



Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and the debt-paying which was celebrated during all the days of the fifth month, which was called Toxcatl.<sup>1</sup>

In the time of Toxcatl there was Tezcatlipoca's great festival. At that time he was given human form; at that time he was set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time was appointed his [new] impersonator, who would again live [as Tezcatlipoca] for a year.

For many impersonators were living, whom stewards in various places guarded; whom they maintained. About ten [so] lived. These were indeed selected captives; they were selected when captives were taken. There one was chosen if he was seen to be suitable, if he was fair of body. Then he was taken. They entrusted these to stewards. But one destined to be a slave, him the captor slew.

Indeed he who was thus chosen was of fair countenance, of good understanding, quick, of clean body, slender, reed-like, long and thin, like a stout cane, like a stone column all over, not of overfed body, not corpulent, nor very small, nor exceedingly tall.

Indeed it became his defect if someone were exceedingly tall. The women said to him "Tall fellow; tree-shaker; star-gatherer." He who was chosen as impersonator was without defects.

He was like something smoothed, like a tomato, like a pebble, as if sculptured in wood; he was not curly-haired, curly-headed; his hair was indeed straight, his hair was long. He was not rough of

Jnic chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ic macujlli metztl, in mitoaia, Toxcatl.

In ipan in toxcatl, vel yueiilhujuh catca in tezcatlipuca: vncan tlatatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhlica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhlica nemiz:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlaoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quē matlactli in nemj: y iehoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujxtilti qujxtiloia, yn iquac oalaxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intlata aca ce oqualittoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlatotli, iehoatl qujmictia in tlanmanj:

ca iehoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatquj, in mjmatinj, in chipaoac ynacaio, cujlotic, acatic, piaztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmiltic, amo tlaçaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aqujn cenca quauhtic, qujhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmalolo: yn aqujn pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iuhqujn tlachictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quaujtl tlaxixintli, amo quacocotztic, quacolochtic, vel tzōmelaoc, tzompiaztic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ix-

1. Of this name, Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, Vol. II, p. 37, writes: "Toxcatl, Tepopochuiliztli. De todas las interpretaciones dadas á la palabra toxcatl, la más genuina, á nuestro entender, es la dada por Gama, tomada del P. Acosta: 'una sogá gruesa torcida de sartales de maíz tostado.'"

Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, p. 402, explains that "La figura del mes quinto es la de una cabeza humana con una cadena debajo, para representar aquellas sartales de maíz tostado que se ponían al cuello, y con las cuales adornaban también al ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes tomó el nombre Toxcatl"; and (p. 152) "unos sacerdotes teñidos de negro y vestidos del traje del ídolo, lo bajaban en unas andas bien aderezadas al pie de la escalera. Los mancebos y vírgenes del templo rodeaban las andas de una cuerda gruesa compuesta de sartales de maíz tostado y ponían al ídolo una sarta al cuello y una guirnalda en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de granos secos y símbolo de la sequedad que pretendían evitar con sus plegarias, llamaron toxcatl, el cual nombre se dió por esta ceremonia al mes quinto de que hablamos."

Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 298) also suggests as a translation for the name "our dryness, our drought" — "nuestra segura." Jiménez Moreno, "Primeros memoriales," p. 31, notes: "Precisamente se llevaban collares de maíz tostado (de allí quizá la idea de 'cosa seca') en esta fiesta Tózcatl, pues podría aquí significar lo mismo que cózcatl (collar). Pero, siendo ésta fiesta de Tezcatlipoca no es improbable que se tenga Tózcatl como posible forma arcaica de Tézcatl ('espejo' y en ocasiones 'laguna'). En el castellano de México, un espejo se llama también 'luna' y no debe olvidarse que Tezcatlipoca era un dios lunar."

forehead; he had no pimples on his forehead; he did not have a forehead like a tomato; he did not have a baglike forehead. He was not long-headed; the back of his head was not pointed; his head was not like a carrying net; his head was not bumpy; he was not broad-headed; he was not rectangular-headed; he was not bald; he was not of rounded forehead; he was not of swollen eyelids; he was not of enlarged eyelids; he was not swollen-cheeked; he was not of injured eyes; he was not of injured cheeks; he was not bulging of eye; he was not cloven-chinned; he was not gross-faced; he was not of downcast face; he was not flat-nosed; he did not have a nose with wide nostrils; he was not Roman-nosed; he was not concave-nosed; he was not twisted-nosed, not bent-nosed, not crooked-nosed; but his nose was averagely placed; he was straight-nosed. He was not thick-lipped, he was not gross-lipped, he was not big-lipped,<sup>2</sup> he was not bowl-lipped, he was not large-lipped; he was not a stutterer, he was not ring-tongued, he was not rough-tongued;<sup>3</sup> he did not speak a barbarous language; he did not lisp, he did not speak with a lisp, he was not dumb. He was not buck-toothed, he was not large-toothed, he was not fang-toothed, he was not yellow-toothed, he was not ugly-toothed, he was not rotten-toothed; his teeth were [like] seashells; they lay well; they lay in order; he was not bowl-toothed. Nor was he scarred of eye; he was not poor of vision; he was not small-eyed; he was not scarified of eye; he was not blinded; he was not little-eyed; he was not tiny-eyed; he was not yellow-eyed; he was not hollow-eyed, not sunken-eyed; he was not cup-eyed; he was not round-eyed; he was not tomato-eyed; he was not of pierced eye; he was not of perforated eye; he was not of bruised eyes. He was not scarred of neck; he was not [as if] of choked neck; he was not of lacerated neck, of double chin, of swollen neck. Nor was he large-eared, nor was he long-eared. He was not stiff-necked; he was not twisted-necked; he was not rigid-necked; he was not long-necked; he was not very long-necked; he was not wry-necked; he was not crook-necked. He was not long-handed; he was not one-handed; he was not handless; he was not fat-fingered. He was not emaciated; he was not fat; he was not big-bellied; he was not of protruding navel; he was not of hatchet-shaped navel; he was not of

quaxitontic, amo ixquaxiqujpiltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujztic, amo quachitatic, amo quapatztic, amo quapatlactic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacqij, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo campoponaztic, amo ixujulaxtic, amo canujulaxtic, amo ixpopotztic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapatztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxaxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacane-cujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipal-totomaoac, amo texipaltotomac, texipaltotomactic, amo tencaxtic, amono tenmetlapiltic: amono eltza-tzacqij, amo nenepilchanpuchtic, amo nenepilcha-caultic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzipi, amo tentzitzipitlatoa, amo tenmjmjcqij, amo tlanpantic, amo tlan-cujcujztic, amo coatlane, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoiauhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn tecciztli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no itxitiqujltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujtzaltic, amo itziz-tiqujltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpicil-tic, ixcoçaltic, amo ixcomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixtotolontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo itztatzapitztic, amo itztatzamol-tic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiqujltic, quechmo-tzoltic, quetzitiziqujltic, quechnacatic quechxixi-qujpiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilax-tic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacqij, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlatztic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnegetic: amo mavi-ujtlatztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapiltotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquizquj, amo xictopol-tic, amo xiccueio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopol-tic, amo tzincuecuetzic, tzintamal-cuecuetzac.

2. Read *tēxipaltotomac*, *tēxipaltotomactic* as in the *Real Palacio MS*.

3. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *popolactic*.

wrinkled stomach; he was not of shrunken stomach. He was not cringing; he was not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; he was not of flabby buttocks; he was not of flabby thighs.

For him who was thus, who had no flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemish, who had no mark, who had on him no wart, [no such] small tumor, there was taken the greatest care that he be taught to blow the flute, that he be able to play his whistle; and that at the same time he hold all his flowers and his smoking tube.<sup>4</sup> At the same time he would go playing the flute, he would go sucking [the smoking tube], he would go smelling [the flowers].

So [his flute], his flowers, his smoking tube went together when he followed the road.

And while yet he lived, while yet he was being trained in the home of the steward, before he appeared [in the presence of the people], very great care was taken that he should be very circumspect in his discourse, that he talk graciously, that he greet people agreeably on the road if he met anyone.

For he was indeed much honored when he appeared, when already he was an impersonator. Since he impersonated Titlacauan, he was indeed regarded as our lord. There was the assigning of lordship; he was importuned; he was sighed for; there was bowing before him; the commoners performed the earth-eating ceremony before him.

And if they saw that already his body fattened a little, they made him take brine; with it they thinned him; they thinned him with salt. Thus he became thin; he became firm; his body became hard.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at the time of Toxcatl he appeared [before the people], and at that time died the man who had been impersonator for one year, who had been led along the road, who had waited for one year, who had [thus] passed one year. Just then he went being substituted; one was set in his place [from among] all whom the various stewards were guarding, were maintaining, at the time that [the first impersonator] appeared [before the people].

Thereupon he began his office. He went about playing the flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

His eight servitors went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year. Their hair was shorn

Jn aqujn iuhquj y, atle itlacauhca, atle yiaioa, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuizço, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujtlauijlo, inic vel momachtiz, yn tlapitzaz: ynic vel qujpitzaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan qujtztizquiz yxochiuh, yoan yieuh, ipan tlapitztiz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz:

iuhqujn centllalli mantiuh yn ixochiuh, yn jyieuh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc oapaoalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiama ixneci, cenca vel necujtlauijloia, ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztiloia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elciciooa, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztatiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtli in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miqij ce tlatcatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtli, in ce xiujtli, oallaotlatocitic, in ce xiujtli oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtli ooallaujcaç: çã çan ic mopatlaiuja yn ixquetzalioia, yn ixqujchtin qujnpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtli, yoan cenioaal: çan connequja in campaa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa,

4. "Caña o cañuto de çabumerio, acaietl," in Molina, *Vocabulario*; "cañas de humo" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

as if they were one's pages; their hair was cut; their hair was clipped; they were not clipped smooth like a gourd; they were not clipped bald like a gourd; their heads were not smooth like pots; they did not stick [hair] to the head.

And also there were four constables, masters of youths. They cut their hair similarly; their hair arrangement was similar. It was arranged upright for them on their foreheads.

At this time Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator]; he repeatedly adorned him; he gave him gifts; he arrayed him; he arrayed him with great pomp. He had all costly things placed on him, for verily he took him to be his beloved god. [The impersonator] fasted; hence it was said: "He fasteth in black," [for] he went with his face smoke-black. His head was pasted with feathers, with eagle down. They only covered his hair for him; it fell to his loins.

And when he was attired, he went about with popcorn flowers<sup>5</sup> laid upon his head; they were his crown of flowers. And he was dressed in these same on both sides; they drew them out to his armpits. This was called "the flowery stole."

And from his ears on both sides went hanging curved golden shell pendants.<sup>6</sup> And they fitted [his ears with] ear plugs made of turquoise, turquoise mosaic. And a shell necklace was his necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white seashells.

And then his lip pendant, his slender lip pendant, was of snail shell. And down his back went hanging what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.<sup>7</sup>

Then on both sides, on his upper arms, he placed golden bracelets, and on both sides, on his wrists, he went placing turquoise bracelets taking up almost all his forearms. And he went putting on only his net cape like a fish net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.<sup>8</sup> And his costly breechclout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then he went placing his bells on both sides, on his legs. All gold were the bells, called *oyoalli*.<sup>9</sup> These [he wore] because they went jingling, because they went ringing; so did they resound. And his

motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloo, amo moquatetzicoa

Auh no naujtin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecucuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujieieccquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh ipan qujmatì, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycu-jtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpacxochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necocampa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa qujqujxtiaia: in moteneoa suchineapätli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatijia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaquajaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcujuj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlanan pilcatih itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxi-qujpilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlatemecatì contlatlali-tiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xin-maquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in qujquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujmatlatl ic cocoiacoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoa: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmetztzopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooalli: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti:

5. *Beurevia huanita* Hemsley, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1. Cf. also Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 202.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "como çerçillos de ovo."

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "Heuana a las espaldas, un ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en quadro de lienço blanco, con sus borlas y flocadura."

8. Cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 311. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún refers to *tochomjtl* (rabbit fur), we think mistakenly. *Tochiacatl* (or *tochatatl*), it would appear, is string or thread, while *tochomjtl* is a thong of rabbit skin.

9. *oyoalli* (*oyoualli*) can be translated as bell or shell rattle. It is also the name of a shell neck pendant worn by the gods of dance. We follow the corresponding Spanish in our translation.

obsidian sandals had ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When Toxcatl went drawing near, when it approached him, when already it went reaching him, first he married; he looked upon a woman; he was married at the time of Uey toçoztli.

And he shed, he put in various places, he abandoned what had been his ornaments in which he had walked about fasting in black. His hair was shorn; he was provided a tuft of hair upon his forehead, like that of a seasoned warrior. They bound it; they wound it round and round. They bound it with [brown cotton thread] called *tochyacatl*; it was tied with a slipknot. And his forked heron feather ornament with a quetzal feather spray they bound to his warrior's hairdressing.<sup>10</sup>

It was for only twenty days that he lived lying with the women, that he lived married to them. The four women in whose company he lived had also lived for a year guarded in the steward's establishment.

The name of the first one was Xochiquetzal; the second was Xilonen; the third was Atlatonan; the fourth was Uixtociuatl.

And when it was already the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five [days] from it, on the fifth day [from it], five days before the feast of Toxcatl would pass, they began each to sing [and dance].

At this time, in all these days, one knew nothing more of Moctezuma. They who yet had been his companions provided people with food, provided people with favors.<sup>11</sup>

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day it was in the place where was guarded the image of Titlacauan, in the home of him who was the steward who guarded it. On the third day it was at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon. The fourth time it was at Tepepulco, which is also quite near Tepetzinco.

When they had sung [and danced], thereupon he embarked in a boat. The women went, going with him. They went consoling him; they went encouraging him. The boat proceeded to a place called Aca-

yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miqija ce xiujtli:

yn iquac ie oalacituih toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtuih, yn ie itech onacituih, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihuatl quijtaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mnxquatontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlipitica: yoan yztaxel, quetzalmjiaoia, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacughtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujtin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no ce-xiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlamacujlti, oqujuh macujlilhujtl qujçaz yn ilhujtl Toxcatl, in peoa cujcuja:

yn iquac y, yn izquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycenujc catca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhujtl cujcuja, itocaiocan tecanma: ynjc omjhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aqujn calpixquj, yn oqujpaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn oncujujçac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, qujiollalitiuj, quellaquauhtiuuj: vmpa vnqujça, vmpa onatenqujça, vmpa qujmonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaqujlpian, anoçe caoaltepec:

10. *itzotzocolli*: this warrior's hairdress protrudes over the forehead.

Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, p. 208, states: "Bei der andern Frisur wurde das Haar über der Stirn hoch in die Höhe gezaust und vom Scheitel ab lang herabfallen gelassen und dort am Nacken mit einem Riemen umwickelt, in den bei festlichen Gelegenheiten ein Federschmuck eingesteckt wurde." In Vol. II, p. 521, Seler adds that this hairstyle is adopted by the young warrior after his first military exploit.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "el señor se quedava solo en su casa, y todos los de la corte, les seguian, y se hazian solemnnes banquetes, y areytos, con muy ricos ataujos."

quilpan or Caualtepec; there it proceeded to the shore; there it landed them.

For here they were left, rather near Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned. And only they who for the time had become [and] were his servitors went following him while yet he lived.

Thus was it said: when he arrived where [the impersonators of Titlacauan] used to die, [where] a small temple called Tlacochealco stood, he ascended by himself, he went up of his own free will, to where he was to die. As he was taken up a step, as he passed one [step], there he broke, he shattered his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had risen to the summit, then the offering priests seized him. They threw him upon his back on the sacrificial stone; then [one of them] cut open his breast; he took his heart from him; he also raised it in dedication to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives slain. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull rack. Thus he was brought to an end in the adornment in which he died. Thus his life there ended; there they terminated his life when he went to die there at Tlapitzauayan.

And this betokened our life on earth. For he who rejoiced, who possessed riches, who sought, who esteemed our lord's sweetness, his fragrance — richness, prosperity — thus ended in great misery. Indeed it was said: "No one on earth went exhausting happiness, riches, wealth."<sup>12</sup>

And here in Mexico, at the time of Toxcatl, there was made, there was made in human form, [a figure of] Uitzilopochtli here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in its *calpulco*. They set it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood as if of serpents. Four lay supported by their tails; their heads were on the four sides.<sup>13</sup>

They kept covering [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood members with fish amaranth dough; his figure was indeed always hewn<sup>14</sup> of mesquite wood, which they covered.

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça iehoã inmatian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquj-tocatinenca in iřc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in vncan mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochealco: çan inoma in tleco, çan monomatlcauja, in vmpa mjqujz: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan qujxamanja, qujpuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oqujpantlaz, yn izquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman qujcujuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic quel-tetequj, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac amo qujoalmjmjlooaia, çan qujoalte-moujaia, qujnauhcaujaia:

auh yn jtzontencõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa on-tlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjqujto Tlapitzaoaian.

Auh ynjn ca qujnezcaiotia, in tlaticpac tonemjliz: ca in aqujn paquj, motlamachtia, in qujtta in quj-maujçoa in itzopelica, yn jaujiaca in totecujo, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonqujça vey netolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, aiac qujtlamitiuh in tlaticpac, paqujliztli, necujltonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia motlactalialia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan in vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchiaohtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmiz-qujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. Cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book VI, Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1969; hereafter referred to as Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*), pp. 7-10.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*bazian para ponerla un tablado, los maderos del, eran labrados, como culebras, y tenian las cabeças, a todas quatro partes, del tablado contrapuestas, las unas a las otras de manera que a todas quatro partes auja colas y cabeças.*"

14. *tlaxintli: tlaxixintli* in the *Real Palacio MS*.



Thereupon they gave him his various articles of raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket painted with representations of human limbs.

And over that they covered it,<sup>15</sup> over that they clothed it in a cape of nettles. It was like a netted cape.

And they fitted on him his paper headdress, made with feathers, called *anecuyotl*. Above his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it blood-colored.

Then they dressed him in a godly cape. It was costly; it was all made, embellished, designed with precious feathers; it was provided with the red-eye border; its edge was quite all of roseate spoonbill [feathers]. And in its center lay a large golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They were called *teomimilli*. They laid each one before him; they lay reaching high; they were hip-high.

And the cape with which they lay covered, which lay spread before him, was designed with severed heads, the palms of hands, hip bones, ribs, tibias, lower arm bones, footprints. With them it was painted.

And this cape was called *ilaquaqualo*.

And yet one more thing they spread out for him; they spread out what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was said to be his breechclout.

And this was a paper, white paper, not yellow paper,<sup>16</sup> a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.<sup>17</sup>

With godly arrows, cut at the tip — darts — they supported it. They were made only that they might support it; that his breechclout might be supported.

In three places were they plumed with white turkey feathers; first on their points, second on their shafts, third there on their stems.

When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths; the youths took it up. His breechclout went laid out before him, went spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

15. *cononoloa*: read *conololoa* as in *ibid*.

16. Cf. V. W. von Hagen, *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 60, 72 esp. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 656, a note by Seler states: "Quauhamatl ou texamatl est la matière fournie par la couche libérienne de quelques arbres du genre *Ficus*. Il servait de papier pour les peintures ou les livres, et d'étoffe pour faire les parures, les vêtements et autres objets que le culte des dieux nécessitait."

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "vn papelon, que tenja veynre braços de largo, y vna de ancho, y vn dedo de grueso." Estimates of the units of measurement vary. Cf. a detailed discussion in Victor M. Castillo F., "Unidades nahuas de medida," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, Vol. 10, Mexico, 1972, pp. 195-223.

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlollli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintl:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaieccchioalli, ynic tla-cujlollli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlahquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucuj-tlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mj-miltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatl ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouh-toca, tlacujlollli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjicujlli, tlanitztl, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlollli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatl, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo: yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlaçochtli ynjc qujnaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnaloque, ynjc mona-paloz ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totolijtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc ex-can, vncan yn jmamazçocan:

yn oqujcenauhque, cacoqujxtia in telpuchtequj-oaque, yoan in teachcaosan, in telpopuchti, ixpan onotiuuh, ixpan çouhtiuuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaolotiuuh, qujttotituij:

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, when already they carried it up, at the four [corners] cords had been tied by which they might take it up, by which they might carry it up. They went stretching [the cords] so that it would not twist.

Thereupon they began to climb. They went rolling the breechclout up; they went reeling it; they reeled it; they went reeling it up.

They went throwing aside the godly arrows. Those whose task it was went taking them, went gathering them, went collecting them.

And when they had risen to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, thereupon they placed [the paper roll] upon the serpent bench. They placed it before him. They bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it tightly, they bound it firmly.

When they had gone to place it [there], then they descended. There those who had tasks, the offering priests, the stewards who guarded it were left.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up in the evening when there was still a little sun. And also in the evening an offering was made.

And the tamales which they ate were fruit tamales, [which] were chili-red, or tamales made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,<sup>18</sup> colored tamales, tamales of coarse white flour, and [tamales] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical tamales wrapped up in amaranth seed dough were the tamales they distributed at the temple.

And when it dawned, thereupon offerings were made in each one's home; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded. Everyone — women, men — [did so].

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the fire priest beheaded still other quail; he only laid his hands on them.<sup>19</sup>

Thereupon the commoners broke out; they threw themselves [into it] together. Everyone, men [and] women, beheaded quail.

And when the quail were beheaded, they cast them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli; they threw them toward it.

yn ocaxitique ytzintlan teucalli, in ie qujtlecauizque, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoqujxtizque, ynjc qujnapalozque, qujttilinjtiuj, ynjc amo monecujloz:

njman ie ic qujpeoaltia in tlecoz, qujllacatzotij, qujcujxtiuj, qujtecuja, qujtecujxtiuj: yn jamamaxtli

qujoallaztiuj, in teumjtl concujtiuj, qujnechicotij, qujcententiuj in tequjppaneque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oqujpantlazque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapachco, ixpan qujtequjllia, itech qujlpia, qujcacatzilpia, qujteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmā oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequjpaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in qujpiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixqujch tlatatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoqujçaiia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in qujquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzoalilacatzolli:

ynjn mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynjc tlailacatzolli, qujcēmana ȳ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlatateculotl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixqujch tlatatl, yn cioatl in toqujchti:

conpeoaltia yn Motecoçuma, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn ioma qujcotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çoçolti, tlenamacac, in qujnco-tona, çan inpã conmantiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in maceoaltzītli, yn ixqujch tlatatl in tlacotona, yn oqujchti in cioatl.

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli.

18. Alvaro Tezozomoc, *Histoire du Mexique*, trans. H. Ternaux-Compans, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 269, has, for *quatequicuilltamalli*, bean and cornmeal cakes with bird or other meat.

19. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 104, suggests that the priest merely touched them to behead them symbolically.



And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away; they went thrashing; they went striking the earth; they kept throwing themselves to the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them up, gathered them up, plucked them,<sup>20</sup> roasted them, salted them; they cured them in brine.

Some they destined for Moctezuma, and the rest they destined for his officials — only the noblemen — and also for the masters of the youths, those who were leaders; also those who were offering priests.

And all took their large braziers — not their polished braziers. In them were coals and wood shavings. They heaped them up; they set them on fire; they made them take fire; they fired them with pine splinters. There they burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.<sup>21</sup> And when already it was the proper time that already incense be offered, they laid coals in the incense ladle; on it they cast the white incense. With this they raised it in dedication to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they warmed him, thus they incensed him not only there at the great temple but also furthermore in each one's home, in each one's *calpulco*. Incense was offered to all of their gods in whom they believed.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], thereupon they cast [the coals] into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the women, the maidens painted their faces; they pasted themselves with red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper streamers firmly to canes. [The streamers] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls] thus fastened thin cotton blankets [to canes] likewise painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths who had spread black paint on their faces stood above, before the hearth. They stood in the leading position. They carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners, only they carried them [with tumplines which crossed] the chest.

They began the dancing for the women. In this manner was the dance: they danced leaping; they danced just in the fashion of women. And the

Auh in çoçolti in oquehcotonaloque, tlapapatlatz-tinemj papatlatcatinemj, tlalli ic moujutequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmiztaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza:

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujtonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no iehoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no iehoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlatatl qujtquja yapātlecax, amo ie-hoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietihuh tlexochtli, yoan tlixipeoalli, contepeuhitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlâtlâtla.

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhio copalli: auh yn iquac yn ie inman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemâco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin inteteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiahque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchtli, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica:

yoan intêteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tilitica tla-cujlollli, motocaiotia acaxilquj:

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tla-cujlollli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaicatotonti, çan quelpanmama.

qujnpeoaltia yn cioa in netotiliztli, ynic mjtotia chochoŀoa, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlatic in manj, yn jnteteuh coomemauija, qujtotitimanj,

20. *qujnvihtlatla*: read *qujnvihtla* as in the *Real Palacio MS*.

21. Thus identified in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 105.

women were in the middle; they held their sacrificial paper streamers in both hands. They were dancing; they were leaping about. And the offering priests also danced. It was said: "They make the Toxcatl-leap."<sup>22</sup>

There were conical paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they had conical paper rosettes fastened to their foreheads. They decked their heads with white turkey feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips went gleaming. They had paper breechclouts. And their various grackle-staves had grackle feathers;<sup>23</sup> they were like their cups, and their round balls at the base were likewise of grackle feathers. The grackle-staves were also called their thrasher[-staves].<sup>24</sup>

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, went in procession. They went striking their grackle-staves [on the ground].

And only in the *calpulcos* were those who beat the drum for them. They were only seated. They beat only the upright drums; they sat rattling gourd rattles; they sat erecting gourd rattles; they beat turtle shells; they struck turtle shells; they sat using turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out elsewhere as they danced what is called the serpent dance.

And hence it went being called the serpent dance. It was because they went back and forth, they went from side to side, they met one another face to face, they went holding one another's hands as they danced.

And also a number of women, maidens, danced. It was their vow. They danced the popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they went placing on [the girls'] heads. They were painted. And to the thickness of their thighs reached where they were pasted with feathers; and it reached up to their shoulders. And they went with those who danced; they went mingling with them.

Of these it was said that they embraced; they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitoa toxcachocholooa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaque, moquaquapotonja iztac tototalivtica: yoan motetenne-cuvia tetentzotlantuij, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaiviti, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaiviti: no motocaiotia ycujtla-cuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tla-cujlollí: auh in iehoantin, hin, ynjc mjhtotia, tlaiaolooa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate eheoaticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujctoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchtí, cecnj manj in mjhtotia, moteneoa mococolooa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococolooa, iehica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mxnanimiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjhtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchtí, mjhtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatuij, moxaoa, yoan inmetztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjhtotia.

Jn iehoantin hin moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, quj-naoa in vitzilopuchtli:

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tambien los satrapas del templo, dançauan tambien con las mugeres, ellos y ellas baylâdo, saltauan: y llaman a este bayle toxcachocholooa, qujere dezir, saltar, o baylar de la fiesta de toxcatl." Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 298) translates *toxcachocholooa* as "se salta el salto de Toxcatl."

23. *tzanal*: *Cassidix palustris* (Swainson) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 50.

24. *cuñlacochin*: *Toxostoma curvirostre* (Swainson) in *ibid.*, p. 51.

And these maidens were very well guarded, that one might not covet them, that one might not joke with them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well guarded, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if any were seen joking with one [of the maidens], then the masters of the youths struck him to the ground. They dragged them; they kicked them; they stepped on them.

Because they punished them indeed in the temple; they indeed had done wrong. They said to them: "Indeed there penance is done; there a feast day is celebrated."

So night fell as there was dancing. Thus the feast day ended when the day came to an end.

And next morning, when [the feast day] was over, there also was dancing; there was also dancing of the serpent dance.

And at this time died Ixteucalc, he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him also they named Tlacauapan and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. His paper headdress had eagle feathers. His headdress was in disorder. Over the middle of his forehead a flint knife made of feathers was standing.

And also he had his cape of netting; over it there went hanging a small net bag, and his maniple went hanging from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast.<sup>25</sup> He went fastening [golden] bells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went erect at the head of the others.

And it was purely of his own will when he was to die. When he was to wish it, when he wished it, thereupon he delivered himself into the hands of those where he was to die.

Offering priests called tlatlacanaualti seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, cut open his breast. His heart they held up in dedication to the sun.

And his severed head also they strung up on the skull rack. In the same way he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head] was strung up [on the skull rack].

And just at this time the offering priests cut the skin on people; [with a stone knife] they cut the skin of youths, of young boys, and even verily small

auh in iehoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmā tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaosan, qujnujujlana, qujntitilicça, qujmiicça:

iehica in qujnmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlaaujlqujxtia, qujmjlhuja: ca vncan tlamaceoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtł, in ontzonquiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztłaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no necocololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucalc, ynin neoan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tıacavepā, yoan Tehicauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tıacujlollı, yn jamatlatquj, tezacpocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzonal: tecpatl iquanepantla icatiuh, tıapalihujtl ynic tıachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztıuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequaneoatl, oiooalli contlalıtıuh, tehoan mjhtotia, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iıllotıama, in quenman miquiz, in quēman connequiz, yn oqujnec, njman ie ic onmote-maca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujoalana in tıamacazque, motocaiotia, tıatlacanaoalti, qujtılınja, caana, queltetequj: { yn iıollo conjaulıa in tonatıuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no iuh tıantica yn iuh quauhçotica tıtlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tıamacazque, qujnpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpııl: yoan yn oc vel pııltoťotı, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quın-

25. Corresponding Spanish text: "tambien en vno de los braços, otro ornamento, de pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manípulo que se usa en la missa: a este llamauan ymatacax."

children who lay in the cradles. Thus they cut the skin on their stomachs, on their breasts, and on both sides of each on their upper arms and on their forearms.

This was done only at the time of Toxcatl, when it ended, each year; thus ended [the feast].

paxotla ymelpan, ymelchiqujppan, yoan nenecoc ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan:

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan toxcatl: apeoalco, cexiuhtica ic ontlatzonquiçã.