

THE TREATISES OF HERNANDO RUIZ DE ALARCÓN¹

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1. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Dr. Angel Ma. Garibay in his *Historia de la Literatura Náhuatl* devoted some pages to the work of Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón. In his *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Nahuas* he included an appendix in which he gave translations of three selected texts from Alarcón with commentaries.

Alarcón in the earlier part of the seventeenth century was parish priest of Atenango del Río in the Taxco area. He became aware of the fact that his Indian parishioners, in spite of their apparent religious orthodoxy, were accustomed to use spells and incantations of pre-conquest origin when they wished to ensure the success of their daily labours or of their dealings with their neighbours. He tried to extirpate these practices and with this in view procured so far as he was able the precise wording of the spells. For the guidance of fellow ministers to the Indians he wrote a treatise and Dr. Garibay dates this not earlier than 1629 nor later than 1637.

Francisco Del Paso y Troncoso, in his researches, came across a contemporary copy of the treatise and his edition was printed by the Imprenta Nacional in 1892. A reprint was issued by Navarro in 1953.

Alfredo López Austin has dealt exhaustively with one item in Alarcón's collection, that entitled "Encanto que usan para echar sueño," in his article on the Temacpalitocque (*Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI, pp. 97-117).

Apart from what has been mentioned, there would seem to be no other published work which would help to put these texts into some sort of literary and historical context.

As Dr. Angel Ma. Garibay has pointed out, there is no doubt that these texts stem from pre-conquest days but in the

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period of more than a hundred years since the conquest they had suffered a great deal of distortion for a number of obvious reasons. However the internal evidence shows that the Indians went to a good deal of trouble to see that the transmission of the texts should be as pure as possible. Alarcón did his best to find out from the Indians what they considered the Nahuatl text to mean and it seems that sometimes even when the Nahuatl text itself had become adulterated they retained a tradition of the original meaning. In one particular instance Alarcón remarks "Seguire el sentido mas recibido entre los mismos que han usado de este conjuro, no atandome mucho a las reglas de la grammatica, y mucho menos a la poliçia de la lengua mexicana" (Navarro Edition, p. 153).

Whenever possible Alarcón procured texts in writing. On one occasion his servant came across a bathing party and somehow or other found a paper which he purloined and brought to his master (Navarro Edition, p. 68). In another instance Alarcón notes "En la interpretacion del conjuro procurare arrimarme a la letra, mientras de ello no resultare no poderse entender de todo punto en nuestro español" (Navarro Edition, p. 76 f.). In a later passage the words "Dize luego en el papel" are inserted in the Nahuatl text (Navarro Edition, p. 82). Other references to documents in writing can be found on pages 74, 90, 154, 160 and 170 of the Navarro Edition.

In perusing the Nahuatl text we have sometimes to be alive not only to the sort of corruptions which can arise through errors in oral tradition but also to copyists' mistakes.

Alarcón divided his work into six "Tratados". The first of these is a preamble and contains no more than one Nahuatl text. The second, third, fourth and fifth between them contain some thirty one incantations of various kinds while the sixth contains some thirty two incantations all connected with medical treatments.

The Nahuatl text to be found in the preamble, unlike those in the later "Tratados", is not an incantation but of a different nature altogether. For reasons which are developed later on, it would seem possible that this text can be placed in context with the discipline of the Calmecac and can to some extent be tied in with the fortieth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagún.

Alarcón tells us in some detail that in every village there was an old man who claimed the vocation of "Tlamacazqui". A sacred patio was maintained and was kept swept. Everyone was considered to have an obligation to bring green wood to the Tlamacazqui. The Tlamacazqui took it upon himself to order "Penitentes que llaman Tlamaceuhque" to journey to certain high places where there were stone circles or cairns. There the Tlamaceuhqui had to draw blood from his ear lobes and from his lower lip and then had to bring back a branch of the Acxoyatl.

The Tlamacazqui, sitting on a low stone in the middle of the sacred enclosure holding a bowl of Tenex yhetl in his hands, sent the Tlamaceuhqui on his errand addressing him in words which Alarcón has preserved for us. This address is divided into two parts, the first a warning and the second instructions for the journey.

The text of the warning as Alarcón gives it to us here follows but we have italicized such words as seem to need emendation if we are to discover a relatively simple meaning.

Xon yciuhtiu*h* *nocomichic* noxocoyo nocenteuh
Maçan cana timaahuiltit*iu*h nimitzchix*tie*z
nican niyehtlacuitica nitlacuepalotica nitlachix*tica*
yzca nimitzqual*ia* tichuicaz

The word Xocoyotl indicates that a young man is being addressed. In the fortieth chapter of book VI of Sahagún we find the word Noxocoio*uh* and we also find the word Nocentetzin which on the whole might seem to be a little more appropriate here than Nocenteuh. The word Nocomichic as a Nahuatl word sounds unconvincing and the Spanish meaning which Alarcón attaches to it does not seem to have any sense in the context. It seems that he must have had the text in writing because, if he had heard such a word spoken, he would assuredly have written "Noconetzin".

In a subsequent paragraph, Alarcón mentions that such journeys were made by night and that the Tlamacazqui awaited the return of the Tlamaceuhqui seated in the sacred enclosure before a fire. This brings us to the word "Nitlacuepalotica" which is translated "con el hipando". If the sense is that of Paloa, the syllable cue is hard to explain here. This seems to suggest the possibility that a copyist, faced with an unfamiliar word, might have transposed the letters and have written UEP

for PEU. If that were so, we should have the word Nitlacpeualotica. Molina gives "Tlacpeua, ni. cubrir el fuego o las brasas con ceniza para que se conserve". In Sahagún we find "ilamatlacatl caliollutl tlacpeoalli tlapixqui" (Florentine Codex, Book X, p. 11, line 13). We also find "Titlacpeoalli titenamaztli timuchioa" (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, p. 72, line 25). Seler makes an interesting reference to a Tarascan parallel, "Die Zärimonie bestand darin, dass der Priester einer bestimmten Klasse, - hiri-pa-ti - "der im Innern des Hauses in Feuer etwas verbirgt" der wohl: der Priester des Feuergottes war - um Mitternacht ..." (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen III s.114*).

With this emendation in the text, the Tlamacazqui would expressly be keeping the fire banked while he awaited the return of the Tlamaceuhqui.

Yzca nimitzqualtia tic-huicaz is translated "Cata qui lo que te doy for comida que lleves" but this does not seem to make much sense even if it refers to the tobacco, which as Alarcón explains, the Tlamacazqui gave to the Tlameceuhqui for his journey. There is in fact no reference to this tobacco in the Nahuatl text. These words may therefore be a corruption of "Yzca nimitzqualantiquiza" which would convey a warning of a sort appropriate to the circumstances.

If the foregoing emendations were accepted, the translation of the Nahuatl text of the warning would be,

Hurry my child, young man, my little one,
Do not play about anywhere, I shall be watching you,
Here smoking my tobacco pipe and keeping the fire
banked
I am watching you. See now, I might be annoyed by
you.

The second section of the Tlamacazqui's address contains instructions to the Tlamaceuhqui against his meeting on his way with spirits and how he is to distinguish between evil spirits (Tlaca nahualli) and woodland spirits (Quauhtlanchanecaca). On reading the text at first sight, the distinguishing marks would seem to be that the woodland spirits will be Tlanmahalactic and the evil spirits Tlantechinampol. The difference therefore, whatever it may be, would appear to relate to their respective teeth. Furthermore these are not the only references to teeth in the

text. We need therefore to see whether we can establish some sort of antithesis between what appears to be these two kinds of teeth.

As a translation of Tlanmahalactic, Alarcón gives "que tienen las bocas babosas" but if the mouth had been meant we should have expected to see the word "Camatl" and not "Tlantli". At the same time "Alactic" means "Slippery" and the ordinary word for "Baboso" is "Tenqualactic". It is just possible, though not very likely, that Tlanmahalactic is a mistake for Tenqualactic. It seems more likely that the original word may have been Tlanahatlatic. This word occurs with reference to a particular kind of grasshopper in the fifth chapter of the eleventh book of Sahagún in the expression Teteponviviatic teteponahatlatic (Florentine Codex, Book XI, p. 96, lines 17-18), which the editors of the Florentine Codex translate "The upper leg is long, smooth". If this emendation can be accepted, it might be supposed that the woodland spirits were to be recognised by their smooth teeth.

The word which at first sight we may suppose to be in antithesis to this is Tlantechinampol which Alarcón translates "que tienen muralla de dientes". This seems reasonable except that the depreciatory suffix -pol might suggest that it is a person that is referred to and not a thing. The Nahuatl rampart with its machicolation in the form of two ascending steps might suggest a row of filed teeth but on the whole this form of imagery might seem to be a little far fetched when there is a normal word for filed teeth which is Tlantziquatic and which will be referred to again below. Techinamitl as well as meaning a stone rampart can mean somebody else's chinampa. In the Annals of Cuauhtitlan it appears in the context *Ca ye ontimalihui yn techinantitlan*, which Velázquez translates "Somos dos pobres de las afueras de la ciudad" (Valázquez, Section 203 - Lehmann, Section 1189). There is an idiom "In ie techinantitlan in ie tequiaoac" for which Sahagún gives the meaning "Por casas ajenas y por tierras extrañas" (Florentine Codex, Book VI, p. 242, also p. 165, line 8 and p. 194, lines 32-33). Techinampol could therefore mean "Horrid stranger".

To return now to the word Tlantziquatic, we find in the twenty-ninth chapter of Book X of Sahagún the words *Tlantziquatique in oqujhti iuhqujn aioachtli intlan catca*

(*Florentine Codex*, Book X, p. 185, line 29). This comes in a paragraph about the Huasteca. We also find in the same chapter Motlantziquatiliaia, motlamjaoa tlapaltica anoço tlamjaoaltica (*Florentine Codex*, Book X, p. 86, line 18).

Following these lines of thought, Alarcón's text may be lined up against possible emendations as follows,

yntla çan tlantechinampol xiquahui huitequi, xicmicti
yntla çan techinampol tlantziqua - tiqui, xicmicti

The transposition of "tlan", the conversion of TZ into X and of "tequi" into "tiqui" are all possible copyist's errors. It is less easy to explain the introduction of "hui hui", but it is possible that the copyist, faced with the word Tlantziquatiqui, with which he would not have been likely to have been familiar, might have converted it into a word which he assimilated to Xicmicti. On the basis of these suppositions, the original text may have meant "If it is just a horrid stranger with filed teeth, kill him".

We have now to revert to earlier lines in the Nahuatl text, again referring to teeth. We have Yntlanco timayahuiz and Niman ytlanco ximayahui. Alarcón tells us that this means "les mete las manos en la boca". If that were correct we should have expected not yntlanco but ycamac. Furthermore both verbs are intransitive. As seen in words already quoted, the Huasteca not only filed their teeth but also stained them. In the twenty eighth chapter of the tenth book of Sahagún there is another reference to the staining of teeth. "In ytlanco ic mocamapacaz injn patli, ioan chillo, iztaio, nocheztli ic motlamjaoaz, ioan tilitic tlamjaoalli ic motlamjaoaz" (*Florentine Codex*, Book X, page 147, lines 5-8).

It is possible that Alarcón's "timayahuiz" should be "tlamiahuaz". The sense would then be "your uncles who stain their teeth". Three lines lower we find "Niman ytlanco ximayahui". The imperative "xi" could be a mistake for "ti" and this line might be no more than a repeat of the previous line and merely emphasize the fact that the tlaicanahualli had stained teeth.

Alarcón's text is as follows. Those words which seem to call for emendation are italicized and emendations added in brackets.

Izca mochiquacel (col) ic timotlaquechitiaz

yntlacaca tiquinnamiquiz Motlatlahuan yntlanco
timayahuiz (motlamiahuaz)
 yntla tlahcanahualli Moca mocacayahuaznequi
 Niman yntlanco *ximayahui* (motlamiahuaz)
 Auh yntla çan quauhtlachanecaca Tlanmahalactic
 (ahatlatic)
 amo tle mitzchichihuiliznequi
 auh yntla tlaicanahualli ytech tiquttaz
 yntla çan *tlantechinampol xicquahui huitequi*
 (tlantziquatiqui), xicmicti
 tic-hualcuih yntla poztectli acxoyatl.

The translation of the text as emended would read as follows,

Here is your staff to lean upon
 if you meet your uncles with stained teeth
 if it be a sorcerer he will want to mock you
 now he has stained teeth
 but if it is just a woodland spirit with smooth teeth
 he will not want to trouble you
 but if it is a sorcerer on whom you look
 if it is only a horrid stranger with filed teeth, kill him
 bring back a cut pine bough.

The final words "Poztectli acxoyatl" again recall the fortieth chapter of book VI of Sahagún and what the young man in the Calmecac had to learn, *itlan taqujz in vitztlapanaliztli, in acxoiapoztequjliztli, in neviztllaliliztli* (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, p. 215, lines 12-13).

In conclusion, we can infer that the village Tlamacazques about whom Alarcón speaks were in line of succession from the pre-conquest priesthood and that each regarded it as his duty to initiate the young men of the village so far as he could into the old discipline of the Calmecac. It may not be unreasonable also to infer that this text which Alarcón recovered for us reflects the traditional mode of address which the Tlamacazqui of the Calmecac used when he sent off his pupils to their midnight tasks in the woods and mountains.

2. CHICNAUHTLATETZOTZONALLI AND ASSOCIATED WORDS. INVOCATION OF PICIETL AND THE NUMBER NINE

By the time that Alarcón collected his texts, the residual heathen practices, after a hundred years or more since the

arrival of the Spaniards, had degenerated to a large extent into the worship of Picietl and other medicinal herbs, particularly Ololiuhqui and Peyote. In his commentaries Alarcón describes the part which these herbs played in the action attendant on the speaking of the spells. Nevertheless, in not one of the spells is Picietl referred to by its own name. Once and once only, the word Yetzintli occurs. However, there are references to Picietl under other names in no less than eighteen chapters.

There are four different words which are used to denote Picietl and these occur either singly or in pairs. Each of these words is generally prefixed by the word Chicnauh. In a few places Xiuh- or XoxoHuic is prefixed instead of Chicnauh. The four words in question, taking them in order of frequency, are Tlatetzotzonalli, Tlatecapanilli, Tlamatelolli and Papatlantzin. It will be noted that the last of these words, as it stands in the text, is not a passive past participle like the other three. This will be discussed later in its place.

Tetzotzona and Mateloa are both words which are found in connexion with Picietl in the Nahuatl text of Sahagún. In Book XI, Chapter VII, we find "Picietl motetzotzona, moteci, tenextli moneloa" (*Florentine Codex*, Page 146, Para. 25). In Book X, Chapter XXIV, a passage dealing with the actions of the seller of smoking tubes reads "Iietlachioa, ca tlamatiloa, uel quinamictia, suchio vei nacazio" (*Florentine Codex*, Page 88, 3rd. para.). The Spanish text at the end of Chapter XXVI of Book X reads "El que vende picietl, muele primero las hojas de el mezclándolos con una poca de cal, y así mezclado estriégalo muy bien entre las manos".

Tlatecapanilli on the other hand is a word which presents a certain amount of difficulty. Molina, in his Náhuatl/Spanish dictionary, lists Capani and its derivatives under the following,

Capani. Cruxir, o restallar las coyunturas de los dedos quando los estiran.

Capania. ni tla. hazer ruido con los çapatos.

Cacapania. nino. restallar o hazer cruxir los dedos estirandolos.

Cacapantiuh. ni. chapear la herradura de la bestia.

Ictimocapaniz. suceder ha algun mal por lo que agora hazes.

Ixcapania. ni te. dar bofeton.

In his Spanish/Nahuatl section he lists,

Engañarse. Pensando mal de otro, siendo lo contrario.
teca ninotzotzona. teca ninocapania.

There is an instance of this last idiomatic use of Cacapania in the prayer to Tezcatlipoca in Book VI, Chapter II, of Sahagún, "In nentlamattinemj in maceoalli, in motzotzona in mocacapania" (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Page 9). It is interesting to note a similar idiom in Chapter VII of the same book, where Capania is paired not with Tzotzoma but with Quavitequi (*Florentine Codex*, Page 33). In Book IV, Chapter XVII, we have the idiom again and with an explanation attached "Timotzotzonaz, timocacapanjz, qujtoznequj: ac aço can tle uel onmochioaz" (*Florentine Codex*, Book IV, Page 63).

The meaning of Capania can be taken to be the striking of a blow with a noise attached to it, a cracking, clicking or jingling noise. In Book X, Chapter XXIV, of Sahagún, the expression occurs "Ollamaloni, tzicuictic, capanqui tlacapanilli" (*Florentine Codex*, Book X, Page 87), which the editors translate "Rubber to play the ball game, bouncing, noisy, noisemaking". Amongst Alarcón's spells we find in Treatise II, Chapter II, "In nixolotl nicapanitli" and in Treatise VI, Chapter III, "In nixolotl in nicapanilli". This may be a reference to Xolotl's association with the ball game.

We conclude that Capania corresponds to the English words "Smack", or "Slap" or "Crack of a whip".

We still have to consider the word "Papatlantzin" the fourth of the words associated with Picietl. As already noted, unlike the other three it is not apparently a passive past participle with the prefix Tla-. Alarcón is not consistent in his efforts to translate this word. In Treatise V, Chapter XXIV, he translates Chicnauhpatlantzin "El que vuela como nueve", thus relating the word to Patlani, To fly. In Treatise II, Chapter IV, he translates Xiuhpatlantzin "El de las ojas como alas" and in Treatise II, Chapter XIII, "El de las ojas anchas", apparently assuming that the word is derived from Patlaoac, Broad. If the word Papatlantzin is correct, it would seem more likely that it is related to Papatla. Molina lists "Papatla. nite. deshazer o tachar lo que los otros dicen o hazen" and "Papatla. nitla. canbalachar o trocar algunas

cosas, o mudar y remudar las cosas que estan puestas en orden". There is an interesting instance of the use of the word in this last sense in Book XI, Chapter I, of Sahagún in connexion with the making of a trap for wild animals. "In pani quavitl qujteteca, qujçacatlapachoa yoan papatla" (*Florentine Codex*, Book XI, Page 4). The word papatla here expresses the thought that after the grass has been spread over the mouth of the trap it is thrown into disorder to give it a more natural appearance. In Book VI, Chapter V, we find "Tepapatzoa tlapapatla" (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Page 22), which the editors translate "Disparages the work of others, creates disorder".

A word with the sense of throwing out of order does not seem to apply satisfactorily to the preparation of tobacco. Since Alarcón had apparently three separate informants who used the word one would hesitate to suggest an emendation. Nevertheless one of the informants was a certain Martin de Luna who is mentioned more than once by Alarcón and who was reputed to be 110 years old. It may have been he who taught the other two. The thought therefore occurs that possibly the syllables Pa and Tla had become transposed and that the word should be Tla-tla-pa-nalli instead of Pa-pa-tla-ntzin. We should then have a past participle matching the other three words and conveying the meaning of the breaking up of the tobacco leaf.

It is worth while to consider the relative frequency with which each one of the four words with their variants occur. For this purpose it is best to count not the number of appearances of each word but instead the number of chapters in which they are used. The number of chapters is as follows,

Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli - by itself	5
Chicnauhtlatecapanilli - by itself	1
Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli Chicnauhtlatecapanilli	8
Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli Chicnauhtlamatelolli	4
Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli Chicnauhpatlantzin	1
Chicnauhtlatecapanilli Chicnauhtlamatelolli	1
	20

If each of the words in the above table is counted separately, the count is

Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli	18
Chicnauhtlatecapanilli	10
Chicnauhtlamatelolli	5
Chicnauhpatlantzin	1
	34

In addition to the foregoing words, we find the expression "Xoxohuic tlaticapaniltzin xoxohuic tlaticotzonaltzin" in one chapter and the word "Xihuhpatlantzin" in two chapters. If these words are included in the count on the same lines as above, the total number of appearances is as follows,

Tlaticotzonalli	19
Tlaticapanilli	11
Tlamatelolli	5
Papatlantzin	3
	38

There is evident confusion which may be accounted for by the fact that these expressions may be incomplete. Evidence for this may be found in Treatise V, Chapter I, where the text reads "Tlaxihualhuia chicnauhtlatetzontli chicnauhmateloli etc.". This "etc." seems to indicate that there were more words to follow. A syllable has also been left out of "Chicnauhtlatetzontli". Earlier in the same chapter we read "Tla xihualhuia tlamacazqui chiucnauhtlatecapanilli chiucnauhtlatlamatelolli (otros dicen chicnauhtla tlaticotzonaltli)".

There seems to be reason for thinking that the expression when complete was fourfold and included all four of the words here under discussion.

Alarcón remarks in Treatise V, Chapter XIII, "Fuera de la comun superstición se advierta como este numero de quatro es supersticioso entre los indios". This feature of the four winds or cardinal points of the compass pervades the spells. However, as is clear from a study of the colours designated in the spells, the informants did not usually trouble themselves to speak all four directional colours but were usually content to mention one or perhaps two but rarely more. This tendency to omit the third and fourth terms in a series of four is also

apparent in connexion with the four Tlaçolteteo bearing peculiar names. Their names are found in Treatise IV, Chapter III, where all four are given, Tiquato, Ticaxoch, Titlahui and Tixapel. Later in the same chapter only Tiquato and Ticaxoch are mentioned together and in treatise VI, Chapter I and Chapter IV, again it is only these first two that are mentioned. In the light of all this, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the invocation of Picietl in its complete form consisted of four terms.

The prefix *Chicnauh-* remains to be considered. Alarcón generally translates this "Nine times" though when faced with *Chicnauhpatlantzin*, as already mentioned, he modifies it to "Como nueve".

The number Nine as a prefix occurs in the spells in several connexions. *Chicnauhmicltan* is mentioned three times in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II). It is also found in the spell for healing broken bones (treatise VI, Chapter XXII) where a passage reads "Niquetzalcoatl, niani micltan, niani topan, niani chicnauhmicltan". The thought behind this is the legendary visit of Quetzalcoatl to Mictlan to obtain the *chalchihomiltl*.

Chicnauhtopan, though it means basically the same as *Chicnauhmicltan*, is also a name for *Xochiquetzal* as Alarcón states specifically in Treatise VI, Chapter XXXII. This is borne out by the wording in the first paragraph of the spell to induce sleep. In Treatise VI, Chapter III, we find "Can mach in *chicnauhtopa*, *chicnauhtlanepaniuhcan omotecato*", which is interesting in the light of Dr. Garibay's note on the hymn of *Xochiquetzal* and his quotation from Muñoz Camargo which includes the word *Chicnauhnepaniuhcan*. There is a peculiar reference to *Nochicnauhacatl* in Treatise VI, Chapter XXV, where the word seems to be associated with the drug *Coanepilli*. *Chicnauhacatl* was the day of *Tlaçolteotl* (Sahagún, Book IV, Chapter XX, Florentine Codex, Page 74) or in other words of *Xochiquetzal*. Seler identifies *Chiconavi Acatl* with *Xochiquetzal* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Bd. III, s.468). *Chiconavi Eecatl* is twice invoked (Treatise VI, Chapters IV and XIII), each time in close association with *Nahualteuctli* or in other words *Quetzalcoatl*.

All the foregoing references to the number Nine seem to relate specifically either to Sleep, or to *Quetzalcoatl*, or to

Xochiquetzal and give little help, if any, towards elucidating the invocations to Picietl.

There remains the possibility that it is as a day sign that Chicnauh is used in association with Picietl. Alarcón's informants seem to have been fond of allusions to day signs even though they had very little idea of what they meant. There are many references in the spells to the Macuiltonalique whom we take to mean the Cihuapiltin who were reputed to descend to earth on certain days which carried a 5-day sign. If this is accepted, it may be supposed that days carrying a 9-day sign may have had some similar significance. In fact Sahagún, in speaking of the Temacpalitque, says "Todas las casas novenas de todos los signos" were favourable to them for their work. In the Náhuatl text the word "Chichicunauj" is used (*Florentine Codex*, Book IV, Chapter XXXI, Page 102). It is possible that a day with a 9-day sign was considered to be propitious also for certain other activities and that the preparation of Picietl was one of these.

We are not likely to be able to prove very much bearing in mind that the text of the spells was collected after at least three generations of clandestine transmission. These spells do however contain much that can be checked from Sahagún and other sources. We are entitled to resort to a certain amount of conjecture in an attempt to fit Alarcón's fragments into the sort of pattern that we might expect in comparison with earlier dated sources.

The suggestion here made is that we can deduce a form of fourfold invocation of Picietl and that this was used on some day or days in the calendar which bore a 9-day sign. This at least seems to fit into the right sort of pattern.

3. THE USE OF THE CALENDAR DAY SIGNS

In the texts of Alarcón frequent mention is made of various calendar day signs but it does not appear that his informants had any understanding of the ancient calendar. Two passages in particular seem to show that they had lost any idea of the sequence of days in that calendar. In Chapter III of Treatise VI a passage runs as follows,

tla xihualauh, nonan chalchicueye, ce atl, ome atl, ce tochtli, ome tochtli cemaçatl, ome maçatl, ce tepatl (sic), ome tecpatl, ce quetzpalli, ome quetzpallin.

In Chapter V of Treatise VI a further passage reads,
 tla xihualhuia ce coatl, ome coatl, yey coatl,
 nahui-coatl.

It does not seem possible to extract any significance from either of these passages and it seems best to disregard them here in any further consideration of the day signs.

Some of the day signs are better recognised as names of deities than as actual day signs and this applies for instance to Chicomecoatl. She, as the maize goddess, is mentioned as might be expected in the spell for the planting of maize (Treatise III, Chapter IV). Here she is mentioned three times. She is mentioned once in "El sortilegio del maíz" (Treatise V, Chapter III). It seems likely that she is referred to again, but under an alternative name of Chicomolotl, in the spell for finding honey (Treatise II, Chapter VII). The word which in fact appears there is Chicomocelotl but it seems unlikely that 7-Ocelot is intended and that this is a corruption of Chicomolotl.

We may take Chicomexochitl next. In the last chapter (Treatise VI, Chapter XXXII) mention is made that the name Chicomexochitl was used as a name for deer. This is a useful clue to any interpretation of the spell for the hunting of deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII), where Chicomexochitl is mentioned seven times along with much that is reminiscent of the legend of Xiuhnel and Mimich and their hunting of the deer. She is also mentioned twice in the spell of the archers (Treatise II, Chapter IX) in a similar context of deer hunting. In the spell against the sting of scorpions (Treatise VI, Chapter XXXII) Chicomexochitl seems to mean Piltzinteutli or Xochipilli.

Chicuetecpacihuatl is mentioned six times in the spell for planting magueyes (Treatise III, Chapter I). Alarcón asserts that magueyes were planted in rows of eight by eight and translates the name "La de ocho en orden" apparently deriving it from Chicue Tecpantli without appreciating that Chicuetecpatl was a pulque god.

In Treatise III, Chapter III, which contains the text of no spell but only explanatory matter, Alarcón states "A las pepitas de calabaza llaman tlamacazqui chicomequauhtzin, quiere decir espiritado de siete ramas por los muchos brazos que echa". Here he was misled. Chicome Quauhtzin is the

day sign 7-Eagle, though any connexion with pumpkin seeds is obscure.

Nahui Acatl is a day associated with Xiuhcoatl and the fire drill. Reference is made to this sign no less than fifteen times spread over nine chapters. In twelve of these fifteen cases the word "Milintica" follows Nahui Acatl. The word Milintica is not found in dictionaries but the name Milintoc is mentioned in the second book of Sahagún in Chapter XXXVIII. Reference is there made to "Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl (*Florentine Codex*, Book II, Page 148). Sometimes to Nahui Acatl is added Tzoncoztli, Tzoncoçahuiztica, or Teteoynan Teteoynta. It is clear that Alarcón's informants looked upon Nahui Acatl as no more than a ritual expression for fire.

While the meanings attached by the informants to the aforementioned 7-day, 8-day and 4-day signs are apparent, it is more difficult to discover the sense in which they used some of the 1-day signs that crop up plentifully in the spells.

The expression Ce Atl never occurs alone but always as Ce Atl ytonal, if we ignore the appearance of Ce Atl in the corrupt passage already quoted. Ce Atl was a bad day sign associated with changes of fortune and ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue as we are told in the fourth book of Sahagún in Chapter XXX. Alarcón in general translates "Tlamacazqui Ce Atl ytonal" "Espiritado cuya dicha está en las aguas" but whenever possible he takes the expression to mean some instrument such as a stake, club, bow or some such other object. He shows no recognition of the fact that "Tonalli" means "Day" and that Ce Atl is a day sign. In Treatise II, Chapter I, he even translates "Tlaxihuallauh ce atl ytonal" as "Ven tu calor en tiempo de verano". Only in two chapters is Ce Atl found in any way associated with Chalchiuhtlicue, the deity who presides over that day sign, but in one other chapter it has associations with Iztaccihuatl who can be assimilated to Chalchiuhtlicue. In five other chapters Ce Atl has associations with either Quetzalcoatl or Nahualteuctli and it is possible that this day sign, which has an undertone of change, was more closely connected with Quetzalcoatl than would appear from our other sources of information.

In Treatise III, Chapter I, Ce Atl is associated in two separate passages with Ce Miquiztli and Ce Tecpatl. In the

context of this chapter, there are some grounds for thinking that Ce Atl may here mean Blood in association with Death and the sacrificial knife.

Ce Atl is also found in the spells for the planting of magueyes (Treatise III, Chapter I) and of maize (Treatise III, Chapter II) and in both places it may have the meaning simply of water.

While it is not possible to draw any positive conclusions, we may infer from Alarcón's texts that the expression Ce Atl had a fairly wide range of uses centered round the idea of change of fortune and that there is here some information to supplement what Sahagún tells us about this day sign.

Ce Tochtli, a sign which amongst other things represented the Earth, occurs in seven chapters. In four of these seven, the expression used is "Ce tochtli aquetztimani". In one chapter it is expanded to "Ce tochtli aquetztimani tizotzotlacatoc tezcatl in çan popocatimani". In another chapter we find three times "Ce tochtli tezcatl çan popocatimani". It therefore appears that the idea of the victim with his back bent over the sacrificial stone may be bracketed with Tezcatlipoca.

In the spell for the hunting of deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII), Ce Tochtli Tezcatl is joined with Tlaltecuintli (Identified in this chapter with Tlalteuctli) in the expression "Nonan Tlaltecuintli nota ce tochtli tezcatl", though it is not clear why the Earth is being invoked here. In the spell for the planting of pumpkins (Treatise III, Chapter VI), "Nonan Tlalteuctli aquetztimani nota Ce Tochtli" can be taken as relating to the Earth in which a wound is to be opened to receive the plant.

Ce Tecpatl occurs four times. In the first instance, it is preceded by Ce Atl itonal and Ce Miquiztli and followed by the words "Achtopa ezçoz achtopa tlapaloz" (Treatise II, Chapter I) and evidently refers to the sacrificial knife. Ce Tecpatl occurs again at the end of the chapter followed by "Tezçoz titlapaloz". The spell for the planting of pumpkins has already been mentioned and here Ce Tecpatl apparently functions as the instrument for the opening of the wound in the Earth. This day sign also is found in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II) but there is no clue to its meaning in the context.

Nohueltiuh cenmalinalli is found once in the spell for finding honey (Treatise II, Chapter VII) and three times in the spell for hunting deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII). It was a sign of Tezcatlipoca and of ill fortune. In the first of these spells, Cen Malinalli seems to be an attendant of Tezcatlipoca. In the spell for the hunting of deer, she seems in the first instance to be attendant upon Ce tochtli tezcatl and nonan Tlaltecuintli. Towards the end of the spell she is mentioned again and in company with these and several other deities. In between these two mentions she appears in a passage which looks to be incomplete and against which Alarcón adds a parenthesis to his translation to the effect "Habla a las cuerdas quando las roçan o las rompen los venados".

Ce Miquiztli occurs only twice. Its association with Ce Atl itonal and Ce Tecpatl in Treatise II, Chapter I, has already been commented upon. It also occurs in the spell for the burning of lime for cement (Treatise II, Chapter V) in a context suggesting the idea of death and resurrection and without any apparent meaning as a day sign. Ce Coatl is found in the spell for finding honey (Treatise I, Chapter VII) but the context provides no clue to its meaning. In the spell to attract affection (Treatise IV, Chapter II) the words seem simply to mean "A snake". "Yenoconhuica in nohueltiuh in Xochiquetzal, ce coatl ica apantiuitz, ce coatl ica cuitlalpitiuitz tzonilpitiuitz" Text as printed in 1892 edition seems to describe Xochiquetzal adorned with a snake with a snake bound round her hips and round her hair. The only reference to Ce Ocelotl is in the spell for surgical bleeding (Treatise VI, Chapter XVI) where Alarcón asserts that this means the lancet. The text reads "Tlamacazqui ceocelotl, tla xihuallauh: yequene tiyohuallahuaniz" and Ce ocelotl possibly represents here the embodiment of Night.

The only conclusion that can be reached is that Alarcón's informants were wholly ignorant of the ancient calendar system and used the day signs independently of their real calendar significance. When discussing the day signs as used by Alarcón's informants, it is appropriate to consider also the word "Macuiltonalleque", "The owners of the five day sign", a word which occurs eighteen times. Alarcón generally translates this as "Los de los cinco solares" or "Los de los cinco hados". He frequently alludes to the fact that his

informants attached the meaning of "Five fingers". Nevertheless, however much this understanding of the word may fit into the action attending the speaking of the spells, such a meaning does not fit into the Náhuatl context.

It so happens that Seler studied the problem of the connexion between the number Five and the Ciuateteo, the souls of the women who died in childbirth. His conclusions seem to provide a solution to the meaning of the word "Macuiltonalleque" although this word did not in fact enter into his consideration. He quotes from the *Histoire du Mechique (Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Bd. IV, s. 35)* "Cinc dieux chascung de diverse couleur, á cause de cela dits tonalleque" and points out that it is the Ciuateteo that are here referred to. He also quotes from Sahagún (Book X, Chapter X) "Ciuateteo, ciuapipilti diablome catca y macuiltin teme yn imixiptlauan" and mentions that the Ciuateteo were accustomed to come down to earth on certain days each of which bore a 5-day sign. He treats the subject of these 5-day signs at greater length, drawing on evidence from the Codex Borgia (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Bd. I, ss. 320/322*). He also draws attention to the fact that the Codex Borgia shows that Tlaçolteotl was the representative and leader of the Ciuateteo (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Bd. IV, s. 35*).

To turn again to Alarcón's texts, we find in Treatise III, Chapter VIII, "Tla xihuiqui, nohueltiuh macuiltonalleque tlaçolteteo". In Treatise V, Chapter II, we have "Tla xihualhuian nochparcuyeyequé (sic) coacueyeyequé, macuiltonalleque etc". From what we have to go upon, both the word "Nochpalcueyeyequé" and the word "Coacueyeyequé" have at least some connexion with Tlaçolteotl or the Ciuateteo. In the *Leyenda de los Soles* (Lehmann, Section 1486) we find the words "Auh in cihua in xochiquetzal yappalliicue nochpalliicue". Lehmann relates the whole phrase to Xochiquetzal but Seler suggests (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Bd. IV, s. 63*) that Yappalliicue Nochpalliicue may be interpreted as Tlaçolteotl. The word "Coacueye" appears three times in the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*, each time relating to the mother of Quetzalcoatl. In one of these places the text reads "Conmocihuahuati ytoça coacueye mocihuaquetzqui" (Lehmann, Section 174). This isolated example does not necessarily provide identification of the word "Coacueye"

with the "Mocihuaquetzque", another word for "Ciuateteo", except by way of corroborative evidence.

It is clear that Alarcón's informants identified the Macuiltonalleque with the Tlaçolteteo, if we follow through references to the oddly named deities whose names as given in the spells seem to be European. In Treatise IV, Chapter III, the sentence occurs "Tla xihualhuian in antlaçolteteo, in tiquato, in ticaxoch, in titlahui, in tixapel". Incidentally these seem to be Eduardo, Carlos, David and Isabel. Later in the same chapter we find "Tla xihualhuian macuiltonalleque, in tiquato, in ticaxoch". In Treatise VI, Chapter I, the wording runs "Tlacuel xichualquetzati in ammaapan in tiquato in ticaxoch. Tlacuel, tlaxihualhuian tlamacazque macuiltonalleque, cemithualeque" and in Treatise VI, Chapter IV, "Tlacuel tlaxihualhuian macuiltonalleque, cemithualeque, in tiquato, in ticaxoch".

In the light of all the foregoing, it would seem that in reading Alarcón's texts we should understand the word "Macuiltonalleque" to mean the "Tlaçolteteo" or "Cihuapipiltin".

It may be further remarked that in eight cases out of the eighteen in which Macuiltonalleque are mentioned the word "Cemithualleque" is added. At first sight this word might look to have some significance as a day sign but in fact it would appear to mean "All seeing". In Treatise V, Chapter I, the word "Cemixequé" is given in parenthesis as an alternative to "Cemithualleque". Ithua is an unusual variant of Itta but is attested by Carochi (Arte, 1892 Edition, Page 484), as a variant on which he comments "Usase en tierra caliente". The form Ithua appears several times in the Cantares Mexicanos. Alarcón himself in Treatise II, Chapter VII, writes "Niquinhuicaz quithuatihui 1. quitatihui nohueltiuh xochiquetzal. All this goes to show that there is no justification for any emendation of Cemithualleque as written.

4. THE USE OF THE DIRECTIONAL COLOURS

The significance of colours in relation to the four quarters of the earth is a recognised element in the thinking of the Nahuatl people. These colours figure prominently in the spells which Alarcón collected and all of them are in close accord with the classical colours denoting direction. In fact there are

five colours in concern and not four, because in addition to the four corners the central position in the middle of the four has to be taken into account.

The colours mentioned in the spells are,

Xoxouhqui or Xoxoahuic

Yztac

Coçauhqui or Coçahuic

Tlatlahuqui or Tlatlahuic

Yayauhqui or Yayahuic

In addition, Tliluhqui occurs twice and may be taken as a variant of Yayauhqui. Coztic appears once as a variant of Coçauhqui, and Tlahuic, Tlahuqui and Tlauhtzin each occur once as variants of Tlatlahuqui.

Lehmann, in his *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico*, has written various notes about directional colours and in particular that note which occupies pages 49 and 50. He refers to the Chichimec tradition in which Xoxouhqui represents East and Coçauhqui West whereas in the Toltec tradition the meaning of these two colours is reversed. Similarly in the Chichimec tradition Iztac is North and Tlatlahuqui South, though again in the Toltec tradition these are reversed. There is however nothing to show that Yayauhqui is ever associated with any but the centre position. It is identified in that position in the paragraph numbered 1539 in Lehmann's work already mentioned.

Dr. Garibay died before he could give us his promised edition of Alarcón. We have only fragments of his work on this material, such as that which he included as an appendix to his *Veinte Himnos Sacros de los Náhuas*. There on Page 260 he comments on the wording in the spell in Treatise IV, Chapter III. He remarks "En la enumeración de los "Amores" referidos a los cuatro rumbos, echamos menos al rojo. Están enumerados solamente el moreno el blanco y el azul..... Faltan entre los Tlaloques el moreno y el rojo. Es indicio de cómo se iban perdiendo las nociones antiguas, o, mejor, de la mala conservación de las memorias".

Dr. Garibay could have gone on to say that in Alarcón's spells only in three instances do as many as four directional colours occur in sequence. Furthermore in two of these three instances the colour Yayauhqui is included. Since Yayauhqui refers to the central position, it may be inferred that even

these two four colour sequences are incomplete and should in fact be five colour sequences.

From what has been said thus far, it might seem that there is some justification for assuming that Alarcón's informants had lost all idea of any precise meaning of the colours. It may however be worth while to persevere in an attempt to get some kind of understanding of the significance of their use of the colours and to see whether any kind of pattern can be discerned.

It has to be admitted that the material is insufficient in volume to provide a proper sample for statistical analysis. Nevertheless we have nothing else to work upon and some figures may be mentioned.

In all, a colour of some sort is specified 188 times. This does not include the name *Iztaccihuatl* which appears 17 times and may be treated as a personal name rather than as a specification of a colour. *Xoxouhqui cihuatl*, *Coçauhqui cihuatl* and *Tlatlahqui cihuatl* are nevertheless included in the count of 188, and between them account for 10 mentions.

Words occur with colours applied to them sometimes singly, sometimes in doublets when the same word occurs twice in sequence each time qualified by a different colour, sometimes in triplets and sometimes in quadruplets. The incidence of the appearance of the different colours is as follows,

	<i>Singles</i>	<i>Doublets</i>	<i>Triplets</i>	<i>Quadruplets</i>	<i>Total</i>
Xoxouhqui (East)	35	23	6	3	67
Yztac (North)	7	8	6	2	23
Coçauhqui (West)	19	11	8	3	41
Tlatlahqui (South)	20	-	-	2	22
Yayauhqui (Centre)	5	20	6	2	33
Tliluhqui (Centre)	1	-	1	-	2
Number of colours mentioned	<u>87</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>188</u>
Number of colour groups	87	31	9	3	130

For what these figures are worth, it will be seen that the eastern colour appears more frequently than any other. Next

comes the western colour and then the centre colour. North and South come less frequently. The relative frequency of appearance of the centre colour is surprising. The southern colour when used singly occurs relatively often but never occurs in a doublet or in a triplet.

If the colours occurring singly are excluded and only those in doublets, triplets and quadruplets are counted, East and West appear 22 times each but North only 16 times and South only twice.

If we take only the doublets, the combinations of colour in these doublets are as follows,

Xoxouhqui (E) and Yayauhqui (Centre)	16
Xoxouhqui and Coçauhqui (W)	5
Xoxouhqui and Iztac (N)	2
Yayauhqui (Centre) and Coçauhqui (W)	2
Yayauhqui and Iztac (N)	2
Coçauhqui (W) and Iztac	4
	31

This seems to show a predilection for the combination of the eastern and central colours, which are respectively the first and the last terms in the series of the five directional colours. It suggests the possibility that the texts originated from picture writing documents, in which such a contraction in the expression of the full series might have been a natural expedient. Nevertheless it is not safe to draw conclusions from this fallible material. We find accidental omissions as appears in a passage in Treatise II, Chapter VII, "Tlaximehuacan, yztac tocatl, yayahuic tocatl, coçahuic tocatl; iztac papalotl, coçahuic papalotl; iztac cuetzpalli, yayahuic cuetzpalli, coçahuic quetzpalli". Here it is clear that Yayahuic papalotl has been missed out.

The triplets provide far too small a sample to permit the drawing of any inferences, but of the nine instances, three include East West and Centre and three others North West and Centre. Two include East West and North and one North East and Centre.

As already mentioned there are only three quadruplets. One of these may be regarded as complete although the order of the colours is unusual. It is in Treatise VI, Chapter XXIII,

and reads "Xoxoahuic coatl, coçahuic coatl, tlatlahuic coatl, iztac coatl". In Treatise VI, Chapter XXIX, we have "Xoxouhqui totonqui, yayauhqui totonqui, tlatlahuqui totonqui, coçauhqui totonqui" and in this Iztac (North) is missing. In Treatise VI, Chapter XXV, it is Tlatlahuqui (South) that is the missing item in the series "Cacauhqui (sic) totonqui, xoxouhqui totonqui, yayauhqui totonqui, iztac totonqui". In none of these three cases can any regular pattern be discerned.

When we examine the words to which colours are attached we find that they amount in number to 44 but of these there are four which between them alone account for 90 colour references out of a total of 188 colour references. The other 40 words together account for only 98 colour references. The four principal words and the colours applied to them are set out below.

	Coacihuiztli	Tlamacazqui	Cihuatl	Chichimecatl	Total
Xoxouhqui, Xoxoahuic	9	6	5	-	20
Iztac	-	4	-	-	4
Coçauhqui, Coçahuic, etc	-	8	1	-	9
Tlatlahuqui, Tlatlahuic, etc	-	3	4	9	16
Yayauhqui, Yayahuic	1	-	-	1	2
Tliliuhqui	-	1	-	-	1
Total - Singles	10	22	10	10	52
Xoxouhqui and Yayauhqui	10	1	-	-	11
Xoxouhqui and Coçauhqui	1	-	-	-	1
Coçauhqui and Yayauhqui	1	2	-	-	3
Coçauhqui and Iztac	-	1	-	-	1
Total - Doublets	12	4	-	-	16
Xoxouhqui Coçauhqui Tlil'qui	1	-	-	-	1
Xoxouhqui Yayahuic Coçahuic	1	-	-	-	1
Total - Triplets	2	-	-	-	2
Number of Groups	24	26	10	10	70
Number of Colours Mentioned	40	30	10	10	90

In Alarcón's works, the word "Coacihuiztli" may be taken to mean an ache or pain. It will be noted from the above table that when only one colour is applied to this word such colour is in nine cases out of the ten Xoxouhqui, the eastern and in the Nahua mind the first point of the compass. When two colours are applied, these are in ten cases out of twelve Xoxouhqui and Yayauhqui, the first point and the last point respectively in the Nahua compass so to speak. When three colours are applied, they are those of East, Centre and West, in that order, or else in the order East, West and Centre. It seems therefore that here at least, where colours are applied to Coacihuiztli, we can trace some sort of a pattern, even though there are some exceptions.

We are in a different position when dealing with words such as Tlamacazqui, Cihuatl and Chichimecatl, which represent deities or personages. Here the colour may be used as a method of identifying an individual person. We know, for instance, that Xoxouhqui Cihuatl is Chalchiuhtlicue. As mentioned earlier, the name Iztaccihuatl which occurs 17 times, has been excluded from our count of colour mentions. Tlatlahqui Chichimecatl seems to be a particular deity, possibly Xipe Totec, for in Treatise II, Chapter III, we find the words "Nichualhuia tlamacazqui tlatlahqui chichimecatl, tlatlahqui tezcatl". This suggests that these two are the same. Durán equates Tlatlahqui Tezcatl with Xipe Totec.

As seen in the table, there are 52 single colour mentions spread over 4 principal words. There are 35 other single colour mentions but these are spread over as many as 25 different words. The count of these 35 colours is as follows,

Xoxouhqui	15
(of which three are applied to Tzitzimitl)	
Iztac	3
Coçauhqui	10
(of which four are applied to Yollotli)	
Tlatlahqui	4
Yayauhqui	3
	35

Apart from the 16 doublets applied to the same 4 principal

words, there are 15 doublets applied over all to 12 other words. The combinations of these are as follows,

Xoxouhqui and Yayauhqui	5
Xoxouhqui and Coçauhqui	3
Iztac and Xoxouhqui	2
Iztac and Coçauhqui	3
Iztac and Yayauhqui	2
	15

Here again the combination appearing most often is that of East, the first direction, and Centre, the last direction. East with West appears 3 times. Tlatlahqui, South, does not appear at all, but Iztac, North, appears with each of the other directions more than once.

We have in the end to conclude that there is very little that we can discern about the real meaning of the directional colours as used in the texts of Alarcón. This is unfortunate because these colours seem to form an important element in the texts. Such a study as this, however, does provide us with some idea of the sort of reservations that must be made, so far as concerns colours, in any attempt to translate or interpret the texts.

5. THE DEITIES INVOLVED IN THE SPELLS

An attempt is made here to present a summary of the contents of Alarcón's collection of spells so far as concerns the deities involved and to draw attention to some salient points. Nevertheless, the gods which bore Day Signs as names are not included here because they are dealt with separately when considering the Day Signs as a separate subject.

To give an idea what deities are principally concerned and what is the relative frequency with which their names occur, the following is a list of those most frequently mentioned and against each name is shown the number of chapters in which that name occurs.

Iztaccihuatl	13 Chapters
Nahualteuctli	14 Chapters
Teteo ipiltzin	11 Chapters
Xochiquetzal	10 Chapters
Centeotl	9 Chapters
Citlalcueye	8 Chapters
Tonacacihuatl	6 Chapters
Quetzalcoatl	5 Chapters
Yaotl	5 Chapters
Tlaloc	5 Chapters
Tlalteuctli	5 Chapters

Since water is so often involved in the action attending the spells, it is natural that Chalchihcueye as goddess of water should figure frequently, particularly bearing in mind that the subject matter of no less than ten of the chapters in which she figures falls within Treatise VI dealing with the diagnosis or cure of physical or supposedly physical ailments. She is also mentioned in the chapter dealing with sexual illnesses (Treatise IV, Chapter III). The other three chapters in which she is invoked all have something to do with water. One of these relates to fishing (Treatise II, Chapter XVI), one to catching birds at the surface of the water (Treatise II, Chapter VI) and one to the destruction of ants (Treatise II, Chapter XIII) where the ants are flooded out as a last resort.

Iztaccihuatl is identified with Chalchihcueye in three chapters (Treatise IV, Chapter III, and Treatise VI, Chapters II and III). More often she represents whiteness in the form of salt or copal incense. In one chapter she represents lime (Treatise II, Chapter V) and in another seems to represent the herb Tzopillotl.

Nahualteuctli is identified with Quetzalcoatl in the spell for cutting wood (Treatise II, Chapter III) and in that for Load Carriers (Treatise II, Chapter IV). In the spell for casting lots (Treatise V, Chapter II), though the name of Quetzalcoatl is not mentioned, the passage "Nimictlanmati, nitopanmati, nomatca nehuatl nitlamacazqui, ninahualtecuctli" seems also to identify Quetzalcoatl. The name of Nahualteuctli appears in eleven other chapters. In four of these, it is fairly closely associated with Pahtecatli, a Pulque god, whose name does not appear in the spells elsewhere than in these four chapters. In

many of the contexts Nahualtecutli is associated with healing. He plays a part in the burning of lime (Treatise II, Chapter V).

It is a question whether the expression "Teteo ipiltzin" denotes a god. However in the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII), we find the words "Ninotolinia, yn niceteotl, teteo ni-ypiltzin, teteo niytlacachihual" and this would seem to identify Ceteotl (Cinteotl) with Teteo ypiltzin. In the spell for the Load Carriers (Treatise II, Chapter IV) Teteo ypiltzin is mentioned but no conclusion can be drawn from the context. In nine other chapters, however, it is clear that Teteo ypiltzin refers to some sick person though it is hard to find an explanation for the use of the reverential form. Possibly the expression might be translated into English as "The darling of the gods".

Xochiquetzal is mentioned in ten chapters, of which six relate to the procuring of food in such ways as honey gathering, hunting and fishing, so that it looks as if she is invoked here in her capacity as Tonacacihuatl. It may be that it is in the light of her association with Tezcatlipoca in the underworld that she appears in "El encanto para batallar" (Treatise II, Chapter I) and in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II). She appears in the spell for beguiling affection (Treatise IV, Chapter II) and it seems that she plays the same sort of part in the chapter relating to scorpion sting (Treatise VI, Chapter XXXII) which opens with an approach by Xochiquetzal to Yappan. Further in the chapter Chicomexochitl accuses Xochiquetzal of interrupting Yappan's act of penitence and at the end Xochiquetzal speaks of sleeping with Yappan and offering him comfort. The contents of this chapter seem to be more of a poem than a spell.

The name Tonacacihuatl is mentioned in six chapters. The designation Tonacacihuatl Xochiquetzal is found both in the spell for hunting with bows and arrows (Treatise II, Chapter IX) and in that for angling (Treatise II, Chapter XVI). In the spell for netting fishes (Treatise II, Chapter XVII), where the Náhuatl text shows "Tonacacihuatl", Alarcón in the Spanish translation gives "Xochiquetzal". Tonacacihuatl is also mentioned in the spells for sowing maize and garnering maize (Treatise III, Chapters IV and V). In the spell against

fevers (Treatise VI, Chapter XXX), she is mentioned and this is apparently because the medicine which the patient was made to drink contained amongst other things grains of maize.

In all the nine chapters in which Centeotl (Cinteotl), the maize god, is mentioned, only two seem to contain any reference to maize. One of these deals with the garnering of maize (Treatise III, Chapter V), the other with the appeasement of passion (Treatise IV, Chapter I) and in it there is an apparent reference to a potion which contained grains of maize. The other seven chapters in which Centeotl appears do not seem to have any connexion with maize but deal with hunting (Treatise II, Chapters VI, VIII and IX) and fishing (Treatise II, Chapters XIV, XV and XVII) or with the sowing of sweet potatoes (Treatise IV, Chapter VII). There is another peculiarity in the use of the name in these spells. With only two exceptions, the name occurs only in the expression "Niconpiltzintli nicenteotl", which is found as many as sixteen times. Even the exceptions may be little more than variants, one of them being "tlaçopilli centeotl" (Treatise IV, Chapter I) and the other "Nicateotl, teteo ni-ypiltzin, teteo niytlacachihual" (Tratado II, Chapter VIII). There was at least one tradition that Cinteotl was the son of Piltzintecutli and Xochiquetzal and Alarcón's informants seem to have held to this tradition if we can judge by the opening paragraph of the spell for hunting with bows and arrows (Treatise II, Chapter IX). This spell though short is particularly full of folk lore allusions and begins "Ye nonehua nehuatl niycnopiltzintli nicenteotl" and proceeds with a reference to "yn nonan tonacacihuatl xochiquetzal cihuatl" and to "nota chicomexochitl piltzintecutli". In spite of the peculiarities, there seems little doubt about the authenticity of Centeotl's appearances in the spells.

Xochiquetzal was the patroness of the Tlaçolteteo, which name is found in three chapters. In the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII) it appears three times and in the spell for angling once (Treatise II, Chapter XV). In the spell for curing sexual illnesses (Treatise IV, Chapter III) the strangely named "intiquato, inticaxoch, intitlahui, intixapel" are specified as Tlaçolteteo. Tiquato and Ticaxoch are found together in four other instances but without the last two. A second reference to them comes in the already mentioned cure

for sexual illnesses, they are mentioned twice in connexion with childbirth in Treatise VI, Chapter I, and once in the cure for headaches (Treatise VI, Chapter IV). This dropping of the names Titlahui and Tixapel follows a not unusual feature in Alarcón's texts. His informants when dealing with what ought to have been a series of four names or terms seem apt to mention no more than the first two. It may be remarked that these names look very like the European names Eduardo, Carlos, David and Isabel and it is possible that the informants used these as a code for Nahuatl names which for one reason or another they feared or were ashamed to speak.

Citlalcueye is another of the frequently mentioned deities and her name appears in eight chapters. In five of these chapters she is mentioned in context with Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli or suchlike expression for Picietl or tobacco. As the goddess of the Milky Way it may not be unnatural that she is associated with tobacco smoke. In the spell for cutting wood (Treatise II, Chapter III) the formula is "Chiucnauh tlatetzotzonalli, citlal cueye ytlachihual". In the first spell for angling (Treatise II, Chapter XV) it is "Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli, chicnauhtatecapanilli, citlalcueye iconeuh, citlalcueye itlacacihuatl (sic)". In the second spell for angling (Treatise II, Chapter XVI) we find again "Chicnauhtlatetzotzonalli, yn citlalcueye iconeuh". In the spell "Del sortilegio de las manos" (Treatise V, Chapter I) the wording is "Chiucnauhtatecapanilli, chiucnauh tlatlamatelolli (otros dicen chiucnauhtla tlatetzotzontli), xoxouhqui tlamacazqui, nonan, nota, citlalcueye ipiltzin". The nature of the invocation to Citlalcueye in the spell for the hunting of the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII) is obscure but possibly the passage "Nonan tlaltecuintli nota ce tochtli texcatl, ca hualpopocatimani, nonan citlalcueye, nota totonametli, tlamacazqui nanahuatzin, xiuhpiltzintli" may relate to the burning of undergrowth and smoke. In the cure for sexual illness (Treatise IV, Chapter III) there is in effect a prayer for the life of the sick person in the words "Nonan citlalcueye, oticmochihuili, oticmoyolitili, ca no tehuatl ica tehua, ica timilacatzoa". The same prayer is repeated almost word for word in the prayer for the life of a new born child in Treatise VI, Chapter III.

The name of Quetzalcoatl is mentioned in five chapters.

In the spell "Para batallar" (Treatise II, Chapter I) he figures in conjunction with Yaotl and Moquequelo, or in other words with Tezcatlipoca. Here and also in the spell for load carriers (Treatise II, Chapter IV) his presence may denote the risk of death. In the spell for cutting wood (Treatise II, Chapter III), Quetzalcoatl is associated with Tlatlahqui Tezcatl, which is another name for Xipe Totec. Selser draws attention to the figure in Codex Vaticanus showing Xipe Totec as the herald of Quetzalcoatl (Selser, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, Page 113). This spell may possibly have been one used for the cutting of firewood for the ceremonial fires in the Calmecac and, if that were so, this reference to Quetzalcoatl would be appropriate. In the spell for catching birds (Treatise II, Chapter VI), it may be in his capacity as the Wind God that Quetzalcoatl figures. In the spell for the healing of broken bones (Treatise VI, Chapter XXII), the legend of his visit to Mictlan in search of the Chalchihuitl is mirrored in the words "Ca nehuatl nitlamacazqui, ni quetzalcoatl, niani mictlan, niani topan, niani chichnauhmiectlan: ompa niccuiz ni mictlanomitl".

Besides the reference to Yaotl and Moquequelo already noticed, these two appear together in two other chapters. They are twice mentioned in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II). In the spell for gathering honey (Treatise II, Chapter VII), another of Tezcatlipoca's names is introduced and here the words are "Nicel yaotl, ninelti ytlacahuan, ninoquequeloatzin: nomatca nehuatl onihualla yn niyaotzin". Close to the end of this spell Yaotl appears in search of a meal, "Yn nehuatl onihualla niycnoyaotzin, ninotolinicatzintli. Nictemoco yn noneuhca, yn nonochca". In the spell for catching animals (Treatise II, Chapter X), Yaotl searches for "in notlahuan tlamacazque tliipotonqui". Alarcón tells us that here "Tlamacazque tliipotonqui" means the wild boars. Sahagún gives "Tliipotonqui" as another name for Quetzalcoatl. Finally, Yaotl figures in the spell for beguiling affection (Treatise IV, Chapter II) though Alarcón unfortunately mutilated it because, as he put it, the wording was unsuitable for chaste ears. Yaotl is here "Nitelpochtli niyaotl".

Nanahuatzin, as the Sun god, is mentioned in three chapters. In the spell for load carriers (Treatise II, Chapter IV), there seems to be an allusion to the legend of the creation

of the sun and moon at Teotihuacan. In the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII) he is mentioned twice, the first time in conjunction with Xiuhpilli and tobacco, and the second when his name appears in a passage which seems to convey the idea of fire and smoke and which has already been commented upon in connexion with Citlalcueye. In the spell for sowing sweet potatoes (Treatise III, Chapter VII), Nanahuatzin is mentioned twice but the reference is obscure.

Tonatiuh is mentioned in two chapters. In the spell "Para batallar" (Treatise II, Chapter I), he is mentioned along with Tlaltecuintli and Tonacametzin, which is probably a corruption of Totonametzin. In the spell for Needle Incisions (Treatise VI, Chapter XXIV), there is a passage "Tlenenica nican tonyezque yei tonatiuhztzin" but the word "Tonatiuhztzin" fits badly into the context which is in any case somewhat confused.

The name Totonametli appears in the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII) in the passage to which reference has already been made both in connexion with Citlalcueye and with Nanahuatzin. Tlaltecuintli also appears in that same passage. He is identified with Tlalteuctli in the heading to the second part of that spell. Immediately below that heading are found the words "Tla xihuiqui, nonan tlalteuctli, nota ce tochtli tezcatl, çan huel popocatimani". Nonan tlalteuctli also appears as might be expected of an Earth deity, in the spell for planting magueyes (Treatise III, Chapter I), in that for sowing maize (Treatise III, Chapter II), and in that for sowing pumpkins (Treatise III, Chapter VI). She is mentioned besides in the chapter about scorpion sting (Treatise VI, Chapter XXXII) though it is impossible to guess the connexion.

Teteo ynan teteo ynta, the combined deities of fire and light, are involved in three chapters and each time in somewhat similar wording. In the spell for the burning of lime (Treatise II, Chapter V) the formula is "Nota nahui acatl milintica, tzoncoztli, teteo yn ninan (sic), teteo ynta" and in the spell for the casting of lots (Treatise V, Chapter II) the words are almost the same but "Tlahuizcalpan tecutli" is added after "Tzoncoztli". In the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII), the words "Xiuhtli coçauhqui milintica" take the place of "Tzoncoztli".

This leads to the question of the identity of Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl a name that crops up in seven chapters. Alarcón, in translating, always aims to attach a meaning to fit the action attendant on the spells. In the spell for cutting wood (Treatise II, Chapter III), he explains that Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl means "Axe" because, as he puts it, the axe is of copper and shines like a mirror. In places where the word "Axe" would not fit he uses such words as "Fish hook" or "Spoon". Hooks, spoons and metal axes are all objects of European provenance so that, if we are to assume that "Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl" is an authentic ancient expression, we must look more deeply for a meaning.

It is not possible to see why the word "Chichimecatl" should be used in this connexion and we can only speculate upon the meaning of the expression "Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl" as a whole. It appears nine times in Alarcón's spells. In the already mentioned spell for cutting wood we find the words "Ninahualteuctli, niquetzalcoatl, nichualhuica tlamacazqui tlatlahuqui chichimecatl, tlatlahuqui tezcatl". Tlatlahuqui Tezcatl is Xipe Totec and it seems that Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl is thus paired off with Xipe Totec though the two are not necessarily identified together. In the same spell there is a second reference to Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl and it reads "Mitzcac moopochcopa no contecaz yn tlamacazqui, tlatlahuqui chichimecatl". This calls to mind a passage in the sixth book of Sahagún much commented upon by both Seler and Garibay. This passage is repeated no less than three times being found in each of the chapters IV, IX, and XVII and reads "Copuctia, qujtzactia in teteu innan in teteu inta in tlalxicco onoc". In connexion with this passage of Sahagún, attention may also be drawn to the spell for gathering honey (Treatise II, Chapter VII). Here the word "Tlaxilcapan" is found but there does not seem to be any authority for such a word and placed where it is in the context it seems to be an intrusion. This word could be a mistake for "Tlaxillacalpan" but that would not fit into the context. The possibility which comes to mind is that the correct reading might be "Tlaxicco ipan" and, if that were so, the text would run "Tlacuel, tlaxihuallauh, tlalxicco ipan tontiazque, tonotlatocazque; tla xihuallauh, tlatlahuic chichimecatl, tonyazque, tonotlatocazque". If these two references in Alarcón's texts

can in this way be tied in with the traditional formula attested by Sahagún, it would seem that Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl can be identified with Teteo Innan Teteo Inta and the related Sun gods amongst whom Ixcoçauhqui comes to mind. Furthermore, in support of such identification, it may be remarked that this invocation of Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl in the spell for gathering honey follows closely the wording of the invocation of Nanahuatzin in the spell for load carriers (Treatise II, Chapter IV) which reads "Tlacuel tla xihualmohuica Nanahuatzin, achtopa niaz, achtopa notlatocaz, çatepan tiaz, çatepan totlatocaz". This is a passage which, as Garibay remarks, contains tinges of the legend of the creation of the sun and moon.

The spell for burning lime (Treatise II, Chapter V) opens with an invocation to Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl and here fire would seem to be the element involved. In the spell for the planting of pumpkins (Treatise III, Chapter VI), the words "In inlatlahuan tequamchamecan tlatlahuque chichimeca" seem to mean "Red ants" as Alarcón supposed. It may be imagined that the reference is to their fiery colour and fiery bite. Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl also enters into the spell for curing inflammation of the skin where again the idea of hotness and fire is conveyed. It appears that here Teteo Innan is to some extent equated with Xipe Totec the deity presiding over skin diseases.

While the greater part of the references to Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl are therefore seen to be appropriate to Fire, there are nevertheless two chapters in which it would seem necessary to infer that some instrument was involved. These chapters are those containing the spells for angling (Treatise II, Chapter XV) where Alarcón speaks of a fish hook and for planting magueyes (Treatise III, Chapter I) where he speaks of a spoon. It is possible that the instrument is the incense burner, Tlemaitl. It may be remarked that in the spell for cutting wood we find in association with Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl the words "Tlein ticmati nican" while in the spell for burning lime (Treatise II, Chapter V) we have similarly "Tleyn ticmati tlatlahuic chichimecatl". Again in the spell for inflammation of the skin (Treatise VI, Chapter XXV) "Tla xihuallauh, tlatlahuqui chichimecatl. Tlein ic tai". It may be far fetched to suggest that we have here a

corruption of "Tlemaitl" but the fact remains that some drastic emendations of this sort have to be made in many places in Alarcón's texts, if we are to draw any real meaning from them. One other circumstance which might have a bearing on the problem of the Tlatlahuqui Chichimecatl may be mentioned. Seler draws attention (*Collected Works* Vol. III, Page 213) to a figure in Codex Nuttall portraying the Sun god carrying an incense burner shaped as a dog. One may hazard the thought that possibly the word "Chichimecatl" may be a corruption of "Chichimaitl".

Tlaloc or names approximating thereto are mentioned in five chapters but all the references are of a casual nature and obscure. In the spell for gathering honey (Treatise II, Chapter VII) we have no clue to the meaning of "tla xihuallauh tlamacazqui chicomocelotl (sic), tlaloc xochitl" and the text here may be corrupt. The Tlallogue are twice mentioned in the spell for hunting the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII). Tlalocateuctli is invoked for the protection of crops from animals (Treatise II, Chapter XII) as well as the "Tlamacazque xoxohuic -tlallocan, iztac-tlallocan, coçahuic-tlallocan". Tlalocatecutli is also invoked in Treatise VI, Chapter III, in connexion with Chalchicueye and spring of water for the curing of infantile complaints. In the spell for the curing of sexual illnesses (Treatise IV, Chapter III) there is a reference to "Ninahualtecutli, xoxouhqui tlaloc, iztac tlaloc" which again probably relates to the bathing of sufferers from disease. In the spell for healing broken bones (Treatise VI, Chapter XXII) there is a reference to "Nohueltiuh in chicuetepecacihuatl, tlalocihuatl" but it seems unlikely that this has in fact anything to do with Tlaloc.

Pahtecatl was a pulque god and is mentioned in four chapters. In each case the reference seems to be a potion or lotion. The chapters concerned are those dealing with the spell to appease annoyance (Treatise IV, Chapter I), with that to cure headaches (Treatise VI, Chapter IV), with that for curing eye troubles (Treatise VI, Chapter VI) and with that for curing pains in the breast (Treatise VI, Chapter XIII).

The expression "Nixolotl nicapanilli", alternatively "Nicapanitli", occurs in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II) and also in Treatise VI, Chapter III. Alarcón makes a note in Treatise V, Chapter I, on "El sortilegio de

manos", to the effect that some of his informants used the expression "Nomatca nehuatl nixolotl" in that spell. It is not clear why Xolotl is introduced into any of these spells. The word "Capanilli" is discussed in connexion with its association with the preparation of tobacco or picietl but it is possible that the word has here some reference to Xolotl's association with the ball game. In the spell for curing pains in the breast (Treatise VI, Chapter XIII), there is a reference to "Coçauhqui xollotli" but this would seem to be an error for "Coçauhqui yollotli".

Cihuacoatl is mentioned in only one chapter, that for the hunting of the deer (Treatise II, Chapter VIII), but appears there no less than four times and each time as part of the expression "Nohueltiuh cihuacoatl cihuatequiahua". Alarcón when translating this expression, in three separate instances, makes a note in parenthesis to the effect that Cihuacoatl means the lazo or the cords to bind the deer. It should however be noted that this spell contains references to Mixcoacihuatl yn Acaxoch and there are tinges reminiscent of the legend of Xiuhnel and Mimich and the double headed deer. It seems likely that the references to Cihuacoatl here relate to Cihuacoatl Quilaztli.

Other deities mentioned include Yohualitoa, the Night Speaker, who figures three times in the spell for inducing sleep (Treatise II, Chapter II) and Yohuallahuantzin, the Night Drinker, who figures only once in that same spell. Itzpapalotl is mentioned once in the spell for hunting deer, a feature again reminiscent of the legend to which allusion has already been made. Mictlantecutli is mentioned in an alternative ending to "El sortilegio de las manos" (Treatise V, Chapter I). The Xochiteteo are invoked in the spell for angling (Treatise II, Chapter XV) but it is hard to see any relationship with fishing.

Oxomoco and Cipactonal are mentioned three times but each time in a garbled manner. In Treatise I, Chapter III, we find "Nixomoco nihuehue nicipac nitonal". In the spell for casting lots (Treatise V, Chapter II), the wording is "Nihocomoniz, nicepactonal nicmati huehue el, nicmati illama (si es mujer)". In the spell for soothsaying with maize (Treatise V, Chapter III), the words are "Nicipatl nitonal nihuehue". It is interesting to compare these three passages

with the reference in the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* which reads "Oxomoco çipactonal yn nehua huehuetque yllamatque yn yehuantin" (Lehmann, Page 54, Section 12). We have here both an illustration of the basic classical authenticity of the material which Alarcón collected and a demonstration of the degree of confusion which had in the course of years arisen in the text. It gives an idea of the extent to which we may in places be obliged to reconstruct the texts in order to gain any reasonable understanding of them.

6. "ENCANTO PARA BATALLAR" TREATISE I, CHAPTER I

The spell which Alarcón gives us in this chapter was obtained from a certain Juan Vernal "Que usaba de ciertas palabras y encanto para batallar con las quales afirmaba avia ydo siempre seguro por los caminos, y nunca avisado (sic) vencido de enemigos o de salteadores" (Who used certain words and a spell for combat by virtue of which, as he claimed, he had always travelled in safety by road and had never been bested by enemies or robbers).

It is clear that Alarcón looked on this spell as one intended to protect the ordinary traveller on his way. Nevertheless, the language is not of a kind that would have been composed for anything less than a ceremonial occasion. If the words "Encanto para batallar" be taken as they stand, it seems reasonable to suppose that this may be an ancient formula used by the common soldier on the march to war. Juan Vernal himself might have been aware of such a fact even though he used it when he travelled as a protection against common assault.

The Aztec leaders were accustomed to go into battle assuming to themselves the identity of a deity and wearing the deity's insignia. It might not then seem unnatural to suppose that the common soldier may have similarly sought to identify himself with a deity thereby to aspire to invincibility while equally contemplating the alternative possibility of achieving a warrior's death on the sacrificial stone.

It has to be admitted that we can do no more than conjecture any logical meaning in the various spells collected

by Alarcón. There is no doubt, however, that they bear the stamp of authentic tradition. Alarcón in many places mentions that he obtained this or that spell in writing. The authentic material contained in them could hardly have been preserved in the memory for over a hundred years unless it had been written down. There is even a little internal evidence to suggest that at an earlier stage the spells may have been written down from picture writing documents. Alarcón mentions that some at least of the people who did the writing were scarcely literate. The material available to us is therefore inevitably full of copying mistakes and particularly subject to confusion when the copyist had to deal with unfamiliar classical words no longer in current use.

Before attempting to translate the spell, it is necessary to consider the meaning of certain words in the context in which they are here found and to discuss possible corruptions in the text.

The word "Nimatl" occurs in the first sentence and is translated by Alarcón "Yo el dios llamado Matl" but no reference to such a god is found elsewhere except in the work of De la Serna who in effect did no more than incorporate in his work Alarcón's own Spanish version of the spell. So far as the spells are concerned De la Serna's work is a mere plagiarism of Alarcón. In the passage in concern there are two gods, firstly Quetzalcoatl and secondly Tezcatlipoca though not under that name but under two of his other names, "Yaotl" and "Moquequelo". This passage at the opening is very largely repeated later on in the spell and comparison of the two passages suggests that the words in the first of them may have been written in wrong order. To show the relationship between these two passages, the later of the two is written out below and underneath it the earlier so spaced out that the process of erratic copying may be more obvious,

Nitlamacazqui, niquetzalcoatl:atle ipan nitlamati:nehuatl
nitlamacazqui niyaotl

- - niquetzalcoatl - - nimatl, ca nehuatl - - niyaotl
- - - - - atle ipan nitlamati

"Nohueltihuan notlacaxillohuan" are words which occur twice early in the spell and twice again later on. The first of

these is a word which occurs frequently in the spells as a propitiatory prefix to the name of a deity and is found in this spell as a prefix to Xochiquetzal. Nevertheless "Nohueltihuan notlacaxillohuan" are stated to be of flesh and blood (Ezçotihuitze tlapallotihuitze) so that here "Nohueltihuan" must have its literal meaning of "Elder sisters". Alarcón's note on the word which reads "Llama asi sus enemigos por valdon" (So he calls his enemies in disdain) can hardly be appropriate. The word "Tlacaxillohuan" is translated by Alarcón "Los que son de mi misma naturaleza" (Those who are of my own nature) but the word for that would be "Notlacapohuan". A compound of Tlaca-tl (Man) and Xilo-tl (Ear of tender maize) seems unlikely here. We can only assume that the copyist was confused by a word which would have been no longer in current use. The classical word which comes to mind is "Tlaxilacalli" for which Molina gives the Spanish word "Barrio" (Town quarter). This word is probably synonymous with "Calpulli" judging by Chimalpahin's fairly frequent use of the two words, either one following the other or else the two compounded together (Chimalpahin, Zimmermann, Vol.I, pages 146,148,etc). Sahagún in Book VI, Chapter XXIII, (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Page 127) refers to "In vevetque, in tlaxilacaleque, in axocheque" (The elders, the town counsellors, the guardians of the bounds), when treating of the ceremonies attending a young man's betrothal. If we can assume the correct words to be "Nohueltihuan notlaxilacallecahuan", these might be taken to the local elders of each sex who were responsible for the organisation of the calpulli and for the performance of the communal obligations. It must be admitted that "Notlaxilacallecahuan" is a drastic emendation but so complicated a word, almost certainly unfamiliar to the copyist, would in its very nature have been likely to suffer severe mutilation. The word would at least give some point to a context in which otherwise it is difficult to see any point.

In this same context as well as in other places in the spell, it is necessary to consider what meaning attaches here to the word "Ahuiltia". This is a very common word and basically means "To irrigate" but in general use means "To give pleasure" and by extension "To play with" or "To mock". "To give pleasure to my elders" might fit the

context in the first instance but later on in the spell "Mock" would be more appropriate. There is another passage with some similarities which is found in the spell for inducing sleep which is the subject matter of Chapter II of this same Treatise. In both passages the speaker identifies himself with Yaotl Moquequelo. Moquequelo is "The Mocker" so that when such a name is closely followed by "Ahuiltia" we can only assume "Ahuiltia" is used here in its sense of "Mock".

The "Olloque, yaoyoque" are mentioned twice in the spell but in fact the second of these words is a corruption of "Yiauhyoque", "The lords of the Yiauhli" referring to the aromatic plant. "Olloque yiauhyoque" in various forms appear several times in the Hymn to Tlaloc, which Sahagún gives us in Book VI, Chapter VIII. The reference is to incense from burning rubber and yiauhli. In each case these words are followed in the spell by "In ihuan tlahuitequi in ihuan tlatzotzona". These words, when not obviously bearing their literal meaning, form an idiom which expresses association with danger but here in the context it would seem that they may mean no more than "With whom we consort".

Ce Atl itonal, Ce miquiztli and Ce Tecpatl are all calendar day signs. A study of the use of the day signs in the spells shows that the informants of Alarcón had lost all understanding of the ancient calendar and we have no clue to the esoteric meaning behind the use of these signs here. We can do no more than take them at the face value of their literal meanings. Ce Atl however in this context and in association with Ce Miquiztli (1-Death) and Ce Tecpatl (1-Knife) would seem to have the meaning of Blood. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that Ce Atl and Ce Tecpatl are mentioned again at the end of the spell where each of them is followed by the words "Tezcoaz titlapalloaz" (People's blood is let, people redden).

It would seem that here these words bear their literal meaning but it may be remarked that "Teezco tetlapallo" is recorded by Sahagún in Book VI, Chapter XLIII, in the meaning "Those who are born of noble blood" (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Page 245). This idiom also appears in the grammar of Olmos (Rémi Siméon, Page 214).

"In tetl in quauitl" is a well known idiom meaning "Punishment". In Alarcón's spells, "Tetl ihuinti quauitl

ihuinti" is found three times. Molina in his dictionary lists under the letter "I"

"Iuhquimma tetl yuinti quauitl yuinti ictimochiuaz. seras assi como el que toma palos o piedras para se matar. i. haras mucho mal a ti mismo. Metaphora."

It may be that in the context these words bear at least a nuance of suicidal bravery. It is also interesting to note the passage in the *Cantares Mexicanos* in Folio 77 vo. lines 3 & 4 "Tllali ihuintihua tlama maleque yahtla" which Dr. Garibay translates "La tierra se embriaga, los cautivadores hacen cautivos (*Poesía Náhuatl* III, Page 71). In the light of all this, the expression "Tetl ihuintiz, quauitl ihuintiz, tllali ihuintiz" seems clearly to express "Battle".

Xochiquetzal is introduced into this spell but it is not clear for what reason nor is it clear what part she plays in it. As patroness of weaving, the symbols which she normally bears are the Tzotzopatzli (Weaver's reed) and the Xiotl (Heddle). Here however her characteristics (Ihiyo) are stated to be her cotton (Iichca) and skein (Iicpateuh). The meaning, "Characteristic", for "Iyoti" can be inferred from some passages in Sahagún and in particular that which is found in Book X, Chapter XVI, in connexion with which the editors of the *Florentine Codex* draw attention by footnote to the gloss in the Madrid manuscript reading "La virtud que tiene" as a guide to the translation of "Ihiio".

In Alarcón's text as printed, "Iichca" stands by itself as a single word though, as such, it is incorrect in form. The correct form would be "Iichcauh". Alternatively "Iichca" is incomplete and requires another word to be suffixed to it. In fact, the word "Tlahuitech" follows and this is a word appropriate to the process of weaving. In Book X, Chapter X, of Sahagún we find "In qualli hiquitqui: tlatepachoani, tlahuitequini" (*Florentine Codex*, Book X, Page 36). This passage speaks of the good weaver who weaves tightly whereas a passage follows therein which speaks of the bad weaver who weaves loosely. It would seem therefore that "Iichcatlahuitech" means "Her tightly woven cotton". "Iicpateuh" may be taken to mean the skein of cotton for making the weft.

The final word in this paragraph is "Nechaahuiltizque"

and it looks as if the subject of this word is "Nohueltihuan notlacaxillohuan", and as if the reference to Xochiquetzal and her weaving has been intruded into the text.

The wording of the paragraph beginning "Tlaxihualauh tlaltetecuín" recalls to mind something that is found in the conventional utterance of the midwife at the birth of a boy as recorded by Sahagún in Book VI, Chapter XXXI, with particular reference to his destiny to be a warrior and to feed the sun. Tlaltetecuintli is identified with Tlalteuctli in the heading to the second part of Alarcón's Chapter VIII of Treatise II. It may be assumed that "Tonacametzin" is a corruption of "Totonametzin". In the chapter of Sahagún already quoted Totonametl appears in close connexion with In Tonatiuh in Tlaltecutli and the Spanish text reads "El sol, que se llama Totonametl in manic".

The final paragraph contains reference to "Ce tochtli aquetztimani" who appears a number of times in the spells and seems to mean the suffering earth stretched out on the sacrificial stone. Ce tochtli seems at least to have some connexion with Tezcatlipoca for in two of the spells his name is qualified by the words "Tezcatl çan hualpopocatimani".

In the same paragraph, the reference to "Itzcalco" is not easy to understand. Molina lists

"Lado diestro o siniestro. totzcalco, ytzcalli, mitzcac."

"Atrevesado estar algo. yxtlapalonoc, ytzcalonoc."

"Detraves. yxtlapal. itzcallo."

Sahagún, in Book XI, Chapter IX, uses the idiom "Teiol itzcalo" and this the editors of the *Florentine Codex* translate "One is provided solace" (Book XI, Page 234). Similarly in Book VI, Chapter XXIII, we find "Aocmo itzcaliujz moiollo" (*Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Page 130). In the context here the young woman is leaving home in tears to marry and "Itzcalli" seems somehow to represent the security of the parental home. There is a further use of this word and this is in connexion with the sun and its position in the heavens. Reference may first be made to the passage in Book IV, Chapter XIX, of Sahagún, "Amo iolnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopiloa tonatiuh" which the editors of the *Florentine Codex* translate "Not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already

was turning to his left side, when the sun hung low" (Book IV, Page 70). Here there is no doubt that "Onmotzcaloa" refers to the evening but in the light of the idiom "Teioltzcallo" an opinion may be expressed that a more apt translation of "Onmotzcaloa" would be that the sun was "Going to rest". It has however to be admitted that there are two difficult passages in Book XII where this word crops up again. In Chapter I we have "Onmotzcalo in tonatiuh oc tlaca". The Spanish text gives "Después de mediodía". Dr. Garibay's translation of the Nahuatl was "Había llegado el sol a su apogeo: era el medio día" and doubtless when rendering "Tlaca" in this way he had in mind Carochi's notes on the word (Grammar, 1892 edition, Page 499 f.). The editors of the *Florentine Codex* translate "It was past noon and still daytime" (Book XII, Page 3). Nevertheless it looks as if the time of day described here may be the same as that expressed in the passage already quoted from Book IV and that here we have "When the sun was going to rest though yet it was day". The other passage in Book XII is at the end of Chapter XXIII, "Auh in onqujzca ie ummotzcaloa, ie uncalaquj in tonatiuh". (*Florentine Codex*, Book XII, Page 64). Seler however in his edition intrudes the words "yoan ualcalaquj" directly before "ie uncalaquj" (*Einige Kapitel*, Page 514). There is nothing to be gleaned from the Spanish text. It seems unlikely that a foraging party would go out at noon. If the two words injected by Seler are not in the original, there is no reason to suppose that both "Ummotzcaloa" and "Uncalaju" do not refer to the evening. There is a great deal more that could be said about this word "Itzcalli" but enough has been said from which at least a tentative conclusion can be drawn that in the passage before us it means the place of rest and satisfaction of the sun, and by extension the place of rest of those who serve the sun.

The spell is set out by Alarcón in six paragraphs each of which in the Náhuatl seems to represent a separate idea. Headings as seem appropriate are given to each of these paragraphs here below and an English translation is interlined. Such Nahuatl words as seem to need emendation, in accordance with the foregoing explanations, are underlined. The suggested emendation follows in brackets and it is on that emendation that the translation is based.

1. *Personal assumption of identity with Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca*

nomatca nehuatl niquetzalcoatl, nimatl (Omit), ca nehuatl niyaotl, nimoqueueloatzin, atle ipan nitlamati.

I, verily I, am Quetzalcoatl, I am the Warrior God, I am the Mocker, I care not a jot for anyone.

2. *Contrasting mortal nature of earthly authorities*

Ye axcan yez: niquinmaahuiltiz nohueltihuan, ni(no) *tlacaxillohuan* (tlaxilacallecahuan) inic niquinmaahuiltiz tlaxihualhuian olloque *yaoyoque* (iyauhyoque) in ihuan tlahuitequi, in ihuan tlatzotzona; ca nican huitze nohueltihuan *notlacaxillohuan* (notlaxilacallecahuan) tiquinmaahuiltizque yehuantin ezçotihuitze, tlapallotihuitze.

Now shall be the time. I will mock my elder sisters my elders of the council. So that I may mock them, Come, Lords of the Incense, of rubber, of Yiautli with whom I consort. for here come my elder sisters and my elders of the council whom we will mock. They are of flesh and blood.

3. *Ecstasy - perhaps Battle*

Auh in nehuatl amo nezço, amo nitlapallo; ca onichualhuicac in tlamacazqui ce atl, itonal; in tlamacazqui ce miquiztli, çe tecpatl achtotipa ezçoaz; achtotipa tlapalloaz tetl ihuintiz quahuitl, ihuintiz tlalli, ihuintiz tonehua

But I am not of flesh and blood. I carry the spirit of Blood his day, the spirit of Death, the Sacrificial Knife First blood will be let, first we shall redden, the rocks will reel, the woods will reel, the ground will reel, all is in torment.

4. *The mortal body in contrast to the immortal spirit*

Onic-hualhuicac nomiccama, nomiccanacayo, inic amo nicmatiz inic nech-ahuiltizque in nohueltihuan, in *notlacaxillohuan* (notlaxilacallecahuan) amo nehuatl in nech-huitequizque in nitlamacazque, niquetzalcoatl; atle ipan nitlamati: nehua nitlamacazqui, niyaotl, nimoqueueloatzin,

ca ye no iz huitze nohueltihuan, *notlacaxillohuan* (notlaxilacallecahuan), ye quihualhuica in *mo(no)hueltiuh* in xochiquetzal, quihualhuica in ihiyo yez in iichca(-)tlahuitec, in iicpateuh inic nechaahuiltizque

I have carried with me my mortal hands, my mortal flesh, that I may not know that my elder sisters and my elders of the council will mock me it is not I whom they will strike. I am the spirit of Quetzalcoatl. I care not a jot for anyone. I am the spirit of the Warrior God, of the Mocker. for here come my elder sisters my elders of the council they bring with them my elder sister Xochiquetzal, she brings what shall be her characteristics her tightly woven cotton and her skein of cotton, that they may mock me.

5. Invocation of the Sun, and associates involved in a warrior's destiny

Tlaxihuallauh tlaltetecuin, tlaxihuallauh *tonacametzih* (totonametzin), tlaxihuallauh olloque, *yaoyoque* (iyauhyoque), in ihuan tlahuitequi, in ihuan tlatzotzona; tlaxihualhuian tlamacazque tonatiah, iquicayan tonatiah, icalaquian, in ixquichca nemi, in yolli, in patlantinemi, inic nauhcan niquintzatzilia, ye axcan yez.

Come, Tlaltetecuintli, Come, Totonametzin, Come, Lords of the Incense, of rubber, of Yiauhtli, with whom I consort. Come, Spirits of the Sun, at the rising of the Sun, at his setting, every creature that moves, that lives, that flies, that I may proclaim them to the four quarters of the earth. Now shall be the time.

6. An apparent welcome to death on the sacrificial stone

Tlaxihuallauh ce tochtli aquetztimani, tlaximixtlapachtlaça; tlaxihuallauh ceatl itonal tezçoaz, *ti(te)tlapalloaz*; tlaimitzcalco, amo çan canin tiaz huel itzcalco. Tlaxihuallauh ce tecpatl, tezçoaz, *ti(te)tlapalloaz*; tlaxihuallauh *tlaltecuin* (tlaltetecuintli) Come, Suffering Earth, bent back for sacrifice, Throw yourself over. Come, Blood His Day, people's blood will be let, people will redden. If in his place of rest, but not elsewhere, we shall go to a place of rest. Come, Sacrificial Knife, people's blood will be let, people will redden. Come, Tlaltetecuintli.

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RESUMEN

Los textos de Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, sin duda alguna la colección más importante para el estudio de la magia de los antiguos nahuas, presentan al investigador graves dificultades en su interpretación. Una buena parte de estas dificultades radica en la corrupción que los conjuros sufrieron a partir de la conquista española, pese al interés de los propios practicantes de las artes mágicas por conservar a la letra un legado secular. Otro buen número de problemas de interpretación deriva, obviamente, de la naturaleza misma del material, cargado de esoterismo.

Los artículos ahora publicados pretenden dilucidar algunos de estos problemas, explicando el significado de términos o frases, para lo que se recurre al estudio comparativo con textos clásicos diversos, al simbolismo religioso y al ensayo con grafías que el autor supone más correctas y con las que sustituye posibles trastrocamientos. Aborda el autor, además, los temas del simbolismo de los números, el de los colores y su relación con los rumbos del universo, el de los nombres de los días, y la presencia, importancia y ubicación de los dioses en el contexto del conjuro.