SAHAGÚN'S TLAUCULCUICATL, A NAHUATL LAMENT

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Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's Psalmodia christiana (1583) was the only component of his massive ethnographic and doctrinal corpus to be published during the friar's lifetime. Its purpose, as Sahagún states in his prologue to the book (reproduced in García Icazbalceta 1954:323), was to adapt the Nahuas' custom of praising their deities through song to the colonial situation by replacing their old songs with new ones of Christian content. To Sahagún the traditional songs, the esoteric language of which was incomprehensible to him and his fellow friars, resembled a forest of thick brambles planted by the devil to conceal his worship (Sahagún 1981: 1, 225). In 1576 he observed that Indians continued to sing some of the old songs. as well as others that they had composed after conversion in which Christian elements were mixed with many "errors and heresies" (1981: III, 166). But since the custom of singing praises was in itself laudable, Sahagún sought to change the songs rather than to eliminate the custom.

Sahagún's songbook contains four unnumbered and 236 numbered leaves in quarto, some illustrated with engravings. The prologue is followed by a brief "Christian Doctrine" listing basic prayers, commandments and the like. The songs begin on folio 15 and follow the Church calendar year from the festival of Circumcision through Christmas, including a total of 54 entries.

This work was composed in 1558-60 while Sahagún was at Tepepulco. At this time he was also engaged, with the help of his trilingual students from the Colegio de Santa Cruz, in collecting material for his *Historia General* (Nicolau D'Olwer 1952:109). In the Prologue to Book Two of the *Historia* Sahagún states that he dictated the songs and the students wrote them (Sahagún 1981: 1, 106). After gaining Viceroy Luis de Velasco's authorization (sometime before Velasco's death in 1564), Sahagún spread the text among the Indians (Sahagún 1583: Prologue). The work was revised in 1569, approved for publication in 1578 and finally issued from Pedro Ocharte's printing press in 1583 (Nicolau D'Olwer 1952: 109).

Dibble and Mikkelson (1971: 232), followed by Anderson (1983: 111), have observed that Sahagún's doctrinal works contain only limited usage of the parallel structures and figures of speech that characterize the Nahuatl literary style. These works are dominated by a straightforward narrative style intended to teach rather than to entertain or impress. But within the doctrinal corpus, the *Psalmodia* displays a relatively high degree of consistency with traditional forms of expression. Anderson (1983: 112-3) quotes a few passages in which this text waxes poetic with imagery reminiscent of the *Cantares Mexicanos* or the songs in Book Two of the *Florentine Codex*. In general, the text is characterized by frequent parallel constructions and occasional metaphors.

Garibay (1953-4: II, 100) noted similarities between the *Psalmodia* and the *Cantares Mexicanos* in material, tone, and the occasional use of song titles. However, he dismissed the *Psalmodia* as of little literary significance compared to the *Cantares* since in the latter text it is Indians who speak while in the *Psalmodia* it is Sahagún. Indeed, Sahagún did tell his Nahua students what to write, though they presumably did the actual composition of the Nahuatl text. But even if it is not "pure" Nahuatl literature, the *Psalmodia* is a noteworthy example of the doctrinal literature in Nahuatl. It is distinctive in that it was composed as songs for the Indians to sing on their own, rather than as sermons or admonitions for the friars to expound from pulpit or confessional.

On the whole, the *Psalmodia's* content reflects its calendrical organization. Accounts of the lives of various saints and Christ and of events such as Epiphany and Pentecost are presented on their respective feast days in the form of several brief verses titled "psalms". Most of this material derives from the Bible and from medieval hagiography. Since most of the songs tell of events basic to Christian religion, such as Christ's birth and death, or of saints who went off to foreign lands and converted heathens, their appropriateness to the New World context is obvious.

Two texts diverge from the general pattern. Both have Nahuatl titles which Garibay found reminiscent of the types of song titles employed in the *Cantares Mexicanos* (Garibay 1953-4 : 11, 100). These titles act to unite into a single song the numerous short verses that make up each text. Both correspond not to an actual festival, as do all other entries, but to ordinary Sundays. In both cases they

are added on at the end of a month for which only two other texts have been included, as if to round out these uneventful times of year, and have little direct connection to the time of year where they appear. Thus, they give the impression of having been composed for their own sake rather than to illuminate the significance of particular festivals, and having been fitted into the book where other material was sparse.

The first of these, entitled *Tlauculcuicatl* or "compassion song" (folios 32r-41r) is assigned to *septuagessima*, the seventh Sunday before Easter, and is placed at the end of February. It incorporates material from the Book of Genesis and laments the sins which have brought travails upon mankind. The second, called *Xochicuicatl* or "flower song", is placed at the end of April for the Sundays following Easter (folios 71r-78r). It is based on the description of the "City of God" found in the Book of Revelation.

It is quite likely that the two songs were intended to complement one another. The lamentatious *Tlauculcuicatl* opens with a description of the Church's sadness and closes with Christ's death; the joyous *Xochicuicatl* opens by describing how the Church rejoices at Christ's resurrection. The first song deals with the trials of earthly life and the sins committed at the beginning of human existence, the second with the glories of heaven and the ultimate triumph of good over evil.

The *Tlauculcuicatl* is the subject of the following discussion, accompanied by a transcription and translation of the text.

The Function of Sadness

Molina (1970:129v) defines *tlaocolcuicatl* as "sad and plaintive chant". The term derives from *tlaocolli*, "pity" or "compassion", and *cuicatl*, "song". The song begins by describing how sad the Church is because of the injuries brought on by her enemy, the devil. The Church's weeping is precious, like turquoise or quetzal feathers. The Christian listeners, as good children of the Church, are told to weep along with her (lines 2-6).

One of Sahagún's sermons encourages people to experience "good sadness" (qualli tlaocuyaliztlj), of which he distinguishes three varieties: sadness because of one's sins, sadness because of Christ's suffering, and sadness caused by the longing to see Christ in heaven (Sahagún 1563:61r-61v). Another sermon lists several reasons why sadness and weeping are necessary. Among these are things which are lamented in the *Tlauculcuicatl*: the bad, afflicting nature of the earth; our sins; that we may go to hell (*mictlan*) when we die; and the suffering of our lord (Sahagún 1563:77v).

The Apéndice to the Postilla (Sahagún 1579) describes and denounces certain aspects of indigenous religion. One of these is the sadness and weeping that the old men encouraged as service to the gods. Sahagún condemns this as a teaching of the devil, for sadness is bad for people's hearts and God despises it (13v-14r). However, there is a distinction between this type of sadness, which is "earthly" (tlalticpac tlavcuyaliztlj), and "spiritual" sadness tevyutica tlavcuyaliztlj). "Spiritual" sadness, which was unknown to the old men, is sadness for the sake of sins and offenses to God (14r). This type of sadness pleases God and displeases the devil, who wants people to be miserable but only in his service and not on account of their sins (1v).

"Earthly" sadness, as condoned by the old men, included the singing of songs in the Telpochcalli, songs which provoked people to weeping and sighing. Lucifer established this kind of singing; hence it is *mictlan cuicatl*, "hell song", and *diabloyutl*, "deviltry". According to this text, written in 1579, such songs were still being sung (13r).

The *Tlauculcuicatl* also aims to induce weeping, but the sadness spoken of here is clearly "good" or "spiritual" sadness. Thus, the weeping it condones serves the positive function of pleasing God through contrition for human sins. In Sahagún's view, this would distinguish his song from the traditional laments it was intended to replace. Earlier songs may have been sung (or were still sung) to the gods with great shows of weeping and sighing, but since the sadness was "earthly" it served only the devil.

Biblical Translation

The *Tlauculcuicatl* recounts three events from the Book of Genesis: the fall of Adam and Eve, Noah's flood and the tower of Babel. The material is very similar to its Biblical prototype and in many instances is directly translated from the Bible.

Translating the Bible into Native American languages constituted a thorny problem for the 16th-century missionaries. Much translation was done early in the missionary program, but in the latter part of the century it became a subject of dispute. In 1564 the Council of Trent, reacting against Protestantism, decreed that access to translations of the Bible into vulgar tongues be severely restricted (Brownlee 1842:100). In 1576 the General Office of the Inquisition ordered its New Spain branch to prohibit such translations into indigenous languages. The friars, including Sahagún, protested, stressing that such texts were necessary if only for their own reference, since many lacked real fluency in the native languages. However, it was agreed that Indian access could be limited to doctrinal and devotional works, allowing only priests to use translations of the Bible (Nicolau D'Olwer 1952:103-7 describes in more detail this dispute and Sahagún's role in it).

Given this restriction, the inclusion of translated Biblical material in a book published in 1583 is striking. The fact that this material was intended for dissemination among the Indians rather than for priestly use makes its publication even more surprising. Furthermore, even in the Biblical translations circulating among priests, Old Testament material is limited. These translations generally take the form of New Testament excerpts arranged as brief texts for each Sunday's sermon and each Church festival. Sahagún's own such work incorporates occasional Old Testament excerpts but includes no material from Genesis (Sahagún 1858). His sermons make occasional mention of events described in the *Tlauculcuicatl* but never in such detail or with such faithfulness to the Biblical model (Sahagún 1563).¹

When license was granted in 1578 for the *Psalmodia's* publication, its reviewers may not have realized the extent to which this book of "songs" incorporated Biblical material. However, in the following century the Franciscan librarian Francisco de la Rosa Figueroa, book reviewer for the Inquisition, denounced the book and attempted to eliminate it. While historian and bibliographer García Icazbalceta (1954:327) found little basis for such condemnation, the Nahuatl scholar Garibay correctly attributed this to the many Biblical texts in Nahuatl found in the book (1953-4: 11, 100).

The *Tlauculcuicatl* incorporates, at least in part or in summary, all of the following Biblical verses: Genesis chapter 2:8-9, 17; chapter 3:1-6, 8-14, 16-19, 21-24; chapter 6:4-9, 11-17, 19, 21-22; chapter 7:1, 7-9, 16-18, 20-24; chapter 8:1-2, 4-13, 15-22; and chapter 11:1,

¹ A comparable account of the tower of Babel occurs elsewhere in the *Psalmodia* (176r-v) for St. Matthew's day. Here the division of the languages is used to explain the origin of idolatry. This serves as background for New Testament material: a description of the Pentecostal "speaking in tongues" and Matthew's conversion of idolaters.

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4, 6-9. Brief Biblical excerpts in Latin along the margins provide an outline of this material, though precise citations are not given. The text's omissions, additions, emphases and adaptations demonstrate how Biblical material was re-interpreted in the New World context for presentation to Native Americans.

Indigenous Parallels

The Biblical events described in the *Tlauculcuicatl* were all of special interest to 16th-century friars not only as moral lessons but also because of real or imagined parallels with Nahua beliefs. The fall of Adam and Eve resulted in original sin, a Christian dogma which the friars were at pains to impress upon their converts. But the Garden of Eden had parallels in the indigenous Tlalocan and Tamoanchan; Eve's sin corresponded to Xochiquetzal's plucking of forbidden flowers. The surviving 16th-century versions of this myth in *Codices Telleriano-Remensis* (1964:190,222) and *Rios* (1964:58-9,102-3) are heavily distorted by Christian interpretation, demonstrating the awareness of and interest in this Nahua-Christian parallelism of the priests who collected this material.

Priests were also struck by the Nahua belief in destruction of past eras, once by water as in the tale of Noah. Of course, they had to insist that the Flood was the only such cataclysm; thus, God's decision never again to destroy life on earth is included in the *Tlauculcuicatl* (lines 204-205). The merging of the Nahua and Biblical versions is evident in the *Codex Rios* (1964:18-9), where the first age is destroyed by flood but one man and one woman escape in a cypress tree (in less Christianized versions there are no survivors).

The giants of Genesis 6:4 are mentioned in the *Tlauculcuicatl* account of the Flood (lines 98-99). They are referred to again toward the song's end where human decline from a superior state is lamented (lines 249-250). Since they really have nothing to do with Noah, their inclusion seems curious until one recalls the frequent allusions to giants in the chronicles. The Nahua apparently believed that giants had preceded them in the world, though their chronological placement varies. According to the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas* (in Garibay 1973:27), the *Histoire du Mechique* (in Garibay 1973:106) and the *Codex Rios* (1964:18-9), giants pertained to the first creation, which in the *Rios* is the one destroyed by flood. The *Rios* illustration of this flood features a

picture of a giant. Motolinía places the giants in the second age (1971:388). Durán (1967:1,14; 11,24-5) makes them successors of the Toltecs and inhabitants of the Puebla-Tlaxcala area before the coming of the Tlaxcalteca. Acosta (1940:323) and Torquemada (1975-83:1,51-5) agree that giants preceded the Tlaxcalteca but Torquemada claims that giants also preceded the Toltecs. Friars Motolinía, Olmos (1979:65), Ríos (in *Codex Ríos*), Acosta, Durán, Mendieta (1870:96) and Torquemada all attest to the discovery in their own time of various large bones and teeth they attributed to these ancient giants. Mendieta also mentions two extremely tall Indians brought to Mexico City during his career.

The idea of human reduction in stature also appears to be indigenous. The *Histoire du Mechique* account of Quetzalcoatl's theft from the underworld of bones with which to re-create human beings has him steal only one very long bone, a relic of one of the giants of the first age. He drops this bone and it breaks; hence, the people he creates from the pieces are small in stature (in Garibay (1973:1,106). The *Florentine Codex* asserts that the Toltecs as all make this idealized by their Mexica successors, were very tall (Sahagún 1952-83 Book 10,169).

It is this fascination with giants, on the part of both the Nahua and their conquerors, which causes a passing Biblical reference to find its way into the *Tlauculcuicatl*.

The tale of the tower of Babel explains linguistic diversity, something of interest to the missionaries as they struggled to learn the many languages of their proselytes. But they also saw a similarity between the huge pyramid mound at Cholula and the Biblical tower. Motolinía (1941:75-6, copied by Mendieta 1870:86-7), Durán (1967:1,166) and the *Codex Ríos* (1964:18-21) all make this identification.

Thus, one factor influencing the choice of Biblical texts for dissemination in Nahuatl appears to have been this awareness of indigenous parallelism. The friars themselves were intrigued by such parallels and could expect their converts to react with greatest interest to material which was a little bit familiar.

Genesis in New Spain

Doctrinal texts in Nahuatl vary in their use of introduced Spanish or Latin terms. The *Tlauculcuicatl* displays an emphasis on Nahuatl: few Spanish words are used and where they do appear they generally are paired with a Nahuatl equivalent that clarifies their meaning. Thus, terrestrial Paradise can be understood as a "great flower garden" (line 13); giants are quinameti [n] (line 98), the Nahuatl name for the towering inhabitants of former times (used, for example, by Durán 1967:11,24). Noah's dove is called both vilutl and paloma (lines 175, 181-182); the altar he builds is referred to as tlalmumuztli as well as Altar (lines 198-199). The tower of Babel is defined as a "long house" (lines 212-213, 219). Purgatory is defined as "the place of suffering, the place where one is purified" (line 269).

God and Christ are referred to by name but also in Nahuatl as "our lord" (line 13, passim), the "ruler" (lines 50, 83, 86), the "deity" (line 86), "our helper" (line 271) and in one instance with the indigenous deity epithet *tloque naoaque* (line 118). Adam and Eve are explained as "our first father" (lines 84-5, 95, 231) and "our first mother" (line 32, *passim*).

The Nahuatlized christianome used for "Christians" in line 1 surely required no explanation. The Nahuatlized Spanish term for angels, Angeloti[n] is also used with no Nahuatl counterpart (line 87). However, this Spanish word was in broad usage and probably was familiar to most people. Karttunen and Lockhart (1976:59) note its appearance in nondoctrinal texts of indigenous authorship by 1555. 2 "Saint" appears in such texts even earlier, by 1551 (Karttunen and Lockhart 1976: 58). Perhaps Noah is called a "saint" (line 173) rather than the more accurate "Patriarch" because "saint" would have been more widely recognized. The olive tree had no indigenous counterpart but had been introduced to New Spain. Describing the dove's burden as pertaining to a tree of that name had to suffice (line 184).³ Anima for "soul" is used in line 229. This, rather than the Nahuatl approximation teyolia, is typical of Sahagún's usage. It also was a widely introduced term. Karttunen and Lockhart list its appearance in their texts as 1550 (1976: 57).

² Molina defines "angel" as "lo mesmo", giving no Nahuatl counterpart (1970: 10v). Sahagún's trilingual vocabulary defines "Angel mensagero de dios" as *yangel in dios* and "Angel bueno" as *qualli angel* (n l.: 18r). A 1598 vocabulary by Francisco Araoz renders "Angel" as *Aztlacapalle*, "possessor of bird wings", but this is highly unusual (25).

³ Molina (1970:90r) defines olive as "oil tree", azeyte quauitl, using the Spanish word for oil. In his *Confessionario Mayor* (1569:93r) Molina describes the olive oil used in the confirmation rite as similar to chia oil (*chiyamatl*), a substance familiar to the Nahua, and says its tree is called "oliua". Acosta (1940:197) reports that olive trees were grown in 16th century Mexico. Since the plant was of religious and economic importance, its introduction into a Nahuatl text is not surprising.

A Nahuatl speaker whose Christian vocabulary extended only to such basic concepts as Church, God, Christ, angel, saint and soul, and who could follow the occasional use of non-Nahuatl personal and place names (Noah, Armenia, Babylon), would have been able to understand this text. Its potential audience could therefore include persons whose level of indoctrination was but rudimentary.

Other Christian concepts are rendered solely in Nahuatl even though correspondence of meaning is imperfect. *Tlacatecolotl*, as in many other doctrinal texts, is used for "devil" rather than introducing the Spanish *diablo* or *demonio* (lines 28, 38, 67). Sahagún recognized that this word more properly refers to a sorcerer or witch (1981: I, 334) yet, in practice, he used it frequently for want of a better Nahuatl term. For "hell" the *Tlauculcuicatl* uses *mictlan*, the term for the old Aztec "place of the dead" which was not overtly a place of punishment (lines 232, 259, 262, 266).

This emphasis on Nahuatl expression extends to non-religious vocabulary as well. The text is adapted to the Nahuatl language and to the Mexican environment. When God curses the earth he makes it bring forth thistles and datura (line 81) rather than simply the "thorns and thistles" of Genesis 3:18.⁴ Tlapatl refers specifically to Datura stramonium (Sahagún 1981 : IV, 364). The Aztecs considered this plant dangerously intoxicating and a cause of antisocial or immoral behavior. Its inclusion enriches the meaning of the Biblical passage: the damaged earth produces not only inedible plants but also plants which drive people to commit further offenses.

The corruption of the earth prior to the Flood is described as the people's stench and rottenness, which rises to heaven and offends God (line 115). This is a Nahuatl way of graphically expressing the impurity caused by immoral behavior. In the indigenous confession rite as recounted in the *Florentine Codex*, the misdeeds of the penitent are repeatedly described as his or her stench and rottenness (Sahagún 1952-83 : Book 1 ch. 12; Book 6 ch. 7). Thus, a familiar metaphor is employed to illustrate Genesis 6 : 11.

Noah's ark appears here as a wooden box and as a boat (or canoe): recognizable words are preferred to the introduction of the unfamiliar "ark" (lines 123, 127, *passim*). "Cubit", a unit of measure derived from the Latin word for "elbow", is rendered in Nahuatl as *molicpitl*, "elbow" (line 128, *passim*). There did exist an indigenous unit of measure cognate with the cubit: *cemmolicpitl* or "one elbow". Castillo F. (1972: 217-8) notes its appearance in Molina's dictionary

⁴ Biblical quotations in this article are from the King James translation.

(1970:16v) and in chronicles. Like its Old World counterpart, it was measured from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. Hence "cubit" posed no problem —the *cem*— was simply dropped off for measurements of more than one "elbow". But Noah contructs the ark with a chimney or smokehole (line 130) rather than the window of Genesis 6:16.

After the Flood, God promises Noah that he will not again inundate the world, that the alternation between dry season and wet season will continue (lines 206-207). The "cold and heat, and summer and winter" of Genesis 8:22 is thus adapted to a tropical climate.

Many details of the Biblical prototype are omitted simply because the *Tlauculcuicatl* is a more condensed telling. The wearisome list of "begats" that fills Chapter 10 of Genesis is reduced to the statement "Again the people in the world increased" (line 209).

Omissions could lead to ambiguity. For example, the "tree of life" of Genesis 2:9 is omitted at the beginning, since it is not involved in Adam's and Eve's sin, but is mentioned later in line 92 in correspondence with Genesis 3:22. But here the text reads "So that he never *again* eat the fruit of the tree of life" as if the two trees were the same and he had already eaten it once.

Some omissions were surely deliberate. The Hebrew distinction between clean and unclean animals appears in the Biblical account of Noah (Genesis 7:2, 8:20) but had no relevance to the Nahua. Since the Catholic Church was fearful of any Jewish influence spreading to the colony, the imparting of such ideas to the Indians was to be avoided. A passage in the *Apéndice* indicates that Sahagún shared this fear. Here he exhorts the Indians to stay away from Jews (as well as Moors, Turks and heretics) because they "kill people's souls" and want everyone to live as they do (Sahagún 1579:6v). In the *Tlauculcuicatl* the Biblical usage survives only in line 199's vague reference to Noah's sacrifice of "good" birds and beasts.

This sacrifice is an interesting inclusion. The principal objection to allowing Indians access to the Bible, particularly to the Old Testament, was that they would read of customs which the priests sought to suppress. Yet here Noah sacrifices animals, at an altar described by the indigenous term *tlalmumuztli*, for the purpose of placating an angry deity. And he is successful—God promises not to annihilate the earth's inhabitants (lines 197-205). Here Noah is permitted to behave like an Aztec priest, yet is called a saint (line 173). It is no great wonder that the book was eventually denounced. An occasional element is embellished to make the text more colorful, more visually evocative, as befits what is meant to be a song. Thus, the serpent is given human face and voice and placed around the tree of knowledge, as was common in contemporary artistic portrayals (lines 26-27). God's instructions to Noah (lines 124-126) describe how he must cut and plane the wood and fit the pieces together, a more detailed procedure than in Genesis 6:14.

The most significant addition to the Biblical model is the statement that the *tlacateculutl* entered the serpent (line 28). It was necessary to specify this in order to implicate the devil in Eye's fall. Since in indigenous religion serpents lacked the negative connotations of their Old World cousins, the evil nature of a serpent character would not be taken for granted. Sahagún's other accounts of this event (for example, in the 1563 Sermonario and the 1579 Apéndice) mention the devil with no reference to his serpent disguise.

Another noteworthy addition appears in lines 207-208: the changing seasons will endure until the world ends, not indefinitely as in Genesis 8:22. Some of the Franciscan missionaries in Mexico felt that the end of the world was imminent. The Final Judgment was **a** popular theme in the didactic religious art produced by and for Indians. It was also enacted in Nahuatl theatrical productions (Garibay 1953-4: II, 131). Though Sahagún was less prone than some of his fellows to apocalyptic fantasies (as described by Phelan 1970), this reference may well reflect the eschatological currents of the day. The Nahuas' own belief in the inevitability of world destruction could also have influenced the text. The aforementioned *Xochicuicatl*, based on the Book of Revelation, would be another expression of this interest in apocalypse.

Human Decline and Deliverance

Beginning with the third paragraph of the twelfth psalm, the *Tlauculcuicatl* concludes with an interesting summary of the three Biblical events. The common thread running through these events is presented as human decline from a more perfect state. The fall of Adam and Eve resulted in mortality and, for many, the punishments in hell that follow death. Prior to the Flood, the human life span was eight hundred years and people lived who were tall, strong giants (lines 241-242, 249-250). Afterwards, the life span diminished so that eighty years is an age attained only by a few, and the length

of a generation dwindled to twenty years (lines 245-246). The human body shrank in size and strength (lines 248-249). Thus, the soul, the life span and the body all were damaged. Finally, the division of the languages further worsened the situation— now these inferior creatures cannot even understand one another (lines 251-254). All of these conditions were brought on by human sins which offended God.

The text continues by describing how wretched people now are. Many go to hell, either because they died as idolaters (this was still a concern when the text was written) or, though Christians, died in mortal sin (lines 261-266). Others are spared that fate but linger long in Purgatory (lines 267-269). The fortunate few who might go straight to heaven are omitted from this mournful account.

The situation would be utterly hopeless but for the coming of Christ. Thus, the lament ends on a more positive note, though even here the emphasis is on Christ's suffering and death (lines 275-279). As mentioned previously, Sahagún considered this the second motivation for "good sadness". The account of Old Testament woes, so unusual in its length and detail, is ultimately brought into the Christian sphere by this more typical reference to Christ's mission.

DOMINICA IN SEPTUAGESSIMA tlauculcuicatl

*

SEVENTH SUNDAY BEFORE EASTER COMPASSION SONG

(32v) PRIMERO Psalmo

Tlaxiccaquican inantepilhoa, in an christianome: onteuxiuh aoachpixaui, on quetzal maquiztzetzeliui inichoquiz initlaocul in tonantzi sancta Iglesia: no yoã xicchocaca, ma icnotlamati in amoiollo.

In qualti iecti tepilhoa, iniquac choca tlaocuia in naoa in taoa, ca noyoan icnoioa ini iollo.

Quimitalhuia in tonantzi sancta Iglesia. Onechiaiaoalo initecococaio miquiztli, ic nichoca, icnitlaocuia, in niquilnamiqui, ca onicpolo, ca onicuililoc in notlanes, in nonecuiltonol.

10

In noiaouh, in notecocolicauh, onoca mocacaiauh, onechiztlacaui.

Vei suchitla oquimuchiuili in totecuio Dios, in vmpa initocaioca Parayso terrenal, in vncan tinemizquia titlaca, ceca qualca, cenca iecca, acan iuhca in nican tlalticpac.

In tlalnepantla, vncan oquimoquechili (33r) li cequauitl in iehoatzi totecuio Dios, inica suchiqualquauitl: auh in y, itoca tlamatilizquauitl, quitemachtia in qualli, yoan in amo qualli.

Auh in iehoatzi totecuio Dios, quimonaoatili in Adã, quimolhuili. Adane, intla ticquaz y, inisuchiquallo tlamatilizquauitl, timiquiz.

In vncani, iectlalpa, vncã nenca coatl, inic mimati quimpanauiaia in occequinti iulque.

In iehoatly coatl tlacaxaiaque, auh iequene tlacatlatoaia, auh itech icuisticaca in tlamatilizquauitl.

First Psalm

Please hear, you children, you Christians. The weeping, the compassion of our mother holy Church goes drizzling like turquoise, goes raining gently like quetzal feather bracelets. And you also weep! Let your hearts be saddened. Good, righteous children, when their mothers, their fathers weep, are sad, indeed their hearts also are compassionate.

Our mother holy Church says: "The pain of death encircled me. Thus I weep, thus I am sad. I remember that I lost, that I had taken from me my light, my wealth.

"My enemy, my abhorrer mocked me, deceived me."

Our lord God made a great flower garden, there in the place called terrestrial Paradise. We people would live there. It was a very good place, a very fine place. There is no place like it here on earth.

In the middle of the earth, there he, our lord God, raised a tree, as a fruit tree. And this, its name is knowledge-tree. It makes people know the good and the bad.

And he, our lord God, commanded Adam. He said to him: "Oh Adam, if you eat this, the fruit of the knowledge-tree, you will die."

There on the good land there dwelt a serpent, which was more cunning than the other living things.

It, the serpent, had a human face, and moreover it spoke like a person, and it stood wrapped around the knowledge-tree.

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SEGVNDO Psalmo.

INin coatl, yitic calac in tlacateculutl, quinotz in achto tona in Eua, quilhui.

30 Tleica in amo amechquallani in Dios inizquitlamantli suchiqualli, nican muchiua.

Tlananquili in achto tona, quito. Ca muchi ticquazque inisquich isuchiqual (33v) lo in nican Parayso onoc, auh in tlamatilizquauitl isuchiquallo, techmocaoaltilia in totecuio, amo ticquazque.

Yoan techmonaoatili, in amo itech tacizque, inic amo timiquizque, auh intla ticquazque, aço timiquizque.

In tlacateculutl, quilhui in Eua. Ca niman amo ammiquizque, intla xicquaca: çan ipampa inamo amechquallani, inic amo anquineneuilizque, ĩ tlamatiliztica.

In çaçoquêma anquiquazque inin suchiqualli, ca niman tlapouiz in amis in amoiollo, iuhquin anteteu ammocuepazque, anquimatizque in qualli, in aqualli.

TERCERO Psalmo.

45 YN oiuh quicac y, initlatol coatl in Eua, niman oquimauiço in suchiqualli, ocontec, auh niman ic oquiqua.

Inin achto tona in Eua, amo çan izel in oquiqua, occequi quimacac ininamic in Adam, imumexti in oquiquaque.

⁵⁰ Niman ooalmotemoui in totecuio (34r) Dios, in tlatoani, in vmpa Parayso, quimonochili, quimotzatzilili in iehoatzi totecuio in Adam, quimolhuili. Adane, cantica, ticatli?

Quito, iniquac oniccac motlatoltzi, onininax, oninotlati: iehica ca oninottac, ca çan nipetlauhticac.

35

40

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Second Psalm

The *tlacatecolotl* (sorcerer or demon) entered within this serpent. He called our first mother Eve, he said to her:

"Why does God not wish you to eat as many fruits as grow here?"

Our first mother answered, she said: "Indeed we will eat all, all his fruits that lie here in Paradise. But our lord makes us abstain from the fruit of the knowledgetree. We will not eat it.

"And he commanded us not to approach it, in order that we not die. But if we eat it, perhaps we will die."

The *tlacatecolotl* said to Eve: "Indeed, not at all will you die if you eat it. He only wishes you not to eat it for this reason: in order that you not equal him by means of knowledge.

"Whenever you eat this fruit, indeed then your eyes, your hearts will open. You will become like gods. You will know the good, the bad."

Third Psalm

When Eve in this way heard the serpent's words, then she marvelled at the fruit, she cut it, and thereupon she ate it.

This one, our first mother Eve, not just she alone ate it. She gave it to the other one, her spouse Adam. Both ate it.

Then our lord God, the ruler, descended there to Paradise. He, our lord, called, cried out to Adam. He said to him, "Oh Adam, where are you? In what place are you?"

(Adam) said, "When I heard your words, I took refuge, I hid myself because indeed I saw myself, indeed I am just standing naked." ⁵⁵ In totecuio quimolhuili in Adã. Auh ac omitzmachti ac omitzilhui in çan tipetlauhtica, ca oticqua in suchiqualli, in onimitzcaoalti ic otitlachis.

Ic otiquittac in mopinauiz, timomatia qualli iectli in ticmatiz, in tiquittaz, çan monetoliniliz in ie tiquitta.

QVARTO Psalmo.

⁶⁵ Qoito ĩ Eua, onechiztlacaui, onechcui (34v) tlauilti, auh iequene onechtlapololti in coatl.

Auh in iehoatzi totecuio, quimolhuili in achto tona in Eua: tleica in iuhqui oticchiuh, ciuatle?

⁶⁵ Qoito ī Eua, onechiztlacaui, onechcui (34v) tlauilti, auh iequene onechtlapololti in coatl.

In totecuio quimolhuili in coatl, in tlacateculutl yitic catca. Nimitzcemixnaoatia, nimitzcentelchiua inipãpa iuhqui oticchiuh y.

70 In iehoatzi totecuio, quimolhuili in Eua. Ciuatle nicueiliz in motlaihiouiliz, in monetoliniliz: tlaihiouiliztica in titlacachiuaz, motecuio iez in monamic, monaoatil, tictlacamatiz.

Auh in iehoatl Adam quimolhuili in totecuio. Iehica ⁷⁵ in otictlacama monamic, in oticqua suchiqualli, in onimitzcaoalti.

QVINTO Psalmo.

NIquisnaoatia in tlalticpactli, in mopampa nictetzacatilia in tlalli, mopampa, amo tlamuchiuaia iez.

198

60

Our lord said to Adam, "But who taught you, who told you that you are just naked? Indeed, you ate the fruit from which I made you abstain. Thus you looked.

"Thus you saw your shame. You wondered if you would know, if you would see the good, the right. Already you see only your affliction."

Fourth Psalm

Adam said, "She, the woman whom you made accompany me, indeed she provoked me to eat it."

And he, our lord, said to our first mother Eve, "Why did you act like this, oh woman?"

Eve said, "The serpent deceived me, provoked me, and moreover it confused me.'

Our lord said to the serpent, within which was the *tlacatecolotl*, "I utterly condemn you, I utterly despise you because you acted in this way."

He, our lord, said to Eve, "Oh woman, I will increase your suffering, your affliction. With suffering you will bear children. Your spouse will be your lord, your law. You will obey him."

And our lord said to him, Adam, "Because you obeyed your spouse, you ate the fruit from which I made you abstain,

Fifth Psalm

"I condemn the earth. Because of you I make the land sterile. Because of you it will not be a place where things grow. Motlatequipanoliztica, mitonaltica ticnestiz in motechmonequi: auh in chicalutl in tlapatl, inomatca quixoaltiz, (35r) quioapaoaz in tlalli.

In iehoatzi totecuio Dios in tlatoani, maçaeoatica oquimmotlapachilhui, maçaeoatl oquimmoquentili in achto tota, in achto tona.

In iehoatzi totecuio Dios, in teutl, tlatoani, quimopinauhtili in Adam, oquímonochili in Angeloti, oquimmolhuili.

Tlaxiquittaca in Adam, ie otechneneuili, ie oistlama, ieisquich quimati, ie tlamatini, iequimati in qualli, yoan in amo qualli.

Auh inaxca, inic aoquic quiquaz in nemiliz quauitl isuchiquallo, inic cemicac nemiz: maxicquistica xictotocaca.

SEXTO Psalmo.

AVh niman ic ooalquistiloque inachto tota, in achto tona, in Adam in Eua, in vmpa Parayso: oaltotocoque innicã tlalticpac, oquicauhque, oquipoloque inintlatòcacal.

Inoc itzineca, ca quinameti in neca in (35v) toca Gigantes: auh iniquac otlapiuisque in cemanaoac tlaca, miectlamantli tlatlaculli muchiuh.

Auh iniquac oquimottili in totecuio Dios, ĭ cēca miec tlauelilocaiutl peoa, ĩ cẽca ietlaueliloti i cemanaoactlaca, in ie tlauelilocaiutl itechvetztinemi inĩjollo.

105 Ic omotequipachotzino, ĩoquimuchiuili, ĩ oquimoiocolili tlacatl, maceoalli.

Auh inic amo veixtiaz in tlauelilocaiotl, oquimitalhui in iehoatzi totecuio. Niquípopoloznequi í cemanaoac tlaca yoan ie muchi inisquich iulqui, niquincépopoloz.

200

85

"With your labor, with your sweat you will cause to appear that which is necessary for you. But by itself the land will cause to sprout, will raise up thistles, datura.

He, our lord God, the ruler, covered them with deerskins. He made our first father, our first mother wear deerskins.

He, our lord God, the deity, the ruler, shamed Adam. He called the angels, he said to them:

"Would you look at Adam. Already he has equalled us, already he has become prudent. Already he knows everything, already he is a wise man. Already he knows the good and the bad.

"But now, so that he never again eat the fruit of the tree of life by which he would live forever, make him leave, pursue him!"

Sixth Psalm

And thereupon our first father, our first mother, Adam, Eve, were made to come out from there in Paradise. They were pursued here on earth. They left, they lost their royal house.

Still in the beginning, indeed there lived giants, their name was "Giants". And when the people in the world increased, many transgressions were done.

And then our lord saw that very many wickednesses began, that already the people in the world were very wicked, that already their hearts went about falling into wickedness.

Thus he was distressed that he had made, that he had created the human, the vassal.

And in orden that the wickedness not increase, he, our lord, said, "I want to destroy the people in the world and all others, every living thing. I will utterly destroy them." Auh in iehoatl Noe, oquimocnoittili in iehoatzi totecuio, auh oquimopieli, ça izel in qualli yiollo catca, ça izel îquimotlaçotiliaia totecuio, in nouiã cemanaoac aocmo ce onēca í quineneuiliaia.

SEPTIMO Psalmo.

IN cemanaoac tlaca, cĕca quimoiolitlacalhuique in totecuio, vel ilhuicac aciti (36r) imoquetz inimijaca inimpalaca, ic centca químotlaelittili in iehoatzi totecuio, inipampa in tlatlacul.

In iehoatzi totecuio, in tloque, naoaque quimonochili in Noe, quimolhuili.

120 Xiccaqui, auh xicmati îti Noe: ca niquipopoloznequi îcemanaoac tlaca: muchi niquicempopoloz inisquich maceoalli.

Xicmuchiuili vei quappetlacalli, tzaccaio, vel xiciecxima ĩquauitl, xiccanaoa, vel motẽnamictiaz, mieccã tiqltzaquaz, auhvel ticocotzouiz, velticocotzoaltiz.

Auh ini acalli ticchioaz, inic veiac iez, castolpoalmolicpitl: auh inic patlaoac, vmpoalmolicpitl ommatlactli, auh inic vecapa, cempoalmolicpitl ommatlactli.

180 Tictlecallotiz, ticpochquiaoaiotiz: auh quapatlachtic iez, auhiniquanepantla, inic tlapatlaoaz, çan cêmolicpitl iez.

Auh yiomotla in ticquijaoaiotiz in quappetlacalli. Ca nicapachoznequi in cemanaoac, inic miquizque inisquichti 185 cemanaoac tlaca.

OCTAVO Psalmo.

AVh inisquichti iulque, in cemanaoac nemi, muchinti ounteme tiquimanaz, tiquincalaquiz in acalco: ce ciuatl ce oquichtli in ticcalaquiz.

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125

But he, our lord, had mercy on him, Noah, and he kept him. Just he alone was of good heart, just him alone our lord cherished. Everywhere in the world not one other lived who equaled him.

Seventh Psalm

The people in the world greatly offended our lord. Right to heaven their stench, their rottenness rose reaching. Thus he, our lord, greatly reviled them, because of their transgressions.

He, our lord, the possessor of the near, the possessor of the surrounding called Noah, he said to him:

"Hear and know, you, Noah: Indeed, I want to destroy the people in the world. I will utterly destroy all, every vassal.

"Make a great wooden box, covered. Cut the wood properly, make it thin and flat. The edges will join together well. In many places you will close it. And you will smear it well with pine resin, you will spread it well with pine resin.

"And this boat you will make, it will be three hundred elbows long, and fifty elbows wide, and thirty elbows high.

"You will make a chimney in it, you will make a smokehole in it. And it will be broad-topped, but in the middle of its top it will be only one elbow wide.

"And you will make a door in the side of the wooden box. Indeed, I want to inundate the world, in order that all the people in the world die.

Eighth Psalm

"But all the living things that dwell in the world, two by two you will take them all, you will put them in the boat. You will put in one female, one male. Auh inisquich qualoni, inamotlaqual, yoan inintlaqual 140 muchi ticcalaquiz in quappetlacalco.

In Noe oquichiuh, inic oquimonaoatili in totecuio Dios, vel oquimocuitlaui ininaoatil.

Auh iniquac ie omuchi muchiuh, in omocecauh Noe, quimolhuili i totecuio. Noene, xicalaqui in quappetlacalco tehoatl, yoa in monamic, yoa i motelpuchoa, yoan muchinti in amocioamoa.

Auh iniquac ieocalac in Noe in acalco, yoa ininamic, yoan inipilhoa, yoã ininanamicoa, yoan in iemuchi ocalacque iulque in patlantinemi, in manenemi.

¹⁵⁰ In iehoatzi totecuio, quijaoacpa impan oquimotzacuili, vel oquimopepe (37r) chilhui in quappetlacalli.

IX. PSALMO

NIman ic opeuh in quiaui in nouiã cemanauac, yoan onouian momolo in atl, temamauhti in omuchiuh: vmpoalilhuitl in mãca quiauitl, ic muchinti omicque in cemanaoac tlaca.

155

Auh in iehoatl quappetlacalli, atocotinenca: auh in Noe, yoan ininamic in ie muchiti inipilhoa, yoan inicioamoa, yoan inisquichti iulque, vncan ietinenca in quappetlacalco.

Inin atl, inic omacoc, inic ouecapaniuh, castolmolicpitl, inic oquimpanaui tetepe.

In apachiuhtimanca cemanaoac chiquacempoalilhuitl, ipan matlaquilhuitl, ic ouellalpoliuh.

In ieiuhqui in iehoatzi totecuio dios, oquimolnamiquili in Noe, yoan inisquichti, in muchinti in quappetlacalco catca.

Niman oquimonequilti in iehoatzi totecuio, cenca oehecac in nouia cemanaoac, ic omocauh in quiauitl, auh in vncan momolonia atl, omotzatzacu. "And all that is edible, your food and their food, you will put it all in the wooden box."

Noah did as our lord God commanded him. He attended well to his commands.

And after everything was done, was gathered, our lord said to Noah, "Oh Noah, enter into the wooden box, you, and your spouse, and your youths, and all your daughtersin-law."

And after Noah entered the boat, and his spouse, and his children, and their spouses, and all the others entered, the living things, they that go about flying and they that go about on their hands,

he, our lord, closed the door on them. He sealed the wooden box well.

Ninth Psalm

Thereupon it began to rain everywhere in the world, and everywhere the water gushed. It became frightening. For forty days the rain spread; thus all the people in the world died.

But it, the wooden box, went about carried by the water. And Noah, and his spouse and all his children, and his daughtersin-law and all the living things went about being in the wooden box.

This water, as it became high, as it rose, it was fifteen elbows, so it surpassed the mountains.

It spread inundating in the world for one hundred and thirty days, thus the land was quite destroyed.

At last he, our lord God, remembered Noah, and all, all who were in the wooden box.

Then he, our lord, wanted the wind to blow greatly everywhere in the world. Thus the rain ceased, and where the water was gushing it was closed up. Auh in ieiuh chicuntetl metztli peuh in quiaui, cecca tepeticpac omotecac in quappetlacalli itocaioca Armenia.

Auh inipan icemilhuioc, inic matlactli metztli, oquiquacoioni i iehoatl Noe in petlacalli: auh oquittac ininquauitzauhca tetepe.

Auh in iehoatl sancto Noe, nimã oquiquisti, oquipatlanalti centetl cacalutl: auh in y, çan ocenia, auh niman oc iequiquisti vilutl in paloma, inic quittaz, in aço icoac tlalli.

Auh iniehoatl vilutl, aca vel moquetz ca nouian atla, çoquitla catca, occeppa omocuep in petlacalco: auh in iehoatl, Noe, onoceppa quicalaqui.

Auh in Noe, occeppa chicomilhuitl otlatlatolchis, inic oaquiz tlalli, auh in ieiuhq, onoceppa qquisti i vilutl ipaloma.

Auh in iehoatl vilutl, ieteutlac in oalmocuep, icamac oalactia, quioallanquatia initzmolinca initoca Oliua 185 quauitl.

X. PSALMO.

IC oquima in Noe, ca ieiuhqui ca otlaoac, ca oceuh in atl, auh occeppa chicomilhuitl otlatlatolchis.

Auh in iehoatl Noe, oquiquatlapo in quappetlacalli in otlachis, ie otlaoac in tlalticpac.

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Auh in iehoatzi i totecuio Dios, oquimonochili Noe, quimmolhuili: xiquiça in quappetlacalco in tehoatl, yoan in monamic, yoan in mopilhoa, yoan ininnanamicoa, yoan muchinti oalquiçazque inisquichti iulque, in vmpa onoque.

Ximomiequilica, ximotlapiuica in tlalticpac. Iniquac y, oquiz in Noe, yoan inipilhoa, yoan ininnanamicoa, yoan muchinti inisquichti iulque, in acaltentoca, in quappetlacaltentoca.

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And seven months after it began to rain, the wooden box settled in a place on top of a mountain, in the place called Armenia.

And on the first day of the tenth month, he, Noah, perforated the top of the box, and he saw the peaks of the mountains.

And he, Saint Noah, then caused to go out, caused to fly, a crow. But this, it just went altogether. But at once he caused a dove, a "dove", to go out, in order to see if perhaps there was land standing.

But it, the dove, nowhere was able to stand, for everyplace was watery, muddy. Again it turned back to the wooden box and he, Noah, put it inside again.

And Noah waited another seven days for the land to dry, and afterwards he again caused the dove, the "dove", to go out.

And it, the dove, came back in the evening. In its mouth went contained, it went gripping in its teeth, a shoot; its name is Olive tree.

Tenth Psalm

Thus Noah knew that finally it was indeed dry, the water had indeed abated, but he waited another seven days.

And he, Noah, opened the top of the wooden box. He saw that already it was dry on the earth.

And he, our lord, called Noah, he said to him, "Go out of the wooden box, you, and your spouse, and your children, and their spouses, and all will come out, all the living things that lie there.

"Multiply, increase on the earth." Then Noah went, out, and his children, and their spouses, and all, all the living things with which the boat was filled, the wooden box was filled. Auh in iehoatl Noe oquichiuh, oquitlali in tlalmumuztli in Altar, vncan ispãtzinco otlaman in totecuio, in qualti 200 iulque in patlantinemi, in manenemi, iuenoa omuchiuhque.

Auh in iehoatzi totecuio, oquimopaccacelili iniuen Noe, auh quimonaoatili, quimolhuili. Aoquic ceppa nicapachoz in cemanaoac.

XII. PSALMO

IE nicmati in quenami inijollo in tlalticpac tlaca, aoquic 205 ceppa niquincempoloz in tlalticpac nemi.

Muchipa muchiuhtimaniz in tonalli, in xopaniztli, tlatonallatiz, tlaxopantiatiz, aic mocaoaz inisquichica tlamiz cemanaoac.

Onoceppa tlapiuixque in cemanaoac tlaca, iece ca çã occétlamãtli in tlatolli catca, inic tlatoaia in nouiã cemanaoac.

Omononotzą i cemanaoac tlaca, inic quichiuazque in viac calli, itoca Torre.

(39r) Niman ic quipeoalti in vei altepetl, initoca 215 Babilonia, niman no ic quipeoaltique, quiuicaltique in Torre.

Auh in iehoatzi in totecuio Dios, ic omoiolitlacotzino, oquimitalhui. Ca miequinti in tlatequipanoa, in quiquetza vijac calli Torre: auh caçã centlamãtli inintlatol, inic monotza, monequi quicaoazque.

XII. PSALMO.

IC oalmotemoui in totecuio, quimitlacalhui in tlatolli, oquimomiectlamantilili, ic omotlapololtique in tlatequipanoque, ipampa ca aocmo mocaquia.

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SAHAGUN'S TLAUCULCUICATL, A NAHUATL LAMENT

And he, Noah, made, placed an earth altar, an "Altar". There he spread before our lord the good living things, they that go about flying, they that go about on their hands. They became his offerings.

And he, our lord, happily received Noah's offering, and he commanded him, he said to him, "Never again will I inundate the world.

Twelfth (sic. for Eleventh) Psalm

"Already I know of what manner are the hearts of the people of earth. Never again will I utterly destroy them that live on earth.

"The sunshine, the green time always will remain happening. It will become the dry season, it will become the rainy season. It will never cease until the world ends."

Again the people in the world increased, but indeed there was still only one language, which they used to speak everywhere in the world.

The people in the world agreed to build a long house, its name is "Tower".

Thereupon they began the great city, its name is Babylon. Thereupon they also began to put together the "Tower".

But he, our lord God, thus was offended. He said, "Indeed, many labor, they raise a long house, a "Tower". And indeed only one is their language, thus they call each other. It is necessary that they abandon it."

Twelfth Psalm

Thus our lord descended hither, he damaged the language, he multiplied it. Thus the laborers were confused because indeed they no longer understood each other.

+

Niman oquicauhque in tlatequipanoliztli, oxitinque, omomoiaoaque, in quecizquintli motencacque, cececcampa iaque, canapa ihitztiaque, ic miectlamantli tlatolli omuchiuh in noiuan cemanaoac.

Ototlaueliltic in tipilhoa Adã, ca inipampa in achto tlatlaculli, in achto quichiuh Adam, oitlacauh in tanima, oitla (39v) cauh intonacaio, oticpoloque in tonecuiltonol.

Intlacamo tlatlacoani achto tota, aic timiquizquia, amo tiazquia in mictla, timuchĩti vmpa titonemitizquia in Parayso terrenal, tlatlacultica omuchiticpoloque, inisquich tlaçotli ĩ tonemac catca.

²³⁵ In ipãpa tlatlaculli, in cemanaoac tlaca quichiuhque, inic moqualanalti in totecuio, oquimapachilhui in cemanaoac ic omuchinti atlan micque in cemanaoac tlaca, yoan in iulque.

Ic oitlacauh in cemanaoatl, in tlalticpactli, ca otequixquiquiz, otetzacat, aocmo vel muchiua in tonacaiutl, 240 aocmono qualli initlaaquillo.

XIII. PSALMO

CA noiehoatl oitlacauh intonemiliz, ca vntzõxiuitl in nemia cemanaoac tlaca, ĩ aiamo tlaapachiui tlalticpac, auh ca iuian ooaltepitonauhtia ĩ tonemiliz: inaxca çaiequene quezquixiuhtzi in tlalticpac nemoa.

 (40r) Auh inaxca cequi cana nappoalxiuitl in tioalnemi, auh in nel cequi, çaiequene cecempoalxiuitl in oalquixua, çan iuian itlacauhtiuh, tepitonauhtiuh in nemiliztli, yoan itlacauhtiuh in tonacaio, ca aocmo tiquaquauhtique, aocmono tichicaoaque: ca in ienepa quinameti, tlacauiaq
in nenca, cenca chicaoaque catca.

Inic expa in quimoiolitlacalhuiq i totecuio in cemanaoac tlaca, vellalacauh i cemanaoac, ca ça centlamãtli in tlatolli catca, auh omiectlamantic, ie aocmonecaco in cemanaoac.

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Then they abandoned their labor, they tore it down, they dispersed. However many understood each other's words went to a separate place, they went looking around someplace. Thus many languages were made everywhere in the world.

Oh how wretched we are, we children of Adam! For because of the first transgression the first one which Adam did our soul was damaged, our body was damaged. We lost our wealth.

If our first father had not transgressed we would never die. We would not go to Mictlan. We all would live there in terrestrial Paradise. By means of transgression we lost it all, all the precious things that were our gifts.

Because of transgressions that the people in the world did, so our lord became angry. He inundated the world. Thus all died in the water, the people in the world and the living things.

Thus the world, the earth, was damaged. Indeed it came out nitrous, it became sterile. No longer can sustenance grow, nor any longer is its produce good.

Thirteenth Psalm

Indeed, our life was also damaged. For the people in the world used to live for eight hundred years, before the earth was inundated. But indeed, gradually our life diminished. Today, moreover, one lives only for a few little years on earth.

And today some of us somewhere live for eighty years, but truly (only) some. Moreover, people come out only every twenty years. Just gradually life is damaged, diminishes, and our body is damaged. Indeed, no longer are we tall, nor any longer are we strong. Indeed, once upon a time there lived giants, long people, who were very strong.

The third time that the people in the world offended our lord, he really damaged the world. For there was only one language, but it multiplied. No longer is there understanding in the world. ²⁵⁵ Inizquitlamãtli tonetoliniliz muchiuhtica in tipilhoa Adam, amo qualca in tinemi, titotolinitinemi.

Céca miectlamátli netoliniliztli topá muchiua, inisqchcauitl tlalticpac tinemi auh iniquac timiq, cequíti mictlá calaq, miequíti amo çá quexquichti isnaoatilo: auh ieqne vei in vmpa ípá muchiuatiuh.

Miequiti tlaiouaia nemi, in isquichcauitl tlalticpac nemi, tlateutoqliztli, ipan miqui: ic mictlan tlamelaoa, cemicac vmpa tlaihiouia.

XIIII. PSALMO.

CEquinti ieoquiximatque in tlaneltoquiliztli: auh ietlatlaculli ipan nemi inisquichcauitl tlalticpac nemi: auh no ipan miqui, ic mictlan vi, cemicac vmpa tlaihiouia.

Auh miequinti amo ipan miqui, in temictiani tlatlaculli, auh inipampa amo vellamaceuhque in octlalticpac nemi, ceca vecaoa in tlaihiouiloa, in nechipaoaloia in Purgatorio.

270 Ototlaueliltic in tipilhoa Adã, intlacamo quioalmioaliani in totecuio dios, in totepaleuicatzi in totecuio Iesu Christo, timuchinti ticempoliuizquia.

Oquimomamaltitzino in totlatlacul otechmotlamaceuilico, iehoatzi quimiihiouilti in totlatzacuiltiloca iezquia.

In totlatlacul, inetolinilitzi omuchiuh miecpa ipampa omochoquili in totlatlacul: auh inic monemiti tlalticpac, co (41r) coc, teopouhqui quimomachiti, itztic cecec itechtzinco eoac, inic techmotlaiolceuilili.

Initlaihiouilitzi, inimiquiliztzi, ocenca totechmonec, nic poliuiz totlatlacul.

260

265

So many are our afflictions becoming, we children of Adam. We do not live in a good place. We go about afflicted.

Very many afflictions befall us all the time we live on earth. And when we die, some enter Mictlan. Many, not just a few, are condemned. And moreover, grave (things) go happening to them.

Many live in darkness all the time they live on earth. They die in the following of things as gods, thus they go straight to Mictlan where they suffer forever.

Fourteenth Psalm

Some have already become familiar with the faith but already they live in transgression all the time they live on earth. And they also die in it, thus they go to Mictlan where they suffer forever.

And many do not die in mortal transgression, but because they did not do penance well while they still lived on earth, for a long time they stay in the place of suffering, the place where one is purified, Purgatory.

Oh how wretched we are, we children of Adam! If our lord God had not sent hither our helper, our lord Jesus Christ, we would all perish forever.

He assumed the burden of our transgressions. He came to do penance for us. He suffered what would have been our punishment.

Our transgressions became his afflictions. Many times he wept because of our transgressions. And as he lived on earth, he knew pain, travail. The cold, the icy rose against him as he pacified things for us.

His suffering, his death were very necessary for us in order that our transgressions disappear.

LOUISE M. BURKHART

Notes

Line number

- ¹ Tlaxiccaquitican... an christianome: read Tla xiccaquitican... anchristianome. The transcription preserves the word divisions of the original.
- $_3$ tonantzi: read tonantzin. Omission of final *n* occurs frequently throughout text. This term is commonly used in Nahuatl doctrinal text in reference to the Church.
- 27 icuisticaca: from icuiya, one of whose meanings Molina gives as "ceñirse la culebra por el árbol arriba" (1970: 34r), plus icac.
- tlacateculutl: literally "human owl", a type of indigenous sorcerer. The term is common in doctrinal texts for "devil".
- 30 amechquallani: from qua, "to eat", plus tlani, verbal suffix expressing wish or desire.
- 46 oquiqua: sic. for oquiquac throughout.
- ⁵⁸ mopinauiz: Molina (1970:117r) defines "verguenças de varon o muger" as *tepi*nauiz, "one's shame", but this is likely to be a result of Spanish influence and not an indigenous manner of referring to the genitals.
- 65 Qoito: sic. for Quito.
- 100 tlatlaculli: literally, "the harming of things". This term was adopted by the missionaries to refer to "sin" but actually refers to any type of wrongdoing, moral, ethical, legal or social.
- 116 centca: sic. for cenca.
- 123 quappetlacalli: petlacalli, "mat house", refers to the indigenous style of woven reed box or chest. By prefixing quauitl, "wood", the idea of an enclosed wooden box is conveyed.
- 128 molicpitl: literally. "elbow". It corresponds to the Biblical "cubit" (see discussion).
- 136 ounteme: o-onte (tl) -me, "two by two".
- 144 Noene: sic. for Noe plus vocative -e.
- 145 amocioamoa: i.e., amocihuamohuan.
- in patlantinemi, in manenemi: birds and four-footed animals.
- 159 omacoc: verbalized form of aco, "high".
- ¹⁶¹⁻² chiquacempoalilhuitl, ipan matlaquilhuitl: $6 \times 20 + 10 = 130$, though Genesis 7:24 specifies 150.

- 174 ocenia: from cenyauh, "to go together", but here with the sense of "leave entirely".
- 175 icoac: preterite impersonal of icac.
- 206 tonalli: alternatively, "heat", "hot time", "dry season".
- 206 xopaniztli: alternatively, "the wet season", "spring" or "summer".
- 207 tlatonallatiz, tlaxopantiatiz: for the second term, the verb tlaxopantlati was presumably intended. This is defined in Andrews (1975:484) as "to become the time of the rainy season". By extension, the first term would here mean "to become the time of the hot (or dry) season."
- 207 isquichica: read ixquichca, "until" (Molina 1970:47r).
- 214 quipeoalti: plural, rather than singular, subject is probably intended.
- 215 quiuicaltique: Molina defines vicaltia as "to make one thing go accompanied with another" (1970:157r). An alternative interpretation to "put together" would be that they make the tower to accompany the city. Te corresponding Biblical verse has "let us build us a city and a tower" (Genesis 11:4).
- 225 motencacque: literally, "they heard each other's lips".
- 239 otequixquiquiz: from tequixquitl, niter or saltpeter, and quiza.
- 246 caiequene cecempoalxiuitl in oalquixua: i.e., a generation is now only twenty years long.
- $_{247}$ tepitonauhtiuh; read tepitoniuhtiuh, "yrse tornando pequeño" (Molina 1970: 103r).
- 262 tlateotoqliztli: "the following of things as gods", i. e., idolatry.
- 280 inic poliuiz totlatlacul: "that our transgressions disappear", "be lost" or "be destroyed", i. e., forgiven or taken away.

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