

PREGNANCY, CHILDBIRTH, AND THE DEIFICATION OF THE WOMEN WHO DIED IN CHILDBIRTH

Texts from the *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Folios 128v - 143v.

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In the militaristic theocracy of the Aztecs the glories of battle were not limited to men alone. Every woman brought to bed with child was looked upon as warrior going into battle, and like the warrior who achieved glory, whether he was captor or captive, so it was with a woman. If she waged her battle successfully and brought her child into the world, her glory was the glory of motherhood, the prize of her battle the child. If not, if she succumbed in her battle with the child still captive in her womb, hers was the noble death of the warrior and she, like he, went to heaven, to the House of the Sun.

For her first great battle, the preparation of the young woman begins as soon as she has conceived. As the texts that precede these show, the announcement is made at a feast before a gathering of both families, an occasion both joyful and solemn. It is joyful because she has in her womb "a precious stone, a quetzal feather," the seed of the ancestors sprouting anew, the promise of the continuation of the line. It is solemn because birth is a mysterious thing, dark as the womb itself, and fraught with danger. At this time she receives from the elders her first instructions on caring for herself and her unborn child.

When she is in her seventh or eighth month of pregnancy the families again gather at a feast to discuss the hiring of a midwife. The critical time has arrived. Now she needs the special ministrations of a *toltecatl*, *amantecatl*, *ilanahuatitl in totecuyo*, "an artist, a craftswoman, one who receives her powers from Our Lord." An expert versed in what we still call the magic of medicine.

Here the curtain goes up on our texts, the only texts in Nahuatl literature that deal with the beliefs and practises concerning pregnancy and childbirth. Starting with the hiring of the midwife and her acceptance of the case, they include the rules laid down

by her for the pregnant woman to follow during her final months of pregnancy in order that she fight her battle to a successful conclusion—some of it sound advice, some of it pure superstition, and some an artful brew of the two; the pre-parturition treatments given by the midwife in the form of massages, baths and manipulation of the womb; the details of the delivery in normal as well as difficult cases; the operation performed by the midwife to remove a dead child and save the mother's life; and finally the account of a woman permitted, by the decision of her family, to perish with the dead child in the womb in order to go to greater glories, to become one of the *Cihuapipiltin*, or deified women. Not the least, there is woven into the narrative the poetry of the womens' orations.

Taken together, however, these texts offer something more than just an interesting collection of pre-Cortesian medical data. They also contain the essence of the Nahuatl concept of Woman. As symbolized in the pregnant woman going into the battle of childbirth, in the midwife whose powers come from the deity, in the *temazcalli*, or bathhouse, the domain of the mother goddess who exercises her powers over the sick and the pregnant, and best of all in the *Mocihuaquetzqui*, the woman who has died with the child in the womb, parts of whose body have the power to make young warriors invincible in battle and help sorcerer-thieves cast spells over their victims, and who is invoked to interceded with the deity on behalf of the living, the Nahuatl Woman emerges as a figure of considerable force.

Students of Nahuatl Culture as well as anthropologists and social psychologists will find a wealth of material in these texts.

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OF THE WOMEN WHO DIED IN CHILDBIRTH

Ca nican tiualmouetzitia,
 nican mitzalmotlalilia in totecuyo, in tloque, nahuaque,
 tlazotitlacatzintli, totecuyo, cihuapilli: ¹
 auh ca iz onmonoltitoque in ueuetque, in ilamatque, in motechiuh-
 cauan.

A ca ticmocuilia, ca ticmocaquitia:
 anca oitlacauh in piltontli, in conetontli, in ichpuchtontli:
 inin matech onmantinemi, in momaceual in N: ²
 a mixpantzinco quimotlalilia in motechiuhcauan:

a ca nelle axcan, icnotlamatiznequi in iyollotzin totecuyo:
 ce cozcatl, ce quetzalli,
 quimomacautiliznequi in tlaticpaque,
 yoliliztli quimotlaliliznequi, iitic quimocalaquiliznequi in totecuyo:
 in yehuatl mocnotlacauh in piltontli, in ichpuchtontli in N:
 inin matech onmantinemi in mocnotlacauh in N:

auh ca ic ticmocaquitia, momactzinco, mocuexantzinco, moteputz-
 tzinco

concana, contlalia:

a in iz onmoltitoque in ueuetque, in ilamatque, in pilhuaque,
 in tzoneque, in izteque:
 auh yehuantin in nantin, in tatin
 mitzmipilmaquilia in axcan:

manozo nelle axcan, manozo itech xicmaxitili in ixochalcaltzin tote-
 cuyo:
 in oncan motetetzauilia in nantli, in tecitzin, in tlacatl, in yohual-
 ticitl:

manozo quicui, manozo quimottiti in temazcaltzintli:
 anco zan ye cuel ei, nahui metztli in chipinpiltzintli:
 quen ticmottilia,
 ma ne tontlacocolizcuititi,
 acazomo pacholoni.

¹ The vocative ending *e* was not used by women, only men. Women stressed the last syllable and raised the voice. Carochi, *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*, Paredes edition, Puebla. 1910.

² Literally, "this one who is under the authority of your servant, X." Were the *N* occurs in the text it is not translated.

THE HIRING OF THE MIDWIFE

(An elderly and honored kinswoman of the married couple addresses her.)

Here you are seated,
 here Our Lord, the Supreme, Omnipresent One, has placed you,
 O beloved lady, our mistress, esteemed lady.
 And behold, here are the old men and women, your elders.

Ah, you learn, you hear,
 that the child, the little one, this girl,
 wedded to him, your servant, has conceived.
 Your elders place her before you.

Ah, in truth now, the heart of Our Lord wishes to be merciful!
 The Lord of the Earth would let fall from his hand
 a precious stone, a quetzal feather;
 into the womb of this poor creature,
 the child, the girl, wedded to this poor boy,
 Our Lord wishes to put, wishes to place a life.

And thus, you hear, he is leaving her, he is placing her,
 in your hands, in the cradle of your lap, upon your back.
 Ah, behold! Here are the old men and women, the sires of the families,
 who brought forth their issue like the head its hairs, the fingers their nails;
 and also the mothers and fathers.
 They give their child to you now.

Now it is time that you put her into Our Lord's House of Flowers;¹
 there the Mother, the Grandmother, the Goddess, *Yobualticuil*,² strengthens people.

Let her take a vapor bath, let her be shown the bathhouse,
 for it is now three or four months since conception.
 How do you regard this?
 Let us not be the cause of a disorder;
 perhaps she is not to be kneaded yet.

¹ *Xochicalli*, or House of Flowers, is a metaphorical name for the bathhouse. The bathhouse, or *temazcalli*, was shaped like an igloo and was an architectural personification of the warm, moist, womb of the mother goddess. Exercising its powers on the sick and on the pregnant, it not only symbolized regeneration in the most obvious sense; as can be seen in the *Tonalamatl*, Books of Destiny, such as the *Borgia*, *Borbonico*, *Vatican B*, *Aubin* and the like, the flower, is the symbol for blood, the essence of life and the precious nourishment of the Sun.

² *Yobualticuil*: Midwife of the Night. This is one of the numerous names

O ca ixquichtzin in, ticmocuilia, ticmocaquia
 tlazotlacatzintli, totecuyo, cihuapilli:
 auh ma quen ticmuchih³ in moyollotzin, in monacayotzin,
 ma timotlatlauelchiuili,
 aquin mitzmotlatlauhtiliz,
 aquin cententli, cencamatl conquitziz,
 in melauac coneuaz,
 in uel iitoloyan, in uel itlaliloyan contlaliz, conitoz:
 a in toconmocuilia, in toconmocaquia:

ca amo mitzmoneinaililia, amo mitzmonetlatililia
 in ueuetque, in ilamatque,
 in tzoneque, in izteque, in auayouaque, in uitzyouaque,
 in coltin, in citi(n) in contlazteuaque,
 in concauhteuaque in ichpuchtontli, in cihuapiltontli, in N:
 auh yehuatl in amomaceual, in amoquauh, in amocelouh in N:
 cuix oc imonica, inteputzco, ualmotlamachitia,
 ca oquintoptemili, ca oquinpetlacaltemili in totecuyo:
 ca oyaque,
 ca omotecato in tocenchan,
 in apuchquiyauacan, in atlecallocan,
 ca ye quiceuitoque in itloc, in niauac in tonan, in tota, in Mictlan-
 tecutli:

tla oc inmatian,
 tla oc imixpan:
 a yehuantin quichocazquia, quiteopozquia:
 in tictemiqui, in ticcochitleua
 in iluizolli, in tlamauizolli,
 in centetl yoliliztli iitic quimaquiliznequi,
 in intzon, in imizti in totecuyo:
 auh a yehuantin, mitzmotlatlauhtilizquia:

³ Should read *ticmochiuili*, the reverential.

These few words are all you hear, all that reach your ears,
 O beloved lady, our mistress, esteemed lady.
 Oh, that in your heart and body you were not pained by them,
 of that you were not vexed by them!
 Who is there to address you?
 Who shall pour forth the words, the utterances,
 intone them truly,
 arrange and speak in an eloquent and orderly manner
 what you are listening to, what you are hearing?

They are not being hidden from you, they are not being concealed
 from you,
 the men and women of old, sprouters of progeny
 like the head its hairs, the fingers their nails, the maguey its thorns,
 the prickly pear its prickles
 the grandfathers and grandmothers who departed
 casting behind them, leaving behind them, the girl, the young woman,
 and him, your servant, your Eagle, your Jaguar.³
 By chance now, in their absence, their backs turned,
 they give a thought to things here?
 Our Lord has locked them in a box, sealed them in a coffer!
 they have gone,
 they have gone to lie in the final abode of all,
 a place without a chimney, a place without a vent,
 now they repose beside, close to, Our Mother and Father *Mictlan-*
*teculli.*⁴

Would that it had been in their time!
 Would that it had been in their presence!
 Ah, they would have wept, they would have been moved
 by what we dream, what we see as in a dream,—
 the marvel, the wonder!—
 that inside their offshoot, their issue,
 Our Lord wishes to put a life.
 Ah, and it would have been they who addressed you!

of the Mother Goddess. Her male counterpart is *Yobualteculli*, and their realm is called *Yobuayan*, The Region of the Night. They represent the primordial god and goddess, *Ometeculli* and *Omecibuatl* in their aspect of rulers of the night, here symbolic of the procreative force, sexual activity being associated with the night. Sahagun, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, Porrua, 1956, Vol. II, Book VI, Chapter XXXVIII, p. 210, hereinafter referred to as *Hist. Gen.*

³ *Eagle, Jaguar* as used here is metaphor for "young man," or "young buck."

⁴ *Mictlanteculli*, Lord of the Region of the Dead, of the nether-world.

auh *inin*,⁴ imonica, inteputzco pillotl, coneyotl ticchiua,
popoloni, tzatzacui: nican cententli, cencamatl toconquixtia
aaitoloyan, aitaliloyan toconeua, tocontlalia.

Cententica, cencamatica, a nican timitztotlatlauhtilia:
manozo xicmocnelili in piltontli, in conetontli, in ichpuchtontli:
a manozo ximochiuili in motequitzin, in monauatiltzin,
inic amitoltecauan, in amiamantecauan totecuyo,
inic amitlanauatiluan.

Ca ixquich in ticmocuilia, ticmocaquitia:
ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequitili,
ma xicomonamiquili in totecuyo: ma xicmopaleuili.

Tlatoa in ticitl: in imac tlacatiuani, in ititl quiuellaliani, in te-
mixiuittiani: quitoa.

Ca iz anmonoltitoque:
ca amech(u)almotlalilia in totecuyo in tlaticpaque,
in amehuantzitzin in anueuetque, in amilamatque,
in ancozqueque, in anquetzaleque,
in anuitzyouaque, in amauayouaque,
a in antzoneque, in amizteque, in amixquamoleque.

Auh ca iz anmoyetztcate,
iz anmonoltitoque in antotechiuhcauan
inic anueueinanti, in anueueitati
in oamechteutlalili totecuyo,
inic amoxomoconti, inic ancipactonalti:

⁴ *Auh inin*, literally "and this," means, "and in addition, and further but there is this," etc. It is a rhetorical device indicating that the speaker is continuing. For literary reasons it is not translated in these texts.

But in their absence, their backs turned, we do childish, puerile things:
stuttering and stammering, we utter the words, the phrases here,
crudely, and in a jumble, we intone them, we arrange them.

With these words, with these phrases, oh, we entreat you!
May you be merciful to the child, the little one, the girl,
may you perform your office, your functions.
For you, the midwives, are Our Lord's artists and craftsmen,
you are empowered by Him.

This is all you hear, all that reaches your ears.
May you toil, may you labor,
may you work in concert with Our Lord, may you aid him!

The midwife, by whose ministrations children are born, who
adjusts the womb, who delivers women, speaks. She says:

Here you are,
here Our Lord, the Lord of the Earth, has placed you,
you, the old men and women.
begetters of these precious stones, of these quetzal feathers,
sprouters of progeny like the maguey its thorns, the prickly pear its
prickles,
like hair and nails and eyebrows.

And behold, you are here,
here you are present, you our elders,⁵
for you are the great mothers and fathers
Our Lord ordained as divine,
you are *Oxomoco* and *Cipactonal*.⁶

⁵ In the corresponding Spanish text Sahagun translates this as "fathers of the nation, our lords. . .," that is, rulers, who were considered the mothers and fathers of the people. However it is more in accord with the text's theme of birth, that the reference be to the very old, heads of the families.

⁶ *Oxomoco* and *Cipactonal* were the first man and woman to be created, from whom all mankind descends. The accounts differ as to which is male and which female. They were considered the inventors of the 260-day calendar of divination, the art of divination, the interpretation of dreams, the division of time into days, hours and years, etc. They also were the originators of Medicine and the first herbal doctors. Among the Mexicas, they were held to be the first leaders of their people after their arrival in the mythical *Tamoanchan*, or place of origin.

Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas in Teogonia e Historia de los Mexicanos, Porrúa, 1965; *Historia General*, Book IV, p. 319; Book X, p. 186, 208, 209; *Codice Chimalpopoca*, UNAM, 1945, p. 3 ff.

ca noconana, ca noconcu in amihiyotzin, in amotlatoltzin:
 auh in amochoquiz, in amotlaocul,
 inic ica anchoca, antlaocoya,
 inic ica anentlamati,
 in amocozqui, in amoquetzal
 in cihuatzintli, in at amotlacoieoauh,
 ain at amotiacapan, in at nozo amoxocoyuh.

A ca nelle axcan, anquimonochilia, anquimotzatzilia,
 anquiticinotza in teteu innan: in tonan, in yohualticitl,
 in quitquitica, in imac ca, in ipial
 in xochicalli, in tlalticpac, mitoa temazcalli:
 in oncan teimati, techichiuva, tetetzaua,
 in yehuatl in tecittzin, in yohualticitl:
 ca imac ca, icuexanco, icuitlapan,
 ancontlalia in amocozqui, in amoquetzal:
 auh yehuatl in quenami ic mapantica,
 in quenami ic quimapanilia in totecuyo, in tloque, nauaque,
 in quenami iitic quimaquilia.

Auh ca ixquichtzin noconitoa:
 O muchiuh, o nitlaeliloc in nilama:
 quen uel nehuatl, in annechmomapiluilia,
 in auel ixtili, in auel nacatzli,
 in atle uel onchiuilo in totecuyo,
 in aninozcalia, in anitlacaqui:

ca onouac, ca yeloac, ca tlaxquauatoc
 in itultecauan totecuyo, in ixequé, in nacazeque:
 auiz in pialeque
 in qui(n)xox, in quimipitz in tlatatl, in totecuyo:
 in uel itlanauatilan:
 auiz in oc ceppa no yehuantin quinmouiuitia, quinmopatillotia,
 in uel itlatquipanocauan,
 in inmachiz in, in tequiuh in,
 in nican niccui, niccaqui.

Auiz nelle axcan quen oannechmitalhuique:
 azo itencopatzinco in totecuyo, in tloque, nauaque,
 in tlatatl, in yohualli, in ehecatl:
 Azo oncan nechmaquilia,

I hear, I grasp, your words, your utterances,
and your weeping and sorrow.
It is because of her, your precious stone, your quetzal feather,
the young woman, who is perhaps your middle daughter,
perhaps your eldest daughter, perhaps your youngest daughter,
that you weep and are sorrowful,
it is because of her you are anguished.

Ah, in truth now, you call, you cry out to,
you invoke the Midwife, Mother of the Gods, Our Mother, *Yobual-*
ticitl,
who has in her care, in her hands, in her trust,
the House of Flowers on earth, the bathhouse.
There the Grandmother, *Yobualticitl*, uses her skill,
she puts people in order, she strengthens them.
In her hands, in her lap, upon her back,
you place your precious stone, your quetzal feather,
and what adorns her,
what Our Lord, the Supreme, Omnipresent One, has bestowed upon
her,
what He has put in her womb.

These few words are all I have to say.
Oh, hapless, wretched woman that I am!
Who am I that you should choose me,
whose eyes do not see, whose ears do not hear,
who does nothing well for Our Lord?
I know nothing, I understand nothing!

There have been, there have existed, there have excelled,
artisans of Our Lord possessed of eyes and ears.
They were entrusted with the knowledge;
the Lord, Our God, looked into their eyes,
He blew His breath upon them,
they were empowered by Him.
And now there are those who are as they, who do as they,
His, workers, also.
This, that I am told here, that I hear,
is their knowledge, this is their profession.

In truth now, how have you settled upon me?
Perhaps it comes from the lips of Our Lord, the Supreme, Omnipre-
sent One,
the Great Lord, invisible as the night, impalpable as the wind.
Perhaps he sets me there,

azo ye oncan nopoctlan, noyauhtlan,
 azo omotlatziuiti in totecuyo:
 azo onitlatlaiuilti.

Auh mazo mitoa niticitl:
 cuix nomac nicchihuaz, niquimatiz in cozcatl, in quetzalli,
 in quenami tomaceualtiznequi in cozcatl, in quetzalli,
 in iitic quimaquilia in totecuyo, in amocozquí, in amoquetzal:
 auh mazo namantecatl:
 cuix nehuatl itlan naquiz in ichimal, in iteueuel,
 in nochpuchtzin, in noxocoyouh, in nican onmeuiltitica:
 in ica anmonenetlamachitia:

azo itlatziuia(n) quimochiuiliz in totecuyo, tlanel nictequipano,
 tlanel muchiua, anic⁵ nineualtoaca,
 azo nitlaxtlapallaltiz,
 azo nitlanacacictecaz,
 auh anozo nitlapitziniz:
 o muchiuh, o notlaueltic,
 azo naquian quimochiuiliz in totecuyo.

Auh inin, nopiluantzitzin, totecuiyouan, tlazotitlaca, noxuihtzitzinuan:
 acazomo anmotlacayocuxtzinoo, in anmotzatzitia:
 azo ye itencopatzinco in tlalticpaque.
 In axcan ma popoui, ma ixtlaui in ihiyotzin totecuyo:
 auh ma cuepi in amotlatoltzin,
 na itlan taquican,
 ma tictequipanocan in itlaiaultzin y,
 in itlamacaualtzin totecuyo,
 in quenami, ic quimapanilia, a in cihuatzintli, in cocotzin, in tote-
 pitzin:

auh in tlein ye cuel toconitozque,
 cuix tiquitozque in otechmocnelili in tloque, nauaque,
 ca zan oc techmocneliliznequi:
 ipampa ca oc mictlan, ca oc youayan,⁶ in tontlatoo:
 tlein ic toconitozque,
 ma oc tictotemachilican in ipal nemoani,
 ma oc ye tictemachican in tlein mitoa:
 auh in nozo tlein omito in topan, in mictlan, in youayan.

⁵ This is either an error and should read *inic*, or else *anic* is a contraction of *auh inic* or *ah inic*.

⁶ *Mictlan*, *Youayan*, "the Region of the Dead, the Region of Darkness," both dim, mysterious places, metaphorically mean the unknowable.

perhaps there shall be my ruin, my destruction.
Perhaps Our Lord has become weary,
perhaps, in something, I have been wearisome.

And though it be said that I am a midwife,
by chance shall I, with my hands, create, fashion, the precious stone,
the quetzal feather?
Is the lot willed for us the precious stone, the quetzal feather,
Our Lord puts into the womb of your precious stone, your quetzal
feather?

And though I be skilled in my craft,
am I, perhaps, to put myself behind the shield, the buckler,
of my daughter, my little one, present here,
on whose account you are anguished?

Perhaps Our Lord shall be careless though I have done my work,
though it be done and I am overweening in it.
Perhaps I shall place the child sideways,
perhaps I shall set it on its side,
or perhaps I shall shatter it!⁷
Oh, hapless, wretched woman that I am,
perhaps Our Lord shall devise my end!

Oh, my children, our lords, beloved lords, my grandchildren,
perhaps it is not of your human contriving; you merely cry out.
Perhaps it comes from the lips of the Lord of the Earth.
So now let the command of Our Lord be fulfilled, be done,
and let your words be answered.
Let us put all our strength into it,
let us toil for this gift our Lord sends, that he drops from his hand,
with which he adorns the young woman, the little dove, our little one.

And what are we to say now?
By chance, shall we say the Supreme, Omnipresent One has favored
us?

Rather, that now he wishes to favor us,
for it is the mysterious, the obscure that we speak about.
Hence, what are we to say?
Let us now put our trust in Him by virtue of whom one lives;
let us await what is being determined,
or what, perhaps has been determined Above, in the Region of the
Dead, and in the Region of Darkness.

⁷ In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagun translates *pitzinia* to mean the breaking of the water. *Pitzinia* means to break, smash, shatter, pierce. This

quen otitoloque,
 quen otitalhuiloque,
 quen oticotonililoque:
 cuix nelli,
 cuix tonaz, tlathuiz, quimuchiuiliz in tloque, nauaque:
 cuix iixco, iicpac titlachiazque,
 in quenami cozcatl, quetzalli
 quimomacauiliznequi totecuyo:
 cuix nozo za ixquichtzin onmopoliuitiz,
 cuix atzintli conmopolhuiz:
 cuix nozo iteical yez in nochpuchtzin, in tepitzin, in coctzin:

amotzontecontzin, amelchiquiuhztzin niqueua nopilhuantzintzin, totecuyoan:
 ma tictonanamiquilican in totecuyo, in tloque, nauaque:
 manozo onicuci, ma ompozoni in ixuchicaltzin totecuyo:
 ma itech onaci in nochpuchtzin, in tocennan, in tecitzin, in youalticitl.

Tlananquilia in pilhuaque cihua, ilamatque in tlatoa: quitoa.

Ma ximotequitili tlazotitlacatzintli, teunantli, totechiuhcauh:
 ma xicmonanamiquili in cihuapilli, in quilaztli:
 auh ma itech xicmaxitili in piltontli, in conetontli, in ixuchicaltzin
 totecuyo, in temazcaltzintli:
 in oncan monoltitoc,
 in oncan motlapialia in tecitzin, in temazcaltzecitzin, in youalticitl.

Auh uel niman ic inoma quitlatia, quitotonia in ticitl, in temazcal-
 li: auh quicalaquia in temazcalco in ichpuchtli, oncan quipachoa in
 iiti, in otztli: oncan quiellalilia, quitlamelauacatlalilia, quicuecuepa,
 in quipachoa, quimimilotinemi.

Auh intla achi mococoa ticitl, zan aca ixiptla in quitlatia temazcalli, in quitotonia: auh in in iquac oualquiz temazcalco in otztli, iquac quipachoa: miiecpa in quipachi(1)uia in ticitl in iititzin otztzintli quenman zan iuh ca amo temazcalco, amo no motema in otztli, mitoa: zan quixoxouhcapachoa.

Auh in quenman temazcalco, tlanauatia in ticitl, in amo cenca quiuitequizque in cuitlapan in otztli: amo no cenca totoniaz, ca quitoa in ticitl: ca ic ixquiuz in piltontli, ompa tlazaloz: amo no quiuitequizque, amo no cenca totoniaz in iiti in otztli: ca tlemiquiz, ca tletemiz in piltontli.

No ihuan tlanauatia in ticitl: amo cenca mototoniz in otztli, amo no mocuitlapantotoniz, azo tonaltica, anozo tletica, ca no ixquiuz in iconeuh:

ihuan tlanauatia, uel quinauatia in otztli in ticitl: amo cochiz in tlaca, ca ixquatolmimilpul yez in tlatatiz piltontli:

miiec in quicaua itenauatil ticitl, in quipia, in quimonemiliztia otztl: in ixquich cahuitl otztitica:

quitoa, amo tzicquaquaz in otztli, ca in iquac tlatatiz piltontli: zan mach motentzotzopotzaz, zan mach tlaquaquaz: ic mitoa motentzoponiz, totomauaz in itenxipal, ic ayoc uel chichiz ic miquiz,

quitoa: ca monequi amo quittaz in tlein tequalani, in tlein temamauhti, in tlein teyolitlaco: ca iuhqui quichiuaz.

Auh in tlein quinequi otztli, iciuhca macoz, amo uecauaz: ca omotoliniz in icineuh, in tlacamo iciuhca maco, in tlein quinequi.

Ihuan quitoa, tlananauatia: amo quittaz in tlapalli, ca ixtlapal in tlatatiz piltontli.

Ihuan quitoa in ticitl: amo tlaqualcauaz in otztli, ca capizmictiz in piltontli: ihuan quitoa amo tlaquaz, amo no tizaquaz in otztli: ca

If the midwife is a bit unwell, some alternate kindles the fire, heats the bathhouse, and when the pregnant woman leaves the bath it is then that the midwife massages her. She kneads the pregnant woman's stomach often; sometimes the pregnant woman is not in the bathhouse, nor does she bathe. This is called, "massaging her dry."

In the bathhouse the midwife sometimes orders them not to beat the pregnant woman's back with force;¹⁰ nor that the bath be too hot, for the midwife says the child will adhere, it will stick fast. Neither shall they beat her, nor shall her stomach become too hot, as the child will die of the heat, it will fill up with heat.

The midwife also orders the pregnant woman not to heat herself unduly nor heat her back, either with sun or fire, as her child will adhere, also.

And she also orders, she instructs the pregnant woman not to sleep during the day, as the eyelids of the child will be swollen when it is born.

The midwife leaves her many instructions, she watches over her, she regulates her life during the time she is with child.

She tells the pregnant woman not to chew gum, for when the child is born its lips will be enlarged, it will do nothing but open and close its mouth. Because of this, it is said, its lips will be enlarged, it will be thicklipped and as a consequence it will not be able to suckle and it will die.

She tells her that it is not good to look at things that anger people, that frighten people, that upset people, as it will do the same to the child.

Also, what the pregnant woman desires, she is to be given at once, it is not to be delayed, for her child will suffer if she is not given what she desires at once.

The midwife also tells her, she orders her, not to look at the color red, as the child will be born sideways.¹¹

The midwife also tells the pregnant woman that she must not neglect to eat, as the child will go hungry. And she tells the preg-

¹⁰ In the corresponding text, Sahagun clarifies this, explaining that in the bathhouse it was customary to beat the back with corn leaves that had been cooked in the bathwater, that is, the water they threw on the stones to create the steam. Clavigero, in his excellent description of the *temazcalli*, says that the leaves were merely moistened in the water, which is more likely. *Hist. Gen.* Book VI, Chapter XXVII, p. 174; Clavigero: *Hist. Ant. Mex.* Porrua, 1958, vol. II, p. 323 ff.

¹¹ This might be a play on words. *Ixtlapal* means transversely, or sideways. However, *ixtli*, face, and *tlapalli*, red, if combined could be *ixtlapal*, red face. This would fit in with the general nature of the text in that certain acts bring about related consequences, such as, sleeping during the day will cause swollen lids in the child, etc. It is possible that this may have been intended here.



amo qualli in tlatatz piltontli, amo cemelle, at cocoxqui, at nozo amo tlacamelauac: ca in tlein qui, ca in tlein quiqua nantli: no yehuatl quimonacayotia in piltzintli, ca itechpa cana.

Ihuan quinauatia in ticitl in otztl: in ayamo onmaci piltzintli, in quin ce, in quin ome, in quin ei metztl, za oc quenman moquazque⁷ in inamic, inic onmaciz piltzintli: intlacamo, ca zan cocoxqui, amo teuiui⁸ in tlatcicpac quizaz.

Ihuan quinauatia in otztl in ticitl, ihuan intenantuan: in omacic in ye qualli, in ye tomaua in iiti otztl, aocmo quenman mahauillacanequiz oquichtli, aocmo tlatcicpac tlatatz: ipampa amo yectli in tlatatz piltzintli, uallaelneiuhiaz, iuhquin yolatolli ic ualmaltitiaz: ic neciz ca aic omocauhque, ca omuchipa moquatinenque, in ixquichcauh ootztitacatca: iuhquin achi pinauiztli, oncan ca:

auh in ye itlacachiualizpan otztl, cenca quihiyotiz in itlacachiualiz: auh cenca uecauhtica in quimatiz iiti, azo omiluitl, eiluitl: ihuan in ye uel iquac tlacachiuaz, uel tzatziz, azo omiluitl in quihiyotiz: ipampa iuhquin ocotzotl muchiuaz: in ayocmo imonequian, in oquicuic, in oquiceli xinachtli: inic tlacachiuaz, uel quixixitiniz⁹ in ticitl, in azo aqui quiuiuxotinemiz, in quinapalotinemiz: auh no qui cocoltiz in piltzintli, inic ipan mopoztectinemiz, in mixiui: ic cequintin imitic miqúi in innanuan pipiltzitzinti, ipampa cana tlazaloo, anozo, moxtlapalteca: auh no miiecpa ic miqúi in mixiui, mitoa, ompa tlazaloo in icuitlapan, quitoznequi, in icihuayoc, inic melauatica, in iconexiquipilco, ic niman auellacati, auellalticpacquiza in piltzintli ompa miqúi: no ic miqúi in tenantzin, in mitoa, mocihuaquetza: ipampa in aocmo quimonacayotia xinachtli piltzintli: iuhquin tzotzouiztli mocuepa, itech quizaloo in iyecnacayo in cihuatzintli.

Tla za no nican mito, in mauizticatontli: in ompa tlazaloo iitic inantzin piltontli: intla omic piltontli, itztl quicalaquia in iitic cihuatzintli in ticitl: ompa contetequi in piltontli quiualliquixtia: ic oc paleuilo in pilhua.

⁷ Read as *quicoazque*.

⁸ An error? A.M. Garibay suggests *tetic*, which accords with the text.

⁹ Break the water?



nant woman not to eat earth, nor to eat chalk as the child will be born unhealthy, deranged, perhaps sickly, perhaps deformed, for what the mother drinks, what the mother eats, is incorporated into the child, it takes it from her.

The midwife also instructs the pregnant woman that when the child is still not large, in the first, the second, the third months, she and her husband should lie with each other occasionally so that the child will become robust; if not, it will come into the world sickly, it will not be strong.

And the midwife instructs the pregnant woman and her mothers that when she nears her term, when her stomach is now big, she and her husband are not to want to take their pleasure with each other even occasionally, she is not to enjoy copulation at all because the child will not be born clean, it will come out covered with filth as if it had been washed in a thick corn gruel,¹² and from this it will be apparent that they never stopped, that they continued copulating all during the time she was with child, as if there were little shame in it then.

Furthermore, at the time of the pregnant woman's childbed, the delivery will be arduous. She will be in great suffering a long time—two or three days—and then, when she is giving birth, she will scream with pain. She might suffer for two days, perhaps, as the semen will be like liquidambar; that was not the time for her to have received, to have taken in the semen. In order that she give birth, the midwife will have to cut into her, or someone will have to shake her, will have to hold her up in her arms. And also she will have to dismember the child so that it is reduced to bits inside her when she is giving birth. Some children die in the mothers' wombs because they adhere somewhere, or else are lying sideways. Also, because of this, the women often die when they give birth. They say the semen adheres to her loins, meaning her womb, that it spreads over the child's sac and, as a result, the child cannot be born, it cannot come into the world, and it dies there. Because of this, the mother also dies and is called a "woman warrior."¹³ For the child no longer absorbs the semen; it becomes like an oozing sore, it adheres to the healthy flesh of the woman.

(Something remarkable must also be told here. When the child adheres to the mother's womb, if the child has died, the midwife inserts an obsidian knife into the woman's womb. There she cuts up the child and removes it piece by piece. By this means the mother is helped.)¹⁴

¹² *Yollatolli*: a thick gruel made from peeled corn kernels.

¹³ A woman who died in childbirth with the child in the womb. See p. 87.

¹⁴ This same procedure has been recorded in the Talmud. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. II, p. 379.

Tlanauatia in ticitl: aomo chocaz, amo tlaoccoltiloz, amo tequipacholoz in oztli: ca ic cocolizcuiz in piltzintli.

Tlanauatia in ticitl: cenca uellaquaz, uel atliz, muchi qualli in qui-quaz, totonqui, yamanqui: occenca iquac, in mitoa, mocxipaca piltontli, in ezquiza tenantzin: inic amo cacalacatimotlaliz in piltzintli, inic amo ayo uaquiz, inic amo cocolizcuiz.

Tlanauatia in ticitl in oztli: amo mopopoxcanenequiz, amo itlan aquiz, amo cacoquiz in etic, amo motlatlalo, amo no ac quimauhtiz, ayac quizauiz: ca niman mitoa, motlatlaxiliz in nantli, mitoa, oliniz in piltontli:

zan cuel ixquichton in, nican onmoteneua, in inauatil oztli:

conitua in ticitl.

O nopilhuantzitzin, tlazotitlacatzitzinti, totecuyoan:

ca in iz amonmonoltitoque,

cuix anpipiltzitzinti, cuix ancoconetzitzinti,

ca tilamatque in tontonotza,

ca anquimotziliccate in ixquich tomicca ticihuatzitzinti, in ipan titzintin:

cuix ye quimati in piltontli, in ichpuchtontli:

ma anconmoxiccauiliti in piltontli,

ma oc cenca tle anquimomachitia,

ma oc amix, amotequitzin, ma oc amonecuitlauiltzin, onmuchiuu:

ica uel in oitla ticnamiquito,

on oitla topantic in itlacachiuuizpan piltontli:

a iz nica in mitoa niticitl:

za nel no ic niticitl,

cuix miquizpatli nicpia,

cuix nictecuicuiliz in oitla ipan tehuato o?

cuix miquizpatli nomac ca,

niquitquitinemi,

ca zan nanamico, ca zan paleuilo in totecuyo:

auh ca zan tlaeapeuiliztli ticchiua,

cuix toconitozque:

ma iuh onmuchiuu in, ma uellacati in piltontli,

The midwife orders that the pregnant woman is not to weep, that she is not to be made unhappy, that she is not to be upset, as the child will become ill as a result.

The midwife orders that she eat well, that she drink well, that everything she eats be good, that it be hot and savory, particularly at the time they say, "the child is washing its feet," when the mother has her period,¹⁵ so that the child does not dry up, so that it does not become desiccated for want of liquid, so that it does not become disordered.

The midwife orders the pregnant woman not to attempt to do too much, not to overexert herself, not to lift anything heavy, not to run. Neither is anyone to frighten her nor startle her now, for they say that then the mother will miscarry, they say the child will be born prematurely.

These few things related here are the instructions for the pregnant woman.

The midwife speaks.

O my children, beloved lords, our lords!

Here you are.

Are you children? Are you babies?

We who address each other are old women.

You understand that for all women, our death is in our wombs.

By chance does the child, the girl, know this yet?

Do not neglect the child;

have great concern for her now.

Now let your eyes, your labors, your care be exercised,

lest we meet with something,

lest something befall us at the time of the child's birth.

Behold, here I am, I who am called a midwife!

In truth, I am just a simple midwife.

By chance, do I have the remedy for death?

By chance, shall I snatch someone from it when something happens?

By chance, is the remedy for death in my hands?

Do I carry it around with me?

One is only aided, one is only helped by Our Lord,
and we merely fan away the flies.

By chance are we to say,

"Let it be thus, let the child be born without mishap?"

¹⁵ Since it is not a general rule for women to menstruate during pregnancy, though some women do during the first months, it is possible that what is meant here is the time the woman would normally have had her period.

cuix tocontotenitalhuizque:

auh tocontocuilizque in itetlaocoliliztzin, tloque, nauaque:
anca quenami ipan teuatiui.

Ma oc nelle axcan timuchintin, titlateumatican,

ma oc tictotemachilican in totecuyo:

quecin quimonenequititica,

cuix itla, tocnopil, tomaceual:

cuix no ye in atle:

zan choquiztli, zan ixayotl monequi in axcan:

Tle anquimomachititzinoa, totecuyoan, noxuihtzitzinuan, tlazotitla-
catzitzinti.

In oacit itlacachiuallizpan cihuatzintli: niman quinotza in ticitl, in temixiuitiani, in imac tlatatiuani.

Auh in tlatoque, in pipilti, in mocuiltonoque, ihuan in toueliecauan inpilhuan, in imichpuchuan: azoc iuh nauiluitl, macuiluitl, tlacachiuazque, in intlan motlalia titici, quinpixtoque, quinchixtoque in quenman: auh in iquin quimatizque in iiti, quilmach mitoa: qui(n) tlatlaqualizchihuoque.

Auh in ye quimati in iiti cihuatzintli: inic uel iciuhca tlacachiuaz, oc contentiuetzi: niman conitia in xiuitl, in itoca cihuapatli in tlacxotlani, in tlatopeuani: intla cenca quihiyotia in cihuatzintli iiti: quen omixtli conitia in tlaquatl icuitlapil, in za uequene concenuica, iciuhca ic tlacachia.

Inin ca zan niman atlamati, ca uel tlacxotlani, tlaquixtiani, tlatopeuani. Ceppa chichi quichtacaqua, uel centetl in tlaquatl: inic cenca ihiyo in tlaquatl, muchi motepeuaco, muchi motoxauaco, muchi quixix, in icuitlaxcol, inin chichi: no iuhqui intla aca, uel ce conitl in icuitlapil tlaquatl, ca muchi ualmotoxauaz in icuitlaxcol, ca muchi quixixaz.

Ic ipampa in cihuatzintli: intla oquic cihuapatli, in ihuan tlaquatl; intlacamo quitlacamati in iiti: cenca tlaouicamati in ticitl, ihuan in ilamatque, chocoa, tlaocoyalo, quitoa in ticitl:

Nopilhuantzitzin, tlein quimonequiltia totecuyo,
tlein topantiz:

ma tictotlatolchialican in tloque, nauaque:

ca tle techmomacuillia.

By chance shall we presume,
 and shall we assume the mercy of the Supreme, Omnipresent One?
 However it is, so it shall be.
 In truth now, let us all pray,
 let us put our trust in Our Lord.
 What does he will?
 Perhaps something is our due, our reward?
 Perhaps, also, nothing?
 Only weeping, only tears are wanted now.
 May you consider this, O our lords, o my grandchildren, beloved lords!

The Confinement

When the time has come for the woman's confinement, they summon the midwife, the accoucheuse, the woman in whose hands is the delivery.

With respect to the offspring, the daughters, of rulers and nobles, and of the wealthy and prosperous, about four or five days before they are to give birth, the midwife take their places beside them. They take care of them, they wait with them for the time to arrive, and for the moment they will feel pain. According to what they say, they prepared food for them.

And when the woman now feels pain, when she is soon to give birth, the midwife promptly gives her a vapor bath. Then she has her drink a potion of an herb called *cibuapabli*¹⁶ which in an impellent, an expellant. If the woman's labor is causing her great suffering, she has her drink a potion of about two small pieces of an opossum's tail and finally she expels it completely, with this she gives birth easily.

Now this is something unbelievable; the opossum ejects, expels, drives things out with great force. Once, in secret, a dog ate a good bit of an opossum and because the opossum is very potent, all the dog's entrails came out, they were expelled, he evacuated all of them. By the same token, if a person drinks a whole opossum's tail, all his entrails will be expelled, he will evacuate them all.

Thus, if a woman has drunk potions of *cibuapabli* and opossum and her womb does not react, the midwife and old women become alarmed, and they weep, and are sorrowful. The midwife says:

O my children, what does Our Lord will?
 What is to befall us?
 Let us await the word of the Supreme, Omnipresent One,
 that he snatch nothing from us!

¹⁶ *Cibuapabli*: "Woman's Medicine." There are several plants by this name. Here it probably refers to *Montanoa tomentosa*. Others are *Eupatorium adoratum* and *Veronica deppeana* Less. Standley: *Trees and Shrubs of Mexico*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1961, Part V, pp. 1413, 1444, 1531.

Niman peua in ticitl, ca aco (qui) piloa in cihuatzintli, quiuiuxotiniemi, quicuitlapaniczatinemi: quiluitinemi.

Nochpuchtzin, ca moyaouh,
 quen timitztochiuilizque:
 a iz onoque in monantzitzinuan,
 ca moneixcauiltzin,
 uel xicmana in teueuelli: nopuchtzin, noxocoyouh:
 ca tiquauhcihuatl, xicnamiqi,
 quitoznequi: ximotilini,
 xicmotlaehecaluili in quauhcihuatl, in cihuacoatl, in quilaztli.

Auh intla ye cemilhuitl, ye ceyoual, in auellacachia in cihuatzintli: niman ic ceppa quicalaquitiuetzi, in temazcalco: oc ceppa ompa oc nen muchiua quiuellalilia in iiti in cihuatzintli, in yehuatl ticitl. Auh intla onexiuhtlatilic, in zan niman auellacati in piltzintli, niman quitzaua in cihuatzintli, za icel in itlanca ticitl: tlein mach ic tlatlatlauhtitica, quinotza, quitlatlauhtia in cihuacoatl, in quilaztli: niman quitzatzilia in youalticitl, ac amchique in quintzatzilia.

Auh in yolizmatqui toltecatl, amantecatl, in ticitl: intla oquittacomic piltzintli, intlacayocmo molinia: auh intla oc ye ihiyotoc cihuatzintli, niman onmayau in iuxpampa in cihuatzintli, itztl quicalaquia: onpa quitetequi in piltontli, quialquiquixtia in inacayo piltzintli. Etc.

Auh intlacamo motlapalao pilhuaque, in quichiaz in ticitl: niman uel quitzatzaqua in cihuatzintli. Auh intla ic miqui iiti, mitoa, motocayotia: mocihuaquetzqui:

auh in oonmic, niman caltia, camouia: qualli, auh yancuic in conaquia cueitl, uipilli: auh inic quiuica quitocatiui, quimama in inamic, tlatontih, itzon quiquentih:

Then the midwife begins. She holds the woman up, she shakes her, she pummels her on the back with her feet, saying to her:

My daughter, the battle is yours.
 What are we to do for you?
 Here are your mothers,
 yours alone is the task.
 Take up the buckler, my daughter, my little one,
 you are *Quaucibuatl*,¹⁷ work with her!
 This means, put forth all your strength,
 emulate *Quaucibuatl*, *Cibuacoatl*, *Quilaztli*!

But is after a day and a night the woman does not give birth, then once again she puts her into the bathhouse. There, once more, a vain attempt is made, the midwife adjusts the woman's womb. If the efforts are hopeless, if the child is not born, then they shut the woman in a room; only the midwife is by her side. Who knows what the midwife prays. She calls upon, she prays to *Cibuacoatl*, *Quilaztli*, then she cries out to *Yohualticitl*, and who knows to which others she cries out.

And the midwife who is expert, adept, skilled in her craft, if she has seen that the child has died, if it no longer moves, and if the woman is still in great pain, she then inserts her hand into the woman's vagina, she introduces a knife. There she cuts up the child, and piece by piece she removes the child's body.

The Deification of Woman who Died in Childbirth

But if the parents cannot face having the midwife do this, then she shuts the woman securely in the room. And if she dies in childbirth, she is called, she is given the name, *Mocibuaquetzqui*.¹⁸

After she has died, they bathe her, they soap her, and they dress her in a fine, new skirt and blouse. And when they carry her off, when they take her off to be buried,¹⁹ her husband bears her on his back. Her hair hangs loose, it covers her.

¹⁷ *Quaucibuatl*: "Valiant woman." One of the numerous names of the Mother Goddess.

¹⁸ "Woman warrior," or "valiant woman." Pl. *Mocibuaquetzque*. These were the women who died in childbirth with the unborn child still in the womb, and the women who were immolated. They became *Cibnapipiltin* or *Cibuateteo*, deified women. If a woman died after a child was born, or after a child was removed from her womb, as described above, she did not become a *Mocibuaquetzqui*, "Woman warrior;" what made her a "woman warrior" was her having died in the battle of childbirth, the child a captive in the womb.

¹⁹ The *Mocibuaquetzque* were not cremated as were the warriors who went to the House of the Sun in heaven and the majority of people who died

auh mocentlalia in titici ilamatztzin: inic quiuica inchichimal yetiuh, tlacauatztiui, motempapauitiui, oiouhtiui: mitoa, coyoutiui, yaoui: yehuan quinnamictiui, quimicaltiui, in mitoa telpupuchtin, in oc intequiuh yaoyotl, inic quimicaltiui, quimaniliznequi in cihuatzintli: amo motlamachhua, amo mopilhua in mouitequi, uel nelli moyochiua.

Auh inin quiuica quitocazque cihuatzintli, ye tlapoyaua, ompa in imixpan diablome imixiptlauan: in quintocayotia cihuapipilti, iluicacacihuapipilti: auh in oconuicaque, niman quitoca, quitlalaquia: auh in inamic, ihuan oc cequintin quipaleuia: nauhyoual in quipia, inic ayac quichtequiz:

auh in yehuantin telpupuchtin, in yaoyotl intequiuh uel quimatataca, mitoa: uel ipan mihixtoxaua,¹⁰ uel iuhquin tleoya¹¹ ipan quimati. Intla otlica quintlazaltia in titici, in inacayo mocihuaquetzqui: oncan imixpan contequilia in imapil in tlanepantla in icac: auh intla youaltica uel quitataca, no quitequilia in imapil, ihuan quixima, quicuilia in itzon.

Izcatqui ipampa in quimatataca in imapil, in itzon mocihuaquetzqui: in iquac ui yaoc, in chimaltitlan caquia in tzontli, manozo mapilli: inic oquichtizque, inic tiacauhtizque, inic ayac uel quimixnamiquiz, inic ayac imixco euaz, inic amo tlatlamatcachiazque in yaoc, ihuan inic miequintin quintopeuazque, quimacizque in yaouan: quil mihiyotia in itzon, in imapil mocihuaquetzqui: quil quimicximimictia in inyaouan.

No quimatataca in mocihuaquetzqui in icteque: in intoca temamacpalitotique, quicuilia in iopuch imatzopaz: quil quitqui in iquac onichtequi, ic quinzotlacmictia in chaneque.

Auh inin mocihuaquetzqui: maciuin tlachocchia, tlatlaocultia, in ipanpa ic miqui iititzin, in iquac uel omic: in mitoa omocihuaquetz, oc no cenca ic paqui in pilhuaque ihuan cihuaua: ca mitoyaya, amo

¹⁰ From *ixtoztoa*.

¹¹ In the corresponding text, *tleoya* is translated as "something sacred or divine." The word for "divine" is *teoyo*, and it is possible that *tleoya* is an error. However, since there is no clue to the meaning of *tleoya*, it has been rendered in this translation as "magical," as this is what the text implies.

The midwives and old women also gather. They accompany her carrying their shields, they go along shouting the war cry, beating their mouths with their hands, shouting huzzahs. They say they go along shouting huzzahs to her, that they are like the warriors. Those who are called *Telpochtlin*,²⁰ whose occupation is war, fight them, battle with them; they battle them because they want to capture the woman's body. They do not sham, they do not play a child's game, they fight each other in earnest.

They take the woman to be buried at twilight before the images of the goddesses²¹ called *Cihuapipiltin*, the celestial noblewomen, and having arrived there with her, they bury her, they lay her in the earth. For four nights, her husband and others who assist him guard her so that no one steal her body.

It is the young warriors whose occupation is war, who covet it. They say they keep nightly vigils over it, that they regard it as something magical. If, along the way, they force the midwives to surrender the body of the *Mocibuaquetzqui*, right there, in their presence, they chop off her middle finger. And if at night they are able to dig her up, they also chop off her finger and they cut off, they take her hair.

Here is the reason they covet the finger and hair of the *Mocibuaquetzqui*. When they go off to war, they put the hair or the finger inside the shield so that they will be brave, so that they will be valiant, so that no one will be able to face them in battle, so that no one will stand up to them, so that they will not become cowardly, and also, so that they will strike down and capture many of their adversaries. They say that the hair and finger of a *Mocibuaquetzqui* have great powers; they say they numb the feet of their foes.

The thieves who are called sorcerer-thieves²² also covet the body of the *Mocibuaquetzqui*; they take her left forearm. They say they carry it with them when they rob, that with it they mesmerize the householders.

Now, although they weep and grieve for the *Mocibuaquetzqui* because she has died in childbirth, when she is dead they say she became a woman warrior and for this reason, the parents and husband

ordinary deaths and went to *Mictlan*, the nether world, but were laid to rest in the earth, symbol of the womb of the eternal mother, though, like the warriors, their after-life was spent in the House of the Sun, also, as will be seen below.

²⁰ Young warriors.

²¹ The text says *diablome*, devils, a Nahuatlization of the Spanish word. This is occasionally found in the text collected by Sahagun and the reference is always to a god or an idol.

²² *Temamacpalitotique* (pl.) literally: "Those who make others dance in the palms of their hands."

yauh in mictlan, ca ompa in iluicac in tonatiuh ichan.

In iuh ca zazanilli, in iuh nenonotzalli in tiacauan, in quauhtin, in ocelo in yaomicque, ca ompa ui in tonatiuh ichan: auh ic ompa nemi in tlapcopa, in ompa ualquiza tonatiuh. Auh in ye ualquizaz tonatiuh, in oc youan: mocencaua, moyaochichiua: connamiqui inic ualquiza tonatiuh, quialquixtia, coyoutiuitze, cauiltiuitze, quinecalilitiuitze, iixpan mauiltiui: oncan quialcaua in iluicatl inepantla: in mitoa nepantla tonatiuh.

Auh nizca in intlatollo, inzazanillo in yaomicque cihua, ihuan in mocihuaquetzque: mitoa, ca in yaomicque cihua, ihuan in mocihuaquetzque: ca ompa nemi iuetzyan, in icalaquian tonatiuh: ic ipampa in ueuetin in aquiue tlatlaliui quitocayotique cihuatlampa in ompa olaqui tonatiuh, ipampa in ompa nemicihua:

auh in ualquiz tonatiuh, in ye otlatoa, in ye cauiltiuitze, in ye coyoutiuitze yaomicque in tiacauan, in ye otlatociuh in yehuatl tonatiuh: niman mocencaua in cihua, moyaochichiua, concui in chimalli, in tlauiztli: niman ualeua, tlecotiuitze, oncan quialnamiqui in tonatiuh in nepantla: oncan inmac conana in quauhtin, ocelo, in yehuatl tonatiuh: oncan inmac concaua in cihua in tonatiuh, in yehuantin quauhtin, ocelo, in yaomicque: auh niman cecemani, nouian tlatlachichina, quichichina in nepapan xochitl.

Auh in cihua: niman conpeualtia, quiuica, quitemouia in tonatiuh: quetzalapanecaotica in quiuica, quetzalco in yetiuh quitlapechhuia: auh inic quiuica, no coyoutiui, cauiltiui: yaoyotica in cauiltiui, ompa concaua, in ompa mitoa, in ompa oncalaquí tonatiuh: quil inmac concaua in micteca, quitoznequi, mictlan tlaca, mictlan chaneque, quitoznequi, mimiQuitzin: ompa quiuica in mictlan.

Ic conitotui in ueuetque: in nican tlayoua, ye tlaneci, ye tlahui in mictlan: hiza, mehua in mimicque: auh ino inmac concauhque cihua, in micteca, in yehuatl tonatiuh: niman no cecemmani, ualhui, ualtemo in tlatcipac, quialcui, quialtemoa in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli, in tanatli, in ixquich cihuatlatquitl quialtemoa:

inic tlatzlacuiaya in tzitzimitl, in coleletli: miiecpa monextiaya,

are also joyful. They say she is not going to *Micilan*, that she is going to heaven, the House of the Sun.

According to the legend, according to the lore, the valiant warriors, the Eagle and Jaguar warriors who die in battle, go to the House of the Sun and dwell in the East where the Sun rises. When the Sun is about to rise, just before daybreak, they adorn themselves, they don their war array and they go out to receive the Sun when he comes up. They bring him out, they come along shouting huzzahs to him, they come along amusing him, skirmishing for him, revelling before him. They carry him to the middle of the heavens which is called the zenith.

And here is the lore, the legend, of the women who die in battle²³ and the women who die in childbirth. They say that the women who die in battle and the women who die in childbirth dwell in the region of the setting Sun, in the West. Thus, the ancients, who created the traditions, named the West *Cibuatlampa*, the Region of the Women, because there the women dwell.

And when the Sun has risen, when it is moving on its course, the warriors who died in battle, the valiant warriors, come along amusing him, they come along shouting huzzahs to him. When the Sun is well on his way, then the women adorn themselves, they don their war array, they take their shields and devices. They rise, they ascend, they go out to receive the Sun at the zenith. There from the hands of the Eagle and Jaguar warriors who died in battle they take the Sun. There in the hands of the women the Eagle and Jaguar warriors leave the Sun, and then they scatter. Everywhere (in the heavens) they sip nectar, they sip the nectar of the myriad flowers.

Now the women start out with the Sun; they carry him, they bring him down. By means of quetzal-feather crosspieces they convey him; he journeys, they bear him on a litter of quetzal feathers. And when they are bearing him they also go along shouting huzzahs to him, amusing him, amusing him with skirmishes. They leave him at the place called "where the Sun goes in." It is said that they leave him in the hands of the *Micteca*, which means the people of the Region of the Dead, the inhabitants of the Region of the Dead, that is, the dead. They take him to the Region of the Dead.

The ancients said that when it is nightfall here, it is dawn, it is daybreak in the Region of the Dead. And when the women have left the Sun in the hands of the people of the Region of the Dead, they too scatter, they go off, they descend to earth. They come to take, they come to look for spindles, battens, baskets—they come to look for all the womanly implements.

In this way the demon of the night, the demon of the air, practised

²³ Those sacrificed to the gods.

moteittitiaya: in iuhquinma ye mocihuaquetz, quinotza, quimottitia in inamic catca: quitemolia, quitlanilia in cueitl, uipilli in ixquich cihuatlatquitl.

Auh inin iitizin ic momiquilia, cihuatzintli: in mitoa mocihuaquetza: in iquac oonmic, in quitoa oonteut: niman quinotza, quitlapalao, quitlatlauhtia in ticitl, in oc onoc, in oc uetzoc: quiluia.

Chamotzin, noxocoyouh,
 quauhcihuatl, tepitzin, cocotzin, nochpuchtzin:
 otitlacotic, otitequit,
 ouetz motequitzin:
 oticmonanamiquili in monantzin, in cihuapilli, in quauhcihuatl, qui-
 laztli:
 otoconcuic, otoconacoc, oitlan tonac in chimalli, in teueuelli,
 in omomac quiman in yehuatl monantzin, in cihuapilli, in cihuacoatl,
 in quilaztli:

auh in axcan ma xiza, ma ximehua, ma ximoquetza,
 ca ye tlaca, ca ye tlarhui,
 ca otlacuezaleuac, ca omoquetzaco in tlauizcalli,
 ca ye tlatoa in cuezalpaxitl, in cuezalcuicuitzcatl,
 ye tlatoa nepapan cuezalquechol,
 ma ximeua, ma ximoquetza, ma ximochichiua,
 ma ximouica, ma ximotlamati in qualcan, in yeccan
 in monan, in mota, in tonatiuh ichan:
 in ompa auialo, in uellamacho,
 in pacoa, in netlamachtilo.
 Ma xommouica, ma xoconmotoquili in tonan, in tota tonatiuh:
 ma itech mitzonmaxitili(can) in iuelticatztzinuan, in cihuapipiltin, in
 iluicacihua:
 in muchipa, in cemicac in auia, in uellamati, in paqui, in motlamachtia
 in itloc, inauac in tonan, tota tonatiuh:
 in cauiltia, in coyouia.

Noxocoyouh, nochpuchtzin, notecuyo cihuatl:
 oticmihyouilti, oticmoquichhuili:
 a oticmaxcauili in itepoloaya, itetlatiaya totecuyo:
 a mazonelle axcan, otimotlaciauilti, ca ouel tontlamaceuh,
 ca omocnopiltic, ca omomaceualtic in qualli, in yectli, in tlazotli, in
 miquiliztli:

deception: many times he would appear, he would show himself to people in the form of a *Mocibuaquetzqui*. He would call to, he would appear to her husband and he would demand, he would ask for skirts, blouses, and all the womanly implements.

And the woman who dies with the child in her womb, who is called *Mocibuaquetzqui*, at the moment she died they say she was deified. When she was still lying there, when her body was still reposing there, the midwife invoked her, prayed to her, supplicated her. She said to her:

O *Chamotzin*,²⁴ my little child,
 O *Quaubcibuatl*, O little one, little dove, O my daughter!
 You have labored, you have toiled,
 your labors have come to rest;
 you have worked with your mother, the goddess, *Quaubcibuatl*, *Quilaztli*.
 You took up, you raised aloft, you wielded the shield, the buckler,
 that your mother, the goddess *Cibuacoatl*, *Quilaztli*, placed in your
 hand.

Awake now! Arise! Stand up!
 It is now day, it is now dawn!
 The scarlet glow of daybreak has risen, the dawn has come up;
 the flame-tinged currasow and the flame-tinged swallow now are
 singing,

no sing the sundry flame-tinged roseate spoonbills.

Arise! Stand up! Array yourself!

Be off, betake yourself to the good place, the fine place,
 the House of your mother and father, the Sun!

There, there is delight, there is enchantment,
 there is joy, there is gladness.

Be off, follow our mother and father, the Sun!

Let his sisters, the divine, the celestial women, take you to him,
 they who always and forever know joy and happiness, gladness and
 delight,

next to, beside, our mother and father, the Sun,
 amusing him, shouting his praises!

O my little one, my daughter, beloved mistress,
 you have wearied yourself, manfully you have fought.
 By your labors you have won Our Lord's noble death, glorious death,
 truly, now, you have toiled for it, well you merited it;
 the good, the fine, the precious death was your recompense, your
 reward.

²⁴ A term of endearment for the dead. It means owl.

A mach nen nozo timomiquili,
cuix otonmomiquili:

.....
ac quicnopilhuia, in oticmomaceui:
ca cemicac tiyoliz, tiauiaz, tiellamatiz,
in intloc, in inauac totecuiyouan cihuapipilti:

Manozo zan moyolicatzin nochpuchtzin, noxocoyouh:
ma intech xonmaxiti, ma intlan xonmocalaquí.
Auh manozonelli mitzalmanilican, ma mitzalmocelilican,
ma inhuan xicauilti, xicoyoui in tonan, in tota, in tonatiuh:
auh ma xiquinmouiquiltinemin in canin mouica, in imelleltzin qui-
quiza.

Auh noxocoyouh, nochpuchtzin, notecuyo:
ca otitechonmocauilitia,
ca otitechonmoxicauilitia in tiueuetque, in tilamatque:
auh otiquimonmotlaxiliteuac in monantzin, in motatzin:
cuix tel oticmonequilititzino,
ca otialnotzaloc, otialtatzililoc:
anca quen
monica, coteputzco, a tontopopoliuitizque:
anca zan quen
ontimaliuiiz in icnoueueyotl, in icnoilamayotl:
anca zan techinantitlan, texomolco, tontopopoliuitizque:

totecuyo, a manozo xitechalmomachiti,
xitechalmolnamiquilili in tocnoyo,
in iuhqui tiquitta,
in iuhqui tictzaqua in nican tlalticpac:
ca nelli mach in totech ceui in tonalli, auh in ehecatl, in itztic, in
cecec:

nellimach in pilini, in tetziliui, in tlalli, in zoquitl:
auh nellimach, in timaliui in cuitlaxcolpitzactli,
acan ueli ticchiua:
ma xitechalmomachiti notlazotichpuchtzin, quauhcihuatl, cihuapilli.

Auh canel otonpactiuetzito,
ca ye qualcan, ca ye yeccan in tinemi:
auh ca ye itloc, inauac in tinemi in totecuyo,
ca ye tictlacaitta:
auh ca ye tictlacanotza,
ma xitechmotlatlauhtilili, ma xitechnochili.
Ca ixquich in, ic motechtzinco tontocaua.

By chance have you died in vain?
 By chance have you died?

.....²⁵
 Who is granted what you have merited?
 Eternally you shall live and know joy and gladness
 next to, beside, our mistresses, the divine women.

Farewell my daughter my little one!
 Go to them, join them:
 let them take you, let them receive you.
 Be with them, amusing, shouting the praises of our mother and
 father, the Sun,
 accompany them wherever they go in their rejoicing.

O my little one, my daughter, my mistress,
 you have gone off leaving us behind,
 you have gone off kicking us away, we the old men and women,
 and you have departed flinging aside your mother and father.
 But was it you who willed it?
 You were summoned, you were called!
 And what now?
 In your absence, your back turned, we shall perish!
 What now?
 A pauperous old age filled with misery,
 and we shall end our days beside others' walls, in the corners of other's
 houses!

O, our mistress, may you think of us,
 may you remember us in our deprivation!
 It is as if we were beholding it,
 as if we were imprisoned in it here on earth.
 Verily, we are wasted by the heat, and by the cold and icy winds,
 wizened, trembling, streaked with dirt and mud,
 our entrails filled only with misery;
 we are helpless!
 May you think of us, my precious daughter, *Quauhcibuatl*, divine
 woman.

For you have gone to be happy;
 in the good place, the fine place you now dwell,
 and beside, next to Our Lord, you now live.
 You behold him now with human eyes,
 you invoke him now with human voice.
 May you pray to him for us, may you invoke him for us!
 With all this we commend ourselves to you.

²⁵ The texts is blurred here.

