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

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

> Auñedo vno referido al modo degouernar de los antiguos, concluyó diciendo: o, ca ihui in önemicō, in ōtlamanilltico in huēhuetquiē òtechcāuhtihui, ča cencă huēi inic ōmotlacuitlahuicō, mirad, desta manera viuieron, y se portaron los viejos nuestros antepassados, gouernaron con mucho cuidado.

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

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THE HUEHUEHTLAHTOLLĪ BANCROFT MANUSCRIPT:  
THE MISSING PAGES *

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

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

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

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

Garibay's publication made the Bancroft manuscript modestly famous, and his translation has served well over the years. Successors continue to work with the text. Günter Zimmermann transcribed it, and Eike Hinz plans an edition with transcription (including diacritics), facsimile, German translation, and morphological analysis including extensive lists of stems and stem frequencies. We ourselves plan an edition with a full transcription, English translation, discussion of the manuscript's contribution to the attestation of vowel length and glottal stop in Nahuatl words, and analysis of aspects of usage illustrated in the text. Meanwhile, through this supplement to Garibay, the full text will be available in some form to the public.
Oc cēquin yè in nepāpan tōltēcāyōtl māchtīlō in (f. 10v) āmāntēcāyōtl ihuītl quētzālli ic mochichihua: niman yè in xiuhcālōlōliztlī in teōcuitlapētzaliztlī in chalchihuitlātēquēliztlī, tlāpētlāhuāliztlī, niman yè in tlācuilōlōliztlī, quēuhximaliztlī, ihuān in oc cequi nepāpan tōltēcāyōtl. Oc cēquin yēhuātl in māchtīlō in cuicapīquēlītlī in tlātōlpēpēnāliztlī in tlāmāchihiliztlī in mitoā motēnēhua huēhuētl āyācāchtīlī: niman yè in ihuicatlāmātēliztlī, in iuh molīnīa in tōnatiuh in mētztlī ihuān izcētitlaltīn in mitoā chiucnāuhnēpāniuquēlī: 1 niman yè in motēnēhua tēōāmōxtīlī in itechpatzinco ic tlātōaya in tlōquē nāhuāquē in tēyōcōyāni: ātēl nō ihuān in ēntechpā in ēztlācātētēō catcā inic nētlāpōlōltēlōyā, canel oc yōhuāyān catcā, ca āyāmo ēmpan huālācīc in ētlānēxtzin in tlācatl in totēcuīyō in tlānēltēquēliztlī; nēl cēquin quimohuīcā in mēlpān, nōcē in xōxōchitlā inic quīmāchtiāyā in quēnīn tōcāzque quēuhāquēzquē xōchēaquēzquē, nōcē ēltēmīquēzquē tlātēlāhūquē. Moch quīmāchtiāyā in īxquīch quēxquīch mōnequīa quimātūzquē in tlātēquēpōnēliztlī in tlāmāchihiliztlī in īxtēlāmātēliztlī in nēmatcānēmēliztlī. Ēcan yē nō ihuī in calītic in ēmpa moyeztītacē icēchiuyāpēpīltīn in ēniyēyāntzinco ēmpa māchtīlōyā in ēchpōpōchtīn in īxquīch in nepāpan cihuāyēliztlī in tlāchpānāliztlī in tlāhūāchihiliztlī tlāquēlāchichihualiztlī,  āchichualiztlī, tēxīliztlī, tlāxcālmānāliztlī, tāmālōlōliztlī, in īxquīch nēpāpan cihuāpan mochichihuani. Niman yè in mālācātl tōzōpōztīl nepāpan tlāmāchtīlī: niman yè in tlāpāliztlī ic mopāya nepāpan tlāpāllī tōchihuitl, ēmitōa tōchōmītl. Auh ēcan yē nō ihuī inic cēncā tlātēcuīltēlōyā in
Others were taught the different crafts: featherwork, how (small) feathers and plumes were arranged; also mosaic work, goldsmithery, jewel cutting, and metal polishing; and also codex painting, wood-working, and various other crafts. Others were taught song composition and oratory and the science known as “the drum and the rattle” (i.e., music), and also the science of the heavens, how the sun and moon and stars, called the Ninefold, move; and then what are called divine codices which talk about the Lord of the Near, the creator of humanity, though they also were about the former false gods with whom people used to delude themselves, for it was still the time of darkness, and the light of our Lord, the faith, had not yet reached them. And indeed, some they took to the fields or the flower gardens to teach them how to plant seeds, to raise trees and flowers, and to cultivate and work the land. They taught them all it was needful for them to know by way of service, knowledge, wisdom, and prudent living. Likewise within the houses, where the ladies were in their quarters, the girls were taught all the different things women do: sweeping, sprinkling, preparing food, making beverages, grinding (maize), preparing tortillas, making tamales, all the different things customarily done among women; also (the art of) the spindle and the weaver’s reed and various kinds of embroidery; also dyeing, how rabbit down or rabbit fur was dyed different colors. And in the same way (as the boys) those who did something wrong or did not take care were severely punished. And they were all well cared for: no men, no matter who, entered

1 Although in some versions of Nahua cosmology the heavens had thirteen levels, in others they had nine. The reference, then, seems to be not to the stars themselves, but to the entire realm of astronomical or heavenly phenomena.
aquíquè ítlà quitlácóayà in ámo
motlácútuštahuítayà: auh huél necuítláchuílóyà: ayáè
huél acà ómpa cálaquíà in óquichtíñ, huél inyoçá
catca ñlámátquè cihuápipiltin quinmocuítláchuíayà: auh
náuhpóhuáltica in ónhuíà in ómpa tlácátècco in
concáquíà in ináuhpóhuallítòtl in tlácatl tlátoáñi
Acolmitzlí Neçhuálcoyótzin, in óncán
quinmonónóchiliayà quinmáhuíliayà in tlácatl
Técuèpòtzin. Auh čan ye nò ihui inic mozcaltíayà in
macèhuáltúztitáñ in télpoçhipípiłötöntínt, ómpa in
ácáltíloyà in cálmecác telpóchcáli: auh
izcihuápipíltöntínt ómpa izcihuáteópan, in ómpa
tzáucitcatcà cihuátlámáçéuhquè moçâuuhquè. ò, ca
ihui yin in ónémicon in ótłamáníltícò in huéhuétquè
témocuáhuítluilh: có cencá huéy inic
ómòtlácúuítluhuícò. Auh in ácanch ye huél oc centlamantlí
inic tiquinhuápáhuà topilhuán, (f. 11r) aocmo mímáçáci in
tláhuélölocáytì, yêica inic aocmo quámacáci in
téláxxmí'láztlí in ichtéqu'ilitzlí in tlahuánálíztli,
ýhuáñ in oc cequí tlahuélölocáytì, ipampa in aocmo yuh
téztacuítlo, in iuh ótéstacuúltilóyà in oc ye
huécauh in níman ic témécánílóyà tèpòpóuilóyà: ca
huél oc niquivítcà ca niçpàn moçhiuh, in iquáç téláxxin in
tlácatl Axáyacáztin México Ténochtitlan tlátoáñi
ichpóchtzin, ihuán in cáli tégonyóçán 2 Máxtla, ihuán
Huítzílhuítl, ca cencá huél huéy in moçhiuh, ca ámo čan
tlápóhuáltìn in quitzáuctiaquè, in ihuán cihuáppilli
mécaníloquè têtépacholóqé, céquim cálpixquè,
cequín totéteá, céquín póchtéca: níman ye in
ipiuñ, ihuán in itlánnéncahúan izcihuáppilli,
centlállí móñán, nóhuáñ áhuácán tèpéhuáçán
huálhuílòac in tlmáhuíçócò, quinhuálhüçáqué
izcihuáppíltin in imichpóchhuán; in mánel ye coçóçò
óñóqué, inic quintlactiatiqué: in mánel ye
Tlácaltécà Huëxótzínçà Atlixà in toyaóhuán
catçà, huél oc moçh tláchicó, huél tètèn in íquich
there; taking care of them was the exclusive domain of the elderly noble ladies. And every eighty days they went to the Tlácatécco and heard the eighty-day speech of the lord ruler Acólmitzli Neçahualcoyotl, and there the lord Tecuepohtzin admonished them and cautioned them. And the commoners were raised in the same way; the youths were raised in the school at the youths' house, and the girls at the women's temple, where the female penitents were enclosed and fasted. Oh, this is how the ancients who left us behind lived and ordered things; they took very great care. But how we raise our children today is a very different thing; bad behavior is no longer feared, for they no longer fear adultery, theft, drunkenness, and other kinds of bad behavior, because it is no longer punished as it used to be punished long ago, when they forthwith hanged and destroyed people. For I still saw it myself and it happened before my eyes, when the daughter of the lord Axayacatl, ruler of México Tenochtitlan, committed adultery with Māxtla of the house of Teçonyohcān and with Huītzilīhuītl, that it was done on a grand scale and countless people were arrested, who were hanged and crushed with stones along with the lady: some stewards, some artisans, and some merchants, and also the ladies-in-waiting and dependents of the lady. All the world assembled, people came from the towns all around to behold; the ladies brought along their daughters, even though they might still be in the cradle, to have them see. Even the Tlaxcalans, and the people of Huexōtzinco and Atlīxco, although they were our enemies, all came to see; the whole roof of the house of the Cholulans (merchants' or foreigners' quarters?) was brimful. And as to how the lord ruler Neçahualpilli fed people, there were

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

3 A Nahuatl document written in Texcoco in 1585 refers to the "chololtecaacalli" as a still existing structure, part of the remains of the royal complex in the center of
chóllóltécaállí in tláapantli. Auh inic tétláquáltí in tlácatl tlátoáni, Neçáhuálpiltzintli moch tlatzincóyónílli in ácachiquíhuitl in mőlcáxíltí; huel ic mopínauhtique in Méxíca: auh can ye no ihui niquittac inic conmoméccáníltíque in tlácatl


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

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

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

\(^5\) F. 11r ends with the heading of the next speech, Responde la madre a la vieja.