

*Guide to the Translation*

under if the same place is meant. It is, and the  
"an," has been adopted throughout the trans-  
leteness, variant spellings in the paleograph  
ce in this volume and, of course, preserved  
panion volume.

in et cetera appears frequently in the An-  
th differing shades of meaning. At 2:1 it  
same." while at 3:26 it implies "and so  
ntly at 6:27 it means "et al." But most  
ests that the author (or the copyist?) is  
that the matter is not worth pursuing  
need retelling.

## *Annals of Cuauhhtitlan*

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[The beginning of the year count: A.D. 635-93]

1:22 Then the four year counters got started. The first is Reed. The second, Flint. The third, House. The fourth, Rabbit.

1:24 1 Reed [635]. This is when the Chichimecs came out of Chicomoztoc [Seven Caves], so it is told, so it is related in their narratives.

1:25 The year count, the day sign count, and the count of each twenty-day period were made the responsibility of those known as Oxomoco and Cipactonal. Oxomoco means the man, Cipactonal means the woman. Both were very old. And from then on, old men and old women were called by those names.

1:27 2 Flint. 3 House. 4 Rabbit. 5 Reed. 6 Flint. 7 House. 8 Rabbit. 9 Reed. 10 Flint. 11 House. 12 Rabbit. 13 Reed. 1 Flint. 2 House. 3 Rabbit. 4 Reed. 5 Flint. 6 House. 7 Rabbit. 8 Reed. 9 Flint. 10 House. 11 Rabbit. 12 Reed. 13 Flint. 1 House. 2 Rabbit. 3 Reed. 4 Flint. 5 House. 6 Rabbit. 7 Reed. 8 Flint. 9 House. 10 Rabbit. 11 Reed. 12 Flint. 13 House. 1 Rabbit. 2 Reed. 3 Flint. 4 House. 5 Rabbit. 6 Reed. 7 Flint. 8 House. 9 Rabbit. 10 Reed. 11 Flint. 12 House. 13 Rabbit.<sup>7</sup>

1:28 13 Rabbit [686] was the beginning of Tetzcozo's year count, [the beginning of] their Chichimec period.

1:28 1 Reed [687] was when Chicontomatih (of Cuauhtitlan) was made ruler. At Quetzaltepec he assumed the rule.<sup>8</sup>

1:29 2 Flint. 3 House. 4 Rabbit.

1:29 5 Reed [691]. This was the year the Cuauhtitlan Chichimecs arrived in the region, at Maucexhuacan Hitehuetocan. It has already been told, already been mentioned how they came out of Chicomoztoc and how it was known that the year count of the Cuauhtitlan Chichimecs began in a year 1 Reed.

1:29 And when these Chichimecs arrived in the year 5 Reed, they were hunters on the move. They had no houses, no lands, no clothes that were soft goods.<sup>9</sup> They just wore hides and long moss.<sup>10</sup> And their children were brought up in mesh bags and pack baskets. They ate large prickly pears, barrel cactus, spine silk, sour prickly pears.

1:29 They suffered much during all the 364 years before they arrived in the country of Cuauhtitlan, and it was then that the dynasty of the Cuauhtitlan Chichimecs began and got started.

1:29 Now, it must be said and it is to be understood: with regard to the

7. Marginal gloss: 52.

8. The translation agrees with Sullivan. See GLOS: tlucocan.

9. For *yamunangui* read *yamunangui*.

10. *Tilandskian* sp. (Spanish moss).

above year-time, it was actually in that time, in that year, 1 Reed, while they were still on the road, that they got themselves a ruler.<sup>11</sup>

During these years that the Chichimecs lived, it is told and related that there was still darkness.

1:55 There was still darkness, so it is told, because they had no fame yet, no renown. There was no happiness. They were still on the move, etc.

2:2 6 Flint. 7 House.

[The five suns: A.D. 694-751]

According to their stories, which they had trouble remembering,<sup>12</sup> the old ones knew that the land, or earth, had its beginning and was established in the first age.

2:5 8 Rabbit [694]. The fourth sun, the sun whose day sign is 4 Wind.

9 Reed. 10 Flint. 11 House. 12 Rabbit. 13 Reed. 1 Flint. 2 House. 3 Rabbit. 4 Reed. 5 Flint. 6 House. 7 Rabbit. 8 Reed. 9 Flint. 10 House. 11 Rabbit.

2:8 The second age is told and related to be the fifth sun, or age.

2:9 12 Reed. 13 Flint. 1 House. 2 Rabbit. 3 Reed. 4 Flint. 5 House.

6 Rabbit. 7 Reed. 8 Flint.

2:9 The third age, sun fire of 4 Wind.

2:10 9 House [721]. At this time the Collana Chichimecs established their

own nation.

2:10 10 Rabbit. 11 Reed. 12 Flint.

2:12 13 House [725]. Chicontomatih rules in Cuauhtitlan. The town is at

2:12 Maucexhuacan.

2:14 1 Rabbit [726] is when the Toltecs began. Their year count started in

1 Rabbit.

2:15 It is said that life had been created four times.

2:16 So the old ones knew that in the fifth age,<sup>13</sup> in the time of 1 Rabbit, earth and sky were established, and they knew that when earth and sky were established, people had existed four times, life had been created four times. So they knew how each of the suns had been.

2:22 And they said that the one they called their god made them, created them, out of ashes. This they attributed to Quetzalcoatl. 7 Wind is the day sign of the one who made them, created them.

11. See line 1:38 above.

12. The passage that follows, down through line 2:10, is indeed confusing. A more coherent version of the myth begins with line 2:24 below.

13. The intrusive CCC, written with an overline in the manuscript, appears misplaced. At 1:13 and 1:17 the same figure means 400.

2:24 4 Water is the day sign of the first sun that there was in the beginning. And its name is Water Sun. All those who were created in its time were swept away by water. All the people turned into dragonfly nymphs and fish.

2:27 4 Jaguar is the day sign of the second sun that there was, called Jaguar Sun. It happened that the sky collapsed then,<sup>14</sup> and the sun did not continue. It happened at midday. Then there was darkness, and while it was dark, the people were eaten.

2:31 And giants were alive in the time of this one, and the old people say that their greeting was "Don't fall!" because whoever fell would fall for good.

2:34 4 Rain is the day sign of the third sun that there was, called Rain Sun. In the time of this one it happened that fire rained down, so that those who were there were burned. Also gravel rained down. They say that the gravel we find was strewn at this time. Also the lava stone boiled. And the various rocks that are red were deposited then.

2:39 4 Wind is the day sign of the fourth sun, the Wind Sun. In its time people were blown away by the wind, people were turned into monkeys. Those who remained, the monkey people, were scattered in the forest.

2:42 4 Movement is the day sign of the fifth sun, called Movement Sun, because it moves along and follows its course. And from what the old people say, there will be earthquakes in its time, and famine, and because of this we will be destroyed.

2:46 2 Reed. 3 Flint. 4 House. 5 Rabbit. 6 Reed. 7 Flint. 8 House. 9 Rabbit. 10 Reed. 11 Flint. 12 House. 13 Rabbit. 1 Reed. 2 Flint. 3 House. 4 Rabbit. 5 Reed. 6 Flint. 7 House. 8 Rabbit. 9 Reed. 10 Flint. 11 House. 12 Rabbit. 13 Reed.

2:49 They say the sun that exists today was born in 13 Reed [751], and it was then that light came, and it dawned. Movement Sun, which exists today, has the day sign 4 Movement, and this sun is the fifth that there is. In its time there will be earthquakes, famine.

[Early history of Cuauhtitlan: A.D. 751-816]

2:52 13 Reed [751] is when Chicomonatuh died in Macuexhuacan. He had ruled Cuauhtitlan for sixty-five years.

2:54 In the year 1 Flint [752] the Toltecs got themselves a ruler. They took Mixcomamaztzin as their ruler, and he initiated the Toltec rule.

2:55 Also in this year Xiuhnelztzin was inaugurated as ruler of Cuauhtitlan in

14. For the *tlā-* impersonal verb with specific third-person subject see GRAM sec. 5.9.

3:5 Ximilco.<sup>15</sup> They were there for one year and moved to Cuaxoxhuacan. This was during the era of the devil Mixcoatl, who was still with them at that time. And it was then that Xiuhnelztzin set up his boundary markers. Afterward [Mixcoatl] sent the Chichimecs away, and they went from town to town. He took leave of them, giving them his gear and apparel.<sup>16</sup>

3:5 2 House. 3 Rabbit. 4 Reed. 5 Flint. 6 House. 7 Rabbit. 8 Reed. 9 Flint. 10 House. 11 Rabbit. 12 Reed. 13 Flint. 1 House. 2 Rabbit. 3 Reed. 4 Flint. 5 House. 6 Rabbit. 7 Reed. 8 Flint. 9 House. 10 Rabbit. 11 Reed. 12 Flint. 13 House. 1 Rabbit. 2 Reed. 3 Flint. 4 House. 5 Rabbit. 6 Reed. 7 Flint. 8 House. 9 Rabbit. 10 Reed. 11 Flint. 12 House. 13 Rabbit. 1 Reed. 2 Flint. 3 House. 4 Rabbit. 5 Reed. 6 Flint. 7 House. 8 Rabbit. 9 Reed. 10 Flint. 11 House. 12 Rabbit. 13 Reed.

3:12 In 1 Flint [804] the Cuauhtitlan Chichimecs got themselves a ruler. Thus began a new Chichimec rule in Cuauhtitlan. They made Huactli their new ruler in a place called Necuameyocan.

3:15 Now, this is the story that was told by the Chichimec old people: When the rule of the Chichimecs began, a woman named Itzpapalotl spoke to them and said, "You must make Huactli your ruler. Go to Necuameyocan and build a thorn house, a maguery house. And there you will spread the thorn mat, the maguery mat.

3:20 "And then you must go to the east, and there you must shoot.

3:21 "Likewise to the north, to the desert lands, and there you must shoot.

3:22 "Likewise to the south [should be west?], and there you must shoot.

3:23 "Likewise to the garden lands, the flower lands [i.e., the south?], and there you must shoot.

3:24 "And when you have done your shooting and have taken the holy ones, the blue, the yellow, the white, and the red, the eagle, the jaguar, the snake, and the rabbit, etc., then you must put Iozpan, Ihuiri, and Xiuhnel to guard Xiuhnelctli, etc. That's where your captured ones will be cooked. When Huactli has observed his four-day<sup>17</sup> ruler's fast, your captured ones will be needed."<sup>18</sup>

3:29 And those Chichimecs who got themselves a ruler are named here: Mixcoatl, Xiuhnel, Mimich, Cuahuicol. And then these: Itztlacolinhuqui, Necuamecl, Amimiri, Iquehuac, Nahuacan.<sup>18</sup> And the Chichimec women were Coatl, Miahual, Coacuey, Yaocihuatl, Chichimecachual, Tlacoche.

15. Follows Lehmann. Velázquez reads *Temilco*.

16. In later times Cuauhtitlan Chichimec warriors and ritualists would dress themselves as Mixcoatl. See lines 25:47 and 56:25 below.

17. The reading follows Velázquez, who conjectures that the numeral 9 in the manuscript is a copyist's error for "4," which would merely reinforce the *nabuhuitl* (four days). According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, the ruler's four-day inaugural fast was instituted by Topiltzin. See IXT 1:387.

18. Lehmann reads Iquehuac Nahuacan as one person.

And it was at this time that the Christians learned, were told that Moreuczoma was the great ruler yonder in Mexico. And then the Christians sent him their greeting gift—with which they greeted Moreuczomatzin—and those who carried it were the ones who were the overseers there, who were the caretakers of tribute. The first, whom we have mentioned, was the Cuetlaxtecatl named Pinotl. The second was Tentil. The third was Cuitlapitoc.

And here are the greeting gifts the Christians presented to Moreuczomatzin: <sup>529</sup>one green cassock; and two capes, one black, one red; and a pair of shoes; a knife; a hat; also a cap; also a piece of cloth; also a drinking cup; also some beads.

68 : 22

chs. 2-4 and 16; FC bk. 8, ch. 7; CM fol. 56v; "Códice Vaticanus 3738" fol. 9v; CHM 62; XTE 2: ch. 1, p. 8; TEZ ch. 107; DHIST 2: chs. 71 and 74. For the story at hand, see especially FC bk. 12, ch. 2, and note that the Spaniards who met the Cuetlaxtlan people were not Cortés and his men (as stated in TEZ and DHIST) but Gijikva's party, which arrived a year earlier, in 1518. The point is discussed by Orozco y Berra in TEZ, p. 697.

529. (Compare the similar list in TEZ ch. 108, p. 690: "sartales de cristianos cuentas azules . . . una camisa de ruan y unos calzones y alpargates, un sombrero, y de la manera de traer las espadas y dagas se la pusieron con su talabarte. Al cabo le dieron una cajeta de conserva y una bota de vino y bizcocho blanco." The parallel passage in CF bk. 12, ch. 2, fol. 4v, mentions only "cuetras de vidrio, unas verdes, y otras amarillas" (*cazcanil, xaxcoatl, caztic*).

## *Legend of the Suns*



Legend of the Sun

[Preamble]

25:1 Here are wisdom tales made long ago, of how the earth was established, how everything was established, how whatever is known started, how all the suns that there were began.<sup>2</sup>

25:4 There are 2513 years today, on the 22nd day of May, 1558.

[The first sun]

25:6 This sun was 4 Jaguar: it was 676 years. These people, who lived in the first age, were eaten by jaguars in the time of the sun 4 Jaguar, and what they ate was 7 Straw.<sup>3</sup> That was their food.

25:8 And it was 676 years that they lived, and thirteen years that they were eaten by the man eaters, destroyed, and finished off. Then the sun was destroyed. And their year was 1 Reed.

25:13 And when they began to be eaten, it was on a day sign 4 Jaguar, right when they were being finished off, when they were being destroyed.

[The second sun]

25:16 This sun is named 4 Wind. These people, who lived in the second [age], were blown away by the wind in the time of the sun 4 Wind. And when they were blown away and destroyed, they turned into monkeys. All their houses and trees were blown away. And the sun also was blown away.

1. For the textual *nununa* read *nomanca*.

2. Read *nite* in *tequite* in *omanca tounthi*.

3. Here and in lines 75:20, 75:30, and 75:41 the ancient people's foods are designated by calendar names. Similarly, in the *Kuiz de Alarcón* *Yraize on Superstitions*, corn is called

7 Snake and squash is 7 Eagle (RUIZAL 125 and 126; for a guide to figurative names in Ruiz de Alarcón see RUIZAL 301-17). Although the foods in our text remain undisturbed, it may be conjectured that these early staples are wild seeds or primitive grains, becoming progressively more like corn—as in variants of the myth preserved in *Códice Vaticano*

3738. *Historie du Mechinque*,<sup>28</sup> and *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*,<sup>29</sup> for discussion see Moreno, *Los cinco soles*,<sup>30</sup> p. 205).

4. Anticlimactic word order reversed in the translation.

The fourth sun

3:20 And what they ate was 12 Snake. That was their food.  
3:21 It was 364 years that they lived, and only one day that they were blown by the wind, destroyed on a day sign 4 Wind. And their year was 1 Flint.

[The third sun]

3:25 This sun is 4 Rain. These people<sup>5</sup> lived in the third one,<sup>6</sup> in the time of the sun 4 Rain. And the way they were destroyed is that they were rained on by fire. They were changed into turkeys.

3:27 And the sun also burned. All their houses burned.

3:30 And it was 312 years that they lived. But when they were destroyed, it rained fire for only one day.

3:30 And what they ate was 7 Flint. That was their food. And their year was 1 Flint. And it was on a day sign 4 Rain. And when they died they were children. Therefore today they are called the baby children.

[The fourth sun]

3:34 This sun is named 4 Water. And for fifty-two years there was water. These people lived in the fourth one,<sup>7</sup> in the time of the sun 4 Water. And it was 676 years that they lived. And they died by drowning. They turned into fish.

3:39 The skies came falling down. They were destroyed in only one day.

3:40 And what they ate was 4 Flower. That was their food.

3:42 And their year was 1 House. And it was on a day sign 4 Water that they were destroyed. All the mountains disappeared.

3:43 And the water lay for fifty-two years.

3:44 And when their years were complete,<sup>8</sup> then Tlalchuhuan gave a command to the one called Tara,<sup>9</sup> and to his wife, who was called Nene. He said to them, "Put aside your cares;<sup>10</sup> Hollow out a big cypress, and when it's Tozoztl [April] and the skies come falling down, get inside."

5. *Imic* eq. for *inigue* & Cf. line 75:35.

6. *Le chihuanis nenea*. See following note.

7. *Le nantlanantli nenea* (lived in the fourth one). The expected form is *te nantlanantli nenea*. Lehmann writes *te nantlanantli nenea*.

8. That is, when they were to be destroyed (prior to the fifty-two years).

9. *Intica nanta*. Read *teuca nanta*, following Velázquez, who points out that the form is *ntin* at 76:6.

10. I.e., Don't care about anything anymore (cf. OS: *tlaxotla-tla*). Following Horcavitas, the free translation would be "Don't work anymore" ("An Analysis of the Deluge Legend in Mesamerica," p. 195). In modern folkloric variants the man has been trying to clear his

25:49 And so they got inside. Then he sealed them in and said, "You must eat only one of these corn kernels.<sup>11</sup> Also your wife must eat only one." Well, when they had eaten it all up, they went aground.

25:51 It can be heard that the water is drying. The log has stopped moving. Then it opens. They see a fish. Then they drill fire and cook fish for themselves.

26:2 Then the gods Citlalimicue and Citlaltomac looked down and said, "Gods, who's doing the burning? Who's smoking the skies?"<sup>12</sup>

26:5 Then Tlatacuhuan, Teczatlipoca, came down and scolded them. He said, "What are you doing, Tara? What are you people doing?"

26:7 Then he cut off their heads and struck them on their rumps, and that way they were turned into dogs.<sup>13</sup>

### [Origin of the new-fire ceremony]

26:8 Now, it was in a year 2 Reed that the skies were [again] smoked. This is how we ourselves exist, how the fire drill ignited.

26:10 When the sky was established was in a year 1 Rabbit.<sup>14</sup> [Yes,] this is how<sup>15</sup> the fire drill ignited, when fire appeared [for the new-fire ceremony].<sup>16</sup>

land, but the trees he cuts down keep rising up again; finally, in one version, a spirit appears to him, saying, "Don't work anymore, because the world is coming to an end."<sup>17</sup> See Paredes, *Folktales of Mexico*, no. 1 (version told in Spanish by an Orono of Nahua ancestry in Tlaxco, Puebla); other variants are summarized and discussed in Horcasitas, "An Analysis of the Dabaje Legend." For still further variants see Bierhorst, *Mythology of Mexico and Central America*, p. 215.

11. In a modern Nahuatl variant from San Pedro Jicora the man, unaccompanied by a wife, loads the hollowed-out log with corn and other supplies, then seals himself in: *kankin ya ukahuk kankin munsasana kank kispaxte in puerta* (when he has entered, then he closes himself in); then he sealed the door thoroughly (*Zicim, Nahua-Texc 1: 136*).

12. Why are the gods annoyed? In several of the versions discussed by Horcasitas (see note above) the survivors of the flood give offense because they kindle fire before being told to do so. In other variants the problem seems to be that the survivors have eaten forbidden meat; either the fish represents the inhabitants of the previous world (implying cannibalism) or it is said to be carrion (*fit for animals, not humans*). In a few of the variants Heaven is annoyed simply because someone has survived a destruction that was supposed to have been total.

#### 13. Read *shimne*.

14. The author alludes to a story he has not told. Recall that the skies came falling down in line 39:39 above. Afterward, according to the variant in HMPP ch. 5, Teczatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl changed themselves into a pair of tall trees and lifted the sky to its present position; when this occurred, "the year was Rabbit."<sup>18</sup>

#### 15. Read *kenquini tinc*.

16. The somewhat fuller statement in HMPP ch. 6 has it that Teczatlipoca—in a year "Reed," the second year after the flood—originated the custom of drawing fire from the fire

7:12 Now, it was dark for twenty-five years.<sup>17</sup>

7:14 Well, it was in the year 1 Rabbit that the sky was established. And when it had been established, the dogs sort up smoke, as mentioned above. And after the fire drill had ignited—after Teczatlipoca had drilled fire—he smoked the skies once more, and this was in a year 2 Reed.

### [The restoration of life]

7:18 And then the gods talked to each other and said, "Who will there be? Sky has been established, Tlatacutli has been established. Gods, who will there be?" They were sad. Citlalimicue, Citlaltomac, Apantcutli, Tepanguizqui, Tlalamangui, Huictolinqui, Quetzalcoatl, and Tlatacuhuan [were their names].

7:22 Then Quetzalcoatl went to the dead land, and when he came to the dead land lord, the dead land lady, he said to him, "I've come for the precious bones that you are keeping. I've come to get them."

7:25 Then he said, "To do what, Quetzalcoatl?"  
7:26 And he answered him, "It's because the gods are sad. Who will there be on earth?"

7:27 The dead land lord replied, "Very well. Blow my conch horn and circle four times around my precious realm." But his conch horn was not hollow.

7:30 Then he summoned worms, who hollowed it out. Then bumblebees and honeybees went in. Then he blew on it, and the dead land lord heard him. Then the dead land lord answered, "Very well, take them!" But he said to his messengers, the dead land people, "Spirits, go tell him he has to leave them here."<sup>18</sup>

But Quetzalcoatl said, "No, I'm taking them forever."<sup>19</sup>

7:35 And then his nagual said to him, "Tell them, I'll leave them [with you]."<sup>20</sup>

7:36 Then he said to them, he shouted to them,<sup>21</sup> "I'll leave them [with you]" and he quickly ascended.

7:39 Then he takes the precious bones. The male bones are in one pile, the female bones are in another pile. Then Quetzalcoatl takes them, wraps them up, and comes carrying them off.

7:42 And when the flame had been drawn, it was the festival of making many and large fires."<sup>22</sup> (For descriptions of the ceremony, held every fifty-two years, see FC 4:143-44 and FC bk. 7, ch. 9; and note the "year-bundle" heists, always in 2 Reed, mentioned above in lines 11:25, 29:51, 51:27, and 60:5.)

17. This agrees with HMPP ch. 7, which explains that the sun was created in the twenty-sixth year after the flood.

18. *I.t.*, to him.

The discovery of corn

76:42 Again, the dead land lord said to his messengers, "Spirits, Quetzalcoatl is really taking the precious bones away. Spirits, go dig him a pit." Then they went and dug it for him.

76:44 So he fell into the pit, stumbled and fell, and quail frightened him and he lost consciousness.

76:46 Then he spilled the precious bones, and the quail bit into them, nibbled them.

76:47 And when Quetzalcoatl came to, he cried. Then he said to his nagual, "My nagual, how will they be?"

76:49 And he said to him, "How will they be? They've been ruined. Let them go that way."<sup>19</sup>

76:50 Then he gathered them together, picked them up, wrapped them. Then he carried them to Tamoanchan. And when he had brought them, the one named Quilazli, Cihacoatl, ground them up. Then she put them into a jade bowl, and Quetzalcoatl bled his penis on them.

76:54 Then all the gods, who have been mentioned, did penance: Apancutli, Huicolinqui, Jepanquizqui, Tlalamana, Tzontemoc, and number six<sup>20</sup> is Quetzalcoatl.

77:2 Then they said, "Holy ones, humans, have been born. It's because they did penance for us."

[The discovery of corn]

77:3 Again, they said, "Gods, what will they eat? Let food be looked for."

77:4 Then the ant went and got a kernel of corn out of Food Mountain, and Quetzalcoatl met the ant and said, "Where did you get it? Tell me."

77:6 But it won't tell him. He insists. Then it says, "Over there," and it shows him the way.

77:8 Then Quetzalcoatl changed into a black ant.

19. Hence the origin of mortality? (an interpretation offered in Biehorst, *Four Master-works*, p. 69; cf. RUIZAL 371). But according to the variant in "Histoire du Mechiue" (pp. 26-27), the bones were those of giants that had formerly inhabited the earth (cf. line 2:31 above); the accident, therefore, explains why people today are small, compared to the giants. Mendler's version (bk. 2, ch. 1; adapted in Clavijero, bk. 6, ch. 2) has it that the accident resulted in broken bones of different sizes, thus explaining why some people are tall and others are short. An incantation for treating fractures evidently alludes to this myth, saying, "... Lord Quail! What are you doing with this Dead Land bone that you've splintered, that you've shattered? ... tecucline ... then tic-aita in midlanomid: in otopcozec, in otkcamam. ... ) (RUIZ 163, RUIZA 267-68).

20. Lit., someone's six, a peculiar but seemingly feasible solution proposed by Velázquez. Lehmann reads *tehuquagan* as a proper name.

21. The translation follows Garibay, *Literatura de los aztecas*, p. 20 ("Dioses nacieron: son los hombres"). Lehmann has "Gods and men have been born." Velázquez's "Born are the vassals of the gods" and Garibay's "Men have been born of gods" (*Epica nahua*, p. 27) seem incorrect.

The fifth sun

77:9 It shows him the way, and he goes inside. Then they carry it out together.

77:10 The red ant, it seems, showed Quetzalcoatl the way.

77:11 Outside he lays down the kernels, then he carries them to Tamoanchan. Then the gods chew them and put them on our lips.

77:13 That's how we grew strong.

77:14 Then they said, "What will we do with Food Mountain?" Then Quetzalcoatl went and tried to carry it, tied it with ropes, but he couldn't lift it.

77:16 Then Oxomoco counted it out,<sup>22</sup> and Oxomoco's wife, Cipactonal, also counted its fate. The woman is Cipactonal.<sup>23</sup>

77:18 Then Oxomoco and Cipactonal said, "Nanahual will strike Food Mountain," for they had counted it out.

77:20 Then all the talocs are summoned, blue talocs, white talocs, yellow talocs, red talocs.

77:22 Then Nanahual strikes it,<sup>24</sup> and the foods are stolen by the talocs.<sup>25</sup>

77:24 The white, black, and yellow [corn], the red corn, the beans, the amaranth, the chia, the fish amaranth, all the foods were stolen.

[The fifth sun]

77:27 This sun is named 4 Movement. We who live today [have] this one, it's our sun, though what's here is [merely] its signification, because the sun [itself] fell into the fire, the spirit oven, at Teotihuacan.

77:30 It's the same as the sun of Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl of Tollan. And before it was the sun, its name was Nanahual, whose home was yonder in Tamoanchan.

77:32 Eagle, jaguar, falcon, wolf,<sup>27</sup> 6 Wind, 6 Flower: both are names of the sun.

22. Lit., then Oxomoco counted things out for it, i.e., Oxomoco counted corn kernels to divine the future of Food Mountain (MOL: tlapanau:nic = echar fierres a otro el hechizo o agorero con mayz).

23. The author emphasizes his disagreement with the tradition that Cipactonal is the male, Oxomoco the female (FC 4:4:6: Oxomoco ciual ... aah in Cipactonal oquchtl).

24. With lightning. In a modern Nahuatl variant of this myth, Nanahual (called Nanawatzin) is the captain of the thunderbolts. See Teggart, *Nahuatl Myth and Social Structure*, p. 90; see also NED: nanahualt 3. For a full list of Middle American variants of the Hidden Corn myths, see Biehorst, *Mythology of Mexico and Central America*, p. 215.

25. The translation agrees with both Lehmann and Velázquez but seemingly violates Carochi's rule against naming the agent of a passive verb. See GN sec. 2.2.

26. For *tontemini* read *tontemini*.

27. These four animals figure in the myth that is about to be told (see 77:48-52 below). In the text a small circle with rays, like a miniature sun, appears between the words for "eagle" and "jaguar."

Textbook

77:34 Now, here is what is called the spirit oven. For four years it burned.  
77:35 Well then, Tonacateuctli and Xihuitlauhqui summoned Nanahual. They  
77:37 said to him, "You are the one who must keep the sky and the earth."  
And then he was very sad. He said, "What are they saying? There are  
77:38 gods, and I am a worthless invalid!"  
They also summoned 4 Flint, the moon. The ones who summoned him  
77:40 were Tlalocantecuhtli and Nappateuctli.  
And so Nanahual fasts. He takes his spines and his needles. Then he  
77:42 gives thorns to the moon, and they do penance.<sup>28</sup>  
Then Nanahual bathes first. Afterward the moon bathes.  
77:44 His needles are plumes, his spines are jade. He uses jade as incense.  
And when four days have gone by, they feather Nanahual, and they  
77:46 chalk him.<sup>29</sup> Then he goes off to fall in the fire, and 4 Flint meanwhile  
77:47 sings and dances for him like a woman.  
So Nanahual went off to fall in the fire. But the moon only went to fall  
77:48 in the ashes.  
And so he went off. And he was able to grab the eagle and carry it  
77:49 along.<sup>30</sup>  
But he could not carry the jaguar. It just stood next to the fire and  
77:51 jumped over it.<sup>31</sup> That's how it became spotted. At that time the falcon  
became smoke-colored. At that time the wolf was singed. These three were  
77:53 unable to go with him.  
Well, when he got to the sky, Tonacateuctli and Tonacacihuatl bathed  
77:55 him. Then they sat him in a *queshol* chair. Then they adorned his head  
with a red border.  
77:57 Then he carries in the sky for four days.<sup>32</sup> And then he appears on  
4 Movement.

78:1 But he spent four days without moving, just staying in place.  
Then the gods say, "Why doesn't he move?" Then they send the blade  
78:3 falcon, who goes and tells the sun that it has come to question him. It tells  
him, "The gods are saying, 'Ask him why he doesn't move.'"  
78:5 Then the sun said, "Why? Because I'm asking for their blood, their  
color,<sup>33</sup> their precious substance."<sup>33</sup>

28. That is, they puncture themselves with the needles, or thorns, in order to draw sacrificial blood. Cf. 4:38 and 6:52 above.  
29. Sacrificial victims were customarily smeared with chalk and crowned with feathers (see NED: *tzadzalibhuil*).  
30. Antidimetric word order reversed in the translation.  
31. In Mendicera's variant (Bk. 2, ch. 2) the sun refuses to move until the gods sacrifice themselves ("hacera habedlos muerro y destruido á ellos").  
33. For *huitlacoa* I read *huitlacal (sh)*. Lehmann reads *huitlacaa* and translates the whole phrase, "I'm asking for the noble blood of those who did the damage."

78:6 Then the gods hold council. And then Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli grows angry. He says, "Well, why is this? I'll shoot him! He must not stay put!"  
78:8 Then he shoots him. But he failed to hit him.  
78:9 Meanwhile the sun is shooting at Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, and he succeeds  
in hitting him because his arrows are like shafts of flame. And then the  
nine layers<sup>34</sup> covered up his face.

78:11 This Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli is the frost.  
78:12 Then all the gods get together: Tlalacahuan, Huizlopochtli, and the  
women Xochiquetzal, Yapallique, Nochpallique. And there<sup>35</sup> in Teotihuacan they all died a sacrificial death. So then the sun went into the sky.  
78:16 And then goes the moon, who had fallen only in the ashes. And when  
he got to the edge of the sky, Papatzac came and broke his face with a  
rabbit pot.<sup>36</sup>

78:18 And then at a crossroads he met the *tzitzimine*, the *coletzin*, and they  
said to him, "Come here." They detained him for a long while, dressing  
him all in rags.  
78:21 And so it was the sun of 4 Movement that appeared at that time. And  
at that time, too, he established nightfall.

[How the sun was given a drink]

78:24 Now, Mixcoatl<sup>37</sup> lived for thirty-nine years, and his wife was named  
Chimallan.  
78:26 And Topiltzin had fifty-six years.<sup>38</sup> It was in 1 Reed, certainly, that he  
traveled, that he went away, that he left his city, Tollan. And it was  
78:30 4 Rabbit when he died, in Tlapallan.  
It was in a year 1 Flint that the Mixcoatl were born. The way it happened,

34. "Nine layers" refers to the heavens in line 4:46 above. But it may also refer to the underworld (see NED: *chincuhuhxihuan*).  
35. Read *in ye ontan*.  
36. Hence the origin of the supposed rabbit image on the face of the moon. In Sahagún's variant of the myth, one of the gods strikes the moon not with a "rabbit pot" but with a rabbit per se (FC 7:7-28). The rabbit pot, *tochticamatl*, is mentioned by Sahagún in a quite different context; it was used as the vessel in a wine-drinking ceremony, in which the singer-participants were called *centzonototchtzin*, four hundred rabbits, a group of spirits associated with wine (FC 2:194-3; cf. FFC 1:24-7).  
37. Labeled pictographs in the manuscript at this point show Mixcoatl and Chimallan and their son Topiltzin, also the town of Tollan, the mountain Xicococ, and four houses named *colhuacatl* (serpent house), *toconitlactli* (gold house), *chachihucatl* (jade house), and *xihucatl* (turquoise house). Two additional glyphs, both simple squares, are labeled *ce topiltzi* (1 Flint) and *ce Acatl* (1 Reed). Immediately above the *ce Acatl* glyph are the words 52 años (52 years).  
38. Topiltzin, also called Ce Acatl or Quetzalcoatl, was the son of Mixcoatl and Chimallan (see 80:43-51 below).



Iztachalchitlicue gave birth to four hundred Mixcoatl, then she went into a cave. And when they had gotten into the cave, their mother delivered again, and five more Mixcoatl were born. The first is named Cuauhli-coauh, the second is named Mixcoatl, the third is a female named Cuichachihuatl, the fourth is named Tlostepe, the fifth is named Apanteuctli. And when they were born, they entered the water,<sup>39</sup> put themselves in the water, spent four days in water. And when they came out, Mecitli suckled them. This Mecitli is Tlalauuctli. And so we today who are Mexica are not really Mexica but Mecitlin.

And then the sun commands the four hundred Mixcoatl: he gives them darts and says to them, "Here is how you will give me a drink, how you will serve me"—also a shield. And the darts are precious darts. They have quetzal wings, egret wings, tropical wings, *teopuachol* wings, roseate spoonbill wings, cotinga wings. "And the one who is your mother is Tlalauuctli."

But they did not do as they were commanded. They just shot birds, they just played. At that point [the darts] were called bird darts.

And when they catch a jaguar, they do not give it to the sun. And then, when they get the jaguar, they feather themselves. And while they're feathered, they sleep with women.

Then they tipple on pulque and get completely drunk, completely intoxicated.

And then the sun commands the five who were born last: he gives them thorn darts, gives them a spirit shield, and says, "My children, pay attention. You must now destroy the four hundred Mixcoatl, the ones who fail to say, 'Mother! Father!'"

Then they put themselves in a mesquite, and seeing them there, they say, "Who are these people that are just like us?" Then they made war on each other.

Then Cuauhli-coauh went into the tree, and Mixcoatl went into the earth, and Tlostepe went into a mountain. Then Apanteuctli stood in water, and their sister, Cuetchachihuatl, stood in a ball court.<sup>40</sup>

Then they surrounded them. None of them were in the mesquite anymore, they were in hiding, and the tree cracks and splits open on top of them, and Cuauhli-coauh comes out from inside the tree.

And then there's a shaking of the earth, and out comes Mixcoatl, who had gone into the ground.

39. A newborn infant, bathed by the midwife, was said to "enter" the water (FC 6: 176:24).

40. The narrator seems to be punning on Cuauhli and tree (*quauhuitl*), Tlostepe and mountain (*tepetl*), Apanteuctli and *apan* (water place), Cuetchachihuatl and *tlachco* (ball court).

And the mountain breaks apart, collapses,<sup>41</sup> and out comes Tlostepe.

Then the water churns, and out comes Apanteuctli.

And then they conquered them, destroyed them, and served the sun and gave it a drink.

And the few who remained came and spoke to them in order to appease them, and said, "We have annoyed you. Go to Chicomoztoc. It's your cave. Enter. It's your home. Can it still be our cave? You've ruined our cave, our home. We'll just settle at the cave's edge."

[Xihnel and Mimich]

Then two deer descend [from the sky],<sup>42</sup> each with two heads. And two of the Mixcoatl, one named Xihnel, the other named Mimich, go hunting in the desert lands.

Xihnel and Mimich chase the deer, trying to shoot them, chasing them all night, all day, finally wearing them out in the evening.

Then they tell each other, "Come on, you build your shelter there. I'll build mine over here. Hah! Those bad ones are conning now."

And then the ones who had been deer passed by, now changed into women. "Xihnelztzin! Mimichztzin!" they cried.<sup>43</sup> "Where are you? Come here. Come drink, come eat."

Hearing this, they said to each other, "Come on, don't speak to them."

But Xihnel did speak to them. He said, "Come here, sister."

And she answered him, "Xihnelztzin, won't you have a drink?" And Xihnel drinks the blood, and then he lies next to her.

But when he had lain with her,<sup>44</sup> then she turned over on top of him and bit him, breaking open his chest.

Then Mimich says, "Alas, my elder brother is eaten."

But the other woman is calling to him. "Man-child," she says, "won't you eat?" Mimich doesn't answer. Then he uses the fire drill and makes fire. And when Mimich had made it, he rushed into it. And the woman ran after him, into the fire.

All night she ran after him, still running after him when it was noon. And finally, at noon, a pot cactus descended [from the sky].<sup>45</sup> The woman fell on top of it and got stuck.

41. Read *huitoni*.

42. The variant in HMPP (ch. 8) reads, "hubo un gran ruido en el cielo y cayó un venado de dos cabezas."

43. Read *zanzahua*, lit., they go shouting.

44. Lit., But when he had laid her.

45. Cf. line 79:35 above.