

## LOS TRATADOS DE HERNANDO RUIZ DE ALARCÓN

*A COMMENTARY UPON*

### EL CONJURO PARA CAZAR VENADOS

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Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón was the parish priest at Atenango del Río in the Taxco area in the early part of the seventeenth century. Of all the spells, the texts of which he collected sometime between 1629 and 1637 in Morelos and north eastern Guerrero, that for hunting the deer is by far the longest and it contains particularly interesting material. It occupies eight pages in the edition which Navarro issued in 1953. Incidentally, nowhere in this spell does such a word as **Mazatl** occur nor is there any other word which has a direct bearing on hunting or on deer. Alarcón expressly tells us how he procured a copy of the text in writing. The fact that the text had been transmitted in writing has to be remembered when we consider the sort of corruptions which could have occurred.

Durán, writing some fifty years before Alarcón, remarks at the end of his account of the festival of **Quecholli**,

Estos conjuros andan escritos y los he tenido en mi poder y pudiéralos poner aquí, si fuera cosa que importara. Pero, además de no ser necesario en nuestra lengua española, vueltos, son disparates, porque todo se concluye con invocar cerros y aguas y árboles y nubes y sol y luna y estrellas, ... Lo cual no se ha entre ellos olvidado.

This confirms that after the conquest it was a general practice among the Indians to preserve in writing so much as they could of the old religious formulas. We may therefore assume that the spells which Alarcón collected reflect at least something of the ancient rituals.

It is interesting to note that Durán here makes the point that in translation the spells become meaningless ("En nuestra lengua española vueltos son disparates"). For the most part we can do no more than comment on the text which often consists of strings of obscure allusions.

Alarcón gives us a translation and we must assume that it reflects what his informants told him but we cannot know how far he edited it. This translation, however, can seldom be relied upon and is often patently wrong. It is clear that the informants were ignorant of the meaning of many of the words and put interpretations upon them designed only to fit in with their accustomed actions in the hunt. The texts had been transmitted in writing for some hundred years by people who, as Alarcón explains, were often scarcely literate. They were country people who could not have been familiar with the ancient words by which they were confronted. We can only imagine in what state the document must have been which Alarcón's servant purloined from the pocket of someone who had left his clothes on the river bank while bathing. In all these circumstances we need to study any possible emendations when the text seems otherwise to lack any meaning.

We may return to Durán who tells us, again in connection with **Quecholli**, something which throws a little light on Alarcón's spell.

Los sacerdotes de este ídolo enseñaban a la gente popular unos conjuros para conjurar la caza ... También les mandaban que, antes de salir de casa, sacrificasen al fuego y le hiciesen oración ... y, en llegando a los montes, que los saludesen ... Finalmente, hacían una invocación general de todas las cosas del monte, haciendo promesa al fuego de le sacrificar, asando en el, la gordura de la caza que prendiesen (Durán, 1967, p. 79, No. 38).

Alarcón tells us a somewhat similar story. The first order of the day was to decorate and sweep the house and to get ready tobacco (**Piciete**), fire and lasso cords. The first part of the spell was then recited, and then, before leaving the house, the lasso cords were fumed with incense. After that the people went to the

hunting fields where they prepared a ceremonial space. More of the spell was then recited and when that was finished they set out to find the deer, using a short formula to call up the deer. Then they awaited the appearance of the deer and in the meantime recited the final section of the spell.

The text as shown in the printed editions is divided into paragraphs but for detailed study it is necessary to break it down into smaller sections. This arrangement is arbitrary and does not derive from any authority in the text. The structure of the spell, as the present writer sees it, is as follows,

I. Invocation of **Picietl**, **Tlaltecuintli** and **Ce Tochtli Tezcatl** (Sections 1 and 2)

A hymn in honour of **Mixcoatl** (Sections 3 to 8)

A liturgy of Fire Worship (Sections 9 to 15)

A hymn in honour of **Xochiquetzal** (Sections 16 to 24)

II. Invocation of **Tlalteuctli** and **Ce Tochtli Tezcatl** (Sections 25 and 26)

A call to the **Tlaloc** deities (Sections 27 to 29)

A call to the **Tlaçolteteo** and to **Cihuacoatl**, though the earlier part is not clear and there seem to be omissions (Sections 30 to 36)

III. A call to the deer (Section 37)

IV. A call to **Cihuacoatl** (Sections 38 to 41)

A call to the **Tlaloc** deities (Section 42)

A call mainly to Sun gods, ending with the capture of the deer (Sections 43 to 45)

Throughout the spell the speaker in the first person is **Nitlamacazqui**, **niycnopiltzintli**, **nicenteotl**. Though he is not always mentioned by name when the first person is used, there is no other person who expressly speaks in the first person. The leader of the proceedings evidently impersonated **Centeotl**.

We may now proceed to a detailed examination of the Nahuatl text. Where a word in the text seems to be questionable, the suggested emendation is shown in brackets immediately after it.

## The Text

(Section by section with commentary)

1. **Tla xohuiqui, tlamacazqui, chicnauh tlaltetztzonalli, chicnahuh tlatecapanilli; tle ticmati ye tihuicoz**

The spell begins with an invocation of **Piciete** in a form much used in these spells. The present writer has made a detailed study of this type of invocation in an earlier article (Tlalocan, Vol. VII, pp. 315—321).

**Tle ticmati** might be supposed to mean "What do you know?". Nevertheless, from what we can infer from Molina's dictionary, it seems more likely to be an idiomatic expression meaning "Pray, pay attention". Molina lists "**Cenca tleticmati**. mira mucho y ten gran cuidado desto que te encomiendo. &c." and "**Cenca tleanquimati**. mirad mucho en este negocio". This expression appears in several other places in this spell. (See Sections 9, 12, 24, 35 and 38.)

2. **Tla xihuiqui, nonan tlaltecuintli, nota ce tochtli tezcatl, yncan hualpopocatimani**

**Tlaltecuintli** is not mentioned in any of the other spells or known in any other source, though in the spell "Encanto para batallar" (Tratado II, Cap. I) **Tlaltetecuín** is invoked. **Tlaltetecuín** was one of the original medicine men and his other name was **Ixtlilton** but this does not seem to be appropriate in the context here. **Tlaltecuintli** may be another form of **Tlalteuctli** though it seems more likely that there is confusion here and that **Tlalteuctli** is the deity really meant. The second part of the spell (see Section 25) is headed by the words **Tlalteuctli Tlaltecuintli** and the wording beneath that heading begins **Tla xihuiqui, nonan Tlalteuctli**. We may conclude that in this spell **Tlalteuctli** should be read for **Tlaltecuintli**. Other reasons for this conclusion will appear when we consider the name in later contexts. (See Sections 4 and 25.)

**Nota ce tochtli tezcatl, yncan hualpopocatimani** is invoked three times in this spell with slight variations but is mentioned nowhere else in any of the spells. **Ce Tochtli** is not a particularly significant day sign and in this context **Ome Tochtli** might seem more appropriate than **Ce Tochtli**. In five of the other spells we find **Ce tochtli aquetztimani** but there is no apparent connection. At first sight **Tezcatl popocatimani** might seem to refer to **Tezcatlipoca** who is in no single instance mentioned in any of the spells under his own name. In various spells, however, he is mentioned under his other names such as **Quequeloatzin**, **Yaotl** and **Itlacahuan**. The point will be discussed in a later paragraph. (See Section 4.)

3. **Nohueltiuh cenmalinalli, nonan tlaltecuintli, ayocac yn moqualan ? ayocac yn motlahuel, yncan titatacpol (? tiquatatapachpol) mitznemitia (? mitztzoncuitia)**

There are reasons for thinking that this passage and another which follows a little later (see Section 8) should in fact be identical and that the two emendations indicated above are required in order to make sense. In the later passage, instead of **titatacpol** we find **tiquapachpol** and instead of **mitznemitia** we find **mitztzontia**. The emendations seem convincing if the words are set out as follows,

Section 3	ti	tatacac pol	mitz	nemitia
Section 8	tiqua	pachpol	mitztzon	tia
Emendations	tiquatatapachpol		mitztzoncuitia	

With regard to the emendation of **quapachtic**, it might be objected that this word does indeed appear in the spell "Cura de ciciones o tercianas" (Tratado VI, Cap. XXVII). Nevertheless, no such word is found elsewhere and it seems that the omission of the two syllables has occurred in that word also.

There is good reason for believing that the second of the words under discussion is **tzoncuitia**. The literal meaning of the word is 'to pluck the hair' and this plucking is from the crown of

the head of the sacrificial victim prior to sacrifice. Sahagún in his account of **Xocotl vetzi** remarks **Niman ye ic tetzoncuja, in tlamanjme, qujntzoncu in mamalti, in quanepantla** (Florentine Codex, Vol. II, p. 106, l. 27-28). Again when Sahagún describes the **Quecholli** festival and the preparation of the victim at midnight he includes the words **njman ie ic tetzoncuja** (Florentine Codex, Vol. II, p. 127, l. 34-35). Molina lists "**Tzoncui. nino. vengarse.**" That is the more usual meaning of the word but it is a derived meaning whereas preparation for sacrifice is appropriate in the context here.

**Nohueltiuh** is a word which precedes the names of many deities in the spells but seems to have no particular significance. **Cenmalinalli** is illusive. As a day sign it signified misfortune. **Malinalli** was connected with **Pahtecatl**, the pulque god. The theme of pulque will be further discussed below. (See Section 4.)

#### 4. **Yn tlamacazqui chicomexochitl, teo tlalhua yn nohueltiuh yn mizcoacihuatl, ynacaxoch**

Alarcón tells us that **Chicomexochitl** is the deer. This meaning seems to fit in with all the contexts. The name appears in two other spells, that for "Los flecheros" (Tratado II, Cap. IX) and that "Contra la ponzoña del alacran" (Tratado VI, Cap. XXXII). Seler deduced from the Codex Borgia that **Chicomexochitl** was **Xochipilli** (1902/60, Vol. I, p. 322). It will, however, be seen from the text that **Chicomexochitl** is in this spell somehow joined with **yn Mixcoacihuatl yn Acaxoch**. Alarcón's understanding of these words is fanciful. We may, however, turn to Seler's study of the frescoes at Mitla (1923/61, Vol. IV, p. 92). He finds depicted in these frescoes the legend of **Mixcoatl** and the **Mimizcoa** in their homeland of **Tzihuactlan**. He notices that, on each of the three **tzihuactli** flowers depicted, an arrow is placed and conjectures that this is a hieroglyph for **Acaxochtlan**. The references in this spell to **yn Mixcoacihuatl yn Acaxoch** would seem to confirm his hypothesis. Both **Tzihuactlan** and **Teotlalli** are words which relate to the northern homelands of the **Mimizcoa**. Presumably this **Mixcoacihuatl** was **Cuitlachcihuatl**, the female among the

five **Mimixcoa** suckled by **Meçitli** according to the "Leyenda de los soles" (Lehmann, 1938, Sections 1498 and 1500; Velázquez, 1945, p. 122). The "Leyenda de los soles" goes on to say **Yehuatl in tlalteuctli in meçitli** which seems to confirm the opinion already expressed (see Section 2) that it is to **Tlalteuctli** and not to **Tlaltecuintli** that invocations are addressed in this spell.

Furthermore, if we turn to Sahagún's **Tepepulco** hymns (Garibay, 1958), we find in **Teteo Innan Icuic** that **Tlalteuctli** is transformed into a deer in the northern homeland, **Teutlalipan**, and comes to visit **Xiuhnel** and **Mimich**. Here we have another reference to the **Mimixcoa** legend.

In an earlier part of the spell (see Section 3) the connection between **Cen Malinalli** and **Pahtecatli**, the pulque god, has been noted. We have to consider further **Ce Tochtli Tezcatli**. It is pulque that the **tochtli** days suggest. If we look for references to **Mixcoatli** and turn again to Sahagún's hymns we find that the theme of **Totochtin in cuic Tezcatzoncatli** is pulque but there is a reference to **Mixcoatepetl Colhuacan**. It is not impossible that **Tezcatli popocaticamani** is **Tezcatzoncatli**, otherwise called **Meçitli**, and if that is so we have here a string of invocations to deities connected with pulque and with the **Mimixcoa** legend.

Besides this we have the reference to **teotlalhua yn mixcoacihuatl yn acaxoch**. The words **Ayocac yn moqualan? ayocac yn motlahuel** seem to be addressed to **Chicomexochitl Mixcoacihuatl** but the reason for them can only be imagined. There follows the remark which we take to be **yncan tiquatatapachpol, mitztzoncuitia** which means "You are a shaggy-headed fellow. I will make you to have the crown of your head plucked" or in other words "I will have you prepared for sacrifice." The words **Ayocac moqualan** etc. may relate to this.

##### 5. **ye nican ychan, ye nican ytexotlalpan yn tollan**

Later in the spell we find **onehcoc yn tollan, yn teotlalpan**. The word **texotlalli** does not appear elsewhere in the

spells nor is it a recognisable expression, so that we may infer that the letter *x* is an intrusion. (See Section 29.)

6. **ye nican nicchichiuaz, ye nican nicyolitiz yn tenanquiahuatl, yn tullan otli**

This has the sound of a classical expression but it does not seem to link up with any of the Nahuatl material that is in our hands. Molina lists "**Tenanquiahuatl**. arrabal." It is not a gate, as Alarcón supposed, but the area outside a gate, a suburb. **Quauhquiahuatl** was the name borne by the gate by which the Spaniards made their first entrance into **Tenochtitlan**, so that we may reasonably translate the word as 'main gate'. **Tullan otli** seems to suggest something like the so-called "Camino de los muertos" at **Teotihuacan**. These words could relate to some sort of a processional route. The expression appears twice again in the spell. Here in Section 6 the governing verb is in the future, **nicchichiuaz**, but in Section 30 it is in the past, **onicchichiu**, while in Section 39 it is **ticpixtiez**.

7. **yn nitlamacazqui, niycnopiltzintli, yn niceteotl, teteo in (? teteo innan) ytlachihual**

The speaker is now identified by name, **Centeotl** or his representative. **Centeotl** must be identical to **Cinteotl**, as mentioned by Doctor Garibay (1958, p. 104). **Centeotl** appears in nine of the spells but, although he is a maize god, in only two of those spells is there any reference to maize. More often he seems to be connected with hunting, fishing and bird catching, so that he appears to be a god of human sustenance in general rather than only a god of maize. In the spells there are in all sixteen instances of the use of this name and to it is always attached the word **Ycnopiltzintli**. There is at least one tradition that **Cinteotl** was the son of **Piltzintecuhli** and **Xochiquetzal** and this is reflected in the spell for "Los flecheros" (Tratado II, Cap. IX). There is another tradition embodied in the **Tepepulco** hymn entitled **Chicuexiuhtica mevaya in ihcuac atamalcualiztli** and that is to the effect that **Cinteotl** was the son of **Tlaçolteotl**, otherwise known as **Teteoinnan**. If in the text we read **Teteo innan** for **Teteo in**, the sentence has some meaning which otherwise it lacks.



8. **Nohueltiuh cenmalinalli, ayocac yn moqualan? ayocac (?yn motlahuel omitted) yncan tiquapachpol (?tiquatatapachpol) yncan ahuicpa mitztzontia (? mitztzoncuitia) yn tlamacazqui chicomexochitl, yn teotlalhua**

We have already discussed this paragraph because it seems in fact to be a repetition (see Section 3). **Yncan ahuicpa** are the only words not found in the earlier section. The omission of **yn motlahuel** seems to be the result of careless transcription. Here the paragraph ends with the word **Teotlalhua** and we may suspect that **yn nohueltiuh yn mixcoacihuatl, yn acaxoch** should have followed. There are several indications, such as we find here, which tend to show how Alarcón's informants did not take the trouble to write down words, such as might form part of a refrain, which they knew they could repeat from memory. In the light of what follows, where the subject turns to fire worship, we get the impression that this refrain rounds off what is in fact a hymn in honour of **Mixcoatl** and that this is something of a very similar kind to the **Tetepulco** hymns.

9. **Tla xihuallauh, tlamacazqui chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli: tle ticmatí?**

This is virtually a repetition of the initial invocation of **piciete** (see Section 1) and seems appropriately to open a new subject which is a prayer to Fire. As already mentioned, prayer to Fire is one of the incidents which Durán tells us was part of the cult of the **Quecholli** festival.

10. **Ma onehehualo ma on nitlatilo yc omochiuhqui, yn yahualiuhqui ma onmehua, ma on motlati yn tlacoquauhtli**

This sentence offers particular difficulty. Twice it contains a formula in which **ehua** or **ehesua** and **tlatia** are associated together. The same formula occurs in three other spells, "Pescadores de Naças" (Tratado II, Cap. XIV), "Pescadores de Ançelo" (Tratado II, Cap. XV) and "Para el mal de calenturas" (Tratado VI, Cap. xxx). In none of these

contexts do either of the ordinary meanings of **tlatia**, that is to say 'hide' or 'burn' make sense. Alarcón is inconsistent in his various attempts to translate this formula. There is a possibility that there is an undisclosed saltillo in the first syllable and that the word is not really **tlatia** but **tlahitia**, a variant of **tlauhtia**. In notes which Byron McAfee wrote in the late 1920s he showed that the word **tlahitia** was then current in Tepoztlan and bore the Spanish meaning 'obsequiar'. If this is a valid clue, the expression here found would mean "Rouse yourself and do us a favour" and this would fit well into the various contexts in which it occurs.

The sentence is further confused by the presence of the word **tlacoquauhtli** which Alarcón translates 'palos y madera encantada'. Nevertheless **tlacoquauhtli** is a bird which Sahagún lists among the birds of prey (Florentine Codex, Vol. XI, p. 40) and which he tells us had a dark body with yellow beak and yellow legs. It may therefore be imagined that this bird might have been associated with Fire. Fire is indeed the subject of this part of the spell.

# 11. **Ma nechelehuiti, ca amo niyollo, ca amo nezço, ca amo nitlapallo**

A study of the use of the word **elehuia** in Alarcón's spells leads to the conclusion that his informants confused the word with **elleltia**. Molina lists "**Elehuia. nitla.** dessear o cobdiciar algo" and "**Eelehuia. nitla.** tiranizar." The word **elehuia** is found in thirteen passages spread over ten of the spells but in only five of these passages does Alarcón translate it 'codiciar'. In the other passages he uses words such as 'dañar', 'ofender', 'lastimar' and 'herir'. Molina gives "**Elleltia. nite.** estorbar o retraer a otro de alguna cosa o impedirle." In all the thirteen passages 'hinder' or 'obstruct' make good sense.

**Ca amo nezço ca amo nitlapallo** is a phrase which has parallels in the "Encanto para batallar" (Tratado II, Cap. I), "Conjuro para cargar" (Tratado II, Cap. IV), "Hornos de Cal" (Tratado II, Cap. V) and "Pescadores de Naças" (Tratado II, Cap. XIV). In each case the speaker is apparently representing a deity.

12. **Tlamacazqui xoxouhqui tlamacazqui, tle ticmati, ye tehuan tiaz?**

**Xoxouhqui tlamacazqui** here is **Picietl** so that this invocation is very similar to the two previous invocations of **Picietl** (see Sections 1 and 9).

13. **Tla xihuiqui, tlamacazqui nanahuatzin, xiuhpilli, can mach · in tictlalia yn chicnauhtlatecapanilli, chicnauhtlatlatetzotzonalli**

An invocation of two of the fire gods followed by an assurance that "premeditated we have put ready the **picietl**."

14. **Tla huiyan, tla tictocaca nahui acatl milintica, xiuhtli coçauhqui milintica, teteo ynan, teteo ynta nauhcampa tlemuchitl (? Tlemaitl) yca tlatlalpitztica, centzonmamatlatl yca tlacçatica, ttilatl yca tenpatlahuatica, yniqua onoque yn quahuaccacauhtin (? Quauhachcacauhtin) yn tetepoyo, yn aquenmanpaqui, aquenmanahahuia; yn nican ychoquizyo ymixayo quimatentoque**

**Nahui Acatl** was the day of the new fire. The word **milintica** is not in the dictionaries but it must mean 'afame' because we find in Sahagún **Milintoc**, **çan no ie in tletl** (Florentine Codex, Book II, p. 148, l. 35). **xiuhtli coçauhqui milintica** presumably relates to **xiuhpilli** while **teteo ynan teteo ynta** is the sun. Here we have a string of fire gods.

Alarcón evidently read **Tlemuchitl** as if it were **Tlemoyotl** and 'sparks' would make some sense though in the context it is more likely that the word should really be **Tlemaitl**, 'censer'. **Tlatlalpitztica** must mean here the blowing of flutes, not the blowing of sparks as Alarcón supposed. We find in Sahagún's account of **Quecholli** the words **auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teocalli, vncan tlatlapitztoque** (Florentine Codex, Book II, p. 124, l. 21-22).

**Quahuaccacauhtin** must be **quauh-achcacauhtin** whom we might call 'temple officers', the sort of people to be

associated with the heralds in whose company here they are expressed to be. Sahagún makes it clear that the **achcacaughtin** were subordinate officials who undertook the relatively menial tasks such as, on occasions, that of executioner. The **achcauhtli**, he tells us, was something like an *Alguacil*. An explanation of the prefix **quauh-** may be found in the following words of Durán's account of **Quecholli**.

En el servicio de este templo había muchos sacerdotes, con otros ayuntamientos de mancebos ... de donde los más salían grandes cazadores, porque el principio ejercicio que allí dependían era cazar.

**Tlilatl yca tenpatlahuatica** corresponds with other words in Durán who says "Primeramente se embijaban de negro el circuito de la boca a la redonda."

**Yn nican ychoquiz ye ymixayo quimatentoque** is very close to Olmos' metaphor "Ando triste ..." **Nochoquiz nixayo nicmatentimani** (Rémi Siméon, 1875, p. 224) and to Sahagún's in **ixaiyotzin quimatentivitz** (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 50, l. 30).

This therefore is a short section of the spell which can be coherently translated. After an invocation of the fire gods, the ceremony proceeds "With a waving of the censer to the four winds, to the loud accompaniment of flutes, we tread the four hundred steps, lips daubed with broad bands of black, when the temple officers and the heralds stand on duty, ever mournful, ever unhappy. Here their weeping and their tears flow freely." This seems to fit in with what Sahagún tells us about the young men attending a service of dedication and receiving a commission to hunt.

15. **Nota nahui acatl milintica, cuix ne nahahuiaz? cuix ne nihuellamatiz achtotipa tipaquiz, achtotipa tiquittaz yn eztli totonic, yn eztli ahuiac yn iyol yn itzontecon: yn ticcuiz yn tlamacazqui chicomexochitl yn teotlaluiz; ye niah, ye nictemoz, ye nicanaz**

This translates fairly coherently. "Father 4-Cane, why

shall I not take pleasure, why shall I not be cheerful? First you will be happy, first you will see the warm blood, the fragrant blood, his heart, his head. You will receive Chicomexochitl of the northern homelands. Now I will go, now I will look for him, now I will catch him."

With this ends the liturgy of a service of dedication to the fire gods before the hunters proceed to their work.

There follows what seems to be something of a hymn to **Xochiquetzal** and her attendant deities. Torquemada, in his account of the **Quecholli** festival, writes as follows, (Torquemada, 1723, Vol. II, p. 299),

En este mes hacian fiesta los Mexicanos al Dios Mixcohuatl y los Tlaxcaltecas y otros a las Diosas **Xochiquetzal** y **Xochitecatl** y les sacrificaban muchas Donceles, en memoria de los amores.

16. **Ye nicnotzaz yn yalhua yehuiptla yn ica choca, yn ica nentlamati? yn nohueltiuh yn Xochiquetzal: yn yalhua, yehuiptla yca nichocaya**

We do not know why **Xochiquetzal** should weep yesterday and the day before. These words seem to be some sort of a conventional expression because not only are they repeated later in this spell (see Section 29) but they also appear in the spell "Para atraher y aficionar" (Tratado IV, Cap. II) where again they are closely connected with **Xochiquetzal**.

17. **Yca ninentlamati yn nitlamacazque, ninotolinia, niquiyohuia niciaui. Polihui yn nochil, polihui yn noztauh**

**Centeotl** complains of his unhappy lot and complains that he cannot savour anything. In the **Huehuetlatolli** of Olmos we find **Onicnentlamachtli in quauhtzintli in iztaxalhtzintli in chilpuztectzintli** (Rémi Siméon, 1875, p. 248, l. 4-5).

18. **ye niauh ye nicanaz. cuix moztla? cuix huiptla? niman axcan**

It is not clear how these words fit into the context. Earlier we have read **ye niauh, ye nictemoz, ye nicanaz** (see Section 15) and this looks like a repetition. **cuix moztla, cuix huiptla** occurs constantly in the spells, as also **niman axcan** or **niman aman**.

**19. Ye nichuicaz yn nohueltiuh, yz cihuacoatl, yz cihuatequihua**

In the **Tepepulco** hymn **In Civa Coatl Icuic**, there is a mention of **Nopiltzin Mixcoatl** and **In Mazatl Colihuacan** and this establishes one more link with the **Mimixcoa** legend and deer hunting. In the spell "Para atraher y afiçonar" (Tratado iv, Cap. ii) reference is made to **Xochiquetzal, ce coatl ica apantiuitz, ce coatl ica cuiltalpitiuitz, tzonilpitiuitz**. **Cihuatequihua** is obscure and might mean 'mistress of female tasks' or simply 'chieftainess' but, considering the type of scribal errors that we meet in these spells, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the word should be **Cihuateotequihua**, 'Leader of the Cihuateote'.

**20. ye nictocaz yn otli patlauac yn otli maxaliuic**

"I will follow the broad road, the forked road." We have to bear in mind that the speaker here, and all through this spell, is **Centeotl**. It is interesting to turn to the hymn **Xochipilli icuic** where there are words which run **Zan nivallacic ohtli nepanivian zan ni Centeuti a campa ye nonyaz campa ohtli nictocaz**. Durán tells us that after the **Quecholli** hunt, the hunters made a sacrifice and then went down to the plain to a point where the roads divided.

**21. Yn acan (? naca-) yole, yn ahua (? naca-) tzontecome**

The words **acan** and **ahua** seem to be scribal errors. The emendation suggested is based on words in the "Conjuro para cargar" (Tratado II, Cap. iv) **Ca ye notlatocaz, ca ye nictlallos yn nacayollo, yn nacatzontecome**.

**22. Maontlaeheshualo, yn anmotzahual, yn anmiquit:**

**macana (? macamo) nitlaicxihui (? xitlaxelihui):**  
**manitlacocotonti (? maxitlacocotonti)**

It is not clear to whom this is a call but it seems to be to **Xochiquetzal** and **Cihuacoatl**. They are to hold on high their thread and their weaving. Those are symbols of the work of women. While the general sense is clear, it is difficult to explain the wording. **Macana** must be **macamo**. The last two verbs are in the first person but evidently should be in the second person of the imperative. **Tlaycxihui** is not a recognisable word and, though it might mean 'to step upon', that does not fit satisfactorily into the context. **Tlacocotonti** means 'to tear into many pieces' and, that being so, **nitlaycxihui** may be a mistake for **xitlaxelihui**, 'to divide into two'.

Sahagún describing the **Quecholli** ritual states that the female sacrificial victim was required to burn the implements of her female tasks (Florentine Codex, Book II, p. 128, l. 3-8). Here in the spell, instruments of spinning and weaving are mentioned. **Ehehua** means 'to raise on high' and may have the same meaning as **iyahua**, 'to raise on high in offering'. This passage may therefore mean "Raise on high as an offering your spinning work and your weaving work. Do not divide it, do not cut it into pieces."

**23. Tla xihuiqui nohueltiuh, yn antlaco(l)teteo: ca nican  
 xoconpixti nemican yn noquiahuac**

Here and in two other places in this spell (see Sections 33 and 36) the letter **l** in **Tlaçolteteo** is omitted but in all cases it is certain from the context that it is the **Tlaçolteteo** who are meant. Nowhere else does such a word as **Tlaçoteteo** appear. The **Tlaçolteteo** are mentioned in the spells for "Pescadores de ançelo" (Tratado II, Cap. xv) and for "Enfermedades de amores" (Tratado VI, Cap. III).

We may question whether the spacing of the words is correct and whether we should read **xoconpixinemi**. Later in the spell, the **Tlaçolteteo** are ordered to guard **yn tollan otli** (see Section 34). In the light of the material in Sections 6, 30 and 39,

it is conceivable that **can yn noquiahuac** is a corruption of **quauhquiahuatl**.

**24. Ye huitz yn quihualcuiz, yn comalli, yntlahuelli, nican ancanilizque, anquicuilizque, tle quimati**

It is not clear who is the subject of **huitz** and there are several different shades of meaning in **cui**, 'to take'. As it stands, these words must mean "He comes to take away unpleasantness and annoyance. You will take it, you will receive it." It is possible that **quihualcuiz** should be **quihuelcuiz**. Molina lists "**Tlahuelcuitia**. nite. ayarar a otro ..." and among Olmos' collection of metaphors we find "No quiero poner discordia donde ay paz" to which is attached the words **Amo nitlatlahuelcuitiz** (Rémi Siméon, 1875, p. 224). The final words in this section, **tle quimati**, mean as already mentioned 'pray, pay attention'.

This brings to an end the first stage of the spell and it is clear that so far the proceedings have taken place at home. Alarcón here makes a note "Acabado lo susodicho ... partiesen luego al monte y asperezas."

At this point in the text, there is what looks like a heading but there is no other heading anywhere else. In fact it seems to be a kind of gloss. The scribe has written **Tlalteuctli Tlaltecuintli** as if he were unsure which of these words was correct.

**25. Tlaxihuiqui, nonan tlalteuctli, nota ce tochtli tezcatl, can huel popocatinemi**

The action has now moved to the hunting fields and this section of the spell begins with words similar to those found in Section 2, except that here **Tlalteuctli** is addressed and not **Tlaltecuintli**. We have already enlarged upon this point (see Section 2).

**26. Ma mixco nonmayauh (? ximomayaua), nitlamacazqui, ni ceteotl, ma xihualmixtlapachmana**



**Ma mixco nonmayauh** is in the form of the vetative imperative but "Do not throw yourself on your face" is the opposite of "Throw yourself face downwards" which is what **ximomixtlapachmana** means. If we read **ximomayaua**, the meaning of both words is similar.

27. **Tla xihuiqui yn antlamacazque, yn antlalloque; yn nauhcampa anonoque, yn nauhcampa ancate; yn am-ilhuicatl-quitzquitoque (?am-ilhuicatl-amiztequihuaque): anmixpan, anmotlamatian, yn onihualla, yn onehcoc yn nitlamacazqui, yn icnopiltzintli, niceteotl**

The word **am-ilhuicatl-quitzquitoque** is a puzzle. Alarcón understood this to mean "Estays sustentando los cielos" in which case the intrusion of the **z** may have been accidental. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any tradition that the Tlalocs bore up the heavens and the **z** alerts us to other possibilities. Durán tells us that the captains of the hunters were called **Amiztequihuaque** or **Amiztlatoque**. We have already emphasised the chaotic conditions in which the text of these spells was transmitted and the ignorance of the people who copied them out. **Quitizquitoque** looks as if it may contain elements of both of Durán's words. The scribe could have been further confused by a combination of the personal pronoun prefix **am-** and a word beginning with **ami**. It may not be beyond the bounds of possibility that the text originally read **am-ilhuicatl amiztequihuaque am-ilhuicatl-amiztlatoque**. We should then find the Tlalocs invoked as "Hunt masters of heaven".

Doctor Garibay wrote a note on the connection between **Centeutl** and **Tlalocan**, in commenting on the **Atamalqualiztli** hymn, in which the words occur **Otlacatqui Centeutl Tamiyoanichan** (Garibay, 1958, p. 158).

28. **Yn nican anmaquiztetepe, yn anxiuhtetepe, ynimitzcac, ynimopochcopa yn onihuallatia, yn onihualnoquequetztia yn ninotolinia, yn niquiyyohuia, niciyahui**

Later on in the spell there is a passage which bears such

resemblance to this that we may suspect that both passages suffer from omissions (see Section 42).

**Anmaquiztetepe anxiuhtetepe** is not a familiar expression but seems appropriate to **Tlalocan**.

**Yn itacac yn opochco** means simply "On the right side and on the left" but it can also mean what is called in English 'the right hand man'. In the context here, it seems to mean "I am your counsellor". Sahagún gives us **Nopochco nitzcac nimitztlaliz**, "Seas el mas allegado a mi de todos" with much further detail (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 259). In Chimalpahin, Relación 2a., we find **Cuix tehuantín timitzcahuan timopochuan tiyezque yn tiChalca** where the words mean 'ambassadors' (Zimmermann, 1963, p. 28, l. 20-21; Lehmann, 1958, p. 79, l. 21-22). Other instances could be cited. Alarcón was not aware of the idiomatic meaning of the words.

The passage ends with various expressions of misery. Molina lists "**Quequetza. nino. espaciarse, o perder tiempo**". Nevertheless, it can also mean 'to move slowly'. Sahagún gives **Conetzintli in moquequetza in movilana** (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 35, l. 28-29) and **Jmolicipi in jtetepon ic moquequetztinen** (Florentine Codex, p. 109, l. 3-4). Alarcón recognised this meaning for he gives "He benido parandome de cansado."

29. **Ma tlaocoya yn amoyollo, yn amitic onca, yn antlallope, ye onehcoc yn Tollan yn teotlalpan. Ye nican unchan, ye nican ycalitic yn tlamacazqui yn chicomexochitl, yn nohueltiuh yn mizcoacihuatl ynacaxoch: yn yalhua yehuiptla yca choca, yca nentlamati yn nohueltiuh yn xochiquetzal: yn yalhua yehuiptla ica nichoca, yca ninentlamati**

**Centeotl** continues to address the **Tlaloque**, tells them to be sorrowful and says that he has arrived at Tula, at the northern homelands. This **Tula** could be 'the reedy places'. Further reference is made later in the spell (see Section 34).

The text goes on to tell us that here is the home of **Chicomexochitl** and we must bear in mind that this part of the spell was spoken in the hunting fields. **Xochiquetzal** weeps and **Centeotl** with her, presumably for the deer. As already mentioned, it is not clear how **in yalhua yehuiptla** enters into the formula (see Section 16).

30. **Ye aman niquinmanaco, niquinnotzaco: ye onicchichiuh, onicyoliti yn tenanquiahuatl, yn quauhquiahuatl, yn tollanotli**

The words "Now I come to offer them, I come to call them" seem to refer to the deer. This is followed by "I have made the suburb, the main gate, the Tollan avenue". The verbs are in the past tense, whereas when the subject was mentioned before they were in the future tense (see Section 6).

31. **yn oncan yazque yn oncan quicazque yn noychcahuan (? noachcahuan) yn niynnan, yn niynta, yn niynci, yn niyncol**

Alarcón understood **noichcahuan** to mean 'my sheep' but that is a postconquest use of the word whereas all other Nahuatl words in the spells have their strictly classical meanings. **Ichcatl** appears in two other spells but each time in its proper sense of 'cotton'. We can only assume that **noichcahuan** ought to be **noachcahuan**, the possessive plural of **Achcauhtli**. This word has already been discussed together with **achcacahtin** (see Section 14) and the fact that some of these officers of the temple of **Mixcoatl** performed the duties of huntsmen (see Section 27). Whoever these people may have been **Cinteotl** declares that he is their mother, father, grandmother and grandfather. That may be a picturesque way of saying that they are his underlings.

32. **Ma ne payaz necti; nican huitz, nican yaz, nican quicaz, nican quicuiz yn ixochiapan yn ixochicozqui, yn intlacenyacanal yntlamacazqui teotlalhua**

The scribe seems to have been very confused when he wrote

**ma ne payaz necti.** He may have meant **Ma nepa yaznecti.** On the other hand he may have been faced with a word which was long and which he had not the knowledge to decipher. Later on in the spell we come to the words **Mate tihuexcapehuaznecti** (see Section 41) which may be taken to mean "Do not be afraid of wanting to destroy" and this could be appropriate in the context here.

It is possible that the **Xochiapantli** and the **Xochicozquitl** are vestments of the sacrificial victim but we have no clue to **Tlacenyacanalli**. Molina lists "**Cenyacana. nite. gouernar, o regir a todos**" but, if we apply the meaning of 'the thing governed', it does not seem to fit into the context.

**33. Nican macoz, nican conaquiltizque yn nohueltihuan yn tlaço(l)teteo**

"Here are given (the vestments), here the **Tlaçolteteo** will make her put them on."

**34. Nican quipixtinemi yn tollanotli, yn aquemman cahui, yn aquemman teuh yohua, yz cemilhuittl, yz ceyohual yn toco**

"Here they are guarding the Tollan road, that is never empty, that is never dusty. Day and night people pass over it."

**35. Tla xihuiqui, nohueltiuh cihuacoatl, cihuatequihua: tle ticmati. Ye tehuatiez nican tochan, nican localitic, titetlacahuan, titetlayecolticahuan. Nican tipaquiz, nican tahahuiaz: ye nican timohuimoloz, ynehuan timoquechnahuaz (quittoznequi quechnahuatequiz) yn tlamacazqui ce atl ytonal yhuan yn xoxouhqui tlamacazqui; ye onimitzchiuh, ye onimitztlacatlamili**

The first part of this passage is reasonably clear. "Come, **Cihuacoatl**, pray pay attention. You will come here in passing to our dwelling, here in our house, we are your slaves, we are your servants. Here you will be happy, here you will take pleasure."

The rest is obscure. **Huimolloa** is not found in dictionaries except so far as Molina lists "**Tenuimoloo. nitla. perfilar algo.**" There are instances in Sahagún of the use of **tenhuimoloo** in the sense 'weaving around'. In the spell "El echar ventosas" (Tratado VI, Cap. XII) **huimoloo** is used in the sense of placing cotton round a wound. In the *Cantares Mexicanos* we find "**Xoconteocuitla quemach huimoloo**" (Fo. 57 vo., l. 23-24) and "**Tlacatzihuitcaqui quihuimolooz tlachinol xochitl**" (Fo. 64 vo., l. 7). In the passage under review **timohuimolooz** seems to have the same meaning as **timoquechnahuaz**. It is odd that the text carries the words given in brackets because **technahuatequiz** adds nothing to the sense.

**Tlamacazqui ce atl ytonal** occurs frequently in the spells and Alarcón generally translates it "Espiritado cuya dicha está en las aguas", though he explains in many cases that it is some instrument, sometimes a stake, sometimes a club, sometimes a bow or such like. Nevertheless, his informants had little idea of the significance of the ancient day signs. **Ce atl ytonal** appears once more towards the end of this spell. (See Section 45.)

**Ye onimitzchichihuh, ye onimitztlacatlamili** are words which present a problem. They appear once more later in the spell (see Section 38). In each case **Centeotl** is speaking and addressing **Cihuacoatl**. If **Centeotl** is in fact claiming to be the progenitor of **Cihuacoatl**, we cannot explain it. Possibly some vital word is missing from the text in both passages.

36. **Tla xihuiqui, nohueltiuh macuiltonelleque, tlaço(l)teteo; tla nican xonmanican: ye huitz yn tlamacazqui, yn teotlalhua. Niman nechca anconnamiquizque, anconnamictehuazque, anconaquiltizque, anmotlaxochhuipil (? anmoaxochiahuipil), yn anmotlaihuitzanal (? anmoiuitzoncal). Yn nican ecoz, cuix oc yztihuitz? Cuix oc tlachixtihuitz? nican anpaquizque amahahuiazque**

The headdress mentioned here as the **tlaihuitzanalli** must be the **ihuitzoncalli** which was worn by **Macuiltochtli** and by **Macuilxochitl** (León-Portilla, 1958, p. 142-144). It may

therefore have been the distinctive headdress of the **Macuiltonalleque** and it is to them in fact that this part of the spell is addressed. **Tlaxochhuipilli** might be a corruption of **tlacoxochhuipilli** and, if that were so, it might account for the insertion of a superfluous **tla** into **amoihuitzoncal**. Alternatively **tlaxochhuipilli** may be a mistake for **axochiahuiipilli** which was a garment worn by **Cihuacoatl** who is so closely associated with the **Tlaçolteteo** in this spell.

The sense is clear. The **Macuiltonalleque** are called upon to be present. "The deer is coming, here you will meet her, here you will find her, you will put your feather headdress upon her, your smock with the water flower pattern. Here she is coming. Does she observe? Does she keep a look out? Here you will be happy and enjoy yourselves."

After these words there follows in the Nahuatl text the gloss "Dize luego en el papel **Otlamic: nauhcampa toyohuaz**". Alarcón then explains "Con esto acaba el conjuro y encanto de la red y laços y luego les mandó el demonio que llamen los venados."

37. **tlamacazqui chicomexochitl, teotlalhua; ye yuhqui otiteltani (i)h(c)uac yohualli; ca yn xochitl can ca, ca opatoloc, ho, ho, tlamaloc ye yuhqui**

The preparatory proceedings are finished and with these words the real hunting starts. They call up the deer.

The wording is obscure but somehow calls to mind the ball game and the game of **patolli**. In Sahagún we find **Ca oc iehoatl ontenamiquiz in patolco, in tlachco: oc iehoatl on teollamiz, oc iehoatl on patoz** (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 64, l. 3-5). Molina lists "**Tlani. nite. ganar a otro jugando**" and **Patoa.ni. jugar a los dados**" though here he chose a postconquest use of the word which essentially means 'to play the game of **patolli**'. It may be presumed that **xochitl** in this context means 'sacrifice'.

On this basis the meaning is "Spirit **Chicomexochitl**, thus

we have won the game. When night falls, sacrifice is imminent, for the game is finished, Ho! Ho!, the capture is thus made."

Alarcón explains that, after the deer have been called up, the hunters keep quiet while waiting for the deer to show themselves. In the meantime they recite the final part of the spell as detailed below.

38. **Tla xihuiqui, nohueltiuh cihuacoatl, cihuatequihua; tle ticmati: yc onimitzchichiuh, yc onimitzyoliti, yc onimitztlacatlamili: nican tipaquiz, nican tahahuiaz, nican tihuellamatiz**

This largely reflects an earlier passage in the spell (see Section 35) where all these words are found with the exception of **onimitzyoliti** and **tihuellamatiz** but neither of these add anything to the sense.

39. **Ye nican ticpixtiez yn tenanquiahuatl, in quauhquiahuatl, yn tollanotli**

Whatever this threefold image represents, we have seen that **Centeotl** in the first place announced that he would make it (see Section 6). Later he said that he had made it (see Section 30) and now he tells **Cihuacoatl** to guard it.

40. **nizhuitz nican quicaz yn tlamacazqui chicomexochitl, yn teotlalhua. Ye nican quicuiz yn xochiapan, yn xochicozqui yn tlamacazqui, yn teotlalhua**

This is virtually a repetition of an earlier passage (see Section 32), though it may be noted that the problem words **ma ne payaz necti** and **intlacenyacanal** do not appear here. That would seem to indicate the extent of the scribe's confusion.

41. **Nohueltiuh cihuacoatl, cihuatequihua, mate tihuexcapehuaz necti, ma tihuexcatlatlacoznecti; ma timomauhti: ma yxco ma icpac titlachiaznecti yn tlamacazqui teotlalhua, ynacaxoch mixcoacihuatl**

The prefix **huexca-** is interesting. Molina lists

**uexcatlatlatoa, uexcacaqui and uexcailtoa**, but no words with this prefix seem to be found in composition elsewhere than here in Alarcón's spells. In the spells for "Siembra de maíz" and "Siembra de calabças" (Tratado III, Caps. IV and VI respectively) we find in each case the same words **Amo timopinauhtiz, amo tihuexcapehuaz, amo tihuexcatlatlaco.** These compare closely with the passage under review. Reference may also be made to the use of **huexcapehua** and **huexcatlatlacoa** in the spells "Pescadores de naças (Tratado II, Cap. XIV), "Pescadores de ançuelo" (Tratado II, Cap. XVI) and "Sortilegio de las manos" (Tratado V, Cap. I). At the foot of the spell "Siembra de calabças" (Tratado III, Cap. VI), Alarcón appends a note about the meaning of **huexcatlatlaco.** We may suppose that the words in this spell for hunting the deer mean "Do not be afraid of wanting to destroy, do not be afraid of wanting to do wrong, have no fear."

The words **Ma ixco ma icpac titlachiaznecti yn mixcoacihuatl** seem to say "Do not feel inclined to respect the feelings of **Mixcoacihuatl**."

42. **Yn antlamacazque yn nauhcanpa amonoque, yn nahuiampa yn ancate: anmixpan anmomatian yn onihualla, yn onecoc yn nitlamacazqui, yn niycnopiltzintli, niceteotl. Ye onicnemilli yn namil, yn nochiauhtepec, yn nomazuiztetepe: yn inmitzcac, yn moopochcopa yn onihuallatia ninotolinia, yn niceteotl, teteo niypiltzin, teteo niytlacachihual**

The resemblance between these words and those already studied in an earlier section of the spell (see Sections 27 and 28) is so striking that the two versions are set together here below. The upper line represents that in Sections 27 and 28 and the lower that in this Section 42.

**Tla xihuiqui yn antlamacazque, yn antlalloque;**

— ——— yn antlamacazque, — ———

**yn nauhcampa anonoque, yn nauhcampa — ancate: yn**

**yn nauhcanpa amonoque, yn nahuiampa yn ancate: —**



**amilhuicatlquitzaquiteque: anmixpan, ananmotlamatian,**  
 \_\_\_\_\_ **anmixpan anmo\_\_\_\_\_matian**

**yn onihualla, yn onehcoc yn nitlamacazqui,**  
**yn onihualla, yn one\_\_\_\_\_coc yn nitlamacazqui,**

**\_\_\_\_\_ niycnopiltzintli, niceteotl: \_\_\_\_\_**  
**yn niycnopiltzintli, niceteotl. ye onicnemilli yn**

**\_\_\_\_\_ yn nican anmaquizepete,**  
**namil, yn nochiauhtepec, yn \_\_\_\_\_ nomaquizepete:**

**yn anxiuhtetepe, ynimitzac, ynimopochcopa**  
**\_\_\_\_\_ yn imitzcac, yn moopochcopa**

**yn onihuallatia, yn onihualnoquequetztia yn**  
**yn onihuallatia \_\_\_\_\_**

**ninotolinia, yn niquiyyohuia, niciyahui. \_\_\_\_\_**  
**ninotolinia, yn \_\_\_\_\_ niceteotl,**

**\_\_\_\_\_ teteo niypiltzin teteo niytlacachihual.**

The comparison of these two versions speaks for itself and illustrates the sort of vicissitudes through which the text of these spells passed in transmission. It is clear that the second version is in fact a repetition of the first and by combining the two we can make sense where sense is not otherwise to be found. After the initial invocation of the **Tlallogue**, the sentence runs "I have explored my cornlands, my rich hillsides, here are your jewelled mountains, your turquoise mountains, and I have come as your counsellor".

**43. Tla xihuiqui, nonan tlaltecuintli nota ce tochtli tezcaltl,  
 ca hualpopocatimani**

Here the final invocation begins and the words are the same as those at the beginning of the spell (see Section 2).

44. **Nonan citlalcueye, nota totonametli, tlamacazqui nanahuatzin, xiuhpiltzintli**

**Citlalcueye** has not been mentioned before in this spell but in three of the other spells she is stated to be the parent of **Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli** or in other words **Picietl**. She may be said to represent tobacco smoke, the initial stage in the invocation of fire. Her name is followed by those of three of the sun gods, **Totonametli**, **Nanahuatzin** and **Xiuhpiltzintli**. **Totonametli** is not one of the more familiar names but Sahagún mentions it in the appendix to Book II, "**Oquicaco in tonatiuh, in tonametl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl**" (Florentine Codex, Book II, p. 202, l. 8-9). Also in Book VI, the infant is dedicated to **In tehoatl in titotonametl, in tixippilli** (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 203. l. 14-15).

45. **Nohueltiuh cenmalinalli; tlamacazqui ceatl ytonal, ayac quilhuiz, ayac quinonotzaz yn tlamacazqui chicomexochitl, yn teotlalhua: ye huitz, ye huallaz nican: yn ca anpaquizque, anmahahuiazque, nican anquitzitzquizque, ancanazque**

There is no explanation for the appearance of **Cen Malinalli**. She has already been discussed under Section 4. Apart from the three mentions in this spell, she is mentioned once in the spell "**Para buscar colmenas**" (Tratado II, Cap. VII). **Ce Atl** has been mentioned once before in this spell (see Section 35) but again we have no explanation. We can only say that as day signs **Ce Malinalli** was unlucky and **Ce Atl** was a day of changing fortunes.

The hunt is now ended. "No one will speak, no one will call the spirit **Chicomexochitl** of the northern homelands. She comes, she will come. You will be happy, you will have pleasure, you will seize her, you will take her."

*Conclusion*

In the light of what has been quoted from Durán, we can be sure that after the conquest texts were transmitted in an unbroken

line from the time of the men who had been trained as ministers in the **Calmecac**. Alarcón's informants were the inheritors of such texts. We can therefore assume that such a spell as that for hunting the deer reflects no concocted verbiage but, on the other hand, represents a sample of an ancient liturgy, corrupt though the wording may have become in clandestine transmission through the course of a century.

There are many indications in this spell which point to the annual festival in the month of **Quecholli**. For the common people, the hunting activities in this festival must have represented a popular annual holiday. They would have done everything possible to preserve this annual holiday so far as they could in its ancient form despite restrictions imposed by the Spaniards.

To mention only three of the accounts of the ancient monthly rituals, we have those of Sahagún, Durán and Torquemada, from each of whom we have quoted at various points in commenting on the text of the spell. Sahagún in Chapter XIV of Book II tells us that **Quecholli** was the feast of **Mixcoatl**. In Chapter XXXIII of the same book he gives considerable detail of the ritual procedure pertaining to that month, though he does not concentrate on the hunting feature to the same extent as Durán or Torquemada.

Torquemada speaks of the hunts which formed part of the festivities not only in **Quecholli** but also in **Tepeilhuitl** and **Tecuilhuitontli** (Torquemada, 1723, Vol. II, p. 281-282, 297 and 299). Neither Sahagún nor Durán make any allusion to hunting in either of these last two months and it looks as if the hunting then had far less importance than it had in **Quecholli**.

The festival of **Quecholli** started with a ceremony at the temple of **Mixcoatl** and on the eleventh day everyone went off to the mountains to hunt. On the first day in the mountains they did nothing, except as it seems to prepare some kind of pavilion, if there was not already some sort of holy site on the location. The next day they started to hunt not only deer but any kind of animal in sight. They brought the animals back for sacrifice and in the final act human beings were sacrificed.

Alarcón's text ends, as might be expected in the circumstances, with the catching of the deer but up to that point it may be seen that the structure of the spell is roughly in accordance with what the authorities, already mentioned, tell us about the hunting ritual of **Quecholli**.

There are many unresolved problems but there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence tending to show that it is from **Quecholli** that the text of this spell is derived and that we have here a fragment of an ancient liturgy.

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*Resumen*

Versa este trabajo acerca de "el conjuro para cazar venados", incluido en el célebre *Tratado de las supersticiones...* de Hernando Ruíz de Alarcón. Destaca Fellowes, como digno de interés, que en todo el texto del conjuro la palabra *mazatl* (venado) jamás se emplea. Después de analizar el texto completo y ofrecer su propia traducción comentada del original en náhuatl, concluye destacando las relaciones que existen entre este conjuro y la fiesta del "mes" de *Quecholli*, cuyas ceremonias se comenzaban en el templo de Mixcóatl y en cuyo día undécimo (de la vientena) todos iban a las montañas a cazar. Concluye el autor que puede tenerse como probable que este texto haya formado parte de la antigua liturgia asociada al "mes" de *Quecholli*.