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Florentine Codex

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Book 9 - The Merchants

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

CHARLES E. DIBBLE

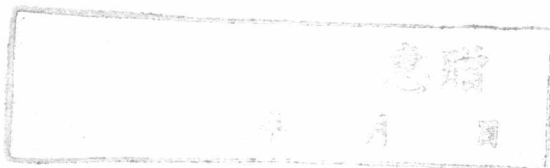
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BOOK NINE--THE MERCHANTS

LIBRO NONO DE
los mercaderes, officia
les de oro, y piedras
preciosas, y plu
ma rica

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De los Mercaderes

NINTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE MERCHANTS AND THE ARTISANS: THOSE WHO WORKED GOLD, AND PRECIOUS STONES, AND PRECIOUS FEATHERS.

INIC CHICUNAUUI AMOSTLI, ITECHPA TLA-TOA, IN PUCHTECA, YOAN IN TLACHI-CHIUHQUE, IN QUICHICHIOA COZTIC TEUCUJTLATL, IOAN TLAÇOTETL, IOAN TLAÇOIHUITL.



First Chapter, which telleth of those who founded commerce in Mexico and Tlatilulco.

Inic ce capitulo: intechpa tlatoa, in quitzintique in puchtecaiotl, in mexico ioan tlatilulco.

Behold what was customary in times of old. At the time that commerce began, Quaquauhpitzauc [was ruler]. Those who started the commerce were the principal merchants¹ Itzcoatzin and Tziuhotecatzin. Thus did they engage in trade: they sold only red arara and blue and scarlet parrot feathers.² Only these three things did they regard as merchandise.

Izcatqui in iuh tlamanca in ie uecauh: in ipan pochtecaiotl, ipan otzintic, in quaquauhpitzaoc, in quitzintique pochtecaiotl, iehoantin in, in pochtecatlatoque: itzcoatzin, tziuhotecatzin. Inic puchtecatia, in quinamacaia: çan iehoatl in cueçal, ioan cuitlatexo-tli, ioan chamoli: çan i ietlamanisti inic pochtecatitiaque.

And the second ruler who came to be installed was Tlacateotl. And also in his time were installed these principal merchants: Cozmatzin [and] Tzompantzin. In their time appeared quetzal feathers, [but] not yet the long ones, and troupial³ and turquoise, and green stones; and capes [and] breech clouts of fine cotton.⁴ What was being worn was still all maguey fiber capes, netted capes of maguey fiber, breech clouts, shifts, skirts of maguey fiber.⁵

Auh inic ome motlalico tlatoani: tlacateutl: auh no ipan motlalique, in puchtecatlatoque: iehoantin jn, Cozmatzin, Tzompantzin: ie inpan nez in que-tzalli, aiamo viiac, ioan çaquan, ioan xiuitl, ioan chal-chiuitl, ioan iamanqui tilmatli, iamanqui mastlatl, in nequentiloia, çan oc mochi, ichtilmatli, ichaiatzintli ichmastlatzintli, ichuipiltzintli, ichcuetzintli.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *principales tratantes*; Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; México: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 349: *jefes de los traficantes*; Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: Ascher und Co., 1902-1923), Vol. II, p. 1011: *Vorsteher der Kaufmannschaft*.

2. *Cueçalin*: arara, in Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pts. 3-4, p. 108; parrot with fiery feathers, *ibid.*, p. 63; also, red guacamaya (sun bird), *ibid.*, p. 47. "*Llama, color rojo vivo, pluma de ese color*," in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331. See also Herbert Friedmann, Ludlow Griscom, and Robert T. Moore (Alden H. Miller, Editor-in-Chief): *Distributional Check-List of the Birds of Mexico*, Pts. I and II (Pacific Coast Avifauna, Nos. 29 and 33; Berkeley: Cooper Ornithological Club, 1950, 1957; hereafter referred to as Friedmann et al.) Pt. I, p. 125.

Cuitlatexo-tli: corresponding Spanish text — "*plumas de papagayos . . . açules*." "*Azul manchado. Pluma y color de un ave*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 332).

Chamoli: "*Ave roja de la región tropical. Pluma fina. Ident. y et. desconocidas*" (*ibid.*, p. 333); probably a parrot (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 110, refers to it as a violet or dark red color; in *ibid.*, Pt. 4, p. 52, he writes of *chamotzin* that "female dead were called by another endearing name *chamotzin* 'dark red or ornamental feather'" (quoting Sahagún, X, 29, 12, *MS Acad. Hist.*). Cf. also Eduard Seler, "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler la pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," *Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-Rendu de la 8^{me} Session* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), p. 432 and n. 52.

3. *Çaquantotoitl*: troupial (*Icterus gularis* Wachl.), according to Seler, *Collected Works*, Pts. 3-4, p. 114; "*Ave de pluma fina, dorada y negra*" (*Gymnostinops Montezumae*), in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 372; cf. Friedmann et al., Pt. 2, p. 276.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*las mñas de algodón, y mastles de algodón*."

5. *Nequen* in *ibid.*

And the third who came to be installed as ruler was Quauhtlatotzin. And also in his time were installed these principal merchants: Tollamimichtzin [and] Micxochtziyautzin. And in their time appeared gold lip and ear plugs and rings for the fingers — those called *matzatzaztli* [or] *anillo*; and necklaces with radiating pendants, and fine turquoise, and enormous green stones, and long quetzal feathers; and the skins of wild animals; and long troupial feathers, and blue cotinga and red spoonbill feathers.⁶

And the fourth who came to be installed as ruler was Moquiuxtzin. And also in his time were installed these principal merchants: Popoyotzin [and] Tlacochintzin. And also in their time appeared costly capes — the wonderful red ones, with the wind jewel design; and white duck feather capes; and capes with cup-shaped designs in feathers; and wonderful breech clouts with embroidered ends — with long ends at the extremities of the breech clouts; and embroidered skirts [and] shifts; and capes eight fathoms long,⁷ of twisted weave;⁸ and chocolate. And all [and] everything [already] mentioned — quetzal feathers, gold, green stones, all the precious feathers — at this time increased, augmented even more. And the reign in Tlatilulco came to an end with Moquiuxtzin. When he died no other ruler was installed in Tlatilulco. Then began only a military government. And here started only military rule in Tlatilulco. Here were the military governors who at that time were installed and given the authority of the displaced ruler Moquiuxtzin. Those who guarded were the commanding general Tziuacpopocatzin, the general Itzquauhtzin, both of whom were royal noblemen; and then the general Tezcatzin, the commanding general Totoçacatzin, both of whom were warrior noblemen, Mexican noblemen.

Auh inic ey, motlalico tlatoani, iehoatl in quauhtlatotzin: auh no ipan motlalique, in puchtecatlatoque iehoantin in Tollamimichtzin, micxochtziiautzin: auh ie inpan nez, in teucuitlatentetl, ioan teucuitlanacochtli, ioan maxitlaztli: iehoatl in motocaotia matzatzaztli, anillo, ioan chaiaoac cozcattl, ioan teuxiuitl: ioan ueuei chalchiuitl, ioan viac quetzalli: ioan tequanehoatl, ioan viac çaquan, ioan xiuhtototl, ioan teunquechol.

Auh inic nauí, motlalico tlatoani, iehoatl in moquiuxtzin: auh no ipan motlalique, in puchtecatlatoque: iehoantin i, popoiotzin. tlacochintzin: auh no inpan nez, in tlaçotilmatli, in cenca mauiztic, tlapalecacozcaio, ioan xomoihuitilmatli, ioan hihuitica tetecomaio tilmatli, ioan mauiztic mastlatl, tlamachio in iiac, uel iacauiac in imastlaiacaio: ioã tlamachcueitl, tlamachuipilli, ioan chicuematl tilmatli, ilacatzihuiqui, ioan cacaoatl. Auh in ie isquich in ic mochi in omoteneuh in quetzalli, in teucuitlatl, in chalchiuitl, in isquich tlaçoihuitl: oc cenca oncan omiequis, otlapiuis: auh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco ça ica ontlamico, in moquiuxtzin, in icoac omomiquili, aoc ac tlatoani motlali in tlatilulco: vnican otzintic in ça quauhtlatolo. Auh nican ympeoa, in ça quauhtlatolo in tlatilulco: nican cate in quauhtlatoque, in ipān onmotlalique, in ipetl in icpal, in concauhtia tlatoani moquiuxtzin: in contlapielique, iehoantin i, tlateccatzintli, tzioacpopocatzin: tlateccalcatzintli, Itzquauhtzin: omestín tlaçopipilti: auh niman ie tlateccalcatzintli tezcatzin, tlateccatzintli, Totoçacatzin: omestín quauhpipilti mexica pipilti.

6. *Xiuhtototl*: blue cotinga — *Cotinga cincta* S. *coerulea* (Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 39); *Cyanospiza cyanea*, *Guiraca coerulea* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 369. Also cf. Friedmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pt. 2, p. 59.

Teoquechol (*tlauhquechol*): red, rose-colored, or red and white spoonbill or heron (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 62; Vol. II, *passim*). In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 356, *teoquechol* is *Ajaja ajaja*; *tlauhquechol* (p. 364) is the same or *Ajaja rosea*. Also cf. Friedmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pt. 1, p. 53.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: “*mantas de ocho braças en largo*.”

8. “Twisted weave” and “spiral design” are permissible variants.



Second Chapter. Here is told how the merchants began their office, in which they were considered [and] honored as principal [merchants].

And behold, the principal merchants who became the companions of [the governors], those vested with authority, were Quauhpoayualtzin, Nentlamatitzin, Vetzcatocatzin, Çanatzin, [and] Vei oçomatzin.

And Auitzotzin ruled in Tenochtitlan. Now in his time the merchants had entered [the provinces of] Ayotlan [and] Anauac,¹ [and] there they had been besieged. Four years they remained encircled in Quauhtenanco. In that place war was waged. Those who made war upon them were the people of Tequantepec, Izuatlan, Xochitlan, Amaxtlan, Quauhtzontlan, Atlán, Omitlan, [and] Mapachtepec.² These aforementioned cities were all large.

And not these alone contended [and] fought against them, but indeed they massed together all the people of Anauac to fight those besieged in Quauhtenanco. And those who became captives of each of the merchants, they took out of number. Those who had no devices they did not count; they counted only those who had devices; those who came carrying quetzal feather crest devices; shirts of blue cotinga [or] of trogonorus³ feathers; turquoise mosaic shields; golden, butterfly-shaped nose plates, which they had come wearing; and golden ear pendants which hung from their ears, each extending very wide, reaching their shoulders; and quetzal [and] troupial feather banners, [and] bracelets for the upper arm with sprays of precious feathers. These indeed they counted; these became their captives. Some took twenty, some took fifteen. And as [the enemy] cities fell, as the

Jnic ome capitulo, vncan motenehoa: in quenin iehoantin i puchteca, compeoaltique in intequih, inic ipã omachoque, ca tlatoque mauistiñ

Auh izcate, in inuicalhoan mochiuhque, in puchtecatlatoque: in ontlatiloque petlapan, icpalpan, quauhpoiaoaltzin, nentlamatitzin, vetzcatocatzin, çanatzin, vei oçomatzin.

Auh in tenochtitlan tlatocati, in Auitzotzin: ie ipan in calacque puchteca, Aiotlan, in anaoac, ompa ynpã oalmotzacu: nauhxiuitl in caltzacutimanca in quauhtenanco, in oncan iauchioaloque, in quimoniauchi-oaia tequantepecatl, izoatecatl, xochtecatl amastecatl, quatzontecatl, atlã omitlan tlatcatl, mapachtepeoa: Jnin omoteneuh altepetl, mochi ueuei.

Auh amo çan iioque, in quimonpeoaia, in quimon-icalia: çan uel quimonololhuiaia, in ie isquich anaoacatl, inic quimonicalia in oncan tzacutimanca, quauhtenanco. Auh in inmalhoan moch iuhqn cecenme puchteca: amo çan tlapoalti in quimacique, in amo tlauique, amo quimpouhque, çan iioque in quimpouhque tlauique: in onactiuitze quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtotochoatl, tzinitzcanehoatl, xiuhchimalli, teucuitlaiacapapalotl, in contlatiuitze: ioan teucuitlanacaztepoztl, in innacaztlan pipilcatiuitz: uel papatlaoc, imacolpan oallaci, ioan quetzalpanitl, çaquanpanitl, machoncotl: o iehoantin in in uel quimonpouhque: in inmalhoan mochiuhque: in aca cacic centecpantli, in aca cacic castolli. Auh in oia altepetl, in ompoliuh anaoacatl: nimã itlan oalcalac in mexicatl.

1. Anauac: Gulf of Mexico and Pacific Coast lands, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pts. 1-2, pp. 33-34. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "las prouincias de Aiotlan, y Anaoac." See also Miguel Acosta Saignes: *Los puchteca: ubicación de los mercaderes en la estructura social tenochca* (Acta Anthropologica, I: 1, México, 1945).

2. See corresponding Spanish text.

3. Tzinitzcan: *Trogonorus mexicanus* or *T. ambiguus* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 366); a bird of black and green feathers (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pts. 3-4, p. 137), or quetzal tail and shoulder feathers (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 2). See also Arthur J. O. Anderson & Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1950), p. 18, n. 100. Also cf. Friedmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pt. 2, p. 12. In Book XI of the *Florentine Codex* (fol. 58), it is commented that "Las plumas de la cabeça casi de todas las preciosas aues se llama tzinitzcan."

people of Anauac perished, the Mexicans then penetrated among them.

And this was when [the merchants] were ordered to assemble. They said: "O Mexicans, O merchants, O vanguard merchants, the master, the portent, Uitzilopochtli, hath performed his office. We can approach near [and] to our city. No one, therefore, will be arrogant; no one will boast of his valor because of all who have been made our captives. For we came only to seek land for the master, the portent, Uitzilopochtli. And behold the property which we shall have merited, which shall have become the recompense of our breasts and heads, when we come to appear in, when we reach, Mexico: these amber lip plugs, and curved, green, ear pendants with bells, and black staves, and crested guan feather fans.⁴ And behold our netted capes and our netted breech clouts,⁵ all our possessions, our goods, which will be witnesses of our valor. None of all the merchants, the vanguard merchants, who live in Mexico, who did not come, who did not suffer with us, may take them. It will be our exclusive privilege."

And since they had spent four years there in Ayo-tlan, their hair fell clear to their loins when they started away.

And when Auitzotzin heard of their renown, when the merchants, the vanguard merchants, who had gone to Ayotlan were already coming, he then commanded that they be met. Indeed, everyone left to go to meet them. Those who took the lead were the fire [and other] priests; then the lords [and] constables.⁶ The priests went carrying⁷ *copal* [and] aromatic herbs, [and] blowing shell trumpets. And they went carrying their small bags upon their backs; these were incense bags. And the noblemen [and] constables each went wearing their sleeveless jackets.⁸ As they went, they advanced arranged in rows; they formed two files.⁹ And they went to meet them there at Acachinanco. When they arrived, they there-upon offered incense to them; they received each of them, as was done in days of old. And when this had

Auh ic uncan in monaoatique, inic mocentlalique: quitoque. Mexicae, pochteca, oztomecae: ca oconchiuh in itequiuh, in tlacatl, in tetzauitl, in uitzilobuchtli: itloc uel itech tacizque, in tauh, in totepeuh: aiac ic mopoaz, aiac ic moquichitoz, in isquichtin tomalhoan omochiuhque: ca cã otictlaltémolico, in tlacatl in tetzauitl vitzilobuchtli: Auh ca izca in tocococauh, in oticmaceuhque: in telchiquiuh, in tozontecon ipatiuh omochiuh, inic tineztiatzque, inic tacizque mexico: iehoatl in apoçonaltentetl, ioan quetzalcoiōlnacochtli: ioan xaoactopilli, ioan coxoliceaceoaztli. Auh izca in totilma, colotlalpilli tilmatl: auh in tomastli colotlalpilmastlatl: o isquich in in tasca, in totlatqui, in toneoquichitol iez: aiac uel quicuiz in isquichtin mexico nemi in puchteca, in oztomeca: in amo oallaque, in amo tohoan otlaihiouique çan toneiscauil iez.

Auh inic nauhxiuhtique, ompa aiotlan: in intzon uel in cuitlacaxiuhian oaluetztia, inic oaleoque.

Auh in oquicac, in intenio in auitzotzin: in ie uitzte in puchteca, in oztomeca in ouia Aiotlan: niman otlanaoati inic namicozque, uel isquich tlacatl oia, in tenamiquito: iehoantin oteiacantiaque in tlēlenamacaque, in tlamacazque: niman iehoantin in tetcuti, achcacauhti: Jn quitquitiaque tlamacazque, copalli, iiauhtli, tecuciztli in quipitztiaque: ioan intotoxi quimamamatiaque, iehoatl in copalxiquipilli: auh in tetcuti, achcacauhti, isxixicol in commahaquitiaque, inic iaque, motecpantiaque, ompantique: auh ompa in quinnamiquito acachinanco: In oacique: niman ie ic quintlenamaquilia, quinnanamicque, in iuh mochioaia ie uecauh. Auh in ie iuhqui: niman ie ic quinuicatzte, quiniacantiuitze, in isquichtin otenamiquito, motecpantiuitze, noçac in aquimittaznequi.

4. *Coxoliceaceoaztli*. *Coxolitl*: *Penelope purpurascens* Wagler. Friedmann *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Pt. 1, p. 68.

5. Rank insignia of tradesmen (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pts. 3-4, p. 50); *geknipte Tuch mit den Skorpionen*, according to Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Caecilie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1927), p. 31. *Colotlapilli tilmatl* might also be translated as capes with twisted knots.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, p. 55 and n. 9; Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 320.

7. The *Florentine Codex* omits *tlemail*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1907; hereafter referred to as *Acad. Hist. MS*), fols. 26r-50v.

8. After *commahaquitiaque*, the *Acad. Hist. MS* has *yuan ymihi yetecō in q'mahmamatiaq[ue]*.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "dos reñcles: una de los sacerdotes, y otra de los señores."

taken place, thereupon all who had gone to meet them proceeded accompanying them, guiding them; came formed in rows. Nor were there any who wished not to see them.¹⁰

And as they came to reach [Mexico], no one went to his house. They took them at once direct to the palace of Auitzotzin. When they arrived in the middle of the courtyard, thereupon *copal* was cast in the hearth. The ruler Auitzotl came to greet them. He said to them: "O my beloved uncles, O merchants, O vanguard merchants, you have suffered fatigue. Seat yourselves; rest." He went to place them among the lords [and] nobles, those who were arranged there according to rank, the honored ones, his war leaders, the unsurpassed.

And when Auitzotzin had seated himself, thereupon they gave him all which had been taken: the quetzal feather crest devices [and] banners; the trouplal feather banners; the blue cotinga, the trogonorus feather shirts; the bracelets for the upper arm with a spray of precious feathers; turquoise mosaic shields; golden butterfly-shaped nose plates; golden ear pendants. These they placed before him. Thereupon they addressed him; they said to him: "O our lord, may it be well with thee. Behold what became the reward of the heads [and] breasts of thy beloved uncles, the outpost merchants, the disguised merchants,¹¹ the spying merchants in warlike places: this which was not theirs [but] became [the reward] of their starvation, their fatigue. Accept these things which were not theirs."¹²

And then he said to them: "O my beloved uncles, you have suffered fatigue; you are spent.¹³ The master, the portent, Uitzilopochtli, willed that you should achieve your goal. And here I see you.¹⁴ Behold your possessions, which became the recompense of your breasts [and] your heads. None will refuse it to you, for it is truly your property, your array. For you went away to merit it." And then he gave them the capes of plaited paper bordered with butterflies, and capes with cup-shaped decorations, and with the stone disc and the carmine colored

Auh in oacico, aiac ichan iah: çan niman quintlamelaoaltique, in itecpanchan Auitzotzin, in oacique itoalnepantla: niman ie ic copaltemalo in tlêquazco, quimonnamiqico in Auitzotl tecutli: quimilhui. Notlatzitzioane, puchtecae, oztomecae: oanquimihiiouiltique, ma ximouetzitican ma ximoceuitzinocan quimontlalito in intlan in tlatoque, in pipilti: in vncan tecpantoque, in mauiztique, in iautachcacahoan: in aiac in huihui.

Auh in onmotlali Auitzotzin: niman ie ic quitlamamaca in isquich malli omochiuh, in quetzalpatzac-tli quetzalpanitl, çaquanpanitl, xiuhtotochoatl, tznitzcanehoatl, machoncotl, xiuhchimalli, teucuitlaciapapalotl, teucuitlanacaztepoztl, in ispan contequiltique: niman ie ic quitlatlauhtia, quilhuique. Toteucuiioe, ma ximehuititit: ca izcatqui in intzontecon in imelchiquiuh ipatiuh omochiuh, in motlatzitziohoan, puchteca, hiiague in naoaloztomeca, in teiaoa-loani in iaupan, in aintlaascauil, in intoneuiliz, in inchichinaquiliz omuchiuh, in aintlaacuiuh, ma xocomocuili:

Auh niman quimilhui. Notlatzitzioane: oanquihiiouique, oanquiciauhque: oquimonequilti in tlatcatl, in tetzauitl in vitzilobuchtl, in ouel anquichiu-que amotequiuh: auh nican amisco amocpac nitlachic. Ca izcatqui in amocococauh, in amelchiquiuh, in amotzontecon ipatiuh omuchiuh: aiac amechca-oaltiz ca nel amasca, amotlatqui ca oanquimacehoato. Auh niman quinmacac in tilmatli, amanepaniuhqui, tempapaloio, ioan tilmatli tetecomaiio, ioan temalacaio, ioan nochpallaxochio, chichicueçotl: ioan nochpalmastlatl iacauiac. O iehoantin i, inic quinnez-

10. *Noçac* (*noço ac?*). Cf. Bernardinus Biondelli: *Glossarium Azteco-Latinum et Latino-Aztecum* (Mediolani: Valintiner et Mues, 1869), *noço*, *neque* (and not). Or *no aço ac?*

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "*somos capitanes, y soldados que disimuladamente andamos a conquistar.*"

12. *Ibid.*: "*emos trabajado y padescido mucho por alcançar estas cosas que no eran nuestras sino que por guerra y con muchos trabajos las alcãçamos.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*muchas cosas aueis padescido, muchos trabajos aueis passado, como valientes hombres.*"

14. *Ibid.*: "*aueis venjdo sanos, y viuos como agora os veo.*" Cf. also Angel María Garibay K.: "Huehuetlatolli," *Tlalocan*, I, 1, p. 34: "*en vuestro rostro, en vuestra frente, yo pongo los ojos.*"

flower designs, of eight blotches of blood,¹⁵ and carmine colored breech clouts with long ends. These signified that they had entered Ayotlan. And besides he bestowed capes on them — to each one a bundle of rabbit-fur¹⁶ capes and a boat load of grains of dried maize,¹⁷ and a boat load of beans, and some *chia*,¹⁸ which went to be delivered at the home of each one.

And when war came to pass there at Ayotlan, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, were besieged for four years. At that time, the city yielded; at that time they broke the rampart of eagle [and] ocelot warriors. And all the devices, the quetzal feather crest devices mentioned, all these the merchants assumed; in them they conquered, they completely vanquished, [the foe].

And when the ruler Auitzotzin heard that the disguised merchants were besieged there, then aid was sent. The one who was sent was Moctezuma, who went serving as general. He had not at the time been installed as ruler. And after he had set forth, as he was already on his way, he came upon the news that those who had gone there to Ayotlan, the merchants, had conquered the land. And then the outpost merchants came staying him. They said to Moctezuma: "O our lord, thou hast tired thyself; thou hast suffered fatigue. No longer needest thou reach the place whither thou goest; for it is already the land of the master, the portent, Uitzilopochtli. For thy uncles, the Mexicans, the merchants, the vanguard merchants, have fulfilled their charge." He could only go returning; no longer did he go to wage war. He could only join with them.

And at that time all the land of Anauac was opened up. No longer were the people of Tzapotlan, of Anauac, our foes.

And the quetzal feather crest devices made captive there in Ayotlan were not yet [known] here in Mexico. Later was the time that they appeared, when they had already been carried to Tlatilulco. Auitzotzin adopted them.

And to the principal merchants, disguised merchants [of Tlatilulco], the spying merchants who entered regions of battle,¹⁹ he paid special honors; he

caioti Aiotlan calacque: auh no ioan in quinmacac tilmatl, in cecenme, cecenquimilli in tochpanecaiotl: ioan cecem acalli tlaolli, ioan cecem acalli etl, ioan chiē inic caoaloto inchachan.

Auh inic mochiuh iaiuiotl, in ompa Aiotlan, in impan oalmotzacu in puchteca, in oztomeca: inic nauhiuitl, ie icoac ia in altepetl: icoac quipetlaque in quauhtenamitl, in ocelotenamitl. Auh in isquich omoteneuh in tlauiztli in quetzalpatzactli: muchi conmaquique in puchteca, in ipan oquinpeuhque, uel quinpopoloque.

Auh in icoac oquicac in tlatoani Auitzotzin: in ompan oalmotzacu, in naoaloztomeca, niman otlaioa: iehoatl oioaloc in motecuŝomatzin, tlaochcalcattitia aiamo tlatocatlalilo in icoac. Auh in oompeuh, in ie iauh: oquinamiquito in tlatolli, ca in ompa iauh Aiotlan, ca ontlalpoloque in puchteca: auh niman quitzacuilico in puchteca iiaque, quilhuique in motecoŝoma. Totecuiioe, oticmociauilti, oticmihiiuuilti, ca aocmo timaxitiz in ompa timouica, ca ie itlalpan in tlatatl, in tetzauitl, Vitzilobuchtli: ca oquichiuhque in intequih in motlatzitzioan, in mexicana, in puchteca, in oztomeca: ȝa oalmocuepatō, aoc tle quichi-oato iaiuiotl, ȝa tequitl quimonanato.

Auh ie icoac centlapouh, in isquich anaocatlalli, in aocac toiaouh omuchiuh, in tzapotecatl, in anaocatl:

auh in quetzalpatzactli, ompa malli muchiuh in Aiotlan: aiatle catca in nican mexico, quin icoac nez, in ie mamalo tlatilulco, commotlatquiti in Auitzotzin.

Auh in iehoantin in puchtecatlatoque, in naoaloztomeca in teiaoaloani, iaoc calaquini: oc cenca oquinmauizioti teucuitlatentetl in quimonaquili intenco,

15. *Chichicue-eŝotl*. If *chichicuee-ŝotl*, "each of eight pieces of cloth."

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*mantas de tochpanecaiotl*."

17. *Ibid.*: "*una hanega*."

18. *Ibid.*: "*cierta medida de chian*."

19. *Ibid.*: "*Los dichos mercaderes del tlatilulco se llamā tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en abitu de mercaderes que discurrē por diuersas partes que cercan y dā guerra a las prouincias y pueblos*."

inserted in their lips golden lip plugs to signify to them that they had become his reconnoiterers. And he gave them the precious capes which have been mentioned, and precious breech clouts, which became their reward. Thereafter they tied them on when the great feast day of the month of Tlacaxipeualiztli took place.

This was when all the people about us streamed together [and] collected together here in Mexico when they observed the feast day. Once a year they came to witness it. And when all the rulers who governed cities had gathered together, thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice on the round sacrificial stone. Right before them it was performed; they could behold as many four hundreds as there were of captives slain. And also they could see those who were not stout of heart. Also they could see some who caused them somewhat to admire; who tried to be brave. Some still danced. And these rulers assumed as favors the rulers' capes with the cup-shaped designs, and with the eagle's face painted upon them; and red spoonbill feather fans. All rulers who governed cities assumed these as favors. And at the time that there was a gladiatorial sacrifice, they sat there in a protected place for it.

But when it was only in between, when it was not a feast day, the principal merchants, those who bathed slaves, and the disguised vanguard merchants, the slave dealers, put on only the finely woven yucca fiber capes.²⁰ They always went about wearing these. And the noblemen, at this same time, went about with marvelous, precious capes tied on²¹ at the time when such great feast days took place as we came to during a year. But in between, when it was not a feast day, they tied on only the finely woven yucca fiber capes, but they went on using the same method of tying, because the noblemen were very circumspect and punctilious.²²

And when Auitzotzin commanded the principal merchants, the disguised merchants, the spying merchants, to penetrate some [land], Auitzotzin summoned them. These heeded his command that on his account Anauac was to be reconnoitered. And when they went to the house of the ruler, the lord Auitzotzin, he thereupon gave them his goods — sixteen

inic quinnezcaioti, iehoantin itecunenēhoan omuchiuhque. Auh in tlaçotilmatli oquinmacac, in omoteneuh, ioan tlaçomastlatl. in innetlauhtil muchiuh: quin icoac quimolpiliaia in icoac ueuei ilhuitl quitztiaia in ipan tlacaxipeualiztli:

ieh icoac in oalcemolinia in cematonaoc, oalmocemacia in nica mexico, in jlhuitl quioalquixtiaia, cexiuhcica in quioalmattiaia: auh in ie isquich in omocemacico tlatoque, in quipachoa altepetl. Niman ie ic ompeoa, inic tlaôanoz temalacac: uel imispan mochioaia, uel quimittiaia, in quezquitzontli mamalti miquia, auh no uel quimittiaia, in aquin amo iollochicaoc, no uel quimittiaia: in cequinti oc achiton ic oaltetlamauicoltia, oalmoquichnenequi, cequintin oc oalmitotia. Auh in iehoantin tlatoque, in quimotlauhtiaia: iehoatl in tlatocatilmatli tetecomaio, ioan xaoalquauhio, ioan tlahuquecholicaceoaztli, in quimotlauhtiaia: in isquichtin quipachoaia altepetl in tlatoque: auh in icoac tlaôano oncan ic mocealuitoque.

Auh in çan nenmaia, in amo ilhujtl: in quimolpiliaia tilmatl, in puchtecatlatoque in tealtiani: Auh in naoaloztomeca, in tecoanime, çan iehoatl in icçotilmaxixipetztl, mochipa iehoatl quiquentinemia. Auh in pipilti, çan no icoac in quimolpilitiaia in tlaçotilmatli, in mauiztic: in icoac izquitetl ueuei ilhuitl quitztiaia: inic taci ce xiuitl. Auh in icoac nenmanian, in amo ilhuitl, çan no iehoatl in icçotilmaxixipetztl in quimolpiliaia, çan quinquamictiaia in innetlapilil: ipampa in cenca mimatia pipilti, cenca tlanemiliani catca.

Auh in icoac tlanaoatiaia Auitzotzin in campa calaquizque in puchtecatlatoque in naoaloztomeca, in teiaaloani iaoc, quinoalnotzaia in Auitzotzin: iehoantin concaquia in itlatol, in ipampa tecunenemoaz in anaoac. Auh in oiaque ichan tlatواني Auitzotl tecutli: niman ie ic quinquama in itlatqui: nauhtzontli in quachtli in qujntiamictia: auh in oconcuito nican

20. *Ibid.*: "mātas de maguei bien texidas."

21. *Quimulpiliaya* in *Acad. Hist. MS.*

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "atauanlas de manera que se pareciesen las mantas que debaxo lleuā en demonstracion de su nobleza por fantasia."

hundred large cotton capes²³ which he entrusted to them as merchandise. And when they went off with it, they bore it here to Tlatilulco. And when they came, then the merchants of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatilulco assembled. They each exchanged gifts, presented their orations,²⁴ and [displayed] their rearing and upbringing. Having done this, when the exchange of gifts had been accomplished, when they had animated one another, thereupon they divided up [the capes]. Those of Tenochtitlan took eight hundred large cotton capes, and also those of Tlatilulco took eight hundred. And with the large cotton capes were then bought the rulers' capes, feathered in cup-shaped designs, and those of eagle face designs, and striped on the borders with feathers; and rulers' breech clouts with long ends; and embroidered skirts [and] shifts. This clothing was verily the exclusive property of Auitzotzin, [which the merchants carried to Anauac].²⁵

And behold what were the goods exclusively of the merchants, those in which they dealt as vanguard merchants, [as] reconnoiterers: golden mountain-shaped mitres, like royal crowns;²⁶ and golden forehead rosettes;²⁷ and golden necklaces of radiating pendants; and golden ear plugs; and golden covers used by women of Anauac—with these the princesses covered their bodies;²⁸ and rings for the fingers, called *matzatzaztli*; and golden ear plugs; and rock crystal ear plugs. And the things used by the common folk were obsidian ear plugs,²⁹ [or] tin, and obsidian razors with leather handles, and pointed obsidian blades, and rabbit fur, and needles for sewing, and shells.³⁰ All these were prepared as goods exclusively of the merchants, the vanguard merchants, the reconnoiterers, the outpost merchants.

quioalitqui tlatilulco. Auh in ooallaque: niman ic mocentlalia in tenochca puchteca, ioan tlatilulca puchteca, mocepantlatlauhtia, quiquistia in imihiio, in intlatol, in intlacazcaltiz, in intlacaoapaoaliz. Auh in ie iuhqui, in ommotlatlauhtique, in ommocepan-chicauhque: niman ie ic quioalmoxelhua, ontzontli concui in quachtli tenochca: auh no ontzontli concui in tlatilulca: auh in quachtli niman ic mocoa in tlatocatilmatli ihuitica tecomao, ioan xaoalquauhio-tilmatli, ioan ihuitica tenoaoanqui, ioan tlatocamas-tlatl iacauiac, ioan tlamachcuel, tlamachhuipilli. Jni tlatquitl uel iscoian, iasca, in Auitzotzin.

Auh izcatqui in çan imiscoian intlatqui puchteca, inic onoztomecati, ontecunenemi, tepeio, teucuitlatl: iuhquin tlatocaiotl, ioan teucuitlaisquaamatl, ioan chaiaoac cozcotl, teucuitlatl, ioan teucuitlanacochtli, ioan teucuitlatl tlatzaqualoni, intech monequi in ana-oacacihua: iehoantin in cihoapipilti, ic quitzacoa in innacao, ioan in maxitlaxtli, in itoca matzatzaztli, ioan teucuitlanacochtli, ioan teuilanacochtli. Auh in çan maceoalti intech monequi: iehoatl in itznacochtli, amochitl, ioan itztlaoalli neximaloni, ioan uitz-auhqui itztli, ioan tochomitl, ioan vitzmallotl, ioan coiolti. O ca isquich in, inic mochichioiaia, in imiscoian intlatqui in puchteca in oztomeca in tecuneneneque in iiaque.

23. *Ibid.*: toldillos.

24. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, fol. 208r.

25. In the *Acad. Hist. MS*, in *quitquiliaya anauac puchteca* follows the word Auitzotzin.

26. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book IX, fol. 16v; see also *ibid.*, Book XI, fol. 215r, and Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), *tlatocayotl*.

27. Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. II, p. 48 — “bandeau royale” or “mitre en papier semé des pierres précieuses.” Also see *Florentine Codex*, Book IX, fol. 16v.

28. The Aztec term permits such meanings as to lock, stop up, or imprison the body or parts of it.

29. After *itznacochtli*, the *Acad. Hist. MS* has *tepoznacochtli*. *yan* (copper ear plugs, and).

30. See Pl. 14, where a *coiolti* is pictured at the bottom. The *coiolti* is a bell of gold or copper in the form of a shell. *itztlaoalli*: leather-covered blade if *eual* is an element; possibly a blade produced by percussion flaking if *eua* is the element: cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, viii, 4.