



Seventeenth Chapter.¹ Here is related a very good discourse of admonition, which served as rules of conduct, with which the ruler advised his sons. When they were already mature, already having attained discretion, he urged them to abandon all the evil, the bad;² and to take firm hold upon the duties of nobility, the duties of rulership, and all the good, the fine.

"Come, O my sons. Take heed, for ye are my sons; for I am thy mother, I am thy father, I who for a brief moment, for a short time bring about errors, mistakes for the city. And as I guard for the inhabitants, I do that which is laughable, which is folly. And I govern poorly on the reed mat, the reed seat, the place of honor of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"And here standest thou who art the oldest, the firstborn; and here art thou who art the second;³ and thou who followest; and thou who standest, who standest there, thou who art the youngest. Thus I weep, I am saddened, I am discontent when I reflect upon which one is my sluggard, which one my incoherent one.⁴

"And who will succeed? Who will show humility to our lord? Perchance yet one of you will gain as desert, will gain as merit, the realm, the governed. And perhaps not. Am I bringing it to a close? Is it perhaps all? Is it perhaps this way? Perhaps our lord,⁵ the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath declared it? The structure, my reed enclosure, which I put together, where I await the word of our lord, which was completed with difficulty, in misery — will it perhaps crumble, fall apart? Will the land be conquered? Will it become excrement here? Will it happen here? Will perhaps my glory, my renown disappear? Will I cause nothing of my memory to

Ic caxtolli omome capitulo, vncan moteneoa, cen-tlamâtli cenca qualli, tenonotaliztlatolli, nenemjli-ztilonj: injc qujnnonotzaia, ipilhoan tlatoanj: in jquac ie ixlamati, ie tlacaquj, qujntlaquauhmacaia, injc qujtlalcahujzque, in jxqujch in aqualli, in naiectli. Auh injc qujtlacuauhtzitzqujzque, in piltequjtl, in tlatocatequjtl: auh in jxqujch qualli iectli.

Tla xioalhuja nopiloane, tla xiccaqujcan ca ânopiloan ca namonan namota in nehoatl in cuel achic in nachicacaujtl in naiuhcaiuatl in naiuhtlâcaiuatl in njcchihujlia in atl in tepetl: auh in njqujntlapialia in naoaque in tepeoaque in veuetzcaiutl in chocholocaiutl njcchiaoa: auh in tlaxoxopeoalitzli njcchihujlia in tloque naoaque in jpetlapan, in jcpalpan, in jmahujzçocan.

Auh ca iz tica in titeach in tiacapâtli, auh ca iz tōca in titlacoieoa, auh in titlatoqujlia; auh iz tica ompa tica on in tixocoiutl, ic njchoca ic njtlaocuia ic njnentalamati in njqujlnamjquj ac ie in nomamjccatzin, ac ie in notēoacauh.

Auh ac ie in qujçaz in qujcnomatiz to°. cujx oc ce ameoã amōcnopiltiz, amomaceoaltiz in petlatl in jcpalli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, auh cujx noço amo? cujx ça nocōtzacutica cujx ie ixqujch, cujx ie iuhquj, cujx oqujmjalhuaj in tocujo in tloque in naoaque, cujx xinjz, cujx moiaoaaz in tlaieoalli, in nacatzaqualli in nonjccacalo, in vncan njctlatolchielia totecujo, in naiaxcaiotica in cococaiotica omoiecahuji: cujx tlalli tepeuhtiez, cujx vncan nemanahujloz, cujx ũcã iez, cujx polihujz, in notenio in nottauhca; cujx atle notlillo notlapallo njcauhtiaz, atle notenio nemjz in tlalticpac: cujx njnocēpolotiaz.

1. For an alternative translation of this chapter, see Angel María Garibay K.: *La literatura de los aztecas* (Mexico: Editorial Joaquín Mor-tiz, 1964: hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Literatura*), pp. 111-16.

2. Read *in aiectli*.

3. *titlacioieoa*: see Chap. 20, n. 1. In Chap. 17, the corresponding Spanish text refers to "el segundo."

4. *nomamjccatzin, noiōoacauh*: literally, "my dead-handed one," "my dry-mouthed one." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "alguno de vosotros, a de salir inutil, y para poco, y alguno a de salir de poca habilidad, y que no sepa hablar..."

5. *tocujo*: read *totecuyo*.

remain, nothing of my glory to continue on earth?
Will I cause my complete disappearance?

"Heed in what manner there is life on earth, in what manner compassion is secured of the lord of the near, of the nigh. It is only the weeper, the sorrower, who is required: he who sigheth, he who is anguished. And the devout one⁶ who showeth preference for, who welcometh, who giveth himself wholeheartedly, and who holdeth vigil for the sweeping, the cleaning, the ordering of things, is the pleasure of our lord; and he taketh care of, he taketh charge of the incense ladle, the offering of incense.

"In this manner there is entry near, nigh unto the lord of the near, of the nigh, where there is removing of secrets from his lap, from his bosom, and where he recognizeth one, showeth mercy to one, taketh pity upon one, causeth one to merit things, giveth one things. Perhaps he giveth one as desert, as merit, warriorhood — the eagle warriorhood, the ocelot warriorhood. There he taketh, there he recognizeth as his friend the one who addresseth him well, the one who prayeth well to him. He putteth him in charge of the military. In his hands he placeth the eagle vessel, the eagle tube.⁷

"This one becometh the mother, the father of the sun. He provideth those above us [and] those in the land of the dead with drink, with offerings.⁸ And the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors revere him; they make him their mother, they make him their father. [This] because in truth our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath said it, hath commanded it; not that [this one] hath done it himself, not that he hath arrayed himself.

"And perhaps he giveth him as desert, giveth him as a gift the realm, the governed. In his hand he placeth the blue water, the yellow water with which the vassals are bathed.

"And he placeth him to the left, he provideth him the obsidian sandals of the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, who resideth in the navel of the earth, who is set in the turquoise enclosure, [enclosed]

Tla xiccaqujca, quenjn nemoa tlalticpac, quenjn icnotlamachtilo, tloque naoaque: ca çan chocanj, tlaucuianj, moneq' elcicijhujnj, moteupoanj; auh tlaeumatinj qujxcauja qujcelia qujmotlaquauhmaca, yoan ixtoçoa in ochpanoaztli, in tlaucujcuiliztli, in chico, tlanaoac tlaujqujliztli, in juelmach in totecujjo: auh qujmocujtlahuja, qujmotequjtia ipan hiça in tlemaitl, in copaltemaliztli.

Ivihin, in jtloc, inaoac, necalaq'lo in tloç, naoaque: in vncan injc ixilan, in jtzoctlan maiaoa, auh in vncan teiximati, in vncan tetlaocolia, teicnoitta, tetlamaceoaltia, vncan tetlamamaca: aço oqujchiotl, quauhiotl, oceloiotl qujteilhujltia, qujtemaceoaltia; vncan cana, vncan qujximattia in jcnjuh, in uel qujnotza, in uel qujtlatlahutia, qujpacholtia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, imac qujmanjlia, in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztlia:

iehoatl tonatiuh inan ita muchioa: ieoatl teatlitia, tetlamaca in topã in mjctlan: auh ie acohujc, tlalchihujc qujtta in quauhtli in ocelutl qujmonantia, qujmotatia: ca nel oqujto ca oqujnaoati in tloque naoaque: ca amo moiucux, ca amo mochichih.

Auh anoce qujlhujltia, qujnemactia in petlatl, in jcpalli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj; imac q'manjlia in matlatl, in toxpalatl, injc altilo in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli,

copuchtia, qujtzcactia in teteu innã in teteu inta in tlalxicco onoc, in xiuhtetzaqualeo maqujtoc, in xiuhtotoatica mjxtzatzacujlitica in veve teutl in aiamic-tlan in xiuhtecutli:

6. tlaeumatinj: read tlateomatini.

7. Ibid.: en estos ejercicios, y en estas obras, conoce dios qujen [sic] son sus amigos, y qujen ora, con deuocion, y les pone en las manos, oficios, y dignidades de la millicia, para derramar sangre e la guerra o de la judicatura, donde se dan las sentencias. . . ."

8. Referring to topã in mjctlan, see *ibid.*: "los haze mañes, y padres de! sol, para que ellos le den a comer, y a beuer, no solamente al sol, que esta encima de nosotros, pero tambien a los dioses del infierno, que estan debaxo de nosotros. . . ."

with the waters of the lovely cotinga, enclosed with clouds — Ueuetotl, he of Ayamictlan, Xiuhteculli.⁹

“Perhaps he assigneth him [position] as Tlacatecutli, as a Tlacochteculli. And perhaps he giveth him some humble position of rule as merit, according as the positions are arranged in order; he maketh him one’s mother, one’s father, [positions] for which he is respected, revered. And perhaps he giveth him as desert, as merited, something which is quite precious, choice, of the rulership, of the government, such as what I now dream, what I see in dreams, which is not my desert, not my merit.¹⁰

“Perhaps our lord hath only taken me by mistake. Did I perchance array myself? Did I perchance do it on my own? Did I perchance say ‘May I be this’? For it is the word of our lord; for mercy, compassion, is the property, the possession, of our lord; it cometh from him. For no one sayeth in vanity ‘May I be this.’ For no one merely taketh the governed upon himself. For our lord createth for one, disposeth for one; he dealeth with one of his own accord.

“And hear more. For this I weep, for this I am anguished, for this I am saddened, for this I am unhappy at midnight, at the parting of the night. Wherever my heart goeth, it sinketh, it riseth. I am not satisfied with any one of you, for not any one of you pleaseth me. Here art thou, the oldest. But in vain art thou the oldest, in vain art thou the firstborn. What is it with which thou ledest? For yet only babyishness, childishness, appeareth with thee; for thou exhibitest nothing to show that thou art the oldest, the firstborn.

at tlacatecutli, at tlacochteculli ipan qujpoa auh at itla icnopetlatzintli, icpaltzintli qujmaceoaltia, injc motlatecpanjlia tenan, teta qujchioa, tlacamacho, acovic, tlalchivic itto. Auh anoce in çan tlaçoujtz, in çan tlaçoca in qujlhviltia, in qujmaceoaltia in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl: in axcan njctemjquj, njccoचितlea, in anolhvil, in anomaceoal,

at çan onechtlaneuj in totecujo: cujx njnochi-chiuh, cujx njnoiocux: cujx njqujto, ma ne, y. ca itlatoltzin in totecujo, ca tetlaocolilli, ca teicnoittaliztli: ca iaxcatzin, ca itlatqujtzin in totecujo, ca ytechcopa vitz: caiac çan qujmotenjtalhvica in ma nehoatl, yn, caiac çan qujmocujlica in tlatconj, in tlamalonj: ca moteiocolia ca moteimachilia in totecujo ca motenommatcavilia.

Auh ieh oc xiccaqujcan, ieh ynjc njchoca, ieh injc njnoteupoa, ieh injc njtlaocua, injc njnentlamati in tlaçiooan, in ioalli xeliuj, in canjn nemj noiollo, in temo, in tleco. Ca amo ce namechvelitta, ca amo aceme anechiolphachiviltia: yz tica in titeach, auh tzonon titeach, tzonon tiacapantli: catli injc tiacat-tiuh, ca çan noma pillotl, coneiotl, in motech neci: ca atle ticnextia, injc titeach, injc tiacapantli:

9. Similar passages are found in Chaps. 4 and 9. The corresponding Spanish text in Chap. 17 reads: “*que es el padre de todos los dioses, que reside en el alverque de agua, y reside ètre las flores, que son las paredes almenadas, enboelto entre vnas nubes de agua: este es el antiguo dios, que se llama aiamiclan, y xiuhteculli. . .*” The MS has been corrected by crossing out and substituting words; the original uncorrected part would seem to have read: “*que reside en el hogar, y reside ètre las flores açules [?], que son las llamas del fuego, esta entre [?] las [?] llamas açules, enboelto entre vnas nubes de foego [?] . . .*”

Garibay, in *Literatura*, p. 113, has thus translated the Nahuatl (versified): “*. . . Padre de los dioses, Madre de los dioses./ El que está en el centro de la tierra,/ el que está encerrado en encierro de turquesas,/ en el estanque de agua de color azul,/ el Dios Antiguo, de la Región de las neblinas de la muerte,/ el dios del Tiempo [Xiuhteculli].*”

Eduard Seler, in *Codex Borgia, eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Berlin, 1904), Vol. I, p. 119, translates: “*die Mutter der Götter, der Vater der Götter, der in dem Nabel der Erde wohnt, der in die türkisarbene Steinpyramide eingeht, mit dem türkisvögelfarbenen Wasser das Gesicht umschlossen hat, der alter Gott,—der Herr des Türkises (oder der blaue Herr) . . . Für das aiamiclan der oben angeführten Stelle bieten sich zwei Erklärungen: — Es kann a-yamiclan, ‘das Land wo man nicht stirbt,’ und es kann ayam-mictlan, d. h. ayauhmiclan, ‘das Land der Nebeltoeten,’ heissen.*”

We separate *mjxtzatzacujlitica* into the elements *mix-tzatzacujli-tica*. *Mixtli* is cloud, but if the element *mix-* is to be derived from *mixxotl*, *mixoyotl*, or *mixtecuaculli* (battlement), it would account for the “*paredes almenadas*” of Sahagún’s corresponding Spanish text. Seler, however, in *Codex Vaticanus*, Nr. 3773 (*Codex Vaticanus B*), *eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Berlin 1902), Vol. I, p. 108, suggests that the battlement is a representation of the clouds. Reading *m-ixtzatzacujli-tica* would favor Seler’s translation as cited above. For Seler (*Codex Borgia*, loc. cit.), *ayamiclan* can mean “*das Land wo man nicht stirbt*” or “*das Land der Nebeltoeten*.”

In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 323, Garibay defines *ayamiclan* as “*Prob. no ‘dominador de la región de los muertos,’ sino ‘el que está entre las nieblas del sitio de los muertos’ (Ayauhmiclan).*”

10. Corresponding Spanish text: “*O les da a merecer, alguna cosa preciosa, entre los senadores, y señores, como es el oficio, y dignidad, que agora, yo tengo, y uso, como soñado, y sin merecimiento mjo, no mirado nño señor, quam poco yo merezco. . .*”

"And here standest thou, thou who art the second; [and] thou who art the youngest. Thou hast only achieved being the second one. Thou hast only achieved being the youngest.¹¹ Dost thou depreciate thyself, dost thou fail for no reason? Our lord hath sent thee second, and [thee] last; wilt thou therefore depreciate thyself?"

"Listen. And what will ye do on earth? To what purpose were ye born by one's grace? For ye were born by the grace of our lords, the lords, the rulers who have already gone beyond to reside;¹² for ye came to life, ye were born not among the herbs, in the woods.¹³ And what are ye to do? Are ye diligent with the staff, with the carrying frame? Do ye deal exclusively with ridges, with ditches? And are ye diligent with herbs, with wood?"

"Hear ye: here is your task. Take care of the drum, the gourd rattle: ye will awaken the city, and ye will gladden the lord of the near, of the night. Therewith ye will seek his counsel, therewith ye will take from his lap, from his bosom; they are the prayers with which our lord is prayed to, the counsel with which one is counseled.

"And pay attention to artisanship, the art of feather working, the knowledge of things, that in time of suffering, when misery dominateth, [the artisanship] will be a rampart, a buttress,¹⁴ [so that] there is food, there is drink.

"And especially take care of the ridge, of the ditch. Plant and sow in the field. It will not be of thy doing, and thou wilt not grow the maize, thou wilt not nourish it.¹⁵ So went [saying] those who departed leaving you, the lords, the rulers, those by whose grace ye were born: they went caring for the ridges, for the ditches; they went planting in them. And they went sowing in the ridges; they went placing all [therein]. They went saying: 'Such [our ancestors] went giving us, such they went entrusting us.'

"They went saying: 'If thou dedicatest thyself exclusively to nobility, if thou plantest not in the

auh iz tica in titlacoea in tixocoiotl, ça cic titlacoea, ça cic tixocoiotl, çaçan timopopoloa, timotla-velcaoa? tlatlaco, auh tlacujtlapilco in mjtzoalioa totecujō: cujx yc timopopoloz?

Tla xiccaqujcan: auh tle amaizque in talticpac, ca nen tepaltzinco oanmotlacatilique, ca oinpal antlacatque in totecujōan, in ie nachca onmantiuj in tetcuti, tlatoque, ca amo qujltitlan, ca amo quauhtitlan in oaiolque, in oantlacatque, auh tle amaizque? cujx ie ytlān amonaquj in topilli, in cacaxtli: cujx ie anconjxcavia in cuemjtl, apantli: auh cujx ie itlan amonaquj in qujlitl, in quavitl?

xiccaqujcan izca in amotequjuh, xicmocujtlavican in vevetl, in aiacachtli, anqujxitizque in atl in tepetl: auh ancaviltizque in tloque, naoaque ic anqujtlatoltemozque, ic ixillan, ytozcatlan amamaivizque ca itlaitlanjliloca, ca itlatoltemoloca in totecujō.

Auh xicmocujtlavican tultecaiotl, in amantecaiotl, in tlaiximachiliziotl, yn jcocoiāia in ie timalivi in jcnotecpillotl, oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz, ca qualonj, ca ioanj:

auh oc cenca iehoatl, xicmocujtlavican in cuemjtl, in apantli, ipan xitlatocan: auh xontlatepeocan in mjlpān, ca amo mopān in iez: auh ca amo ticoapaoaz in tonacaiotl, ca amo tictlaqualtiz, ca iuh huj in amechcauhtivi, in jnpal anmotlacatilique, in tetcutin, in tlatoque, ca qujmocujtlavivivi, ca ipan tlatotivi, in cuemjtl, apantli: auh ca ontlatepeuhtivi in cuenco, muchi contlalitivivi: ca conjtotivi, ca iuh techonmacativivi, ca iuh techonpialtitivi:

ca conjtotivi: Intla xoconjxcavi pillotl, intlaca ipan xontlato in cuemjtl, apantli: tle tictequaltiz, auh tle

11. ça cic: read çañ acic.

12. onmantiuj: we derive this word from mani. Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 113, sees it as derived from ana.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mjad que no descendis de hortolanos o de leñadores..."

14. oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz: cf. Chap. 43.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "mayormente que tengays cuydado, de las cosas de la agricultura, porque estas cosas la tierra, las cria no demandan que las den de comer, o de beber, que la tierra tiene este cuydado de criarlas..." Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 114, thus translates the Nahuatl: "En la sementera sembrad y laborad: ¿no va a crecer por obra tuya y a medrar el maíz que tú has de comer?"

ridges, in the ditch, what wilt thou give one to eat? What wilt thou eat? What wilt thou drink? Where have I seen that one hath been sustained by nobility?

"Note that the sustenance really favoreth us. Who is said to have called, to have named the sustenance, our bones, our flesh? For it is our nourishment, our being; it is the walking, the moving, the rejoicing, the laughing. The sustenance giveth them life most truly it is said: one ruleth, one governeth, one conquereth. Where have I seen an empty-gutted one,¹⁶ a non-eater, who ruleth, who governeth? Where have I seen one without provisions who conquereth? Alone it is by sustenance that the earth endureth, that the world maintaineth life, that we replenish the world. The sustenance is our hope.

"And in the field plant the maguey, the nopal, the trees. The old men went saying [these] refresh the little ones. 'And thou, child, dost thou not also long for fruit? But how can it be there if thou dost not plant the field?'

"Behold, with this my words come to an end. Guard them with your hearts. Place them in the chambers of your hearts. Inscribe them in your hearts. Not many, not numerous are the words. Where, in truth, will we reach? How much, in truth, might we say? Here, in some manner, are just two words worthy of being guarded, worthy of being remembered, which they left as they went, gave us as they went, entrusted to us as they departed, bequeathed to us as they went.

(1) "The first word is to enter near to, nigh unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the master, the night, the wind. Give him all thy heart, thy body. Let thy feet go not astray. And do not presume, do not repeat something within thyself, do not blaspheme in thy defiance; for our lord seeth, heareth within wood, within stone. And truly Moyocoya, Moquequelo will wish something on thee.

(2) "The second word is to live in peace with others. Be not a fool. Do not pant. May all people have thy esteem, thy respect. Do not offend one because of something. And also do not rise up against one for something. Do not act imprudently; let whatever is said be said of thee. Let thyself be destroyed in the manner in which thou art to be destroyed; do not return in kind. Be not as a serpent. Do not act imprudently, do not rise up against one, do not blow

ticquaz, tle tiqijz: can nijqjttac pillotl ic omeuh, ic ococh:

xiccaqujcan in tonacaiotl, vel techcenmaceuh: ac mach qujto, ac mach qujtocaioti in tonacaiotl, in tomjo, in tonacaio, ca tonenca, ca toiolca: ca iehoatl in nenemj, ca iehoatl in molinja, ca iehoatl in paquj, ca iehoatl in vetzca, ca ieh in nemj tonacaiotl: cenca nel onmjtoa, tecuti, tlatocati, tepeoa: can onjqjttac acujtlaxcolcoionquj, atlaquanj tecuti, tlatocati: auh can onjqjttac aytaque tepeoa. Ca ce in tonacaiotl ic man jn tlalli, ic ioltimanj in cemanaoatl, in cemanaoac titentimanj, tocentemach in tonacaiotl:

auh xontlatepeoacan in mjlpan in metzintli, in nopaltzintli, in quauhtzintli: conjtotivi in vevetque, qujntlaceviliz in pipiltzintli: auh ticonepul, amo no toconelevilia in xochiqualli: auh quen, vncã, o, haxontlatepeoa mjlpan?

Izcatquj ic ontzonqujça in notlatol xicmoiollotica, xicmopialtican, amoiollocaltitlan xictlalican, amoiollo itech xiqujcuolocan: amjec, aixachin tlatolli, can nel tacizque, quexqujch nel tiqijtoanj: çan izcatquj, quen ontentli in pialonj, in neiollotilonj, in concauh-tiaque, in techonmacatiaque, in techonpialtiteoque in techcauhtivi.

Injc cententli: itloc, inaoac ximocalaqujcan in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, in tlatatl in iooalli in ehcatl: cenca xoconmaca in moiollo, in monacaio, ma nen chico ticquetz in mocxi: auh ma mjtic titlato, ma itla mjtic tiqijto, ma tichicotlato monexiuhtlatilco: ca quavitl, tecl yitic tlachia, tlacaquj in totecujo: auh ca nel moiocoia, ca moquequelo, ytle mopan qujoalmonequjltiz.

Injc vncamatl: yvian tetloc, tenaoac ximonemjti, maca xixtomaoa, maca xicica: ma muchi tlatatl mjttil, mjmamax: ma itla ic teixco, teicpac tinen: auh ma no itla ic teujc tehoa, ma atimotlatlamatcachiuh, ma xitolõ, quenjn titoloz, ma ça iuh xipolivin, quenjn tipoliviz, ma tictecuepili: in mahan ticoatl, ma atimotlatlamatcachiuh, ma tevic teoa, ma titehecativitz: çan motech xoconpacho, çan motech xoconmatelo, ca mjtztzticac in totecujo: ca ichoatl mjtzt-

16. Lit., with no opening in the intestines.

as a violent wind against one. Just press him to thee; show mercy; for our lord is watching thee. He will show anger on thy behalf; he will avenge thee. Just live; already thou art guided; already thou art arrayed.

(3) "The third word is: Do not waste time, and do not act uselessly on earth. Do not waste the night, the day; they are necessary for us even as our bones, our flesh, our strength, our sustenance. Sigh to, ask of our lord. And that which we hang from our necks, from our hips: ask it of our lord. Show forethought night [and] day. Do not be wasteful.

"Briefly, this is all with which I do my duty to you. Perhaps somewhere you will reflect; perhaps you will ignore it. Already you know that I have complied with my duty.

"And which one of you will profit? Thou who art the firstborn? Thou who art the oldest? Thou who art the second? Thou who art the youngest? Perhaps thou the sagacious one, perhaps thou the able one, perhaps thou the (so-called) divine-hearted, perhaps thou the divine-hearted person¹⁷ will grasp it, take it, cherish it, place it—inscribe it—in thy heart; for thou wilt profit by it, for thou wilt bless thyself, for thereby thou wilt live on earth."

motlaqualanjliz, ie motzoncujtzinoz. çan ximone-mjti ca ie tivico: auh ca ie tichichioalo.

Injc ecamatl: ma titlanemma, auh ma timonenema in tlaticpac, ma ticnenqujxti, in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl, in mache totech monequj, in tomjo, in tonacaio, in tochicaoaca in tonacaiotl xiquelcicivi, xiqujtlanjli in totecujto: auh iehoatl in toquechtlan, in toquezpan in toconpiloa, xiqujtlanjli in totecujto, xontlalhujo in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl: maca ximonenenciaoa.

O çan cuel ixqujch, y, ic njnoqujxtia in amovic: at cana ancontlatlaçazque, at anconahacaqujzque: ca ie amehoan anqujmati, ca onjnoqujxti:

auh ac te in tonmocneliz, cujx te in titeacapan, cujx te in titeach, cujx titlacocea, cujx noço tehoatl, in tixocoiotl: cujx te titlachixcatzintli, cujx te titlacacatzintli, cujx te (mjtoa) teutl moiollo, cujx te titlacateuiollocatzin, toconcujuj, toconanaz, ticmopialtiz, moiollo itech tocontlaliz, toconjujloz: ca tonmocneliz, ca timotlaocoliz, ca ic tinemjz in tlaticpac.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "como dizẽ seras adiujno, adiujno [sic] y entenderas los pensamientos, de los otros, y seras, como quien bele [sic] de lexos, las cosas, y las entiende: y las guarda, y escribe en su coraçon, sin dezirlas a nadie . . ."



Eighteenth Chapter.¹ Here it is related how the rulers admonished their daughters when they had already reached the age of discretion. Thus they urged them to prudence [and] virtue, public [and] private. They placed before them, revealed to them, the nobility, the government, the honor, that they should in no way blacken, dirty, discredit the lineage. Very good were the words with which they admonished them.

“Here art thou, thou who art my child, thou who art my precious necklace, thou who art my precious feather, thou who art my creation, my offspring, my blood, my color, my image. Now grasp, hear that thou hast come to life, thou wert born; that our lord of the near, of the nigh, the maker, the creator, hath sent thee to earth.

“And now that thou hast become knowledgeable, already thou observest how things are. There is no rejoicing, there is no contentment; there is torment, there is pain, there is fatigue, there is want; torment, pain dominate. Difficult is the world, a place where one is caused to weep, a place where one is caused pain. Affliction is known. And the cold wind passeth, glideth by. Most certainly on one the wind lesseneth the heat. And it is a place of thirst, it is a place of hunger. This is the way things are.²

“Hear well, O my daughter, O my child, the earth is not a good place. It is not a place of joy, it is not a place of contentment. It is merely said it is a place of joy with fatigue, of joy with pain on earth; so the old men went saying. In order that we may not go weeping forever, may not die of sorrow, it is our merit that our lord gave us laughter, sleep, and our sustenance, our strength, our force, and also carnal knowledge in order that there be peopling.

“All make life gay on earth in order that no one go weeping. And although it is so, although this is

Ic caxtolli omei capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in quenin tlatoque, qujnnonotzaia imjchpuchoan, in jquac ie ixtlamatia: injc qujntlaquauhmacaia in nezcaliliztli, in nemachiliztli in teixpan, in acanoçomo teixpan: { imjxpan qujtlaliaia, qujmjtitiaia in pillotl, in tlatocaiotl, in maviziotl: } in ma itla ic qujtlilloti, ic qujcatzauhti, ic qujçoloti in tlacamecaiotl: cenca qualli in tlatolli, injc qujnnonotzaia.

Ca njcan tonca, in tinopiltzin, in tinocozquj, in tinoquetzal, in tinotlacachioal, in tinotlatlacatililil, in tinezio, in tinotlapallo, in tinonejximachiliz: a axcan tla xiccuj, tla xiccaquj, ca otiol ca otitlacat: ca omjzalmjoalli in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in techioanj, in teiocoianj in tlalticpac.

An axcan ca ie timotlachialtia, ca ie titlachia injc iuhcan: ca amo avialo, ca amo vellamacho/ ca toneuoa, ca chichinaco, ca tlaciauoa ca vmpa onqujça, timalivin toneviztli, in chichinaqujztli: aiaxcan in tlalticpac, techochoctican, teellelaxitican, cococ teupouhquj macho: auh itztic, cecec, ehecatl qujztoc mopetzcotoc: nelli mach in tetch cecevi in tonalli, in ehecatl, auh amjcooaijan, teuciooia: { ça çan njman } ie iuhca, y,

yuh + ca
How

AYCCAN

vel xiccaquj nochpuchtze, nopiltze: haieccan in tlalticpac, amo pacoaia, amo vellamachoaia: çan mjtoa ciauhtapacoaia, chichinacapacoaia in tlalticpac, iuh conjtotivi in vevetque: injc amo cemjac tichocatinemjzque, injc amo titlaoculmjujzque in timaceoalti/ ichoatl techmomaqujli in totecujo, in vetzqujztli, in cochiztli: auh ie in tonacaiutl in tochicaoaca, in tçoapaoaca: auh iequene ie ichoatl in tlalticpacaiotl, injc nepixolo.

muchi qujvinti in nemjliztli in tlalticpac injc aiac chocatinemj. Auh maço iuhcan, y, maço nel ivi in

1. For other translations of the chapter, see Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 117-22, and Miguel León-Portilla: “Consejos de un padre náhuatl a su hija,” *América Indígena*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1961), pp. 339-43.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: “o hija mja que en este mundo, es lugar de lloros, y afliciones, y de descontentos, donde ay frios, y destemplaças de ayre, y grandes calores del sol, que nos aflige, y es lugar de hãbre, y de sed: esto es muy gran verdad, y por experiencia lo sabemos.”

the way of life on earth, is it perhaps therefore heard, is it perhaps therefore feared, is life perhaps therefore lived in weeping? For there is living on earth; there is one's becoming a lord; there is one's becoming a ruler; there is one's becoming a nobleman; there is one's becoming an eagle warrior; there is one's becoming an ocelot warrior. And who is saying that this is how it is on earth? Who is just yielding to death? For there is the doing of things; there is the providing of a livelihood; there is the building of houses; there is labor; there is the seeking of women; there is marriage; there is the marriage of women to men; there is the marriage of men to women.

"And now, O my daughter, hear it well, look at it deliberately; for behold, here is thy mother, thy noble one. From her womb, from her breast thou wert chipped, thou wert flaked.³ It is as if thou wert an herb, a plant which hath propagated, sprouted, blossomed. It is also as if thou hadst been asleep and hadst awakened.

"See, hear, and know how it is on earth. May thou live, may thou just live, may thou continue a little. In what manner wilt thou live? In what manner wilt thou continue a little? They say the earth is a dangerous place, a fearsomely dangerous place, O my daughter, O dove, O little one.⁴ Know that thou comest from someone, thou art descended from someone; that thou wert born by someone's grace; that thou art the spine, the thorn, of our lords who went leaving us, the lords, the rulers who already have gone to reside beyond, those who came guarding the realm, and who came giving fame, who came giving renown to nobility.

"Hear this. Especially do I declare unto thee that thou art a noblewoman. If thou wert only to esteem thyself as a precious person!—This, even though thou art a woman. Thou art a precious green stone, thou art a precious turquoise. Thou wert cast, thou wert perforated. Thou art blood, thou art color, thou art a spine, thou art a thorn. Thou art one's hair, one's fingernail, one's chip, one's flake. And so now I say to thee: dost thou perchance not yet⁵ take much heed? Dost thou perchance pile up earth, potsherds? Art thou perchance on the surface of the ground [as a child]? For already thou hearest a

juh tlamanj, y, tlalticpac: cujx ic caco, cujx ic ne-mauhtilo, cujx ic chocatinemoa, ca nemoa in tlalticpac, tecutioa, tlatocatioa, piltioa, quauhtioa, ocelotioa; auh aqujn ca qujtotica ca iuhcan, y, in tlalticpac; aqujn ca momjquziecotica, ca tlaaioa, ca nemjtilo, necaltilo, tlatequjpanolo: auh necioatlanjlo, nena-mjctilo, neucchotilo, tlapaliuhcatioa.

Auh in axcan nochpuchtze: tla vel xiccaquj, tla xiqujvianjtta: ca iz vnca in monantzin in motecuio-tzin, in jxillan, in jtozcatlanpa otitzicueoac, otitlapan: in mahan tixiuhtzintli, yn mahan tiqijltzintli: otioalixeoac, otixotlac, oticuepon: in mahan noce oticochia, otioalixac:

xitlachia, xitlacaquj: auh xitlamati, iuhcan, y, in tlalticpac, ma tinen, ma ca tinen, ma achi tictoca, quenj tinemjz, quen achi tictocaz, mach vel ovican in tlalticpac, tetzauh ovican nochpuchtze, cocotze, tepitze, xicmati, ca tetechcopa tivitz, ca tetechcopa otimoqujxti, ca otepaltzinco timotlacatili, ca tinvitio, ca timaoaio in totecujoan in techmocavilitivi in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmomanjltitivi, in oqujpiaco in petlatl, in jcpalli: auh in oqujteiotico, in oqujtauhcaiotico in pillotl.

Xiccaquj, tla ca cenca njmjtzmclavili ca tipilli, in tla can ximotta titlaçotli, y, maço ticioatzintli, tichalchivitl, titeuxivitl, tipitzaloc, timamalioac, teziotl, titlapallotl, tivitziotl, taoaiotl, titetzon, titeizti, titetzicueuhca, titetlapanca: auh injc axcan njmjtzilvia, cujx cenca aia ticmocaqujtia cujx nelli mach tlalli, tapalcatl ticololoa, cujx tlalli ixco tica, ca ie quentel-tzin timotlacaqujtia, timotlachialtia: ma can monevian tonmjçolo, ma y tla ic tiqujnmopinauhtili in totecujoan in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in techmocavilitivi: ma timaceoalti, ma timomaceoalqujxti:

3. *Ibid.*: "de cuyo vientre saliste, como una piedra que se corta de otra..."

4. *Ibid.*: "es menester que sepas como as de biujr, y como as de andar tu camjno, porque el camjno deste mundo, es muy dificultoso..."

5. *aia*: the MS may read *nia*.

little, thou beholdest a little.⁶ Do not, just of thy own accord, bring dishonor upon thyself. Do not in something cause embarrassment to our lords, the lords, the rulers who have gone leaving us. Do not be a commoner; do not lower thyself.

"Thus art thou to conduct thyself on earth among others, for verily thou art a little woman. Here is thy task which thou art to do/ be devout night and day/ (Sigh many times unto the night, the wind. Plead with, speak to, cry out to him, stretch out thine arms to him, especially at thy reclining place, at thy sleeping place./ Do not practise the pleasure of sleep; awake and arise promptly; awake with a start, at the parting of the night; support thyself on thy elbows, thy knees; arise promptly, make thy bow, incline thy head. Speak to, cry out to the master, our lord, to him of the night, the wind, for he rejoiceth to hear thee by night, and then he will show compassion to thee, he will give thee that which is thy desert, thy merit.

"And thy desert, thy merit, which thou wert given in the beginning, with which thou wert arrayed, into which thou camest to life, into which thou wert born: if it was not good, at this time it will be made good, it will be made favorable. [The master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will change it.]⁷

"And at night hold vigil, arise promptly, extend thy arms promptly, quickly leave [thy bed] soft, wash thy face, wash thy hands, wash thy mouth. Seize the broom: be diligent with the sweeping; be not tepid, be not lukewarm. [Wash the mouths [of the gods]; especially do not neglect the offering of incense, for thus is our lord petitioned; it is the means by which his mercy is requested.

"And when it is so, when thou hast made preparations, what wilt thou do? What wilt thou seize upon as thy womanly labors? Is it perhaps the drink, the grinding stone? Is it perhaps the spindle whorl, the weaving stick? [Look well to the drink, to the food: how it is prepared, how it is made, how it is improved; the art of good drink, the art of good food, which is called one's birthright. This is the property of — it belongeth to — the lords, the rulers.

yvin in timonemjtiz in tlalticpac, in tetloc, in tenaoac, ca nel ticioatzintli. Izcatquj in motequjuh in ticchioaz/ in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl xitlateumat/, mjiecpa ivictzinco xelcicivi in iooalli, in ehecatl/ xictlaitlanjli, xicnotza, xictzatzili, ivictzinco/ximaçoa:/ oc cenca in movetzian, in mocochoan, ma ca velic cochiztli xicchiuhcto, xiçateoa, ximocujtuetzi in iooalli xelivi/momolicpi, motetepon, ic xitlacça, ximeuhtiqujça: motolol momalcoch xicchioa, xicnotza, xictzatzili in tlatatl, in totecujõ: in ichoatzin in iooalli, in ehecatl, ca mahaviltitzinoa in iooaltica mjtzcaqujz: auh vncan mjtzcnoittaz, vncan mjtzmaz in tlein molhvil momaceoal.

Auh intlaca qualli, molhvil, momaceoal in iooaian timacoc, injc tâpanoc, in jpan tijol, in jpan titlacat: vncan qualtiaz, iectiaz, qujmocuepiliz in tlatatl, in totecujõ, in tloque, naoaque:

auh iooalli xiqujtztõ, ximeuhtiqujça, ximaçouhteoa, xipopoxiuhteoa, ximjxamj, ximomatequj, ximocamapaca, xicujtivetzi in ochpanoaztli in ochpanalli, itlan xaquj: maca xiïamanjxto, maca xitotonjxto, xitecamapaca:/ oc cenca ichoatl in tlenamactli, ma ticxiccauh, ca ic tlaitlanjlilo in totecujõ, ca itlaoculnonotzaloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otimocencauh: ca tlein ticchioaz, ca tlein toconcujtivetziz mocioatequjuh: cujx ie in atl, in metlatl, cujx ie in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli: vel xiqujtta in atl, in tlaqualli, in quenjn iecavi, in quenjn muchioa, in quenjn iectia: quenamj in qualli atl, in qualli tlaqualli, quenamj in mjtoa tetonal: inin ie ichoatl in jmaxca, in jntech pouhquj in totecujõ, in tlatoque, injc mjto moteneuh, tetonal, tlatoca tlaqualli, tlatoca atl, tecpillaqualli, mjmati

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "esto que te digo hija mja, bien lo entiendes porq̄ ya no andas amontonado la tierra, y burlando con las texuelas, y cõ la tierra con otras nñas: que ya entiendes, y tienes discrecion, y vsas de razon..."

7. Ibid.: "Y si por uentura ante del principio del mundo, te fue dada alguna sinjestra uentura algun hado contrario, en que naciste, orado, y haziendo penjencia, como esta dicho se mejorara, y nuestro señor dios lo abonara..." The phrase in iooaian — the time of darkness — is translated as "in the beginning"; the meaning can be appreciated in a passage in the account of the creation of the sun: "Mitoa, in oc iooaian, in aiamo tona, in aiamo ilathui" — "It is told that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken." Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," p. 4.

Thus it is called, it is named, one's birthright, the food of rulers, the drink of rulers, the food of noblemen, the choice drink, the choice food.⁸ Look with diligence, open well thine eyes, apply thyself well to how it is done, for thus thou wilt live and thus thou wilt acquire things, and thus thou wilt be loved, even if it is doubtful, undetermined where our lord assigneth thee.

"If perhaps already the misery of the nobility dominateth, look well, apply thyself well to the really womanly task, the spindle whorl, the weaving stick. Open thine eyes well as to how to be an artisan, how to be a feather worker; the manner of making designs by embroidering; how to judge colors; how to apply colors [to please] thy sisters, thy ladies, our honored ones, the noblewomen.⁹ Look with diligence; apply thyself well as to how heddles are provided; how leashes are provided, how the template is placed. Take care not to fail to know, not to lose through neglect, not to lose through carelessness.

"Now is the opportune time, and it is yet a good time. Thy heart is yet a precious green stone, yet a precious turquoise. It is still keen; nothing defileth it; it is still untouched, nowhere twisted, still virgin, pure, undefiled.

"And we are still here, we who have had great regard for thee. Wilt thou perchance say, thou who art our child, 'I make myself, I form myself'? It was our affair; we have suffered for thee; but thus the world endureth. Was it perhaps so ordained? For our lord declared, determined the propagation, the multiplication [of man] on earth.¹⁰

"We are still here; it is still our time. The club, the rock of our lord fall not yet. And not yet do we die, not yet do we perish. Take heed, O my youngest, O dove, O little one.

"When our lord hath hidden us, thou wilt live by the grace of others. The herbs, the wood, the strands of chili, the cakes of salt, the nitrous soil are not thy desert, not thy gift, [nor] art thou to frequent another's entrance, because thou art a noblewoman. Pay good attention to the spindle whorl, the weaving stick, the drink, the food.

atl, mjmatai tlaqualli: vel xommjxti, vel xonmjxtzaiana, vel xommopacho, in quenjn chioalo: ca ic timonemjtiz, auh ca ic timotlalpializ. Auh ic titlaçotiz, in tla ça nen hanciocol, cana mjzmpovili totecujó:

in at ie timalivi icnotecpillotl: auh ie iehoatl vel xiqujtta, vel xonmopacho, in vel ic cioatequjtl in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli: vel xonmjxtzaiana, quenjn tultecati, quenjn amantecati, quenjn tlatlamachicujloa, quenjn tlatlapalpoa, quenjn tlatlapalaquja, in mopitzitzioan, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujiooan, in civapipilti: quenjn nexiitilo, quenjn nequatzo-malo, quenjn neoctacatilo, vel xonmjxti, vel xonmopacho ma timonenma, ma timonencauh: auh ma timoxiccauh,

axcanpa qualcan: auh oc qualcan, ca oc chalchivtl, ca oc teuxivtl in moiollo, ca oc itztica, caiatle qujtlacoa, ca oc qujztica, ca aiacanpa itzcalivi, ca oc motqujtica, ca oc macitica, aiatle neneluhquj.

Auh ioan oc toncate in tehoantin in mache otimjtze-veipouhque: cujx ticmjtalhvia in titoconetzin ma njnochioa, ma njtlacati: ca tehoantin totlatlacul, ca tehoantin otimjztolinjque; ca tel yc tlaman jn tlat-ticpac, cujx iujtolo: ca oqujmjtalhvi, ca oqujmotl-lili in totecujó, in nexinacholoz, in netlapiviloz tlat-ticpac:

oc toncate, oc tomatian, oc ic aia oalvetzi in jquauh-tzin, in jtetzin totecujó: auh aiamo tonmjquj, aiamo tonpolivi, cenca tle ticmomachitia noxocoiove, cocotze, tepitzintle.

In otechtlati totecujó: ic tepaltzinco timonemjtiz, ca amo molhvil, ca amo monemac in qujlitl, in quavtl, in chilçolotl, in iztatapacatl, in tequjxqujtlat-zin tequjaoatlan ticquequetzaz ca tipilli, ie vel xonmjxti, yn, in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli, in atl, in tla-qualli.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "deprende muy bien a hazer la buena comjda, y buena beujda, que se llama comer, y beuer delicado, para los señores, i a solos ellos se da, y por esto se llama tetonal tlatocatlaualli, tlatocaatl, que qujere dezir comjda, y beujda delicada, que a solos los señores, y generosos les conviene. . ."

9. Ibid.: "para que digan bien, los que son señoras, y habiles, en esta arte. . ."

10. Ibid.: "yo y tu madre, tuujmos este cuydado, y te heximos, porque esta es la costumbre del mundo, no es invencion de alguno, es ordenacion de nuestro señor Dios, que aia generacion, por via de hombre, y de muger, para hazer multiplicacion, y generacion. . ."

"Perhaps there will happen that which is not conceivable, that which is not expressible. Someone will select thee, will speak for thee. If [thou art] unable in anything, how will it be? It will not for this reason be thrown in our faces. And if our lord hath hidden us, there will be no murmuring against us therefor in our absence; we will not be chidden therefor in the land of the dead. And thou wilt not move, thou wilt not separate condemnation from thyself.

"But if already thou payest attention to the same, wherefrom cometh the reprehension? To a purpose thou wilt glorify thyself by one's grace, thou wilt esteem thyself, thou wilt be proud. It is as if thou wert to be of the order of eagles, of the order of ocelots. Well art thou to assume thy shield;¹¹ may possibly all the little shields rest in thy hand.

"Also there, because of thee we will raise up our heads; thou wilt render us honor. But if thou dost nothing well, perhaps it will not be said of thee that thou art without lice. Seldom wilt thou bathe.¹² And which of the two ways will our lord wish for thee?

"Especially note that which I say to thee, that which I cry out to thee. Thou art my creation, thou art my child. Take special care that thou not dishonor our lords from whom thou art descended. Cast not dust, filth upon their memory. May thou not dishonor the nobility with something.

"May thou not covet carnal things. May thou not wish for experience, as it is said, in the excrement, in the refuse. And if truly thou art to change thyself, wilt thou become as a goddess? May thou not have quickly destroyed thyself. Yet calmly, with special care, present thyself well.

"If it so please our lord, if someone so will demand, will speak for thee, thou art not to reject, to kick away the spirit of our lord. Take him. Thou art not to refuse; thou art not to retreat twice, not to retreat thrice; thou art not to resist.

"Although we are the parents, and although thou art born of goodly parents, thou art not to over-esteem it; thou wilt offend our lord. For that he will pelt thee with dust, refuse, debauchery; [and] this same one will delude, will be capricious.

Iz a ça nen o, hanciol, aioc tlatencopa, aca mjtz-mapilhviz, motech tlatoz: intlacatle veli, quen nenti? amo ic tionalixmotlaloque: auh intla otechmotlatili totecujo, amo ic tonteputzcomonjloque, amo mic-tlampa ic tonaiozque. Auh in tehoatl: amo quavitl, amo tetl ticmolinjliz, motlan ticmjquanjliz:

auh intla ie vel xonmjxti, no vncan, o, can vitz teaujztli, amo cenca nen tepaltzinco timotitimalotiez, timjxpatlauhtiez, tahatlamattiez: iuhqujnma quappetlapan, ocelopetlapan tiez, vel ticmamantiez in mochimal, aceh in ma ixqujch teveveli in momac manjz:

no vncan o, mopaltzinco tioaltotzonteconacocujz-que, titechjxpatlaoaz: auh ie tla catle vel ticchioa, ach atitetemjtl, a ie te in mjtoa, aiachca timaltiz: auh tla ça quen mjtznequjlia in totecujo, in jpan jn ontlanmantli.

Oc cenca: izcatquj ic njmjtznotza, ic njmjtztzatzilia in tinotlacachioal, in tinopiltzin: ma cenca tle ticmati, ma tiqujmavilqujxti in totecujoan, in jntechpa timoqujxti, ma teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixo in jntlillo, in jntlapallo, in pillotl ma itla ic ticavilqujxti:

ma çan cuel tontlaelevi in tlatlicpac, ma çan cuel tontlamatiznec, in mjtoa, in cujtlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan. Auh tla nel timocuepaz: cujx titeutiz, ma ie timjciuhcapolo, oc moiolic, oc cenca moiolic, vel ximoquetza:

intla iuh motlamachitiz totecujo, intla aca, iuh qujmjtalhviz, motech tlatoz: ma tictlatlaz, ma tixopeuh in jhiiotzin totecujo: xicmacuj amo timocujliz: amo ontlacxioaz: amo hetlacxioaz, amo timocujcujlitiez:

in maço tehoantin in tipilhoaque, auh in maço tepaltzinco timotlacatili: amo ticpopouhtiez, ticmoliolitalcalviz in totecujo, ic mjtzmotlaz in teuhtli, in tlaçulli in avilnemjliotl: çan no iehoatl moqueque-loz, monenequjz:

11. *Ibid.*: "entonce con razō seras loada, y honrrada, y tēdras presumpcion, y te estimaras como si estuujeses, en los estrados de los que por sus hazañas en la guerra, merecierō hōrra: presumjras de la rodela como los buenos soldados..." For the meaning of *quappetlapan*, *ocelopetlapan*, see Chap. 43.

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si por uentura no hizieres nada bien, de lo que has de hazer, maltratarte ā, apalcarte an, y por ti se dira que con dificultad, te labaras, o que no tendras tiempo, para rascar la cabeza." On *titechjxpatlaoaz*, see Chap. 43.

"Do not trade, do not deal as if in the market place. And do not, as in the summertime, go selecting the best.¹³ Do not languish from desire. Howsoever he may be — perhaps truly upstanding or perhaps only in any manner — do not reject the one sent of our lord. If thou dost not consent thou wilt be ridiculed, for truly he deludeth, he will turn thee into a harlot.

"But meanwhile present thyself well, look well to thine enemy that no one will mock thee. Give thyself not to the wanderer, to the restless one who is given to pleasure, to the evil youth. Nor are two, three to know thy face, thy head. When thou hast seen the one who, together with thee, will endure to the end, do not abandon him. Seize him, hang on to him even though he be a poor person, even though he be a poor eagle warrior, a poor ocelot warrior, even though he be a poor warrior, or a poor son, or one who struggleth for existence. Do not detest him therefor. Our lord, the wise one, the maker, the creator, will dispose for you, will array you.

"This is all I give thee of my word to comply with my duty unto, before our lord. Perhaps somewhere thou wilt reject it. Thou knowest it. Meanwhile, I do my duty. O my daughter, O my child, O dove, O little one, pay close heed. May our lord rest thee in peace."

in ma çan tianqujzco, ma titlapatla, ma titlatennotz: auh in ma çan xopan, ma timotlatlatili, ma tihiculmjc: in quenamjcatzintli in at vel ihicac, in at noço çan quenamjcatzintli: ma ticmaxopeuh, ma iehoatl, ca itlaoaltzin in totecujō: intlaca xocia moca onmaviltiz, ca nel moquequeloā, mjtzonavianjcuepaz.

Auh iece vel ximoquetza, vel xiqujtta in moiaouh, amo ac moca maviltiz: amo ticmomacaz in anenquj, in qujqujça, in mahaviltia, in telpuchtaveliloc: amo no omē, ey, mjcō, mocpac matiz: in otiqujtac yn aqujn amjoan, amoneoan anmopolivitzque: ma ticcauh xictzitzquj, itech ximopilo, ma nel icnotlacatl, ma nel icnoquauhtli, icnoocelutl, ma nel icnotiacauh, in anoço icnotepiltzin, in aço ie tlaciauj, ma ic tiqujhix: ca amechmjmachiliz, amechmochichiviliz in totecujō, in tehimatinj, in teicoioianj, in techichioanj.

O yxqujch in in njmjtzonmaca, in noten, in notlatol: injc ivictzinco, ixpantzinco njnoqujxtia in totecujō: aço cana tocontlatlaçaz, ca ie tehoatl ticmati: iece ca nonequjxtil njcchioa. O nochpuchtze, nopiltze, cocotze, tepitze, tle ticmatcatzintli, ma mjtzmotlamatcatlalili in totecujō.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mija que no escoias entre hombres, el que mejor te parece, como hazen los que vā a comprar, las mantas al tianquez o mercado...."



Nineteenth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the father had spoken, the mother then replied. And with very tender words she told her daughter to guard well, to place well within her, the words of her father; to consider them as precious, as costly. And she told her how to live well, how to present herself, how to speak, how to look at one, how to walk, and how not to interfere in another's life, and how not to abuse another. This discourse especially should be memorized, if it is to be used for instruction, for it is a very good discourse; but that which is not necessary is to be changed. It is especially useful for the youths, for the maidens.

“O dove, little one, child, my daughter, thou hast taken, thou hast grasped the spirit of thy child,¹ the master, thy lord. Thou hast taken the incomparable, the ungivable, which lieth inert, which lieth folded on his lap, in his breast.² But thou art not mistaken for another, for thou art the blood, the color, the reflection of the master. Although thou art a woman, thou art his image.

“And of this, what more shall I say? What more shall I tell thee? In what manner shall I yet offer to thee? For his words are ended; for he hath everywhere caused thee to live well, for he hath everywhere brought things to thee. Nothing hath he left out.

“And I say only this; I do my obligation. Nowhere reject the spirit, the words of thy lord, for they are precious, wonderful; for only as precious things do the spirit, the words of our lords come forth. For they are the words of rulers; for they are considered as precious green stones, as round, reed-like precious turquoises.

“Take them, guard them, place them by thy heart, inscribe them on thy heart. If thou art to live, with

Ic caxtolli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn iquac oontlato teta: njman iehoatl tlananjliaia. in tenantzin: auh cenca iamancatlatoltica qujlviaia in jmjchpuch, injc vel qujpiaz, injc vel ijtic qujtlaliz, in jtlatol in jtatzin: vellaçotli necujltonolli ipan qujmatiz. Auh qujlviaia in quenjn vel nemjz, in quenjn moquetzaz, in quenjn tlatoz, in quenjn teittaz, in quenjn nenemjz: auh in quenjn amo qujmocujtlaviz in tenemjliz: ioan in quenjn amo techicoitoz. Injn tlatolli oc cenca vel neiollotilotilozquja, intla ic temachtilonj, ca cenca qualli in tlatolli: tel mocuecuezaz, in tlein amo monequj: cenca intech monequj in telpupuchti, in jchpupuchti.

Hotzin cocotzin, tepitzin, conetzin, nochpuchtzin: ca otoconmocujli, ca otoconmanjli yn ihijotzin in moconetzin. in tlatatl in motecujotzin: otoconcuje in anemjuhquj, in atemaconj, yn jxillantzincó, in jtozcatlantzincó cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc: ca tel amo mjtzmotlanevilia, ca tiezio, ca titlapallo, ca tineiximachiliz in tlatatl: maço ticioatzintli, ca tixiptla.

Auh injn tlein oc njqujtoz, tlein oc njmjtzilhviz: quen oc mach ie amj in njmjtzmacaz, ca oontlatatlan yn jtlatoltzin, ca onovian mjtzonmonemjtli, ca onovian mjtzonmahaxitli, caoctle oqujmocavitzino.

Auh injn, çan jxqujch noconjtoa, nonequjxtil njcchioa: ma cana toconmotlatlaxilili in jhijotzin, in jtlatoltzin motecujotzin: ca tlaçotli, ca maviztic: ca çan tlaçoqujça in jmjhijo, in jntlatol totecujóan: ca nel noço tlatocatlatolli, ca iuhqujn chalchivitl, ca iuhqujn teuxivitl ololivic, in acatic ipan momati:

xiccu jxicmopialti, moiollo itech xictlali, moiollo itech xiqujcujo: intla tinemjz, iehoatl ic titlacazcal-

1. The father is meant. Reference to the father as *moconetzin* is somewhat clarified by an analysis of forms of address in Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung des alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf*, Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, V, ed. Gerdt Kutscher (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), pp. 3-4. — Carochi, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, p. 408, notes that “*Las mugeres no usan desta e. en el Vocativo, pero leuantan mucho la postrera syllaba...*”

2. Corresponding Spanish text: “*as oydo las palabras preciosas, y que raramente se dizen, nj se oyen: las quales an procedido de las entrañas, y coraçon en que estauan atesoradas...*”

them thou wilt instruct, thou wilt indoctrinate [thy] children. Thou wilt give them to others; thou wilt tell them to others.

“And behold a second word which I give thee, which I say to thee, my child, little one. Look to me, for I am thy mother. I carried thee for so many months. And when they were ended I was lulling [thee] to sleep. I was laying thee in the cradle; I was placing thee on my thigh. And certainly with my milk I gave thee strength.

“Thus I say this, for we are thy mothers, we are thy fathers who speak to thee, who cry out to thee. Take our words; grasp them, guard them. In order that thou wilt live prudently, thou art not to clothe thyself [excessively]. Thou art not to place on thyself finely worked clothing, replete with design, for it achieveth gaudiness. Nor art thou to take rags; thou art not to place on thyself the goods, the property of the vassals, for it achieveth ridicule. In moderation art thou to clothe thyself, not in gaudiness, in vanity.

“And thy speech is not to come forth hurriedly. As thou art to speak, thou art not to be brutish, not to rush, not to disquiet. Thy speech is to come forth in tranquility and with gentleness. Thou art not to lift up nor to lower much [thy voice]. As thou art to speak, as thou art to address one, as thou art to greet one, thou art not to squeak. Thou art not to murmur. Straight forward is thy speech to come forth; in medium voice is it to come forth; nor art thou to make it fanciful.

“And when thou art to travel [do it] also prudently. Thou art not to travel in great haste, nor art thou to amble; for [to amble] achieveth pompousness; [haste] meaneth restlessness. Thou art to go deliberately; thou art only to move thy feet along the road. But when thou findest it necessary, go swiftly, use discretion. Jump at thy jumping place in order that thou wilt not become a fat one, an inflated one.

“And as thou art to go, as thou art to travel the road, as thou art to come upon the road, thou art not to bow thy head, nor art thou to raise thy head in pride; it meaneth ill-breeding. Thou art to go straight forward. Also, thou art not to act shamefully, nor to cover thy mouth. In no way art thou to stare, nor to appear like a firefly. Travel with utmost tranquility. And go, follow the road, with utmost tranquility.

tiz, ic titlacaoapaoaz, tictemacaz, ticeilhviz.

Auh izcatquj ic oncamatl, njmjtzmaca, njmjtzilvia noconetzin, tepitzin: xinechitta ca nehoatl in njmnan, in onjmjtzitqujc in quezquj metztli: auh in omotlan njcochiaiaticatca, in onjmjtzcocoçoltecac, in onometzpan njmjtztlatlalicatca: auh in quemeca naioiotica onjmjtznotetzavili:

ic njqujtoa, yn, ca timonanoan, ca timotaoan in timjtznotza, in timjtztatzilia: ma xicuj, ma xicana in totlatol, ma xicmopialti. Injc timonemjtiz, çan nematquj, amo motech tictlaliz: amo motech tictlaliz in tlamachio, in moca tlamachtli, ca topallotl caci: amo no ie motzotzotzoma ticcuju, amo motech tictlaliz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jaxcatzin, in jtlatqujtzin, ca tlaquequeloliztli caci, çan ipan qualli in motech tictlaliz; amo ie in topallotl, in xancaiotl.

Auh in motlatol: amo yciuhca qujçaz, amo timjtonjz, amo timjcilviz, amo timamanaz injc titlatoz: çan moiolic, auh çan yiolic qujçaz in motlatol: amo ticacocujz, amono cenca tictlalchitlaçaz: amo tipipitczaz injc titlatoz, injc titenotzaz, injc titetlapaloz: amo tiqjujntlatoz, çan vel melaoac qujçaz in motlatol, tlanepantla qujçaz, amo no tictlatlamachiz.

Auh in monenemjliz iez: çan no nematquj: amo cenca ticxitotocaz, amo no cenca çan tiaiatiaz: ca tlaquecinoliztli caci, ca cuecuetziotl qujtoznequj: çan ijolic in tiaz, çan oiaticaz in mocxi: auh ma no iecen ticcuju, in jmonecian xititzicujcatinemj, ximocâcaquj, hamocholoaian, in xicholo: injc amo teti-capul, tixocotexpul timocuepaz.

Auh injc tiaz, injc totlatocaz, injc vtli ticnamjqujz: amo titoloz, amo no taquetzaz: ca anezcalicaiotl, qujtoznequj: çan vel titlamelauhcaicatiaz, amo no tipipinaoaz, amo no timotetenqujmjloz, amo quecin titlatlachiaz, amo no tixoxotlamatiz: cenca moiolic in xinenemj, auh cenca moiolic in xiauh, in xotlatoca.

"And next behold, in truth thou art of the nobility. As thou art to go, thou art not to look here and there, not to look from side to side, not constantly to look upward, nor art thou to be a hypocrite.³ Nor art thou to put hatred in thine eyes; thou art not to put hatred in thy face. Look joyously at everyone. And also, that no one will have occasion to despise thee, put anger in the spirit at the proper time. And behold, never concern thyself with words; let what is said be said. Do not speak with others; pretend that thou dost not hear it. With thee will the words end.

"And never long for, never desire the color, the cosmetics, the darkening of the teeth,⁴ the coloring of the teeth, the coloring of the mouth; for they denote perverseness, they mean drunkenness. That is the property of the restless ones, the dissolute ones, the evil women; that is the domain of those who have become drunk, those who have wasted the earth; that is the work of those who go drinking, who go eating jimson weed; that is the way of life of those who go drinking crude pulque. These are the ones called harlots.

"But in order that thy helpmate will not hate thee, pay attention to thyself, bathe thyself, wash thyself, but only when necessary, lest it were to be said of thee, lest thou wert to be called Tepepetzton,⁵ Tinemachxoch.⁶

"Behold the road thou art to follow. In such a manner thou art to live. Thy lords, our lords, the noble women, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones reared us in such a manner as this. Did they perhaps leave so very much? For they gave one, they left, they said only a word; few were their words. Take heed. On earth it is a time for care, it is a place for caution. Behold the word; heed and guard it, and with it take your way of life, your works. On earth we live, we travel along a mountain peak. Over here there is an abyss, over there is an abyss. If thou goest over here, or if thou goest over there, thou wilt fall in. Only in the middle doth one go, doth one live."

"Place this word, my daughter, dove, little one, well within the chambers of thy heart. Guard it well.

Auh njman ie izcatquj ca nel titecpiltzintli: injc tinemjz, amo avic titlachiaz, amo tinanacaztlachiaz, amo mxjquatitlanpa titlatlachiaz, amo no ie titoloxochton tiez, amo no tictlatlavellaliz in mjxtelolo: amo tictlavelmanaz in moxaiac, muchi tlatcatl xicpac-caitta: auh in no ieh ic aiac moxictiz, in jmonecian xictlavelmana in jhijotl. Auh izca ioan, ma ica timotlatolcujcujtlavi, ma ie itolon, tlein itolo: maca tehoan xontlato, maca no xicmocaccanenequj: te motech ontzopiz in tlatolli.

Auh ma ica tiquelevi, ma ica ticnec in tlapalli, in nechichioalli, in tlamjaoalli, in netlantlapalviliztli, in necamatlapalviliztli: ca anencaioltl qujnezcaiotia, ca yvintiliztli qujtoznequj: hanenque, cucuehti, cioatlavilloque intlatquj o: oyvintique, oqujpoloque tllali imaxca o: mxjxtil, tlapatl qujtinemj, qujquatinemj ynteq'uh o: xoxouhcaoctli qujtinemj innemjliz o: in mjtoa avianjme.

Auh injc amo mjtzihiiaz in motlavical: ximocenmati, ximalti, ximopâpaca: çã tel iquac in monequj, injc amo tilhviloz, titocaiotilo tapetpetzton, tinemachxoch.

O izcatquj in vtli tictocaz, ^{Live} ivin tinemjz, y: ivijn yn otechmozcaltilitiaque, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujoan in cioapipilti, in jlamatlaca in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: cujx cenca ixqujch qujcaoia in, ca çan cencamatl in qujemacaia, in qujcaoia, in qujtoia ca çan ie ixqujch intlatol. Xiccaqujca: nemachpan, nemachiocan in talticpac: izca tlatolli xiccaqujca, auh xicipiaca: auh itech xicanaca in amonemjliz, in amotlachioal. Tlachichiqujco in tivi, in tinemj talticpac, njpa centlanj, njpa centlanj, intla njpa xiauh, intla noce njpa xiauh, vmpa tonvetziz: çan tlanepantla in viloa, in nemoa.

Injn tlatolli nochpuchtzin, cocotzin, tepitzin: vel moiollocaltitlan xictlali, vel xicipia, ma tiqujlcauh:

3. titoloxochton: "Tiene ojitos floridos, fr. prov. para indicar la hipocresia..." Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 358. The Spanish text does not quite correspond: "no...yras mirando al cielo, nj tâpoco yras, mirando a la tierra..."

4. tlamjaoalli: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 147.

5. Tapepetzton: "Tapepetzon. — Fr. prov. 'Eres perlita de agua.'" Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 352.

6. Tinemachxoch: "Tinemaxoch. — Fr. vbl. 'Eres un ramito de flores.'" *Ibid.*, p. 358.

Do not forget it; for it will become thy torch, thy light, all the time thou art to live on earth.

"Behold yet another thing with which I end my words. If thou art to live, if thou art to continue a little on earth, do not anywhere be friendly by means of thy body, my youngest one, child, dove, little one. Do not anywhere give thyself wantonly to another.

"If still thou hast not been good, if already thou art a woman [and] somewhere thou hast been asked for, never wilt thou be at peace with another, for it will always be remembered of thee; it will always cause thy misery, thy torment. Never wilt thou achieve peace, never tranquility. Thy helpmate, thy husband, will always suspect.

"My youngest one, dove, if thou art to live on earth, do not know two men. And heed it well, guard it well as thy stern commandment: if somewhere thou art dependent upon one, see to it that thou do not presume in something, see to it that thou be not haughty. Let thyself not have allowed thy heart the evil of directing itself elsewhere. Never at any time abuse thy helpmate, thy husband. Never at any time, never ever betray him; as the saying is said, do not commit adultery."

"This, my youngest, my daughter, is the endless, the bottomless [pit] on earth; there is no more a return, there is no more a cure. If it becometh discovered of thee, if it becometh known of thee, thou wilt be cast on the road, thou wilt be dragged on the road, thy head will be crushed with a stone, thy head will be fractured. It is said thou wilt test the stone; thou wilt be dragged. Because of thee fear will fall, because of thee there will be fear.

"And then thou wilt provide them a glory, thou wilt provide them a renown!⁸ — Thou wilt go dishonoring our lords, the lords, the rulers by whom thou art of noble birth, through whom thou art descended. Thou wilt cast dust, refuse upon their memory. Thou wilt disgrace them. There, memory of thee will perish. No more wilt thou be recognized. Of thee it will be said, thou wilt be called, thou wilt be named: "Thou who liest in the dust."⁹

"And take heed: even if none see thee, even if thy helpmate, thy husband, see thee not, take heed, for the lord of the near, of the nigh, seeth thee. He will

ca iehoatl moçouh motlavil muchioaz, in jxqujch cavitl timonemjtiz tlalticpac.

Izca oc centlamantli, ic nocontzonqujxtia in notlatol: intla timonemjtiz, intla achi tictocaz tlalticpac: ma nen cana ic ticnjuhti in monacaiotzin noxocoiouh conetzin, cocotzin, tepitzin, ma cana iliviz timotemaca:

intlaca oc tiiectli, intla ie ticihoatl, cana xitlano: ca aic ivian tiez in tepaltzinco: ca muchipa tilnamjqujliloz, muchipa monetolinjliz, motlaihijoviliz muchioaz: aic ivian, aic tlacaco ticchioaz, muchipa chico-tlamatiz in motlavical, in monamjc:

nj noxocoiouh, cocotzin intla tinemjz tlalticpac: ma vme oqujchtli mjxco, mocpac ma: auh njzca vel xiccaquj, vel xicpia, vel motepitznaoatil. Intla ie cana tepaltzinco timoetztica: ma nen itla mjtic tiqujto, ma nen itla mjtic ticiocux: ma oc ticahavillacanec in moiollo, ma oc nen canapa itzcaliuh: ma ica, auh ma queman ica timoquavitec in motlavical, in monamjc: ma nen ica, ma nen queman ipan tia, in juh mjtoa tlatolli: ma tictlaxin.

Injn noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin icentlanca, icenonqujzca in tlalticpac: aoc tle ycuepca, aoc tle ipaio: intla tittoz, intla timachoz, ca vtlica tivetztoz, ca vtlica tivilantoz, vtlica tiquatetzotzonaloz, tiquatepitzinjliz: mjtoa, tetl ticiecoz, tivivilanoz: moca maviztli vetziz, moca nemauhtiloz:

auh njman ie tiqunjteiotiz, tiqumjtaucaiotiz, in quatla tiqumantinemjz, in totecujoan in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in jnpaltzinco timotlacatili, in jntechcopa timoqujxti: teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixoz in jntlillo, yn jntlapallo, tiqumavilqujxtiz vncan onpopoliz in motlillo, in motlapallo aocmo tinecujtiloz: mopan mjtoz, titenealoz titocaiotiloz: Teuhtitlan tactoc.

Auh xiccaquj: intlacanel ac mjtzitta, intlaca mjzitta motlavical, in monamjc: xiccaquj ca mjtzitta in tloque, naoaque: iehoatl moqualanaltiz, iehoatzin

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*mjra que en njngun tiempo, nj en njngun lugar le hagas traycion, que se llama adulterio...*" A personal communication from the late Mons. Garibay K., Apr. 3, 1966, expands upon the meaning of *ipan tia* in this connection.

8. The context and the corresponding Spanish text suggest that this phrase should be in the negative.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "*de ti se dira el refran: que fueste enterrada en el poluo, de tus peccados.*"

become angered, he will awaken the anger of the common folk, he will take vengeance. For thee he will require that which he will desire, perhaps paralysis, or blindness, or rottenness. And thou meritest thy tatters, thy rags; there will come extreme privation, for verily thou hast abused the common man [thy husband]. Perhaps then [our lord] will trample thee underfoot, will hide thee, will send thee to our common home, the land of the dead.

"And the master, our lord, is a merciful one. [But] if thou hast acted, if thou hast done it, if thou hast betrayed thy helpmate, and [even] if the lord of the near, of the nigh, doth not make thee known, no longer wilt thou be in peace, no longer wilt thou live in peace. Our lord will inspire the man; he will just ever be in anger; it will increase.¹⁰

"And this, my youngest one, my daughter, child, little one: live in calm, in peace on earth, if thou art to continue for a while. Do not with anything dishonor thyself. And do not with anything raise up the heads of thy lords, the rulers from whom thou art descended.¹¹ And as for us, may we through thee gain glory; may we gain renown.

"Pay heed, my youngest one, my daughter, little one. Enter with our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

qujmotlaqualanjililiz in maceoalli, ichoatzin motzoncujtzinoz: mopan qujoalmonequjltiz, in tlein qujmonequjltiz: aço cocototztli, aço ixpopoiotl, aço palanaliztli: auh motzotzoma, motatapa ticmaceoa, vmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac: ca nel oica timoquavitec in maceoalli: anoce njman mjtzonmocxipachilviz, mjtzonmotlatiliz, mjtzonmjoaliz in tochenchan in mjctlan.

Auh ca icnooacatzintli, in tlacatl, in totecujto: intla otax, intla oticchiuh, intla oipan tia motlavical: auh intlacamo njman mjtmonextili tloque, naoaque aoc ic yvian tiez, aoc ic yvian tinemjz: qujiollotiz in totecujto in oqujchtli, ça quaqualanjz, tlatlaveaz.

Auh injn noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, conetzintli, tepitzin: ma ivian ma iocuxca, tonmonemjtz in tlalticpac: intla achi ticmotoqujliz: maca tle ic tonmjçoloteoz: auh maca tle ic tiqujmontzonteconacocujz in motecujoan in tlatoque, in jntechpa timoqujxti: auh in tehoantin, ma mopaltzinco tontenioazque, tonjtauhcaioazque:

tle ticmatcatzintli noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, tepitzin: ma itlan ximocalaquj in totecujto, in tloque, naoaque.

10. *tlatlaveaz*: read *tlatlaveyaz*. Corresponding Spanish text: "y el prouocara a tu marido, que siempre este enojado contra ti, y siempre te hable con enojo."

11. *Ibid.*: "mjra que no ensuzies la honrra, y fama de nuestros señores antepasados: de los quales vienes..."