

THE HUEHUEHTLAHTOLLI BANCROFT MANUSCRIPT: THE MISSING PAGES *

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In 1943, in the very first volume of *Tlalocan* (pp. 31-53, 81-107), Angel María Garibay published a transcription and translation of an interesting set of Nahuatl dialogues preserved in Berkeley's Bancroft Library. While Garibay placed the document in the context of the genre of *huēhuehtlahtōlli* or ancestral wisdom, he correctly emphasized its nature as a sample of polite speech on common occasions, in effect a set of colonial-period Nahuatl language lessons.

Garibay judged the hand of the manuscript to be of the seventeenth century, in which we concur, although there is nothing in the calligraphy proper that would keep it from being identified with the late sixteenth century equally well. Following the clue of a posterior note proclaiming the dialogues to have been written by an indigenous aide of "Padre Oracio", Garibay concluded that the dialogues came from the immediate circle of the great Jesuit grammarian Horacio Carochi. Again we are in complete agreement. We can add two further reasons for taking the Carochi connection as certain. In Carochi's *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México, 1645), f. 124 v, the following passage is to be found:

Auiēdo vno referido al modo degouernar de los antiguos, concluyò diziendo: o, ca ihui in ònemicò, in òtlamanilticò in huēhuetquē òtēhcāuhtihuì, cā cencā huēi inic òmotlacuitlahuicò, mirad, desta manera viuieron, y se portaron los viejos nuestros antepassados, gouernaron con mucho cuidado.

Compare the Nahuatl of the above with the following from the Bancroft manuscript, f. 10v:

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Ō, ca ihui yn in ōnēmīcō in ōtlāmānīlticō in huēhuetquē tēchmo-
cāhuilitihui: çā cencā huēȳ inīc ōmōtlācuītlāhuīcō.

Despite slight deviances stemming perhaps from Carochi's freedom in transcribing, perhaps from his use of another copy, the two passages are clearly the same. Moreover, in agreement with Carochi's statement, the Bancroft passage in fact comes toward the end of a discourse on indigenous governance in preconquest times. There can be no doubt that Carochi knew some form of the Bancroft manuscript and had it available to him at the time of composing his grammar.

An equally compelling argument for the Carochi association lies in the Bancroft manuscript's diacritics. Although scattered diacritics occur in numerous older Nahuatl writings, only two known texts, Carochi's *Arte* and the Bancroft manuscript, embody a thorough-going attempt to notate the length of all vowels and indicate the presence of all glottal stops. Essentially the same notation is used in both, with slight variations. A long vowel is indicated by a macron, and an unmarked vowel is understood to be short, though for clarity or special emphasis a short vowel may be specifically marked as such. Here the texts part company, Carochi using an acute accent to mark a short vowel, the Bancroft a true breve. Carochi employs a grave accent over a vowel to indicate a following glottal stop except when it occurs utterance—finally, in which case he uses a circumflex. In the Bancroft the circumflex accent is little used, with most glottal stops, phrase-final and otherwise, uniformly indicated with the grave accent. These differences are so slight that they probably represent nothing more than variations within Carochi's system as it evolved over time and was adapted to printing.

In his publication of the Bancroft manuscript, Garibay omitted the diacritics (except in a facsimile page) because of typographical difficulty, hoping to include them in a later edition which he was never able to carry out. As Garibay himself realized, the diacritics are of great value; they provide independent confirmation of many of Carochi's attestations of vowel length and glottal stop, as well as, in some cases, adding to them or varying from them in interesting ways. Some years ago we prepared a new transcription of the manuscript, complete with all its diacritics; this then became one of the sources of Karttunen's *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Austin, Texas, 1983), which repeatedly refers to the Bancroft under indi-

vidual entries. See especially the entry-TZIN-TLI for one of the Bancroft's most notable and informative idiosyncrasies.

To make available a sample of the operation of the Bancroft's diacritic system is one of the reasons for our publishing the present excerpt. Our main purpose, however, is to supply a portion of the text omitted from the original publication. Garibay worked with microfilm sent him from Berkeley; ff. 10 v and 11 r were missing, as he was aware, and consequently he could not include them. It is that portion, plus the beginning of a sentence from f. 10 r, that we here present in literal transcription with an English translation. As it happens, the missing section is the conclusion of the speech on ancient governance and education to which Carochi referred, and it contains the Nahuatl passage quoted above. The speaker is an old lady, the listener the noble mother of two boys, and at the end the speaker devotes a few words specifically to the boys' upbringing.

Garibay's publication made the Bancroft manuscript modestly famous, and his translation has served well over the years. Successors continue to work with the text. Günter Zimmermann transcribed it, and Eike Hinz plans an edition with transcription (including diacritics), facsimile, German translation, and morphological analysis including extensive lists of stems and stem frequencies. We ourselves plan an edition with a full transcription, English translation, discussion of the manuscript's contribution to the attestation of vowel length and glottal stop in Nahuatl words, and analysis of aspects of usage illustrated in the text. Meanwhile, through this supplement to Garibay, the full text will be available in some form to the public.

Oc cēquīn yē in nepāpan tōltēcāyōtl māchtilō in
 (f. 10v) āmāntēcāyōtl īhuitl quētzálli ic mochichihua: niman
 yē in xiuhçālōliztli in teōcuitlapitzalitzli in
 chālchīuhtlātēquiliztli, tlāpētālāhualitzli, niman yē in
 tlācuilōliztli, quāuhxīmalitzli, īhuān in oc cequi
 nepāpan tōltēcāyōtl. Oc cēquīn yēhuātl in machtilō in
 cuicapīquiliztli in tlātōlpēpēnāliztli in
 tlāmāchiliztli in mītoa motēnēhua huēhuētl
 āyācāchtli: niman yē in ilhuicatlāmātīliztli, in iuh
 molīnia in tōnatiuh in mēztli īhuān izcīcītaltin in
 mītoa chiucnāuhnēpāniuhqui: ¹ niman yē in motēnēhua
 tēōāmōxtli in ītechpatzīnco ic tlātōāya in tlōquē
 nāhuāquē in tēyōcōyāni: ātēl nō īhuān in ītechpa in
 īztlācātētēō catcā inic netlāpōlōltīlōya, canel oc
 yōhuāyān catcā, ca āyāmo īmpān huālācic in
 ītlānēxtzin in tlācatl in totēcuiyo in
 tlānēltōquiliztli; nēl cēquīn quimonhuicā in mīlpan,
 nōcē in xōxōchitlā inic quinmachtiāyā in quēnin
 tōcazque quāuhāquīzquē xōchīāquīzquē, nōcē
 ēlīmīquīzquē tlātālhuīzquē. Moch quīnmachtiāya in
 īxquich quēxquich monequia quīmātīzquē in
 tlātēquīpānōliztli in tlāmāchiliztli in
 īxtlāmātīliztli in nēmatcānemīliztli. Çan ye nō ihui in
 calltic in ōmpa moyetzticatcā izcīhuāpīpiltin in
 īnyēyāntzīnco ōmpa machtilōyā in īchpōpōchtin in
 īxquich in nepāpan cihuāyēliztli in tlāchpānalitzli in
 tlāāhuāchīliztli tlāquālchīchīhuāliztli,
 āchīhualitzli, tēxīliztli, tlāxcālmānāliztli,
 tāmālōliztli, in īxquich nēpāpān cihuāpan
 mochichīhuani. Niman yē in mālācātl tzōtzōpāztli
 nepāpan tlāmāchtli: niman yē in tlāpāliztli ic mopāya
 nepāpan tlāpālli tōchīhuītl, mītoa tōchōmītl. Auh
 çan ye nō ihui inic cencā tlatzācuītlōyā in

Others were taught the different crafts: featherwork, how (small) feathers and plumes were arranged; also mosaic work, goldsmithery, jewel cutting, and metal polishing; and also codex painting, wood-working, and various other crafts. Others were taught song composition and oratory and the science known as "the drum and the rattle" (i. e., music), and also the science of the heavens, how the sun and moon and stars, called the Ninefold,¹ move; and then what are called divine codices which talk about the Lord of the Near, the creator of humanity, though they also were about the former false gods with whom people used to delude themselves, for it was still the time of darkness, and the light of our Lord, the faith, had not yet reached them. And indeed, some they took to the fields or the flower gardens to teach them how to plant seeds, to raise trees and flowers, and to cultivate and work the land. They taught them all it was needful for them to know by way of service, knowledge, wisdom, and prudent living. Likewise within the houses, where the ladies were in their quarters, the girls were taught all the different things women do: sweeping, sprinkling, preparing food, making beverages, grinding (maize), preparing tortillas, making tamales, all the different things customarily done among women; also (the art of) the spindle and the weaver's reed and various kinds of embroidery; also dyeing, how rabbit down or rabbit fur was dyed different colors. And in the same way (as the boys) those who did something wrong or did not take care were severely punished. And they were all well cared for: no men, no matter who, entered

¹ Although in some versions of Nahua cosmology the heavens had thirteen levels, in others they had nine. The reference, then, seems to be not to the stars themselves, but to the entire realm of astronomical or heavenly phenomena.

āquique ìtlà quìtlācōāya in āmo
 motlācuītlāhuīyā: auh huel necuītlāhuilōyā: āyāc
 huel ācā ōmpa cālāquīā in ōquichtin, huel inyōcā
 catca ilāmātquē cihuāpīpiltin quinmocuītlāhuīā: auh
 nāuhpōhuāltica in ōnhuīā in ōmpa tlācātēcco in
 concāquīā in ināuhpōhuāllātōl in tlācatl tlātoāni
 Ācōlmiztli Neçāhuālcōyōtzin, in ōncān
 quinmonōnōchiliaya quinmāhuiliāya in tlācatl
 Tēcuēpōtzin. Auh çan ye nō ihui inīc mozcaltīyā in
 mēcēhuāltzitzintin in tēlpōchpīpiltōtōntin, ōmpa in
 izcāltilōyā in cālmēcāc tēlpōchcāli: auh
 izcihuāpīpiltōtōntin ōmpa izcihuātēōpan, in ōmpa
 tzāuctīcatcā cihuātlāmācēuhquē moçāuhquē. Ō, ca
 ihui yn in ōnēmīcō in ōtlāmānilticō in huēhuetquē
 tēchmocāhuilitihui: çā cencā huēy inīc
 ōmōtlācuītlāhuīcō. Auh in āxcān ye huel oc centlamantli
 inīc tiquinhuāpāhuā topilhuān, (f. 11r) aocmo mīmācāci in
 tlāhuēlilōcāyōtl, yēica inīc aocmo quīmācāci in
 tētłāxximāliztli in ichtēquīliztli in tlāhuānāliztli,
 yīhuān in oc cequī tlāhuēlilōcāyōtl, ipampa in zocmo yuh
 tētžācuītilo, in iuh ōtētžācuītilōyā in oc ye
 huēcāuh in niman ic tēmēcānīlōyā tēpōpōlōlōyā: ca
 huel oc niquittac ca nīxpan mochīuh, in iquāc tētłaxxīn in
 tlācatl Āxāyācātzin Mēxico Tēnōchtitlan tlātoāni
 ichpōchtzin, ihuān in cālī tēçōnyōcān ² Māxtla, ihuān
 Huītzīlīhuītl, ca cencā huel huēy in mochīuh, ca āmo çan
 tlāpōhuāltin in quitzāuctiāquē, in ihuān cihuāpilli
 mēcānīlōquē tētēpāchōlōquē, cēquīn cālpīxquē,
 cēquīn tōltēcā, cēquīn pōchtēcā: niman yē in
 ipīhuān, ihuān in itlānnēncāhuān izcihuāpilli,
 centlālī mōmān, nōhuīān āhuācān tēpēhuācān
 huāluilōac in tlāmāhuīçōcō, quīnhuāluīcāquē
 izcihuāpīpiltin in imichpōchhuān; in mānel yē cōçōlcō
 ōnōquē, inīc quintlachialtiquē: in mānel yē
 Tlāxcāltēcā Huēxōtzincā Ātlīxā in toyāōhuān
 catcā, huel oc moch tlāchīācō, huel tētēn in īxquich

there; taking care of them was the exclusive domain of the elderly noble ladies. And every eighty days they went to the Tlācatēcco and heard the eighty-day speech of the lord ruler Ācōlmiztli Neçahualcoyōtl, and there the lord Tecuepohtzin admonished them and cautioned them. And the commoners were raised in the same way; the youths were raised in the school at the youths' house, and the girls at the women's temple, where the female penitents were enclosed and fasted. Oh, this is how the ancients who left us behind lived and ordered things; they took very great care. But how we raise our children today is a very different thing; bad behavior is no longer feared, for they no longer fear adultery, theft, drunkenness, and other kinds of bad behavior, because it is no longer punished as it used to be punished long ago, when they forthwith hanged and destroyed people. For I still saw it myself and it happened before my eyes, when the daughter of the lord Āxāyacatl, ruler of Mēxihco Tenochtitlan, committed adultery with Māxtla of the house of Teçonyohcān² and with Huītzilihuītl, that it was done on a grand scale and countless people were arrested, who were hanged and crushed with stones along with the lady: some stewards, some artisans, and some merchants, and also the ladies-in-waiting and dependents of the lady. All the world assembled, people came from the towns all around to behold; the ladies brought along their daughters, even though they might still be in the cradle, to have them see. Even the Tlaxcalans, and the people of Huexōtzīnco and Ātlīxco, although they were our enemies, all came to see; the whole roof of the house of the Cholulans (merchants' or foreigners' quarters?)³ was brimful. And as to how the lord ruler Neçahualpilli fed people, there were

² Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, ed. by Edmundo O'Gorman, II (México, 1977), 164-65, makes it clear that the place referred to is Tezayuca and throws light on some other aspects of the incidents related in the Bancroft manuscript at this point.

³ A Nahuatl document written in Texcoco in 1585 refers to the "choloitecacalli" as a still existing structure, part of the remains of the royal complex in the center of

chölöltēcācālli³ in tlāpāntli. Auh inīc tētlāquāltī
 in tlācātl tlātoānī Nēcāhuālpiltzintli moch
 tlatzincōyōnīlli in ācāchīquīhuitl in mōlcāxītli: ⁴
 huel ic mopīnāuhtiquē in Mēxicā: auh çan ye nō ihui
 niquittac inīc conmomēcānīliquē in tlācātl
 Huēxōtzincātzin in iyācāpān catca tlācātl tlātoānī
 Nēcāhuālpiltzintli: izçan huel iyò conmotzācuiltitiā
 inīc quimocuicāpīquīlī in Tōllan cihuāpilli in
 ichāhuānāntzin izcihuāhuān tlācātl: auh huālmōtzāuc
 in itēcpanchāntzīnco, quimotōcāyōtīli in tlācātl
 Nēcāhuālpīlli in tēcpancālli ixxāyōc, ipampa izcencā
 quimochōquīlīli in imiquiz itlaçōpiltzin. Çan ye no ihui
 niquittac inīc conmotzācuiltitiā in Quāuhtlīztāctzin izçan
 huel itēiccāuhtzin Huēxōtzincātzin izçan iyò ipampa
 monòmāhuītzinò mocāltītīzīnò in àmo itēncopa in
 tlācatl: yhuān oc cequīn oniquimittac in pipiltin, ihuan
 cihuāpīpiltin in niman ōquimotzācuiltitiāquē in tlein
 ōquimītlācāluīquē: niman yē yēhuan āltēpēpan
 tlātōquē. O in Quauhtitlan Tzōtzōmātzin tlāhuānālīztli
 in conmotzācuiltitiā. Intlā moch iz ōniquintēnēhuani, ca
 huel huēcāuh in ōnitlamizquia ic nitlānōnōtzaz. Auh inin
 nocihuāpiltzin, mā çā huel onnecuītlāhuīlōcān in
 toxhuīhuān, ca ohuicān in tlālticpac ōnmātōyāhuīzquē
 ōnmōtēpēxīhuīzquē; Nocē niman ye quimōnmocnīuhtiā
 ācāmē tēlpōchtlāhuēlilōquē, itlā intech ōntlāmiz
 contzāuctiāzquē. Mā huel īxquich motlāpaltzin
 xocōnmochīhuīli notēcuiyo cīhuātl nocīhuāpiltzin,
 tlaçōtli tlācātzintli. ⁵

all the containers with hollow bases, the reed baskets, and the sauce bowls,⁴ by which the Mēxihcan were very much put to shame. And likewise I saw how they hanged the lord Huexōtzīncatzin, who was the eldest son of the lord Neçahualpilli; they punished him just for composing songs to the lady of Tōllān (Tula), his stepmother, one of the wives of the lord. And he (Neçahualpilli) shut himself up in his palace; the lord Neçahualpilli named the palace "the place of tears", because he wept greatly over the death of his beloved son. Likewise I saw how he (Neçahualpilli) punished Quāuhtliztāctzin, younger brother of Huexōtzīncatzin, just because he built himself a residence of his own, not by order of the lord. And I saw other noblemen and ladies whose wrongdoings they forthwith punished, as well as the rulers of towns (subject to Texcoco). He (Neçahualpilli?) punished Tzotzomahtzin of Quauhtitlan for drunkenness. If I mentioned all of it here, it would be a very long time before I finished telling it. And so, my lady, let our grandchildren be very well taken care of, for the world is a difficult place; they will fall into misdeeds (lit., fall in the river) and descend to the abyss, or they may have made friends with some delinquent boys and they will be suspected of something and locked up. Make every effort, my mistress and lady, precious personage.⁵

town, facing the marketplace and on the road to Huejotla. Archivo Histórico of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tercera serie de papeles sueltos, registro núm. 10, caja núm. 7, legajo 30, doc. 11. Juan López Magaña brought the document to our attention and supplied the reference.

⁴ Although *mōlcaxitl* and the corresponding Spanish *molcajete* today refer to a type of mortar for grinding food, Molina and Siméon take the word to mean container for sauces and the like, surely the meaning here.

⁵ F. 11r ends with the heading of the next speech, *Responde la madre a la vieja*.

