Let me not sing. 7

5 Where am I to find your flowers, Life Giver? Alas, I am poor. Let me 8
not sing.

- 7 Ycuic In acolhuacan, in Neçahualcoyotzin ic
quitlapaloco in huehue moteuççomatzin,
Mex^{co} yquac mococohuaya
- 9 Xinechaytacan aya nihualacica nitzacxochincoxcox aya noquetzallecace-
huaz nineçahualcoyotl huiya xochitl tztzeliuhticac a ompa ye nihuitz
acolihuacan cha a ohuiya
- 12 In tla xicaquin aya niqehuaz nocuic nicahuiltico moteuççoma yatatā tilili
y papa pa papa a challa chala challa ye macçan tilli ye macçā qui nalle
aohuiya xiuhtlaquetzalli cacan xiuhtlaquetzalli ca mexicoyan tllilapan
aya.
- 16 A iztac huexotl in ye icaca o huanca ye oncā mitzlamacehuique in mo-
colhuan çan ye huitzilihuitl Acamapich yca xichocayan Moteuççoma a
yca toconpiay ye petl ycpall i yehuan Tiox cha a ohuiya.
- 19 Yehuan Tiox mitzyaicnoittac mitzyaicnomat ca Moteuççomay a yca to-
conpia ye petlatl ycpalli yehuan Tiox ea.
- 21 In ca ilahue yao ooo yca xichocayan Moteuççomay ayaxca huc ticyaitac
aya atlo yan tepetl a oncan ticyaittac in mocococauh tineçahualcoyotl ea
Et²
- 23 A oncan tllilapan a oncan amochcoyan toconyachihua in maxoco nican ye
tontlamacauh a oncan ticyayttaquin in mocococauh tineçahualcoyotl ca
a aohuiya.
- 25 Quauhtlin pipitzcaticac ocelotl nanatzca maxoco nican a oncan tōtlatohua
itzcohuatl a yca toconpiay ye ipetl ycpall in yehuā Tiox ea a ohuiya
- 27 Iztac huexotl ymapan aya çan tontlatohua yehua acatl yztac ymācā tolin
iztac chalchihuatl ymanca Mexico nican Ea a ohuiya
- 29 In santo Patile tipatiuh çan ychuan Tiox çan quetzalhuexoticā chalchiuhtica
ça ye tocōaltiyā atlo yan tepetl ayahuitl can topā mani mā quiçāō

folio 67

mā yectla xochitl amomac onmaniyā xochimalintoc amohuic yn amotla-
tolla ohuaya ohuaya.

- 3 Moquetzallecacehuaz tiquchcapehuiya ÿ ye tlachian azcatl in ye tlachiā
quetzalli yn ye nemalinalon tépilhuanno ayahuitl cā topan mani man
quiçāon ma yectla xochitl amomac ommaniyā xochimalintoc amocuic
yn amotlatolla ohuaya ohuaya.
- 7 Tlahuili xochitl in cueponticac y amoxtli mācan ohuaye moxico nican
huiyan tomatimaniyan ohuaya ohuaya.
- 9 Çanca y mamox y canca y tlacuilolytic onmania yn atlo yā tepetl ÿ tnoch-
titlani quiççoçohuay ye coyacuecuera in yehuan totatzī ~~ye o-Pixpo-ayan~~
ontlachia ye iuhçan ontlachiya yehua ilh¹tyica Et²

- 7 **LXXIX** Song of Nezahualcoyotl of Acolhuacan
 coming to visit the elder Montezuma
 of Mexico when he was sick
- 9 "See me! I've arrived, I, a white-flower chachalaca. This is my plume fan. 1
 I'm Nezahualcoyotl. The flowers are scattering down. I've come from
 Acolhuacan.
- 12 "Hear the song I'm about to sing. I've come to pleasure Montezuma. Tata- 2
 tili, papa papapa, ah! chala chala chala! Let's have a tili, yes let it be true!"
- 16 Where turquoise columns stand, in Mexico, Dark-Water Place, where 3
 white willows stand, it seems your forebears Huitzilihuitl and Acama-
 pichtli have shown you their favor. So weep, O Montezuma. Ah, and so
 you hold God's mat and seat!
- 19 God has pitied you and shown you mercy, O Montezuma. Ah, and so you 4
 hold God's mat and seat.
- 21 So weep, O Montezuma. You found this city a hardship, alas. Ah, that's 5
 where you've found your sustenance, O Nezahualcoyotl.
- 23 Dark-Water Place, Place of the Water-Weed: that's where you create him: 6
 yes, it's here in Mexico that you've been favored. Ah, that's where you've
 found your sustenance, O Nezahualcoyotl.
- 25 The eagle screams, the jaguar whines. In Mexico. Here! And that's where 7
 you sing, Blade Companion! Ah, and so you hold God's mat and seat.
- 27 On a white-willow branch you're singing, ah, where the white reeds lie— 8
 the white rushes!—where jade waters lie. In Mexico. Here!
- 29 Santo padre! You, God's payment! You bathe the city in jade moisture and 9
 with willow plumes. The mist lies over us. Let these holy flowers come
 forth. Let them lie in your hand. These songs, these words of yours, are
 whirled as flowers.
- 3 You're waving your plume fans. And they look around, these jewels! They 10
 look around, these plumes, these whirled ones, all these princes, this
 mist that lies upon us. Let these holy flowers come forth. Let them lie in
 your hand. These songs, these words of yours, are whirled as flowers.
- 7 Brilliant flowers stand blooming. And where these pictures stand, this 11
 Mexico lies shining.
- 9 Indeed within your pictures, these paintings, lies the city Tenochtitlan. 12
 Unfolding them, he turns them and he turns them, he our father, he the
 bishop,³⁰ looking around in that place, looking around in heaven.

³⁰["He the bishop" has been stricken by the copyist. —TRANS.]

- 12 Xiuhtlaquetzalli yan mochiuhticaquin ye San⁹ ya ilhuicatlaquetzalli mo-
chiuhticaquin yehuan Tiox huiyan a cōpachotimani a in tlali maniqui ye
connapaloa anahuatlon A m ilhuicatl ahuaya ohuiya.
- 15 Chalchiuhxochitl y amomac ommaniā in quetzalhuexoticayan anca-
huachpehuitoque yn atlo yan tepetl cemanahuaquin maoc cemilhuatlan
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 18 Ilhuicatl anquicuiloehua Anahuatl in tlall anquicuiloehuyā Tepilhuan huiya.
- 20 Tineçahualcoyotl Timoteuccomatzin o oamechycocx yn ipalnemohuani
oamechycocx in tota Tiox a ilhuicatlyticā ohuaya.

Xochicuicatl Cuecuechtli

- 22 Hue nachc niehcōya nihuchuetzcatihuitz ye nixcucuech aya xochitly ye
nocuic momamalina ça nicyatotoma ho ohuaya canicalle.
- 25 Ompa ye nihuitz xochitl yztac ihcaca anca ye mochan y quiquizcalihtic y
amoxtonaticac ho ohuaya anicalle
- 27 Ma ya pehualoya oyamoquetzaco ya izquixochitl o yca ya ahualo ya
ohiyayean.
- 29 Hohuaya haya tztzelihui xochitlon yca ahualo ya ohiyayean.

30 .2.

- 31 Nepapan xochitla nictztzeloea ho ho noncuicamanaco xochitla yhuinti-
huaya

folio 67v

ho nixcucuech ha.

- 2 Ompa nihuitz hue haquçaya noncuicamanaco xochitla yhuintihua Et²
- 3 Tohohue nepapa xochitla oc oc moyol quimati tla nimitzhuica hiyao.
- 4 Ma nimitzmama ahuiya tohohuiya tohohuia mochan nicmamatihuitz ah
nelhuayoxochitl nicmamatihuitz ahuiyac xochitly o anca ye mochan y
xochitl yhcacani aho.
- 7 Yatata tililili yeohaye haye ticahuiltico ho anca yehuā Tiox ypalnemohuani
Santa Malia tonantzin chitalalala xochitl millitoqui aho
- 9 Çan tonallo quetzalli papachihui hoo ihuitl moyahuaya amoxcallo inmanca
chitalalala xochitl millitoqui ao

11 .3.

- 12 Ho nichcoquetla nimaçatl omitochina moçotochin ma quaquahue maçatli
yatantili aya ohua

- 12 Turquoise columns stand created. O Santa *María*! The heavenly columns 13
stand created. God governs this realm forever. He cradles the earth and
the sky.
- 15 The jades, the flowers, are in your hand, and with a willow plume you 14
sprinkle mist on this island realm. Let us have this day!
- 18 You paint the sky, you paint the earth land, O princes! 15
- 20 You, Nezahualcoyotl! And you, Montezuma! Life Giver has created you. 16
Our father God in heaven has created you.

22 LXXX Ribald flower song

A

- 23 Hey, brother! I'm arriving! I come laughing, I'm a leering ribald. My 1
songs, these flowers, they're whirling, and I set them free.
- 25 I come from where white flowers stand. And now it seems these pictures 2
stand up shining in your home, this trumpet house.
- 27 Let's get started. Ah! Popcorn flowers are appearing. And there's pleasure 3
in them.
- 29 Flowers are scattered! And there's pleasure in them. 4

B

- 31 I scatter a multitude of flowers. Ho! I've come to offer songs. There's 5
flower-drunkenness. And I'm a leering ribald.
- 2 I've come from where the Waters flow. I've come to offer songs. There's 6
flower-drunkenness. *And I'm a leering ribald.*
- 3 Your heart has barely savored this multitude of flowers. *Now* let me take 7
you away.
- 4 Let me carry you! I come from Home, carrying ah! root flowers, come 8
carrying fragrant flowers. Ah, your home is where these flowers stand!
- 7 You've come to pleasure him, and it would seem that he is God, that he is 9
Life Giver, that she is Santa *María*, that she is our mother. The flowers
are stirring, ah!
- 9 Our hearts are reveling in plumes. Feathers are drifting into this house of 10
pictures. The flowers are stirring, ah!

C

- 11
12 Ho! I've arrived. I'm a beast! A rank and wcedy wanton! Be a horny beast! 11

- 14 Hue nache hohua nicuihuani tla ticçohuacā yxochiamox ycuicailhuiçol ha
ca yehua Tios yatantili aya ohuan
16 Xochinquahuilit malinticac huiconticac ya pixahuiinticcaco ye moquiapan
a ycelteotl ymapan ye tonnemi quetzalli coxcox ha toncuicatinemi hiyao
hamao hama hohohiyaya.
19 Nechnanquilia y nochal icha ihcahuacaya hi ye nonitotiya teixpā aya hoho-
hoho hehehā

21 4

- 22 Ye no cequi ye nocuic nixcucuech aya nitzanaquechol tzaatzi ye nocuic
hohohohon
24 Çan nontlalicuilotihuitz aya hethualli manca nitzanaquechol tzaatzatzi ye
nocuic hohohohon
26 Moçotochtlo ya yehcoya quiappā aya moxochitzetzeloehua ma xic ittacan a
nopillohuan hanaya yaha ohiyayan
28 Çaquanpapalotla coyachichinaya xochitl cueponqui noyollo ha nicuihuan
y ye izquixochitl ye nictzetzeloehua ya hoyyayan

30 .5.

- 31 Nictzetzelo a yaxochitl nixcucuech y anca ompa ye nihuitz yao ahiye an

folio 68

- 1 Çan ye niçetzaltototl çā niyapatlantihuitz ayahohua ca ompa ye nihuitz
yahoahiye an
3 Niçetzaltzanaquechol y nipatlantihuitz ipan nochiuhtihuitz nimoçotochin
a xinechyaittacan noçoma teyoyomotzaca nixpehpeyoctzin nihuetzcati-
nemian
6 Xochithualli ihticpa nihuitz xochitly yehuaya ypan nochiuhtihuitz ni-
moçotochin a xinechyaittacan noçoma teyoyomotzaca.

8 .6.

- 9 Nehcoya o no ceçpa nehcoya nichahuichalotzin noncuicaya ma ya xicca-
quicana nichuitequia nicchachalatzaya ypan oho ya nomatzin noxochi-
ayouh veya hueya Et^h hoyiaya hian
12 Nonehua hue nonacitoya ha ca ye panotla ye nichahuichalotl ompa ye
nicuitoya nichuitequia nicchachalatzaya Et^h
14 Niyaompehuaya nihueloncuicaya ompa ye nihuitz aya tollā aya ytica
nihuelicucaya otozcuepon motoma xochitl ayan
16 Hohua niah aya yehuaya huel xicaqui ye nocuic cuicaichtequini qucn ticuiz
noyol timotolinia iuhquin tlacuilloli huel xictlilani huel xictlapalaquiya
at ahyuetzian timotolinia ayyo.

Song 80, Folios 67v-68

- 14 Hey, brother! Say, little brothers! Let's unfold God's flower pictures, his 12
song marvels.
16 The flower tree is whirling, twisting, drizzling down in this rainy house of 13
yours, O Only Spirit. And you are in its branches, singing along as a
plume chachalaca.
19 Those jades of mine are answering me. In His home they're shrilling *as I* 14
dance before you.

D

- 21
22 Yes, my songs are absolutely multiple. And I'm a leering ribald. I'm a 15
thrush swan. And my songs are shouting.
24 I come painting the earth where this patio lies. I'm a thrush swan. And my 16
songs are shouting.
26 A rank wanton arrives in this house of rain, strewn as flowers. See them, 17
my nobles!
28 And a troupial butterfly is sipping these flowers. My heart has blossomed. 18
Ah, my little brothers, I'm strewing popcorn flowers.

E

- 30
31 I'm strewing war flowers, and I'm a leering ribald. It seems I come from 19
there Beyond.
1 I'm a quetzal, come flying. I come from Beyond. 20
3 I'm a plume-thrush swan, come flying. I come as *flowers*. I'm a rank wan- 21
ton. See me! I frown in a Tezozomoc skin. I'm Grimacer—and I'm
laughing!
6 I come from Flower Patio. I come as flowers. I'm a rank wanton. See me! I 22
frown in a Tezozomoc skin. *I'm Grimacer—and I'm laughing!*

F

- 8
9 I arrive. Again I arrive: I'm Cha-Huichalo, and I sing. Hear it! Ah! I beat 23
it, thump it, for my nephews: it's my flower turtle-drum!
12 I'm gone! I've arrived in Panotlan! I'm a cha-huichalo, gone to get it. Ah, I 24
beat it, thump it, *for my nephews: it's my flower turtle-drum!*
14 I strike it up and make a skillful music, coming in from Tollan, making 25
skillful music. Flowers blossoming as parrots are set free!
16 Ho! I've gone away! *But* hear my song. O song thief, you that are poor, 26
how are you to fetch my heart? Give it outline and color, like a painting!
And perhaps when it falls, you won't be poor.

Xopancuicatl

- 19
 20 Noopehua noncuica çā nicuicanitl huiya man temaco xochitl ma yca onahuielo a yca ontlamachtilo in tl̄çca hohuaya ohuaya.
 22 Ca monecuiltonol ticuicanitl aya ca mach in ticyamaceuh xochitl aya ca mach in ticyamaceuh in ticyaitac in cuicatl tictemaca ya nica xochimecatl y mocamacpa quizticac tontecuiltiy aya yca honetlamachtilo ya in tl̄çc ayc aha ohuaya ohuaya
 26 Quetzalpapalocalca ompa ye nihuitz ayao ye nictoma ye nocuic. Et.²
 27 Nepapan tlacuilolli ye noyol in nicuicanitl ayao ye nictoma ya nocuic ahuayao. Achi yhuic tonahuiao achin ic tonpactinemi toyollo in tl̄çc qui ye niyoyontzin nixochiyeyelehuiyao nixochicuihcucatinemi, ohuaya, ohuaya.
 31 Nicnenequi nique'elehuiya in icniuhyotl in tecpillotl achi cohuayotl nixochichelchuiya nixochicuihcucatinemi ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 68v

- 1 Nihualchoca nihualicnotlamati çā nicuicanitl huiya tlaca ahnicuicaz in noxochio ohuaya maic ninapantiaz cano ximohuaya ohuaya nihuallacoya ohaiya ohuaya çā no iuhqui xochitl aya ypan momati in tl̄çcqui çan cucl achic tocontotlanchuiya a y xopanxochitlo xonahahuiyacan ohuaya nihualoyocoya ohuaya ohuaya.

Melahuac Xopancuicatl

- 6
 7 Ma ya hualmoquetza in tohuehueuh ma ya hualmoquetza in cuicanitl aya çan ye quitzetzelohuaya nepapan xochitlon onnecuiltonoloc onetlamachtiloc in ixochihui yxpani yn ipalnemohuani ohuaya ohuaya
 10 Çan oc tocontlatia ycaya in monecuiltonol ypalnemohuani quē connequi in moyollo ehua ohuaya ohuaya
 12 Tetloc ye nican oo a in tenahuac ca yca nichoca çā ya ninotelchiuh ma ye huel nimiqui ma niquimontlalcahui in tonahuac onoque ohuaya ohuaya
 14 Anihuelitolo nichicoytolo çā nitlalotlaqui nicmatia nicaquia noyol iyoo mayecuel nimiqui ma niquimontlalcahui in tonahuac onoque ohuaya Et.²
 16 Çā nichoca niqittohua yehua in motloc monahuac ypalnemoani mayecuel tlacahua moyollo yehua quenin ticnequi in tl̄çca ohuaya ohuaya.
 18 Ma ximotlapalocan antepilhuan teteucti in huaitzini in mayehuatzin in Cohuanacoch amo macehualli ohua aic polihuiz yn amoteyoya in Mexico nicana ohuaya ohuaya.

LXXXI A song of green places

- 19
20 A singer am I, and I strike up a song. Let flowers be given: let there be 1
pleasure. Ah, there's happiness on earth.
- 22 Whence your riches, singer? Where did you get these flowers? Where did 2
you get them, where did you find these songs you give? Flower garlands
issue from your mouth: you're giving pleasure. Aya! There's happiness
on earth.
- 26 I come from the House of Butterfly Plumes, setting free my songs. 3
27 My singer's heart is a multitude of paintings. Yes, I'm setting free my songs. 4
On earth we're briefly pleased with these hearts of ours: with these we
briefly live in happiness. Yoyontzin am I, craving flowers, flower-
chirping.
- 31 I'm desiring—craving—comrades, princes, a few companions. I'm craving 5
flowers, flower-chirping.
- 1 Here I'm weeping, grieving, I, the singer: I wish it weren't that I can't be 6
dressed in these, our flowers. I wish that I could go away adorned in
these—to the place where all are shorn. Here I'm grieving.
And earth *itself* seems like these flowers: briefly we borrow Green-Place
flowers. Be pleased! Here I'm grieving.

LXXXII

A A plain song of green places

- 6
7 Here, let the drum appear! Here, let the singer appear! He's scattering a 1
multitude of flowers. There's richness, there's joy, in the presence of Life
Giver's flowers.
- 10 But now you're hiding your riches, Life Giver. What does your heart 2
intend?
- 12 Near and in this Presence I weep: I'm despised, I want to die. Let me yield 3
to the comrades.
- 14 I'm a chief without praise, defamed. My heart's decided: I want to die. Let 4
me yield to the comrades.
- 16 Near you and in your presence, Life Giver, I weep, saying, "Let your heart 5
be merciful. What do you intend on earth?"
- 18 Be hailed, you princes! Lords! Huanitl, Mayehuatzin, Coanacoch! Nobles! 6
Your fame will never perish here in Mexico.

- 21 Can teocuitlamaquizcalco çan titlacoti onca titlaylotlaqui ma titlaocox
xichueyli in moyollo in ticpaqui mach aca nyaz ca ye ichani ohuaya Et.²
23 Çan michoquiztlapaloa a yn tepiltzin oquitzini quihualitohuay xichueyli in
moyollo in tl̄çqui mach aca ayaz cano ye ichani ohuaya Et.³

25 Yc ontlamantli Melahuac Xopancuicatl.

- 26 Tlalpan temoc in xochitl tlalpan quitemohuia yn ipalnemohuani çanimã
yehua yectli ya xochitl çaniman yehua çoçahuic xochitla ohuaya ohuaya
28 In maic neapanalo o antepilhuã anteteuetin ayahue ychoquiz tlateloloti-
huitza aya ca quitemohui yn ipalnemoani çaniman yehua yectli ya
xochitl çaniman yehua çoçahuic xochitla ohuaya ohuaya.

folio 69

- 1 Ach tleon i quinequi in toyollo in tl̄çqui huel teyol quima yn ipalnemoa
moxochihuaya ma õnetlanehuilo çoçahuic xochitla ca ycahuaca xochitl
ayac quicentlamittaz ynic timiquizque ahuae ohuaya Et.²
4 Intlanel teocuitlatl ma xoyatlaiya intla mochalchiuh mocoçqui moquetzal
çan ticlanhuico ayac quicentlamittaz ynic timiquizque ahuae ohuaya
ohuaya
7 Yecan tinemico xochipan tinemico oh in titocnihua oo ma iuhcã quẽtll ma
onnemohuay ohuaya ohuaya.
9 In çã niyoyo ye nica paqui toyollo tixco timatico yectli totlatol antocni-
huani y can i chico ohuaya ohuaya
11 Huixahuee ye ninotolinia icnopilotl aya yn anahuiya yn anihuelamati çan
nõtlatlaocoxtinemi in tl̄ç ye nica ohuaya Et.²
13 Ca ya nihuiçoc in quinequi in noyollo yn imahuiçon Tiox ho ypalnemo-
huani ye oqui piltihua y nica mahuiztihua tl̄çqui in teucyotl in tla-
tocayotl ohuaya ohuaya.

16 Yc etlamantli.

- 17 totototo / tototototo, tititi, totititi, toti, tihti tihtiti.
18 Maoc onicniuhtihua chehuaya maoc tontiximaticã xochitl ycay õnehualoz
in cuicatl o tyaque yechan ohuaya, ca ye toconcauhtihuion ohuaye in
totlayocol ÿ tocuicon çã ye oniximachoz o onehualoz o tyaque ychan
ohuaye ohuaye.
22 Cuicatlon quicaqui çã noyollo nichoca yehuaya ye nicnotlamatia xochitica
ticauhtehuazque tl̄ç ye nicani çan tictotlanehuiya hoo tiazq̄ ye ichan
ohuaya ohuaya.
25 Ma nicnocoçcati nepapã xochitl ma nomac ommania ma nocpacxochiuh in
ticcauhtehuazque tl̄ç ye nicã can tictotlanehuia ooh tiazque ye ichan
ohuaya ohuaya.
28 Ohu anca iuhqui chalchihuitlon ohuaye in toconpēphenay yectli ye mocuic

Song 82, Folios 68v-69

21 "O chief, you become a servant in the House of Gold Bracelets beyond. 7
But don't be sad. Make your heart great *here* on earth. And perhaps no
one will be going to His home."

23 Tearfully the prince Oquitzin hails you, saying, "Make your heart great 8
here on earth. And perhaps no one will be going to His home."

25 B A second plain song of green places

26 Flowers come down to earth. Life Giver sends them down to earth, these 9
most holy flowers, these most yellow flowers.

28 Let everybody be adorned with these, you princes, you lords! Life Giver 10
sends them down, these sobs of his, and they come heaping up, these
most holy flowers, these most yellow flowers.

1 What do our hearts desire on earth? Heart pleasers! Life Giver, let these 11
flowers of yours be borrowed, these yellow flowers, these shrilling flow-
ers. No one can go on enjoying them, for we're to die.

4 "Though they be gold, conceal them, even though they be Your jades, 12
Your jewels, Your plumes." No, we merely come to borrow them. No
one can go on enjoying them, for we're to die.

7 "We're friends: we've come to live in a good place, come to live in a place 13
of flowers. Let this be such a place! Let there be a little life!

9 "I'm Yoyontzin. Yes, our hearts are glad here. Friends, we've come to see 14
each other and to know each other's lovely words—and yet they're
scurrile."

11 Alas, yes. I'm suffering bereavement, and I have no joy, no happiness. I'm 15
disconsolate on earth.

13 "I'm Huizoc. My heart desires the glory of God Life Giver. Here lords and 16
rulers all, through Him, are born—they're glorious—on earth."

16 C A third

17 totototo/tototototo tititi totititi toti titi tititi

18 Let there be friendship and mutual acquaintance through flowers. Songs 17
shall be raised, *then* we're off to His home.

We're leaving our songs, our creations. Their acquaintance shall be made:
they shall be raised. *Then* we're off to His home.

22 My heart hears songs, and I weep, I grieve, on account of these flowers. 18
We're to go away and leave them here on earth. We merely borrow
them, and we're off to His home.

25 Let me take this multitude of flowers as my necklace. Let me have them in 19
my hand. Let them be my flower crown. We're to go away and leave
them here on earth. We merely borrow them, and we're off to His home.

28 Life Giver, you're gathering up your good songs as though they were 20

ipalnmohuani çan no iuhqui yn icniuhyotl aya tocōcēnquixtia tlalticpac
ye nican ohuaya ohuaya.

- 31 Ic nontlaocoya in nicuicanitl yca nichoca aitquihua xochitl canō ye ichani,
aitquihua yectlon cuicatl cā ce nemiz ye nicā in tlalticpacqui

folio 69v

Maoquic tonahuiaacan antocnihuan ohuaya ohuaya.

- 2 Macanelac icnotlamati ye nican antocnihuā anca ço ayac huel ichan in tl̄çc
ayac mocahuaz quetzallian poztequi ayehuaya ȳ tlacuilollia can ðpopoli-
hui xochitl oncuitlahuiya yehua ixquich ompa yahui cano y ichana
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 6 Ça no ihuin tinemi çan cuel achic motloc monahuaqui yn ipalnmohuani
hualneyximacho tl̄çc ye nicani ayac mocahuaz quetzallian poztequia
yehuaya in tlacuilolia çan onpopolihui xochitl ðcuitlahuiya yehua
yxquich ompa yahui cano ye ichan na ohuaya ohuaya.
- 10 Totototo, tototototo tititi, toti tihti titi tihtiti.
- 11 Ça nompehua noncuica yancohui ye noconehuay çan cā ye incuic yehuā
Tiox ipalnmohuani ohuaya ohuaya.
- 13 Cuicailhuiçolmanaya ȳ ye necoc hualacic ypalnmohua antepilhuā ma
ōnctlanhuilo yectli ya mo xochitli açuayo ayoo ohuaya ohuaya.
- 15 Nepapan quahuizhuayoticac in mohuehueh ça yehuā Tiox ohuiya a ontzi-
nitzcazelizticac ayiahue yca mitzonahuiltia in tepilhuā o ach in ye iuhcan
cuicaxochithuall imanca ohuaya ohuaya.
- 18 In tlapalihuixochitl oncuepontoc ye onca huia ycahuaca ontlatohua ye
yehuaya in quetzalayacachtotol a in tlacotzin teocuitlaxochintotol
oquitzin ȳ patlantinia o ach in ye iuhcan a cuicaxochithuall imanca
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 22 Çan tzinitzca in çaquan ye tlahquechol yc a tictlatlapalpoa ye mocuic
ipalnmohuani tiquinmoquetzaltia in mocnihuan i in mexicay yc tiquim-
ellaquahua ohuaya ohuaya y yanqui yancohui yo xahue que nocō-
chihuacin ma huel nimiquia ma niqetzaltotol ya pāthui yluicatylic
ohuaya ohuaya.
- 27 Cuel achic ye nelli tontecuiloa oncan tonteicnomati yn motloc monahuac
ohuaya ohuaya.

Chichimecayotl

29

coTo, coto coti, coto coti

30

31 Xochinquappetlapan Teoxinmac y xochitica quilacatzoa yectli yan

Songs 82–83, Folio 69–69v

- jades! So this is how you bring together comrades here on earth.
31 I sing in sadness, weeping that these flowers, these good songs, can't be 21
carried to His home. They'll live forever here on earth. So let's be pleased,
friends.
2 Friends, let no one grieve here. It would seem that no one's home is earth. 22
No one can remain. Plumes splinter, paintings ruin, flowers wither. All
are headed for His home.
6 Such is life. People get to know each other briefly here on earth near you 23
and in your presence, Life Giver. No one can remain. Plumes splinter,
paintings ruin, flowers wither. All are headed for His home.

D

- 10 totototo totototo tititi toti titi titi tititi
11 I strike up a song, singing the songs of God Life Giver. 24
13 And from the Place of Song Marvels, Necoc comes, and it's Life Giver! 25
Princes! Let these holy blooms be borrowed.
15 This multitude stands leafing out as eagles. They're the trogon-sprouting 26
drums—of yours, O God—with which *our* princes give you pleasure.
So it would seem in this patio of flower song!
18 Red feather flowers blossom where Tlacotzin as a plume, a rattle bird, is 27
shrilling, singing. A golden oriole, it's Oquiztzin, soars along. Ah, so it
would seem in this patio of flower song!
22 Life Giver, you're reciting your songs in colors—as trogons, troupials, 28
rosate swans. And you're taking these Mexican comrades of yours to
be your plumes. Yes, you're spurring them on.
What's to befall me? Let me die! Let me be a quetzal. Let me go and fly,
alas, in heaven.
27 Yes, it's true: you paint us briefly. Yet Beyond you show us mercy—near 29
you and in your presence.

29 *LXXXIII* Chichimec piece

A

- 30 coto, coto coti, coto coti
31 Turquoise gems as flowers, on this eagle mat of flowers. It's my prince, the 1

folio 70

- cuicatl nopilztin chichimecatl Moteucçomatzin cuix oc no in mahmani
cano ye mictlany chocaya aa chalchiuhmamatlac Teoatempā a
4 chalchiuhitzmolini quetzalyzhuayotimania Teocuitlaxochincuepōtimani
ye mochan: Nopilztin chichimecatl Moteucçomatzin Et.²
- 6 In quē xōtlamatican xontlalnamiquicā yn ohtlan a mitl imanca in Aca-
pehchocan y quetzalmamaztli ypatlanian matlalcueye ytzallan oncan
aya icnotlamachoc nechoquililoc ye chichieca teteuctin yyo.
- 10 In tlaca iuhqui niyol iuhqui nitlaca nichichimecatl in Moteucçomay no-
tzihuac in māmalihuaz ye nahahuitza nihuitzetzceloly, noztacmahcuex
ayyo.
- 13 Aço tle nelli hueh, ahmo itla in topatiah yhuana ayyahue y ça ye xochitl
onnenecoya elchuiloya xochiamicohua yehuaya cā ahuilizmicohua
ycchuaya Tlacahucpantzin y ixtlilcuechahuac y huixahue yaoo hayyo
hohui.
- 17 Ye huelia ho iztac quauhtli mapo'poyahua yehuaya ye quetzaltototl oo ye
tlahuquechol y mopopoyauhque ilh²ytic aya tlacahucpātzin Et.²
- 19 Can anhui, can anhui yhuihuayan yaonahuac teopā ayya hayyahue oncan
aya onteycuiloaya yehua tonan itzpapapalotl ixtlahuacan yyoo hohui.
ayyahue
- 22 In teuhtlayehuayan aa yahue tlachinolaytic aya icnotlama yyoliol in teotl
Camaxtle aya y maclacuiyetzin, Macuilmalinaltzin nehcaliztli xochitl
iuhqui amomac mantiuh mantia yyo hayyohohui
- 26 Canelpa tonyazque canō aya micohua yeehuaya ic nichoca hui noyoliol
ximelaquahua ayac nican nemiz y.
- 28 Tel ca tepilhuan omicoaco netlatilloc y hui noyoliol ximellaquahua ayac
nican nemiz y hui noyoliol Et.²
- 30 Yc onhuehuetl
- 31 Xochincalaihtec oya aya haya ha momalintiac in ye tlahuquecholxilo-

folio 70v

- xochitl xelihuia izquixochitla moyahuaya pixahuia ho xochitla imani-
cany yaho ayye hayyahuec
- 3 Tlaic xonteyapanaya tlaic xontecuiltono a icelteotl dios ho xochiithualpan
ye nican ah ayyahue Ça ye icnoxochitly ca ye icnomoyahua moyahua-
ti'cac yaho ayye ayyahue.
- Xoncucaya. Xiuhtlapaltic chalchihuitl amoxtlacuilloli moyolion ahua chi-
chimecatl Moteucçomatzin tlaçoçaquan quechol patlānemia xochia-
yahuiyā.
- 8 Oc ximocahui nohueyotecuia nehnenquetl in moteucçomatzin cacahua-

Song 83, Folios 70–70v

- Chichimec: it's Montezuma, whirling holy songs. Are they still in the Dead Land? *Yes*, in precious snares they're weeping at the Sacred Shore.
- 4 Before your eyes he's sprouting jades, he's leafing out as plumes, he's blossoming as golden flowers: he's my prince, *my* Chichimec: he's Montezuma. *Are they still in the Dead Land? Yes, in precious snares they're weeping at the Sacred Shore.*
- 6 Move out! Remember where arrows lay in the streets—in Barge Streets, where plume drapes waved, in Blue Skirt's midst—where Chichimec lords were pitiable and grieving.
- 10 "Ah! It's just for this that I've been born, that I've been brought to life—I, the Chichimec Montezuma. These spines of mine, these quills, these plumes I scatter, *these*, my white bracelets, must be drilled!"
- 13 Can there be something good? Alas, we have no payment to go with it. Yet these flowers are desired: they're craved. There *shall* be flower death! There *shall* be pleasure death! O Tlachuepan! O Ixtlilcuechahuac!
- 17 The true White Eagle brightens. Quetzals, roseate swans, have brightened in the sky. O Tlachuepan! O Ixtlilcuechahuac!
- 19 And where do you go? And where do you go? To plume land! To battle! To spirit land! It's where our mother, Itz'papatl, paints *with life*. It's on the field of war!
- 22 Where dust is rising, in the blazing flood, the god Camaxtli's hearts have grown disconsolate. O Matlaccuatzin! O Macuilmalinaltzin! It's as though these combat flowers were transported in your arms. *Yes*, they've been transported.
- 26 Where must we go? To where there's death. And so I weep, *saying*, hearts, be cheered! No one can live here *on earth*.
- 28 Though princes, they've all come to die, they've all been put away. Say, hearts! Be cheered! No one can live here *on earth*.

B

- 30 Second drum-cadence
- 31 Roseate swans, cornsilk flowers, are whirling in this house of flowers. Popcorn flowers are parceled out: they're scattering, they're drizzling down in this garden of flowers.
- 3 Adorn us, make us rich with these, O Only Spirit, O God! And in this flower patio, bereavement flowers scatter down compassionately. They're scattering down.
- Sing! Your heart *makes* rubies, jades, picture paintings! Hail, Chichimec Montezuma! Precious troupials, swans, are flying, pleasuring on flower water.
- 8 Rest, great lord, O voyager, O Montezuma. And let's have maize flowers there among the cacao trees. Precious troupials, swans, are flying, *pleasuring on flower water*.

quauhtitlan y onca ya man ic y tonacaxochitl tlaçoçaquan quechol paltantinemia Et?

- 11 In maoc xoncuicaya Moteucçomatzin xontlachia teocalli huiacon i xontlachia mamaztli ypilcayano hay Et?
- 13 In temohuayan tlaca çaquanxochihuaque oncuica otomitl y yehua mitzayachoquilia tichichimecatl yyo.
- 15 Inyeyc opixpo yonoca quetzaltepetitlan aya ma xontlachiacā y nohucyohuā tlaxcalteca oncan onoc Totatzin ye yehuā Tiox
- 17 In tlacuilolxochipetlatl ipan tlatohuaya ycelteotl in Tiox aya tlamim iol ilhuicatlytic ychan ayyo
- 19 Nomizquixochiuh Notzihuacxochiuh cueponi huaya ha ayio ohui y

20 . 3 .

- 21 Noncuica ohoyo huiloyan y ca ye otomitl ye cozcaquauhtli ayac huelo ye coyaitaz ye conyacaquiz yotontlatol ca çan ticpiquei yyoho ayyo.
- 23 In Axayacateuctli oo aic tlamiz yquetzalihuio mochalchiuhacayotitia yayaticac yn imaquiznelhuayo ayac huelo cōyaitaz ye coyacaquiz yotontlatol ca çan ticpiquei Et?
- 26 In nocuic ypan y ninentlamatia at ayhu in niqehua cuicatl aya macaço quen xicchihuacā amoyolloya auh in nelhuatl ca nel notomitl yyo ho ayyo.
- 29 Çan ya onca can ya icac? huel conehua y yeetli ye icuic aya huel ca cocui yn xochitl aya yhuan yayacach aya ma ye nican xonahahuiaacan auh in nehuatl ca nel notomitl. Et?

fólio 71

- 1 Nixochinentlamatia haa ahtle nocuic Nitechalotepehua quēmach amique in tocnihuano quilmach tlapalchalchiuhticaya on tlahcuilolli ÿyollo yehua ya yyao ayyo.
- 4 Niquimonelehuia ha oyamoman ya incuic aya çotolocā tlaca quilmach tlapalchalchiuhtica Et?
- 6 Moxochiantzetzelo a moxochianehyectixtinemi iztac otomitl yçaquanotonxahcalitec ooo yyoho ayyo.
- 8 Amodlapaltecuiznacoch ancontimalotoque anmexica y çaquanotonxacallitec ooo Et?

10 4

- 11 In canon ye huih teteuctinaya çan conayatlalihque in chalchiuhtepetl Acamapich y huitzilihuitl in oncan ontlatoa Ton Antonio Mentoça in quetzalapoctli moteca yao iqui nochan ychiclocan in Tiox yyao hueya hueyao

Song 83, Folios 70v-71

- 11 Sing, Montezuma! See this long temple! See where these drapes are hanging! 15
- 13 Dead Land denizens possess these troupial flowers. *But* the warrior sings. It's he who weeps for you, O Chichimec. 16
- 15 The Bishop's seat lies in Plume Land. See, my great ones! Tlaxcalans! That's where our Father lies. It's God! 17
- 17 It's on the Painted Flower Mat that God, the Only Spirit, sings. Eternal are those hearts of his in Heaven, in his home. 18
- 19 My mesquite flowers, my spine flowers, are blossoming. 19

C

- 21 I sing, and they're passing away. That warrior, King Vulture, won't be seen again, nor will his warlike songs be heard, for we alone create them. 20
- 23 *But* Lord Axayacatl's feather plumes are never ending: he passed away supplied with jade reeds, and *now* his bracelet roots stand swaying. *That warrior, King Vulture*, won't be seen again, nor will his warlike songs be heard, for we alone create them. 21
- 26 It's in music, *only music*, that I do my grieving. Isn't that the way I sing my songs? Don't let your hearts be wounded! I'm a warrior, really! 22
- 29 "Is he taking a stand? Well, he's lifting good songs. Well, he's getting flowers. He has his rattle." Be pleased! I'm a warrior, really! 23
- 1 I flower-grieve. *But* ah, my songs are nothing, I scatter squirrels. My friends are lucky, *though*. Their hearts *make* redstone paintings, so I'm told. 24
- 4 I crave the songs that these spear-land men have offered. *Their hearts make* redstone paintings, so I'm told. 25
- 6 They're scattered as flowers, beautified as flowers in White Warrior's troupial war hut. 26
- 8 O Mexicans, you glorify these ochre and crimson ear-jewels of yours. In this troupial war hut! 27

D

- 11 Where go the lords who laid down this city of jade—and they were Acamapichtli and Huitzilihuitl? It's Don Antonio Mendoza who sings, as the plume vapors settle in! So this is how God is served in my homeland! 28

- 15 In ye icniuhchocan i Ton Tiegion i huanitzin ye no ceppa ye nican y mitzicuiloa chichimecatl Moteucçomatzin mitzicuiloa ye totlatocauh. Et²
- 18 Xochinpetlatl necahuililotiuh aya yn ayoc ymatian Teççoçomocltli acolnahuacatl oahcico ytlatol conmahuiçoa ho in ton Maltin Coltes teuctlia, in ton Palacizco ya conayachia ye itlatoltzin in Jesu Quilisto yyao hueya hueyao.
- 22 In nepapan xochitl matlahuahcaltica yan y xōmitoticā y teteuctin tlatohuanime xomiximatican huehuetl ymanican y çanio nican chalchiuh-tlapaltototl Jesu Christo in maoc toconcuicacino yyao hueya hueyao.
- 26 I macchualchichimecatl ton Tiego tlacuilolxile ypanō ca anqui ye oncan aya ye quellalmizquitl ymanican ye itlan aya onneyacalhuilotoc yyao hueya hueyao
- 29 Ye ipetlapan yehuan dios nihuallayocoya ye niMexicatl niquimilnamiqui in tepilhuan teteuctin aya oquizeuctli Coayhuitl To Xihuan yyao Et²
- 31 Maoc xoncuicaya çan tixochiotomitl atlan ca tepetitlan o çan timoyehyec-

folio 71v

titinemi ticçohua moahtlapal ichan Dios in catli in teuctli a Coayhuitl in don Joan in çan ycaya onnehuihua in teucyotl mahuiçotl yyao Et²

- 3 In tlaca ayoppatihua a in Mex^{co} y nemoa yao connequia toyollo tlapapal-xochitl yhuan in cuicatl mochalchiuhomichicahuaz ompa icnoyohua moyolio o yyao hueya hueyao.
- 6 In huel xonmihtotihtih çan ticuicanitl huiya in tlaçotli an chalchiuhitl conehua chichimeca tlaxcalteca aya huey ya ohtli ypany o nec

[superscript gloss:] [ne]h

hat acah popolocah aya in acaxochitl neneliuhtimania atlia ytempā aya yyao Et²

- 9 Ye quetzalpanitl moyahuaya ic onmihtotian a yn tocnihuan Tlaxcalteca aya huey a ohtlapan Et²

11 .5.

- 12 Man tlatlauhtilo nican ycelteotl in Dios ypaltianemi in totomih totomi meyo.
- 14 Quen toconmocaquiltia oo yn icelteotl in Dios ypaltianemi y totomih totomi meyo.
- 16 Ma tahui in ma tahui ma yhtohuayan i anahuac oncaquizti moxochihuehueuh titlatohuani o don diego tehuetzquiti teuctli onetotilo nicā in yancuic tlapano tihuexi axaho a xacontaya ma ya netlamachtilya

Song 83, Folios 71–71v

- 15 Don Diego, and it's Huanitl, is the one who's comrade-weeping. Here again 29
he paints you, O Chichimec, O Montezuma. Paints you, O regent!
- 18 They're all abandoned on this flower mat: there's no more time for Tezozo- 30
moctli Acolnahuacatl. His word arrives! Lord Don Martín Cortés and
Don Francisco are rejoicing in it. Yes, they're waiting on the word of
Jesucristo.
- 22 A multitude of flowers! In a pack basket! Dance, lords and rulers! And 31
make acquaintance where the drum lies! But Jesucristo is the only red-
stone bird that's here. Don't sing for Him!
- 26 And the vassal Chichimec Don Diego on his painted saddle? It seems that 32
there beyond—where those mesquite plumes are lying—they're all in
shelter beside him!
- 29 Now here on God's mat I grieve, I, as a Mexican, recalling lords and 33
princes. Lord Oquiztzin! Coaihuitl, Don Juan!
- 31 Sing, you flower-brave! And in this city you're preening: you're spreading 34
your wings in God's home. Where is the lord Coaihuitl? Don Juan? This
is how he measures up to lordliness and glory!
- 3 Let there be no "never twice"! Ah, in Mexico there's life! Our hearts desire 35
these multicolored flowers and these songs, *these*, Your jade rasps: Your
heart is merciful.
- 6 Pass away to the dancing, singer! Tlaxcalan Chichimecs are on the cause- 36
ways, lifting precious jades—or possibly some one of them is stammer-
ing—and reed flowers lie scattered at the Shore.
- 9 Already banner plumes are scattered, for our comrades are dancing. Tlax- 37
calans are on the causeways, *lifting precious jades—or possibly some one of
them is stammering—and reed flowers lie scattered at the Shore.*

E

- 11
- 12 Let Life Giver—God, the Only Spirit—receive our prayers. O warriors! 38
Warriors, hey!
- 14 And what do you hear, O Life Giver, O God, O Only Spirit? Warriors! 39
Warriors, hey!
- 16 Let's give a "Hail!" Let's give a "Hail!" Let it speak in Anahuac: your 40
flower drum! And it's resounding, O ruler, O Don Diego, Lord Te-

mittotia espayolti mittotia in Mexica yn yancuic tlalpano o tihuexi axao
a xancontaya.

21 Tla xicaquican anootomi antocnihuā tlanel aço chalchihuitlon manell aço
quetzalli ca çan ontlapaniço oncan çan poztequiz y ayao ya ohuia ayao ya
huia ohuiya.

24 Titotoliniao tle titocuepazqueo a titomiquitlani nicani ayac tetl mocuepazo
o ayac quahuitl mocuepaz nicani ayao ya ohuia ayao ya huia ohuia.

27 Çan huel achitzinca on hualpalehuilo in Dios in tl̄çc yc nicā catli tlaca-

[marginal gloss:] ojo

huepano o? catli cuitlachihuitlon anahuacatl aya ca ypampa miqueon in
Dios ma oyaqueō in dios ma oyaqueon motlamachtitihui oo

30 In macā quēncē aya huel itlaçohuanō in dios ŷ mexica in tēpilhuā ma
oyaqueo motlamachtitihui anayahuio ma oyaqueo motlamachtitihui o.

folio 72

Chalcacihuacuicatl

1

2 Intlatlalil chalca ic quimopapaquiltico in tlatohuani in Axayacatzin ca
noço yehuatzin oquimmopehuili in maçan cihuatzitzintin.

4

Toco tico tocoti, toco tico tocoti toco tico tocoti

5

Xanmoquetzacan oo annicutzitzinhuan aye tonhuian tonhuian tixochi-
temozque he, tonhuian tonhuian, tixochitehtequizque nican mania nicā
mania tlachinolxochitly oo chimalli xochitly teihicolti huel tetlamachtī
yaoxochitla oohuiya.

9

Yectliyan xochitly yehuaya ma nocpacxochiuh, ma ic ninapana nepapan i
noxochiuh aya nichalcatl nichuatl alhuayyao ohuaya

11

Nicnehnequi xochitl nicnehncō cuicatl aytzin in totzahuyā in toyeyeyā o
ohuaye noconeheuhlica ycuic in tlatohuani Axayacaton nicxochimalina
nicxochilacatzohua o oahuayao ohuiya.

14

A iuhquin tlacuilolli yectli ya incuic iuhquin huelic xochitl ahuiac a noyol
quimati in tl̄çc alhuayyao ohuiya.

16

Tlemach ypan nicmati motlatoltzin noyecoltzin taxayacatō tla no-

[marginal gloss:] ojo

conahauilti aylili aylililili hii ołotzin ololo oyyaye ayyo Et'

18

Çan nictocuilehuilia çā niquiquixhuia hooo yec tla noconahuilti Et'

Songs 83–84, Folios 71v–72

- huetzquiti! There's dancing here in the new land. Come on, Tehuetzi!
Let there be joy. Spaniards dance! Mexicans dance—in the new land!
Come on, Tehuetzi!
- 21 Hear them, you warriors, you comrades! Even jades, even plumes, must 41
be broken, splintered.
- 24 How can we return if we're poor? Ah, we wish for death! No one returns 42
in stone, no one returns in wood.
- 27 God is aided for but a moment here on earth.³¹ Where is Tlacahuépan? 43
Where is Cuitlachiuhuitl? And Anahuacatl? They died for God. *But*
though they went away, they went in happiness.
- 30 Let it be no other way. Indeed, these Mexican princes are beloved ones of 44
God. And though they went to God, though they went away, they went
in happiness.

LXXXIV Chalcan female song

- 1 A composition of the Chalcans, with which they came to entertain the
2 ruler Axayacatl, for he had conquered them as though they had been mere
women.

A

- 4 toco tico tocoti, toco tico tocoti, toco tico tocoti
- 5 Get up, sisters, and let's go! Let's go look for flowers. Hey, let's go! Let's go 1
cut some flowers. Here they are! Here! Blaze flowers, shield flowers!
Desirable, pleasurable war flowers!
- 9 Let holy flowers be my flower crown, and let me dress myself in these— 2
this multitude, my flowers. I'm a Chalcan and a woman.
- 11 I want these flowers, I want these songs. Hey, treasure! Where we do our 3
spinning, where we do our sitting, oh! I'm lifting up the songs of the
king, baby Axayacatl. I'm whirling him, and he's a flower; spinning
him, and he's a flower.
- 14 His holy songs are like paintings, like delicious flowers, fragrant ones. My 4
heart is savoring them on earth.
- 16 O my creation! You! Baby Axayacatl!³² How I esteem your precious songs! 5
Let me entertain him. Ah, ah! O little jewel.
- 18 For him I'm sounding off, I'm trumpeting for him. Let me entertain him. 6
Ah, ah! O little jewel.

³¹ *Marginal gloss:* Nota bene.

³² *Marginal gloss:* Nota bene.

- 19 Cotiti tototototo cotiti tototototo.
 20 Xolo xolotzin titla'tohuani taxayacaton ohuiya nel toquichtli iz maconel
 titlayhtolli; cuix nel ahoc tiquahquahuitiuh ayye xoconquetzan nonexcō
 cēca niman xocontoquio.

[*marginal gloss:*] chalco tlatolli .q.n. xitlatlati

- 23 Xiqualcui o xiqualcui yn ompa ca o xinechualmaca o in conetzintli te'
 xontlatehteca tihuan tonhuehuetztozque tzo no tōpaquiz tompaquiz
 paquiz tzo no nictlatlamachihuah oo
 26 Macamo maca o maca notla ximayahui xolotzin titlatohuani axayacatō yya
 o ço ni ni cuilo y cuecuetzoca ye nomaton o ayye ye no cuel ye no cuel
 tictzitzquiznequi in nochichihualtzin achin noyollotzin huiya
 29 Yn ye ahcaço monehuian ticmitlacalhuiz

[*insertion:*] [ticmitlacalhui]li[z]

nonhecuilol huiya tzo no tiqiztzo xihquecholxochitico ohuaye nihtic
 nimitzonaquiz onca yetoz motenchalohtzin nimitzmacochihuiz.

folio 72v

- 1 In quetzalizquioxochitl in ye tlahquecholcacaloxochitl y cā moxochiquach-
 petlapan tiyaonoc ye oncan ytic y yyoyyo aocmo hui yao aylili.
 3 Tcoquitlapetlatl ipan tiyaonoc quetzaloztocalco tlacuilocalitic yyoyio
 aocmo hui yao aylili.
 5 Anqui ço ye ichan ye nontlayocoya tinonantzin ahço hucl nitzahua ahço
 hucl nihquitia ça nē ca niconetl tzo nichuapilli ynuc nihtolo ŷ noquich-
 uacan yao
 8 Tctlatlahuelcauh teyollocococan in tlēc in quēmanō nōtlahtlayocoya ni-
 notlahuelnequi nonexiuhlatilco nichualihtoa cue conetl manoce nimiqui
 yiao.
 11 Toco tico tocoti toco tico tocoti toco tico tocoti
 12 Yacue nonantzin nontlaocolmiqui o ye nican ye noquichvacā ahuel ni-
 quitotia in malacatl ahuel nocontlaça in notzotzopaz noca timoqueloa
 noconetzin yao ohuiya.
 15 Auh quēnel noconchihuah cuix yhui chimalli yca nemanalo ixtlahuatl itic
 ninoma'mantaz a ayia ooo noca timoqueloa noconetzin ohuiya
 17 Xolotzin noconetzin titlahtohuani Taxayacatō çan timonencahuā nohuic
 timomahmanaya tōmoquichyhtohua o ohuaye cuix nōmati yaopan ni-
 quimiximati ye moyaohuā noconetzin çā timoNencahua nohuic ohuiya.
 21 Ma teh ticihuatini ahço nel ahticyécoz in iuhqui chahuayotl yn ixochitzin
 yn icuicatzin noconetzin yiao
 23 A oquichpilli not^o titla'tohuani Taxayacatō onoço tonpeuh ye no tiqualani
 xolotzin ye no niauh in nochan noconetzin yao ohuia.

Song 84, Folios 72–72v

B

cotiti tototototo cotiti tototototo

- 19
20 Boy, dear boy! Little king! O Axayacatl! Here, let yourself be summoned, 7
man! Don't you have a horn on? Stick it in my chimney. Hurry! And put
out the fire.³³
- 23 Come and get it, come and get it. Ah, there they are! Here, let me have it, 8
babe. Spread them out. And we'll recline among them. Oh, you're
going to love it, love it, love it. And yes, I'll make it *nice and slow*.
- 26 No no no, don't scorn me, boy! Little king! O Axayacatl! Yes, my arms are 9
aching. And yes, you want to feel my breasts and just a little of my in-
side! *Oh yes, my little soldier's itching. Yes, you want to touch the ones that I've*
created, just a few of these—my hearts!
- 29 And will you hurt yourself, my painted one? Well, really, as a flower, as a 10
turquoise swan, you're going to watch it *rise!* I'll let you in. And there
your chin, or something like your chin, will lie: I'll take you in my arms.
- 1 As a precious popcorn flower, as a roseate swan, as a raven bloom upon 11
your flower bed mat—there, within!—you lie. Nevermore.
- 3 You lie at the Golden Mat, at the precious cavern house, within the house 12
of paintings. Nevermore.
- 5 It looks as though I'm really miserable with him, dear mama. Can I spin? 13
Can I weave? *No!* If I've got a man, then I'm the one that's *got to be called*
babe, even queen. No?
- 8 This world's a place of anguish: it's infuriating. I'm wretched at last, and 14
sore. And in despair I'm saying, "Babe! I want to die."

C

toco tico tocoti, toco tico tocoti, toco tico tocoti

- 11
12 Hey, mama, I'm in agony now that I have this man. I can't dance the spin- 15
dle, I can't throw the reed. You're mocking me, babe.
- 15 And what will become of me? People get sacrificed in battle. So will I *too* 16
be carried off? Like a shield? You're mocking me, babe.
- 17 Little boy, little babe, King Axayacatl! I'd only hinder you, and you'd be 17
sacrificed and lauded. Am I skilled in battle? Could I face your enemies?
Babe, I'd only hinder you.
- 21 I wish you'd be one of the women. Couldn't you fabricate His precious 18
songs, His flowers, as a concubine, dear babe?
- 23 Ah, man-child, my lord! You! Little King Axayacatl! Instead you've struck 19
it up! You're bellicose, dear boy. O babe, I'm headed Home.

³³ *Marginal gloss:* A Chalcan expression that means "Build a fire!"

- 25 Anca ço cannican tincchnahua lan yectli ticchiuh ye motlatoltzin iz in
axcan tlahuanquetl, maço teh titlahuanquetl ahço no netlacamachon
tochan yyao ohuiya
- 28 Cuix noço tinechcouh tinechmocohui noconctzin cuix tlapa'patlaco nahui-
huan ye notlahuā çaço tictlacanequi ye no tiqualani xolotzin ye noniauh
in nochan noconctzin yyao ohuiya.
- 31 Tocotico tititi tocotico tititi tocotico tititi.

folio 73

- 1 Tiniuctzin ticihuahlamacazqui ma xontlachia yn omach moman cuicatl in
Cohuatepec in quauhtenampan y Topan moteca Panohuayā ohuaya
- 3 Çon ocihuayo ninaytia noyollotzin mococohua ach quēnel nocōchihuaz
yhuan noquichtiz o maçoc cenca ye incue ye ye inhuipil in toquichhuan
in toyecolhuan yyaho ohuiya.
- 6 Xiquilquixti nonextamal in titlatohuani Axayayacatō tla ce nimitzmanili
neoc in noconeuh neoc in noconeuh xoconahuilti xictocuilehuili ololo-
tzin ololo ayye ayyo.
- 9 Aço tiquauhtli tocelotl in timittohua noconetzin Ohuia aço moyaohuā
inhuic ticuecuenoti meoc in noconeuh xocōahuilti . Et⁴
- 11 Aya tle nocue aya tle nohuipil nicihuahzintli yehua ya nicā quimanaco
yectli ye incuic nican quimanaco chimalli xochitl quenmach tontlaca ye
nichalcacihuatl nayoquan ohuia.
- 14 Niquimelehuia nocihuapohuā in acolhuaque niquimelehuia y nocihua-
pohuan tepaneca quenmach tontlaca ye nichalcacihuatl nayoquā Et⁴
- 16 Ca pinauhicate in chahuahuilo noconetzin y huia cuix no iuh tinechihuaz i
no iuh toconchiuh in quauhtlatohuaton maçaço yhuian a ximocueto-
maca ximomaxahuican Antlatiloica in amiyaque a ayayya xihualla-
chiacan nican chalco ahuyaya ohuiya.
- 20 Ma ninopotoni tinonantz in ma xinexahua oo quē nechittaz in noyecol
ymixpanon tonquičatihuuh alhaço mihicoltiz ye o huexotzinco xayaca-
machan ohuia
- 23 Quen ami in cuicatl chualo in cuicoya o in quauhquecholli anca ço mihi-
coltiz ye huexotzinco xayacamahchan ohuia.
- 25 In tetzmolocan nichuatl ninomaoxihua ninocxioxihua noconcuico ye
nochcue ye nochhuipil nicceçetlamitaz aytzin ay aytzin Et⁴
- 27 Niquimelehui xaltepeltapan ye huexotzinca tzo incuetlaxtlamal in tzo in-
cuetlaxteteceucueh niccecentlamitaz aytzin ay aytzin yyao Et⁴
- 29 Tocotico, tocotico, tocotico, tocotico, tocotico,
- 30 Ỹ quen oc çan in tlamati nechmitlania in conetl in tlatohuani in Axayacaton

Song 84, Folios 72v-73

- 25 Yet it looks as though you're dancing as my partner. You've made some good ones, yes, and they're your precious songs. And here and now they're drunk. Be drunk yourself! Is there prosperity at Home? 20
- 28 Have you bought me? Yes, you've bought me for yourself, babe! Do my aunts, yes, my uncles, come to trade? *Indeed*. You do it recklessly! You're bellicose, dear boy. O babe, I'm headed Home. 21

D

- 31 tocotico tititi tocotico tititi tocotico tititi
- 1 Sister priests! Look! The songs have been deposited at Coatepec, at the eagle wall. They're scattering down upon us at Panohuayan. 22
- 3 I only do woman's work. I'm in anguish. What will happen to me *now*? With these I'll have to be a man! Rather let them be the skirts and blouses of men that we *ourselves* create! 23
- 6 Here, hand me my tortilla dough. O king, O little Axayacatl, let me offer you one. Hey now, babe! Hey now, babe! Pleasure him! Cry out to the little jewel. 24
- 9 You're supposed to be an eagle, a jaguar, my babe? And you boast in front of your enemies? Hey now, babe! Pleasure him! *Cry out to the little jewel*. 25
- 11 I'm a woman without a skirt, without a blouse: and that's who comes to offer "his" good songs, comes to offer shield flowers. How can we be two people? Yes, I'm a Chalcan woman. And I'm Ayocuan! 26
- 14 I crave my fellow women, the Acolhuans! I crave my fellow women, the Tepanecs! How can we be two people? Yes, I'm a Chalcan woman. And I'm Ayocuan! 27
- 16 They're ashamed to be concubines, babe. Would you do to me what you did to poor little Cuauhtlatoa? Ah, open your skirts and spread your legs, you Tlatelolcan warriors! And come on to Chalco! 28
- 20 Let me have my war plumes, mama! Paint me up! What will my revenant think of me? "You're going to go out there and hurl defiance at them! Perhaps Xayacamach of Huexotzinco is getting *a little* high-handed." 29
- 23 How good are the songs that are lifted when all those eagle swans sing? *Say*, it looks like Xayacamach of Huexotzinco is getting *a little* high-handed. 30
- 25 In Tetzmollocan I, a woman, rub my hands and feet with pine oil: I've come to get fiber skirts and fiber blouses. And I'm going to keep right on enjoying them! Hey treasure! Treasure! 31
- 27 I've had a craving for the Huexotzincans of Xaltepetlapan and especially their leather twist, especially their leather braid. I'm going to keep right on enjoying them! Hey treasure! Treasure! 32

E

- 29 tocotico tocotico tocotico tocotico tocotico
- 30 How much happier he is! And he wants me. O babe, O king! Little Axa- 33

cue c teon in ma ic i tepal nochahuatlalialia oohuaye

folio 73v

noca titlaomepiaz noconetzi a'ço iuh quinequi moyollo maçohui huian
mociahuan yyao ohuia.

3 Cuix a'moyollocopa noconetzin ye toconcalaquia in chahuayotl ynic mo-
chan ahayayoho ahço iuh quinequi moyollo Et?

5 Quēmach in tinechiuh noyecoltzin ayye macaoc ic ximochichihuan huel
ahtitlacatl tlein ticnenclo ye noyollotzin ticxochimalina ye motlatol yyao
ohuia.

8 Notzahuayan nimitzittoa i nihquitian nimitzilnamiqui xolotzin tlein ticne-
nclo ye noyollotzin

Tocotico tocoti

10 Nahuilylama namonan nicahualylama nichpochylama ypan nochihua o
11 nichalcotlacatl aha a ili nimitzahuiltico noxochinenezin noxochicamo-
palncnetzin yyaho ohuia.

14 Ye no quclehuia in tlatoani in Axayacaton xiquallita noxochitlacuilolmaton
xiquallita noxochitlacuilolchichihualtzin oohuia.

16 Macaçoc an onnēhucztzih ye moyollotzin taxayacaton iz ca ye momatzin
ma no matitech xinechonantih a ayyahayialho xonahuiacā Et?

18 Moxochinpetlapan moyeyeyan xolotzin yhuian xoncocochi xonyayamani
noconetzin titlatohuani taxayaca yao ohuaya.

Huehuch Cuicatl.

20

21 Ye conahua in tlatohuani axayaca yn ahuel oquinpeuh in Michuaque ca
noço tlaximaloyan in hualmocuep. auh amo çan quexquichtin in pipilti in
tiacahuā yn ompa omique, cequintin çan bualcholoque ic çan inhuchuetiliz
yn ahmo chicahuac ytech motlamia in cuicatl ye quimahua. huehue tlatcatl
in tlatohuani chichicha.

26

Tico tico tico tico tico tico tico tico tico

27

Techtlahuancanotzque in Michhuacan in Camacoyahuac¹

[marginal gloss:] ['it]oca ompa
[t]latoani.

Songs 84–85, Folios 73–73v

yacatl! Hey! Somebody's made me a whore, and what's the result? On account of me, babe, you're going to have twice *the kingdom* [or family]. Would your heart [or glans] desire it? Then let it be softened [or lubricated], but gently [or slowly]!

3 O babe! *You mean* it's not wholeheartedly that you take a whore into your house? Would your heart [or glans] desire it? *Then let it be softened* [or lubricated], *but gently* [or slowly]! 34

5 Oh, what you've done to me, dear revenant! Don't let yourself be thus adorned! You'd be a monster. O heart of mine, what have you scrambled, whirling your songs, *your flowers*? 35

8 From where I spin *and nowhere else* I utter you! From where I weave *and nowhere else* I shall recall you, dear boy! O heart of mine, what have you scrambled, *whirling your songs, your flowers*? 36

F

10 tocotico tocoti 37

11 I that am your mama am an old whore. I that am a Chalcan am a rejected old woman, pretending to be an old maiden lady: I've come to pleasure you, my flower, my dolly! My flower, my brownie, my dolly! 37

14 And little King Axayacatl desires it too! Come to these flower paintings, *these*, my baby soldiers [or my little arms]! Come to these flower paintings, *these*, my dear creations [or my little breasts]! 38

16 Don't let your precious heart [or hearts] take a needless tumble, O little Axayacatl. They're here, *right here*, those "arms" of yours. And with those arms you're going to catch me! Enjoy it! 39

18 *Then* slumber gently and be comfortable on your flower mat, your resting place, dear boy, my darling babe, King Axayacatl. 40

LXXXV Old man song

21 This one scolds King Axayacatl, who could not conquer the Michhuans because he retreated at Tlaximaloyan. And many noble warriors died there, and part of them fled on account of their old age, excusing themselves because they were feeble—for which the song scolds them. *After all*, King Chichicha was an old person *himself*.

A

26 tico tico tico tico tico tico tico tico tico 1
27 "They've summoned us to be drunkards in Michhuacan, the gaping maw." 1

³⁴ *Marginal gloss (numbered 1 on folio 73v):* That's the name of the king there.

Tihuitzmanato ye timexica tihihuintiqueo quēmā in ticauhque in Quahuehuetzin²

[*marginal gloss:*] [²i]ntoca ompa
[m]omiquilique
tiacahuan.

Yaotzin yyao ohuiya.

folio 74

- 1 Quēmach in mochiuhque in Mexica in huehuetque xoxocomique aocac
quittoa in ye tiquinquequeça ylamatzitzin Chimalpopoca in Axayaca
yioyahue ye ticauhque yn amocoltō Cacamaton yyaon ohuiya.
- 5 Tlahuanoyan nontlactactica namocolton mononotzoq̄ Quauhhuohuetque
in tlacaelel Cahualtzin quilmach ac onihque iachcahuā concauhquizque
teuhtli yehuayā Michvacā yyao Et.³
- 8 Anco ço oncā temac tlanque Cuecucxteca in Tlatilolca noxhuihuā in
Çaquantzín yn ye Tepantzin cihuacucueultzin intzontecon yca ymelchi-
quih yca onteachtitōa xicaquican huec
- 11 cototi, cototi, cototi, cototi, cototi, cototi, cototi,
- 12 Tlein ye quichihua in tequihuaque aoc momic itlani aoc tlamaznequi in
oquimittaque inyaohuā ymixpāpa hualchua teocuitlatl pepetzcatihuitz i
ça quetzalpanitl y tlaxopalehuaya huiya amechana hui ma amotzin ya
xontlaçacan huec.
- 16 In maca yehuantin telopotzitzintin yehuā tlamacaznequi in tlaca yehuan y
anca ça oquic tiquauhchocazque Anca ça oquic tocelochoçazque in ti-
quahhuohuetque huiya amechana hui ma amotzin ya xontlaccacan huec
- 20 Yioyahue ya onotlahuelitlic in Axaya cuix ye nohuhueyo in innetlaloliz in
noquapilhuā huec.
- 22 A yn maca ychuatl in noxhuiuh cā namechcahuazquia xochitl mantihuh
huec ica momaquixtia in huitznahuatl yaotl huec.
- 24 Tico Et.⁴ chicopa
- 25 A hoo ye hee o nontotolcatoc nontlatlatlaztoc, nōchichichatoc in Namoc-
olton in Axayaca huec
- 27 Ma ximotlalican in antequihuahque anūyahque ma ytlecax ypan anhuah-
cholotín anmotlatizque ica āhuetzi ychiquacol yn amocolton in Axayaca
huec
- 30 Ceceppa tetlaocol tehuetzquti in ye quichihua in ye mexica noxhuihuā
in omoxinque in nahuitica y niman ic onhuhueti yyeyahue chimalli
xochitl tomac ommania huec.

Song 85, Folios 73v-74

Having become tipsy, we Mexicans are to go and offer *our* thorns. Ultimately we'll have lost *our* old eagle³⁵ Yaotzin!"

- 1 How *in the world* were these inebriated Mexican oldsters ever created? *Well* 2
look, nobody can say we're kicking old ladies *here*. O Chimalpopoca! O
Axayacatl! Alas, we've already lost your little grandpa, Cacamatl.
5 And is your little grandpa hearing something in this drunken place? *Ah* 3
yes, the old eagles Tlaaelel and Cahualtzin are being summoned. *You*
know, it's said that whatever captains a lord might have, he'll immediately lose them in Michhuacan.
8 *Yes* there, in alien hands, it seems, these Huastec Tlatelolcans are done for! 4
By dint of their skulls and chests, my grandsons Troupial, Rampart, and
Womanish Twirler are uttering captains. Hear it!

B

cototi cototi cototi cototi cototi cototi cototi

- 11 What befalls these valiants who refuse to die, who refuse to make offer- 5
ings? Their enemies have found them, and they're rising up against
them! *But* the gold comes shining: all the banner plumes are glowing
green. They seize you! Ah, let this be your beginning. Hurry!
16 Oh no, not those youngsters who want to make offerings! Oh please, not 6
those! Then it seems we old warriors will have to give the eagle scream.
We'll have to give the jaguar scream. They seize you! Ah, let this be
your beginning. Hurry!
20 Alas, I'm undone. O Axayacatl, is this what an old man deserves? The 7
flight of my eagle princes?
22 Ah, grandson, let it not be so, for I'd be lost and flowers transported. And 8
so Huitznahuatl and Yaotzin *would* be spared.

C

Tico etc., on one side

- 24 Ah! Oh, oh! Yea! Eh, eh! Oh, I'm coughing, spitting, spluttering, I'm 9
your little grandpa. O Axayacatl!
27 Settle down, you valiants, you warriors! Beware of jumping on these fire- 10
brands of his. You'd be killed, you'd be stricken by your little grandpa
Axayacatl's crook.
30 *But* every time that they produce these sorrows, these joys—they, my 11
Mexican grandsons, who were shorn!—they age by fours, alas. And
shield flowers are in our hands!

³⁵ *Marginal gloss (numbered 2 on folio 73v):* These are the names of warriors who died there.

folio 74v

- 1 Auh in nelli mexicana in noxhuihuan cecectepantica o ontecpantica in hue-
huehtitihui y yyoyahue chimalli xochitl tomac ommania Et²
- 3 oc no chicopa, tica Et²
- 4 Quauhpetlapan ocelopetlapan onehuatica in aMocol in Axayaca contla-
chinolpipitztica yn itlecatzin ma huel yhui quētel popocatica huee.
- 7 Ohuaye ayye aic cehuiz in chimaltica conechepehuitica tlacochtica in qui-
xelotica yn itlecatzin manēl yhui quentel popocatica huee
- 9 In oc tonnemi huee tamocolhuāy patlahuac in tātlauih in totlacoeh ic ti-
quimahuiltique in tonahuac onoque huee
- 11 Tlacaço ayaxcan in huehuetihua tlaçaço ayaxcā in huehueyotl çan ye nica
ninochoquilia namocol y Naxayaca niqimilnamiqui nohuehueicnihuan
in Cucpanahuaz, in Tecale, in Xochitlahuan, in yehuaticac Ma ceme
nican hualquiçacā ceceñ teuctli pan momaticot i nican chalco huee
- 16 Quecizqui in quincuitihuetzi oyohualli yehuaya huee ye quecizqui yn ca
milacatzoa teuhlti yehuaya huee.
- 18 Oho ehe çan amoca nibuehuetzca namocol anmocihuatlauiz anmocihua-
chimal Tequihuaque huee ça iuh xinencā huee.

20

Cococuatl

- 21 Toco toco tiquti tocon tiqutin toco toco tiquti
- 22 Nompchua yaho nicuicanitl nōnitotia nitozquatectzin ayao
- 24 Nicnotlanehuia nocuic noxochiuh ayoppā tl̄çc niqubitohuaya nitozquatec-
tzin ayao
- 26 Çan no niaz ayao ohuaye yca nichocaya a yhua niyahua nocuic noxochiuh
haa
- 28 Nicuicanitlan a nixochipapalotl aya ninochiuhiaz teixpana nipatlāiaz
ayyahue a yhuan niyahua nocuic noxochiuh haa

folio 75

- 1 Onca yahue aya nepapan tototl moyahuatimani ylhuicaatl ymanca yectli
y atl a ytempa aya oncan niehua noca yehua notayohuā ma xiyahui
mochan a ompa ye cuextlan ho hanca yahue
- 4 Çan ca ye nocuic onca yahue haya cacalotla yehuaya niquehuaco ye nican
cilin ihcahuacaya teucciztli y tzatziya oncan niyehua moca ichua notta-
yohuan ma xiyahuiyan mochā ompa ye cuextlā o hanca y Et²
- 7 Nitecpatototl nehcoya nopinohua chalchiuhltlan nicmamali ypā nicpohuaya
yectlin nocuic çan nitlahuecheholtzin huēli nōcuicaya teixpan o.
- 9 Ompa ye nihuitza çan ca xihquilani çan ca nimaçatl ca nictzelohuaya no-
xochiuh o.

Songs 85–86, Folios 74v–75

1 Now really, these Mexican grandsons of mine are aging by twenties, by 12
forties, alas. And shield flowers are in our hands!

D

3 On the other side: tico etc.
4 "Seated on this eagle mat, this jaguar mat, your grandsire Axayacatl in a 13
blaze is blowing on his firebrands. Let them smoke a little!
7 "Ah, these firebrands of his! They'll never be extinguished! He fans them 14
with his shield, he strews them with his javelin. Let them smoke a little!
9 "We, your grandsires, live again. Our gorge is roomy! With these javelins 15
of ours we've pleased our comrades.
11 "Say listen! It's hard to grow old. Say listen! Old age is a hardship. And I, 16
your grandsire Axayacatl, am pitiable here, recalling my old comrades:
Bud, Fief Owner, Flower Drunk, Stands Up. Let *just* one of them ap-
pear. Ah, they've all come—to be esteemed as lords here in Chalco!
16 "So many! And they're seizing bells. So many, spun as lords! 17
18 "Ho ho! Hey hey! I, your grandsire Axayacatl, am laughing at your lady- 18
like insignia, your ladylike shields. O valiants! Live that way!"

LXXXVI Dove song

A

21 toco toco tiquiti toco tiquiti toco toco tiquiti
22 *The dove:* I strike it up. I'm the singer. I dance. I'm Parrot-Head Lord. 1
24 I borrow these songs, these flowers. There's no second time on earth, I say. 2
I'm Parrot-Head Lord.
26 And I'll pass away. For this I weep. And I revel in songs, in flowers. 3
28 I, the singer! I'll pass away changed to a butterfly flower, I'll pass away 4
soaring in company, ah! And I revel in songs, in flowers.
1 The birds are all scattered at sky water, good water's edge. Ah, there! I'm 5
rising. My papas are rising against me. Away to your "home" there in
Cuextlan!
4 I've come to lift songs among ravens. And snail horns are screaming, and 6
conch horns cry. There! I'm rising. My papas are rising against me.
Away to your "home" there in Cuextlan!
7 I come as a flint bird, you savages. I'm a roseate swan, obtruding my good 7
songs—reciting these—among jades. I'm beautifully singing in com-
pany, ah!
9 I've come from the indigo land, a deer, shaking down flowers, ah! 8

- 11 Ti. titico, titico, tocotico, tocotocoti titico titico.
 12 Ca mach timitlaco tiniuctzin naanootzin chalchihneneya ayoc nonmati ye
 nochan in ye toyao obuaye ne nachauaya çā ca ye nonā
 14 Ça nihuetzcaya tinechaytta oquiche cihuatl mochan o nicnequia ma nochan
 niyetoya oohuaye nechaahuaya çan ca ye nonana.
 16 Nanotzin camp aqui nehne ŷ mani miqui ŷ tinocihuapoya ayoc nel nicca-
 quia nechahuayaa çan ca ye nonā matel ytla ycaya aqui nocaya anca ço
 ancan tlacaco niez tlacaco nietoz ha.
 19 Ohuanca tlatzihuiz noyol tinonā aquī huelamatia ahuilnemia yn mach nel
 oc nicaquiça y ca tinechahuaya
 21 Ye nahuilnemia çan ca tinonā ohuayac noquich in yeh chuaya aço nittoloya
 cuix ninocaquia.
 23 Yohuaya nichocaya o niyecchihuatl niquetzalmiyahuauxoch ninahuilo nici-
 huatl aya a ca nixonaci çan iuhqui nimiquicin mah ayaya ho ohuaye
 ninohuetzquilia ayaha ohuaha
 26 Quē tinocaya tiniuctzi yca nichocaya çan iuhqui nimiquicin yah aya ya oo
 ninohuetzquilia yaha ohuaya.
 28 Çan ye niquetzalxotzin ayaho ninotlaçotla niyectlo nicihuatl niquimahuaya
 niuchuani cozcamalintzin xiuhtlamiyahualtzin ye ahuilnemia quetzal-
 quatequiya oo yao ohaye ya aya aya ha. Nano tinonanon ohuaye ma
 xiquimaya

folio 75v

nicuihuani cozcamalintzin xiuhtlamiyahualtzin ye ahuilnemia quetzal-
 quatequia Et.

- 3 Toco toco tico tocoti titico, titico, tocoti
 4 Yahue aya çan nentlamati noyollo Nahuitzotl ohuayec nichocaya can o cucl
 niquimittaz in teteuctin Neçahualcoyotla, Moteuççoma o aca yahue aya.
 Onca yahue aya niteuctlapalihquetl hucln noncuicaya cozcahui molihui
 niquehuaya ohuaye nichocaya canoc huel niquimittaz in teteuctin neça-
 hualcoyotlā Moteuççoma o hanca yahue aya.
 10 Notemic ypan nihuiya mictlan aya niquntlacayttac ŷ nachcahuan tla-
 palihuime a ŷ tepiltzino in tlacahucpano cana nemi moteyoya nah tihto-
 loya mocuic ayo nemia çan ca tenochtitlan o hanca yahue.
 14 Iça nichoca oo yca nicnotlamati nachcahuā tlapalihuiime a in tēpiltzin cana
 nemi moteyoya cana titoloya mocuicayo nemija çā ca tenochtitlan ho
 hāca yahue

Song 86, Folios 75–75v

B

ti titico titico tocotico tocotocoti titico titico

- 11
 12 *Jade Doll*: How *in the world* did you hurt yourself, sister Nanotzin? *Nano-* 9
tzin (holding her vulva): Jade Doll, *my dear*, I can't have the foe in my
 "home" anymore. Ohuaye, O only my mama must prick me.
- 14 As you see *for yourself*, I *can't help* laughing: I'm a woman who *now* has a 10
 "man" (*displaying a finger to the audience, unnoticed by Jade Doll*). I desire
 your "home," *my dear*. Now let me go down on this "home" of mine.
 Ohuaye, O only my mama must prick me.
- 16 *Jade Doll*: But Nanotzin, you're a woman like me. How can *your dolly*— 11
 it's lifeless!—fit inside of *me*? I don't understand it, this "mama must
 prick me." It has to be something that stands *erect*, that fits inside me, if
 I'm to be satisfied—truly, if I'm to lie down and be satisfied, ha!
- 19 Ohuanca, dear mama, my heart would demur. To pleasure, to couple, it 12
 has to fit in: only then can I understand that you "prick me."
- 21 *Nanotzin*: I'll couple *with you*, and you'll be my mama: my "man" is the 13
 one that arises (*displaying her finger*). And am I applauded? *And now* am I
 heeded? (*They couple*.)
- 23 *Jade Doll*: Yohuaya, I'm weeping. A virtuous woman am I, a *discreet and* 14
precious corn bloom. *And here*, as a woman, I've shamed myself. *For*
this I'll blush. For this I'll die, aya, ohuaya, *die* laughing.
- 26 Oh how *could* you *do this* to me, dear sister? For this I'll weep, for this I'll 15
 die, ya aya ya o, *die* laughing.
- 28 Yet a *maidenly* plume flower am I, aya ho! I am loved: a chaste woman am 16
 I! I must prick (*must admonish*) my *wayward* sisters: Jewel Twirler and
dear Corn-Bloom-Down-Among-the-Turquoises: they fornicate, they're
 plucking plume-heads. O yao, o aye, ya aya, aya ha.
 O Nano-my-mama! do prick (*do admonish*) my sisters: *dear* Jewel Twirler
 and Corn-Bloom-Down-Among-the-Turquoises: they fornicate, they're
 plucking plume-heads. O yao, o aye, ya aya, aya ha.

C

toco toco tico tocoti titico titico tocoti

- 3
 4 *The dove*: I'm Ahuitzotl, and my heart is grieving. I weep. Will I see them 17
 again?—the lords Nezahualcoyotl and Montezuma?
 I'm a noble young stalwart, beautifully singing, lifting up jewels: they're
 stirring. I weep. Will I see them again?—the lords Nezahualcoyotl and
 Montezuma?
- 10 In my dream I went to the Dead Land. I saw my elder brothers incarnate— 18
 the stalwarts, the prince Tlacahuepan. O *Tlacahuepan*, somewhere your
 fame is alive, you're sung, and your song lives *here* in Tenochtitlan.
- 14 For these I weep, for these I grieve. O elder brothers, O stalwarts, O 19
 prince! Somewhere your fame is alive, you're sung, and your song lives
here in Tenochtitlan.

- 17 Huicalo nache huicalo noxochihueyo nitlachahuepā ye quitimalohua patla-
huac aztatl yahao
- 19 Oceloquauhtzatzitih tezacohuacatla mocuilizatzin yahao
- 20 Nicocotzin niehcoya nooncuica niqimahuilohua ŷ tepilhuanoo ayye
ayahoo
- 22 Cacaloxochitlo o cempohualxochitla nihcaya niqimahuilohua in tepil-
huānoo
- 24 Toco toco toco tihti tocotoco tihti tocoti tocotihtoto.
- 25 Noncuica ehco mochan an nicuicanitl nicahuilico nicani in moteucōma ŷ
čan nicyaitotia tocinpetlacotlija yaoo yehaya hoo ohuayie a ompa ye ni-
huitz tlacpac yahualiuhan çan nicyaltotia tocinpetlacotli yahoo
- 29 Pehualoya nican tziuhcohuac aniuchuanin ao cocomontoc yxochihue-
hueuh ahaya nonahualah, ha noyol quimatia ohuanca ye nocuic

folio 76

- čan nocōyayechuaya ycaya nompauia nipaloxoch mayan itlanaya
noncuicaya y noxochiyecolli ahuiliz nicmanaya noocuicaytohuaya
- 4 Iz tle ye ticchiuhque çan tiniuctzin yca qualania aya noquichvi yuhquin
ahtittatehque an nopilotzin ma çā nicahuaya niccahua çan tinonan aya
noquichan
- 7 O qualli nechittaya çan ca ye icihuah ne hualmotlali acatēpanî ach quē no-
conchihuaz aya noquich in acaxochitlo ypā nomati ymac noncuetlahuix
nechyacahuaz.
- 10 Xochinquahuitl cueponia on quetzalli xelihuia çā ye conittotia nicuihua çā
ca ye nopilohua ho ha mayic ayoo ohuaya ninocaya.
- 12 Quetzalcoyolina huia cueponia topana motecaya xochihui molihui motze-
tzeloahuaya o a maye ayiao haha mayie ayao ohuaya ninocaya.
- 14 Cototi tocoti cotoquiti quiti quiti ~~quiti~~-tico tocoti
- 15 Ma ya pehualoya ma ya nequetzaloya nopinohuana o ohuaya ye hohuaya
haye oya.
- 17 In choquizxochitla ompixahuia xochihuehuetitlan necuicatiloa ohuayie
ohuaya haye ha.
- 19 Tlacpac tenantlan oo ye ompa nihuitzon ye nahuilnemia ninihtohuaya
yahua hiye yhua yhi yao ho, A iz tlein tiqitohuaya ohuanca tinonān o
nicohuanentzin ma nonitia yahuayie yahuayiao o
- 22 Amaya nanotzin tocon huixanatia niccaquia cuicatl onmanicoya ayao ay ha
aya ayao haya
- 24 Ahuia ye niquetzalxotzin ye nonittotia

Song 86, Folios 75v-76

- 17 It's carried, my brother. My flower-fame's carried. I'm Tlacahuepan. A 20
 broad egret plume praises *my name*.
 19 And Executioner, the Precious One, goes giving the eagle-jaguar shout. 21
 20 I arrive! I sing: I am the dove, beguiling the princes. 22
 22 I am the raven bloom, I am the marigold, come to beguile the princes. 23

D

- 24 toco toco toco titi tocotoco titi tocoti tocotitoto
 25 *The dove:* A singer am I, singing, "Aya, your 'home' has arrived." I've 24
 come to pleasure Montezuma, *come* to dance with this parrot arbor.
 I come from the circle on high, *come* to dance with this parrot arbor.
 29 Things are getting under way here in Tziuhcoac, my sisters. Ah, my *dear* 25
 ghost's flower drums are rumbling, ah! My heart enjoys them. Ah, I lift
 this song, rejoicing, I, a flower butterfly. Let me sing beside him. Ah,
 this flower of mine, this creation, will revel. I spread them out. I utter
 songs.
 4 *Jade Doll:* Just look what we've done, dear sister. My man is angry. *Nano-* 26
tzin: As though we'd not joined the dance, my darling! *Jade Doll:* I'll
 prick him (*denounce him*), I'll leave him. You, only *you* are my mama,
 my "man."
 7 *Nanotzin (aside):* His woman finds me attractive. Yet she's come to settle at 27
 the reeds' edge. *Jade Doll:* What's going to happen to me, O "man" of
 mine? *Nanotzin:* I'm supposed to be a flower reed. (*She tries to copulate*
with Jade Doll.) I've withered in her hands! She's going to leave me.
 10 The flower trees are blossoming, the plumes, they're scattering. My sis- 28
 ters, my darlings, have made them dance. Ho ha! Oh please, *ohuaya*, *oh*
please let me stop.
 12 Plume bells are blossoming, they're spreading over us: they flower, they 29
 stir, they're shaken down. Oh please, *ayao ha ha*, oh please, *ayao ohuaya*,
oh please let me stop.

E

- 14 cototi tocoti cotoquiti quiti quiti tico tocoti
 15 *The dove:* Let it begin! Let all my savages appear! 30
 17 Flower tears are sprinkling down at the flower drum, at the singing place. 31
 19 I've come from above, from among the ramparts. I couple, I offer myself. 32
 Now here's what you must say, *dear mama:* "Snake Tongue am I. Let me
 dance."
 22 *Jade Doll:* O Nanotzin, I hear the songs. They've come to lie outspread 33
before us.
 24 A *maidently* plume flower am I, and I dance. 34

- 25 Toco toco tiquiti tiquiti toco toco tiquiti tiquiti
 26 On oye'coc toxochiuh ohuaye cuicanitli yeloxochitl xiloxochitl nomac
 onmania Ompa ye nicuitoya oceloamatitla aya tlacpac quauhtlan aya
 nicayatemohui oo
 29 In ica nictiocaya ac nicahuiliz noxochihuehueh ompa ye nicuitoya

folio 76v

- oceloamatitlan tlacpac quauhtlana nicayatemohuia o
 2 tla xoncuicati nocniuhtzin nohuayiee tla xoconcaquican caniya cuicoya
 canon in caquiztia comontoc huehuetl nocōcaquia anca Mexico tolamaz
 nicpiaco tepetl o hanca yahue
 5 Nichocaya on nicuicanitl noconcaqui huehuetl comonia anca Mexico to-
 lamaz nicpicco tepetl.
 7 Ye no ye'coc noxochiuh ohuaye nicuicanitl ye niquauhtzina huellin non-
 cuicaya tcyxpan oo
 9 Quen huel xompchua çan xontenahua nitlatzotzonquetl ye niqetzalicçō-
 tzin aya ohaye ayiee nicnotlamatia ma ya motecā tohuchuetzin ayie aoo
 12 Toco toco titi toco toco titi toco toco titi
 13 Tlaltonayan atla ca tempan Moquetzaco xochitla xiatolamaz tlapitzaya ni-
 cozcatototl temac ninemi çan ca nicihuahlin ayao aye anca yahue aya.
 16 Quemach ami ye noxochiuh quemach ami ye nocuic tiquchuaco ye nicā
 çan chiauhtzinco xiatolamaz tlapitzaya nicozcatototl temac ninenemi çan
 ca nicihuahl Et'
 19 Tle ypanon tinechmati tinonan anca nicozcatli tinechtlatia anca yoccan
 ahuiliz tlamatiz noyoliol yca nichocaya.
 21 Çan niyaçon an tinechquixtlani tinonan anca nicozcatlā tinechtlatia anca
 yocan ahuiliz tlamatiz noyoliol yca nichocaya
 23 Ceclia noyol noconcaçō huehuetl comonticaqui çanio ycaya ye ompaqui
 ye noyol cococuicatl ayia nichampotzin notoncocihuahl ma noquetzal
 manalli ma ya ypan niquīmana yn tolamazque ohaye ohaye
 27 Ca ye notlapalcuetzin oo o ye no çan iquechquē oya aya nichanpotzin no-
 toncocihuatl ma noquetzal manalli ma ypā niquinahua yn tollamazme
 ohaye ohaye.
 30 Oceloamatitlan aya niqittoa ye nocuic ye nicā niqetzalpetlatzin ayie ayie
 Ma nequetzalo çan totatahuan an

Song 86, Folios 76–76v

F

- 25 toco toco tiquiti tiquiti toco toco tiquiti tiquiti
- 26 *Jade Doll*: Our flowers have arrived! O singer, these magnolias, these corn- 35
silk blooms, are lying in my hand. *The dove*: I've been to get them
up among the jaguar banners, up among the eagles. And I've brought
them down.
- 29 For these I weep, and whom will I pleasure? I've been to get my flower 36
drums among the jaguar banners, up among the eagles. And I've brought
them down.
- 2 Have a song, dear friend. Hear it! *Jade Doll*: Where's the singing? Where 37
does it sound? *The dove*: A drum is rumbling! *Jade Doll*: And I hear it.
The rush hunter seems to be in Mexico. *The dove*: I've come to guard
the city.
- 5 A singer am I, and I weep. *Jade Doll*: I hear a drum rumbling! The rush 38
hunter seems to be in Mexico. *The dove*: I've come to guard the city.
- 7 And my flowers have arrived. I'm the singer, I'm Eagle, beautifully sing- 39
ing in company. Oh!
- 9 Why not begin? Dance as partners! I'm the drummer, I'm Yucca Plumc. I 40
grieve. Let our drums be spread *before us*.

G

- 12 toco toco titi toco toco titi toco toco titi
- 13 *Jade Doll*: Flowers have appeared from the warm lands, the water's edge. 41
The turquoise rush hunter blows music. And I, a woman, a jewel bird,
am running along in someone's arms.
- 16 How splendid are my flowers, how splendid are my songs! From Rattle- 42
snakes you've come to lift them here. The turquoise rush hunter blows
music. And I, a woman, a jewel bird, am running along in some-
one's arms.
- 19 O mama! How do you treat me? It seems I'm a jewel, and you hide me. I 43
think it's time for my hearts to revel and enjoy themselves. And so
I weep.
- 21 I'll go! O mama, you drive me away. It seems I'm a jewel, and you hide 44
me. I think it's time for my hearts to revel and enjoy themselves. And so
I weep.
- 23 And my heart sprouts forth. I've heard the drums. They're rumbling. My 45
heart is cheered by only this: the dove song. I am Earring, a woman
among warriors. Let me spread these plumes of mine. Here, let me lay
these rush hunters.
- 27 My colored skirt is also his quexquemil. I am Earring, a woman among 46
warriors. Let me spread these plumes of mine. Here, let me dance with
these rush hunters.
- 30 I sing my songs among these jaguar banners. I'm Bed-of-Plumes. Let all 47
the papas appear!

- 1 Nichalchiuhnenecihuatl yayic quilacatzohua ye noyol coyolxochitl in ayie
ma ya nequetzaloya çan totatahuan a.

TochCococuicatl

- 3
4 toco toco tico ticoti titico titico tocoti
- 5 Oncuicoya in ixpan aya ye Santa Malia nopiloa ma nicyahucaya chooqui-
liloya ylacatzoa huicaloya nopetlacouh nicmatentiaz choquizxochitla
nicahuatilh çan tocnoman i nepapan xochitli maya ya huiche ontlamiz
ya ilhuitl o haca yahue
- 9 Ya nichoca ÿ mach nictlamicin nicuicanitl nepapā xochitl maya huiche
ontlamiz ya ilhuitl o haca yahue
- 11 ontlapalhuiconticaca huimolihui molihua quetzalizhuayoticac nitzetzelo-
hua yxochi yehchuan Dios aya hoo oyo hoyo ohuaye
- 13 Çan can noniaz quetzalamatitlanan choca moyollo çan nicuicanitl Et?
- 14 Huel paqui noyol concacon huehuetl chinameca nicuica ma mania ahuayia
ye nenahualo yaoo ma nonnittotia ye niquetza petlatzin ahuayia ye
nenahualo yaoo.
- 17 Nica xochitzin naton ma nōnittotia ma niahuiyehuaya çan toçātitlan qua-
chicpalecan o hanca yahue comontoc huehuetl noconcaquia nanotzin
man nonnitotia ma niyahuiyehuaya çan toçātitlan quachicpalecan Et?
- 21 Ti titico titico tocoti tocoti ti titico titico &c?
- 22 Ahuia huitano huichile ahua noquetzalla cahualotihua chiucnahuatl ytempa
huicalo yece ximohuaya in mexica yn xochinmayaque cenquiztiaque in
ychuaya nahuatiloya ahuan toxochiuh ha
- 25 In yea in yaho ahuiyelo ye toxochinquahui yca ye huicalo çan quetzalihpo-
tocaya yeetlon cuicatlin xochimayanque cenquiztiyaque in yehua nahua-
tiloya ahuan toxochihuan.
- 28 Oliniquetl tonanahua San Palacizco huicaloya nocohua a y choquizxochitl
pixahuita yohualacacohuaya.
- 30 Tolin Xochitla yhpotocaya in toya huicaloya nopetlacohuahay nechoqui-
liloya

1 I'm Jade-Doll Woman. My heart whirls bell flowers. Let all our papas 48
appear!

LXXXVII Wanton dove song

A

4 toco toco tico ticoti titico titico tocoti

5 There's music in the presence of Santa María, my darlings. Let me carry 1
these arbors of mine: they're wept for, they're whirling, they're carried!
I'm to go away spilling these flower tears, off to abandon these poor
hands of ours, all these flowers. Let's hear a "ya huiche!" And the feast
will be over. Alas!

9 Yes, I weep. Will I, the singer, enjoy all these flowers? Let's hear a "ya 2
huiche!" And the feast will be over. Alas!

11 They're twirling as colors, they're stirring, stirring! they're sprouting as 3
plumes: God's flowers: I shake them down.

13 I must leave these plume banners, and my singer's heart is weeping. 4

14 Ah, my heart is glad: it's heard the drums. O dwellers in this court! I sing! 5
Let them fall. Ah yes, there's partner-dancing. Let me dance! I'll set up
the mat. Ah yes, there's partner-dancing.

7 Come, dear flower, you warrior. Let me dance. Let me be pleased at 6
Camp Burrower, at Pillow Town.

The drums are rumbling, and I hear them. O Nanotzin, let me dance! Let
me be pleased at Camp Burrower, at Pillow Town.

B

11 ti titico titico tocoti tocoti ti titico titico etc.

12 These plumes of mine are off to be abandoned at the Nine Waters' brink: 7
they're carried right to the place where all are shorn, these Mexican
flower-cravers, gone off together, these flowers of ours: they've been
summoned.

5 Ye ah! Ya ho! All our flower trees are pleased. So they're carried off, these 8
good songs, breathing plumelike fragrance, flower-cravers, gone away
together, these flowers of ours: they've been summoned.

28 These shakers, these mothers of ours! They're carried off to San Francisco: 9
all these flower tears: they're spilling, gone off drizzling—sounds, heard
in the darkness.

30 And rush flowers are breathing fragrance: they're overflowing. My arbors! 10

folio 77v

- tecpipiltan cuicanahuatiloa chalchiuhapan ayao ayie ahuin toxochihuan.
 2 Xochintenamitl onoca hui çan quetzaltenanticpac teuhitli moteca milaca-
 tzohuaya yca ye huicalo in tccpilli in tlaca ~~huepani~~ ayocac tlatohua
 tlalihuintihua tlama maleque yehtla
 5 Xiuhquechol milinia xochiatl poçonia chalchiuhtli tlapania yca ye huicalo
 tecpilli tlahuepantzin ayocac tlatohua tllalihuintihua Et'
 7 Cotoco cotoco tico coti coti titico Tocoti
 8 Oca yhue aya can noncuicapohua nicuextecatlan çan niqumahuiloa in
 tepilhuan chichimecatlahco tlalhuaque cuicatl yxammancaya yca mittotia
 tolamaz aya xochinahualoya San Palacizcoya
 11 Onca yahue aya oha ma intia ma ihtoaya niquttohuan cuicatl nicucie-
 catl cuicatl yximacaya yca mihtotia tolamaz tla aya xochinahualoya sa
 Palacizcoya
 14 Mā cuicoa man cuicanahuatiloa annopilhuani ma nicyahuicaz noxochiuh
 oo quenmania quenman nipolihuizça
 16 Inn a niechnahuatia notatahua notlatoca ye niaz nichuicaya nopetlacouh
 ihuan nipolihuiz in ye nicuextecatlin aya ohuaya ye ayoc nilotiz ha
 18 Xochiohtlipan huicaloya ye nopetlacouh cempohualxochitla nicozcatiloa
 huicaloyo ahua çan tocnoma .
 20 O ayeccano ximohuaya nopinohua cahualotiaz yehuan noteohuan xicno-
 tlamatia Santa Malia ye tonan ma ya nichocaya notzaloya ahuan çan
 tocnomai
 23 Totototo tititi toti toti totititi et'
 24 Om ma ya om mayay in Pehualoya ma y ahuilihua ohuan nopinohuā
 quetzalcoyoltitlan onicac in tocnohuehuctzin no oya ya aya
 26 Xochiahuachpixahui in noayacach aya quetzalcoyoltitlan in tohuehuetzin
 ao Et'
 28 Ahuiya ye noyol xinechitaca nichalchiuhneneya matlatl xochinquahuitla
 aya nicmaminemia ye nitenahuaya niqumittotia in tolamazme oyaha
 haya.

folio 78

- 1 Mochicahuiaz noyoltzinn aya notoncocihuatl
[superimposed correction:] [n]j[toncocihuatl]
 nichalchiuhneneya matlal xochinquahuitlanaya nimamatinemia ye nite-
 nahuaya niqumittotia in tolamazme oya ha haya.
 4 Canin noconcaquia noxochinahuallia a on cuicoa tecpanchinamehcan ma
 nonnihtotia aya ayao ayahueyiayic ayao ohuaye Et'

Song 87, Folios 77v-78

- They're carried! All the princes! They're wept for. These flowers of ours
are being song-summoned from Jade Waters.
- 2 Flower bulwarks lie *fallen*, alas. Among these bulwark plumes the dust is 11
spreading, whirling. So the prince Tlakahuepan is carried! The singing's
over. There's earth-drunkenness. Seizers are seizing. Ah yes.
- 5 A turquoise swan is stirring. Flower water foams. Jadestones shatter. So 12
the prince Tlakahuepan is carried! The singing's over. There's earth-
drunkenness. *Seizers are seizing. Ah yes.*

C

- 7 cotoco cotoco tico coti coti titico tocoti
- 8 I recite my songs among Huastecs, beguiling the princes at Chichimec 13
Town—this island. And as the songs break, the rush hunter dances,
flower-partnered *here* at San Francisco.
- 11 Let them speak! Ah, let them speak! I'm a Huastec, uttering songs. And as 14
the songs break, the rush hunter dances. Let him be flower-partnered
here at San Francisco.
- 14 Let there be music. Let them be song-summoned. O my princes, let me 15
carry these flowers of mine. Ah, soon, soon I'll die.
- 16 Ah! My fathers are calling me: I'm off to my palace. I carry these arbors of 16
mine, and I perish, I, a Huastec. I won't be back again.
- 18 My arbors, these marigolds, are carried down the flower road, and I'm 17
bejeweled. Poor soldiers! Carried!
- 20 These savages of mine are off to be abandoned in the place where all are 18
shorn, the evil place. My Spirit! Have mercy! O Santa María, O mother!
Let me weep. Poor soldiers! Summoned!

D

- 23 totototo tititi toti toti totititi etc.
- 24 Let's strike it up. Let there be pleasure, you savages. Our poor drums 19
stand *here* in this plume-bell town.
- 26 These rattles of mine are drizzling down as a flower dew. Our drums *are* 20
here in this plume-bell town.
- 28 My heart is glad. Look at me. I'm Jade Doll. I'm carrying a flower-tree 21
snare. I'm dancing with partners, dancing with rush hunters.
- 1 My heart shall be strong. I'm a woman among warriors. I'm Jade Doll. 22
I'm carrying a flower-tree snare. I'm dancing with partners, dancing
with rush hunters.
- 4 Do I hear my flower ghost? There's music in this palace court. Let me 23
dance.

- 6 Yia ayao hayeo huelen quinequi noyoltzin ahuli xochitli at ayaoc nel no
noyaz in cuicatl noconcaquico huiac tetzontitlana
- 8 Cuicatica ompaquia ye noyol notlahuinixochiuh noquetzalquaxelol ahuyayic
noquetzalquaxelol ypan nianemia San Palacizcohui cuix mochipa ye
nican xochintlalticpac ni ma ninoquimiloya.
- 11 Ça yeyic nichocaya ohua niqitquiz ye niaz yectlon cuicatli cuix mochipa ye
nican xochintlal: y ma ninoquimiloya
- 13 Cototi tocoti cototi quti quti qutiti
- 14 I in yeo niyehcoquetl nonantzin quihuinti noyol niximalintzino ach anca
huilin nicochi ye noconcaquian yectlon ye incuic noxochinnahualla
- 16 Çan ye xochincuatl topan motecao xihupapalotl ye nipatlantia xochitl
yao quihuinti ye noyollo quetzal ye xochitl cuepontimania ymapan ye
nonemi noxochinahualla
- 19 Xochitl moyahuaya ayiaoo ma nonNitotia topan temoc hahaya ahujyac
xochitla
- 21 Niquitoa tinicuitzin no ohuaya ma nonnitotia topan temoc Et³
- 22 Xiquinmaca xochitlan xiquinmacan nonahual aya ayao izquixochitl ca-
cahuaxochitl ayie ayahue xiquimaca xochitlo xiquinmaca nonahual aya
ayao.
- 25 Manca xochitl man cacahuaxochitl maçan nonahual yehua nohuehueh
xicyahuelintzotzona ayia ayao.
- 27 Toco toco tiqui tiquiti quti
- 28 Tapachtli nonenepil chalchiuhtli ye noten ninomatia niqetzahchichtzin
notatahua nicçohuan notlapal a in teixpan in nichocaya quenin tiazque a
ilhuicatlitican onca yahue aya
- 31 Huel yectlin nocuic niquehuaya ay ca nechtlaçomati yehuan Dios

folio 78v

- nihuchuetl quitonque ca iyca nenque mach cahuan otlatiloc çanon ye
mictla Et³
- 3 onca yahue aya izquixochitl ymancan çan tocnoma tlaca ompa niaz tino-
nantzin çan ca nicmamatiaz noxochihuaya maniya huitta tocnoma.
- 5 Onca yahue aya çan tinechahua tinonanotzin ma nonittotia atle iuh nicmatia
noxochiuh aya yca paqui noyol maniya hui.tan tocnoma.
- 7 In niqittohuaya ninentlamatia atl ychayahuayā no ye xihuiyan xiuhtaz cue
ye ya aya ha
- 9 Anca man iuhqui Dios Atl itempana ninentlamatia atl ychayahuaya ne
xihuian xiuhtoz cue ne c

Song 87, Folios 78–78v

- 6 My heart indeed wants pleasure flowers. Perhaps I won't have to go away. 24
I've come to hear a song—a long one among the hairs.
- 8 These songs make my heart glad. These shining flowers, these scattered 25
plume heads of mine, ah! These scattered plume heads: I dwell among
them *here* at San Francisco. Forever in this world of flowers? Let me
adorn myself.
- 11 And so I weep. I'll carry them *down* and pass away. These beautiful songs! 26
Forever here in this world of flowers? Let me adorn myself.

E

- 13 cototi tocoti cototi quiti quiti quiti 27
- 14 I've arrived. I'm Turquoise Twirler, and my mama has made my heart 27
drunk. Will I sleep? Already I hear the good ones, the songs of my
flower ghost.
- 16 The flower songs are spreading over us. And I, as a turquoise butterfly, 28
will go soaring away. These flowers have made my heart drunk—these
blossoming flowers, these plumes. I'm in the hands of my flower ghost.
- 19 The flowers are scattering. Let me dance. Fragrant flowers have descended 29
upon us.
- 21 Oh sister dear, I say "Please let me dance." *Fragrant flowers* have descended 30
upon us.
- 22 Give him the flowers. Give them to my ghost—these popcorn flowers, 31
cacao flowers. Give him the flowers. Give them to my ghost.
- 25 Give! Flowers! Give! Cacao flowers! Give my ghost! I beat my drum. 32

F

- 27 toco toco tiqui tiquiti quiti 33
- 28 I fancy my tongue is redshell, my lips jade. I'm Plume Gum, *dear papas*. 33
And I unfold my colors in this company: I'm weeping. How can we get
to heaven, alas?
- 31 I'm lifting good songs: God is grateful. I'm a drum, and he's its opener: 34
thus he dwells, indeed his name resounds, he's been destroyed—in the
Dead Land.
- 3 Our poor soldier men are where these popcorn flowers lie. And there I'll 35
go, dear mama. I'll carry off my flowers. Ah, poor hands! They're lying
there.
- 5 Oh my Nanotzin, you're pricking me. Let me dance. These flowers are 36
peerless. Aya! With these my heart rejoices. Ah, poor hands! They're
lying *there*.
- 7 "I'm grieving" is what I say. O Turquoise Parrot! Be off to the Waters 37
spread wide! Hey!
- 9 O God, let it be so. At the Shore! I'm grieving. O Turquoise Parrot! Be off 38
to the Waters spread wide! Hey! Hey!

- 11 Tocototi cototi titi tocototi cototititi
 12 Pactiac noyoltzin nitoncocihuatl nontchuehuelitzihcac cocotzinpani çan
 ye notlapalcuetzin nanotzin ninoyecquetzaya ohu ayac nopillotzin ye
 niqetzalxocha nicempolihuia yao.
- 15 Çan ça yuhqui nonan catca ya aya niquiçaco notoncocihuatl çan ye notla-
 palcuetzin nanotzin ninoyecquetzaya ohu ayac nopilotzin ye niqetzal-
 xocha nicempolihuia yao.
- 18 Ye nihualnemia cocotzinpani nicuextecacihuatl ye noizquixochiuh çan
 yectli yehuayao oya ayye ha
 20 Cuix mochipa ye nican in tl̄çc ma ya iuh ninemia nihtoloya ahuili xochitl
 ayie huaya yao óya yao ayycha.
- 22 Yc no yohuaye noyol ixpan ninoquetzaya ye nocoyanotza ycelteotl nici-
 huatl çan can ye nocuentax ololihuic chalchiuhtliya aya yhuana nocon-
 yayehuaya yhuanna nocoyapohuaya.
- 25 Ahuiya ye noyol niquitta nocuentax ololihuic chalchiuhtliya hayahuana
 noconyayehuaya noconyapohuaya
- 27 Nitoztlatlanilli ohu ancan ye ninentzin moca ye nichoca ahuayao ach ca
 ompa nihuitz in taminchoquincali maçatl yiao yahue yaohayc
- 29 Çan nicihuatzintli notlapalicpacxochiuh o anca nonchuielli ach ca ompa ni-
 huitz taminchoncalli maçatlin yiao yahue yao hayc.
- 31 finis Laus DEO.

folio 79

- 1 Calpantlacatl in tlamacazqui huallalauh hualmotlatlalian tochinantitlan
 tcyeyectzin aytzin texochitzin texochimecatzin
- 3 Amo nohualla niman ye nechilhuia ahua nicca nomatzine nenequiztica-
 tzintle nomatzine ahtle ypan quaqualitzticatzintle nomatzine in maçaço-
 cuel nican tochinantitlani nimitzontexochicapolyollototoponi[. . .] nica
 yacue tlamacatzintle ð mach tiquitohua.
- 7 Ichtaca monotza yacue yacue aquiue in nēhuitze huiya anoce axini quinc-
 neloque yyayamaztlatol tlaçaço yehua in tonencquizhua tohuchuelicni-
 huano ohuiya.
- 10 Niccauhtzintle tonquaqualantica toxaxaqualiuhctica tontequipachiuhctica
 cuix mochipaon in tl̄çc. xolotzin yacue notecuiyotzin xihualmohuica
 maço titlaocox ma motozqui mococo oiuh quinec in tl̄çcque ahua Et²
- 14 Ipalnemohuani Dios aya xonhuchuetzca xōquequelmiquia ca xochitlalli
 ycpac ye nica çan cen tihui çan cen tlapopolihui
- 16 Yalhua yohuan nitopalihuintic nixaxacyhuintic ono cuel nihuintic xolotzin
 açoc moyollo quimati noma xicana ma tihuian iyee tochan, çan oquic
 çan oquic tonCuecucui tihui çan oquic Et²

G

- 11 tocototi cototi titi tocototi cototititi
- 12 My heart rejoices. I'm a woman among warriors. I view these men with pleasure *here* at Dove Place. And with this colored skirt of mine, Nanotzin, I'll dress myself attractively. No girl friends for me! I'm a plume flower. And I die. 39
- 15 I was born to do as my mother did: I'm a woman among warriors. And with this colored skirt of mine, Nanotzin, I'll dress myself attractively. No girl friends for me! I'm a plume flower. And I die. 40
- 18 I'm in Dove Place, a Huastec woman! These popcorn flowers of mine: they're beautiful! 41
- 20 Forever on earth? Let me be thus—praised in pleasure flowers. 42
- 22 O my hearts! I, a woman, appeal to the Only Spirit, I call to him. These jades are my rosary beads, and I sing them and recite them. 43
- 25 My heart is pleased: I see these rosary beads, these jades, and I sing them, I recite them. 44
- 27 I'm Parrot Prize, and I'm alive. I weep for you. I'm a deer, come down from Tamoanchan, the house of tears. 45
- 29 I'm a *man's* woman, and my flower crown of colors seems to be my hon-eyed souls. I'm a deer, come down from the house of Tamoanchan. 46

31 Finis. Laus Deo.

LXXXVIII

- 1 A Calpan priest keeps coming and settling down in this court of ours, *saying*, "Beauty! O treasure! Dear flower! Dear flower garland!" 1
- 3 I don't come. Then he says to me: "Hey! Little brother! Dear nephew! Loved one! Dear nephew! Peerless good-looking one! Dear nephew, come! Here in this court of ours! I've aromatic cherry seeds—roasted for you! Come! Hey! You're supposed to say 'Hail, dear priest!'" 2
- 7 Furtively they're called. "Hey! Hey!" And who are they that scarcely come or that arrive having misinterpreted his tender words? Ah, it is they, our loved ones, our comrades. 3
- 10 "Why, little brother! You're angry, you're irritated, you're vexed. Forever on earth? Boy! Hey! Noble one! Come here! Don't be sad. Don't be choked with sobs. The World Owner has required it to be this way. Hail!" 4
- 14 "He is Life Giver, and he is God. Aya! Laugh! Be merry in this world of flowers. Once and for all we pass away. Once and for all we must die. 5
- 16 "Last night I was splendidly drunk, gorgeously drunk. And again I'm drunk. *Say!* Boy! Wouldn't your heart enjoy this? Take my hand. Let's be off to Our Home. He's drunk it, He's drunk it! O Ribald Parrot! We're off! He's drunk it!" 6

19

HuexotzincaCuicatl.

20

Tocontin, Tocontin, toco, toco, toco, tototototo,
tocotocotoco tototototo.

22

Ye quilhuia yn icihuah tzin; in Acapepenatzin ahua Pille netle Ma nocana,
ma nocana, achitzin xitechompelui toconizque, ye ma yhui ye ma
yhuio notecuiyo oquichpilli tzin

25

Ohuallaque in Pipiltin ye huexotzinco y Ton Xihuā y nelpiloni ye tlen con-
izque in Pipiltin ma nocana Et?

27

Ye ca onihualah ca onicuitoyah ye ma xonmotlapalo ye cihuatzintle tla
xiqualcuiya tla xictemacaya y mā copatica in man tacatica ya ma ya
onihualo in teteuctin ayyo Et?

folio 79v

1

In notzinitzcanhuicoltzin ye ço huel quatzin tlapalhuacalxochitl y ma ycaya
onilacatzihuitz Notecotzin tla xiqualcui tla xictemamacaya Et?

4

Yc onhuehuetl

5

O aca ye onca Pipilte netle nomatzine in atl patlahuaca atzallan ye oncan
mani tlahcuilolxochioctli in huel intech onquiz y oncan conique in te-
piltzin in neçahualcoyotzin huel intlaçoyecmatitech mantiaque y hue-
huetzin qui xiuhtotoixquatecpiltzin oncha'chayahuata Et?

10

In conittoa netle ma tiyayatihuan ye otlapilchiuhque ye huexotzinca ye
motlahuan ye oquitlatlapanque ye ço huel qualtzin in moxiuhtoto ye
mohuicoltzin y ma ye ninahpantiuh huel intlaçoh Et?

13

I nihualicac ye yohuan nichuatzintli o natlalicatzin nictemoa notec oqui-
tzintli in tlaçooquitizintli canin noconcaquio mocuicachoquilitiuh in tec-
piltzintli ça ye ocotepec in tlachichiuiltzinco tepetozcatl canque yye ya
tlauchtzinco nimitztemohuaya Et?

17

Iye nōnentlamattica noyehyeyan tlapalihuxochitl nimitzontehetquia ye
onça tehuatzin cuix otacitoya atempantzinco alchayahuacan motlaocol-
xochiuh ma ye ximapantiuh nimitzontemohuaya.

LXXXIX Huexotzincan song

A

tocoti tocoti toco toco toco totototototo
 tocotocotoco tototototo

- 22 His woman says, "Down here, Reed Picker! Come, prince! Hail! Here! 1
 Here! Conquer a little something that we can drink! Let it be done, let it
 be done! My lord! O man-child! Down here!"
- 25 The princes have come. Huexotzinco's Don Juan Nelpiloni is the one these 2
 princes are to drink. "Here! *Here! Conquer a little something that we can
 drink! Let it be done, let it be done! My lord! O man-child! Down here!*"
- 27 Oh yes, I've come; and I've set off to get him. Hail, woman! "Please do 3
 come get him. Please offer him up. Let him be dispatched as a *white
 man's cup*, as a *white man's dagger*. O lords!
- 1 "Would that crimson basket flowers might come whirling on account of 4
 this delicious trogon cup of mine. Come get this lord, this man of mine.
 Please offer him up! *Let him be dispatched as a white man's cup, as a white
 man's dagger. O lords!*"

B

Second drum-cadence

- 4 "Oh, it seems they're there already, *calling*, 'Princes! Hail, soldiers!' Yes, 5
 they're there at Wide Water, at Water's Midst. The painted-flower wine
 has intoxicated them: they've drunk Prince Nezahualcoyotl. These in-
 deed have been transported in their good and precious hands. Old Man,
 alas, *now Cotinga Forelock*, has gone scattered away."
- 10 These Huexotzincans who said, "Hey! Let's go easy!," were in error. 6
 They've shattered your delicious drinking bowl, your *cotinga*, your pre-
 cious cup. "Would that I might pass away adorned!" *he cries*. "*These in-
 deed have been transported in their good and precious hands. Old Man, alas,
 now Cotinga Forelock, has gone scattered away.*"
- 13 "It was in the night that I awoke, I, the woman, looking for the founder of 7
 my nation, my lord, the precious man, the man I love. And where do I
 hear him?" *Ah*, the noble lord goes song-wEEPing at Ocotepec. They've
 seized him in the scuffle, at the gorge. "In the Crimson now I seek you."
- 17 "Ah, I'm grieving at my fireside, picking red feather flowers. For you. 8
 Have you reached the Shore, the Water's-Spreading-Out-Place? Pass
 away adorned with these bereavement flowers that are yours. I seek you."

Totocuicatl

.D.9.7.

.AÑOS.

- 3 † Tocoticocoto. / Tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui
 4 Yeho tonacico ahua conetle nomatzine ye chalchihuapa ȳ mitztapallatl ye
 ymanican chachallacatimani nepapan tototl Tla xitlamahuico titecayehua
 huac nomatzine netle netle pipilte
 7 He tla xia nomache tla tocotati yn teuctli yehua don alonso tontlamahuico
 cozque ȳ chalchihapan quetzalhuexotitlan chachallacatimani nepapan
 Tototl Tla xitlamahuico titecayehua nomatzine netle netle pipilte
 11 He otihualaque Timitztlapaloco timotlahua tidon alonso axayacatzin.
 mach oc onhuitez yn o pipilti ȳ Don Lucas yn Don atonio acachina ma
 titlaocox nomatzine
 14 yn tlaocox pacta yn tinomatzin tlaoc tocotati ya motlatzin tozquecoyotl
 teuctli ayoc aque yn ya motlahua oquintlali totecuyo ma titlaocox
 nomatzine
 17 Yn ma melel quiça tla tocontequica atlacueçona yn tecoztic tomiyoltic
 acaxochitl. tlatlapaltic tla xia nomache pipilte
 19 Huel tecemelti quetzallatolli xelihuian ya ytech aya patlantineria xochi-
 tzanaquechol huel yectli hō y niconlatrohua mach aya nella pipilte
 22 He mach oc ahuilli Teuctle titozquecoyotl Omimillita yxochinteponaz yn
 teuctli yehua yn Don alonso oncacahuanta yectli ya ycuic ho ohuaya
 nella
 25 hi huel yectli ya ycuic yhuan Tomach yn Don alonso quimitotia ȳ tepilhualn
 i huexotzinca hi ocacahuata yectli ya ycuic o ahuaya nella

28

.2.^o

29

tocotocotiti / Ticotico tocotocoto

30

- Tla xicaqui teuctli tecayehuatzone huel tontlamahuicoque hi yexochitla
 axayacatl tecutli hocan omania teocuitlaxochil yn tlapallihuixochitl
 ontlatlatlatzcati-

- mani coyachinay, quapachtototl y xochitototl ayeañ.
 2 Hocan toconitaque xochiatenpam motlatlalia Tlapalçhuantzin oca ho-
 mania teocuitlaxochitl ȳ tlapallihuixochitl ontlatlatlatzcatimani coyachi-
 chinay. quapachtototl y xochitototl ayeañ.

The year 1597

XC Bird song

A

- 3 toco tico tocoto/tiqui tiqui tiqui tiqui
4 You've arrived! Hail, babe, nephew! And at Jade Waters, where white 1
 water lies, the thronging birds are cackling. O Attacker, rejoice. And
 nephew, hail! Hail, princes!
7 Hey nephew, go! Let the lord Don Alonso pass away with a following! 2
 And we'll rejoice. At Jade Waters, at Plume Willows, the thronging
 birds are cackling. O Attacker, rejoice! And nephew, hail! Hail, princes!
11 "Hey, we're you're uncles, come to greet you." O Don Alonso Axayaca- 3
 tzin! "And do these princes keep on coming? This Don Lucas? This Don
 Antonio of the Reed Bower?" Don't grieve, nephew.
14 The griever's gone away rejoicing. And nephew, let this uncle of yours, 4
 Lord Crane, pass away with a following! Your uncles aren't here any-
 more: Our Lord has put them away. Don't grieve, nephew!
17 Let your cares be dispelled. Let's cut these golden, these aureate, water 5
 lilies, these gorgeous reed flowers. Go, nephew! Princes!
19 Delight makers, plume songs, are parceled out! The flowerlike Thrush 6
 Swan hovers among them! I'm uttering good ones. Yes, it's true, you
 princes.
22 Say, are they still delightful, O lord, O Crane? Lord Don Alonso's log- 7
 drum flowers have gone away in a blaze. His good songs have gone
 away resounding. Ah, it's true.
25 Ah! Our nephew Don Alonso's songs are good indeed, and it's he who 8
 makes these Huexotzincan princes dance. His good songs have gone
 away resounding. Ah, it's true.

B

- 28
29 toco toco titi/tico tico toco tocoto
30 Hear it, Lord Attacker! We've been rejoicing in this flower of beauty, this 9
 Lord Axayacatl, where the golden flowers lie, the red feather flowers.
 They're bursting! And cuckoos, orioles, are sipping them.
2 We've seen the Red Troupial seated there, at Flower Shore, where the 10
 golden flowers lie, the red feather flowers. They're bursting! And cuck-
 oos, orioles, are sipping them.

- 6 Ho tihua netle yn tenochtitlan hocan o tlatohua quetzaltoznenetzin yn
Don diego tehuetzquiti aya ya nellia nomatzineyan
9 Ye niquitohua pipilte huexotzincaye quinanquillia y tlahquecholtotol
yehuan tomatzino ÿ Don hernando acollihuaca ya nellia nomatzineya
12 Yn ahua nomache a pipiltin o hueyotzin aya xihquecholhuitzilintzino yn
don P^o yn motecucomatzin coyachichinato chalchihuaxochitl yn ompaya
a yn caxtillan ompatzetzelo huaya
16 Y huel omoçouhtia yc ompatlantia ychuan tomatzino yn P^o yn moteucço-
matzin coyachichinato chalchihuaxochitl yn ompaya a yn caxtilla oma-
pätzetzelo huaya

20 .3^o

- 21 Toco tico tocoto / Tiqui tiqui tiquiti
22 Tlaoc timoçhualhuiti quetzalahuchuetl ya ytlano mapano moyacalhuiti-
cate acatzanatzitztina
25 huel noconmahuiçohuay ye chalchihuapatallacatlo o. ye ytech ayo ompa-
pactica xochcatzin mocuicatiay quinanquiliay acatzanatzin oxihcoyol-

folio 81

- ycahuacaya yn intlatoltzin pipilte
2 Hompa tincnemia // ye xihquechol chalchihupa huellin tlatohuaon xi-
caquica hana. // quetzallaxoque moçouhtincmia
5 Huel yectli tototl ho matzetzelo hua mopopoyahuaya aqui nica ya xihque-
chol chalchihuapa huellin tlatohua ho xicaquica hana.
8 Hi ma tihua onontlamahuiço yn mexico huel teçemeltican ynic qualcan o
xochiçaquãtonatimania y chalchihuapa tla xia nomache pipilte.
11 Hin ahua nicauh yn tecaychuatzin ma tihuan ma mellel oquiztihuã onontla-
mahuiço ÿ mex^o huel teçemeltica yni qualcan o xochiçaquantonatima-
nia ÿ chalchihupan tla xia nomache pipilte

15 .4^o

- 16 Titocotocoti toco totocoti,
Titiqui titiqui titiquiti
17 Ho quetzallayauhtimanin atitlani ayahue ÿ tlaçotlin tepetl. ytlan i xiuhto-
molticaya ontlaxopalheuatoc aya ximatallatl ytempan aya ompa ya
noconcaqui nihuexotzincatli a yllilli aye ahua ho aye.
22 Hontecuitlatzilintimaniya yhuebuetzi on chalchihucoyolticaya onicahuã-
catoqui yxochinteponaz yehuan tomatzino yn don alonso teuctlia ne-
papan ihuitica quetzalmoyahuaticac ya ycuic yxochihuaya ompa ya
nococaqui nihuexontzincatli a yllilli aye ahua ho aye.

Song 90, Folios 80v-81

- 6 Let's go! Hey! There Beyond, in Tenochtitlan, sings the plume parrot Don 11
Diego Tehuetzquiti. Yes, it's true, dear nephew.
9 I say, princes! Huexotzincans! The Roscate Swan-Bird is echoing our 12
nephew, Don Hernando of Acolhuacan! Yes, it's true, dear nephew.
12 Hail, nephew! Princes! The dear great one, the turquoise-swan-humming- 13
bird Don Pedro Montezuma went to sip jade-water flowers—there!—
scattered on the waters of Castille.
16 Spreading his wings, he went flying away, our nephew Pedro Montezuma, 14
gone to sip jade-water flowers—there!—scattered on the waters of
Castille.

C

- 20
21 tico tico tocoto, tiqui tiqui tiquiti
22 Let's go be shaded at the Precious Cypress. Reed thrushes are sheltered on 15
those branches.
25 I'm rejoicing in these jade and pearl-shell reeds. The jubilant green frog 16
makes music at their side, and the reed thrush echos. Their words are
shrilling like turquoise bells. O princes!
2 And there Beyond we walk along. The turquoise swan in this jade-water 17
place is ably singing. Hear him! This plumelike heron soars along.
5 A beautiful bird is strewn, it brightens—perhaps even here! Yes, the tur- 18
quoise swan in this jade-water place is ably singing. Hear him!
8 Let's go! I've been rejoicing in this Mexico, this place of pleasure. In this 19
good place flower troupials are shining all around. To Jade Waters! Go,
nephew! Princes!
11 Hey brother! Attacker! Let's go! Let your pain subside. I've been rejoicing 20
in this Mexico, this place of pleasure. In this good place flower troupials
are shining all around. To Jade Waters! Go, nephew! Princes!

D

- 15
16 tico coto tocoti toco toto coti,
titiqui titiqui titiquiti
17 There's a plume mist in that precious nation: turquoise buds are radiating 21
green. From the margin of the turquoise-green waters I can hear them,
I, a Huexotzincan.
22 Nephew Lord Don Alonso's drums are ringing with the sound of gold. 22
His log-drum flowers are shrilling like jade bells. His songs, his flowers,
scatter as a multitude of feathers. I can hear them, I, a Huexotzincan.

folio 81v

- 1 tla xicaqui netle niquitoahuaya ayyahue aqui huel paquinitzin ÿ teuctli
 yehua cocuicatlatlamachyncuillohuaya contlahquecholtzetzelohuaya
 ycuillohuan teyxpan aya quimocemeltia teteucti acaxochitica onetoti-
 loya ho co ylliamo hue ahuaayea
- 6 O cozcayllacatzihui maquizmalinticaca ayahue contlahquecholtzetze-
 lohua ya ycuic yxochihuaya quixiuh tototecuitlaycuillohuan teyxpan
 aya quimocemeltia teteucti acaxochitica onetotilloya ho co ylliamo hue
 ahuaayean.
- 11 Y nepapān ihuitica quetzalçaquan ica yoquamana ye ocani ÿ tepilhuan i
 nepapā tlacuiloltica ya quixoxochimana ÿ tecpillotl teucyotl mahuizyo y
 nicaya ypaltzinco Dios ahua conetleya ya nella nomache tihuxotzincaye.
- 16 Y coçahuic xochiticaya ma neyapanalo ÿ coyollizquixochiticaya ma ne-
 totilloya tihuxotzinca a ma tocpaxochihui yn chalchiuhyexochitli aya
 ca çanio ye nica tlalticpac aya ya nella nomache tihuxotzincaye

21 .5°

- 23 Tiqiu toco tocoto / tiquitoco / tiqiu tiqiu tiqiu
- 23 Hiya huexotzinco nicayaytohuam i tozquecoyotl don xp̄oual. nocoyama-
 huicohua mach oc ahuilli huel yectzitzinti tlaçototome ompatlantinemi
 tecpipilti ya oncan mex.^{co} atliayteca yean.
- 28 he mach oc ahuilli netle nomatzine titecayeuac

folio 82

- teuctli xihquecholçaçanilticaya motlatlamachcuicuilloque tlaçototome
 ompatlantinemi tecpipilti ya onca mex.^{co} atliayteca yean
- 4 yn aztaquecholino omochiuhta aya arçobispo totatzin ya ycoioltzin ontzi-
 tzilinta ya yc patlanta ylhuicatliticaya hi yaca yaca hi yahue hohuaca hi
 yahue.
- 8 hohu aqui huel yehuatzin fray P^otzin cuicatototl Patlantinemica Sanc
 Fran^{co} ya coyacauhtehuaqui ya ycoioltzin ontzitzilinta ya ic patlanta yl-
 huicatliticaya hi yaca ya hi yahue hohuaca hi yahue
- 12 hiya oquitlati T^o Dios aya ouell achic patlantimemico tlalticpacaya tla-
 chinolquauhtlia homoçomaço yehuaya marques oyohualxochiticaya
 homitotitinemico nica ahua ya nella
- 16 Ayac quiuhqui quauhtlia ya huexotzinco mex.^{co} nicani chimalla xochitica
 oquimomoyauh nepapan totome aya marques oyohualxochiticaya ho-
 mitotitinemico nican ahua ya nella

Song 90, Folios 81v-82

- 1 Hear it, hey! And I say, "Who's the dear glad lord that paints his twirled 23
ones as musical brocades, who strews them as roseate swans in the pres-
ence of this company, who entertains the lords?" With these reeds, these
flowers, there's dancing.
- 6 They're whirled as jewels: they're spinning as bracelets: he strews these 24
songs of his, these flowers, as roseate swans: he paints them gold, and as
cotingas, in the presence of this company: he entertains the lords. And
with these reeds, these flowers, there's dancing.
- 11 There beyond and as a multitude of feathers, as plumelike troupials, he 25
offers these herons, these princes. As a multitude of paintings he flower-
offers lordship, nobility, and glory—here!—by the grace of God. Hail,
babe! And yes, it's true. O nephew! Fellow Huexotzincans!
- 16 Let all be adorned with these yellow flowers. Let there be dancing with 26
these bells, these popcorn flowers. O my fellow Huexotzincans, let these
be our flower crowns, *these*, these jade incense flowers—and only here on
earth! Ah yes, it's true. O nephew! Fellow Huexotzincans!

21 *E*

- 22 tiqui toco tocoto/tiqui toco/tiqui tiqui tiqui
23 In Huexotzinco I utter the crane Don Cristóbal. And in him I rejoice. Are 27
they still delightful, those beauties, those lovely birds, those noble
princes flying along here in Mexico, in Water's Midst?
- 28 Hey, are they still delightful? Ho, nephew! You, Lord Attacker! *Oh, yes,* 28
those lovely birds have been brocade-painted as turquoise-swanlike jests,
those noble princes, flying along there in Mexico, in Water's Midst.
- 4 Our father the archbishop, in passing away, has become an egret swan. His 29
bells have gone ringing. Now he's gone flying to heaven.
- 8 Oh it seems that Fray Pedro goes flying along as a song bird, having left 30
San Francisco. His bells have gone ringing. Now he's gone flying to
heaven.
- 12 Our lord God has put him away, him who came to fly briefly on earth, 31
him, the blaze eagle who came to frown, him the Marquis, who came to
go dancing with bell flowers here. Ah yes, it's true.
- 16 None were equal to that eagle here in Huexotzinco-Mexico. He scattered 32
all the birds as shield flowers. The Marquis! He came to go dancing with
bell flowers here. Ah yes, it's true.

20

.6°

21

Ticotocoticoti, Tiquitiqui tocoto |

22

Yn tihuexotzinca xitlamahuicoçan yn totome ÿ tepilhuan totozanauhtzino
 ÿ don alonso axayacatzino quetzalitzpepetlaca yntempatlactzin ohuaya
 yehon.

folio 82v

1

Quetzaltolpatlactipan quiyeyectia yatlapaltzina yn don alonso axayacatzino
 quetzalitzpepetlaca ytepatlactzin ohuaya yeho.

4

hi mamatlaltic huexocauhtzin nohueyotzin yn Dō Joanno yn im itztlol-
 linqui quiyeyectia yyamatlapaltzin conahuatzetzelohua ha yeho huaya
 yeham.

8

ho motzetzelohua ya coquetzalçoçohua quiyeyectia yyamatlapaltzin cona-
 huatzetzelohua ha yeho ohuaya yehan.

11

he ~~qui~~ ye nohueyohua yn tepilhuan huel conquetzalchalchiuhxiuhtoto-
 ycuillohua y iectlia yncuicatzin hoconaya tlapalyzquixochiticaya honne-
 totilo ha yehan.

15

Huel ontzimitzcapepetzcatinenemi ayaho xiuhtotopatlantineni ÿ tepil-
 huani honcan aya tlapalyzquixochitlacaya honetotillo ha yehan,

19

Finis

folio 83

1

J.HS.

2

TLAXCALTECAIOTL

3

Otacico ye nican Teuctitlan ximochicahuaca yn antlaxcalteca ye huexo-
 tzinca ye quen concaquiz teuctlo xicotencatl yn nelpiloniya ximochica-
 huacan netleyan

6

Valtzatzia yn tachcauh ÿ quauhtencoztli cau conilhuia ÿ capitan ya o tonan
 ye malintzin xacaltecoz acachinanco otacico huel ximochicahuacan
 netleyan

9

Tlaoc toconchiacan ÿacal capitan aya ye oqui hualaci ynquachpan tepepolli
 ye xpolihuo ÿ macehualtin mexicame ue ximochicahuacan netleyan

12

Xiquinpallehuican totecuyouan a ayayyeuc tepuztlahuicque quixixinia
 atle yan tepetl quixixinia mexicayotl ximochicahuacan netleye

Songs 90-91, Folios 82-83

- 20
21 F
22 tico toco ticoti, tiqui tiqui tocoto 33
Fellow Huexotzincans, rejoice in these bird princes: our parrot duck Don
Alonso Axayacatzin's broad bill brightens like an emerald.
1 Don Alonso Axayacatzin spreads a wing among the plumelike bulrushes: 34
his broad bill brightens like an emerald.
4 This green, green willow-duck, this great one of mine, this Don Juan 35
Itztlolinqui, spreads a wing and scatters it as a raining mist.
8 Oh, it's scattered. Yes, he opens his wing in a plumelike manner, spreads it 36
wide and scatters it as a raining mist.
11 Hey! Hail! These great ones of mine, these princes, are painting their good 37
songs as plume-jade cotingas. There! And with these tinted popcorn
flowers there's dancing.
15 These princes are bright as trogons. They're flying along like cotingas. 38
There! And with these tinted popcorn flowers there's dancing.

19 Finis

1 IHS
2 XCI Tlaxcalan piece

- A
3 You've arrived in this town of lords! "Be strong, Tlaxcalans! Huexotzin- 1
cans!" And what will Nelpiloni be hearing from Lord Xicotencatl? "Be
strong! Hail!"
6 Chief Yellow-Beak Eagle comes shouting. And Captain, or Mother Ma- 2
rina, says, "Yellow Beak, my lookout! You've arrived in Acachinanco!"
Be strong! Hail!
9 "Let's keep watch for the Captain's boats. And ah, his banner is just 3
coming in from Tepcepol. The Mexican people are ravaged." Woe! Be
strong! Hail!
12 Give aid to our lords! With iron weapons they're wrecking the city, they're 4
wrecking the Mexican nation! Be strong! Hail!

- 15 Xietzotzona ÿ mohueueuh xihueuetzcaya ÿxtlixochitl xonmitotiao ÿ
 quauhquiauac mexico nica mocueçalizchimalo cuecuyauayan temalacatitlan y ximochicahuacan netleyan
- 19 Iaopapac ynitzin tlahuiznenequitzin ayyaue ÿ quachic aya yxtlixochitl
 xonmitoti a o quauhquiauac mex:° nicany mocueçalizchimalo cuecuyaua yan temalacatitlan ximochicahuacan netleyan
- 23 In oqu ualmomantihui auan tomachuan ayayyaue ÿ quachicayan yn anahuacatzin yn otomitl teuctli tehuetzquiti uel ximochicahuacan netleyan
- 26 O cuel achica cemilhuitlon yeuaya ÿ tlachinolxochitl motlatol tiquauh-
 moctzin moteocuytlayacaxochiuh tlatlauizcallchuatimaniya ÿ mochcaxochiuh que-

folio 83v

- tzaltica cueyauatimani otitlamahuiço uitziltepectl ximochicahuacan netleyan
- 3 Queuelço tehuatzin tetoca ye mopan o matiaz tauh totepeuh ye mach oc timoxicoz. cequi mopatiuh yetiuh oo moteocuitlayeutzacaya mochcaxochiuh quetzaltica cuecuyauatimani otitlamahuiço huitziltepectl ximochicahuacā netleyan

8 .2°

- 9 Ic ontetl huchuetl
- 10 Tla huel xiquimotacan ac yehuantin chimaltica mitotia, a otonecineque ÿ tehuetzquiti ÿ tecohuatzin tlenoço ayczque maycucuele ma onnetotilo ÿ tla xicuicaca nnicahuan
- 14 MA cecen otli ypan ximochicahuacan tiquahuatl yn tiytzpotonqui tlenoço anezque maocycuele ma onnetotilo ÿ tla xicuicaca nñcauan
- 17 Onel ticyacauhque y tauh ÿ totepeuh y tenochtitlan o mexico ye nican xamellaquauacan tiCoaiuitl ÿ tiytzpotonqui tlenoço anezque maocycuele onnetotilo yn tla xicuicacan anincauan
- 21 Tla xicaqui ye nocuic ÿ huel nelli a niquitohua niqeeua ye ye tonaçizquia yn ytza nanauhcan ÿ tlatelulco ma çan tlapic ye mochiuh tlaxcateca ayan ÿ tla xicuycan annicahuan
- 25 Ça nicayttac nicnahuico ye oncan nanauacalteuctli chimaltica y expa-

Song 91, Folios 83-83v

- 15 Beat your drum and laugh loud, O Ixtlilxochitl! Dance at the Eagle Gate! 5
 Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields are whirling at the round-
 stone. Be strong! Hail!
- 19 O Glad-in-Battle, O Craving Weapons, ah! O Valiant, O Ixtlilxochitl! 6
 Dance at the Eagle Gate! Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields
 are whirling at the round-stone. Be strong! Hail!
- 23 Meanwhile they sally forth and offer themselves. Oh, nephews! O Valiant 7
 Anahuacatl, and you O Otomi Chief Tehuetzquiti, woe! Be strong!
 Hail!
- 26 These blazing flower words of Yours are but a moment and a day, O 8
 Eagle-Going-Down! These golden flower shoots of Yours are radiating
 dawnlight. These, Your cotton flowers, plume-whirl! And You've re-
 joiced at Hummingbird Mountain. Be strong! Hail!
- 3 How favored You are! This city of ours follows onward, transported to 9
 You! Do You still have a craving? *Well then*, a few of Your payments are
 riding along, *yes these*, Your golden skin-ropes! *These*, Your cotton
 flowers, plume-whirl! And You've rejoiced at Hummingbird Mountain.
 Be strong! Hail!

B

Second drum-cadence

- 8
- 9 See them! Who are these that dance with their shields? We've cut off our 10
 hair, O Tehuetzquiti, O Tecoztzin! What else would you do? Onward!
 Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers!
- 14 Everybody on the road! Be strong! O Coahuitl, O Itzpotonqui, what else 11
 would you do? Onward! Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers!
- 17 This we've abandoned, this, our city, this Tenochtitlan, this Mexico-*on-* 12
earth. Be strong! O Coahuitl, O Itzpotonqui, what else would you do?
 Onward! Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers!
- 21 Hear my songs! Oh, I sing them in earnest, I utter them, ah! And we 13
 would arrive. From the four directions they move toward Tlatelolco!
 Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans! Aya! Sing, brothers!
- 25 Alone I saw Lord Anahuacatl there and marveled at him. Finally with 14

latica yequene quihualtocaya ŷ tlaxcalteca aya ŷ caxtillan tlaca atitlan
 quincahuato ya tacitoya ma çan tlapic omochiuh tlaxcalteca aya ŷ tla
 xicuicacã annicauan

folio 84

- 1 .3°
 2 Yc yey huehuetl
 3 Tlaoc xomitoti o tooquizteuctli titlatohuaya xictzotzona yn teocuitlahue-
 huetl xiuhtlemiyahuayo Concauhuetuaque ŷ teteucti tlatoque auh ya
 ychuatl yc xiquimonahuilti ŷ nepapan tlaca tonahuac onoque tlaxcalteca
 ŷ meetlo ye huexotzinca ŷ meetla
 8 Telhuelic aye onnez mexico ye nican cuitlachihuitl aya ŷ tlatohuani y
 huanylteuctli Tlachtepec tlali tocati Tepixohuatzinc anqui mochtin ye
 omicuiiloque ye in chimaltitech o nepapan tlaca tonahuac onoque tlax-
 calteca ŷ meetlo ye huexotzinca ŷ meetla
 13 Mochimalitotico nican ŷ tlatohuani yn alpopoca mexico anquin nican
 chimalaztaxochihuaque uauanpatzacque ŷ teuctli oquixpan o tlaxcalteca ŷ
 meetlo ŷ huexotzinca ŷ meetla
 17 Auh aço nelli yecic conacic quemoyãcuili ŷnin tepoztopilli yxpayolme
 anqui nican chimalaztaxochihuaque huauanpatzacque ŷ teuctli ou
 ãyxpan o tlaxcalteca ŷ meetlo ŷn huexotzinca yn meetlo
 22 hualchimallaçaya ychuan motelchiuhtzin y tecuilhuitl ŷ tel huel onnezta ŷn
 ocaçique yn intlequiço ŷ tepehuanime conitohua yn a toch maa oneto-
 tillo tlaxcalteca y meetlo ye huexotzinca ŷ meetla
 27 Ye xxinia ye quauhtenamitl auh oçclotenamitl ŷ tecuilhuitl teluelic ðnezta
 yn ocaciç ŷn intlequiquiço y tepehuanime quitoa yn a toch Ma onctotilo
 tlaxcateca ŷ meetlo ye huexotzinca ŷ meetla

folio 84v

- 1 .4°
 2 IC NAHVI HVEVETL
 3 Y huel ximotzomoco ma xonmihcalia çãn titlacateccatl a yn temillotzin,
 yn ye oquiçaco yn iacal Caxtilteca Chianpaneca yaoyahualolo yn te-
 nucçatlaya yaoyaçualolo yn tlattelulcatla
 6 Yn oc tlatzatzaquato. a. ŷ tlacacochcalcatl yn coyohuehuetzin a ye on oqui-
 çaco yn acolihua o. yn tepeyacac o yn hucy otlipa yaoyaçualolo ŷ te-
 nochcatla yaoyaçualolo yn tlattelulcatla
 9 Ye çuel patiohuay yn tenuchtidan y ye yxpoliçiuo ye ypilçuã y çan yeçhãtin
 chalchiuçcapitan yhuan guzman mexico nican yaoyahualolo yn tenucç-
 catlaya yaoyaçualolo tlattelulcatla

Song 91, Folios 83v-84v

shields and swords they come to chase him, they the Tlaxcalans, aya! and they the Castellians. Off he goes, into the water, leaving them behind. And off we go—to arrive! Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans! Sing, brothers!

C

Third drum-cadence

- 1
2
3 Dance, Lord Oquitzin, and you sing! Beat the golden drum that sprouted 15
turquoise fire-tassels! Lords and rulers went away and left him. And he
himself has gone away. Then pleasure these, this multitude, our comrades!
Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 8 Yes, even so he's appeared here in Mexico! Cuitlachiuhuit! And the tlatoani, 16
Lord Huanit! Let him go and seed the soil at Ball-Play Mons! O Sower-
of-Men, it would seem that these multiple nobles, our comrades, have
all been painted in shields! Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 13 The ruler Atl Popoca comes to do a shield dance here in Mexico. It seems 17
this lord lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of
withered stripers, here before their eyes! Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzin-
cans, hey!
- 17 It seems he's come to take a lance from the Spaniards. It seems this lord 18
lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of withered
stripers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 22 Motelchiuh is the one who thrusts his shield, and it's a time of lords! Yes 19
even so he sallies forth, having appeared. And when they've captured
the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says, "Let there be dancing!"
Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!
- 27 This eagle bulwark, this jaguar bulwark, is the one who does the wreck- 20
ing—it's a time of lords! Yes even so he sallies forth, having appeared.
And when they've captured the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says,
"Let there be dancing!" Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey!

D

Fourth drum-cadence

- 1
2
3 Gather your strength and go fight, O Commander, O Temilotzin. Cas- 21
tillians and Chinampanecs are coming in with boats. Tenochcans are
surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.
- 6 Meanwhile the troop chief Coyohuehuetzin throws up barricades. Acol- 22
huans are coming down the Tepeyacac causeway! Tenochcans are sur-
rounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.
- 9 He who might serve as a payment for Tenochtitlan, he who's destroyed, is 23
one of the children of the jade captain: it's Guzmán, here in Mexico!
Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded.

12 Y Xiucalcapuztica tlatlatlatzinia ayaquitl moteca y no conanq̄ ya yn quauhtemoctzin a. çem atl onnantia y mexicana yn tepilxuan aya yaoyaxualolo yn tencucatlā yaoyaxualolo yn tlatelulcatla

16

.5°

17

Ic macvilli hvchvetl

18

Ma xiquilnamiquican tlaxcalteca tomacxuan yn iuhqui ticcxiuxque coyonacazco neyçoquihuilō yn mexicana ye cixua ye tepepenalo yn tlaçauaque. a. yc pachixctia yuollo a y cximachoctzin chimalpaquinitzin. a. yn iuxqui oticcxixque coyonacazco neyçoquihuilō yn mexicana ye cihua ye tepepenalo y tlaçauaque

folio 85

1

Yc onetzacualoc acachinanco tehuexolotzin a conicihuitia ynin tlemeltzin yn xicotencatl yn caxtaneda ye ma yhui netleya ye ma yhui netle

4

Y xihuapoynaca ticahuane y tlinelpilonitzino y yahue conicihuitia ynī tlamemeltzin xicotencatl y caxtaneda ma ye yhui netle y chicunahuilhuititica onteaxitilo y coyohuacan y quauhtemoctzin y cohuanacoch ttlepanquequetzatzin ye necuilolo y teteucti aynyo

10

Quinelaquahuaya a y tlacotzin ye quimonilhūia o aua tomachhuane ximochicahuacan Teocuitlatepozmeacatica ya tonilpiloq̄ y ye necuilolo yn teteuctin ayyo

14

Quihuallitohua o yn tlatohuani o y quauhtemoctzina ahua nomatzine can tonanaloc tontzitzquiloc Aqu inahuac timotlalia genclal capitan ahuae nella doyan yxapeltzina ahuya nomachticatzine ayaya nella ye necuilolo y teteuctin ayyo

21

FINIS.

12 It thunders and thunders from out of a turquoise harquebus, and the vapor rolls. They've even seized Cuauhtemoc. All the Mexican princes go off through the water. Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded. 24

E

Fifth drum-cadence

16
17
18 *My dear* Tlaxcalan nephews, *now* remember how we did it in Coyonacazco: the women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all the masters made their choices. 25

With this he passed away contented in his heart, and he is Notable, and he is Glad-for-His-Shield. Ah! This is how we did it in Coyonacazco: the women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all the masters made their choices.

1 Yes, all the tom turkeys were corraled at Acachinanco, and the babe Castañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! Let it be so! And hail! 26

4 "O younger brothers, come running! O Nelpiloni!" And the babe Castañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! *Let it be so!* And hail! 27

After nine months Cuauhtemoc, Coanacoch, and Tettlepanquetzatzin were brought to Coyohuacan. Yes, all you princes are delineated!

10 Tlacotzin cheers them, saying, "Nephews, be strong!" Aya! We've been bound with iron ties of gold! Yes, all you princes are delineated! 28

14 The ruler Cuauhtemoc says, "My darling, hail! You're seized, you're taken! Who is she that sits beside you, O Captain General? Truly it's Doña Isabel!" "My dearest darling!" Aya! It's true. And princes are delineated. 29

21 Finis

Commentary to Songs 1-2

In short, the Commentary merely provides guidelines—and these are tentative—for the more thorough excurses that the interested reader may construct for himself, using the various aids in this work and the Dictionary.

I Beginning of the songs (folio 1)

Synopsis. The singer returns from a song trip with flowers for his comrades, only to find them miserably subjugated and unable to join him in music making; death alone can bring release.

Remarks. The song trip is the only element of ghost-song ritual that survives in these lines; and even this is vitiated in that the songs obtained by the singer appear to be regarded not as revenants, but as mere tokens of divine grace. Evidently the text is a comment on post-Conquest servitude, as stanza 6 seems to show quite clearly (see p. 64, above). The wording has the texture of prose (see p. 47, above); and although a few insignificant vocables are present, note the absence of ghost-song structure. From a linguistic point of view, this appears to be the least idiosyncratic song in the entire manuscript. Observe the saccharine quality. But songs 2-4, 6-9, and 11-13 have a somewhat similar, proselike texture and are perhaps all from the same singer.

Striking similarities between song 1 and the so-called *Nican mopohua* (i.e., the legend of Juan Diego and the Virgin of Guadalupe), published in 1649 by Lasso de la Vega, cannot be passed over in silence. Note these distinctive vocabulary items: *tzinítzcan* (1: 7; LASSO 26: 10), *manoce* (1: 7; LASSO 26: 23), *nocuexanco nictemaz* (1: 10; LASSO 42: 21 has *quicuexanten*), *ihquĩ tepel quinnahnauquilia* (1: 13; LASSO 26: 8 has *ihquin quinánauquilia Tepel*), *coyoltotol* (1: 17; LASSO 26: 10), *in xochitlalpan in tonacatlapan* (1: 28; LASSO 26: 16), *xixochitetequi* (1v: 3; LASSO 42: 13 has *xochitl xictètequi*), etc. Further comparison would reveal possible gleanings from elsewhere in the *Cantares*, but the similarities are especially marked in the first few folios. One suspects that Lasso de la Vega had access to our manuscript.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 1; Cecilio Robelo in Peñafiel, *Cantares* (1904), pp. 23-27; Cornyn, *Song*, pp. 65-69; PIA, pp. 67-70; HLN, 1: 260-62 (excerpts); AAG, no. 1; PCL, p. 86 (excerpt).

II A song of green places, an Otomi song, a plain one (folio 2)

Synopsis. The singer on a song trip to paradise yearns to live there permanently with God.

Remarks. This obviously Christianized song (see stanzas 4 and 5) has latent ritual content. Note the phrase *noyollo ehua*, "my heart arises" (stanza 5), and compare *ximoyollehua*, "rouse yourself" (literally, "rouse your heart"; song 6, stanza 4). Desire for battle is implied. Note the incoming "popcorn flowers" (revenants) in the final stanza.

Commentary to Songs 3-6

Previous translations. ANP, no. 2; Whorf, "Contribution," pp. 3-27; AAG, no. 2.

III Another to the same tone, a plain one (folio 2v) .

Synopsis. The singer produces a shower of revenants in the Aztec manner (stanzas 1-2), then feels the reproach of Christianity (stanzas 3-4) and abandons revenant production in favor of peaceful union with God (stanza 5). Compare the similar song 7.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 3; HLN, 1: 262 (excerpts); AAG, no. 3; PCL, p. 88 (excerpt).

IV Mexican Otomi song (folio 3)

Synopsis. Producing songs, a singer grows drunk with their fragrance.

Remarks. Note these elements of ghost-song ritual: musical reciprocity, the scattering of bird revenants, the singer as warrior (or "parrot"), and the singer's intoxication.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 4; Cornyn, *Song*, pp. 137-39; HLN, 1: 263-64; AAG, no. 4.

V Another Mexican plain-style piece (folio 3v)

Remarks. This degenerate version of song 40 cannot be meaningfully synopsized. Observe that song 40's stanzas 3-4 and 7-8 have been lost. In stanza 1 the bliss of Aztec revenant production has been confused with the bliss of a Christian afterlife. And in stanza 3 the singer confuses the "raiment" of incoming revenants with a shroud of dead flowers. (Dead flowers customarily mean victims, not revenants.)

Variants. Song 40. Stanzas 1-2 coincide with RSNE, 32v: 6-15.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 5; AAG, no. 5.

VI Another, a Chalcan piece, song of Tetelepanquetzanitzin (folio 3v)

Synopsis. Fear of death prompts an objection to war (expressed in stanzas 1-3); but this is countered by the argument that war and death are essential if we are to earn the songs of lamentation that we all desire (stanzas 4-5).

Remarks. The title appears misplaced, since this is neither a Chalcan piece nor a song pertaining to Tetelepanquetzanitzin. Nor is there any song in the manuscript that could be made to fit such a heading. Possibly the title belongs to a piece that was inadvertently dropped from the compilation. (On Tetelepanquetzanitzin, see DICT; on Chalcan pieces, see Introduction, chap. 10, above.)

Previous translations. ANP, no. 6; PIA, pp. 71-72; AAG, no. 6.

VII Another (folio 4)

Synopsis. A singer rebukes his comrades for their warlike, Aztec yearnings (stanzas 1-2) and urges them to seek peaceful union with God (stanzas 3-4).

Remarks. Compare the similar song 3. In the song at hand, note the terms Chiapanec (stanza 1) and Rattlesnake Place (Chiappan; stanza 3). Chiappan evidently denotes the other world. Possibly there is a play on Chiapan (Amaranth Place), the name of an Otomi town northwest of Mexico. But the Chiapanec Otomis of stanza 1 are probably Mexican warriors. (See p. 29, above.)

Previous translations. ANP, no. 7; PIA, pp. 73-74; HLN, 1: 264-65; AAG, no. 7.

VIII Another, sung by a ruler who remembers rulers (folio 4v)

Synopsis. Reminded of rulers who died before the Conquest, the singer regrets that he cannot reach them and bring them the blessings of Christianity.

Remarks. The ghost-song ritual is negated in this heavily Christianized song. Although acquainted with the traditional diction, the singer either misunderstands it or deliberately chooses to adapt it to a new mode of thought. And yet, especially in stanza 3, there is a detectable undercurrent of yearning for old-style Aztec values. Notice that *ximohuayan* (place where all are shorn), usually identified with the heaven of Christianity, is here regarded as an unreachable limbo reserved for pre-Christian Aztecs. Compare song 9. The heading, "sung by a ruler . . .," is evidently an invention of the glossator.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 8; PIA, pp. 75-76; HLN, 1: 266-67; AAG, no. 8.

IX Another sad Otomi song (folio 4v)

Synopsis. Complaining of his low station (stanza 1), while imagining that his betters will be his equals in the next life (stanza 2), the singer looks forward to joining the ancestors in heaven (stanza 3) and praises God in order to validate his faith (stanza 4).

Remarks. Here again the ghost-song diction is stripped of its ritual significance. In contrast to song 8, the Aztec *ximohuayan* (place where all are shorn) is identified with the heaven of Christianity. See commentary for song 8. (On the heading "Otomi song," see p. 94.)

Previous translations. ANP, no. 9; HLN, 1: 267 (excerpts); AAG, no. 9.

X A Mexican song of green places, a plain one (folio 5)

Synopsis. The voice of a reproachful warrior-muse is rejected (stanzas 1-2) by a convert who favors peace (stanza 3), even at the expense of humiliation (stanza 4).

Commentary to Songs 11-12

reminding his comrades that Life Giver intends death for the warrior (stanza 5); therefore, he says, let us thwart this Life Giver, this Executioner; let us give him cause for grief (stanza 6).

Remarks. Song 10 is a slightly abridged version of song 69, canto E. For a detailed paraphrase, see the pertinent commentary. The heading "Song of green places," carried over from 69, no longer seems relevant.

Variants. Song 69, canto E. Stanza 4 coincides with song 30, stanza 15.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 10; AAG, no. 10.

XI Another (folio 5v)

Remarks. The singer borrows his first four stanzas, with minor variations, from another song (53, canto B), then takes off in a different direction, producing a somewhat inorganic composition that would be tedious to synopsise. Ghost-song diction is used in an untraditional way, yet the piece is not without interest. Notice the appeal to Santa María, evidently regarded as a stand-in for Life Giver (stanzas 6-7), or even as an intercessor (see song 59, stanza 7). The prayer is that we Indians, not just the Spaniards, will be admitted to heaven. Hence the emphasis on "us" in stanza 7 of this song. Worries about an exclusionary paradise are also expressed in song 60, canto A.

Variants. Stanzas 1-4 coincide with song 53, stanzas 7-10.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 11; PIA, pp. 77-78; HLN, 1: 147 (excerpt); AAG, no. 11.

XII A song of green places, a song for admonishing those who seek no honor in war (folio 6)

Synopsis. Reluctant comrades are urged to come give their lives in battle in order to achieve union with God.

Remarks. Traditional in many respects, this song nevertheless appears to have been composed in missionary Nahuatl (see Introduction, chap. 4). Moreover, the "flowers" are treated not as revenants, but as mere tokens of God's grace (as in other songs in this group). The piece should perhaps be read as a solution to the problem set forth in the preceding song. In other words, we Indians, if barred from the heaven of Christianity, may seek admittance nonetheless by returning to the pre-Christian war cult. Thus the piece is nativistic.

Notice in stanza 4 the appearance of Ce Olintzin, presumably an epithet of Life Giver. And in stanza 6 there seems to be an old-style double entendre. "Our Black Mountain friends, with whom we rise warlike on the great road," would ordinarily mean "our comrades in arms with whom we march down the causeway (or great road) leading from Mexico to the mainland, headed for Tliluhqui Tepetl (i.e., Black Mountain), a town traditionally at war with Mexico." But here the great road appears to be the sun's road in the sky. And it is possible that Black Mountain is meant as a figurative name for paradise. See DICT: tepētl.

Commentary to Songs 13–15

Despite the glossator's prefatory comment, this, clearly, is not an ancient song of the Otomi Indians. For comments on the Otomi question, see pp. 29 and 94, above.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 12; Cornyn, *Song*, pp. 131–33; PIA, pp. 79–81; AAG, no. 12.

XIII Huexotzincan piece (folio 6v)

Synopsis. Memories of the siege of Tenochtitlan linger on, bringing despair and thoughts of death (stanzas 1–2). This defeat was our punishment, wrought by God (stanzas 3–9). Only in the exemplary behavior of our captured leaders are we able to find some consolation (stanza 10).

Background. With a large contingent of Huexotzincan and Tlaxcalan warriors, Cortés finally subdued the island realm of Mexico (the twin cities of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco) in August 1521. King Cuauhtemoc and the other Mexican leaders, including Motecuhuh, Tlacotzin, and Oquitzin, were taken as prisoners to Acachinanco, the southernmost point in Tenochtitlan, and from there to Cortés' camp at Coyohuacan, where according to some accounts the Spaniards tortured them by fire in the hope of learning the whereabouts of hidden gold. (For names and places, see Chimalpain, p. 237; on the fire torture, see IXT, 1: 480, and UAH, Sec. 381. For a more detailed account of the siege, see "Background" for song 66.)

Remarks. Ruined vestiges of the ghost-song ritual are to be seen in stanzas 1 and 5. Though idiomatic from a linguistic point of view, this is perhaps the least ritualistic of the songs. (On the title "Huexotzincan piece," see p. 94, above.)

Previous translations. ANP, no. 13; PIA, pp. 55–56; HLN, 2: 91 (excerpts); AAG, no. 13; León-Portilla, *Reverso*, p. 62 (excerpts).

XIV (folio 7v)

Synopsis. In response to our song-weeping, Mexican revenants (stanza 8) arrive as a distribution of God in the person of Jesus (see stanza 3).

Remarks. The attenuated and often spurious ritualism of folios 1–6v has been left behind. From this point on, the manuscript contains only pieces that adhere meaningfully to the ghost-song ritual—with the possible exception of the clumsy song 79 and the hastily conceived song 77, both of which are pastiches.

Previous translations. ANP, no. 14; AAG, no. 14; GPN, 2: 88–89.

XV How Tezozomoc was anointed lord (folio 7v)

Synopsis. With Tezozomoc as our muse we summon pro-Mexican revenants to reenact the fifteenth-century defeat of Acolhuacan, Tlaxcala, and Huexotzinco, thus punishing those nations for having collaborated with Cortés.

Background. In a famous war ca. 1415 King Tezozomoc of the Tepanecs, allied with Mexico, defeated Acolhuacan and murdered its king, Ixtlilxochitl (whose abortive campaign had been aided by Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco). A little more than a hundred years later, when Cortés laid siege to Mexico, he enjoyed the support of those same nations that had been Mexico's enemies in Tezozomoc's time. (On the war of 1415, see especially IXT, 1: 332-42, 433-39; and on the Spanish Conquest, commentary for song 66.)

Remarks. The heading "How Tezozomoc was anointed lord" perhaps refers to the title Chichimecatl teuctli (Chichimec lord), an imperial title customarily held by the ruler of Acolhuacan but coveted by Tezozomoc, who finally usurped it by defeating Ixtlilxochitl (IXT, 1: 330, 343, 421-22). Though relevant, the heading is inapt and may have been added by the glossator.

Paraphrase by stanza

1-2 Pro-Mexican ghost warriors, called Colhuans and Chichimecs, are summoned from Seven Caves, the ancestral Aztec homeland, here identified with the other world.

3 Also summoned are King Ixtlilxochitl and a group of pro-Acolhuan ancestors destined to relive their defeat at the hands of Tezozomoc and the Mexicans. Thus Tezozomoc, as muse, is "weeping" in order to produce the revenants needed for his side.

4 The Mexican revenants arrive as armed warriors ("brambles," "mesquites"), recalling the glorious Great Land, another name for the Seven Caves region, in fact a desert land far to the north of Mexico. This event is God's command (or these "words," i.e., these revenants, are a distribution of God).

5 Then what's to be the fate of Mexico's enemies? They'll be destroyed, as already predicted in stanza 3.

6 We wish our enemies throughout Anahuac would produce revenants (make war), as they did in the old days (so that we can defeat them once again).

7 Ah, where are all the old enemies of Mexico? (Note that the enemy list includes Miccacatl of Huexotzinco, Toteotzin of Chalco, and Coatzin of Tlaxcala. See DICT for details.)

8 Say there, you Huexotzincans! What revenants are you creating?, i.e., Are you making war? (If so, we're glad to hear it.) And to give you an idea of what's in store, take a look at the damage we've already done to Huexotla and Itzpallocan (Acolhuan states that fought with Ixtlilxochitl in the war against Tezozomoc; IXT, 1: 331, 436).

9 This reenactment of Tezozomoc's war recalls the glorious days of Seven Caves, or Great Land. The revenant Tezozomoc is arising as a truly great chieftain (a "ceiba," a "cypress") among these mesquites and these caves. He knows how to make war, how to please Life Giver.

10-11 Already the Acolhuans are begging for mercy, addressing the revenant Tlacateotl, lord of Tlatelolco (who in fact served as Tezozomoc's general against Acolhuacan; IXT, 1: 333).

12 Mexico's enemies are again "rich" (again making war, again producing revenants). The enemies sing, "Not twice does one give pleasure to Life Giver" (i.e.,

Commentary to Songs 16–17

one is reborn not on earth, but in paradise; see stanza 15). Their songs (their deeds) produce such enemy revenants as ancestral Xayacamach of Tlaxcala—in other words, the revenants are “pleasured.”

13 The enemies continue to create revenants, calling for Quetzalmamatzin and Huitznahuacatl (ancestral Huexotzincans?).

14 These revenants arrive as doves, as a distribution of Life Giver (compare stanza 12).

15–19 Now all the enemy warriors, including their newly arrived revenants, are dying in battle and returning to the other world. The famous Huexotzincan, Izrac Coyotl, is among them.

20 This victory for Mexico is due to the presence of the great chieftain, or “cypress,” Tezozomoc (see stanza 9) and his fellow revenants, as Huexotzincans cry for mercy. Huexotzinco, in defeat, will be translated to the other world (compare song 17, stanza 54).

21–22 “Composing” still more revenants, the Mexicans rampage through Huexotzincan territory, destroying Tepeyacac.

23–28 Mexico extends the victory, conquering all of Anahuac (i.e., all of the Indian world).

29 The earth is rolling over (i.e., a new order is being established). Retribution comes to the collaborators Atl Popoca (of Cuiclahuac?) and Cacamatl (of Tlaxcala?), who shall be God’s slaves in Mictlan (the Dead Land).

Previous translations. ANP, no. 15; HLN, 1: 223–24 (excerpts); AAG, no. 15; GPN, 2: 90–93.

XVI (folio 9)

Synopsis. In an “agony” of song, the singer weeps revenants, wishing that he could remain on earth to enjoy their company (stanza 1). But he knows that the act of producing revenants (the act of war) requires his death and hence his return to paradise (stanza 2). Summoning his courage, he invites death, while revenants, in exchange, come whirling down to earth (stanzas 3–8).

Previous translations. ANP, no. 16; PIA, p. 170 (excerpt); HLN, 1: 217–18 (excerpt); AAG, no. 16; GPN, 2: 94–97; Léon-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 21–22 (excerpt); PCL, pp. 87–88 (excerpt).

XVII Flower song (folio 9v)

Synopsis. Revenant muses associated with Huexotzinco and Tlaxcala summon revenants of their own kind, bound for battle (stanzas 1–40). An unidentified singer (no doubt Mexican) reveals that he is responsible for having summoned these victim revenants, then proceeds to summon Mexican warriors (stanzas 41–50). In a fantasized battle the Huexotzincans and Tlaxcalans are defeated and sent to paradise as payment for the newly arrived ghosts, who now establish Mexico as paradise on earth (stanzas 51–55).

Remarks. Like songs 15, 66, and 90, this piece appears to serve as a reprisal

Commentary to Song 17

against Huexotzinco and Tlaxcala for their having joined with Cortés in the siege of Mexico. Notice that the words put into the mouths of the enemy singers are entirely pagan. The Mexican singer permits Christian allusions only in those speeches that he assigns to himself, perhaps as evidence of his superiority over the enemy. In the translation, Huexotzincan and Tlaxcalan speeches are in quotation marks.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 Come, muse! Let your songs (or revenants) be born on earth.

2 Revive your warrior ghosts!

3-4 Ah, the muse has descended from paradise, distributing songs (or revenants) by the grace of Life Giver.

5-6 The muse is Ayocuan (evidently a Huexotzincan ancestor; also called Cuetzpal? coupled with Cuetzpal?).

7-8 One of Ayocuan's revenants, Tecaychuatzin (king of Huexotzinco in the time of Cortés), produces other revenants.

9-11 You'll notice that we're getting quite a few enemy revenants here on the dance floor. (Let's think about taking them into our grasp as captives.)

12 Ayocuan, you were the first to descend (stanza 5) and will therefore be the first to be taken captive, killed, and sent to paradise (the dawn place).

13-14 Ayocuan admits his desire for war (for the opportunity to produce additional revenants, or "shield flowers"), but he is afraid of becoming a captive. In that event, his appearance on earth as a ghost will have been in vain.

15-16 He doubts that life will continue in paradise.

17-18 We've heard from Ayocuan. And now, in response to his song, other (Huexotzincan) ghosts arrive.

19-20 The new arrivals, song-grieving, produce still other ghosts.

21 Not only in Huexotzinco, but over there in Tlaxcala, they're producing ghosts (including Xicotencatl).

22 Say, this music room, or dance floor, is becoming littered with revenants!

23-26 We're all seeking these revenants that descend from heaven as a distribution of God.

27-40 Huexotzincan and Tlaxcalan revenants keep coming, and keep complaining.

41 But this is my song, and I, therefore, am the one who is really producing all you (Huexotzincan and Tlaxcalan) revenants. I now arrive in person (or my muse arrives), and now you must depart as my payment.

42 You might scorn me, you might think my flowers (my songs, or revenants) are mere weeds. (But wait till you see what I can do!)

43-44 Look what beautiful songs I produce!

45 I'm producing my (Mexican) ancestors as revenants.

46 And we're marching to battle. (So beware!)

47 Prepare to die and live forever (in heaven).

48-50 Meanwhile the Mexican revenants come raining down as a distribution of Life Giver. The ghosts ("drums") descend from paradise in response to the sighing of such typical Mexican warrior-singers as "War Declaret."

51-54 Huexotzinco is attacked and destroyed. Its warriors rise to paradise, as God and Mexican revenants come raining down on Mexico.

Commentary to Songs 18-19

55 Huexotzinco (or Tlaxcala, or both) will reach paradise. Paradise will reach Mexico.

56 We appreciate the sacrifice of these Huexotzincans and Tlaxcalans. They give their lives in payment so that food plants (or revenants) may sprout here in Mexico. They go to heaven as converts to Christianity (or as converts to the ghost-song doctrine, which incorporates Christianity).

Previous translations. ANP, no. 17 (stanzas 1-27); PIA, pp. 43, 83-91, 166, 167 (excerpts); HLN, 1: 90, 169-70, 173, 176, 178-79, 182, 220, 243, 244, 344-50 (excerpts); AAG, no. 17; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, pp. 115, 122, 128-36, 179 (excerpts); GLA, nos. 22-30, 55, 56, 65 (excerpts); GPN, 2: 96-121; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 192-94, 195, 204-7, 209 (excerpts); PCL, pp. 81-83 (excerpts).

XVIII Bereavement song (folio 12)

Synopsis. The Huexotzincan warrior-singer shrinks from battle. Complaining incessantly, he makes war in spite of himself, producing Huexotzincan and Tlaxcalan revenants destined to make further (unsuccessful?) war (with Mexico?).

Remarks. The song appears to be a companion piece to 17, repeating many of the same elements: the questioning invocation (stanza 1), the complaining of Huexotzincan singers (here greatly magnified), the horticultural imagery (see especially stanza 30), the identification of Huexotzinco with Tlaxcala (stanza 44), and the mention of such revenants as Ayocuan and Xayacamach (stanzas 43, 47). The voice of an adversary (presumably Mexican) seems to come through at various points, notably in stanza 37.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 93-94, 163-65, 175, 176 (excerpts); HLN, 1: 91, 148, 191, 194-95, 198, 200-201 (excerpts); AAG, no. 18; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, pp. 121, 138-39 (excerpts); GLA, nos. 31, 34, 37, 42, 57 (excerpts); GPN, 2: 122-40; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 22, 53, 131, 203 (excerpts).

Variant. Stanzas 17-22, RSNE, 21-22v.

XIX Here begins an old man song, a rulers' glorying song (folio 15)

Synopsis. Warrior-singers in the guise of old men summon revenants (canto A) to inspire victims. With martial bravado the singers taunt the victims, cannibalize them (canto B), hear their words of "divine reproach" (canto C), engage them in combat (canto D), and send them back to be reborn (canto E).

Remarks. This coarse and irreverent parody of the ghost-song ritual should be compared with the old man song at folio 73v (song 85). In stanzas 16-17, observe the presumed allusion to the fall of Satan, called "old curly beard" (similarly, in Olmos' *Tratado de hechicerías* the fallen angels are "old curly haired ones"; see DICT: pachtli 2); the figure of Satan, it seems, has been merged with the stereotypical "black man" of Mexican Indian lore, sometimes specifically African (as here?) but probably traceable to a precolumbian source (see Bricker, *Ritual Humor*,

Commentary to Songs 20–21

passim; Blaffer). The bizarre anatomical itemizing in stanzas 6–7 is reminiscent of the symbolic feast of “skulls, palms, hip bones, ribs, leg bones, forearm bones, and soles” offered to the god Huitzilopochtli (FC, book 2, chap. 24, p. 69; compare book 12, chap. 19, p. 50). The neck bone mentioned in the final stanza is perhaps symbolic of resurrection. “A common belief, going back into prehistory . . . is that preservation of the bones is necessary for the resurrection of man. . . . The *Talmud* says that the bone of Luz, one of the bones of the spine, is indestructible, and that from it the body can be recreated at the resurrection” (Leach & Fried, p. 155). “He brought out a joint of the backbone, and flew with it back to the woman, She placed it on the ground, covered it with her robe, and then sang. Removing the robe, there lay her father’s body. . . . He was breathing, and then he stood up” (Grinnell, p. 106).

Previous translation. AAG, no. 19.

XX (folio 16v)

Synopsis. Nezahualcoyotl and Montezuma, summoned as muses, produce a shower of warrior-revenants destined to give their lives in battle.

Remarks. This appears to be the first of four related cantos embracing songs 20–23. On the glossator’s presumably erroneous heading (“Here begin the so-called plain songs . . . performed in the palaces . . .”), see p. 108, above.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 We invite the muse, asking for ghosts in quantity.

2 We imagine the ghosts arriving as “bracelets,” as birds feasting on nectar.

3–5 It’s as though the muse were a flowering tree, scattering blossoms.

6–7 The muse is identified as ancestral Nezahualcoyotl, enjoying the company of fellow ghosts on earth.

8 These ghosts are shimmering. But they and their producer, Nezahualcoyotl—also Montezuma—will be returning to paradise as slain warriors.

9–10 While you can, enjoy this companionship on earth (see stanzas 6–7). Life is brief.

11 But when God has taken these princes to heaven, spreading out his “riches” there, enjoyment and companionship will be renewed.

12–13 For the warrior (the “jade,” “gold,” “plume”), life here on earth is brief.

Previous translations. PIA, p. 168 (excerpt); HLN, 1: 103, 187, 212, 245 (excerpts); AAG, pp. 82–87; Garibay, *Xochimacatl*, no. 10 (excerpt); León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 177 (excerpt); GLA, no. 50 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 1–4; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 49, 71 (excerpts); PCL, p. 89 (excerpt).

XXI (folio 17)

Synopsis. Revenants, summoned to earth, return to paradise as slain warriors.

Remarks. Note the song-weeping in stanza 2. The revenants are regarded as tokens of bereavement.

Commentary to Songs 22–25

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 210–11; AAG, pp. 86–89; GLA, no. 58 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 5–6; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, p. 52 (excerpt).

XXII (folio 17v)

Synopsis. Ancestral revenants, e.g., Montezuma and Totoquiuhaztli, arrive on earth as flowers, dropping down from the tree of heaven—as birds, flying in from the eastern shore, or paradise (identified with Nonoalco on the Gulf Coast). Their cackling summons God, the sun, in a fantasized dawn scene. Arriving, God “inhales” the “heart” of a “flower” (drinks the blood of a victim).

Remarks. Note that songs 20, 21, and 22 share essentially the same plot. The expression “What says God?” (see stanza 7) generally implies the question “Is God of a mind to take human life?” (compare song 21, stanza 6; for additional examples, see DICT: *ihtoa: tla 1*). The answer is yes, and in stanza 8 he descends to drink the blood of victims—of warriors captured in battle (compare song 21, stanza 3).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 102, 179–80; AAG, pp. 88–89; GLA, no. 49 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 7–8.

XXIII (folio 18)

Synopsis. The slain warriors, arisen, become songsters in paradise, depositing further ghost warriors on earth.

Remarks. This is evidently the triumphant finale of a four-canto piece comprising songs 20–23. Note the intercession of Saint Mary (stanza 2), the translation of Tenochtitlan to paradise (stanza 3), the identification of Tenochtitlan with Colhuacan (“place of forebears”; stanza 4), and the “spinning” back to earth of more revenants (stanza 7).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 95–96; HLN, 1: 214 (excerpts); AAG, pp. 90–91; GLA, no. 59; GPN, 2: 9–10; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, p. 25 (excerpt).

XXIV (folio 18)

Synopsis. Incoming ghost warriors, spoiling for battle, rout enemy Chalchans.

Remarks. Note the sodality theme in stanza 1.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 97–98; AAG, pp. 90–93; GPN, 2: 11–12; Brotherton, *Image of the New World*, pp. 276–77 (stanzas 1–7).

XXV (folio 18v)

Synopsis. The muse Nezahualcoyotl (also called Yoyontzin) arrives, producing fellow ghost warriors who are destined to be “broken” in battle.

Variants. RSNE, 2v–3v. Stanzas 3–4 coincide with song 81, stanzas 4a–5.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 180–81; AAG, pp. 92–95; GPN, 2: 13–14.

XXVI (folio 19)

Synopsis. A sky singer arrives from the eastern shore, producing a shower of revenants (stanza 2) who are destined for “no repose,” or battle (stanza 7).

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 95–97; GPN, 2: 15–17.

XXVII (folio 19v)

Synopsis. Ancestors representing each of the three members of the triple alliance—Acolhuacan, Tenochtitlan (Mexico), and the Dry Lands (the Tepanec region)—are summoned to earth by revenant muses (stanza 4), creating a paradisaical Tenochtitlan as mortal warriors give their lives in payment (stanzas 5–8).

Remarks. Note the intercessory role of Saint Mary (stanzas 2–3).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 213; AAG, pp. 96–99; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, pp. 76–77 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 18–19; PCL, pp. 77, 86–87 (excerpts).

XXVIII (folio 19v)

Synopsis. The muse Montezuma produces a shower of revenants as a distribution of God, creating paradise on earth.

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 98–101; GPN, 2: 20–22.

XXIX (folio 20)

Synopsis. Muses representing each of the three cities of the triple alliance (see stanza 1) produce warrior revenants armed for battle.

Remarks. Note that the entire (pre-Conquest) city of Mexico, not just its princes, seems to descend from the other world. As with previous songs in this group, the emphasis is on Mexico, even though Acolhuacan and Tepanec muses are invoked.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 63–64; HLN, 1: 211–12; AAG, pp. 102–3; GPN, 2: 23.

XXX (folio 20v)

Synopsis. The muse Montezuma produces a shower of revenants as a distribution of Life Giver; destined for combat, they are soon to wither (stanzas 1–8). Ancestors associated with the triple powers (Tizihuatzin of Toltitlan representing the Tepanec cities) produce revenants bound for war; the muses spur them on with reproaches, but the call to arms is rejected (stanzas 9–16).

Remarks. These sixteen stanzas appear to be two eight-stanza songs: the first celebrates war; the second expresses doubt. All the ancestors mentioned by name probably belong to the triple alliance.

Commentary to Songs 31-34

Variants. Stanza 15 coincides with song 10, stanza 4, and with song 69, stanza 38. Stanza 16 coincides with song 69, stanza 39.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 216-17; AAG, pp. 102-7; GLA, no. 38 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 24-26.

XXXI (folio 21)

Synopsis. The muses Ahuizotl, representing Mexico, Totoquihuaztli of the Tepanec region, and Nezahualpilli of Acolhuacan produce revenants soon to be killed in battle, thus frustrating the singer, who desires reunion (stanzas 1-8). The muse Totoquihuaztli, as singer-warrior, lifts songs to God (i.e., sends victims, whose blood provides food for the sun) and receives a distribution of revenants in exchange (stanzas 9-16).

Remarks. Two eight-stanza cantos, one opposed to war, the other in favor, have been carelessly run together by the copyist (or were deliberately sung in tandem by the composer).

Variants. Stanzas 1-8 coincide with song 78. Phrases from stanzas 9 and 12 recur in song 36, stanza 4.

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 106-11; GPN, 2: 27-29.

XXXII (folio 21v)

Synopsis. Singing and dancing produce a shower of ghost warriors as a distribution of Saint Mary.

Remarks. Observe the blurred distinction between paradise and the earthly music room.

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 110-11; GPN, 2: 30.

XXXIII (folio 22)

Synopsis. A surrogate for the hero Tlacahuepan (addressed in stanza 1) enters paradise as payment for the muse Jesus Christ (addressed in stanzas 2-6). As Christ brings revenants to earth, Tlacahuepan remains alive in the other world (stanzas 7-8).

Previous translations. PIA, p. 171 (excerpt); HLN, 1: 104, 182-83, 240-41, 241-42 (excerpts); AAG, pp. 112-13; GLA, no. 43 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 31-33.

XXXIV (folio 22v)

Synopsis. The muse Moquihuitzin, ruler of Tlatelolco in the 1460's, produces ghost warriors.

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 112-15; GPN, 2: 34-36.

Commentary to Songs 35–38

XXXV (folio 22v)

Synopsis. God descends to Mexico in the persons of Montezuma, Totoquihuatzli, and Nezahualcoyotl. These muses sing, regaling God with songs—instead of with human victims (stanzas 4–5). In response, revenants arrive, creating paradise on earth (stanzas 6–7).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 99–100; HLN, 1: 105, 160; AAG, pp. 114–17; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 93; GLA, no. 60; GPN, 2: 37–38; Launcy, 2: 392–93.

XXXVI (folio 23)

Synopsis. The singer has no music; he is “poor” (stanza 1). He invokes a muse (stanza 2). He wishes his own song-grieving might equal that of the muse (stanza 3). His plaint is joined by other voices (stanza 4). At last he sings, and songs come forth: he sings beautifully; he sings with the voice of the muse Totoquihuatzli (stanzas 5–8).

Variants. Phrases from stanza 4 recur in song 31, stanzas 9 and 12.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 102, 241, 242 (excerpts); AAG, pp. 116–19; GLA, no. 63 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 39–40.

XXXVII (folio 23v)

Synopsis. A singer urges his fellow Mexicans to create music (make war) in order to produce revenants.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 Let us “grieve” (make music).

2 “Songs” (ghost warriors) are in paradise, waiting to be born.

3 As we make music (make war), “nobility” is “painted” (brought to life) on earth. And in place of these noble revenants, we mortals (chalked and feathered as sacrificial victims) depart for the other world (as surrogates for ancestral Tlacahuepan).

4 Yes, my fellow Mexican, you, a surrogate for Tlacahuepan, are to serve as payment for these incoming ghost warriors. God in heaven is answering your music.

5 The revenants are arriving.

6 And as they arrive, mortal Mexicans are departing for paradise. (Note the shift of address in this stanza).

7–8 Don’t be cowards. Go!

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 145, 192, 203–4; AAG, pp. 118–21; GPN, 2: 41.

XXXVIII (folio 24)

Synopsis. Arriving ghosts inspire mortal dancers. But their joy is clouded by the knowledge that they will soon be killed in war (stanzas 1–7). Nevertheless they

Commentary to Songs 39–40

proceed to make music (war), lifting songs to paradise (stanzas 8–10), comforted by the dogma of exchange and the promise of future life in the other world (stanzas 11–18).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 192–93, 146–47; AAG, pp. 120–25; GPN, 2: 44–47.

XXXIX (folio 24v)

Synopsis. Huexotzincan revenants (stanzas 1–2) are summoned by the Mexican muses Cecepatcatzin and Tezcatzin (stanzas 3–4) to be sacrificed in battle as an offering to Life Giver (stanzas 5–6). In exchange for this sacrifice additional Mexican revenants, namely Tlachuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac, come down to earth in glory (stanza 7). But will further sacrifices be required (stanzas 8–9)?

Background. Cecepatcatzin, Tezcatzin, Tlachuepan, and Ixtlilcuechahuac were all sons of King Axayacatl. Tezcatzin was killed in combat by Huexotzincans (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*, sec. 255). Tlachuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac were also killed by Huexotzincans, at a place called Atlixco, “Upon the Flood” (Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 57; Chimalpain, p. 215).

Remarks. Though the three persons mentioned in stanza 1 cannot be identified with certainty, they are evidently meant to be Huexotzincans (as the “Huexotlapan” suggests). Note that they are in their celestial abode, or “home,” waiting to be summoned as revenants.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 45–46, 172 (excerpts); AAG, pp. 124–27; GPN, 2: 47–50.

XL (folio 25)

Synopsis. The muses Nezahualcoyotl and Montezuma, weeping for Tezozomoc (of Azcapotzalco) and Cuacuauhtzin (of Tlatelolco), regret that they must give their lives in exchange for the revenants they are producing.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 We desire revenants.

2–6 The muse Nezahualcoyotl (also called Yoyontzin), joined by Montezuma, will produce the desired revenants by means of song-weeping. The muses are in agony, aware that their songs (their war deeds) will result in their own loss of life. Thus they cannot remain on earth to enjoy the companionship of the ghost warriors they create.

7 Their weeping is directed to such ghosts as the princes Tezozomoc and Cuacuauhtzin.

8 The muse would like to join them in paradise.

9–10 But as he elegizes them, they arrive on earth as revenants, and he becomes a ghost in paradise.

Variants. Song 5. Stanzas 1–3 coincide with a fragment of a song at RSNE, fol. 32v.

Commentary to Songs 41–42

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 101–2; HLN, 1: 167, 201–2; AAG, pp. 126–29; GPN, 2: 51–52; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, p. 65 (excerpt).

XL1 (folio 25v)

Synopsis. The Mexican singer fears death as he produces Tlachuepan and other Mexican revenants. But Tlachuepan brings down (enemy) Zacatec ghosts, who give their lives in payment.

Remarks. This song and the next two are variations on a single theme: the ghost warrior as payment. Note that the same three, in the same order, reappear as song 62, where they are run together in what seems to be a single composition.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 I, a Mexican singer, “weep” for revenants. Yet I fear that they will prod me into combat (so that I may be killed in exchange). The revenants (“hearts”) expect to remain on earth. Thus I (and my fellow mortals) must give our lives in payment. Will we enjoy an afterlife in the other world? Perhaps not. Nevertheless, I am resolved to stay “poor” (in deeds): I will avoid combat and remain alive on earth (using the method to be described in stanzas 3–8).

2 (In order to preserve ourselves) we produce the ancestral hero Tlachuepan by recalling his deeds in a lamentation. Thus Tlachuepan (as muse) comes to life on earth (producing further life not to be identified until stanza 7).

3 The new life on earth (being produced by the muse Tlachuepan) will endure but briefly.

4 And here it comes! A shower of revenants, soon to be victims (“banners,” “chalk and plumes”). Tlachuepan is in the lead, as muse. He comes to capture and sacrifice these revenants (using the obsidian knife). And the victims desire their fate (as we see again in stanza 7).

5 The victims come sprinkling down, and Tlachuepan adorns himself with these “hides” (recalling the custom of flaying human victims and wearing the skins as garments).

6 The victims are Zacatecs (traditional enemies of Mexico). They are glad to be achieving immortality in this manner.

7 The earth “rolls over” (i.e., there is an exchange of one life for another, in this case an exchange of Zacatecs for Mexicans). It is Life Giver who produces these revenants (these “marvels”) here on the battlefield (Shield Town).

Variant. Song 62, stanzas 1–8.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 204–5 (excerpt); AAG, pp. 128–31; GPN, 2: 53–54.

XLII (folio 25v)

Synopsis. Disdaining war, the singer and his comrades produce revenants through music alone; and these make war, providing the food (blood) that nourishes the sun.

Commentary to Song 43

Remarks. This is the second of three related cantos; see "Remarks" for song 41.

Paraphrase by stanza

1-2 In a fit of perversity I refuse combat. I am therefore "poor" in deeds, and in my contrition for this poverty, my heart weeps.

3 So what's the result? Well, if I shun combat (disdaining an honorable death), I'll remain on earth to enjoy the company of my friends. And my friends will be cheered.

4 Yes, let us stay together here on earth.

5 Refusing combat, we'll have to provide victims in some other way (if the sun is to be fed with blood). We'll have to "remember" (summon) revenants ("words"), and these will be "destroyed" (will serve as victims).

6 We can do this without going to war. We can do it by merely making music, by singing this sad refrain: "Life passes once."

7 We continue our sad song, with the result that warlike (or angry) revenants are produced; and these provide blood for the sun (the Shining One).

8 The sun lives on, nourished by the blood of warriors. Thus we in turn are kept alive on earth. Deprived of our death, the sun is poor. May he be poor! May he live forever!

Variant. Song 62, stanzas 9-16.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 103-4; HLN, 1: 197; AAG, pp. 130-33; GPN, 1: 55-56.

XLIII (folio 26)

Synopsis. The incoming muse Cuacuauhtzin produces enemy ghosts that serve as payment for his resurrection.

Remarks. This is the third of three related cantos; see "Remarks" for song 41. In view of the obvious Mexican orientation of these pieces, it would seem that the song at hand refers to Cuacuauhtzin, the first king of Tlatelolco. Although the *Romances* variant (see below) carries the heading *de quaquauhtzin R[e]y de tepexpan*, this is probably an error on the part of the pro-*Texcoco Romances* glossator. For the story of Tepechpan's Cuacuauhtzin and of the "sad songs" he sang when he had been betrayed by Nezahualcoyotl, see IXT, 2: chap. 43, p. 118. The "sad songs" are perhaps the piece at hand—or, more likely, the corresponding text in RSNE—completely misinterpreted by Ixtlilxochitl. (See Introduction, chap. 13.)

Paraphrase by stanza

1 I, the muse Cuacuauhtzin, call forth revenants ("precious log drums"). I blow my swan conch. In other words, I make music in order to produce swans, or ghost warriors. In the process, I myself (as a revenant) arrive on earth.

2 Be pleased, all you mortals on earth! The revenants I'm producing are about to appear. What's more, I plan to inflict them with the divine reproach. In other words, I'll shame them into making war (so they, not you, will be the victims).

3-4 The victim revenants respond.

5 Cuacuauhtzin continues to summon them.

6 The victims anticipate death. Meanwhile, Cuacuauhtzin observes that he,

newly arrived on earth, will be deprived of the company he is producing. Hence he will be "poor."

7-8 Be pleased while you can, you victim revenants! (You're headed for destruction, which suits me fine.) So I continue to produce these "flowers," these "songs" (these revenants).

Variants. Song 62, stanzas 17-24; RSNE, 26-26v.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 185-86; AAG, pp. 132-35; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 178 (excerpt); GPN, 2: 57-58; PCL, p. 84 (excerpt); Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura," pp. 29, 31.

XLIV (folio 26v)

Synopsis. A lament for the fall of Tollan and a recapitulation of the flight of its most famous ruler, Topiltzin, serve as a summons to Toltec revenants, including Topiltzin himself, Ihuital, and Matlaxochitl. As the revenants arrive on earth, mortal warriors prepare to give their lives in exchange.

Background. According to the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, the Toltec empire lasted 318 years. Its rulers were as follows (dates are reign dates):

Mixcoamazatzin (752-817)	Topiltzin, i.e., Quetzal-	Matlaccoatzin (945-73)
Huetzin (817-?)	coatl (873-95)	Tilicoatzin (973-94)
Totepeuh (?-835)	Matlaxochitl (895-930)	Huemac (994-1070)
Ihuital (835-73)	Nauhyotzin (930-45)	

The fifth ruler, Topiltzin, driven from Tollan by the sorcerer Tezcatlipoca, fled eastward and disappeared. He is said to have passed Cholollan, Poyauhtecatl, Zacanco, and other points en route to the mythical Tlapallan, identified with the rising sun ("Tlapallan is where I go. . . . The sun has called me"; FC, book 3, chap. 13). The messianic return of Topiltzin, or Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, is predicted in various sources (see paraphrase of song 68, stanzas 5-8). On the Toltec empire and Topiltzin's journey to Tlapallan, see Velázquez, *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 5-15, 125; FC, book 3, chaps. 12-14; and "Histoire du Mechiue," chap. 11.

Remarks. Here we have an unusually elaborate example of revenant production by means of recollection. Instead of merely "recalling" the Toltec ancestors in a word or giving lip service to some such phrase as "you established your fame before you died" (as in song 41, stanza 2), the poet rehearses the epic flight of the Toltec king Quetzalcoatl (here called Naexitl Topiltzin). A superficial resemblance between this song and a "lament" preserved in the Quiche Maya *Popol vuh* (Edmonson, *Book of Counsel*, lines 6057-71) has occasioned comment by Lehmann (*Festschrift*, pp. 297-300) and Edmonson (p. 182). The commentator of the sixteenth-century *Codex Vaticanus 3738* mentions an ancient song that "they sing today at dances and feasts . . . which begins *Talan ian hululaez*," telling of a "tower" built in Cholula that collapsed when struck by a bolt from the sky (see Lehmann, *Festschrift*, p. 297). The Nahuatl citations in *Codex Vaticanus 3738* are extremely corrupt, and so it is not impossible that the commentator is alluding to the song at hand, with special reference to stanza 2 ("passing through Cholollan") and stanza 4 ("the mountain collapses").

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *Lament for Topiltzin*

1 Remember how Topiltzin left Tollan (and set out on his flight to the east)? Remembering this, we summon Toltec revenants (with a musical lamentation). Yes, we remember how Topiltzin fled to Tlapallan.

2 He passed through Cholollan and the region of Mount Poyauhtecatli (now Mount Orizaba), headed for Acallan (on the gulf coast).

3 Our muse, come from Nonoalco (paradise), grieves for Topiltzin and his fellow Toltec rulers, Ihuitalmal and Matlacxochitl.

4 The muse continues to grieve. (A credible interpretation of this stanza has been proposed by Gordon Brotherston, who suggests that the "mountain" is the pyramid temple of Topiltzin and the "sands" a ritual enclosure customarily installed at the base of such pyramids, perhaps as a reminder of the watery paradise of the god Tlaloc. Hence the pyramid is ruined and its sands dispersed. See Brotherston, "Sacred Sand." Compare the collapsing "tower" mentioned above in the "Remarks" and the ritual enclosure in the paraphrase of song 54-D, stanza 3, below. In the *Cantares* manuscript the word here analyzed as *a xall ic euh ca* [= ah! because the sands have arisen, indeed] appears as *axalihqueuhca* (see Fig. 2), where the first two syllables might also be read as *axall*, for *axalli* [= water sands?, or warriors?]. See DICT: axalli.)

5 The muse recalls that Topiltzin was summoned to Tlapallan. And he recalls such way-stations as Cochiztlan and Zacanco. For Zacanco, see "Background," above. Cochiztlan ("Sleep Place"?) is not mentioned in other sources, at least not in this form; but compare Cochtocan ("Place of Lying Asleep"), listed as one of the mythical stations in FC, book 3, chap. 13. Cochiztlan, of course, is an old name for Campeche, and it may well be that the singer intends nothing more than this.

6 In response to the lament, Toltec ghosts are already "stirring." Xicalanco, a further way-station (on the gulf coast), is mentioned.

7-8 We would like a shower (rain) of Toltec revenants (here in Mexico), turning our city into a latter-day Tollan, a paradise (Nonoalco) here on earth.

9-10 To this end, we (Mexicans) continue weeping for Topiltzin, hoping he will return to earth as our ruler. Hence we are his vassals. (On the belief that Mexicans were vassals of Quetzalcoatl, see song 68, stanza 8, and corresponding paraphrase.)

B *Arrival of Toltec revenants*

11-15 In response to the above lament, Toltec revenants appear (in Mexico).

16 The singer exhorts his comrades to accept the revenants and to give their own lives in exchange ("Who'll go with me and be arisen?").

17-20 The revenants will keep our memory alive on earth when we've departed for the other world.

Previous translations. ANP, nos. 18-20; Lehmann, *Festschrift*, pp. 281-319 (canto A); PIA, pp. 33-35 (canto A); Garibay, "Ternas," pp. 393-96, 418-20; HLN, 1: 125-26, 358-61 (excerpts); AAG, nos. 21, 22; Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 240-43 (stanzas 11-15); Garibay, *Llave*, pp. 151-52, 235-36 (canto A); GLA, no. 72; GPN, 3: 1-5; PCL, pp. 109-11; Bierhorst, *Four Masterworks*, pp. 63-66; Brotherston, *Image of the New World*, pp. 270-74.

XLV (folio 27v)

Synopsis. The muse Montezuma brings down (Mexican?) revenants, who march to war in Huexotzinco. Mortal(?) comrades, rejoicing in these revenants, prepare to give their lives in payment.

Remarks. The marginal gloss ("A Huexotzincan piece, those of Huexotzinco coming to ask Montezuma for aid against Tlaxcala") appears to be in error. Perhaps the glossator has misread the term *nohueyotzin* (line 23), which might be construed as "my stranger." One is reminded of Pomar's comment in the *Relación* of 1582 (pp. 42-43): "The truth [of my assertion that Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco exchanged embassies with Texcoco] is well attested by the old and ancient songs, which have many passages treating of this matter." Whether Pomar was misreading sixteenth-century song texts or had access to genuinely old texts now lost is a subject for conjecture.

Previous translations. ANP, nos. 21, 22; PIA, pp. 105-7 (canto A); HLN, 1: 105, 364-69 (canto A); AAG, nos. 23, 24; GLA, no. 69; GPN, 3: 6-9.

XLVI Song of Nezahualcoyotl (folio 28v)

Synopsis. A singer summons Nezahualcoyotl and other revenants sympathetic to Mexico. They march to war against Mexico's enemies, sacrificing captives whom they inspire with the ghosts of Nezahualpilli and other pro-Mexican ancestors. In response to these deeds, further Mexican and pro-Mexican revenants come showering down as a distribution of God.

Remarks. The glossator's heading, "Song of Nezahualcoyotl," evidently means no more than that the piece pertains to Nezahualcoyotl (which it does, in an incidental way). (See pp. 101-5, above.) The Acolhuacan of stanza 4 is perhaps a play on "Ah! Colhuacan" and as such would refer to Mexico, not Acolhuacan.

Paraphrase by canto

A The singer "recalls" the ghost of Nezahualcoyotl (stanzas 1-2), who comes reluctantly, fearing death in combat (stanza 3), though anticipating further revenants (for the allied cause) as a result of his sacrifice (stanzas 4-5). The singer continues to summon Nezahualcoyotl, conceding that his time on earth will be brief (stanzas 6-7).

B The revenants arrive, and all prepare to die in glorious combat.

C The singer, as heavenly muse, continues to summon ghost warriors—who turn out to be Mexicans. They march to war, terrorizing their enemies.

D On the warpath Mexican revenants obtain enemy captives—at least one of whom is inspired with the ghost of an ancestor (Nezahualpilli). More Mexican revenants (stanzas 25-26) are produced as a result of these deeds.

E The new revenants, including Christ, come raining down to Mexico, creating paradise on earth.

Previous translations. ANP, nos. 23-27; AAG, nos. 25-29; GLA, no. 70; GPN, 3: 10-14 (cantos A-D); Brotherston, *Image of the New World*, pp. 274-75 (canto B).

XLVII Song of Axayacatl Itzcoatl, ruler of Mexico (folio 29v)

Synopsis. Grieving for lost ancestors, the singer attempts to summon their ghosts.

Remarks. In stanza 5 the singer summons the ghosts by calling "Itzcoatl" (O Blade Companion!). Perhaps because Axayacatl is addressed similarly (Itzcoatzin) at 53v: 7 and because Axayacatl is mentioned in the song at hand (stanza 9), the glossator assumes that Itzcoatl is an epithet of Axayacatl. Since no other source confirms this, the glossator's heading appears to be in error. Or perhaps he meant to write *ynauic* etc., which would read "Song of Axayacatl and Itzcoatl, rulers of Mexico." The historical Itzcoatl is not invoked in the *Cantares* unless here and at 53v: 7.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 Muses descend from God's home in the eastern sky (Tlapallan), creating warrior revenants, destined for death (flower mortals).

2 But mortals on earth are weeping, envisioning defeat, not glory, in death. Their musical weeping reaches God's home.

3 God is thus addressed: "You create revenants. They drop from your mouth like words. But they embody you, and when they die you die. And so we grieve."

4 God may be everlasting, yet he tires and dies. Likewise his creations. In effect he creates nothing. He creates death. The time he spends is thus a time of weeping. Saint Mary herself is weeping (i.e., on Calvary; note the reference to the crucifixion in stanza 3).

5 It therefore seems unlikely that ancestral rulers can be brought to life. "O Blade Companion," I sing. And our hearts are overcome by grief (or our beloved ones are reached through music?).

6 Is it true that God and his creations die? So it seems. No one lives forever here on earth. What will befall us? Our hearts are overcome by grief.

7 Yes, all our leaders have departed. And we are their orphaned children. May this music dropping from our lips become our resurrected lords! Let them be born through our despair.

8-10 Can we bring them back to this city of Mexico? We can at least try.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 109-10; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 117 (excerpts); GPN, 3: 15-16; León-Portilla, "Axayacatl," pp. 38-41; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 144-47.

XLVIII Song of Tlaltecatzin of Cuauhchinanco (folio 30)

Synopsis. As ghost warriors arrive, the singer (whose muse is Tlaltecatzin) fears that he will have to give his life in battle as their payment. Accepting the inevitability of his own death, he asks that these revenants be sacrificed so that he and they may be united in paradise.

Remarks. This Tlaltecatzin is probably Toroquihuaztli II, king of Tlacopan in the time of Montezuma II—not Tlaltecatzin of Cuauhchinanco as the glossator supposes. (See DICT: Tlaltecatzin.)

Commentary to Songs 49–51

Paraphrase by stanza

1 The voice of a warrior-revenant is heard. Yes, God (through the muse Tlaltecatzin) is producing revenants.

2 I, the singer, producing these revenants, take my voice from God (through Tlaltecatzin).

3 The arriving revenants make the singer drunk with desire for combat “there” (on the battlefield).

4–5 The singer’s desire, caused by these “flowers” (revenants), prompts him to think of the goddess (Xochiquetzal? Saint Mary?). The singer, anticipating his own death in battle, hopes that the “flowers” will also pass away, so that everyone will be together.

6 The singer hates to leave these revenants. But perhaps they could serve him as his “payment.” In other words, the debt that the singer must pay for their resurrection could be paid by the revenants themselves. That’s the way the singer would like to be reborn in paradise (i.e., in company with his revenants). At any rate his own death is inevitable: he is off to his destruction.

7 Yes, he has been “forsaken” by God, is off to the other world. But he still hopes that he can be “arrayed” with his beloved revenants. Let them be “gems,” or ghost warriors, in paradise, he says. Let someone capture and sacrifice them so that they can accompany him.

8 Thus all of us Aztecs (living and dead) will be united in paradise.

Variant. RSNE, 7–8.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 361–63 (excerpts); AAG, no. 31; GPN, 3: 17–18; Léon-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 33–37.

XLIX King Totoquihuaztli of Tlacopan’s to-to song (folio 30v)

Synopsis. Totoquihuaztli and other revenants are summoned by warrior-singers who look forward to joining them in battle—and in death.

Remarks. This is the only song in which drumbeat vocables are introduced in the text.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 111–12; AAG, no. 32; GPN, 3: 19.

L Log-drum song (folio 31)

Synopsis. Mexican revenants descend to earth, make war (canto A), prepare to die, and expect to be immortalized in song (canto B).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 113–15 (canto A); AAG, nos. 33, 34; GPN, 3: 20–22.

LI War song (folio 31v)

Synopsis. Chalcan muses produce Chalcan and pro-Mexican revenants in an effort to re-create the Chalcan War (ca. 1460) in such a way that Chalco will be the

Commentary to Songs 52–53

winner (canto A). The effort fails (canto B). Mexico and its allies are victorious; and to make matters worse for Chalco, Chalcan revenants purchased on the battlefield with Chalcan blood are changed into Mexicans, Tepanecs, and Acolhuans (canto C).

Background. On the Chalcan War, see "Background" for song 84; on the defeat of Chalco at Cocotitlan (Dove Place), see Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 16, para. 52; on the sacrificial slaying of the Chalcan leaders Necuametzin, Chichicuepon, and Totomihuatzin, see Chimalpain, pp. 100, 202, 204; and on the Chalcan (?) "Xoquahuc," "Tlaltecatl," and "Tozimacuex," see Zimmermann, 1: 81 (compare stanza 28). Itztompatepec, trounced by Mexican ghost warriors in stanzas 13 and 18, was actually a place where Mexicans suffered losses in the Chalcan War (Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 17).

Remarks. The "Huexotzinco" and "Huexotzincan" of stanzas 24 and 34 presumably refer not to Huexotzinco, but to Mexico, the emulator of Huexotzinco.

Variation. Stanza 33 coincides with RSNE, 15: 3–9.

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 214–15 (excerpt from canto A), 219–20 (canto B), 224–25 (excerpt from canto C); AAG, no. 35-A; GPN, 2: 59–67; Léon-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 232–37 (excerpt from canto C).

LII Flower song (folio 33v)

Synopsis. Chalcan ancestors, summoned to earth, become victims of war, reclaimed by Life Giver.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 173 (excerpt from canto A), 117–18 (excerpts from cantos C and D); HLN, 1: 174, 184–85, 242 (canto A), 187 (excerpt from canto B), 150, 177, 181 (excerpts from canto C), 100, 104, 174–75, 177–78 (excerpts from canto D); AAG, no. 35-B; GLA, no. 33 (excerpt from canto A); GPN, 2: 68–79; Léon-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, p. 239 (excerpt from canto C).

LIII Bereavement song (folio 35)

Synopsis. Mortals are exchanged for revenants.

Remarks. This piece appears to be performed by a singer in the guise of a Chalcan, who gives his life in battle and thereby summons his Chalcan forebears Cacamatl and Ayocuan (stanzas 4, 5, 22). It should be read in context with songs 51 and 52, with which it evidently forms a group.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Exchange anticipated

1 Songs as revenants whirl down from paradise, giving pleasure to the warriors here on earth.

2–3 The songs proceed from the warbling laughter of a singer in the sky, who serves as music to the earthly singer.

4 The earthly singer continues to sing, summoning the Chalcan ancestors Cacamatl and Ayocuan.

Commentary to Song 54-A

5 His song-weeping creates, or re-creates, ancestral Ayocuan himself. Ayocuan returns to earth as a war chief and singer, whose songs incite the earthly warriors to combat. Thus they die in battle, thus he "pricks" (wounds) them with his songs.

6 Ayocuan glories here on earth, no longer keeping company with the ordinary dead.

B *Exchange resisted*

7 A singer weeps music, bringing revenants from paradise—weeps tears because he knows that mortals must depart: let them enjoy while they can.

8-9 Because others share his fear of mortality, the singer rejects the supposed bliss of revenant production.

10 Can earth be our final home if we as warriors remain poor in deeds and thus preserve our lives?

11 Yes, the only life that is real is the life we lead on earth; true life is here, not beyond.

12 Yet God tells us that we have no lasting life on earth.

13 True, songs bring pleasure, but only briefly; the pleasure is merely borrowed.

C *Exchange accepted*

14 Songs begin, and these are revenants.

15 Revenants remain on earth while mortals pass away.

16-17 The mortals are reluctant to depart.

18 A voice of reason urges them to "move beyond" with pleasure.

19 A dissenting voice observes that songs on earth mean God is here.

20 Thus moving on means staying here.

21 The other voice explains that we must move beyond: the songs are revenants, and these will cry for us when we have gone.

22 So let's not hesitate to bring down the revenant-producing music, Ayocuan.

23 Thus we go on weeping (singing), producing revenants: they will sing for us and be our immortality.

Variants. Stanzas 7-10 coincide with song 11, stanzas 1-4; stanzas 22-23 coincide with song 64, stanzas 12-12a.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 169, 174 (excerpts from canto C); HLN, 1: 200 (excerpt from canto A), 190-91 (canto B), 89, 103, 188, 196-97, 200 (excerpts from canto C); AAG, no. 35-C; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 140 (excerpt from canto C); GLA, nos. 35, 36, 53 (excerpts from canto C); GPN, 2: 80-87.

LIV-A Multicolored Huastec piece (folio 36)

Synopsis. The ghost warriors Tlacahuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac are arriving on earth.

Remarks. Songs 54-A-54-E appear at first glance to be a single composition, but internal evidence suggests that E and perhaps D as well may be unrelated to the rest. B and C are almost certainly related to each other, and A might conceivably be a prologue. For a similar, short prologue, also without drum notation, see song 56. On this view, the heading "Multicolored Huastec piece" refers to 54-A, 54-B,

Commentary to Song 54-B

and 54-C. But why is this a "Huastec" piece, and why are Tlachuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac mentioned in the prologue? The answer, presumably, is that the term Huastec alludes to that peculiar drunkenness associated with the warrior's blood lust (see "Remarks" for song 67 and compare the phrase "Let there be flower drunkenness" in 54-C, stanza 5). The ferocious heroes Tlachuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac were traditionally invoked in Huastec pieces (see songs 67, 77). Moreover, they were the heroes par excellence, with whom surrogates were identified (see, e.g., song 33, stanza 7; song 69, canto D; song 76). Songs 54-A and 54-B are evidently concerned with the surrogate function.

Previous translations. AAG, pp. 194-95; GPN, 3: 23.

LIV-B Eagle-master piece (folio 36)

Synopsis. Revenants, brought to earth, transfer their noble identity to mortal victims, who are slain and sent to paradise, their blood providing food for the sun.

Remarks. See commentary for song 54-A.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 You are red, O sun (you are westering, weakening). Yet you still have the power to sing down revenants, and these will be shields (warriors who will make victims to "feed" the sun). So grieve (sing)! Let us hear your voice singing "hui-chale oncale" or "huichile ele" (meaningless phrases). Please agree to this!

2 As I sing (using the voice of God the sun) the revenants come raining down as flowers, as jades, as hearts (for sacrifice), as glad ones. They themselves are warriors, hence singers. Thus they themselves are shelling out song flowers (or revenants). And these delight me. Since I am a Chichimec (a warrior), these shall be my captives, my victims, with which I'll feed the sun.

3 Yes, these revenant singers come bringing warriors, called eagles, hands, plumes, and maize flowers—and apotheosized as gorgeous birds called Forest Dweller and Parrot Swan.

4 Revenants come from the sun, in this case from the underworld (where rattlesnakes live), where the sun, having set, now struggles to survive until dawn. The revenant is addressed as "nephew," an epithet connoting male camaraderie. We shall go and be where he has been—in the underworld. And this is what he wants to hear.

5 We mortals vie to take his place in paradise, our true home, the place of paintings—which for the moment is located in the earth "mountain" (the underworld) among the nine rivers of the Dead Land, where the sun now dwells, having entered at the west.

6 Inspired by these burgeoning "flowers" (revenants) who are marching to war ("flood," "blaze"), we mortals likewise take up arms and proceed to the battlefields in Cholollan and Huexotzinco.

7 Yes, these warrior revenants, or Chichimecs, have come stirring to life from the other world and (having transferred their identity to mortals) will soon be giving their lives in combat, in effect proceeding to Nine Fields (the underworld realm of the dead).

Commentary to Songs 54-C–54-D

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 49–50; HLN, 1: 241, 371–72; AAG, pp. 194–97; GPN, 3: 23–24.

LIV-C (folio 36v)

Synopsis. Revenant warriors feed the sun.

Remarks. See commentary for song 54-A.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 A singer offers his song as though it were a draught of aromatic chocolate, hoping it will be received in paradise, where Montezuma and other potential revenants reside.

2 If he sings, the song that rises in fact descends from paradise, the source of song. Descending songs are revenants, and these, becoming earthly warriors, are destined for capture. The singer, being a warrior, desires these captives. (Transported by his song?) he sets off for paradise, God's home, in order to actually fetch these precious ones.

3 The revenants arrive here in Huexotzinco (here on earth) amid the tide of battle.

4 The singer, or muse, has returned from his song trip with revenants, who will give their lives in battle—or serve as captives whose blood will feed the sun. Soon God (the sun) will be revived. Note that the muse arrives on earth for a “few days,” in keeping with the brevity theme (see pp. 48–49, above). But the odd expression *quezqui tonatiuh* (lit., “a few suns,” or “scant sun”) suggests that the sun may be weakening. The usual phrase is *quezquilhuil* (“a few days”).

5 Everybody feed the sun!

6 Supported by the deeds of the warriors (“ramparts”), the supreme spirit (Cave Dweller) “stands up.”

7 The singer explains that he went and fetched revenants (God's precious warriors, called “shields”), and that these have become captives taken at Coaxitlahuacan (an important trade center in northern Oaxaca, conquered by Montezuma I in 1458; Velázquez, *Códice Chimalpopoca*, sec. 189).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 50–51; HLN, 1: 373 (excerpt); AAG, pp. 196–99; GPN, 3: 24–25.

LIV-D (folio 36v)

Synopsis. Pro-Mexican ghosts, summoned by the muses Montezuma and Nezahualcoyotl, inspire enemy victims, who are dispatched to the other world.

Remarks. This song may or may not have been performed in sequence with 54-A, -B, and -C. See “Remarks” for songs 54-A and 54-E.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 In that I, a singer, went to paradise to fetch the songs, or flowers, that are ghosts (as in 54-B, above), their arrival here on earth is to be expected momen-

Commentary to Songs 54-E–55

tarily. And here they come, scattering down in this place of mesquites (warriors). The muses are Montezuma and Nezahualcoyotl, come to scatter the world with revenants.

2 Indeed, here comes the muse Nezahualcoyotl as though carried down in a cage (compare song 54-C, stanza 7).

3–4 The revenants' arrival from paradise is reminiscent of the ancestors' trek from the "great land" in the north during the days of the Aztec migrations. And here they are in Mexico, where we preserve a piece of the "great land" in a ceremonial desert garden planted with barrel cactus (for the purpose of making blood sacrifices?; ceremonial desert gardens are described in Sahagún, *Historia general*, 2, app. 2, para. 10; TORQ, 2: 148b; IXT, book 2: chap. 37, p. 99).

5 In response to the song-weeping of the muse Nezahualcoyotl, "hearts" (revenants) "take pity" and descend to earth.

6 More revenants and muses arrive.

7 They come to earth because they no longer wish to be imprisoned in paradise.

8 A typical captive, having assumed the mantle of the revenant, now departs (or is born—a pun).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 51–52; HLN, 1: 245 (excerpt); AAG, pp. 198–201; GPN, 3: 25–26.

LIV-E Mexican piece (folio 37)

Synopsis. Just as migrating ancestors came down to Chapultepec from Coatepec in the north, so they come now—from the other world—in answer to our weeping, as we recall the humiliating defeat we suffered at the hands of Colhuacan and Azcapotzalco (ca. 1300). Reenacted, the battle will this time result in defeat for Azcapotzalco.

Background. See "Background" for song 69.

Remarks. This piece is curiously similar to 54-D in that both songs imply an equivalence between ghosts arriving from the other world and migrating ancestors arriving from the north; it is even possible that it was performed in sequence with songs 54-A–54-D. Its subject matter is quite different, however, and for this reason it seems better treated as a separate piece.

Variant. Stanzas 3–8 coincide with UAH, secs. 233, 236, 238–39. (Stanza 5 is not a variant of Lehmann, *Geschichte*, sec. 380, despite a superficial resemblance.)

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 53–54; AAG, no. 36-B; GPN, 3: 26–27.

LIV Here begins a jewel song concerning the nativity of our lord Jesucristo. Don Francisco Plácido put it together in the year 1553. (folio 37v)

Synopsis. The three kings journeyed to Bethlehem and gave their lives in battle there (as though they were Aztec princes, pleasuring Life Giver). Recalling their

Commentary to Song 55

deeds, we produce them as revenants, as we, in exchange, proceed to heaven. (Just as the three kings desired union with Christ in Bethlehem, so do we desire union with Christ in paradise.)

Remarks. While giving lip service to certain familiar features of the story of the three kings (note the gold, incense, and myrrh of stanza 11), the singer seems to believe that Christ was produced as a revenant in response to the kings', or princes', war deeds. And in recognizing Saint Mary as the queen of heaven he seems unwilling to make a clear distinction between Bethlehem and paradise. Observe the ambiguity in stanza 3, for example.

Nonoalcans, Cozcatecs (translated "Jewel Land Dwellers"), and Cempohualtecs were traditional enemies of Mexico (see FC, book 2, p. 53). But here the names seem to be honorific designations for ghost warriors identified with the triple alliance, or recondite names for triple-alliance ghosts associated with paradise (the eastern shore). See stanzas 15, 16, and 18.

If the "Don Diego" of canto D is Diego de León (who ruled as *tlatoani* of Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan until his death in 1555), then the date in the glossator's heading ought to be 1555 at the earliest, not 1553. If the date 1553 is correct, "Don Diego" must refer to an eponymous predecessor of Diego de León.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A We three kings are en route to Bethlehem.

1 Let's go pleasure Christ with music (war deeds) in Bethlehem.

2 In fact, let's produce him as a revenant.

3-4 Saint Mary in heaven (beside the sun's road, or perhaps at a roadside in Bethlehem) has given birth to him, and he spills forth like jewels from the sky.

B We mortals are en route to paradise.

5 Fellow Christians, let's be with God (or Christ) in Bethlehem.

6-8 Perhaps we can do it through music; and our music room becomes paradise.

C Those three kings gave their lives for Christ.

9-11 Angels directed them to Bethlehem.

12-13 There they "prayed" to the virgin (made music, or war, were killed in combat, and rose in glory to the sky).

14 With musical weeping we recall their deeds, thus producing revenants.

D We grieve for lost kings.

15-17 Speaking of dead kings, I recall some of our recent caciques, for example, "Don Diego" (identity uncertain), who abandoned us here in Azcapotzalco (called "Dry Lands") as he departed for paradise.

E Kings are resurrected, as mortals ascend to paradise.

18-21 As I sing, my revenants descend from paradise and are born on earth. As they replace me, I ascend to heaven. In the sky, as a precious bird, I go fluttering along the sun's road, singing down further revenants.

Previous translations. Garibay, "Temas," p. 257 (excerpt); HLN, 2: 105-6 (excerpt); AAG, no. 37.

LVI Female apparition song, in which the holy word is set in order. It was sung at the feast of Espíritu Santo. The singer Cristóbal de Rosario Xiuhtlamin put it together in August of the year 1550. (folio 38v)

Synopsis. Just as we produce Saint Mary, and just as the Holy Ghost was produced in the presence of the apostles, so do we produce the ghosts Don Diego, Don Baltasar, and Don Felipe (former lords of Azcapotzalco and Tlacopan?).

Remarks. Like the preceding song, this piece was evidently performed not in Mexico, but in Azcapotzalco. Canto B recalls the descent of the Holy Ghost to the apostles. Canto A recalls the Annunciation (but note that Gabriel here plays a different role).

Was Azcapotzalco called San Felipe Azcapotzalco, as indicated in stanza 17? If so, the coupling of San Felipe with Santiago (see stanzas 7 and 11) would be natural enough—merely amplifying the place name—since both saints have the same feast day and are sometimes coupled even in Western lore (see TORQ, 1: 752a). The Santiago here referred to is evidently not the famous Santiago de Compostela but Santiago el Menor.

The six “psalms” composed in Nahuatl by Sahagún in honor of San Felipe and Santiago (see *Psalmódia*, 78–82v) bear no resemblance whatsoever to this song.

In stanza 7, and perhaps in stanzas 10 and 11, one is tempted to see a reference to the Dominican church and monastery of San Felipe y Santiago, built in Azcapotzalco in 1554 (Horcasitas and Heyden in Durán, *Book of the Gods*, p. 14). But the song is dated 1550.

Paraphrase by canto

A Ghost warriors in paradise, making prayers to Saint Mary, are brought to earth by the muse Saint Gabriel, whose voice is our voice as we sing these warriors down from heaven.

B Just as the Holy Ghost descended to the apostles and strengthened their faith, so do our revenants descend to us as a distribution of the Only Spirit as we bow down in prayer.

C Don Diego is among our revenants.

D And here comes Don Baltasar.

E And Don Felipe and Don Carlos Oquitzin.

F They’ve all arrived here in Azcapotzalco.

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 106–7 (excerpts); AAG, no. 38.

LVII Here begins what is called a cradlesong, with which in olden times the Tepanecs lauded the Mexican ruler Ahuizotl. It’s a composition of Nonohuiantzin of Nextenco, who was a singer and a lord. (folio 39v)

Synopsis. The ghost Ahuizotl is lured to earth by a singer in the guise of a seductive maiden.

Commentary to Song 57

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A A seductive maiden seeks the newborn revenant Ahuizotl in paradise.

1 I, an eligible maiden, begin singing, and of course the music's place of origin is paradise. It's as though I'm carrying my songs down to earth. But songs are revenants, or newborn warriors. And so it's as if I'm carrying a newborn babe, a priceless jewel, a princeling—ancestral Ahuizotl. But I'm a maiden, not a mother. And indeed, I'll pleasure my little Ahuizotl with sex—or music. Remember, singing brings a shower of songs from paradise. But again, songs are revenants. Thus I pleasure him with fellow warriors, or potential victims in war. These are what he, as a warrior, craves. With these, his "bells," his "flowers," he shall dance.

2 I rock the world as a mother rocks the cradle—or indeed, I cause the world to roll over, cause the living to die and the dead to return. Yes, off I go to paradise with my (empty) cradle in search of a "shield" (a warrior), intending to bring back little Ahuizotl, my (future) warrior, my "flower" of war.

3 As I weep my song, the revenants automatically arrive.

4 Like popcorn flowers are my created ones (revenants)—or, alternatively, my breasts (fragrant as flowers?). It's as though we were entwined with raven blooms (revenants) in a delightful bed—or it's as though we ourselves were raven blooms (the flower of eroticism?), whirling (dizzy with passion?). (On the connection of raven blooms [plumeria] with eroticism in Maya lore, see Roys, *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, p. 104; Barrera Vásquez, p. 570: *nikte'*; Thompson, *Maya History*, p. 102; and Bierhorst, *Four Masterworks*, p. 227.)

5 These flowers raining down are future victims on the battlefield, the "bosom of the flood" (or tide of war), the place where soldiers form a bulwark. Such flowers are irresistible to the warrior. Thus they tempt my little Ahuizotl.

6 It's as though the "flowers" (potential victims) were actually whirling (coming to life) along the warpath (instead of whirling down from paradise). Yes, it's as though the enemy soldiers of Chalco or Huexotzinco were tempting my little Ahuizotl by carrying artificial flower trees into battle, from which "flowers" are dropping (i.e., they are making their own troops available as victims).

B She tempts him with love and war.

7 Do not cry, little baby. I'll put you in your cradle, and father will rock you. But this really means, "Don't grieve for paradise, welcome love (and death) on earth." Your warrior-sponsor, your captor (your "father"), will shake you down from paradise as though you were a flower, dropping from the tree of life. (For the captor as "father," see FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 53.)

8 Indeed, with my music I've created you (as though you were a song, or flower, dropping down from paradise).

9 Don't grieve for the bachelor world in paradise (don't grieve for the company of your brother Axayacatl—who was in fact the brother of King Ahuizotl).

10 Sex (and death) await you on earth.

11 My music, my lamentation for the dead hero Ahuizotl, immortalizes that same Ahuizotl. In effect my singing brings Ahuizotl back. Yes, my tears create you. Come!

12 Come see all the "flowers," your future victims in war.

13 I paint my body to enhance my charms—or I "adorn" myself, surround myself, with "flowers," potential victims. Everybody craves them!

14 They're "painted" with life; these revenants, these potential victims, are coming alive. (Come enjoy them, O Ahuiztotl!)

C *With sudden revulsion she views him as a corpse.*

15 I continue my song-grieving, lamenting the long-gone Ahuiztotl, O lover of mine, O lady (suddenly addressing a hypothetical lesbian lover)! Yes, Ahuiztotl met with death (in the long ago)—or will meet with death (on the battlefield to which I am summoning him), or has met with death (at the moment, in my thoughts) and appears to me as a figure of death.

16 I grieve in song, venting my despair (as one normally does when summoning potential revenants)—but in fact I am rejecting Ahuiztotl. I don't want him to be my pet anymore, I don't want to carry him down from paradise.

17 No, he shall not be my pet. Instead, let me hope for a female(!) revenant. Rejecting males, I'll wish for female companionship. But the skies are empty. No female comes. (Regarding the revenant who does not come, compare song 88, stanza 2.)

18 Don't let that scoundrel Ahuiztotl come near me. (He'll capture me, make me a prisoner of love, and I'll die.)

19 Do not let this be the beginning of your new life, O revenant—baby Ahuiztotl! And yet, in spite of myself, it is happening.

20 Alas, he comes. I cannot help myself.

D *She can't resist him.*

21 And now the revenants ("drums," "shields," "flowers," "bells") come pouring down from Tamoanchan (paradise).

22 Yes, I've heard a "song" (a revenant), and I carry it down to earth. It's little Ahuiztotl, the newborn revenant. And all the revenants (or flower garlands) come spinning down to earth. It's as though Ahuiztotl were the song master. It's as though he, a revenant, produces these further revenants.

23 I recall you to earth, dear Ahuiztotl, by remembering your deeds (lamenting your death in war long ago, lamenting that which befell you).

24 I turn your death into music, and this brings you back to life.

E *She lures him into an embrace of love (and death).*

25 Ahuiztotl arrives.

26 Likewise his fellow revenants (cornsilk flowers) arrive, pleasuring him, seducing him into war (by offering themselves as potential captives).

27 Let paradise be here on earth. Thus Ahuiztotl will be here on earth.

28 We'll make love on earth as though we were in paradise (flower land, Tamoanchan).

29 I've painted myself, cosmetized myself, to seduce you, O Ahuiztotl—or surrounded myself, "adorned" myself, with "flowers" (revenants that will seduce you into war).

30 Come into my embrace at last.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 119–21; AAG, no. 39.

LVIII Here begins a bringing-out song, in which the holy word is translated. Thus was celebrated the feast of San Felipe, when His Majesty's gift arrived from Spain—the coat of arms that he presented to the city of Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan in the year 1564. The one who composed it was Don Francisco Plácido, gobernador of Xiquipilco, and the year in which it was sung was 1565. At that time the gobernador of Azcapotzalco was Don Antonio Valeriano. (folio 41)

Synopsis. Adam and Eve spoiled the world by cutting us off from paradise. Later, God sent his only son to help us, giving the (warlike?) apostle Saint Philip a cause to die for. As we recall Saint Philip, he returns, God-like, thus bringing paradise to earth.

Remarks. Spanish records seem to show that a coat of arms was granted to the town of "Azcapulazgo" in January 1562, whereas according to our glossator a coat of arms was received at Azcapotzalco in 1564 (see *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 22: 104; compare Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 32–33, 474 note 6). Note that Philip II was king of Spain in the 1560's, and that Saint Philip may have been the patron saint of Azcapotzalco (see "Remarks" for song 56). Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 240, reports that a *tequiquixtilizauicatl* (bringing-out song) is mentioned on folio 19 of the *Anales de Juan Bautista*.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *The problem of original sin*

1–2 (Prologue.) The singer addresses both Nonoalcans (dwellers in paradise?) and Tepanecs (citizens of the Tepanec portion of Azcapotzalco), inviting them to hear his "heart" (his outpouring of music). Both groups hear the song, because song, though heard on earth, originates in paradise. (But see *DICT*: Nonoalco 4.)

3–6 The sin of Adam and Eve weighs upon us.

7 The serpent promised them immortality, but they were deceived (compare Gen. 3:4–5).

B *The Creation* (recapitulates Gen. 1:3–31)

C *The Expulsion* (recapitulates Gen. 1:28–3:19)

D *The Flood and the Incarnation*

17–18 Compare Gen. 6:1ff.

19–20 Birth of the redeemer. The event is here said to have occurred *matlactzonxihiuil omei* (4,003 years) after the fall of Adam. But Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, fol. 16v, has *matlactzonxiuitl, ipā, ipā vntzōxiuitl, ipan matlacpoalxiuitl* (5,000 years after), again with reference to the fall of Adam.

E *The Resurrection*

21 Christ's appearance on earth is compared to the sun (compare Matt. 17:2, Acts 26:13).

22–23 An angel descends and rolls back the stone from Christ's sepulcher (Matt. 28:2). Mary Magdalene is the first to see Him (Mark 16:9).

24 Hearing the news, Saint Peter and Saint John come running to the sepulcher in the garden (John 19:41, 20:4).

Commentary to Song 59

F *Death of the apostle Saint Philip*

25 Christ instructs the apostles and ascends to heaven (Acts 1:3, 8, 9).

26 The apostle Saint Philip goes to "Asia" and is crucified—an apocryphal story more fully told in Sahagún, *Psalmódia*, fols. 80–80v.

27–28 We call to Saint Philip, hoping to produce him as a revenant here in Azcapotzalco (called Dry Lands).

Previous translations. Garibay, "Temas," p. 258 (canto C); HLN, 2: 104 (canto B), 105 (stanza 1); AAG, no. 40.

LIX Female song, concerning the resurrection of our lord, composed by Don Baltasar Toquezcuauhyo, tlatoani of Colhuacan, who in the year 1536 gave succor to our poor sought one, Don Diego de León, who was tlatoani here in Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan. (folio 42v)

Synopsis. On Easter, at the close of Lent, we call for the resurrected Jesus, hoping to produce him as a distribution of Aztec revenants, including Don Francisco and Don Diego.

Remarks. The female song appears to be a poetic fiction whereby warrior-singers and their warrior-hearers regard themselves as women; through their songs, or deeds, they give birth to revenants. "Y cosa de gran desacato y desvergüenza parece que ante el Santísimo Sacramento vayan los hombres con máscaras y en hábitos de mujeres, danzando y saltando" (Bishop Zumárraga in a treatise published in 1543 or 1544, quoted by García Icazbalceta in *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 31).

If the Don Diego of stanza 17 is in fact Diego de León, as the glossator assumes, then the date of 1536 cannot be correct (Diego de León died in 1555, according to Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 168). Evidently because no other date in the manuscript is earlier than 1550, Garibay conjectured, with justification, that the copyist transposed the last two digits in the year 1563 (HLN, 1: 156). If so, the glossator's heading in its entirety becomes plausible—though not necessarily correct.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *Easter has come and we seek Christ.*

1 The 48 days of Lent are finally over. (Perhaps by counting days of commencement and days of completion the 40 and 6 days of Lent are regarded as 41 + 7 = 48. But note that the Lenten fast is just 40 days in song 60, stanza 1.)

2 Let's go! Let's be Christians! (Compare Carochi [1892], p. 508, line 2.)

3 Already we imagine Christ as a shower of "braclet bells" (warriors), falling to earth. (The reference to Saint Francis suggests that the saint is identified with Christ or that the performance is being conducted in a sanctuary bearing his name.)

4 We imagine the revenants coming down as "milk corn" and as "corn tassels." (The verb "to eat" is evidently used in a figurative sense. See song 18, stanza 30.)

B *We ask Saint Mary to intercede for us.*

C *We call for Aztec revenants.*

Commentary to Song 60

8-9 We "recall" Christ by recalling his principal deed (the resurrection). But in fact we are "recalling" Aztec revenants (addressed as "golden ones," etc.), whom we expect to produce as a distribution of Christ.

10 Ancestral Don Francisco (a cacique of the early colonial period?) answers that he is alive in paradise.

11 Indeed, all our Aztec ancestors are alive in paradise.

D *And the revenant Don Francisco arrives.*

E *And the revenant Don Diego arrives.*

16-17 On a song trip we carry down Don Diego (another early cacique).

18 By means of song-weeping we produce Don Diego (who has been alive in paradise in company with such ancestors as Ilhuicaminatzin and Tetelepanquetzanitzin). We produce him by presenting him with songs in his memory.

19 Don Diego is born again on earth.

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 107 (canto A); AAG, no. 41.

LX Fish song (folio 43)

Synopsis. As though we were fish, we Mexicans wish to be caught in the "net" of Christianity and sent to heaven. In exchange, Aztec revenants descend to earth, perpetuating Mexico.

Background. For the events of August 1521, especially with regard to Coyona-cazgo and Coyohuacan, see "Background" for song 66.

In October 1524 Cortés set out for Honduras, accompanied by Indian troops and several Indian leaders, including Hernando de Alvarado Cuauhtemoc, Pedro Cortés Tetelepanquetzanitzin, Pedro Coanacoch, Juan Velázquez Tlacotzin, Andrés de Tápia Motelchiuh, Martín Ecatl, and Pedro Temilotzin, all of whom were by this time baptized or were soon to be baptized (Díaz del Castillo, chap. 177; UAH, secs. 17-47; IXT, 1: 494-505; Chimalpain, pp. 242-43; Dibble, p. 62; compare Prescott, book 7, chap. 3; on the names, see DICT). Suspected of plotting an insurrection, Cuauhtemoc and Tetelepanquetzanitzin were hanged from a ceiba tree in a place called Acallan (now in the state of Campeche). After this, Ecatl and Temilotzin are said to have concealed themselves in a ship bound for Spain. Ecatl made the crossing, but Temilotzin, fearing capture, jumped overboard and disappeared in the ocean (UAH). Ecatl is mentioned in song 68, stanzas 70-72; for details, see "Background" for that song.

Remarks. Although the fish appears to have been a traditional symbol in Aztec ghost songs (see DICT: michin; and FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 53, line 32), this composition may have been at least partly inspired by the New Testament story of the draught of fishes. Addressing the fishermen Peter and Andrew, Christ fills their net with fish, saying, "I will make you fishers of men" (Matt. 4:19, Mark 1:16-18, Luke 5:1-11). Such terms as *atlitic* (in the waters, i.e., Mexico City) and *atlan* (in the waters, i.e., the other world) permit a certain amount of wordplay, especially in the final canto.

As part of a festival at Santa María de Guadalupe, held Sunday, September 15, 1566, "there were dances: the Mexicans sang *michuicatl* (fish song) and the Tlate-

Commentary to Song 60

lollans sang *yaocuiatl* (war song)" (Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 222). But the fact that our song is an Easter piece (see stanza 1) makes it unlikely that the same fish song is meant. Moreover, our song summons the ghost of Don Juan de Guzmán Itztolinqui (stanzas 22, 41, 42, and 51), who lived until 1569. According to Chimalpain's *Journal*, a *michcuicatl* was performed at the Plaza del Volador in Mexico City on September 5, 1593 (Zimmermann, 2: 41).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *We dwell upon our misery, recalling the defeat at Coyoacazco.*

1 As befits the season (evidently Easter) the singer summons his revenants, called "golden fishes." (On the forty days, see Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar sec. 7.12.)

2 But don't make war, you revenants! Be careful (like good Christians). We only want your songs, not your war deeds. And in order to produce them, we singers dwell on our grief. As Mexicans, we are among the miserable little fishes conquered by the Spaniards—or eaten during Lent. And yet if we're eaten, isn't that one way to get to heaven? (Recall that Aztec sacrificial victims were regarded as food for the sun, were cannibalized, and were automatically admitted to paradise.) The answer, however, is not clear (until stanza 6).

3 The singer continues to crave revenants. Note the pun on *Axayacatl*, the name of a noble ancestor and also the name of an aquatic insect.

4 Alas, we Mexican fish (though eaten on earth) are not palatable to God. Only the more succulent foods (the Christians?) are wanted in paradise.

5 Denied, we warriors (or Chichimecs) grieve, remembering that we are a conquered nation.

6 But wait! Remember how we were defeated at Coyoacazco? And how our leaders were fire-tortured at Cortés' camp in Coyohuacan? In effect we were relished by God, were we not? (Thus an answer to the question posed in stanza 2.)

B *Recalling the executions at Acallan, we summon the muse Temilotzin, who brings a wave of Mexican revenants.*

7-8 We summon the muse Temilotzin, reminding him that he slipped out of the "net" (where he would have been "pleasured").

9 Yes, the deeds at Acallan are now remembered.

10 Temilotzin, in his misery (having abandoned the "net," having eluded the grasp of the Christians), serves as the muse, or song-weepers. And the "tears," or revenants, come pouring down.

11-12 The revenants are a distribution of God (the Bishop).

13 It's as though paradise had come to earth in response to our weeping—just as Saint John the Divine saw the holy city. "And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven. . . . And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying. . . . And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city" (Rev. 21:2, 4, 10).

C *The Mexican revenants yearn for heaven.*

14-15 The revenants are arriving.

16-19 Juan Velázquez and Andrés de Tápia Motelchihuh (called "don Juan" and "Tápia" in the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, in García Icazbalceta,

Nueva colección, 3: 237) are among the revenants. We all look forward to giving our lives in battle, once again, in Santiago (de Tlatelolco).

D *Spaniards return, and the defeat at Coyonacazco is reenacted.*

20–21 The wrath of God descends on us in Santiago de Tlatelolco (where we were finally forced to surrender in the district called Coyonacazco). The returning Spaniards are “parrot fish” and “teosiates” (i.e., Christians, who are palatable to God?); on “parrot fish,” mentioned in stanza 4, see paraphrase above. The expression “He does it! In Santiago!” is echoed in song 13, stanza 9: “This is the doing of Life Giver in Tlatelolco.”

22 The weeping of Motelchiuh (one of the heroes at Coyonacazco) causes him to “see things,” i.e., see revenants, including Don Juan (as above) and “the tlatoani Guzmán” (presumably Don Juan de Guzmán Itztlolinqui, *tlatoani* of Coyohuacan from 1526 until his death in 1569).

23–25 The revenants continue to arrive in response to our weeping.

26 Our weeping, as fishes, seems to derive from our fear of being eaten on Saturday, a fast day in the Catholic Church up through the sixteenth century. Is this a humorous allusion to the ruinous taxes imposed by encomenderos?

E *The Mexicans are eager for death, eager to be in paradise.*

27–28 Our song-weeping is effective. Revenants arrive as a distribution of God (the bee?).

29 We wish to be trapped in the “net” of our foes (the net of Christianity).

30 Indeed, we’re already feeling like Christians (like palatable shrimp; see stanzas 4 and 21).

31 We’re making music in the Christian manner.

32 Don’t hesitate to join us, Fray Pedro! (Fray Pedro de Gante, the singing master at San Francisco de Mexico?; see Mendieta, book 4, chap. 14; TORQ, 3: 211). Fray Pedro is also referred to in song 19, stanza 13; song 61, stanzas 47–48, 55–56; and song 68, stanza 58–59.

F *The returning Spaniards wreak havoc, but Franciscan friars(?) also arrive.*

33 All the “jewel fish” (the Spaniards?) have been returned to earth (as a result of the Christianized song-weeping described in canto E?) and with them their associates, the Huexotzincans, represented by Ayocuan, here called One Rabbit (the year bearer whose rule meant hunger and slavery, per 1^oC, book 7, chap. 8).

34 These are unwanted revenants. But our grieving produces Mexican revenants as well, including the muse Don Juan Ahuelitoc (son of Temilotzin) and Tápia Motelchiuh.

35 We anticipate death at the hands of these Spanish and Huexotzincan revenants. We prepare to meet our forebears in the other world.

36–38 In the depths of our despair, however, we find that we are producing not only enemy warriors, but Franciscan friars(?). See paraphrase of canto G.

G *The Franciscans bring salvation.*

39–41 The arriving revenants are incarnations of God.

42 Sunday sermons by the Franciscans are promised. Compare Mark 1:21: “And straightaway on the sabbath day [following the draught of fishes] he entered into the synagogue, and taught.”

43–44 Thus God’s kingdom comes to earth. Compare Matt. 13:45, 47: “Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls.

. . . Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered [fish] of every kind."

H *Franciscan music produces Aztec revenants.*

45–46 As in stanza 2a, the "bishop" here refers to the Christian officiant, perhaps the bishop of Mexico himself, celebrating mass. Note this canto's emphasis on the inadequacy of Mexican singers (stanzas 48–50). Now at last God has genuine music.

47–50 Now with certainty we are able to produce our Aztec revenants, including Tāpia.

I *And Mexico endures.*

51–60 The singer envisions victory (stanza 51), then defeat (stanzas 52–54), then victory again (stanzas 55–56), then again defeat—and weeping, with concomitant revenants (stanza 57). This in fact is to be our fate: our lives shall be hard, but our race shall be immortal. The words of God (stanzas 59–60) are an adaptation of Gen. 1:27 and 3:19.

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 109–115 (excerpts); AAG, no. 42.

LXI Here begins a children song, or little-children song,
that used to be sung there in Mexico at the feast of
San Francisco. It was composed in our lifetime when
we were living there at the church and as yet we were
little children (folio 46)

Synopsis. We Mexicans celebrate the feast of Saint Francis by producing Franciscan and Aztec revenants.

Remarks. The term children may refer to the newly converted Mexicans. See Matt. 18:3, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," and Luke 20:36, "Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God." Yet the converts continue to be "Huexotzincans," or warriors. Since "children" can also be an Aztec term signifying revenants, a certain amount of wordplay becomes inevitable—as the Huexotzincan "children" summon their revenant "children."

The glossator's heading correctly notes that the piece was performed on the feast of Saint Francis (October 4) (see stanzas 17 and 38), but it is doubtful that the song alludes specifically to Mexican children indoctrinated in the missions, as the glossator seems to think.

Mention of the ghost Itztolinqui (probably Don Juan de Guzmán Itztolinqui, the *tlatoani* of Coyohuacan; d. 1569) would date the song no earlier than 1569. But note the references to Fray Pedro (de Gante) in cantos H and J and compare the following entry from the *Anales de Juan Bautista*: "In September 1567, the singing of the *Pipilcuicatl* [children song?] was taught to the church people. It was taught to them there at the church. They learned it by order of our father Fray Pedro de Gante. He said, 'It will be sung at the feast of Saint Francis, and then it will be cried everywhere. Won't the citizenry come to see us!' And the church people had the Indian singers eat while they were teaching them. And when the feast of Saint Francis came, on Saturday, that was when it was sung. Those who made the people

dance, the church people, were Francisco Quetzalayatl, Francisco Matlalacaca, Andrés Motecpillitohua, Juan Totococ, Juan Martín. And the insignias they wore were an imitation helmet, a plume of heron feathers, regalia of the people of Aztahuacan. And the citizenry came from all over: all the principal men came to dance" (Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 223; compare HLN, 2: 331). One possibility is that our song is a later version of the piece referred to in the *Anales*. The Fray Pedro here, then, is presumably a ghost muse.

If the *ixhuetzcatocaton* of canto B is in fact an allusion to the ghost of Don Alonso Axayacatzin Ixhuetzcatocatzin, as suggested below in the paraphrase of stanza 7, then the text at hand would have to have been composed, or at least revised, no earlier than 1581 (the date of Don Alonso's last will and testament).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *We would pray to God, producing revenants.*

1 We sing in order to pleasure the ghosts in paradise, hoping to produce them as "flowers" (revenants). Their arrival will be a distribution, or manifestation, of God.

2 They will come as "turquoise swans" and as "words" (songs) of God.

3 They are our tears (our "sadness") as we sigh these prayers. They light up the church (where we are performing).

4-5 We pray as faithful Christians, destined for heaven (the place where all are shorn). ("Darkness" and "night" may refer to the day of judgment, as in John 12: 31-36 and 1 Thess. 5: 2-9.)

B *Our song trip would produce Christ.*

6 We call out to Saint Francis and Don Juan Itztlolinqui, summoning them to earth. In order to procure them, we embark on a song trip to paradise, hoping that the ghost of the late "presidente" (see paraphrase of stanzas 27-29) will intercede for us. Alrcady God's presence is felt on earth.

7 Yes, we would like to visit paradise (on a song trip); and as a result of our effort, the "baby smiler" (Christ?) will act as muse and weep revenants. He will descend, carrying down our "hands" (warriors) as though grains of sand (?—see stanza 42). (But "baby smiler" [*ixhuetzcatocato*] and "baby Sand Descender" [*xaltemócto*] may refer to sixteenth-century Mexicans. See DICT: Alonso Āxāyacatzin, *Īxhuetzcatoc, Xāltemoc.)

8-11 Indeed, God himself (in the person of Christ) is already descending to earth.

C *Would we return from our song trip?*

12 We're afraid that our song trip to paradise will become a death trip, in which we mortals will be exchanged for revenants. An unidentified voice assures us that it will merely be a song trip.

13-14 Our revenants arrive.

15-16 Yet we continue to worry that we will be exchanged.

D *Let's merely pray in church as Christians, i.e., let's avoid the dangerous Aztec dogma suggested above.*

17-22 Let's remember that today we celebrate the ascension of Saint Francis. Let's pray as Christians to Saint Francis, Christ, and Saint Mary. Let them bring down our revenants.

Commentary to Song 61

E *We'll produce Franciscan(?) revenants.*

23-25 We sing our prayers in a Christian manner.

26 Saint Francis descends as muse.

27-29 The "presidente" (probably Don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the second *audiencia real*, 1532-36) descends as muse, distributing revenants of "tawny and brown" (i.e., brown-robed Franciscans? or dark-skinned Aztecs?). (For the career of Ramírez de Fuenleal and his popularity with the Indians, see Motolinía, "Historia," *tratado* 3, chap. 3; Mendieta, book 3, chap. 30.)

F *This will enable us to procure Aztec revenants.*

30 The "presidente" sings, producing revenants.

31 We Aztecs do likewise.

32-33 We produce the muse Itztlolinqui (see stanza 6), who in turn produces One Rabbit (the personification of slavery; see paraphrase of song 60, stanza 33) and the Marquis (presumably Cortés). Both One Rabbit and the Marquis are produced so that they may be destroyed.

34-37 Meanwhile Aztec revenants, including Yoyontzin of Acolhuacan, Don Gabriel (Tecpatl?) of Tlacopan, Don Francisco (of Azcapotzalco?), and Huanitl of Tenochtitlan, appear on earth. Joined by friars (the "anointed" hands), they proceed to heaven (to Saint Francis) in order to present "flowers" or "bells" (sacrificial victims, including the Marquis) to God the king.

G *Saint Francis will intercede for us.*

38 We offer songs (or victims?) to Saint Francis in honor of his ascension (see stanza 17).

39 In exchange, Saint Francis will send us revenants.

40-41 The voice of Saint Francis, or of a Franciscan friar, called "Anointed," offers a prayer to God that we may be blessed with "jades" (revenants). Compare Luke 4:18: "The Spirit of the Lord *is* upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach."

42-43 And our revenants are carried down like countless grains of sand (?—see stanza 7).

H *Fray Pedro will assist us.*

44-46 The revenants arrive as sprouting flowers, "tawny, color of char-thorn" (see stanza 27 paraphrase, above).

47 We imagine that our muse is Fray Pedro (Fray Pedro de Gante?), who has "imitated" Saint Francis. (Note that Franciscans were called "hijos y imitadores del humilde S. Francisco"; Mendieta, book 3, chap. 30.)

48 Fray Pedro must be the one to sing down these "agonies," or revenants, because we Indians are inept at music making ("we have no rattles"). (Gante was the Indians' singing master; for similar references to Fray Pedro, see paraphrase of song 60, stanza 32.)

I *Our song trip will be successful.*

49-52 Now that the Franciscans have prepared the way for us, we enter heaven on a Christian-style song trip of our own, seeking flowers, or potential revenants. We'll "cut" them and bring them back to earth.

J *Our revenants will arrive as a distribution of God.*

53-54 We will need a procurer, a song carrier in paradise, who can distribute

Commentary to Songs 62–63

God (or Christ) to us in the form of revenant "flowers." The role is filled by Saint Christopher (who "carries" Christ, according to the legend). With the aid of Saint Christopher we will net the flower butterflies (revenants).

55–56 With the aid of Fray Pedro, we produce these revenants as a distribution of "our lord forever."

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 116–19 (excerpts); AAG, no. 43; Garibay, *Xochimacitli*, nos. 43, 44 (excerpts).

LXII Bereavement song (folio 48v)

Variants. Though nearly identical to songs 41, 42, and 43, this piece has numerous phonic peculiarities, suggesting that it derives from a separate performance. The only substantial difference, so far as translation is concerned, occurs in stanza 2, with the addition of "Is my mother alive?" The final sentence of stanza 1 seems to be positive in song 41 and negative in song 62; but in either case the gist is the same.

LXIII Song of Don Hernando de Guzmán, a peeper song (folio 50)

Synopsis. Chalcan muses descend to earth, summoning Cortés and the various Chalcan princes who assisted him in the conquest of Mexico. These are destroyed and sent back to the other world.

Background. In rebellion against Mexican authority, princely generals from the Chalcan centers of Tlalmanalco and Amaquemecan joined Cortés in 1521 and led or sent troops to participate in the siege of Mexico City. Prominent in these activities were the young lords Acacitli and Omacatzin, brothers from Tlalmanalco, and young Tecuanxayacatzin and his brother, Quetzalmazatzin, both of Amaquemecan. Afterward all four were rewarded by Cortés, who made them caciques of their respective boroughs—each of the Chalcan towns, like Mexico itself, incorporating more than one administrative unit (Chimalpain, pp. 236–44; IXT, 2: 258–59).

At baptism these four lords became Don Francisco de Sandoval Acacitli, Don Hernando de Guzmán Omacatzin, Don Juan de Sandoval Tecuanxayacatzin, and Don Tomás de San Martín Quetzalmazatzin. And the city of Tlalmanalco became San Luis Tlalmanalco in honor of San Luis Obispo (García Icazbalceta, *Colección*, 2: 307; Chimalpain, pp. 253–54).

As late as 1541 Viceroy Antonio Mendoza was still thanking Acacitli for the help the Chalcans had given Cortés in the "conquest and pacification of this realm" (García Icazbalceta, *Colección*, 2: 331).

Remarks. The locale appears to be the Chalcan town of San Luis Tlalmanalco (stanzas 31, 35, 41). But this may be a fictitious setting. Probably the song is a "Chalcan piece," a piece in which Mexican singers assume the guise of Chalcans, manipulating history to serve Mexican ends. Songs 51–53 and 84, which also ap-

pear at first glance to have been composed by Chalcan, should be compared. Also compare such "Tlaxcalan pieces" as song 66, in which the ghosts of Cortés and his Indian allies are summoned to reenact the events of 1521.

As in many sixteenth-century chronicles, Hernando Cortés is here spoken of merely as the Marquis or the Captain (stanzas 1, 2, 5, 6). The Juan Pérez mentioned in stanza 56 is probably Juan Pérez de Artiaga, who, like Cortés, was sometimes called Malinche (for an explanation, see Díaz del Castillo, chap. 74, p. 129). Hence stanza 56 may refer obliquely to Cortés. Similarly, the Don Hernando of stanzas 7ff almost certainly refers to Cortés, even though we eventually learn that "Don Hernando" is Omacatzin (stanza 13). Perhaps the singer is flirting with the notion that Cortés deserves hanging (see stanzas 45-46, 60-61). If so, the sentiment is sufficiently couched in ambiguity to have passed Franciscan censorship. (In fact the terms Marquis and Captain in the opening canto could possibly refer to God, rather than Cortés. See DICT: *mochiuh*, *capitan*, *chiya:tē*. And compare the relevant phrases in stanzas 1, 2, and 5.)

Observe the references to the four Chalcan lords in stanzas 13 ("Francisco, ah! Lord Acacitli" and "Don Hernando, Lord Omacatzin"), 17 ("Francisco"), 27 ("Don Juan"), 40 ("Guzmán"), 49 ("Lord Tomás"), and *passim*. If "Don Juan" has been correctly identified, the song should probably be dated no earlier than 1565, the year of Juan de Sandoval Tecuanxayacatzin's death (Chimalpain, p. 270). The others, including Cortés, all died earlier.

The incessant croaking of the raucous-voiced *cacatl*, or "peeper" (an unidentified batrachian), is said to produce headaches (FC, book 11, chap. 4, p. 72).

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 116 (excerpt from stanza 7); AAG, no. 45.

LXIV A song of green places (folio 52v)

Synopsis. Desiring God, we Mexicans produce the Chalcan lord Ayocuan and offer him as payment. In exchange God comes to Tenochtitlan, bringing paradise to earth.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 We've set the stage for a performance.

2 We'll offer music to Motelchiuh ("Self-Despiser," a play on *Mochiuh*toc, "Self-Maker"?—i.e., God?; note that God in stanza 7 is supposed to "grieve," or produce revenants by means of song-weeping; but this might also be a reference to Andrés de Tápia Motelchiuh, here serving as muse). God (or the muse) is familiar with the "waters" (the hereafter). He can "open" the "grotto" (another name for the hereafter) so that songs (or revenants) spill down to Tenochtitlan. (Compare similar phrasology in FC, book 6, chap. 15, p. 80, and chap. 24, p. 137.)

3 We'll offer God a victim, an enemy warrior destined to become a "swan" in paradise.

4-11 Already we imagine the revenants descending (as angels, swans, jewels, etc.).

12-14 We produce the Chalcan ghost Ayocuan to serve as payment for our revenants. Ayocuan and his fellow Chalcan come and lie as captives in God's "hand"(?).

Commentary to Song 65

15–20 Our revenants arrive as a distribution of God (called “padre” and “captain?”), creating paradise in Tenochtitlan (city of “turquoise columns”).

Variants. Stanzas 9–11, RSNE 23v: 14–18, 24: 5–7, 24v: 15–25: 6; stanzas 12–12a, song 53, stanzas 22–23; stanzas 13–18, song 79, stanzas 9–14.

Previous translation. AAG, no. 46.

LXV Matlatzincan piece (folio 53v)

Synopsis. The ghost of Axayacatl is summoned to reenact his victory over Matlatzinco.

Background. The story of King Axayacatl’s Matlatzincan campaign, as told in Tezozomoc’s *Crónica mexicana*, chap. 48, p. 404, and chap. 49, pp. 407, 411, has the king subduing the Matlatzincans at Toluca, then moving on to Tlacotepec, where an enemy warrior named Tlilcuetzpal gives him a thigh wound. Victorious nonetheless, Axayacatl returns to Mexico via Chapultepec, later to be greeted by Nezahualcoyotl, king of Acolhuacan, and Totoquihuaztli, king of the Tepanecs. See also Durán, *Historia*, chap. 35.

Axayacatl’s reign has been dated 1468–81; but according to one source, he was wounded in 1478 and died in 1479 (Dibble, p. 47). Similarities between Axayacatl’s Matlatzincan and Tarascan campaigns make for much confusion, and in some accounts the two stories are inextricably meshed—as perhaps here. Notice also that our song, like Tezozomoc’s account, has the victorious Axayacatl greeted by Nezahualcoyotl, which would have been impossible since Nezahualcoyotl died in 1472. In my opinion this song was composed many years after the fact.

Remarks. The final, prose paragraph, apparently a glossator’s addition, differs from Tezozomoc and Durán in having the leg wound delivered at Xiquipilco (agreeing with IXT, 2: 144–45, and TORQ, 1: 182). We learn that the assailant, Tlilatl, is summoned to Mexico and given “the loincloth, the cape, and so forth” by the women of Axayacatl. The “and so forth” would be the shield, badge, labret, headband, and other regalia traditionally presented to a victorious warrior (see FC, book 6, chap. 3, p. 14). The story contradicts Torquemada’s version, in which Axayacatl, urged on by his women, has the assailant murdered as part of the victory celebration.

Timbers and deerskins would be among the expected items of tribute from the rude, Otomi-speaking Matlatzincan tribes (as suggested by our story). Though the enemy is honored for his valor, he is nevertheless reduced to the status of a tributary. (Before the war, the Matlatzincans had refused to send timbers for a temple that Axayacatl was refurbishing; Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 35, p. 268.)

For more complete lists of the towns conquered by Axayacatl, see *Codex Mendoza*; and FC, book 8, chap. 1.

Paraphrase by stanza

- 1 The singer imagines himself to be Macuilxochitl, spirit of flowers.
- 2 He takes a song (revenant) from paradise, offering flowers, or songs, of his own (or victims?) in exchange.
- 3 The victims implied in stanza 2 are identified as Matlatzincans. The revenant is

Axayacatl, come to destroy the Matlatzincan town of Tlacotepec. The singer addresses Axayacatl as "Blade Companion" (Itzcoatzin). (Compare commentary for song 47.) But the glossator, supposing that two persons are meant, finds that old King Itzcoatzin (r. 1427-40) is being invoked for some reason or other and writes "Itzcoatzin" in the margin. Realizing that the song commemorates Axayacatl's Matlatzincan campaign, the glossator is further puzzled by the mention of Tlacotepec, which he evidently knows to be a town in the Chalcan region. But the Tlacotepec meant here is the one ten km south of Toluca in Matlatzincan territory. Both Tlacotepecs appear on modern maps.

4 The "whirled one" is the revenant Axayacatl, spun down from paradise. Again puzzled, the glossator offers a synonym for *ilacatzihui* ("he is whirled"), writing "he is whirled or he is spun," perhaps as a first step toward fathoming this odd usage. (See pp. 13-14, above.)

5-6 In the heat of battle Axayacatl slays Matlatzincans (presents plumes and flowers to Life Giver).

7 Just as our songs give pleasure to Life Giver, so do these Matlatzincan victims. (The term Shaven Head should probably be applied only to the Tarascans, who inhabit the region called Michhuacan, west of Matlatzincos; see FC, book 10, chap. 29, p. 188. But note that Tezozomoc treats the two peoples as a single tribe; *Crónica mexicana*, chap. 52, p. 422.)

8 Axayacatl and his comrades return to Mexico carrying live captives. They are "drunk" with the fragrance of these battle "flowers" (the captives).

9 They return by way of Ecatepec (probably entering Mexico via Chapultepec, as did soldiers coming down from Ecatepec after a similar expedition described in Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 37, pp. 284-85).

10 At home in triumph, Axayacatl greets his fellow triple-alliance rulers, Nezahualcoyotl of Acolhuacan and Totoquihuatzli, king of the Tepanecs. (This would accord with Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana*, chap. 49.)

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 41-42; AAG, no. 47; GPN, 3: 53-54; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 164-69.

LXVI Tlaxcalan piece (folio 54)

Synopsis. Revenants representing Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco, on one side, and Mexico, on the other, are summoned to reenact their roles in the siege of Mexico City. Though the battle is won by the Tlaxcalans and Huexotzincans, in league with Cortés, this Mexican song gives the lasting victory to Mexico, whose dead reach paradise and whose women, uniting sexually with Cortés and his men, perpetuate Mexican blood.

Background. The story of the siege of Mexico is told from the native point of view in Sahagún's *Historia*, book 12; in Ixtlilxochitl, and in the *Anales de Tlatelolco*. In these and other sources we learn that Cortés, after an unsuccessful attempt to take the city in 1520, returned in May 1521 with a large Indian army recruited among nations long hostile to Mexico, including Tlaxcala, primarily, supported by Huexotzinco and by rebellious contingents from Chalco, Acolhuacan, and the

Chinampanec cities. From his base at Coyohuacan, Cortés advanced along the causeway leading into the muddy flats called Acachinanco at the southern entrance to the city. Brigantines built with native labor in Tlaxcala and transported over the mountains, piece by piece, to Acolhuacan had been assembled and launched in the shadow of Mount Tepepul and were now hrought eastward across the lake to join their "captain." A few days later, Cortés' assembled troops stormed the Eagle Gate and overran the main square of Tenochtitlan. The Tenochcan ruler, Cuauhtemoc, fled with his warrior princes into the northern sector of the city, called Tlatelolco, where together with their brother Tlateloleans they withstood the siege until August 13. The Mexicans' last stand was made in Coyonacazco at the northern tip of the island. Following the surrender, Cuauhtemoc and other leaders were taken as prisoners to Cortés' camp in Coyohuacan. At some later date Cuauhtemoc's consort, Tecuichpoch (later known as Doña Isabel or Isabel Montezuma), became Cortés' mistress and bore him a child (see DICT: Ixapeltzin).

Remarks. The reader of these stanzas should be attuned to Mexican sarcasm. The Mexican singer, with a smirk, is inviting the enemy to destroy him. In effect he says, "Go ahead and do it. I'll have the last laugh." According to Torquemada, when the Mexicans saw their buildings burned, they taunted their Indian foes, saying, "Burn and destroy the houses! We'll make you come back and build better ones if we win. If the Castillians win, you'll build for them too" (TORQ, 1: 564a).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Bound for paradise, we Mexicans welcome death.

1 You Tlaxcalans and Huexotzincans arrive in Tenochtitlan to assist Cortés in the siege of Mexico (or Tlaxcalan and Huexotzincan revenants arrive from paradise to reenact their historic role in the siege of Mexico). The Spaniards (represented by Rodrigo de Castañeda, called Xicotencatl by the Indians) exhort the Tlaxcalans and Huexotzincans (represented by the cacique Don Juan Nelpiloni) to "be strong" and to prevail against Mexico.

2 And now the Huexotzincan warrior-prince called Cuauhtencoz (Eagle Yellow-Beak) comes shouting down to earth. Cortés speaking through his interpreter, Marina, welcomes "[Guard-]Hut-Yellow-Beak" (a play on the name Eagle Yellow-Beak), stationing him as lookout at Acachinanco, the southern entrance to Tenochtitlan (where in fact the siege began; FC, hook 12, chap. 30, p. 83).

3 Eagle Yellow-Beak accepts the charge and exhorts his comrades to keep watch for the brigantines arriving over the lake from the direction of distant Mount Tepepul.

4 The Mexican singer urges the Tlaxcalan and Huexotzincan troops to aid the Spaniards ("our lords") as the siege begins. Heavy guns are brought into the city by brigantines maneuvering through the narrow canals as far as the Eagle Gate (see FC, book 12, chap. 31, p. 85).

5-6 The Indian troops in the brigantines are commanded by Ixtlilxochitl, the collaborator king of Acolhuacan (see IXT, 1: 463-66). At the Eagle Gate they break through the Mexican defenses, taking the great square of Tenochtitlan and the pyramid of Huitzilopochtli (FC, book 12, chap. 31, pp. 85-86; IXT, 1: 466). Cortés and Ixtlilxochitl meet at the pyramid (IXT, 1: 466), site of the great round-

stone, where victims were customarily sacrificed. Ixtlilxochitl's "dancing" (i.e., skirmishing—see General Introduction, p. 28, above) produces revenants ("scarlet-plume shields") that come "whirling" down from paradise (see General Introduction, p. 25, above).

7 Mexican princes, including Anahuacatl and Tehuetzquiti, come from behind the barricades (or as revenants from paradise) to be slaughtered (or sacrificed) by the enemy.

8 As revenants, these Mexican princes are "words," or songs, uttered by Life Giver (the sun, called Eagle-Going-Down, in reference to the setting sun in particular). They last for a "moment" on earth and are promptly dispatched by the foe. But once dispatched they revive in paradise. They float up like cotton tufts, they whirl up to paradise as though propelled by plumes. In paradise (Hummingbird Mountain) Life Giver rejoices in these sacrificial offerings.

9 Life Giver is unusually fortunate today. Though he ordinarily receives merely a few human sacrifices, this time he gets the entire city of Tenochtitlan (which the Spaniards are burning). Of course he may need more than walls and buildings. In fact he needs human blood. So we'll send along a few "payments," i.e., human victims (which for the moment refers merely to Mexican casualties, but see stanza 21). Ah yes, we'll give him a few "skin"-robes (referring to flayed human victims; see FC, book 2, chap. 21, pp. 52–53).

B *As the battle rages we retreat to Tlatelolco—and to paradise.*

10–11 As the enemy closes in ("with their shields"), we Mexicans cut off our hair in recognition of our defeat (UAH, sec. 325) and take to the road (or avenue) leading into Tlatelolco. We Mexicans are represented by Tehuetzquiti, Tecoahtin, Coahuilt, and Itzpotonqui. But the passage may also mean that we Mexicans depart for paradise (the sun's road), as enemy revenants come dancing to earth (from the four directions).

12 The Mexican lord Anahuacatl, alone, takes a last stand, attempting to conjure the enemy with magic talismans (in FC, book 12, chap. 38, p. 113, this role is enacted by the warrior Opochtzin and not until just before the final surrender in Tlatelolco). But the effort fails.

C *As revenants we return for a moment of fantasized glory, taunting our enemies.*

13 The singer now summarizes the situation, assuming the voice of Oquitzin (one of the Mexican heroes of the siege). As "Oquitzin" sings and plays, the enemy revenants have come to earth (like sprouting corn tassels), using "fire" (from Spanish guns), and routing the Mexican "lords and rulers" (sending them to paradise). Old Oquitzin himself is in paradise, of course. Now the singer calls on Oquitzin to inspire him as he summons the Mexican legion back to earth (as he "pleasures" the "multitude," i.e., song-summons the countless dead, who are his Mexican comrades in arms). In the stanzas that follow, we will recall the actual (though limited) military successes enjoyed by the Mexicans during the siege, as the singer fantasizes a great victory for Mexico.

14 And so yes, despite the situation described in cantos A and B, Lord Huanitl (for example) reappears as revenant. (And in fact Huanitl did survive the siege. In the 1530's he became the first post-Conquest *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan, an office later held by his son. See Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 169.) In response to my song, all the dead Mexican heroes are "painted in shields" (are brought to life, bearing arms).

15–16 And here comes the hero Atl Popoca, who snatched a lance from a Spaniard (and killed him, assuming that Atl Popoca is the nameless chief mentioned in IXT, 1: 467). We see him gathering up the corpses of sacrificed Tlaxcalan warriors. (“Stripers” were victims painted with red lines or stripes, usually on great occasions; see Sahagún, *Historia general*, 1: 143 [book 2, chap. 21]; Caso, *Aztecs*, p. 67.) Here begins imagery (extending through stanza 18) suggestive of an old-style gala.

17–18 And now the great Motelchiuh makes his appearance. It is he (not the Spaniards of stanza 4) who does the “wrecking” (and not of Mexico but of Spanish materiel). He is our “bulwark.” In high merriment he acts the role of “Rabbir” (the proverbial tippler?) and calls for a celebration. (For variant descriptions of the Festival of Lords, always with drinking, merrymaking, and the sacrifice of captives, see FC, book 2, chap. 27; and TORQ, 1: 177.)

D *Our ruler, Cuauhtemoc, is captured, and we surrender.*

19–20 Temilotzin and Coyohuchuetzin, two more Mexican heroes, continue in the spirit of canto C.

21 It is now apparent that we have hopes for preserving Tenochtitlan here on earth. Perhaps it needn't be sent to paradise (as in stanza 9). Instead, we offer Life Giver a “payment” of one Spaniard (Fulano Guzmán, who in fact was killed by the Mexicans; Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 77, p. 568).

22 But as the litany (“Tenochcans are surrounded . . .”) has already been warning us since stanza 19, these defenses fail, and the Spanish-led troops seize Cuauhtemoc. With this the war has ended, and Mexicans are fleeing into the waters of the lake (see FC, book 12, p. 83, line 26; and compare song 54–E, stanza 5).

E *But we (not our Indian enemies) achieve immortality through intermarriage with the Spaniards.*

23 Don't forget, you Tlaxcalans: it is we Mexicans, not you, who have intermarried with the (ruling) Spaniards. It is our blood, not yours, that will run through the veins of the future lords of New Spain—because they seized our women (though the women muddied their faces in an attempt to make themselves unattractive; see FC, book 12, chap. 40, p. 118).

24 Secure in the knowledge that Mexican blood would endure, the typical Mexican warrior died content.

25–26 Indeed, the Mexican warriors were made tom turkeys, or cuckolds. (Note the symbolic connection between the tom turkey and impotence; FC, book 11, chap. 2, pp. 53–54.) They were corralled, so to speak, at Acachinanco (the southern tip of the city, where the Spaniards first broke the Mexican defenses), and driven (like turkeys—to the northernmost sector of Tlatelolco, where they finally surrendered). The Spaniards are again represented by Castañeda (Xicotencatl).

27 The defeat occurred in the ninth month, or ninth feasting period, of the Aztec year (i.e., the twenty-day calendrical division known as Nexochimaco or Tlaxochimaco, falling in July or August; see UAH, sec. 371; FC, book 2, chap. 28, p. 101; and Andrews, p. 403). Coanacoch and Teteupanquetzatzin, the loyalist rulers of Acolhuacan and of the Tepanecs, together with Cuauhtemoc, were the last of the great triumvirates. Following the surrender, all three were taken to Cortés' camp at Coyohuacan. With this stanza begins the litany “princes are delineated” (i.e., Mexican princes are perpetuated as though they were pictures in a

book). Note that "nine months" is yet another pun. Looking back over stanzas 25–27, we see that the singer is saying, in effect, "They compromised us, and after nine months we gave birth."

28 Tlacotzin cheers the captives. The chains of iron with which the prisoners are bound are taken as a symbol of the genealogical links soon to connect Aztec and Spanish blood. Note that Tlacotzin was the *cihuacoatl*, or vice-regent (FC, book 12). Here, then, we have Cuauhtemoc bid farewell by his political consort, just as his amatory consort, Isabel, will bid him farewell in the following stanza.

29 Cuauhtemoc and his consort bid each other a triumphant farewell, as the "Captain" (Cortés) takes "Doña Isabel" as his mistress.

30 Our wives' departure shall not be painful (because our blood shall be perpetuated). Those Mexican men who (die and) become united with the forebears ("plumes") at Coyohuacan are "created" (or perpetuated, in the sense that their ancestral lineage is continued) in the "jewels" (babies) born to Mexican women (and Spanish men). (As a historical aside, it should be mentioned that Cuauhtemoc and the others were not put to death at Coyohuacan. Cortés had them killed later, during his march to Honduras. See "Background" for song 60.)

Variants. Song 91.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 57–62; HLN, 2: 93, 94 (excerpts); AAG, no. 48; León-Portilla, *Broken Spears*, pp. 148–49 (stanzas 21–22, 27–30).

LXVII Song of Nezahualpilli when he went to take
captives in Huexotzinco. A Huastec piece,
composed by the singer Tececepouhqui. (folio 55v)

Synopsis. A Mexican singer fantasizes a glorious sequence of events in which Texcoco is humiliated for its collaboration with the Spaniards—recalling song 66, in which Tlaxcala is punished for the same offense. In this case the drama is enacted by pre-Conquest ancestors, for whom the actual participants are surrogates. Mexico is represented by Tlacahuepan, whom the singer decomposes into Macuilmalinaltzin and Ixtlilcuechahuac (stanzas 4, 9–10). Nezahualpilli and his two brothers Xochiquetzal and Acapipiyol (stanza 22) represent Texcoco.

Background. Texcoco and Mexico were uneasily allied during the generation immediately preceding the Conquest. Montezuma ruled in Mexico (though as a warrior he was overshadowed by his famous brothers Macuilmalinaltzin, Ixtlilcuechahuac, and especially Tlacahuepan). Texcoco was ruled for many years by Nezahualpilli (who died quietly in his palace in 1515). He, too, had brothers, among whom Xochiquetzal and Acapipiyol were noted war chiefs. By 1521 a new generation of leaders had taken charge; as the siege of Mexico was about to begin, long-latent rivalries erupted, and Texcoco (except for a few loyalists) sided with Cortés. Texcoco thus played a prominent role in the defeat of the Mexicans, who, as our song suggests, now dreamed of revenge.

Remarks. The Huastecs were proverbial drunkards (FC, book 10, chap. 29, pp. 193–94). Therefore the Mexican warriors, "drunk" with war lust, are styled Huastecs. Among the several nonce names used by the singer is Huchuetzin, liter-

ally Old Man, applied to Nezahualpilli in stanza 19. Misinterpreting this detail, the glossator sees a reference to a historical Huehuetzin, the Huexotzincan lord against whom Nezahualpilli once launched a military campaign (see DICT: Huēhuetzin). Thus the title and the marginal gloss at the head of the text ("The one who was captured was Huehuetzin—son of Xayacamach, ruler of Huexotzinco. He was killed on the round-stone").

Another, totally different misreading of this song—or of canto D, at least—is evidently the source of Ixtlilxochitl's story about the dance contest between Xochiquetzal and Acapipiyol (IXT, 2: chap. 67). These two, according to Ixtlilxochitl, had led their troops in a victory against the Huastecs, but although the "title and renown" of glory belonged especially to Acapipiyol, Xochiquetzal refused to concede it. As if to settle the matter, they held a dance, which became a kind of contest that stirred "great passions" and resulted in a brawl. Finally, King Nezahualpilli, disturbed by the goings on, came out and awarded the honor to Acapipiyol. Seeing that he had lost, Xochiquetzal left the dancing place and never danced again. But the whole story, conceivably, is fabricated out of these and similar phrases in canto D (stanza numbers in parentheses):

Huastecs [are] yonder (18)

[They] are drunk . . . there's dancing (19)

Nezahualpilli . . . am I, and my heart is grieving. Gone is Lord Xochiquetzal

. . . [the] regent [is] Acapipiyol (22)

If my assumption is correct, Ixtlilxochitl's reasoning must have gone something like this: Nezahualpilli appears at the end of the dance and declares Acapipiyol to be the regent, while banishing Xochiquetzal or at least noticing that he has made his departure. Evidently Xochiquetzal is disappointed, he has lost out to Acapipiyol in whatever activity has gone before—dancing. And why does Nezahualpilli grieve? No doubt because the dance has been drunken, disorderly. Since Huastecs are mentioned, and in view of the battle imagery throughout, the dance must have been in celebration of a victory over that tribe. And so forth.

Ixtlilxochitl believes that the song was called *Teotlan Cuextecáyotl*. Possibly his "Teotlan" comes from a misreading (or miscopying) of the *teotlica* in stanza 18; *Cuextecáyotl* is the song heading given by the *Cantares* glossator. Compare Chimalpain's reading of song 84, below.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Defeated Mexicans arrive in paradise, sending revenants back to earth.

1 The singer accompanies his fellow Mexicans (his "hearts") to paradise (as they are killed in battle). They are "drunk" with war death, exhilarated, filled with war lust. (Dawn, with birds, is the scene that typically greets the newly dead warrior; see FC, book 6, chap. 29, p. 164, lines 13–20; see also song 76, stanza 7.) The ghost of Tlachuapan hails these fellow warriors ("shields," "javelins," "bulwarks"). Their glorious death is as though they had brewed a wine (per stanza 4), which Tlachuapan tastes. Thus all the Mexicans are drunk (are Huastecs) in paradise.

2 In an aside to the audience, the singer affirms that Tlachuapan himself is indeed "drunk."

3 The process implied in stanzas 1 and 2 is spelled out more clearly in an address to Tlachuapan: warriors ("jades," "plumes") dying in battle down below on earth are thus transferred to the Elysian fields.

Commentary to Song 67

4 The singer teophrases stanza 3, now addressing Tlacahuepan as Macuilmalinaltzin (Tlacahuepan's brother).

5 The singer identifies with the Mexican warriors, finds that he too is "drunk" with this "wine" (war lust), now interpreted to mean the sacred brew, or water, of the muses that falls from paradise (like rain) in the form of songs (or revenants). Thus the singer, in possession of this "wine," is now in a position to spill revenants back to earth.

6 He urges Tlacahuepan (the stalwart prince) to approve this distribution of "pinc-flower plumes" (revenants), as all tevice (or "green") in paradise.

B *Mexican revenants surprise Texcoco, sweeping victims up to paradise.*

7 Now the Mexicans are moving out from paradise, "drunk" with war fever, "seething" on the "flood" (or tide) or impending battle. Just at this moment the Texcocan ruler, Nezahualpilli, happens to be engaged in song (war), recalling (summoning) revenant Chichimecs (warriors), who presumably will be fellow Texcocans.

8 The Mexican singer mimics Nezahualpilli unflatteringly (perhaps whining or singing out of tune, since Nezahualpilli is labeled Screecher in the next stanza).

9 And sure enough, "a bell has blossomed" (a warrior revenant has appeared). But it is no Texcocan. Instead it is the Mexican Tlacahuepan (here represented by Ixtlilcuechahuac). And far from comforting Nezahualpilli, he proceeds to gather up Texcocan victims ("withered plumes"), while routing others. His fellow "Huastecs" are "drinking" them (stanza 11).

10 Nezahualpilli cries out in alarm.

11 Now Tlacahuepan ("this plume, this waterfowl") soars back to paradise, carrying his precious cargo of Texcocan captives. He is Rabbit (the proverbial drunkard), intoxicated by the captives. His drunken fellow Mexicans ("Huastecs") follow him to paradise (with captives of their own).

12 Back in paradise, he and his fellow "swans" (ghost warriors) delight in these Texcocan "flowers."

C *Returned to paradise, the Mexicans celebrate their victory.*

13 Drunk with "flowers" (Texcocan captives, also called "shields," "plumes," "drums"), the Mexicans return to paradise and dance in the home of the supreme warrior spirit (probably Huitzilopochtli, i.e., Blue Sky; see stanza 22).

14 The captives (the "ruined ones"), destined to be sacrificed on the humped, or mounded, stone (upon which the victim is stretched so that the rib cage is drawn taut, permitting the heart to be excised more easily), are made to "dance" (to perform gladiatorial feats while tied to the round-stone, or *temalacatl*).

15-16 Yes, Tlacahuepan has carried Texcocan captives up to paradise (the Place Unknown). Observe that Tlacahuepan is called Totec (Xipe Totec), and that he is robed (lit., "skirted") in sapodilla (leaves), recalling the thrones of sapodilla leaves upon which the Totec impersonators were seated during the feast of Tlacaxipehualiztli (FC, book 1, chap. 18). The historical Tlacahuepan is said to have gone into battle carrying an emblem of the god Totec (Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 57, p. 433), whose grisly rites appear to have symbolized regeneration (see FC, book 2, p. 213: "Song of Xipe Totec").

17 Entering paradise, Tlacahuepan is adorned with the wine (blood) of flood flowers (warriors slain or wounded). "All" the Mexicans (presumably all "adorned" like Tlacahuepan), including Matlacuiatzin, are off to the "Place Unknown."

Commentary to Song 68

D *The failure of Nezahualpilli and the regeneration of Mexico.*

18 Still on earth, the Texcocan leader Nezahualpilli is about to be sacrificed, perhaps as a "striper" (one whose body is painted with stripes).

19 Through music (using his "conch") he hopes to summon Texcocan revenant warriors ("jaguars," "reeds"), who will come to his defense. Aware of his mortality (hence he is "Old Man"), he blares for his "eagles" as he stands on the Mexicans' round-stone. But his "eagles," or "shields," are not available. On high the Mexicans ("Huaxtecs") are enjoying them as prisoners (as "wine") and have no intention of releasing them as they dance upon the sacred waters of paradise.

20 The singer mocks Nezahualpilli. Go ahead and beat your drum (with the intent of producing "turquoise gems," or revenant warriors)! In fact you will produce Mexicans, because your Texcocan "flower jewels" (ghosts) are held as prisoners up above. And you yourself are wearing the headdress of white plumes assigned to victims bound for paradise (Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 20, p. 172). Moreover, your torso has been painted (for sacrifice; see stanza 18).

21 And indeed, the Mexican revenants (the "masters" of captives) return to earth.

22 In vain Nezahualpilli cries for his brothers Xochiquetzal and Acapipiyol. But they have been sacrificed to Blue Sky (Huitzilopochtli), the Mexican god of war. Hence a perfect victory for Mexico.

Variants. Stanzas 7–12 coincide with song 77, stanzas 12–13, 16–16a, 14–15; and stanzas 18–19 coincide with song 77, stanzas 4–5.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 125–28; HLN, 1: 369–71; AAG, no. 49; GLA, no. 39 (excerpt); GPN, 3: 28–31; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 100–107.

LXVIII Water-pouring song (folio 56)

Synopsis. Seeking compensation for the defeat of Montezuma, we Mexicans effect an amalgam of Christian and Aztec values as we envision a paradise on earth in which our ancestors, our city, and we ourselves are united in eternal life.

Background. The initial meeting between Cortés and Montezuma took place in Tenochtitlan on November 8 or 9, 1519 (see Brundage, p. 329), nearly two years before the actual Conquest. In this famous encounter Montezuma treated Cortés as though he were the god Quetzalcoatl returned to earth to claim his city. Mexico was thus handed over to the Spaniards without a struggle, as Montezuma allowed himself to be taken into captivity. In June of the following year, amid growing unrest, Montezuma was killed. His successor, Cuauhtemoc, rallied the Mexican forces but was decisively defeated in the summer of 1521. Subsequent rulers, now serving as Indian overlords under Spanish authority, upheld the honor of Mexico with diminishing success. During the middle years of the sixteenth century, the pope and the emperor attempted to guarantee Indian rights, but their orders were regularly circumvented by the viceroy and his lieutenants.

According to the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, the Mexican leader Martín Ecatl journeyed to Spain shortly after the hanging of Cuauhtemoc (in 1525), was received by the emperor, Carlos V, and came back to Mexico after an absence of five years (UAH, sec. 47). Presumably while Ecatl was in Europe, Cortés brought a troupe of Aztec

musicians and dancers to the emperor's court (in 1527 or 1528). Delighted with their performance, the emperor sent them on to Rome to entertain Pope Clement VII. The documentation of this trip (which is almost certainly referred to in canto I, below) is reviewed in Stevenson, pp. 89, 224–25; it is mentioned briefly in Díaz del Castillo, chap. 195, pp. 524a, 527b; see also Cline, "Hernando Cortés."

Remarks. The Nahuatl word for water (*atl*) embraces "beverage," "precipitation," "body of water," and, in a figurative sense, "blood." The afterworld is sometimes called the "water," or the "waters." The city of Mexico, built on islands, was known as "Water's Midst." In our song, "water pouring" can mean bloodshed (hence warriors are "water jars," "pitchers," "cups," "carried ones," etc.), or it can mean the act of pouring revenants from heaven. Or it can mean baptism.

One purpose of this song is to establish the plausibility of summoning Aztec revenants in a manner acceptable to Christian doctrine—yet without having to depart this life. Hence the usefulness of stanza 21's "Castille" (home of the emperor Carlos V), a kind of paradise, to be sure, yet one that is firmly planted on earth. In stanzas 22–23, notice the tag-word "Amen" and the highly nonmilitary description of revenant production, implying that the ghost Don Gabriel is a "warrior" only in the sense that he sings (or dances), perhaps in a Christian context. By stanza 24, "water pouring" has come to mean revenant production, evidently through music.

According to the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, an *atequilizcuicatl* (water-pouring song) was sung at the wedding of the Indian gobernador of Tenochtitlan, Don Luis de Santa María Cipac on Sunday, June 4, 1564 (Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 233).

Paraphrase by canto

A (stanzas 1–18) Defeated by Cortés and his Tlaxcalan allies, Montezuma enters paradise, as does Mexico itself.

B (stanzas 19–24) Led by Cuauhtemoc and other rulers, we Mexicans give our lives in battle—bringing Montezuma's warriors back to life.

C (stanzas 25–35) We free ourselves from tribute labor as our songs bring revenants to earth.

D (stanzas 36–48) The authority of scripture gives us entry into paradise.

E (stanzas 49–69) Tlaxcalan foes send us up to paradise as revenant seekers, and we're admitted by authority of Rome.

F (stanzas 70–78) On the battlefield en route to Rome, that paradise on earth, we founder, lose our lives, and see our revenants come flying in.

G (stanzas 79–88) Ushering in our revenants, we overcome our fear of death and head for paradise (where Mexico now lies).

H (stanzas 89–96) But no, our fear of death persists. Might paradise be brought to earth instead?

I (stanzas 97–114) Yes, and with the aid of the pope we bring our revenants to earth through music: Rome is paradise, yet Rome's on earth, and Mexico's in paradise, and paradise endures, so Mexico endures on earth.

Paraphrase by stanza

1–3 The two opening sentences have a double meaning. At first, we think the poet is merely setting the locale for a song about the founding of Mexico. We recall that the ancestors settled for some years at nearby Chapultepec, site of the famous springs that later served as Mexico's water supply. But then we hear that Life Giver

is drinking these "waters," which may stand for the half-drowned island city of Mexico itself or the blood of its warriors. In either case the city is thus translated to "Chapolco yonder," i.e., the watery paradise, that Chapultepec in the sky. Looking back over the first two sentences, we realize that the poet is saying, in effect, "We Mexicans have attained paradise."

4 For the migrating ancestors, Acocolco had been a brief way-station between Chapultepec and the actual founding of Mexico. Our eagerness in that remote time is matched by our eagerness now as we anticipate the arrival of the (presumed) god Cortés.

5-8 Montezuma welcomes Cortés as the god Quetzalcoatl. (For a similar account of this meeting, see FC, book 12, chap. 16; see also book 8, chap. 7. For the prophecy of Quetzalcoatl's return, see *Codex Vaticanus 3738*, folio 9v; Chimalpain, p. 62; IXT, 2: chap. 1, p. 8; TEZ, chap. 107; and Durán, *Historia*, 2: chaps. 71, 74.)

9 With an accompanying display of Spanish gunfire, Cortés takes Montezuma prisoner (FC, book 12, chap. 17). Then Montezuma, in custody, has Mexicans bring food and water for the Spanish troops (*ibid.*) and it is this detail, perhaps, that is here interpreted as a pouring forth, or relinquishing, of the (watery) city itself. The text implies that the generals Atlixcatzin and Tepehuatzin (both mentioned in FC, book 12, chap. 16) were among those who capitulated to the Spanish army along with Montezuma.

10 Cortés' Tlaxcalan allies are amazed to see Mexicans handing over their city. But the phrase "ensconced in water-whorl flowers" implies that the Mexicans are providing more than fresh water. In fact the fighting is about to begin, and Mexicans will soon be pouring out their blood, becoming "flowers" that spiral up to paradise.

11 Amid growing Mexican intransigence, Cortés' interpreter, Malintzin (called María here), climbs to a rooftop and cries out to the Mexicans, ordering them to bring more food and water (FC, book 12, chap. 18). Among the first Indians to be killed are Cuauhpopoca, the ruler of Nauhtlan (IXT, 2: chap. 86; UAH, sec. 293), and "Quetzalacxoyatl," possibly a synonym for Cacamatl, ruler of Texcoco, or possibly a brother of Cacamatl (see Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 64, pp. 474-76; TEZ, chap. 101; and IXT, 1: 450; on the death of Cacamatl and two of his brothers, see IXT, 1: 390). Both Cuauhpopoca and Cacamatl (along with two of his brothers) were killed by the Spaniards in Tenochtitlan at this time.

12-13 Subsequent skirmishing in the vicinity of the Eagle Gate results in the loss of many Mexican lives (FC, book 12, chap. 20).

14 The death of Nezahualquenzin, princely envoy from Texcoco, is noted (see IXT, 2: chap. 86).

15-16 These deaths are "required" by Life Giver (who drinks the warriors' blood). Montezuma himself is finally killed (FC, book 12, p. 63, note 1). And Mexican revenants come whirling down from paradise.

17-18 The dead are strewn as gems in the watery paradise beyond—called Water's Midst (also a name for Mexico City). Thus our dead are living in a "Mexico" beyond.

19 The scene shifts from the events of 1519-20 (with which canto A is concerned) to the Conquest and after. First the Conquest is briefly re-created, as Tlaxcalans find cause to marvel (as they did in stanza 10), saluting the pro-Spanish

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Indian commander Ixtlilxochitl and calling out to the Mexicans. The Mexican leaders prepare to see their cohorts killed in battle, their blood "poured" into paradise.

20 As the allied leaders themselves pass on to the other world, they hear the Legion of the dead, about to descend as revenants. (The ruler of Mexico is now Cuauhtemoc, allied with Coanacoch of Texcoco and Tetlepanquetzatzin of Tlacopan.)

21 Castille is identified with paradise. And here we have the first indication that there may be something special about this paradise. The theme is more fully developed in stanzas 43-44 and 47-48, and in canto I.

22-24 The train of thought suggested in the preceding stanza is continued, as we find Don Gabriel (*tlatoani* of Tlacopan ca. 1535?) in the role of revenant producer. Although it is not clear that he is a warrior in the strict sense (see "Remarks," above), we Mexicans nevertheless fantasize that the resulting songs (or revenants) will punish the viceroys.

25-29 Passing on to paradise, we escape the necessity of performing tribute labor for Spanish masters. More revenants flow down to earth as "clean" waters (stanza 29), suggesting an association with Christian ideals. (Compare Ezek. 36: 25: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.")

30 But is this really what's best for me? I doubt it, and I grieve (because although I yearn for paradise I don't want to die). Where, then, can I get my revenants? Well, here's a solution: let's say that the church will be paradise.

31 And so I'll sing, or song-sigh, in church. It will be as though I pluck, or break off, song flowers (or gems of song)—which is to say warriors slain, or broken, in battle. And in our song we call these warriors "water jars" (because they pour their "water," i.e., their blood).

32-33 Hence I "return" my Mexican warriors to paradise—or, alternatively, I "return" my revenants to earth by means of this sacrifice (which doesn't hurt me at all, because what I am really doing is singing, not fighting).

34-35 In this manner I seek to produce revenants. But to avoid death, as explained in stanza 30, I must place myself in a location that is both earthly and celestial. The "church" is a possibility (see stanza 30). Or perhaps "Castille" will do (stanza 21). The emperor's home (Castille) would seem to suffice for the moment (though the church in Rome is our ultimate goal, per stanzas 97-106). Encouraged, we prepare to greet the revenant "Don Pedroli" (Don Pedro Temilotzin, one of the heroes of the resistance).

36-37 The "mirror and the flame" (or wisdom) of the Christian God prevails in the world today. The native "black and color" (or wisdom of the pictographs) has lost its authority. (Presumably the Bible is meant; but there are other kinds of Christian scripture, as will be seen in stanza 41.)

38-39 And so we pass beyond, seeking our revenants. Note that the imagery of stanzas 39 and 40 derives from 19 and 20.

40 Again, as in canto C, we recoil from tribute labor. Yes, we'll labor on the battlefield, carrying our blood to paradise in order to produce revenants ("the multitude"). But this is the only kind of labor we'll perform.

41 Thus Montezuma's comrades, whose blood was "swallowed," are to be re-

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vived (or "painted as spears," or warriors). And for this we have the authority of Cortés' scripture. He himself decreed it, saying, "Paint them as pictures," i.e., revive them—but of course what the Captain meant to say is "Enter their names on my tribute roll." "Painting" and "writing" are the same word in Nahuatl. And so we twist the Captain's words. The punning continues as the singer speaks of tribute labor being mustered in the countryside for the benefit of the city. But what he really means is that the laborers (*sensu* stanza 40) will be admitted to the celestial city. (The "everywhere" of this stanza will be echoed in the phrase "from the four directions," stanza 68).

42 Mexican lords, whose names have been "painted" (written) in the "turquoise" (or awesomely important) tribute roll, have fallen to weeping. But this too is a pun, whose happier meaning is that lords and rulers, through musical weeping, have produced precious revenants.

43-44 We must go forth (toward paradise) and meet these revenants. The singer imagines that he is rallying Cuauhtemoc, Oquitzin, and Huanitl (leaders in the Aztec resistance of 1521).

45-46 Our dead return to life as "dew," as "gold."

47-48 We are seeking Montezuma's comrades, e.g., Nezahualtecoltl and Coahuil. We come to the emperor's home (i.e., paradise; see paraphrase of stanzas 34-35) in "serenity," abandoning our military pose.

49 In an anti-chronological fantasy the singer imagines that the Spaniard Castañeda (Xicotencatl), who aided Cortés significantly in the siege of Mexico, is prodding us into battle now (ca. 1550?). As consolation, he reminds us that we will be exchanging ourselves for revenants. Note that paradise is again identified with Mexico and Chapultepec.

50 The Tlaxcalans (no doubt abetted by their allies, the Huexotzincans) urge us on to paradise. And we take up the cry, urging our warriors onward.

51 We answer Lord Cuauhtencoç (one of the Huexotzincan generals), agreeing to go get our revenants.

52 Motelchiuh is among the ghosts we seek in paradise (the place of dawn). We want him to come shouting down to earth. Again we urge our warriors to become victims in battle, to satisfy the sun's (Nanahuatl's) craving for blood. And we also seek Cuitlachihuitl (another hero of the Conquest period)—and Axayacatl.

53-54 The revenants are already arriving. And for this we thank our Tlaxcalan foes (who forced us into paradise, making the exchange possible).

55 Revenants are raining down profusely, because Tlaxcalans (with sacrifice in mind) have captured us Mexicans, us soon-to-be-golden ones. Thus leading our soldiers into paradise, we are (in effect) "fetching" revenants, whom we greet with the cry, "O my great ones!"

56-57 We urge Don Antonio and Tehuetzquiti to join us. (Note that the outbound warriors are here called "green ones" and "water jars," terms used to denote the inbound revenants in the preceding stanza.)

58-60 In producing these revenants, I imagine that I sing with the voice of Fray Pedro (de Gante?). In other words, I sing as a Christian, not as an inept Indian. This is possible because the departed bishop, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, "purified" us with baptismal waters.

61 So off we go to (the watery) paradise. Having been captured by our enemies

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(and sacrificed, or "broken"), we will be revived as swans. But wait. We're Christians now, and if we arrive in paradise having been "broken," God will be angry. Let's be "cautious" (let's be "captured" by the Christian faith).

62 Note that this paradise toward which we're heading is identical to Mexico.

63 We catch our first sight of paradise (here identified with Rome). In paradise we shall be "willow men" (lit., inhabitants of the place of willows), an allusion to the watery environment of heaven.

64 We recognize the pope as God's vicar.

65 Using a blowgun, the pope is shooting at us (intending to make us captives for Christ). As part of the pantomime accompanying a certain type of song (evidently a ghost song), "gods" used blowguns to shoot "birds" (RITOS, chap. 21, p. 193).

66 The pope's instrument of capture is a blowgun only in the figurative sense. It is actually the cross.

67 The pope is an incarnation of Peter (and of Paul?), hence a proselytizer par excellence. (On Peter as Christ's *ixiptlatl* [representative] on earth, see *Doctrina cristiana*, 127v. Note that Peter and Paul are often coupled in Catholic liturgy.)

68-69 Transfigured as golden butterflies, we Mexicans have been taken to heaven.

70-71 The implied voyage seems to have two interpretations. First, we imagine ourselves on a boat trip to Rome (paradise). Second, we imagine ourselves caught in a storm of revenants, raining (as flowers) or rushing down in waves, as we stand in battle, losing our hold on earth. "Wind arises" means what it seems to mean; but it also means "Don Martín Ecatl (i.e., Wind) is resurrected."

72 En route to paradise we should be rejoicing (but in fact we are overwhelmed by our fear of death). Don Martín Ecatl (as a revenant "wave") comes rushing down on the boat, breaking it to pieces. (The allusion to Don Martín is no doubt prompted by the story that he made a trip to Spain; see "Background," above.)

73 As the revenant waves come rolling toward us, we imagine ourselves in the traditional situation: we are in battle, and our foes, intent on capturing us alive, will soon be leading us to the round-stone of sacrifice (where we will be reborn as ghost warriors in paradise).

74 A doubter fears that none of us will be "precious" (immortal). Yet we continue on.

75 The revenant "dew" is falling on us. We fear death. Can we be certain of paradise?

76 The "no one" is Life Giver, who seems to have abandoned us.

77-78 But our fears are groundless. Already we see the tree of life in the (watery) paradise ahead, as revenant "fish" come flying down to earth.

79-80 Anticipating (the watery) paradise (the place of dawn), we prepare to meet the incoming "fish" (revenants) who are "pleasured" by our music (or our deeds in war): they wish to arrive here as songs (as "tears" wept from heaven).

81 The revenants, leaving heaven, greet us as we arrive to take their places. They call us "chalk" and "plumes" (i.e., victims prepared for sacrifice). And we in turn hail them as "songs" (sent down by Life Giver). We are delighted to find that green waters await us.

82 Death in battle (or on the round-stone of sacrifice) will perhaps yield immortality despite the fears expressed in canto F. Just look at those life-giving green waters! It's as though we were there already (in "Water's Midst").

83-84 Nevertheless, we tremble as our revenants come down (as a precipitation of sun-shot vapor), carrying their military banner, or ensign.

85-86 Our doubts are renewed. We're afraid to die.

87-88 Well, if the likes of Motelchiuh can be produced, perhaps there's hope after all. He arrives as a (falling) jade (as we lose our boat, harking back to stanza 72), and we, in exchange, are transfigured as minted gold in paradise (place of the rainbow).

89 Our enemies, the Huexotzincans (and presumably their Tlaxcalan allies as well), are commanded to repent their sins. "Prepare yourselves, for the True Spirit, the lord, is come" paraphrases the words of John the Baptist, "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. 3:2).

90 But it becomes gradually clear that the singer is talking over the heads of the Huexotzincans and is really addressing his fellow Mexicans, or "Huexotzincans" (lit., dwellers in the place of willows; freely, "willow men"). See stanza 63.

91-92 One hears the cries of doubters.

93 It is now quite clear that the "Huexotzincans" are Mexicans. Jesus (hence paradise) is coming to earth.

94 Jesus ("prophet," "awaited one") summons the faithful to the kingdom of heaven.

95-96 The singer's description of heaven incorporates the ninefold celestial hierarchy of Dionysius Areopagiticus, omitting the category "angels." The list given in *Doctrina cristiana*, 74v, reads: "angeles, arcangeles, virtudes, dominaciones, principatos, potestates, thronos, cherubin, seraphinesme." Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, 173v, gives: "In Seraphines, in Cherubines, in Thronos, in Dominaciones, in Principatus, in Potestates, in Virtutes, Archangeles, in Angelome," as does the Franciscan *Coloquios*, chap. 12 (see Klor de Alva). Thus our text adheres to the Franciscan sequence, in reverse. Yet a different sequence is given in the Nahuatl sermon "Creatorem celi et terre . . ." (*Miscelánea sagrada*, 194-194v).

97 Let's have Life Giver "require" our presence right here on earth, and if we proceed to the emperor's home (Castille), it will be as though we were in paradise (see paraphrase of stanzas 34-35). Let it be that Life Giver's "waters" appear through the recitation of music (and not through loss of life in battle).

98 So let us pray to God (in song). In exchange he will pour his spirit upon us (compare Joel 2:28)—or, alternatively, he will pour down a rain of revenants.

99 This sounds good. Let's be off to the emperor's, or, better yet, Rome itself. We'll see the pope.

100 If it is the emperor who speaks, he perhaps says, in effect, "Pay me in gold, and I'll intercede for you with God."

101-2 In any event we are glad to have this intercession, glad that the emperor has sent us to Rome.

103-4 In the pope's basilica, or song house, are incoming revenants (i.e., songs, or words, produced by God). But they are being honored with war capes as though fresh from the battlefield (and therefore just entering paradise?). Is Rome paradise or is it earth?

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105-6 The pope produces these revenants with the aid of Cecelia, patron saint of music. The location is "with God" (paradise) yet here on earth (in Rome).

107-8 Our revenants (or outgoing mortals; see paraphrase of stanzas 103-4) are coming to life in the place of willows (the watery paradise). But Mexico (where tunas lie, i.e., Tenochtitlan) is also a "willow place" (or place of waters). And these incoming revenants (Huanitl and others, see stanzas 53-54, 110-14), born during the generation following Axayacatl's death, perpetuate his fame. Indeed, our ancestors were not evil pagans (as the friars would have us believe; see FC, book 1, appendix, p. 75). Rather they were men who "went away deserving."

109-14 In this newly defined paradise (or Place Unknown), we are united with our immortal ancestors, several of whom are here mentioned by name. (But observe that only baptized Aztecs are included in this list. These were the outgoing mortals who attempted to avenge the wrongs suffered by Montezuma and his allies; see canto A.)

Variant. Stanzas 34-35 recur as stanzas 47-48 (within song 68).

Previous translations. HLN, 2: 108-9 (stanzas 1-8, 10); AAG, no. 50 (stanzas 1-49); León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 219-21 (stanzas 49-55).

LXIX A song of green places (folio 60)

Synopsis. This is a song evidently inspired by the Spanish Conquest, the effective end of Mexico as Mexicans had known it. Reflecting on the end, the singer is reminded of the beginning, just as in song 68. We died then, and we die now. Our death in combat brings ghosts to earth, which we desire. Yet death is painful. Can we achieve this blessing without the risk of war? Yes, through music. But the blessing is illusory. Our death is merely postponed, not prevented.

Background. During the years immediately before the founding of Mexico City (in 1363?), the wandering Mexicans settled briefly in Chapultepec on the west shore of Lake Texcoco. From there they were driven into the nearby territory of Colhuacan and were tolerated for a while as refugees, eventually fleeing to the middle of the lake, where they established their future city on a reedy shoal. The story is told in several sixteenth-century chronicles, of which the most helpful in this case is the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (UAH, secs. 145-241).

Remarks. The glossator's copious notes to canto A are largely accurate and quite helpful. Only his note 9 (numbered 22 in the translation) appears to be in error.

In stanza 6, the king of Colhuacan asks the Mexicans to bring him a reed float with birds and a coiled serpent, also a live deer. From the parallel story in *Anales de Tlatelolco* (UAH, secs. 145ff), it appears that the deer offering symbolizes the surrender of live human captives (see also TORQ, 1: 100-101). And from the sophisticated variant in Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (chap. 3, pp. 231-32), which stipulates that the birds must be in the act of hatching their eggs, it seems that the float is a tableau vivant, inspired by a pun on the verb *pachoa: tla* ("to hatch eggs" or "to govern things," lit., "to press down on things"). Gloss 5 (18 in the translation) tends to confirm this theory. And it is possible that the coiled serpent stands for *cemanahuac*, "the world" (lit., "it is altogether near water," i.e., encircled by water).

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See gloss 6 (19 in the translation). Referring again to Tezozomoc, it seems that if I come bringing the float to you, unbidden, the meaning is "I + govern + world," or "I rule the world." But if you demand that I bring it to you, it is tantamount to my saying "You rule the world." The addition of the live deer makes the entire message read thus, "You rule the world and I must bring you victims for sacrifice." To compound this outrage, the Mexicans were expelled in a bloody rout (and had to move their settlement across the water to the present site of Mexico City). The rout is mentioned in Chimalpain, p. 176. Apparently the glossator has this in mind when he says, in gloss 9 (22 in the translation), "Just thus they started a naval war, and so they perished." In order to validate his explanation, the phrase "ica quitlanihtoque atloyan tepetl in cemanahuauqui" would have to be rendered "And so, with regard to the realm, they finished it off in the midst of the water"—a most unlikely reading. What the singer actually seems to be saying is that the island realm of Mexico was established as a tribute-paying client of Colhuacan. Such a relationship is in fact reported in TEZ, chap. 3, but between Mexico and Azcapotzalco, not Mexico and Colhuacan.

There can be little doubt that Torquemada was familiar with this portion of the manuscript, if not the entire *Cantares*. The final phrases of chap. 22, book 3, of his *Monarquía indiana* (TORQ, 1: 291) must allude to stanza 8 of the song at hand. See pp. 112–14, above.

Paraphrase by canto

A (stanzas 1–8) The destruction of Montezuma recalls the destruction of our founding fathers.

B (stanzas 9–17) Yes, once again we're destroyed—as the ancestors are "re-called" from paradise.

C (stanzas 18–25) The incoming ancestors "blossom" on earth.

D (stanzas 26–33) As the revenants arrive, Montezuma surrenders his warriors to paradise.

E (stanzas 34–41) Can't we have revenants without destroying ourselves?

F (stanzas 42–51) Yes, we can produce revenants through song alone. Now enjoy them! For even so we pass away.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 The ancestral Mexicans were driven out of their temporary settlement at Chapultepec by allied troops from Azcapotzalco, Colhuacan, Xaltocan, and other cities; and their chief, Huitzilihuitl, was sacrificed in Colhuacan. (Compare Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 4; Velázquez, *Códice Chimalpopoca*, p. 18, sec. 86; Chimalpain, pp. 58, 59, 70, 172; UAH, secs. 145ff.)

2 The surviving Mexicans fled in disarray, seeking asylum in a marshy spot called Acocolco, which was under the jurisdiction of Colhuacan.

3 Xaltocan had been aroused because it claimed ownership of Chapultepec (according to fol. 60v, gloss 1, numbered 14 in the translation).

4 Mexican captives, including women, were taken away (to Xaltocan, Colhuacan, and the various other cities).

5 Emerging from Acocolco (see stanza 2, above), the Mexican survivors went to Tizaapan. (According to Durán and UAH, they went first to Achitometl, the ruler of Colhuacan, and begged him for a place to settle; he assigned them to

Tizaapan, a "wilderness" filled with "poisonous snakes" on the south shore of the lake.)

6 While the Mexicans were living at Tizaapan, Achitometl demanded tribute from them. First he asked that they bring him a float, or barge, made of reed stems and covered with clumps of living reed; among the reeds were to be an egret and a coot, also a coiled serpent; he next asked for a live deer. In effect, he demanded that the Mexicans submit to him as a conquered nation. (See "Remarks," above.)

7 Achitometl thus established the pattern whereby Mexico is subservient to a master. Hence Montezuma, the ruler who greeted Cortés, is holding an "uneasy" throne. Just as in the early days, our citizens are to be destroyed (now in combat with the Spaniards), yielding ancestral revenants (from the founding era) in exchange. The shrilling thrush, the stirring comrade (pun on "snake"), the flying fish (in a wave of celestial waters), and the blooming flowers are all conventional images denoting the incoming revenant (see DICT) and playing on a conventional description of the site of Mexico (see Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 18, para. 41: "Mexico . . . donde silbó la culebra, donde vuelan los peces"). And all this is to take place in Tollan Tlapallan, the mystical destination of the god Quetzalcoatl (FC, book 3, chap. 4, p. 16).

8 But of course we welcome our revenants. And in yet another double entendre we call them by name, invoking only those founders whose names refer, etymologically, to some feature of the city or its site: "Waters," "Willows," "Tuna" (prickly-pear cactus), and "Jaguar Throne" (lit., jaguar location).

9 Here on earth (in the presence of Life Giver), Oquitzzin (one of the heroes of the resistance) is putting his warriors into battle (against the Spaniards), hence "offering" them as though they were songs and, necessarily "inflicting wounds," causing the death of his Mexican troops. (Actually he seems to be delivering the divine reproach.)

10 In exchange for these mortal lives, God the Arbiter (Life Giver) arrives in the form of revenants. We wish that Oquitzzin had offered genuine songs. The songs he offers are our lives: we "break" as jades.

11-12 "Once again" (as in the early days described in canto A) we Mexicans are to be destroyed. We recall Montezuma, who was killed in the preliminary struggles, and his successor, Cuitlahuac, who died soon after taking office. Revenants are greeted. It is the will of Life Giver.

13 Montezuma's revenants, his "hearts," come whirling down from paradise as he makes this quasi-musical offering, this "sadness." Thus we hail the revenant Cuauhecoatl, one of the ancestral priests.

14 Let Life Giver go ahead and see what it's like to have Montezuma and all his vassals gone from the earth! They'll no longer be here to make prayers. Life Giver will be sorry. There will be nothing but bereavement here on earth (in the presence of God).

15 On earth God is "rich" (having us mortals here to make prayers for him). But why should we care? Let him go ahead and forsake us. We who have sacrificed ourselves (we who have become "banners") during the final resistance in Tlatelolco have now been gloriously translated to paradise. Arriving, we hail God: "O Arbiter!"

16 God senses his loss. And we, too, have our doubts. The idea of paradise is alluring, but does it exist?

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17 Really, we're not quite sure what we're doing. It's as though we were drunk. And will the ancestors—Acamapichtli and Huitzilohuitl, for example—actually arrive on earth to take our place? All we know for sure is that as we stumble drunkenly to our death, our city (and the neighboring Tepanec realm as well) will be handed over to the Spaniards.

18 The doubt expressed in stanza 17 is swept aside as we envision our revenants dropping down from heaven.

19–21 The revenants are a distribution of Life Giver himself, the supreme warrior (or “Chichimec,” or “Tenitl”).

22–25 We mortals enjoy them while we can. Soon we must die.

26–27 Mortal warriors rising up as dust are accepted by Life Giver (Yaotl) as payment for the ghost-warrior multitude now prepared to descend as flowers.

28–29 Yes, Montezuma is trading his warriors for revenants. (Notice the musical imagery: he's “reciting” them, he's “tossing them off,” as though they were songs.) And some, at least, are yielded up as live victims (for sacrifice by the hostile armies, especially the Tlaxcalans, who were Cortés' principal allies; hence they are “chalk,” a powder used to whiten victims).

30–31 Now here's a typical victim, soon to be a “swan” in paradise, who rises up as a surrogate for the supremely famous warrior Tlacahuepan (nicknamed Totec). It is as though the glorious Tlacahuepan (killed ca. 1500) were once again falling into paradise as a “golden flower,” going to meet the turquoise prince, Ascending Eagle (the sun).

32–33 But the singer does not exult. Rather he dwells on the fact that the Tlacahuepan surrogate has been forsaken here on earth by Life Giver—even though he is given a hero's welcome by his fellow ghost warriors (“bucklers”) as he drifts into paradise.

34 The singer's muse delivers the divine reproach. But in a moment of sudden decision, the singer rejects war and scorns warmongers.

35 The warmongers threaten us with oblivion if we disdain war. But let them babble on.

36 Let's choose peace instead.

37 But the warmongers' voice of reason warns us that we cannot have revenants (we cannot have contact with paradise) unless we are willing to give our lives in battle.

38 Well, never mind. We'd rather die “poor” (without heroic deeds).

39 And yet we do crave revenants. How can we get them? We deny that they are obtained in war.

40 Go ahead and try it. Go ahead and have God send you revenants (on the battlefield, where revenants are supposed to descend from paradise). You'll be disappointed. You'll be dead before you have a chance to enjoy them. God will simply obliterate you.

41 So let's give God (the Executioner) cause for grief. Let's thwart him. Let's stay out of battle.

42–43 Is God willing to weep for our sake? Will he mourn (because we thwart him and stay out of battle)? We hope so. And toward this end we keep up our song-weeping (intending that it be echoed by God).

44 Our (musical) sorrow deepens as we try to coerce a response from God.

45 Please strew your revenants, your ghost warriors (“your riches”). And now

Commentary to Songs 70–71

at last they're coming. And I've produced them through (musical) sorrowing—not through loss of life or deeds in war.

46–47 God sends us his revenants, yet we know they can't last.

48–49 We realize that there is no immortality on earth.

50 All we can do is borrow life from paradise. And we have it only on earth.

51 Eventually we must die. So let us take pleasure while we can.

Variants. Cantos C, D, and F recur in RSNE, 111–12r, 31–32v, and 19v–21, respectively. Canto E coincides with song 10. Stanzas 38–39 coincide with song 30, stanzas 15–16.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 47–48, 129–38; HLN, 1: 92–93, 136–37, 178, 181–82, 186–87, 243 (excerpts); Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 234–37 (stanzas 26–29); GLA, nos. 32, 54, 67 (excerpts); Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura," pp. 46–47 (canto C).

LXX Here begins a plain lord song (folio 62v)

Synopsis. A singer of the post-Conquest period offers his songs to Life Giver (or God) as though they were slain warriors. In exchange he enjoys a shower of revenants (a distribution of God himself), including Montezuma II. The arriving revenants imbue the city of Mexico with fragrance.

Remarks. This and the following two lord songs all mention Montezuma and no doubt allude to the Conquest. It could be argued that the three represent a single song of three cantos, erroneously separated by the copyist.

Previous translations. None.

LXXI Lord song (folio 63)

Synopsis. The scene appears to be Mexico at the time of the Conquest. As Mexican warrior-lords and their city itself are translated to paradise, ancestral revenants come down to earth to replace them, perpetuating Mexico on earth. Thus Mexico is alive in heaven and alive on earth.

Remarks. As in previous songs, Mexico City is called Huexotzinco (Place of the Willows), perhaps in allusion to its watery location (but see also pp. 29–30, above); and Life Giver is identified with Blue Javelin (probably an epithet of the Mexican war god, Huitzilopochtli).

Paraphrase by stanza

1 Announced by divine portents, ghost warriors prepare to descend as a distribution of Life Giver. In exchange, Montezuma's troops ("shields") yield their lives (or "chalk" themselves as sacrificial victims), making way for the incoming revenants ("spines," i.e., ghost warriors).

2 The mortals gladly give their lives, because there is nothing but suffering here on earth (nothing but yearning for paradise).

3 Their wholesale entry into paradise is as though the city of Mexico itself were being preserved in heaven. At the same time, Life Giver (White Eagle) is distri-

Commentary to Song 72

buting himself in Huexotzinco (i.e., Mexico) through the medium of revenant warriors ("mesquites," "jaguars") in response to this human sacrifice on the field of combat (or these songs in the "cavern" house, or music room). Thus Mexico is being perpetuated both in paradise and on earth.

4 As a Huexotzincan (i.e., Mexican) I weep for my comrades slain in battle (here in the water's midst, in the island city of Mexico).

5 But through this sacrifice Mexico has been gloriously translated to paradise along with its ruler, Montezuma (who will be remembered on earth).

6 Montezuma offers his warriors ("hearts," "bucklers," "heads") to Life Giver (Blue Javelin). The outgoing warriors are to be "at rest," and their city is to be "preserved" (either in heaven, where it has been moved, or on earth, where it is to be replenished by incoming revenants).

7 Life Giver sends down the revenants, or songs (through musical weeping, i.e., "sadness").

8 The city is populated by the incoming ancestor revenants.

Previous translations. None.

LXXII A second lord song (folio 63v)

Synopsis. The muse Nezahualcoyotl summons the revenant Montezuma, reinstating him as ruler of Mexico.

Remarks. For a similar mystical description of Mexico ("white willows," "white rushes," etc.), see Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 4, p. 44.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 The muse Nezahualcoyotl arrives from paradise (Tamoanchan).

2 He has come to "pleasure" Montezuma. In other words, he has come to earth in order to produce Montezuma as a revenant. Now the singer urges Montezuma to come reclaim the throne of Mexico, the throne of the founding fathers Huitzilohuit and Acamapichtli (compare song 83, stanza 28). He urges Montezuma to become tears, grief, or aching sadness—to descend as (weeping) music.

3 Yes, you're creating this revenant, O Nezahualcoyotl, and you're being favored with the desired result. Already you're being greeted by your "sustenance" (your revenant).

4 Come, descend in the form of weeping music, O Montezuma. You certainly have something to weep about if you remember the hardship you suffered here in Mexico (because of Cortés). And already you're being greeted by your "sustenance," O Nezahualcoyotl.

5 Yes, God has taken pity on you and sent down your revenant, O Nezahualcoyotl. And as for you, O Montezuma, you now reclaim the divine seat of rule (here in Mexico).

6 You come as a warrior, O Montezuma! And so we address you as Blade Companion (see DICT: Itzcōātl).

7 You're singing or ruling (a pun) here in Mexico.

Variant. Song 79, stanzas 1–8.

Previous translation. Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura," pp. 41–42.

LXXIII War song (folio 64)

Synopsis. As we sing, God arrives bringing song flowers, or revenants. Among them are the heroes Tlacauepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac. In exchange for these gorgeous song-revenants, God takes us mortals to be his “plumes” in paradise; in other words, he spurs us on to war (stanza 5). We agree to be forsaken, or “orphaned,” here on earth, so that we may proceed to paradise, the place of nobility and fame (stanza 6). We are eager to become birds in paradise, though sorry to be leaving earth (stanza 7). Life is short; i.e., God’s “presence” (on earth) is brief, but he “paints” us (gives us new life) and allows us into his “presence” (in heaven, stanza 8).

Variants. RSNE, 22v–23v; song 82, canto D.

Previous translation. None as such. (The variant in song 82 is translated in GPN 3: 47.)

LXXIV War-flower song (folio 64)

Synopsis. As we sing, our songs appear before us in the form of revenant quetzals and troupials. With songs we entertain these “songs,” enjoying their fellowship (stanza 1). But the pleasure is brief, for they (and we) must die (stanzas 2–6). But if we fail to join them in this music (this war), perhaps we’ll avoid death. Indeed they are warriors, or instruments of death. Let us dare not touch them (stanzas 7–8).

Remarks. Note that in stanzas 5–6 the revenant flowers appear to have inspired potential victims. But in stanzas 7–8 they are recognized as potential captors.

Previous translations. None.

LXXV Flower song (folio 64v)

Synopsis. See commentary for song 81.

Variant. Song 81.

Previous translation. HLN, 1: 176 (stanzas 3–5).

LXXVI War song, a song of Montezuma (folio 65)

Synopsis. A singer recalls the death of Montezuma and his fellow warriors (at the hands of Cortés). As surrogates for noble ancestors (especially the heroes Ixtlilcuechahuac and Tlacauepan), the Mexicans enter paradise and are reborn. Yet here in Mexico they are alive in our songs.

Paraphrase by stanza

1 O Montezuma, you’re in heaven (where you’ve been reborn as a bird-warrior of the sun). But as we recall you in our song, it is as though you were singing here in Mexico.

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2 This is where your eagle warriors were killed (in combat with Cortés). But here, as well, your "bracelet house" (our music room) stands shining (like the sun in heaven). It is "your" house (i.e., your song house) because you are functioning as our muse: you make it seem like heaven (the home of God).

3 We imagine that the ghost warriors Ixtlilcucchahuac and Matlacuiatzin come whirling down from paradise to inspire the Mexican troops.

4 The Mexican warriors ("bells," "lords") won lasting fame as their bodies were scattered on the field of combat. *Teutli cozahuiya*, "dust yellows," i.e., the dust of battle rises in yellowish clouds(?), is apparently a pun on *teuctli cozahuiya*, "lords grow yellow (or golden?)," i.e., become like yellow flowers in paradise(?).

5 The singer urges them on, as though he and his dancers(?) were reenacting the battle scene.

6 The Mexican troops (as surrogates for the ancestral heroes) proceed to paradise.

7 Dawn comes. The sun is rising in response to the cries of "birds" (or ghost warriors, who cheer the sun, giving it strength to continue its journey). Such is the scene that greets Montezuma and his fellow warriors, who themselves are becoming "swans" and "troupials" of the sun. (See also paraphrase of song 67, stanza 1.)

8 It is as if the dying warriors were arrayed in chalk and plumes (traditionally applied to sacrificial victims). Montezuma and his warriors are "drunk" on the delicious "flowers" (or songs) that incite men to war. Thus they enter paradise (as precious birds).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 86-87; Garibay, *Panorama*, pp. 46-47.

LXXVII This one's a Huastec war song (folio 65)

Synopsis. Responding to our music, Mexican ghost warriors descend to earth, sweeping Texcocan victims back up to paradise (avenging Mexico for Texcoco's collaboration with Cortés?). Departing, they release a new wave of Mexican revenants, who repopulate the beleaguered city.

Remarks. See commentary for song 67. The song at hand appears to be a hasty reworking of 67, in which a modicum of "female" material (stanzas 6-7, 10-11, 17-18) has been grafted onto a fundamentally "Huastec" piece.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Mexican ghost warriors prepare to descend.

1 Warriors' wrist- and ankle-bells are jingling (or "bells," i.e., revenant warriors, are shrilling like birds as they descend from paradise); amid the general destruction ("blaze") clouds of dust rise up (but "dust" is a pun on "lord," and slain lords are rising up to paradise in exchange for revenants). Among the expected revenants is the heroic Tlacahuepan, whose fame is "carried" in our song—as though he himself were carried back to earth.

2 We imagine Tlacahuepan reveling in paradise in a house of "spines" (warriors), drunk on flower wine. (But the stanza may also be understood in a coercive sense: we would like to have Tlacahuepan here beside us in our music room, our house of "spines," or revenant warriors.)

3 And as we sing, it seems that the revenants ("shields," "pine flowers") are arriving. They're our songs, and songs give pleasure to God.

Commentary to Song 77

B *Texcocan victims lure the ghosts: the ghosts are seduced.*

4 The victims here on earth are to be Texcocans, represented by Nezahualpilli, perhaps painted as a "striper" (compare DICT: huahuantli). The ghosts are reveling on high (see stanza 2). (And they will soon be lured by these potential victims.) Note that this refrain has been interpreted somewhat differently for song 67, stanzas 18–19.

5 In last-minute desperation Nezahualpilli attempts to summon Texcocan revenants (see paraphrase of song 67, stanza 19).

6–7 But the (Mexican) singer steps forth as a woman and lures the appropriate (Mexican) revenants, saying, "Come and enjoy life while it lasts."

C *Successive waves of revenants sweep victims up to paradise.*

8–9 Matlacuiatzin (a hero associated with Tlachuepan) arrives on the field of combat and carries Texcocan victims back to paradise.

10–11 Again (as in stanzas 6–7) the Mexican singer steps forth as a woman, luring further Mexican ghosts. "She" would like to be adorned with (i.e., would like to enjoy the company of) these gorgeous revenants (or "tinted ones") as though she might wear them as a headband. "She" addresses the revenants as nephews (in the form used by female speakers). She would like to dance with the revenant "rush hunters" (warriors). Note that this "woman" (who implies that she is joined by sister courtesans) has "arrived" from the other world (perhaps the luxurious paradise identified with Cuextlan; see song 86, canto A).

12–13 As a fresh wave of Mexican revenants arrives, making us "drunk" with pleasure, poor Nezahualpilli is still trying to summon his Texcocan Chichimecs (warriors). Weeping for revenants, he merely helps to produce Mexicans (not Texcocans).

14–15 The Mexican singer picks up Nezahualpilli's train of thought, turning it into a remembrance of the departed Tlachuepan. (Note that these two stanzas have been moved out of the position established for them in song 67, forcing a somewhat different and less satisfactory interpretation.)

16 And still poor Nezahualpilli (Screecher) is crying for Texcocan revenants. Instead, the Mexican Ixtlilcuechahuac (either Ixtlilcuechahuac himself or perhaps an incarnation of Tlachuepan, making yet another appearance on earth) comes down to sweep up Texcocan victims, carrying them off to paradise. These events have occurred in Mexico (Water's Navel).

D *Returned to paradise, the ghosts keep Mexico alive on earth.*

17 The return of the ancestral ghost warriors to paradise releases still more revenants ("jades"), who repopulate ("paint") the city of Mexico. Meanwhile, in heaven (Hummingbird Mountain), God is reveling in the gift of Texcocan victims ("plume jades"). The second in this pair of unseparated stanzas merely repeats the material of the first, but with different imagery. The fame of ancestors (such as Axayacatl) will never perish because the newly released revenants will keep their memory alive. Meanwhile, in heaven, the ancestors (now birds) are spreading their wings in God's presence. Once again (as in stanzas 6–7, 10–11), the singer assumes the role of a woman, referring to the ghosts as *nopilohuan* ("my nephews"), a form used by female speakers.

18 Further ancestors are mentioned. These, too, have gone away, having performed heroically, leaving us with a fresh supply of revenants (called "hummingbird flower water").

Commentary to Songs 78-80

19 Likewise, the ancestor Ahuitzotl is alive in paradise, i.e., he still "implores" the Only Spirit, presenting him with these valuable Texcocan victims ("jade-jewel plumes").

Variant. Stanzas 4-5, 12-13, 14-15, and 16-16a correspond to song 67, stanzas 18-19, 7-8, 11-12, and 9-10, respectively.

Previous translation. GPN, 3: 32-35.

LXXVIII Another musical call to arms (folio 66)

Synopsis. See commentary for song 31.

Variant. Song 31, stanzas 1-8.

LXXIX Song of Nezahualcoyotl of Acolhuacan coming to visit the elder Montezuma of Mexico when he was sick (folio 66v)

Remarks. Note that the first eight stanzas are nearly identical to song 72. Onto this the singer has grafted stanzas 13-18, borrowed from song 64, thinking to tie everything together with a hastily conceived two-stanza envoy. The unlikely heading is evidently an invention of the glossator, probably occasioned by a misreading of the term *mocococauh* ("your sustenance"; see stanzas 5 and 6), which might conceivably mean "your sick one" in the medical sense.

The substitution of Acolihuacan (i.e., Acolhuacan) for Tamoanchan in stanza 1 secularizes the text and leads one to suspect that the composer did not thoroughly understand the material. To give him the benefit of the doubt, it might be supposed that he intended a *colihuacan* ("ah! the ancestor land"). But the substitution of *santo patile* in stanza 9 for song 64's "You, quetzal," is equally puzzling. Note that the victim motif of song 64 has been obscured or lost in this song.

Variants. Stanzas 1-8 correspond to song 72. Stanzas 9-14 correspond to song 64, stanzas 13-18.

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 139-41; GPN, 3: 36-38; Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura," pp. 39-40 (stanzas 1-8).

LXXX Ribald flower song (folio 67)

Synopsis. A muse appears, bringing revenants to earth. In exchange, muse and mortals(?) are carried to paradise. The muse appears again, bringing more revenants. In exchange, the muse himself is taken back to paradise(?) as a surrogate for ancestral Tezozomoc. The muse appears yet again, immediately returning to paradise on a song trip. Again he returns with revenants. And again he disappears. Question: how can we get him back? Answer: through music.

Remarks. The above synopsis ignores the element of burlesque that gives this song its special appeal. This is indeed a "flower song" (i.e., a song in which "flowers," or revenants, are produced). But the muse is a "ribald," evidently a transvestite (as the female diction of cantos C and D would indicate). Such in-

congruity is startling and no doubt calculated to amuse. For a contemporary description of ribald songs in general (*cuecuecheucatl*), see RITOS, chap. 21, p. 193, para. 26. Durán there notes that in certain towns the friars permit such songs as a "recreation." But "this is not very wise," he continues, "because they are so indecent. Indian men appear in them dressed as women."

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *The muse arrives.*

1 Addressing the audience, the ribald muse announces his arrival on earth. His songs are "flowers" (revenants), and he is whirling them down from paradise.

2 He comes from paradise, home of "white flowers" (ghost warriors of the sun?). But now these "flowers," or "pictures," are standing up in the music room, or trumpet house.

3-4 The revenants are called "popcorn flowers."

B *Muse and mortals(?) depart for paradise.*

5-6 The muse has come from where the "Waters flow" (paradise), bringing revenants (as though a shower), delighting everyone.

7 But there is barely a moment to enjoy them, because we must now trade our lives for theirs. Together with the muse we head for paradise, leaving the "flowers" behind.

8 Addressing the revenants(?), the muse speaks of carrying them down from paradise. Addressing the audience(?), the muse refers to paradise as "home." (This stanza and the next two are perhaps deliberately ambiguous.)

9 The muse addresses the revenants. (Note the allusion to God and Mary, recalling pre-Conquest prayers to Our Mother, Our Father, the Sun, the Earth. See, for example, FC, book 6, chap. 14, p. 74, line 6.)

10 The muse addresses the audience.

C *The muse reappears.*

11 The muse is a "beast," a "wanton" (lit., a "deer," a "rabbit," terms used figuratively to denote a harlot). "Be a horny beast" (lit., "Let there be a horned deer") appears to be an invitation to the male audience to copulate with the female-impersonating muse.

12 The muse openly entices his audience, addressing them as if he were a woman (using the female form, "little brothers"). In this context the admonition "Let's unfold God's flower pictures" has a lascivious connotation. In other words, "Let's make revenants (or babies)."

13 The desired result is achieved. A flower tree (the source of songs, or revenants) rains down from heaven, reaching the music room ("rainy house"). God himself is in the tree.

14 As the muse dances before the tree, God (as a raucous bird) answers him (implying that songs, or revenants, are descending from the tree).

D *The muse distributes revenants.*

15 The legion of the dead returns to life, shouting, through the agency of the muse-singer, who styles himself a heavenly "thrush swan" (though in fact he is a clown).

16 He "paints" the music room, or patio, with revenants.

17-18 The ribald muse announces that these revenants (or flowers) are a distribution of his own person. In other words, the revenants are flowers sprung from

Commentary to Songs 81–82

the singer's heart (a conventional image). A butterfly (i.e., Life Giver?) is sipping (or enjoying) the flowers.

E *The muse is a surrogate for Tezozomoc(?)*.

19–20 The muse reaffirms his role as revenant producer.

21–22 But he himself will serve as the victim to be exchanged for these revenants. He will return to paradise as the surrogate for a noble ancestor (Tezozomoc, for example), and in fear, or anger, he frowns—then laughs, because of course it's all a joke.

F *A lesson in revenant production*.

23 The muse again arrives from paradise (as a raucous bird), entertaining the audience (whom he addresses as "my nephews").

24–25 And again he departs for paradise, this time on a song trip, and again he returns with more music, more revenants. (Paradise, the place of dawn, is identified with the extreme eastern country known as Panotlan, or with the dawn place itself, known in mythic contexts as Tollan Tlapallan, or, as here, simply Tollan. The proximity of Panotlan to Cuextlan, thought to be a land of lechers, adds a ribald connotation.)

26 Departing, the muse advises his hearers to sing for him. Thus he will return again as a revenant (or "painting") in response to musical art (which is like the art of painting).

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 143–53; HLN, 1: 380–84; Garibay, "Poema"; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, pp. 165–66, 168, 169 (canto F); GLA, no. 40 (excerpt from canto D); GPN, 3: 36–38; PCL, pp. 107–9 (excerpts); Launcy, 2: 396–97 (canto A).

LXXXI A song of green places (folio 68)

Synopsis. The revenant muse Yoyontzin (probably Nezahualcoyotl) arrives on earth, uttering further revenants (or songs). The singer asks him where the songs originate (stanza 2), and he answers, "paradise" (stanza 3). The muse, or the singer (who sings with the voice of the muse), rejoices in song-revenants, while lamenting the brevity of this pleasure.

Remarks. Song 81 seems superior to the nearly identical song 75 in that the question posed in stanza 2 is immediately answered. In 75 the answer is delayed until stanza 5.

Variants. Stanzas 1–4 and 6 (rearranged) correspond to song 75. Stanzas 4a–5 correspond to song 25, stanzas 3–4, and RSNE, 2v–3r.

Previous translation. HLN, 1: 88.

LXXXII (folio 68v)

Synopsis. Ghosts of the previous generation return to life in response to our music, as we, who are mortal, prepare to enter paradise.

Remarks. These loosely connected cantos appear to be a suite. Oddly, the drum figures heading cantos C and D are almost identical. The ghosts summoned are

those of Huanitl, Mayehuatzin, Coanacoch, Oquitzin, (Jorge) Yoyontzin, Huizoc (Huitzotl?), and Tlacotzin, members of the generation that fought Cortés in 1521. Huanitl and Yoyontzin were active in Indian politics during the 1520's and 1530's. Huanitl is known to have died in 1541.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A A muse arrives, distributing Life Giver's songs, or revenants (stanza 1). But Life Giver wants to put these revenants into battle, thus "hiding," or killing, them so that he can have them back (stanza 2). We mortals protest to Life Giver, explaining that we ourselves must be the payment for these revenants, for we are already feeling the divine reproach. Please let these revenants live (stanzas 3–5). We call to them by name (stanza 6). And they answer, reminding us that we must serve time in paradise. In other words, we must march to war and become captives, hence sacrificial victims. And yet there is hope that we may remain on earth to enjoy the company of our revenants—if we are valorous enough to become captors, not captives (stanza 7). Tearfully the revenant Oquitzin utters this uncertain promise (stanza 8).

B Desirable revenants arrive (stanzas 9–10), bringing fresh life to earth, as we prepare to die (stanza 11). A dissenting voice urges Life Giver to "conceal," or kill, these revenants so that they will go with us to paradise. But no, they must remain on earth (stanza 12). Meanwhile, the revenants are congratulating each other upon their arrival. Yet they realize that their presence and their lovely words imply our death (stanzas 13–14). Yes, we mortals are now disconsolate, for we must leave this world (stanza 15)—while the revenant lords and rulers are basking in life's glory (stanza 16).

C Producing revenants through musical flowets, or song-weeping, we look forward to making their acquaintance. Yet their arrival automatically implies our departure for paradise (stanzas 17–17a). Grieving because we must leave them, we nonetheless enjoy them while we can (stanzas 18–19). Meanwhile, Life Giver is already plucking "songs," or warriors, for his use (stanza 20). We mortals are to be the warriors that he chooses; we must die in battle. Unfortunately, we cannot take the revenants with us, for they are to continue living on earth—or so it seems (stanza 21). Indeed, we need not grieve. All warriors ("plumes," "paintings," etc.) will meet in paradise eventually (stanzas 22–23).

D Allowing for minor revisions, notably the substitution of names and the slight reinterpretation of the final stanza, this canto is the same as song 73.

Variants. Canto C, RSNE, 27v–29; canto D, see song 73.

Previous translation. GPN, 3: 43–47.

LXXXIII Chichimec piece (folio 69v)

Synopsis. As we mortal Mexicans yield our lives to our Tlaxcalan enemies, ancestral Mexicans and departed Spaniards return together, creating a new Mexico.

Remarks. With the possible exception of "Lord Don Martín Cortés" and his companion, "Don Francisco" (see stanza 30), all persons mentioned in this piece are ghosts. Both Don Martín, the legitimate heir, and his brother, Don Martín the bastard (who is perhaps referred to here), were active in New Spain between 1562

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and 1566. Probably the song was composed during that period. "Don Francisco" is presumably Don Francisco Velasco, who, like Don Martín Cortés the bastard, was a commander in the Order of St. James of the Sword (TORQ, 1: 636).

According to the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a Chichimecayotl (Chichimec piece) was performed at the wedding of the Indian gobernador of Tenochtitlan, Don Luis de Santa María Cipac, on Sunday, June 4, 1564 (Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 233).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *We summon Montezuma.*

1-2 We would like to have the ghost Montezuma descend as a revenant-producing muse, thus liberating the Mexican ancestors now held as prisoners in paradise (the Sacred Shore).

3 We urge the ancestors to come join us as warriors, to avenge the defeat we suffered in 1521 here in Tenochtitlan (Barge Streets, located in the midst of Lake Texcoco, or Blue Skirt). We urge them to remember our broken "arrows" (soldiers), who lay in the streets, or canals, and how we grieved and were pitiable (compare UAH, sec. 348: "auh yn otlica o mitl xaxamâtoc"—"and in the streets, oh! arrows lie broken").

4 The ghost Montezuma is eager.

5 But having no payment to offer in exchange for these revenants, we appeal directly to the ghosts Tlacahuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac.

6 In the hope of inspiring Tlacahuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac, we remind them of the glorious welcome accorded slain warriors (as birds) entering paradise in the presence of the dawning sun (White Eagle). See p. 32, above.

7 And so where are we asking them to go? To battle and thence to paradise. Ideally, they will be captured alive, then sacrificed with the obsidian knife (personified as the goddess Itzcpalotl). It is as though they were being sent to paradise by the goddess herself. (Note that paradise, from which the ghosts are asked to descend, is described in stanzas 1 and 2 as an unpleasant "Dead Land," whereas in stanza 7 it is presented as a place of glory. See pp. 19-21, above.)

8 But our Tlaxcalan foes (devotees of the tribal god Camaxtli) will also suffer losses. Therefore, as you enter paradise (accompanied by these slain Tlaxcalans), it will be as though you are carrying them (as though they are your captives). (Matlaccuiatzin and Macuilmalinaltzin are here addressed, instead of Tlacahuepan and Ixtlilcuechahuac, as above. The four were brothers and are treated in ghost songs as though they were synonymous.)

9 Indeed, we must all go to battle. And though it pains us to die, let us remember that there is no real life here on earth.

10 And so these revenant princes are destined to die.

B *We continue to summon Montezuma, hoping he will serve as revenant producer.*

11-12 We imagine the revenants already descending into our music room (or flower patio).

13 We imagine Montezuma producing revenants (as emanations from his heart).

14 We invite them to come rest beneath the (imaginary) cacao trees decorating our music room.

15 The music room is perhaps a Christian nave ("long temple") with a scarfed altar ("where these drapes are hanging").

16 Montezuma and his revenants have still not made their appearance. They are still held as prisoners in paradise (see stanza 1). But we warriors are “singing,” or “weeping” (performing war deeds in order to obtain the victims that will purchase their resurrection).

17–18 We urge our Tlaxcalan foes to join us in battle, suggesting that they gladly give their lives in order to become “hearts” (ghost warriors) in the presence of God (the Bishop) in paradise.

19 In exchange, our Mexican revenants are “blossoming” on earth.

C *But song deeds, not empty songs, are needed.*

20 I continue to sing (as though my songs were war deeds), thus (presumably) killing our Tlaxcalan foes (and sending them to paradise). In exchange, revenants will be produced, but there will be no enemy ancestors among them. We needn't worry about King Vulture (Cozcacauhtli, possibly a pun on Cuahtencoztli, a famous Huexotzincan captain who fought with the Tlaxcalans on the side of Cortés). He will not be resurrected, because the singing is being done only by us Mexicans.

21 Instead, we shall produce Mexican revenants such as Axayacatl (father of Montezuma and Tlacabuepan). Axayacatl died in glory. In other words, he died as one who deserves songs. And these songs (“jade reeds,” “bracelet roots”) are now waiting to be born.

22 As a singer, I would like to be able to produce the desired revenants without actually endangering myself in combat. I assure my comrades that there is no need to risk their lives. I'll be the warrior (with my music); I'll produce the revenants we all desire. (But do they believe me?)

23 The voices of my comrades are heard expressing doubt.

24 Alas, although I “grieve” (sing) in order to produce “flowers” (revenants), my music has no effect. I merely “scatter squirrels” (my songs are nothing but empty chatter). By contrast, I hear it said that my friends (my fellow Mexicans) are doing something substantial. (I, the cowardly stay-at-home, hear this news from the battlefield.) They, the warriors, are the real singers. They're the ones whose hearts produce a flowering of revenants (“redstone paintings”).

25 I envy the deeds being performed on the battlefield (spear-land).

26 The soldiers themselves (as they die) are entering the glorious war hut of the sun (White Warrior).

27 And yes, you Mexicans that give your lives in battle are “glorifying” (resurrecting) the ghost warriors who now make their appearance in this war hut (our music room).

D *And Christian songs, especially, must be avoided.*

28 By the way, friends, these European-style songs you've been hearing in church lately are good only for producing European revenants. And that's no way to serve God here in Mexico. Remember, this city was founded by Acamapichtli and Huitzilihuitl. It isn't right that the late viceroy, Antonio Mendoza, should be resurrected (to the exclusion of our native heroes).

29 And even if our own Huanitl serves as muse, he may be suspected of giving an impure performance. After all, he took the name Diego (and further adulterated his native heritage, as we shall see in stanza 32). Thus if Huanitl is bidden to

produce ("paint") the ancestral Montezuma, he may in fact produce the viceroy. (Note the pun on *totlatocauh*, "regent," which may mean either "ruler," as applied to Montezuma, or "viceroy," as applied to Mendoza.)

30 Ah, yes. All the old heroes are being forgotten on this modern-day "flower mat" (i.e., in the church as it is used for musical performances). Nobody remembers Tezozomocli Acolnahuacatl (another brother of Montezuma and Tlauhquepantl). All we hear nowadays are the European-style songs of Jesus, which of course give pleasure to Don Martín Cortés (son of the conquistador) and his companion(?), "Don Francisco."

31 Christian songs make a mockery of our traditional values. In fact, with Christian songs, the only revenants we get are Jesus and his like. So let's not sing those European-style songs.

32 And where are our revenants? It seems they're still in paradise, held back by the apostate Don Diego (Huanitl), who was a mere "vassal Chichimec" on a fancy saddle. ("The favors granted by kings and viceroys allowed caciques and principales [to ride] with saddles"; Gibson, *Aztees*, p. 155.)

33 Let's get back to our traditional ways. Let me serve God as a Mexican (not as a European). With Mexican-style songs I'll produce the revenants that we desire, for example Oquitzin, Coahuitl, and "Don Juan" (Tlacotzin?), heroes of the resistance.

34 I call out to these "flowers," these "braves," urging them to make their appearance here in God's home (i.e., the church).

35 God is merciful. He will grant them to us.

36 Come on, you warriors ("singers")! Let's go dance in paradise (let's give our lives in battle)! Our Tlaxcalan foes are already on the causeways (leading into Mexico City). We will die as a result of their war deeds, or songs (their "lifting" of "precious jades"), permitting us to reach paradise (the Shore) as "reed flowers." Of course, their barbarous, non-Mexican performance will include some element of "stammering" (otherwise we might be in danger of getting Tlaxcalan revenants).

37 And as our warriors begin their dancing in paradise, the welcome "banner plumes" (Mexican revenants) scatter down to earth.

E *With native songs in praise of God we'll create a new earth.*

38-39 Indeed, let us sing (or pray) to God in native style, calling for warrior revenants.

40 Let us—for example—summon the ghost of Don Diego Tehuetzquiti (native governor of Tenochtitlan; d. 1554). Let us summon both Spanish and Mexican revenants here in this new land (the New World).

41 Let us give our lives in battle (in order to produce these revenants) just as heroes ("jades") did in the old days.

42 Remember, you can't get (or "return") to paradise if you're poor in deeds. And so "we wish for death" (in battle). Lasting fame and the chance to become a revenant can only be won through war deeds. Empty memorials in stone or wood do not enable you to return to earth.

43-44 Come, let us "aid" God (i.e., the sun) by giving our lives in battle, emulating the heroes Tlauhquepantl, Cuitlahuitl, and Anahuacatl.

Commentary to Song 84

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 155–59 (cantos A–C); HLN, 1: 119 (stanzas 7–8); Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 238–39 (stanzas 7–8); GLA, nos. 41, 68, 71 (cantos A–C); GPN, 3: 48–52 (cantos A–C); León-Portilla, *Trece poemas*, p. 51 (stanzas 9–10).

LXXXIV Chalcan female song (folio 72)

Synopsis. A singer in the guise of a Chalcan woman satirizes the agony of the conquered Chalcans by pretending to submit sexually to the Mexican king Axayacatl, here summoned as a ghost.

Background. The Chalcan cities were conquered by Mexico and its allies during the reign of Montezuma I. Though rebellious, they remained under Mexican control until they defected to Cortés. For an account of the Chalcan War, see Brundage, pp. 136–46, 256, 263; see also Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 13–16. On the defeat and submission of Tlatelolco, ca. 1435, alluded to in stanza 28, see Brundage, p. 90.

Remarks. The glossator, evidently taking his cue from the song text itself, assumes that the piece was brought to Mexico by Chalcans as an entertainment for King Axayacatl. He would have to suppose, therefore, that the song was composed in the Chalcan dialect; and indeed, he finds at least one “Chalcan expression” (in stanza 7). However, there are no verifiable deviations from Mexican usage in the text as it has been preserved. Nor is it likely that Chalcans would have debased themselves in such a crushing satire. Furthermore, the Axayacatl of this song is dead. Possibly the piece was composed by the same Mexican singer who put together the remarkably similar song 57, honoring the ghost of Abuitzotl, Axayacatl’s successor. If so, it was probably first performed during the reign of Montezuma II or later. Observe that the song makes fun of war and is far less flattering to Chalco than to Mexico.

León-Portilla (“*Chalca Cihuacatl*”) calls attention to striking parallels between this piece and Chimalpain’s description of a female war song supposedly performed for King Axayacatl by visiting Chalcans in 1479. The comparison is undoubtedly correct. Chimalpain can only be referring to the song at hand. But Chimalpain tells too much. In a blow-by-blow account in his seventh *Relación*, he explains that the Chalcan musicians set themselves up outside the palace while Axayacatl remained sequestered within. At first the song went badly under the leadership of a musician who “came and spoiled the drumming” (“tlatlacoco yn rlatzotzonaliztica”); “he just slumped over the drum” (“ça hualtollo ypan yn huehuelt”). Hearing this, Axayacatl became angry, and the Chalcans feared that they might be put to death. But a highly competent Chalcan named Quechoľcoatl stepped forth and took over the performance, delighting Axayacatl so thoroughly that he emerged from his palace, danced with the Chalcans, and rewarded the good singer with a special military breechcloth and other regalia (Zimmermann, 1: 115–16; Chimalpain, pp. 211–14; Cornyn, “Aztec Master Musician”).

To discover the source of this feeble story, we may look closely at the *Cantares* text, which Chimalpain, writing in the 1600’s, could well have seen. Apparently he committed the same kind of error made three hundred years later by Angel M. Garibay, who interpreted Aztec song texts as though they were eyewitness accounts

Commentary to Song 84

of live performances, casually brushing aside "poetic" obscurities. Consider the following phrases in our text (stanza numbers in parentheses) in light of Chimalpain's account:

"I'm a Chalcan" (2)

"Little king! O Axayacatl! Here let yourself be summoned, man!" (7)

"And yes, I'll make it . . . slow" (8)

"No no no, don't scorn me" (9)

"I'm wretched at last, and sore. And in despair I'm saying, 'Babel! I want to die'" (14)

"And what will become of me?" (16)

"You'd be sacrificed" (17)

"You're dancing as my partner" (20)

"You've made some good ones, yes, and they're your precious songs" (20)

Quen ami in cuicatl chualo in cuicoya o in cuahquechholli, "How good are the songs that are lifted when all those eagle swans sing?" (30), misread as: "How good are the songs that are sung when Cuahquechholli sings!

Noconcuico ye nochcuc ye nochhuipil, "I've come to get fiber skirts [for myself] and fiber blouses [for myself]" (31), which could also be read as: "I come to get my warrior's breechcloth and warrior's jacket."

Picking out these phrases, Chimalpain must have reasoned as follows: The song is sung by Chalcanos who have come to summon Axayacatl from his palace. The drummer decides to take a slow tempo—too slow, with the result that Axayacatl scorns him. Abashed, he wishes he were dead, perhaps slumps over his drum, wondering what will be done with him. The answer is that he will be sacrificed (and in fact death was the punishment for musicians who "spoiled the song," according to FC, book 8, chap. 17, p. 56). Now at last Axayacatl is dancing; he is hearing a good performance, "precious" songs. He loves the way this new Chalcan singer, Cuahquechholli, conducts the program, and at the end he rewards him with a breechcloth and a jacket.

Presumably Chimalpain decided that Cuahquechholli was a variant of coaquechholli, then inverted it to make Quecholcoatl (the name of a historical Chalcan?). And several other questions remain. Why would the Chalcanos have used so inept a performer in the first place? And how did a song of Axayacatl's time (c. ca. 1468–81) wind up in a sixteenth-century document like the *Cantares*? Chimalpain deals with the first problem by having the offender belong to Tlalmanalco, the rival city of his native Amaquemecan. The successful performer he assigns to Amaquemecan. As for the history of the song, he claims that it was taken from the Chalcanos by Axayacatl, who bequeathed it to his son Tezozomocli Acolnahuacatl, who in turn gave it to his son Huanitl. And noting the singer's curious identification with Ayocuan in stanzas 26 and 27, he decides that the piece must have been composed in Ayocuan's time (i.e., before 1465)—by a "composer of songs" he calls Quiyauhtzin Cuahquiyauhtzintli (a historical person connected with Ayocuan's court?). But even without consulting the text, we find ourselves confronted with an implausible potpourri of data. An examination of the *Cantares* text itself seems to show that Chimalpain has overreached himself and falsified his source.

Elsewhere in the same work, drawing on an unidentified source, Chimalpain

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mentions that when the viceroy Luis de Velasco arrived in Mexico in 1550, "Amateques went by themselves to greet him in Cholula; they went to dance; Chalcacihuacuicatl [Chalcan female song] is what they went and sang in order to go greet the viceroy" (Zimmermann, 2: 15). According to the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a Chalcacihuacuicatl was performed in Mexico on July 16, 1564 (HLN, 2: 103).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *The Chalcan woman summons Axayacatl.*

1 (Prologuc) Rouse yourselves, sisters (woman speaking), and let's go to war (let's make music). Let's go get some captives!

2 I'm a Chalcan woman in search of songs, or ghosts.

3 As women, as ones who sit and spin, my sister musicians and I are summoning the ghost of Axayacatl, hoping to produce him as muse and principal revenant. We sing the songs that we hope he'll shower upon us as we whirl him down to earth.

4 We imagine his songs arriving.

5 I do greatly desire this creation, or revenant, of mine, this jewel (who is to be brought forth on earth like a newborn babe). Let me entertain him, entice him with my music.

6 It's as though I were blowing a trumpet, summoning him to earth.

B *She promises sex and tempts him into war.*

7 Come as my lover, dear Axayacatl. Come quench the flame of my desire.

8 Come enjoy sexual intercourse with me (alternatively, come enjoy these ghosts that you and I are producing). (The translation suffers because English requires pronouns to be either singular or plural, whereas in the Nahuatl text the number is not specified.)

9 My arms are aching for you, and I know you want to fondle me (alternatively, as a soldier you long to lay your hands on these revenants, or "hearts," hoping to make them your captives).

10 Don't worry about hurting yourself; with an erection you'll be able to put your appendage comfortably inside me (alternatively, yes, you might be mortally wounded in battle, but then you'll be able to recline in paradise as a ghost warrior, or swan, watching for the dawn).

11-12 You will lie inside me on a lovely bed (alternatively, you will dwell within the sky as a ghost warrior; nevermore will you be alive on earth; note that at this point the "alternative" meaning has become more obvious than the "manifest" meaning).

13 I now see that Axayacatl would return to earth not merely as my lover (per manifest meanings, stanzas 7-12), but as a warrior bound for battle and death (per latent meanings, stanzas 8-12). Afraid to join him in battle, I complain to one of my sister musicians. My womanhood has been insulted.

14 I wish I were dead.

C *Frightened by the prospect of Axayacatl's militarism, she tries to save herself.*

15 Again I complain to my sister musician (my "mama"). I don't want to join Axayacatl in battle, I'd rather "dance the spindle" and "throw the [weaver's] reed." In other words, I'd rather stay home and do woman's work. (But the expression "I

can't dance the spindle, I can't dance the reed" is a pun, also meaning "I can't dance with a woman." That is to say, I'd rather be a lesbian if this is what heterosexual love is all about. Compare song 57, canto C; and song 86, canto B.)

16 If I stay with Axayacatl, I fear that I'll be killed in war.

17 I try to reason with him. Why should he want me to accompany him in battle? I'd only hinder him, and he himself would be killed and mourned.

18 Or, to try another argument, why doesn't he stay with me and be one of the women? Instead of creating "flowers" (revenants) through deeds in battle, he could "create" them as a concubine (just as I, as a concubine, "created" him through seduction in canto B).

19 But no, he's "struck it up" (i.e., he's making music, or rather war). And it looks as though I, having joined him, am headed for "Home" (paradise).

20 But wait! He's really making music and only music (not war). He's dancing with me, and his music creates ghosts. Better yet, these ghosts are drunk with war lust. I urge him (and them) to come ahead. Can there be happiness in paradise, you ghosts, when there's a chance to make war here on earth?

21 This turn of events delights me because these ghosts will serve as my payment, and I won't have to go to war. Instead, I'll simply stay at home (and do woman's work). (Note that the ghosts are here called "my aunts, my uncles," making it unclear whether they are to be men or women. Compare stanzas 23-28, below.)

D *With fear turning to stratagem, she conquers Huexotzinco in order to impress Axayacatl.*

22 Alas, these ghosts are not to be my payment after all. In fact they're raining down upon us right here in Chalcan territory, in Coatepec and even in Panohuayan. O sister "priests" (O sister musicians), what's to be done?

23 We're used to doing domestic chores, but with these warlike revenants arriving we're going to have to join them and fight like men. But wait! Let's turn the tables on them. Let us be men for a moment (let us momentarily inspire ourselves with the identities of male Chalcan ancestors; see stanza 26). And let us bring down these warlike ghosts as though they were our "skirts and blouses" (our women). In other words, we'll make them women like us. (Note that the idea has already been broached in stanza 18.)

24 Accordingly, I proceed to tempt Axayacatl with a tortilla (but in such a way that I am really asking him to come be a woman and make tortillas with me).

25 I question his manhood, implying that he is really a woman.

26 I am a woman and yet I am not a woman (compare the paraphrase of stanza 23). Yes, I am a Chalcan woman, but I am imbued with the spirit of Ayocuan (i.e., Ayocuan the elder, one of the Chalcan princes humiliated in the war with Mexico; see Chimalpain, p. 204). And I am offering songs (or making war, i.e., offering victims), such that ghosts are produced.

27 The ghosts I desire are the warriors of Acolhuacan and Tepanecapan (partners in the triple alliance with Mexico). I produce them as women.

28 With the voice of Ayocuan, I elide Axayacatl for having reduced Acolhuacan and Tepanecapan to the status of "concubines" (i.e., inferior partners in the triple alliance?). And Cuauhtlatoa, the ruler of Tlatelolco, suffered a similar fate at

your hands, O Axayacatl. (Observe this ahistorical detail. Cuauhtlatoa was reduced in the early 1430's, but Axayacatl did not come to the throne until about 1468. On the submission of Tlatelolco, ca. 1435, see Brundage, p. 90.) Don't try the same with me! But speaking as a woman, I tell the Tlatelolcan ghosts to get on down to Chalco: let's all be whores together. We'll show those men what whores can do!

29 Come on, sisters, let's put on our war paint! And what do you suppose Axayacatl will think of me in this get up? "Well," says one of my sisters, "I think you're going to put all those men to shame. As a start, let's try our skill against Huexotzinco." (Note that Mexico was never able to subdue Huexotzinco.)

30 Indeed, the men (the male ghosts, the "eagle swans") have nothing on us. Let's try our skill against Huexotzinco.

31 Let's head for Tetzmollocan (a town in Huexotzincan territory) and finish them off! They'll submit to our feminine blandishments as we perfume ourselves with oil: we'll receive skirts and blouses as presents. (But a second meaning is that we'll reduce them to the status of a conquered nation and thus demand oil and armor in tribute. The boast "I'm going to keep right on enjoying them" flouts conventional wisdom and is evidently a joke. Warriors typically assert that they *cannot* go on enjoying the riches of this world; DICT: tlamihtlauh: tla.)

32 And we also yearn to capture the Huexotzincans living in the town of Xaltepetlapan. We'll finish them off and exact a tribute of leather goods. Hey, treasure (i.e., my precious revenant, Axayacatl)! Come see me now in my hour of triumph! (Mantles and breechcloths of hencquen, as well as hides, are mentioned in a list of goods brought from Tlaxcala, Huexotzinco, and Cholula; Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 39, p. 297.)

E She continues to summon Axayacatl, apologizing for her excesses.

33 My Huexotzincan conquests, won through feminine guile, will surely make Axayacatl happier with me than he was before. Mexico made me its concubine, and the result is that I've won new territory for my master—precisely as a concubine, or whore. So come, dear Axayacatl. And come gently, in peace (there's no need for war or violence).

34 But Axayacatl doesn't seem to care for this arrangement.

35 And I confess that I am asking too much. True, he has made me a whore, but if I love him I should not insist that he too become a whore. I should not have attempted to produce him and his warriors as concubines. My revenant-producing soul ("heart") has made a mess of things. I should not have attempted to lead a troop of revenant whores into battle and thus offend Axayacatl.

36 I shall return to my conventional role as a woman (as one who spins) and shall merely summon Axayacatl as my lover (not try to upstage him on the field of combat).

F She admits to being a whore, as Axayacatl finally arrives and takes his pleasure.

37 Now reaching the depths of self-abuse, I regard myself as a worthless old whore, capable of no more than pleasuring my own "flower," or "brownie," or "dolly," i.e., vulva. (But "pleasure my flower" also means "produce my revenant.")

38 And Axayacatl, as a lover, is interested in my "flower" after all (or as a warrior he's interested in combat).

Commentary to Song 85

39 Your heart shall not tumble down to earth needlessly, for you shall find me waiting as your lover. Those "hearts" (ghost warriors) of yours are really none other than my "arms" (a pun on "soldiers"). And so, through the medium of this pun, I've trapped you into love (and prevented you from going to war).

40 And now that you've taken your pleasure, you'll be at peace in your "resting place" (and I shall be saved from the terror of war). (Note that "resting place" implies a woman's sitting place. Hence the singer, in a sense, has succeeded in womanizing Axayacatl after all.)

Previous translations. GPN, 3: 55-60 (reprinted with commentary in Quezada, *Amor*, pp. 62-70); León-Portilla, "*Chalca Cihuacuicatl*."

LXXXV Old man song (folio 73v)

Synopsis. A singer in the guise of a blustering old Chalcan summons Mexican ghosts in the hope of having them defeated; but the Mexicans, arriving as young men (not as feeble old-timers, as the singer had hoped), ridicule the Chalcans and threaten to kill them.

Background. See "Background" for song 84. For the story of Axayacatl's disastrous campaign against Michhuacan, see TEZ, chaps. 51-52; and Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 37.

Remarks. The glossator is aware that King Axayacatl's troops were routed in Michhuan territory, at or near the town of Tlaximaloyan (Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 37, para. 4). And he understands that Tzintzontzan was the principal seat of Michhuacan, and that Chichicha and Camacoyahuac were names of kings in that region. But his headnote and glosses suggest that he does not grasp the essence of the text. As for Camacoyahuac, this would appear to be a figurative name for the Michhuan battlefield, perhaps playing on the name of the king (see DICT: camacoyāhuac). Chimalpain seems to have seen this text, including the glosses, and to have incorporated his own misreading of it in his third *Relación*, under the heading 6-Flint (see Chimalpain, p. 104).

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Chalcan singers send Mexican ghosts to be defeated in Michhuacan.

1 Arriving on earth, we Mexican revenants explain that we have been summoned as drunken old cagles with orders to go get ourselves and our comrades (our "thorns") killed in Michhuacan (also called "the gaping maw," suggesting the great number of victims to be killed, or swallowed, there). (Compare FC, book 6, chap. 3, p. 11, line 15: "Earth opens her maw wide, she parts her lips." See also the references to biting and eating in Chimalpain, pp. 98, 106.) Our bravest warriors, even Yaotzin, are sure to be killed.

2 Meanwhile, we Chalcan singers (warriors) are astonished to find that, as feeble and old as we are, we've been able to produce these Mexican ghosts. Well, we may be old, but let's not underestimate ourselves. We're making real music (war). We're not just kicking old ladies. Indeed, we've already lost one of our fellow old-timers, Cacamatl himself (the name of several Chalcan rulers). With deeds

like this, we're summoning King Axayacatl and his ally, King Chimalpopoca (of Tlacopan). But we're producing them as oldsters like ourselves (in the hope that they'll be more easily defeated).

3 Do I hear Mexican ghosts? Indeed, here comes Tlacaoel (vice-regent of Mexico through most of the fifteenth century). And here comes Cahualtzin (one of Axayacatl's captains). We Chalcanes rejoice in the knowledge that these Mexicans will soon be wiped out by the notoriously warlike Michhuans (see TEZ, chap. 52).

4 Ah look! Our Mexican "grandsons" (ghosts) from Tlatelolco are as drunk as Huastecs (the proverbial drunkards; but here, as elsewhere in this piece, the meaning is drunk with war lust). They're fighting (singing) on the battlefield; hence they themselves are producing revenants, and we say that they're "uttering captains."

B *But the revenants turn on the singers and threaten to kill them.*

5 The situation looks good for us Chalcanes. The Mexicans are acting like cowards. The Michhuans have spotted them and are rushing in to attack. As they strike, a shower of ghosts falls to earth (like "gold," like "plumes"). And the sacrificed Mexicans are reborn in paradise.

6 But wait! There's been a mistake! We thought we were producing old men (who would act like cowards). But in fact our Mexican revenants are young, and instead of going off to fight the Michhuans they're turning to attack us Chalcanes. Alas, but we'll fight them anyway.

7 It's no use. They're too much for us.

8 Oh, please don't let it happen that way! In that event we Chalcanes would be carried to paradise as offerings ("flowers"), and the Mexican captains Yaotzin and Huitznahuatl would be spared. (Yaotzin was mentioned in stanza 1; Huitznahuatl was the most important of the Mexican nobles killed in the Michhuan war, per Durán and Tezozomoc.)

C *Though fearful, the Chalcanes have not yet given up hope of conquering the Mexicans.* (This canto, expressing the thoughts of the Chalcanes, is performed on the Chalcan side of the dance floor?)

9 Still hoping for victory, the singer in his ludicrous Chalcan grandpa guise continues to blurt out his song, producing ghosts, including Axayacatl.

10 A voice of reason interrupts, warning the Chalcanes to stop calling forth these dangerous Mexicans. The Chalcanes still seem to think that they are going to summon Axayacatl as a grandpa like themselves. But this "grandpa" will surely arrive as a ghost-producing muse, eager to use his singer's crook for the purpose of calling forth countless fellow Mexicans (who will arrive as young men). If the Chalcanes try to attack these Mexican firebrands they will of course be killed.

11-12 But the Chalcan singer still has hope. He points out that Axayacatl's revenants ("sorrows," "joys") will necessarily arrive on earth as mortals, destined to grow old. True, they come from paradise, where they were shorn (were dead). But now they are on earth, where one must age. And as feeble oldsters they will fall easily into the Chalcanes' hands, becoming their victims ("shield flowers"). Remember, he says, that revenants (arriving from the legion of the dead) are innumerable: we'll be counting our (aging) captives by fours, twenties, even forties! (The "alas" has no meaning.)

Commentary to Songs 86–87

D *Chalcan hopes are dashed as the Mexicans triumph.* (This canto, expressing the thoughts of the Mexicans, is performed on the Mexican side of the dance floor?)

13–14 Axayacatl has arrived on the “eagle mat” (the dance floor). (As predicted in stanza 10), he is producing Mexican firebrands by means of his music (his war deeds, or “blaze”). Using his shield and his javelin he is “strewing” his ghosts.

15 The Mexicans exult in their new life on earth.

16 Yet the Mexicans realize that they are now mortals, growing old (as predicted in stanzas 11–12). Hating the thought of old age, yearning for death in battle, Axayacatl and his comrades throw themselves recklessly into the fray, producing more ghosts bound for victory on the Chalcan frontier.

17 And here they come, whirling down from paradise, seizing Chalcan warriors (“bells”).

18 As the Mexicans prepare to meet a glorious death in battle, Axayacatl taunts the Chalcans, accusing them of effeminacy. His final utterance, “Live that way!,” seems to mean “Go ahead and be that way—and get killed!” (But it also means “Save yourselves that way—at the expense of your manhood.” Thus the piece ends on a note of ambiguity, reminiscent of song 84.)

Previous translations. PIA, pp. 37–40; León-Portilla, *Antiguos mexicanos*, p. 101 (excerpt); GPN, 3: 61–63; León-Portilla, “Axayacatl,” pp. 40–45; León-Portilla, *Trece poetas*, pp. 149–53.

LXXXVI Dove song (folio 74v)

Synopsis. A seductive muse in the guise of a woman summons ghost warriors (or “papas”). Fearing death and toying with lesbianism, her sister singers (called “mamas”) at first refuse to join her, then gradually relent, at last heeding the call of love.

Remarks. Although the text strongly suggests theater in the modern sense, there is no reason why this piece could not have been recited as a dramatic monologue (as described in the Introduction, chap. 4). To facilitate reading, I have taken the liberty of indicating speakers’ names and hypothetical stage directions in the translation. Since these features are not textual, they have been printed in italics. But again, this is not to insist that actual drama is being performed. The piece should be compared with the similar song 87. According to Hernández, “the Cococuatl, or song of the dove, was sung at nuptials and in it the marriage partners were praised” (*Antigüedades*, book 2, chap. 6).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 374–77 (excerpts); GPN, 3: 64–70; PCL, pp. 112–15 (excerpts).

LXXXVII Wanton dove song (folio 77)

Synopsis. A seductive female muse produces ghost warriors (canto A), who are destined to give their lives in battle, thus producing more ghosts (cantos B and C), to whom the muse is irresistibly attracted (canto D); rejecting the safety of lesbian

companionship (canto E), she accepts both love and death (canto F) and prepares to enter paradise (canto G).

Remarks. Note that the song is performed in Mexico, possibly at the monastery of San Francisco (stanzas 13, 25). The "San Francisco" of stanza 9 is Saint Francis as judge (in heaven). The reference to Tlachuepan (stanzas 11–12), the prototype of the ancestral hero, merely suggests that Mexico is glorified by the loss of life in battle (compare song 86, stanza 20). "Nanotzin," evidently a stock character, is again the lesbian, as in song 86. The term deer, here literally translated, might better be given as "beast" or "wanton"; it denotes the seductive heterosexual woman (see stanzas 45–46 and song 86, stanza 8). Yet in other contexts the "deer" is the sacrificial victim (see paraphrase of song 69, stanza 6).

Previous translations. HLN, 1: 378 (stanzas 11–12), 377 (stanza 33); GPN, 3: 71–72 (stanzas 11–12, 33).

LXXXVIII (folio 79)

Synopsis. A ribald muse summons reluctant ghosts, urging them to become drunk with war lust. Tempted at last, the ghosts arrive, ready to give their lives in battle.

Remarks. Garibay's delicate suggestion that these lines might pertain to the love "that dares not speak its name" seems reasonable enough (HLN, 1: 377). If the conjecture is valid, this would be the only male homosexual song in the *Cantares*, though several pieces treating lesbian themes, notably song 86, are presumably delivered by female impersonators.

The object of ridicule is evidently the muse himself, identified as a "priest" (a ritualist) who is also a Calpantlacatl (a person from Calpan, Huexotzinco), hence an enemy of Mexico.

Previous translations. None.

LXXXIX Huexotzincan song (folio 79)

Synopsis. A Huexotzincan woman fails in her attempt to summon ghost warriors against Mexico; instead, Mexican ghosts arrive and sweep the Huexotzincans up to paradise, leaving the woman behind as a widow.

Remarks. This post-Conquest composition is perhaps intended as a rebuke to Huexotzinco for its role in the siege of Tenochtitlan. Compare song 66.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A Mexican ghosts march against Huexotzinco.

1 The singer informs us that a Huexotzincan woman is attempting to summon a Huexotzincan ghost, whom she addresses as Reed Picker (i.e., one who slaughters "reeds," or warriors). She wants him to come make conquests so that the Huexotzincans will have a little blood to drink.

2 The ghosts arrive, but they are Mexicans, not Huexotzincans; and their intended victim is Don Juan Nelpiloni (an Indian lord of Huexotzinco).

Commentary to Song 90

3 The leader of the Mexicans greets the woman and announces his intention to take Huexotzincan captives. The woman welcomes the Mexicans enthusiastically (as though she has no choice or as though she has mixed feelings about Huexotzinco's having collaborated with Cortés). She tells the Mexicans to go ahead and kill the Huexotzincan men, here called "daggers" (warriors) and "cups" (because their blood is to be drunk)—but the white man's words *copa* and *daga* are used.

4 The woman says she is glad to have her man killed, because in exchange she will receive a shower of Huexotzincan "basket flowers" (revenants).

B *The Huexotzincan victims are carried up to paradise.*

5 The woman imagines that the Mexican ghosts have already returned to paradise ("Wide Water") carrying their Huexotzincan captives. They have become intoxicated on their victims' blood: it is as though they have drunk the blood of Nezahualcoyotl (for whom the Nelpiloni of stanza 2 serves as a surrogate; see General Introduction, p. 31). The woman laments the passing of her Huexotzincan man, who was merely mortal (an "old man"), and who is now a bird warrior (or "cotinga forelock," where "forelock," or scalp lock, stands for warrior).

6 The singer observes that the Huexotzincans were in error to think that they could pass away gently to heaven (the way Christians do). In fact they have died violently, as Aztecs. Yes, the Mexicans have shattered your Huexotzincan warriors, says the singer to the woman. Meanwhile, the woman's husband, bound for paradise, asks that he might pass away "adorned" with lamentations.

7 In response, the woman rehearses her grief. She tells how the man was absent from her bed, and the singer then explains that the man had gone "song-weeping" (had gone producing revenants, i.e., had gone fighting) at Ocotepcc, a town in Huexotzincan territory, where he had been taken captive at the perilous "gorge," or battlefield. Now the woman seeks her man in the "Crimson" of dawn, or paradise.

8 She sits at her fireside, singing songs of lamentation ("feather flowers"). It's as though she were offering victims, or sacrificial "flowers," in exchange for which her husband might be produced as a ghost. Thus she "seeks" him through this music.

Previous translation. GPN, 3: 73-74.

XC Bird song (folio 80)

Synopsis. The late Spaniard Alonso de Montúfar promotes a shower of Mexican ghosts, realized through the intercession of Montúfar as heavenly muse, or, better, through the use of Montúfar as ritual payment.

Remarks. This unusually difficult song creates ambiguity by playing on four antithetical pairs: Mexico/Huexotzinco, Mexico/paradise, Attacker/Tecayehuatzin, and Montúfar/Axayacatzin. In each case the pun depends upon a fortuitous identity between the pair. Thus Mexico is sometimes called "place of the willows," but *huexotzinco* means, literally, "place of the willows." Attacker is *tecayehuac*; but the usual proper-name form, Tecayehuatzin, identifies a well-known Huexotzincan ruler (see DICT). Montúfar's Christian name was Alonso; but so was Axayacatzin's.

Commentary to Song 90

Axayacatzin, *tlatoani* of Itztapalapan, was one of the last of the prominent representatives of the royal dynasty of Mexico. He made his will in March 1581 (see DICT) and presumably died shortly thereafter. The song at hand must have been occasioned by his death—not by the death of Montúfar, which occurred much earlier, in 1572 (see DICT; see also the paraphrases of stanzas 29–30).

The pervasive bird motif should be compared with the fish and peepers motifs of songs 60 and 63.

Paraphrase by canto and stanza

A *The archbishop, Don Alonso de Montúfar, has passed away.*

1 Welcome to earth, you ghosts! And I see that a throng of outgoing mortals has taken up residence in Jade Waters (heaven). So rejoice, Attacker! (As the song progresses we will come to feel that the identity of Attacker is deliberately ambiguous. At one and the same time he is a fellow Mexican warrior, whom the singer wishes to take along on his song trip, and a Huexotzincan enemy, whom the singer would send to heaven in payment for the arriving ghosts.)

2 Come on, Attacker! Let's go! Let's follow Don Alonso (the archbishop Don Alonso de Montúfar) to heaven.

3 Already our ghosts are arriving, calling "We're your uncles!" And among them I recognize the late Mexican lord Don Alonso Axayacatzin. But poor Attacker (the Huexotzincan enemy), dismayed by the arrival of so many Mexicans here in the music room (Reed Bower), complains: "Must I endure every Tom, Dick, and Harry—every Lucas and Antonio!" But I say, "Don't grieve, Attacker!" In other words, don't complain (or don't endure the earthly pain; move on to paradise).

4 Yes, go on to heaven and join the archbishop (called both "crane," because he is now a bird in paradise, and "griever," because he is song-weeping in paradise, hence producing revenants). All your "uncles" (i.e., European authority figures, including the Marquis, Cortés; see stanza 31) have passed away. God has taken their lives. (Recall that Huexotzinco joined with the Spaniards in the siege of Tenochtitlan.)

5 Come on to paradise (addressing Attacker as though he were a fellow Mexican). Let's take a song trip; let's procure those flowers, those ghosts (alternatively, let's go make war in order to procure victims).

6 (The alternative meaning of stanza 5 becomes dominant.) Ah yes, here on the battlefield my "songs" (or victims) are parceled out (parceled out as an offering, or dismembered as in a massacre). And God in the form of a swan is sipping the nectar. But of course I am merely "uttering" these offerings in the music room (not actually producing them on the battlefield).

7 The victims rise up to paradise, joining the archbishop, Don Alonso. It is as though they had gone away in "blaze" (war), gone away "resounding" (winning fame). There is some question whether these "flowers" are still "delightful" (still fresh). Perhaps they are withered (killed in battle). (Compare song 74, stanzas 5–6).

8 In exchange for this payment Don Alonso (the archbishop) serves as muse, sending ghosts back to earth. He makes us Mexicans (here called Huexotzincans) dance.

Commentary to Song 90

B *Like the archbishop, our own dead are rejoicing in paradise.*

9 Say there, Lord Attacker (i.e., our enemy), we've been having a wonderful time up here in paradise. We've even met the ghost of Axayacatl (a deliberately ambiguous allusion[?], perhaps referring to the Mexican Don Alonso of stanza 3, perhaps to the enemy Axayacatzin Xicotencatl; see DICT).

10 And we've seen God himself.

11-12 Our late Mexican lord Tehuetzquiti is rejoicing in this beautiful paradise (called Tenochtitlan). (It is now apparent that the ambiguous reference to Axayacatl in stanza 9 was meant as an enticement to the enemy Attacker, who might have thought he would have an opportunity to join Axayacatzin Xicotencatl. But in fact this paradise is peopled with Mexicans and their allies, including Don Hernando Pimentel of Acolhuacan, and the injunction "Let's go!" becomes directed to fellow Mexican mortals, urging them to come along on the song trip.)

13-14 Pedro Montezuma is among the allies in paradise (here identified with Castille). (Castille is identified with paradise in other songs. But note that Pedro Montezuma did in fact journey to Spain; see DICT: Motēuczōmah 4.)

C *Let's be off to paradise: we'll bring our ghosts back home to earth.*

15-17 Paradise is a place full of pleasures. And while there we'll encounter our Mexican ghosts as turquoise swans or plumelike herons.

18 As a result of this song trip, bird-revenants will be strewn on earth (which will become like paradise).

19-20 So let's be off to paradise (again identified with Mexico, as in stanza 11).

D *The archbishop, Don Alonso, will serve as our muse.*

21 I, a Mexican ("Huexotzincan"), covet the brilliant ghosts waiting in paradise.

22-26 The archbishop in heaven (affectionately called "nephew") distributes our revenants in a shower of song.

E *Spaniards and their Indian allies will serve as our payment.*

27 Here in Mexico (called Huexotzinco) I utter the Mexican ghosts, for example Don Cristóbal Cecetzin (presumably with the aid of the muse Don Alonso, as described in the preceding canto). At the same time we check to make sure that the payment remains in paradise (we don't want to receive hostile revenants by mistake).

28 Yes, it seems that the victims are safely in heaven. Now they're coming to life as ghosts in paradise (again called Mexico). (The victims, represented by the title Lord Attacker, appear to be Indians, presumably the Huexotzincan allies of Cortés, as already suggested.)

29 The Spaniards, likewise, are safely in heaven, including Don Alonso himself, here identified for the first time as archbishop and in a context suggesting that he is to be not the muse but part of the payment. (We may now conclude that the failure to identify the Don Alonso of stanzas 2, 7, 8, and 22 was a deliberate ambiguity, preparing us for the possibility that the muse might be some other Don Alonso, e.g., the Don Alonso Axayacatzin of stanza 3.) The archbishop's "bells" (his colleagues) have accompanied him to heaven.

30 Indeed, the archbishop's alter ego Fray Pedro de Gante has just passed away. (See Mendieta, book 5, part 1, chap. 18, p. 609, for Montúfar's flattering

Commentary to Song 91

statement, "Yo no soy arzobispo de México, sino Fr. Pedro de Gante, lego de San Francisco." For the death dates of Montúfar and Gante, only a month apart, see Dibble, pp. 81–82.) Yes, Gante has left the monastery of San Francisco and has gone to heaven.

31–32 And let us remember that God took Hernando Cortés (the Marquis) himself. (Say, we're really getting rid of those Spaniards, aren't we? The stage is now set for an unadulterated shower of Mexicans.)

F *Our Mexican ghosts arrive on earth.*

33–38 Still calling ourselves Huexotzincans, we Mexicans welcome our revenants, represented by Don Alonso Axayacatzin and Don Juan Itztlolinqui. (Note the pun on "wing," which can mean "company of vassals," or "retainers." The revenants are spreading and "scattering" their "wings." In other words, they are bringing their comrades with them. They themselves have become the muses, creating paradise on earth.)

Previous translations. None.

XCI Tlaxcalan piece (folio 83)

Synopsis. See commentary for 66.

Remarks. Song 91 differs from song 66 only in stanzas 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 23, and 28. (The last stanza of song 66, stanza 30, is missing from song 91.) Note the curious manner in which stanzas 12 and 13 have been compressed into a single stanza in song 66 (stanza 11).

Variants. Song 66.

Previous translations. See commentary for 66.

Native Rulers of Mexico and Allied Towns

A name in italics indicates a nondynastic ruler. The dates shown are approximate reign dates; where the reign ended with the ruler's death, the final year is italicized. A CM at the end of an entry means that the ruler is mentioned in one or more song texts—that is, actual songs, not compiler's or copyist's glosses—in the *Cantares mexicanos*. Sources are listed at the end of the Appendix.

CITY OF MEXICO

Borough of Tenochtitlan, also called Mexico or San Francisco

1367–1396, Acamapichtli, CM	1532–1536, <i>Pablo Xochiquen</i>
1396–1417, Huitzilihuitl, CM	Interregnum?
1417–1426, Chimalpopoca, CM	1538–1541, Diego de Alvarado Huanitl, CM
1427–1440, Itzcoatl, CM?	1540–1554, Diego de San Francisco Tehuetzquiti, CM
1440–1468, Montezuma I, CM	1554–1557, <i>Esteban de Guzmán</i>
1468–1481, Axayacatl, CM	1557–1562, Cristóbal de Guzmán Cecepatic, CM
1481–1486, Tizoc	1563–1565, Luis de Santa María Cipac
1486–1502, Ahuizotl, CM	Interregnum
1502–1520, Montezuma II, CM	1568–1573, <i>Francisco Jiménez</i>
1520–1520, Cuitlahuac, CM	1573–1596, <i>Antonio Valeriano</i>
1521–1525, Cuauhtemoc, CM	1596–1599, <i>Juan Martín</i>
1525–1525, Juan Velázquez Tlacotzin, CM	1599–1608, <i>Jerónimo López</i>
1525–1530, <i>Andrés de Tápia Motelchiuh</i> , CM	
Interregnum	

Borough of Tlatelolco, also called Santiago

1350–1409, Cuacuauhtzin, CM	1534?–1541?, Juan "Quauic onoc"
1409–1427, Tlacateotzin, CM	1541?–1543?, Alonso Cuauhnochtli
1427–1467, Cuauhtlatoa, CM	1543?–1549?, Martín Tlacatecatl
1467–1473, Moquihuih, CM	1549?–1562?, Diego de Mendoza
subject to Tenochtitlan	Imauhyantzín
1522–1527?, Pedro Temilotzin, CM	Interregnum
1527?–1530?, Martín Ecatl, CM	1567–1578, Miguel García Oquitzin*
1530?–1534?, Juan Ahuelitoc, CM	1578–, <i>Juan de Zárate</i>

* According to Tezozomoc, *Cronica mexicana*. But Chimalpain, p. 280, mentions a Don Lorenzo de Aguila beginning a term as *juez gobernador* in 1570.

APPENDIX

TEXCOCO, CAPITAL OF ACOLHUACAN

?-?, Quinatzin, called Tlattecatzin, CM	1521-1531?, Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, CM
?-1363, Techotlalatzin, CM	1531?-1532?, Jorge Yoyontzin, CM
1363-1419, Ixtlilxochitl, CM subject to Azcapotzalco	1532?-1537?, Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin
1431-1472, Nezahualcoyotl, CM	?-1539, Carlos Ometochtzin
1472-1515, Nezahualpilli, CM	1540-1545?, Antonio Pimentel Tlahuitoltzin
1516-1520, Cacamatl, CM?	1545?-1564, Hernando Pimentel Alvarado, CM
1520-, Pedro de Alvarado Coanacoch, ¹⁸ CM	1564-, nondynastic rulers
1520-1521, Hernando Tecocoltzin	

TEPANEC REGION

City of Azcapotzalco, also called Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan after 1428

1152-1222, Matlaccoatl	1433-1474?, "Yohualpai"
1222-1248, Chiconquiauhtzin	1474-1499, Tezozomoc II
1248-1283, Tezcapoctzin	Interregnum
1283-1343, Acolnahuaacatl, CM	1511-1521, "Tlattecatlçin"
1343-1426, Tezozomoc I, CM	?-1555, Diego de León, CM?†
	?-1565-?, Antonio Valeriano

Mexican quarter of Azcapotzalco (begun ca. 1428), called Mexicapan‡

1428?-?, Maxtlatzin	?, "Tehuetehuacatçin"
?, Cehuertzin	?-1521?, Carlos Oquiztzin, CM
?, "Yectliteçin"	?, Alonso Tezozomoc

City of Tlacopan

?-1434, Acolnahuaacatl, called Tzacualcatl	1525?-?, Baltasar . . .
1434-1470, Totoquihuaztli I, CM	?, Gabriel "Tegpal"?, CM?
1470-1489, Chimalpopoca, CM	1550-1574, Antonio Cortés Totoquihuaztli
1489-1520, Totoquihuaztli II, CM?	?-1594, Juan Cortés (Totoquihuaztli?)
1520-1525, Pedro Cortés Tetlepanquetatzin, CM	1594-?, Leonardo Xicotencatl

City of Coyohuacan

1410-1426, Maxtla	1569-1573, Juan de Guzmán (the younger)
1426-?, Tecolotzin	1573-1576, Lorenzo de Guzmán
?-1499, Tzotzomatzin	1576-1576, Hernando de Guzmán
?-1519-?, Cuauhpopocatzin	1576-1584, Baltasar de León
?-1525, Hernando Ce Tochtzin	?-1594, Felipe de Guzmán
1526-1569, Juan de Guzmán Itztolinqui, CM	

* Left for Mexico to fight with Cuauhtemoc, thus leading a pro-Mexican rump faction; died 1525.

† See DICT: Diego 4.

‡ Chimalpain's use of the term Azcapotzalco Mexicapan in an entry for the year 1367 would seem to be an error. See Zimmermann, 1:76.

Native Rulers

Sources

Tenochtitlan: Dibble; Lehmann, *Geschichte*; Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*; Chimalpain, 7th *Relación*; FC, book 8, chap. 1; Zimmermann, 2: 46, 49, 73-80, 170-75.

Tlatelolco: FC, book 8, chap. 2; Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*; Chimalpain; UAH.

Texcoco: FC, book 8, chap. 3; IXT; Chimalpain; Lehmann, *Geschichte*; Motolinía, *Memoriales*; Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 170-71; Gibson, "Aztec Aristocracy," pp. 173-74.

Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan: UAH; TORQ, 1: 252-54; Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 168; CM, fols. 7, 41, 42v.

Azcapotzalco Mexicapan: Barlow, "Tepaneca"; Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*.

Tlacopan: Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*; Chimalpain; UAH; "Origen de los mexicanos," in García Icazbalceta, *Nueva Colección*, 3: 273; IXT; Zimmermann, 2: 42; Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 171; Cline, "Hernando Cortés," p. 86.

Coyohuacan: Chimalpain; Zimmermann; Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicayotl*; Lehmann, *Geschichte*; Gibson, "Aztec Aristocracy"; Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 159.

Notes to the General
Introduction



Notes to the General Introduction

Source abbreviations and complete authors' names, titles, and publication data for works cited in short form will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 537–52.

CHAPTER ONE

1. With reference to the *Kalendario*, Cline ("Evolution," p. 201) unaccountably stated that the manuscript was an early-17th-century copy, "probably" made by Fray Martín de León. Baudot ("Last Years," pp. 180–81), citing an unpublished study by Paso y Troncoso, believes it is a Jesuit copy, contemporary with Sahagún. Speaking only of the *Cantares*, Garibay (HLN, 1: 153; GPN, 2: lxiii) evidently assumed that it survives in the hand of one of Sahagún's own scribes.

2. Other dates: a 1582 appears in the discourse on the Eucharist (old fol. 137, new fol. 159); the Prologue to the *Kalendario* mentions the Gregorian correction, issued in 1582 but not adopted in Mexico until 1584 (see old fol. 86v; see also García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 300).

3. For Christian dates written without the thousand, see Dibble, *Historia de la nación mexicana*, pp. 71–78 of the facsimile.

4. On Jesuit orthography, see pp. xi–xii, above. Of the Jesuit parables, the following (meant as a warning against the Protestant heresy of antitransubstantiationism) will serve as a sample: "A priest in the Company of Jesus tells about a man who was a great gamester, a gambler. And here is what he says. Once this man lost everything he owned. They left him with nothing, and in his rage he went to a church, where the Holy Communion, the Sacrament, was. With a dagger he opened the Blessed Sacrament, which was covered, and removing the Holy Consecrated Wafer he stabbed it in three places, and each place he punctured it the blood spurted and dribbled." Translated from the Nahuatl, MS 1628 bis, new fol. 161.

5. Cline, "Evolution," p. 201.

6. Note the chapter titles in Sahagún's *Historia general*: book 6, chap. 1 ("muy hermosas metáforas"), chap. 3 ("muy delicadas metáforas y muy elegante lenguaje"), chap. 10 ("maravillosa lenguaje"), etc.

7. See Fig. 12, above. Compare FC, book 7, pp. 33–81.

8. Mendieta, book 4, chap. 15; book 5, chap. 18. Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 382.

9. Sahagún, *Historia general*, book 2: Prologue. Garibay (HLN, 1: 233, 2: 102) mentions both Antonio Valeriano and Francisco Plácido as possible compilers of the *Cantares*.

Notes to Pages 12-23

10. See Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 215; and Chimalpain (Rendón ed.), pp. 74, 284, 285.
11. Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, p. 176; Dibble, p. 83; Chimalpain (Rendón ed.), p. 293; Chimalpain's *Journal* (in Zimmermann, 2: 46, 48); TORQ, 3: 114-15.
12. See Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 20-23.
13. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, pp. 300-303.
14. See Chap. 13. On Lasso de la Vega, see Commentary, song 1, "Remarks."
15. These vicissitudes can be traced in Gibson & Glass, p. 329; Peñafiel, *Cantares* (1904), pp. 11-13; ANP, pp. 48-49; and García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 299.
16. Moreno, p. 45.

CHAPTER TWO

1. RITOS, chap. 21, p. 195.
2. Sahagún, *Historia general*, book 10, chap. 27, p. 164.
3. Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, fol. [iii].
4. Las Casas, however, is referring to songs among the Totonacs, not the Aztecs. See Las Casas, *Apologética historia*, chap. 175, p. 144. For the complete statement of Pomar, see above, chap. 11: "Ixtlilxochitl's Nezahualcoyotl."
5. See DICT: tetl/cuahuitl.
6. Olmos, chap. 8.
7. Among the Klamath and Modoc Indians of southern Oregon and northern California, shamans use a single term to denote either "song" or "spirit." Returned from his trance journey, the Modoc shaman sings, "I, the song, I walk here." See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 239; and Kroeber, p. 321.
8. FC, book 3, appendix chaps. 1-3; book 6, chap. 14, p. 74.
9. Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 39, p. 296.
10. FC, book 6, chap. 29, p. 162.
11. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 321. Compare Sahagún, *Historia general*, book 3, appendix chap. 3, p. 298.
12. "Histoyre du Mechique," pp. 32-33; Mendieta, book 2, chap. 3.
13. FC, book 3, appendix chap. 1; Lehmann, *Geschichte*, sec. 1419; FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 48.
14. FC, book 6, chap. 3, p. 11.
15. FC, book 6, chap. 8, p. 40.
16. For a description of Tamoanchan, see Muñoz Camargo, chap. 19, pp. 154-55.
17. FC, book 6, chap. 35, p. 195.
18. For the sun in the underworld, see FC, book 6, chap. 29, p. 163.
19. See note 12, above.
20. For the war deeds of kings, see IXT; TEZ; and Durán, *Historia*, vol. 2, *passim*. For conquests attributed to kings, see FC, book 8, chaps. 1-3.
21. Among the Tsimshian of British Columbia, a singer performing ancestral mourning songs is reported to have broken into sobs so convulsive that he could not continue work for two days (Barbeau, p. 105). Similar if less extreme experiences are reported from the Tlingit, whose songs in memory of remote ancestors are punctuated with sobs and genuine weeping (de Laguna, part 2, p. 567; part 3, pp. 1167, 1171). Recalling the performances of a Seneca singer, the Iroquoianist William Fenton wrote (p. 6): "More than once I have seen tears course down his cheeks, as singing Great Feather Dance or the Dream Song reminded him possibly that his father had sung this many years ago at Midwinter Festivals." A somewhat different sense of loss is expressed by singers in the Great Plains area, who weep to the spirits in order to arouse their pity (Fletcher & La Flesche, p. 130; compar

Curtis, p. 152). Similarly, Aztec youth were enjoined, "Sigh . . . plead with, speak to, cry out to . . . the master, our lord . . . and then he will show compassion" (FC, book 6, chap. 18, p. 95); and it was said, specifically, that the "drum and the rattle" were a means of "calling" to the lord "in sadness" (*ibid.*, book 6, chap. 14, pp. 74-75). Durán wrote that the "idolatrour songs" of the Aztecs "make one sad"; hearing them, Durán himself was filled with "grief" and "sadness" (RITOS, chap. 21, p. 196).

22. Among the Navajo it is said that in mythic days a song was born from the tears of the earth mother (Reichard, p. 284). In Hopi folklore weeping is repeatedly perceived as singing (Voth, pp. 182, 195, 211). Even the British philosopher Herbert Spencer could state that "song employs and exaggerates the natural language of the emotions" (Spencer, "On the Origin and Function of Music," p. 318).

23. RITOS, chap. 21, p. 193, para. 28.

24. FC, book 3, chap. 4, p. 16.

25. This accords with Aztec natal theory. Created in the heavens, babies were "scnt" to earth (FC, book 6, chap. 30).

26. The verb "to whirl" (*malacachoa*) and its various synonyms (*malina*, *ilacatzoa*, etc.) evidently mean "to engender" or "to impart life." In the quoted passage, the supreme spirit "whirls us four times." In other words, he brings us to life in a quadruply iterated action (relying on the standard American Indian magic number, four). The same idea, as a two-stage procedure, is described in an Aztec myth of human creation in which Quetzalcoatl (the wind god) imparts life to the inert bones by (1) blowing a (spiral) conch horn and (2) circling four times round the dead land (Lehmann, *Geschichte*, p. 331, sec. 423). In a Navajo story wind blows and "mirage people" circle four times round two ears of corn, which become the first man and woman (Matthews, p. 69); in a Washo myth Coyote creates humans by putting seeds into a basket, blowing tobacco smoke on them, and circling four times (Lowie, p. 333); in an Osage myth it is said that "in four revolutions or gyrations of the upper worlds, we became human beings" (Dorsey, p. 395).

27. In the *Florentine Codex*, by contrast, *nepapan* always seems to mean "various," or "different." Possibly it also carries this meaning in the first six folios of the *Cantares*, which contain the songs composed in "missionary Nahuatl" (see chap. 4, above); in these passages I have preferred to translate *nepapan* as "sundry," saving the more emphatic "multitudinous" and "all" for subsequent folios.

28. Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 6, p. 58, para. 18; chap. 66, p. 490; TEZ, chap. 97, p. 638, line 24, and *passim*.

29. Cervantes de Salazar, book 1, chap. 20.

30. TEZ, chap. 59, p. 450. Compare the parallel passage in Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 40, p. 310.

31. Conquistador anónimo, p. 374. Compare Pomar, p. 19.

32. Conquistador anónimo, p. 373.

33. Don Francisco de Sandoval Acacitli in García Icazbalceta, *Colección*, 2: 318.

34. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 13, p. 347. Compare FC, book 6, chap. 10, p. 53.

35. For transformation in a different context, see Ridington, *Suan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance*. Reporting from among the Beaver Indians of northwest Canada, Ridington shows that the "dreamers of traditional times acted as hunt chiefs, directing the people in communal hunting and dancing—activities that were seen as symbolic transformations of one another" (p. 46).

36. FC, book 10, chap. 29, "Mexico" sec., p. 193.

37. Lehmann, *Geschichte*, p. 221, sec. 886. The passage is garbled in the Velázquez edition.

Notes to Pages 30-44

38. FC, book 6, chap. 11, p. 58, chap. 29, p. 162; FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 47.
39. FC, book 2, appendixes, p. 202.
40. According to the Paviotso Ghost-Dance doctrine of the 1880's, the dead come back to life when the "earth shakes" (Mooney, *Ghost-Dance*, p. 23) or when the earth "turns over" (Spier, *Prophet Dance*, p. 7). In an old Kalapuya myth the first people are said to have been changed into stars when "the earth turned over" (Jacobs, p. 174). A Tlingit song text collected in 1954 reads: "The world is rolling around for all the young people, so let's not love our life too much, hold ourselves back from dying" (de Laguna, part 3, p. 1314). In an apocalyptic prophecy of the Yucatec Maya, possibly composed in the 16th century, it is said that "the sky will move and resound, the earth will move and resound" when a "new rule arrives" (Bierhorst, *Four Masterworks*, p. 199; compare Roys, "Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin," p. 3). According to an Aztec source, "they would placate him with these sacrifices, and especially with their own blood, which they would offer him. With these and other penances they placated the god in such a way that after they had performed these penances for a long time, there would appear above the earth a loud ripping [*una lacerta raspando*], giving them to understand that the punishment of heaven had ceased and that the earth would gladden and fructify" (*Codex Vaticanus 3738*, p. 25).
41. For a description of heart sacrifice, see FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 47.
42. For gladiatorial sacrifice, see *ibid.*, pp. 49-50; RITOS, chap. 9, pp. 98-100; and Pomar, pp. 18-19.
43. FC, book 2, chap. 21, pp. 47-48.
44. FC, book 2, chap. 6; RITOS, chap. 4, pp. 43-44.
45. FC, book 10, chap. 29, "Mexico" sec., p. 192.
46. FC, book 6, chap. 29, p. 164.
47. For songs performed in the presence of enemies, see TEZ, chap. 64, pp. 477-78. However, Pomar believed that the purpose of the songs was to encourage young warriors to emulate the deeds of their ancestors (p. 40).
48. FC, book 6, chap. 3, p. 12.
49. See Commentary, song 68, stanzas 95-96.

CHAPTER THREE

1. On flaying, chalking, feathering, and striping, see FC, book 2. On receptacles, see RITOS, chap. 9, p. 100; and FC, book 2, chap. 26, p. 89. Banners are mentioned in FC, book 3, chap. 10.
2. See FC, book 6, chaps. 1-5.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. FC, book 3, appendix chap. 8, p. 65 (compare Sahagún, *Historia general*, 1: book 3, appendix chap. 8, p. 307, para. 16); FC, book 10, chap. 29, "Mexico" sec., p. 191.
2. In the *Romances* the first line of the stanza begins with a paragraph symbol, making it appear as though all lines are indented.
3. As observed by Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura."
4. Nettle, *North American*, p. 6; Nettle, *Music*, p. 106. For a discussion of speech rhythm in ethnic music generally, see Sachs, pp. 21, 37-38, 50-52.
5. "El canto era en su mayor parte grave y tardo y lo que se cantaba estaba en prosa" (translated from the Latin in Hernández, *Antigüedades*, book 2, chap. 6, p. 95).

Notes to Pages 44-51

6. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 34, p. 91.
7. Motolinía, "Historia," *tratado 1*, chap. 13, p. 69.
8. Clavijero, 2: 274 (book 7, chap. 42); Boturini, p. 75.
9. ANP, pp. 19-20.
10. Cornyn, *Song*, pp. 54, 57-59, 65-69, 137-39.
11. HLN, 1: 62-63. For further exploration in the same vein, see Karttunen & Lockhart, "Estructura."
12. Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, pp. 262, 264, 271, and *passim*; Barbeau, song no. 56; Densmore, *Nootka*, p. 277.
13. See chap. 8. Certifiably indigenous music, so plentiful north of Mexico, has long since disappeared from Aztec territory. Aztec instruments and dance paraphernalia are still found in the central highlands, but the music itself is Europeanized. See Stevenson, pp. 125-52.
14. Densmore, *Music of Santo Domingo Pueblo*, p. 123.
15. Reyes García & Christensen, p. 76.
16. The famous description of Aztec prototheater copied by Durán from an unknown source—also used by Tovar, whose work was copied by Joseph de Acosta—mentions a proscenium, costumery, pantomime, certain sound effects, monologue, and even some stretches of farcical dialogue (RITOS, chap. 6, pp. 65-66; Joseph de Acosta, book 5, chap. 30; *Códice Ramírez*, chap. 4). Less helpful are the descriptions in RITOS, chap. 31. For spectacular rituals, see FC, book 2 *passim*. Garibay's case for a pre-Cortésian theater (HLN, 1: chap. 6) seems overstated; for a short discussion, see Correa et al., p. 117. In the *Cantares mexicanos* the closest approach to theater is probably song 86, canto B; but this, despite the implied interaction between two persons, might still be monologic. For colonial "missionary dramas," which are clearly modern, see Horcasitas.
17. See Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar sec. 6.12.
18. For observations on Mayan poetry, see Thompson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing*, pp. 61-63. A more specialized approach is taken by Edmonson, *Book of Counsel*, p. xi, refuted by Tedlock, pp. 216-30. Extensive specimens from the Tzotzil Maya, in which paired phrases are overwhelmingly dominant, may be found in Laughlin, pp. 3-4, 206-84.
19. The Kekchi Maya text with German translation is in Sapper, p. 289.
20. See chap. 13.
21. For further remarks on hypertrophism, see chap. 12, p. 47; and Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar sec. 8.3.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 40, para. 39. Compare the parallel passage in TEZ, chap. 59.
2. The Pawnee Lances attempted to convince themselves that life on earth was not real, thus increasing their ardor for battle, with its promise of death and a "real" life in the afterworld. See Densmore, *Pawnee Music*, pp. 53-54; Brinton, *Essays*, p. 292; and Weltfish, p. 11.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Carrasco, "Peoples of Central Mexico," Gibson, "Structure of the Aztec Empire," and Gibson, *Aztecs*, chap. 2, provide summaries of pre-Conquest history; a fuller treatment is Brundage, *Rain of Darts*. Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* is still the most thorough retelling of the events of 1519-25; for a more up-to-date, if more

hurried, version of the 1519–21 episode, see chaps. 12 and 13 of Brundage's book. In the field of post-Conquest ethnohistory, Gibson's *Aztecs* has no rival, and Torquemada's massive *Monarquía indiana* remains the single most useful account of 16th-century Spanish rule.

2. Dibble, pp. 20–22; Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 27, p. 216; Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, p. 3.

3. Dibble, p. 39 (counting backward from p. 46), seems to have 1363. The traditional date, 1325, is given in Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, and in Chimalpain, Brundage, p. 34, offers 1369 without explanation.

4. Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 40, p. 311.

5. Oddly spelled "Culúa" by both Cortés (p. 121, about an eighth of the way through the third letter) and Díaz del Castillo (chap. 36); and "Culhúa" by the author of *Relación de la genealogía* (in García Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, 3: 240–56). Compare Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 10–11.

6. García Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, 3: 251.

7. IXT, 1: 444.

8. The dynasties of five subdivisions of Amaquemecan are reconstructed for the period 1519–1600 in Gibson, "Aztec Aristocracy," pp. 188–90.

9. Pomar, pp. 41–44.

10. For a particularly interesting description of "flower war" (*xochiyaoyotl*), see TEZ, chap. 96, pp. 632–33. It should be noted that there is no connection between the ghost-song ritual and the *xochiyaoyotl* described by Tezozomoc, Pomar, and other chroniclers.

11. Pre-Conquest rulers of the four Tlaxcalan towns are listed in Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, pp. 197–209. See DICT: Tlaxcallán.

12. See chap. 2, pp. 29–30.

13. Gibson, *Aztecs*, pp. 167–71.

14. For example, Antonio Valeriano, gobernador of Tenochtitlan, is styled *don* in both CM (fol. 41) and Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicáyotl*, p. 171), though according to Tezozomoc he was *amopilli* (nonnoble). See also the following note.

15. Motelchihuh is never addressed as *don* in CM (for locations see DICT: Motelchihuh, Tapia) and is not mentioned at all in the codex *Romances*. Though described as *amopilli* (nonnoble), he is styled *don* in Zimmermann (2: 20).

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The plagues are described in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 2; and described and dated in Mendieta, book 4, chap. 36. Modern estimates of the population loss between 1519 and 1550 range from a conservative one-half for the Valley of Mexico and adjacent regions (Sanders, p. 18; compare Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 138) to a drastic six-sevenths for New Spain as a whole (Gerhard, p. 24).

2. Linton; Wallace; La Barre, pp. 42, 227–76.

3. Mooney, *Ghost-Dance*, chap. 2; Worsley.

4. See Reed, pp. 132–40, 209, 214–15; and Bricker, *Indian Christ*, pp. 103–15.

5. The basic description of the Taqui Onqoy is in the concluding pages of Cristóbal de Molina's *Fábulas y ritos de los Incas* (I have used the English translation in Markham). For a recent discussion, with bibliography, see Gow.

6. Sahagún, *Historia general*, 3: book 10, *relación* inserted between chaps. 27 and 28, pp. 157–68.

7. LASSO, pp. 24–56.

8. The story of Juan Diego and his uncle is evidently based on the earlier Spanish legend of Gil Cordero and his brother. See Lafaye, pp. 219–20.

9. Cuevas, *Documentos*, p. 287; Lafaye, pp. 238-42.
 10. Lafaye, pp. 238-42; Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 133.
 11. Sahagún, *Historia general*, 3: book 11, chap. 12, appendix p. 352. Compare *ibid.*, 1: book 1, chap. 6.
 12. "In ipan Xihuítl 1555 años Icuac monextitzino in Santa María de Guadalupe in omipa tepeyac" (per Cuevas, *Album*, pp. 49-50; compare Garibay, "Temas," pp. 53-54).
 13. Various meanings of the verb "to appear" (*uecā*) are reviewed in Garibay, "Temas," pp. 56-60.
 14. "Xihuítl 1556 . . . yhcucac monextitzino in totlaçonantzin Sancta Maria guadalope yn Tepeyacac" (Zimmermann, 2: 16).
 15. These attempts have been based on false readings of songs in which Santa María is mentioned. See Garibay, "Temas," pp. 243-59, 381-420.
 16. See Commentary, song 1, "Remarks."
 17. Mayer, pp. 144, 146.
 18. "Sunday, September 15 . . . is when they went to celebrate the fiesta in Tepeyacac at Santa María de Guadalupe. . . . The Mexicans sang Michcuicatl [Fish song], and the Tlatelolcans sang Yaocuitatl [War song]." Translated from the Spanish of Garibay, who in turn has translated from the Nahuatl of the codex *Anales de Juan Bautista* ("Cuadro real," p. 222).
 19. Durán reports that the caciques retained singers "in the old way" (RITOS, chap. 21, p. 195). According to García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 302, caciques insisted that the Indians maintain their old rituals, promising them that Spanish rule would (therefore?) end after 80 years; as the term drew near, the illicit activity increased. (Unfortunately, Icazbalceta does not give his source.) By 1576 Sahagún was reporting a deplorable increase in the "areitos que secretamente y de noche hacían a honra de los ídolos" (*Historia general*, 3: book 10, *relación* appended to chap. 26, pp. 163-64). The idolatrous "areitos" are proscribed in an ecclesiastical writ dated 1539 (García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 154); and in the penal code of 1546 "areitos de noche" are outlawed (Paso y Troncoso, 1: 414). According to Cervantes de Salazar, the term *areitos* refers to *macehualiztli* (festival chants or songs of service to the gods), as opposed to *netotiliztli* (probably ghost songs, see chap. 10); Cervantes, book 4, chap. 102. However, it is not clear that 16th-century authors adhere to this distinction.
 20. García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 156-57; see also Lorenzana, pp. 146-47.
 21. Sahagún writes: "They use other songs to persuade the people to do their bidding, or [make] war, or [engage in] other business that is not good, and they have songs composed for these purposes, and they do not wish to give them up" (*Psalmódia*, fol. [iii]). Less circumspect is the observation of Cervantes de Salazar (book 6, chap. 102): "In these [songs] they speak of conspiracy against ourselves."
 22. Wallace, pp. 274-75.
 23. The codex *Anales de Juan Bautista*, partially translated in Garibay, "Un cuadro real," describes ritual activity in the 1560's. Chimalpain's *Journal*, paleographed in Zimmermann, vol. 2, records events of the 1580's and 1590's. Important Catholic treatises, at least some of which appear to have been written by Indians, can be found in MSS 1477, 1492, and 1628 bis, in the Biblioteca Nacional de México.
 24. RITOS, chap. 21, p. 194; TORQ, 2: book 10, chap. 38; Larsen; Gertrude Kurath, "Voladores," in Leach & Fried; Gallop, pp. 223-25; Toor, pp. 317-23.
 25. Garibay, "Cuadro real," p. 230.
 26. Zimmermann, 2: 41; see the last two sentences in the quote from Pérez de Ribas, p. 90, above.

27. TORQ, 2: book 10, chap. 38; Sahagún, “Al lector” sec. of the “Arte dinatoría,” in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, pp. 321–22.
28. Krickeberg, 7: 54.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 51–54.
30. The ecclesiastical writ of 1539 specifically barred *voladores* from the churchyard (García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 158); see also TORQ, 2: book 10, chap. 38. For a brief but important summary of 16th-century *volador* activity, with references, see Gibson, *Aztecs*, p. 504, note 66.
31. Krickeberg, 7: 51–54. See also Krickeberg et al., p. 57.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. See DICT: quiâhuac, ithualli. Compare Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 26, p. 382; and Garibay, “Cuadro real,” pp. 230, 233.
2. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 26, p. 383; TEZ, chap. 53, p. 427.
3. See DICT: iglesia. Compare Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, title page; and García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 31.
4. McAndrew.
5. See DICT.
6. Compare FC, book 4, chap. 7, p. 26.
7. RITOS, chap. 21, p. 193.
8. *Código Ramírez*, chap. 4, pp. 119–20.
9. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 26.
10. See especially the canto headings in songs 68, 83, and 89.
11. Joseph de Acosta, book 6, chap. 28, p. 318.
12. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 26.
13. Martí, *Instrumentos*, p. 40. Stevenson (p. 98) oddly translates Motolinía’s *contrabajo* as “countertenor”; Haly (pp. 8–9) shows that the correct English equivalent is no doubt “bass.”
14. Mendoza’s four-tone system (pp. 20–27) fits neither the huehucl nor most teponaztlis (which, like the huehucl, produce only two tones). Nowotny, who based his observations on Schultz Jena’s incomplete edition of the *Cantares*, presents a misleading tabulation of drum phrases and concludes that any “working hypotheses, interpretations, or happy brainstorm can only lead to error.” Stevenson (pp. 47–53) offers an unacceptable discussion of the entire matter and puts forth a rhythmic interpretation of his own based on a misreading of Rincón’s *Arte*. More recent discussions are in Ziehm, pp. 267–76; Haly, pp. 6–27; and Gingerich, “*Ienocuitatl*.”
15. See the lengthy excerpt from Pérez de Ribas quoted on pp. 88–90, above.
16. Mendoza considers the *i*/high and *o*/low correlations a matter of “elementary logic” (p. 26). Hinton, in her study of Havasupai song (pp. 297–99), theorizes that low tones are naturally associated with low vowels (such as *a* or *o*), whereas high tones are linked with high vowels (such as *i*).
17. See chap. 9. It should not be assumed, however, that 17th-century *tocontin*s were invariably accompanied by the cadence *to-co-ti*. No doubt the term was used loosely to denote any two-tone cadence or any of various songs customarily associated with such cadences. See DICT: *ti*, *tocontin* 2.
18. More recent (and simpler) log-drum cadences are published in *Investigación folklórica*, 1: 279, 343.
19. The Benítez collection is described in Ziehm, pp. 246–47.
20. Ziehm, pp. 267–76. I am indebted to Richard Haly for calling this to my attention.

21. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 59, p. 237.
22. Stevenson, pp. 102–3. Compare FC, book 10, chap. 8, pp. 28–29.
23. Las Casas, chap. 64, p. 215. 24. Netel, *North American*, p. 32.
25. Herzog, "Yuman," p. 195n. 26. RITOS, chap. 21, para. 192.
27. Herzog, "Yuman," p. 191.
28. Densmore, *Music of Santo Domingo Pueblo*, pp. 51–52; Saldívar, pp. 36–37; TORQ, 2: 552; Mendieta, book 2, chap. 31; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 26, pp. 383–84.
29. De Laguna, part 2, pp. 560–63.
30. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 59, pp. 236–37; part 2, chap. 26, p. 384.
31. Nettl (*Music*, pp. 97, 117–19) claims that the music of the advanced cultures of Mexico influenced Northwest Coast, Southeast, and especially Yuman music.
32. The Bonampak scene is reproduced in Thompson, *Rise and Fall*, plate 17. For Santa Rita, see Gann, plate 31.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Lehmann, *Geschichte*, secs. 122, 128, 133–34, 136; sec. 380 bears a superficial resemblance to *Cantares* 37: 27–29, but can hardly be considered a variant of it.
2. Preuss & Mengin, secs. 191, 212; Dibble, p. 39.
3. See Ruiz de Alarcón; Roys, *Ritual*; Mooney, "Sacred Formulas"; and Kilpatrick & Kilpatrick, *Run Toward the Nightland*.
4. See chap. 13.
5. Translated from the Nahuatl in Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 6, chap. 21, fols. 95r and v: Timjxcoatl toconiamaccoa, cujcatl tioliz tlalticpac, aaia ve: vevetitlan tinemjz in vexotzinco, in tiqjmonaviltiz in tepilhoan, in njezittazque in mocnjoan a, ooaia. . . . Çan teuxiuhlamatilolitic moiollo toconmacan tonativitz, oc titzmolinjz y: oc ceppa tixotlaz tlalticpac aia ve, vevetitlan tinemjz in vexotzinco y, tiqjmonaviltiz in tepilhoan in njezittazque in mocnjhoan aooaia, ooaia.
6. Translated from the Nahuatl in Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 2, appendix, fols. 139v–140 (compare Sahagún, *Historia de las cosas*, 7: 276v):

Mimjscoa incujc

Chicomoztoc qujnehoaqu canja ueponj, çanj, canj, teiomj.
 Tzivactitlan qujnevaquj canja a ueponj, canj, çanj, teiomj.
 Oia njtemoc, oia njtemoc, oiaica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh, aiaica njtemoc
 notzivaqujmjuh.
 Oia njtemoc, oia njtemoc, oiaica njtemoc nomatlavacal.
 Niqujmacuj, njqujmacuj, yoaia njqujmacuj, njqujmacuj yoanja aio macuj.

Rewritten in modernized Jesuit orthography, with presumed copyist's errors corrected, the text reads:

Mimixcōah incūic

Chicomoztoc quñēhuaqu-i cāni-ya uepōni cānin cānin tēomi
 Tzihuactitlan quñēhuaqu-i cāni-ya a uepōni cānin cānin tēomi
 Ō-ya-nitemoc ō-ya-nitemoc ō-ya-īca nitemoc notzihuaqu-i-miuh ō-ya-īca
 nitemoc notzihuaqu-i-miuh
 Ō-ya-nitemoc ō-ya-nitemoc ō-ya-īca nitemoc nomadahuacal
 Niqu-i-mācui niqu-i-mācui yohuaya niqu-i-mācui niqu-i-mācui yohuaya aya
 mācui

7. Read *cuepōni*.
8. Read *tēomiuh* (someone's awl, or pricker).
9. UAH, sec. 233.

10. I have used a photocopy of the *Romances* manuscript supplied by the University of Texas, Austin. Garibay's edition (*Poesía náhuatl*, vol. 1) recognizes 60 songs.
 11. For passages common to both manuscripts, see the table on p. 100.
 12. Gibson & Glass, p. 356. 13. See Commentary, song 43.
 14. Sahagún, *Psalmódia*, fols. 32, 71v. 15. *Ibid.*, fols. 184-193v.
 16. Translated from the Nahuatl in *ibid.*, fols. 92v-93v:

Ma oalmoguetza, ma oncaoani in toteucuitlaucueuh, maic onauialo, ma ontlacomilini in tochalchiuhteponaz: ma netotilo, ma onnetlamachtilo.

Vel vei iterlaçotlaltizin oquimonestili in totecuio Dios, in topan ticemanaoac tlaça, in axca ipan Penthecocostes.

In toteucuitlacoioi ma icoaoça, ma vntzitzilicatimani, ma vncaoantimani in toteuxiuhuilacapitz cucucioça: ma centlal moteca, ma cemanaoac caco in tochalchiuhtetzilac.

In axca ilnamico, ca ie axca topan quiza in ilhuitzi ini Pasqua in Spiritu sancto: inic tonemac muchiuh in titlaca teunetlaçotlaltiztli, nciollaliliztli.

Ma onauialo, ma centlal moteca in tocacalosuchiuh, ma oncelizto, ma vntzizmolini, ma vncucuepuni in tocacalosuchiuh, in toteuizquisuchiuh.

Vei tlamauicollu oquimuchiuilico in nican tlalticpac in Spiritu sancto, nouiã tlatolli oquinmomachtilico in Apostolosme.

Ma vntlauizcaleuatiuh, ma onteucuitlaaoachpepeioçato in tosuchicozqui: ma tomac ie oxexeliui in tlapalomisuchitl, ma vnnctlamachtilo, ma onnecuiltlono, antepilhoan o.

Ma ontimalolo, ma onxopaleoatiuh i toximacopil, ma onpçpetlacatiuh in toteucuitlamatemcauh o antepilhoane, ma tomac ie oncucpuni, oxexeliui in tlapalomisuchitl, ma vnnctlamachtilo, ma vnnecuiltlono.

17. Translated from the Nahuatl in *ibid.*, fols. 22r and v:

Auh calacque in cali. In tlatōq̄ in oquittaque citlali, in aocmo olini, in aocmo iauh, ic quimatque, ca ie vncā: niman mocalaquique in vncan xacaltzinco: auh vncan quimottilique in piltzintli Icsus, yoan in itlaçonantzi in sancta Maria.

Istlapach onotiuetzq̄, quimoteuticque in piltzintli: in iehoã y vçuei tlatōq̄, vellaneltoquiliztica, in oispantzinco motlanquaquetzq̄, in quimoteutiq̄, ca vel quimiximachiliq̄ in piltzintli, ca teutl, ca tlatōani, ca isquich iueli, ca iehoatzi in ilhuicaoa, in tlalticpaque.

Oquitlapoq̄ in itop in ipetlacial. Nimã icic yispãtzico tlateca itotecuio i piltzintli quimotlamanihiliq̄, in ivetzã muchiuh cuztic teucuitlal, Myrra, yoã Encienso.

In coçpa naoatiloque in mouicazque. Auh in oquezquilhuil tylantzinco moierzticatca in piltzintli, yoan in omiic tlamauicollu quittaque: niman quicoçhittaque, quitemicque, ca quimmioalia in totecuio in incha.

18. Motolinía, "Historia," *tratado 1*, chap. 13, p. 69; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 34, p. 91.

19. Pérez de Ribas, 3: 325-27 (book 12, chap. 11). No paragraphing in the original.

20. The six *tocotines* are assembled, with references, in Mendoza, pp. 159-61. Compare Mendoza, p. 41; and Shipley, p. 64.

21. The late-17th-century poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz composed a "tocotín" in Nahuatl, addressed to the Virgin, and another, in Spanish sprinkled with Nahuatl, on the subject of St. Peter Nolasco (Cruz, pp. 187-88, 200-201; compare Leal; also Bierhorst, "Tocotín"). For modern Nahuatl *coplas* recorded in Puebla and Veracruz, see Reyes García & Christensen, pp. 146-50. In the 1960's a dance-drama

known as "Los Tocotines" was reported from Xochitlan in the Sierra Norte de Puebla, but with no text and no information other than that the *danza* was accompanied by guitar and violin, the dialogue was in Nahuatl, and the dramatis personae consisted of "Cortés, Malinche, Alvarado, Moctezuma, Caciques, Vasallos" (Montoya & Moedano, pp. 293-95); a similar notice from Hueyapan, also in the Sierra Norte, is dated 1938 (*Investigación folklórica*, 1: 376). Toor (p. 321) reports that the Totonac *voladores* of Papantla, Veracruz, are known locally as "tocotines."

22. Juan Díaz de Arce, reproduced in Mendoza, p. 161.

23. Clavijero, 2: 281. But it is possible that Clavijero copied this passage from Torquemada; see Braden, p. 287.

24. The texts with Spanish and German translations are in Reyes García & Christensen, pp. 76-77, 91-92. For description of the *huehuenches*, see Gertrude P. Kurath, "Huchuenches," in Leach & Fried; Reyes García & Christensen, pp. 36 (German) and 146 (Spanish); Santamaría; and Toor, pp. 356-57.

25. Gallop, p. 218.

26. Read *ac tzon tenammaz*.

27. Read *chimec-o*, for *chichimec-o* (treating the *o* as a vocable). Another possibility is that *chimec* is a loanword from Spanish, i.e., Chichimeco (Ruiz de Alarcón, sec. 192), in which the first syllable has been regarded as an optional frequentative prefix and thus omitted (compare Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar sec. 3.10). Chichimeco is itself a loanword from Nahuatl, i.e., Chichimecatl (English "Chichimec"). Note that *chimeca* is written for Chichimeca at CM 65v: 27.

CHAPTER TEN

1. Mendieta, book 2, chap. 40, p. 162. Compare Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 38.

2. The log-dragging song in FC, book 3, chap. 9, p. 26, merely hints at the existence of work songs. In most Amerind cultures, work songs are rare or absent, though corn-grinding songs are common in the Pueblos and paddling songs are reported from both coasts of North America.

3. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 2, chap. 27, p. 386.

4. Hernández, *Antigüedades*, book 2, chap. 6. The description of *macehualiztli* as opposed to *netotiliztli* in Cervantes de Salazar's *Crónica* (book 4, chap. 102) seems to confirm Hernández.

5. TEZ, chap. 64, p. 477.

6. *Teponazcuicatl* is included in Sahagún's list of song varieties (FC, book 4, chap. 7, p. 26).

7. FC, book 8, chap. 14, p. 45.

8. For traces of dialectical variation in the *Cantares*, see DICT: ehco, ithua, mach 1, mc, mehetla, -metl, nemi 5, -quetl, -qui, 'ya, yauh 4. But although *me* and *mehetla* (related to the Huastec Nahuatl *-metl* or *-mitl*?) occur mostly in Huastec pieces, it would hardly appear that these and other presumed regionalisms are applied in a systematic manner. Nor is it entirely clear that they were alien to Mexican usage. For additional vocabulary items that are at least peculiar if not regional, see DICT: tzin, tzon, zanitl; and it is conceivable that regionalisms might be identified among the examples of "deformation" given in Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar secs. 3.1-3.10. One possibility is that all these deviations—to which may be added the overabundance of particles like *in*, *ye*, and *zan*, the tendency to apocopate, and the use of hypertrophic polynomials—represent nothing more methodical than a literary preference for the exotic.

9. See Commentary, song 85, cantos C and D.

10. See *ibid.*, songs 54-A and 67. Hernández writes: "What shall I say of the

Cuextecayotl, in which they imitated the manner of dancing, the adornment and the appearance of the Huastec people, and reenacted the war in which they conquered them, with suitable divers noises and warlike commotion?" (*Antigüedades*, book 2, chap. 6.) But the *Cantares* texts do not support this observation.

11. Hernández mentions "the Chichimecayotl, in which they recalled the beginnings and origin of that people" (*ibid.*).

12. See chaps. 11 and 13. A story about a certain "señora de Tolan," described as a poetess, is to be found in IXT, 2: chap. 67. The tale is retold in Nahuatl—without mentioning that the lady was a poet—in *Huehuetlatolli: documento A*, fol. 11, lines 17-26.

13. For rituals, see FC, book 2, chap. 24, pp. 71-72, chap. 26, pp. 87-88, chap. 27, pp. 93, 97-98, and *passim*. For an unusually enigmatic reference, see TEZ, chap. 18, p. 278. For entertainments provided by female dwarfs and hunchbacks, see FC, book 8, chap. 16.

14. Cervantes de Salazar, book 4, chap. 7, p. 287.

15. FC, book 4, chap. 7, p. 26: *aujlcujcatl* (pleasure song), *ixcucuechujcatl* (leering ribald song), *quappitzcujcatl* (stiff person song), *quategoajucujcatl* (mud-head song), *tohcujcatl* (rabbit song or wanton song).

16. FC, book 4, chap. 7, p. 26, book 8, chap. 14, p. 45; RITOS, chap. 21; TEZ, chap. 64, p. 477.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Pomar, p. 37.

2. See Commentary, song 61, "Remarks."

3. Seventeenth-century rumors to the effect that Francisco Plácido had composed Guadalupe songs in the 1530's were probably derived, indirectly, from Chimalpain's misreading of the *Cantares mexicanos* (see Garibay, "Temas," pp. 255-56; and HLN, 2: 104). Compare Cuevas, *Album*, pp. 31-32. In 1578 Francisco Plácido, "juez gobernador," is said to have come to Coyohuacan (Zimmermann, 2: 27).

4. Note that the song in question, 56, is a female song. Although the term *nextenco* does not appear elsewhere in the *Cantares*, we have the approximately synonymous *nextco* (hearth place or chimney) at fol. 72, line 22, with the apparent figurative meaning "vagina."

5. FC, book 10, chap. 18, pp. 28-29.

6. Antiphonal singing could be inferred from Motolinía's description (paraphrased in chap. 8, above). Antiphonal singing divided between two choirs is explicitly described by the Conquistador anónimo, chap. 4, p. 395.

7. FC, book 2, appendix, pp. 207-8.

8. Note the amusing intervention of Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales* (Prologue to the tale of Sir Thopas) and the use of the speaker's name in Cherokee love magic (Kilpatrick & Kilpatrick, *Walk in Your Soul*, pp. 17, 24, 25-27, and *passim*). Walt Whitman's "Song of Myself," with the line "Walt Whitman [am I], a Kosmos," is an exceptional case.

9. Roys, *Ritual*, p. 47.

10. Ruiz de Alarcón, secs. 175, 177.

11. Estrada, p. 170.

12. The "señor" of Colhuacan, Baltasar "Toquezquahyetzin," who died in 1529, could have been the father or grandfather of our eponymous singer. See Cline, "Hernando Cortés," pp. 83, 86.

13. FC, book 8, chap. 14, p. 45. Compare FC, book 2, chap. 21, p. 54; and Durán, *Historia*, 2: chap. 40, p. 309.

Notes to Pages 103–11

14. Genealogy and dates are taken from O'Gorman in IXT, 1: 9–17.
15. Pomar, pp. 23–24.
16. IXT, 1: 447.
17. *Mendieta*, book 2, chap. 6.
18. TORQ, 1: 156 (book 2, chap. 45).
19. See chap. 13 for a discussion of the song in question. On the association of Torquemada and Ixtlilxochitl, see Alcina Franch, "Juan de Torquemada," p. 265; and León-Portilla in Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana: Selección, introducción y notas*, p. xxx. See also Méndez Plancarte, pp. li–liiii, 169–80; and HLN, 1: 254–56.
20. All such references are easily traced in the new O'Gorman edition of Ixtlilxochitl's works.
21. IXT, 2: 267–73. For a general treatment of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*, see Brotherston, "Nezahualcoyotl's 'Lamentaciones.'" For a bibliography, see Gibson & Glass, pp. 352–53.
22. My knowledge of *Tardes americanas* is based on excerpts reprinted in Peñafiel, *Lamentaciones*, pp. 32–34; and on the writings of Brotherston.
23. ANP, p. 45. Compare Prescott, book 1, chap. 6, p. 110.
24. Brotherston, "Indian Farewell." See also Brotherston, *Image of the New World*, pp. 277–78. For earlier criticism, see HLN, 1: 247–50.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Herzog, "Plains Ghost Dance"; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance*; McAllester, *Peyote Music*; Nettl, *North American*, pp. 23–24; McAllester, "Music" (pp. 22–23, unpublished typescript).
2. HLN, 1: 156.
3. Zimmermann, 2: 41.
4. In one form or another, ghost songs unquestionably survived beyond the 16th century. On 17th-century adaptations and 20th-century remnants, see chap. 9.
5. García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 3: 156–57.
6. See, for example, the letter from Zumárraga to Cortés reproduced in Cuevas, *Album*, plate facing p. 32. See also Stevenson, pp. 89, 224–25.
7. See Harris, pp. 306–12. Compare Benedict, chap. 6.
8. On the subject of hypertrophism in song 19 and elsewhere in the *Cantares*, see Bierhorst, *Nahuatl-English Dictionary*, Grammar sec. 8.3.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. Gante's letter recalls that in his younger days he had composed "a very solemn song [presumably in Aztec] on the law of God and the faith and how God became man in order to save the human race and how he was born of the Virgin Mary, she remaining pure and unstained" (García Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección*, 2: 214; see also 2: 206). Compare the following passages from Aztec songs composed by Sahagún (but inspired by Gante?) and preserved in the *Psalmodia christiana*: "the first [law of God] is head-laving, which is baptism, the second is confirmation, the third is His precious flesh [communion], the fourth is [etc.]" (fol. 18); "then our noble lord God truly became man in the belly of the lady St. Mary" (fol. 57v); "he came to save us" (fol. 17v); "blesed are you, O mother of God, O completely pure one, you have given birth yet your flesh has nowise been troubled" (fol. 23r).
2. Motolinía, "Historia," *tratado* 1, chap. 13, p. 69; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part 1, chap. 24, p. 91.
3. See note 1.

4. The case for Gante's authorship of the *pitcaicatl* is presented in HLN, 2: 101, 116, 118.
5. See Garibay in RITOS, p. xxvi. See also Ignacio Bernal in Durán, *Aztecs*, p. xxiv.
6. RITOS, chap. 21, p. 195. For the use of the term riches in the *Cantares mexicanos*, see DICT: necuiltōnōlli.
7. For commentary on these glosses, see Scler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2: 961-1107. See also Garibay, *Veinte himnos*.
8. TORQ, 1: 258, 259 (book 3, chap. 9).
9. TORQ, 1: 291 (book 3, chap. 22).
10. TORQ, 1: 156 (book 2, chap. 45).
11. TORQ, 1: 268 (book 3, chap. 12).
12. Muñoz Camargo, book 1, chap. 6, p. 68.
13. Garibay, "Temas," p. 255.
14. RSNE, fol. 16v; IXT, 2: 83 (chap. 32), 92 (chap. 36), 269.
15. RSNE, fol. 4v; IXT, 1: 447, 546.
16. IXT, 2: chap. 45, p. 125. Compare IXT, 1: 546.
17. IXT, 2: chap. 43, p. 118.
18. IXT, 1: 447.
19. IXT, 2: chap. 32, p. 83.
20. HLN, 1: 253.
21. IXT, 2: chap. 47, p. 132.
22. IXT, 2: 267.
23. Carochi (1892), p. 480. See also DICT: ilacatzihui, xōchitēmoa: tla.
24. Scattered details are given in ANP, pp. 12-13, 27-28, 32-34, 36, 37. See also Garibay, "Temas," pp. 254-56. For a general introduction to the historians of this period, see *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 13 (1973).
25. Granados y Gálvez in Peñafiel, *Lamentaciones*, p. 32.
26. ANP, pp. 48-49. See also *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 13 (1973): 375. The description in Peñafiel, *Cantares* (1899), p. iii, reveals that the Ramírez copy was made no later than 1859.
27. Whorf, "Contribution" (includes a retranslation of the second song in ANP, i.e., *Cantares*, song 2); Cornyn, *Song of Quetzalcoatl*.
28. Spinden, p. 10.
29. Scler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2: 961-1107. This is the work in which Scler delivers his well-known criticism of Brinton's *Rig Veda Americanus*: "For the most part his translation contains not a shadow of the true meaning." Compare Scler, "On Ancient Mexican Religious Poetry," p. 172.
30. Lehmann, *Festschrift*, pp. 281-319.
31. For a bibliography of Garibay's works, see Garibay et al., pp. 26-30.
32. GPN, 3: 73.
33. GPN, 3: 15. Compare CM, 30: 1-2.
34. ANP, pp. 35-36.
35. HLN, 1: 32, 43.

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- GPN Angel M. Garibay K. *Poesía náhuatl*. 3 vols. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964-68.
- HLN Angel M. Garibay K. *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*. 2 vols. Mexico: Porrúa, 1953-54.
- IXT Ixtlilxochitl, Fernando de Alva. *Obras históricas*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman. 2 vols. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975-77.
- LASSO Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed. *Huei tlamahuicoltica [omonexiti in ilhuicac itatocacihuapilli Santa Maria totlaçonanantzin Guadalupe in nican huei altepenahuac Mexico itotayocan Tepeyac]: Libro en lengua mexicana que el Br. Luis Lasso de la Vega hizo imprimir en México el año de 1649*. Mexico: Carreño & hijo, 1926.
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- TORQ Juan de Torquemada. *Monarquía indiana*. 3 vols. Mexico: Porrúa, 1975.
- UAH Ernst Mengin. "Unos annales históricos de la nación mexicana: Die manuscrits mexicains nr. 22 und 22 bis der Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris" [the *Anales de Tlatelolco*], *Baessler-Archiv*, vol. 22, nos. 2-3 (1939). Berlin.
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JOHN BIERHORST

A Nahuatl-English Dictionary and Concordance
to the *Cantares Mexicanos*

with an Analytic Transcription and Grammatical Notes

Based on the codex *Cantares Mexicanos*, this is essentially a companion volume to the author's translation of that work. Its principal feature, the dictionary, is based on the author's analytic transcription of the *Cantares*, included here. It provides a virtually complete glossary of sixteenth-century Aztec poetic usage, including many definitions not found in the standard dictionaries of Molina and Siméon. Except for work in the field of poetry, where it can stand as a reference of first resort, the dictionary should be regarded as a supplement to Molina and Siméon.

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