yotl, not to mention other quirks, lead one to suspect that he may have been an associate or an informant of the Texcocan historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. The subject will be taken up again in Chapter Thirteen.

Sahagún's *Psalmodia*

The *Psalmodia christiana* is an extensive collection of ersatz ghost songs, composed in Nahuatl by Sahagún for the use of his Indian charges. Devoted to Biblical themes and the retelling of saints' lives, these mainly catechistic pieces were intended to replace the dangerously idolatrous cantares. Composed between 1551 and 1566, the *Psalmodia* has the distinction of being the only one of Sahagún's works published in his lifetime (1583).

Internal evidence suggests that the *Cantares* influenced—and was influenced by—the *Psalmodia*. This is plausible since both works grew by accretion during approximately the same period. The effect of the *Cantares* on the *Psalmodia* has already been mentioned in Chapter One. Although the case is not unmistakable, note this stanza composed by Sahagún: "Ma oalmoquetza ĩteucuitlaueuetl, in chalchiuhteponaztli, in tecusuchitl, ma netimalolo, ma nechichiualo" (*Psalmodia christiana*, folio 62). And compare the similar phrases in the *Cantares*: "maya hualmoquetza xochihuehuetl" (9v: 7), "teocuitlahuehuetl" (33v: 24), "nochalchiuhteponaz" (26: 19), "teucxochitl" (27v: 7), "netimalolo in tepilhuã" (1v: 17), and "ximochichihuan" (73v: 5). Neither the *Romances* nor any other known source could have supplied Sahagún with this distinctive vocabulary, though of course it might have been derived from oral sources or from transcripts now lost.

Somewhat less distinctive are the song headings *tlaocolcuicatl* (sadness song) and *xochicuicatl* (flower song), both of which appear in the *Cantares* and in the *Psalmodia*.[14] Moreover, Sahagún has composed his "psalms," or cantos, in groups exactly like the longer pieces in the *Cantares*. The life of Saint Francis, for example, is told in ten cantos of eight or ten stanzas each.[15] Elsewhere, as in the *Cantares*, Sahagún does not insist on an even number of stanzas and permits himself to write cantos with four, five, six, or seven stanzas apiece. The extent to which he caters to Indian tastes can be judged by such "psalms" as the following, meant to be performed at Pentecost:

> Let our gold drum appear, let it resound, let all be pleasured by it. Let our jade log-drum resonate in blessedness. Let there be dancing, let there be happiness.
> Our lord God has shown his very great love for us people on earth, today at Pentecost.
> Let our gold bells shrill, let them ring. Let our shining turquoise flutes resound. Let our jade gongs be spread everywhere, let them be heard throughout the world.

> Today they're recalled, indeed today they come forth upon us—on this holiday, this feast of the Holy Spirit—such that holy self-esteem, consolation, becomes the blessing of us humans.
> Let there be pleasure. Let our raven flowers be spread everywhere, reviving, greening. Let our raven flowers bloom, our holy popcorn flowers.
> The Holy Spirit has come in order to make a great wonder here on earth. Everywhere come words to teach the apostles.
> Let our flower jewels go radiating dawn light, let them go shining in this gold mist. Let the red bone-flowers be scattered on our hands. Let all be happy, let all be rich, you princes, O!
> Let our turquoise bracelets be praised, let them go radiating green. Let our gold bracelets go shine, O princes. Let the blossoming red bone-flowers be scattered on our hands. Let all be happy, let all be rich.[16]

The ghost-song imagery, here used merely for decorative effect, can hardly be missed. It is to be wondered that Sahagún would flirt so openly with native doctrine. On the other hand, we cannot be sure that he fully knew what he was doing. In any event, songs of this type are rare in the *Psalmodia*. The usual text looks more like the following:

> Well now, they entered the building. And so these kings who had seen the star, who stirred no more, who traveled no more, did know him, for he was there. Then they entered the stable, and there they saw the child Jesus and his precious mother, Saint Mary.
>
> They fell prostrate and adored the child. It was indeed as believers that these great kings knelt before him and adored him, for indeed they recognized this child, for he is God, he is king, he is all powerful, he is sky owner, he is earth owner.
>
> They opened their coffers, their chests. Then they laid things before their lord, presenting things to the child. The offering that they made was gold, myrrh, and incense.
>
> In sleep they were commanded to go away. Well then, for a few more days they remained at the child's side, and many marvels did they see. Then they saw him in sleep, dreamed him, and indeed our lord sent them home.[17]

Thus the sixth canto of an eight-canto song for Epiphany relating the story of the three magi from the second chapter of Matthew.

In the magi song in the *Cantares* (song 55), the native singer is mainly interested in getting the three (warrior) kings killed on the presumed battlefield of Bethlehem so that he can produce them as revenants; then, by analogy, he moves promptly to the business of producing ancestral Aztecs. Though the scenario is wildly different, the basic idea of a ghost song about the magi appears to have come from Sahagún or from one of the other friars who composed material similar to the *Psalmodia*.

Sahagún's texts have few intercalated vocables and no litany (as defined in Chapter Four). But as Motolinía explains, it was up to the native "maestros" to adapt them in their own way to a "kind of meter" that would "correspond and be sung with the sound of their ancient *cantares*."[18]

Whether the "maestros" were supposed to repeat final phrases in order to create refrains is another question. Notice, however, that the dissertational style is precisely what we find in the first few songs in the *Cantares* manuscript, those that I earlier described as having been composed in "missionary Nahuatl."

Survivals

Since no existing ghost-song text mentions anyone who died after 1583, it is possible that the genre was beginning to die out at this time. As we saw earlier, by 1645 Carochi could speak of ghost-song phraseology as though it were quite antiquated. Yet in the same year the Jesuit historian Andrés Pérez de Ribas published an eyewitness account of a *tocontín*, which bears an undeniable resemblance to the ghost-song ritual:

> And because the *mitote* dance that they name after the emperor Motezuma, the one that the seminarians of San Gregorio [el Magno, Mexico City,] would celebrate during their festivals, is most especially pleasing to behold and new to Spain as well as to other nations, and on account of the importance of this dance [*sarao*], which was formerly dedicated to pagan custom and now dedicated to the honor of him who is king of kings, our lord Jesus Christ, and now a Christian festival, I will here describe it even though it makes a bit of a digression.
>
> Its most singular feature, when the festival is celebrated in full, is that the company of dancers comes out in the costume and adornment of the ancient Mexican princes. The mantles, or cloaks, are of two fabrics, the [outer] one transparent, so that the embroidery and beautiful flowers of the inner one can show through; and these they wear hanging from the shoulders in the manner of the Roman emperors, with the ends tied at the right shoulder in an attractive rosette. On their heads they wear diadems that rise high above the forehead in the manner of a pyramid, giving a beautiful effect, and this is adorned with the richest gems and gold that they could obtain—and such was the style of the crowns worn by the Mexican emperors. As the left arm moves [there is] a rich bracelet, which carries an upright wand [*penacho*] of the most attractive plumage of green feathers, which were used formerly and are still much appreciated. And in the left hand another wand that they move and vibrate to the beat of the dance. In the right hand they carry an instrument called *ayacaztli*, composed of certain little rattles that they use, made of gilded gourds with pebbles inside the head, which are also shaken with the beat and rhythm, adding elegance. The remainder of the bodily adornment consists of skirts and blouses much embroidered and long breeches of double fabric like the cloak; and for the feet, sandals, upon which they also lavish their riches and finery.
>
> The dais prepared for this fiesta is strewn with flowers; and at the head of it is placed the seat of the emperor Motezuma. This was a kind of low stool, gilded. To one side of the stage a table is placed and on it a little drum called teponaztli that guided all the music and dancing, quite different from those used in Europe. It is made of *madera preciosa* or some other red wood and has two separated slats facing each other, which enclose it, leaving it hollow, and

> which when beaten by those who play them, using mallets tipped with little balls of rubber gum, guide the dance with their sound, and this sound rhythmically accompanies the little rattles that the dancers carry in their hands. To these the Spaniards have added their own instruments: harp, cornet, and bassoon.
>
> The Mexican elders and *principales* took their place around the drum, and they were the ones who entoned the song that always accompanied the Mexican dances, and there they danced a grave step without much movement. There were usually fourteen in the dance, or *sarao*, not including the emperor, who came in at the end. The latter went forth with a noteworthy display of majesty and in the same costume as the other *principales*, though more richly dressed and adorned. Behind him came a little boy with a large fan of rich feathers, dancing in step with the others, making shade and providing a canopy for the emperor. Two other boys, richly dressed, came along at either side and a step ahead, sweeping the emperor's path with feather wands and intermittently strewing flowers at his feet.
>
> As the dance went forth from the interior palace, it was summoned by the music and the song, in Spanish style, already Christian, which went as follows: "Go forth, Mexicans! Dance the Tocontín, for here we have the king of glory!" [*Salid mexicanos, bailad Tocontín, que al rey de la gloria tenemos aquí.*] Those three syllables in the word Tocontín are like pitches [*puntos*], which imitate the sound of the little drum, and therefore some call the dance by this name. The dancers go forth in two files in the manner of the Spanish *hacha*. The movement is subdued and grave, executed in rhythm, not only with the feet but with the arms and hands. They shake the rattles, waving and swishing the feather wands, which are very long and slender and gold-colored, or, sometimes instead, a fragrant tree branch, and they go taking their places until the arrival of the emperor, who comes afterward with much majesty. He takes his seat at the head, and just prior to the quickening of the dance (which, with its subdued movement, never stops), all in unison, turned toward their prince, make such a reverence with wands and rattles, and with their heads, that it seems as though they would like to place themselves beneath his feet. Having made this obeisance, they quicken their dance steps before the emperor. (Today it has been changed, and this entire obeisance is made to the Blessed Sacrament on the altar.)
>
> After the members of the *sarao* have danced a short while, the emperor gets up to dance alone with the three little boys who, as I have said, accompany him, sweeping the ground for him and strewing flowers at his feet, and the one with the parasol making a canopy and shading him, and their footwork so perfectly in step with their prince that they seem to move as one. Meanwhile all the others remain stationary in their positions, bowing down to the ground. And as he passes between the two files, each one in turn, as a sign of humility, applies to his feet the instrument that he holds in his hands, all the *ayacaztles* ceaselessly keeping up their rhythm for him.
>
> And having completed his tour, the emperor resumes his seat, and the two choruses continue with new dance steps; and although these are not very different from the others, all of them are very pleasing and not tiresome. The vocal music, which does not stop, corresponds to that which is played on the teponaztli, with another choir that answers it and is hidden behind a curtain or blind, as though [the music] were of two choruses.
>
> And finally the whole dance with its novelty, adornments, gestures, and

> song is so agreeable that it has provided great pleasure, entertainment, and celebration for important persons, lords, and archbishops who have come from Spain. Today the young Mexican natives who are students at San Gregorio continue to celebrate this dance. For while the ordinary *mitotes* are performed by the others, who are called commoners [*maceuales*] or vassals, they lack the apparatus and the pomp of these children, who often resemble the sons of Spanish lords.
>
> And if I have tarried long in telling about it, I may be forgiven, inasmuch as this dance is used in the service and recognition of the one who is king of kings, our sacramental lord Jesus Christ; and this is why I was moved to describe it. And it cannot fail to be pleasing to faithful Catholics to see the ancient Mexican nobility vanquished at the feet of their redeemer, whom they did not know formerly and now adore and recognize with every demonstration of joy that they can put forth. To which they add a kind of *volatines*, who come flying through the air. And when the Blessed Sacrament is carried through the plaza, they fly down in a special way, tied to cords on a high mast, like a ship's mast, some of them playing rattles and other instruments.[19]

The texts of six additional *tocontines*, reported over the period 1620–51, show the form to have been derived from the Spanish *copla*, a ballad of one to four stanzas, each stanza composed of four lines, with rhyme or assonance in the even lines.[20] Perhaps these *tocontines*, or *coplas*, were originally composed in Nahuatl—as are *coplas* today.[21] Whether they were or not, the following example, reported in 1651, is certainly reminiscent of the old ghost-song themes:[22]

Al bayle, Caziques,	To the gala dance,
de gala occurrid,	Caciques, come!
que todos los Culhuas	For I've summoned
mandé prevenir.	All the Colhuans.
con mantas vistosas	Go forth with plumes
y plumas salid,	And gay mantles!
pues todos los nobles	For all the nobles
deven concurrir . . . etc.	Are to be convened.

It is tempting to take Pérez de Ribas' description as a guide to sixteenth-century ghost-song performance. When it comes to answering the questions we would like to have answered, Pérez de Ribas does a better job than Durán; and what he describes seems to fit the *Cantares mexicanos* much more closely than Motolinía's teeming round-dance marathon. But to what extent the performance style had changed since the 1570's can only be surmised. Obviously the texts are much deteriorated. As to the subsequent history of this particular dance form, Clavijero was able to report as late as the 1770's: "To this day the Mexicans preserve an ancient dance popularly called *tocotin*, which is quite beautiful and so decent and sober that the Indians are permitted to have it in the churches."[23]

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of folkloric ritual are increasingly removed from Mexico City and other principal centers. Pre-

sumed remnants of a ghost cult, as suggested by the Juan Diego remembrance at Tacuba and the various rural *volador* dances, have already been mentioned. Another dance, the *huehuenches*, reported from points south, west, and east of the capital, is evidently a survival of the *huehue cuicatl* (old man song), to be described in Chapter Ten. Two old-man song texts collected in the state of Veracruz in 1957 and 1965 show marked similarities to the *Cantares mexicanos*.[24] Yet another kind of remnant, reported in 1939, comes from the village of Xico in the Sierra de Puebla, where a secretly guarded teponaztli makes an annual appearance on Saint John's Day in an "obsolescent pagan festival held at a place called the Tower of Xochipilli." On this occasion an "Aztec hymn" is chanted to a "text so incomplete and corrupt that even those who chant it have no clear idea of its sense":[25]

Xochipile, Xochipile	O Xochipilli, O Xochipilli!
Nochan, nochan,	To my house, to my house
Otihualla capitan.	You have come, O captain.
Chimalli xochitl ticuicas	You are to sing shield flowers.
Ac xon tenamas (?)	Who indeed will capture the ramparts?[26]
Chimeco, chimeco.	The Chichimec! The Chichimec![27]

According to the keeper of the teponaztli, the song bears "some relation to fighting with the Indians of Tlaxcala." As I read it, the god Xochipilli (also called "captain") is being summoned as muse for the purpose of bringing down allied ghost warriors (or Chichimecs), who will reenact a battle (the siege of Mexico?), capturing (Tlaxcalan?) warriors (whom the singer calls ramparts). Another possibility is that the second and third lines refer to Cortés, not Xochipilli. One is reminded of the Conquest songs in the *Cantares mexicanos* that express vengeance against Tlaxcala for the defeat of Mexico.

CHAPTER 10

The Classification of Ghost Songs

Just as ghost songs should be kept separate from storyteller's songs and conjurations, they should not be grouped with the funeral songs briefly described by Mendieta,[1] the work songs that might at one time have existed,[2] or any of the other genres that could be adduced from fleeting references in the ethnography. Yet this is not to imply that ghost songs occupied a mere niche. We do not know how important they were originally or to what extent the genre changed after the Conquest. But it is reasonably clear that by the mid-1500's the ghost song had become the principal form of public entertainment, at least in the capital and in the houses of the *tlatoani*, serving the princely classes, if not the populace at large, as a vehicle for cultural reaffirmation.

Motolinía, evidently speaking of only the most elevated kinds of native music, identifies two basic genres: the *macehualiztli*, or dance associated with service to the gods, and the *netotiliztli*, or dance associated with worldly entertainment.[3] Presumably the *Cantares mexicanos* derives from the second of these categories, since the numerous *Cantares*-style songs described by Hernández are grouped under the rubric *netotiliztli*;[4] and the verb *macehua* (to dance) is used only once in the *Cantares* manuscript, whereas the verb *itotia* (to dance) recurs constantly.

The pervasiveness of the genre is attested by its sheer multiplicity of forms. We have flower songs, female songs, teponaztli songs, old man songs, Chalcan pieces, Huexotzincan pieces, and Huaxtec pieces, to mention only a few of the numerous apparent subgenres, all of which cannot be discussed in this brief chapter. As a short cut, let it be proposed that the many headings fall into just four categories: (1) stylistic, (2) instrumental, (3) national, and (4) thematic. The abundant evidence in the *Cantares*, unmatched in any other document, suggests that this is so. Were we speaking of Western music, examples of the four categories might be: *aria*, *con cémbalo*, *al zingaro*, and *canzone d'amore*, any two (or all four) of which

could refer to the same composition. Thus we might have an *aria con cémbalo*, or a *canzone d'amore al zingaro*. Similarly, in the *Cantares*, we have a Chalcan female song (84), a plain song of green places (82-A), a Mexican song of green places (10), and so forth. The following discussion, it is hoped, will clarify these usages.

Stylistic and Instrumental Titles

The puzzling term *melahuac cuicatl* (plain song) appears in the headings of four pieces in the first few folios of the *Cantares* and, by implication, applies to two other songs in the same portion of the manuscript (4 and 11); it also applies to songs 20–43, 51–53, and 82A–C. As noted in Chapter Four, the early missionaries used the term *melahuac cuicatl* to mean the plainsong of the church, and it could well be imagined that this was a neologism, especially since the first several songs in the *Cantares* show missionary influence. However, the term is used by the chronicler Tezozomoc in describing a pre-Conquest musical program.[5] Is it possible, then, that the missionaries adapted an existing term to designate their plainchant? If so, there must have been a similarity between the Aztec and Hispanic usages.

Because of the high degree of verbal development in *Cantares* texts it is likely that they were performed in an Amerind recitative; that is, a heterometric "talking song," or chant, which would correspond with the Old World plainchant. It may be conjectured, therefore, that *melahuac cuicatl* designates the vocal style of every ghost song—as opposed, let us say, to very simple dance tunes, cradlesongs, and perhaps work songs.

A dance style is indicated by the title *nenahuaizcuicatl* (embracing song), mentioned by Hernández. The title appears in no other source, not even the *Cantares*. But exactly the same kind of dancing is alluded to in *Cantares* songs 84, 86, and 87, and these and other erotic pieces could plausibly be designated *nenahuaizcuicatl*.

As for instrumentation, no clues are supplied by ghost-song titles—except the term *teponazcuicatl* (log-drum song), used to designate several pieces in the *Cantares* on folios 26v–31v. Undoubtedly these songs were accompanied by that instrument. But whether the remaining songs were *not* accompanied by the teponaztli is open to question.[6] Possibly this designation, like *melahuac cuicatl*, applies to the genre as a whole.

National Titles

Sahagún's informants explain national pieces as follows:

> If the song was to be sung as a Huexotzincan piece, then they made themselves Huexotzincans and spoke accordingly: they were imitated in song and

> in dress and equipment. Likewise, if it was to be sung as an Anahuacan piece, the speech of the Anahuacans was imitated, also their dress and equipment. Likewise, if the song was to be sung as a Huaxtec piece, their speech was imitated.[7]

If the report is true, the *Cantares mexicanos* with its numerous national pieces ought to be a prime source for the study of regional dialects. Unfortunately, though the *Cantares* does include dialect words, they are not confined to the national pieces in which they ought to be heard.[8] In a gloss to song 84, "Chalcan female song," the glossator states that he has located a "Chalcan expression," but his suggestion is not convincing. Among the national and ethnic pieces in the *Cantares* we have one or more examples of each of these types: Chalcan piece (Chalcayotl), Huexotzincan piece (Huexotzincayotl), Matlatzincan piece (Matlatzincayotl), and Tlaxcalan piece (Tlaxcaltecayotl). It should be noted that these are songs, or pieces, in which battles are reenacted between Mexico and the indicated nation. Observe that song 85, a Chalcan piece, seems to include instructions for performance on two sides of the dance floor, a Mexican side and a Chalcan side.[9]

The Cuextecayotl, or Huaxtec pieces, belong in a special subcategory. In these the Mexican dancers seem to be emulating the proverbial drunkenness of the Huaxtecs,[10] thereby imbuing themselves with war lust and rashness. These pieces do not recall battles with the Huaxtec nation.

Songs in which an alien nation is not named or in which alien warriors play an incidental role may be called Mexicayotl (Mexican pieces) or Chichimecayotl (Chichimec pieces). The exact meaning of Chichimec in this context is not easy to establish. In Chapter Two I suggested that the term is used generically, to refer to Aztec warriors emulating the ferocity of the relatively uncivilized tribes to the north. But it might also refer to the Chichimec ancestry of the Aztecs themselves. In any case it was a prideful designation, with which all Aztec warriors and rulers might wish to identify.[11]

Thematic Titles

The most frequent thematic headings and evidently the most basic are those that call attention to a particular feature of ghost-song ritual or ghost-song imagery. Especially common are *xochicuicatl* (flower song), *icnocuicatl* (bereavement song), and *xopancuicatl* (song of green places or spring song). For some of the other, less widely used titles, all of which pertain to either the ghost or the ghost-summoning process, see the accompanying table.

A second type of thematic title involves the warrior function. Examples are Otoncuicatl (Otomi song or warrior song), and *yaocuicatl* (war song). And, in a third and final type, the song titles connote satire and mimicry.

Classification of Ghost-Song Titles

STYLISTIC AND INSTRUMENTAL	NATIONAL
melahuac cuicatl, plain song	Chalcayotl, Chalcan piece
nenahuaizcuicatl, embracing song	Chichimecayotl, Chichimec piece
teponazcuicatl, log-drum song	Cuextecayotl, Huaxtec piece
	Huexotzincayotl, Huexotzincan piece
	Matlatzincayotl, Matlatzincan piece
	Mexicayotl, Mexican piece
	Tlaxcaltecayotl, Tlaxcalan piece
THEMATIC	
Pertaining to ghost-song ritual	Pertaining to war
atequilizcuicatl, water-pouring song	Otoncuicatl, Otomi song
cacacuicatl, peeper song	*yaocuicatl*, war song
cozcacuicatl, jewel song	Pertaining to satire and mimicry
cuauhcuicatl, eagle song	*cihuacuicatl*, female song
icnocuicatl, bereavement song	*cococuicatl*, dove song
michcuicatl, fish song	*cuecuechcuicatl*, ribald song
tequiquixtilizcuicatl, bringing-out song	*huehue cuicatl*, old man song
teuccuicatl, lord song	*tochcuicatl*, wanton song
totocuicatl, bird song	
xochicuicatl, flower song	
xopancuicatl, song of green places or spring song	

NOTE: These lists are not meant to be complete.

This category has various subtypes, at least two of which are well defined: the *huehue cuicatl* (old man song), in which the performers evidently imitate old men; and the *cihuacuicatl* (female song), performed by men in women's dress.

Two examples of old man songs are found in the *Cantares*, song 19 and song 85. The second, as we have seen, is also a Chalcan piece, though not labeled as such.

Female songs, more often than not, were calculated for comic effect, as song 84 amply demonstrates. But the "female" song 59 has nothing comic about it. Presumably this entire subtype is based on the idea that women, owing to their procreative powers, might produce revenants more effectively than men. Song 57 (a so-called cradlesong that is evidently a takeoff rather than a true cradlesong) seems to express the same notion.

Within the "female" group a category of lesbian songs may be readily recognized, though it does not appear to have a name of its own. The idea here is that the "women," fearful of the warlike male revenants whom they are producing, seek refuge in lesbianism. The best example is song 86 (especially canto B), to which canto C of song 57, canto C of song 84, and canto E of song 87 may be added. Such pieces are patently comic, yet not without an undercurrent of poignant rumination on the subject of death.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the manuscript also includes a male homosexual song (88, untitled). It should also be pointed out that the "Female apparition song" (58, *cihuaixnexcuicatl*) is not a female song as defined here, but a song in which a female spirit is produced (i.e., Saint Mary).

Generally speaking, females are not summoned in ghost songs, nor is there evidence that any song in the *Cantares* was either composed or sung by a real woman. So far as ghosts and muses are concerned, we have the Virgin, of course, also Atotoztli, the mother of the first king of Mexico, Acamapichtli (song 54-D, stanza 6). But these are exceptions. Among composers, women are mentioned in only one source, the writings of Ixtlilxochitl, but his descriptions of musical activity are not to be trusted, deriving apparently from his own misreadings of song texts.[12] Women performers, as opposed to composers, are reliably reported in accounts of pre-Conquest rituals and entertainments.[13] Of particular interest is the brief description of Cervantes de Salazar, who mentions "graceful and lovely" female dancing, adding that the women dance "very rarely and in private, out of a sense of modesty." Montezuma, he reports, had women dancers, but their dancing was for the king's eyes only.[14]

Other satirical pieces, which might properly form separate subtypes, include the *cuecuechcuicatl* (ribald songs) and the *cococuicatl* (dove songs, or girl songs), both of which, whatever else they may be, also happen to be transvestite, or female, songs. Sahagún mentions several additional subtypes,[15] but none of them appears to be represented in the *Cantares*, except possibly his *tochcujcatl* (rabbit, or wanton, song), which seems implicit in the title of song 87, *tochcococuicatl* (Wanton dove song).

As the term "wanton dove song" indicates, the various classes of thematic titles are not mutually exclusive. Other such combinations are "ribald flower song" (*xochicuicatl cuecuechtli*) and "war flower song" (*yaoxochicuicatl*). Moreover, since only the first of the various classes of thematic titles discussed in this section clearly refers to ghost songs, there might conceivably be "plain songs," "log-drum songs," "Chalcan pieces," or "ribald songs" that are not ghost songs. Thus when Tezozomoc or Sahagún speaks of titles such as these we cannot be absolutely certain that ghost songs are indicated.

Significantly, the titles that perforce denote ghost songs are precisely those that are never mentioned in the more reliable accounts of pre-Conquest music programs.[16] It would be only with grave misgiving, therefore, that any *icnocuicatl*, *xochicuicatl*, *xopancuicatl*, and so forth, could be accepted as a pre-Conquest composition. Possibly the entire genre as we know it today represents a sixteenth-century amalgam of previous genres, held together by the revitalistic ghost-song ritual.

CHAPTER II

Authorship

If the *Cantares* glossator had not been so curious, and if later commentators, notably Ixtlilxochitl, had not made an issue out of it, the subject of authorship would not have claimed a chapter in this book, and it might merely have been mentioned in passing that Aztec music, like American Indian music in general, appears to have deemphasized authorship in favor of tradition. This is not to say that everyone had the ability to compose songs or that composers were not recognized. According to the sixteenth-century chronicler Pomar:

> Nobles and even plebeians, if they were not warriors, in order to be worthy and to be known, made an effort to compose songs in which, by means of history, they introduced many events successful and adverse, and notable deeds of kings and illustrious and worthy persons: and he who achieved this skill was esteemed and much respected, because it was as though with these songs he were eternalizing the memory and fame of the things that they [the singers] put in them, and therefore he was rewarded not only by the king but by all the rest of the nobles.[1]

But the fact remains that no Aztec composer is ever mentioned by name in any of the early ethnographies, including those of Sahagún, Motolinía, and Durán. Nor can any specific information concerning singers or composers be found in the codex *Romances* (of which, more below). Yet the *Cantares* contains seven items of astonishingly specific data. We have encountered some of them before, but for the purposes of discussion, let me quote all seven here:

> And newly, again, this music was in the home of Don Diego de León, gobernador of Azcapotzalco. Don Francisco Plácido beat it out in the year 1551. (Folio 7)
>
> Here begins a jewel song concerning the nativity of our lord Jesucristo. Don Francisco Plácido put it together in the year 1553. (Folio 37v)
>
> Female apparition song. . . . The singer Cristóbal de Rosario Xiuhtlamin put it together in August of the year 1550. (Folio 38v)

> Here begins what is called a cradlesong. . . . It's a composition of Nonohuiantzin of Nextenco, who was a singer and a lord. (Folio 39v)
>
> Here begins a bringing-out song. . . . Thus was celebrated the feast of San Felipe, when His Majesty's gift arrived from Spain—the coat of arms that he presented to the city of Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan in the year 1564. The one who composed it was Don Francisco Plácido, gobernador of Xiquipilco, and the year in which it was sung was 1565. (Folio 41)
>
> Female Song . . . composed by Don Baltasar Toquezcuauhyo, *tlatoani* of Colhuacan, who in the year 1536 gave succor to our poor sought one, Don Diego de León, who was *tlatoani* at Azcapotzalco Tepanecapan. (Folio 42v)
>
> Song of Nezahualpilli. . . . A Huaxtec piece, composed by the singer Tececepouhqui. (Folio 55v)

These insertions by the *Cantares* glossator are presumably trustworthy. In weeding out the glossator's errors, the criterion I have used has been to see whether his "data" could have been gleaned from a mere reading of the song texts. He is thus accused of misinterpretation, not falsehood. Accordingly, the above reportage rings true. And yet we may ask whether the information was volunteered by the native informants or whether it was pried loose, and perhaps distorted, by someone who had a European preoccupation with authorship.

So far as I have been able to discover, the only other recorded names of Aztec singers (not necessarily composers) are those entered in the *Anales de Juan Bautista* in the description of what appears to have been a ghost-song performance held in Mexico City in 1567: Francisco Quetzalayatl, Francisco Matlalacaca, Andrés Motecpillitohua, Juan Totococ, Juan Martín.[2]

In both cases, the musicians named were relatively obscure men. None except Plácido is mentioned in any of the major chronicles, and it is most unlikely that any further meaningful information about them will be turned up in other documents.[3]

As it happens, the first six *Cantares* exhibits are all associated with texts probably collected in Azcapotzalco. Of these, only the fourth could refer to a pre-Conquest figure. But the odd etymology of the name Nonohuiantzin of Nextenco (Mr. Everywhere of Hearthside), coupled with my inability to locate a geographical Hearthside, suggests to me that the informant could have been indulging his sense of humor.[4] The seventh *Cantares* exhibit might conceivably refer to a pre-Conquest singer; but a careful examination of the song in question indicates that this is probably a later composition. We are thus left with no feeling of certainty that we have the name of any pre-Conquest musician.

From internal evidence in the *Cantares* and in the *Romances* it seems quite possible that except for the very few pieces belonging to Azcapotzalco (*Cantares*, songs 55, 56, 58, and 59), all surviving ghost songs belong to the city of Mexico, including some purportedly "Texcocan" songs quoted in part by Ixtlilxochitl and Torquemada (to be discussed in Chapter Thirteen). The constantly recurring phrase "here in Mexico" and the numerous pieces in which Mexico's enemies are trounced suggest that this is so. Songs that honor the triple alliance and its various ancestral kings, including Tezozomoc and Nezahualcoyotl, are certainly within the Mexican sphere of interest. Songs that do not specify a locale or a lineage might of course be assigned to Texcoco or even Tlaxcala—were there any solid evidence that an independent school of ghost songs flourished in those centers during the sixteenth century. Texcoco, the most likely candidate, has no surviving ghost song devoted exclusively to its praise. As for Azcapotzalco, its proximity to the capital, both spiritually and geographically, could explain the existence of an offshoot there, attracting singers from nearby towns. What all this seems to indicate is that the ghost-song activity of the mid-1500's was primarily a Mexican phenomenon, drawing on the resources of composers in or near the capital and for whom the capital itself had become a cult object.

Borrowing and Reshaping

Nearly 10 percent of the *Cantares* consists of material that is duplicated within the manuscript, though always with minor variations. In addition, as the accompanying table shows, several passages have variants in the *Romances*. The number and nature of the variations make it implausible that the same text has been thoughtlessly entered twice by an overworked copyist or that the same singer has repeated himself for the benefit of a fresh song collector. Evidently we have material that passed from mouth to mouth and was frequently reworked in the process.

Sometimes stanzas are dropped, added, or transposed, as in the case of song 43, an eight-stanza song, which reappears in the *Romances* with its fifth and sixth stanzas moved to the top. In either case the song makes sense, and it is arguable which is the more artistic arrangement. But song 5, a degenerate variant of song 40, is quite a different matter. Here the singer has dropped stanzas and botched his model, which he may not have understood to begin with.

Misunderstanding, however, should not be confused with mishearing or misremembering. For example the "xiuh quiyamoya" of folio 55v, line 26, becomes "iuhquin oya iuhquin oya" at 66: 4. Though phonically similar, the two readings are entirely different in meaning. And yet in context each makes sense. Similarly, the "amihuihuinti" of 5v: 10 becomes "amihuihui" at 62: 21; and the "ye ichan" of 61v: 5 becomes "ye iuhca" (i.e., "ye iuhcan") at *Romances* 12: 14. Or perhaps the latter becomes the former, since priority is usually impossible to establish.

In some cases an entire, lengthy song will be reproduced almost perfectly, as with song 62, which appears earlier as songs 41–43. The composer of song 79, by contrast, borrows heavily from two different songs

Variants of 'Cantares' Songs

Song	Variant	Song	Variant	Song	Variant
5	40	48	RSNE(7–8)	69(canto E)	10
5(1–2)	RSNE(32v: 6–15)	51(33)	RSNE(15: 3–9)	69(canto F)	RSNE (19v–21)
10	69(canto E)	53(7–10)	11(1–4)	69(38–39)	30(15–16)
10(4)	30(15)	53(22–23)	64(12–12a)	72	79(1–8)
11(1–4)	53(7–10)	54E(3–8)	UAH(233–39 *passim*)	73	82(canto D); RSNE (22v–23v)
18(17–22)	RSNE(21–22v)	62(1–24)	41,42,43	75	81(1–4,6)
25	RSNE(2v–3v)	64(9–11)	RSNE(23v–25)	77	See 67
25(3–4)	81(4a–5)	64(12–12a)	53(22–23)	78	31(1–8)
30(15)	10(4)	64(13–18)	79(9–14)	79(1–8)	72
30(15–16)	69(38–39)	66	91	79(9–14)	64(13–18)
31(1–8)	78	67(7–8, 9–10, 11–12, 18–19)	77(12–13, 16–16a, 14–15, 4–5)	81(1–4,6)	75
31(9,12)	36(4)	68(34–35)	68(47–48)	81(4a–5)	25(3–4); RSNE (2v–3r)
36(4)	31(9,12)	69(canto C)	RSNE(11r–12r)	82(canto C)	RSNE(27v–29)
40	5	69(canto D)	RSNE(31–32v)	82(canto D)	73; RSNE (22v–23v)
40(1–3)	RSNE(32v)			91	66
41–42	62(1–16)				
43	62(17–24); RSNE (26–26v)				

NOTE: *Cantares* songs are cited by number and stanza, *Romances* (RSNE) by folio (and lines where applicable), and Mengin, "Unos annales históricos de la nación mexicana" (UAH), by section.

(64 and 72), changing key phrases and adding material of his own invention. Given such a tradition, it is possible that many of the songs composed in the mid-1500's incorporate phrases or even whole cantos dating from before the Conquest.

Evidently the native singers did not make a fetish of authorship. Indeed, Sahagún makes it clear that "composing," or "creating," was merely one of the singer's functions.[5] Whether the singer performed his compositions as solo pieces or in concert with other singers is a related problem that unfortunately cannot be solved with certainty. Although the description on folio 7 of the *Cantares* seems to imply a solo effort by Francisco Plácido, as mentioned in Chapter Eight, or at least a demonstration in which Plácido both sang and played the drum, perhaps as a makeshift, no sixteenth-century report actually specifies solo work in regular performances. Even the *Cantares* glossator begs the question (witness the seven exhibits above). According to Motolinía, as we have seen, the singing was led by two "choir directors." Yet the *Cantares* texts, with their frequent use of the first person singular (less frequently the first person plural), imply solo work. One possibility is that the verse is recited by a leader (or two leaders?), while the chorus comes in on the litany (and perhaps also the refrain, where present).[6]

The "I am" Formula

Occasionally the singer will say "I am Totoquihuaztli" or "I am Nezahualcoyotl" or "I am Ahuitzotl," in which case he speaks with the voice of the king named, either recognizing the king's spirit as his muse or merely filling in a needed portion of the dramatic monologue. This seems entirely clear; yet it needs emphasizing, since the "I am" formula is presumably the source of one of the most hallowed—and most destructive—misconceptions about Aztec poetry.

The notion that surviving ghost songs were composed by great kings can be traced to Ixtlilxochitl and his circle, which implies a date of approximately 1600; and, with less certainty, to Muñoz Camargo's *Historia de Tlaxcala*, which must have been completed in the 1590's. Although the idea was championed by Ixtlilxochitl, it need not have originated with him and may in fact have been current among the numerous antiquarians, both Hispanic and mestizo, who were busily salvaging and attempting to interpret the mass of written records that had accumulated by the end of the century. As for the no doubt earlier jottings of the *Cantares* glossator, these do not support the kingly attribution theory, though they have often been cited for that purpose, nor do the similar entries made by the *Romances* glossator. Indeed these commentators made errors, but fabricated attributions were not among them.

In the *Cantares*, for example, we have descriptive headings that read "Ycuic neçahualcoyotzin" (song of Nezahualcoyotl), "Ycuic don her[nan]do de guzman" (song of Don Hernando de Guzmán), and "Ycuic neçahualpilli" (song of Nezahualpilli), to mention a few. But there is no indication that the semantic operator is authorship, any more than in such familiar headings as *Song of Hiawatha* or *Chanson de Roland*. In fact the ambiguity in Nahuatl is precisely the same as in English or French. Accordingly, there is no need to presume authorship, though it might be argued that in the minds of the native audience it was truly Nezahualcoyotl who spoke through the mouth of the singer, just as it might be supposed that native audiences believed they were hearing the gods Huitzilopochtli or Tlaloc during performances of the festival chants known as "Vitzilobuchtli icujc" (Song of Huitzilopochtli) and "Tlalloc icujc" (Song of Tlaloc).[7] But never does the *Cantares* glossator use the term "composed by" when mentioning the deceased kings; and indeed, in the seventh exhibit, quoted above, he makes it completely clear that the "Song of Nezahualpilli" was "composed by the singer Tececepouhqui." As a double check, one looks in vain for any such locution as "I am Tececepouhqui." Nor do any of the identified singers ever utter their own names. (Interestingly, the signature within the work, though possible as a comic device or in the exercise of

intensely personal magic,[8] seems to be generally tabooed in world poetry.)

In the same manner the *Romances* glossator, using Spanish rather than Nahuatl, labels several songs "de Neçahualcoyotzin" (of Nezahualcoyotl), "de Moteccumatzin" (of Montezuma), "de Atlixco" (of Atlixco), and so forth. In the last example there can be no question of authorship, since Atlixco is a geographical, not a personal, name. Obviously the glossator's "de" means "pertaining to," not "authored by."

To digress for a moment, let us recall the element of ejaculation ascribed to the *Cantares* texts in Chapter Four, and compare a few of the *conjuros*, or incantations, that have been recorded in the Aztec-Maya area. Three of the fullest collections are the late-colonial Yucatec *Ritual of the Bacabs*, the Aztec *conjuros* published by Ruiz de Alarcón in 1629, and the modern-day chants of the Mazatec "wise woman" María Sabina. In all three collections the "I am" formula is used as a means of identifying with supernatural power. "I am your mother, I am your father, I consign you to the evils of Metnal [the underworld]," exclaims the Yucatec ritualist.[9] Similarly, Ruiz de Alarcón's informants use such phrases as "niQuetzalcoatl" (I am Quetzalcoatl) and "ninoyoalitoatzin" (I am the one called shadows).[10] In cases like these the speaker, in a combative mood, is attempting to gain control over a disease or an enemy. In the decidedly peaceable, if ecstatic, chants of María Sabina, the formulas "I am the Morning Star woman. . . . I am the Moon woman" help to put the speaker into a hypnotic state.[11] Without straining the comparison, it may be suggested that the *Cantares* singer who identifies with King Montezuma or King Nezahualcoyotl is relying on an incantatory technique extending well beyond sixteenth-century ghost songs.

Such arguments are not meant to imply that kings of every description were excluded from the ranks of composers. The *Cantares* glossator asserts unequivocally that the composer Don Baltasar Toquezcuauhyo was *tlatoani* (king) of Colhuacan, and there is reason to believe that the information is accurate.[12] On the other hand, the *tlatoani* of so unimportant a place as Colhuacan, especially after 1521, need not have been a prominent member of the nobility. It has already been shown that ghost songs belonged to the noble classes, and it is not surprising therefore to find two "dons," a "lord" (*pilli*), and a "king" (*tlatoani*) among the singers identified in the *Cantares* glosses. But it would be news indeed if the *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan, or even Tlacopan or Coyohuacan, were included as well.

We do know that the old kings of Tenochtitlan danced and sang. According to Sahagún, they might "try a song" or "learn a new song"; but the professional singers were the ones who "prepared" the material.[13] In sum, there is no reason to believe that these kings were the authors of the surviving song texts, and no real evidence that they composed any songs whatsoever.

Ixtlilxochitl's Nezahualcoyotl

Easily the most celebrated of the historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's discoveries is the so-called poet-king of Texcoco, Nezahualcoyotl (1402–72), from whom Ixtlilxochitl proudly claimed descent through Nezahualpilli (d. 1515), Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (d. 1531?), Ana Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (married 1540), Francisca Cristina Verdugo Ixtlilxochitl (married 1561), and Ana Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (married 1577?). The historian is thus the great-great-great-great-grandson of Nezahualcoyotl. His own dates are 1578?–1650.[14]

Let us start by noting that the dated songs in the *Cantares* were recorded when Ixtlilxochitl's grandmother was a girl. Except for the one or two pieces that must have been composed in the 1580's, there is no reason to believe that any of the surviving material was recorded during the historian's lifetime. Thus the ghost-song manuscripts circulating at the turn of the century, assuming that no new material had been added, were already quite old. The unconvincing efforts of Ixtlilxochitl and his contemporaries as translators of these texts will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen. For now, it need only be mentioned that nowhere in sixteenth-century ethnography, nowhere in all the chronicles prepared during the days of Ixtlilxochitl's predecessors, is it ever stated that Nezahualcoyotl had been a poet. Sahagún, perhaps, would not have been interested in discovering kings who were also poets, but Durán would have loved the information, and Pomar would surely have included it.

It must be conceded, however, that the mestizo chronicler Pomar, writing in 1582, might even at this early date be imagining Nezahualcoyotl to have been a composer. As he puts it:

> What certain nobles and lords felt about their idols and gods is that even though they worshipped them and made sacrifices to them, nevertheless they doubted that they really were gods, rather that it was a delusion to believe that some statues of wood and stone, made by human hands, were gods, especially Nezahualcoyotzin, who is the one that vacillated the most, seeking where to obtain the light that would give proof of the true God and creator of all things; and as Our Lord God in his secret judgment did not deign to enlighten him, he returned to the worship of his ancestors, and of this there is testimony in many ancient songs that today are known in fragments, for in these there are many honorific names and epithets of God, as in the saying that there was one alone and that this was the maker of sky and earth, and by himself he supported everything that is made and created, and that he dwelled where he had no rival, in a place beyond nine levels, and that he was never seen in human form or flesh, nor in any other shape, and that after death the souls of the virtuous went to the place where he dwelled, and that those who were evil went to another place, of torment and horrible suffering; and never, although they had many idols representing different gods, when they ad-

> dressed all of them in general rather than each one in particular, did they ever do otherwise than say in their language *in Tloque in Nahuaque* [O Ever Present! O Ever Near!], which means lord of the sky and the earth: an obvious sign that they held for certain there was no more than one; and this not only [among] the most prudent and wise, but even the common people said it that way, so the people of greater intellect and understanding, who were the nobles, understood this, as can be gathered from the inquiries they made about it and in particular from the songs, which is where the most light is obtained; and truly in these there is great information about their antiquities, in the form of chronicle and history; but in order to understand them it is necessary to be a great linguist [*gran lengua*], and so, with regard to their gods, some of them understood that they were living a delusion, and from this it follows that they also attained knowledge of the immortality of the soul.[15]

Although Pomar modestly hints that he is not the requisite *gran lengua*, he allows himself to draw startling conclusions from the "ancient songs," possibly referring to the codex *Romances*, which has been preserved together with Pomar's *relación*. Here, evidently, is the origin of the dubious report that Nezahualcoyotl was a monotheist;[16] and here too, perhaps, we have the first hint of Nezahualcoyotl the poet. Some of Pomar's ideas, considerably toned down and without any mention of songs, seem to have been picked up by Mendieta,[17] whose *Historia* was completed in 1596.

Yet not until Torquemada's *Monarquía indiana*, published in 1615, do we find the first reference to a "cantar" that Nezahualcoyotl "himself had composed."[18] The text quoted by Torquemada is obviously a ghost song, mistranslated, and the source is most likely Ixtlilxochitl or an informant whom both historians were using at that time.[19] Ixtlilxochitl's own historical works, as is well known, are filled with references to the poetic abilities of his ancestor.[20] His most influential piece of literary criticism, however, is to be found not in his histories, but in a little paper copied repeatedly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and now usually known as the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*.[21] This work contains the Spanish texts of four heavily Westernized poems, the first three of which purport to be songs composed by the Texcocan king. Taken at face value through the end of the nineteenth century, the three songs have more recently been regarded as adaptations. Though these pieces are not to be found in either the *Cantares* or the *Romances*, the badly mangled sources, without any question, were ghost songs. Exhibiting the "I am" formula, as well as invocations in both the second and the third person, these pieces are not likely to have been composed by any of the kings whose names they advertise.

By the eighteenth century, owing largely to the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*, the fame of the supposed poet had become a necessary topic for most writers on Mexican antiquities, and the name Nezahualcoyotl was now virtually synonymous with old Nahuatl poetry. As if to help meet the demand for fresh examples (since the *Cantares* and *Romances* manuscripts re-

mained in limbo), a most curious "Nezahualcoyotl" piece appeared in 1778 in a work by J. J. Granados y Gálvez entitled *Tardes americanas*.[22] This is the now-notorious elegy that includes the phrases "All things on earth have their term. . . . All the round world is but a sepulchre," in William H. Prescott's translation, and that opens with the stanza (in D. G. Brinton's even more seductive version): "The fleeting pomps of the world are like the green willow trees, which, aspiring to permanence, are consumed by a fire, fall before the axe, are upturned by the wind, or are scarred and saddened by age."[23]

By the middle of the twentieth century so apparent a forgery could no longer be taken seriously even by scholars who continued to believe that Nezahualcoyotl had been a poet. But it remained for the British Americanist Gordon Brotherston to demonstrate—in an ingenious and convincing piece of scholarship—that the song was based on a possibly genuine Otomi folk poem to which Granados y Gálvez had added heavy applications of fraudulent material.[24] The folk poem, as reconstructed by Brotherston, is by no means a ghost song.

These, then, would be the main points in a full-dress case against Nezahualcoyotl attributions, which in addition ought properly to dissect the *Historia chichimeca* of Ixtlilxochitl, treating various peripheral issues along the way. This is an extremely serious matter, which strikes at the heart of Aztec culture study. The skeletal arguments offered in this chapter, before they can be accepted, will require careful checking, debate, and no doubt adjustment.

CHAPTER 12

Dating the Songs

Guided by only a few clear signposts, the dating of the individual songs in the *Cantares mexicanos* must depend largely on internal evidence and the weighing of probabilities. Obviously several of the songs were composed in the mid-1500's. The central question is whether any of the *Cantares* pieces could have been composed before the Conquest. And if so, which ones?

Previous chapters have attempted to show that the entire compilation consists of ghost songs; in other words, songs that summon the ghosts of ancestors or that treat some aspect of the ghost-song ritual. In theory at least, this presumed ritual qualifies as a millenarian revitalistic activity as defined in Chapter Seven. If this much is correct, the entire genre, including the music and the poetic structure, could be new—just as the songs of the Plains Ghost-Dance religion with their distinctive couplet structure and Great Basin melodies were new; and just as the songs of the North American Peyote Cult, with their special vocables and nervous drumming, are new.[1] This of course does not mean that antecedents cannot be found. But let us turn once more to the pre-Conquest ghost song, or proto-ghost song, entitled "Song of cloud companions," quoted on p. 84, and note the unusual brevity, the extreme parataxis (or jerkiness), the frontal pairing of stanzas three and four, and the complete lack of introspection. These features tend to separate it from the *Cantares*, though in vocabulary and subject matter it qualifies as a ghost song. If the "Song of cloud companions" is truly an antecedent, the genre has changed.

On the other hand, there must have been more than one kind of antecedent. As suggested in Chapter Ten, the *Cantares* appears to be an amalgam of earlier genres. If so, it would be reasonable to allow for the possibility that some parts date from before the Conquest, even if the entire corpus was used for revitalistic purposes during the mid-sixteenth century.

The Newer Songs

Three songs in the manuscript, 55, 56, and 58, can be dated with a fair degree of certainty, since the glossator has assigned them to the years 1553, 1550, and 1564, respectively. Although he appears to have inserted these dates in a single sitting, which leads one to question the accuracy of his memory, there is no reason to suppose that he is far from the mark. In fact there is evidence that he is just two years off for both 1553 and 1564, which probably should be 1555 and 1562. (See the Commentary, songs 55 and 58.) However, a fourth song in the same group, 59, carries the date 1536, which is almost certainly a serious mistake. Because the date lies so far removed from the others, Garibay conjectures that a copyist may have transposed the last two digits; the year 1563 would be acceptable.[2] If, as the glossator explains, the composer was giving "succor to our poor sought one, Don Diego de León," the song could hardly be dated before 1555, the year in which Don Diego died. A "sought one" is a spirit whom the singer is attempting to produce as a revenant.

A further date, 1551, appears on folio 7 in an unconnected gloss—quoted in part in Chapter Eleven—having to do with a performance by Francisco Plácido. Seemingly the date applies to the several songs that immediately follow it, though this is by no means certain. In any event, the music in question is spoken of as though it were being revived after a period of silence ("And newly, again, this music"). Since the earliest of all the presumably genuine dates in the manuscript is 1550, or circa 1550, as noted above, and since this roughly coincides with the "newly again" date of 1551, it may be postulated that the ghost-song movement was getting under way at about this time. I do not believe the gloss on folio 7 should be taken to mean that old texts are being sung verbatim, because none of the songs in this portion of the manuscript seem free of post-Conquest influences.

In addition to the dated songs, a number of others, though undated, obviously belong to the post-Conquest period in that they overtly describe Conquest or post-Conquest events, name latter-day personalities, or extensively treat Christian doctrine. These are songs 13, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 83, and 89–91, which, if 55, 56, 58, and 59 are added, account for approximately 32 percent of the manuscript. To this group may be added the pieces composed in "missionary Nahuatl" (songs 1–4, 6–9, and 12), representing just 4 percent of the *Cantares*.

We may now turn to the remarkably homogeneous series of songs beginning with number 20 and extending through number 43. It is tempting to assign these to a single singer or at least a single school. The summoning of triple-alliance ghost kings and the mystical perpetuation of Mexico

are among the recurring themes. In every stylistic detail the twenty-four pieces are uniform. Frequent mentions of Life Giver or, more explicitly, Dios could be explained as modern growths, but the revitalistic tone makes it unlikely that these could be pre-Conquest compositions, and the apparent inclusion of Montezuma II among the summoned ghosts makes it all but impossible. According to the glossator's headnote, these twenty-four songs are to be classed as *xochicuicatl*, *cuauhcuicatl*, and *icnocuicatl*—thematic titles of the first type, which, as noted earlier, are never to be found in the reliable accounts of pre-Conquest music. Consequently the glossator's assertion that these are songs that "used to be performed in the palaces of Mexico" seems to be yet another error. It could be offered in his defense, however, that either he or his informant is merely validating the new genre by stressing its undoubtedly ancient precedent. These songs account for 12 percent of the manuscript.

We now have about 50 percent of the *Cantares* as either certainly or almost certainly of post-Conquest composition. The tally will not be continued. But if we were to add those remaining songs that strongly resemble the homogeneous twenty-four, as well as every other piece that carries a thematic title of the first type, we would find that an overwhelming majority of the material must be post-Conquest.

As for the cutoff date, we may note that apart from Alonso Axayacatzin, who died in about 1581, no one known to have lived beyond 1572 (the death date of both Archbishop Montúfar and Fray Pedro de Gante) is mentioned in any surviving song text. In fact the great majority of post-Conquest caciques summoned as ghosts in these songs were dead well before 1560. One is left with the impression that though an occasional song was still being composed, or revised, as late as the mid-1580's, the genre was already becoming moribund by 1570. A very late notice of what may have been a ghost-song performance appears in Chimalpain's *Journal*, which mentions a *michcuicatl* (fish song) among the noteworthy events of the year 1593.[3]

To summarize, it is clear that ghost songs were being composed during a period that began as early as 1550 and continued until at least 1581, though perhaps only sporadically by this late date. Though some of the songs, to be mentioned below, may have been survivals from an earlier era, it would be difficult to say that the sixteenth-century ghost-song activity as revealed by the *Cantares* could be much extended in either direction beyond the limits indicated.[4]

The Older Songs

To assume that the ghost-song activity did not coalesce until 1550 is not to say that native singers had been silent since 1521. Early missionary ac-

counts make it clear that singing was an Indian passion. From the ecclesiastical writ of 1539 it appears that the Church would have liked to ban native singing altogether had it been practical to do so.[5] On the other hand, both secular and clerical officials were fascinated by the colorful native performances and even welcomed them on certain occasions.[6] But what texts were used during the 1520's, 1530's, and 1540's can only be guessed. Possibly old chants were recited verbatim, or possibly the ghost-song genre as preserved in the *Cantares* was already beginning to develop.

In the *Cantares* the illusion of antiquity is perhaps most deceptively conveyed in songs 14–19, especially in the gargantuan and overwrought 17 and 18 and in the monstrous 19. The Commentary, together with a close reading of the Translation, should help to make it clear that these difficult pieces are new compositions, not pre-Conquest relics. One is reminded of the hypertrophic potlatch activity among the Kwakiutl of British Columbia during the late nineteenth century. Under stress the culture appeared to be expressing itself more flamboyantly than in precontact times.[7] Similarly, a piece like *Cantares* song 19 is more egregiously Aztec, more shocking to Western sensibilities, than any of the pre-Conquest "demons' songs" recorded in Sahagún's *Historia general*.[8]

There is no way to be sure that any song in the *Cantares* is an unadulterated pre-Conquest composition. Yet the obvious borrowing of phraseology from the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, as noted in Chapter Nine, suggests that at least one piece, song 54-E, has a pre-Conquest origin. Similar pieces, especially songs 54-A, 54-B, 54-C, 54-D, and 65 may be tentatively placed in the same category. In addition, it would be hard to insist that certain satirical pieces, such as songs 57 (the "cradlesong"), 84 ("Chalcan female song"), 85 ("Old man song"), and 88 (the untitled homosexual song), were composed in the 1550's or 1560's—even though they might have been.

If the ghost-song ritual were in some sense new or renascent at the beginning of the 1550's, it would still be possible for pre-Conquest material to be making a reappearance. Men trained as professional singers before the arrival of Cortés would still be as young as forty-five or fifty years old. The fact that the genre seems to have died out after 1585 implies that it may even have been dependent on these older singers, who, during the third quarter of the century, would have had ample opportunity to display the phraseology, if not the song forms, that they had learned in their youth.

CHAPTER 13

The Study of Aztec Poetry

After an initial few decades of discovery and collection, the study of Aztec poetry passed into a developmental period, roughly 1590–1650, which saw the first, tentative translations. A third, relatively unproductive era lasted until about 1850, during which time the principal texts appear to have been mislaid or forgotten. With the rediscovery of the *Cantares mexicanos* in the second half of the nineteenth century, texts of importance became available once again, and the pioneering editions of D. G. Brinton and Antonio Peñafiel, followed by the mid-twentieth-century studies of Angel Garibay and Leonhard Schultze Jena, brought the subject to the attention of an increasingly appreciative, and increasingly sophisticated, audience.

1523–1590: The Missionary-Ethnographers

Interest in the poetry, or song texts, of the Indians of New Spain can presumably be dated from the arrival of Fray Pedro de Gante just two years after the Conquest. Although Gante seems to have written nothing for publication on the subject of native songs, it was he who first recognized the importance of Indian music and saw it as a potential aid in the great work of conversion. The idea was to prepare Christian texts in Nahuatl for performance in the native mode. In a letter to Philip II, dated 1558, Gante admits to having composed at least one such text, and it is likely that he prepared others.[1] According to Motolinía, these special texts were the work of "the friars," whom Motolinía does not name.[2] But in addition to Gante, at least Fray Bernardino de Sahagún must be included, since the only surviving examples of this work are the specimens that he devised and had published in his *Psalmodia christiana*. It might be conjectured that some of Gante's pieces were taken over by Sahagún and are thus preserved

incognito in the *Psalmodia*;[3] but Garibay's notion that Gante could have been the author of the *Cantares'* children song (*pilcuicatl*; song 61) is not supported by either external or internal evidence.[4]

Though Gante evidently tolerated native songs and no doubt introduced Christian songs in the native style, his principal activity as a singing master had to do with instructing the Indians in the art of European-style church music. The peculiar references in the *Cantares* to "Fray Pedro" as muse appear to stem from this fact. In other words, the Indian singers wished to stamp their native-style performances with the imprimatur of European authority. Whether this was done for political reasons or whether it actually implies stylistic influence can only be guessed.

Gante does not appear to have had any direct involvement in the compilation of the *Cantares mexicanos*. As explained in Chapter One, the *Cantares* seems to have been Sahagún's project. But if it had not been for the idea of imitating native songs, both the *Cantares* and the highly similar *Romances* might never have come into existence. The *Psalmodia* reveals that Sahagún had made it his business to study these songs carefully, probably in manuscript. Yet he did not include them in his *Historia general*.

There is a remote possibility that Fray Diego de Durán also collected native songs now lost.[5] His interest in the subject was mentioned at the beginning of Chapter Two, where it was hinted that he had no real understanding of the material. That hint can now be amplified by a further quotation from Durán, in which we may read between the lines and infer that he heard songs addressing such ghosts as Montezuma and figuratively referring to the ghost multitude as "riches":

> Dances were often held in the temples, though on solemn occasions, and even more often in the palaces of the lords, for they all had their singers who composed songs about the glories of their ancestors and of themselves. Especially to Motecuhzoma, the lord of whom most notice is taken, along with Nezahualpiltzintli of Tezcoco, they had songs composed during their reigns, concerning their glories and their victories and conquests and genealogies and their extraordinary riches, which songs I have heard sung many times in public dances, which, though they commemorated their lords, gave me much contentment to hear such lauds and glories.[6]

Durán seems to think he was hearing pre-Conquest songs of praise. Instead, he was probably hearing songs like those preserved in the *Cantares*, perhaps the very same songs.

Francisco Hernández, who spent the years 1571–77 in New Spain, included a chapter on Aztec music in his *De antiquitatibus*, partially describing twenty-one kinds of songs, two of which, the *cococuicatl* (dove song) and the Tlaxcaltecayotl (Tlaxcalan piece), are also named in the *Cantares* and in no other source. But there is no clear evidence that Hernández saw the texts of these songs, much less that he had an opportunity to translate

them. With the death of Gante in 1572, of Durán in 1588, and of Sahagún in 1590, the great era of song collecting came to a close, leaving a mass of inscrutable texts virtually unglossed.

The few glosses that were attempted came not from the missionary-ethnographers, apparently, but from their acculturated Indian assistants, who had neither the scholarly standards of the friars nor the insight of the old-style singers. As noted in earlier chapters, the *Cantares* manuscript includes various glosses of this sort, largely erroneous. Similarly unhelpful annotations are to be found in the *Romances*, perhaps in *Codex Vaticanus 3739* (see Commentary, song 44), perhaps in Pomar's *Relación* (see Commentary, song 45), and, most notoriously, in the *Madrid Codex* transcripts of the twenty "demons' songs."[7] As if aware of their deficiency, Sahagún omitted the "demons' songs" glosses in the *Florentine Codex*. Yet he did not omit the two glossed ghost-song stanzas in Book Six of that work. These have been briefly noted, unfavorably, in Chapter Nine. We thus reach the year 1590 with the work of translation as yet unbegun.

1590–1650: The Latter-Day Historians

Around the turn of the sixteenth century the *Cantares* and other, similar manuscripts were inherited by a new generation of writers that included Torquemada, Chimalpain, and Ixtlilxochitl. Cautious enough to use song texts sparingly, these authors nevertheless made paraphrases and even put forth interpretations. Their endeavors for the most part were historical, but in the so-called *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*, attributed to Ixtlilxochitl, the ghost-song genre made its debut as European-style literature, and in the grammar of Horacio Carochi, published in 1645, ghost-song phraseology received its first careful, if brief, linguistic analysis.

Juan de Torquemada. For Torquemada the "ancient" songs provided historical source materials of "exactitude and veracity" even though they had been composed "without regard to the years" in which the described events had occurred. "I have examined them with the greatest of particularity," he asserts, "and with the utmost care."[8] But with less assurance he writes:

> Of the first who arrived at the founding of this city there were four who were very notable: one called Aatçin, Ahueyotl, Tenuch, and Oçelopan. This I found in some very ancient *cantares* that treat of the founding of this city, and I can't say whether they were among the nine chiefs, or captains, that headed the nine families that reached the first site at Chapoltepec or sons and descendants of those, because the confusion of the ancient histories sheds no more light.[9]

Torquemada is almost certainly referring to the *Cantares mexicanos*, song 69, stanza 8, in which the four founders are named as "Aatlon, Ahuexotlon, ain Tenoch ynocelopani." In the manuscript (see Fig. 12) the "l" in

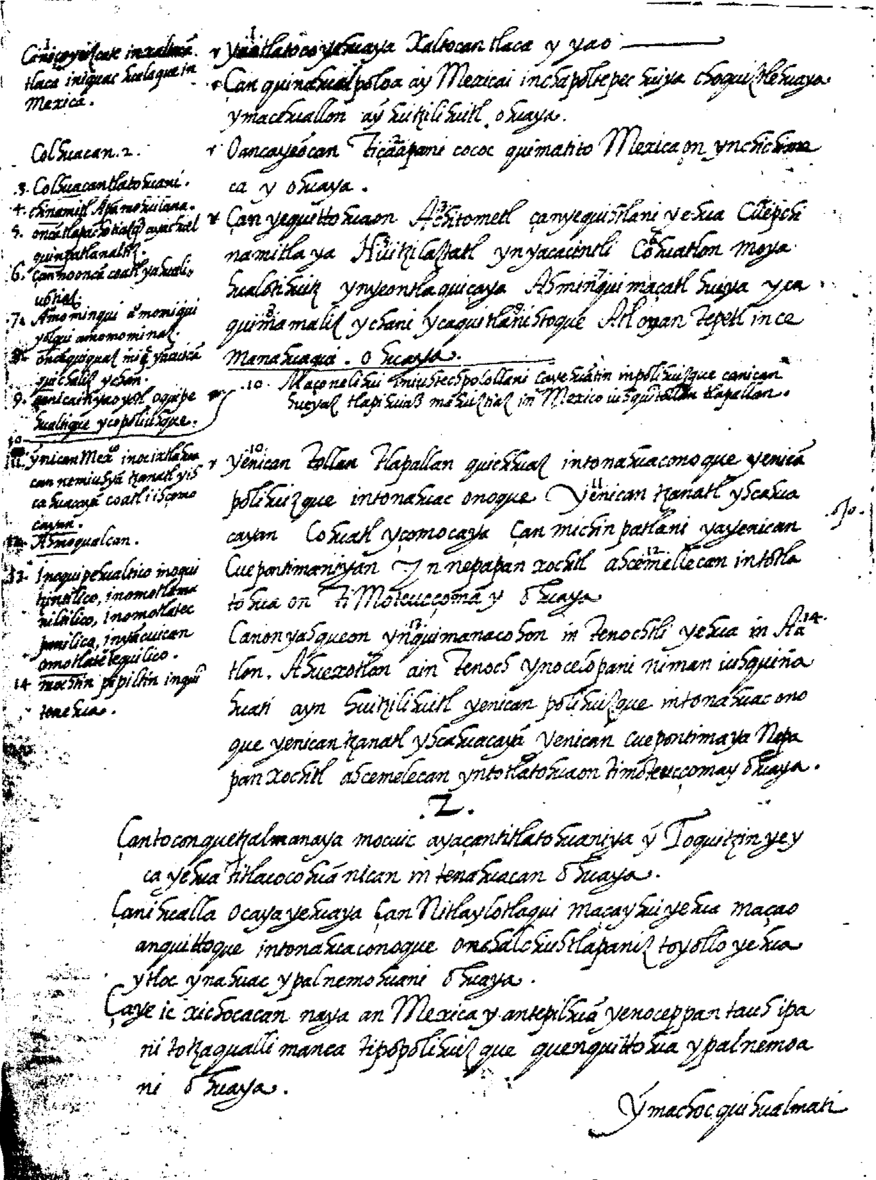

Fig. 12. Page from the *Cantares* (fol. 60v) misread by Torquemada?

"Aatlon" is curled at the top and the "o" is abnormally compressed, allowing the word to be read as "Aatcin." The "x" in "Ahuexotlon" resembles a diminutive "y"; the terminal "on," merely a vocable, could have been read by Torquemada as a demonstrative particle; and so forth. Thus it seems that Torquemada, or his copyist, was acquainted with MS 1628 bis. Note, also, that the sequence "aatl ahuexotl tenoch ocelopan" occurs in no other surviving text, musical, historical, or otherwise. Actually it is a play on words, which can be translated either as founders' names or as symbols that stand for the city itself ("the waters, the willows, the tuna, the jaguar throne"). Far from being "very ancient," as Torquemada supposed, the song in question appears to be a post-Conquest *xopancuicatl*. Elsewhere he writes:

> And [Nezahualcoyotl] ordered his singers to sing a song that he himself had composed, which began thus: *Xochitl mamani in huehuetitlan* etc., which means: Among the copses and the cypresses there are fresh and fragrant flowers. And continuing on, it says that although for a while they are fresh and attractive, they reach a time when they wither and dry up. It goes on to say that all who are present must end and cannot come rule again, and that all their grandeur must finish and their treasure must be owned by others, and they are not to return and enjoy it once they have left it behind.[10]

Although this passage is evidently from a ghost song, it is not one that has survived in either the *Cantares* or the *Romances*. On what authority the piece is attributed to Nezahualcoyotl, Torquemada does not say. As for the translation, *huehuetl* (drum) has been confused with *ahuehuetl* (cypress), and the first line should read, "Flowers lie [or extend] beside the drum." For lack of any further text the remainder cannot be judged.

To his credit, Torquemada in yet another passage confesses that a certain song having to do with Tlaxcala was for the most part "written" as "poetry and must be counted as fiction, as were the heroic deeds that were written by the Greek and Latin poets."[11] This song, or a paraphrase of it, seems to derive from the *Historia de Tlaxcala* of Muñoz Camargo.

Diego Muñoz Camargo. Muñoz Camargo's *Historia de Tlaxcala*, written in the 1590's, includes a description of an ancient battle between Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco, said to have been memorialized in a song composed by a certain Tecuanitzin.[12] Unfortunately, the account is not clear enough to reveal the nature of the song text or even whether it was a ghost song. Torquemada, in adapting the information for his own book, distorted the phraseology that had been used by Muñoz and perhaps overemphasized Muñoz' reliance on the song.

Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpain Cuauhtlehuanitzin. The history of the Chalcan region would be largely unknown were it not for the *Relaciones* of the Chalcan writer called Chimalpain. Chimalpain's main sources

are old chronicles no longer extant. But there are at least two passages that he himself seems to have invented, with help from the *Cantares* glossator, drawing on hints in two of the *Cantares'* Chalcan pieces, songs 84 and 85. (References are given in the commentaries for these songs; and the interesting, complicated case of song 84 is described at some length.) If it is true, as has been said, that Chimalpain once had a copy of a song by Francisco Plácido in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe,[13] then the *Cantares* would be the most likely source (viz., song 55), and Chimalpain may be blamed for having started the rumor that Plácido was a composer of Guadalupan songs.

Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. Like Torquemada and Chimalpain, Ixtlilxochitl evidently knew the *Cantares* (his misreading of song 67 is discussed in the Commentary). He might also have known the *Romances*, since he and the *Romances* glossator display similar interests and use some of the same expressions. Both writers, for example, refer to the triple alliance as the "tres cabezas."[14] Both refer to Ipalnemohua as the "creador" (creator).[15] Both have a Texcocan orientation, and the glossator's labeling of no fewer than five songs as "de Nezahualcoyotl" prefigures the sweeping claims made by Ixtlilxochitl on behalf of the "poet"-king. When Ixtlilxochitl writes as follows, it is conceivable that he is thinking of the *Romances*:

> And so [Nezahualcoyotl] left the city of Tetzcuco and went to his woodland at Tetzcotzinco, where he fasted forty days, making orations to the unknown Dios, creator of all things and the originator of all of them, in whose praise he composed sixty and some songs that are preserved to this day, of great morality and wisdom and with very sublime names and epithets peculiar to Him.[16]

It would require a certain stretching of the imagination to describe the *Romances* in these terms, but Ixtlilxochitl seems capable of it. Moreover, his phraseology is suspiciously similar to that of Pomar, whose presumed description of the *Romances* has been quoted in Chapter Eleven. As for the "sixty and some" songs, since I myself count only thirty-six in the *Romances* against Garibay's sixty, why should Ixtlilxochitl not get sixty and some? But perhaps a less tenuous connection with the *Romances* manuscript is supplied by Ixtlilxochitl's tale of Cuacuauhtzin, king of Tepechpan, who is said to have composed a piteous lament after Nezahualcoyotl had sentenced him to die.[17] Likely as not the song is the one that appears in the *Romances*, folios 26–27, labeled by the glossator "pertaining to Cuacuauhtzin, king of Tepechpan." The same song appears in the *Cantares* (43), but without the suggestive gloss. In any event the two songs for which Ixtlilxochitl actually gives Nahuatl text in his *Historia chichimeca* are to be found in neither the *Romances* nor the *Cantares*, making it apparent that he either had access to other manuscripts since disappeared or gleaned material directly from oral sources, or perhaps both. He mentions in his

Relaciones that "the natives to this very day have some fragments of the [old songs],"[18] without saying whether the "fragments" are oral or written. Of the two songs that Ixtlilxochitl actually quotes, the first is treated as follows:

> An ancient song called Xopancuicatl . . . which goes thus: "canconicuilotehua que on intlactícpac conmahuicotitihuya a Tliantépetl Mexico nican Acolihuacan Nezahualcoyotzin Motecuhzomatzin, Tlacopan on in Totoquihuatzin Yeneli ai con-piaco inipetlícpal intéotl a Ipalnemoani, etcétera," which signifies according to its true meaning: "They left a memory in the world, did they who glorified the empire of Mexico and here in Acolihuacan, the kings Nezahualcoyotzin, Motecuhzomatzin, and, in Tlacopan, Totoquihuatzin: your memory will truly be imprinted, eternalized (on account of the good that you adjudged and ruled) at the throne and tribunal of god the creator of all things, etc."[19]

The Nahuatl text, garbled by Ixtlilxochitl, has been convincingly reconstructed by Garibay,[20] and I reproduce it here (in modernized Franciscan orthography) with minor emendations:

> Zan conicuilotehuaque on in tlalticpac. Conmahuizzotitihui-*a* atl-*o yan* tepetl Mexico nican Acolihuacan Nezahualcoyotzin, Moteuczomatzin, Tlacopan on in Totoquihuatzin. Ye nelli a in conpiyaco in ipetl icpal in teotl-*a* Ipalnemohuani, etc.

> They went away having painted oh! this earth. They went away having glorified this city of Mexico, they, Acolhuacan's Nezahualcoyotl, Montezuma, and Totoquihuaztli of oh! Tlacopan. Truly they came to guard the mat and throne of the spirit Life Giver, etc.

The most interesting error in Ixtlilxochitl's translation is the "here in Acolihuacan," implying that the song was composed in his native Texcoco (or Acolhuacan). Though this reading is linguistically feasible, it is unidiomatic. In fact the singer is "here in Mexico" or in "this city of Mexico" (*atl tepetl Mexico nican*).

Turning now to the other song quoted with Nahuatl text, we find that it appears not only in the *Historia chichimeca*, but again in the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl*; and this, too, is said to be *xopancuicatl*. In the *Historia* it reads:

> Tlacxoconcaquican hani Nezahualcoyotzin etcétera, which translated into our Castillian vernacular in accordance with its proper and true sense means: "Hear ye what the king Nezahualcoyotzin says in his lamentations on the calamities and persecutions that his realms and kingdoms are to suffer." When you are gone from this present life to another, O King Yoyontzin, there shall come a time that your vassals will be undone and destroyed, leaving all that is yours in the shades of oblivion: thus truly the kingdom shall not be in your hands but in those of Dios.[21]

In the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* the same passage forms merely the first two stanzas of a seven-stanza song:

> Hear attentively the lamentations that I, King Nezahualcoyotl, make upon empire, speaking with myself and setting an example for others.
> O uneasy and impermanent king, when that time arrives after your death that your vassals find themselves destroyed and undone, and dark confusion [arrives], then the order and dominion of the empire will not be in your hands but in those of Dios, Creator and All Powerful.[22]

The second translation is preferable in that it more correctly renders the opening line, "Hear ye what I, Nezahualcoyotl" (*Tla xoconcaquican*-a *niNezahualcoyotzin*). Yet in other respects it appears to be freer. The invented phrase "uneasy and impermanent" (*bullicioso y poco estable*) has been substituted for the term Yoyontzin, a well-known epithet of Nezahualcoyotl, now generally treated as an agentive noun derived from the verb *yoma*, which apparently means "to penetrate" in the sexual sense. In both versions Ixtlilxochitl is attempting to show that Nezahualcoyotl predicted the Conquest.

The history of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* has been discussed in Chapter Eleven. As for the unreliability of Ixtlilxochitl, this has been an item of suspicion among Mexicanists for more than a hundred years. Surely not all his tales are false. But if one were to establish a hierarchy of probable truth, those tales and comments that admittedly derive from "ancient songs" should be placed in the very lowest rank.

Horacio Carochi. In his *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, published in 1645, the Jesuit grammarian Carochi gives five phrases, with glosses, from the "poetic language" of the "ancients":[23]

1. Tlāuhquéchōllaztalēhualtòtōnatoc.
2. Ayauhcoçamālōtōnamēyòtimani.
3. Xiuhcóyóltzitzilica in teōcuitlahuēhuētl.
4. Xiuhtlapallàcuilōlāmoxtli manca.
5. Nic chālchiuhcozcameca quenmach tòtóma innocuic.

1. Está relumbrando con color encarnado como el paxaro *tlauhquechol.*
2. Y está resplandeciendo a manera del arco Iris.
3. El atambor de plata suena como cascaueles de turquesa.
4. Auia vn libro de anales, escrito, y pintado con colores.
5. Voi de mil maneras desatando mi canto, como sarta de piedras preciosas.

Of these the second, third, and fifth are not known from other sources, but the first and fourth are from the *Cantares*, appearing at folios 37v: 27, and 39: 16, respectively. Each occurs only once. Hence it appears that Carochi knew the *Cantares* or at least had copies from it. The fifth example, reminiscent of *Cantares* 57v: 24, seems especially valuable because it diagnoses an odd use of the adverb *quenmach*, not explained by any other author so far as I have been able to discover. But the gloss for *manca* ("there was" or "there used to be"), given in the fourth example, does not hold up in context:

xiuhtlapalla[h]cuilōlāmoxtli [ī]mancān-*aya* māquīzcōzcapetlatl īonocā[n]
īpan tonca[h] *aya* tinopiltzin
among these turquoise-and-crimson-painted pictures, upon this mat of bracelet jewels you dwell, O prince
[*Not:* There was a book of annals painted in colors . . .]

The quarrel is with "there was," which derives from an unambiguous paleographic error. Whether "crimson" is to be preferred over "color" is a matter of interpretation. As for "book of annals," the reading is linguistically defensible in the narrow context of the passage at hand, which might be construed: "where year-colored book of writing lies, where mat of bracelet jewels rests, that's where you dwell, O prince." But viewed in the context of the entire ghost-song repertoire and its recurring attestations of *amoxtli* (literally "book," according to Molina's dictionary), Carochi's "book of annals" must be rejected as unidiomatic. One is reminded that *amoxcalli* ("picture house" in ghost-song usage) is glossed "bookstore" by Molina. It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that Carochi—the most perceptive, the most thorough of all the old grammarians—did not pursue his poetry studies further.

1650–1850: An Interim Period

A persistent interest in Aztec poetry is revealed in the writings of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), Lorenzo Boturini de Benaduci (1702?–55), Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731–87), Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), and others who were contemporary with them.[24] But sixteenth-century source materials, notably the *Cantares*, do not appear to have been in circulation during these years. Instead, the old poetry was known only through fragmentary and perhaps very poor copies and, mainly, through the writings of Torquemada and Ixtlilxochitl. Granados y Gálvez, in forging his celebrated Nezahualcoyotl piece, even gave it the title *Xochitlmamani*,[25] which he had no doubt borrowed from Torquemada. The popularization of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* through the English versions included in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, published in 1843, seems to have been the most influential accomplishment of the entire two centuries.

1850–1980: The Rediscovery of the *Cantares*

Among the numerous manuscripts found in the collection of J. F. Ramírez upon his death in 1871 was a copy of the *Cantares mexicanos* made by the nineteenth-century Mexicanist Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca.[26] Another, partial copy, taken by Brasseur de Bourbourg possibly as early as 1848, passed into the hands of the Philadelphian D. G. Brinton and formed the basis for his groundbreaking edition of 1887. Thereafter, antiquarian literary studies lost status north of Mexico as a new generation of Americanists, now calling themselves anthropologists, turned their attention to fieldwork. At this time the study of Aztec poetry, so provocatively initiated by Brinton, found shelter among Germans and Mexicans. By the 1950's the mood had changed in the United States, and the publication of the *Florentine Codex*, prepared by Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble, was ushering in a new era of productive research in the field of Aztec literature. French and British contributions, though not lacking, remained marginal. By 1967 the significant work of the Mexican scholar Angel Garibay had been completed, and the poetry of the Aztecs, now more accessible than before, entered a period of reevaluation and heightened linguistic scrutiny.

Daniel Garrison Brinton. Brinton's *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, comprising the text, with English translation, of folios 1–10v and 26v–28v of the *Cantares mexicanos*, marks the beginning of the modern study of Aztec songs. Unfortunately, the text, obtained from Brasseur, is faulty, and the English versions even more so. Yet these are palatable from a belletristic point of view, and the still-useful introduction includes tasteful English renderings of the *Cantares de Nezahualcoyotl* and the Granados y Gálvez poem. Other North American writers who attempted to follow in Brinton's footsteps, notably Benjamin Lee Whorf and John Hubert Cornyn, fell far below the level of taste that Brinton had established, without improving on his scholarship.[27] The anthropologist Herbert Spinden, who should have known better, reprinted Brinton's version of the Granados y Gálvez piece in an influential essay of 1933, praising it as "a most splendid Thanatopsis . . . exemplifying the highest paganism."[28] In addition to *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, Brinton prepared an edition of the twenty "demons' songs" from Sahagún, curiously entitled *Rig Veda Americanus* (1890), but this had less impact than the earlier work.

Antonio Peñafiel. Within a dozen years of Brinton's two publications, the Mexican scholar Antonio Peñafiel brought out a transcription of the complete *Cantares*, which was followed in 1904 by a photographic facsimile of the manuscript. The transcription, dated 1899, is marred by errors. But the facsimile remains indispensable, even rivaling the since-deteriorated codex itself as the optimum source. As if stunned by the sight of so inscrutable a text, Mexican scholarship paused for three decades, producing no translations of importance until the 1930's.

Leonhard Schultze Jena. The German school of Mexicanists traces its origin to Eduard Seler, whose studies of old texts and pictographs, begun in the 1880s, are still cited today. Seler himself, though he prepared a detailed monograph on the twenty "demons' songs,"[29] completely avoided the *Cantares mexicanos*. On his seventieth birthday, his student Walter Leh-

mann presented him with a voluminous study of the so-called Toltec lament (*Cantares*, song 44, canto A);[30] but it remained for another disciple, Leonhard Schultze Jena, to mount a full-scale assault on the *Cantares*. At Schultze Jena's death in 1955 the work was finished only up to folio 58. Thus incomplete (and unrevised), it was brought out two years later by still another Seler disciple, Gerdt Kutscher, who added an index. The transcription, though less inaccurate than Brinton's or Peñafiel's, does little to advance the study of an unusually legible manuscript that had already been published in facsimile. The translation, useful in spots, is on the whole unacceptable and has been widely ignored. In his sparse commentary Schultze Jena relies exclusively on German scholarship and is even unaware of the translations that had already been published by Garibay.

Angel María Garibay Kintana. Garibay's *La poesía lírica azteca* (1934), followed by Rubén Campos' *La producción literaria de los aztecas* (1936), signaled the reawakening of the Mexican school. A further, more significant work by Garibay, *Poesía indígena de la altiplanicie* (1940), clearly established him as the more important scholar. Extensive commentary on Aztec poetry appeared in Garibay's two-volume *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (1953–54), followed by his monograph on the twenty "demons' songs" (1958), which included the first translations from the codex *Romances*. Then came a diminutive popular anthology entitled *Xochimapictli* (1959). Two other popular works, *Panorama literario* (1963) and *La literatura de los aztecas* (1964) were immediately followed by Garibay's major study of Aztec poetry, the three-volume *Poesía náhuatl* (1964–68), which included Nahuatl and Spanish texts for the entire *Romances* and roughly 50 percent of the *Cantares*. Further volumes were planned, but Garibay died in 1967, and the work remained unfinished.[31]

Though better prepared than Schultze Jena, Garibay did not produce coherent translations. To compensate, he advanced the theory that many if not most of the songs in the old manuscripts were accretions of tiny imagist-like lyrics that could be detached and presented as whole poems. He supposed, moreover, that the Nahuatl texts had been indifferently preserved and were in need of editorial retouching. He presented recensions, therefore, not transcriptions; and these, though always stimulating, cannot be relied upon for careful work. As an interpreter of the entire genre, he overemphasized its antiquity, openly discarding Spanish loanwords or sometimes concealing them, perhaps unwittingly. For example, he gives, for *Cantares* 79: 25, "Ohuallaque in pipiltin ye Huexotzinco in tonxihuan in nelpiloni," which he translates as "Vinieron los capitanes, nuestros nietos del colgajo."[32] No doubt he meant to write: "Vinieron los capitanes de Huexotzinco, nuestros nietos del colgajo." (Came the captains of Huexotzinco, our grandsons of the hanged man.) But "our grandsons" would

have to be *tixhuihuan* or *toxhuihuan*, not *tonxihuan*; and *nelpiloni*, whatever its etymology, is a proper name used among the ruling classes of Huexotzinco. In fact the text is "Ohuallaque in Pipiltin ye huexotzinco y Ton Xihuã y nelpiloni." Or in the modernized Franciscan orthography that Garibay preferred: "Ohuallaque in pipiltin ye Huexotzinco i ton Xihuan i Nelpiloni." (The princes have come. Huexotzinco's Don Juan Nelpiloni . . .) The reference is not to ancient doings, but to a post-Conquest cacique of Huexotzinco.

Another example, "timomiquili in itech in coloz,"[33] is translated as "has muerto y quedas desviado" (you've died and have been deflected). Although the lexical construction "you've died and will have been bent with regard to it" is remotely possible, the correct reading should have been obvious: "You died on the cross."

Such errors, though isolated, are typical of the overall tendency to precolumbianize sixteenth-century texts; and of this the most unfortunate manifestation is Garibay's wholesale attribution of ghost-song poetry to Nezahualcoyotl, Nezahualpilli, and other pre-Conquest kings. Schultze Jena, for all his linguistic faults, had resisted this impulse, and even Brinton had viewed the matter with suspicion.[34] Thus the study of Aztec poetry under Garibay both lost and gained ground. Among the gains were the rediscovery of the codex *Romances*; the debunking of certain misconceptions, notably the supposed Guadalupan influence in the *Cantares* and the long-held validity of the Granados y Gálvez poem;[35] Garibay's successful effort to bring the entire subject of Aztec literature under bibliographic control; and, last but not least, the disarming sincerity and sheer bulk of his oeuvre, which brought Aztec poetry to the attention of an international audience.

In the wake of Garibay's studies, numerous scholars, translators, and poets have paid homage to his work, summarizing, refining, or expanding on his readings without attempting to challenge his basic assumptions. Best known among such scholars has been Garibay's disciple Miguel León-Portilla, whose *Los antiguos mexicanos a través de sus crónicas y cantares*, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality*, *Nezahualcoyotl*, *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*, and *Trece poetas del mundo azteca* may be mentioned. Two works of summarization and paraphrase by Birgitta Leander will be found in the Bibliography, as well as Arias-Larreta's *Literaturas aborígenes* and José Alcina Franch's *Floresta literaria de la América indígena* and *Poesía americana precolombina*. Volume Two of Michel Launey's *Introduction* and my own treatment of *Cantares* song 44 in *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature* may be included in this company. Of particular interest are Georges Baudot's *Les Lettres précolumbiennes*, Gordon Brotherston's *Image of the New World*, Willard Gingerich's "La comprensión del mundo a través de la poética náhuatl," and Karttunen and Lock-

hart's "La estructura de la poesía náhuatl vista por sus variantes." Outside the mainstream is R. Gordon Wasson's *The Wondrous Mushroom*, in which the author relates Garibay's readings of Aztec poetry to his own research in ethnomycology.

Translators who have brought Garibay's readings into English include Toni de Gerez, Rafael González, Irene Nicholson, G. T. Smisor, Willard Trask, and Andrew Wiget. Among poets who have contributed English versions, often with personal touches, are Stephen Berg, John Ceely, Frank M. Chapman, Ed Dorn (in collaboration with Gordon Brotherston), Edward Kissam, Jerome Rothenberg, and William Carlos Williams. Especially inventive is Ernesto Cardenal's *Homenaje a los indios americanos*, which includes pieces entitled "Cantares de mexicanos (I)," "Cantares de mexicanos (II)," and "Netzahualcóyotl."

Meanwhile, a quiet revolution in Aztec linguistics began to be felt in the mid- and late 1970's with the publication of J. Richard Andrews' *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* (1975), Karttunen and Lockhart's *Nahuatl in the Middle Years* (1976), and the first volume of Michel Launey's *Introduction à la langue et à la littérature aztèques* (1979). The new urgency to put Nahuatl on a more secure footing may in large part be traced to the *Florentine Codex* of Anderson and Dibble, which has made voluminous and high-quality texts widely available. But Garibay's *Poesía náhuatl*, with its equally tantalizing raw material, is no doubt a contributing factor. What the new grammarians are attempting to do is, first, to regain the level of understanding achieved by Horacio Carochi in the early seventeenth century, and then to push it a step beyond. Whether the effort will carry Aztec language research to the point of meaningful agreement within a community of scholars remains to be seen. At the very least it should help to bring the major works of Aztec literature, including the *Cantares mexicanos*, a little farther into the light.

PART TWO

The Text in Nahuatl and English

mitl ytoca Tlilatl, auh yn oahcico quimilhui ycihuahuã xitlacencahuacan in Maxtlatl in tilmatli Et. anquimacazque amoquichui / oquinenotzallan ma huallauh yn otomitl yn onechmetzhuitec momauhtihtica yn otomitl quittoa anca ye nechmictizque quihualhuica in huepantli, in tlaxipehualli in Maçatl ic quitlapaloco in axaya momauhtitihuitz, auh çan oquitlauhtique yn icihuahuã Axayaca

folio 54

Tlaxcaltecayotl

1

2 Otacico ye nican Tenochtitlan y ximochicahuacã antlaxcalteca ye huexotzinca quen concaquiz teuctlo xicotencatly y nelpiloniya ximochicahuacan netlaya

5 Hualtzatzia in tachcauh in quauhtencoztli çan conilhuia in capitani ya o tonã ye malintzin y xacaltecoz acachinanco otacico huel ximochicahuacã netlaya.

7 Tlaoc toconchiacã ynacal capitan aya huel ye oqui hualaci yn iquachpã in tepe-

[marginal gloss:] Aztahuacan

polli çan ye ixpã aya ye ixpolihuio in macehualtin Mexicame hue ximochicahuacan netleya.

10 Xiquîpalehuican totecuiyohuan a ayahue tepoztlahuiceque quixixinia atlon yan tepetl quixixinia Mexicayotl ximochicahuacã netleya.

12 Xictzotzona in mohuehueuh xihuehuetzca yc ixtlilxochitle xomittotiao in quauhquiahuac Mexico nicã mocueçalizchimalo cuecueyahua yan temalacatitlan y ximochicahuacã netleya

15 Yaopapaquinitzin tlahuiznenequitzin ayyahue in quachic aya yxtlixochitle xonmittotia in quauhquiahuac Mexico nicã y Mocueçalizchimalo cuecueyayan temalacatitlanỹ ximochicahuacan netleya.

18 In oc hualmomantihui Ahua tomachvaneyayyano in quachic aya in Anahuacatzin yn otomitl teuctli tehuetzquiti hue ximochicahuacã netleya.

20 O cuel achica cemilhuitl o yeehuaya in tlachinolxochitl motlatol tiquauhtemoctzin aya moteocuitlayacaxochiuh tlatlahuizcallehuatimaniya in mochcaxochiuh quetzaltica queyahuatimani otitlamahuiço huitziltepetl ximochicahuacan netleya.

24 Quehuelço tehuatzin Tetoca ye' mopan o mantiaz tauh totepeuh yeh mach oc timoxicoz çequi mopatiuh yetiuh oo moteocuitlayehuatzacaya mochcaxochiuh quetzaltica cueyahuatimani otitlamahuiço huitziltepetl

[marginal gloss:] huitzilopo[ch]
co

ximochicahuacan netleya.

leg. But when he got home he said to his women, "Get out the loincloth, the cape, and so forth, and give them to your man!" He summoned him, *saying*, "Let the Otomi come forth who wounded me in the leg." The Otomi is fearful, saying, "Perhaps they will kill me." He hails Axayacatl with timbers and deerskins. He comes in fear. But Axayacatl's women just rewarded him.

LXVI Tlaxcalan piece

A

You've arrived here in Tenochtitlan! "Be strong, Tlaxcalans! Huexotzincans!" And what will Nelpiloni be hearing from Lord Xicotencatl? "Be strong! Hail!" *1*

Chief Yellow-Beak Eagle comes shouting. And Captain, or Mother Marina, says, "Yellow Beak, my lookout! You've arrived in Acachinanco!" Be strong! Hail! *2*

"Let's keep watch for the Captain's boats. And ah, his banner is just coming in from Tepepol.[7] Beneath it the Mexican people are ravaged." Woe! Be strong! Hail! *3*

Give aid to our lords! With iron weapons they're wrecking the city, they're wrecking the Mexican nation! Be strong! Hail! *4*

Beat your drum and laugh loud, O Ixtlilxochitl! Dance at the Eagle Gate! Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields are whirling at the round-stone. Be strong! Hail! *5*

O Glad-in-Battle, O Craving Weapons, ah! O Valiant, O Ixtlilxochitl! Dance at the Eagle Gate! Here! In Mexico! Your scarlet-plume shields are whirling at the round-stone. Be strong! Hail! *6*

Meanwhile they sally forth and offer themselves. Oh, nephews! O Valiant Anahuacatl, and you O Otomi Chief Tehuetzquiti, woe! Be strong! Hail! *7*

These blazing flower words of Yours are but a moment and a day, O Eagle-Going-Down! These golden flower shoots of Yours are radiating dawnlight. These, Your cotton flowers, plume-whirl! And You've rejoiced at Hummingbird Mountain. Be strong! Hail! *8*

How favored You are! This city of ours follows onward, transported to You! Do You still have a craving? *Well then*, a few of Your payments are riding along, *yes these*, Your golden skin-robes! *These*, Your cotton flowers, plume-whirl! And You've rejoiced at Hummingbird Mountain.[8] Be strong! Hail! *9*

[7] *Marginal gloss*: Aztahuacan.
[8] *Marginal gloss*: Huitzilopochco.

28 Yc ontetl huehuetl

29 Tla huel xiquimottacan a yehuantin chimaltica mittotia,a, otonnexineque in tehuetzquiti yn tecoatzin tlehnoço anyezque mayecuele ma onnetotilo in tla xicuica anicahuan, Ma cecen otlipan ximochicahuacã ticohuayhuitl in tiitzpotonqui tle'noço anyezque maocyecuele ma õnehtotilo yn tla xicuicacan annicahuan.

folio 54v

1 Onel ticyacauhque tla xicaqui ye nocuic in tauh totepeuh in tenochtitlã o Mex^co nican in huel nelli,a, niquittohua niqueehua yeehua ye tonacizquia inn izta nanauhca in tlatelolco ma çan tlapic ye mochiuh Tlaxcalteca aya yn tla xicuicacan annicahuan.

5 Çan nicyaittac nicmahuiço ye oncã Nanahuacalteuctli chimaltica y expalatica yequene quihualtocaya in Tlaxcalteca aya in caxtillan tlaca Atitlan quincahuato ya tacitoya ma çan tlapic ommochiuh Tlaxcalteca aya in tla xicuicacã anicahuan

9 Yc yey huehuetl

[copyist's numeral:] 53

10 Tlaoc xõmitoti o tooquizteuctli titlatohuaya xictzotzona in teocuitlahuehuetl xiuhtlemiahuayo concauhtehuaque' in teteuctin tlatoque auh ooya yehuatl ye xiquimonahuilti in nepapã tlaca tonahuac onoque tlaxcalteca ỹ meetlo ye huexotzinca y meetla

14 Telyuelyc aye onez Mexico ye nican cuitlachihihuitl aya in tla'tohuani y huãylteuctli Tepixohuatzine anqui mochtin ye micuiloque ye in chimaltitech oo nepapa tlaca tonahuac onoque tlaxcalteca yn meetlo huexotzinca ỹ meetla

17 Mochimalihtotico nican aya in tlatohuani in Apopóca Mex^co anqui nicã chimalaztaxochihuaque huahuãpatzacque ỹ teuctlio amixpan o tlaxcalteca y meetlo ye huexotzinca ỹ meetla

20 Auh aço nelli yeic onacic quimõ,ya,cuili ynin tepoztopilli ixpayolme anqui nican chimalaztaxochihuaque huahuãpatzaque ỹ teuctli o amixpan o tlaxcalteca ỹ meetlo ye huexotzinca ỹ meetlo.

23 Hualchimallaçaya yehuan motelchiuhtzin ỹ teucylhuitl y telhuelie onnezta in oncacique yn intlequiquiço in tepehuanime conittoa in A toch ma onnetotilo tlaxcalteca ỹ meetlo ye huexotzinca yn meetla

26 ye xixinia ye quauhtenamitl a ocelotenamitl in teucylhuitl telhuelye onnezta in a cacique yn intlequiquiço in tepehuanime quittoa in A toch ma onnetotilo tlaxcalteca ỹ meetlo huexotzinca ỹ meetla.

29 Yc nahui huehuetl

30 Yn huel ximotzomoco ma xõmicalita çan titlacateccatl a yn temilotzin

B

Second drum-*cadence*

See them dancing with their shields! We've cut off our hair, O Tehuetzquiti, O Tecoatzin! What else would you do? Onward! Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers! *10*

Everybody on the road! Be strong! O Coaihuitl, O Itzpotonqui, what else would you do? Onward! Let there be dancing! Sing, brothers!

This we've abandoned—hear my songs!—this, our city, this Tenochtitlan, this Mexico-*on-earth*. Oh I sing them in earnest, I utter them, ah! And we would arrive. From the four directions they move toward Tlatelolco! Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans! Aya! Sing, brothers! *11*

Alone I saw Lord Anahuacatl there and marveled at him. Finally with shields and swords they come to chase him, they the Tlaxcalans, aya! and they the Castillians. Off he goes, into the water, leaving them behind. And off we go—to arrive! Let it not be done in vain, Tlaxcalans! Sing, brothers! *12*

C

Third drum-*cadence*

Dance, Lord Oquiztzin, and you sing! Beat the golden drum that sprouted turquoise fire-tassels! Lords and rulers went away and left him. And he himself has gone away. Then pleasure these, this multitude, our comrades! Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *13*

Yes, even so he's appeared here in Mexico! Cuitlachihuitl! And the tlatoani, Lord Huanitl! O Sower-of-Men, it would seem that these multiple nobles, our comrades, have all been painted in shields! Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *14*

The ruler Atl Popoca comes to do a shield dance here in Mexico. It seems this lord lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of withered stripers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *15*

It seems he's come to take a lance from the Spaniards. It seems this lord lays hold of dried-up egret-plume flower shields, lays hold of withered stripers, here before your eyes, Tlaxcalans. Hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *16*

Motelchiuh is the one who thrusts his shield, and it's a time of lords! Yes even so he sallies forth, having appeared. And when they've captured the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says, "Let there be dancing!" Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *17*

This eagle bulwark, this jaguar bulwark, is the one who does the wrecking—it's a time of lords! Yes even so he sallies forth, having appeared. And when they've captured the conquistadores' guns, then Rabbit says, "Let there be dancing!" Tlaxcalans, hey! Huexotzincans, hey! *18*

folio 55

ỹ ye oquiçaco in imacal caxtilteca chinanpã,neca yaoyahualolo in tenochcatlaya yaoyahualolo in tlatelolcatl.

3 Ỹ oc tlatzatzaquatoa in tlacochcalcatl in coyohuehuétzin a ye on oquiçaco in Acolihua o in Tepeyacac o in huey otli ypan yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatla yaoyahualolo in Tlatelolcatla.

6 In ye huel patiohuay in Tenochtitlan y ye ixpolihuio ye ipilhuã in ye çan yehuan Tiox chalchiuhcapitan yehuan Guzma Mex[co] nicã yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatla yaoyahualolo Tlatelolcatla.

9 Y xiuhhualcapoztica tla'tlahtlatzinia ayahuitl moteca y no conanque ya in quauhtemoctzin a yahue cém atl onmantia ỹ Mexica in tepilhuan aya yaoyahualolo in Tenochcatl in Tlatelolcatla.

12 Yc macuilli huehuetl *[copyist's numeral:]* 55

13 Ma xiquilnamiquican Tlaxcalteca tomachhuã yn iuhqui ticchiuhque Coyonacazco Neiçoquihuiloc in Mexica ye cihua ye tepepenalo in tlacahuaque ayahue.

16 A yc pachiuhtia yiollo A yximachoctzin chimalpaquinitzin,a, yahue yn iuhqui oticchiuhque coyonacazco neiçoquihuiloc in Mexica ye cihua ye tepepenalo ỹ tlacahuaque ayahue.

19 Ye onetzaqualoc Acachinanco Tehuexolotzin ayahue conicihuitia ynin tlamemeltzin ỹ Xicotencatl in Caxtañeta ye ma yhui netlè ye ya ma yhui netle.

22 I xihualpaynaca ticcahuane in tinelpilonitzino yahue cõcihuitia ynin tlememeltzin ỹ Xicotencatl ỹ Caxtaneta ye ma yhui netle ya ye ma yhui netle.

24 In chiucnahuilhuitica onteaxitilo in Coyohuacã in Quauhtemoctzin in Coanacoch tetlepanquetzatzin ye necuilolo in ãteteuctin ayyo.

26 Quimonellaquaya,a, in Tlacotzin ye quimonilhuia o Ahua tomachvane ximochihuacan aya teocuitlatepozmecatica ya onilpiloque ỹ ayahue ye necuilolo ỹ anteteuctin ayyo.

29 I yn quihualittohua o in tlatoani o in Quauhtemoctzina, Ahua nomatzine can tonanaloc tontzitzquiloc ac ynahuac timotlalia Genelal Capitan ahuaye nella toya yxapeltzina ahuaya nomachticatzine ayaya nella aye necuilolo in teteuctin ayyo.

folio 55v

1 Nel ahontimalihuiz in tetlacauhyotla ayahue oncozcanchihuih in quetzalnenelihuih in coyohuacani ahua nomatzine can analoc tontzitzquiloc aqu inahuac aya timotlalia in Genelal Capitan ahuaye nella toya yxapeltzina yahue ye necuilolo ya teteucti aayo ye necuilolo ya teteuctin ayyo.

D

Fourth drum-*cadence*

Gather your strength and go fight, O Commander, O Temilotzin. Castillians and Chinampanecs are coming in with boats. Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded. *19*

Meanwhile the troop chief Coyohuehuetzin throws up barricades. Acolhuans are coming down the Tepeyacac causeway! Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded. *20*

He who might serve as a payment for Tenochtitlan, he who's destroyed, is one of the children of God the jade captain: it's Guzmán, here in Mexico! Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans are surrounded. *21*

It thunders and thunders from out of a turquoise harquebus, and the vapor rolls. They've even seized Cuauhtemoc. All the Mexican princes go off through the water. Tenochcans are surrounded, Tlatelolcans *are surrounded.* *22*

E

Fifth drum-*cadence*

My dear Tlaxcalan nephews, *now* remember how we did it in Coyonacazco: the women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all the masters made their choices. *23*

With this he passed away contented in his heart, and he is Notable, and he is Glad-for-His-Shield. Ah! This is how we did it in Coyonacazco: the women of Mexico, all of them, muddied their faces, and all the masters made their choices. *24*

Yes, all the tom turkeys were corraled at Acachinanco, and the babe Castañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! Let it be so! And hail! *25*

"O younger brothers, come running! O Nelpiloni!" And the babe Castañeda Xicotencatl drives them along. Let it be so! Hail! Let it be so! And hail! *26*

After nine months Cuauhtemoc, Coanacoch, and Tetlepanquetzatzin were brought to Coyohuacan. Yes, all you princes are delineated! *27*

Tlacotzin cheers them, saying, "Nephews, be strong!" Aya! They've been bound with iron ties of gold! Yes, all you princes are delineated! *28*

The ruler Cuauhtemoc says, "My darling, hail! You're seized, you're taken! Who is she that sits beside you, O Captain General? Truly it's Doña Isabel!" "My dearest darling!" Aya! It's true. And princes are delineated. *29*

True, this abandonment shall not suppurate. Created as jewels are they who are plume-strewn in Coyohuacan. "My darling, hail! You're seized, you're taken! Who is she that sits beside you, O Captain General? Truly it's Doña Isabel!" "My dearest darling!" And princes are delineated. Yes, princes are delineated. *30*

6 Ycuic neçahualpilli yc tlamato huexotzinco. Cuextecayotl, Quitlali cuicani Tececepouhqui

[marginal gloss:] Ye ahxihuac huehue'tzin ypiltzin xayacamachantzin huexotzinco tlatohuani, Mictiloc temalacac.

[copyist's numeral:] 56

8 Nihuinti anaya yhuintia noyollo tlahuizcalla moquetzaya, o tla'tohuaya çaquan quechol o chimaltenanticpac tlacochtenanticpac ximocuiltono titlacahuepan tinohueyo, quaxomotl aya quaxomocuextecatl ayoo

11 Çan teoaxochioctla yc yhuintic ye oncan totoatēpan aya quaxomotl aya Etª

12 Yn chalchiuhtli teteyca, quetzalli popoztequi a nohueyo tepilhuã y tzin miquiztlahuanque yc oncan amillan ypano, atempanaya a y Mexica y mehetla.

14 In quauhtli ya Pipitzcan a ocelotl chocatica tinopiltzin Macuilmalinalli çan ye oncan Poctlan tlapallã yeco y achihua a ỹ Mexica Etª

16 In ye onihuintic ye nicuextecatla y ye nixochiquaxoxoya Nictotoyahua ye xochiaoctli ya ye oya ye oya ye aye ayeo.

18 In ma temacon quetzalocoxochitl nopiltzin titlahpaliuhquetl yn ye nixoxoya Etª

20 Yc ome huehuetl

21 In teoatl ymancan ayyahue ompoçontimani teoaxochiocticaya a ihuintia a in Mexicame chichimecatl aya noconilnamiquia çan nichoca y hue.

23 Ycaya yyahue o onnichocaya Nineçahualpilla noconilnamiqui cañya mania ompa ye cueponia yaoxochitl yya noconilnamiquia cã nichoca y hue.

25 Cili quipon chailtzin a y tzin mahuia a yxtlilcuechahuac yca ye õmahuiztia quinamoya in quetzalli patzacon xiuh quiyamoya cuexteca tlahuaquen.

27 Atlia yxtlayhtec tlachinolacueyotl y topan ye poçoni pilia yxtlilotoncochotzin a ycã ye mahuiztia quinamoya y quetzaly patzacon Etª

folio 56

1 In quetzalaxomotzin ompapatlantia noxochihueyotzin ỹ tlacahuepantzin aya çan quitocan tochin teuctlapaliuhquetly ỹ cuexteca meyetla.

4 Aytec o cuicaya a ontlahtoa oo yaye y teoaxochitly ỹ çan quitlahuana onchachalaca inquecholpohuan in tecpilli ya ỹ cuexteca meetla

6 *LXVII* Song of Nezahualpilli when he went to take captives in Huexotzinco.[9] A Huaxtec piece, composed by the singer Tececepouhqui.

A

8 I'm drunk, and my hearts are drunk. Dawn appears: troupials, swans, are singing. Rejoice among these shield-and-javelin bulwarks, O Tlacahuepan, O great one, O eagle fowl, O Huaxtec eagle fowl! *1*

11 Beyond at bird-shore, drunk with flood-flower wine is eagle fowl, *this Huaxtec eagle fowl!* *2*

12 Jades are shattering, plumes are crackling, O great one. Princes down below are drinking death and hence are there—upon the meadows and at the shore! They're Mexicans, and hey! *3*

14 Eagles scream, jaguars are wailing, O prince, O Macuilmalinaltzin. And they who brew this wine arrive—among the mists and in the crimson. They're Mexicans, *and hey!* *4*

16 I'm a drunken Huaxtec now, I'm greening now—as a flower eagle. I'm spilling flower wine. *5*

18 Let these pine-flower plumes be given out, O stalwart prince! I'm greening now, *I'm spilling flower wine.* *6*

B

20 Second drum-*cadence*

21 They're seething on the flood, they're drunk on flood-flower wine, these Mexicans! "Just weeping, I recall a Chichimec, alas. *7*

23 "Nezahualpilli am I, and I weep, recalling him. From where he dwells, beyond, he blossoms forth, this flower of war. Just weeping, I recall him, and alas!" *8*

25 A bell has blossomed. Down below, poor Screecher trembles. Ah, it's Ixtlilcuechahuac! This is how he wins his fame: he snatches withered plumes, putting turquoise gems to flight. And Huaxtecs are made drunk. *9*

27 "The flood! The blazing wave! It seethes upon us in midfield!" And this is how Prince Ixtlil-Warrior-Parrot wins his fame: he snatches withered plumes, *putting turquoise gems to flight. And Huaxtecs are made drunk.* *10*

1 This plume, this waterfowl, soars away: my flower, my great one, this Tlacahuepan. And Huaxtecs are following after this rabbit, this stalwart lord. And hey! *11*

4 It's in the Water that he sings and warbles, this noble lord, and his fellow swans are chattering and tippling on flood flowers—well, they're Huaxtecs. Hey! *12*

[9] *Marginal gloss*: The one who was captured was Huehuetzin—son of Xayacamach, ruler of Huexotzinco. He was killed on the round-stone.

6 Oyatihuintique notatahuan tlapalyhuintitly ma nemaytitotiloya çan ca ye ichan huehuexochihuaqueh o ça quetzalchimaleque.
8 Ye tlatileque ya yolimaleya anca quimittotia in ihuatzalhuã huehuexochihuaque o ça queçal Et.ª
10 Ye ço yahqui nopillotzin coçahuic cuextecatotec tzapocueyeta

[superscript gloss:] [tzapocueye]h[a]

tlacahuepan motimalohuaya, quenonamicã aiyyaye aye oya yayaa.
12 Yaoxochioctica yhuintitiaqui aa nopillotzin coçahuic cuextecatotec Et.ª
13 Ye onmahpantia ỹ teoaxochiaoctli a yn matlaccuiatzin ocen yahque quenonamican. yyao yayea.

15 Yn teoaticaya tlac yhcuilihuitiquetl ya nohueyo nopiltzin neçahualpilaya chimalli xochioctla yca yhuintiqueh a ye oncã Cuexteca ne'totilo aya yn atlixco yayyaya.
18 Çan noconyapitzaya y noceloacaquiquiz ça onquauhtzatziticac in notemalacac ipan a y tecpilli yahqui ya y huehuehtzin y chimalli xichioctla yca yhuintihua ye oncan Cuexteca netotiloya yn atlixco ya Et.
21 Moteoxiuhhuehueuh xictzotzonaya xochiahacuintaymetl y moxochicozqui mahci aztatzon yhua timotlacyayhcuilo o.
23 Ya yo caque ye onnemi y xochiquaxoxome y tlahpaliuhquetl a ocelochimaleque mocuẽpan i hue.
25 Çan ye onnentlamati y noyolio nitlahpalihuiquetli a nineçahualpilya çan niquintemoa Nachihua anaya oyahquin teuctli a xochiquetzalaya yahqui tlapaliuhquetl ylhuicaxoxohuic ichan tlatohuatzin yn acapipiyol mach oc quihualyaxochiaoctli yya ye nicã nichoca yca ohuana.

29 Atequilizcuicatl

30 I ximatlalatl ymanican quetzalhuexotl a onicaca in chapolcotitlan.

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1 Ye chalchiuhatlan yquiçayan yaho hi oncan tonahcico timexicame ayahue.

C

6 My fathers, we're drunk! And it's a gorgeous drunk. Let there be hand-dancing in the home of this Master of Withered Drum Flowers, O plume-shield masters! *13*
8 O mound masters! It would seem that the Master of Captive Hearts, this Master of Withered Drum Flowers—of ruined ones—now makes them dance. O plume-*shield masters!* *14*
10 Oh yes, he's gone away, this noble prince of mine, this golden Huaxtec, Totec, robed in sapodilla, Tlacahuepan! And he glories in the Place Unknown. *15*
12 Gone away drunk on the wine of battle flowers! This noble prince of mine, this golden Huaxtec, Totec, *robed in sapodilla, Tlacahuepan! And he glories in the Place Unknown.* *16*
13 Gone away adorned with flood-flower wine! This Matlaccuiatzin! They've all gone off to the Place Unknown. *17*

D

15 Spirit-water torso-painted Nezahualpilli, my great one, my prince! Ah! Huaxtecs yonder are drunk with this shield-flower wine: there's dancing on the breast of the flood! *18*
18 "I blow my conch for jaguar reeds," *he says*, as he, this noble prince, this warrior Old Man, stands eagle-blaring on my round-stone. Ah! Huaxtecs yonder are drunk with shield-flower wine: there's dancing on the breast of the flood! *19*
21 Beat your drum for turquoise gems, you flower-water drunkard! Those flower jewels of yours are held as prisoners, O Crown of Egret Plumes! Moreover, you've been torso-painted! *20*
23 Ya yo! They've been heard, they're alive! They're the flower-eagle green ones, you stalwart! Ah, and the jaguar-shield masters return. *21*
25 "Nezahualpilli the stalwart am I, and my heart is grieving. Gone is Lord Xochiquetzal, gone to Blue Sky's home is the stalwart, *my* regent, Acapipiyol. I seek them, creating this flow. Might they come and drink it as a flower wine? Iya! And so I weep." *22*

LXVIII Water-pouring song

A

There were plume willows at the turquoise-green waters in Chapolco. We Mexicans had reached jade water's flowing-out place. Ah! And the waters are His, and He drinks them, it's true. Drinks them, it's true. And *1–3*