"EARTH IS NO ONE'S HOME": NAHUA PERCEPTIONS OF ILLNESS, DEATH, AND DYING IN THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD, 1520-1650

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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After the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors to mainland Mexico, the first epidemic of smallpox ravaged the native peoples of the city of Tenochtitlan – present day Mexico City – and the surrounding towns in the year 1520. This was the first experience the Nahuas, or Aztecs, had with infectious, epidemic disease but it would not be the last. In the following one hundred years, the population of Mexico, as well as the rest of the Americas, would see an unprecedented demographic collapse of about 90%. This dissertation traces Nahua perspectives of disease, death, and dying through time from the early sixteenth-century to the mid-seventeenth century. By focusing on sources written by the Nahuas living in Central Mexico at the time, it argues that the primary concern of the writers when considering death and dying was to remember the dead and to tell the stories of those who came before them. While it has been posited that the Nahuas had a concept of the afterlife akin to the Christian Heaven, the sources make it clear that they did not. The only afterlife that was universally understood to exist was the one that existed in the memory of the people that remained on earth. Using sources written by Nahuas it is clear that the epidemics and the demographic collapse resulted in heightened

fear and anxiety regarding death, exactly because they did not believe in a universal afterlife independent of the memories of those living on earth. Therefore, this became the most important tenant of their new faith in a Catholic Heaven, that it was not attained or guaranteed without the prayers and memories of those still on earth.

This dissertation utilizes a variety of sources and genres in order to understand changing perspectives through time. Part I focuses on the songs and prayers that were written down very early in the colonial period and which give the best possible insight into preconquest thoughts and ideologies. Here the sources suggest a departure from the idea that the Nahuas as eager to die and join their fellows in paradise, as some have suggested. Instead the Nahua warriors fought valiantly and died bravely in order to be remembered well and have songs sung and tales told about them. In Part II, the Nahua historical annals show that before the conquest and during it there was great care taken to remember the brave and to honor the bodies of those who were slain. Then, in the midst of the colonial epidemics, the terror and sadness is evident as the annalists wrote down the names of those who had died and lamented that they were the last of a given noble line and that it may be that everyone would die. Lastly, in Part III, the Hispanicized records of the Nahuas are examined to show that even as the people accepted and took part in new Catholic traditions and beliefs, they still saw remembrance and memory being of paramount importance, the only sure way of living on after death. This dissertation, then, demonstrates the importance of studying the sources written by the Nahuas themselves, in order to understand the devastation of the epidemics in a way that Spanish language sources and demographic statistics cannot.

Dedication

To those I have loved and lost,

Richard M. and Patricia Ann Malanga

James Joseph and Anna Mae Handley

Daniel John Handley

Thomas Joseph Handley

James Robert Handley

Jeffrey Frank Bearse

May the lessons of the Nahuas help them live on in memory and in the stories we tell about them.

Acknowledgements

Writing this dissertation has required a great deal of help and advice from many people and institutions. Early in my research I found myself at the John Carter Brown Library looking at a manuscript entitled *El Libro de los Difuntos*. This was my entry into studying Nahuatl perspectives of death and I am appreciative of the guidance of the staff there and especially for the help of Ken Ward. His knowledge of the Nahuatl-language collection at the JCB was indispensable. When I traveled to Mexico, I was aided by the staff at the Archivo General de la Nación, who went out of their way to find a collection of testaments I was looking for, as well as the staff at the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, who pointed me in the direction of Puebla, where some of the records relevant to Huexotzinco are kept. At the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Puebla, I met Ana Luisa Reyes, who helped me navigate not only the archive but the city. Without her help I would have been lost. Ana was dedicated to helping me get the documents that I needed, and I cannot thank her enough. While in Mexico I had the unique opportunity to join Dr. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia on a trip to the Mixteca Alta. We met with the local cabildos and learned how Dr. Ruiz is working with the communities to preserve their archives. In this way I was given a glimpse into the native communities that still exist in Mexico and the ways in which they have kept their culture and traditions alive to this day. I know that the stories in this dissertation are not mine and am grateful to the people who have worked hard to keep these archives and their stories alive.

The summer before I began graduate school I traveled to Oaxaca, Mexico to hone my Spanish skills. I am grateful to everyone at the Instituto Cultural Oaxaca who helped

me feel at home while living in Mexico, specifically, my host-mom, Oliva Segura. While in Oaxaca, I met Hermann Martínez Cruz at the ICO and he agreed to continue to tutor me from afar and since has been a great friend and patient teacher. My language skills were further tested when I enrolled in the Yale Summer Nahuatl Program in 2014. This was one of the most challenging and rewarding experiences of my education. I will be forever indebted to the Nahua teachers, Abelardo de la Cruz de la Cruz, Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz, Ofelia Cruz Morales, Delfina de la Cruz, and Catalina Cruz de la Cruz, who taught us not only their language but about their culture, and how to make a mean tamale! This is also where I first met John Sullivan, whose guidance and continued instruction via Zoom has helped me to develop the skills I needed to translate more than I ever thought I could. I am also grateful to the other students and participants in the summer program, the online Nahuatl classes, and the numerous Nahuatl Studies conferences I have attended. The colleagues I have met have become my friends, and as a community we continue to meet, talk, share our work, collaborate, and support one another.

My work has been supported financially by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Rutgers' Center for Latin American Studies, the Rosenthal & Marucci Fund, and the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis. In my fifth year, I obtained an internship with Johnson & Johnson, where I was supported as I worked on my own project, but also helped to research and write for the company's corporate museum project. In addition to their constant encouragement, I'd like to thank my colleagues at J&J, Margaret Gurowitz, Alexandra Holland, Lauren Haber, and Danielle Devine, for the opportunity to work in an archive and to glimpse the museum world. I am obliged to all these institutions for their support.

My work has also benefited from the feedback of numerous professors and colleagues at Rutgers. I greatly appreciate the supportive atmosphere of the university and the help of so many there. Specifically, I would like to thank my fellow graduate students. When I entered Rutgers in 2012, I met Jessica Criales, who quickly became one of my closest friends. We set out on similar paths both studying Mexico and found great companionship in one another as we learned, wrote, researched, and traveled together. The following year I was joined in my Nahuatl Studies bubble by Peter Sorensen, who provided me with a sounding board for translation troubles but has also been a great friend, especially at conferences where he is vastly more outgoing than I am. In addition to Jessica and Peter, I would like to thank Billy Kelly, Kevin Young, Brian Brown for allowing themselves to be repeatedly subjected to early drafts of my work. Over the years, as we have been separated by space, we still talk regularly in an online chat group, the "Latinista Cohort," finding camaraderie and comic relief in one another. As a graduate student, the support of others in the same situation is invaluable. Other friends who have kept me sane during this process have been Michelle Gasiorowski, Devon Malone, Kerri O'Malley, Caitlin Servilio, and Komal Das.

My research and travels have been supported in many ways by my family. On various trips to New England, for summer classes, conferences, or to archives, I was housed and fed by my sister and brother-in-law, Rebecca Malanga and Jamie Feigelson. While working at the Library of Congress I stayed with my aunt and uncle, Laurie and Rick Malanga and am truly grateful for their hospitality. In addition to the housing benefits of family, I was supported emotionally by my parents, Terry and Steve Malanga, who raised me to believe that anything is possible if you are willing to put in the work. If

I was ever in need of a leg up or an encouraging word, I knew I need not look any farther than my parents. For the last fourteen years, my parents have been joined by my best friend and husband, Michael Miller, who has never faltered in his determination to support me with whatever I needed to get the job done. At times this was tech support or driving me to the airport and holding down "the fort" while I was away. At other times, it was doing far more than his fair share of caring for our son, Danny. Michael has been a true ally and has never doubted my ability to complete this project, even when I doubted it greatly.

Lastly, I would like to thank my committee members for their mentorship and advice during this process. They have spent a great deal of time and energy helping me improve my work. Mark Wasserman, Peter Silver, and Paul Clemens have been a great help in providing perspective from the world outside of Nahua studies, with advice about audience, publishing, and the larger context of my work. Stephanie Wood has been an extremely careful and thoughtful reader. Her expertise has been invaluable to this project and her devotion to the Nahuatl language is an inspiration. I would especially like to thank my advisor Camilla Townsend. I have known Cami since I was an undergraduate and to say that she is a mentor seems too small a word. For more than a decade, Cami has been my greatest teacher. My interest in Mexico and the Aztecs was sparked by her passion for her work and her teaching. I recall, as a junior in college, going to her office hours to discuss a paper I was writing for her class. In response to something I had written she said, rather offhandedly, "My, you're good at this." That was the first time I realized that I might be good at writing, a thing I deeply enjoyed but had never considered seriously. It was then that I began thinking about graduate school. In the

intervening years, she has been there to guide me with advice, not only in academia but in other aspects of my life as well. She has quelled my doubts, answered my questions and has added to my work with her own brilliant insights and immense knowledge and instinct for the Nahuatl language and culture. I feel extremely fortunate to have been given the opportunity to work so closely with such a caring and genuine advisor.

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Introduction

In the shadow of the Franciscan monastery of San Miguel Arcángel and with Popocatepetl looming, the scribe dipped his quill into the ink and began to pen the first name. Like the Spanish church in the foothills of a Mexican volcano, his work reflected the joining of two worlds. Using the language of his ancestors the writer pressed the word *-piltzin*, or child, into permanence as his hand moved across the page. However unpleasant, this task had become his and it was now routine. As news came in from the tiny farming communities that surrounded his town, he wrote down the names of those who had died that week. Sometimes no one, sometimes – it seemed like – everyone. He marked the passage of human life day after day as a prisoner marks time with lines scratched on a wall. Unable to escape, he could only record the names of those who had been taken by the disease that ceaselessly gripped the people. Their names would not be sung in songs about heroic battles as his grandparents had done; their deeds would not be extolled in the stories that used to be told in the evenings on feast days. The only record there would be was the one he was making, all the while hearing the cries of anguish from the bereaved, knowing his time would be up sooner than he would like. As a scribe the only privilege he enjoyed was the power to record, to remember. He would likely fall victim to the same diseases carrying off those whose names he recorded. Disease, after all, hardly discriminates.

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Arthur C. Clarke, a 20th-century science fiction writer and author of *2001: A Space Odyssey*, once wrote, "Behind every man now alive stand thirty ghosts, for that is the ratio by which the dead outnumber the living."[1] That was in 1968 and as it turns out with our skyrocketing population we have fewer ghosts behind us now than when Clarke was writing. But as we go back in time, the ratio only goes up.[2] In the year 1600 or so the number was around 170 ghosts for every one human living, and in the early colonial New World, those ghosts were standing much closer to their living counterparts than they were elsewhere. Given the population decline within the first 100 years after the conquest, the Native peoples were faced with the memory of more dead than almost any other population in history.[3] It is well known that the arrival of the Spanish to the Caribbean and then to the mainland caused one of the greatest population declines in history. In the first century after the 1521 conquest of Tenochtitlan (the capital of the Aztec empire and present-day Mexico City) the native population of the Americas decreased by upwards of 90%. Some studies estimate a population decline of as high as 94% between 1532 and 1605, the decline reaching its nadir in 1650 with fewer than 900,000 individuals remaining in Central Mexico.[4]

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[1] Arthur C. Clarke, Forward to *2001: A Space Odyssey* (New York: New American Library Printing, 1968).
[2] For those interested in the numbers, it is estimated that in 1600 there were approximately 5.8 million people living and that at that point there had been 86 billion people who had lived on earth, making the ratio 172 to 1. Likewise, in 1968, the ration was 29 to 1, and now is about 15 to 1. These numbers and more can be found here: Wesley Stephenson, "Do the dead outnumber the living?," *BBC News*, February 4, 2012, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16870579, and Toshiko Kaneda and Carl Haub, "How Many People Have Ever Lived on Earth?," *Population Reference Bureau*, March 9, 2018, https://www.prb.org/howmanypeoplehaveeverlivedonearth/.
[3] The Jewish population in Eastern Europe met with very high population declines during the holocaust and in pockets, experienced a higher proportion of deaths than the Native people of the Americas. See: "Remaining Jewish Population of Europe in 1945," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accessed July 8, 2019, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/remaining-jewish-population-of-europe-in-1945.
[4] Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History, Vol. III: Mexico and California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 95–102. The preconquest populations may have been

Although other plagues, catastrophes, and genocides have killed larger numbers of people at once, they did not reoccur decade after decade like relentless waves breaking on an eroding shore. The bubonic plague is said to have taken with it a third of the populations it affected. Likewise, the Spanish flu that swept across the globe, with the help of moving armies in 1918, may have taken another third of the population. Finally, the holocaust and the related atrocities of World War II killed upwards of 60% of the Eastern European Jewish population and in pockets, such as Poland, the populations were utterly destroyed by the war, killing or displacing almost 99% of the prewar Jewish population. But when these events were over, they were put behind forever, the people who were left turned to rebuilding. That was not the case for the Native American populations who would survive one catastrophe, just to be struck by another and another, generation after generation for over a century.

More often than not the numbers have been left to speak for themselves. Yet, numbers can only give us a surface understanding of what it was like to live in a society that was sometimes dying off in waves of up to 30% at a time and then before any recovery could take place, lost another 30%. In 1600, most Nahuas were not going to die in warfare or after a long, full life but instead, of a newly introduced disease. One of these foreign diseases might seize them after they had watched their children, spouses, and friends perish. Death has always been a fact of life, but this level of illness and frequency of dying a premature death is unfathomable to those of us living at this time in a society that is largely free from epidemic disease. The only context the Nahuas had for this type

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overestimated. For instance, the number of newly converted Christians reported by Torquemada is taken at face value. This does not significantly diminish the implied impact of the depletion of the indigenous population, though. See also: J.H. Parry, "Demographic Catastrophe" in *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson, 1966).

of die-off was drought, crop failure, and resulting famine, but their historic annals show that these devastating events only happened rarely, becoming legendary, rather than a perpetual reality. In the Old World, epidemic disease was not uncommon, but because of developed immunities the morbidity was less than what was to come in the New World.

When smallpox first hit Tenochtitlan, the devastation was tremendous. The streets were already awash with blood from the battles with the Spanish, and now the people were crying out from their beds and dying covered in boils that disfigured their faces and burst open oozing and wreaking of bile. And that was only the first of many plagues. There has been work done to understand how the Europeans perceived these devastating epidemics, and how they responded. The mendicant friars worked diligently to explain the wrath of god and to baptize those who could not be cured. The government leaders rearranged Nahua populations and consolidated towns to create new communities from the remnants of those decimated by disease. Scholars have tried to guess how indigenous people thought about these epidemics, but only from what they could glean looking through Spanish-language documents and reading early translations of friar-directed Nahuatl texts. Scholars have wished for sources that would allow them to hear the voices of the indigenous, but they have been assumed to be too few and far between. Yet, such sources do exist. The Nahuas wrote a great deal, and among their writings are texts that confront death. The sources that illuminate what Nahuas thought about death and the afterlife include songs, prayers, annals, burial records, testaments, and theatrical plays. This project aims to take these sources all together, across time, to examine the ways in which Nahuas thought about death and how those thoughts changed over time from before the conquest to the middle of the colonial era.

The songs and prayers from before the conquest reflect on the grief and sorrow of the dying and speculate about the afterlife. Historical annals written in the early colonial period provide us with a vivid record of how death and catastrophe were recorded before the Spanish arrived, and also of how the men writing these annals became increasingly forlorn and hopeless as they watched the deaths of family member after family member, friend after friend, noble line after noble line. Beginning about 100 years after the conquest there are Nahuatl-language death records from a number of towns including Huexotzinco (a town located about 60 miles southeast of Mexico City) which recoded name after name for over twenty years, giving us a glimpse of one area's experience as the people reckoned with the epidemics that were sweeping through their homes and towns. In this town and their records we also begin to see the Nahua people incorporate the ideas of the Catholic Church as they related to death. There are testaments, which at the time, were usually dictated from one's deathbed, recording the last wishes and dying requests of Nahua speakers, illuminating what was important to them in their final days. Finally, as the influence of the Church became stronger and more universal, we have theatrical plays written in or sometimes translated into Nahuatl which show how new ideas about death, dying and the afterlife were beginning to form and spread throughout the society. To date, most Nahuatl philological work has focused on a single group of texts, but now that such work has been done to a high standard, we can begin to look across genres to gain insight into the ways the Nahuas understood their world, including the death that was so prevalent in their lives.

This type of project is much more manageable now, with so many Nahuatl documents identified and available, than it would have been 25 years ago. The work that

I have done was greatly aided by the philologists and scholars who came before to transcribe and work to understand the individual corpuses and genres. There has now been enough work done so that we can leave behind the method of looking at one corpus at a time. It is possible to look at a multitude of sources over a longer period to track changes in how the Nahuas negotiated and understood death, dying, and the afterlife. In the case of the annals, testaments, and theatrical plays the field's accomplishments have been exceptional, and the published translations already available have needed little, if any, revision. Although the work in these genres has not focused exclusively on death, in all cases death has been discussed to some extent as it was a theme so present in the lives of colonial Nahua writers. In addition, I have translated a set of testaments from Huexotzinco which relate specifically to the time and place of the extraordinary extant death register with which I work in my fifth chapter and am including the complete transcriptions and translations (see appendix D).

In the case of the songs and prayers, I have had to translate or heavily revise early translations that were either misguided or wrong. With the increasingly large number of scholars studying the Nahuatl language, our understandings have advanced significantly since the early years of Nahuatl scholarship and so, translations that were done early on can now be reexamined with the additional perspectives at our disposal. In some cases, the differences in translation are subtle and for all intents and purposes the meaning remains the same, but then there are times when grammatical structures and cultural concepts have been translated incorrectly and have impaired our analysis of the sources. In these cases, such as a song (from the Cantares) and two of the prayers (in the

Florentine Codex), I have provided new translations of the sources (see appendices A and B).

I also work extensively with a death record from Huexotzinco, which has never before been transcribed or translated. This Book of the Dead is currently housed at the John Carter Brown Library in Rhode Island and in the course of this project I have transcribed and translated the book in its entirety. The records within, which appear at first to be mundane, have provided an in-depth snapshot of life and death in and around Huexotzinco in the period recorded (1619–1640) and therefore I am including the complete translation as well (see appendix C).

There are two existing historiographies that inform this project. The first is that of the ecological disaster that occurred in the "New World," namely the devastating population decline that occurred due to the introduction of new species, including microbes. The second is the study of Nahuatl voices and texts. The intersection of these two historiographies, then, is the study of death and dying (as well as illness and the afterlife) in colonial Mexico from the point of view of Nahuas. There has been no shortage of work done in either of the two fields of ecological disaster, and of Nahuatl culture, but a hole is found when looking for native perspectives on illness, death, and dying.

1. Studies of Demographic Collapse in the New World

It is clear that epidemic disease was strongly felt by the native Nahua population of Mexico. What I intend to examine, using the Nahuatl language sources we have, are

the cultural implications of the increased death rates in colonial Mexico caused largely by disease and its resultant stresses, and how the Nahuas thought and felt about the situation in which they were living and dying. I add very little to the discussion of exactly how many people died and at this point, I do not think it matters, in as much as we know the proportion who died within the first century after contact was much higher than was ever seen before, as the studies examined here have shown. They have given us a very concrete idea about how large the population actually was, and they came at a time when it had been assumed that the Americas had only been sparsely populated before the arrival of the Europeans. We are ready to move beyond numbers: I will discuss how census and death records can be used in conjunction with qualitative records to enrich our knowledge of how the epidemics must have affected the people.

Alfred Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (1972) has been a classic study in the field for decades now. He showed that the coming together of the Old World and the New and the subsequent interchange of diseases, plants, and animals forever disrupted the ecosystems in both areas. He was clear that these exchanges could be both beneficial and detrimental depending on the circumstances, and that the benefits of the increased variety of food stuffs on both sides of the Atlantic must be weighed against the spread of deadly disease. Then, in 1986, Crosby published a second book, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*, continuing his previous work. His arguments about virgin-soil epidemics and their effect on susceptible populations are still used to explain the majority of population declines. His work continued to focus on the other non-human

factors behind population decline, namely the spread of people, animals, and weeds.[5] Crosby's work was followed up by a flurry of studies on the causes of population decline in the Americas. Debates were spurred as the decades progressed, with many only agreeing that the population was decimated, as we will see in a moment.

In the interim, Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah published a demographic study of Mexico in their book, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and California* (1979). They utilized tribute counts at various times all over central Mexico in an attempt to quantify the loss of life over time in colonial central Mexico between 1518 and 1605.[6] Here is where we derive the figures that indicate that some 90% of the population was gone after the first 100 years or so of contact with Europeans. That being said, this study has been criticized and is considered to have exaggerated the numbers to some degree, particularly in their estimation of the preconquest population. This study also spurred debates about the numbers of dead, which in the end we cannot know, and for the purposes of studying perceptions of death and dying certainly are not crucial, beyond

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[5] Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Pub. Co., 1972), Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), and Alfred W. Crosby, "Ecological Imperialism: The Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon," in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History,* ed. Donald Worster (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[6] Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). The overall estimate given in this study is that the population dropped from 25.2 million in 1518 to 1.075 million in 1605, this leaves us to believe that only 4% of the population remained after less than 100 years. (p.1) They go on to claim that the true nadir did not occur until after 1610 and in fact it probably was in the 1630s and 40s but certainly by the 1650s, but then it logically follows that their overall drop would land at more than 96%. (p.2–3) This is an incredibly high estimate but most scholars agree that it was likely to have been somewhere in the 90% range which, given the sheer volume of people we are talking about, seems like a small enough margin of error so as not to be worth quibbling over. Suffice it to say that a very large proportion of the population be it 85%, 90% or 95% was dead in the first century after conquest.

knowing that an extremely large proportion of people died of what would have been considered unnatural causes in a very short period of time.[7]

In the 1990's Noble David Cook, who engaged in the above discussion of demographic collapse with his work on Peru (1981) wrote two books in response to Crosby's work as well. Cook and W. George Lovell's book, *The Secret Judgements of God: Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America* (1991), gave a succinct overview of the different types of diseases in the Americas and their symptoms. Cook and Lovell argued that disease had a detrimental impact on native populations and that this fact was overlooked for centuries due to the influence of the Black Legend propagated by the work of Bartolomé de Las Casas in the mid-1500s, in which the malicious and violent actions of individual Spaniards were blamed for the population loss.[8] Seven years later in *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650*, Cook offered a narrative of

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[7] There have been a number of scholars who have engaged in this debate about the numbers and statistics surrounding the demographic collapse in the Americas. Most focus on a specific areas of the Americas, for example, a study of California can be found in Albert L. Hurtado, "California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History" 58, no. 3, Pacific Historical Review 58 (1989): 323–343, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/3640269. For studies on Mexico see, Susan Kellogg, "Households in Late Prehispanic and Early Colonial Mexico City: Their Structure and Its Implications for the Study of Historical Demography" 44, no. 4, The Americas 44 (1988): 483–494, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/1006971; and Rudolph A. Zambardino, "Mexico's Population in the Sixteenth Century: Demographic Anomaly or Mathematical Illusion?" 11, no. 1, The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 11 (1980): 1–27, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/202984. Finally, for a study of Peru see, Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse, Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Cook then went on to write extensively about disease in the Americas and its impact on native populations in Noble David Cook and W. George Lovell, eds. *Secret Judgments of God: Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) and Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
For a quick historiographic study of these and other scholarship see, Francis J. Brooks, "Revising the Conquest of Mexico: Smallpox, Sources, and Populations" 24, no. 1, The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 24 (1993): 1–29, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/205099. Brooks, like others, points out the futility of these debates, and states that they are ultimately unproductive toward the goal of understanding either pre- or postconquest societies.

[8] Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account,* Herma Briffault, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Cook and Lovell, eds. *Secret Judgments of God.*

the spread of the smallpox virus through the mainland empire and its impact as it took the lives of such indigenous leaders as Cuitlahuac (in Mexico) and Huayna Capac (in Peru). He explained again the concept of virgin-soil epidemics and the rapid and virulent spread of certain diseases in susceptible populations.[9]

In the early 2000's there was another wave of studies of epidemic disease in the Americas. In *A Pest in the Land: Disease and New World Conquest* (2003), Susan Alchon, like Cook, reviews the epidemics in both Mexico and Peru. She claims that the fact that multiple diseases were attacking the population at once created a situation in which the indigenous communities had almost no hope of being able to recover their population. Once placed in combination with the military destruction, famines, and social upheaval, all hope was lost.[10] Whereas Alchon is nuancing Crosby's conclusion, Francis Brooks and Paul Kelton question Crosby's findings. Brooks claims in his essay, "The Impact of Disease" (2003), that the diseases in question did not and do not spread as quickly as they were once believed to, and therefore could not have been the most detrimental factor in native depopulation. He argues that the Spanish had other technological advantages that were much more culpable for both the conquest and the population decline of the Native people. [11] Similarly, Kelton argues in his book, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (2007), that the genetic makeup of the Americans did not make them any more susceptible to disease than the Europeans were, but instead that the various other factors,

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[9] Cook, *Born to Die*, 60–94.
[10] Suzanne Austin Alchon, *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).
[11] Francis Brooks, "The Impact of Disease," in *Technology, Disease, and Colonial Conquests, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Essays Reappraising the Guns and Germs Theories*, ed. George Raudzens (Boston: Brill Academic, 2003), 127–160.

such as enslavement, forced migration, and extended trade networks, contributed significantly to the decline in population.[12]

The overall conclusion that can be drawn from the work done on the impact of disease in colonial Mexico is that it was clearly an enormous factor in the population decline. It may be true that there were other significant causes of population decline, but many of these should be viewed in connection with epidemic disease. For instance, it is likely that many of the famines that occurred were due in part to the lack of able-bodied people to work in the fields. Additionally, the Spanish demand for labor was intensified due to the reduced population, in turn causing the forced migrations and harsh conditions that have been linked to high death rates. It simply cannot be determined exactly how many people died of which diseases or if their deaths were the direct effect of epidemics or rather of related factors, such as starvation. At this point the field is ready for a change of direction, in which we move beyond numbers and causes of death and begin to study feelings about death.

2. Studies of "Aztecs" and Sources in Nahuatl

My aim is to use Nahuatl language documents to examine how Nahuas expressed their thoughts about death and the afterlife. Others have discussed Nahuatl philosophy, but it is important to note that the earliest scholars – who will be discussed here – did not read much or even any Nahuatl and therefore these studies are colored by the Spanish narrators on whom they depended and reflect how the Spaniards wrote about the Aztecs

[12] Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

rather than what the Aztecs themselves wrote about themselves. The earliest studies of Nahuatl culture were often invested with an understanding of the Aztecs as a people obsessed with ritual sacrifice and death. This macabre image was strongest in the 1950s and 60s. In 1953, Gordon W. Hewes published an article on the Mexican national character. In it he claimed that Mexicans have a "fondness for dying."[13] He claimed that this fondness is traceable back to both the Spanish and the Aztec roots of the civilization. He described how the sacrifice victims were not passively offered as food for the gods but were instead mounted as heroes to the gods. This celebration of death, he argued has carried through to modern day. Following Hewes' idea of tracing current Mexican national consciousness back to an Aztec beginning, came Juan M Lope Blanch, who, in 1963 argued that sacrifice was natural for the Aztecs and that the difference between life and death was not as absolute as it was in the European cosmology. This "obsession with death" was responsible for the macabre outlook of Mexicans now.[14]

When looking specifically at Aztec thought and history, R.C. Padden argued in 1967, that the leaders of Tenochtitlan used sacrifice as a way to reinforce their reign by claiming that Huitzilopochtli, their most important deity, was demanding more sacrifices. Padden's intervention was to emphasize that the Aztecs were the first to use "human sacrifice as a functional instrument of statecraft."[15] Even into the 1970's Barbara L C Brodman argued that "death was a constant in the life of every Mexican during the Aztec

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[13] Gordon W. Hewes, "Mexicans in Search of the 'Mexican': Notes on Mexican National Character Studies," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 13:2 (Jan 1954): 219, http://www.jstor.org/stabel/3484234.
[14] Juan M. Lope Blanch, *Vocabulario mexicano relativo a la muerte* (México: Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1963), 8.
[15] R.C. Padden, *The Hummingbird and the Hawk: Conquest and Sovereignty in the Valley of Mexico, 1503–1541* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1967), 26.

era."[16] This is surely a true statement, but then to say that the Aztecs actively sought out death, especially in war or as a sacrifice or that, "The Mexican's attitude toward death, [is one of] indifference toward it as well as … fascination with it," strains credulity.[17] As my work will show, the Nahuas had very thoughtful reactions to death. They did not seek out death or kill with reckless abandon, but instead, they had a measured purpose in both war and sacrifice. At the time these studies were produced there was a strong interest in work that explained the Aztecs as a bestial people who killed without remorse. These studies stemmed from the detailed accounts of ritual sacrifice and religious ceremony which were written just after the conquest, often based on statements made in response to the Spanish questions about preconquest religion by the Nahua working with the friars. The vision of a diabolical sacrificial society has since faded from favor among historians, but it has not entirely left us.

This work of the Nahuas with the friars of recording their traditions, rituals, religious ideas, etc., resulted in a large corpus of texts that were often part pictorial and part textual. The imagery of brutal sacrifice and barbaric customs comes from these codices recorded with and for the purposes of the Spanish friars. The most famous of these codices might be the Florentine Codex, a 12-volume work compiled by fray Bernardino de Sahagún and his Nahua aides, which will be discussed in detail later in this work and is certainly useful, but which must be read very carefully with the Spanish and European influences in mind. The project of Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson to translate the Florentine Codex in its entirety into English began in the late 1950s. This

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[16] Barbara L.C. Brodman, *The Mexican Cult of Death in Myth and Literature* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 9.
[17] Ibid, 10, 39.

immense labor of translating all twelve books was completed in 1969. The work they did opened the door to others looking to study the history, culture, and language of the Nahuas. These detailed treatises on Nahuatl culture originally produced so close to the time of conquest invited a great deal of study. They evoked images of an ancient culture full of blood and lust and also, hints of a Christian morality that marked them as not-so-different, depending on who was looking at them and what they desired to see. The catch was that this Codex *was* produced for the use of the friars and so the details needed to be analyzed very carefully, mindful of Spanish and Catholic undertones.

In this same period, Mexican scholars were hard at work, translating and analyzing sources such as the codices and Nahuatl songs with an eye toward revealing preconquest intellectual life. Angel María Garibay's *Historia de la Lituratura Náhuatl* (1953–1954) surveyed Nahuatl "literature" such as the songs and codices and was a monumental work that became a point of departure for later studies.[18] In 1959, Miguel León-Portilla published a revised edition of his book, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, which looked at over ninety Nahuatl language documents. León-Portilla presented a Nahuatl view of the universe as depicted in these documents, including but not limited to ideas about the origin of the universe, the gods, the afterlife, and free will.[19] This book has become integral to nearly all studies of preconquest Nahuatl thought, but problematically, it claims to represent a world completely removed from all contact with Old World civilization, which, given the nature of the written sources would be impossible. Notably though, the importance of finding authentic Nahuatl voices was expressed in Mexico

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[18] Angel María Garibay K., *Historia de La Literatura Náhuatl* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1953).
[19] Miguel León-Portilla, *La Filosofía Nahuatl Estudiada En Sus Fuentes*, 2nd ed. (México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1959).

before it was in the United States. Additionally, in 1975, Alfredo Lopez Austin published his book, *Textos de Medicina Náhuatl*, followed shortly thereafter by a larger work, *Cuerpo Humano e Ideologia: Las Concepciones de los Antiguos Nahuas* (1981), both of which examine Nahua preconquest ideas about the human body and how its functioning connects to the larger perceptions of the cosmos and social philosophy.[20] Here again the purpose was to gain a greater understanding of Nahua thought, this time focusing on ideas about the body, equilibrium and balance and how those concepts extended beyond the body to the cosmovision of the society. While these scholars impacted understandings of Nahua thought and history within Mexico, their insights were often marginalized in English-language studies of the topic.

Beginning in the 1960's and 70's, scholars began to look at more mundane documents, as opposed to the attractive, colorful codices that illustrated human sacrifice so vividly, and began to engage with the everyday lives of the people as separate from what their philosophical understandings of the world might have been. The work of Charles Gibson set off this wave of Nahuatl studies. Although his work is also based on Spanish language sources Gibson was able to see that Nahua influence abounded in the sixteenth-century, still exerting some control over local systems of government and social life. In 1964, Gibson published *Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* which showed that the Spanish American institutions, namely the *cabecera* (regional head towns) and the *encomienda* (Indian labor gifted to a powerful Spaniard), were following precolonial entities, just replacing those at the top of the pyramid, as it were. Even given this brilliant

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[20] Alfredo López Austin, *Textos de Medicina Náhuatl*, 2nd ed. (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975), and Alfredo López Austin, *Cuerpo Humano e Ideologia: Las Concepciones de los Antiguos Nahuas*, vol. 1 and 2 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropologicas, 1981).

insight, other portions of the book were less nuanced due to a lack of Nahua perspectives, and thus work well to show Spanish perspectives of Nahua culture, but less so to reveal Nahua thought. Due to the time in which he was writing when victimization of Indians across the Americas and the atrocities of colonialism were just coming to light, Gibson stops just short of declaring that the Nahuas had real power in these colonial spaces. The true value of this work, recognized by Gibson himself, was that it showed scholars where the lacuna was and how it might best be filled. He showed the value that might be added by engaging with Nahuatl language documents which he knew existed and indeed could point to, if he could not fully understand them.[21]

Nahuatl studies gained momentum in the United States in the 1970's when scholars such as James Lockhart, Arthur Anderson, and Frances Berdan began to truly understand and study the Nahuatl language and produce work using sources that were written in Nahuatl for everyday life. Unlike the sacred religious texts that were created under the supervision of the friars, these "mundane" records offer us a window into the world that the Nahuas lived in every day. Such sources fall into two categories: first, were the documents that were created as part of life in the Spanish world, such as wills and land sales. The Spanish provided models for these types of legal documents and knew of their existence. These records were often kept in local municipal archives. Second, were the documents that the young Nahua noblemen who had learned the Roman alphabetic script from the Franciscans wrote for their own purposes, the annals. These

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[21] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1964). For a full discussion of Gibson and his contributions to the field, see, Camilla Townsend, "Worlds without End The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810, by Charles Gibson" 124, no. 2, American Historical Review 124 (2019): 539–549.

men took this new-found ability and quite literally ran with it, to their homes and private spaces where they recorded their own histories, in their own style away from the friar led projects that they worked on during the day. It is important to note that these were not created for the Spanish, unlike the religious texts and many of the codices that exist today. One of the first such studies based on these sources was, *Beyond the Codices: the Nahua View of Colonial Mexico,* published in 1976. This work offered sample translations of the corpus of mundane Nahuatl documents, less exciting and colorful than the religious codices, and concluded that they were just as, if not more, valuable to the understanding of the everyday lives of the Nahua people. The editors argued that mundane documents offer readers an opportunity to examine the lives of individual Indians and their relationships with one another as well as their interactions with the Spanish community.[22] The collection included eight testaments, thirteen land documents, as well as various municipal documents and petitions from 1566–1795, reveal that these documents likely had preconquest roots, in the sense the patterns of inheritance and land transfers were unchanged by Spanish influence. For instance, there were often divisions along lines of sex, such that men passed property to sons and women to daughters. Likewise, the language in its style and syntax were distinctly Nahuatl, not following

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[22] Arthur J.O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart, eds., *Beyond the Codices: the Nahua view of colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1. Works produced in response to this call to look at the lives of individual people and communities include but are not limited to: S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600 a Social History of an Aztec Town*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards : Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991); Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin & the Kingdoms of Chalco* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); Robert Stephen Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers : An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan : Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519–1650* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997); and, Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Stephen Haskett, *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

Spanish patterns, although the structure followed a Spanish model. Nahuatl testaments also exuded many oral elements not found in their Spanish counterparts, indicating that the testaments are truly the words of their Nahua originators and not rote reproductions of a Spanish model.[23]

Further study of the uses of Nahua language, terminology, and Spanish loanwords would confirm the importance of mundane sources. Lockhart published *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* in 1992, based almost exclusively on "mundane" documents, written by Nahuas, for use in everyday situations, sometimes in the Spanish sphere but often times in their own communities. What he created was an encyclopedic study of the Nahua world from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. His focus was on the social and cultural world of the Nahua people. Inspired by Charles Gibson's groundbreaking work in Mexican studies, namely *Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (1964), mentioned above, Lockhart set out to study Nahuatl in order to "help put the history of indigenous people in Spanish America on the same level as the more developed literature about the Spaniards."[24] Lockhart focused on Nahuatl language sources produced after the conquest, but exclusively for the purposes of Nahua use. Lockhart stated that, "The Franciscans, other ecclesiastics, and possibly some literate Spanish laymen taught enough Nahuas how to write their own language in the Roman alphabet that the art became self-perpetuating among writing specialists throughout the Nahua world, serving as the

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[23] Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, eds., *Beyond the Codices,* 6–11.
[24] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 427.

normal medium for recordkeeping of all kinds."[25] It is these records that Lockhart used to construct or rather reconstruct the post-conquest Nahua world.

Lockhart offered the theory that there were three stages of integration between the two cultures. His analysis of the documents, specifically the language formations used in the documents but also their substantive content, illuminated an overarching structure of cultural syncretism that included three stages. Lockhart demonstrated that in the first stage, between first contact and about 1550, "little changed in Nahua concepts, techniques, or modes of organization."[26] He noted that the break between the first two stages could have two congruent causes. The first stage he claimed lasted about a generation; so that the second stage began just as those whose formative years were primarily post-conquest were entering adulthood. His second cause was that epidemics at this time that, in theory, would have affected the older generations who were alive in preconquest times much more so than those who were born or were children after the conquest, creating a generational shift as the older generations died of disease. These two factors taken together pushed the Nahuas into the second stage of integration.

In the second stage, between about 1550 and the mid-1600s there was a great deal of Spanish integration into Nahua life, but this integration was limited and always took place within a Nahua framework that was added to but never ousted and replaced. Here we see the adoption of nouns so that, for instance, the early *maçatl* meaning deer, but which was used for horse is replaced with *cahuallo* or a Nahuatl rendering of the

[25] Ibid, 6.
[26] Ibid, 429.

Spanish *caballo* (horse).[27] The majority of the sources used for this dissertation are from this stage. The only exception to this is the theatrical doctrinal plays that appear in the final chapter, which stem from Lockhart's third stage. The third stage, from 1650 through Mexican independence and even in some cases to today, is that "in which the Nahuas adopted a new wave of Spanish elements, now often more strongly affecting the framework of organization and technique, leading in some cases to a true amalgamation of the two traditions."[28] This last stage is where we see the languages begin to fuse so that Nahuatl even starts to adopt Spanish verbs. For instance, the word *presentaroa*, to present (as in "a document in court"), begins to show up in Nahuatl documents. This is an blending of the Spanish *presentar,* to present, in its infinitive form and the Nahuatl ending -*oa* which was historically used to make verbs from nouns but was adapted and utilized in stage three to create loan verbs from Spanish.[29]

This process, as explained by Lockhart, exemplifies the most important overarching theme of his work, which is that the Spanish had to adapt, adopt, and change just as the Nahuas did, if to a lesser extent, in order to create the world in which both cultures could exist together. Lockhart did not explicitly state this as his opinion or as his argument, but implicitly by maintaining Nahua elements and patterns, the Spanish were forced to alter their own and work within a mindset of "I'll take what I can get." In so doing, though, Lockhart spurred a series of studies that aimed to show that "almost nothing" changed after the conquest, and that the Nahuas still had a great deal of agency

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[27] James. Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl, with Copious Examples and Texts* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2001), 212, 223.
[28] Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 429.
[29] Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written,* 227, 230.

and lived according to their own "rules."[30] This is an understandable reaction to earlier works that emphasized the victimization of the Indians in America.[31] Mexican Scholars never latched onto this idea, instead pushing back against it. And yet there were also more middle ground approaches: the trauma of the conquest is acknowledged and the power of the Spanish is recognized, and yet, as is so often the case, for the majority of people, life went on, with small changes over time that have resulted in a syncretic world that we see operating in the records.[32]

Lockhart was a meticulous philologist, and his understanding of the social experience of the Nahua people is invaluable. His work is highly influential within the chapters of this dissertation. Yet there is a partial departure, building on his work, that is beginning to happen. If Lockhart mastered an understanding of the social world that the Nahuas lived and participated in, some of his followers have begun to work toward understanding the interior or mental world of the Nahuas. Catarina Pizzigoni's study, *The Life Within: Local Indigenous Society in Mexico's Toluca Valley, 1650–1800,* (2012), works to understand the interior lives of the communities of Nahua people in the colonial

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[30] For example, Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds. *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.)

[31] Such as, las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies;* Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*; Ricard, Robert. *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders of New Spain, 1523–1572.* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1966).

[32] For more on the importance of cultural survival and the ways in which Nahuas continued to live their lives and to work to maintain some of their own culture within the new systems see, Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.) Although Wood's work focuses on a later time period and different source types, the concept of transcendence is integral to my work. More recently, Justyna Olko presented a paper entitled, "Trauma, acculturation, and agency: Reappraising Nahua Colonial History," at the Northeastern Nahuatl Scholars Conference (May 2019), in Albany, NY, in which she posits that the conquest and the subsequent upheavals were deeply traumatic but that this does not mean that they did not maintain some control over their lives. See also: Justyna Olko and Agnieszka Brylak, "Defending Local Autonomy and Facing Cultural Trauma: A Nahua Order against Idolatry, Tlaxcala, 1543" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (2018): 573–604.

period.[33] More recently, Camilla Townsend has written about the Nahuatl annals in her book, *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept Their History Alive* (2016), in which she examines not only who the writers of the annals were but also why they wrote, illuminating how they thought about their own work.[34] This area is where I find precedent for my work to understand the Nahua perceptions of death, dying, and the afterlife.

This dissertation answers the call by Justyna Olko and Julia Madajczak to focus on Nahuatl sources, deemphasizing as much Spanish influence as possible to find truer Nahuatl perspectives on various facets of life, in this case death and the afterlife. The need of this kind of study is shown by Olko and Madajczak in their recent article, *An Animating Principle in Confrontation with Christianity? De[re]constructing the Nahua "Soul"* (2019), in which they argue that when we go back and set aside all of the scholarship stemming from Spanish sources and look only at what the Nahuas themselves wrote, we find very different understandings of their constructions of the "soul."[35] They argue that the concept of "the soul," rendered in Nahuatl as -*yolia* was a neologism. Further, they argue that, "our conclusion that -*yolia* was a newly invented term is just the tip of an iceberg in the (de)construction of Nahua pre-Conquest beliefs concerning the afterlife." They invite further work in this vein, and I see myself to be participating in that

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[33] Catarina Pizzigoni, *The Life Within: Local Indigenous Society in Mexico's Toluca Valley, 1650–1800.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).
[34] Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept Their History Alive* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[35] Justyna Olko, and Julia Madajczak, "An Animating Principle in Confrontation with Christianity? De(re)constructing the Nahua 'Soul,'" *Ancient Mesoamerica* 30, no. 1 (2019): 75–88, doi:10.1017/S0956536118000329.

project by looking at what was written in Nahuatl to paint a more nuanced picture of Nahuas conceptions of life, death, and life after death.

3. A Note on Prior Studies of Death in Mexico

Investigations specifically about death and dying have begun to appear on the scene of colonial Latin American studies, quite separate from the work on Nahuatl sources. Claudio Lomnitz's, *Death and the Idea of Mexico* (2005) indicates the importance of the testament for the State and the Church.[36] This work also provides an interesting perspective on death in colonial Mexico, claiming that ethnicity, not class, divided who got sick from who remained well in New Spain, which was a change from the situation in Spain where poverty was the sole determining factor making one more likely to become ill.[37] In New Spain, ethnicity was just as important as poverty in determining where epidemics would strike. There is no denying the susceptibility of the previously unexposed native population, and yet, they may have been better equipped to fight off the epidemics or even escape them if they were not impoverished. If they were able to flee from towns where disease was present, or if they were better fed with more nutritious food, ethnicity may have been a less determinate factor. If what we can learn from medieval Europe is any indication, wealth did have benefits and yet, running away from a disease sometimes only caused the further spread of that same disease, obviating

[36] Claudio Lomnitz, *Death and the Idea of Mexico* (New York: Zone Books, Distributed by MIT Press, 2005), 211–213.
[37] Ibid, 74.

such an argument. It is fair to say that both factors played a significant role in the devastations of the native populations.

In terms of the study of death from a Nahua perspective, Erika Hosselkus' dissertation, *Living with Death Between the Volcanoes: Nahua Approaches to Mortality in Colonial Puebla's Upper Atoyac Basin* (2011), is a very close look at the death rites of the region and has some discussion of Nahua texts that speak to ideas about death.[38] Her work gives us an interesting look at some of the standard and not-so-standard testaments that were produced in Nahuatl in Huexotzinco and Cholula, and her study does a great deal to show that the Nahuas were learning and beginning to accept the Catholic standards of a "good death," asking for confession, giving money for masses, and requesting churchyard burials.

What is missing is an overall longue durée analysis of that focuses on Nahuatl documents which would go further in understanding what the Nahuas were thinking, feeling, and experiencing; that is exactly what I hope to accomplish with this dissertation.

4. Outline of the Dissertation

In order to understand Nahua perceptions of death and dying, I will move through time and therefore through different genres of sources, moving from the most precolonial in substance to those most Christian in nature. While each section utilizes different sources which mostly appear in order of their production, the sources certainly progress

[38] Erika R. Hosselkus, *Living with Death between the Volcanoes: Nahua Approaches to Mortality in Colonial Puebla's Upper Atoyac Basin,* Order No. 3483908, Tulane University, 2011. https://search-proquest-com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/docview/903798330?accountid=13626.

from least Hispanicized to most Hispanicized as the study moves chronologically from start to finish. Using a vast array of Nahuatl language documents, I will look at the ways in which the Nahuas understood death and dying, including illness and the afterlife. Upon closer reading, the notions we have had of preconquest Nahua beliefs regarding death and the afterlife turn out to have been skewed by the Spanish and Catholic lenses through which they have been examined in the past. These notions need to be reconsidered given our improved ability to translate the sources, both mundane and the friar-directed codices, and by reviewing only what we can actually know Nahuatl speakers said about the subject.

In the preconquest period, the sources will be songs and prayers that were largely unmediated by Spanish oversight, as I will explain. Rather than seeking an eternal life after death it becomes clear that what was important in death was that a person should be *remembered*. The songs and prayers are as close to an unmediated source as we have for the preconquest period. These songs and prayers discuss death and the afterlife in an abstract way but also express grief as a very real emotion, one that was felt strongly and emoted freely.

In the early colonial period, I will look at the earlier Nahuatl historical annals, which were created by and for Nahuas but within a colonial setting. Here we see the extreme loss and loneliness suffered by the people. In this section the focus of the dissertation shifts from existential thoughts and musings about death to a more concrete examination of violence and epidemics. The Nahuas were not just writing about death but about annihilation, and what that might mean for their society and culture. Finally, we switch gears again, to sources that show clear evidence of Christian influence or are out-

and-out creations of those indoctrinated into the Catholic faith. Here the sources examine death and perceptions of it in a more theoretical way, this time in connection with the Spanish world. Yet even when Catholic ideas began to permeate the minds and writings of the Nahuas, they still kept a distinctly Nahua "flavor." In this way, this dissertation with be structured into three parts and for this reason the first chapter of each part will feature a heavier historiographic section in which the sources and their context are examined. Part I will focus on preconquest Nahua understanding of death and the afterlife. Part II will look at the ways in which the indigenous people of the early colonial period recorded and remembered death at a time when death was so prevalent; and finally, Part III will focus on how the Nahuas began to negotiate with Catholic ideas about death.

It is important to note that my study moves in space as well as time. Some of the sources used are from valleys other than the central valley of Mexico where Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City) is located. They are from one mountain chain over, as it were. This study, then, is one of general Nahua ideas and perceptions of death in central Mexico from preconquest to about 1650. The unifying trait is that all the peoples discussed spoke and wrote in Nahuatl and were a part of what would have been the Mexica's greater "empire" and were later subjects of the same Spanish crown. The findings are applicable to the broader Nahuatl-speaking world. Ideally one could study these valleys individually and separately, searching for subtle distinctions between say, the Mexica and the Huexotzinca people. The reality is, however, that there are simply not enough documents of a similar kind that speak directly about death and dying over a long enough period of

time from one locale, to do so. And in a cultural sense, all the evidence indicated that Nahuas in general shared a great deal.

In Part I, I will use the Nahua songs and prayers that were written down post conquest in order to glean what I can from them about the preconquest period. In this endeavor, we can do more than one might think, and this goes deeper than just reading against the grain of Christian influence. I would argue that these sources when reviewed and translated using all that we now know about the language get us as close as we can to understanding preconquest Nahua ideas and perspectives. In Chapter 1, I show how the Nahuas understood death and the idea of dying as well as how they processed grief. By reading the prayers and songs closely we can see that life was understood to be extremely difficult, but that it was considered to be the most marvelous thing there was. And thus, death was mourned as the end of the great journey of life, not as the beginning of a second process or journey to an eternal state of being. For almost everyone, death was the end and life on earth was the paradise. The Nahuatl songs and prayers exemplify Nahua cultural understandings of grief – beginning with anger and moving fluidly back and forth between deep sadness and denial in the form of questioning the gods and then finally acceptance that death is the end and that for that reason life on earth should be considered all the more precious. That being said, the songs do mention an amorphous afterlife for some, one that they are not at all sure of and are even reluctant to go to. One thing is clear though: even this afterlife is far from eternal. I explore what was this afterlife, Mictlan, or Quenonamican, the places of which they spoke in the songs.

In Chapter 2, I move on to looking at the different ways in which the Nahuas conceived of the afterlife and of a special afterlife for warriors. Here they had, like all

oral cultures, a relatively fluid understanding to what came after death. This understanding was not entirely a set and agreed upon thing. Different people and different regions would have viewed an ethereal concept like that of an afterlife differently. What is clear is that there was some very difficult journey to be undertaken after death, at the conclusion of which, the person was assumed to be in their respective "land of the dead," which varied based on the manner of death. Then there was a period of four years in which the family made offerings to the gods on behalf of the person and the person "existed" in this unknown place. Finally, at the end of four years they were deemed well and truly gone from existence, never to return. When considering specific pieces of the songs and prayers that speak to death and then more specifically the death of the warrior, it becomes clear that the goal of the warriors was not to die in order to attain an eternal home in the paradise of the sun, as some have claimed, but instead the goal was to gain glory on earth in battle, and either, bask in that glory here, or be remembered for it and therefore live on in the memory, songs, and stories of their family and friends. The purpose of the songs is to record that which should be remembered for the purpose of keeping the dead alive in memory.

In Part II, my focus shifts to the Nahuatl historic annals. In this section the goal is to look at the very early colonial memory of death as recorded by Nahuas for Nahuas without Spanish interventions. In Chapter 3, then I will begin with how Nahua men in the early colonial period recorded the death and tragedy that occurred before living memory and then how those same men recorded first-hand accounts of the conquest and the first epidemics to sweep through the land, as told to them by the now old men who had lived

through both. It becomes clear that these latter experiences were distinct and culturally traumatic in a way that catastrophes in the preconquest period were not.

In turn, Chapter 4, will look at the more personal, individual experience of death as recorded by two different men, the first don Mateo Sánchez of Tecamachalco from about 1570–1590 and the second, don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin in Mexico City from the late 1570s to about 1615. Here we find accounts of dozens of epidemics and personal deaths, but also of the difficulty of the labor system that was in place, namely the repartimiento and the tragedy and deaths associated with it. We find that there was a deep loneliness and desperation in these records from men who had to watch and record as the vast majority of their friends and family members died younger than they should have. Their writings take on a traumatized tone and their hope is drained like ink from their wells. Here again we find strong evidence that these types of records were used as a way of not only recording what happened, but of preserving the memory and history of their people for the generations to come, who otherwise would not know it.

In Part III, the sources are more varied. The focus will be on sources that were required to negotiate with the Catholic and Spanish world in which the Nahuas were living after c.1620. The problem becomes the sheer volume of different catechistic sources and then showing that the Nahuas actually interacted with or created these sources. For the purposes of this study I will look at testaments in Nahuatl, which by their nature were certainly orated by and used for the purposes of Nahuas. Additionally, I will look at a relatively rare death registry from Huexotzinco that was kept for 20 years entirely in Nahuatl and lastly, I will consider a set of religious plays written or translated

by Nahuas for the purposes of teaching their communities and congregations the Catholic tenets of a good death. In this way, Chapter 5 will examine one town's experience with death and epidemic disease in the time of the death registry from 1619 to 1640. Within this frame we see the ways in which Catholic influence is beginning to show strongly in the record, and yet the scribe maintains not only the Nahua language but also the Nahua categories and unique elements that are not found in Spanish sources of the same kind. We also see here how something as simple as a death registry can enrich our understanding of the magnitude of these epidemics and in turn, we get a feel for what it must have been like to experience them. And how here again – *remembering* the dead seems to have been the most important element.

Lastly, Chapter 6 will discuss the process of will-making and why testaments became so important, so quickly to the Nahuas using them. This chapter also examines how, through theatrical performances, the Nahuas learned the Catholic belief of Heaven and Hell and the importance of being a good Catholic and experiencing a "good death" in order to attain eternal glory in Heaven. Here we can see the Nahuas negotiating with their Catholic interlocutors and finding ways to understand the new paradigm, while at the same time, misunderstanding it entirely, and vice versa. Herein lies the irony of the phrase, "Earth is no one's home." To the Spanish hearing this, it seemed clear that the Nahuas meant that the earth was no one's home, because truly heaven was the eternal home of all those who believe in God, and yet, to the Nahuas it meant something very different. Earth was no one's home because life was so transitory. The Nahuas believed that humans have precious little time in which to enjoy the paradise that is earth and then, it is gone, forever and completely, making life all the more meaningful.

Death was ubiquitous before, during, and after the conquest, but Nahua negotiations with death became much different during and after the conquest due to the fact that the warfare and epidemics brought about a level of devastation and dejection that was unseen before (and perhaps) since. My goal, then, is to search across genres and corpuses to broaden our understanding of how death and dying permeated all kinds of sources, in order to find native points of view on the subject. Using Nahuatl statements, we can not only see and hear the stories, but can begin to understand the deeper significance of Nahuatl record-keeping and its purpose as an act of remembrance in times of epidemic. I argue that the very act of keeping records for the Nahuas was an important aspect of remembrance of those who had died, and a way of keeping them alive in the present.

5. A Note on Terms

Within the texts examined the Nahua writers use many, many different terms for various similar ideas. One such example is terms used for god or the gods. In the sources, these vary in time and space and even sometimes within the same source. *Ypalnemohua, ypalnemohuani, moquequeloa,* and *dios,* for instance, can all be found in the prayers to name the same god, along with a whole host of other terms and names. Another example found in an individual song is both *Mictlan* and *Quenonamican* being used to describe some manner of afterlife. It would be possible to do a study that would examine the texts and count all the instances of a specific term, looking for how it is used in context and how that might subtly differ from how and when a similar term is used. I am not embarking on that type of study, however, and therefore am refraining from translating

the terms in almost all cases. Leaving them at face value allows others to see how they are used and how they might be different from the others in the texts, but I do not plan to make any such assertions. That being said, there are myriad terms in this category which may become confusing, even to someone versed in Nahuatl, and so, I am providing a glossary so that at any point a reader can look up a Nahuatl term, say for god and find a definition as well as see any subtle nuances that seem to be associated with that term.

Part I: Preconquest Perceptions of Death

Preface

Totoco totoco tico totoco totoco … tico titico titico tico.[1] The drums sounded in the air. The *cuicani*, or singer, whose role it was within the community to sing for the dead, began his song. The funeral for warriors lost in battle was an elaborate affair that at times was celebratory and yet, the wailing of the wives and children would have given one to know that this was indeed a melancholy occasion.[2] Some lamentations began with verses about the battle or the deeds of the warriors; other singers cried out, wondering why the men had been left, lying and suffering on the battlefield. One such song began thus: *Can yehuan Dios yn ipalnemohua can tonnemi yehua yā ye mitzonchixtoque in mocnoicnihua ye cuicatica onnentlamatoq ye xochitica // yan,* "Where is he, Dios,[3] Ipalnemohuani?[4] Where do you live? For a long time, your humble friends have been lying waiting for you. They are lying about suffering with flowers and songs."[5] The

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[1] Antonio Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos* (Mexico City, 1904). The repetitive *totoco titico* onomatopes were used in the texts to represent the drumbeats when the songs went from being living, preformed things to written document.

[2] Our knowledge of the funeral proceedings comes from fray Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*. Trans. Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma press, 1994), 149–152. His work is problematic in that there are clearly exaggerations and passages that were written for the benefit of a European audience. This comes through in particular stories that reflect the bible or a more European form of story-telling and understanding of alliance, war, and the divine right of kings. And then again, when read in conjunction with the Nahuatl Annals or the very early songs and prayers, snippets of detail jump off the page as authentically Nahua in nature. This is one such time, when the power and emotion of a funeral is portrayed with such authenticity, that it is very believable and entirely likely that Durán was writing from his first-hand experience of being at one such funeral, with the Nahua people he considered his friends. The funeral procedures outlined by Durán are echoed in the Florentine Codex in the Appendix of Book 3, as well. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain; Book 3 - The origin of the gods*, Appendix, No. 14, Part 4, eds. and transl. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 2nd edition (Santa Fe and Salt Lake City: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 2012).

[3] See glossary for more on the usage of *Dios* in the songs and prayers.

[4] The "gender" of Ipalnemohuani as well as other gods in the Nahua world is up for debate. I will not address this issue explicitly, but it is possible that the tradition of gendering most of the gods as male may be a European assumption imbedded in the translations.

[5] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.12r.27. The full transcription and translation of this song, the longest of the ycnocuicatls can be found in Appendix A. "Flower and song" is an accepted metaphor for poetry. See

singer questioned, first the audience or perhaps the universe, "Where is he [the god]?" and then turned his attention to the god, switching to second person, perhaps speaking directly to a personification of the god on the "stage," – this was a performance after all – asking: "Where do you live?" The singer went on to explain that these dying men sought the god's heart and honor and respect before he voiced his emotion – grief or distress – with the exclamation: *aya ohua!* His voice sounded out in harmony with the leaden drumbeats, pitching high and low in turns, reverberating on the wind. He was grieved and spoke of his pain in questions. *Can niquittoa onon niquilnamiqui ye antla ye iuhqui a icnopillotle*[6] *tle yca cehuiz in noyollo tle yca polihuiz in notlayocol,* "How do I say it? How do I remember it? There is nothing like orphanhood. How will my heart be calmed? How will my sadness ease?"[7] The loss not only of elders but also of friends, brothers, and fellow warriors, was spoken of in terms of abandonment. They were not waiting for the speaker somewhere else. There was no better place – no afterlife where they would meet again and live in eternal joy. He was alone, as an orphan, questioning how he would move on as his loneliness sank in.

The singer's laments were followed by the wailing dirges of the wives and sons and daughters of all the dead warriors who had not returned from the battle. The mourners each had with them their husband's mantle or their father's adornments – jewels and feathers, that had been worn in his hair, ears, and lip. Throughout the proceedings the sonorous *totoco titico* of the drums played in the background. The

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Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: a Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 75–79.

[6] There is nothing so painful as being an orphan.

[7] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.12v.3.

warriors' kinsmen would follow, carrying the dead men's weapons and shields. They sang and danced in memory of the dead men, raising their voices in this chorus, *Nicayaquetzacō*[8] *tohuehueuh a o niquimitotia quauhtlocelo ynca tiya yhcac in cuicaxochitl nictemoan cuicatl ye tonequimilol ayyo,* "I have come to set up our drum, I prompt the eagle [warriors] and the jaguar [warriors][9] to dance. We go because of them.[10] The flower songs are standing, growing. I seek the songs. He is our shrouded one."[11] This song called for those who remained to dance, to remember the departed men with their songs and stories, their memories being all that would live on. Bundles of *ocotl,* or torch-pine resin, were made into figures of effigy. These were lined up in order and as the old men began to sing and dance again, the mourners wept in front of the effigies of their loved ones. And still the old men danced and beat the sonorous drums. It was said that the dancing lasted for four full days and on the fourth day they set the torch-pine on fire, and probably the bodies, too, as cremation was the standard in preconquest Mexico.[12]

The mourning of the dead continued for the next eighty days, as the families of the deceased were not to wash their faces or hair, so that they would become streaked with their tears. They fasted for all but one meal a day. The period of mourning ended, finally, with the speech of the elders to the dead warriors. One prayer began by saying to

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[8] Here the *aya* is a vocable and is not reflected in the translation.
[9] Eagles and jaguars were metaphorical representations for warriors. See definition in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain: Book 6 - Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*, No. 14, Part 7, eds. and transl. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 2nd edition (Santa Fe and Salt Lake City: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 2012), 256.
[10] Could also be: "you go because of them" or "even you/we go with them."
[11] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.28v.8, translation with assistance of Peter Sorensen, Celso Mendoza, and Camilla Townsend, April 12, 2019.
[12] Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, 149–152.

the god: *ca ooiatia, ca otoconmotlatili,*[13] *ca otoconmocxipachilvi,*[14] *ca otoconmotoptemili, ca otoconmopetlacaltemili:*[15] *ca ontlama in tochan in apochquiaoaiocan, in atlecalocan*[16]*: ca iequi cevitoc, ca oontlama in mitoa in atecpitla,* "He has gone. You [the god] have killed him, you have crushed him, you have placed him in a wicker basket, in a box. He has known our home, the place with no outlets, or smoke holes [a place of suffocation and death]. Already he lies resting, for he has known the so-called place of no fleas [a place of peace]."[17] The old men spoke of dying as being in a locked space, with no chimney, the implication here being that there was a suffocating suffering that went along with dying, but of the dead he described them as being at rest, where they are no more bothered by the pains of the mortal world. This concluded the funeral of the warriors.

In the records of the funerals and death rites of the Nahuas there is no pretense that death was a sought after, desirable thing. Death was spoken of as an end, not as a rebirth or as a step on the way to an eternal afterlife. The palpable level of grief and distress indicates the sorrow and pain that the living experienced and the absence of any comforting beliefs about an eternal paradise in the afterlife. The emphasis on memory, stories, and songs show us that through remembrance the dead would live on in the minds

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[13] The god has killed the ruler. Although this can mean to hide oneself, it is the sense of killing or of taking out of view. The clear intention of the phrase is that it is the god who has cause the death of the ruler and taken him away, hidden him away out of sight.
[14] The sense here is of stepping on him or pressing him down and squashing him.
[15] The imagery here may be coming from the fact that the gear and weapons of sacrificed enemies was kept in wicker boxes. Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.
[16] *in apochquiaoaiocan, in atlecalocan* - Of this phrase Dibble and Anderson say that a more literal translation would include a chimney or fireplace as opposed to "place with no outlets, the place with no openings." The Spanish text reads, "donde ni ay Ventana, ni luz ninguna." Here as a compromise between the absolute literal and a subjective non-literal I have translated it as "a place with no outlets or smoke holes," but either way the sense is that there is no escape.
[17] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6,* 21.

of the living. The Nahuas understood that there was no escaping death. This understanding made what they did in life all the more meaningful, as their legacy was what would continue on after they were gone.

Chapter 1

Death and Bereavement in Nahuatl Prayer and Song

Where do we go? Where we go when we die, do we still live? Is it a place of enjoyment? Does Ipalnemohuani still wish entertainment? Perhaps only here on earth are there sweet flowers and songs. Enjoy, each one, our wealth and our garments (of flowers).[18] *-Cantares Mexicanos*

Preconquest Nahua death rituals were filled with song, dance and performance. These rituals included a great deal of grief but were also filled with celebrations of the people who had died. Tales of their lives and great deeds were central to the process of mourning them. The words of the songs and prayers that discuss death leave no question that death was a finality – there was no return, or even an eternal afterlife as past scholarship has claimed. What these songs also make clear, though, is that because death was a true end, life and legacy became much more important. Legacy was all that was left after one died. In this way, the Nahuas understood the importance of living life to the fullest, and grieving deeply those who they had lost, while still wondering what lay "beyond" but not being at all sure about it or having any illusions that it was a paradise, let alone an eternal one.

Songs and music usually have a prominent place in the rituals that surround death and mourning. In the preconquest Nahuatl world songs and prayers, which are separated in modern contexts, being recorded in different corpuses, were often conflated. In the

[18] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* F.61v.1.

Florentine Codex one prayer states: *auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilquixtia*[19] *in vevetitilan, in aiacachtitlan, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanililo in mellel, in mihiio, in motlatol, in vncan tinotzalo, in vncan titlatlauhtilo:* "And here, truly, now, he is really banging them wildly in the place of the drums, of the gourd rattles, where you [the god] are addressed in sadness; where your feeling, your breath, your word are requested of you; where you are called upon; where you are prayed to."[20] It is clear that the drums and gourd rattles mentioned so frequently in the songs were also used in prayer to talk to the gods and request their words and favor. Therefore, as with Christian psalms and hymns which act as prayers and a way to communicate with God, these prayers served a similar purpose of pleading with the gods. It might be that some of these prayers or songs were traditionally chanted while others were spoken, but both were used to speak to god. Collectively the songs and prayers were used in times of sadness, which indicates that songs and prayers were used as a device of mourning at the time of death.

Songs have a way of revealing the innermost thoughts and feelings of a person or a culture. Studying improved translations of the Nahuatl songs and prayers that reflect on death, grief, and the afterlife, as well as life on earth, can help us understand what death meant to the Nahuas before Christianity became deeply ingrained in the culture. Scholars have offered various theories about the Nahuas' ideas about life-after-death – from those who see a happy-hunting-grounds type of place, to those who argue the Nahuas believed in revenants. But I think better translations of the songs and prayers, reflecting all that we

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[19] Meaning to spend or use up wildly, vainly, and wastefully – here in reference to playing the drums, so really banging the drums wildly. See: Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, Sexta Edición, Primera Reimpresión, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2013), f.114v.
[20] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 6,* 26.

now know of classical Nahuatl, as well as careful study of them apart from more colonially ingrained sources, reveals something quite different. When focusing only on the songs and prayers in the Nahuatl language, and carefully considering the concepts and ideas that can be attributed to a preconquest ideology, we find that life on earth was precious, that the dead were to be mourned with great emotion, and that although the Nahuas philosophized and wondered about a possible afterlife, ultimately, death was definitive.

In order to demonstrate what we can know about Nahua preconquest perceptions of death, dying and grief, I will analyze my own or new translations of three songs that discuss death and grieving.[21] I will pair these songs with new, more up-to-date translations of six prayers or speeches found in Book 6 of the Florentine Codex.[22] I will begin by evaluating the sources and will explain their creation. I then consider the ways that the songs and prayers discuss *life* on earth so as to provide context for the discussion of dying and death. The songs and prayers show that life was hard for the Nahuas, but it was also wonderful, and something to be cherished deeply in the preconquest Nahua world. Next, I examine the reaction to death, which was in this case a very human one with mixed feelings of sorrow, rage, denial, and doubt. This then leads to the deeply thoughtful questions that the songs and prayers ask about life and death and the afterlife.

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[21] The three songs are specifically: 1) an *ycnocuicatl* or lamentation, my full transcription and translation of which can be found in Appendix A, Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.12v–15; 2) a *huexozincayotl* or "Quality of Being Huexotzincan" Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.6v–7, translated by Peter Sorensen, and; 3) y*cuic nezahualcoyotzin* or "Song of Nezahualcoyotl" Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.28v–29v.

[22] Specifically, I will analyze Chapter 1, which is a prayer for to end the pestilence that has stricken the land; Chapter 3, which is a prayer of the warriors for success in battle; Chapter 5, which is a discourse spoken when a ruler has died; Chapter 8, which is a prayer for rain; Chapter 10, which is a speech given at the death of one ruler and the installation of the next; and Chapter 18, which is a speech from a nobleman to his daughter about life on earth. My full transcriptions and translations Chapter 3, the warriors' prayer, and Chapter 5, the discourse of the death of a ruler, can be found in Appendix A.

These questions are again extremely human sentiments and ones that I think would be found in almost any culture, but with a certain Nahua characterization that we can learn from.

These songs and prayers insist that there was suffering on earth, to be sure, but that life was not without its joys. The Nahuas had a deeply emotional reaction to death, one that did not indicate that an eternal glory was waiting for them, but instead that glory was to be found here on earth, in life. They recognized that life on earth was short and that they were living on borrowed time from the beginning. They questioned fate, wondering what might come next, if anything, and how they were to get to the land of the dead, if indeed there was one. Ultimately, though, what was important to them was living well on earth so that they would be well remembered once they were gone. In this way, their legacy and memory lived on, giving them an afterlife on earth in the form of song and storytelling.

1. An Assessment of the Sources Revealing the Preconquest Era: Songs and Prayers

The text known as the *Cantares Mexicanos*, or the songs of the Aztecs, is a collection of songs, sometimes considered poetry, copied down by the Nahua aides working for fray Bernardino de Sahagún in the mid-1500s. Sahagún wished to collect the songs in order to inform a book of translated Christian psalms he was working on.[23] For

[23] The involvement of Sahagún has been debated. There is no doubt that he did work on songs, but it is unclear if those that he worked on are the same songs that have come down to us in the form of the Cantares Mexicanos. León-Portilla expresses some doubt in his *Fifteen Poets,* 25–26, and Lockhart does not specifically cite Sahagún in his discussion in *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 393. John Bierhorst in his book *Cantares mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1985), also concludes that it was a Franciscan, possibly Sahagún, but that the copies that we have were influenced by Jesuit hands. They all agree and cite the fact that the Cantares were being collected and written down for a

this reason, he desired them to be in their unmediated form, so as to better understand the preconquest Nahua beliefs. It has been argued by some that the songs are Hispanicized, and the product of post-conquest thought (because they see such words as "dios" in them), yet, Sahagún himself detested these songs precisely because they retained the language, thought, and metaphors of the preconquest idolatries he was working to challenge and because the Nahuas continued to sing them in their original forms. In the introduction to the Florentine Codex Sahagún expressed just how much he disliked the songs. He explained that they were the work of the devil, who was using them to hide in plain sight:

> The songs which, in this land, he [the devil] contrived to be prepared and utilized in his service and for his divine worship, his songs of praise… Said songs contain so much guile that they say anything and proclaim that which he commands. … And they are sung to him without its being understood what they are about, other than by those who are natives and versed in this language, so that, certainly, all he desires is sung, be it of war or peace, of praises to himself, or of scorn of Jesus Christ, without being understood by the others.[24]

The songs are so full of metaphor and interlaced with colloquialisms that a non-native speaker cannot easily understand them, and therefore it was presumed by Sahagún that these songs were the work of the devil's trickery and cunning. Even after Sahagún published his *Psalmodia Christiana,* which he hoped would replace the old songs, he stated that still: "They [the Indians] persist in going back to singing their old canticles in their houses or their places (a circumstance that arouses a good deal of suspicion as to the sincerity of their Christian Faith); for in the old canticles mostly idolatrous things are

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Christian friar of some variety or another, because on folio 6, there is a note in Spanish written to, "Your Reverence," which would not have been used to address anyone else at the time.

[24] Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introduction and Indices: Introductory Book*, No. 14, Part 1, eds. and transl. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 2nd edition (Santa Fe and Salt Lake City: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 2012), 58.

sung in a style so obscure that none can understand them."[25] These observations show us that even after the conquest the songs were sung and they frustrated the friars working in Mexico, because, even when peppered with the name of the Christian God (Dios), they were still used to express the sentiments of a preconquest world. This makes it plain that they are in fact Nahua in origin and therefore can be used to help us understand preconquest Nahua thought and culture. When examining the songs closely, it is clear that there is very little Christian influence in them. They do indeed maintain the metaphors of the preconquest world and are filled with themes of war, death, love, and sacrifice that are Nahua in tone and origin. Therefore, in fact, the songs can provide us with a window into the preconquest world and consequently, that world's perceptions of life and death.

The same can be said of the prayers and rhetorical speeches found in Book 6 of the Florentine Codex, which have come down to us largely through the work orchestrated by Sahagún as well. Book 6, in particular, is assumed to have been written very early, in the late 1540s, and is a collection of sermons, prayers, and orations told to Sahagún's aides by the elders who had grown up and come of age in the preconquest era. They were originally said to have been intended to instruct people in the proper ways of living.[26] They were again meant to inform the friars about the ideologies of the Nahuas so that they could better proselytize to their congregations, and therefore were meant to record preconquest thought and ideas. These prayers and speeches have been used by many as a

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[25] Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Psalmodia Christiana*, ed. and transl. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 7.
[26] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introduction,* 10.

way of understanding Nahua societal roles and obligation.[27] Yet, the Codex has been criticized for being too colonial and too mediated by the questions that elicited the details found within, and some sections clearly are. Despite this, it is possible to find within these prayers and speeches a glimpse of what Nahuas believed and how they talked before the Spanish arrived, especially when combined with our knowledge from the songs and annals.

These texts were a product of the colonial regime, as were the songs, but they cannot be ruled out as a valuable window into the preconquest world of the Nahuas, even if the window is a stained one. Sahagún himself states in his introduction to Book 6 that: "And, if they are asked, all the informed Indians will assert that this language is characteristic of their ancestors and the works they produced."[28] Sahagún even felt that the words in the prayers would be perceived as so extreme or complex – and therefore not those of the "savages" – that they would be thought of as lies and inventions, and therefore insisted on explaining that they were true, simply by being beyond the invention of humans! Indeed, when making new translations of Book 6 it has become abundantly clear to me that the sentiments within the volume were those of an oral, pagan society and not of a Christian, monotheistic one. For example, in the warriors' prayer, there are scenes in which we see men "asking to die." This has been assumed to mean that they wished to go to a heaven-like place and be greeted by their gods. But in fact, they were

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[27] See the works of Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, Austin, 2001).

[28] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introduction,* 66. Interestingly, the language and sentiments of these prayers in Book 6 are also present at times in the Bancroft Dialogues, which lends credence to the idea that the sentiments were not only preconquest in nature, but also permeated a good deal of the society and were more or less universally accepted.

asking to be sacrificed, bravely and with honor. With the guidance of the annals, we can interpret their desire for the "chalk and feathers" – traditional symbols marking, sometimes physically, a soon-to-be sacrificed victim – for what it was: the desire to be killed, to end the suffering of being held prisoner, and to do so honorably as a sacrifice victim who would be remembered. In this light, the words of Sahagún, claiming the ideas are too extreme to be believed, become clear. If we let go of the assumption that these prayers and rhetorical speeches were meant to be beautiful, we find some grisly and haunting images. Like the songs then, the prayers and speeches can be used to glean preconquest thoughts from a colonial source.

Previous interpretations of the songs and prayers have been stilted in favor of preexisting ideas that the authors wanted to believe in. For instance, John Bierhorst's interpretation of the songs is that they were used like prayers to summon ancestors to join the living on earth in the same way that the Ghost Dances of the North American Great Plains Indians were said to summon their ancestors to them.[29] This theory of the songs as "ghost songs" led Bierhorst to bend his translations to "fit" what he wanted them to say in order to support his interpretation. One example of this is that he has mistranslated the second person "you" for "we" from which he infers that the "we" refers to revenants.[30] This is not, however, the case, and other translations, including my own, show his mistake and therefore challenge his interpretation.[31] Many scholars have questioned his

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[29] John Bierhorst, *Cantares mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1985). For a good study of the North American Indian Ghost Dance movements on which Bierhorst bases his theory, see: Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
[30] Bierhorst, *Cantares Mexicanos,* 176–177.
[31] See Karen Dakin, Review of *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztec*, ed. John Bierhorst 88, no. 4, American Anthropologist 88 (1986): 1014–1016, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/679142. See also my translation, Appendix A f.15.1.

translations and his interpretations,[32] but his is nevertheless the most complete transcription and translation into English that we have thus far of the *Cantares* and so continues to be used by many as a reference work. More recently, Miguel León-Portilla has published a full Spanish translation of the songs, in addition to his much earlier work in *Fifteen Poets of the Aztec World*.[33] Like others, León-Portilla argues that the "ghost songs" hypothesis is groundless. Although he acknowledges Bierhorst's contribution by making the manuscript available to English readers, he states that many sources have made it evident that the Aztecs did not believe in returning from the afterlife or the realm of the dead.[34] The field has largely sided with León-Portilla and has concluded that the Aztecs did not, in fact, intend these songs to call the deceased back from the dead.

León-Portilla discusses the songs as lyrical poetry that would have acted like an essence coming out of the singing body as a tribute to the gods, akin to a sacrifice. He describes the songs as being stylistically Nahuatl with the telltale *diphrasismos*, or parallel phrases, yielding a metaphorical meaning.[35] Lockhart also concludes that the elaborate convention of the songs, such as the double phrasing and the cellular units of verse distinct from Spanish verse, imply a long period of evolution and development.[36]

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[32] See Miguel León-Portilla, "¿Una Nueva Interpretacion de Los Cantares Mexicanos? La Obra de John Bierhorst," ed. John Bierhorst 2, no. 1, Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos 2 (1986): 129–144, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/1051996; James Lockhart, "Care, Ingenuity and Irresponsibility: The Bierhorst Edition of the Cantares Mexicanos" 16, no. 1–4, Reviews in Anthropology 16 (1991): 119–132, https://doi-org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/10.1080/00988157.1991.9977887; Frances Karttunen, Review of *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztec*, ed. John Bierhorst 63, no. 2, Language 63 (1987): 442–443, http://www.jstor.org.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/stable/415694.

[33] *Cantares Mexicanos,* trans. and eds. Miguel León-Portilla and Guadalupe Curiel (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: Fideicomiso Teixidor, 2011); Miguel León-Portilla, *Fifteen Poets of the Aztec World*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

[34] León-Portilla, *Fifteen Poets*, 43. León-Portilla cites the Florentine Codex, the *Cantares* themselves, and the Huehuehtlahtolli (ancient speeches).

[35] León-Portilla, *Fifteen Poets,* 25–30.

[36] Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 394–395.

While León-Portilla and Lockhart agree about the preconquest nature of the songs, León-Portilla insists that the songs were written by individual composers, rather than through a process of imitation, copying, and accumulation over time. Lockhart concluded that the notion that the first-person speaker in the songs was literally the author is misguided. His work with the annals led him to this conclusion seeing as, don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, a Nahua chronicler, writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century, confirms that there was a preconquest tradition of new singers altering the older songs to fit the purpose of their performance. He states that, *oncan ypan tenehualloya cuicatl yehuatl yn itoca tlahtohuani Huehue Aoquantzin Chichimecateuhctli tlahtohuani catca Ytztlacoçoauhcan Totollimpa; auh ynic quitlan Axayacatzin yhuan yc quicuepque cuicatl, quiquixtique quipologue yn ipan yn itoca tlahtohuanicatca Huehue Ayoquatzin, auh oc yehuatl ye yn itoca Axayacatzin yn ipan concallaquique cuicatl,* "In the song the name Huehue Ayocuantli Chichimecateuctli was mentioned, the tlatoani of Itztlacozauhcan Totolimpan; but when Axayacatl requested it, they made changes to the song, removing and erasing from it the name of the tlatoani Huehue Ayocuantli and introducing [in its place] the name of Axayacatl." [37] Here we can see that even in the mind of a Nahua man living at the time, the specific people and places sung about were fluid and could be changed by the singer so as to praise a particular *tlatoani* or king, making it almost certain that the songs that were written down were amalgamations of songs composed, sung, and heard by many different people over time. This then creates a possible concern in determining how much of the preconquest

[37] Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Las Ocho Relaciones y el Memorial de Colhuacan II,* Edited by Rafael Tena (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), 112–113.

culture was destroyed in the transcribing – and therefore solidifying – of a fluid, oral tradition.[38] I would argue that even though the songs and prayers have some problematic moments, that does not render them unintelligible nor does it make them so Christianized or crystalized that they cannot be taken as truly Nahua in creation and therefore representative of Nahua beliefs and ideas.[39]

More recently, in her article, "'What in the World Have You Done to Me, My Lover?' Sex, Servitude, and the Politics Among the Pre-Conquest Nahuas as Seen in the *Cantares Mexicanos*," Camilla Townsend argues that the songs express very human emotions that were reflected in their society. She confirms that the songs follow a standard format of verse pairs and metaphors that the audience would have understood. She argues that they were written down postconquest but that they were very much preconquest in theme and style, despite Catholic additions made as they were written down.[40] Finally, Gary Tomlinson wrote a larger study of Native American song in 2007. His goal was to explore what he calls "songwork," or the way in which the songs reached their audiences, how people sang them with certain expectations about how they would affect their listeners, what their interpretations aimed to do and how they embodied a 'sense of world.'[41] He presents the idea that the songs were a knowledge-producing

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[38] Walter D. Mignolo, "Signs and Their Transmission: The Question of the Book in the New World" in Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo, *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes (*Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), and Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

[39] For more discussion on the validity of using sources which were originally meant to be performed and which were originally a product of oral culture, see: Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America,* 7, and Camilla Townsend*, Fifth Sun: a New History of the Aztecs* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019); as well as Peter Sorensen's ongoing work with the songs in his dissertation.

[40] Camilla Townsend, "'What in the World Have You Done to Me, My Lover?' Sex, Servitude, and Politics among the Pre-Conquest Nahuas as Seen in the *Cantares Mexicanos*," *The Americas* 62:3 (2006): 351, accessed July 27, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4491089.

[41] Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 50–55.

practice that used patterns of relation, similar to metonymy.[42] The songs, then, can be read as representations of their world, a preconquest world. There is no way to know what any one individual Nahua man or woman believed when facing death or when burying a loved one, but prayers and songs surely had some basis in general cultural thought, just as they do today.

2. Life on Earth

Because life on earth was the true paradise of the Nahua world, death needs to be looked at in contrast to this idea. We cannot understand what the Nahuas thought about death unless we clear up the ambiguities and falsehoods regarding what they thought about life. How to live rightly and why life was so wonderful were common themes in the prayers and songs. Unlike the Catholic, European concept of "living a good life" the goal was not to gain the reward of an eternal paradise in heaven. Instead, the prevalent idea was that life here on earth was a kind of paradise and that it was all there was, and thus should be enjoyed as thoroughly as possible. This idea, and how it has caused confusion, is exemplified by a concept oft-repeated in the songs that, "The Earth is no one's home." This, to the friars was interpreted as the perfect way in which to explain that Heaven was the real home, the eternal life promised to otherwise mortal beings, if they lived a good Catholic life here on earth. In a classic case of "double-mistaken identity," though, the Nahuas meant something very different by this.[43] To them earth

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[42] Ibid, 20.

[43] The concept of a "double-mistaken identity" was posited by James Lockhart in *The Nahuas after the Conquest,* 445, and the fact that the friars and Nahuas often misunderstood one another on matters of religion has been fully explored by Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

was no one's home because life was so fleeting, and it was in fact to be lamented. They knew that their existence here on earth was temporary, and that they should enjoy it while they had time to. The elder's speech which elucidates the words that a noble father might have said to his daughter, acknowledges just this, saying that: *oc toncate, oc tomatian… auh aiamo tonmiqui,* "We are still here, still have time… We are not going to die yet."[44] Life for the Nahuas was beautiful and at times terribly difficult, but vivid and real and very worth living. There was no sense in the songs and prayers that life was just a step on the way to a reward in death. Instead it *was* the reward for striving humans, however brief it might be.

The songs and prayer show that for the Nahuas, life was full of suffering, hardship, and death, but then again it was also filled with song, laughter, friendship, marriage, and children. In the speech of the nobleman to his daughter the Nahua ideal of balance between the good and bad in life is explained. He states early in his speech that: *vel xiccaqui nochpuchtze, nopiltze: Haieccan in tlalticpac, amo pacoaia, amo vellamachoaia,* "Listen, my daughter, my child, the earth is not a good place. It is not a place of joy, it is not a place of contentment."[45] It would seem that he is off to a rousing start, but he follows this directly with more comforting statements: *Çan mitoa ciauhcapacoaia, chichinacapacoaia in tlalticpac, iuh conitotivi in vevetque,* "It is just said that it is a place of joy with fatigue, of joy with pain on earth; so the old men went saying."[46]

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[44] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 96. This could also be: "You [the daughter] are still here, still have time… You are not going to die yet," but the idea remains the same.
[45] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 93.
[46] Ibid.

The Nahua idea of equilibrium of the body was well-developed, and other aspects of life were also imbued with an idea of symmetry.[47] The notion that too much of any one thing would throw off the balance of one's life is reflected in his words as the father goes on to say: *inic amo cemicac tichocatinemizque, inic amo titlaoculmiquizque in timaceoalti: iehoatl techmomaquili in totecuio, in vetzquiztli, in cochiztli: auh ie in tonacaiutl in tochicaoaca, in tooapaoaca: auh iequene ie iehoatl in tlalticpacaiotl, inic nepixolo,* "In order that we might not go weeping forever, may not die of sorrow, we earned the prospect that our lord would give us laughter, sleep, and our sustenance, our strength, our force, and also carnal knowledge in order that there be peopling."[48] All of the wonderful things in life – laughter, sleep, food, strength, sex, children – were given to people in order to counteract the difficult times that were sure come. These sentiments are mirrored in the songs. The longest ycnocuicatl or lamentation within the collection of songs is largely about the sorrow of death, and yet it is laced with bits of joy. The singer says: *Achin oncan yecan tinemi xonahuauiacā ȳ çan cuel achic çohuatihua in çan ixquich cahuitl ommahuiztihua,* "There, we live in a good place. Enjoy! For now, there is marriage. There is always esteem."[49] Even amid a dirge filled with pain and anger, there is a pause to reflect that because of the pain and struggles in life, people should enjoy life, marriage, and the esteem between friends when they can. Sorrow was a certainty, but so was joy.

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[47] Discussions of equilibrium can be found in Alfredo López Austin, *Cuerpo humano e ideología: Las concepciones de los antiguos nahuas,* 2 vol. (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1980) and in Louis Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, Ch.5.
[48] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 93.
[49] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.12v.29.

This ideal of balance in life is not unique to one prayer or one song but is expressed everywhere. We find it again, for instance, in a speech that was given when a new ruler was being installed. Here the "great nobleman," who was said to have given this speech, stresses to the young king the fine line that is life on earth in metaphoric terms. He states:

tlachichiquilco ȳ nemoa in viloa tlalticpac, nipa tlani, njpa tlani: acampa veli in tlaopuchco, in tlaitzcac centlani. Ma ne iuhquin titequani timuchiuh: ma çan cen ticquiquixtitie, in motlan, in mozti: ma çan cen timopipitztie, titlacēmanaz, titlamauhtiz, tâoaio, tivitzio timuchioaz: xiccacalaqui in motlan, in mozti: xiquimaavili, xiquinnechico, xiquinecpano, xiquinquêquequelo, xiquincococonavi in mopilloan, in motlatocaioa: auh xiquellelquixti in atl, in teptl, xictlatlamantili yieieia xictlali in moieliz in monemiliz:	…on earth all live, all go along a mountain peak. Over there is an abyss; over here is an abyss. Nowhere is it possible; to the left, to the right is the abyss. Do not become as a wild beast: do not completely bare your teeth, your claws. Do not become completely enraged; do not spread fear, become thorny, become spiny. Retract your teeth, your claws. Gladden, gather, unite, humor, please your noblemen, your rulers. And make the altepetl happy. Arrange each one in his [proper] place; establish your nature, your way of life.[50]

Life is a narrow path, one that ought not be strayed from for the abyss on either side would be deadly. The comparison to a beast is an interesting one in that beasts were often evoked in the warriors' songs and prayers, but rather than being like an eagle or a jaguar, here discretion is urged. Ruling was not to be taken on like a beast – that should be saved for the battlefield. The aim was not to gain glory among your people through fear but through love or perhaps better, respect. Again, the goal was not to be rewarded in an afterlife, it was instead to create joy and happiness here on earth. This is in keeping with the idea that the life that one led on earth was what was important. As they said, "on earth all live." By keeping a steady temper, by establishing "your nature" in a balanced way,

[50] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 53.

the ruler would be able to bring unity and humor, and in return he would be well-loved on earth and well-remembered once he left.

This balance created on earth was not one to be trifled with. The gods represented in the songs and prayers are nothing if not fickle. These prayers were not made without intention, and in them a deep desire for life to remain joyful is expressed. In a prayer for rain, the suffering brought on by drought is expounded upon. The speaker says, *Auh iz in maceoalli in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli: ca ie ixpolivi ca tlaixquatolpôpoçaoa, tlatençaquava, tlaomiçavi, tlacoloivi, tlachichiquilivi: ça tlatenpitzaoa, tlaquechticeoa in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli… ca ie muchi tlacatl commati in toneviztli, in chichinaquiztli, caie muchi tlacatl conitta in tecoco,* "Behold the common folk, who are the tail and the wings.[51] They are disappearing. Their eyelids are swelling, their mouths drying out. They become bony, twisted, stretched. Thin are the commoners' lips and blanched are their throats… All the people face torment, affliction. They witness that which makes humans suffer."[52] Because the crops were dying the people were dying. The swelling of the eyes from dehydration, the dry mouths from thirst, the starving twisted bodies, all speak to the suffering that could be so prevalent on earth. This suffering, though, was part of the balance of life on earth. The speaker begs the god to bring back the nourishment by which all things live, and therefore to return joy to the earth: *in itzmolinini, in celiani, in xotlani, in cueponini in xiuhtzintli in motechcopatzinco vitz in monacaiotzin, in motzmolinca in mocelica, in chalchiuhtli, in maquiztli, in teuxicitl, in tlaçotli: in ça ie iio tlaçotli in inenca in imanca, in iiolca in cemanaoatl injc ioltimani, in mache ioli, in tlatoa in paqui, in vetzca in*

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[51] "The tail and the wings" is a metaphor for commoners.
[52] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 35–36. Translation aided by Camilla Townsend.

tonacaiutl in xiuhtzintli ca ioa, ca omotlati, "That which freshens, that which is tender, that which sprouts, that which blossoms; the plants – those which come from you; your flesh, your freshness, your tenderness, [like] the precious green stones, the bracelet, the precious turquoise, the precious thing; only the precious thing, the nourishment whereby the world remains alive, especially lives, talks, rejoices, laughs: the sustenance, the plants have gone, are hidden."[53] The plants given by the gods from their paradise, the rain-soaked divine world of Tlalocan, were precious but at this time were hidden away from the people on earth. Conversely then, it would follow that when the world was full of the plants and the nourishment of the gods, earth was a place of life, joy, and laughter – a paradise. The prayer concludes with a wish for earth, that it will always be full of the plants that sustain life, asking: *ma mocuiltono ma motlamachti in maceoalli, ma quitta ma quimaviço in chalchivitl in teuxivitl in quiltzintli in innacaiotzin totecuioa in tlamacazque in tlaloque, in quitquitivitze, in quitzetzelotivitze in intlatqui ietiuitz. Auh ma mocuiltono, ma motlamachti in iulcatzintli in xiuhtzintli: ma tlato ma papatlaca, ma tlachichina in quechol in çaquan,* "May the common folk rejoice, may they be glad. May they behold, may they marvel at [that which is as] the precious green stone, the precious turquoise – the plants, the substance of our lords, the Tlamacazque, the Tlaloque, who come bringing, come sprinkling, come bearing their goods. And may the animals, the plants rejoice [and] be glad. May the roseate spoonbill, the troupial sing, flutter, sip [flower nectar]."[54] The hope was that the precious plants, would always be plentiful, that the gods would provide rain for life on earth and still this was merely a hope, a prayer.

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[53] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 36.
[54] Ibid, 39.

The reality was that life was hard and there would be times of drought, famine, and disease.

This reality was not glossed over in the songs and prayers: suffering, often at the hands of the gods, is a theme that is discussed time and again in these texts. The first prayer in Book 6 is filled with the suffering that was brought about by pestilence. This prayer, specifically, is interesting in that it, like all these texts, was clearly written down after the first epidemics had swept through the indigenous populations of Mexico, and yet, it existed before the conquest and had been used in times of famine and drought as well. The speaker beseeches the god: *Tlacatle totecoe, ma oc iehoatl xicmottili, in quauic onoc, in tlalli ixco ca, in aia quimomachitia: motolinia in icnotlacatl, in nentlacatl, in aauia: in avellamati: auh in aic totonia, in aic iamania: auh in aic vellamati, in iiomio, in inacaio: in çan cen tôtoneoatinemi, in ça çen chichichinacatinemi in iiollo,* "O Tlacatle, O our lord, consider those who lie on the board, those who are on the ground, those who know nothing, the poor, the miserable, the useless, those who rejoice not, the discontented, those who never have the necessities of life, those never comfortable of bone, of flesh – those who all together live suffering great pain, great affliction of heart."[55] The speaker is imploring the gods to take pity on the people, especially the children and infants – those who lie on the board – and the poor, those who are living in great suffering. This could have been the suffering brought on by the sickness they, themselves, had, or like in the songs, the sickness that had killed their loved ones. The plague at this time, likely scurvy, resulting from the malnutrition brought on by drought and a lack of fresh food, was so ominous that the Nahuas were beseeching the gods to

[55] Ibid, 4.

take pity on the suffering even before the first waves of smallpox that would desolate the population had appeared. Yet, as we will see in the coming chapters, nothing would have affected the population quite like the epidemics that were to come.

In the ycnocuicatl the singer uses the same language of affliction to give voice to the more general suffering on earth. *Aço amo tipactinemi tlpc. anca çan titocnihuā ynic hualpaquihua tlpc. anca noch ihuin titiotolinia anca noch ihuin teopohui tenahuac ye nican.* "Are we discontented on earth? Just because we have friends, we are happy on earth. Therefore, in this way we all suffer. Therefore, in this way, people are afflicted here among others."[56] The singer evokes not only the affliction of the people, but also the dichotomy between the joy that friends bring, and then the pain that is suffered when friends are lost to death. What made life worthwhile was the relationships people had while on earth. What made death so difficult, then, was that those relationships came to an end. There was surely evidence of enjoying life on earth and yet in this lamentation, the narrator wavers between taking pleasure and joy from the earth and not being able to for all the suffering that is inflicted. He expresses a deep skepticism of the ability of humanity to enjoy the gift of life while they have it due to the unpredictable nature of the gods. The scales were ever teetering in and out of balance in preconquest Mexico, shifting from sorrow to happiness and then back again.

The tenuous grasp that humans had on life is a key element in the prayers and songs. Life for the Nahuas was a borrowed thing, short and cut off easily like a dream. The thread of dreaming is present in both the songs and the prayers. The singer of the ycnocuicatl sings that, *ça tontemiquico ahnelli ahnelli tinemico in tlpc*, "We just see it

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[56] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.31–f.13v.1.

here in our dreams. We dream here. It is not true. We do not end up living on earth."[57] The singer knows that life on earth is brief and that it is not "true" in that it is a farce. To believe that it would go on any longer than a dream, would be to fool oneself. Here again we see the idea that earth is not a home. "We do not end up living on earth," because life is temporary but for the time that we do live, it is dreamlike. In the speech made to a new ruler, similar ideas shine through about the borrowed time on which they lived. The speaker says, *aço çan achica tontemiqui toncochitleoa, aço çan mixtlan conquixtia in itleio yn imavizio: auh aço çan motentlan conquixtia in iitzmolinca in icelica, in itzopelica in iaviaca, in itotonca in iiamanca in itechcopa vitz in inecuiltonol ipalnemoani,* "Perhaps just for a little while you dream, you see in dreams. Perhaps he [the god] just passes his glory, his honor before your face. And perhaps he just causes you to smell – perhaps he just passes before your lips – his freshness, his tenderness, his sweetness, his fragrance, his heat, his warmth, which come from him, the wealth of Ipalnemoani."[58] The speaker is sure that they live, but again they only live in passing, for the short space of a dream. This dream, though, is a lie. The singer of the ycnocuicatl is clear that the god is not telling the truth when he gives them life on earth. He sings, *ye antle nel o ticytohua*[59] *nican … can iuhquî temictli cā toncochitlehua*[60] *in tiquittoa tlpc. ayac nellin tiquilhuilya nican,* "Here you [the god] say nothing true. … Just like a dream that we wake from with a start. What we say, here on earth is that you tell no one the truth."[61] Earth was a trick, a dream made to lull people into a false sense of security until

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[57] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14v.1. I blended the second ahnelli into the second sentence but it could be, "We only dream here. It is not true. It is not true that we end up living on earth."
[58] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 52.
[59] Could also be: "we say…"
[60] Literally, "jump out of bed awake" – to wake with a start
[61] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.4.

their lives on earth were ended, by waking abruptly to the ever-looming reality of death. Life on earth was beautiful and meant to be enjoyed but suffering also meant that there was no doubt that at any moment it could end. In this way the idea of life on earth for the Nahuas was like a temporary balancing act.

3. Reactions to Death

In the Nahuatl prayers and songs, as in life, death is omnipotent and so is the sorrow and rage, the tears and wailing, that go along with it. In the ycnocuicatl the singer cuts with a sharp knife when he expresses his fear of death, saying, *nihuinti nichoca nicnotlamati nicmati niquittoa nic ilnamiqui macaic nimiqui Macaic nipolihui // Yn can ahmicohua in can ontepetihua y ma oncā niauh macaic nimiqui Macaic nipolihui,* "I get drunk. I cry. I suffer. I know it. I say it. I remember it. May I not die. May I not perish. // May I go where there is no death. Where mountains are made.[62] May I go there. May I not die. May I not perish."[63] His refrain, "May I not die!" is insistent. These are not the soft tears of a bereaved man who believes his loved ones are in a better place, like a Christian might, but instead the angry calls of a man and a culture that recognize the fleeting joy of life on earth, who believes that paradise is not to be found on the other side of death, but instead that happiness is only to be found here on earth, that they live it and only the memories of them keep them alive after they are gone from this world. Sorrow mingles with anger, fear, and uncertainty. These themes are present in all the songs and prayers that deal with death. The grief of the singer in the first few verses of the

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[62] Ontepetihua –tentative translation. Perhaps this is refereeing to the caves that feature so repeatedly in the origin myths, such as that presented in the Historia Tolteca Chichimeca, where those living there do not die.

[63] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14v.17–19.

ycnocuicatl is quickly smothered by anger. He pleads, *Can niquittoa onon niquilnamiqui ye antla ye iuhqui a icnopillotle*[64] *tle yca cehuiz in noyollo tle yca polihuiz in notlayocol,* "How do I say it? How do I remember it? There is nothing like orphanhood. How will my heart be calmed, how will my sadness ease?"[65] He laments that he will enjoy nothing on earth, take no pleasure in the joy that is only found here among friends and earthly things.

The Nahuas were deeply skeptical of the intentions of the gods and made that abundantly clear when singing and praying. The fragility of life was represented with the metaphors of broken things; shattered stones, crushed feathers, erased paintings. Life was not something that could be put back together, and once it was destroyed, often a destruction attributed to the gods, it was gone forever. The singer turns his anger on the god, Ipalnemohuani,[66] literally "the giver of life," condemning him for his part in the pain that is integral to existence on earth: ç*an ihui xochitl ypā titechmatia çan toncuetlahui timocnihuan // Yn çan no iuhqui quetzalitztli ticxaxamania*[67] *çan no iuhquin tlacuilolli ticpopoloa ixquich ompa yahu i çan no ye mictlā*[68] *can tocepanpoliuhyan,* "You look upon us as flowers. We just wither, we who are your friends. // You crush [our life] like a feather. You erase it like a painting. All just go to Mictlan, the land of the dead, our place of disappearing together."[69] The futility of life was written in the delicacy of flowers, feathers, and paintings. These are things that, once destroyed, can never be recreated. A flower withered, will never regrow. A feather crushed will never fly again. A painting

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[64] There is nothing so painful as being an orphan, I cannot even remember it, or speak of it, express it.
[65] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.12v.3.
[66] Ypalnemohua and ypalnemohuani are variants of the same name. For more, see the Glossary.
[67] The object here is likely "life."
[68] Mictlan - The land of the dead, later in Christianized texts it is used interchangeably with Hell but would not have had that kind of negative connotation in the preconquest era. For more, see the Glossary.
[69] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.12v.14–17.

erased will only live on in memory. It was not that Ipalnemohuani sent people to Mictlan out of love. This was not a paradise, or a reward for faith and loyalty. It was a place of disappearing, of destruction. Just like the metaphors of flowers and jewels, people were destroyed in Mictlan.

Rather ironically, it would seem that the destruction of mankind was the work of "the giver of life." The singer even scolds him: *timoquequeloa o antaque antle ypan titechmati techtlatia titechpopolohua nicana. // Anca moneyocol ticmanaya motzaqual motlaqual … ayac çan quittoa monahuac ycnopillotica tontlatlanilo,* "You laugh. We are nothing. You look upon us as nothing. You kill us, you destroy us. // Thus that is your divine work. We offer your temple, your food.… No one would say that by your side, by means of orphanhood, that you are [successfully] beseeched."[70] There is no question that the work of the gods was not to give mercy. Even when given offerings and sacrifices they proceeded to destroy the people. Nothing was to be gained by entreaty to this god. He was not a savior, he was the giver of life, literally, and so it stands to reason that he was also the destroyer of life.

This crushing of life by the gods is lamented again in the prayer for an end of a famine or pestilence. The speaker says, *Tlacatle totecuioie, a ca nelle axcan: ca ie iauh, ca ie poliui, in maceoalli, ca ie xaxamaca, ca ie ixpoliui im maceoalli, in cuitlapilli, in conetzintli: … ca ie ixpoliui in tlatquitl, in tlamamalli, in quauhtli in ocelotl: in veve, in ilama: in iiolloco cioatl, in iiolloco oquichtli, in iiolloco tlapaliui: ca ie ixpoliui in matzin, in motepetzzin,* "O Tlacatle, O our Lord,[71] already the common folk go; they

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[70] Ibid, f.12v.22–25.

[71] Totecuio - was later used to mean Jesus and our Lord but would not have signified that in the preconquest era. It was likely a replacement for the name of a god. For more, see the Glossary.

already perish. Already there is havoc, already the common folk, the dependents, are destroyed. Already the babies, the children are [as if] crushed, shattered…For already the infants are destroyed,[72] the eagle [warriors], the jaguar[73] [warriors], the old men, the old women, the middle-aged women, the middle-aged men, the mature unmarried men. For already your altepetl is destroyed."[74] Here, as in the song, the children are crushed and shattered in less metaphorical terms but there is no question that the god, or lord, is the one being called out as responsible for this destruction. The nominal recognition of all people was common in Nahuatl writing. It was not just the babies, or the warriors, or the young men, or old women, but it was everyone who was suffering, dying, being destroyed. This language was also used in the annals, but the use of it here indicates the fact that these prayers were originally part of an oral tradition, addressed to the community and not quietly uttered to oneself. The speaker would have been keen to make sure the listeners, either a human audience or the gods, *heard* that absolutely everyone was impacted. Even those who were innocent, who had no responsibility for decisions made, were being punished.

Punishment was the work of the gods. They were the ones who gave the people the paradise of earth, just to take it away again. The metaphors of withered flowers, shattered turquoise, and erased paintings spoke to the fragility of life on earth and the

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[72] Or those carried on the back, supported, so it could be that the meaning is citizens or vassals.
[73] In the past, "*ocelot*" has been translated as is and left to mean ocelot, as in Dibble and Anderson's translations of the Florentine Codex, but more recently this translation has been amended and it is accepted that *ocelot* should be translated as "jaguar." For more see: Gordon Whittaker, "Pre-Columbian Cultures & Language - 'Ocelot Warriors'? 'Ocelot Warrior's Temple'? 'Ocelotecutli'? The Quest for Several Chimaeras," last modified February 27, 2012, accessed March 31, 2020, http://pre-columbian-cultures-language.2324888.n4.nabble.com/quot-Ocelot-warriors-quot-quot-Ocelot-warrior-s-temple-quot-quot-Ocelotecutli-quot-The-quest-for-sevs-td315.html.
[74] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 2.

knowledge that life on earth was not permanent. In fact, the singer states, *Tlanel ye chalchiuitl tlamatelolli timaco,* "Truly, the green stone [jade] we are given is already broken,"[75] indicating that he recognizes that from the time they are born the life they live is an imperfect one, already broken. The beautiful treasures were just diversions on their way to death. They were given life, but it was evanescent. Our singer oscillates between rage and sorrow, but nevertheless, the point is clear: life is fleeting and there is nothing beyond the time one enjoys here, when one can enjoy it. They were given this beautiful land, the earth in its green season, but it was not truly theirs in any permanent sense. He sings, *Tla tonicnoahuiacan xopancalitec tlacuilolpan in technemitia … ye quimati ye conitoa ynic timiqui timacehualtin ayac ayac ayac*[76] *nel on tinemi ye nican.* "Be merciful! In the green house [the rainy season] on the surface of a painting, he sustains us. … he knows, he says, that we die, we *macehualtin* [mere mortals].[77] In truth, we, none of us, none of us, truly live here."[78] Life was no more than the illusion given by a painting. The songs make it clear that the Nahuas knew their time was borrowed, their lives were naught but a dream of existence. The gods sustained them while they were on earth, but like all dreams, it would end. Like every painting, life was easily erased. Death was the end of something marvelous and in that way, it should be lamented.

The transitory nature of life on earth was answered with a call to live life to the fullest. Life was to be seen as a dream, a temporary state of being in which everything is

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[75] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.6
[76] I've limited this repetition of "none of us" to two for readability in English. It could also be translated non-literally as "absolutely none of us."
[77] Macehualtin literally means commoners, or those not of the ruling class. And that definition makes complete sense when juxtaposed with *pilli* or noble. In this instance, though, macehualtin is juxtaposed against the gods, and therefore, it is more likely to mean, humans, those who die, or mere mortals on earth. For more, see the Glossary.
[78] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.11.

vivid and true.[79] In the ycnocuicatl the singer says, *quenonamicā*[80] *ompa ye ichā aya nelli,* "In Quenonamican ["a place unknown"], there in his home, there is no truth."[81] Then following the same logic, there was no truth or solidity in the afterlife, or the home of the gods either. There is no definitive afterlife, but instead an uncertainty in what comes after death. I would argue that it was understood in the that life was the waking dream, the beautiful, terrible, vivid, aggressively colored world of conscious knowing, and that death was the quiet, peaceful, dreamless sleep, where consciousness ceases.

4. The Role of the Gods in Life and Death

One thing was clear, and that was that the earth was not a permanent "home" and that was to be grieved strongly. It was like a wonderful dream, a beautiful place that was visited for a short time and then left to continue to be beautiful, even when the dead were gone from it. In the "Song of Nezahualcoyotl" the singer intones that, *Canyio cuicatli tonequimilol quipoloaya a in totlacuiloli tepilhuā oo ma ya'huilihua nican aya ayac ychan tlpc oo ticyacencahuazque huelic ye xochitl ayio,* "Where there is song, and our shrouded one, he destroys our paintings, peoples' children. May there be joy here. Earth

[79] In his book, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, León-Portilla examined the idea of truth, and the fact that none seems to be found in the songs, in particular, arguing that it is clear that Nahuas were asking questions about the nature of man and the impermanence of life, leading to his affirmation, "that life is but a dream," meaning that humankind had no firm grounding on earth and was meant to die and move on to another life (7–8). He expounded on the origin of the word truth, or *nelli* and related it to *nel – huá – yotl,* arguing that the concept of truth in the songs boils down to having a solid foundation or roots, to being firmly planted. Additionally, he has engaged with the idea of life as a dream and concluded that death was like awakening. He stated that, "Death, then comes as an awakening from a dreamlike existence, after which one enters the world of 'the beyond, the final region of the dead.'" (124). He sees the truth of what the texts say, but then adds the Christian spin he so desires to see – in which there is a life to be lived after death in this "beyond."
[80] Quenonamican is like Mictlan, a land of the dead. For more, see the Glossary.
[81] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.14r.14.

is no one's home. We will leave it forever, the fragrant flowers."[82] His words reflect the ephemeral nature of life, that the paintings would be destroyed. The departure from the paradise of earth, with its deliciously fragrant flowers, and great pleasures, was almost unequivocally blamed on the gods. Even in the *huexotzincayotl*, a song that was meant to commemorate a battle lost, in this case the final siege of Tenochtitlan, the singer does not put the blame on the enemy warriors, or the Spanish,[83] but instead on Ipalnemohuani saying: *...in çan ca otitechicneli ...in ça can tipopolihuizque in timacehualta.* "... You favor us mortals, who will just die."[84] In both examples, the singers place the fault firmly in the hands of the god. A god who showed favor, yes, and provided pleasure, surely, but who also was mocking and seemed to take joy in the revocation of those gifts.

The presence of a mocking, laughing god is a constant refrain in the songs and the prayers, and the anger that is expressed in mourning was often aimed toward him. He takes more than one form. In the above, he is Ipalnemohuani, but his personage shows up in other forms, namely *Moyocoyatzin,* literally the capricious creator, *Tloque Nahuaque, Titlacauan*, or *Moquequeloa*, the latter name being literally, the mocker. He is at times a playful character, and then, at others he is more malevolent. In either case the Nahuas know that the god has a tendency to toy with the people on earth. The singer of the ycnocuicatl is skeptical of the intentions of Ipalnemohuani. He angrily states: *Yn ma onnentlamati techcocolia in techmictiani ximotlapalocā moch onpa toyazque*

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[82] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.28v.17. (Translation with help from Peter Sorensen, Celso Mendoza, and Camilla Townsend, April 12, 2019).
[83] Even though this song does specifically discuss the Spanish siege of the city, it was almost certainly originally meant to remember another battle and was then glossed over with the details of the siege of Tenochtitlan. See Peter Sorensen, *"Huexotzincayotl" – the quality of being Huexotzincan* presented in November 2017 at the First European Nahuatl Conference, University of Warsaw, Poland.
[84] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.6v.22. (Translation by Peter Sorensen.)

quenonamican, "That which makes people languish is that he hates us. He kills us. Be daring! We will all go to *Quenonamican* [a place unknown]."[85] The singer explains that Ipalnemohuani kills them and then they will go to Quenonamican, a place of the dead, nowhere desirable, for who would send those he hated to a desirable place? The god was not going to trick this singer, though. He chides the god saying, *Maca xicnotlamati noyollo maca octle xicyocoya ye nelli ayaxcā ycnopiltihua in tlpc ye nellin cococ yc ontimalihuiz yn motloc monahuac,*[86] "Don't fool my heart! Don't make pulque! Truly, it is difficult to prosper on earth. Truly, affliction will well up near you who are *Tloque Nahuaque*…"[87] The phrase "Don't make pulque," meant the singer was telling the god not to joke or try to fool him.[88] He saw that the god, this time called *Tloque Nahuaque* caused the suffering and affliction, but he would also try to fool the people who live on earth. This mistrust is a feature of the anger the singer exhibits in the song. Betrayal and misgivings were peppered with sorrow and fury.

The singer's anger with this god and his games continues as he calls for his friends to "Pay attention!" He argues that the god (this time, *Dios*) is playing with them, using them for his own pleasure and entertainment: *çan techoncuilia çan techonyquanilia yn it[l]eyo ymahuiço tlpc. ye nican oc xōmocēmaticā namechōcauhtehuaz yn antocnihuā*

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[85] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13v.8.
[86] James Lockhart defines *tloque nahuaque* as: possessor or master of that which is near, close, in reference to God or, in preconquest times, to powerful indigenous deities. Likewise, Molina defines *tloque nauaque* as: cabe quien esta el ser de todas las cosas, conseruandolas y sustentandolas: y dizese de nuestro señor dios. I've decided not to translate this because to do so, I believe, would obscure its meaning. For more, see the Glossary.
[87] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.22.
[88] "Maca octli" – another way of saying do not joke or fool me. Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, April 5, 2017.

yn antepilhuā[89]*… cā yhuian*[90] *Dios cā techoncuilia cā techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tlpc ye nican oc xonmocenmatican,* "He just plays with us, which is what he is famous for and honored for here on earth. Pay attention! I will abandon you upon departing, you[pl] are our friends, you[pl] are someone's children. …Quietly, Dios just goes on taking us for himself, he just plays with us which is what he is famous and honored for here on earth. Pay attention!"[91] These friends, these children, were the other mortals on earth, and the god was toying with them. The god in this stanza was quite well known for using the mortals of earth as pawns for his enjoyment. At times, the singer indicates that god might be on their side, by saying that the god is their friend and that he believes in them: *moquequeloa ca temictli ȳ tocotoa*[92] *ȳ tocniuh ontlaneltoca toyollo ye nelli moqueloa*[93] *yehuā Dios,* "He [the god] laughs. What we speak is a dream. He, who is our friend, believes in our heart [life]. In truth Dios is tickled."[94] Not only was a god truly enamored with the people, he was a friend. The reality, though, if they would only pay attention, was that they would all be taken from this earth, and those who remained behind would be abandoned here, alone, still in the service of pleasing this god. He might have been a friend, but he was also laughing at their expense.

The prayers are also full of this implacable deity. The god is again accused of playing with the people on earth. In the speech to a new ruler, the elder warns the young

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[89] This has the sense of someone's wellborn (i.e. noble) children. The idea is that these are the children of the nobles and therefore nobles themselves, but this is not rendered in the grammar explicitly and therefore has been left out of the translation. Personal Communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.
[90] Yuian (yhuian) is, "peacefully, calmly, with proper reserve and dignity" – a common phrase is "yuian yocoxca nemiliztli" – a good or calmlife. Personal Communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.
[91] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13v.10–14.
[92] From teconitoa - "We say it." Personal Communication with Sergio Romero at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[93] He is tickled (as in tickled pink). Personal Communication with John Sullivan at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[94] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.9.

man listening of the nature of this god: *hvi nopiltze, totecoe tlatoanie, noxviuhtze: ca oallaueuetzquitilo in totecuio, in tolque naoaque, ca moiocoia ca monenequi, ca moquequeloa: in quenin connequix, ca iuh connecquiz, ca imacpaliolloco techtlatlalitica, techmomimilvitica timimiloa, titetelolooa avic techtlaztica, tictlavevetzquitia, toca vetzcatica,* "O my son, O our lord, O ruler, O my grandson: our lord, Tloque Nahuaque, is made to laugh. He is arbitrary, he is capricious, he mocks. He wills in the manner he desires. He is placing us in the palm of his hand; he is making us round. We roll; we become as pellets. He is casting us from side to side. We make him laugh; he is making a mockery of us."[95] God was made to laugh, unpredictable, a jokester and the people were merely pieces in his game, with seemingly little control, rolling around as pellets at his will. In this rendition of the god's intentions humans really were just on earth for his amusement.

The problem was when this amusement took a more sinister turn. In the prayer beseeching the god to end the pestilence the speaker says, *Manoço ie ixquich, ma otimaviltitzino: tlacatle, totecue, tloquee, naoaquee, tlalticpaquee, moiocoiatzine, titlacaoane: ma qujça in poctli in aiavitl: macevi in tletl in tlachinolli: ma momanan tlalli, ma tlato ma moçoçooa in quechol, in çaquan: ma mitznotza, ma mitztlatlauhti, ma mitziximati,* "May this be all; cease amusing yourself, O Tlacatle, O our lord, O Tloque Nahuaque, O lord of the earth, O Moyocoyatzin, O Titlacauan! May the smoke, the cloud [of your anger] cease; may the fire, the blaze [of your rage] be extinguished! May the earth be at rest! May the roseate spoonbill, the troupial sing; may they preen themselves.

[95] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 51.

May [your people] call to you, supplicate you, know you!"[96] What begins with the seemingly simple request for respect, for the god to stop amusing himself at the expense of the people on earth quickly turns to a tone of desperation in which the speaker pleads to be left at rest, begs that the god check his anger, and calls for him to allow himself to be supplicated. This is much different than the lighter tone of the above description of the god, but gets at the same point, which is that the gods, be they Ipalnemohuani, Moyocoyatzin, Titlacauan, or another, were not to be thought of as level-headed or necessarily merciful; instead that people needed to tread lightly lest they arouse the wrath of one of these impulsive deities, a wrath that would surely speed up the path to death.

Curiously, the songs, specifically the ycnocuicatl, seem to doubt that anything could easily be gained from the gods, leaving one to wonder what the singer might have thought of the prayers. In the ycnocuicatl, the singer states that: *Titloque tinahuaque timitzahuiltia nican antle mocnoopilhuia monahuac,* "You, Tloque Nahuaque, we entertain you here. Nothing is obtained by entreaty from you."[97] In these two sentences the song both confirms the idea that the people are a source of entertainment and in the next breath, the singer doubts that anything can be done to change the god's mind. It was not as if by praying, or even by making offerings, that the gods would necessarily be appeased. They were worried that it might not work, but they were not entirely sure that it would not either. The gods were the ones who caused death and suffering. That is clear. The singer expresses sorrow, saying that: *Nichoca nihualicnotlamati y niquilnamiqui chalchihuitl tlaçoxihuitl yn otictlati yn otiquimilo,* "I weep. I go away knowing

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[96] Ibid, 4–5.
[97] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.12v.14.

orphanhood. I remember the precious stones and the precious greenery. You burnt it. You shrouded it."[98] He accuses the god of destroying that which is precious on earth, the dream that is life, and being the reason he weeps and knows orphanhood, and he recognizes that there is likely little he can do about it. The gods gave life and ended it and the Nahuas knew that. They made offerings, sacrifices, and prayed, but they were not certain that any of these things would appease the gods or bring them any relief from suffering or death.

5. Existential Questioning and the Notion of an Afterlife

This uncertainty though, did not mean that the people of preconquest Mexico did not wonder about the possibility of an afterlife. They did, and vociferously. As we have just seen the songs and prayers question the nature of the willful gods and their actions. The songs and prayers also question what comes after life, after death, after the gods have had their fun. It is clear that they wondered where they would go next. The ycnocuicatl begins with a scene of the dead lying on a battlefield, the singer asking questions that were meant to be rhetorical. *Can yehuan Dios yn ipalnemohua can tonnemi,* "Where is he, Dios, Ipalnemohuani? Where do you live?"[99] These musings do not have answers offered in the song, and at the time of death, they were left to fate; perhaps the dead would find Ipalnemohuani, or his home, and perhaps they would not. But the act of questioning indicates that the Nahuas were thinking about the nature of the gods and their role in death and any afterlife that might exist. Similarly, the prayer for the end of pestilence offers up questions to the gods as well, regarding their actions, stating: *Auh iz*

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[98] Ibid, f.14r.28.
[99] Ibid, f.12r27.

nelle axcan, tlacatl totecuioe: iooalle, ehecatle, moiocoiatzine, titlacaoane: quen quinequi in moiollotzin, quecin tocommonênequiltia: cuix ie oticmomacauilli in mocuitlapil, in matlapal, "And here, in truth, now, O Tlacatl, O our lord, O night, O wind, O Moyocoyatzin, O Titlacauan, how can your heart wish it? How can you wish it? Have you already abandoned your dependents?" [100] Again, these types of misgivings and inquiries are not answered but stand to show us that the gods were considered to be at fault for the suffering of the people.

For all the mythology and rhetoric regarding, *tlalticpac*, "that which is on earth," "that which is above us," and "that which is below us," in the friar-directed codices, very little of it makes it into the songs. The ideas about heaven or multiple heavens and afterlives other than just Mictlan are discussed in depth in parts of the Florentine Codex, some of which will be discussed in the next chapter but in the songs, we do not find that. The singer of the ycnocuicatl says: *Oc xocōyocoyacā xiquilnamiquicā quenonamicā ompa ye ichā aya nelli ye tōyahui yn ompa ximoa çan timacehualti anca toyolia ixpan ye onyaz quiximatiz çan yehuā Dios,* "Yet, you test it here! You remember it here. In Q*uenonamican* [a place unknown], there in his home, there is no truth. We journey there, where you live. We are just *macehualtin* [mortals] therefore our spirit[101] will go in front of us, only he will know it. *He is dios.*"[102] Instead we find the notion that there was some

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[100] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 2–3. *In mocuitlapil, in matlapal* is literally "your tail, your wings" and is a well-known metaphor for commoners, in this context, dependents.

[101] I am reluctant to translate toyolia as soul and evoke all that the idea of a soul entails because of Justyna Olko and Julia Madajczak's article "An Animating Principle in Confrontation with Christianity? De(re)constructing the Nahua 'Soul,'" *Ancient Mesoamerica* 30, no. 1 (2019): 75–88, doi:10.1017/S0956536118000329.

[102] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14r.14. Here, *macehualtin*, I would argue again, referred to mere mortals or, common people who lived here on earth, and therefore only the god would know them once they were dead and gone. The singer was directly commenting on the trip to the afterlife – which I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter – but the greater philosophies and mythologies from the Florentine Codex do not appear in this dirge.

sort of uncertain place where the dead went for a time, but they were not expounded upon in this genre. These heavens and afterlives existed in theoretical terms, surely, and will be discussed in the next chapter but here, in the visceral moment of mourning the idea of a "better place" was absent. Our singer asks, "Where is he?…where do you live?" He is in no way sure about the answer to these questions. This deep uncertainty was a reflection of an uncertainty about any life after death.

This is further confirmed by the next set of questioning that our singer engages in. He intones: *Çan niquintemohua niquimilnamiqui in tocnihuā cuix occepa huitze ȳ cuix oc nemiquihui ca cen tipolihui ça çe,* "I seek them. I remember them, our friends. Have they come again? Is there life again? Here on earth, we die completely."[103] These questions may at first seem like open-ended musings, like rhetorical questions that were meant to be pondered, but instead James Lockhart and Camilla Townsend have found that these situations would likely have evoked audience participation and the answers were not subjective. In examples found in other songs and the historic annals, these questions were always clearly meant to elicit a loud, "No!" from the audience in answer.[104] Therefore, the clear and resounding answer to the questions above was also intended to be "No!" "Have they come again?" "No!" "Is there life again?" "No!" "Here on earth, we die completely." And yet, this singer remembers, and in remembering keeps his friends safe in his mind, even after their complete death. Again, in the speech that was made at the death of the ruler, the speaker is reported to have said this: *in maca çan cana viloaia mach oc oalmocuepaz: ca ie ixquich ca ie iuhqui ca ocen onquiz, ca ocenmaian catca, ca*

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[103] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13r.25.
[104] For further discussion of the rhetorical questions in the songs, see: Townsend, *Annals of Native America.*

centlamic quimati in atl in tepetl, ca aocmo macuil matlac onquiçaquiuh, ommoquetzaquiuh, ca ocen motopten mopetlacalten, auh ca oia, ca opoliuh, ca oceuh in ocutl, in tlavilli, ca ie cactimani, ca ie iooatimani in iatzin, in iteptzin totecuio, "So wherever one has gone, will he yet return? [No!] It is all. It is so. He has left forever. It was once and for all. Definitively he disposes of the altepetl. No more will he come to emerge, to appear for a while. Forever he has gone to his retreat. And the torch, the light, has gone, has disappeared, is extinguished. Already the altepetl of our lord lies abandoned, lies darkened."[105] There was no doubt that this ruler, presumably a great warrior, would be not returning after his death. The question included here is answered rather firmly, with little left up for interpretation. This is more evidence that these questions were less true questions and more elaborate devices with which a speaker would let their audience know that these desires were not to come to pass. There was a troublesome sense that no one knew exactly where he went, but one thing was sure, he was not coming back in any form.

There is a powerful loneliness and vulnerability in this idea. As stated above, death was not a matter of the person being gone as much as it was a matter of the living being alone as a result. Death was not hard for the dead. It was hard for the living. The people's sorrow and questions continue and still the answers remain "no!" In the funeral prayer, the speaker laments:

Auh ca ocenmaian catca, ca ocenmaian onquiz, ca ocen onquiz in tlaltipac: mach çan cana viloaia, oalilotiz, oalmocuepaz oc ceppa ixco, icpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl: auh cuix oc conitoquiuh in ma iuh	And it has been forever; he has gone forever; he has left the earth completely. Has he perhaps just gone somewhere to come back, to return, that once again the altepetl may look upon his face? [No!]

[105] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 48.

ie, y[n]in ma iuh muchioa, y: auh oc ceppa ma[106] *ia imixco imicpac tlachiaquiuh*[107] *in tetecutin in tlatoque, cuix oc quittazque, cuix oc quiximatizque, cuix oc quicuizque, canazque in iten, in itlatol*[108]*: cuix oc quinciappovaz, cuix quinciauhquetzaz: a ca ocen oncatca, ca ocen onqujz, a ca oceuh, ca otlaiooac: ca oceuh in ocutl, ca opoliuh in tlavilli in tlanextli: ca ocenmaian icnopiltic in atl, in tepetl:*	And will he still come to say: "May this be so; may this be done?" [No!] And will he yet again soon come among the lords, the rulers? [No!] Will they yet see him, yet know him? [No!] Will they yet take, yet hold to his word? [No!] Will he yet console them, greet them? [No!] It has been complete. He has left completely. It is extinguished, it has darkened; the torch is extinguished; the light, the splendor is destroyed; the altepetl is eternally orphaned.[109]

The prayers, those specifically uttered at funerals or for the dead, leave no question as to the result of death. There is no sense that the ruler would be returning. He was not coming back to give orders, or to look upon his lords again. Those in the city he has abandoned would never know him again. The lords will not see this man in any eternal afterlife. The tone is starkly final. They would remain orphaned evermore.

The songs continue to present the same message, where the questions would also be answered, "No!" The singer laments not being able to see or speak with his family again. He says: *cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo*[110] *çan topco petlaacalco ontetlatia ontequimiloa … cuix oncan niquimitaz ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix nechalmacazque incuic intlatol nocontemohua ayacon teca techicnocauhque. "*Does our heart believe? [No!] It is just a secret, in a reed chest. He kills people. He shrouds people. … Will I be among them ever again, my mother and my father? [No!] Will there be exchange of songs, of words?

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[106] The sense is "will he" rather than "may he" here.
[107] *imixco tlatlachia in teci cioa* = They passed among the grinding women. James Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, Repertorium Columbianum v. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 126. So imixco tlatlachia is to pass among them, to come among them.
[108] Literally, his lips, his words, but this difrasismo has the meaning of his words or speech.
[109] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 22.
[110] Could also be: "Does he believe in our hearts?"

[No!] I seek them. In the company of no one, they left us orphaned."[111] In the same manner as above, death is a matter of being abandoned and being orphaned. Here on a personal level as opposed to a ruler abandoning a city, a father and mother abandoned their child, never to be seen or heard from again. Not only does this tradition of questioning leave no doubt that the dead were considered completely gone, but it also leaves the idea of an afterlife uncertain. There was certainly no overt reference to rejoining loved ones in a heaven like place.

The act of questioning like this is not indicative of belief in an eternal afterlife. In the epigraph to this chapter for instance, the questions being asked are not answered with a yes or no, but still signify doubt. In the songs and prayers, we do not find proof that the Nahuas stood wholeheartedly behind a belief in a future paradise and they certainly did not think that the dead ever returned to earth in any real way, or that they would see them again, somewhere, some day. The singer understood that life was not to be lived more than once and that there was no return. He asks, *cuix iuhqui Xochitl ma occeppa nicpixoz, cuix tonacayotl occepa nictocaz in nota in nonā cuix oc,* "Is it [life] like flowers, that I can harvest again? Will I bury the earthly remains of my father and my mother, again?"[112] To these questions, the first now more metaphorical, the answer was "no," that a flower does not grow twice. All of this is to say that, for as many ways as an afterlife can be conceptualized, returning from death was not an option here. The concept of memory and remembrance was clearly important in the songs and prayers, but the act of remembering and mourning was not for the purpose of bringing fallen warriors back to earth. Instead,

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[111] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14r.1.
[112] Ibid*,* f.13v.23.

the life a dead person lived in the memory of the loved ones they left behind, the people they "abandoned" was the only real afterlife they were promised.

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In the songs and prayers, we can attain a greater understanding of the practicality with which the Nahuas lived their lives. The lives of the Nahuas were filled with joy, laughter, and friendship, but also with war, suffering, uncertainty, and death. Life was to be enjoyed and mourned when it ended. The process of grief, which seems to last about four years, encompassed funerals, song, weeping, fasting, offerings, and most importantly, memory and storytelling. These things do not seem foreign to us today but actually enchantingly familiar. The gods played a part in the suffering of the people but also were the ones who made the earth a paradise when times were good. They were almost unequivocally blamed for death and the Nahuas expressed anger at their indifference toward the plight of the mortals on earth.

Interestingly, the emotions reflected in the songs and prayers closely resemble those that modern psychology would argue that people suffering loss and grief are naturally inclined to go though.[113] There is denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance found in the verses and prose of the preconquest Nahuatl literature. The power of these death rites does not come from a materialistic sense of the world, or a place of thinking that nothing material mattered, but instead, that everything mattered. When there is no eternity, the precious little time people have on earth becomes all the more meaningful. In looking forward to what came next, the Nahuas were not at all sure

[113] Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, *Working It Through* (New York: Macmillan, 1982).

what to expect and were clearly questioning the possibility of an afterlife in their songs and prayers. They surely do not express a belief that there was any return from death or, alternatively that there was an eternal paradise waiting for them. What is clear is that in order to be certain of living on after death, you must live a life on earth that ensures your family and friends, at the very least, will remember you and honor you in years to come. It is in the next chapter that I turn to a detailed study of exactly what they did and did not say about any possible afterlife.

Chapter 2

The Afterlife in Nahuatl Prayer and Song

And do not doubt it, for there [on the battlefield] they lie, there lie shattered peoples' children, the precious green stones, the bracelets, the precious items: for there like necklaces, like precious feathers you place them, arrange them in order, record their names there. [114] *– The Florentine Codex, Book 6.*

An infant cried but the woman, after a hard-fought battle, was silent. She did not make it. She became *mocihuaquetzqui*, or a woman who has died in childbirth and was now revered. Her body was bathed, her hair washed with soap. The midwife who had attended her dressed her in a good skirt and huipil. The midwife spoke to the woman then, and said that now that she had suffered fatigue and affliction, she deserved to go to *Tonatiuh ichan* or "the home of the Sun."[115] With a captive, the infant, taken as a result of her struggle, she was now like a warrior who died in battle, like those broken and scattered on the battlefields. Her parents and her husband wept at her death, their cries mingling with those of the newborn. She was carried by her husband to be buried, her freshly washed hair hanging loose. As he walked, he was accompanied by the midwives and the other women. They shouted war cries and bore shields and fought off the young warriors who came to make a sort of war on them. The woman was considered a valiant warrior and so the young men desired to take a token from her, which was then affixed to their shields in battle to give them strength and bravery. Her spirit was said to live in her

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[114] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6,* 12.
[115] *Tonatiuh* translated as Sun, here is a representation of the god of the sun, and therefore when it is used in this sense, I will capitalize it as a name. For more, see the Glossary.

hair and fingers and those tokens would halt the enemies of the warriors and allow them to seize their enemies, as prisoners of war. This symbolic enterprise went into the night as her husband and others stood guard at her grave. It was said that she would be honored as the warriors were honored and allowed to enter the home of the Sun.[116]

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Of the possible outcomes of death, this woman was getting a better deal than most. The afterlife for most was a place called Mictlan, literally the place of the dead, which was apparently much like Hades for the Greeks – a place where some sort of shade or spirit existed, though in this case only for four years and then all existence was extinguished. Like Hades this place was not associated with any sense of damnation or reward based on how one lived on earth, but instead, was just a universal result of death. Mictlan will be discussed in more detail in a moment, but first, it must be understood that there were other conceptualizations of the afterlife, based on the manner of death. The woman above, like any woman who died in childbirth was going to be permitted to enter Tonatiuh ichan, the home of the Sun in the sky, reserved for warriors who had died in battle, rather than Mictlan. This Valhalla-like idea that a man killed in battle is given an eternal paradise is not uncommon to warrior cultures. One can see how this might encourage full participation in war, and yet, in the Nahua case, it is not at all clear that an eternal paradise was what was understood to be in store.

Tonatiuh icahn was an improvement over Mictlan, but not a true Valhalla, as we will see. It has been long understood by Classicists that in non-literate societies,

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[116] For the opening vignette I used the rhetoric about death in childbirth in the Nahua world from Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6,* 161–165.

intangible ideas, like that of an afterlife, were always in flux and were not universally and permanently accepted by everyone as truth.[117] There were no public schools or weekly church services meant specifically to indoctrinate the population with these hypothetical, belief-driven ideas. Every singer performed their songs differently and any one individual's understanding of what occurred after death was up for interpretation. What we can tell is that there were certain accepted eventualities that many Nahuas seem to have believed in. In the appendix of Book 3 of the Florentine Codex, which bills itself as being about what the Nahuas thought about death and what came after, there are three places to which the dead travel after death. It is safe to say that these three places, Mictlan, Tlalocan, and Tonatiuh ichan, were at least universally known to the Nahuas, if not universally accepted. And yet, none of these places offered an eternal home.

In order to determine what we can know about Nahua pre-conquest perceptions of the afterlife, I will examine the appendix of Book 3 of the Florentine Codex, which outlines the path taken by the dead to any given afterlife. I will also analyze my own or new translations of three relevant songs which discuss death and ideas of the afterlife.[118] Again, as in the last chapter, I will pair these songs with prayers from Book 6 of the Florentine Codex.[119] By analyzing new or updated translations of these texts we can see

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[117] For example, the cult of Orpheus disputed the notion of shades swirling in the land of Hades. See Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[118] The three songs are specifically: an *ycnocuicatl* or lamentation, my full transcription and translation of which can be found in Appendix A, Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.12v–15, a *huexozincayotl* or "Quality of Being Huexotzincan," Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.6v–7, translated by Peter Sorensen, and y*cuic nezahualcoyotzin* or "Song of Nezahualcoyotl." Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.28v–29v.

[119] Specifically, I will analyze Chapter 3, which is a prayer of the warriors for success in battle; Chapter 5, which is a discourse spoken when a ruler has died; Chapter 10, which is a speech given at the death of one ruler and the installation of the next; and Chapter 18, which is a speech from a nobleman to his daughter about life on earth. My full transcriptions and translations Chapter 3, the warriors' prayer, and Chapter 5, the discourse of the death of a ruler, can be found in Appendix A.

that the Nahuas had some idea that there was a long and difficult journey to be had after death. They also agree that any afterlife that did exist only did so for four years and that what was truly important was being remembered. They were therefore dedicated to remembering dead loved ones so that they would live on in the stories and songs about them.

The songs come closer to precontact beliefs than other sources as they were written down with less oversight than anything from the Florentine Codex, but even so there is great value in looking at the Codex's prayers. The English translations of this text that have been in circulation for decades are very valuable and have given Anglophones access to a very rich collection of literature that otherwise would have been out of our grasp. Yet, in some cases the translations are a bit too hopeful, desiring to find a paradise or heaven in the Nahua schema of the afterlife and looking for proof that the Nahuas, warriors or otherwise, were seeking to die so as to live in an eternal paradise in heaven. This translation has been used to portray the Nahuas before the conquest as a quasi-Christian people, who believed living a life on earth for the purpose of getting into a heaven that was akin to the Christian heaven. With a new translation, one that has the benefit of greater knowledge of the language, as well as responding to a much broader translated source base including newly translated songs, annals, and early catechisms, the meaning of these prayers becomes clearer. The speeches and prayers convey a sense that the here and now is the best that there is, and that therefore life on earth is the only life there is to live and should be treasured. For instance, in the rhetorical speech of a father to his daughter, he states,

muchi quivinti in nemiliztli in tlalticpac inic aiac chocatinemi. Auh maço iuhcan, y, maço nel ivi in iuh tlamani, y, tlalticpac: cuix ic caco, cuix ic nemauhtilo, cuix ic chocatinemoa, ca nemoa in tlalticpac, tecutioa, tlatocatioa, piltioa, quauhtioa, ocelotioa: auh aquin ça momiquiziecotica, ca tlaaioa, ca nemiltilo, necaltilo, tlatequipanolo: auh necioatlanilo, nenamictilo, neucchotilo, tlapaliuhcatioa,	All make life gay on earth in order that no one go weeping. And although it is so, although this is the way of life on earth, is it perhaps therefore heard, its it perhaps therefore feared, is life perhaps therefore lived in weeping? [no] For there is living on earth; there is becoming a lord; there is becoming a ruler; there is becoming an eagle warrior; there is becoming a jaguar warrior. And who is saying that this is how it is on earth? Who is just yielding to death? For there is the doing of things; there is the providing of a livelihood; there is the building of houses; there is labor; there is the seeking of women; there is marriage; there is marriage of women to men; there is the marriage of men to women.[120]

No one is yielding to death. There are things to be done on earth, wonderful things that make life a paradise. There is no sense that death is a paradise to be longed for or that anyone, even the warriors, were longing for their heavenly rewards, but instead that the rewards were here on earth.[121]

Yet, there was an idea that a "land of the dead" existed, in some indistinct sense, at least. I will begin with a discussion of Mictlan, or "the land of the dead," the road to Mictlan, and how and why others were instead said to go to Tlalocan. Next, I will discuss the cult of the warrior and the warriors' travels to Tonatiuh ichan, the home of the Sun. For this discussion the warriors' prayer will figure prominently as will the "Song of Nezahualcoyotl" and the huexotzincayotl because they give us the best insight into the philosophy surrounding the warrior culture. In all of these examples, we will see that

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[120] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 93–94.
[121] For a full historiography of the songs and prayers, please refer to Chapter 1, Section 1 titled: An Assessment of the Sources Reveling the Preconquest Era: Songs and Prayers.

there was always a long arduous journey that the dead took, after which, the vast majority remained in some sort of purgatory-like place for four years, during which time those on earth made offerings to them. And then, they were gone, completely, no longer existing, even in a soul-like or ghost-like state in another world.[122] There is something to the idea that the Nahuas believed in some sort of existence beyond the material world, but as we can see in the songs and prayers, at best the Nahuas had a tenuous faith in an afterlife. It was not a material place, it was instead a metaphorical place, a way for the living to conceptualize death. And yet, I argue that there was a middle ground here, in which the Nahuas desired to believe that at death one was not yet entirely gone, giving the living time to come to terms with the death of a loved one, but then eventually there was an honest acceptance that they were well and truly gone.

Finally, I will look at what I think is the crux of Nahua preconquest perceptions of death and the afterlife, and that was the importance of the human responsibility of remembering those who had died. Keeping the dead alive through memory and storytelling was crucial to the Nahuas' conceptualization of life after death. In this case, then, the songs that were performed in the individual altepetl and sub-communities in the evenings and on special feast days become more than ceremonial pomp. The performances of songs and stories became a memory-keeping device. In this way I show

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[122] León-Portilla has challenged Alfredo Chavero's conception of the Nahuas as materialistic, having no sense of existence beyond the material body. He has said that, "Had Chavero considered the data more carefully, he would have realized that the very fact of a belief in survival after death, even for the short period of four years, implied a faith in the existence of something more than the material body," León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, 125. See also Alfredo Chavero, *México a través de los siglos. Historia Antigua y de la Conquist,* Vol. I (Mexico City and Barcelona: Ballesca, Espasa y Cía., n.d.). I think that there is a distinction subtler than either of these ideas going on here though, one in which a people can accept the idea that death is the end, or eventually will be the end and still live a life that they believed was important and mattered.

what we can truly know about Nahua perceptions of the afterlife before the conquest by looking only at what the Nahuas definitely said regarding the afterlife, and I then consider what the deeper meaning of these ideas might have been.

1. Mictlan

There were no punishments in death. The Florentine Codex states that: *Auh in vmpa vi, mictlā iehoantin, in ixquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan cocoliztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceoalti,* "And there to Mictlan went all those who died on earth, who died only of sickness:[123] the rulers, the commoners."[124] Just as death was a certainty, it was certain that rulers and commoners alike would go to Mictlan, no one receiving special treatment or punishment. Death was seen as the great equalizer, then. Life was necessarily unfair but it was momentary as the essay on the path to death affirms for us again saying, *ca nel amo nican tocenchan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzinca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonica,* "Truly our common abode is not here on earth. It is only for a little time, only for a moment that we have been warm."[125] The idea that we do not live on earth is here again, but instead, the common "home" is death, the inescapable fate of every mortal. As the singer mentions in the ycnocuicatl: *ixquich ompa yahu i çan no ye mictlā can tocepanpoliuhyan,* "All just go to Mictlan, our place of disappearing together."[126] This idea is echoed elsewhere in the Florentine Codex giving it solvency, *ca nel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopoliviian, vmpa tlatlalpatlaoa, ca oiccen onquiz,*"For there is

[123] Or any natural means that would not have them go to another place.
[124] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 41.
[125] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 41.
[126] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.12v.17.

our common home, there is our common place of disappearing;[127] there, there is an enlarging of the earth [where] forever it has ended."[128] The same phrase, *tocepanpoliuhyan*, is used to describe the idea that there was a place of common disappearing or even, perishing. There was no continuous, eternal afterlife waiting at the end of the journey of the dead but instead just a common place in which everyone would perish and cease to exist.

The journey to this place of disappearing seems nonnegotiable. The dead were sometimes given a dog to accompany them, likely the origin of the popular modern belief that Xoloitzcuintli, or the Mexican Hairless dog, is a spirit guide meant to accompany their masters to Mictlan. Additionally, the lords and kings were said to have had about a score of servants killed with them to serve them on their way to Mictlan.[129] They were provided with various material objects, clothing, weapons, and such to aid them as they traveled. The journey itself was described as a long and difficult one with many obstacles. After describing the wares that the dead were given to help them, the journey is outlined: *Yzcatquj inic tonqujçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. // Auh izcatquj ic itla tonquiçaz in vtli qujpia un coatl. // Auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonqujças, in xoxouhquj cuetzpalin in xochitonal. //Auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicuetiliuhcan. // Ycatquj ic tonquiçaz in itzehecaian*, "Here is that with which you will pass where the mountains come together. And here is that with which you will pass by the road which the serpent watches. And here is that with which you will pass by the blue lizard, the *xochitonal.* And here is that with which you will travel the eight deserts. And here is that with which you

[127] Could also be "our place of perishing."
[128] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 41.
[129] Ibid, 43, 45.

will cross the eight hills. Here is that with which you will pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."[130] The imagery of mountains, deserts, hills, and the land of not just winds, but obsidian-bladed winds, which were said to cause much suffering and in which blades and stones were swept along, all indicated the strenuous nature of this journey along which they would only have that which was given to them and burned with them in death to help them and shield them.

Meanwhile, on earth, as we saw in the opening vignette of a funeral in Chapter 1, the mourners were wailing in lament, making offerings, and burning bundles for the dead. To the dead, who was laid stretched out, the priests and singers said, *in atlecalocan, caocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal ticchioaz, caocmo tioallamatiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiqujmonjcnocauhteoac, otiqujmontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in moxvioan, caocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popolivizque,* "No longer will you make your way back, your return. No more will you think yourself of your [life] here, of your past. For some time you have gone leaving orphans, you have gone leaving people, your children, your grandchildren. No more will you think yourself how they will each perish."[131] In the moment of death, it was recognized that they would not return and even that they would cease to have a temporal existence, in which they could still recall and think of themselves and their lives on earth. They were gone, only leaving behind their legacy – their children and grandchildren.

To the mourners, the priests said something like: *onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelehoatl ontlaiooatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan*

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[130] Ibid, 43.
[131] Ibid, 42.

ocontlatolchiaia in totecuio, tlacuele centlamic xoconmomachiti in icnopilotl, "Your heart, your body ache; they are in pain. Well, then! It is dark where he [the dead one] has gone, leaving things, where he awaits the words of our Lord. Well, then! You must experience complete orphanhood!"[132] This is an interesting mingling of ideas, the first being that mourning hurts! It is physically painful. The second being that the dead have gone to a dark place, where they will wait for the word of *totecuyo,* our lord, which belied what came before about the dead being really, truly gone and what came next which was that the mourner must be completely orphaned. Orphanhood in the songs and prayers took on a figurative sense that meant more a feeling of abandonment, rather than the literal translation of an orphan with no parents, even still this does not seem to jive with the idea that the dead were waiting somewhere. The reference to "our lord" was likely a replacement of the name of an old god. Originally the sense might have been that the dead were waiting to serve, or feed, the god, something that will be discussed more in a moment, but with the Christian gloss, the passage seems contradictory. The overall sense of the passage, though, is that the dead have gone completely, leaving the living orphaned.

These same sentiments appear in the ycnocuicatl as well. The singer mentions the dead on the road to Mictlan and invokes the trope of abandonment and orphanhood, saying:

yca nichoca ayacon teca techicnocauhque tlpc. can yhcacyn ohtli mictlan ȳ temoyā ca ximohuayan, cuix oc nelli nemohua quenonamicā cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo çan topco petlaacalco ontetlatia	I cry because I am not in the company of anyone. They left us orphaned on earth. They are standing on the road to Mictlan. Is there still life there in Q*uenonamicã[n]*? [No!] Does our heart

[132] Ibid, 42.

ontequimiloa ypalnemohuani cuix oncan niquimitaz ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix nechalmacazque incuic intlatol nocontemohua ayacon teca techicnocauhque	believe? [No!] It is just a secret, in a reed chest. He kills people. He shrouds people. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. Will I be among them ever again, my mother and my father? [No!] Will there be exchange of songs, of words? [No!] I seek them. In the company of no one, they left us orphaned.[133]

Mictlan was not a place of life or paradise to be yearned for. Rather, death was final. Mictlan, which was described as "our place of disappearing," earlier in the song, implies that we do not live again there. Disappearance evokes a sense of fading, evaporation from life, living as a ghost in the memory of those left behind on earth. That being said, here, the nullified question noted above, "Is there still life there in Q*uenonamicã[n]*?" would imply instead that there was no life there.[134] The other possible destinations, the home of the sun or Tlalocan – both of which will be discussed in the next section – are not explored by this lamentation. The alternative reserved for those who died as a sacrifice or in childbirth, even the paradise given to those who were drowned, are not found in this song of the dead. There was no softening of the finality of death.

This is further exhibited in the descriptions of burning the bundles, or offerings meant to aid the dead on their journey and in the afterlife. It is said that: *In iquac nappoaltica iquac tlatl, no iuh muchioaia yn iquac cexiuhtica. Yoan in iquac oxiuhtica, yoan in iquac iexiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchioa,* "When it was the end of eighty days, then they burned [these]. Also the like was done when it was the end

[133] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14r.1.
[134] León-Portilla discusses a variety of these afterlives in reference to the *Cantares* as a whole, but none are reflected directly in this lamentation beyond *Mictlan* and *Quenonamican*. León-Portilla says that *Mictlan* was understood as the "least desirable of all possible destinies." *Quenonamican*, on the other hand is defined by León-Portilla as, "the place where those, in one way or another, live." León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture,* 127–132.

of a year and when it was the end of two years and when it was the end of three years. But when it was the end of four years it was the last time they did it."[135] The burning of these bundles as offerings to the dead, or *Mictlan tecutli,*[136] the lord of the land of the dead, each year for four years, indicates some formalized belief in the need to provide the offerings for the dead but then, when four years had passed it was presumed the dead were gone and no longer needed these "offerings." This was consistent with what was said of the dead: *Auh injn quilmach much itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzon quiz nauhxivitl, njman ie ic iauh in chicunauhmjctlan,* "It was said, all arrived with Mictlan tecutli. And when four years had ended, there upon [the dead one] went to the nine places of the dead[137]…And there in the nine places of the dead, in that place there was complete disappearance."[138] O*ncan cempopoliooa* – there was complete disappearance. The dead were entirely, wholly gone. There was no sense that after the four years there was some sort of eternity, quite the opposite, there was nothing.

Paralleling the offerings that were being given by the living there is a sense that the dead themselves were meant to feed the gods. In the prayers, there is a recurring image of a hungering and thirsting god waiting for people to feed him, not with offerings of food, but with their flesh, in their death. In the prayer for an end to pestilence and famine, the speaker says, *ca totequiuh in miquiztli, ca techcenmâceuh: auh ca*

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[135] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 44. Durán also explains that the bundles were burned after four days and then after 80 days there was another ceremony called, "The vestige of tears." He does not mention the burnings occurring every year for four years, but that may be because he is talking about a specific funeral, in a European format, and therefore moves right on to "what happened next," in the story. Durán, *History of the Indies*, 149–152.
[136] Literally the lord of the land of the dead. For more, see the Glossary.
[137] Here is another possible post conquest alteration. The idea of nine hells was popularized in the 14th century by Dante's *Inferno* and had entered into the European imagery of hell, figuring prominently by the mid-1500s.
[138] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 44.

miquiztequitihoaco in tlalticpac: ca ontocoz, ca itech onaxioaz, in motechiuhcauh: in mictlan tecutli, in cueçal, in tzontemoc: in acan veli quichiuhtoc, in oallamatatcatoc, in techoalamictoc, in techalteuciuhtoc, in techoalneneciuhtoc, "For our tribute is death; [it is] awarded us in common as merited. And on earth there prevails the coming to pay the tribute of death. For there will be the following after, the approaching to your progenitor Mictlan tecutli, Cuezalli, Tzontemoc, who remains unsatiated, who keeps coveting. He keeps thirsting there for us, hungering there for us, panting there for us."[139] There is a clear sense that death is a tribute to the gods. This has been long accepted as an understanding of and the justification for sacrifice in the Nahua world, but here it seems that the gods hunger for all the dead, and that they will never be satiated, which is congruent with the idea that life is impermanent. Like the Sun, he, the lord of Mictlan, as a god, needed the sacrifice of human life to keep him strong. Again in the funerary prayer, the speaker says: *A ca oontlama, ca ocontocac in tonan, in tota in mictlan tecutli in tzontemoc in cueçal, in techoalamictoc, in techoalteuciuhtoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oallamatatacatoc: in acan veli quichiuhtoc in ceiooal, in cemilvitl oallaitlantoc, in oaltzatzitoc,* "He knew, he has followed our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli, Tzontemoc, Cuezalli, who keeps thirsting for us, who keeps hungering for us, who keeps panting, who keeps coveting, who remains restless; by night, by day he keeps demanding, he keeps crying out."[140] Here we see the dead man following those who have died before him into the land of the dead, but in so doing, he is still unable to quell the undying hunger and thirst of the gods. In death, the dead are devoured, destroyed completely, and yet the cycle of life and death will not end. The gods demand more, and the mortals are

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[139] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 4.
[140] Ibid, 21.

compelled to oblige. Mictlan then was far from an eternal paradise and instead was a place where mortals were sent to serve and feed the gods, never to return to or see their orphaned loved ones again.

2. Tlalocan

There were two possible afterlives for those who did not go to Mictlan. The first was for those who were said to have been chosen by the god, Tlaloc. These were people who died by drowning, or of illnesses envisioned as being related to water. They were said to go to Tlalocan: *inic vccan viloa vmpa in tlalocan…auh in vmp vi iehoantin in viteco, yoā in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan iehoantin in teococoxque, yaon in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xixiioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoaliztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miqui,* "The second place they went to was Tlalocan…And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in water, and those who had drowned, and those who suffered from the 'divine sickness,' and those afflicted by pustules, and those afflicted by hemorrhoids, and those afflicted by skin sores, and those afflicted by festering, and those afflicted by the gout, and those whom swellings overcame, those swollen by dropsy who died of it."[141] People who died in one of those ways were buried rather than cremated. Tlalocan, their place of the dead, was the closest thing to a paradise described. *Auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca necuiltonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquilitl, in oauhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl,* "And in Tlalocan there was great wealth, there was great riches. Never did one suffer. Never did

[141] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 47.

the ears of green maize, the gourds, the squash blossoms, the heads of amaranth, the green chilis, the tomatoes, the green beans, the Marigolds fail."[142] One wonders if their suffering in life, due to the sicknesses caused by the gods, was the why they were given this less painful or destructive "afterlife."

In parched, sundrenched Mexico, so often plagued by drought and famine, a shady, green, tropical world where the crops never failed, was the highest ideal. In order to enter this paradise, the gods must select you for themselves. These gods were Tlaloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, the jade skirted woman, those prayed to in the prayer for rain. Water was at once life-bringing and deadly, embodying the balance that was so prevalent in Nahua philosophies. Dangerous and black, it could take life as quickly as it could bring a person back from the brink of starvation or death. The separation of water related deaths and their significance remained clear into the colonial period when drownings were singled out in the annals which rarely named causes of death.[143] The culturally ingrained importance of water remained distinct even after the land of Tlalocan was, theoretically, replaced by Christian afterlives.

Even in this paradise, though, the dead did not remain past four years. In the *Tlalloc Icuic*, "Song of Tlaloc" found in the Florentine Codex it is said that: *Auhuia nauhxiuhticia itopa necaviloc aioc inomatia, hay motla poalli, aia ximovaia ie quetzalcalla nepan avia ai y ascana teizcalli quetl. Ahuia xiiano viia ahuia xiiamo tecaia*

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[142] Ibid.

[143] There are multiple references to drowning as a cause of death in the annals of Tecamachalco, as well as in the annals written by Chimalpahin. *Anales de Tecamachalco, 1398–1590,* ed. Eustaquio Celestino Sol s y Luis Reyes Garc a (M xico, D.F.: CIESAS, 1992) and Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpáhin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of his time: Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, ed. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006).

ai puohtla, aiauhchicavaztica, aia vicallo tlalloca, "In four years, in the beyond, there is a silencing [or: a relinquishing]. People [here on earth] no longer remember, for long they have lost count. In the place of the fleshless, in the house of the quetzal plumes, there is a transformation of what belongs to he-who-creates-life."[144] Here it is also posited that they only remained for four years, though, after which time they are all but forgotten by their relatives on earth, silenced and abandoned. Tlalocan then is reserved for those selected by Tlaloc, who were drowned by him or sickened by him, but again it was not an eternal paradise, but a short lived one.

3. Tonatiuh Ichan

Lastly, we enter the world of the warriors. *inic excan viloa: vmpa in ichan Tonatiuh ilhuicac,* "The third place to which they went was to the home of the Sun, in the sky."[145] Here those who died in battle, or from the wounds of battle, or as a sacrifice were promised to go to the home of the sun. The idea, presumably, was that the men, and women in the case of childbirth or sacrifice, had given their lives for those on earth and so deserved a better arrangement in the afterlife. The description begins thus, *quil ça çemonoque, in canin iuhcan ixtlaoacan,* "It was said that they lived together where there was a place like a plain [battlefield]."[146] Elsewhere, in the songs and prayers there is a

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[144] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 2*, 225.
[145] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 49. This "home of the Sun" is sometimes called, tonatiuhilh , but this addition of ilhuicatl, which came to mean "Heaven," to Tonatiuh was likely made in later documents when the Nahuas were under more Christian influence. In the songs, there is a good deal of talk about being in "the sky" or "above" which is how ilhuicac should be translated in these cases, but it was never part of the word. I would argue, that this addition of ilhuicac was a Christian intercession, tacked on to indicate that this afterlife was supposed to be akin to a Christian Heaven. At this early stage, it is more likely that they meant that they were returning to the sun, in the sky, without any sense of it being "Heaven." See Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth,* 49.
[146] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 49.

correlation between a plain and the battlefield. Such as in the warriors' prayer, which states: *Auiz nelle motolinia in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in miquiznequi*[147]*, in anemiznequi*[148] *in onvetzi iiollo in ixtlaoacan, in teuapan,*[149] "And here, in truth, miserable is the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering jaguar warrior, who are about to die. They are not going to live, their hearts[150] will spill out on the plain, on the battlefield."[151] This parallel plays out in the warrior afterlife as well. The description goes on to say: *in iquac in oalmomana in oalquiçaia Tonatiuh, nimā quicaoatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj,* "When the sun appeared, when it came forth, then they made a din, they howled; shields were struck together."[152] This scene seems to have been pulled directly from an image of men about to go to war. So, then, here there was a place in which the warriors continued their service, striking their shields and howling on a battlefield or plain. In the end, though, they too dispersed after four years.

There has been a confusing claim that they stayed there with the Sun forever. This belief is based on an incomplete understanding of the introduction to the warriors' prayer, which states that they, the Nahuas, believed that warriors would return to the house of the sun, and that they would remain there forever.

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[147] *Miquiznequi* – the verb *nequi* does have a suggestion of "to want," but it is more about something that is going to happen, and especially when combined with the future tense as it is here. For more, see the Glossary.
[148] Again, this is more literally, "they are about to not live," i.e. they are about to die, or they are not going to live through this.
[149] *Teuapan* here is derived from *teotl* – god, *atl* – water, and is a concrete term for battlefield. Possibly from the idea of blood as the water of the gods.
[150] As in, lifeblood.
[151] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.
[152] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 49.

vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollocopa quitoaia, inic quitlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in quitocaiotiaia iaotl necoc iaotl, monenequi: injc quiitlaniliaia in tepaleuilixtli, in iquac iaoiutl muchioaia. Iehoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque: cenca quaqualli in metaphoras, in machiotlatolli inic tlatoaia: ioan vel itech neci in quenin vel quineltocaia, ca in ixquichtin in iaomiquia: vmpa viia in Tonatiuh ichan, inic cemicac vmpa mocuiltonozque	Here are related the words which they uttered from their very hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named Yaotl, Necoc yaotl, Monenequi, to request aid when war was waged. Those who prayed were the priests. Very good are the metaphors, the figures of speech, with which they spoke. And from them it is quite apparent how they really believed that all those who died in war went to the house of the sun, there to rejoice forever.[153]

Curiously, this does not fit with the description in the appendix to Book 3 where it was clear that after four years they were no longer in the home of the sun, no matter where else they might be, they were not rejoicing "there" forever. Even the word *cemicac,* meaning forever, is out of place as it is more typically found in the Chrisitian texts, but almost never found in the songs and prayers. This is because these short introductions were very likely added into the final Nahuatl version of the text by Sahagún himself.[154] These explanations then were for the benefit of the non-Nahuatl audience – the friars using the texts – and do not indicate that there was any belief by the Nahuas in an eternal paradise.[155]

Instead, according to the details of the text itself, at the end of four years, the warriors were said to morph into birds and butterflies. *Auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, njmā*

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[153] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 11.

[154] Camilla Townsend has found that these explicative sentences found at the beginning of sections of the Florentine Codex, in Nahuatl, were originally in Spanish in the *Primeros Memoriales*, the "first draft" of the Florentine Codex. These statements that explain what is to come in the prayer, then were written by Sahagún and later translated by him into Nahuatl, rather than the other way around. *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept their History Alive* (New York: Oxford Press, 2017), 132–134, fn.104

[155] For instance, the prayer for rain adds an explanation that would have been for the benefit of a European, saying that "She was like Ceres." Others add admonishments about the words being idolatrous, which would not have been an original Nahua belief, but for the benefit of the friars using the texts.

ic mocuepa, tlaçototome, huitzitzilti, xochitototl, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. Yoan in njcan tlalticpac oalhui in quioalchichina, in jxchichnepapan Xochitl in qeuimjtl, anoço tzonpanquavitl xilohxochitl, tlacoxilohxochitl, "And when they had passed four years there, then they changed into precious birds – hummingbirds, orioles, yellow birds blackened about the eyes, chalky butterflies, feather down butterflies, gourd bowl butterflies; they sucked honey [from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the various flowers – the *equimitl,* the *tzompanquauitl*, the *xiloxochitl*, the *tlacoxiloxochitl.*"[156] It should be no surprise at this point that flowers (as they withered in the songs and prayers) and birds (as their feathers were crushed) could be used in figurative terms. In the songs, for instance, song itself is said to come from the sky, from the "ilhuicac chaneh" or the sky dwellers, the toupial birds, the trogon birds, the singing swans, and they were in turn meant to entertain the gods.[157] Warriors were often represented in song and prayer as birds, such as eagles and owls, as well. It could be then that the birds were conflated with warriors, the warriors perhaps becoming the ilhuicac chaneh, those who became the songs, in the literal sense the stories that made up the songs, to entertain the gods.

It has been assumed that this indicates that an individual man would return as an individual bird, but that is not how they are expressing the idea in the text. It is more plausible that the butterflies and birds were seen as representations, as reminders of the warriors who had died, without anyone literally believing that the men had returned as

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[156] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3*, 49.
[157] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.5.19–24.

specific creatures or lived on for eternity in this way. The implication is that they lived as all birds flittering above all flowers. There was no indication that any one man was coming back to earth as a specific bird or butterfly. This suspicion that warriors did not have an eternal life waiting for them holds true in the prayer of the warriors and the songs that they sang about them as well.

The act of praying for success in war indicates that the goal was not to wind up dead, regardless of the reward; it actually shows the opposite intention, that gaining glory on earth was the goal. My conviction here is that the warriors were invested in being remembered, sung about, and also, bringing about their glory here on earth rather than waiting for or rushing toward some anticipated paradise in an afterlife. The speaker of the warriors' prayer pleads for the god to incline himself to them, his people, so that they might succeed: *Ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin tlacatl, totecoe, teutle, teimatinie, techichivanie: ma ximotlatlatlalili, ma ximotlatecpanili, ma ximotemamanili, ma necuiltonolo, ma netlamachtilo, ma veia, ma vecapanivi in quappetlatl, in ocelupetlatl: ma motequaiotl, ma motleioti in teuatl, in tlachinolli: ma ioli, ma tlacati in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in Tonatiuh iteavilticauh, in itetlamacacauh, in çan canin, in çan quēman in ticmomacaviliz in contocaz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli,* "Incline your heart, O Tlacatl, o our Lord, o god, o Teimatini,[158] o Techichiuani, to arrange, to order things, to establish the people. May there be wealth and prosperity; may it grow, may it gain honor with respect to the eagle mat, on the jaguar mat [in war]. May there be ferocity, glory in war. May the eagle [warrior], the jaguar [warrior] live, exist [or be born]– he who is the gladdener,[159]

[158] Literally, the knower of people.
[159] He gladdens the sun, brings pleasure to the sun, by feeding him.

the servant, of the Sun. Somewhere, sometime, you will grant that they will follow the Sun, Tlaltecutli."[160] The desire here was that the warriors gain their recognition in life and that they endure and live. Warriors did not charge into battle hoping for death. Instead if they were destined to die, they were hoping to gain glory *before* death and hoping that someone would tell of stories of that glory.

The warriors' prayer even went so far as to ask that the gods make their battles easier by inebriating their enemies. For what purpose? So that none of them would wind up dying. The speaker said:

Auh inic tinecoc iautzin, inic timoiocalatzin, inic timoquequeloa, inic aiac motenpan: ma xicmotlaoantili, ma xicmivintili, ma xicmoxocomictili yn toiaouh, ma imac oalmotlaça, ma quioalmomaca, ma ica oalmomotla in tocnoquauh, in tocnocelouh, in aiavia, in avellemati, in toneoatinemi, in chichinacatinemi in tlalticpac.	And as you are Necoc Yaotl, as you are Moyocoyatzin, as you are Moquequeloa, so that no one is at your borders, intoxicate our enemies; inebriate them, make them drunk. May they cast themselves into the hands of, may they give themselves to, may they come [unaware] upon/hit up against our suffering eagle warriors, our suffering jaguar warriors, who rejoice not, who are unhappy, who live in torment, who live in pain on earth. [161]

Please, Necoc Yaotl, you who are the twofaced, Moyocoyatzin, you capricious one, Moquequeloa, you who love mockery and trickery, send us drunk enemies so that we do not die, so that our job will be easier. The speaker asked that his people, "our suffering eagle warriors, our suffering jaguar warriors," be given the glory of victory. Even with this, though, there was no doubt that the life of a warrior was even less secure than the average mortal. And when that life ended, there would be some honor to be had.

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[160] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 14–15.
[161] Ibid, 14.

When a warrior finally met his death, it was described again using the metaphor of a plain for a battlefield and his life being scattered, cut to pieces, as destroyed as the shattered gems seen in the songs. The passage shows the men who had died before him watching from "above," in the sky:

auh ca ie oalitztotoc ie oallachialotoc in topan in mictlan, in ilvicac in quezqui: auh in aquinin tlacnopilviz in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl: auh in tetzon, in teizti, in texillan in tetozcatlan[162] *actiaz, in cauiltiz: auh in catlitiz, in quitlamacaz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli, yn ixtlaoacan, in ixtlaoatl inepantla, in itic in mopôpoiauhtoz, in mopopoiaoaz: in vncan xixitiniloz, momoiaoaloz, in tzatzaianaloz, in niman vncan yhiiotl quiçaz:*	And all those who are above us in Mictlan, in the sky, already lie watching, are already observing. Whoever is a suffering eagle warrior, a suffering jaguar warrior, a noble will cry out[163] from the gut. He will make the Sun, Tlaltecutli happy, will gladden him, will give him drink and serve him. On the [battle]field, in the midst of the [battle]field, he will be brave, valiant. There he will be undone, scattered, cut to pieces. Then and there he will breathe his last. [164]

He died, but before that, those above were watching to see if he would gain merit. He gained access to the Sun god, he fed him, because he died in battle. This meant entry into the home of the Sun. It also meant entry onto the list of those who were sung about and remembered. As the dying lay shattered and scattered, someone was to be arranging them like precious jewels or feathers: *auh ca amo ica timomachtitzinoa, ca vncan onoque, ca vncan xamantoque, in tepilhoan, in chalchiuhtin, in maquiztin, in tlaçoti ca vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanilia,*[165] *timotevipanilia: vncan timoteicuilvia,* "…And do not doubt it, for there [on the battlefield] they lie, there lie shattered, peoples' children, the precious green stones, the bracelets, the precious items: for there like necklaces, like precious feathers we place them [as an offering before you], arrange them in order,

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[162] In one's abdomen, in one's throat – from the gut (generous person or a speech or prayer from the gut and throat.)
[163] This could also be to beg or entreat.
[164] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 11–12.
[165] To place something before someone, an offering to the gods.

record their names there."[166] The record of who they were was meant to be kept. So then, it was a little bit of both, that their merit was counted for the purposes of being allowed to go to the home of the Sun. But, also it meant that they would be remembered and kept alive in the stories and songs about the battle. Therefore, Tonatiuh ichan was a place of joining and feeding the gods, where a warrior's service continued. It was a mark of honor but was not an eternal paradise. The warriors' only true eternal existence was in the songs and stories of their triumphs in life.

4. Songs as Memory

It is certainly true that numerous warrior societies have a promise of paradise when one gives one's life in battle, which seems to have served the very practical purpose of encouraging full participation in war. Glory in the here and now was more tangible, though, and being remembered was a promise that the Nahua warriors could be sure of as they had grown up hearing the triumphant songs of battle. And after all, being permitted to go to the Sun was an honor, but it also meant that such men would be feeding him, giving him their lives. To that end, the warriors' prayer recognizes how terrible it is to die and how sad it would be for those left behind. The prayer says that: *A mach oc commati in nantli, in tatli, in tlacachivale, in tzone, in izte,*[167] *in veve, in ilama: auh in ça noço, ac teoaniolcatzin in teaujtzin, in tetlatzin: mach oc commati in quen poliui in tlacachioalli:*

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[166] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 12. This last sentence could be translated as, "you [the god] place them, arrange them in order, record their names there," but given the context and the fact that we know at funerals the men and/or their bundles are "arranged" it is likely that those on earth are doing the placing and arranging.

[167] *in tlacachivale, in tzone, in izte,* this phrase has the implication of those with the same antecedents, the same ancestors, and those who come from the same body, which is to say, one's family.

anca quen oquimotetzavili in tenantzin, in itlan ocochiaiaticatca, in imetzpan quitlatlaliticatca: auh in imemeialotzin, quemeva ic oquimotetzauili, "The mother, the father, the family, the old man, the old woman, do not know of it yet. Nor do any of the assembled kinsmen – the aunts, the uncles – know yet how their relative died. Nor the mother who strengthened him, the one by whose side he used to be lulled to sleep, the one who used to place him on her thigh, and the one who with her milk had indeed strengthened him."[168] The sadness is felt in the mother who had strengthened and cared for her little boy just to have him killed in battle, but the real pity is that the warrior's family does not know that he is dead, that they are not there to mourn him, to wrap him for burial, to honor him. They are not there to remember him, and sing of his glory, thereby giving him an afterlife.

The warriors seemed to be expecting some form of afterlife or joy, and yet there was nothing akin to a Christian longing for Heaven. When the warriors' prayer mentions the earthly lords who would be waiting in the afterlife, the connection between glory and song is made. The speaker says:

Tlacatle iaotzine, titlacaoane, tezcatlipucae, ioalle, ehecatle: manoço iviian, iocuxca texillan tetozcatlan[169] *maquiltitiaz in ac iehoatl: auh in quezqui oticmomaceuili, manoço ivian, iocuxca itech onaciz in Tonatiuh in manic*[170] *in*	O Tlacatle, O Yaotl, O Titlacauan, O Tezcatlipoca, O night, O wind: May it be peaceful. May whoever has been noble, may he be adorned. May you peacefully arrive at the Sun which spreads, shines; the resplendent one, the ascending eagle,

[168] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 12.
[169] Difrasismo – someone's abdomen, womb; someone's throat: Texillan tetozcatlan oquiz. Inin tlatolli itechpa mitoaya in aquin itech oquiz tlatocamecayotl = From someone's entrails, from someone's throat, he came forth. Here this phrase is in reference to a person who comes from nobility and therefore has been translated as such. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Nahuatl Proverbs, Conundrums, and Metaphors: Collected by Sahagun*, trans. Thelma D Sullivan, (México: Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl, 1963), 148–149. Elsewhere in the Florentine Codex, *in texillan in tetozcatlan* is translated as "in one's abdomen, in one's throat" referring to a cry and therefore I have translated it as "from the gut."
[170] He who has spread.

tlanexti in totonametl, in quauhtleooanitl, in vel cuicuiliuic in nexeoac in quauhtli in ocelutl, in tiacauh, in oquichtli, in iavmicqui in xoppilli[171]*: auh manoço yvian, iocuxca intech onaciz in tiacavan in iamicque, in tepilhoan: in quitzicquaquatzin, in maceuhcatzin, in tlacavepantzin, in ixlilcuechaoac, in hivitl temoc in chachoacuetzin: auh in ie muchintin, in ie ixquichtin, in quauhti in ocelo, in ilvicatl itic, in vmpa cauiltia in Tonatiuh, in xippilli in tiacauh in iavmicqui yn vmpa coiouia:*[172]	the spotted eagle, the ashen one, the eagle, the jaguar, the leader, the manly man, the one who died in war, the turquoise prince.[173] *And may they peacefully arrive among the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the peoples' children, Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauepantzin, Ixtlilcuechauac, Ihuitl Temoc, [and] Chahuacuetzin*; and all, all the several eagle warriors who are in the sky where they gladden the sun, the turquoise prince, the valiant warrior, the one who died in war – They attained it by their own effort.[174]

Warriors were honored on earth, when they lived through the battle, but also when they died bravely. The reward that was sought was the respect of the lords and the city, but most importantly, the singers who would compose songs about the battle and the warriors who fought and died valiantly. When the names in the prayer are examined this idea of the reward being song, the eternal life being a storied existence, comes into full focus. These men, "*Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauepantzin, Ixlilcuechauac, Ihuitl Temoc, [and] Chahuacuetzin,*" were memorialized in song. They were warriors during the reign of Motecuzoma Xocoyotzin and their names can be found within the *Cantares*,[175] what was intended by this verse was not that they would go to a physical afterlife but instead that they would be remembered thusly, in song, like those who had

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[171] Xiptli + pilli
[172] 0-c-ihyo-huia - to withstand a difficult task. Kartunnen, 98;102.
[173] Xippilli or xoppilli. Another name for the sun.
[174] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 12–13 Italics mine.
[175] Dibble and Anderson note this fact in their translation of this text (Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 13fn11) citing the Ángel María Garibay K. translation of the songs as the source in which these men's names show up. See: Ángel María Garibay Kintana, *Panorama literario de los pueblos Nahuas* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1963). For more on the history that is contained in the songs and who these men were, see: Peter Sorensen's forthcoming dissertation, *"I Am a Singer, I Remember the Lords": History in the Sixteenth-Century Aztec Cantares.*

gone before them, if they showed themselves worthy. These songs and names would have been familiar to those at the time, in a way that they are not now, making it even more likely that when a warrior heard this prayer he would have thought of these men in relation to their songs and the stories he had heard about them. Therefore, his goal would have been to join them in song, in story, and in the collective memory of his people.

It has been supposed that there are verses in the prayers specifically that speak about the warriors desiring death, and this has been taken as evidence that there was a wonderful paradise to be had for them after death. This idea that the Nahuas had a quasi-Christian belief that there was a "heaven" and that there was a desire to go to that heaven has been popularized by a number of authors and can be attributed in part to the mis-translation of the word *miquiznequi* – which was always said to be a combination of desire (*nequi*) and death (*miqui*) but in reality, the sentiment of this word is not that the warriors "desired death," but that they were "about to die" or "going to die." The future tense (*z*) combined with *nequi* has the sense of an impending action, something that is going to happen, rather than something that one wants to happen.[176] Such that, *Auiz nelle motolinia in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in miquiznequi, in anemiznequi,…*[177] goes from being translated in earlier translations as: "And here, in truth, poor is the poor eagle warrior, the poor jaguar warrior who desireth to die, who wisheth not to live…"[178] to "And here, in truth, miserable is the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering jaguar warrior,

[176] Another example of this from the Annals of Tlaxcala is xitiniznequi which literally translates to "it wants to crumble down" but would be translated, "it is about to crumble down." It has been supposed that this same idea has been translated into Mexican Spanish in which one can say, "quiero enfermar" which literally translates to "I want to get sick" but figuratively means, "I'm getting/ about to get sick." (Personal communications with John Sullivan, March 19, 2019).
[177] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.
[178] Translation unaltered from the Dibble and Anderson edition of Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.

who are about to die. They are not going to live,…" Although there is a whiff of wanting in the word, it is not indicative of desire, but of an impending consequence. When looking at new translations and examining the language closely, these verses are not the words of a warrior desiring to go to heaven but instead of one who has been wounded, or taken captive, and knows that he *will* die and that because he knows this for a certainty, he will make sure that he dies with honor and bravery.

A warrior's goal was to be among the dead remembered in song as having died with glory and honor, as having gone to the obsidian knife, or sacrificed, with dignity and not as a coward. The prayer calls on the warrior to go willingly to death, only after suffering in war and fighting valiantly:

in ie ixquich nepapan quauhtli ocelutl: in toneoa, in chichinaca in iiollo, in nentlamati in mitzmonochilia, in mitzmotzatzililia: in amo quitlaçotla in itzontecon in ielchiquiuh, in teca quimotla, in teca quitepachoa[179] *in miquiznequi: manoço achitzin xicmottitili in quinequi, in queleuia, in tiçatl, in ivitl: manoço xicmomachiotili*	All the different eagle [warriors], the jaguar [warriors], those who suffer pain, who suffer torment in their hearts, who are anguished, those who call upon you, who cry out to you, those who do not value their heads, their breasts, those who are hit [with stones] , those who are about to die: concede to them a little bit, show them what they desire, what they long for, the chalk, the down feathers, concede to him, let him make a mark[180] upon himself. [181]

Here what is being "desired" is an honorable death after being taken captive, what is "desired" is being sacrificed, now and only now that, he has been defeated and tortured, and now that it is assured that he will die. He is seeking to mark himself for sacrifice, to say, "Go ahead and kill me!" We see him asking to make the mark with the chalk and

[179] Te-ca: by means of people; quimotla, quitepachoa: they stoned him (could relate to battle or sacrifice.) Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019; and Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 225.
[180] Indicating that he is prepared to die as a sacrifice.
[181] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 13.

feathers on himself. This mark would symbolize that he is to be sacrificed. He is asking for it, not because he is hoping for eternal joy in heaven, but because in order to die with dignity he must be willing to die bravely, and not cower from his fate. Additionally, it was required of those doing the sacrificing, to allow the victim to die with honor, to "concede to them," the chalk and the feathers, so that they may mark themselves.

We know this from other sources, namely the annals. What we find in the annals of Tlatalolco, for instance, is that, according to the old stories, which these prayers would have echoed, a girl called Chimalaxochitl who was captured and sacrificed in 1299, was said to have become impatient with her captors due to the torment she was subjected to and so she demanded the "chalk and feathers." It is recorded that she said: *tleycā amo timiquizqq̄ tleycan topan aciquiui ma quimocaquitica yn tlatoque tleycā amo timiquizqq̄ ma tiçatzintli yuitzintli tocontitlanica,* "'Why do we not die? [meaning, 'Why do you not sacrifice us?'] Why are they coming to us? Let the lords listen! Why do we not die? Let us ask for the chalk and feathers!'"[182] Her cries are a mirror image of the description above. The prayer then is not calling on the warriors to accept their fate in exchange for an eternal paradise, but rather, to gain glory among their fellows here on earth by going to their death with honor and courage.

The warriors would not have asked for death at any other time, but for when it was their last resort. When it was finally clear that death was their only way out, when they had been held and tortured by an enemy or when they were laid out on a field, their

[182] Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 38, 231 (Nahuatl).

entrails spilling out, that is when they desired death and a death worth remembering and being proud of. The warrior is called on to be brave in the prayer:

Auh in ie ixquich in quauhtli, in ocelutl: manoço achitzin quicnopilvi, ma achitzin itech matilivi in tiçatl, in ivitl, ma xicmottitili in tlamaviçoolli, macamo mavi in iiollo, ma cauiiacamati, ma quitzopelicamati[183] in itzimiquiliztli, ma ica in jiollo cavilti, in necoc tene[184], in tlapotonilli, in itzpapalotl, ma quinenequi, ma quehelevi in jtzimjqujzxuchitl, ma quiuelicamati[185], ma caujiacamati, ma qujtzopelicamati in iooalli, in tlacocomotzaliztli, in icavaquiliztli: ma xicmoviviti, ma xicmocniuhti.	And all, the eagle [warriors], the jaguar [warriors], concede to him a little bit of his merit/worth; may [the warrior] be covered with chalk, with down feathers. Show him the marvel. May he not be afraid in his heart. May he know the fragrance, the sweetness of death by the obsidian knife [as a sacrifice]. May [the warrior] leave by means of his heart/strength/valor with double edged spade, with the ritual feathering, with Itzpapalotl. May he desire, may he long for the flowery death by the obsidian knife [as a sacrifice].[186] May he know the deliciousness, the fragrance, the sweetness of the darkness, the din of battle, the roar of the crowd. May you join him; be his friend.[187]

This furthers the idea that he was not to cower, he should die by his strength. He should want to be sacrificed, because it was noble to do so. The warriors were seeking glory, not in an afterlife, but in life and in the manner of their death. This fact has long been mistaken for a more Christian ideal of a heavenly reward.

It was not beyond the Nahuas, surely, to freely speak, sing, compose, think, and understand complex metaphors, some of which have remained a mystery to non-native speakers to this day. It could be that both the aides and their leaders, Sahagún and the

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[183] From -*tzopelica* for this phrase as a whole I think I am on firm ground with this phrase *O cenquizcaahuiacatzopellicaychpochtzintle ma* meaning, "Oh perfectly fragrant and sweet maiden" (mid sixteenth century, Central Mexico) Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Monograph 13 (Albany: University at Albany, 2001), 121.
[184] This is literally – a spade or something similar with two edges; also, a gossiper.
[185] From huelic – something delicious or pleasing.
[186] i.e. once it has gotten to the point of no return, may he ask for death.
[187] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 14.

other friars, were Christian and may not have completely understood what they were hearing when committing these prayers and speeches to paper. In this case, their own Christian constructs were used to make sense of the words of the elders. It could also be that Sahagún's and his aides' focus on heaven, on an eternal paradise, was a post-facto product of the fact that when these texts were written most of the valiant warriors earlier sung about were dead at the hands of the Spanish, creating a desire to believe that they lived on in a paradise. This hope then carried to translations of the texts which has skewed our understandings of what these afterlives meant to the Nahuas in preconquest times.[188]

What, then, can be said about the expectations of the warriors? From the prayer we see that they were at least hoping to join those who had gone before them. It is the manner of that joining that is questionable. After describing the men laid out on the battlefield, the speaker states that: *In intech onaciz, in intech vmpouiz in tiacaoan, in iavmicque, in quauhtin ocelo: in quinamiqui, in cauiltia in totonametl in xippilli: auh in quichichina nepapan xuchitl, in quitlamachtia in ilvicatl itic, in Tonatiuh ichan*, "They will arrive among, will belong with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the eagle [warriors], the jaguar [warriors] who receive, who gladden the resplendent one, the turquoise prince. And they suck various flowers; they prosper in the sky, the home of the Sun."[189] The dead would join the other valiant warriors who had died in battle, or were sacrificed as prisoners of war, but if the afterlives were limited to four years then there must have been a metaphysical joining at work here. It has already been established that

[188] Dibble and Anderson's translations also show that they too wanted to see these warriors believing in and living on in an afterlife that was heaven-like.
[189] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 15.

song was a key component of mourning and remembrance. The singer of the "Song of Nezahualcoyotl" intones: *O ayae quitlamitaz monecuiltonol … a'noyol quimati cuel achic otictlanehuico neçahualcoyotzin ayoppatihuā nicā an aya ychā tlpc oon yn ayoppatihua in tlpcqui, çā nicuicanitl ayaho on nichocaya niquelnamiqui neçahualcoyotl ayyo,* "Your wealth is endless. … Does my heart not know, we borrow it for a little while? Nezahualcoyotl, he does not return to earth after death. The earth is no one's home, he does not return to earth after death. I am a singer, I cry, I remember Nezahualcoyotl."[190] The singer's goal could only have been to mourn and weep for the fallen king, but by recalling him, he was also keeping his memory alive. The singer outright tells us that what he is doing is remembering Nezahualcoyotl.

Even in the song recounting the final battle for Tenochtitlan, being remembered is central. We see this in the huexotzincayotl when the singer says: *çan tlaocolxochitl tlaocolcuicatl onmania Mex^co^ nican ha in tlatilolco in yece ye oncanon neiximachoyan ohuaya,* "Only sad flowers, sad songs spread out from here, Mexico and Tlatelolco! In what is nevertheless the place of recognition [battlefield.]"[191] All that would be left were sad songs, memories from the battlefield, here literally termed the "place of recognition," where warriors gained their glory, except in this story, glory would be futile. This song leaves one with a sinking feeling, as it continues: *Ototlahueliltic çan titotoliniah timacehualtin queçohuel tehuantī otiquittaque in cococ ye machoyan ohuaya // ticmomoyahua ticxoxocoyan in momacehualy in tlatilolco cococ moteca cococ ye machoyan yeic ticiahuia ic ye titlatzihuia,* "Woe is us, we commoners just suffered, [as

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[190] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.28v.20. (Translation with the help of Peter Sorensen, Celso Mendoza, and Camilla Townsend, April 12, 2019).
[191] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.6v.20. (Translation by Peter Sorensen). Neiximachoyan – literally the "place of recognition/knowledge."

truly] we saw/knew affliction in the battlefield. // We disperse, we ache, your commoners, in Tlatelolco we assemble in misery, in the battlefield. Because we are exhausted, we wait doing nothing."[192] The battle raged on even as the Mexica, the Nahuas, were gathered in misery, exhausted, unable to do anything. In their last refuge, Tlatelolco, they stood as long as they could before being forced to flee, saying, *Choquiztli moteca yxayotl pixahui oncā a in tlatilolco yn atlā yahqueon o in Mexica ye cihua nel ihui ica ye huiloaon canon tihui in tocnihuan a ohuaya,* "Weeping spreads, tears sprinkle down, in Tlatelolco. Into the water the Mexica women went. It was truly thus. It is there [to the water] that we go, and they who are our friends."[193] There was no sense of glory in death, especially when no one would remain to remember their deeds. In the end they were abandoned. *ça can ye oncan çan quinchoquiztlapaloa o anqui huitzmanatl in çan ye ~~ītuh~~ motelchiuh onya o anquin ye mochin ha in tlaylotlaqui, ah in tlacotzin, ah in tlacateuctli in oquihtzin y hui hui ica çā ye conyacauhqui in Tenochtitlan ohuaya,* "Just there he greets them weeping, the great Huitzmanatl, Motelchiuh. All of them – Tlailotlaqui, Tlacotzin! Tlacateuctli Oquitzin! With that, they have abandoned Tenochtitlan."[194] The final verses about the fall of Tenochtitlan, the dejection is in the defeat, the fact that they would no longer be remembered for their valiant deeds. Song was inextricably linked to mourning and memory and therefore as long as there was song there was life after death, but in the crushing defeat nothing seemed certain to remain, not even song and memory.

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[192] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.6v.24–26 (Translation by Peter Sorensen).
[193] Ibid, f.6v.29. (Translation and interpretation by Peter Sorensen).
[194] Ibid, f.7r.7. (Translation by Peter Sorensen).

5. Remembrance in Song as Life After Death

What was central to the songs and prayers was the idea of mourning and remembrance itself and so we see that this is really how the Nahuas understood the afterlife. In song, the singer offered pleas for remembering those who were gone and for being remembered when he was gone. In the ycnocuicatl we hear him sing, *Oacico ye nican yn ielel ytlaocol … ye itic onnemia ma onnechoquililo in quauhtli ye nican can tipopoliꝗuizque ayac mocahuaz,* "He arrived here with his feelings of sadness. … He lives inside. May the eagle jaguar [warrior] mourn me here. We will just be lost. There will no longer be life."[195] He not only expresses the great sadness and the complete loss of life in death, but now he also entreats the warrior, the eagle and the jaguar, to mourn him here on earth. Only in mourning and memory did the dead live on. He continues, saying, *Cuicatl ayolque Xochitl ancueponque,* "In song you live. You blossomed like flowers."[196] This song clarifies that only in song did loved ones who had died, live again, and in no other way. It was only in memory that they lived on. The promised afterlife was the memory of loved ones. Those who would be abandon on earth, they would remember and in that way, the dead would live on.

In the prayers the concern for remembering and being remembered mingled together. The children of the dead were encouraged to remember their loved ones, and to glorify them. In the speech of the nobleman to his daughter, he calls on her to remember his words and not to disgrace her lineage, *ma cenca tle ticmati, ma tiquimavilquixti in totecuioan, in intechpa timoquixti, ma teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixo in intlillo, in intlapallo,*

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[195] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.14r.24.
[196] Ibid, f.15r.17.

in pillotl ma itla ic ticavilquixti, "Take special care that you not dishonor our lords from whom you are descended. Do not cast dust, filth upon their memory. May you not dishonor the nobility with something."[197] Great care was to be taken with the memory and honor of her forebears, for only in memory did they live. Only through her did their legacy continue. In the funeral song we see this same call for the children to take care of the dead: *Auh in oconquetzteoaque in vei quimilli, in vei cacaxtli, in vei tlamamalli, in tlatconi, in tlamamaloni in etic, in temamauhti in aixnamiquiliztli, in aieoaliztli in iteputzco in icuitlapan contlaliteoaque, concauhteoaque in intzon, in imizti*[198]*: in ocuel achic quimontzonteconacocuico, in oquimonteniotico,* "They stood up the large bundle upon leaving, the large carrying frame, the great burden, the subjects, the governed, – the heavy, frightful, insupportable, insufferable. They put it from their backs upon leaving. They departed leaving it to their offspring. To him who for yet a little while came to raise up their heads, who came glorifying them."[199] It was not only a matter of remembering the dead but also carrying on their legacy, taking over their earthly burdens, and reveling in the stories about them.

In contrast, those who, presumably, died without family or friends to keep them in their memory, to mourn them, were pitied. The funeral prayer went on to say, *Auiz nelle motolinia in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in miquiznequi*[200]*, in anemiznequi*[201] *in onvetzi*

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[197] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 97.
[198] Literally, "their hair, their fingernails," a metaphor for children/offspring as in from one's own body.
[199] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 22.
[200] Miquiznequi – the verb nequi does have the intonation of to want, but it is more about something that is going to happen, and especially when combined with the future tense as it is here. For more, see the Glossary.
[201] Again, this is more literally, they are about to not live, i.e. they are about to die, or they are not going to live through this.

iiollo in ixtlaoacan, in teuapan[202]*: ac itech oalmotzatziliz in otehoan motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetozcatlan maquiltitiaz, ac inan, ac yta quioalchioaz: auh ac conchoquiliz, ac conelcicivilіz,* "And here, in truth, miserable is the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering jaguar warrior, who are about to die. They are not going to live, their hearts[203] will spill out on the plain, on the battlefield. Who will shout about them? Who will entreat with the gods [for them?] by shouting with feeling from the gut. Who will go about adorned [for the funeral]? Who will be his mother? Who will be his father to come do it [mourn for him]? Who will cry for him? Who will sigh for him?"[204] The prayer speaks clearly of these warriors, who are left on the battlefield, suffering – injured or captured – and about to die. There is no doubt that they will be killed, that their innards will spill out onto the land, the battlefield. The pity here is that they died without their family, their parents, knowing about it. They would have no one to cry out – literally from their guts – to the gods in pain, or grief, or anger about them. They would be left without the rites of a funeral, without being mourned. They died without the legacy that was necessary in order to be wept for, sung about, or remembered.

The act of singing was a key component of not only mourning but also remembering the dead. Time and again the songs and prayers express the importance of song and prayer and even equate them. In a speech to a new ruler the speaker says, *auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilquixtia in vevetitilan, in aiacachtitlan, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanililo in mellel, in mihiio, in motlatol, in vncan tinotzalo, in vncan titlatlauhtilo,* "And here, truly, now, he is really banging in the place of the drums, of the

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[202] Teuapan here is derived from teotl – god, atl – water, and is a concrete term for battlefield. For more see the Glossary.
[203] As in "lifeblood."
[204] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.

gourd rattles, where you [the god] are addressed in sadness; where your feeling, your breath, your word are requested of you; where you are called upon; where you are prayed to."[205] In this way, the drums and rattles of the songs are mingled with the prayers in the place of the drums. This place of the drums was also said to be the same place where the god was called upon and beseeched as in a prayer. The two texts were different and used in different ways, but that they were both considered to be musical and ways of communicating with the gods means that we can say that they were both used as means of remembering and lauding those who had died.

Song was often referred to in the prayers as a way to remember and honor the dead and these memories were the core of the Nahua afterlife. The memories and stories of battles fought, and warriors' bravery were sung about much more than were the ideas about returning to the sun or warriors returning as fluttering birds, free to drink nectar from any flower. The songs are focused on the memories of the dead rather than the imagined world in which they were supposed to live after death. The funeral prayer asks, *Auh ac coliniz ac quiiolitiz in vevetl, in aiacachtli, in vncan molnamiqui, in vncan moiocoia in teuatl, in tlachinolli*[206]*: auh in vncan quimocotonilia in imiquiz in aavia, in avellamati, in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in niquiznequi: auh ac quinnechicoz in quauhtli, in ocelutl,* "And who will move, who will put life into the drum, the gourd rattle, where war is remembered, where war is created and where it will be cut, the death of the unhappy, the miserable, the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering jaguar warrior who is about to die? And who will gather [the remains of] the eagle warriors, the jaguar

[205] Ibid, 26.
[206] In teuatl, in tlachinolli is an accepted attestation of war or battle.

warriors?"[207] This was in response to the warriors who had died without anyone to mourn them. Here there was no one to sing, to dance, to play the drums, or to recall the war. Their stories would be lost if someone did not take up the mantle and sing about them.

In the speech to the new ruler the concept of song as memory was two-fold. The new ruler was to use song to remember, and then in turn would be remembered. The speaker instructs: *Xicolini xiiocoia in avillotl*[208]*, in vevetl, in aiacachtli: in vncan moiocoia, in vncan molnamiqui, in vncan mopitza, momamali in teuatl in tlachinolli: xiquimahavili, xiquincecelti in aoaque tepeoaque? Ic tonitoloz, ic tonteneoaloz in otlacauhqui, in otlaocux yiollotzin totecuio in omitzonmotlatili: au hic onchocaz, ic onelciciviz in vevein ilama,* "Agitate, attend to the joy, entertainment [of others], the drum, the gourd rattle. There warfare is motivated, recalled, cast, bored with the fire drill [created]. Gladden, entertain the city dwellers. Thereby you will gain renown, you will be esteemed, when our lord has inclined, has softened his heart, when he has killed[209] you, and therefore the old men, the old women will weep; therefore they will sigh."[210] The ruler is told to attend to the songs of the past, to recall the wars, and the warriors, to do all of this to gain respect. In return the city, pleased and happy, would weep for him when he was dead, but only if he made himself loved and renowned on earth.

Similarly, in the end of the ycnocuicatl the singer returns to the men he was singing for in the beginning, now describing their funeral. He circles back to their bodies shrouded and laid out surrounded by flowers, the people of the community coming to

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[207] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.
[208] From Ahuilli: play, frivolity and -yotl: abstract or collective nominal suffix; when possessed can express inalienable or organic possession. James Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written,* 242.
[209] Literally "he has hidden you" but with the sense of to kill. For more, see the Glossary.
[210] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 53.

celebrate and remember them, indicating that this song, itself, was an important tool in mourning and remembering those who had died. He says, *Yecoc*[211] *xochitl man nequilmilolo man necuiltonolo antepilhuan huelixtihuitz cuecueyontihuitz çanyo xopã nomaci' catihuitz cempohualxochitl yecoc xochitl tepetitech // Yn çã xiuhcalitic noncuica maquizcalitic*[212] *niontlatoa çã nicuicanitl,* "The flowers are well laid out, shrouds are spread out,[213] wealth is spread out. You are all wellborn children. Many come swarming. Only in the rainy season will there come to be marigolds well laid out by the hill. // Just inside the bower I sing. In the jeweled house I sing. I am just a singer."[214] These men were dead and what could be done for them? They could be mourned, he could sing for them, in their memory, to keep them as alive as long as was possible in death.[215] This singer recognized that all that was left of these men was the songs sung about them. They left behind only their memory, their stories. The song confirms this, stating that: *Ye toCuic toxochiuh ticehua ycuic … yc onmoquechnahuatiuh yn icniuhyotl y matitech mãtiuh in cohuayotl …ça tontemiquico ahnelli ahnelli tinemico in tlpc.// Xoxopan xihuitl ypan tochihuaco hualcecelia hualitzmolini in toyollo xochitl in tonacayo cequi cueponi oncuetlahuia in conitotehuac yn tochihuitzin*, "With our poetry we raise his song. … We embrace friendship, holding hands, growing up, spreading out… We just see it here in our dreams. We dream here. It is not true. We do not live here on earth. // In the rainy season [springtime] of the year, we came here, this way things are refreshed, this way our lives grow. Like flowers, some parts of the human body bloom and wither, Tochihuitzin

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[211] From *yec* (well, good, right, thoroughly) and *oc* (to be lying, to stretch out).
[212] From maquiztli + calli + itiz
[213] Literally passive of *quimiloa* – "there was shrouding."
[214] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.14r.9–12.
[215] León-Portilla also noted that the Nahua philosophers considered flowers and song or poetry, the only thing of value that they would leave behind, León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, p.78

said before dying."[216] Raising a song for the dead, for those who lay on the ground, is again mentioned. The singer also seeks to embrace the friendship and companionship that his life offered. He shares the words of the dying Tochihuitzin, perhaps one of the men being remembered in this performance, bringing full circle the idea of song as memory. The beauty of that idea is quickly marred, like a painting being erased, as one realizes that the conquest and the demographic collapse is about to destroy the traditions that kept the dead alive.

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Mourning and memory were and are very human ways of keeping loved ones alive, and yet for the Nahuas there was an anxiety in leaving this task to those they knew in life. As the Spanish marched inland from the coast, destroying Cholula and leaving nothing but death in their wake, as the first massacres in Tenochtitlan destroyed their valiant warriors as they sung their songs of war, as the first wave of smallpox ripped through the population killing indiscriminately, the Nahuas were faced with a new concern in death. Not only that they would die and that no one would know they had died, but eventually, that there would be no one left to remember them at all. This understanding of the afterlife as depending on the memory of the living is utterly destroyed when there are no living memories left. Who would remember the singer of the ycnocuicatl, as he asked? Who would mourn the warriors who died in the siege of Tenochtitlan, those who were, for instance, too young to have left behind children, but

[216] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, f.14v.1–5.

too old to have left behind parents? Or those who were trampled, their bodies lost to the muck of the lake?

As we will see in the records of the conquest, the people tried to collect the bodies of the dead, to identify them and give them the honor they deserved but this was impossible to do for all of them, and inevitably many were lost entirely to memory and now, to history. The images we will see of wives and mothers tearing their hair out at the root, pounding their fists bloody on the adobe of the buildings, amid the brains and broken bones of their husbands and children become all the more tragic when we consider that the Nahuas' conception of the afterlife meant that they were lost completely from earth and beyond in the moment that there was no one left to sing about them and remember them. This original philosophy could explain the attraction of the Nahuas to the Spanish and Catholic practices of writing wills and having masses said. It could also explain the intensity with which the Nahua scribes began to write their stories and memories when taught the Roman alphabet. There is no denying the importance of memory and mourning; and the number of documents, stories, names, and records left behind by the Nahuas of colonial Mexico give credence to the idea that to them this was the only legacy they would be able to leave behind.

Part II: Early Colonial Memory of the Conquest and Epidemic Death

Preface

When strangers were seen sailing off the coast of what is now Veracruz, the Nahuas did anything but sit back and wait. Scouts and stewards were sent to the beaches to greet, trade, and spy on the newcomers. The Nahuas quickly began observing the men, while offering them cloaks styled with beautiful streaks of sun yellow and turquoise blue revealing images of eagles and serpents dotted with sparkling jewels. They reported back regularly to Moctezuma, telling him and his advisors all they had seen and done. In turn Moctezuma ordered his sentries to keep watching. When the strangers entered his territories, he knew about it and had court painters go out with his emissaries to meet the newcomers, to find out what they wanted, to offer them concessions to go away, but also to record how many men and boats the new arrivals had. The tlatoani of Tenochtitlan kept tabs on the men in iron armor, his envoys made note of the large beasts, larger than any deer, that they rode, and the shining metal weapons that they used, some of which shot fire and smoke and could kill a man with little to no warning if he were hit in the wrong place.[1]

Therefore, on November 19, 1519, when Moctezuma met Hernando Cortés on the causeway leading to the entrance of Tenochtitlan, this was far from the first knowledge that Moctezuma had of the Spaniards. Moctezuma welcomed the Spaniards to the city offering it to them in the courtly speech that was customary of high Nahuatl discourse.[2]

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[1] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain: Book 12 – The Conquest of Mexico* in Lockhart, *We People Here,* 56–84. For this book of the Florentine Codex I am using the transcription and translation as found in the above publication.

[2] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 108–118.The exact circumstances and words spoken at this first meeting of Moctezuma and Cortés are up for debate and are discussed in Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 2003), 77–99.

This did not indicate that he was abdicating his throne to Cortés at that moment, quite the opposite. In fact, he knew he could not meet the Spanish in open battle and therefore he needed to keep them where he could watch them and find out more about them. Moctezuma was an experienced leader and recognized that open warfare with these men, who had by this time allied with his enemies in the neighboring altepetl of Tlaxcala, would result in untold losses that he could not recover from quickly, and which would leave him vulnerable to the next attack, Spanish or native. Thus, he sought to negotiate as best as he could.

What none of these men realized, though, Spaniards included, was that there was a smaller, deadlier enemy already on the prowl, one that could not be negotiated with and one that could not be turned on the Spaniards as their guns could be. In 1520, while the Spanish were hunkered down in Tlaxcala after their flight from the city during the famed *Noche Triste*, the first cases of smallpox burst forth in Tenochtitlan. Large pustules broke out on the skin of the infected, painful blemishes that made it so that the sick could not walk, stretch out, or turn over without crying out. Years later, old men reported these details to those recording what they said in the Florentine Codex:

Auh in aiamo totech moquetza in Españoles: achtopa momanaco vei cocoliztli, totomonaliztli, ipan tepeilhuitl in tzintic, in tetech motecac vevei tepopul: cequi vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan .&. vellaixpolo, vel miequintin ic micque, aoc vel nenemia, çā onoca in imonoian in incuchian, aoc vel moliniaia, aoc vel mocuechiniaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzoaia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mixtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in iquac mocuechiniaia, cenca	Before the Spaniards appeared to us [for the second time], first an epidemic broke out, a sickness of pustules. It began in Tepeilhuitl. Large bumps spread on people; some were entirely covered. They spread everywhere, on the face, the head, the chest, etc. [The disease] brought great desolation; a great many died of it. They could no longer walk about, but lay in their dwellings and sleeping places, no longer able to move or stir. They were unable to change position, to stretch out on their sides or face down, or raise their

tzatzia: cenca daixpolo, in pepechtic, in pepechiuhqui in çaoatl, vel miec tlacatl, ic momiqui[fol. 53v]li, yoā miequintin çan apizmicque, apizmicoac, aocac motecuitlaviaia, aocac teca muchivaia.	heads. And when they made a motion, they called out loudly. The pustules that covered people caused great desolation; very many people died of them, and many just starved to death; starvation reigned, and no one took care of others any longer.[3]

These words reflect the first experience of the disease that would take the lives of so many. This is as close to a first-person account of the original 1520 epidemic as we will ever have. There was little to be done, and indeed, even if someone had help to offer, the sickness caused such suffering and such havoc that there was barely anyone left to care for the ill, let alone feed them. The cries and yells sounded from the houses where the sick lay and many died. No sentry or negotiator could be sent to observe or reason with this enemy. Unlike the Spanish, this was an enemy the Nahuas did not recognize and could not fend off, even for a short period of time.

Those who survived – and there were some who did – were left scarred and "damaged," some were blinded.[4] It was said that the disease lasted for two months before it ended. But even then it was not over: *iquac in manca inin totomoniliztli, vel epoalilhuitl, epoaltonal in quiz in cuetlan, in neemachoc, in iolioac: ie chalcopa vatztia, in totomonilizdi, yoā miec inic cocototzauh: amo tel ic cen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanito ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncan vel caxavaque in Mexica, in tiacaoan,* "This disease of pustules lasted a full sixty days; after sixty days it abated and ended. When people were convalescing and reviving, the pustules disease began to move in the direction of Chalco. And many were disabled or paralyzed by it, but they were not

[3] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here,* 180–182.
[4] Ibid, 182.

disabled forever. It broke out in [the month of] Teotl eco, and it abated in [the month of] Panquetzaliztli. The Mexica warriors were greatly weakened by it."[5] Even at this early stage the observers saw that this silent, invisible killer was traveling, moving from place to place, and they noted its movements. The disease itself was not the only concern, for now the Nahuas knew that their warriors had been weakened, felled by an unknown enemy, and that their other, more tangible enemy was at their gate. The Spanish used this to their advantage: *Auh in ie iuhqui: nimā ie vitze, valolini in Españoles in vmpa Tetzcoco,* "And when things were in this state, the Spaniards came, moving toward us from Tetzcoco."[6] To be sure, the smallpox epidemic cannot be attributed as the sole cause of the conquest of Tenochtitlan, the causes of which are many and complex.[7]

And yet, it was recognized at the time as a distinct disadvantage and the role of disease in the conquest and in the years to come cannot be ignored and unquestionably changed the demographics of the Americas more than any other factor. In the records the Nahuas made of the preconquest era, death was a matter of kings and succession. The purpose of recording death was to record the legacy and the continuation of the rulership through his successor. Sometime, but rarely, catastrophic events, such as famine and droughts that greatly disrupted the population were noted for the many deaths they caused. They were considered horrendous tragedies that should be recorded for posterity. In the later annals, those about the colonial era, death becomes a part of everyday life. The writers who recorded annals about many years of their own lives speak of the

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] For an outline of the current literature on the conquest of Mexico see: Camilla Townsend, "Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 3, (2003): 659–687.

loneliness and desolation brought on by the unyielding epidemics. Hardly a page goes by without the mention of death or sickness. Death was no longer a matter of the legacy of kings but was a constant companion to everyone living at the time. For the indigenous writers, then, their records became the only memory that would exist of the dead in a time when almost no one lived to what would have been their natural death. In their understandings of death and dying Nahuas had to adapt to accommodate not only a colonial regime that would insist that they change their beliefs, but also an unthinkable increase in the frequency and volume of death that their beliefs needed to help them cope with.

Chapter 3

Collective Experience and Memory of Epidemics and Death in the Nahuatl Annals

[Two Flint Knife] The tenth ruler, Cuitlahuatzin, was installed in Ochpaniztli. He ruled for only eighty days; he died at the end of [the month of] Quecholli of the pustules [smallpox], when the Castilians had gone to Tlaxcala.[8] *– Codex Aubin*

In 1521, while the people were still recovering from the first smallpox epidemic, the Spanish returned to Tenochtitlan and proceeded to conquer the city block by block. The Nahuas now had to face the devastation of the illness and of these brutal battles to take the city. The words recorded in the Annals of Tlatelolco regarding the destruction of Tenochtitlan leave little to the imagination and reveal a scene of gruesome annihilation: *Auh yn otlica omitl xaxamātoc tzontli momoyauhtoc calli tzontlapouhtoc calli chichiliuhtoc / ocuilti moyacatlamina otlica Auh yn Caltech hahahlacatoc yn quatextli Auh yn atl ça yuhqui chichiltic ça yuhqui tlapallatl ca yuh tiquique tiquia tequixquiatl Auh oc ypa tictetzontozonaya xamitl*, "And on the roads lay shattered bones and scattered hair; the houses were unroofed, red [with blood]; worms crawled on the roads; and the walls of the houses were slippery with brains. And the water seemed red, as though it were dyed, and thus we drank it. We drank salt water, and we hammered on the adobe."[9] The people in the leveled city were dying of starvation and thirst amongst the bodies of their dead kin. They pounded on the walls in grief and anguish. And in this state, they had

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[8] *Codex Aubin* in James Lockhart ed and trans., *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico,* Repertorium Columbianum, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 279.
[9] "Annales of Tlatelolco" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 313, fn.31.

to contend with the arrival of the violent conquerors along with the epidemics of small pox, influenza, typhus, malaria, and other European and African borne diseases that tore through the pueblos in central Mexico. These epidemics came in waves. Generation after generation, no one was left untouched. It was impossible that any person who lived to their natural death would not have known someone (and more than likely many people) affected by the epidemics brought to Mexico by the Spanish. As noted in the introduction the population decline could have been as high as 90% in the first 100 or so years after the conquest, a horrifically large drop for the native population of Mexico, a population that relied on the living to keep the dead alive in memory.

1. The Sources that Reveal the Early Colonial Period: Nahuatl Annals

To gain an understanding of this period of Nahua history, I will analyze the historic annals that were written down post-conquest by the Nahua men who were taught the Roman alphabet. These were created during the colonial period, but outside of the Spanish orbit entirely.[10] The tradition of keeping yearly "historical" records had a preconquest antecedent in the form of the *xiuhpohualli* or "yearly account." These accounts were kept by the various sub-altepetl and were performed one after another in town centers.[11] The colonial annals then were used to continue this tradition albeit on

[10] The Florentine Codex is the exception to this statement, being created hand-in-glove with the friars. Therefore, its value as source with an indigenous perspective will be discussed.
[11] For more on the preconquest precedent of keeping and preforming annals see: Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept Their History Alive* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6–8 and Camilla Townsend, "The Concept of the Nahua Historian: Don Juan Zapata's Scholarly Tradition," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes,* eds. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 134.

paper and to record the Nahua's colonial experience. At times, these records gesture back as far as *yn iquac yn itzinpeuhyoc. yn ochihualoc yn yocoyalloc cemanahuatl,* "when the universe was made and created at the very beginning…"[12] Although these sections are often less literally true than those about colonial history, they are no less Nahua in origin. Lockhart called the annals an unpublished newspaper of sorts.[13] These annals do include personal experiences and elaborations even though they never approach the detail of a personal journal or diary. Like the songs, the older annals have a stronger connection to their preconquest roots and contain more detailed sections about preconquest times, in that they contain memorized stories which had been passed down for years through oral performance. The men who wrote them down after the conquest would have heard the performances, for instance of the story of Chimalxochitl – the girl who asked to be sacrificed with honor after being captured and tormented – or of the great famines, many times, likely by more than one performer, before committing them to paper. Later in the colonial period, the annals' preconquest sections are shorter and less detailed, as the connection with the early performances were largely lost.

The historiography of the annals has historically been slim yet many of these annals have been transcribed and published. For a long time, the annals were considered to be circular and contradictory, owing to the fact that they often included more than one account of the same event, as the yearly accounts traditionally did. In the past few years the literature has grown significantly, largely due to the work of Townsend who has

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[12] Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time: Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin,* ed. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006), 116–117.
[13] Lockhart, T*he Nahuas After the Conquest*, 367–391.

written extensively about the annals.[14] Townsend confirms Lockhart's claim that these annals come from the preconquest tradition of the *xiuhpohualli* and that they were written with little to no Spanish oversight. She explains the value of the alphabetic annals over the colorful illustrated codices in that glyph writing was a highly specialized skill, whereas writing phonetic letters was quickly learned by anyone who was educated to use the Roman alphabet.[15] This means that these annals offer us more opportunities to hear people "speaking" in full, fluent language, thereby giving us a glimpse of the society that cannot be rendered from the specialized, illustrated codices. The effect of the progression of the annals through Lockhart's stages is reflected in the fading strength of a cellular understanding of time, melting into a European, linear tradition of keeping the annals strictly chronologically. The majority of the early annals generally included more than one perspective on the same event, and these perspectives were laid out next to one another rather than following a strictly linear path. For example, the *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca,* "meanders through time, but moving overall from the most ancient period to the most recent."[16] This style of recording history though, did eventually disappear as the memory of the performances that would have originally accompanied the annals and the meanings of the complex painted glyphs began to die off with the elders.[17]

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[14] Recently, Townsend has done extensive work to understand the Nahuatl annals and make them accessible to a more general readership. Most recently she has published *Annals of Native America.* Previous publications on the topic include: Camilla Townsend, *Here in this Year: Seventeenth-Century Nahuatl Annals of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), and Camilla Townsend, "Glimpsing Native American Historiography: The Cellular Principle in Sixteenth-Century Nahuatl Annals," *Ethnohistory* 56, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 625–650, which have given us a much more complete understanding of the annals and their value.

[15] Townsend, *Here in this Year,* 11–12.

[16] Townsend, "Glimpsing Native American Historiography," 633.

[17] Ibid, 627–646.

In this same way, I will begin by looking at the ways in which the annalists recorded death that occurred in more ancient times. The most well-known of these annalists is don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (Chimalpahin), who was from Chalco, but who wrote extensively in Mexico City from about 1590 to 1615. His work is much more extensive than that, though, because he based much of it on older statements and texts that were in the possession of his aging relatives and other huehuetque or "elders," the most crucial of whom was his own grandfather, don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin.[18] In the annals that Chimalpahin wrote about his own time he included an interlude that covered the preconquest histories of his people. He also wrote a separate, much longer work of history known as his *Ocho Relaciones*. In my analysis of these early records of death, I will pair Chimalpahin's work with that of the *Codex Aubin* which was written down in the 1560s and 70s. These accounts are necessarily recorded from a perspective that was not that of the author, and instead was an amalgamation of the stories that had been passed down through the generations until these men put pen to paper. These images and accounts offer us a view into the ways in which the Nahua annalists recorded tragedy and loss that was not theirs personally, but that of their ancestors.

In turn, I will look at the ways that these same annals recorded death "firsthand," as they do in their later sections, when the authors are talking about their own experiences of death or, more often, those of the men telling them the stories they are writing down. For the bulk of this work, I will use Book 12 of the *Florentine Codex*, but specifically the sections that were written based on the memories of the warriors who lived through the

[18] Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin & the Kingdoms of Chalco* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

conquest. At times, like the record of the 1520 epidemic and other descriptions of the conquest, this definition of "firsthand" is looser, but the fact is that these records were written based on oral interviews with the old men who had been alive and remembered the scenes of the epidemic and the destruction following the fall of the city. Although the bulk of the *Florentine Codex* was written hand-in-glove with Sahagún, Book 12 was written using the responses of the old men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco to questions asked by Sahagún's Nahua aides. This book was written using the same format as the annals in that it was composed as a series of recorded events based on oral accounts, with very little influence from Sahagún, which is why I am including it in this section as a Nahua historical account.

2. Early Images of Death and Famine in the Nahuatl Annals

Before the arrival of the Spanish, epidemic disease was not unheard of but was rare. Instead the records of death that we find most frequently in these early annals are those of the leaders, recording the lines of succession and immortalizing the deeds of those kings. The purpose of these records, originally represented with elaborate glyphs and only later written in alphabetic text, was to keep the memory of these men alive, but also to trace lineage and legitimacy. These annals were not to be read but performed publicly as spectacles. Like the songs, then, the stories within them were known by a far larger portion of the population than just those who painted or wrote them. These earliest records were in the third person and were often epic, lyrical, and poetic. They were told as part of sensational performances, along with the origin stories and other narratives

involving the deities of preconquest times, as well as the tales of battles fought long since, famines, eclipses, earthquakes, and plagues.

By far the most common representation of death in these annals was that of a dead tlatoani, or king. These accounts were always accompanied by the "seating" of the next ruler. The image of a bundled body with an appropriate name glyph was drawn and followed by the newly appointed tlatoani, already seated on his throne, with his name glyph also above him (Image 1). The accompanying text was written thus: *[glyph for 2 Flint Knife] Nican miquico in vitzillihuitl,* "In the year: two Tecpatl. Here Huitzilihuitl wound up dying."[19] The pictorial representation then is indicated by an image of Huitzilihuitl's name glyph, a hummingbird, and his funeral bundle. This is indicative of the fact that the dead were wrapped or shrouded before the funeral ceremony that was marked by the music, dancing, and mourning as seen in the songs and prayers. Then, in its shroud, the body would finally be cremated. Here, in these early images of death, meaning lay not only with the one who was gone, but with the one who would replace him. The altepetl continued with a new ruler, as life must continue, the next line reading, *[glyph for 3 House] yqu ey*[20] *tlatohuani nican yc onmotlalli yn chimalpopoca yehuatl ypan ya yn tepanecayotl*, "In the year: 3 Calli. The third tlatoani: Here Chimalpopoca was seated in the kingdom of the Tepaneca."[21] Now we see the new leader represented by his throne and his name glyph, a smoking shield. The significance of death lay not only in

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[19] "Codex Aubin," 1576, The British Museum, London, England, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=178213001&objectId=3008812&partId=1#more-views, f.31v.
[20] Read: ic eyi.
[21] "Codex Aubin," f.31v. This was because the Tepanecs were the patrons of the newer Mexica.

the end of life, but in the continuation of it, not in the ascent to an afterlife, but in the memory and legacy of the dead king in the form of his successor.

Image 1. Codex Aubin, f.31v. Funeral bundle representing the death of Huitzilihuitl, and king symbol representing the ascent of Chimalpopoca.

At times the record of a ruler's death is just that, as above, but then there are times when their deaths are part of a much longer tale, including war, injury, and natural phenomena. The death of Axayacatl includes all of the above. Recorded in the Codex Aubin his many conquests are listed thus:

[glyph 10 Flint Knife] Nican poliuhque ocnilteoa	In the year: 10 Tecpatl. Here the Ocuilteca were destroyed.
[glyph 11 House] Nicā poliuhque ycpatepeca.	In the year: 11 Calli. Here the Icpatepeca were destroyed.
[glyph 12 Rabbit] Nicā poliuhq̄ calli ymanyan tla ca Matlatzinca ompaqui coculizcuitique[22] *yn Axayacatzin Ytoca tlilcuetzpal y quimetzvitec xiquipilco ychan.*	In the year: 12 Tochtli. Here the people of the house of Imanyan, the Matlazincans, were destroyed. There they injured Axayacatl. Someone named Tlilcuetzpal, from Xiquiplico, hit him [Axayacatl] on the leg.
[glyph 13 Reed] Nicā qualloc intonatiuh Mochi nezque in çiçitlaltin yq̃c mic yn axayacatzin auh y niman ic ō motlalli in tizozicatzin yc chicome.	In the year: 13 Acatl. Here there was an eclipse. All the stars appeared then Axayacatl died and immediately after,

[22] Literally, "they made Axayacatl sick," but they definitely meant that he had been injured, a king's injuries are always mentioned in the annals.

> Tizocicatl was seated as the seventh Tlatoani.[23]

The tlatoani Axayacatl is remembered here as having conquered many other altepetl. His rule continues even after he has been injured in battle. It is impossible to tell if this injury is what took his life in the following year, but it seems likely that it had something to do with it. Interestingly, the man who caused the injury is also remembered by name and hometown here, giving him recognition, if not the same merit, for his skill in battle. An eclipse is being used as an omen of the death that is to follow it, for it is not until the stars reappear that Axayacatl dies. He is followed immediately by his successor, so as not to leave the altepetl and the macehualtin unattended as the prayers regarding a ruler's death indicate that the people so often feared (see Chapter 1).

As mentioned, epidemics were rare in the years before the conquest, but they did occur and were noteworthy when they did. These early mentions differ from the later descriptions of disease in that they include fewer details about the possible type of disease and leave less of an impression of total destruction: *6. acatl xihuitl ipan nauhxiuhtique in Pantitlan in Mexica oncan impan moman in Cocoliztli inin nacayo mochi tzatzayan,* "By the end of the year 6 Acatl, the Mexica had remained in Pantitlán for 4 years; there they had an epidemic of cracking all the flesh." This epidemic less vivid than the description of the first smallpox epidemic from any source. Here we are lacking the line, *huel miequintin ic micque*, "A great many died," which is characteristic of the records of later epidemics. In this particular case, deaths are not noted at all. The sense is of a disease, which cracked the skin, but with seemingly few lasting consequences. The

[23] "Codex Aubin," f.37v.

images recall leprosy or another skin ailment, but this cannot be confirmed. Without eyewitnesses the disease is less dramatic than those for which we have firsthand accounts. But likewise, diseases in the preconquest era were simply less dramatic, especially if they were not paired with another natural disaster, such as drought or famine.

By far some of the most intense images of death in the preconquest annals come from the famine of the 1450s. Both the Codex Aubin and Chimalpahin include records of these years of tragic loss. Chimalpahin begins his tale here: *X Tochtli xihuitl, 1450. Nican ypan yquac chicahuac cehuetz, ynic mayanalloc; macuilxihuitl yn atle mochiuh qualloni, ycce xihuitl in, "*10 Tochtli, 1450. In this year, there was a hard freeze, and that is why there was famine: there were five years when the crops were not harvested, and this was the first year."[24] Likewise the Codex Aubin says, *[glyph 13 House] Nican cehuechililoc in toctli Oncan peuh ynic mayanaloc*, "Here the plants were frosted. From there began the hunger."[25] Stricken by frost or a very cold growing season crops did not grow as the people hoped. This was just the beginning. Both sources go on to describe the effects of the famine as the years passed and the people became more and more desperate for relief.

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[24] Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpáhin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan*, ed. Rafael Tena, vol. I (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1998), 256. I am using the transcription of Rafael Tena and am guided by his translation.
[25] "Codex Aubin," f.35r.

Image 2. Codex Aubin, f.35r. The frost killing the plants, the people being sold into slavery (indicated by the hands tied to the wooden stick) and the dead being eaten by buzzards.

The Codex Aubin continues, saying, *[glyph 1 Rabbit] - Nican y necetochhuilloc*[26] *Quauhtica neanoc yquac y netotonacahuilloc … yvā yq̃c yn aca aocmo cõnmomaca yn itlamatzoal zan ihtic actoc in momiquilih Tzopilomeh quincuahqueh aocac q̃n tocaya,* "[1 Tochitl] Here the people were One Rabbited [a famine took place] and people were held with wood [as slaves] and taken to Totonac country… And then no one was given their folded tortillas [food] any longer. The stomach of someone who died, was just sunken in [from starvation]. The buzzards ate them [the dead]; No one was burying them any longer."[27] (Image 2.) Being "One Rabbited" was now a turn of phrase, indicating that the famine had become so well known by this time that it had gone down in history as a euphemism for a great misfortune. There was no food, and as though that were not enough, the pressure of starvation caused the Mexica to sell themselves or their children

[26] Literally, "they were one rabbited," the year having gone down in history as a euphemism (or expression?) for great misfortune.
[27] "Codex Aubin," f.35r.

as slaves, trading them for food or just to relieve themselves of the extra mouths to feed. More significantly, though, the people who are dying were not being cleaned and wrapped for burial as they should have been but were left to be consumed by the carrion birds, soaring overhead and circling the dead they fed on.

This scene is repeated in Chimalpahin's account, making it apparent that this was an event that was talked about everywhere and often. The singers and storytellers agreed on the finer, more horrible points of this famine. Chimalpahin writes that: *XI Acatl xihuit, 1451. Yn ipan in yc oxihuitl*[28] *in ye mayanallo. Yquac peuhque in ye tequa cocoyo yn ompa Chalco yhuan ynic nohuian, yhuan yn tzotzopillo ye tequa, yn çan nohuian quauhtla tepetla çacatla yn mihmiquito yn telpochtli yn ichpochtli; ca ça yuhqui yn huehue nacayotl mochiuh ynic xoxollochauh yn innacayo yn telpochtli in ichpochtli catca, ca cencas chicahuac yn mayanalloc*, *"*11 Acatl, 1451. In the second year of the famine was when the coyotes began to eat people [the dead] in Chalco and for that matter, everywhere, and also the vultures ate the people [the dead] just everywhere. In the woods and in the mountains and in the meadows the young men and young women fell down dead. Just like the flesh of old men, the flesh of the deceased young men and the young women was wrinkled. The famine was very strong."[29] The same images are evoked of the shrunken, sunken bodies, wrinkled from starvation being eaten by the buzzards and also the coyotes. We have the added image of the people dying in the wilderness, "in the woods, in the mountains, and in the meadows," with no one to mourn

[28] Read: ome xihuitl.
[29] "The Third Relation," in *Las Ocho Relaciones,* vol.1, 256.

them which we know from the songs and prayers would have been pitiable, for the memories of them would not live on.

Chimalpahin continues to note the famine for each year that it progressed. In 12 Flint Knife, drought was added to the worries of the Mexica, and in 13 House, war between the Mexica and the Chalca was noted.[30] In the fight for resources and survival, tensions had strung tight and tempers were running hot, leading to more conflict between peoples. And then, in the above-mentioned year of 1 Rabbit, Chimalpahin writes:

I Tochtli xihuitl, 1454. Nican ypan in yn mitohua motenehua necetochhuilloc; mayanque yn huehuetque, huel nauhxihuitl yn atle mochiuh qualloni. Ynic monamacaque yn huehuetque Mexica; ynic motenehua yn quahuitl onactiaque, yn quauhcozqui yetia ynic huicoque y nohuian yn altepetl ypan. Yhuan huel micohuac, ynic nohuian cemanahuac yhuan oncan mochiuh ynic cenca tequaque cocoyo yn tequanime yn tzotzopillo. Auh ynic necetochhuilloc, yn icontlamantli mitohua motenenhua netotonacahuilloc, yehica ypampa ca oc cenca yehuantin yn totonaque yn quincohuaco tlaoltica yn Mexica; yhuan ompa yn Cuextlan yn tlaolmamato Mexica, auh yhuan oncan patihuac, oncan quiyahua.	1 Tochtli, 1454. In this year it is said, they were One Rabbited; the ancients suffered hunger, because for four years the harvests did not take place. The ancient Mexica had to be sold; and for that reason it is said that "they went to the wood," [that is to say,] to the wooden collar with which they were taken to all the towns. Many people died, and in all the land it happened that the coyotes, the large predators and the vultures ate [the dead]. As part of being One Rabbited, it is also said that they "got stuck," because mainly the Totonacos bought Mexicas in exchange for corn; and the Mexicas had to go to Cuextlan to bring corn, because they sold it there because it had rained.[31]

The famine is raging still and as in the Codex Aubin, people are being sold as slaves to alleviate the suffering of those still alive. The bodies of those who had died were left out to be eaten by the wild animals, again indicating that those still alive were so few in number or were so weakened as to not be able to bury or burn their dead. The funeral

[30] Ibid, 258.
[31] Ibid.

prayers, the nights of song and dance, the bundling of the bodies, and offerings to the gods, those things have been abandoned in the struggle for survival. "No one was burying them any longer." This famine is given more attention by both sources than most deaths and epidemics. The records of the famine are similar to the ways in which the colonial-era epidemics are described, (see Chapter 4), famine being the great killer before the advent of smallpox and measles in the New World.[32]

The early annals speak of loss in terms of not having anyone to care for the sick, dying, and dead. There is a great emphasis on the care (or lack thereof) of the bodies. The imagery of the wrapped, shrouded bodies of kings is contrasted with those of birds feasting on the dead. In the descriptions of famine, we see the shrunken stomachs of the starving and the desperation that leads to the sale of children and young women as slaves. More significantly, though, we see the impact that this famine had on the population and their ability to cope with the deaths of their loved ones. The fact that the bodies were being eaten by the coyotes and buzzards marks a distinct departure from the pomp and circumstance surrounding death and funerals that is reflected in the songs and prayers. The annals do not cry out to the gods asking for mercy and questioning their actions, but we know from the songs and prayers that the people were probably voicing these prayers at this time. Those still strong enough to wail would have cried out in anguish

[32] It is worth noting that there were Europeans who had been in contact with the Americas before Columbus landed. For example, the Vikings had a settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows in the northeastern corner of North America c. 1000 C.E. and therefore it is probable that there was contact between them and the Native people of that region and consequently it is conceivable that there were diseases spreading throughout the Americas before the arrival of Columbus and the Spaniards to the Caribbean and Mexico, albeit in a much smaller way.

condemning the gods for forsaking them and beseeching them to bring the rains and protect the harvests.

The consequences of this famine, the bodies being left to rot with no one to remember them, is a portent then of what is to come in the great epidemics of the colonial era. The early annals were written at a time before the colonial Nahua population had hit its nadir in about the 1650s. These writers were reflecting on a time when there was little to no epidemic disease. Catastrophic death in the preconquest period was only associated with drought and famine. Other reports of death regard it as a condition of a new ruler being installed and in the annals, those changes in power were mentioned without fail in this way. This convention carried on even after the Spanish arrive, with the Codex Aubin recording that: *[glyph 1 Reed] Nica miq̄co ȳ moteuhcçomatzin yvā yquac açico ȳ marques,* "[1 Acatl] Here Moctezuma wound up dying, and this is when the Marqués arrived."[33] Even though Cortés is not being installed as a ruler, this format is undeniably similar to that of the above mentions of power passing at the death of a ruler. Any diversion from this form of record only occurs in a case of great destruction, such as the famine, and both form the basis for how the records are kept going forward, but such mentions become more and more personal as the people around the writers continue to die at alarming rates, and as they watch their friends and families dwindle, making their records a last-ditch effort to keep their memories alive.

[33] "Codex Aubin," f.42v. The Marquis is in reference to Cortés.

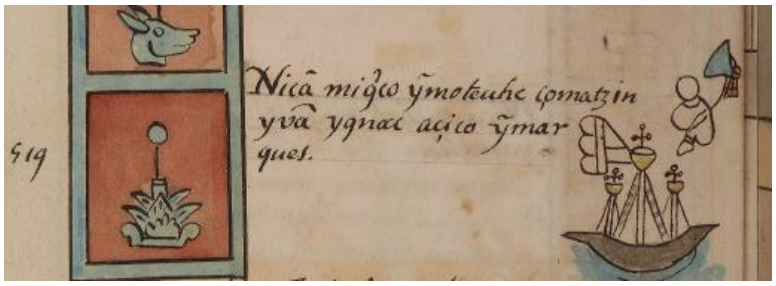

Image 3. Codex Aubin, 42v. Moctezuma's body wrapped symbolizing his death, accompanied by the boat symbolizing the arrival of the Spaniards.

3. Firsthand Accounts of Conquest, Epidemics, and Death in the Nahuatl Annals

The above stories, as beautifully rendered and poetic as they are, are somewhat impersonal, without the telling details of a firsthand account. It is not until we read the stories that existed in living memory that we find touching, gut-wrenching, and sometimes even humorous details that bring to life the ways in which death was understood in the Nahua world. There was no shortage of death to deal with during the siege and conquest of Tenochtitlan, and the men who lived through it were called on years later to remember what happened and what it was like in and around the city as the battles with the Spaniards and Tlaxcalans raged. With rapt attention the young men trained to write, listened to their elders recount the harrowing tales of the siege and battles that brought down the Mexica empire. The same annals offer images of the conquest that are so vivid and nuanced that it would be improbable that they were imagined or written by anyone who was not there.[34]

[34] For a more in-depth discussion of aspects of the conquest tale that are subject to question, specifically the white gods myth and the omens that portended the fall of the city, see, Townsend, *Bury the White Gods,* and Lockhart, *We People Here*, 16–19.

When the Codex Aubin records the massacre of Noche Triste that occurred while Cortés was off dealing with Panfilo Nárvaez on the coast, during the celebration of Toxcatl, it begins thus: *Niman quito yn ecatzin tlacateccatl tla xicmocaquiltican intlacatle tixpan ca yn iuh mochiuh in cholollan yn çan q̄ncaltzacque yn axcan ma no yuh techiuhti ma cecentecpantli chimalli totlapiel mochiva,* "Then the Tlacateccatl Ecatzin said, 'Listen, if we don't keep in mind what happened in Cholula, where they closed them inside the building, look out that they don't do the same thing to us. Let us have groups of twenty with shields stand guard for us.'"[35] Tlacateccatl Ecatzin, at least, seems to recognize the danger, warning Moteczuma to be wary seeing as the Spanish had destroyed Cholula. This warning was not heeded. Moteczuma is reported to have waved him off. What really happened we cannot know, but we do know that this night would not end happily. The passage continues:

Niman ye ic peva in cuicatl in teyacana telpochtequitiua teçacatl conacquia ytoca tolnavacatl quatlaçol yn opeuh cuic̄atl niman ye ic cecenyaca valq̓ça in xp̄ianome tetlan q̓q̓ça niman ic nanavintin momamanato in q̄xovayan	Then began the singing. A warrior youth leader named Tolnahuacatl Quatlazol went ahead, wearing an ornament in his lip. When the singing began, each of the Christians came out and passed among the people, then groups of four stationed themselves at the exits.
Niman ye contlacoviteq̄to in teyacana ce tlacatl quiyacavitecque yn ixiptla diablo niman quimōmavivitequito in tlazotzonaya ca ontet yn inveueuh centetl atēpa quitzotzunaya niman ye quequeçallo yc ixpoliova	Then [the Christians] cut the one who was leading in half. One of them struck the nose off the image of the devil.[36] Then they cut off the hands of the drummers, who had two cylindrical drums; they were beating one at the edge of the water. Then people were trampled, and great numbers perished.[37]

[35] "Codex Aubin" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 274–275.
[36] Devil is a reference to an image of Huitzilopochtli, and yet, the use of the term *diablo* is an indicative of the writer's Christian frame of reference. That is to say, that he clearly understood that the friars were equating the old gods with the Christian concept of the devil.
[37] "Codex Aubin" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 276–277.

The Spanish are seen in this passage as calculating; as having planned this massacre. The one looking back remembered them blocking the exits before the carnage began, just as Tlacateccatl Ecatzin warned they had done in Cholula. Here we can envision the attack as it progressed, from the singer, who was likely seen as the leader of the warriors being cut in half, to the figure of the god being dismembered, to the men playing the drums – drums so important that there is a pause to describe them, two of them, cylindrical and one being played just as the edge of the water – having their hands cut off so that the percussion went silent. Not only does the speaker reflect on the fact that people were trampled and that many died, but furthermore, these are memories from one person recalling the event that we cannot find in sources reflecting on the time before memory. And yet, we see the same refrain, that a great number died, which we see in the older annals.

Likewise, the Florentine Codex makes a detailed account of this massacre. It begins in a stunningly similar fassion, showing the Spanish as having sealed the exits before brutally killing the largely unarmed Nahuas who were in the middle of singing, drumming, and dancing.

Auh in ie iuhqui; nimā ie ic calaqui in teuitoalco in temictizque: in intequiuh in temictique çan tlacxipavia imeevachimal, cequi intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: niman ie ic quiniaoaloa in mitotia, nimā ie ic vi in vevetidan, nimā quimavitecque in datzotzona oalcococon vmexti in imacpal çatepan quiquechvitecque veca vetzito in iquech: nimā ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque, tepuzmaquauhtica: cequintin quincuitlaço, niman valmotoxaoa in incuitlaxcol,	When this had been done [when the exits had been closed off], they went into the temple courtyard to kill people. Those whose assignment it was to do the killing just went on foot, each with his metal sword and his leather shield, some of them iron-studded. Then they surrounded those who were dancing, going among the cylindrical drums. They struck a drummer's arms; both of his hands were severed. Then they struck his neck; his head landed far away. Then they stabbed everyone with iron lances and struck

cequintin quinquatzatzaianque, vel quitzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzōtecō. Auh in cequintin quimaculhuitecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequintin quincotzvivitecque, cequin quinmetzvivitecque, cequintin quimitivitecque, nimā moch [fol. 33v] oalmotoxaoa in incuitlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in icuitlaxcul ça quivilana, iuhquin xoxoquiova in momaquixtiznequi, aoc campa vel hui: auh in aquin quiçaznequi, vmpa quioalhuitequi, quivalxixili.	them with iron swords. They struck some in the belly, and then their entrails came spilling out. They split open the heads of some, they really cut their skulls to pieces, their skulls were cut up into little bits. And some they hit on the shoulders; their bodies broke open and ripped. Some they hacked on the calves, some on the thighs, some on their bellies, and then all their entrails would spill out. And if someone still tried to run it was useless; he just dragged his intestines along. There was a stench as if of sulfur. Those who tried to escape could go nowhere. When anyone tried to go out, at the entryways they struck and stabbed him.[38]

Again the drummer has his hands severed, and this time the Spanish cut off his head which is flung away. The visions of entrails spilling from bodies sliced open by iron spears leave little to the imagination. Interestingly, the last few sentences sound eerily like the descriptions of death from the prayers, as entering a place from which there is no escape, a place of suffocation and smoke. A place where, perhaps, the smell of sulfur emanates. There is a merging of old-style description in the imagery of being cut to pieces, which was prevalent in the songs and prayers, but with the newly necessary component of explaining the iron weapons and what they were capable of. The passage continues:

Auh cequintin, tepantli quitlecavique, tel huel momaquixtiq̄: cequintin calpulco cacalacque vmpa momaq̇xtique. Auh in cequintin intlan momaq̇xtique, intlan cacalacque in o vel micque çan momiccanenequia, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conitta, conixili. Auh in imezço in tiacavan iuhquin atl ic totocac, iuhquin aalacatoc, yoan	But some climbed up the wall and were able to escape. Some went into the various calpulli temples and took refuge there. Some took refuge among, entered among those who had really died, feigning death, and they were able to escape. But if someone took a breath and they saw him, they stabbed him. The blood of the warriors ran like water; the

[38] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 134.

xoquiiac eoatoc in eztli. Auh in cuidaxcolli iuhquin tlavilani. Auh in Españoles, novian nemi in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa minaia, novia nen[fol. 34]que, quixaqualotinenque in izquican calpulco in tlatemoque.	ground was almost slippery with blood, and the stench of it rose, and the entrails were lying dragged out. And the Spaniards went everywhere searching in the calpulli temples, stabbing in the places where they searched in case someone was taking shelter there. They went everywhere, scratching about in all the calpulli temples in searching.[39]

Many tried to escape the carnage or hide among dead bodies, but if they took a breath and were seen, they were stabbed through. The blood ran like water and was slick underfoot. It can be assumed that there were few left alive. Even so, we know that those left alive made it a point to remember and preserve the dead, because they reported their stories to the men making this record.

The images of death and dying shown here starkly contrast with those of the annals describing the times before memory, when men fought and died and lands were conquered, but without the gory detail of the above descriptions. Axayacatl's injury is noted but not described as the injuries are here. The importance of caring for the dead is also lost in the description of the slaughter, so startling and memorable for its uniqueness. This is not to say that the Nahuas were unfamiliar with violence, and yet, there is a carnal nature to these descriptions, a trapped and desperate tone to these passages that indicates a novelty of experience. This level of indiscriminate destruction was completely new to the Nahuas. It was not their way to pursue and kill to the last person, especially after the people had submitted. The goal of war was, after all, to gain prisoners for slavery or

[39] Ibid, 134–136.

sacrifice and to extract resources in the form of tribute from the conquered people, something that would be impossible if the cities they conquered were utterly destroyed.[40]

The fierce and unfamiliar warfare tactics employed by the Spanish shocked and angered the Nahuas. This is exemplified when the Florentine Codex relates that: *Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica; iehica ca vel quimixtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in quinpoiomictique, in amo ivivi ic concauhque quiiaoalotinemi in tecpancalli,* "The reason the Mexica were very angry was that [the Spaniards] had entirely annihilated the warriors and killed them treacherously, without warning. They did not neglect to surround the palace."[41] Herein it is clear that the Spaniards were not fighting as the Mexica were used to. Not only did they have weapons of unfamiliar strength, horses that gave them speed, range, and height, and dogs that brutally bit through flesh but the politically motivated manner of war was taken over by a brutal, hedonistic treachery. There was no recourse, no negotiation, just destruction.

The Nahuas continued to fight, though, with all they had. In the midst of annihilation they still formed their battle lines, beating their shields and bellowing their battle cries. The battle scenes are many and in all of them the Nahuas are fighting valiantly:

auh in omachoc: niman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mitl, valacivi, vallatotoca, ie miqui	And when it became known [what was happening], everyone cried out, "Mexica warriors, come running, get outfitted with devices, shields, and arrows, hurry, come

[40] This novel form of conquest had repercussions in the form of cultural trauma. Justyna Olko has discussed this topic in a paper entitled, "Trauma, acculturation, and agency: Reappraising Nahua Colonial History," at the Northeastern Nahuatl Scholars Conference (May 2019), in Albany, NY. See also: Justyna Olko and Agnieszka Brylak, "Defending Local Autonomy and Facing Cultural Trauma: A Nahua Order against Idolatry, Tlaxcala, 1543" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (2018): 573–604.
[41] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 140.

intiacaoan; ommique, onixpoliuhque, ommixtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Nimā ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco; iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhquin nececenquetzalo in mitl in chimalli quiitqui. Nimā ie ic necalioa, quimōmina in ica tlatzontectli, in ica tlacochtli, yoan in minacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in contlaça: iuhquin cozpul ommoteca in actal, in impan Españoles.	running, the warriors are dying; they have died, perished, been annihilated, O Mexica warriors!" Thereupon there were war cries, shouting, and beating of hands against lips. The warriors quickly came outfitted, bunched together, carrying arrows and shields. Then the fighting began; they shot at them with barbed darts, spears, and tridents, and they hurled darts with broad obsidian points at them. A cloud of yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards. [42]

The warriors were called to arms as they realized how many had been "annihilated," and then the fighting commenced. Giving everything they had, showering the Spanish with darts and spears, they still could not defeat their iron-clad, gun wielding enemy. Even as the Spanish were covered over by the "yellow reeds," the shafts of the darts and spears, they were victorious as: *Auh in iehoantin Españoles: niman valmotepetlatzatzacque,* "then the Spanish fortified themselves," their shields and armor too strong to be penetrated by the native weapons. [43] The contrast between the obsidian darts and the iron bolts of the Spanish comes into focus as the passage continues: *Auh in Españoles no quinvalmina in Mexica in ica tepuzmitl, yoan ic quinvalmotla in tlequiquiztli. Auh niman tepuztli contlatlalilique in Motecuçoma,* "From there the Spaniards shot at the Mexica with iron bolts and fired guns at them. And then they placed Moctezuma in irons."[44] The Mexica were not cowering away or giving in to death, even in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, even as their leader was taken captive, but their weaker shields and weapons had them fighting an uphill battle.

[42] Ibid, 136.
[43] Ibid, 138.
[44] Ibid.

Once the carnage was over though, the men were gathered and their bodies cared for as the songs and prayer suggest, with a great deal of open weeping. The men fighting were meant to be remembered and revered. For example, after the Florentine Codex describes the battle that followed the massacre of the Toxcatl Festival, the men relating the tale say that: *auh in ixquichtin tiacavan in omicque: nimā ie ic tequixtilo, teçaçaco, teiiximacho. Auh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoquiztleoa techoquililo, nechoquililo, oc inchachan quinvicaca, catepan quinoalhuicaque in Teuitvalco, quincentlalique: vmpa quincentlatique, cecni in itocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequintin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali,* "And then all the warriors who had died were retrieved, taken to places, and identified. And wailing arose from the mothers and fathers, crying and weeping over them. First, they took them to their various homes, and afterward they brought them to the temple courtyard and assembled them there. They burned them in a particular place called Quauhxicalco. But some were burned only at the various youths' houses."[45] The men lost were found, and more importantly, identified and remembered by their families. Like in the songs and prayers their families, their mothers and fathers, mourned and wept for them. In this case, the bodies of the men killed were prepared for their funerals by their families as well and then brought to a central location, arranged in order, and burned. These men did not suffer without their families knowing it, as sometimes happened and was lamented in the prayers. In this way the importance of death was still marked, even in this time of war. It was not only the people at the time who stopped to mourn their dead, but the men remembering the events, also paused to reflect on the fact that this was done reiterating the importance of remembrance.

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[45] Ibid.

At this point, Cortés returned from the coast and the Spanish fled to Tlaxcala. This is when the Codex Aubin reports the death of Moctezuma, cited earlier. One might expect the death of the ruler to be accompanied by the mention of the installation of the next ruler as was done in the older annals, but instead, the format of the annals has changed, now mostly text with smaller images if any. (Image 4). Moctezuma's death, in contrast to the scene laid out above for the warriors, is not noted as the death of a revered leader, but instead the episode shows how much he was disliked, at least in memory, if not at the time, by some factions. The passages states:

Yn oōmic niman quivalmamaltiq̄ yn itoca apanecatl niman ompa quivicac in vitzillan çan ye ompan quivaltocaque ye no ye ompa quivicac ȳn ecatitlā çan ye ompa quivalmiminque ye no ye ompa quivicac in tecpantzinco çāno quivaltocaque ye no ceppa quivicac yn acatlyyacapa q̄n ye ompa canque quito yn apanecatl. Totecuiyouane motollinia ȳ moteuhcçoma cuix nicmamatinemiz Nimā quitoque in pipiltin Xoconanacan niman quimonteq̄uhtique in calpixque niman quitlatique	When he [Moctezuma] had died, they made the one called Apanecatl come carrying him. Then he took him to Huitzillan, but they chased him back away from there. Then he also took him to Ecatitlan, but there they shot arrows at him. Again, he took him to Tecpantzinco, where they likewise chased him back out. Again, he took him to Acatliyacapan; there they finally received him. Apanecatl said, "My lords, something must be done about Moctezuma. Am I to go about carrying him [forever]?" Then the noblemen said, "Take him." Then they put the stewards in charge of him and burned him.[46]

As the natural scapegoat for the conquest, Moctezuma's death was almost farcical. His body being toted around form altepetl to altepetl, no one willing to take on the responsibility of caring for him. Or, the circumstances of the conquest had rendered it so that no one was able to perform the proper rites and would not risk getting it wrong. Either way, his carrier reportedly expressed his frustration with the situation, saying,

[46] "Codex Aubin" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 276–277.

“Am I to go about carrying him forever?” This almost comical scene though, reveals to us how important the care of the body and the funerary rights were. The fact is that things had become so difficult and muddled by the conquest that no one could do him honor.

Image 4. Codex Aubin, 44r. Moctezuma’s body being carried by Apanecatl

The predicament of Moctezuma’s body and funeral rites is also indicative of the internal strife that was dividing the people during the conquest. Cuauhtemoc, a young warrior with a claim to the throne, being a descendant of Itzcoatl, and with the support of Tlatelolco, thanks to his Tlatelolcan mother, was gunning for power even before Moctezuma’s death. He believed Moctezuma was weak and in an attempt to overthrow him was causing a virtual civil war. Moctezuma had measured his response to the Spaniards and Cuauhtemoc believed that the only way to defeat the Spanish was brute force. His solution was to kill the sons of Moctezuma in order to limit the resistance he would face. His justification of these assassinations was that these men had been duping the commoners and were planning to submit to the Spanish. It is written in the Annals of Tlatelolco that: *ynī y mopoloqz tenochca ça monetechuiqz y momimictique . ypanpa y yehoantin I pipilti mictiloque quitlaoculiaya ypā tlatoaya y maceualli ynic monechicoz yztac tlaolli totolli totoltetl ynic tetlā quincallaquizqz maceualli,* “These Tenochca who

brought themselves down simply had internecine conflicts. The reason these nobles were killed is that they were favoring the common people [in desiring peace] and trying to see to it that shelled white maize, turkey hens, and eggs should be collected so that they could have them submit to the Spaniards."[47] This left many unwilling to show sympathy or mercy to Moctezuma for fear of Cuauhtemoc's wrath.

Likewise, the Florentine Codex reports the death of Moctezuma with more than just the basic details. The event is remembered slightly differently, but the resulting conclusion is the same; that respect at the time of death and therefore, after death, was earned in life. The description begins: *Auh in oittoque, in oi[fol. 4o]ximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin niman quioalnapalotiquizque, quioalhuicaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: niman ie ic quiquaquauhtlapachoa, niman ie ic contlemina, condequechia: niman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhquin tetecuica, iuhquin nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhquin tlemimiiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in inacaio Motecuçoma, iuhquin tzotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia inic tlatla.* "And when they [the bundles] were seen and recognized as Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin [the ruler of Tlatelolco] they hastened to take Moctezuma up in their arms and brought him to the place called Copolco. Then they placed him on a pile of wood and set fire to it, ignited it. Then the fire crackled and roared, with many tongues of flame, tongues of flame like tassels, rising up. And Moctezuma's body lay sizzling, and it let off a stench as it burned."[48] The scene is quite different here. People had been "cast down" from the temple days before and then the bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin were placed at

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[47] "Annales of Tlatelolco" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 260–261.
[48] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 150.

the water's edge. The devastation after Noche Triste was severe, so much so that, instead of the funeral songs, the drums, the dancing, the offerings and the burning torches which we see in the prayers and songs, we see instead the solitary image of a burning body on a pyre, flames licking, fire crackling, the dead body sizzling and the stench of burning hair and flesh releasing into the air.

When Moctezuma died, his successor, Cuitlahuac only lived for a short time and Cuauhtemoc, who claimed the throne next continued his brutal campaign against Moctezuma's family, as discussed above. He set out to kill any possible claimant to the throne. In one instance it is recorded that he even killed one of Moctezuma's sons himself: *niman ye quitetemova yn oquittaque moveuetxquillitivi in q̄uhtemoctzī nimā yquechtlan canato ą̇lhuia oc xivalla on niccauhtze Nimā ye quivivitequi,* "When they saw him [Tzihuacpopoca, Moctezuma's son], Cuauhtemoc went along laughing, then he took him by the neck and said, 'Come here a moment, my younger brother.' Then he struck him."[49] It is in this context that the funeral was taking place, possibly explaining why some of the people were reluctant to show honor to or mercy for Moctezuma. After his funeral, there was no mourning or weeping, but instead it is said that:

Auh inic tlatlac, çan tlavelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequi caoa: quitoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ooalimacaxoia, cemanaoac in o ivic valnemamauhtiloia, valneiçaviloia: in iehoatl in, in aquin çā tepitzin, inic quiiolitlacoaia, niman contlatlatiaia, miec in tlapictli oquitzacuilti in amo nelli in çan tlatol[fol. 40v]chichioalli: yoan oc miectin in caoaia,	And when it [Moctezuma's body] was burning, some people, enraged and no longer with goodwill, scolded at him, saying, "This miserable fellow made the whole world fear him, in the whole world he was dreaded, in the whole world he inspired respect and fright. If someone offended him only in some small way, he immediately disposed of him. He punished many for imagined things, not

[49] "Codex Aubin" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 276–277. It is possible that this was instead Moctezuma's younger brother.

quiquinacaia, ôoiovaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.	true, but just fabricated tales." And there were many others who scolded him, moaning, lamenting, shaking their heads.[50]

Moctezuma was going to be remembered, but not in the way that he had hoped. In these records written by the Tlatelolco faction, those who were Cuauhtemoc's people, he was cast, right or wrong, as an unjust ruler, one enraged at the slightest provocation. Even if these sentiments were not the exact thoughts of the people at the time, the fact that they were recorded thus, indicates that this is how he was remembered, this was the imprint of his memory and therefore the way he lived on. So even when his body was being burned in a sort of funeral, the people were not venerating him. He was scolded, and the moaning and lamenting was not that of sorrow for his death, but it was part of their admonishment of him.

The contrast between the description of Moctezuma and that of Itzquauhtzin, the ruler of Tlatelolco, ancestor of those speaking and writing, brings into full relief the difference between how the men were spoken about and therefore how they were treated at their funerals and in turn how their memories were recorded. Of Itzquauhtzin it is said that:

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacalhuito, acaltica conanato in inacaio, inic caxitico nican tlatilulco, cenca modaocultique, cenca icnoioac in iniollo, teixaioviton, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma quitelchioa: quitoaia. Oquihiovi in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yoā omotolini in Motecuçoma, quexquich oquihiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otioalitztiaque in ixquich cavitl in ocatca	But Itzquauhtzin they put in a boat; they took his body in a boat until they got him here to Tlatelolco. They grieved greatly, their hearts were desolate; the tears flowed down. Not a soul scolded him or cursed him. They said, "The lord Tlacochcalcatl Itzquauhtzin has suffered travail, for he suffered and was afflicted along with Moctezuma. What tribulations he endured on our behalf in the past,

[50] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 150.

in Motecuçoma: niman ic ic quichichioa in tecpanitl, yoan oc cequi amatlatquitl ic quichichiuhque: yoan quitlamamacaque: auh niman ic quivicaque in quitlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan: quauhxicalco: cenca tlamaviztililiztica inic tlatlac [fol. 41] in inacaio.	during all of Moctezuma's time!" Then they outfitted him, equipping him with the lordly banner and other items of paper, and they gave him provisions. Then they took him and burned him in the temple courtyard at the place called Quauhxicalco. It was with great splendor that his body was burned.[51]

The funeral of Itzquauhtzin plays out almost exactly as it does in the prayers and in the descriptions of the road to Mictlan. His body is outfitted, or likely wrapped and shrouded as was proper, his status is marked with a lordly banner and other impedimenta, he is given provisions, or offerings to help him along on his journey as the prayers say it should be. And he is not taken just anywhere, but is brought to the temple courtyard, in a place of splendor, and then he is burned. He is seen off with great mourning, tears flowing, and hearts stricken with sorrow. This is very different from what we hear of Moctezuma's funeral. We do not smell the body of Itzquauhtzin, as we do the stench of Moctezuma. Itzquauhtzin is lauded for his suffering in life at the hands of Moctezuma. It is definitely because the men reporting these stories were from Tlatelolco rather than Tenochtitlan that there is this discrepancy, but whatever the truth of the matter is the fact remains that the contrast shows us what was important in death – the respect of the people remembering you. Like the songs, it seems from these descriptions that the most important thing was the way that they were remembered. The offerings, or provisions, indicate that they did have a clear notion of the journey that these rulers would now be going on, and as such, they would be sending Moctezuma on his way without help, left on his own to face the cutting obsidian winds.

[51] Ibid, 150–152.

The narrative of the conquest continues and in the course of the siege, the Mexica experience famine. When the city was blockaded and the market closed, the people began to starve. As in the description of the 1450s famine, the men recall that there was great suffering and that many died, but unlike the earlier descriptions the suffering takes a vivid form:

Auh in ixquich macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianaia, miec in mapizmiquili aocmo quia in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequixquiatl in quia ic miec tlacatl momiquili, yoā miec tlacatl ic tlaelli quitlaz ic mic: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cuicuitzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequixquiçacatl: yoan quiquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan quiquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaquili, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, quitletleoatzaia, quimooxquiaia quitototopotzaia, quitotoponiaia inic quiquaia yoā [fol. 68] in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl quitetexoaia: aoctle iuhqui inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac in apizmic: auh çan ivian techvalcaltechpachotiaque, çan iviā techololalique.	And all the common people suffered greatly. There was famine; many died of hunger. They no longer drank good, pure water, but the water they drank was salty. Many people died of it, and because of it many got dysentery and died. Everything was eaten: lizards, swallows, maize straw, grass that grows on salt flats. And they chewed at colorin wood, glue flowers, plaster, leather, and deerskin, which they roasted, baked, and toasted so that they could eat them, and they ground up medicinal herbs and adobe bricks. There had never been the like of such suffering. The siege was frightening, and great numbers died of hunger. And bit by bit they came pressing us back against the wall, herding us together.[52]

The details here about the people drinking salty water and then dying from it, identified after the fact as dysentery, and the list of things they ate to survive – how they cooked whatever they could find, going so far as to grind up herbs and bricks to fill their stomachs – makes it clear that this was a living memory. The details are so specific, so exact, that they could not be thought imaginary. These are the details passed on by those who have lived through a trying time, to those who have yet to experience such suffering. In this case again, the older forms of record keeping marked by the more general

[52] Ibid, 218.

comments on the death of many people, meld with the visceral details of chewing on wood and flowers, to bring to bear how new this experience was for the Nahuas and how, even though death was no stranger, the massacres and suffering they endured were exceptional.

Again, as in the case of the 1450s famine, this scene is repeated in many different accounts of the conquest. The Annals of Tlatelolco repeat the details about drinking salt water, eating lizards and mice, colorín wood and grass, and adds that they guarded their food under shields saying, *ypa tlatetzotzontli yn atlacomolli ça teneneyxcauil chimaltitlā pieloya yn oc nen aca moteyc[cequi]liznequi ça chimaltitla,* "Adobe bricks [dipped in] a well were an exclusive possession, guarded under a shield. If someone tried to toast something, [it had to be guarded] with a shield."[53] There is less comradery in this version of the famine. The annals continue saying, *ocuilli titonetechquaqz yn iquac tlepan quimontlaliaya y ye ycuci ynacayo vncan con[cuic] tleco quituaya*, "We fought over eating worms; when they put them on the fire and their flesh began to cook, they picked them out of the fire and ate them."[54] The people were so hungry they fought over worms and then as in the 1450s famine, they resorted to selling their children but this time, the terms have changed. *Auh topatiuh mochiuh yn ipatiuh mochiuh telpochtli tlamacazqui yn ichpochtli piltzintli y ye yxquich maçeeualli yn ipatiuh mochiuh ça omatecochtli tlaolli ça matlactli axaxayacatlaxcalli tequixquiçacatlaxcalli ça çenpoualli topatiuh mochiuh yn teucuitlatl yn chalchiuitl yn quachtli quetzalli y ye yxquich tlaçotli auctle ypa motac ça tetepeui*, "And we had a price. There was a price for a youth, a

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[53] "Annales of Tlatelolco" in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 266–267.
[54] Ibid.

priest, a maiden, or a little child. The price for any ordinary person was just two handfuls of shelled maize. Ten cakes of water flies or twenty of grass from the salt flats was our price. Gold, green-stones, tribute cloth, plumes, and all precious things were considered as nothing and just spilled on the ground."[55] What was once desirable, what was beautiful and precious was cast aside as the crushed feathers and shattered stones of the songs. As the gods once looked on the mortals as nothing, the mortals now look upon the gold, plumes, and tribute cloth as nothing. What mattered now, what was precious now was food. The scene is one of utter desperation. The price of an ordinary person was one thing, but it would seem that children, maidens, and priests would fetch more. Their world had been forever changed by the Spanish conquest, their suffering made new, fresh, and extreme. The Nahuas recorded these annals with a sense of fresh horror, even year afterward. Their memories of the great kings and warriors of the past were marred by the destruction wrought by the Spanish, and still, they remember.

The account of the conquest comes to an end with a battle scene that shows the rarity of their experience. One last ray of hope is illuminated as the Mexica win one more battle. It will not make a difference in the end, but the scribe does report the event in dramatic language:

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalozquia miec in atlan mic, in polacq̄ in illacque, ça netcch ommotiliniaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlaloznequi ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach moçoquineloque, omach moçoquipetzcoque, vel chachaquanquc,	When our enemies [who accompanied the Spaniards] saw this [our victory], they tried to flee. Many died in the water, sinking and submerging, just pulling at one another, as though they had lost their senses and were fainting. They seemed to fall splattering; when they tried to flee they just fell between the logs. When they were dragged out they were completely

[55] Ibid.

vel popolacque, vel miec in ixpoliuh, oncan vel tonacamicoac: auh çayioppa in vncā ontonacamicque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in iquac ommiquico in toiaovan, in imuztlaioc, ça cactimanca:	covered with mud, slimy with mud, entirely drowned. A great many perished, there was a great abundance of deaths. This was the only time that the different [local] people who were our enemies died in great numbers there. And the day after our enemies had died, everything lay silent.[56]

This was late in the game, but the Mexica win, sending their enemies fleeing, at least for the moment. The descriptions of the death of their enemies was not largely different from their descriptions of their own losses. There is a similarity in the subtle details of humans trying to escape death. This is typical of Nahua accounts of war in which there is no sense of "we are good" and "they are bad," but that we are all just people. Here instead of trying to climb walls to escape, we see the men flailing up out of the water, desperate, trying to gain purchase on the bodies of those who were stronger, or who had already drowned. In the wake of this victory in which more enemies died, than Mexica, silence is noted. There was a lull before the final battle that would take the city and end the rule of the Mexica forever.

As the narrative concludes, the scribe makes one more call to remember the fallen, to speak of the men of great worth and those who deserve to have their names sung about and remembered. It is written as follows: *Auh nican moteneoa in izq̓ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oquichtin, in vel imixco catea iauiotl, in iautecaia in ipan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coiovevetzin, Tzilacatecutli Temilotzin: in iehoantin in [fol. 79v] ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: o ca iehoātin in, in veveintin tiiacavan catea in tlatilulco, yoan inic*

[56] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12,* in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 234–236.

tenuchtitlan, "Here are mentioned all the warriors, the men of great valor, in whose countenances was war, who directed the battle and presided over it: the Tlacochcalcatl Coyohuehuetzin and the lord of Tzilacan, Temilotzin—these are Tlatelolca. And these are Tenochca: the Cihuacoatl Tlacotzin and the Huitznahuatl Motelchiuhtzin. These were the great warriors of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan."[57] As in the songs and prayers, these men were not to be forgotten. Their deeds and bravery were laudable and therefore their life after death was to be lived in the voices and minds of those who remembered them. We can see in the battle vignettes above that the warriors were not running toward death in the hope of gaining eternal glory in a heavenly afterlife. They were only interested in glory insofar as it would defend and protect their people, and then from the point at which they knew the kingdom was lost, they were determined to fight honorably and thus be remembered for their actions.

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The early annals of the Nahuas give us a sense of how important death rituals were. We see the wrapped bodies and the anxiety of those bodies not being properly honored and buried or burned when the population was struck by natural disaster or heightened warfare. The importance of bundling and shrouding did not dissipate with time. We know this because many years later, in the mid-seventeenth-century, doña Josepha de la Cruz intervenes in her husband's set of annals to dictate this entry: *Nehuatl onquimillo jusenpa fra*^{ca} *onechcanhuilitia se tlali opan matica quauhteco nima se San Lucaz octli opa mantica sacantzotetitla amo quemani Aqui tlein quitos ca yteconpa*

[57] Ibid, 242.

noColltzin CatCan Sanbastia Xacobo, "I, Josepha Francisca, shrouded him [the old man]. He left me a piece of land on the road to San Lucas, at the edge of the wood, where the grassland is. No one is ever to say anything about it, because Sebastián Jacobo was my grandfather."[58] This pause to express that she herself shrouded her grandfather indicates that it was a process that was taken very seriously and that there was a pride and care required in the action. The commentary about the land being passed to her and the fact that no one should question it could have been made without reference to shrouding the body as these statements occur frequently in testaments, without the need for any one individual to care for the body. Like the annals genre itself the importance of the care of the dead bodies persisted well into the colonial era. People were remembered after death in their images, glyph signs, and in the stories that the annals would tell about them. These texts were not entirely disconnected from their preconquest antecedents and would have been read out loud and used to tell the stories of these warriors and rulers to the people of the altepetl. These were the active texts of an oral culture and were the means by which the memory of the dead lived on in the communal minds of the people.

[58] From the De la Cruz Family papers, in Camilla Townsend and Catarina Pizzigoni, *Indian Life After the Conquest: The De la Cruz Family Papers of Colonial Mexico*, forthcoming.

Chapter 4

Individual Experience and Memory of Epidemics and Death in the Nahuatl Annals

Today, Saturday, the 3rd of the month of October of the year 1609, on the eve [of the feast day of] San Francisco, my dear friend Father Elías, a lay brother belonging to the order of San Francisco, passed away. He lies buried at San Josef in Mexico. He was from Xochimilco. He had served in the habit for a very long time. I, Domingo de San Antón Muñón, was his friend.[59] *– Chimalpahin, The Annals of His Time, 1609*

Don Diego Romano de Mendoza, the indigenous fiscal of the church of Tecamachalco died. This was just one death in the midst of many. He became ill five days before he died on October 15, 1582, at 9 o'clock at night. The next morning at dawn, he was buried by the guardián of the Franciscan *convento*. Fray Hernando de Oviedo, who gave mass, stood in the church and his voice cracked. He was so distraught and wept so much that he could no longer sing.[60] This was a singular incident in the Annals of Tecamachalco which usually omitted the mention of tears. It was an extreme moment. In the contemporaneous writings of fray Bernardino de Sahagún, one can see that the European friars were losing hope just as quickly as the Nahua people must have been. Sahagún, writing in roughly the same years as these annals, recalled both the first plague and the current scourges: "…they [the Nahuas] decrease constantly. And the cause [of the decline], which I have personally witnessed, is that in the plague of thirty years ago, most of those who died, died because there was no one who knew how to let blood,

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[59] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time,* 160–161.

[60] Eustaquio Celestino Solís and Luis Reyes García, eds., *Anales de Tecamachalco, 1398–1590* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 1992), 88. All page reference are to this transcription, but the translations are my own and independent of that publication.

nor administer the medicines as required. And [they died] of hunger. And in this present plague the same thing is happening. And in all those which will occur it will be the same until [the Nahuas] are gone."[61] In short, he feared that these waves of disease would continue to occur and thought that every Native person would eventually die. Everyone was losing hope.

Sahagún went on to muse about the possibility of educating the Nahuas in medical practice so that they might survive, but he said that this would have required a foresight that was not present at the beginning when the Spanish first arrived. He claimed that those who had good care often lived. But it is also true that there were times when there were just too many ill, and not enough resources to go around. Sahagún reflected that, "…since the Spanish doctors and bloodletters who know how to do these things are few, they help few. And already the bloodletters and doctors are almost exhausted, sick, and dead. And now there is no one who can or will visit and help the poor Indians."[62] The fact is that even though the medical aid available was worthless, having no scientific basis, the experience of being cared for was not. Having someone there to help support the communities and families affected was immensely comforting, and the food and supplies the care takers brought were invaluable. Yet, when there was not enough help to go around: "they [the Nahuas] die, having neither remedy nor aid."[63] The Nahuas were sick so often, and there were so few left, that there was no one to care for them and so the

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[61] Bernardino de Sahagún, "Author's Account Worthy of Being Noted in Book X: The People," in *Florentine Codex: Introduction,* 85.
[62] Sahagún, "Author's Account," in *Florentine Codex: Introduction,* 85.
[63] Ibid.

friar became despondent watching his congregation diminish before his eyes, causing him to weep uncontrollably at the funeral of one of his beloved parishioners.

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The epidemic of smallpox that raged in 1520 would be followed by wave after wave of epidemic disease as more Europeans, and in turn their animals, plants, and microbes, entered the land. By the 1580s Europeans truly feared the Nahuas and other native groups were facing extinction. The consequences of this were doubly horrifying to the Nahuas whose perception of the afterlife up to this point depended on the living. In this chapter I will continue to examine the Nahua annals, but here I will consider only those that reveal many years of experience of a particular individual – the cumulative toll of living through the epidemics. For this purpose, I will analyze the *Annals of Tecamachalco* written in the 1560s–90s, which offers one family's very personal and detailed experience with epidemic disease, and yet is a reflection of the experience of so many others at the time. Next, I will return to the annals of Chimalpahin, which were discussed in Chapter 3, but this time I will focus on those entries written about the years in which he was writing, and which reflect on his personal experience with death. He comments on not only epidemics, but also the difficulties and deaths brought about by the labor systems that the Spanish had imposed on the Nahua populations. These annals will serve to illustrate how the Nahuas began to understand and perceive death and dying in the early colonial period as epidemics became more frequent and devastated the people year after year. Finally, I will look at the *Annals of Juan Bautista* written in the 1560s and those written by don Juan Buenaventura Zapata y Mendoza in the later half of the seventeenth-century, which discuss the earliest interactions of the Nahuas with the

Catholic friars, in concert with the work of Chimalpahin to examine the Nahuas' nascent reflections on the Spanish Catholic rituals and beliefs surrounding death. In this way, I show how these writers dealt with their own losses using their preconquest belief structures, namely remembrance, and how they began to observe and learn about the Spanish beliefs they were being compelled to accept.

1. Stories of Loss within the Annals of Tecamachalco

The Annals of Tecamachalco offer us a unique opportunity to explore one family's experience with these seemingly endless bouts of disease. These annals were written by don Mateo Sánchez, who was born around 1530 to a noble family near the town of Tecamachalco. Educated by Franciscans, he learned to write Nahuatl from fray Francisco de Toral. He began writing his annals in the 1560's in the third person as was the style of the xiuhpohualli, recording the history that came before his time but then also adding to it and keeping a day to day record of events in his altepetl.[64] In a story that also includes births and marriages, namely those things that the songs tell us were to be enjoyed and lived for, death takes center stage. This is not a singular tale for colonial Mexico, but it instead can be used as a way to understand what every family was likely

[64] Thanks to the work of Camilla Townsend in *Annals of Native America,* in which she presents what she calls "a history of the annals," (9) she has followed clues in both the texts themselves and the Spanish-language archives in order to identify the authorship of these long assumed *anonymous* texts. We now have details of the annalist's biographies that were previously unknown. What this does for us is allows us to explore these texts with new eyes and ears as the voyeurs to one man's lived experience. Consequently, we are now able to watch as a "real" man interacts with his world, be it political, economic, or environmental. We are given the tools to look at how an individual saw death and the impact of the epidemics that ravaged a town year after year.

experiencing at the time. Here, thanks to don Mateo, though, we have a written record of his family's interactions with disease.[65]

The story can be viewed through the eyes of almost any member of the family but here we will watch from the perspective of the little girl, Francisca, born on September 4, 1560, to don Mateo and his wife, Catarina. Francisca was not their first born; her older brother Lucas was almost three years old when she was born. Don Mateo recorded the birth of his daughter without much flair in the book of annals he kept, but it was doubtless a joyous day for the little family, in a time when they knew how precious these moments of joy were. For the hope that surrounds a new life was often cut short in colonial Mexico where disease and death struck suddenly and with great force. Just after Francisca's first birthday, her father left home for Mexico City to fulfill his duties as an *Alcalde*, an office holder on the indigenous municipal council in Tecamachalco. Upon his return from this journey he became ill with a fever. This was no small matter at the time. Fevers were often deadly and although his little daughter was too young to understand, she certainly would have felt the stress and anxiety that this type of illness caused in a household. Don Mateo recovered from this illness, to the relief of his family, but this would only be the first of many diseases to impact the lives of the Sánchez family.

In 1563, an epidemic of measles[66] swept through the town. In April of that year, Catarina, the mother of the family's two small children died, leaving her husband with a five-year-old son and a two-year-old daughter. With a stoic pen, her husband just wrote:

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[65] For a full historiography of the Annals see Chapter 3, section 1, entitled: *The Sources that Reveal the Early Colonial Period: The Annals.*

[66] *Xaltic zauatl* literally means a sandy, pock-like rash, which was likely to have been measles. For more see: Cook and Lovell, eds. *Secret Judgments of God,* 37–38.

Nican omomiquili ynamic Mateo Sanchez ytoca catca Catherina ycastolliozcyoc April, "Here [in this year] the spouse of Mateo Sánchez died. Her name was Catarina. [It was] the 16th of April."[67] Don Mateo only wrote a few lines about this epidemic, noting that it was inescapable, affecting all people: *Auh ya ontlantiuh xiuitl yn quizaco yn xaltic zauatl mochi tlacatl oquichiuh*[68] *yn ueuetque ylamatque yn quin chicauatihui*[69] *yhuan yn pipiltzintzintin yn cozoltica onoqueh,* "The year was already ending when the measles broke out. All the people got it – the old men, the old women, the recently healthy and the children laid in cradles."[70] Using the tradition from the prayers of listing all of the subsets of humans affected, don Mateo explains that those who should not be dying were. This short but powerful description could have been due to the recent loss of his wife to this very disease. Francisca again was too young to comprehend the magnitude of death, but her brother and father would have grieved for their loss, and she was old enough to miss her mother, wonder about where she had gone, why she had left them, and ask about her coming back. This was a world in which a great deal of pragmatism was necessary, though, and so, little Francisca would have a new mother by the year's end. Before her father was remarried to a woman named doña Marta, Francisca and her brother were cared for by the other women in the family such as their grandmother and aunts. Now, though, they would be raised by Marta. When Francisca was almost eight years old, she lost her grandmother, who had cared for her in her mother's absence and doubtless remained an important part of her life after that. This was the first time that she would be old enough to fully grasp the magnitude of death. At this time, there would be a respite in

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[67] *Anales de Tecamachalco,* 46.
[68] Literally "did it."
[69] Literally "those moving toward strength."
[70] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 48.

personal family misfortune until 1575, but these years were truly just the calm before the storm.

In June of 1575, when she was fifteen, Francisca saw the death of her grandfather, don Martín. He was an old man, and his death was to be expected. The next year, though, the real tragedy began. The town was ravaged by a great epidemic of what was likely to have been hemorrhagic smallpox.[71] This epidemic was described as a bloody affair, with those afflicted bleeding from every possible orifice.

Ycemilhuiyoc augusto yn nican Tecamachalco peuhqui cocoliztli cenca chicauac uey amo yxnamiquiztli. / auh ytlamiyan yn augusto yn peuhqui ya tlayaualolo yn ipampa cocoliztli chiucnauilhuitl tlaqui ynic miyec tlacatl momiquilihque yn telpuchtli yn ichpuchtli yn amiquehque yn ueuetque yllamatque yn pipiltzitzintin yancuican yntech peuaco yn xineteca yn imaceualhuan don Baltazar del Castillo governador yn ihquac ypan metztli otobre [f.28v] *tahcico yn ye motoca centecpantli omahtlactli zan eylhuitl zan omilhuitl yn micoua estli teyac* ^{ac}*pa tenacazco teyxco tetzinco quizaya. / auh yn ciuah ynmaxaca quitztia yn eztli toquichtin yntech quizaya yn estli yntotouh cequi apitzalli ynic micouaya motlacuepilliaya yn san tleyn conilnamiquia niman yc miquia.*

On the first day of August began the great sickness here in Techamachalco. It was really strong; there was no resisting. At the end of August began the processions because of the sickness. They finished on the ninth day. Because of it, many people died, young men and women, those who were old men and women, or children. It first began among the Xineteca macehualtin, subjects of don Baltazar del Castillo, the governor. When the month of October began, thirty people had been buried. In just two or three days they would die. Blood came from the nose, the ears, the eyes, the anus. Among the women, blood came from the crotch, among the men it came from the penis. Some died of diarrhea. They lost their sense. They thought just anything and would die.[72]

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[71] For the identification of the disease see: Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 275, fn16. For more on the possible causes of this epidemic see: Cook and Lovell, eds. *Secret Judgments of God,* 38–42.
[72] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 76. (Translation guided by that in Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 105).

The horror of watching a person die while bleeding from their eyes, their ears, their nose, from between their legs, is the stuff of nightmares and something that would not be soon forgotten by Francisca, now just shy of sixteen years old. She not only witnessed this devastation first hand but would have been called on to help care for the sick. In fact, Francisca's cousin, Tómas, the *fiscal* of the church made it through the first wave of the disease, but it is recorded that he relapsed in November and in turn died. Most likely Francisca was among those present at his sick bed helping to care for him. The majority of victims died within three days of becoming ill, and it is easy to see that death, at that point, may have been seen as a mercy. From the beginning of August to the beginning of October, there was an average of one funeral every other day. There was no possible resistance or escape from this illness. This disease did not discriminate.

A little more than two months after Tómas' death, on January 26, 1577, doña Marta, Francisca's mother for the previous thirteen years, died, almost certainly from this same disease, but if not, from another brought on by the exhaustion of caring for the sick in the preceding months. Just six days later, Francisca's aunt, possibly one who had cared for her in her mother's absence and perhaps Tómas' mother, died. This left Francisca as the oldest female, now responsible for the household. So, at sixteen, in the wake of a devastating epidemic, she took on the household responsibilities. Just then, her father was charged with caring for the orphans in the community. Although this did not mean taking them into his household, it did mean handling their affairs and their inheritances. There were surely quite a few of them, given that this epidemic had now lingered for six months, adding to don Mateo's many burdens.

In the months after Marta's death, the Alcalde, don Juan Jiménez, died. Don Mateo, having been an alcalde in the 1550s and having served as the Governor (or head of the council) just a few years before, was called to take over for Jiménez. In addition, don Mateo took in don Juan's son, caring for him and defending his property against neighbors attempting to claim his lands. In the meantime, the boy, still as child, was now Francisca's charge. She would have fed and clothed him, taking care of his immediate needs. It seems that there was no rest for the weary. In August, Francisca and her brother, Lucas, were left to depend on and care for each other, as their father traveled to Mexico City yet again. The crown had increased taxes and don Mateo went to the Viceroy to implore him to consider Tecamachalco's devastating situation, to lower their tribute, and release the town from a modicum of stress.[73] There was work to be done, and lives to be lived, so the family pressed on.

In a much happier turn of events, Francisca was married on March 1, 1579, at the age of nineteen, to don Juan Osorio. Her father wrote: *Ycemilhuiyoc marzo omonamicti don Juan Osorio yuan* ^{ychpuch} *governador don Matheo Sanchez ytoca Francisca quinamicti guardian fray Francisco Goyti,* "On the first day of March, don Juan Osorio was married to the daughter of the Governor don Mateo Sánchez, named Francsica. The Guardián, fray Francisco Goyti, married them."[74] Francisca's new husband, a man she likely knew well as he had worked with her father in the government of the community, was no stranger to her experience of loss, having lost his mother, doña Lucía Osorio, during the same terrible epidemic of 1576 that had taken so many of the Sánchez family.

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[73] For more on the political situation that don Mateo was reacting to see: Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 62.
[74] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 81.

Her father saw her married, but don Mateo became ill again in April of 1580, and died just two months later, in June. A younger man wrote in his book that: *YXVIIyoc metztli April yn opeuh yn ya mococoua don Matheo Sanchez … YVIIyoc junius ypan martes yn omiquili don Matheo Sanchez.* +, "On the 17th of the month of April, don Mateo Sánchez began to be sick. On the 7th of June, on Tuesday, don Mateo Sánchez died. +"[75] Francisca cared for him in his final weeks and his death was attended by his new son-in-law as well as the Governor, don Baltazar de Castillo, Lucas' godfather, and many other community leaders. At this point it is more than likely that Lucas took over the task of putting pen to paper and recording the annals. His first order of business being to record the death of his own father. He marked it with a cross, one of few deaths marked this way, the symbol more commonly used for regal or churchly entries.

The family enjoyed another short respite from personal tragedy, but like the tide crashing on the shore, they were certain to see another wave soon. In August of 1584, don Baltazar de Castillo died, followed in short order by his wife, doña Juana. Having been the godparents of Lucas, they were surely involved in the lives of both Lucas and his sister. Lucas wrote that: *Zan no yhquac momiquili don Baltazar del Castillo governador catca teotlac motocac auh in ihquac momiquili ypan misa*, "Also, then, [on Wednesday the 2nd of the month of August] don Baltazar del Castillo, who was the governor, died. In the afternoon he was buried. He died when he was in mass."[76] The sunset burial and the mention of his godfather dying suddenly while he was at mass, shows how important not only burial and funeral rites still were to the Nahuas, but how

[75] Ibid, 83.
[76] Ibid, 91.

much the Catholic Church had begun to influence them even as early as the 1580s. Less than two weeks later, Lucas wrote, *YXVyoc augusto ypan Asumptio oyuh youan momiquili dona Juana ynamictzin catca don Baltazar de Castillo ypan IX horas uallathui Asumptio motocac ayamo tlayaualolo,* "On the 15th of August, right before the Assumption [of Mary], doña Juana, the dear wife of the late don Baltazar del Castillo, died. At nine the next morning on [the day of] the Assumption she was buried, before the procession." Again, we can see the detailed record created for Lucas' godmother, who died in the night. It is certainly possible that he was there. And again, we see the importance of the Catholic holy days and rituals beginning to be embedded in the records of the Nahuas, which is reminiscent of the notation of the eclipse on the day that Axayacatl died. Lucas' description of his godmother as the "dear" wife of don Baltazar surely indicates his tender feeling toward her as a woman precious to him.

In the beginning of March 1585, Lucas registered to be married to a young woman named Agustina. Francisca, though, would not make it to her brother's wedding. She died on March 10th at the age of 25, leaving her husband and at least one daughter, Ana, behind. Lucas followed his father into government, being elected as an alcalde in 1586. He married Agustina but would not see their first anniversary. He died in February of 1586 after only a month in office and only 9 months after his wedding, at the age of 29. Don Juan, Francisca's widowed husband, married for a second time a little more than a year after Francisca's death. Like Marta did for Catarina, Francisca's mother, another woman, Juliana, would have to raise little Ana for Francisca. Juliana only knew and cared for Ana for a short time, though, for little Ana followed her mother to the grave in December of 1586. The record of this little girl's death indicates that the book of annals

stayed with this family after Lucas' death, perhaps passing to don Juan himself. The cycle of life and death is eternal, but it was a much more rapidly turning wheel in the indigenous communities of colonial Mexico, a fact that is made abundantly clear by the annals and what they record.

In the annals of Tecamachalco alone, one fifth of the dated entries concern death and illness of one form or another. This is significant considering that the entries cover a very wide variety of topics, including but not limited to, changes in government, tribute and tax collection and negotiation, wars and slave uprisings, births, marriages, celestial events, and extreme weather, as well as the comings and goings of notable individuals. If there were a question about the cause of any of these deaths, the answer would be that illness was the culprit. It is not likely that Francisca at 25 or Lucas at 29 would have died of natural causes. Epidemics and disease became a fact of everyday life in the colonial era. In this one family's experience, we can see the emptiness that these epidemic diseases left. Don Mateo left this earth with no living descendant, no legacy except his book of annals.

2. The Cumulative Effect of Epidemic Disease within the Annals of Tecamachalco

The experience of these annalists consisted mostly of the people around them dying of diseases that their grandparents had never experienced and that they could not control or understand. It had to have led to a certain mental and emotional fatigue. This is apparent in his indigenous text from Tecamachalco. Don Mateo in his years of recording these annals, notes five distinct epidemics. The first is that of 1520, made famous by the

Florentine codex. He writes the history that had been recounted to him of this first wave a smallpox with a distant tone, explaining that this had never occurred before and that this beginning led to all the other sicknesses that have been spreading through the land ever since. He writes that: *2 Tecpatl 1520. … yhquac yn mochintin quitocayotiaya teozauatl cenca temahmauhti ynic mochiuh uey zauatl mochi quihtlaco yn texayac uel ic tlayxpoliouac quin oncan peuhtica yn eztli yn tlayelli mihtoua. Auch y ye nepa ayc mochiua oncan ocempeuh yn ixquichica axcan ualquiztiuh cocoliztli,* "2 Tecpatl, 1520 … At that time what everyone called the teozahuatl [the great pox, the divine scourge] was terrorizing people. Large pox formed, completely disfiguring people's faces. Because of it there was a great mortality. It would begin with blood, what is called the tlayelli (dysentery). It had never occurred in former times. Then began all the sicknesses that have been breaking out."[77] It is clear that he had been told how horrible this disease was and that it had never been seen in "former times" before the Spanish arrived. It is also being blamed for many other ailments, the disfigured faces and dysentery, but in this report the telling line is the last one. Don Mateo sees this first epidemic for what it was, an omen of what was to come. He rightly names it as just the beginning of "all the sicknesses" to come.

The second epidemic occurred in 1545. Don Mateo would have lived through this one, probably knowing many of the people who died during it. He was still young at this point, in his mid-teen years, still under the tutelage Toral. This was only the second

[77] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 24. (Translation guided by that in Camila Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 101).

terrible scourge. He had not yet lost hope that the indigenous could still recover from these losses. Yet, writing as an adult, he remembers that:

zan no ypan xiuitl yn uey cocoliztli mochiuh yn eztli tecamacpaquiz teyacacpaquiz tetlampaquiz yn nican callaquico ypan metztli mayo toquizpan temamauhti ynic micouac yn cemilhuitl motocaya yn za no quicpeuhqui x, xv, xx, xxx, xl ynin cemilhuitl Auh yn pipiltzitzintin cenca miyequintin yn micque ce xiuhtica yn poliuico in cocoliztli yn oncan micque pipiltin ueyteuctli catca auh occequintin pipiltin etcetera	In this same year the *huey Cocoliztli* [the great epidemic] occurred. Blood came from the mouth, the nose, and the teeth of the people. Here it spread in the planting time in the month of May. When it was just beginning, in one day they would bury ten, twenty, thirty, forty. This was in one day. And many children died in a year, until the end of the disease. Then the nobles died; those who were *huey teuctli* (Great lords, lordly/nobility) and other nobles, etc.[78]

He remembers that it was a terrifyingly deadly disease and it was made exponentially worse by the fact that it occurred during the harvest, leaving fewer workers to collect the food increasing the chance of famine for the survivors. Here, we see that the lordly classes are called out specifically as falling prey to this disease, rather than just the children, or the old men and women. This could mean that in this case there were just too many dying for any amount of privilege or care to matter much, but also it indicates that the people were losing their leaders, the old lines of nobility, the ones who would have been noted in the annals of old.

The next epidemic occurred in 1563 and at this point don Mateo only records a few lines. As mentioned, this is the one that took his first wife. If we stop here to consider the timing, a pattern is forming in which a noteworthy epidemic occurs about every twenty years. And yet, this is still not as bad as it gets, for it is only twelve years

[78] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 28–29.

later that the next "great epidemic" happens. Don Mateo mentions this in one line, but the following year in 1576 the epidemic that devastated don Mateo and his family the most occurred. This time he describes it in great detail as quoted above, explaining: "The people lost their senses. They thought of just anything and would die," dying with simply the thought of the disease.[79] His whole tone is different by the end of his life. The list of names that follows this description of the epidemic exemplifies the immensity of the devastation even beyond the first two months. At this point it is becoming clear that this cycle of epidemic disease is far from over. And this understanding was not reserved for the indigenous population alone; don Mateo was not alone in feeling he could bear no more.

Only a few years later the Guardián fray Hernando de Oviedo was brought to tears during a funeral of which Lucas writes, *YXVyoc yn omihto otobre yn o* ^{mo}*miquili fixcal Diego Romano de Mendoza yIX horas youac uallatui motocac yn quimotoquili ynohmatzinco yn quardian fray Hernando de Oviedo cenca mochoquili aocmo uel cuicac ynic quihtozquia oracion [?] za tlahtolli yn conmihtlahui,* "On the 15th of October, it was said that the Fiscal Diego Romano de Mendoza died at 9 o'clock at night. At dawn he was buried. He was buried by the same Guardián fray Hernando de Oviedo. He wept so much that he could not sing well. Because of it, he was just going to say a prayer. He only spoke the words [rather than singing]." We are left to wonder whether this show of emotion was due to a close personal relationship between fray Hernando and Diego, or if

[79] *Anales de Tecamachalco*, 76. See the full quotation in Section 1. Stories of Loss Within the Annals of Tecamachalco, in this Chapter.

it was instead the fact that this friar's life had become a series of funerals, continuing in a way that must have seemed inescapable.

It is worthwhile to note that the Annals of Tecamachalco were not recorded at a time or in a place when the death rate was highest. It was going to get worse. The real nadir in indigenous populations did not come until almost 30 years after this time, during the records of Chimalpahin (which will be discussed next) likely around the time that the epidemics began targeting children more than adults.[80] This then is why these annals are so important to understanding what the epidemics actually *felt* like. The people who were alive for the conquest and remember the first plagues or were told firsthand accounts of these events were now old, and they were exhausted by the constant devastation, no matter the exact number of dead. The friars responsible for caring for the bodies and the souls of their parishioners were also breaking down into tears.

3. Chimalpahin's Recorded Memories of the Tragedies of the Repartimiento

As if passed an invisible baton, Chimalpahin's firsthand records pick up around the time of the end of the Annals of Tecamachalco. Chimalpahin himself was born in 1579, around the time don Mateo was departing the world. It can be presumed that the entries in his history dating from about the 1590s on were likely written about events that he had seen himself or heard about and were written down at or around the time that the

[80] For an in-depth look at the population decline in Mexico see: my Introduction, Section 1, entitled *Studies of Demographic Collapse in the New World.* For more see: Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History.*

events occurred.[81] Chimalpahin was born to a noble family of Chalco, an altepetl just to the southeast of Mexico City. In the 1590s, he was sent to Mexico City where he began writing the annals that he kept about his own life and time. Chimalpahin rarely expresses strong feelings as the annals tradition was not meant to be one man's record but a communal record. And yet, he does allow his feelings to show at times and in doing so reveals the perspective of the indigenous people. Removed slightly in time and place, his firsthand accounts can only continue our story in terms of looking at another man's individual experience of loss, but again, these stories were not singular. These experiences were a universal fact of life at the time for those living in Nahua communities in Mexico. In the account of Chimalpahin, another killer emerges besides disease, that of the repartimiento labor system. Interspersed with the records of death by disease are those that specifically call out the deadly nature of the labor system that was in place. His reaction to death, like that of don Mateo and Lucas above, is at times deeply emotional, giving us a sense of the hardship that these people suffered, and also how difficult it was for these men to continue to keep these records even as they recognized the importance of them.

In 1592, in the midst of entries about the happenings in the market and clerics gathering due to a delivery of cloth from Rome, we find this entry: *Juebes a 5. de março yquac netlatiloc in tlequiquixcalo yn oncan mochihua tlequiquiztli altepehuaque cohuatequitque yn motlatique achi quezquintin huel temamauhti ynic quixolocac*[82]

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[81] Lockhart claimed that Chimalpahin began writing in real time in 1608 (*Introduction* in *Annals of His Time*, 3–4), but Townsend argues that he was recording his experience in close to real time before that, as early as the 1590s, (*Annals of Native America,* 146–148).
[82] From *xolochoa*, to wrinkle or fold?

ynnacayo oncā quinhualhuicaque ospital real cequi patique yhuan cequintin momiquillique, "Thursday the 5th of March was when people were burned at the armory, where firearms are made. Those who were burned were citizens of [surrounding] altepetl doing repartimiento labor, quite a few of them; it was truly frightening how it [damaged? wrinkled?] their flesh. They brought them to the royal hospital; some got well, and some died."[83] The mention here that the dead, those who were burned, terrifyingly so, so that their flesh was marred and wrinkled, likely beyond repair, were those working as part of the repartimiento system is indicative of the inherent difficulties brought on by this type of work. It would not have been a new concept for the Nahuas of "[surrounding] altepetl" to owe labor tribute but the types of labor now required were different and more dangerous, and because they were taking place in a world where epidemics raged regularly, the work would have been more taxing on the communities that were shrinking every year. Chimalpahin's final words are almost nihilistic: "some got well, and some died." These incidents where those working far from home would never return were not uncommon and are reminiscent of the old prayers which lamented the fact that a man's kin would not know that he had died. Chimalpahin likely would have had a similar feeling then, that the men who did not live, should be mourned and mentioned because it would be some time before their families would know about their demise and mourn for their deaths.

This would not be the last time that tragedy struck. With ongoing repartimiento labor projects, death was ever present. In November of 1607, excavation began on a water channel that would cut through the mountain called Citlaltepetl under the direct

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[83] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 38–39.

order of the viceroy, don Luis de Velasco. The purpose of this channel was to redirect the water that frequently flooded Mexico City out through the channel. Each of the surrounding altepetl were called on to send men to work on the excavation and construction. In February of 1608, Chimalpahin writes:

Oncan otequitico. Ynic omoquetz. Yn aotlih. Ynic omotatacac ynic omotlapo. Omotlacohuiltec. Omocoyoni yn tepetl. Yhuan miccaomitl. Ompa quiquixtique. Ceme yehuatl. Ymomiyo yniquin quẽma. Yn onemico. Nican ypan tlalli. Yn quintocayotitihui. Yn quinteneuhtihui huehuetque tocihuan tocolhua. Quinameti. Tlacahueyaq̃. Catca. Auh ynin ca ceme yehuantin ymomiyo yn ompa quiquixtique. Atatacoyan. Oncan quihualhuicaque yn Sant Pablo. Quimottili. Yn visurrey. // auh yhuan cenca miec tlacatl. Macehualli oncan omomiquillico. Yhuan cequintin. Omococo oncan yn omoteneuhque altepetl ypan tlaca.	They came there to work so that a water channel was constructed, so that there was excavation so that the mountain was opened up, cut into, and a hole made in it. And they removed bones of the dead from there; some of their bones were like those who lived formerly here on earth, whom the ancients, our grandmothers and grandfathers, named and called giants; they were tall people. And they removed some of their bones from the place of water excavation and brought them to San Pablo; the viceroy saw them. // And very many indigenous died there, and some of the said people from the various altepetl fell sick (or were hurt?).[84]

Not only were these people brought from far away to work and possibly die, but in so doing they were digging up the bones of those who had come before them; the remnants of the world that had been destroyed. Chimalpahin takes a moment to reflect on how his ancestors were considered giants, clearly setting them apart symbolically as great men. The irony, which was not lost on Chimalpahin, was in the fresh hell that must have been created for the men dying while digging up the graves of their ancient kings. These traumas were new and like wounds, still open and exposed when recorded. These memories of the dead are not recollections glorifying the warriors of old, but the just the relics of the long dead, those of whom no memory was left in the living world. The men excavating the channel then joined them literally and figuratively. In working they fell

[84] Ibid, 109–111.

sick, were hurt, and died and being removed from those who knew them were lost from memory. The marks of the repartimiento cut deeply into the people just as they did the landscape of Mexico City.

Again, six years later at the end of 1614, the licenciado, don Pedro de Otalora, the president of the Royal Audiencia in Mexico City, left to tour and inspect the water levels around the great lake. The last place he stopped was Citlaltepec, where he inspected the drainage channel that was being constructed there. Chimalpahin writes:

Yn macehualtzitzinti ompa quitatacaya ce tepetl yn quicuitlacoyoniaya, yn amo huel mochihua mohuitia ynic ompa quiça atl, omoteneuh nican techyahualotoc yn capachoznequi ciudad Mexico, yc mocauh ayocmo omochiuh yn motatacaz. Yuh omihto ypampa ca cenca miequintin macehualtzitzin hueca tlaca huel yxquich cincuenta mil yn oncan omomiquillico atatacoyan, y nohuiyampa tlaca, cẽca omotolinique, yhuan yuh omihto ca ce millon, yn oncan ye popolihui ytlatquitzin Rey.	The poor indigenous were excavating a mountain there, making a hole in the side of it, where the said waters that as said surround us and are about to flood the city of Mexico cannot find a channel to come out. It was halted, and the excavation was done no more, because, it was said, a great many poor indigenous from far away, a full 50,000, died at the place of excavation; people from all around were greatly afflicted. And it was said that a million [pesos] of the king's assets were spent there.[85]

The excavation was not getting done fast enough and here again, we have a much larger number than we have seen thus far wherein 50,000 Nahua workers, "poor indigenous from far away," died. Here we are left to imagine the nature of those deaths. The flooding must have been violent in nature to have killed so many. The record is likely including those from the years before this incident and those who died of hunger, illness, or other accidents. But either way, this number was immense, and again, those left behind were "greatly afflicted," not only dealing with the fallout from flooding and the loss of their

[85] Ibid, 293–295.

loved ones but also the decimation of their population affecting their ability to work their own land, feed their own children, and keep their loved ones alive.

The dead were from "far away" compounding the difficulty of their death in that their families would not know about their fate or be able to mourn them. In his *Ocho Relaciones*, Chimalpahin expresses his reason for recording his people's ancient histories, writing that: *Ayc polihuiz ayc ylcahuiz, mochipa pialoz, ticpiazque yn titepilhuan in titeixhuihuan in titeyccahuan in titemintonhuan in titepiptonhuan in titechichicahuan, in titetentzonhuan in titeyxquamolhuan in titeteyztihuan, in titetlapallohuan in titehezçohuan, in titlayllotlacatepilhuan, in ipan otiyolque otitlacatque in ice tlaxillacalyacatl motenehua Tlayllotlacan Tecpan, y huel oncan catca y huel oncan omotlahtocatillico yn izquintin in tlaçohuehuetque in tlaçotlahtoque chichimeca,* "It will never be lost or forgotten. It will always be preserved. We will preserve it, we who are the younger brothers, the children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren, we who are the beards, eyebrows, nails, color and blood, we who are the descendants of the Tlailotlacas, we who have been born and lived in the tlaxilacalli segment of Tlailotlacan Tecpan, where lived and governed all the precious ancient Chichimeca kings."[86] It is clear that his purpose is to preserve his people's past for future generations. It stands to reason that this was true of his present as well and his reason for recording the terror and tragedy of the repartimiento. These last two catastrophic repartimiento projects are thought to be the trigger that prompted Chimalpahin to begin his record of his people's history, seeing that this was only getting worse and that if he

[86] "Eight Relation," in *Las Ocho Relaciones*, vol.2, 272–273.

did not do something to remember these people, they would be lost forever.[87] His conviction that posterity should know what happened rings true in these passages as it does in those about the epidemics.

4. Chimalpahin's Recorded Memories of Epidemic Disease

Of the epidemics, Chimalpahin recorded many. As was the pattern in the Annals of Tecamachalco, it has been just shy of twenty years since the last epidemic when, in 1595, Chimalpahin as a young man, writes:

Auh ypan in deziembre de 1595. a^{o}s. yn momanaco Cocoliztli çahuatl Salanbio ynic micohuac huel totocac yn cocoliztli ynic nepallehuiloc yztac octli heheloquiltic tletlematzin miya yn ipā yztac octli. Yc patihuaya auh huel cenca micohuac yn cecemilhuitl huel miec in motocaya auh yn ipan 1596. a^{o}s. amo quiz. amo caxahuac yn cocoliztli çan ye yhui totocac huel ixpoliohuac in telpochtli yn ichpochtli in tlapallihui yn huehuentzin ylamatzin pilsintli conetzintli, auh nohuian calpā. mexico moteyolcuitiliaya. y teopixq̄. yhuā tlaqualtzītli quitemacaya. in castilteca. yvā teyzminaya –	It was in December of the year 1595 that an epidemic of measles broke out, from which people died; the epidemic really raged. People were helped with white pulque; *eloquiltic tletlematzin* was drunk in white pulque, with which it was cured. There were a very great many deaths; every day very many were buried. And it did not end in the year 1596, the epidemic did not subside, but raged vigorously. Absolutely everyone perished: young men and young women, grown men, old men and old women, and little children. And in the houses, all around Mexico the religious heard confession and the Spaniards gave people food and bled them.[88]

This is our first glimpse of what was done to try to help during these times of epidemic death. The first line reads so similarly to those written by don Mateo that it could be confused for an entry in those annals. Of course, though, this similarity comes from the

[87] Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 150.
[88] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 54–55.

long tradition passed down to these men. We hear the common refrain that "everyone perished: young men and young women, grown men, old men and old women, and little children." Here again this indicates that the youthful and presumably healthy were dying when they should not have been. It was not just the very old and the very young, but everyone. In this way we see how this was very different from the experience of the grandfathers of these writers. The fact that this entry weaves together attempted remedies with the laments that many, many people were dying everyday sets it apart, but becomes the norm from here on out. As mentioned, the Spanish were also concerned about the plight of the Nahuas and this tendency to give aid in times of great trouble continued into the later colonial period.[89]

Not only are the Spanish attempting to save the physical bodies, the earthly lives of the people, but they are also hearing confession, to prepare those who will not recover from their imminent deaths. This slow shift into another tradition of death rites is beginning to mingle with the older ideas of death. In 1595, too, Chimalpahin writes of the attempts to placate God and the saints with a procession through the streets. He says that:

Yn iquac Domingo. yn itlamian metztli deziembre de 1595. a^{o}s. yquac tlayahualoloc Sant Sebastian hualpehualoto ompa huilohuac in Sant. Lazaro. Acalcaltitlan huel mahuiztic yn mochiuh yxquich tlacatl ompa huia yn timacehualtin yhuan castilteca ompa motemachtilli yn totatzin fray helias de S^{t}. Juan bap^{ta}. calme totatzin ynin mochiuh ynic tlayahualoloc ypampa cocoliztli ynic	Sunday the end of the month of December of the year 1595 was when there was a procession; people started from San Sebastián and went to San Lázaro Acalcaltitlan. It was done in a very marvelous way: everybody went, we indigenous and the Spaniards. Father fray Elías de San Juan Bautista, a Carmelite father, preached. The reason this was done and there was a procession was because of the epidemic, so that our lord

[89] For more on the aid given and Spanish reports of the epidemics affecting the indigenous, see Chapter 5, Section 3.

moyolcehuitzinoz tt^{o}. Dios. yhuā yehuatin yn tlaçocihuapilli Sancta maria.	God and the precious lady Saint Mary would be appeased.[90]

This Spanish Catholic tradition of having processions to appease God and the saints and to call upon them for aid would have been comprehensible to the Nahuas, who, as we have seen in the prayers, were regularly calling on the gods for aid. This is a tradition that may have even been too close to their old traditions for some, as correlations between the saints, Mary, and Jesus, with the old gods were common.[91] Nonetheless, in the face of devastation the fathers of the Church were just as desperate as the Nahuas themselves to find some respite and engender hope through prayer.

Less than a year went by before another epidemic hit the city. In the annals, this disease is not identified by name, and it is impossible to tell which disease was raging so close on the heels of the last and taking so many people who should have been able to survive an illness, but we see again that the community tried to help the sick. Chimalpahin writes:

1. calli xihuitl, 1597. años. yn iquac Sant Sebastian ylhuitzin catca yn ipā lunes. a xx de henero de 1597. Años. in yehuatizin totlaçotatzin fray Alonso vrbano guardian S. Fran^{co} onpohualli pesos. Quinmotlaocolili in cocxque yc mocouh tlaolli tlaxcalli marquexodi xochiqualli, xocotl, quinmamacaya in cocoxque yn ipan cecentlaxillacalli ynic S^{t}. Juan yhuan Sancta maria quiyomahuiaya yn Regidoresme Doctorme yxquetzalloque ynpan yn quimitaya cocoxque yn tleyn	1 Calli year, 1597. When it was the feast day of San Sebastián, on Monday the 20th of January of the year 1597, our precious father fray Alonso Urbano, father Guardián of San Francisco, favored the sick with forty pesos, with which was bought shelled maize, bread, caramels, and fruit. They distributed it to the sick in each tlaxilacalli of San Juan and Santa María. The regidores and doctors who were appointed to look after the sick, [to get them] what they needed [in the way

[90] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 54–55.
[91] See Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth* for a complete discussion of the ways in which Nahua religious traditions were oftentimes misinterpreted and used to indoctrinate the Nahuas into the Catholic religion. See also the cases of apostates in Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003).

intech monequi yn boticapatli yn intech monequia ynic patiloya auh cēca huel totocac yn cocoliztli huel micohuac yxquichtin momiquillique yn piltzintli in ye qualtzin yn moquequetza yn mohuillana yn telposchtli yn ichpochtli yn tlapallihui yn iyolloco toquichtin yhuan cihua yhuan yn huehuetque yn illamatque huel ixpoliohuac ynic micohuac yhuan castilteca.	of] medicine from the pharmacy for their cure, took care of it personally. The epidemic raged very terribly, there was a great deal of death. Infants who can already raise themselves up quite well and crawl, youths and maidens, grown men, mature men and women, and old men and women, all died. There was total destruction by death. Also, Spaniards [died].[92]

The aid of the friars and the Spanish in the form of money, food, and medicine was clearly appreciated enough to be recorded in great detail. Each benefactor being assigned to care for a specific group of sick and taking on the errands associated with their care themselves in person is the type of comfort that was felt even if the remedies ultimately failed. Even with this aid the epidemic raged on and took with it another wave of those without immunity. Here it was so bad that it was described as a "total destruction by death," and that whatever was carrying off droves of Nahuas was also killing Spaniards.

Like don Mateo it was not long before Chimalpahin was personally struck by the tragedy of epidemic disease. Until this point he was writing as a very young man, but in 1606 Chimalpahin would echo the cries of the songs and prayers of an earlier time as he wrote and remembered the death of his beloved father. His writing here is full of emotion and more poetic language than in his other entries. He writes:

Yn ipan axcan Domingo. yc 23. mani metztli Julio. de 1606. años. yquac yn ompa tzaqualtitlan tenanco. amaquemecan momiquilli. in quimohuiquilli tt^{o}. Dios. yehuatzin. notlaçotatzin. moyetzticatca. Juan augustin yxpintzin teuhctli. yn itelpochtzin catca cihuapilli. Doña luisa.	Today, Sunday the 23rd of the month of July of the year 1606, was when my late precious father, Juan Agustín Ixpintzin, a lord, who was the son of the lady doña Luisa Xochiquetzaltzin, passed away and our lord God took him. He lived on earth for 55 years. The said month was when *matlaltotonqui* [typhus] broke out. The

[92] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 58–61.

xochiquetzaltzin. auh ynic omonemiltico tlalticpac yn ixquichcauh onpohualxihuitl. oncaxtolli. yn ipan in metztli omoteneuh. yquac momanaco. matlaltotonqui. Iuh quihtogue. Yn tlamatinime yehuatl techhuicac yni ipan in xihuitl omoteneuh yn quitocayotia planeta Marte. huey citalli. huel ihiyo cocoliztica.	wise men said that what they call the planet Mars, a great star, governed us in the aforementioned year; it is really its emanation[93] with the epidemic.[94]

He evokes the sentiments of both Catholic ideology and also, his ancestors' ideas about death when he says "our lord God took him." It is clear that Catholic ideas about death speak of joining God in heaven, but it was also a common refrain in preconquest Nahua songs and prayers to lament that the gods had hidden a person away or killed him. Chimalpahin is reflecting both world views in claiming that God "took" his father from him. There is an undertone of anger as he blames the epidemic on what the "wise men" call the "planet Mars." Again, we are reminded of songs and prayers and the angry and desperate calls for the gods to stop the plague or famine that had descended upon the people and of the early annals' celestial omens.

In the same year Chimalpahin, like don Mateo who saw one epidemic sweep through and kill a number of his family members, would report the death of yet another person dear to him. In October his maternal grandmother died, likely of typhus which was still spreading through the altepetl at that time. He writes:

Auh yn axcan ynpan yc 24. mani metztli octubre de 1606. años. yquac ompa yn tzaqualtitlan tenanco amaquemecan. omomiquilli. omopolihuilti. yn tlacatl cihuapilli nocitzin Doña Martha de S^{t}.tiago. amaxochtzin tenanco tepopolla cihuapilli oncan. ychantzin^{co} ynin	Today, the 24th of the month of October of the year 1606, was when the noble lady my grandmother, doña Marta de Santiago Amaxochtzin, a noblewoman of Tenanco Tepopolla, who was from there, passed away and perished in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, [a division of] Amaquemecan.

[93] Literally, "its breath."
[94] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 90–93.

ynamictzin. catca yn pilli Don Domingo Hernādez. ayopochtzin. tzaqualtitlan tenanco amaquemecan ychantzinco. auh ynic omonemiltico cihuapilli tlalticpac. yepohualxihuitl. onmatlactli ypān onxihuitl. ynin ychpochtzin catca. yntlacatl. Don Juan Hehuacayotzin. pilli. oncan ychantzinco catca yn tecpan yn itocayocan tlayllotlacan tecalco. ytech pohui altepetl. tenanco texocpalco tepopolla. chalco	She was the spouse of nobleman don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin from Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco [in] Amaquemecan. The lady lived on earth for 72 years. She was the daughter of the lord don Juan Ehuacayotzin, a nobleman, whose home was at the palace at the place called Tlailotlacan Teccalco belonging to the altepetl Tenanco Texocpalco Tepopolla, [a part of] Chalco.[95]

Like the entry for his father, he describes the lineage of his grandmother, giving her the memorial and honor that is needed to be remembered well in the years beyond death. Here, there is still a deep connection with the noble lines that emanated from the preconquest past. She is linked to a number of noblemen, her husband and her father, and she is situated in space, the altepetl she is from and the altepetl that her family is from are listed. Making sure that his grandmother was linked to her family and her altepetl was a way to make sure that her memory lived on.[96] In March of the following year Chimalpahin wrote that: *xi. acatl xihuitl. 1607. años. ypan in xihuitl ypā metztli. Março. yquac ocehuico yn cocoliztli matlaltotonqui yn manca. cenca chicahuac yc micohuac in nican mexico. ce xihuitl. yn manca,* "11 reed year, 1607. In this year, in the month of March, was when the epidemic of the fever matlaltotonqui, which had greatly raged, and from which there were many deaths here in Mexico, subsided. It had gone on for a year."[97] Finally he was relieved of the epidemic that took those who were dear to him.

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[95] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 92–93.
[96] This need to keep the dead connected to the family is an important step in recording death that will be explored more in the next chapter.
[97] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 94–95.

It was at this point that the epidemics seemed to quicken their pace. In the Annals of Tecamachalco the average was one devastating epidemic about every twenty years, and here we have seen one in 1606 and 1607 and then there was one about every third or fourth year. But something else began to happen. The epidemics were changing shape, and at least some of them were becoming more endemic in nature, which could be why they seemed to be happening more frequently. Almost all the diseases that traveled from Europe to Mexico were endemic in Europe, meaning that they were always present at a low level in society and would flare up every few years as new children who were not immune were born and socialized with others. Therefore, this was bound to happen eventually in the Americas as well. In 1609, Chimalpahin wrote: *Auh yn axcan ypan in yc i. mani metztli Março de 1609. años. yquac opeuh cenca chicahuac momanaco yn çahuatl. yn motenehua viruelas. cenca miequintin yc momiquillique yn pipiltzinti. yn inpilhuā timacehualtin. yhuan çan no yhui yn inpilhuan españolestin. yhuan yn inpilhuan tliltique. çan mochtin neliuhtiaque yn momiquilique. yhuan cequintin ye huehue tin tlaca. ynic momiquilligue çahuatl ypan cehuico yn Mayo. ome metztli ypan tlaco yn manca,* "Today the 1st of the month of March of the year 1609 was when the rash called smallpox broke out very strongly. Very many children of us indigenous died of it, and likewise children of Spaniards and children of blacks; all died mixed together [without distinction], as well as some adults who died of smallpox. It abated in May, having gone on for two and a half months."[98] This change from the type of smallpox that would kill everyone to the kind that seemed to target children would not have seemed like a respite, though, and so when we read that it was killing the Spanish and black children just as it

[98] Ibid, 154–157.

was the Nahua children, that does not mean that it looked any better to those watching it at the time. This change would have occurred in fits and starts and each disease would have had a different timeline and trajectory.

Four years later typhus would break out again. In the midst of what was a very cold and wet March in which there had been freezing rain and snow, Chimalpahin recorded that this time it was not reserved for children and caused death everywhere. He wrote: *Yhuan cenca chicahuac in yequene momanaco cocoliztli matlaltotonqui yn ipan in omoteneuh Metztli Março. ynic micohuac ynic mochi ypan nohuiyan nueua españa. yn ōpa yc hualpeuhtica ytzinecan yn ipan in omoteneuh xihuitl yxquichcauh necocolloc yhuan micohuac ynic yequene axcan chicahuac ye mochihua cocoliztli momiquilia yn timacehualtin yhuā Españoles,* "And finally, an illness, matlaltotonqui [typhus] broke out in the said month of March, causing deaths all over New Spain. It had its beginning [earlier] in the said year, there was sickness and death, until finally now the illness became stronger, and we indigenous and Spaniards are dying."[99] Again everyone was dying and the Spanish were also being affected. At this point there was a large enough population of Spaniards and Creoles who had not yet been infected or exposed to these diseases and therefore the plagues were becoming noticeably deadly to them as well.[100] In the case of measles, traditionally a childhood disease, we see that by 1615, it is the children who are falling ill and dying, rather than adolescents and adults, as it had been years before. It is recorded that: *vi. Acatl xihuitl 1615. años. yn ipan yn ipehuayan in*

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[99] Ibid, 240–241.

[100] It could also be that the indigenous and Spanish were living increasingly more integrated lives in which disease spread more frequently between the groups, and that the sickness of the one was noticed by the other in a way that it was not when they were more segregated.

omoteneuh yancuic xihuitl yhuan metztli henero. yhcuac cenca chicahuac. omomanaco çahuatl motenehua saranpio, yntech motlalli yn inpilhuan españoles, yhuan timacehualtin topilhuan, "6 Reed year, 1615. At the beginning of the said new year and of the month of January was when a very severe pox broke out, called measles; the children of the Spaniards and the children of us indigenous caught it."[101] In these final mentions of disease we see that the epidemics are just as noteworthy, but the diseases are becoming "known," the shock and horror has been replaced with, if not complacence, a sense that the communities knew what to expect. As some of these diseases become endemic and the population nears its nadir, the records become the only remaining memory of many people.

5. The End of the Kingly Lines and the Importance of Recording Nahuatl Histories

The depth of loss and loneliness experienced as the epidemics progressed comes into focus when we look at the lineages given, like that listed for doña Marta. As the years passed, Chimalpahin watched and diligently recorded the deaths of those who held the position of ruler from before the arrival of the Spanish, and in his records these names and lines disappear. The importance of who they were is redoubled by the fact that they are the last of their noble families. Chimalpahin reports that: *Axcan lunes. yc 20.tia metztli Setiembre de 1610. años. yquac omomiquilli yn tlacatl Don Miguel Sanchez huetzin. acatl pilli ça ycel ocatca yniquitechpa oquizticatca yn itlacamecayo yn tlacatl catca yn huehue tlacayeleltzin cihuacohuatl condeStable mexico tenochtitlan. auh yn*

[101] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time,* 294–295.

omoteneuh miccatzintli yehuatl o ytech tlamico yn acatla pilotl quicentlamitiuh, "Today, Monday the 20th of the month of September of the year 1610, was when the lord don Miguel Sánchez Huentzin, a noble of Acatlan, passed away. He was the only one left, so that with him ended the line of the late lord Tlacayeleltzin the elder, the Cihuacoatl, high constable in Mexico Tenochtitlan. With the said dead person the nobility of Acatlan came to an end, he terminated it once and for all."[102] The finality of this record is unmistakable. Don Miguel Sánchez Huentzin died with no children, or was predeceased by all of them, and he was the last one in his noble line. "He was the only one left." Not only would the nobility of Acatlan end, a line that once included a Tlacaelleltzin, the high constable in Mexico Tenochtitlan, but don Miguel would be left without anyone to remember him. This was becoming more and more common as the years passed and with phrases as hopeless as, "he terminated it once and for all," the devastation of the Nahua people comes into full light.

Again in 1614, Chimalpahin graces his book with a family history, this time of the noble family of Coyoacan. He writes that the noblewoman, doña Agustina was born in Chilapan after her mother, of Coyoacan, was married to don Augustín Itzcuinnan, ruler in Chilapan. Then when she was of an age to marry she returned to Coyocan to marry her cousin don Felipe de Guzmán, governor in Coyoacan and whose family was of the royal line of that altepetl. When he died she remarried the man called don Constantino Chacalin, a ruler from Michoacan. But on August 4, 1614, she died. Chimalpahin writes that: *Auh ayac ce yconetzin quicauhtiuh ynic onmomiquillico yn monteneuh cihuapilli Doña Augustina de guzman çan mixpopolotiuh,* "The said noblewoman doña Agustina

[102] Ibid*,* 166–167.

de Guzmán left no children behind; [her line] was extinguished."[103] Again, Chimalpahin is tasked with recording the end of a great royal line. This time possibly including the lines of her husbands as well. In one fell swoop the lines of Coyoacan, Chilapan, and Michoacan were cut. He was literally watching as his people, both common and noble dwindled away. In this atmosphere keeping this record was at once a task of great importance, but also one of great difficulty. The act of recording the names of those who died was very clearly being used as a way to remember them here on earth, but must have been taxing on the men called to make these records.

This tradition of recording lineages had been passed onto Chimalpahin by his predecessors, the painters who had kept the histories of their people alive in red and black ink, long before the Spanish arrived. Chimalpahin was cognizant that he was a part of this tradition. He wrote in his *Ocho Relaciones* that:

Auh ynin huehuetlahtocanemiliztli in huehuetlahtocatenonotzalizamoxtlahtolli nican ye mihtoz ye motenehuaz in ye mopohuaz, ca amo çan çaçaanilli ca amo çan tlapipictli amo çan tlahtlaquetzalli ynic tlatecpantli, ca mochi neltiliztli ca mochi omochiuh; ca yuh oquitotehuaque ca yuh oquiteneuhtehuaque yuh otechtlalilitehuaque yn inhuehuetlahtol in huehuetque yllamatque, in tlahtoque in pipiltin Tzacualtitlan tenanca, in tocihuan tocolhuan in tachtonhuan in tomintonhuan in topiptonhuan nican onemico, yn iuhqui yn innenonotzal mochiuhtiuh yn otechcahuilitiaque. Ynin altepenenonotzaliztlahtolli yhuan tlahtocatlacamecayonenonotzaliztlahtolli in tliltica tlapaltica ycuiliuhtoc machiyotoc	Here will be said and told, the relations about the ancient way of life, the painted words about the ancient kingships. This accounting is no simple fable, story or invention, but rather is the truth about all that happened. Thus they left us, spoken and painted, their ancient words, the elder men and the elder women, the kings and nobles of Tzacualtitlantenanca, our grandfathers and grandmothers, great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers, our ancestors who came to live here. Such is the relation that they made, that they left for us. This relation of the altepetl and of the altepetl's kingly lines, painted and written on paper in red and black,

[103] Ibid, 282–283.

amapan ayc polihuiz ayc ylcahuiz, mochipa pieloz,	will never be lost, never be forgotten. It will be preserved forever.[104]

It therefore cannot be seen as a coincidence that he is noting these same "kingly lines" which are being lost, but that in this way are not being forgotten. Chimalpahin was keenly aware of his purpose, to preserve the memory and history of his people. Given the preconquest importance of remembrance it is no surprise that he makes mention of his goal numerous times and notes the devastation that comes with the extinction of these lineages.

These records then offer us a look into the deep roots of recording history – wars, famines, epidemics, natural phenomena, the deaths of leaders – but also allow us to see how important these records became in a world in which the men writing saw their people coming frighteningly close to their extinction. In 1609, Chimalpahin all but says this about the death of a dear friend. He writes: *Axcan Sabado. yc 3. mani metztli de octubre de 1609. años. ypā yvisperatzin S. Fran^{co} yn omomiquilli y notlaçoycniuhtzin Padre helias donado pouhqui ytlatecpanalpantzinco yn señor Sanc Fran^{co} toctoc oncan yn Sant. Josep mexico. ynin xochmilco ychantzinco cenca huecauh yn omotlamacehuili yca habito. nehuatl. Domingo de S. Anton Muñon y nicniuhtzin onicatca,* "Today, Saturday, the 3rd of the month of October of the year 1609, on the eve [of the feast day of] San Francisco, my dear friend Father Elías, a lay brother belonging to the order of San Francisco, passed away. He lies buried at San Josef in Mexico. He was from Xochimilco. He had served in the habit for a very long time. I, Domingo de San Antón

[104] "Eight Relation," in *Las Ocho Relaciones*, vol.2, 294–295.

Muñón, was his friend."[105] In this way he is singling himself out as the one who will be responsible for carrying this man's memory with him. He will be the person that remembers him.

Likewise, we can see that Chimalpahin is self-aware as he speaks of the funeral of "father doctor Pedro de Morales." He describes how he was honored and how all the religious leaders and fathers gathered for him. He writes that the professional singers of the choir from the cathedral were present to sing as he was buried, and that the funeral was attended by the provincial head of the Company of Jesus, *ce ynQuisidor yhuan ce oydor yhuan miequintin pipiltin españoles,* "an inquisitor and a judge of the Royal Audiencia, along with many noble Spaniards."[106] But this is not what makes this record exceptional. Instead it is when Chimalpahin writes the following that we read in his own words the significance of these records:

Auh yn ipampa yc nican nictlallia nicmachiyotia yn imiquilitzin ynin omoteneuhtzino huey teopixqui omoyetzticatca yniqu iuhqui yxiptlatzin omochiuhtzinoticatca nican Sancto Padre ynic huel omohuelitiltiaya yniqu icatzinco ypampatzinco miec Jubileos oquimotemaquillitia yn iuh otiquittaque auh monequi no quimatizque oncan in quittazque ytocatenehuallocatzin yn aquique catepan ye nemiquihui yn amo quimottilique yn amo quimiximachilique ynin yc huey teopixqui ocatca ypampa yuh ninomati caocac yuhqui nican Mexico occ e teopixqui yttoz yn oc ompa ye tonitztihui ypan cahuitl –	The reason that I set down and record here the death of this said late great religious is that he became like the representative of the holy Father here because he was fully authorized to go along issuing many jubilees in his name and on his behalf, as we saw. And also those who will live later, who didn't see and know how great a religious he was, need to know of him and see his name mentioned, because I think that in future times another religious like him will not be seen again here in Mexico.[107]

[105] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 160–161.
[106] Ibid, 286–287.
[107] Ibid.

He speaks here of the purpose of his writing, which was so that those who live later, will know of this man. He is seeking here to bear witness, in this case to one great man, but the record as a whole was meant as a witness to the loss and destruction of a great people. Chimalpahin says that he does not think that another religious man like him will be seen again, at least not in Mexico, and therefore it follows logically that his larger point was that these records should be kept because a people like the Nahuas, as they were before the conquest would never be seen again, at least not as they were. As in the songs, which ask, "Will they yet see him, yet know him?"[108] knowing the answer is "No!" those who are gone will not be seen again on Earth. The passages about lineage speak to the greatness of the society and the people as they were before the conquest and then show them perishing and disappearing as those in the songs disappeared together in Mictlan. What we can learn from this entry is that Chimalpahin knew he was writing for posterity. His purpose was to make a record that would be read and remembered as he watched his people dying in epidemic after epidemic.

6. Observations of Catholic Death, Ideology, and the Role of the Wrath of God

In these same annals we begin to see the Nahuas observing and learning the death rites and moral philosophy of the Spaniards. In the act of preserving their history, they began to produce mini anthropological sketches of Spanish behavior. The anthropology practiced by the Nahua men writing the annals gives us a look at the new ideas about death and dying that were being passed to them through their interactions with the

[108] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 22.

Spanish. One such instance occurred in 1564, when the Viceroy don Luis Velasco, a great defender of the indigenous, died.[109] At this time a set of annals was being written in Mexico City, and noted the change of government as was customary. Then, like the death of the tlatoque in the preconquest annals, it records that: *§ A viernes a 28 de julio de 64 a[ñ]os yquac ye yohua momiquilli visorrei de Velasco auh yquac quicauh yn ivara do[n] M[art]in yc nima[n] ye no ceppa co[n]cuic in Juan de Samano ye iuh ye opa alguazil mayor catca ce[n]ca ye huecauh auh iniquipatlaca yte[n]copa mochiuh in visitador auh ynic quicauh do[n] M[art]in ytech cahualloc teniente [Entre renglones, encerrado en un cuadro: auh in tlatocat do[n] Luis matlacxihuitl o[n] nahui],* "Friday, July 25, 1564, viceroy Velasco died during the night. And at this time don Martín set down his staff [of office], and Juan de Sámano took it up for the second time. He was aguacil mayor before, a long time ago. They changed by order of the Visitador. As soon as don Martín relinquished the staff, it was given to Teniente [Don Luis ruled for fourteen years.]"[110] This outline of the changing of the guard as it were, is reminiscent of the dead kings of the preconquest era being bundled and their successors being placed on their thrones. But what follows is far from typical.

The record goes on to give what turns out to be a detailed, almost catalogued report of the funeral procession that proceeded the burial of the late Viceroy. This care and attention was likely due to his being a very well respected man, but it is also true that this type of procession was still a curiosity to the Nahua audience. It states that:

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[109] For more on the political background of don Luis, see: Townsend, *Annals of Native America*, 70–79.
[110] Luis Reyes García, ed., *¿Cómo te Confundes? ¿Acaso no somos Conquistados? Anales de Juan Bautista* (Mexico City: CIESAS, 2001), 222.

§Axca[n] lunes a [Tachado: 3] postrero de julio de 1564 a[ñ]os yquac motocac in visorrey auh in motocato Sancto Domingo collegio pipiltototin agustinus, sominicus, franc[iscan]os clerigosme moch almatica co[n]maq'[ui]tiaque yhua[n] cruz ma[n]ca y[n] quihuicatiaque auh ynic netecpanatia ce tlacatl cavallo quimamatia armas co[n]maquitia moçauhtia in cavallo quimama no armas ypa[n] mama[n]tia yhua[n] q'[ui]yacana yn imahuizçohua[n] auh nima[n] yehuatl in cavallo moçauhtiuh huel quihuilana yn ineçahualiztlatqui yhua[n] omentin españolesme quite[n]tilinitiaque	This day, Monday, the last day of July 1564, the viceroy was buried. He was buried at the Colegio of Santo Domingo. The children, and the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan friars all dressed themselves in dalmatics [long, wide-sleeved tunics] and carried a cross with a manga [a hanging case of silk]. In the ordering [just In Order: (like in order of appearance?)] a man on a horse bore arms. The horse carrying him was dressed in mourning and had armor and a little banner bearing the arms of the viceroy from when he still lived on earth*;* it was in front, leading wherever he might go. First [the viceroy's] revered connections led off. Then came the horse in mourning, dragging his costume of mourning, with two Spaniards clasping his mouth [piece, like the bridle, leading him].[111]

The information that could be found in the record of the death of any well-known man, such as the day and place of burial, is mingled with vivid images of a black robed horse, bedecked in glinting armor, dragging its vestments behind it, while the sigil of the Viceroy, "when he lived on earth," is raised high. The memory of the man when he lived on earth brings to mind the Nahua concept of remembrance and the dual meaning of the idea that "the earth is no one's home." While the dramatic dress and theatrics of the Spanish procession were recorded with fresh eyes, using almost exclusively loan words for the objects indicating the novelty of the items, these theatrics would not have been entirely foreign to the Nahuas, as they had a preconquest tradition of oral performance

[111] *Anales de Juan Bautista,* 224.

and community celebration. The particulars were just being rewritten in a new light, cast in shades of black.

In the same manner, the importance of the family connections of the Viceroy are made explicit next: *Auh nima[n] yeehuatl yn iplitzin tlanepa[n]tla ycatia quitzatzauhctiaque yn itlatzi don Fran[cis]co de Velasco, M[art]ín Dirçio,* "And then in the middle came his son himself. His uncles, don Francisco de Velasco and Martín Dircio came at the end, closed it."[112] In this way, though, this procession would have been familiar to the preconquest Nahuas whose funerals were marked by the family carrying the arms and adornments of a dead warrior to the ceremony where he was to be cremated. Here we find interesting similarities, as the next items in the file are described:

auh nima[n] yeehuatl yn itlatocatopil estuque cedro[n] yn justi[ci]a tlatocayotl ome[n]tin españolesme quiquechpanotihui armas teocuitlayo co[n]maquitiaque auh tlanepa[n]tla ycatia ce español no armas co[n]maquitia y yarmas in visorrey tafedan tlateocuitlahuillin quinapalohua almoada tliltic ypa[n] onotiuh yn espada auh niman yeehua[n]tin yn españolesme auh ye queen yehua[n]tin in surdadosme moch capirote co[n]maquitiaquê yhua[n] tliltic yn icalças yetia yhua[n] coda in co[n]maquique yhu[n] lança quitquiatiaque çan moch quihuila[n]que tlalpa[n] auh nima[n] yhua[n] ome vandera ce tliltic coztic monamictiuh auh yn iztac texotli monamictiuh q'[ui]quechpanotiaque tlalpa[n] huila[n]tia auh nima[n] yeehuatl in vandera tliltic tafeda[n] tlateocuitlahuilli	Then came his royal staff, the estoque [rapier sword], the scepter. Two Spaniards carried the ensign of the justice of the kingdom on their shoulders, covered in gold. And in the middle went a Spaniard who also carried arms, the arms of the viceroy, taffeta worked with gold. He carried a black pillow, on which lay a sword. Then came the Spaniards, and finally the soldiers. They all wore hoods and black stockings. They went with caudas [trains, of a garment], carrying lances. They dragged everything along the ground. On their shoulders they carried two flags, one black and yellow together, dragging them along the ground. Then a black flag, taffeta with the arms worked in gold upon it, came leading the soldiers.[113]

[112] *Anales de Juan Bautista*, 224.
[113] Ibid.

armas yn itech man[n]tiaque yancantiaque
surdatosme

The exact items differ, of course, and yet the sentiment is very similar. The men carry the Viceroy's accoutrements of office with them. The soldiers, like the comrades of the dead warriors, follow behind the family. In contrast to the funeral rites of the preconquest Nahuas which were marked by the wailing of the family and the drum beats of the old men, this procession is quiet, at least it seems that way. Then, added into the margin, is this note: *Auh y[n] huehuetl q'[ui]tzotzo[n]tiaq'[ue] huel tetlaocolti tliltic toca y quixtlapachiuhtia yoa[n] tlapitzalli huel no tetlaocolti ynic q'[ui]pitztiaque,* "And the drum was played very sadly, it was covered with a black [cloth?], and the wind music also played sadly."[114] This observation of the drums playing softly with the wind instruments marking the sorrow of the event critically links this ceremony with those of the past. The evidence of mourning is found in the garments and the colors. The men are dressed in black laced with gold, hooded and dragging their flags behind them. Although they are not explicitly said to be mourning – no one is noted as crying or wailing in the way they were in the descriptions of preconquest funerals – the imagery leaves very little doubt that they were. The addition of the music makes it unmistakable. In this way the Nahuas were negotiating what the funeral of a great man was to be now that the Spanish religion was taking center stage.

In the next passage, we hear the sounds of the religious men singing. It is also at this point that we see the body of the Viceroy: *§Auh mina[n] yeehuatl y[n] miccatzintli quinapalohua camatica huelpani onotia y[n] miccatzintli in tlatovani quitquitiuh yn*

[114] *Anales de Juan Bautista,* 224.

espada huel mochi tlacatl quitac yhua[n] quiyacana yn iantas yhuan cuicanime clerigosme yhuan çan no clerigosme quinapaloua manca yhua[n] campana, "Then came the deceased one. They carried him lying upon a bed. The deceased king was carrying a sword. Everyone could see it. He came before the icons and the clerics who were singing. Clerics were also the ones who carried a bell with a manga [hanging silk]."[115] Again the images of hanging black fabric wash over the reader, the musical instruments covered in dark silks, marking their music as doleful. To an unconverted (or at least inexperienced) Nahua person, the dead body holding a sword would have looked as though he were planning to use it on his journey to Mictlan.

After this the individual religious orders are reported as having followed. In each description the fathers are described as wearing dalmatics and carrying crosses and candles. Until now this has been a description of a Spanish affair, but at this point the pilli or nobles of the Nahua communities join the procession:

§yhua[n] tlatoque Tlacopan Tlacopa[n] [sic] do[n] Ant[oni]o Cortes [sobre el rengión: Tehuiço] yhua[n] [sobre el renglón: Me]xico gou[ernad]or do[n] Luis de S[an]ta M[ari]a yhua[n] Tetzcoco gou[ernad]or do[n] Herna[n]do de Chaves, Coyohuaca[n] do Juan Ytztlolinqui, Xochimilco do[n] P[edr]p de Sotomayor yhua[n] no motlauhtique ce[n]tecpa[n]tin tlaca qui[n]macaque in luto matlactli Mexico matlactli Tlatilolco yhua[n] ixquichtin topilleque motecpa[n]que ynic quimotoquilito ynacayotzin tlatohuani	And then also [came] the ruling lords – don Antonio Cortés Tehuizo of Tlacopan, the Mexican governor don Luis de Santa María, the Tetzcocan governor don Hernando de Chaves, don Juan Itztlolinqui of Coyohuacan, don Pedro de Sotomayor of Xochimilco. And twenty [?] people were also given mourning clothes, ten from Mexico and ten from Tlatelolco. And all the topille (petty office holders) joined the procession to the burial of the body of the king.[116]

[115] Ibid, 226.
[116] Ibid.

The indigenous were represented by a member of the ruling class of all the major altepetl in the area and joined in great numbers, making their respect for the Viceroy known. The procession stopped five times on their way to the cathedral of Santo Domingo in order to pray for him. The presence of the procession and therefore the memory of don Luis would not be soon forgotten. In the same way that the funerals of the preconquest Nahuas would go on for four days, the processions for the Viceroy continued for more than a week. The record states: *§Auh no yquac tlayahualoloc in teopa[n] S[an] Fran[cis]co matlaquilhuitl motlalli lunes yn o[n]peuh achto quipevaltique castilteca yohualtica tlayahualoque cece[n] cruz quiuicatiaque[ue], "*At this time there were also processions from the church of San Francisco for ten days, beginning Monday. The Spaniards began first. Then went on procession during the night, each carrying a cross."[117] Again we see that the similarity between the traditions is there but that the specifics are different. The cosmically important Nahua number four was replaced with the much more European base numeral ten, and the cross was central to the Catholic procession, but the general process of showing respect for the dead was very similar.

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Historians have yearned for accounts of this devastation of the epidemics written by Native people.[118] It turns out that we have had accounts that can tell us so much about this devastating period. Until recently the annals genre has not been well understood. Without the necessary preparation the annals read as dull recitations of names and dates,

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Indeed, the Nahua account of the conquest, most famously edited by León-Portilla, has been wildly popular and translated into many languages, showing the interest both in and outside of the scholarly community in a Native account of events. See: Miguel León-Portilla and Lysander Kemp. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.

which can be at times confusing. Once we begin to analyze the patterns of the record though, and become more familiar with the characters involved, it is easier to trace events in a way that is meaningful and can tell us a great deal about the way that these people lived and died. These annals just needed to be translated and read with a careful eye, discerning who was writing and watching specifically for family and social connections. Then, taking the account as a whole, it becomes clear that one can calculate and debate the numbers again and again, but it still will not show the impact in the way that reading the account of just one man's life will.

When we consider that the traditional conceptualization of the afterlife depended on friends and family remembering your legacy, this type of loss becomes more and more cataclysmic as the annals record the deaths of those from far away, the devastation of the epidemics and the extinction of family lines. As we have seen in the preconquest writing, there was a great concern for mourning. Preconquest prayers lament, "And who will weep for him? Who will sigh for him?"[119] Lucas would have his brother-in-law and his new bride to mourn and remember him, but she would remarry out of necessity and while it is likely that he would be remembered by his sister's husband, it is impossible to know how long he would live on. Being an active part of the community, though, it can be assumed that other friends and confidants would also remember and mourn Lucas. Little Ana would have her father and step-mother, and possibly, no one else, as her grandparents and mother, Francisca, predeceased her. Like the family trees cut down in Chimalpahin's records, the people were dying without any promise of being remembered.

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[119] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 23.

In the years that these annals were being recorded, every family of five lost at least one person. These numbers sound horrible enough, but the numbers do not convey what those families would have gone through. Only reading the words of a man who was losing his family piece by piece and who had no recourse with which to stop the decline of his community can the real experience of the situation be gleaned. It is important that we listen with close attention to the words of these indigenous men. These records were meant to be read and remembered. The grandeur of the altepetl and the families that made it up were to be remembered generation after generation, keeping them alive even in death.

Part III Negotiating with Christian Beliefs

Preface

Popocatepetl was shrouded in snow as María López, a chocolate seller, marched toward the Royal Audiencia in the heart of Mexico City in January 1612. She was accompanied by Josef Gómez, a sacristan, or a custodian of the church, and a woman named María Constanza, but made her petition on her own in her own voice. She was there to accuse the chaplain of the church of San Josef, father fray Gerónimo de Zárate, of publicly abusing and shaming her husband. She told the judges how he lashed her husband and left him for dead, and how he spoke of her husband's sins openly to the congregation from the pulpit during his sermon. She then spoke of her fellow complainants, and told how they, too, had been stripped bare, their bodies exposed, and been whipped. In the case of Maria Constanza, it was for simply having missed mass on one Sunday.[1]

She then continued her complaint. Speaking on behalf of her community she bemoaned the terrible actions of fray Gerónimo against the dead. Not only did he mistreat the indigenous people in life, but he stole from them in death as well. He had taken the houses of the deceased and sold them out from under any heirs who might have been listed in their wills. Moreover, he lied about the purpose of such sales. He claimed that he was using the money to perform masses for the salvation of the deceased's souls and yet, no one ever saw any evidence that these masses were taking place. María spoke against the blatant actions of the father as she explained that he would search through all the testaments left by the people, and how he would force the family members to turn over

[1] The tale of María's petition are reported to us in, Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time,* 194–201, 251. He records with great detail her words and the actions of the court, the people of the community and Zárate.

any property for his inspection, and if they did not, he would jail them and shame them. In this way, he forced the Nahuas to betray one another to escape his clutches: they would reveal to him anything they knew about another's property so as not to be beaten and jailed.

These actions were assuredly against the wishes of the Crown and the Church as four years before, even as such atrocities were occurring, and the words of the dead were not being heeded, an indigenous historian wrote that King Felipe III, *yprouisiontzin quihualmotitlani. yn itechcopa yn mimiccatzintzinti. yn intestamentos. quichiuhtihui. ynic ayac quitlacoz. Yn tley. yntlanequiliz quitotihui, yhuan quenin tetlamamacatiazque… ynic niman yehuatl mochihuaz moneltiliz maxiltiz yn intlahtol. Yc mocacauhtihui mimicque. Oc cēcayehuantin. Yntla oncate yn huel teoyotica. Oquinchiuhque. Ynpilhuan. Huel innahuatil. Yn quintlamamacatiazque. Yn iquac yntzonquiçcalizpan. Yn tethuan anoço tepilhuan necoc*, "is sending his provision about the testaments that the dead make, so that no one will go against whatever will they express and how they distribute things to people when they die… so that the statements [that the dead leave behind] will be immediately executed, carried out, and fulfilled, especially of those who have truly legitimate children that they engendered; they are to distribute to them all that is bequeathed them at the death of either the parents or children."[2] The desecration of the memory of the dead by not following the requests of their will and by displacing their children and grandchildren clearly caused anxiety within the Nahua communities whose conceptions of death and the afterlife were changing so rapidly in this period. They had

[2] Chimalpahin, *Annals of his Time*, 112–113. A note on *tetahua*: it was not common for the Nahuas to use the plural of "father" to mean "parents of both genders," but it seems clear that that is what Chimalpahin is doing here.

been promised that a testament was the last word of the dead and would guarantee that their children and property would be cared for, and yet, this was not always the case.

When these promises were broken there was great animosity toward the one responsible, in the case above fray Gerónimo, who most certainly was not the norm, as the judges did not make excuses for him and removed him from his post. Chimalpahin reported that, *ynic aocmo oncan ytequiuh yez capilla callaquiz callihtic motzacuaz conuento aocmo yehuatl quinmocuitlahuiz in Mexica,* "He was to go inside the monastery, shut himself up there, and no longer take care of the Mexica."[3] To the dismay of the congregation of San Josef, though, a month later in February, the father was publicly punished for his deeds, being stripped and dragged into the church by a rope tied around his neck to atone for his sins. He was made to kneel at the main alter by the fiscal of the church and reportedly begged to be whipped, but no one dared to do the deed themselves, and so he began to whip himself. Members of the congregation grabbed him at that point and stopped him from further self-flagellation. The judges of the Audiencia took pity on fray Gerónimo, then, and he was temporarily returned to his post as Chaplain of San Josef. Unfortunately, *ynic no niman Oc ceppa quipehualti omoteneuh fr. Jeronimo de çarate in ye tlatollinia in ye tepinauhtia yn iuh omoteneuh achtopa quichihuaya,* "the said fray Gerónimo de Zárate began again to treat everyone badly and shame people as was mentioned before. "[4] A year later, a new chaplain was appointed to San Josef and fray Gerónimo left to the great relief of the Tenochca.[5]

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[3] Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 196–199.
[4] Ibid, 200–201.
[5] Ibid, 250–251.

The Nahuas of the early colonial period were living with a great deal of uncertainty, not only in death, but in life. They had little control over the Spanish men in power around them, as we can see from the story of María. She was able to make a complaint and to have fray Gerónimo de Zárate removed, but not for long, and when he did finally leave the town, it may not have been directly because of complaints but partly because of the rotations dictated by the Catholic Church leaders. It is plain that when the Nahuas took up the practice of writing testaments, they did so to protect their property, but also their legacy and memory by securing their family's rights to the land they lived and worked on. The provisions in the wills include requests to care for young children and to pay off debts, thereby clearing their families from these responsibilities and making sure that their good name lived on.

In this period, from about 1600 to 1650, when we can trace devastating epidemics in death registries, record keeping became even more important to the communities trying to preserve their memories before they disappeared. This was also a time in which the Nahuas were learning what it meant to have a "good death," in the Catholic sense. The following chapters will document the people's entanglements with Christian traditions around the concept of death. First, using testaments and the Book of the Dead from Huexotzinco, I will explore the ways in which new styles of record keeping and recording death were employed by the Nahuas, who were not only looking to keep the memory of the dead alive but also to adopt documentation that would be recognized by the Spanish for legal and financial purposes. These records reveal the deep involvement the people of Huexotzinco, and specifically Tlamacazcapan, had with the Catholic friars from very early in the colonial period. Lastly, I will examine the ways Catholic ideas

regarding death were transferred to the Nahuas, largely through theatrical performances in churches, in plays meant to teach them how to live and die as good Catholics. Even as the Nahuas professed their belief in heaven and hell, Catholic ideals, we can see the remainders of their fears and anxieties surrounding death in the death records they fervently kept to remember the dead, not trusting the ideas of heaven to keep them safe. Even the testaments show us that there was still a modicum of uncertainty about death and in how they would live on after death, in the desire that their wishes be carried out quickly and accurately, so that they may be saved and permitted into heaven.

Chapter 5

Living In-Between: A Record of Death and Life in Huexotzinco, 1619–1640

On Sunday the 10th of February 1619: No one's children died.[6]
– The Book of the Dead, Huexotzinco

In September of 1622, whooping cough, an epidemic which was running rampant through the region, hit the Pérez household in Almoyahuacan, a sub-altepetl within the town of Huexotzinco. The dry hacking coughs pierced the air, foretelling the deaths to come. For those living with the sick, the only sound worse than that of the unrelenting cough was the silence that meant the disease had won. It was during this round of the epidemic that Diego Pérez became the head of his family with the death of his father. Less than a year before, he had lost two of his own sons, Matías and Antonio, within three weeks of one another in late October and early November 1621. Now he, Diego, was given his father's estate and charged with the care of his younger siblings, Juan, Francisca, Pasqual, and the youngest, Matías, whose little namesake had died the year before. The property itself was to be divided among the children, presumably as they attained a designated age, but until that time Diego, along with their mother, was to take care of them. This was not an unusual request, but it was one Diego would have to fulfill as a new widower, for on September 25, 1622, Diego's wife, Magdalena, was taken in the throes of the same coughing fits that had killed his father. Two months later, on November 27th Diego would lose yet another son, Joseph.

[6] "El Libro de los Difuntos," The John Carter Brown Library, Codex Ind. 43, f.1v. Here after JCB, "El Libro."

In what would have seemed like the blink of an eye, one family had been hit by epidemic disease twice in less than a year, killing five of their number, three among them mere children. And yet, life must go on. Shortly after that, Diego was remarried to a woman named Maria Castillanxochitl and had another son, named Bartolomé. This child must have been a breath of life in a tale of death, a tale that was repeated in so many families in central Mexico during the colonial period. Tragically, death would only leave Diego in peace for a brief period, and in July of 1625, his new son Bartolomé would die, followed closely by his undoubtedly heartbroken mother, on October 11th of that same year. At this point Diego, our long-suffering protagonist, had had and lost the majority of three families. Diego, married once more, this time to a girl named Mariana, escaped any deadly illness for almost six years this time. When his home was struck again in 1631, he would bury two more young sons, Antonio in February, and Juan, named for Diego's younger brother, in July. These would be the last of the children he would bury himself, because in November of that year he died. He was survived by his wife, Mariana, and his mother Clara Castillanxochitl who would outlive most of her children, meeting her end on February 14, 1639.[7]

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Stories like this one are laced through *el Libro de los Difuntos*, or the Book of the Dead, a Nahuatl-language death registry kept by the indigenous people of the main parish

[7] "El Libro," in combination with *Conjunto de testamentos en lengua náhuatl*, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tercera serie, papeles sueltos, registro número 9 caja 7, legajo 28, f.45r.(Hereafter BNAH, *conjunto de testamentos.*) It is possible that one or more of these children were not our Diego's, in that it is conceivable that there was a second Diego Pérez but considering that two of them were named after brothers of his and that each one is listed as the son of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan specifically makes it more than likely that these children were all his. In addition to that evidence, the empirical evidence of multiple people falling ill in the same household makes good logical sense, thus it is more than likely the case that these groups of deaths are from the same farm or estate.

of Huexotzinco.[8] This burial registry kept a consistent record of the deaths in that parish from 1619 to 1640. It had been ordered that such a record be kept by the church functionaries but was kept by the Nahuas, independently and in their own language.[9] It is remarkable not only because it is more consistent than many comparable European records at the time, but also because it seems to have been nearly unique in Mexico in the sense that it was initially purposely maintained as a record of an epidemic. Recording deaths and burials was a practice found in Europe, but with only limited consistency. Some European notaries included the death of children, for instance, while others neglected to note children's deaths. When records were well kept they were typically only for those of the knightly classes and above.[10] Although there is little, if any, evidence that notaries abandoned their posts in the time of plague, they did at times die, leaving gaps in the record keeping while a replacement was sought.[11] Recordkeeping at this time in Europe was shoddy at best.

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[8] This title was added to an otherwise almost entirely Nahuatl language document and is not actually part of the original text, but was likely added later after the book was finished and cataloged somewhere.

[9] In Spain the consistency of both baptismal and burial records improved after the Council of Trent ordered that these records be kept. Baptismal records were ordered to be kept starting in 1563, but burial records were not ordered until 1614. See: Carla Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real, 1500–1750: Growth, Crisis, and Readjustment in the Spanish Economy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 119. Many parishes still did not keep consistent records even after the Council of Trent. For instance, San Pedro's burial registers do not start until 1708 and Nuestra Señora del Prado burial records exist only from 1585–1602 and then after 1649. The Book from Huexotzinco begins in 1619, making it likely that the 1614 order from on high reached the parish through one of the traveling priests who would later stop in and sign the registry. This order must have resonated with the local population because they continued the record keeping tirelessly until 1640. It cannot be ruled out that the record was started organically at the impetus of a member of the community.

[10] For more on death records in Europe see: Edward A. Eckert, *The Structure of Plagues and Pestilences in Early Modern Europe: Central Europe, 1560–1640* (Basel: Karger, 1996), 2–3, 9–11 and Joseph Patrick Byrne, *The Black Death* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 59. See also the work of John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2001), and Phillips, *Ciudad Real*.

[11] Eckert, *The Structure of Plagues and Pestilences in Early Modern Europe,* 11.

In a "Book of the Dead" we find more life than in many other sources. This book reveals a slice of life in the deaths that it records. For some, the only trace left of the person is their name, carefully inscribed in this book; for others, there is even less, young children recorded without even a name, but their death and therefore their life is preserved in this source, and to those who knew them, this was an important act of remembrance. On the other hand, reading the Book from start to finish opens a window into the lives of the people living in early seventeenth-century Huexotzinco. The Book reveals complex social relationships and traces marriages and children, the things that were important to the Nahuas of colonial Mexico, as we know from the songs, prayers, and annals. We can sense the suffering and sorrow as we *watch* the entries tick by and *see* one man lose six children in the space of one month. The Book gives us a unique perspective by showing us what was important to the Nahuas in the moment of death as well as in recording those deaths. We find that in order to remember a person, the person must be described as connected to those they knew in life.

In order to show how this source can help us understand Nahua perceptions of death, I will begin with an overview of death records of the time. This will contextualize the Book of the Dead from Huexotzinco that I am focused on here. Next, I will explain and analyze how the record was kept, reviewing the different parts of each entry and how they varied as well as why they may have varied from case to case and over time. More importantly, though, I will examine why each part of the entry was written and how it was important to the communities. Then, I will move on to a study of the particular epidemics that affected the region during the years the Book covers and which can be tracked by the entries in the Book. In some cases, these epidemics also show up in the

Nahuatl annals of Puebla and Tlaxcala as well as in the Spanish Actas de Cabildo of Puebla from the same years. In those cases, I will use those records to contextualize the entries we find in the Book. In the event that these epidemics are not found in other sources, I will analyze the statistics and posit a reason for their absence in Spanish records. Finally, I will explore the lives that we find in the Book of the Dead. This may seem counter intuitive, but I have found that in many cases there are peculiarities in entries that give us a unique insight into the way the people of Huexotzinco lived and how they related to their own world, as well as the Spanish world around them, specifically the Franciscan friars and other priests, and the disease and death that surrounded them.

1. An Introduction to *el Libro de los Difuntos,* the Book of the Dead

By the time that the Book of the Dead was being kept, the Nahuas were using their language to create their own records in multiple ways, including in their parishes. The Book from Huexotzinco is certainly not the only one of its kind, and to be sure there are other such records in parish archives, but this type of death registry written entirely in Nahuatl according to Nahua understandings, is not common. By the late seventeenth-century, all Mexican parishes were keeping death records, but not with consistent entries, and not usually in Nahuatl, or with Nahua categories. In the town of Calimaya, for instance, there is an extant Nahuatl-language death registry, also titled *El Libro de los Difuntos*, which begins in 1652, and shares many similarities with the Huexotzinco Book, but it shows less determination on the part of the keepers in that it is patchier and less complete. Moreover, by 1668 the scribe stopped writing in Nahuatl and another one

continued in Spanish. Calimaya's next volume called *Libro de los Difuntos,* for 1688, is all in Spanish, and even mixes in Indians, Spaniards and *castas* all in one listing, making it far less valuable for discerning specifically how Nahuatl minds and hands recorded death.[12] The Huexotzinco book, then, was well within the format of what was being done in churches elsewhere, but is more determinedly Nahua, and was clearly executed and controlled for a long period by Nahuatl-speaking scribes. It is clear in this single volume that though there was some predetermined standard, each scribe, recognized by each change in handwriting, had his own way of recording the deaths that were reported to him. This Nahua dominance of the Book may have been a function of who happened to be the indigenous fiscal when the Book started, or the overwhelmingly dramatic nature of the epidemics in the Huexotzinco area in the same epoch, or maybe just the earlier time period, which also makes the Book unusual, in that most archives do not have surviving Nahuatl records of any kind from the 1620s. Most death records from this time are in Spanish, which makes good logical sense in that there needed to be a sort of "golden age" for a fully Nahuatl registry to be possible: when the Nahuatl-speaking community was strong enough and literate enough to have people able to keep the records in their own language, but yet not acculturated enough for the community leaders to have switched over to Spanish, as they eventually did in almost all cases and regions.[13]

All of this is to say that the Huexotzinco Book gives us a relatively rare window into the dynamics of the Nahua communities in and around the town of Huexotzinco for the years that it records. It provides us with concrete numbers of dead for each wave of

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[12] Jarquín Ortega, María Teresa, *Gu a del archivo parroquial de San Pedro y San Pablo de Calimaya* (Zinacantepec, México: El Colegio Mexiquense, 2015), 224–225.
[13] Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, February 10, 2019.

epidemic disease to hit the region in this 20-year span of time. The record from Huexotzinco consistently recorded the death of *pipiltzin*[14] or children, unlike many European counterparts. In this book in particular, there are few pages, if any, without the mention of a child. Nor was this registry reserved for the elite classes, like these same sorts of records in Europe. At first glance it looks as if this might have been a record kept for the purpose of tracking reduced tribute counts, but the inclusion of so many children, who would not have been counted for the purposes of tribute, suggests that there is more going on here; that it was truly spontaneous or self-directed. The fact that children are recorded in equal if not higher proportions than adults – in fact, often they are over 50% of the names written in a given year[15] – also lends credence to the idea that this record could have been an emotional response to the devastating epidemics, which frequently took the lives of children at higher rates than adults. This fact is also evident in the Book, where it is possible to see that in the months with the most recorded deaths, a higher proportion of those deaths were children as opposed to those months with fewer deaths (indicating the absence of any true epidemic) when the proportion of children is typically under half.[16] If the Book had merely been intended to keep track of tribute owed to the Spanish by each sub-altepetl, the children would not have been counted and therefore recording them in between the lines regarding tribute would not have made any sense.

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[14] A note on *pipiltzin*: *tepiltzin* would be the classically correct form of the nonpersonal possessed word "child." Interestingly the Book of the Dead never uses that form and instead always uses *piltzin or pipiltzin*. For more, see the Glossary.

[15] In the years 1620, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1637, and 1640 over 50% of the deaths recorded were of children. In the years 1619, 1622, 1624, 1638, and1639 over 40% of the deaths recorded were of children. The years between 1632–1635 were some of the deadliest, but also the years in which the records become the most sporadic, still recoding with great consistency when records were being kept, but with gaps and less information per entry, due, most likely, to the sheer quantity of entries being made.

[16] These percentages may not be out of the ordinary, just the fact that they were recorded. I do not mean to say that it was odd for a high percentage of children to die, just that the trend is more stark during an epidemic and we have the benefit of seeing that trend because the children are recorded.

However, if the Book was meant to be a record of remembrance, then the children's names naturally belong with those of the adults to be remembered by the parish.

This form of record keeping, then, was taken from a European model but the notaries kept these registries for and by themselves with very little, if any, direct Spanish influence. From time to time a priest would come to the church at Huexotzinco and look at the Book. As a result, he would sign the Book, sometimes with nothing more than his name, sometimes with a note that always looked something like this:

> On the 18th day of the month of September 1622, our Priest Juan Marquez Maldonado, the Inquisitor of this office of his majesty, the King and the Provincial of this province, of this gospel came and saw this book, in which are placed [the names of] the dead, whom the holy church has been caring for as ordered, and he commanded the [local] priest that he do likewise and see to the care of these. The father signed it the same day, month, and year. Fray Juan Marquez Maldonado, Priest. Before me: fray Francisco De Luna, Secretary.[17]

In another such entry, we see an interesting line that reads, "On the 10th day of the month of March of the year of 1626, I visited this convent of Huexotzinco and viewed this book where they put the memories of the deceased and take care in writing these [names], which I charge them to continue. Fray Francisco Rodríguez, Visiting Commissioner."[18] Here, a bit later in time, a Spaniard and a friar no less, has made a note of the fact that these records were for the purposes of memory. This could have been a standard way of expressing the importance of these records, but the language changes with each visitor and so, one wonders if this idea of memory was not explained to fray Francisco

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[17] JCB, "El Libro," f.19v, "en diez y ocho dias del mes septi^{br} de mill y seis cientos y veinte y dos años nus (nuestro) pr juan marquez maldonado qualificador de es^{to} offi^{o} rlay mg^{on} y mis provy^{a} [de] esta provy^{a} de es^{to} ebangeli vido y visto este libro en que se asientan los difuntos qui se tenia el cuidado que tiene ordenado la sta iglesia y mando al p^{r} quese tubiese el mismo para que el vi ese el de cuido en esto y lo firmo su pr el mismo dia mes y año fray juan marquz m^{i} maldonado pr antemi fray fran^{co} Delona secret^{o}"

[18] JCB, "El Libro," f.26r, "en dies dias del mes de março de este año de mil y seiscientos y veinte y seis visitando este conv^{to} de uexocingo viste libro con que se ponen por memoria los difuntos y halle que ay ciudado en escrivirles, el qual encargo que se contiue fray Fran^{co} Rodriguez comiss^{o} visit^{or}"

Rodríguez by the man showing him the Book. It could be that the Nahua fiscal or scribe said to him that this is where they recorded their memories of the dead. If so, it would seem that the importance of remembering the dead was surely a part of the reason why these records were kept so diligently.

In these lists, then, we can see the path of the epidemics as they sweep through the region, taking the lives of many people before moving on to another town, only to return after a time to take a new batch of previously unexposed children.[19] The Book offers a very formulaic record of death, yet the purpose was to remember the dead. The entries are always concerned with whose spouse or child the deceased person was, and where they were from, exemplifying the importance of family and kinship networks. It is clear that what mattered to them was what sub-altepetl or community the person belonged to, their human connections, and who would remember them. Like the songs and the annals, then, these records served to keep the memory of the dead alive on earth.

2. How the Book of the Dead was Kept

As waves of epidemic disease washed over the farm communities surrounding the town of Huexotzinco, the Nahua parish scribe received news of the deaths and recorded them in his own language with as much accuracy and information as he could. A typical entry looks something like this:

ypā jueves yc 9 de mayo 1619 años	On Thursday the 9th of May 1619:

[19] Philips has used records like this to trace death rates and times of distress, noting that from 1677 to 1678 there was a rise in the death rate by 67%. (Phillips, *Ciudad Real*, 31–32). This provides a precedent for using this type of record keeping to track waves of epidemic.

ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias de roças pohui atenco testigo fran^{co} cornorio	Maria Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Atenco. Witness: Francisco Cornorio.
ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin juā camacho pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Maria. She was the child of Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
fran^{co} piltzintli yta mathias de roças pohui totlac	The child Francisco. His father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.[20]

The scribe would begin with the date, naturally, and everyone who was reported to have died on that day would follow. The date used was typically like this one, melding Spanish and Nahuatl terms so that the *ypan* and *yc* are used fluidly with the Spanish terms for the day of the week (*jueves*), the month (*mayo*), and "year" (*años*). There are times though when a scribe switches from the Spanish loan words and uses Nahuatl terms for *day* and *month*, as he does here: *ypā jueves yc 2 ylhuitli mani me[t]ztli de março 1623 año miqui,* "Died on Thursday the 2nd day (*ylhuitl*) of the month (*metztli*) of March 1623."[21] The men writing these records were equally comfortable using both languages in this context. One scribe even writes out a Nahuatl number within an otherwise Spanish date: *ypā sab^{o} castollomome decienbre 1631 años*, "On Saturday the *17th* (castollomome) of December 1631."[22] This implies that they were equally fluent in both languages, and shows that the records were being made by Nahua scribes for a Nahua audience.

This was a community deeply in-between. For instance, when one man died on his Saint's day, it is recorded as exceptional. The scribe writes, *ypā jueves yc 25 de julio 1630 años di^{o} agustin de velasco micqui huelli ipā ylhuitzin satiago yn momiquilli*, "On Thursday the 25th of July 1630: Diego Agustin de Velasco died. He died right on the feast

[20] JCB, "El Libro," f.3v.
[21] Ibid, f.21r.
[22] Ibid, f.51r.

day of Santiago."[23] This mention of a Saint's day would seem common place to anyone working with Spanish-language records or even Nahuatl records, as those records typically mention Saints' days everywhere, but in this document, this is, in fact, the only such mention of a saint's day. This is an uncommon occurrence and is marked as a singular incident in which a man died on the feast day of the Saint for whom he was named, Diego on the day of Santiago. It could be that this was even seen as a good omen in which Santiago was watching over Diego, choosing to "take him" on *his* day, but this is merely speculation. Here we get our first glimpse of how these records can tell a much deeper story than just the name of the person who passed away on any given day, as this man died on his name day.

Another tender example of how the day, or in this case, time of death, can tell us more than it would first seem is found when a little boy died in the night and the scribe wrote that: *ça[n] ya ynpa jueve omomiquilli piltzintli luys yn itatzin juā alata yn inatzin ma*^{a} *castilla xo*^{tl}, "When it had just turned to Thursday, the child Luis died. The one who was his father was Juan Alata and his mother was Maria Castillanxochitl."[24] Without any other information we can imagine the scene as Maria sat with her young son, Luis, into the night on Wednesday the 16th of February 1639, and then, in the wee hours, when the moon reached its apex, at the turn of the new day, Luis died. She would have known just that it was now a new day when her little son took his last breath and stirred no more. Most likely, his father delivered this information to the scribe who recorded it, or conceivably, a priest may have been on hand in the hospital or by his bedside when he

[23] Ibid, f.45v.
[24] Ibid, f.63v.

died. That we can never know, but here we can see a moment recorded that meant more than just a name and date.

One final insight that the dates recorded in the Book can give us, is that of how and when these records were written down. There are times in the record when the scribe notes an incongruous date and day of the week, for instance, *ypā lunes yc 20 de hebrero 1619 anos micqui ynes castillā xo*^{tl} *micqui pohui tlamacazcapa ynamic pellipe [de la cruz]*, "Died on Monday the 20th of February 1619: Inés Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapa died. Her spouse was Felipe [de la Cruz]."[25] Here the historical day of the week was actually a Sunday. We find that for three days in a row, the scribe is off on the day of the week by one. This is indicative of the fact that he was not always writing down these records in real time, but instead that he would fill them in in batches now and again and in so doing it can be easily understood how he might mix up the day of the week for a few entries. There are also a handful of leaflets included with the record that were stuck in the back of the book at some point. For one of these we find that the records it contains have been copied down into the book at a later time, but in chronological order.[26] From this we can surmise that when the scribe was not able to write the records at or close to the time they occurred, he collected his information and filled in the book later.

Following the date, the scribe almost invariably included the name of at least one parent, in the case of a child, or a spouse, as is seen in the above examples. When those relations were not available, an aunt or uncle was mentioned, a brother-in-law, a

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[25] Ibid, f.2r.
[26] See JCB, "El Libro," f.55r, on which folio the first 16 lines are the same as those lines that are recorded on the separate leaflet page, Codex Ind. 43 2-SIZE – 32907, beginning with "*ypā sab*^{o} *yc 21 de mayo 1633 años pasqual angel micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui cecallacohuayā.*"

grandparent, someone with whom memory of the dead would live on in this world. For instance, when a child named Elena died on September 1, 1634, she is listed as the niece of Diego Tepeuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.[27] Or, when a child named Maria died on January 6, 1627, and then was followed in short order by her brother Francisco the next day, the relation charged with remembering them was their grandfather Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.[28] These were not the first grandchildren Diego Maceuh had buried, having lost a grandson named Matías on January 16, 1619.[29] They would not be the last ones he buried, either. The next was Juan, a *telpochtli*, a young man, perhaps a teenager, or older but not yet married and therefore still living in his grandfather's household.[30] Before an epidemic took him, Juan had watched his parents die as well as three siblings. Diego Maceuh lived another three years, succumbing to death on Friday, the 2nd of May, 1636.[31] In this way it is possible to trace the experience of families throughout the Book. This emphasis on relation is indicative of a Nahua tendency to triangulate their relationships, always existing in connection to others.[32]

When a relative was not mentioned, the scribe went so far as to include someone the dead person had lived with, or a neighbor, again, for the purpose of situating this person in relation to the life they had lived here on earth. In one case it is written that: *ypā sabº yc 11 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año micque hellena ychpochtli ynahuac gabriel de*

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[27] JCB, "El Libro," f.59v.
[28] JCB, "El Libro," f.37r. Presumably, this could have been a cousin as well, but given that their grandfather was listed as their relation it is likely that they were both living in his household after the death of their parents, making it more likely that they are siblings rather than cousins, as that would require four parents to be dead or absent, which is not impossible, but less likely.
[29] JCB, "El Libro," f.1r.
[30] JCB, "El Libro," f.53r. On January 3, 1633.
[31] JCB, "El Libro," f.60v.
[32] Personal Communication with John Sullivan, June 2014.

Alvarado, "Died on Saturday the 11th day of January 1620: The young woman Elena, neighbor of Gabriel de Alvarado."[33] Other evidence which will be discussed later indicates that Gabriel de Alvarado had a relatively large estate, on which many people, not necessarily related, lived. In the case of this woman we can see she was a young woman, not yet married, indicated by the *ychpochtli*, and such a person was not likely to be living completely alone, so it stands to reason that she was staying with someone on or near the estate of Alvarado, most likely after being orphaned herself. In another instance a young child named Juan died, and without anyone else to name, it was stated that he used to live next to don Francisco de Silva, Fiscal.[34] Here again, the boy was an orphan and the only tangible link was made to identify him for the sake of his memory.

There are a few instances when a Spanish person is the one reporting a death, again though, this only happens when the person has no other connection to the community written down. When a woman named Agustina died with no one in the area who knew her she was reported dead thusly: *ypā Viernes yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de henero 1622 años augustitia micqui amō nicā chane ychā anoto çā ya yehuatl mesonero Español*, "On Friday the 7th day of the month of January 1622: Agustina died. She was not from here. She was at home. Only the one who is the innkeeper, a Spaniard, said so."[35] It is more than likely that she was a Nahua woman living and working at the inn as some kind of servant, and the Spaniard came to inform the scribe that she had died, perhaps when he was arranging her burial. With no one else to connect to the woman, the

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[33] JCB, "El Libro," f.6r.
[34] JCB, "El Libro," f.64r. On March 18, 1639. In the Nahuatl text this name is written "Sirpapixcal." *Pixcal* was a common loan word for *fiscal* in Nahuatl, meaning that this man was an official of the church, and that the title may have become a part of his name, as we will see with other occupations and characteristic in a moment.
[35] JCB, "El Libro," f.16v.

Spanish innkeeper was attached to her, to identify her in death. For an adult, the mention of a relative sometimes served the practical purpose of identifying the person who would take over or assume their tribute payment (which will be discussed more in a moment), but if this was its only intention then no one would have gone out of their way to make a connection with reference to these orphan children or for a woman who had been living with and/or working for a Spanish inn keeper who would not have paid tribute.

We also find some intimate and interesting lived experience in the personal relations recorded in the Book. In the attempts to link the dead with the living any connection available was drawn upon. In the case of one unnamed orphan the record says that: *ypā lunes yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] mes de yonio 1625 anos omic pipiltzintli quitoca cuicanime ~~te~~*, "On Monday the 2nd day of the month of June 1625, a little child died. The church musicians buried him."[36] The inference here is that this young child, a boy most likely, was an orphan or a runaway who had taken to hanging around the church and perhaps even living there. Images of him darting through the grounds and up the aisle of empty church and then chatting up the church musicians before or after mass come to mind when reflecting on the fact that the close-knit group of singers were the ones who took it upon themselves to bury the boy after he died.[37]

To further identify a person, their name was sometimes a marker of a particular category. For the most part the names included in the Book are just a first and sometimes a last name. This does not go very far in helping us to identify the person today, when no other information is included, especially given that many women shared the very

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[36] Ibid, f.27v.
[37] It could also be that he was a boy was found dead in or around the church and that as he was unidentified and unclaimed, the musicians then took up a collection to have him buried out of pity.

common second name, Castillanxochitl, meaning "Spanish Flower" or "Rose." Men are more often than not identified by their Spanish-language names only, but then, there are cases when a Nahuatl name or title sneaks into the record showing us more about how the Nahuas categorized people. One such example is the mention of a *coyolchiuhqui,*[38] or a bell maker, when, *ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de março 1623 año mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui huexo^{co} totllac ynamic juā bap^{ta} coyolchiuhqui,* "On Saturday the 11th of March 1623: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Juan Bautista Coyolchiuhqui."[39] We can see that Juan Bautista's trade has become a defining characteristic of his identity. Likewise, when the children, Joseph and Micaela, both die in the early fall of 1626, their father is identified as the *temachti*: *Miguel pz temachti pohui coyotzinco*, "Miguel Pérez, the teacher, of Coyotzinco."[40] These occupations then became a way to identify these men in the records.

Other particulars that acted to identify individuals included their physical state or their status within the community. In the case of a man named Diego, he is labeled as *vilātzin,*[41] or the invalid. A man like this would have been well known and well recognized in a small community and therefore it would be more logical to identify him by this trait than by his last name. Similarly, when Juan Pérez died on May 31, 1620, it was his daughter who was sent from their home in Tlamacazcapan to report the death to

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[38] *Coyolli* – bells, castanets, and *chiuhqui* – maker or someone in authority or power, therefore coyol-chiuhqui is a bell maker. It is also possible that he was in charge of the bells of the church.
[39] JCB, "El Libro," f.21r.
[40] Ibid, f.34v.
[41] JCB, "El Libro," f.50r, from huilantli – uilantil - a person who is handicapped, alter-abled, or who goes along on all fours, crawling. See Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, f.157v.

the scribe. She is named *juana pz tzapah*, or "the dwarf Juana Pérez."[42] *Tzapah* again would have become like a second name, used to identify the young girl who brought the news to church. In another instance, the character of the man is what is called on to identify him. It is written that, *ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl de março 1628 años juā de aquino motepe*[xi]*hui*[43] *chane chiyauhtzinco*, "On Monday the 6th day of March 1628: Juan de Aquino, the criminal [died]. He was from Chiyauhtzinco."[44] Even in death, Juan de Aquino has not been able to shake his label as a criminal. These identifiers were clearly valuable to the Nahua community. There is even a case in which one man has held onto what was likely the title his family had before the conquest, for when Bartolomé of Acxotlan died in 1626, his father is named as Andrés Teuh[c]tli,[45] labeling him as a lord or an important nobleman who was heading a lordly house. At this point in Huexotzinco most "lordly" control would have been passed to the Spanish, although certain families were definitely still known as nobles. There were *gobernadores* and *alcaldes* who would have been very important locally, in their semi-autonomous, self-governing towns through the end of the colonial period and beyond. Here we see that the lordly name from the pre-conquest era and more than likely the position of respect associated with that name still carried through.

Unlike Spanish documents of the same kind that are very concerned with listing the *casta* of almost all entries, the Book only makes note of a person's race when they are not 100% Nahua, but there does not seem to be any hostility attached to these categories.

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[42] JCB, "El Libro," f.9r. It is possible that Juana Pérez could have been Juan's sister, we cannot be sure, but we know she was not his wife because his wife is named separately.
[43] *Motepexihuiani - el que cometio algun crimen grave*. See Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, f. 060r.
[44] JCB, "El Libro," f.42v.
[45] Ibid, f.31r.

When the scribe does mention a casta it is usually part of the person's name, giving us to know that we are seeing an ingrained identity, one that has been bestowed on the person after they have been accepted into the fold of the Nahua community. For instance, Gregorio is identified as *mestiço* when his wife, undoubtedly a Nahua woman, named Ana Antonia dies, in 1632.[46] The implication here is that these communities were small enough and indigenous enough to make note of his mestizo race. These instances are rare and yet there is one other of note and that is Tomás Tlilli, or Tomás the Black. This was a man who owned land and wrote a will giving his house and plot to his grandson when he died in 1630.[47] It may be that he was a black man living with his Nahua wife, Maria Jacob, in the town of Tianquiztenco or it may be that one of his parents was black. In either case, we see the fact that he was fully integrated into the Nahua community so much so that he owned property, was married, had sired children and grandchildren, and spoke fluently enough in Nahuatl to orate his will in that language. These names, then, served to identify and connect the dead with their communities, so they could be remembered.

The dead person's sub-altepetl was mentioned almost without fail, those entries without it making up less than 6% of the total entries. This served the purpose of identifying the person in relation to the physical world and in a culture that was very much place-based, it also served to connect the person to his or her imagined community, which served almost as an ethnic identity. Each altepetl would have considered itself to be distinct identity and the people within it a group unto themselves, albeit with ties to

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[46] Ibid, f.52r.
[47] JCB, "El Libro," f.18v, and *Conjunto de testamentos en lengua náhuatl*, f. 40.

the larger surrounding communities. A Nahua's community was inherently part of his or her identity, making it almost inconceivable that a person would be recorded without reference to the altepetl in which he lived.[48]

The altepetl was also used to indicate a possible change in tribute owed by a community. This was definitely part of the purpose of this record, as it was mentioned more often than not. Typically, an entry including tribute was written thusly: *ypā sab^{o} yc 23 de hebrero 1619 omicque gabriel çaynos ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicqui [ve]ronica castilla xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuaca*, "Died on Saturday the 23rd of February 1619: Gabriel Ceynos. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Veronica Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan."[49] The implication is that the tribute that was paid by Gabriel Ceynos was now to be paid by his wife, Veronica. This was not always the case, though. For instance, when Agatha Amoxoch of Xaltepetlapan died in July of 1619 it is noted that, *ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco bartholome chane chololla*, "Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Bartolomé, from Cholula."[50] The scribe was sure to make note that only half of this woman's tribute should be paid by Xaltepetlapan, and that the Crown should be looking for Bartolomé in Cholula for the other half. Likewise in May of 1637, when Juana, a woman from Almoyahuacan died, it is written that, *aocmo tlacalaquia*, "She no longer pays tribute."[51] The implication is that she was excused from paying tribute for some reason; usually those reasons were centered on a person's physical ability to pay that tribute, meaning that she could have been very old, or disabled

[48] Personal communication with Stephanie Wood, March 24, 2020.
[49] JCB, "El Libro," f.2r.
[50] Ibid, f.4r.
[51] Ibid, f.61v.

in some way.[52] The important point was that the town should not consider her tribute as having died with her, because it had already been forgiven. This then shows clearly that these records were being kept, to some extent, for the purpose of tracking population and tribute amounts for the communities to report to the Spanish. But this record was not being handed over to the Spaniards or controlled by them. Instead it was kept firmly in the hands of the Nahua community and was only ever written in by an outsider when it was looked at by a Spanish friar.

The Book walks the line between tribute record and commemorative document. Witnesses are listed from time to time and yet this record was not meant to be a will or testament. Some of the people listed had written testaments separate from the mention of them in this document but beyond that there is no sense of the person bestowing property or handing their soul over to God within the Book. There are, however, mentions of individuals having confessed before death, and occasionally the priest who buried them is mentioned, as in the entry for Andrés Pérez which states that, *ypā miercoles yc 16 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años omomiquili andre pz tlatlapopolhuili ynamic maría de çuida*[53] *yn testigo don juº de çiudad yn totatzin quimotoquili fr marti de aquire huexotzinco pohuiya*, "On Wednesday the 16th day of the month of July 1625, Andrés Pérez died. He confessed. His spouse was María de Ciudad. Witness: don Juan de Ciudad. He was buried by our Priest, fray Martín de Aguirre of Huexotzinco."[54] We get the sense that Andrés Pérez was surrounded by his family in death, as his brother-in-law was the witness who brought the news to the scribe. Still, this record was meant to record

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[52] In the tribute and census records Archivo Municipal de San Andrés Sinaxtla, Oaxaca, these were the most common reasons listed for someone no longer being required to pay tribute.
[53] Likely a scribal error, read *çiudad*.
[54] JCB, "El Libro," f.28r.

what happened, not to make requests, as a testament did. The purpose was to bear witness, and even given the inclusion of witnesses it was not intended to be used as a legal document. The inclusion of witnesses was more likely part of the scribe's attempt to be as accurate as possible. There was concern shown for the truth of the matter in the Book and so when a person was listed as having died at home, as opposed to in a hospital (which will be discussed shortly in regards to specific epidemics), the scribe would often mention who told him that a person died. For instance, *ypā lunes yc 6 de abril 1620 años pillipe telpochtli ychā micqui omoto m͡jn*, "On Monday the 6th of April 1620: The young man Felipe died at home. Martín said so."[55] Likewise, *ypā Viernes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes 1623 años fran^co^ sanchez micqui ychan omoto sinola*[56] *chaneque Tlaxcala ynamic Justina castilla xo^tl^*, "On Friday the 28th day of the month [of July] 1623: Francisco Sánchez died at home. The Spanish lady said so. Their home is in Tlaxcala. His spouse was Justina Castillanxochitl."[57] This Spanish woman was not known to the Nahua community by name, but her word was still depended on. It was important then that the information was verified in some way, be it by the name of a witness, or the name of the person who came to report the death.

The ingrained influence of Catholicism and the notion of "a good death"[58] is very prevalent in the entry of Andrés Pérez (above) and others like it. Confession, and

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[55] Ibid, f.8r.
[56] A common spelling of "señora" in Nahuatl.
[57] JCB, "El Libro," f.22r.
[58] For a full study on the Catholic concept of "a good death" at the time, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: the Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1995). For more on the indoctrination of the Nahuas into this tradition see Louise Burkhart, "Death and the Colonial Nahua," in Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Gregory Spira, *Nahuatl Theater: Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*, vol.1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 29–54, which will help to frame the next chapter focusing on Nahua testaments and theater.

especially having a priest there to perform extreme unction, would have been deeply important to many of the Nahuas living in Huexotzinco by this time. This is evident in entries that state, *yta tlapopolhuilli,*[59] "The priest heard his confession."[60] Mostly, the Spanish word for priest, literally rendered in Nahuatl as father [*tatli*], is used but in other instances the preconquest term for priest is used, as in this example, *ypā Viernes yc 1 de mayo 1626 años … mariana micqui ynamic dieº Maldonado ytlamacaz albarado*, "On Friday the 1st of May 1626: …Mariana died. Her spouse was Diego Maldonado. Her priest [*tlamacaztli*] was Alvarado."[61] Here we meet again with the man named Alvarado who will be discussed later, but the simple mention of him as her priest is enough to indicate that Mariana was a good Catholic who died well. And yet, in this entry we also see the use of the Nahuatl word for priest as the scribe writes, *ytlamacaz albarado*, again giving us a clear view into the bi-cultural world in which Catholicism and Nahuatl mixed freely, at least in the hand of this Nahua scribe.

A churchyard burial, blessed by a priest, was another part of the good death that we see in these records from in-between. There is no shortage of calls for a priest to provide a person with the sign of the cross in the testaments from this region at this time. Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan says with regard to her burial in her will that, *yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā apetlac oncā motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatac yn noseprtora oncā[n] nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopizqui*, "And I want my body to be buried there, in our church in Apetlac. There it will be opened, my grave, my grave pit, my

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[59] This literally translates to "his father pardoned him," the Nahua scribes almost always used "father" for priest, and because the word "father," *tatli*, had to be possessed to be grammatically correct in Nahuatl, the literal meaning of *yta* is "his father," but figuratively is being used here to mean "priest" or "his priest."
[60] JCB, "El Libro," f.3r.
[61] Ibid, f.32r.

sepulture. There at my burial the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross."[62] In the Book itself, during a year of epidemic the only thing written of Mariana is that she died, on September 1, 1634, a day when ten others also died, but in her will it is clear that she would be given all the rites of a Catholic burial.[63] We find evidence in the Book of the concern expressed so often in wills for where someone was buried and who buried them. When Elena Castillanxochitl died, it is written that, *ypā domi͡go yc 20 de octobre 1630 años helena castillaxochitl micqui yc ocalpolliuhque ynamic catca pe^{o} de la cruz quitocato s. Miguel pohui tiāquiztenco*, "On Sunday the 20th of October 1630: Elena Castillanxochitl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Pedro de la Cruz. She was buried in San Miguel. She belongs to Tianquiztenco."[64] Likewise, when two children were lost in one day in 1625 and it is recorded that, *ypā jueves yc 19 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micque pipiltzintzin [augastin] yta fran^{co} juarz yna maría cacalo xochitli pohui atzonpan antonio y[ta] ju^{o} deorlata yna matalena cacalo xochitli pohu xaltepetlapā quinotoquili fr. Martin de aquire*, "On Thursday the 19th day of the month of June 1625, these children died: Agustín. His father was Francisco Juárez. His mother was Maria Cacaloxochitl of Atzonpan. Antonio. His father was Juan de Orlate. His mother was Magdalena Cacaloxochitl of Xaltepetlapan. They were buried by fray Martín de Aguirre."[65] There is no question that a Catholic burial and a priest's blessing were important death rituals for the Nahuas of Huextozinco, and we find remnants of these rites in the Book as well as in the wills of the area.

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[62] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f. 48.
[63] JCB, "El Libro," f.59v.
[64] Ibid, f.46r.
[65] Ibid, f.27v.

Equally as consequential though, was the proffered respect and presence of the community. We can see the earlier emphasis on memory and being remembered as almost all entries include someone with whom the memory of the dead was to live on, but also in many entries we see the town coming together for the person, to celebrate their life at the time of their death. On November 14, 1619 it was written that, *pasqual p[ere]z micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco yc ocalpolliuhque,* "Pasqual Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco. The barrio gathered for him."[66] What we are seeing is the community coming together to remember this man. He was not an exception, he was not a uniquely powerful person, as such large gatherings and funerals were for in the annals. Rather, Pasqual was just a respected member of the community, a man worth remembering, as all those in the Book were.

The circumstances of a person's death were sometimes noted as well. Unlike in testaments, where it is so common to see explicit mention of the sick person and their words, here the cause of death is merely assumed to be sickness. When a *piltzin,* a child, an *ychpochtli*, or a young woman, a *telpochtli*, or a young man die, there is little doubt that they were taken by one of the many epidemic diseases that frequented colonial Mexico. In very few cases, a person having been ill is noted, as is the case with Inés Castillanxochitl. It is written that she was very sick for a long time, an invalid, or *cocoxcatzintli* and that she died in the home of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco.[67] Here the case may be that she was in a makeshift hospital or that she was being cared for by someone of that household. Either way it is clear that she was deemed to have been very

[66] Ibid, f.5v.
[67] Ibid, f.16r.

sick for a long time before she died. It is not out of the ordinary to see a mention of an old man or woman dying and here one wonders if they did indeed die of natural causes, and not of an epidemic disease. For instance, it is written that, *ypā miercoles yc 2 de junio 1634 años juana tozpetlacal micqui yllamatzin ynātzin pe^{o} chauez pohui totolac*, "On Wednesday the 2nd of June 1634: Juana Tozpetlacal died. She was an old woman. She was the mother of Pedro Chávez of Totollac."[68] This record is from a time of epidemic which makes it equally likely that she died of the disease, being old and easily affected, or that her age was mentioned as remarkable, due to the fact that she had simply passed away as everyone someday does in old age.

More often than not though, any mention of a cause of death is typically reserved for when the cause is something unnatural, such as execution or murder. For instance, *ypā lunes yc 1 ylhuitl de henero 1624 año omomiquillique … antonio tliltic micqui yehuatl yn pilloloc,*[69] "On Monday the 1st day of January 1624, these are the dead: … Antonio, the African [-*tliltic*], died. He was the one who was hanged. [i.e. executed as a criminal.]"[70] We get the sense that this man was not necessarily a part of the community and that the word *tliltic* is used as an adjective with the agentive -*tic* ending differentiating him from Tomás Tlilli who was named without the agentive ending.[71]

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[68] Ibid, f.55v.
[69] Oilloloc – piloa – to hang someone. See Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 195.
[70] JCB, "El Libro," f.23r.
[71] Tliltic was used for someone of African descent: "Even Nahuatl tliltique, literally 'blacks,' in reference to people of African descent, represents a direct translation of Spanish negros." Annals of His Time: Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala, eds. and transl. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 6–7. Lockhart defines it as, "something black; a person of African descent. tlīlli, -tic.," in *Nahuatl as Written*, 239. Whereas Tlilli is just the word for black, or sometimes soot, but was also used as a person's name and did not identify a foreign entity or act as a direct translation of the Spanish *negro*. See Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 239, "soot, black ink; also, a person's name (attested male)," and Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*, f. 147v, "tlilli. tinta."

Either way his death was noted as exceptional in that he was executed. Likewise, in the case of Juan Morales, he was said to have been murdered, that is that, *ypā lunes yc 29 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años çā mictilloc ytlamacazcauh Gabriel de albarado quimotoquilli totaco tatzin fray Nicolas,* "On Monday the 29th day of December 1625: He was just murdered. His priest was Gabriel de Alvarado. He was buried by our precious priest fray Nicolas."[72] These unnatural deaths are noted explicitly, setting them apart from those of the majority, which were deaths from illness during or between the many devastating epidemics that struck the area between 1619 and 1640. The information included in a typical entry and those that are far-from-typical serve to show that the structure of this book was organic and reflected the information that the Nahua scribes keeping it valued and found important at the time of a person's death.

3. Tracing Epidemics in the Book of the Dead

If we did not have access to this specific death record, we would still know that there were a number of epidemics in the region. We have records from the annals of Puebla and Tlaxcala that make note of any particularly deadly epidemic to hit the area. Additionally, the Spanish Actas de Cabildo from Puebla give us a glimpse into the epidemics that had an impact on both the Spanish community and the surrounding indigenous population. What the Book of the Dead gives us, though, is the ability to see these epidemics with some depth perception. In some cases, it also helps us distinguish the nature of the illnesses. For instance, in the annals of Puebla and Tlaxcala it is mentioned that the area was afflicted by an unrelenting cough in 1621–1622. This,

[72] JCB, "El Libro," f.30v.

coupled with the fact that in those years the majority of Nahua deaths recorded were those of children, allows us to make an educated guess that the disease was whooping cough. There is also the fact that whooping cough has a tendency to become endemic, as we have seen in the last chapter, and so it is the type of disease that will "make its rounds" so to speak, sweeping through from time to time when there is a critical mass of unexposed individuals.[73] It is only by looking at the rise and fall of the death tolls month-by-month and year-by-year that we get a sense of how these epidemics were impacting the populations of the area. When the register of deaths in Huexotzinco was begun in 1619, it was likely in response to the order made by the Council of Trent in 1614 that these records be kept. And yet, the decision to begin recording the deaths in the altepetl may also have been an organic one brought about by an increased death rate that year, or perhaps in the previous year, when some kind of illness, probably whooping cough, was afflicting the community. There is no way to know what the numbers were in 1618 (before the book was started), but 1619 was one of the deadliest years in the twenty years recorded, with 228 total deaths. The towns surrounding Huexotzinco were very small. Huexotzinco is recorded as having had a total population in 1568 of 26,285 which had dropped to 5,651 by the year 1646 – or a 78.5% drop in population in 78 years. This means that if we assume in the years the Book records that the population was around some 6000–7000, or possibly even less, that this drop of 228 in 1619 was at least 3.5 % in one year which was above average in a time of great depletion.[74] It was in this nascent

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[73] For a historical review of the disease, its tendency to become endemic, and its higher rate of infection in children, see: Ernest Kuchar, M. Karlikowska-Skwarnik, S. Han, and A. Nitsch-Osuch, "Pertussis: History of the Disease and Current Prevention Failure," in Mieczyslaw Pokorski, ed., *Pulmonary Dysfunction and Disease*, 1st ed. (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016); and James D. Cherry, "Historical Review of Pertussis and the Classical Vaccine," *The Journal of Infectious Diseases*, 174 (1996): S259–S263.

[74] Cook and Borah are now known for having exaggerated upwards – always rounding up, including everything they could to get the largest possible number or percentage. Therefore, it is likely that the

phase that the scribe, writing out each name, still had the composure, or perhaps the hope, with which to write one Sunday, *omicque pipiltzintzin amatlacatl*, "no one's children died."[75] It is also in this early phase that we get our first glimpse of the unique perspective the Book gives us. By listing every person and their relatives, and their sub-altepetl, we begin to see very early that the diseases were hitting particular areas and families harder than others.

In 1619 the town of Cecallacohuayan (Map 1, number 14) was almost unaffected, only reporting two deaths that year, but then in 1620, the town was hit with force as they recorded twelve deaths. This situation was reversed in the town of Ocotepec (Map 1, number 4), where eleven deaths were reported in 1619 and then only three in 1620. In contrast there were some towns, presumably slightly larger communities, that were deeply impacted year after year, epidemic after epidemic. The towns of Xaltepetlapan (Map 1, number 2) and Almoyahuacan (Map 1 number 3) did not go a year between 1619 and 1639 without reporting multiple deaths and they were two of the towns that frequently report the greatest numbers during the times of epidemic. [76] As they were clustered together with two other towns Tlanicotlan and San Juan Huexotzinco, the "city" proper, it is easy to see how disease would spread fast and fierce in this area.[77]

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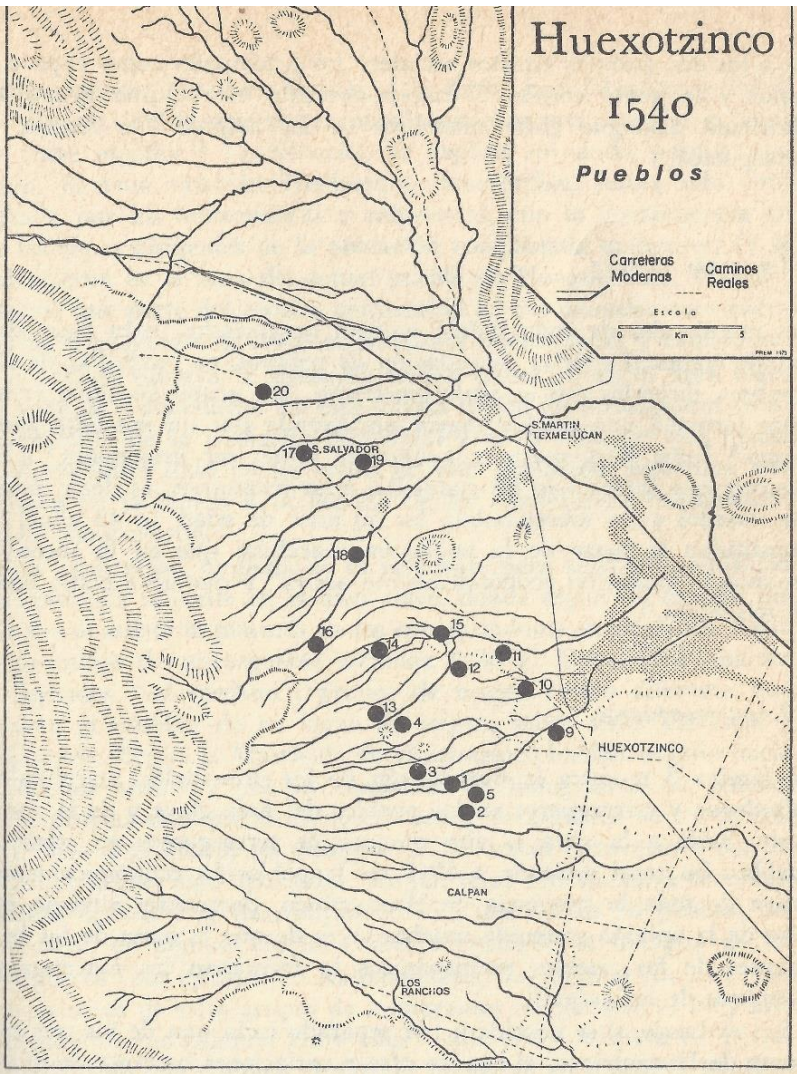
number they gave did include everything in the Huexotzinco region – especially since 26,000 would have been a *huge* single town by the standards of the 1560s, and we know Huexotzinco was not. Population data can be found in Cook and Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and California*, 18.

[75] JCB, "El Libro," f.1v.

[76] For Almoyahuacan specifically Cook and Borah have reported the population in 1568 as 3340 and the population in 1646 as 889, if we assume that in 1619 the population was exactly between the two numbers at 2115, then that makes the population loss of 308 within the Book of the Dead a 14.5% drop in just 20 years.

[77] Tlanicotlan also records a high percentage of death relative to the other towns mentioned in the book, at 120 deaths in the years recorded. The town of San Juan Huexotzinco is listed in the Book as Huexotzinco Tecpan, Huexotzinco Totollac, and simply as Huexotzinco making the total deaths recorded for the town proper 806 in the year of the Book, by far the most of any other town.



Mapa 6

Pueblos del área clave

1. San Juan Huexotzinco
2. Santiago Xaltepetlapan
3. Santa María Almoyahuacan
4. San Pablo Ocotepec
5. San Simón Tlanicontlan
6. San Sebastián Tlayacaque
7. San Francisco Tianquiztenco
8. Santa María Acxotlan
9. Santa Cruz Atenco
10. San Bartolomé Tocuillan
11. San Luis Coyotzinco
12. San Esteban Tepetzinco
13. San Antonio Tlatenco
14. San Nicolás Cecalacoayan
15. San Lorenzo Chiauhtzinco
16. San Agustín Atzompan

Pueblos en el valle de Tezmelucan

17. Santa María Tetzmollocan
18. San Felipe Teotlaltzinco
19. San Gregorio Aztatoacan
20. San Salvador

Map 1. Map of Huexotzinco c. 1540 showing the layout of various pueblos listed in the Book of the Dead.

From Úrsula Dyckerhoff's, *La Estrataficación social en Huexotzinco* in *Estratificación Social en la Mesoamérica prehispánica* ed. Pedro Carrasco, Johanna Broda, et al. (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, 1976), 159.

In addition to looking at total numbers of dead for any given epidemic, it becomes clear that one of the vantage points this document gives us which is unavailable to us otherwise is the ability to track the impact of disease on a family. As in the opening vignette, there are many families whose names and locations can be tracked through the entire book. And it is within these epidemics that we can *feel* the impact of the disease by tracing the experience of these specific towns and families. For instance, even in this first year, when no epidemic was said to be happening in any other source, we can see that the community of Huexotzinco Totollac, a subsection of the town of Huexotzinco, reported eleven deaths between April 25th and May 25th of 1619, and four of those were from two families. In the first case one mother buried two children, *ypā jueves yc 25 de abril 1619 a^{o}s … mathias yconeuh angellina pohui totollac… ypā domingo yc 12 de mayo 1619 años… ~~ypā~~ fran^{co} piltzintli yconeuh angellina castillan xo^{tl} pohui,* "On Thursday the 25th of April 1619: … Matías. He was the child of Angelina of Totollac. … On Sunday the 12th of May 1619: … The child Francisco. He was the child of Angelina Castillanxochitl of Totollac."[78] In the second case, it is hard to say if anyone would have been left alive in the family, as it is written that, *ypā jueves yc 16 de mayo 1619 años… antona xillotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhu[ique] pohui huexo^{co} totollac*, "On Thursday the 16th of May 1619: … Antonia Xillotl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac,"[79] and then three days later, *ypā domingo yc 19 de mayo 1619 años… barnabe piltzintli micqui yconeuh antona xillotl catca pohui huexo^{co} totollac*, "On Sunday the 19th of May 1619: … The child Barnabe died. He was

[78] JCB, "El Libro," f.3v.
[79] Ibid.

the child of the late Antonia Xillotl of Huexotzinco Totollac."[80] The fact that Antonia Xillotl was deceased and was listed as the relation of Barnabe, could be a function of the proximity of their deaths in time, or it could be that they were the last of their immediate family and no one else was still alive to be listed.

Unlike 1619, the year 1622 is noted in multiple sources in nearby towns as a year of intense epidemic. In 1622, the Spanish cabildo recognized the Bishop of Tlaxcala, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, for his founding of El Hospital de la Advocación de San Ildefonso, specifically for the care of the Nahuas in that town.[81] Interestingly enough, his own *Memoriales*, state that it was in fact an unnamed *Cacica principal*, or an indigenous woman from the noble classes, who left the money with which to create the hospital which he then founded at the very end of the year 1620. The timing makes it more than likely that the desire of this Cacica to fund a hospital was in response to the epidemic of 1619, only known to us by the number of dead in the Book. Either way, Mota y Escobar then states that he communicated this information to the alcalde mayor and that the Nahuas were to take over the care of the hospital.[82] Mota y Escobar also makes an interesting and singular note stating on January 12, 1621: "and with that I returned to Puebla and to my house heathy, thank God."[83] For a Spanish friar to be thanking God for his health may not seem out of place, and maybe it is not, but he did not usually say this.

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[80] Ibid.
[81] "Actas de Cabildo," vol. 16, doc. 108, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Puebla, Puebla, México. Hereafter, AAP, "Actas de Cabildo."
[82] Fray Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Memoriales Del Obispo de Tlaxcala Fray Alonso de La Mota y Escobar*, Sobretiro del Tomo I. (México: de los Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1945), 105.
[83] Ibid, 107.

In the middle of an epidemic when he has just spent days on the road serving the afflicted Nahua communities, his gratitude seems particularly poignant.

In this year the indigenous annals of Puebla record an interesting detail as well: *tecpatl 1622 NiCan ypa xihuitl yn oquisaco huancho quihualhuicac chicahuac tlatlasistli miec yc momiquili Onpa oquitlatiq̃ huexotzinco,* "Here in this year [Flint-knife 1622] Huancho passed by. He brought with him a bad cough of which many died. They burned him at Huexotzinco."[84] And in the annals of Tlaxcala it is written in 1623 that, *quisaco tlatlaçistli quihualhuicac tlacahuatzalli quitlatihque huexotzinco,* "An epidemic of coughing broke out. A dried-up person brought it here. They burned him at Huexotzinco."[85] In the annals we get a glimpse into the way in which Nahuas attempted to negotiate with nature by vengefully burning the body of the man, or possibly, burning the man alive, whom they assumed brought them the disease, which was very likely whooping cough. The real danger of this disease lies in its progression to pneumonia and it is especially dangerous, even today, for children, which is reflected in the fact that approximately 63% of the deaths recorded that winter, from September of 1622 to March of 1623 were of children. And again, beyond the statistics we can *see* the impact on families when we read the Book and notice that in September, Joseph Tizanoyotl, who lived in Tepetzinco buried three sons, Sebastían, Miguel, and Diego.[86] Or, that in October in Tetzcocapan, Mateo Suárez's first daughter died on the 5th, his second daughter on the 6th, while on the 7th his wife, Magdalena Castillanxochitl, died.[87] The reports from the

[84] Townsend, *Here in this Year*, 91.
[85] Ibid, 175.
[86] JCB, "El Libro," f.19r, f.19v.
[87] Ibid, f.19v.

Spanish Cabildo and from Mota y Escobar show us how the Spanish, specifically the Catholic Church, recorded the death of the Nahuas, and how one Nahua noblewoman tried to help with the aid of the Church to create a hospital for the ill. The Nahuatl annals give us an idea of what disease it was, and how the Nahuas as a whole reacted to it, but it is the Book that gives us a sense of what it might have *felt* like to be one of these parents, having to bury multiple children in the space of just one month.

A few years later, another unidentified disease struck the area. Between March of 1626 and April of 1627 Huexotzinco experienced the single deadliest year of the entire Book, with 438 recoded deaths. In September of 1626, a request was made to the Spanish Cabildo of Puebla for a hospital to be built for the poor, both indigenous and Spanish. The land for this hospital was being donated by Antonio Hernández, a resident of the city.[88] This was certainly in response to this epidemic and in fact gives us a better idea of why the Spanish were not noting the devastation of the Nahuas in the area, because this illness was affecting the Spanish population as well. Later in January of 1627, the Cabildo called for the streets that led to the indigenous neighborhoods of San Pablo and Santa Ana to be fixed, for the express purpose of the getting aid and sacraments to the sick in those neighborhoods. These Nahua communities were on the outskirts of the city of Puebla, where the people were surely dying at a great rate. But the devastation is only mentioned by the Spanish records in relation to fixing the roads, albeit with the goal of helping the people. The Nahuatl annals make mention of what is likely to be this same epidemic in 1628 in Tlaxcala, stating only that, *chicahuac cocolis [sic] mochiuh*, "There

[88] AAP, "Actas de Cabildo," vol.17, doc.15.

was a serious epidemic."[89] Whatever was afflicting Huexotzinco in 1626 and 1627 had traveled to nearby Tlaxcala by 1628.

In the month of February of 1627, the towns around Huexotzinco endured the death of 41 people, 25 of them for children. Again, a higher percentage of children were dying in this epidemic than adults. In that same month in Xaltepetlapan 11 deaths are recorded and over half of them are from the same family:

ypā miercoles yc 3 de hebre 1627 años… fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	On Wednesday the 3rd of February 1627: … The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
ypā jueves yc 4 de hebrero 1627 años lucas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā juana piltzintli p micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā	On Thursday the 4th of February 1627: The child Lucas died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan. The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
ypā sab^{o} yc 20 de hebrero 1627 años… die^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	On Saturday the 20th of February 1627: …The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
ypā miercoles yc 24 de hebrero 1627 años… helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā	On Wednesday the 24th of February 1627: … The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Pérez [of] Xaltepetlapan.
ypā jueves yc 25 de hebrero 1627 años… maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	On Thursday the 25th of February 1627: … The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.[90]

These entries amount to a one man burying six of his children in one month, two of them in one day. These are details that do not come across when reading about a hospital being commissioned or about a "serious epidemic." The question then becomes: why is it that some of the epidemics gain more attention from the Spanish than others? This 1626–27 scourge was, as far as sheer numbers go, the deadliest epidemic recorded by the Book

[89] Townsend, *Here in this Year*, 177.
[90] JCB, "El Libro," f.38r–v.

and yet, it receives very little attention in other sources. In order to see the full picture we need to look at the next occasion an epidemic ravaged the region.

On August 14, 1634, the Spanish Cabildo of Puebla, consisting of a group of a dozen men, gathered for the sole purpose of discussing the epidemic that was laying waste to the city's neighborhoods and surrounding towns. They were in the middle of one of the deadliest months experienced by the indigenous Nahua community in years. That August, 97 deaths would be recorded. The disease would not let up in September, as another 109 deaths would be recorded in that month, making it the single deadliest month of the epidemic. As their first order of business, the Cabildo decided, generously, to give 300 pesos in alms to the ailing communities. The alcalde mayor said of the disease that, "there is so much death that the indigenous neighborhoods of the city are becoming depopulated."[91] Truly, the Spaniards in the city would be in quite a fix if the indigenous population of the region kept dying at these rates, as they were a valuable labor source, but one cannot rule out the role of Catholic charity as a motivator. Their second order of business was to decry the production and ingestion of pulque, as it was determined to be the cause of so much damage and disease within the native neighborhoods. They went so far as to commission officials to go into each barrio and to spill all the pulque therein. This, of course, was not what was making the Nahuas sick, but the Spanish did what they thought would stop the disease based on their understandings, fighting against their environment as best they could.[92]

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[91] AAP, "Actas de Cabildo," vol. 18, doc. 57, f.56r.
[92] Ibid.

The records from that meeting of Spanish men focus on the sickness and suffering plaguing the indigenous people around them and what they might do to help. They agreed that, "300 pesos of alms shall be given to the sick neighborhoods."[93] By the standards of the era, this was no small sum, but then, it was no small epidemic. We are given a glimpse into the scale of the epidemic only when we reach beyond the Spanish cabildo records and look at the Nahuatl death records. We know a great deal about it because of what the Nahuas tell us. It is written in the Book the day before the meeting of the Cabildo that:

ypā domigo yc 13 de agusto 1634 años	On Sunday the 13th of August 1634:
miguel jusep micqui pohui totollac ynamic catalinā castillā xo^{tl}	Miguel Joseph of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl.
micaela piltōtli micqui ytatzin mathias de roças pohui almoyahuacā	The child Micaela died. Her father was Matias de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
matheo piltzintli miqui ynātzin fran^{ca} pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Mateo died. His mother was Francisca of Tlanicontlan.
mathias piltzintli micqui yta juā Gabriel pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Matías died. His father was Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.
Estevā piltzintli micqui yta juā quauhxinqui pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Esteban died. His father was Juan Quauhxinqui of Tlanicontlan.
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui yta gaspar pohui tecpā	The child Francisco died. His father was Gaspar of Tecpan.
ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic sebastiā perez pohui almoyahuacā	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Sebastían Pérez of Almoyahuacan.[94]

This was not an unusually long entry for one day in the months of July and August that year. The Nahuatl annals of Puebla and of Tlaxcala both make reference to this same epidemic. Respectively, they say that: *Sanno ycuac tlatlasistli quisaco ytoca chichimeco miyec tlacatl y omomiquili … Sanno ypa xihuitl yn opeuhqui huey CoColistli ypan abril miyec tlaCatl momiquili motocaya Semilhuitl napoali tlacatl ytzatzalan pipiltzilzintin auh*

[93] Ibid.
[94] JCB, "El Libro," f.57v.

yn achitzin omacauh ypan ytlasoylhuitzin San fran^co^, "At this same time [in 1633] a cough called 'the chichimeco' [the savage] broke out. Many people died. … In this same year [1634], in April, a great plague began. Many people died. Each day eighty people, children among them, were buried. It let up a little on the precious day of San Francisco. And the friar in charge of the chapel, fray Diego del Castillo, went among the people. He held communion in various people's homes. A hospital was set up in the home of Pedro Juárez."[95] The plague of coughing in 1633 may have subsided by the time the next horribly deadly epidemic struck in 1634 in Puebla, but more than likely the people were forced to contend with both diseases. In Tlaxcala the entry was more straightforward: *yquac Mochiuh cocoliztli huel chicahua micohuac,* "At this time there was an epidemic. A great many died." There is no source from the area that does not mention the epidemic of that year and the fact that a hospital was set up in a home indicates that there was something more than just whooping cough going around this time, although the mention of a cough again would indicate that it, too, was back. Whereas the Spanish concerned themselves with how to stop the disease, the Nahuatl records, which record names and numbers that the Spanish records do not, provide us with a more intimate, more personal perspective of the epidemic. They allow us to see not only the names and relations of those lost, but to glimpse the scale of the epidemic both with the mention of "eighty people" a day being buried but also with the relief of the disease letting up, just a bit, but enough to offer the sufferers communion, which as we have seen would have been very important to them by this time. When we stop to count the number of entries in a given

[95] Townsend, *Here in this Year*, 95.

week or month and consider the one man who was tasked with writing down each name, we are offered a different view of what it was like in the community at that time.

This particular disease traveled from Puebla in April and landed firmly in Huexotzinco by June. In July and August, the Nahuas of Huexotzinco wrote in their book about a record number of deaths. There was great care taken to be accurate and complete in these records, and yet, in October of 1634, at the height of the epidemic, the Book ceases to record any more deaths that year. We know that the epidemic was still raging because the Cabildo of Puebla met again on October 6th and in that meeting they gave 25 pesos to the father, fray Juan de Santiago of the order of Santo Domingo, the vicar of his church and hospital of San Pablo, to supply him with medicine (which included food) for the Nahuas he had in his care.[96] That being said, this was also when the epidemic was said to have let up in Puebla, on the day of San Francisco, October 4th. This epidemic, though, came to Huexotzinco two months later than it was recorded to have begun in Puebla. That does not necessarily mean that it lasted two months longer, but it is curious that the record stops so abruptly in October; it probably indicates that a key member of the record keeping process became a victim of the epidemic.[97] The most likely cause of this break in the record is that the scribe who wrote in the Book himself became sick and either could not write for two months or died.

It is only through the Nahuatl death records kept in the Book that we find that this was *not* the most devastating epidemic within the community's recent past. In fact, it did

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[96] AAP, "Actas de Cabildo," vol. 18, doc. 57, p.56r.
[97] The handwriting is not so distinct as to say that it is definitely a different man who takes over in 1635, but someone key to the whole process must have died or been unable to perform any official duties for a time.

not even come close. Although it was more concentrated into fewer months, the epidemic of 1626–1627 was far deadlier. So why the increased attention from the Spanish Cabildo? Unlike the epidemic in 1622, which recorded that approximately 49% of the deaths that year were of children and the epidemic of 1626–1627, which recorded that almost 64% of deaths were of children, in 1634, only 39% of the deaths recorded were those of children. The first epidemic in 1622 was slightly less deadly overall, which may explain the lack of concern on the part of the Spanish Cabildo. Even when the Nahua annals make such explicit note of it, it is likely due to it being such a noteworthy and recognizable disease (whopping cough) and for it having a culprit to blame. What is significant, then, are the statistics about adult death found in the Book. In 1626–1627, the number of adults dying was less than in 1634. In that year, from May 1626 to April 1627, 159 adult deaths were recorded in the Book, but in just four months from June 1634 to September 1634, 156 adults were reported dead. In 1634, then, more adults were dying in a much more concentrated timeframe, increasing the concern of the Spanish Cabildo. The labor force that the Spanish were reliant on was in jeopardy, making intervention more pressing. In the Nahuatl accounts, though, it was not only the lives of the adults that mattered, but those of their children as well and the memory of all those who had lived and been lost.

It is within this context in 1619 that one Nahua scribe was first charged with writing down the name of each individual and the sub-altepetl to which they belonged, to make a Nahuatl-style record to remember the lives that these names represented. Hundreds of names a year, sometimes almost one hundred in an individual month. Over the course of years, a number of scribes were assigned this task of recording and remembering the dead. This endeavor took place quietly and yet, in a culture that placed

so much importance on kinship networks, the altepetl, and memory, this effort was one of immense importance to the people themselves. When we take into account the Nahuatl-language sources we get a fuller picture of the situation in these small communities. We can read the names, track the relationships, understand the relief of an epidemic letting up or the frustration that led to the burning of a man thought to have brought yet another disease to town. Our understanding becomes a little less superficial and the importance of these documents begins to shine through.

4. Interwoven Lives within the Book of the Dead: Traces of Relations with the Fathers of the Church

In looking more closely at the Book we get a peek into the relations of the Nahuas and Spanish in towns surrounding Huexotzinco at this time. The communities were not intermingled and the Nahuas of various communities had their own government officials.[98] Nevertheless, the Spaniards in the area were regularly interacting with the Nahua communities, living and working in close quarters, as this was the period in which the system of *Repartimiento* was fully in place. Within this arrangement, Nahua men were used as a moving labor force for the Spanish.[99] Herein was the problematic nature of the epidemics for the Spanish who depended on the Nahua labor, although, surely there was a concern for the wellbeing of the Nahua communities as well. In Huexotzinco specifically we have the curious case of Tlamacazcapan, which literally translates as "the

[98] For a close study of indigenous government, see: Robert Stephen Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of Arizona Press, 1991).
[99] For a further discussion of the Repartimiento see James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, Ch.5.

land of the priests." In this town relations between the Nahua people and the Church were particularly close and require special explanation.

Huexotzinco was one of the early strongholds of the Church in New Spain. In 1525, fray Juan Juárez, who was one of the original twelve Franciscans to arrive in Mexico, was named guardían of the monastery in Huexotzinco. Sahagún noted the religious activity in the area.[100] He wrote that: "An experiment was attempted at the beginning: in some of the towns of this New Spain where the religious resided, as in Cholula and Huexotzinco, they would settle married couples close to the monasteries, and there they dwelt, and there they all attended Mass each day at the monastery, and they would preach to them about Christianity and about the matrimonial state, and this was a good means by which to keep them from the infection of idolatry and other bad habits."[101] The indoctrination of the people began early in Huexotzinco and with great fervor it would seem. We know that as early as the 1560 *Letter of the Cabildo of Huejotzingo to the King*, that the people in that area were very aware of the Church's influence and power, and that the Church had been present there for a long time. In the letter they state, *in iquac ipan valcallacque yn altepetl vexutzinco Vel toyollocacopā tiquintomaviztilique tiquintotlaçotilique*, "When they [the Franciscans] entered the altepetl of Huexotzinco, of our own free will we honored them and showed them esteem."[102] Even if this does not

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[100] Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagun: First Anthropologist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 107–108.
[101] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*General history of the things of New Spain*) Josefina García Quintana and Alfredo López Austin, eds., 2 vols. (México: National Council for Culture and the Arts and Alianza Editorial Mexicana [Mexican Publishers' Alliance], 1989), II, 630.
[102] "Letter of the Cabildo of Huejotzingo to the King, 1560," in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 292–293.

actually show true belief and acceptance of the Catholic faith, it does exemplify an understanding of its importance to the colonial project and to the rulers of Spain.

These interactions left their mark on the records of the area. One of the eccentricities of the Book of the Dead is how much life we can find within it. We are given breadcrumbs that when followed to their logical ends provide us with a picture of what life might have been like in these communities and for these people. There are tidbits about relations with the Spanish, the Church, criminal activity and punishment, family relations and living conditions, as well as marital and personal relationships outside of the norm. What comes into focus when we trace these details is that the people of Huexotzinco were interacting regularly with the clergy and were being influenced by their Catholic beliefs, and yet, that they were still independent enough to record matters in their own way, with categories that would not have been accepted by the Catholic Church.

Very early on in the colonial experience of Huexotzinco, then Juan Juárez purposely moved married couples close to the monastery so that they could attend mass every day and so that the friars could watch them closely for idolatry. In the Book we see people from Tlamacazcapan listed as *ynahuac,* literally, "next to," various Spanish friars at the time of death. What we are seeing is the closer-than-usual relationship between the friars and the Nahuas living in this town, so close that the friars are listed as the last connection that the dead have to the living. It is virtually certain that in the 1620s through the 1640s those living in Tlamacazcapan are the descendants of those original resettled couples, about three generations later, seeing as the Nahua people would never have used the word "Tlamacazcapan" to name a neighborhood in the 1600s, but certainly would

have done so in the early 1500s. The people who were originally moved there apparently agreed to pay tribute to the commonweal through this new Church-run sub-altepetl, rather than through their old neighborhoods. We see this in the Book, when the tribute responsibility is passed to a father of the Church for those living in Tlamacazcapan, which does not occur in any other town. This system makes good sense (as it would have been logistically difficult to have people pay tribute through their old homes) and at some point, it expanded. By the early 1600s, there are clearly several farms being run by a number of Franciscans, each of which has indigenous residents of the sub-altepetl living in the household or adjacent to it, presumably so that they could work for the Franciscans and come together to pray every day, even if they were not hearing a full-blown mass every day, as they had originally done.[103] Gabriel de Alvarado, whom we have met before, Juan Caballero, Juan Morello, a man referred to as Orive,[104] and a man only ever

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[103] Something unusual was going on in Tlamacazcapan or Priest Town. Erika R. Hosselkus posed a mystery in her dissertation, *Living with Death Between the Volcanoes: Nahua Approaches to Mortality in Colonial Puebla's Upper Atoyac Basin* (148–149), explaining that there was an unusual connection between the people and the Church in this town and speculating about Tlamacazcapan and the significance of that town name and the people living there. With the addition of the records from the Book of the Dead, where we can see that the men who are said to live on this land were labeled tlamacazqueh, we can presume that there was some connection to the Church and that the name was not arbitrary. The town name is mentioned in Teresa Rojas Rabiela, *Padrones de Tlaxcala del siglo XVI y Padrón de nobles de Ocotelolco* (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1987), 281, as well. There is also a mention in Book 12 of the Florentine of the men and boys that the Spanish took as slaves or servants being called tlamacazque. Lockhart, *We People Here*, 248, *auh no cequintin pepenaloque in toquichtin iehoantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oquichtin yoā in quin telpupuchtotonti in quintitlanizque, in intitlanvan iezque, in moteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequintin nimā quincamatlatiq̄ cequintin quincamaicuiloque: cequintin quintenicuiloque.* "And some men were picked out, those who were strong and in the prime of life, and those who were barely youths, to run errands for them [the Spanish] and be their errand boys, called their *tlamacazque* [priests, acolytes]. Then they burned some of them on the mouth [branded them]; some they branded on the cheeks, some on the mouth." This then could indicate a further connection to the Spanish at an early time in that particular town. It does not seem that these religious men were living in a community, like in a monastery, but rather, that they had privately held lands – presumably, lands owned by the Church, since they were not supposed to own their own – where they had their own households.

[104] There is a fray Nicolas de Orive, but he is not given the distinction of tlamacaz or listed as a neighbor. He is a priest who is mentioned in general as "our priest [totatzin], who buried…" and not in tlamacazcapan, but it is likely that the friars of the monastery would have served the surrounding towns too making it likely that he is the same man.

referred to as Juárez, curiously the same name as the first *guardían* of the monastery, are all noted often as *ynahuac*, or next to (i.e. the neighbor of), the dead. These entries, when gathered and looked at together give the impression that these men, Franciscan friars, owned or ran these relatively large estates and households and that they had several Nahua families living on or near, and likely, working their land. It is could be that these men were Franciscan lay brothers rather than friars, as they are never titled as fray, but that is the only thing subject to doubt, as they were obviously Spanish men who have a relationship with the monastery.

In the case of Gabriel de Alvarado, it is noted that one woman died on his estate, specifically, stating that *ypā sab^{o} yc 1 de julio 1634 año juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui yestāçia albarado*, "On Saturday the 1st of July 1634: Juana Castillanxochitl died on Alvarado's estate."[105] He was also responsible for paying the tribute of his indigenous wards, as he is called on in two cases to pay the tribute of women who have died. It is recorded that:

ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de hebrero 1627 años ma^{a} mag^{na} micqui ytechca tlacallaquili yc ocalpolliuhque ynahua[c] albarado	On Saturday the 27th of February 1627: Maria Magdalena died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her neighbor Alvarado.
ypā Viernes yc 26 de março 1627 años aña castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycha albarato	On Friday the 26th of March 1627: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to the home of Alvarado.[106]

Alvarado was clearly a Spaniard as he is specifically labeled as such, the record stating that, *anoto Gabriel de albarado Espa̅nol*, "Gabriel de Alvarado, the Spaniard, said so."[107]

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[105] JCB, "El Libro," f.55v.
[106] Ibid, f. 38v–39r.
[107] Ibid, f.23v.

But in another entry he is titled a priest using the Nahuatl word *ytlamacaz*. In other cases, the friars are given some variation of the word *yta,* "father" or *totatzin*, "our precious father," as mentioned before, which was how the Spanish themselves referred to religious figures in Nahuatl, including the father in the trinity. This is interesting in the case of Alvarado because rather than the accepted Catholic expression he was labeled with what was likely the more intimate preconquest title for a priest, or a keeper of religious objects.[108] This term was crystalized by the name of the town and was still used in the 1640s for the priests who lived there, when elsewhere, it would have given way to the more common *yta*.

The man called Juárez also lived in Tlamacazcapan and was marked as the "neighbor" of many people. Like Alvarado he was also given the title *ytlamacazcauh*; he was their priest. And again we find that he was called on to take over the tribute responsibility of a woman on his land when, *ypā lunes yc 3 de março 1631 años ma*[a] *castillāxochitl micqui ynamic andres perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez yn techca tlacallaquilli,* "On Monday the 3rd of March 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Andrés Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, Her neighbor was Juárez and her tribute responsibility belongs to him."[109] It is likely that the families listed as his neighbors were actually living on his property because when Magdalena Castillanxochitl dies, she is said to have been *ychā juares*, or "in the home of Juárez."[110] It seems clear that these men were not integrating themselves into the community other than by fulfilling their responsibilities as priests. But they were indeed caring for the Nahuas living near them or

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[108] This has been translated as a keeper of idols, but "idols" has a slightly pejorative tone, and so I've adapted it to religious objects. The term is meant to have a sense of preconquest priest.
[109] JCB, "El Libro," f.47r.
[110] Ibid, f.56r.

on their land in one capacity or another, be it religiously or economically by pooling their tribute responsibility.

At a glance it might seem that this land occupied by these men was occupied in turn by the priest in residence at any given time, and yet, that hypothesis does not carry itself out, as Orive and Juárez were said to be living in Tlamacazcapan on the same day as one another. In 1630, the men are listed consecutively as such:

ypā martes yc 1 de octobre 1630 años juā de. s. tiago micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā Xochitl pohui tlamacazcapa ynahua neze[bloched out] juarez	On Tuesday the 1st of October 1630: Juan de Santiago died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez.
ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic jua perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac oribe	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tlamcazcapan, the neighbor of Orive.
ypā martes yc 8 de octobre 1630 años Juā perez micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā Xochitl yc ocalpolliuhq̃ pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac oribe.	On Tuesday the 8th of October 1630: Juan Pérez died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl. The barrio gathered for him. He belongs to Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Orive.[111]

It is clear that these men were respected, as they were focal points in a death record that was obviously very dear to the community, in some cases as a person's only connection to the living world. Because of this arrangement, the people of the sub-altepetl of Tlamacazcapan are clearly establishing closer relations to the Catholic Church than other people in the region. In the case of two testators from Tlamacazcapan, Lucas Pérez and Baltasar García, they both asked to be buried in the churchyard, and no one else in this corpus of wills mentioned that.[112] People from Tlamacazcapan are regularly entered as

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[111] Ibid, f.46r.

[112] Erika R. Hosselkus, *Living with Death Between the Volcanoes*, 148. "Two testators, Lucas Pérez and Baltasar García, who died in 1632, asked to be buried *ithualco* and *ithualnepantlah*, respectively. In most cases, ithualco is translated as 'patio' or 'churchyard,' and ithualnepantlah, in turn, as 'in the middle of the patio or churchyard.' Those designations could certainly apply in these cases. However, *ithualli* can also refer to an 'inner patio' or 'courtyard,' and may possibly, by extension, refer to the cloister of a friary. Both

living "next to" (which could go so far as meaning "living with"), one of the Franciscans,[113] and yet despite this obvious venue for acculturation, many people continued to do things quite their own way. It is likely that people from Tlamacazcapan were involved with the production of the Book. Few would have had closer relationships with the friars than they. This mingling of worlds is indicative of the community as in-between, in that they were still Nahua and held Nahua beliefs, but were building relationships and beginning to adapt to Spanish beliefs.

This process of adaptation was far from wholesale. In contrast to the respect that the term tlamacazqueh prescribed, we find one instance in the book where a Spaniard is not referred to as *Español* or yet any term we might expect for this time period. It is recorded that, *ypā sab^{o} yc 14 de março 1626 años aña castillāxochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic antonio perez cachopin*, "On Saturday the 14th of March 1626: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Antonio Pérez, the Gachupin [Spaniard]."[114] This note is interesting for a few reasons. First *cachopin* is a pejorative term for a Spaniard, giving the impression that this Nahua woman was married to a man who was not liked, or at least not well respected by the Nahua community, perhaps because he was a

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Pérez and García belonged to the neighborhood or territorial entity called Tlamacazcapan or Tlamacazcapan Tequihuaque."

[113] There are mentions of people from Tlamacazcapan in the book who are not listed as *ynahuac* in relations to a Franciscan, out of 101 total deaths recorded for the town 52 of these entries are those of children though, who are listed, logically, as the child of their named parent. Half of the adult entries (25 of the remaining 49) from Tlamacazcapan mention one of a dozen Spanish men, with Alvarado, Caballero, and Juárez making up the majority of those entries. Orive is mentioned as *ynahuac* in one entry, Juan Morello is mentioned in three entries, Juan Torres in two entries and Hernando Ortiz, Pedro de Pipilo, Anton Martín, and Andrés Rios are all mentioned once. It would be well worth a study of clerical records of Franciscans in the area to find out if these men are found on any of those lists created by Torquemada, or another.

[114] JCB, "El Libro," f.31v.

Spaniard.[115] This is also the only time that we see a marriage between a Spaniard and a Nahua represented in the Book. One wonders what the relationship between the scribe and this man might have been like to have elicited this designation, although it could be that at the time, the word was less of an insult than it came to be in the next century. Either way we can see that Nahuas were still keeping hold of their own ideas.

We also find instances of happenings that would have been considered untoward by the Catholic Church at the time. It is sure that these communities would have been Catholic by this time, but there is evidence here that they were "imperfect" in their religious practice. The first instance we find of this is in relation to a young man named Francisco. It is recorded that, *ypā lunes yc 16 de junio 1631 años fran^{co} telpochtli micqui ytelpoch fray fran^{co} Bariētes yhuallihua sallapā yn telpochtli*, "On Monday the 16th of June 1631: The young man Francisco died. He was the young man of fray Francisco Valientes. The young man was from Xallapan."[116] This man is indicated as being possessed by the friar, at least in the linguistic sense. There are a few possibilities here, all of which can tell us something about the relationship. The first is that Francisco could have been the child or the ward of fray Francisco Valientes, making it likely that this friar had fathered him with a Nahua woman, considering that he was listed in the Book and therefore considered part of the Nahua community. But it is also entirely possible that he was instead living with the friar as a lover. This gives us a more than non-traditional relationship being recorded in writing in a Catholic community with no obvious balking. The fact that it occurred is not what is surprising, but instead that it was recorded. And

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[115] *Cachopin* is a much more common term in the eighteenth century and this is one of the earlier uses of the word we have in text. See: Stephanie Wood, ed. "Online Nahuatl Dictionary," last modified 2020, https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/cachopin.
[116] JCB, "El Libro," f.48v.

yet, the record becomes more comprehensible when we consider that the community and the record keeper were not necessarily completely Catholic in a European sense just yet. That is not to say that they did not consider themselves Catholic but that the older social relationships that stemmed from the preconquest era were not innately considered *wrong* to them.

In this one small record we are shown the variations of life and love that occurred in colonial Mexico. In another curious entry we see an even more complex familial relationship. It is recorded that:

ypā Viernes yc 31 de julio 1631 años maria castillāxochitl micqui ynamic Miguel yohualcohuacatl oco$_{tepec}$ …	On Friday the 31st of July 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Yohualcohuacatl [of] Ocotepec…
fran^{ca} *castillāxochitl micqui ynamic miquel yohualcohuatl pohui ocotepec*	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Yohualcohuatl of Ocotepec.[117]

This man was married to two women and then they both died on the same day. The chances of there having been more than one man retaining this last name, which was likely an old-style noble title, are little to none and it is even less likely that the scribe would have failed to note that they were different men. We are left with the revelation that we are seeing polygyny at this late date. Again, presumably without batting an eyelash, the scribe recorded evidence of a practice that had been banned by the Catholic Church, but a practice that was so clearly part of the social structure of the noble classes of Nahuas before the conquest as not to be thought of as morally wrong. Both scenarios

[117]JCB, "El Libro," f.49r. It could be that the scribe got the name wrong the first time and wrote it again without crossing the first one out, or wrote it twice by accident.

leave us with a deeper understanding of the complexities of life in early seventeenth-century Huexotzinco.

Relations with the Spanish world were gradually becoming increasingly intertwined. In 1625, there are three instances of women having confessed to a Judge within ten days of one another. As stated above, it was not unusual to find allusions to the sacrament of confession in these records, but a Judge would not have been confused with a priest at this point, if ever. These women, then, were confessing a crime to a civil authority:

ypā jueves yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos maria castilla Xochitl micqui quimo tlapopolhuilili y juez ynamic juā perez pohui tezcocapā	On Thursday the 17th day of the month of April 1625: Maria Castillanxochitl died. She confessed to a judge. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
ypā Viernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos micqui quimotoquilli y[n] totlaçomahuiz tatzin temachitiani fran^{ca} castilla Xochitl ycnocihuatzintl quimo tlapopolhuilili yn xoy^{e}z pohui xalteptetlapan	She died on Friday the 25th day of the month of April 1625. She was buried by he who is our precious and revered father and preacher. The dear widow Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan also confessed to the judge.
ypā domigo yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos micque … maria jallom qui~~pe~~motlapopolhuilli y xoyez ynamic juā garçia pohui s. ta cruz anteco – quimotoquilli ytotatzin temachitiani	Died on Sunday the 27th day of the month of April 1625: Maria Salome. She confessed to the judge. Her spouse was Juan García of Santa Cruz Atenco. – She was buried by the one who is our priest and preacher. [118]

So here are three women who have been indicted in the legal system and have confessed and have been executed. We do not know for what crime they have been condemned, but the priest apparently was sympathetic, as he consented to bury them. If the Catholic Church judged them guilty, too, they would not have been granted a churchyard burial,

[118] JCB, "El Libro," f.27r.

and certainly would not have had a priest present. Additionally, the use of the term *ycnocihuatzintli* is the reverential form of the word "widow," using the *-tzin* ending. This then means it might be translated as "dear, revered, or honored woman or widow," indicating that the women have not lost their community's respect, even though a judge has condemned them. Another clue to the puzzle is that the scribe puts *juez* first and then subsequently uses, *xoyez*, which was a Nahuatl phonetic rendition of the same word, giving us to assume that he, trained to write, was quite distraught. Three women, one a dear widow, dare I say, might conjure up thoughts of witchcraft, especially given the periods of epidemic surrounding this case, but if that were the case, the priest would not have agreed to bury them, as witchcraft was a crime against the Church as well.

So we are left to wonder what might have happened to these women. It is almost inconceivable that their cases were not connected in some way. And herein lies the limit of a source like the Book of the Dead. Without looking outside this record we are left to guess, but with the help of a few sentences from the Spanish Cabildo records and the Nahuatl annals of Puebla we find that this event might have unfolded in connection to a much larger political crisis occurring. It is known that the viceroy don Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio was put in place to control the chaos created by the previous viceroy, Marquis of Gelves, and the Archbishop of Mexico, Juan Pérez de la Serna, when Gelves demanded the banishment of the archbishop.[119] We know the Nahuas were aware of these happenings because they take note of it in their own histories. In the annals of Puebla it is stated in 1624 that, *Nican ypa xihuitl yn oquichihuilique yaoyotl biRey gelbes yhuan*

[119] For a recent analysis, see Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 63–65, 79–80.

quitlatiliq̄ palasio (–) Sanno ypa xihuitl huala BiRey D. Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio marques de seRalbo, "Here in this year they made war on viceroy Gelves and burned his palace. (–) In this same year came viceroy don Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio, marqués de Cerralvo." [120] With the viceroy and the archbishop at odds with one another, causing riots, it could be that these women were taken up in this conflict somehow. There is more evidence for this possibility in Puebla's Actas de Cabildo in March of 1625, when it is recorded that an order was given by the viceroy, don Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio, to Captain Francisco Sánchez Flóres to levy a company of infantry from the cities of Puebla, Cholula, Atlixco, and Huexotzinco,[121] making it clear that this conflict was hitting close to home for the Nahuas in the region in a very unpleasant way. Additionally, we find that on April 18th, the day after the first woman is said to have been killed, 529 pesos were paid to a *procurador,* or attorney for services rendered at a tribunal held on April 15, 1625.[122] The timing could not be closer. Could this mean then that we are seeing three women, who sided openly with the Archbishop and the Catholic Church over the Viceroy and paid for that with their lives? It is likely so. It is clear that the people living in this area were deeply aware of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State from an early time, as is evidenced by the Letter to the King. The indigenous annals tell us the locals were aware of this conflict, and most specifically, soldiers of the viceroy had been levying troops in Huexotzinco.

We have also seen that the communities around Huexotzinco were living seamlessly between worlds, practicing Catholic death rites, and yet still recording those

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[120] Townsend, *Here in this year*, 91, Fn4. "'This phrase could be translated 'a riot broke out against the viceroy' The viceroy and the archbishop were virtually at war with each other."
[121] AAP, "Actas de Cabildo," vol. 16, doc. 257, f.247.
[122] Ibid, doc. 263, f.254v.

deaths in a book in their own way. The truth of the matter may be lost to us for the moment, but what is not lost is the fact that these three women lived, and they were well respected by their communities and that they died, after confessing to a Spanish Judge, but were still given the rites of a Catholic burial by sympathetic priests. This shows us that they could be convicted in a Spanish court without losing the respect of the Nahua community and that they were honored in death, both by their community and probably by their beloved Church, as well. The entanglements of the Spanish State, the Catholic Church, and the Nahua Communities are not new, but these details shed light on intricacies that can help us understand how the worlds were coming together, sometimes crashing together, and how these interactions were beginning to change the perspectives of the indigenous people.

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What we can learn about death from the Book of the Dead is not only what was important to the Nahuas of Huexotzinco in death, but what was important in life. The things that they decided to include in their records – names, family relations, towns and communities, the act of contrition and the gatherings that took place on behalf of the dead – those were the elements that were crucial to the people living in these communities. The lives we see in this Book are those of average, hardworking, loving people, those who were not writing grand songs about the afterlife, or the long texts in the annals. Here we have memories preserved over the span of years, but just enough for each individual to be given their due and to be remembered by their community. It is in these records that the lives lived in these small towns come to life. In an almost cinematic twist that is truly Nahua in nature, the Book of the Dead becomes a book of life, of lives lived, and a

window into the experiences of those living as the book was written. After all, what was important was not the death of a person but the preservation of the memory of the life they had lived.

Chapter 6

Indoctrination and the Good Death in Nahuatl-language Testaments and Theatrical Plays

FIRST SOUL: Oh! You our friends who still live on earth, remember us. Do not forget us before our lord God. You our relatives who still live on earth, for God's sake say an Our Father or Hail Mary on our behalf.[123]
– Souls and Testamentary Executors

On May 6, 1631, Ana María was dying. She had no property or money to speak of, but still she sent someone to seek out the scribe, Esteban de Soto. He came to her home in Tlamacazcapan and recorded her last words and requests. Like most testators, she spoke of her sick body, but assured the reader that her mind and heart were sound. She placed her soul in the hands of God, and asked for mercy, that He might pardon her sins and take her into Heaven. She spoke out loud and Soto wrote, *yhuā nicnotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlacocotliliz[tli] ynic nechmopopllhuilliz yn ixquich notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicatl yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo,* "And I implore Him to have mercy on me, to pardon all of my sins. He will take me to his home, Heaven [in the sky], when my soul has abandoned my body."[124] She went on to evoke images of old, requesting that her body be shrouded in a cloak for her burial, and then asked that the priest provide her with the sign of the cross as she is set into her grave.

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[123] Barnabé Vázquez, ed. "Souls and Testamentary Executors," in Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Gregory Spira, *Nahuatl Theater: Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*, vol.1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 177.
[124] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f. 41.

Having no money to leave to the church for her burial and for a mass to be said for the sake of her soul, as was customary, she instead begged that the Mayordomo [of the church] leave the required two pesos and four tomines on her behalf. Being from Tlamacazcapan, a town where the Nahua people had an especially close relationship with the friars of the monastery in Huexotzinco (see Chapter 5), it is likely that this request was granted by the Mayordomo. Of her executor, Miguel Pérez, she asked that he carry out her requests swiftly, and she would pray that God be merciful toward him and that the same would be done for him when he died, stating: *auh yntla yhciuhca quimochihuilliz quimotequipanilluiz yc nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote*^{o} *dios yc quimotlaocolliliz yn ihquac momiquilliz ynic noyuhqui ypā mochiuaz,* "If he [Miguel Pérez, her executor] does it quickly, works quickly, I pray God that He will be merciful to him [Miguel] when he will die, and that thus for him it will be done." That is, she prayed that Miguel's executor would also be faithful and quick in the execution of his will.

Like many at the time, Ana María did not know how to sign her name and so she placed a cross at the bottom of the page, proof that she had spoken those words and that she had lived and would now die. Her executor, too, left a cross on the page and at that point, Soto signed his name stating unequivocally that the above words were those of Ana María and that they were spoken in his presence. The parchment was folded in four lengthwise and kept so that it could be referenced after Ana María died. The following day, Ana María is recorded in the Book of the Dead as having died at home.[125] Mateo García of Huexotzinco Tecpan, reported this to the scribe keeping the Book, but it might be that he already knew to expect this news, for she had been sick and had recorded her

[125] JCB, "El Libro," f.48r.

will. It could be that she had requested other rites of a Catholic "good death," such as extreme unction, and because she lived in Tlamacazcapan, it is likely that the friars, near whom she lived, knew that she would soon die.

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When considering how the Nahuas adopted new ideologies about death and the afterlife, it is clear that they did, eventually, become very Catholic in their thinking. We can see the efforts of both the European friars, and their Nahua assistants, to teach their congregations about this new, "true" version of death and the afterlife in the catechistic theatrical plays that they left behind. There are a number of extant Nahua-language plays that were very clearly meant to teach the Nahuas about being a "good" Catholic and about the Catholic concept of a "good death." These morality plays focused on good behavior in life and associated behavior with reward or punishment in the afterlife. For theatrical or ecclesiastical purposes, the plays were often written to model the *bad* behavior of the characters and what would become of them, although *good* characters do exist in them as well. They show how Lucifer and his demons will lead a person into temptation, but how the Angels will try to guard those who are true to God. Ultimately though, the lesson is that it is the character's – the human's – choices that result in their reward or punishment in Heaven or Hell. What was being taught then was how horrible Hell was and how wonderful Heaven was. After all, moral codes were not so amazingly different that the Nahuas needed to be told killing and theft were wrong, but they did need to be informed that the consequences had changed. Now they were eternal.

We can see in the wills and testaments that were left behind by the Nahua population of the seventeenth-century that these ideas were getting through, at least to

some extent. The wills, even though they often follow a standard model, show us that the people gave a great deal of money and property to the church in order that masses would be said in their name. They also claim that they understand the idea of a dual existence, in which their body remains on earth, returns to the earth, while they willingly and hopefully turn their souls over to the hands of God, so that he might judge them and hopefully have mercy on them, resulting in their ascent to Purgatory or Heaven, or their damnation to Hell. Yet, the testaments also show us that, at the time of death, Nahuas were still concerned about their legacy, their property, and who would take care of their families. They give most of their land and belongings to their children or relatives and ask that it be used for the care of their living family. The wills reflect the importance of praying for the souls of the dead and caring for the bodies in the requests for masses and the instructions for where and how to bury the body. As Catholic as these ideas may seem, they have preconquest antecedents that we have seen in the songs, prayers, and annals. Masses, prayers, and giving money to the church obviously indicates some commitment to the Catholic faith but could also have been in an attempt to be remembered. These ideas, after all, are not mutually exclusive.

Even given the similarities in both ideologies, there were important differences that were being communicated by the Church in sermons, plays, and in the model testaments. When we look at the Nahuatl-language morality plays, we can see that their anxieties about being forgotten were still very present and that now, damnation is associated with those on earth forgetting about a person and not praying or buying masses for them. This chapter will begin with an examination of sources that can reveal the early

Nahua transition to Catholic thought, namely the testaments and theatrical plays.[126] I will discuss how the Nahuas were learning these ideas, using plays from early in the colonial period, supposed to be written before 1600.[127] The three plays I will focus on are: *How to Live on Earth,* which explains the fiery consequences of living a sinful life but evokes the language of the songs and prayers regularly; *Souls and Testamentary Executors,* which relates how the Nahuas feared executors were stealing the money meant to go toward masses after death, and also emphasizes the importance of remembering the dead, as the songs, prayers, and annals, do; and *The Great Theater of the World*, which was translated from a Spanish original by don Bartolomé de Alva Ixtilixochitl, a mestizo priest, under the guidance of Father Horacio Carochi, the Italian Jesuit and linguist whose works are still used today to aid scholars learning Nahuatl. This allegory instructs Catholics on proper behavior by personifying different attributes – a pauper, a ruler, a beauty,

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[126] Another rich source base that could be used to extend this work is that of the sermons that were written in Nahuatl. Work done on these sources include Benjamin Lemming's dissertation, "Poetics of Paradise/Poetics of Terror: Heaven and Hell in Early Colonial Nahuatl Religious Text" (University at Albany, n.d.). There is also a current digital project that aims to make these sermons available to a larger audience on the UNAM platform entitled *sermones en Mexicano*. https://sermonesenmexicano.unam.mx/

[127] Specifically, I will look at "Souls and Testamentary Executors," and "How to Live on Earth," in Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Gregory Spira, *Nahuatl Theater: Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*, Vol.1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 164–189, 210–241, and Bartolomé de Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," in *Nahuatl Theater: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation*, ed. Barry D. Sell et al., vol. 3 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 57–149. Between 2004 and 2008 Louise Burkhart, the author of *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in sixteenth century Mexico* a study of the changing moral and religious understandings of the Nahuas as they were influenced by Christianity, published four collections of theatrical plays. These editorial introductions are by far the most important works done on the plays thus far. The first volume entitled *Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico* includes works written by Nahuas intended to represent a good death and how one's life impacts their afterlife. These plays were written with varying degrees of Spanish oversight but clearly show an amalgamation of Nahua and Spanish ideas about illness and death. The third volume contains "The Great Theater of the World," which is a translation done by don Bartolomé de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a mestizo priest who lived in both worlds. His translations show that he was more interested in making the plays understandable to his Nahua audience than making a strictly verbatim translation for the purposes of the Spanish. The plays that were written and translated offer an interesting insight into the topics that the Nahua people found important and interesting. The majority of the plays that we know of were related in some way or another to death and the afterlife, affirming the ubiquity of death in the colonial Nahua world.

prudence, a rich man, and a child – and then as they act out their lives the audience sees what happens to them in the afterlife. The ideas reflected are those of the Catholic faith but are likewise laced with the language of the songs and prayers. Next, I will examine what the wills can tell us about how the Nahuas were executing these new ideas at the time of death.[128] Lastly, I will look at the anxieties surrounding death and the remembrance of the dead that still existed in the communities of Nahuas whose world and views had changed irrevocably – and yet in some ways had changed little.

1. The Production of the Sources that Reveal the Nahua Understandings of Catholic Death Rites: Testaments and Theatrical Plays

The theatrical plays and testaments produced in the seventeenth-century were written somewhat independently by educated Nahuas who had knowledge of both worlds and traditions and show that the Nahuas writing them were wrestling with the ideas of Christianity. I will show how the Nahuas tried to reconcile Nahua and Christian ideas and morals. Using these sources, which were based on European forms of expression, I show how the Nahua people balanced the two cosmologies and shifted from one to another as they became more entrenched in a Spanish world order. These documents existed in both the Spanish and Nahua worlds. These were Spanish formats that were used by the Nahuas for their own purposes but also showed up in Spanish courts and Catholic Churches and at community festivals, making them a representation of the blending of the two understandings.

[128] I will focus on a collection of wills from Huexotzinco, *Conjunto de testamentos en lengua náhuatl*, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tercera serie, papeles sueltos, registro número 9 caja 7, legajo 28.

In grappling with this tricky issue of how ideas about death and the afterlife were exchanged and adopted, we must tread carefully between Catholic ideas that also have preconquest antecedents, and Catholic ideas of what preconquest "heathenism" was, but which might not actually have been present in preconquest texts. It is clear that these educated Nahua men writing the plays were writing with their parishioners and communities in mind and that they could see the performances in their minds' eyes and wanted them to be a success on their own people's terms. But on the other hand, they were also usually writing at the behest of a European friar. Examples of this syncretism can be found throughout the plays. One instance occurs when describing the demons of Hell in the morality play entitled *How to Live on Earth,* assumed to have been written with very little influence from Catholic friars and written circa 1600.[129] An Angel of Heaven embodied on stage as an actor states: *Ca yCa yn itlatoCahuelitzin y ÇenmiCac moetztiCa yn Jesu x̄o ca timiquaniz y timictla miztli y titequani yn ayc tipachihui yn ayc tixhui ma xiCuitlaxitini,* "By the royal power of eternal Jesus Christ you [demon] will go away, you puma of Mictlan, you fierce beast who is never full, never sated. May your belly burst!"[130] The mixing of Catholic and Nahua ideas here is found in the invocation of Jesus Christ against the demon, the demon who is described in the same way that the prayers of old described their gods. In the prayer for an end of pestilence, we have seen this description of the lord of Mictlan, *ca ontocoz, ca itech onaxioaz, in motechiuhcauh: in mictlan tecutli, in cueçal, in tzontemoc: in acan veli quichiuhtoc, in oallamatatcatoc,*

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[129] Barry Sell, "Nahuatl Plays in Context," in Sell, Burkhart, and Spira, eds., *Nahuatl Theater: Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*, 9–10, 15. In fact, Sell states that he believes that because these texts were passed through the hands of the Spaniards who have preserved them for us, the actual date of composition is likely earlier than 1600.

[130] "How to Live on Earth," 218–219.

in techoalamictoc, in techalteuciuhtoc, in techoalneneciuhtoc, "For there will be the following after, the approaching to your progenitor Mictlan tecutli, Cuezalli, Tzontemoc, who remains unsatiated, who remains coveting. He remains thirsting there for us, hungering there for us, panting there for us."[131] The unsatiated god, who hungers for the bodies of the dead is demonized here as the opposite of Jesus Christ, showing how the two worlds are colliding and combining with one another. But whereas in the original philosophies, there was no sense of good and evil seeing as this was simply how all gods operated, needing the blood and lives of mortals to survive, now, in a Catholic context the old gods are being set apart from the new, in a good-versus-evil paradigm.

The theatrical plays held a prominent place in post-conquest life. The plays used a human tone and the idiomatic, elevated language of the Nahua nobility while inserting the moral intentions of the Spanish. Although the Spanish friars were often in control of the religious content and the plots, the Nahua aides were in charge of the interpretation and these works were very rarely read by the friars after they were translated into Nahuatl, as evidenced by doctrinal irregularities and "incorrect" Nahuatl spellings of Spanish words. The act of performing had a preconquest precedent so much so that it was described by the Spanish in Tenochtitlan in the sixteenth-century. Like other sources discussed, the plays reached their height in stage 2 and were written down or copied in stage 3 (see Introduction). The friars continued to have an interest in saving the plays and therefore the performances became part of yearly festivals. It is likely though that at least

[131] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 4.

early on the Nahua parishioners were less interested in the religious message of the plays and more compelled by the custom of performing them yearly.[132]

The plays that were either written or translated by Nahua men, usually aides to a priest but sometimes by Nahua men who had become priests themselves, such as don Bartolomé de Alva Ixtilixochitl, are some of the most expressive sources we have from the early colonial period.[133] These plays have clear Christian messages, and yet they were written in an unmistakably Nahua style. They were used by the Catholic friars in order to instruct the Nahua people in proper Catholic doctrine, and yet there are instances when that doctrine could be questioned. As useful as theater was in delivering a message to a large audience, the audience needed to be familiar enough with the context to be able to relate to and accept that message. This is where the Nahua aides found the liberty to put their own perspectives into these plays. This is exemplified in the use of metaphor, including the pervasive ideas of flowers withering and precious jade and turquoise shattering, as well as the dead lying scattered, all of which are found in the prayers and songs as well (see Chapter 1).

In evidence of the permeation of Christian ideas, the Nahuas produced testaments profusely. The Spanish friars published models for Nahuas to follow and people clearly used them and adapted them for their own purposes. First and foremost, testaments were a way to legally claim and disperse property at the time of death as well as having the religious purposes of paying for masses, tolling bells, designating burial grounds, and

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[132] Lockhart, *The Nahuas,* 400–410.

[133] Another example of a Nahua man who became an ordained Catholic priest is don Manuel de los Santos y Salazar, a descendent of Tlaxcalan nobility. He also copied and translated Spanish theatrical plays, one of which was the "Colloquy of How the Fortunate Saint Helen Found the Precious and Revered Wooden Cross, the Holy Cross."

repenting in order to go to Heaven. The testament was the most accessible method of authenticating land ownership and sales. This method, of course, was not without its flaws. There was a great deal of name repetition and the exact specifications of land boundaries were not always clear. Yet, it is obvious that at death people were concerned about the wellbeing of their families and attempted to ensure that wellbeing by bequeathing their land to their families. Testaments were the first and by far the most prolific use of a Spanish form of expression adopted by the Nahuas, indicating that there was very likely a preconquest precedent for the practice.[134] This concern for legal property transfer at the time of death indicates a Nahua understanding that what you left behind in the earthly world was of great significance and that your memory and legacy were very sure ways to live on after death.

There is evidence of a connection between the level of pomp that a person had at their funeral and their economic wellbeing. This, in and of itself, is not surprising but there is also evidence that the cash poor would sell property in order to buy pomp for their funerals.[135] This shows that there was either pride or a fear of hell attached to how

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[134] Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 165, 367. For more on the testament genre, see: S.L. Cline, and Miguel Léon-Portilla, eds., *The Testaments of Culhuacan* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1984). This collection includes 83 testaments and more related documents from 1579–1599. A number of these testaments were written by testators who were related to each other. Additionally, the relatively concentrated period of time in which all of these testaments were written makes them especially valuable. They provide a unique opportunity to see the way that people understood death at a relatively early period. This study seconds the idea that the genre of the testament more than likely had a preconquest antecedent. As well as, Catarina Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). She expresses in her introduction the sentiment that in the moment of death or very close to it we are offered a unique perspective on life. This collection includes 98 testaments from 1671–1760. Within this collection there were 13 clusters of testaments that are from families over time. These clusters of testaments provide an interesting look into the perspectives of families. Pizzigoni explains that the testaments are often referred to as *Nococoxcatlatol*, or my sick person's statement. This correlation shows the increased connection between sickness and death as opposed to death being from battle or natural causes. For more on testaments and how they were used and incorporated into the culture in greater Mexico see: Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall, eds., *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998).

[135] Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 213.

many masses were said and how many times the bells were rung after a person's death. Yet, what was written was not necessarily what came to pass after the person was, in fact, dead. The practice of an executor using the money from a testament for their own business ventures and needs was so prevalent that there was a play, *Souls and Testamentary Executors,* written about the topic in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The play was obviously meant to discourage the practice, but it also goes beyond just chastising the executors who forget about the dead, and praises those who remember the dead and has "souls" themselves speak out about how horrible it is to be forgotten, harkening back to the ideas so vividly on display in the songs, prayers, and annals.

2. Teaching the Nahuas How to Die Well: Preconquest Language and Themes Used in Catechistic Plays

The preconquest ideas about death, and the language used to express them, did not disappear but instead remained deeply ingrained in the minds of the Nahua people as is evident by the use of that same language in new mediums, namely the plays. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, the concept of a "good death" was growing. In this context, many of the plays that existed in the Spanish world exemplified how to live well in order to die well, which was the main idea of a good death set forth in *Ars Moriendi* (The Art of Dying), a fifteenth-century Latin text that outlined the proper way to die a good death in order to gain salvation. One historian has stated in his analysis of the death of King Philip II of Spain that, "An underlying assumption of the concept of a 'good death,' of course, is the notion that the actions of the dying person actually have

some salvific effect."[136] Ideally, if a person lived a good Christian life, they would, by design, die a good death, marked by calmness and assuredness that they would be saved. This idea of a good death brought about through a good life was popularized not only by the death of King Phillip II in 1598 but also by the death of Saint Teresa of Avila in 1582. Death was a singular, universal moment; the moment when salvation was decided and the soul began its journey into the spiritual realm that belonged to God and was guarded by the Church.[137] The importance of this moment in Spain was carried over to Mexico and because of its importance it was imperative that the Nahua Catholics be educated in living and dying well.

The importance of the moment of death and the fact that so many people were dying so quickly produced a sense of urgency among the Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit societies to educate the native population and to baptize the dying in an effort to save as many souls as possible. This was not necessarily an unselfish act, as saving souls would in turn aid the friars' own journeys to salvation, but it is hard to believe that all of these men cared only for themselves. Due to the fact that many Nahuas were not accustomed to receiving their history and religion in the traditional mass and sermon fashion of the Spanish, but instead in dramatic oral presentations, the friars began to believe that theatrical performance would be a better way to reach the masses. As early as the 1530's Spanish friars began to implement this idea, and the Nahuas took to this form of religious representation, due to the fact that it was similar to their traditional religious

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[136] Carlos M.N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 317.
[137] Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 5.

practices, which were based more on public rituals and dialogue and less on private prayer and study, as we have seen in the songs, prayers, and annals.

The play *How to Live on Earth*, written by a well-educated Nahua man, whose handwriting suggests he was trained by Franciscans and was writing in the late 1500s or early 1600s, is a morality play in which different characters again are judged based on their actions on earth.[138] The play begins with a prologue that one might mistake for a verse from one of the prayers or songs:

Ca niCan aquihualmotepotztoquilia cenCa Chipāhuac cēCa tlanextia y nohuia Cenmanahuac yn itlāçonmahuizteoxayaCatzin ytech quiçan y[?]tech meiya y teoyotiCa ne Çentlalinliztli teoyotiCa netlaçontlaliztli yn iuhquin techmonahuatilia y tonāntzin Sancta yCleçia y niCa quimotepehuillia yn iuhqui tlçochalchihuitl CozCatl y costic yn istac teocuitla.tl yn çenCan penpetlaCa yn inpenpenyocyo yuhqui tlçoatl: ye chipinniz auh yn tehuantin Ca çan ticnequixtia ticnepollohuan yuhgui sochitl yntla oCuitlahuix tixpā oquiztiquiçan Ayocmo totech moneq̄	O beloved honored people, here you attend to the very pure one whose precious and honored sacred countenance greatly illuminates things everywhere in the world. From it comes out, from it flows, the meeting together in a sacred way, the loving of one another in a sacred way, as our mother holy church commands us. Here she scatters them [lives? Children?(from the sacred meeting?)] as if they were precious jades, jewels, gold and silver, their pendants shimmering greatly like precious water about to drip. But we, we just waste them and squander them, as if they were flowers that have withered, that have fled from before us, that are no longer necessary for us.[139]

The author illustrates a world no different from that the Nahuas have always known. But rather the only *new* feature is that of the Church itself, and perhaps the inclusion of gold and silver on pendants, as precious, even this though is not so far from the turquoise jewels and jewelry of the songs. The lyrical beauty of the passage is only enhanced by the

[138] Sell, "Nahuatl Plays in Context," 9–10.
[139] "How to Live on Earth," 210–211.

Nahua metaphors that the author uses – the scattered jade and jewels, the flowers that have withered. But he is clear that, as in the prayers and songs, this world is wasted and squandered by the people, that it will surely end.

When the "good" Catholic characters speak about the afterlife, Hell or Purgatory, in this work, they speak in terms of negative questions and of a place from which there is no return. Lorenzo, the model character of this play is speaking with his wife about living well on earth and following God's sacred way of life, when he mentions those who have died before them. He says, *Auh yn ax*^{ca} *ma Oc tictotlatlauhtillitin yn itlaçoñatzin dios pampa yn otechmnoCahuiltehuaque y tonātzin totatzin y capā quimotlalilia y dios Cuix Otiquimonitaque Cuix yuhqui telpilloa Caten tiquimonitatihui tiquitlapalotihui tiquimotlamaCatihui Ca nelli anyocmo tiquimitazque tiquinotzazque,* "And now let us pray still to God's beloved mother on behalf of those who have left us behind, our mother, our father. Where God places them, have we visited them? [no]. Is it as if they are in prison, [where] we are going to visit them, we are going to greet them, we are going to give them things? [No!]. It is true that we will see them and call to them no longer."[140] The similarity of this speech to the ycnocuicatl which says, "Will I be among them ever again, my mother and my father? [No!] Will there be exchange of songs, of words? [No!] I seek them. In the company of no one, they left us orphaned,"[141] cannot be denied. The fact that he is praying for those who have died is a Catholic notion, surely, but the nature of the description is very Nahua. Most likely this allusion to them being beyond reach even as Catholicism allows for a reunification in Heaven, is because they

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[140] "How to Live on Earth," 212–213.
[141] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.14r.1.

died before the Catholic faith entered Mexico with the Spanish. Either way, these words would have sounded familiar, if not at all comforting, to the Nahua audience.

In this text, even those set to go to heaven, Lorenzo and his wife, a couple who have truly served God through their actions, worry about what is to come. They do not worry though that they will not get into Heaven, but instead, their concerns reflect those of the preconquest ideology, namely that they will not be cared for and remembered after their deaths. Lorenzo and his wife are speaking just when he is about to die: *Çihuatl v notlaçonamictzin huel niquita y moCoColitzin ma ti huel timotlanahuitia – [23v] // Loreso v Macamo nimitztequipacho y nehuatl ytla ninomiquiliz on achi huel titetequipacho Ca tēCal*[te]*pan timomiquilitiuh ayac mitzmoCuitlahuiz ayac mitzyntaz auh y nehuatl Ca nicnomaçenhuia y motetlaçontlalintzin amo ximotequipachontzinno aço quimonequiltitzinnoz y dios anchitzin niehuiz,* "Woman [Lorenzo's wife]: O my beloved spouse, I can see your sickness. You are gravely ill. [23v] // Lorenzo: Let it not be I that cause you worry if I die. Better you worry that you are going to die in the street, that no one will take care of you, that no one will see you. But as for me, I benefit from your love. Do not worry. Perhaps God will want me to rest a little."[142] Lorenzo is not concerned about the love of God, but instead that of his wife, who promises to care for his body and remember him. She on the other hand may have no one, and as in the prayers and annals is to be pitied as she might be left without burial and forgotten in death. His concerns are not those of Heaven and Hell in his moment of death but of being remembered and cared for, as was so important in the songs and prayers.

[142] "How to Live on Earth," 232–233.

Death, personified by an actor in this drama, comes for Lorenzo and his wife, but as he does he explains what death will mean. He is not a character to be feared but is there to bring comfort to those who have lived according to God's will. He states:

huel onihualiçiuhta ypampa yçiuhCa namechtlatlaliz yeyCa huel oñquimotlaçotlayeColtilique onhuāquimohuelamachtilique yn amoteyoCoxCatzin y dios ypanpa amo atlayhiyohuizque niCa tlalticpāc huel yçiuhCa namechponponloCo namechtlatlantico quemach huel amehuati yn onamechchocti yn̄ oamechtlaOColti yn omitl yn opa tepeuhtoc n opa chayauhtoc yn̄ ayocmo tlatohuā n ayocmo Molinia huetzCa motlalohua ayocmo tepampanahuitiquiça ayoctle yh in ichiChuazliz ayoctle y yn intepozmaquauh yn imac ayoctle y çenCa mahuiztic yn itlaque OCatCan auh yn axCa onCa huetztoc onCa ponpoztectoc xaxamatoc auh yn oc yoltiCate ypan chocholohua ynpa moquequetza ayocmo qualani ayocmo [24r] tlatohua ayocmo molinniya ayocmo tlachiya auh yn iquac tlalticpac oneCan ayac huel yxpa onquiçaya ayac huel onquitlatolpanāhuiya yuhqui teotl ypa [a]momatia tla xinechhuallita Ca nehuatl y nicnechiCohua n amochiCahualiz na[me]ch̄xtilia xiquitaCa yn̄ amonemiliz ma āmechchocti amechtlaonColti Ca moztla huiptla amopa niquiztihuetzinquiuh Ca ye niyauh –	I have really come in a hurry so that I will quickly get you set up [prepared to die], because you have very lovingly served and well pleased your creator, God. Therefore you will not suffer here on earth. *Very quickly I have come to obliterate you, I have come to hide you. How fortunate are you whom the bones that lie scattered there, that lie dispersed there made weep, made sad.* No longer do they speak, no longer do they move, laugh, run. No longer do they go passing people by. No longer do they have any strength, no longer do they have swords in their hands, no longer is what was their clothing very splendid. And now they lie fallen there, they lie broken up and shattered there. And those who are still alive jump around on them and stand on them. They no longer get angry, no longer [24r] speak, no longer move, no longer look. *But when they lived on earth no one could pass before them, no one could surpass them in speech. They considered themselves to be like gods.* Do look at me, for I am gathering up your health and taking it away from you. Look at your lives. Let them make you weep and make you sad for tomorrow or the next day I will suddenly come to find you. I am going now.[143]

Beginning with the promise that those who have served god will not suffer would have been an enticing prospect in a world filled with suffering. And yet the terminology associated with death in the older documents – that of being obliterated, hidden, and of

[143] "How to Live on Earth," 232–233. Italics mine.

being scattered and shattered – are still here, making death recognizable. There is no illusion that anyone will return from death. There is, though, an importance placed on how they lived on earth. It is possible that this was in regards to how they were true to the Catholic faith, but the fact that death says, "They considered themselves to be like gods," using the old word, *teotl*, makes it more likely that this is alluding to the fact that they were so noble on earth, that "no one could surpass them in speech," a highly prized art form of the preconquest world and that because of this that they will be remembered in death.

The concerns of Lorenzo and his wife continue as they are struck with arrows by Death. Lorenzo is sure that God will care for him but says, *çihuapile nonāmictzinne huel quimati y noyollo Camo ninehuaz ytla oninomiq̄li çan ixquich nictlatlani yxpatzinCo y dios huel hueCatla tlali ytzintla tinechmaquiliz,* "O noblewoman, O my spouse, my heart knows well that I will not get up. When I have died, all I ask for before God is that you will bury me deeply under the ground."[144] His only request is that his body be cared for and buried. This sentiment mimics the concerns expressed in the preconquest texts. To this his wife replies, *maCamo ximotequipachotzinno Can mochihuaz y motlañahuatiltzin ytlaCamo hualtotoCaz yn itetlaçotlalitzin dios Ca huel quimati noyollo Ca ye onnōnipeuh Ca huel acmo huelti yn nōtlalo y noçoquiyo çannixquich nechtequipachohua aqui techitaz aqui techaCoCuiz [24v] Otoçetzotlahuelliltic y titlatlacohuaniem,* "Do not worry. Your command will be carried out, if I do not die right away myself. My heart knows well that I have already begun [to die]. My earth, my clay [my earthly body] is no longer strong. All that worries me is, who will see us, who will lift us up? [24v] Oh, we

[144] "How to Live on Earth," 234–235.

are four hundred times unfortunate, we sinners!"[145] Her concern about being a sinner is not foregrounded, nor should it be in the sense that they had been struck down as they left church, and so presumably it was understood that they had repented and would be going to Heaven as later scenes assure us. What is upmost on their minds is who will care for their bodies.

The language and philosophies about death and the afterlife are present in a number of extant theatrical plays. We also see these ideas represented in *Souls and Testamentary Executors*, which will be the focus of the last section of this chapter. As for its representation of death and Hell, the play uses the images and ideas that would have been familiar to a Nahua audience. In the play a widow has lost her husband and so the Priest combines Catholic and Nahuatl ideas in his speech to the woman: *Notlaçopiltzinen ma çan ypaltzinco in Dios, ma moChipa, Çemicac XiquilnamiquiCa in oamechyaCanque = miquiztica ma amechtlaocoltican in achtopa omomiquilique, … ca quihualtemachitoque yn amohuen in ican inMiSsa = anoco tlatlatlauhtiliztica anoço tlahuenchihualiztica … macamo ic tiquinxicahuaz in ixquichtin Animas … Auh yn iquac tlamiz in tp̄c. monemiliz ca no mopan motlatoltizque ynic mitzmocneliliz in Dios, ynic ticmaçehuaz Yn ilhuicac papaquiliztli Gloria,* "O my beloved child, let it just be through the grace of God that you always and forever remember those who preceded you in death… They rely on your offerings, through the masses performed for them, or prayers, or the making of offerings… Do not therefore abandon all the souls [in Purgatory]… When your earthly life comes to an end they will speak on your behalf so that God will

[145] Ibid.

favor you, so that you will enjoy heavenly bliss, glory."[146] Offerings and masses are spoken of in the same breath, and although the offerings were not meant to be burnt in the way of preconquest funerary bundles, the idea would have been familiar to the audience. The importance of remembering the dead and the grace of God are conflated, but the idea remains that the dead need to be remembered, here so that they will speak on your behalf when you die, but in general so that they will live on in the afterlife and make it to Heaven.

As for Hell, this play again combines ideas from both worlds, using the representation of a place with no chimney that would have been so familiar to the Nahuas of this time from the songs and prayers. Christ is the character who speaks of the afterlife this time, saying:

Auh çannimac in Çemicac Zentetlayohuiltianime oanquicauhq.^{e} ynic çemicac quitonehuacaplozque anchichinatzazque in ompa = Çentlani mictlan apochquia[51r]huayocan oanmomomayauhque = Auh canpa oanquicauhque in miccatlatquitl inic amotech omocauhq^{e} in ompa tlayohuia = Purgatorio = quenin amo anquinpalehuique ma xinechnanquilican = Auh in axcan, ma xiquinhuicacan in oanquītequipanoque ma amechtlaxtlahuilmacacan in amehuantin in mictlan anchaneque ma xiquinhuicacan Canel Oamechtlayecoltique	But you have left them in the hands of the eternal torturers of everyone so that they will always torment them. You will suffer pain over there in the depths of hell, [51r] you flung yourselves down into the place without a chimney. And where did you leave the property of the dead that they who suffer over there in Purgatory entrusted to you? How did you not help them? Answer me! And now, take those on whom you have worked. Let them make restitution to you residents of hell. Take them for they served you [well].[147]

The fault is placed on the sinners, they are the ones who have damned themselves. They have flung themselves down to the smoke-filled depths of Hell, to suffer. These sinners

[146] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 174–175.
[147] Ibid, 186–187.

are those who have stolen the property of the dead, and so here the lesson is twofold. First that those entrusted with the words of the dead in the form of their wills and testaments should do as they said. This sentiment was something the Nahuas would have understood and applauded, fearing always what would become of their land and their families' wellbeing after they had died. Second, though, was that they should understand that if they were sinners they would descend into a place with no chimney, where they would suffer eternally. This idea of a suffocating, smoke-filled room had been associated with death in preconquest times, but was not eternal. Now they were to understand that there was no escape. Moreover, they would not live and rejoice forever with this new savior Jesus Christ.

3. Death, in Translation: Teaching the Nahuas How to Attain Heaven and How to Avoid Hell

In the case of Heaven and Hell, the friars worked tirelessly to explain these conceptualizations of the afterlife to the Nahuas. We can see in the annals the attempts of the Nahuas to understand what the friars were saying very early in the process of proselytization. In the annals of Tlaxcala written by don Juan Benaventura Zapata y Mendoza between 1620–1690, wherein he tells the tale of the first friars and how they attempted to explain to the Nahuas the Christian concepts of Heaven and Hell. When the first friars arrived they baptized the tlatoque, but though the Nahua nobles were baptized, that did not mean that they understood the religion very well. Zapata writes of the early encounters that: *[Auh yn fray Juan Catca huel monetlamachitiaya] cenca quinequiya temachtiz ayamo huel nahuatlatohuaya yn Ocan tiaquizco catca yn tlacpac motocayotiay*

Tozcoc oca quiquetzque cros. Oca moquetzaya teolulohuaya ça mapiluhuaya yn ilhuicac Dios quitenehuaya yhuan Santa María nochipa huel neli ychpotzintl yhuan mictlan mapiluhuaya quitohuaya quitenehuaya cohuatl tamaçoli tlalticpac moquetzaya temachtiya, "[The late fray Juan] really wanted to teach people, but he still did not speak Nahuatl. There where the market was, above where it was called Tozcoc, there he erected a cross. There he stood. He brought people together, and he just pointed his finger at the sky and said 'God' and 'Santa Maria, always a true virgin.' And he pointed to Mictlan and said 'snakes ... toads ...' standing up there, he taught."[148] But they did not understand. The account is comical in that the friars were very committed to making it clear to the Nahuas that Mictlan was *bad*, a land of snakes and toads, and that Ilhuicac was *good*, where God and the Virgin Mary were. But as we have seen in the preconquest songs and prayers that teach us about Nahua beliefs regarding the afterlife, through the eyes of very early colonial Nahua people, there was little difference between Mictlan and Ilhuicac (see Chapter 2). Both were lands of the dead, albeit with a slightly different flair but certainly in both places there were gods, who wanted to feed on the dead. Likewise, virginity was not to be prized and snakes had an awe-inspiring presence in Nahua religion, Quetzalcoatl being a feathered serpent, and therefore the message was anything but clear and not at all what the friars were intending.

By the mid-1500s the friars were becoming more experienced and were delivering full sermons in Nahuatl to their parishioners. There was a burst of activity on the part of the friars to write sermons in Nahuatl in the late 1500s and early 1600s, right as the

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[148] Luis Reyes García and Andrea Martínez Baracs eds., *Historia cronológica de la Noble Ciudad de Tlaxcala* (Tlaxcala: CIESAS, 1995), 96–99.

epidemics were becoming increasingly frequent and the population was nearing its nadir. There sermons focused strongly on the paradise of Ilhuicac and avoided the mention of Mictlan, unlike the plays that came later.[149] They were also beginning to see how using the concepts familiar to the Nahuas could aid them in learning their new religion. In 1563, Sahagún delivered a sermon urging parents to admonish their children, to make sure that they lived by the word of God. His explanation of why this was important would have rung familiar to the Nahuas listening. He said, *amo tineoahuaz nican tlalticpac,* "You will not remain here on earth for long."[150] The idea that the Earth is no one's home is not far from this phrase and again we can see how the two worlds were at once working for and against one another as dual meaning abounded. The brevity of their time on earth was well known by the Nahuas, but what one did in life affecting what came after was a new idea. Death was no longer the end, but apparently a new beginning, one that would be dictated by a person's actions on earth.

Death already had deep-rooted cultural practices and perceptions that needed to be addressed and adjusted. First of all, it is safe to say that the idea of a good death was not the same in preconquest Nahua society as it was in Spain. In preconquest Nahua society the most honorable death there was, was being killed in battle or sacrificed (see Chapters 1 and 2). But even in this context the warriors or sacrificed were not granted any real paradise beyond a promise to be remembered in the songs and stories told by

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[149] See: Juan de la Anunciación, fray, *Sermonario en Lengua Mexicana* (Mexico: por Antonio Ricardo, 1577); Matin de León, *Camino del cielo en lengva Mexicana* (Mexico: En la Emprenta de Diego Lopez daualos, 1611); Juan de Mijangos, *Primera parte del sermonario, dominical, y sanctoral, en lengua Mexicana* (Mexico: En la Imprenta del licenciado Iuan de Alcaçar, 1624).
[150] Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, "A Sequence of Sermons for Sundays and Saints' Days in Nahuatl," 1563, The Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, 29r.

their families, and therefore they would live on after they had died. The Christian standard of Heaven and Hell needed to be described and explained to the Nahuas.

Don Bartolomé de Alva, a mestizo priest who translated a number of Spanish Golden Age theatrical plays, including *The Great Theater of the World,* which will be discussed in detail in a moment, also produced a Confession Manual to aid both priests and their parishioners to understand one another. It would seem that Alva's goal was to use his education and linguistic ability to help the Nahuas understand Catholic ideas and, in turn, to save their souls. He described Hell to Nahuas in his 1634 *Confesionario Mayor, Y Menor en Lengva Mexicana,* by saying that: *Auh inic yexcan ca ye ompa in Infierno in amocolhuan çemicac, oquitocayotique Mictlan, Atlecalocan, Apochquiahuayocan. In iuhqui quinmachti tlacatecolotl quitocayotizque auh ca ye oncan in in çentepeuhticate zentzauh [c]ticate in oquintlapololtitinenca in huehuetque amocolhuan ihuan in oc noma amehuantin axcan amechtlapololtia…Auh ca oncan ye içenmayan, oquinmoçemixnahuatili in Dios ca aocmo oc cepa quiçazque ca zemicac ompa tletica quintoloinizque, quintlahiyohuiltizque in tlatla catecolo in oquin, tlacamatque in oquintlayecoltique in nican tlalticpac.,* "The third place is there in *hell*, what your grandfathers always called 'Mictlan' [land of the dead] and 'Atlecalocan, Apochquiahuayocan' [place without a chimney, place without a smoke vent], as the devil taught them to call it. There are scattered and locked up, all the ancients your grandfathers whom the [devil] confused, and he still confuses you today… And there once and for all God bids farewell forever to those who will never again emerge, for the devils will forever afflict them there with fire, making suffer those who obeyed and

served them here on earth."[151] Heaven was described in the same text as, *Auh in ilhuicatl ca ytlatocatecpanchantzinco in Dios, auh ca zemicac ompa papacoa, necuiltonolo netlamachtilo ilhuitihua, átle ompa huel açi in tetolini in tecoco zemicac yolihua,* "Heaven is the royal palace of God, and there all are eternally enjoying themselves, rich and prosperous and enjoying [their just] rewards. No affliction and pain reaches there; all live forever."[152] In fitting contrast, Hell is a place of suffocation, as seen in the prayers and in the annals describing the horrible deaths of those on *Noche Triste,* whereas Heaven is a place of riches where the suffering of the mortal world, which was so terrible at times, finally ends.

In order to teach these concepts to a broader Nahua audience, Alva utilized the medium of theater. In Spain, as in Mexico, Heaven and Hell were making a good showing on stages at the time. The literacy rate was still low and therefore theater was useful medium with which to teach these concepts to a broader public in Europe as well. *The Great Theater of the World*, written by don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, played off of the literary tradition of "all the world's a stage," drawing this metaphor out to its fullest extent by literally making the stage the world and allegorically dramatizing the Catholic doctrine of good works as a path to salvation.[153] The play begins as the role assignments are made on stage and the actors protest the lack of rehearsal. The Director is also a character, as are abstract personas, such as: Law of Grace, Discretion, Beauty, and Pauper. Other characters include: World, King, Rich Man, Plowman, and Child. The

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[151] Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language, 1634*, ed. Barry D. Sell and John Fredrick Schwaller (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 87–89.
[152] Ibid, 89.
[153] Elizabeth R. Wright, "A Dramatic Diaspora: Spanish Theater and Its Mexican Interpretation," in Sell, Burkhart, Wright, and Schwaller, *Nahuatl Theater: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation,* 18.

actors are then to go about their roles on stage as they would in life itself. They describe their devotions and sins in metaphor and are ultimately destined to "exit" the stage through a door painted as a grave leading to the "dressing room" when their "role has ended." At which time the Director calls each actor back to the stage and judges their performance, or their actions on earth.

In Mexico, Alva, who translated the play from a Spanish original, had to contend with the fact that there were no specifically theatrical terms for entrance and exit, nor were their specific terms for director, role, or dressing room, all terms that were imperative to the allegory presented in the play. In order to deal with this, Alva downplayed the theater-specific terms and emphasized the ecclesiastical morals. In doing so he made the allegorical death of exiting the stage and going to dressing room where everyone is equal into an actual death where everyone is judged equally by God. In Calderón's version, Discretion proclaims that, "We all look alike / in the dressing room, / since a simple shroud / grants no distinctions," and the Pauper states that, "Now that *your role has ended*, / in the dressing room of the grave / we're all equal now. / It matters little who you were." [154] Whereas Alva has Prudence, his translation of Discretion, state that, *Yn axcan ayocac huel mopanahuiltocoz, ca çenneçi yn tomio yn tlalan tepeuhtoc,* "Today there is no longer anyone who can be greater than others, for it is obvious that our bones lie scattered in the earth" and translates the Pauper's line as, *Yn oquic otimique ça* [ti]*mochtin tineneuhque ayac tlatoani yn nican yxpantzinco in Dios,* "Since we have died,

[154] Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, "Sacramental Play: The [Great] Theater of the World" in Sell, Burkhart, Wright, and Schwaller, *Nahuatl Theater: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation,* 138. Italics mine.

we are all equal. No one is a ruler here in God's presence."[155] Not only does he emphasis the reality of death, he uses distinctly Nahuatl phrasing, "our bones lie scattered in the earth," to represent death. Additionally, Alva changed the character of "El Autor" or Director[156] into *yehuatzin yn totlaço Temaquixticatzin,* "our precious Savior."[157] These alterations make the message of salvation through good works stronger and emphasize the prevalence of death. By reducing the allegory, Alva makes the encounter on stage into a real encounter with Our Savior doling out the judgments rather than a gathering of actors on a stage being judged by their Director as it was in Spain.

Even though his European friends may not have agreed with Alva's culturally sensitive translations, as they attempted to banish the old ideas in favor of Christian ones, Alva understood the need to make the plays familiar so as not to alienate his Nahua congregation, making it more likely that they would accept the intended message, which was about being a good Christian and dying a good death. As the play moves through its paces, Alva continually uses the verb *tlahtlacoa* and the noun *tlahtlacolli*, to translate the idea of sin. These were terms that broadly meant to spoil, stain, or damage something, but they were well established as the customary terms used to translate the Christian concept of sin.[158] Yet, Calderón and his characters only speak of their sins in metaphor, again indicating that Alva was more interested in his potential Nahua audiences' understanding of the importance of repenting their actual sins at death, than in the Jesuit purpose of language learning, which was noted to be the original purpose of the translation. By

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[155] Bartolomé de Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," in *Nahuatl Theater: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation*, ed. Barry D. Sell et al., vol. 3 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 139.
[156] Calderón, "The [Great] Theater of the World," 56.
[157] Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," 57.
[158] Louise M. Burkhart, "Nahuatl Baroque: How Alva Mexicanized the Spanish Dramas," in Sell, Burkhart, Wright, and Schwaller, *Nahuatl Theater: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation,* 37.

reducing the allegory Alva strengthened the message of the work as a whole for the audience he knew so well. It is true that he knew that an audience might have difficulty understanding an allegory that was rooted in European not Mexican culture but it is also possible that he thought that getting rid of the allegory was the perfect way to strengthen the message of a "good death" because preparing for death was a more immediate concern in Mexico. Most significantly, though, these changes show the way in which Alva was clearly editing the content of the plays to suit the needs of his Nahua parishioners.

As early as the first act, Alva's translation relates the world on the stage to the world that the Nahuas would understand; the one that they knew from the songs. The character, "Earth" describes what will happen on the "stage," i.e. in life: *yc ontlatecpan yn yuh nemoaloz, altepetl momaman yn momahuiçotiuh, micoayan, huiloatimani çan tetlatlatillo yn tlalticpac nican oncalacoa netoliniloyan micoayan,* "Thus was set in order how all will live: various altepetl were spread out, and those who will be honored are all coming to a place of dying. There is just the killing of people on earth. Here people exit into a place of suffering and dying."[159] He offers no illusions that the people on earth will not suffer and die; in fact, he guarantees it. When the Ruler dies he speaks of death and his uncertainty just as a tlatoani might have in a song or prayer, *cuix oc nitlacatini? Ca niman amo, ninomiquiliz, ye nechhualtilana yn campa nitoctoz*, "Can I be born again? Absolutely not. I will die. They are already hauling me to the place where I will be buried."[160] Alva even goes so far as to answer the traditionally rhetorical question in this

[159] Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," 63.
[160] Ibid, 113.

line. Being more than a century removed from the conquest, he is filling in the gap where any uncertainty might lie. No one is born again.

Likewise, he translates the death of Beauty as the songs would have sung about it. In the play, a voice announces her death from offstage: *voz Omotlahueliltic ca çan tixochitl otimochihuaco ye yxquich ye otihuac oticuetlahuiz otitzonquiz,* "Voice: O how wretched you are! You are just a flower that came to grow. It's all over, you are already dried up, you are withered, you have come to an end."[161] In an echo of the ycnocuicatl which laments that, *Auh y nehua niquittoa e can achica çan iuhquin eloxochitl ypan titomatico*[162] *in tlapc can toncuetlahuico,* "And I always say we have come to think that, just like magnolias we just wither here on earth,"[163] Alva evokes the language of withered flowers to communicate death, a death that was known to the Nahuas. It should be said that the Spanish-language text also speaks of flowers, morning glories to be exact, but that does not negate the fact that the metaphor would have been profoundly meaningful to the Nahuas as well.

This parallel continues as Alva translates death in metaphors that were familiar to both cultures. As the Rich Man (the only character doomed to Hell in the play) speaks about his life on earth, he speaks as though he were a singer of an old song. *Tlatq Tle nel mochihuaz ca Xochitl çan cuel yn oncueponico, çan ye ynman yn huel cuetlahuix, tetzahuitl, neyxcuitilli ma nen moztla huiptla yuhqui topan mochiuh; ma tipapaquican ma titocuitlaxcoltlamachtican yn oquic achitzinca tinemi,* "Rich Man: What, in truth, is to be done? A flower bursts into bloom for just a moment, and already it is time for it to wither

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[161] Ibid, 115.
[162] This could also be: We/you know. As in: we know the way/You know the way.
[163] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.13v.

away. It is an omen, an object lesson. Let the same thing not happen to us tomorrow or the next day. Let us enjoy ourselves, let us give pleasure to our innards while we, for a short time, live."[164] This philosophy though was not unique to the Nahuas of the preconquest era. In fact, in the Spanish version of the play, the Rich Man's words are similar, and his attitude is chalked up to "paganhood."[165] Likewise in Alva's translation he has the Earth respond thus: *Tlal. Oc yohuayan tlaca yn quilnamiquia yn.,* "Earth: It is people who are still in darkness [unenlightened by Christianity] who think this,"[166] making it clear that these ideas about taking pleasure in this brief life are believed only by those who do not believe in the grace of God and who do not see that the true paradise is Heaven. This *carpe diem* attitude is opposed to the *contemptus mundi* ideas of the medieval Christian traditions.[167] So for the people in New Spain the comparable *other* was the preconquest philosophies, which were similar to the classics [Greeks and Romans], it turns out and served as a convenient, familiar identify for the character who would be damned to Hell. The difficulty was that this mentality was once indicative of the *right* way to live in the Nahua world. Now, taking pleasure in life was considered wrong, if not evil, and punishable for eternity.

As in the songs, death is unavoidable, but what comes after will need to be explained. So then, at the end of the play when the character, Our Savior, i.e. Jesus Christ

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[164] Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," 121.

[165] Calderón, "The [Great] Theater of the World," 120–122. Rich Man say, "To pick up where we left off / in our conversation; and / to follow in everyone's steps, / I will now speak my mind. / Who is not amazed at seeing / that this life is like a flower / that is born with the dawn / to pass away at nighttime? / If this time is then so brief, / let's take pleasure in our life / for as long as we live, / let us deify our stomachs, / let's eat and drink today / for tomorrow we will die." And then World replies, "That proposition / comes from paganhood, / as Isaiah explained."

[166] Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," 123.

[167] Calderón, "The [Great] Theater of the World," 120, fn50.

is called on to judge all the people on stage, he is also called on to explain the particulars of Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, and Limbo. As he explains that he will bring everyone before him, all of the souls in Heaven and Hell, he says of Heaven, *Yn nican ca yn ilhuicac tlaxcalli notlaçonacayotzin sanctissimo sacramento ca mochtin yn ilhuicac chaneque yxpan mixtlapachtlaça yxpan tlanquanenemi no yhuan yn mictlan chaneque; auh maçihui yn nitecoanotza, can*[168] *yehuan calaquizque yn onechtlayecoltique; auh yn oc cequintin ma niman nechtlalcahuican. Yn ycnotlacatl ma hualauh yhuan yn nematiliztli ma no hualmotlamachtican.,* "Here is the bread of heaven, my precious body, the Most Holy Sacrament. All of those who dwell in heaven cast themselves down before it, go about kneeling before it, as do those who dwell in Mictlan. But even though I am inviting people to a banquet, only those who served me will enter. As for the others, let them depart from me right away. Let Pauper and Prudence come; let them also rejoice."[169] Only the people on earth who served God would be allowed entrance into the "banquet," and therefore to rejoice, and everyone else was forsaken by the savior.

Yet he is not completely out of reach for those in Purgatory. He continues his judgement saying, *Yn qualnexiliztli yhuan yn tlatoani motlamachtiquihue, auh ca nel otlatlacoque ma oc tlaaxiltican ma oc mochipahuatin yn purgatorio ma oc tlayyohuitin,* "Beauty and Ruler will come to rejoice, but since they sinned let them still make up for it, let them still purify themselves in Purgatory, let them yet suffer."[170] The Nahuas watching were meant to discern that now, they were required to "pay" for their sins in an afterlife. Vanity, lust, and being a cruel ruler were forgivable sins so long as the person repented

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[168] Read çan.
[169] Alva, "The Great Theater of the World," 141.
[170] Ibid, 143.

early enough to be saved. Then they would suffer, but only for a while, until they had purified themselves sufficiently to enter Heaven. This would not have seemed so incredibly different from the idea of "the road to Mictlan," in which the dead needed to withstand a series of trials on a journey in order to reach their afterlife. One can see how the concept of Purgatory was readily understood, if not accepted, by the population.

The idea of Limbo, on the other hand, was unfamiliar and had no preconquest antecedent. A short conversation ensues between Our Savior and the unborn child representing any unbaptized child regarding his fate. *Pil Yn nehuatl tle yca yn amo tinechmocnelillia cui ytla onicytlaco // Tote. Tlatlacolpan otitlacat amo otimoquaatequi ~~Piltzin~~ atle yc timotoliniz anotle yc timotlamachtiz [12r] // Piltzin. Yohuayan ninocahua atle nomacehualti*, "Child: Why don't you show favor to me? Did I do something wrong? // Our Savior: You were born in sin and not baptized, ~~Child~~. You will not suffer from anything, nor will you delight in anything. [12r] // Child: I am left behind in darkness. I am unfortunate." The unfortunate young soul, who did nothing wrong, is consigned to an eternity of nothingness. This, in the eyes of the Nahuas, whose concern for memory and remembrance would have sounded like a terribly tragic fate, and in fact, maybe that was the point. This would have certainly encouraged baptism of any child as early as possible, which we know became a standard practice quickly.

Hell was described in a conversation between Our Savior and Rich Man, the only character from this play who is sent there. He was not repentant of his sins of greed and his lack of charity. When he, too late, calls to "his savior," Our Savior responds thusly: *Aocmo xinechtenehua. Ca ynmanel tinotlachihual ca ye onimitzcentelchiuh ca nel amo ticnetilli yn noteotenahuatil // Tlat Onocentzontlahueliltic ma cemicac nitlatla ma*

ninoçentelchiquilo, "Call me that ['your savior'] no longer, for although you are my creation I have already scorned you, since you did not carry out my divine commands. // Rich Man: Four hundred [times] unfortunate am I! Let me burn for eternity, let me be completely despised."[171] The images of burning for eternity again are not so different from the idea of the place with no chimney, and the evocation of the number four hundred, a preconquest standard numeral meaning countless times or many times over, resulting from the multiplication of twenty times twenty, would both have made the description understandable to the Nahua audience. Still, in all of the above examples, the descriptions do not stray very much from the Spanish standards.

Moreover, the ideas about death and dying in these plays were not reserved for simply teaching the traditional representations of Heaven and Hell. Alva, as well as the other writers, was forced to engage with the anxieties that surrounded death, specifically the fear of being forgotten. In *The Great Theater of the World* Alva had a readymade scenario in which to discuss this idea. The Ruler speaks to the Earth about being forgotten in what sounds like a scene from the speech made at the death of a ruler of the installation of a new ruler. The Ruler says, *Aocmo tinechyximati niman otinechonilcauh // Tlaltic Yn oyaque yn omique aocmo monamiqui,* "You no longer recognize me, you forgot me right away. // Earth: Those who have gone [on], who have died, are remembered no more."[172] In the Spanish version of the play, the exchange is almost the same. "King: So the world so quickly forgets who I was? // World: The world forgets what's past."[173] The fact that he was a poor ruler throughout the play would not have been

[171] Ibid, 145, 147.
[172] Ibid, 129.
[173] Ibid, 128.

lost on the Nahuas and even though the World forgetting a bad ruler is present in the Spanish version as well, does not mean that the idea would not have resonated with Nahua audiences whose grandparents and great-grandparents would have sung of the great rulers and warned newly installed rulers against being immoderate with the threat that they would not be honored in death.

4. The Standards of Testaments and Their Implications for Nahua Ideas About Death

The Nahuas had not evaded the fear of being forgotten but had developed new ideologies and tools with which to ensure they would be remembered. They began to accept the Catholic faith and in doing so, used its methods to be remembered. They wrote wills and testaments, which demanded their kin and communities do their bidding once they had died. They requested that masses be said in their name, honoring their souls, as the act of being sung about would have kept them in the hearts and minds of their families in the past. The huge number of wills that were written and which still exist today, tell three stories. The first is of communities that wished to do all they could to keep their land and property in the hands of their children. The second is of a society that was rapidly trying to accept a new system of belief that promised them eternal glory if they were good Catholics. And the third is of a culture that desired to be remembered after death in any way they could, as their towns and families were disappearing at an alarming rate.

In the early and mid-seventeenth-century Christian Nahuas evidently internalized the Spanish perspectives on Heaven and Hell and aimed to avoid Hell and Purgatory. In their wills they express the sentiments of a good death, leaving their souls in the hands of

God and consigning their bodies to the earth where they would remain and return to "clay," all while hoping for compassion, forgiveness, and salvation. The model wills written by fray Alonso de Molina and fray Martín de León[174] gave the Nahuas a base to work from, but they were quick to make adjustments where they saw fit. They did always begin with a standard statement of who they were, where they were from and attesting that even though they may be sick they were sound of mind, such as when Francisco Pérez beings his will: *Yn nicā ytocatzin dios tethatzin yhuā dios tepiltzin yhuā dios espirito sancto nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque[h] ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca fran*^{co} *perez nican nochā ciudad huexo*^{co} *ytech nipohui yn perochia sancta ma*^{a} *assump*^{o} *almoyahuacā nicchiua notestamēto auh ma[h]cihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noceialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui çan pactica*, "Here in the name of god, the father and god, the son, and god, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Francisco Pérez. Here my home (is in) the city of Huexotzinco, I belong to, am attached to the parish of Santa María Asunción Almoyahuahcan. I made my testament even though my body is sick however, my heart, my mind, my memory, my hearing is not, I was only healthy."[175] This was to quell any doubts that could be brought against the bequeathment of property when the sick person was not of sound mind to do so.

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[174] Fray Alonso de Molina, *Confesionario mayor en la lengua Mexicana y castellana (1569),* intro by Roberto Moreno (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), f.61–f.63v, and fray Martín de León, *Camino del cielo en lengua Mexicana* (Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1611), 139r–141r.
[175] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, 45r.

This was followed by a standard statement reiterating the finality of death and then the placement of the soul into the hands of god, and the resignation of the body to the earth, such that Francisco continues thus:

auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlacahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpampa yehua ynic nican nictlallia notestamēto yn ça tlatzāco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitla[coz] yehuatli yc nicpehualtia	And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape [from death], from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.
Huell achto yehuatl yn nanimatzin ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn totecuiyo dios ypā[m]pa ca oquimochiuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli ycah yn itlaçoezçotzin yn itech sancta cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlaococolliliz ynic nechmopopolhuilliz yn ixqui[ch] notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlacahui yn namima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā[m]pa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi yntla onechmopolhui yn totecuiyo dios ça ce tilmatli yc moquimilloz yn nonacayo yhuan nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā yxpātzinco sanc Miguel Apetlac oncā motlapoz yn noseportora yn notecoch yn notlatatc oncā nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui auh yn ipā[m]pa ypallehuiloca namimah nimā centetl missa nopā mochihuaz yntla queman nechmotlatzontequilliz yn toteo dios haço [ahzo] tlaqualizpan hanoço [ahnoço] ye teotlac oc nitlalhuiz[176] yhquac yn tlamiz missa nitocaz auh yn huentzintli mocahuaz teopā hey pesos	First of all, I place my soul in the hands of our lord, God because he made it, for he redeems it, by means of his precious blood on the holy cross. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will wipe away all of my transgressions, that he will take me, to his home within heaven. When my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth because it issued from the for it is earth, for it is clay and I want that if/when [at some point] it is my lord god will that I die [I want] only a blanket with which my body will be wrapped and I want it to be buried there at our church in front of San Miguel at the base, where, there it will be opened, my grave will be dug, it will be opened there the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit [sake] of my soul then one mass will happen [be said] for me. If at some point our lord judges me, perhaps in the early afternoon, or the late afternoon, still I will rise when mass ends, I will be buried. And in the great church, three pesos will be left.[177]

[176] When I die and I am judged, when mass ends I will be buried. [idea of being buried on the day of death]
[177] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, 45r.

In these lines we find Francisco accepting the destruction of his body but embracing the hope that he will live on in Heaven, with God, and that he will be cared for in death. He requests a churchyard burial and a simple shroud, as the model testaments suggest. He is also lucky enough to have money to request that a mass be said in his name.

These lines were almost always followed by the dispersal of property to spouses, siblings, children, and grandchildren. In the case of Tomás Tlilli, the black man from Tianquiztenco, he gives his property to his grandson, *ynin nosolar yhuā nocal niccatiuh yn noxhuitzin ytoca sebastiā de la fuēte ayac quicui[lliz],* "This, my plot and my house I give to him, my dear grandson, his name is Sebastián de la Fuente. No one will take it from him."[178] And at the bottom of his will his grandson has signed it at a later date, possibly at the time that he took possession of his Grandfather's estate, giving us to know that his legacy lived on, at least for a time. We also know that Francisco had a legacy in his children and grandchildren as we saw his property turned over to his son, Diego, who was charged with taking care of his siblings (see Chapter 5). But his father did not seem entirely sure about Diego's reliability as he dictated that:

Ynic centlamātli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar centetl ypan mani nocalhuā centetl tlapācalli[179] *yhuā centetl sacilli*[180] *yniquiçayā tonatiuh nehuatl nosolar yn iyaquiyā tonatiuh callotli yn amilpāpa çanno callotli yn ihuicpa norte nehuatl nosolar çatepā niquinseselhuiz yn nopilhuātzitzinhuā auh yn ipā mani nocalhuā centetl nosolar niquin macatiuh ynteoyotica nonamictzin ytoca clara castillā xo*[tl] *yhuā yntopilhuātzitzinhuā*	The first thing I order: I have my one house plot upon which are my houses, a flat roofed building and a thatched building in the east. To the west a house path towards the irrigated field. Likewise, a house-path is towards the north my plot of land. Then I will divide (the property) for them, my many beloved children, my houses that are on one of my house-plots, I give them to them, my spouse, named Clara Castillanxochitl and our children,

[178] Ibid, 40r.
[179] Tlapan - rafters in a house from "pan" on, tla, upon, - a flat roofed house with a storage room up on the flat roof.
[180] thatched building (jacal)

ytoca diego Perez ynic ome ytoca juā ynic hey ytoca fran^{ca} yc[181] *nahui ytoca Pasqual ynic macuilli ytoca mathias ynin nocalhuā yhuā nosolar oncā quinmozcaltilliz yn teoyotica nonamictzin yn topilhuātzitzinhuā yhuā*[182] *yn teachcauh*[183] *diego pz ay[a]c ynca mocacayahuaz yni te yc cauhtzitzinhua ^{yhuā} yn inātzin ay[a]c quitequipa choz yntla quēmania quitolliniz justiçia quitlatzacuiliz*	named Diego Pérez; second, named Juan; third, named Francisca; fourth, named Pascual; fifth, named Matias. There, [in?] my houses and my field, she, my legal wife will raise them, they who are, our dear little children and their older brother Diego Pérez. In regard to his/their mother, he [Diego] will never cause her concern. If at some point, he distresses his mother, the judge will lock him up.[184]

Francisco was not convinced that his eldest son would respect his wishes and serve his mother and so he inserted a proviso that would allow the judge to "lock him up" if he distressed his mother. Although there was a standard model that many wills followed, there was a range of variation indicating an understanding of and desire to fulfill the model of a "good death" in order to be saved, but also indicating that the Nahuas were keen to use this medium for their own purposes of keeping their property in the hands of their families and communities as well as making their own idiosyncratic requests.

Another example of this occurs in one of the earliest wills we have today, from Mexico City. In 1561, María Tiacapan dictated that, *Auh niquitohua y naniman ca oquimochihuili y noteouh y notlatocauh auh ymactzinco nocontlalia yhuan niquitohua yn ixquichtin y nopilhua y nica notlan amoyetzticate namechnonahuatilia macamo anechmolcahuilizque ma mochipa ypanpa anquimotlatlauhtilizque yn totecuyo y naniman,* "And I say that my deity [teotl], my ruler made my soul and I go place it in his hands and I say that all my children, you who are here beside me, I order you not to

[181] Functioning as inic
[182] Could this be with? Like she will raise them along with their older brother, with the help of?
[183] Teachcauh - comes from older brother. It has rank, and become the mayordomo, s.o. that is part of the family, will be s.o. in charge of raising the rest of the children.
[184] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, 45r.

forget me. May you always pray to our lord on behalf of my soul."[185] María's bittersweet request could suggest that her children were at her bedside as she spoke to the scribe recording her words.[186] She is consigning her soul to God, but her memory she is leaving in the hands of her children. Her request to be remembered is coupled with a request that her children would pray for her, but in the foreground is her order not to forget her, as would have been important just forty short years before.

The Nahuas were insistent on leaving their property to their children and grandchildren as well as giving money to the church for masses to be said in their name, but there were other purposes to the wills. For instance, in the case of Ana María, in the opening vignette, we find that a woman wrote a will to request the money for a mass and emphasized her place of burial and her shrouding. Similarly, Diego Menezes, who wrote his own will, without the help of a scribe, used his last will and testament to request that the debts that others owed him be paid. He asks first that, *Ynic çētlamātli nitlanahuatitiuh nechhuiquilia notomi yn itoca Fran*^{co} *pz pohui coyotzin ome p*^{o}*s yhuan ome tomin yc oquiniachic nomehua ypa noxolal*[187] *cohualo nopa tlaxtlahuaz yc nopa misa yn itoz,* "The first thing I order upon dying: He owes me my money, he whose name is Francisco Pérez of Coyotzin[co], two pesos and two tomines. What he did with them was that, the maguey plants on my plot were bought [but not paid for]. He will pay for my mass to be said."[188] In this way, he is calling on someone else to pay for a mass for his soul, but he is

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[185] Luis Reyes García et al., *Documentos nauas de la Ciudad de México del siglos XVI* (Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Socialand Archivo General de la Nación, 1996), 282.
[186] Even though the texts states that her children were "beside" her, it is possible that this is a product of the language having a conversational tone that may or may not actually indicate their presence.
[187] nosolar
[188] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, 46r.

owed this money unlike Ana María, who is depending on the charity of the church. Diego though, is taking his chances seeing as testaments were not always followed after the person had died, as we will see. This does not dissuade him, though, as he continues to make another such request: *Ynic ontlamātli nitlanahuatitiuh ynic ome misa nopa yn itoz yēhuatl tlaxtlahuaz yn don juachin de la meta nechhuiquilia notomi ome p^{o}s,* "The second thing I order upon dying: That two masses for me will be said. He will pay for them, he who is don Joaquin de la Meta. He owes me my money, two pesos."[189] One hopes that these men followed through on his wishes, but at the very least we can assume that his wife and son were permitted to stay in their home as his final request states, *Ynique tlamātli*[190] *nitlanahuatia nocalhua ontetl sacalti niquipia niquiçepamacatiuh y[n] nonamictzin yn itoca maria elozel yhua nopiltzin ytoca diego meneces onca [nemizque],* "The third thing I order: My houses, two thatched buildings, that I have I give to them one each, my dear spouse, her name is Maria Elozel and my child, his name is Diego Menezes, there they will live."[191] As in most wills, even this one, written without the skilled hand of a scribe, but obviously by a man educated enough to write in his own language, the concern expressed is for what will become of their earthly property after they die, but also for having masses and prayers said, in the hope of salvation, and more importantly, in the hope of being remembered.

The testaments show what is important in death and therefore in life. The importance of legacy, caring for the body, saying masses, and remembering the person existed in both cultures, and likely had dual meanings to the Nahuas who took the time to

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[189] Ibid.
[190] This is two words running together, *ynic(qu e)tlamantli* – so: the third thing.
[191] BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos,* 46r.

dictate or write down these testaments. The requests for masses could have been understood as a way to ensure a swifter ascent to Heaven from Purgatory, but could and likely did, also ensure that the people at the mass would remember a person longer for having heard their name spoken again. As the songs would have given a person a second breath of life in the utterance of their name and story, a mass spoken on their behalf would have done the same. The amount of money given to the church for these masses and prayers shows a commitment to these ideas the church was indoctrinating, namely those of the good death and the goal of a heavenly reward in the afterlife. But just because the Nahuas believed in these new ideas did not mean they had forgotten their old notion of an afterlife, one centered on remembrance and those prayers and masses then would have served both ends. The Nahuas were living in a deeply syncretic world in which the ideas of both cultures had room to exist. But a crucial shift had taken place. Now the promise is that you *will ultimately* be forgotten, even if you are a king, even if you ask to be remembered in a last will and testament, even if there are masses said in your name. Therefore, you should count on Heaven and fear Hell. Before, all energy went into remembering the dead – the Nahuas now were taught that it was a pointless, hopeless goal.

5. Nahua Anxiety within New Ideologies

We know that the concept of a last will and testament did not completely assuage the Nahuas' anxieties about dying, because in 1760 Bernabé Vázquez copied a play called *Souls and Testamentary Executors*, from a 1678 original. It is more than likely that this 1678 text was actually a copy of a much earlier original. In the play, two Executors

and a Widow who scorn the dead and squander the money meant for masses on their own business endeavors and on their own pleasure in food, drink, and flesh, are damned to hell. Meanwhile, a "good" man, don Pedro and his wife, do what is right, remembering the dead and buying masses for the souls in Purgatory, and therefore they are saved and permitted to enter heaven when they die. As in most plays from the period, in the end everyone dies and is judged, serving to teach the audience which actions were rewarded and which were punished.

In the beginning, the wife of don Pedro, expresses her desire to help the dead by paying for masses, saying: *ma ticnamacacan in çentetl caltzintli in once ticate ma yehuatl inic mochihuaz yn inMissatzin in animasme,* "Let us sell the little house where we are and with it let the souls' mass be performed."[192] Don Pedro, agrees with his wife and acts as a teacher, explaining why they should go to mass and buy masses for the souls suffering in Purgatory. *D. Pedro = Ca melahuac in ticmitalhuia nonamictzinen ma tihuian in teopan Ma tictotlatlauhtilitzinoti, in totecuiyo Dios, Ca ye pehuaz in MiSsa am ticchihuati çentetzintli Responso in inpa in animastin motoliniticate purgatorio inic quinmocnoittiliz in Dios, in campa mohuetzticate,* "Don Pedro: O my spouse, you speak the truth. Let us go to church to pray to our lord God, for mass is about to begin. Let us go to church to pray for the dead for the sake of the souls who are suffering in Purgatory so that God will have pity on them where they lie fallen."[193] In this way, this play then is acting as other plays do to teach the Nahua audience how to be a good Catholic so as to be granted mercy.

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[192] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 164–165.
[193] Ibid.

In the play the devil, here named Lucifer, and his Demons are personified, and it is they who are leading the people into temptation, but there is no doubt that it is left to the mortal humans to choose not to follow these demons. The First Executor describes what he plans to do with the money of the dead once he has it, saying, *Yzcatqui in niquilnamiqui ma tlaco Xicmo[38v]çelili Auh in oc tlaco nicCui ma ylatzin ie ticonixtlapanacan ma catepan ic palehuilozque in animas, Cuix oc quihualmati Ca ye omimicq.*[e]*,* "Here is what I am thinking. You take half [38v] and I will take the other half. Let us lend some out at interest and afterwards the souls will be helped with it. Do they still frequent [the earth]? [No!] They are already dead."[194] He speaks of stealing the property of the dead and then uses the negated questions of the songs and annals to make it clear that the dead are not coming back to earth and therefore that they are free to do what they please. This would have struck at the heart of the concerns that the Nahuas felt with regard to their wills. They were taught that a will *could* protect their property, if not their soul, but were learning that it was a risk. The Second Executor responds, *Ynontzin, Çenca huel teyolquima ma yuhqui mochichua intla noo popolihuiz anquin tlatoz Cuix aço çeme oncate yn imezçohuan intlapalohua in techtequipachozque, macamo Ximotequipachotzino notlacoteachcauhtzinen ma oc titoyolaliti. ma tihuian Ca ye once in tohuaxca totlatqui yhuan yn iquac omicque Ca ayocac ixpan ca za tehuatzin yhuan in nehuatl,* "That is very greatly pleasing. Let it be so done. If perhaps it comes to ruin: who will speak up? Will one of their offspring bother us? O my beloved older brother, do not be distressed. Let us go console ourselves. Let us go, for it is already our goods and property, and when they died it was before no one but you and me."[195] Because the dead

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[194] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 166–167.
[195] Ibid.

have no one else to speak for them on earth except the Executors, here the only two who were present at the death of the person, or the writing of their will, they are free to do what they like. The anxieties from the annals, written about when fray Gerónimo was, in reality, stealing the property of the dead, come to life on the stage before the Nahua audience.

At this point, a Widow is distracted from going to church to pray for her dead husband by the Executors, with their newly found fortune, and a Demon. We read stage directions that sound very Nahuatl while undoubtedly being influenced by a Spanish standard. The playwright writes that: *v tlatzotzonazque auh in teopan [39v] tziliniz miccatepoztli, cuicoz mehuaz Responso*, "(They beat drums. [39v] Bells are rung in church. A prayer for the dead is raised in song.)"[196] The drums so common to the funerals and the songs of the preconquest Nahuas are played here in concert with the bells of the church and a song for the dead. The two cultural fronts are clearly meeting and mixing together. Then the Demons, the Executors, and the Widow leave the area of the church and indulge in luxuries bought with the money of the dead. They are being made out to be impossibly horrible, but the point was likely not to make the Nahua people feel like they were going to Hell for being like those who were. Rather, already being better than the worst as represented here, they could see that their path to salvation was still open if they made sure to care for those who had died before them.

[196] Ibid, 168–169.

The caricatures of these loathsome people are placed in contrast to those who are all too good. In this context then, don Pedro speaks of the importance of mass, but also of remembering the souls of the dead. He says that:

Notlçonamictzinen, Çenca otictotlamachtique inic ypan otaçique in inMissatzin anima auh, in axcan çenca nimitznotlatlauhtilia macaic tiquinmolcahuiliz in motoliniticate, Purgatorio, in ahuel monomapalehuia momaquixtia ca yuh ca, in itlatoltzin in totecuiyo Dios, ca in Christiano, yn oc tpc̄. monemitia teoyotica mopalehuia tlamaçehualiztica yhuan tlahuenchihualiztica inic huel momaquixtiz yn itech in tlayohuiliztli Auh Cuix oc çecppa hualmohuicazque tlamaçehuaquihue in nican tpc̄. ca niman amo ca ic çenmayan oquinmocaltzacuilitzino in totecuiyo Dios, auh in tehuantin in oc tpc̄. inpampa tihuenmanazque aço quinmocneliliz, anoço amo Ca yehuatzin quimomaChiltia in totecuioyo Dios, auh yn axcan ma oc ninoçehui Ca çenca, Yetiye in tlalli Çoquitl,	Don Pedro: O my beloved spouse, we have been so fortunate that we have arrived during the souls' mass. Now I greatly implore you to never forget those who are suffering in Purgatory, who cannot help save themselves. For such is the word of our lord God: the Christian who still lives on earth spiritually helps himself through penance and offerings to save himself from suffering. Will they come here again to earth to do penance? Absolutely not! Our lord God has imprisoned them once and for all. As for those of us still on earth, we are to make offerings on their behalf. [Only] our lord God knows whether he will favor them or not. Now let me rest for the earth and clay [that is my mortal body] is very heavy [with illness].[197]

He again speaks in questions meant to be answered in the negative and speaks of not forgetting the souls of the dead and making offerings in conjunction with the word of God, but it would also have been the word of those who had lived before the conquest. He evokes the image of a prison again here and says all of this as a means to foreshadow his own death which is about to come.

As he speaks of his impending death, he is plagued by the same uncertainties about his destiny as those who wrote and sang the songs. He is hopeful that God will

[197] Ibid, 170–171.

have pity on him, but is not at all sure, even though he has lived by God's word. He asks, *canin ye niaznequi canin ye ninotlaça Cuix ahuilpa camanalpa notecuiyoen notlatocatzinen ma xinechmocnoittilitzino ma xinechmopalehuilitzino macamo xinechmolcahuilitzino in intlacatl in çenca nihuey tlatlacohuani,* "Where am I about to go now? Where will I cast myself now? Will it be in frivolities and jokes? O my lord, O my ruler, have pity on me, help me, do not forget me, very great sinner that I am."[198] As above in Christ's speech about Hell, don Pedro is assuming that he is "casting" himself to wherever he is destined to go. Likewise, he requests that he not be forgotten, this time by God himself. Here again the stage directions indicate that a song is raised for the dead, *inic micuiloz mehuaz Peccata tlananquiliz anima nu [41v] nula es. Responsion,* "(The Peccata is sung. The soul answers. [41v] Nula est responsio. [There is no response])[199] This Peccata asks then that the soul be remembered, not for its sins, but instead by the goodness of God.

At this point there is a parade of souls who speak out about their experience in Purgatory. When the Third Soul speaks, the Nahua fear of being forgotten is mixed with Catholic Dogma:

Ay inyoyahuen totecuiyoen Diosē. Moteicnoytiliniyen motetlaocolilianien ma xinechmotlaocolilitzino yn ica in motetlaocolilitzin moteopohua in nix = in noyollo, yn ipampa in izquitlamantli onicChiuh in moyolitlacolocatzin, Ca	Oh, alas! O our lord, O God, O compassionate one, O merciful one! Have mercy on me with your mercy. My spirit is tormented because of all the things I did in offense to you. Wherefore I cry, for I have offended you, my deity

[198] Ibid, 172–173.

[199] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 172–173. Footnotes on Latin: "This [the Peccata] is apparently from the Office of the Dead, Psalm 24, the verse begins with 'peccáta iuventútis meæ et delíxcta mea ne memíneris; secúndum misericórdiam tuam memento mei tu, propter bonitátem tuam, Dómine" (Breviarum romanaum 1961, 1:242). This Psalm 25, verse 7, in the King James Bible: 'Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions – according to thy mercy remember thou me for thy goodness sake, O Lord.'" And "*nula est responsio:* there is no response."

ypampa nichoca, ca onimitznoyolytlacalhuitzino in tinoteotzin tinotlatocatzin ca huel tlapanahuia inic titlaçotlaloni ma xinechmotlaocolilitzino in ayac nechtlaocoliani in incan tpc. auh Ca tehuatzin in tinotlaçotatzin in otinechmochihuili innotinechmoyocolili Ca tinotepalehuicatzin tinotemanahuicatzin in tlalticpac ca oniccauh in maxcatzin in motlatquitzin inic inpalehuilozquia atle nomaçehual in nitlatlacohuani amo nechilnamiqui in nohualyoque in oc nemi tlalticpac, ca tehuatzin ticmomachiltitzinohua,	and ruler, surpassingly worthy of being loved. Have mercy on me, whom no one else on earth would have mercy on. You my beloved Father, who made and created me, are my aid and defense on earth. I relinquish your goods and property with which I would have been helped. I am an undeserving sinner. You know that my relatives who still live on earth do not remember me.[200]

The Third Soul mourns his own wickedness and wretchedness, begging God for mercy, in an appropriately self-deprecating fashion. And then at the very end, we see that the reason he is so unfortunate is that his relatives on earth do not remember him. But then, people who misbehave were always destined to be forgotten. And yet, he is not the only one who has been forgotten. The First Soul asks those of earth to remember the souls of the dead outright in the epigraph of this chapter. And then the Second Soul explains why the living should remember the dead. He says, *motlachihualtzitzinhuan in oc nemi in aic techilcahua in motlacoixpantzinco in momoztlae, inpampa tlahuenchihua yn ica in intlatlatlauhtiliz inic techilnamiqui macayāmo in ma inic ontlamiz tzomquizaz in tlalticpac in innemiliz ma oc Xiquinmocnoyttilitzino xiquinmotlaocolilitzino*, "Those who are still alive who never forget us in your royal presence make offerings every day on their behalf, remembering us with their prayers. Let it not be that their earthly lives should come to an end and conclusion yet. Have pity on them! Show them mercy!"[201] He speaks to God on behalf of those who *did* remember him in their prayers.

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[200] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 172–173.
[201] Ibid, 176–177.

The Fifth Soul, the dead husband of the Widow who has been off cavorting with the two lousy Executors expresses his anguish at being forgotten. He mixes the two ideologies and languages as he laments being forgotten and the fact that while he lived on earth, he never forgot to pray but that now his wife has forgotten him. He speaks to the Saint Mary, saying:

Ay MiSericordia yn Yoyahuen totecuiyo Diosē, quenin Çenca nitetlaocolti nitechocti in yca in ayac nechilnamiqui onoçentzomtlahueliltic inic ayac nechiximati in tlalticpac, oço notatzin nonantzin, aço noteachcauh, aço noteicauh, aco nohueltihuatzin aço huecapan nohualqui inyoyahuen noteyocox [45v] catzinen ma çan ipanpatzinco in moMiSericordiatzin xitechmocnoittilitzino in tiçenquizcatlateochihualYchpochtzintli ma xitechmolnamiquilitzino in timotlachihualtzitzinhuan yn ayac techylnamiqui ma çan ipampatzinco in motlaçoRoS̄ariotzin in motlatlauhtilocatzin. Ca yn oc tp̄c. ninemia aic onimitznolcahuili ma ye XInechmopalehuilitzino in ninotolinia tlalticpac oniqualcauhtehuac in no=namic acmo nechilnamiqui, amo nictlaocoltia aoctle once nopalehuiloca in mixpantzinco ma çan huel çe MiSsa, anoço tlatlauhtiliztica ye nechilnamiqui auh in oniqualcahuilitehuac in nopalehuiloca mochihuaz axcan mochi, cahuilquixtia auh in neçahualiztlaquemitl in luto çan ipan xocomictinemi momecatitinemi Cahuilquixtitinenem̄i ma ixquich ma tlami ma tzomquiza in tp̄c. ynemiliz Caçenca ye miec inic mixtzinco mopactzinco nemi,

Oh mercy! Alas! O God our lord! How very much I aroused grief and tears because no one remembers me. *I am unfortunate four hundred times over that no one knows me on earth, whether it be my father and mother, or my older brother or my younger brother, or my older sister or my more distant relatives.* O alas! O my Creator! [45v] Have pity on me just because of your compassion. You the perfectly blessed maiden, remember us your creatures whom no on [else] remembers. Let it just be because of your precious rosary and prayers to you. *While I still lived on earth I never forgot you.* Help me. My spouse, whom I left on earth no longer remembers me, I do not make her sad. There is no longer any help for me before you. *Let [my spouse] just remember me [with] one complete mass or through prayers.* All of what I left behind to [my spouse] to become a help for me [in Purgatory] she now sells for cash, and the fasting garments, the mourning clothes – [my spouse] just goes about in them drunk and taking lovers, selling them to raise cash. Enough! Let [my spouse's] life on earth come to an end and conclusion for she offends you in many things.[202]

[202] Ibid, 178–179. Italics mine.

He begins by using the Nahua standard of being four hundred times unfortunate and then lists all the family who have forgotten him, as the songs and annals used to list all the people affected by an event, indicating that absolutely every one of his relatives has forgotten him. He asks that his wife remember him just enough to have one mass said for him, but she does not. She does not fast either, as was the custom in preconquest times as well. Finally, he asks that she be damned for her actions. Clearly, connecting the old idea of punishment as dying and leaving earth forever, with the new one of being damned to Hell for eternity.

In response Christ promises that he will be the one to remember the dead who have served him well. Saint Mary speaks on behalf of the forgotten souls, and he responds, *auh in nehatzin inquinyollaliz niquintēyotiz niquinmahuizyotiz niquinhuecapanoz Çemicac nemizq.*[e] *yollalilozque niquinnextiliz in nopapaquilitzin Gloria,* "As for me, I will console them [souls who served Christ and his mother, Mary], make them famous, honor and exalt them. They will live forever, content, and I will reveal to them my bliss, [glory]."[203] He promises Heaven, bliss, and glory to his loyal servants. And yet, the language he uses as he says, "I will…make them famous, honor and exalt them," would have sounded to the Nahua audience very similar to the idea of the singer or story teller keeping the memory of the dead alive, honoring and exalting them in song and story.

Now the Third Soul returns to condemn the Executors as the Fifth Soul has condemned the Widow. He laments being forgotten and therefore having to suffer in

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[203] Ibid, 180–181.

Purgatory, because his relatives on earth, all the people of earth, did not remember him. At this point the Executors, who have failed those who died before them, are called to be judged. As they come on stage the Third Soul says:

Ay omochiuuh onotlahueliltic ma xitechilnamiquican yn oc tlalticpac annemi in antocnihuan macamo xitechcahuacan in ixpantzinco in totecuiyo = Dios, Ay AY intla mochi tlacatl in quenin huel titotolinia ynic titlatlaticate titlayohuia Ca huel nelli ca techtlaocolizquia aquin amehuantin yn antohuayolque, Cuix monequi antechilcahuazque macamo itla ic Xitechilcahuacan … otiquinhualcauhque in totepantlatocahuan yezque in motlatocaixpantzinco, auh amo techilnamiqui,	Oh! Woe is me! You our friends who still live on earth, do not forget us, do not abandon us before our lord God. Oh! Oh! If everyone suffered as we are suffering, burning and languishing, they would certainly have mercy on us. [Where] are you our relatives? Is it necessary that you will forget us? [no.] Do not forget us for anything… We left them [the people on earth] to be our intercessors before your royal presence but they do not remember us.[204]

And he then asks that Jesus Christ judge them swiftly. They are brought forth alive before Saint Michael who says, *Ma mochihua in motlatocatlanahuatilzin ma Xihualquiçacan in mictlan antlan antlatelchihualtin motlanahuatilitzinohua in melahuacamotetlatzomtequililiani = Jues = inic hualyoltiazque inic anquihualhuicazque yn ipanpa miccatlatquitl tlaixquetzaltin inic oquipopoloque in imaxca intlatqui in animas in motoliniticate in onpa = Purgatorio inic aocac quimilnamiqui,* "Your royal command be done. Come out, you accursed ones of hell [the Demons and Lucifer]! In a just sentence, the judge, orders that they [the Executors] will come hither alive, that you will bring them hither because they – as the ones encharged with the property of the dead – used up the goods and property of the souls suffering over there in Purgatory such that there is no longer anyone who remembers them [with offerings]." And so, the Executors

[204] Ibid.

get their due for having forgotten and forsaken the dead – for having stolen the property of their fellows. They have caused suffering and therefore owe retribution.

In order to take stock of the sins of the Executors, Saint Michael and Lucifer get into a negotiation of sorts regarding the commandments of God. Lucifer as a prosecutor answers for the Executors, condemning them for each commandment they failed to follow. One such exchange goes thusly:

S,^{n} Mig,^{l} = Ynic matlactetl, amo tiquilehuiz in teaxca tetlaqui –	Saint Michael: Tenth, you shall not covet the goods and property of others.
Luçifer = Auh quenin amo quilehuizque ca in mimicque in imaxca in intlatqui ca mochi Oquizpachoque Camo, oquinpalehuique in ixquichtin Animas, Ca amo oquinquixtilique in Bula in manel zan = MiSsa = anoço ReSponso, anoso RoSario, ic quintepotztocani amo oquiChiuhque Auh yn iquac otzilinia = Animas, in imilnamicoca, çan innemecatiliztica onenque, in aic Oquimilnamicque Auh ma xiquinmotlatzomtequililitzino—	Lucifer: And how did they not covet the goods and property of the dead? They hid it all, they did not help all the souls [in Purgatory], they did not take out for them the [papal] bulls and would not even follow up for them with just a mass or prayer for the dead or a rosary. They did not do it. When the bells rang in remembrance of the souls [in Purgatory] they just lived in their illicit unions and never remembered it. Judge them.[205]

Therefore the force responsible for luring the Executors away from the path of good is the one reproaching them for their deeds and demanding that God judge them for those deeds. The idea from the beginning, though, is that humans are responsible for guarding themselves against the temptations of the Demons and the Devil. It is clear from the outset that they have some modicum of control over their fate, if they can keep to the path of righteousness. This would have been very different from the way that the preconquest gods functioned, those fickle toying deities who did as they pleased. But because the

[205] Ibid, 184–185.

consequences had changed, everything had changed. Before being "good" meant being worthy of being remembered, now it meant living by God's law and being judged against it. And so the ones who have made those in Purgatory suffer were damned to Hell in the end for their actions. Everything had changed, and yet, the wrong doing that they were damned for was not remembering the dead properly, making one wonder how much had really changed.

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As in the Song of Nezahuacoyotl, when the singer intones that *aya ayac ychan tlpc,* "Earth is no one's home,"[206] the Second Executor askes, *Cuix mochipa in tpc̄.* "[Will we live] forever on earth?"[207] and the answer is undoubtedly, no. The testaments and plays make it clear that the Nahuas were beginning to embrace the ideals of the Catholic faith and of the Catholic good death. This meant following certain standards, that of paying for masses and of asking for forgiveness, as well as accepting that there might be an eternity on the other side of death, an eternity decided by one's actions on earth. This, though, does not mean that they forgot the ways that their parents and grandparents had thought about the afterlife. They had undoubtedly been told stories and heard the songs of the preconquest time; they would have known about the importance of remembering their dead loved ones. They continued to keep them close in their thoughts and now, their prayers to a Catholic God would take the place of their songs of battle and glory. The tolling of the bells and funeral processions would take the place of the drums and gourd

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[206] Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos,* f.28v.17. (Translation with help from Peter Sorensen, Celso Mendoza, and Camilla Townsend, 4-12-19).
[207] Vázquez, "Souls and Testamentary Executors," 176–177.

rattles, of the nights of song and dance. The shrouded bodies were buried rather than cremated. The masses and burning candles would take the place of burning ocotl and funeral speeches. Death, though, and the duty toward the dead, remained constant.

Conclusion

HECTOR: He's been forgotten. When there's no one left in the living world who remembers you, you disappear from this world. We call it the final death.
MIGUEL: Where did he go?
HECTOR: No one knows.
MIGUEL: But I've met him. I could remember him when I go back.
HECTOR: Ah, it doesn't work like that, chamaco. Our memories, they have to be passed down by those who knew us in life. In the stories they tell about us. But there's no one left alive to pass down Chich's stories.
– Disney/Pixar's Coco, Chicharrón's Forgotten

One common ideal united the unknown Nahua composers of the songs and prayers, the annalists, like Chimalpahin and don Mateo Sánchez, the scribes writing the Book of the Dead and their compatriot, Esteban de Soto, who produced the testaments of Huexotzinco, and the Nahua writers of the church plays: that the people they were writing about must be remembered. Record keeping and writing became a means of keeping people alive in a world that was faced with the ever-present specters of deadly disease, famine, and war, forces that were threatening to exterminate the Nahuas. Our understanding of Nahua beliefs about death and the afterlife must be mediated by these writers and these sources. There has been a tendency to assume that as historians we have no choice but to read against the grain of Spanish and Christianized sources to discover what the Nahuas thought. To a point, this is true, but there is also a great deal of material that was written from a Nahua perspective for Nahua communities, and with care, we can and must use what *they,* the Nahuas, wrote to glean their perspectives on life, death, and the afterlife.

In terms of preconquest thought and beliefs, this means that we must throw out ideas about a Christian-like heaven or any sense that the Nahua people, particularly warriors, were focused on rushing toward death in order to join God in a heavenly paradise. This concept is simply not present in the Nahua language sources that we have, and which give us the best insight into the preconquest period. The Nahuas of the preconquest era were living life to the fullest, fully aware of how brief it was and therefore how precious it was. Nahua warriors were not looking to be killed in battle. They understood the importance of "feeding" the gods with the blood of battle, but by no means did that imply that they were giving in to death or defeat. In the moments when the sources say that warriors, captured and tortured, were asking for death, they were not giving into death, but instead were ensuring that their enemies would not see them cower, that they would not have the satisfaction of killing a man (or woman, in the case of Chimalxochitl) who did not ask for death, bravely. Only when all hope was lost did they speak of valiantly marking themselves with the white chalk and feathers for sacrifice and willingly facing their fate. The goal of death in battle or in the case of capture and sacrifice was not to meet god, or to ascend to an eternal paradise, but was to die a death worth remembering. The goal was to live on in the songs and stories that were sung at funerals and told around evening fires.

The presence of afterlives in the songs and prayers of the preconquest era indicate that the culture was collectively wondering about what came after death. The conclusions of these existential explorations were not universally accepted, though. As in other oral cultures, any ideas about an afterlife and exactly what that entailed were dynamic, changing in different places and at different times. In all the Nahua-language musings,

we find that any nascent conceptualizations of an afterlife understood it to be temporary. In all variations, the dead "lived" on for only four years, before they were considered to be completely and permanently gone from the world, earthly or otherwise. The different and uncertain "lands of the dead" reflected the cause of death, rather than the way a person lived their life on earth. The judgement of a person's life was left to the true afterlife, which was memory and being remembered. Those who lived good lives, who cared for their families and communities, who fought bravely, were remembered and lived on.

In the annals of the early colonial period, it is still very clear that the goal of the writers was to remember those who had died bravely in wars and battle. The stories being passed and written down were the histories of the great men who had come before. These sources reveal the importance of death rituals, especially the care given to the body in death, and show us how death was recorded when it was not epidemic. The purpose of keeping the annals was, in and of itself, to remember those who had lived and died, to pass down the knowledge of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. In the slightly later annals, those written about the time in which the writer was living, bear witness to the suffering of the people living through the epidemics and the devastation of the encomienda and repartimiento. It has been thought that there was no way to hear or see the pain and suffering of the Nahua people during the demographic collapse, but, in fact, we can. When we read the annals in full, over time, reflecting on the realities of disease and death that the men writing were faced with year after year, we see that the anguish that they must have felt is present in their writing. Considering what the songs and prayers reveal about the importance of being remembered, we find that they are suffering

even more than we might have thought, due to the realization that soon there might be no one left to remember the dead and tell their stories. With their ink and quills, they wrote down all they could and fought against the possibility of being completely forgotten as their forbears had once fought against death, and worst, being forgotten, by passing on their songs.

By the seventeenth century, a shift has occurred. In the texts of the mid-1600s, the Nahua people are clearly committing at various levels to the tenets of Catholicism. Heaven and Hell are part of their vocabulary and they understand the difference between their old ideas and these new ones. This does not mean, however, that the importance of caring for and remembering the dead has gone away. As is evident in the Book of the Dead, which acted, at least in part, as a record of remembrance, commemorating the lives lived in the town of Huexotzinco, and as is also seen in the wills that the townspeople dictated in the same years, the importance of memory was just being expressed differently. This tendency culminated in the theatrical plays, which are very clearly meant to teach Catholic doctrine, and yet reflect most specifically on how sad it is to be forgotten and how important it is to remember dead loved ones.[1] The importance of singing songs to remember the dead is translated, as it were, in to having masses said for their soul, thereby helping them gain entry into the eternal paradise of Heaven.

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[1] This idea of remembrance still being expressed in these Catholic formats could be further explored in the sets of sermons that exist. From a cursory look, these sermons are full of preconquest imagery, but are being used to explain the reality that if one does not live by God's law, he will be damned to Hell, which will be puss and blood-filled and even worse than one might think. Fabian de Aquino, "Sermones y miscelánea de devocíon y moral en lengua mexicanan (nahuatl)." The Hispanic Society of America, MS NS3/1, f. 115–130. My knowledge of this and these documents is thanks to Benjamin Lemming, who is doing work in a variety of formats on these sermons. More study will surely widen the scope of how preconquest ideas were used in the sermons as they were in the plays.

It is no wonder that death and dying has induced wonder in humans and that understandings of it are vast and various throughout both time and space. Death is one of the great mysteries in life and there is no culture on earth that does not have some established belief or ritual surrounding death. Anthropologists have long been fascinated with ideas about death, particularly in the case of the Day of the Dead in Mexico. These scholars' observations have largely been put in the context of Spanish or Spanish-influenced sources. As Day of the Dead is a Mexican celebration, perhaps it is time to put what we say about Mexicans and their beliefs in the context of what their ancestors once said themselves, to each other, in their own language.

Annotated Glossary of Terms

TERMS MEANING "TO DIE"

Micqui – To die.[1] This is the term that is most literal and therefore most frequently seen in all of the documents used in this work.

Miquiznequi – To be about to die. This verb is the combination of the *micqui* (to die) in the future tense (*z*) with the verb *nequi* (to want). This has led to many translations that indicate a desire to die, "to want to die." Although, the verb *nequi* does have a suggestion of "to want," even here, the intonation is more along the lines of something that is going to happen, especially when combined with the future tense. Examples of this can be found in the wills of Toluca: *ninomiquiliznequi* – "I am about to die."[2] Likewise, James Lockhart had translated *ye momiquiliz* as "about to die."[3] The sense is of an impending action, so that this can be seen in other verb combinations as well. For example, *xitiniznequi* which literally translates to "it wants to crumble down" but would be translated, "it is about to crumble down." It has been supposed that this same idea has been translated into Mexican Spanish in which one can say, "quiero enfermar" which literally translates to "I want to get sick" but figuratively means, "I'm getting/about to get sick."[4]

***(mo)Tlatia* (*Tlatilia*)** – To hide, conceal, keep, or keep out of sight; To take and guard

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[1] All formal definitions presented in this glossary are derived from Stephanie Wood, ed. "Online Nahuatl Dictionary," last modified 2020, https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/.
[2] Catarina Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 36.
[3] See: Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood's notes from Nahuatl sessions with James Lockhart and subsequent research. https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/miqui.
[4] Personal communications with John Sullivan, March 19, 2019.

from someone else; to hide something from (or for) someone; or, to burn something that belongs to someone. This term is used to express that someone has died or been killed in the sense that the person will never be seen again. For example, when "He [the god] has hidden you," *(Omitzonmotlatili)* the sense is that he has killed you and made it so that no one can find you or see you again. Examples like this are found throughout the Florentine Codex including, *cuix ticmotlatiliz* – "perhaps you will hide him,"[5] and *auh noce mitzonmotlatiliz, mitzõmocxipachilviz, mitzonmivaliz in tocenchan in mictlan* – "And perhaps he will hide you, put you underfoot, send you to our common home, the land of the dead."[6] This last connection with the land of the dead makes it abundantly clear that the meaning here was to kill.

GODS

Cueçalli (Cuezaltzin) – One of the Names of Xiuhtecutli, God of Fire. From *Cuezalin* – a flame, or the wing and tail feathers of a scarlet macaw.[7]

Dios – Spanish for God. It is largely accepted that the word *Dios* was inserted into the songs as they were written down and that it was paired with *Ipalnemohuani* so as to indicate that it was a synonym or as a replacement for another preconquest god's name. This Christian overlay is believed to have been done to appease the friars who sponsored the work.[8] Ángel María Garibay goes so far as to leave the word out of his transcription completely in *Poesía náhuatl*. There is evidence in

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[5] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6 - Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*, 27.
[6] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 33.
[7] Thelma Sullivan, "Tlatoani and tlatocayotl in the Sahagún manuscripts," *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 14 (1980), 225–238. See esp. p. 234.
[8] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas,* 394.

the work of Chimalpahin that this process of substituting one name for another was not new to the Nahuas. He explains that it was not unheard of for a singer to use a song originally written about one lord and insert the name of a new lord in order to continue to use the old song.[9] In my translations, I have left *Dios* untranslated to emphasize when the word being used is a loan word.

Ipalnemohuani – that which, or by means of which, people live; Giver of Life; (he) through whom people live; usually refers to God. The term is used in later prayers as a synonym for the Christian God, but at the time the songs were written down it was unlikely to have this association.[10] Within the *Ycnocuicatl* there are numerous places where the singer inserts the word *ypalnemohua* (a variation of *ypalnemohuani*) where it does not fulfill a role in the syntax of the sentence. In these instances, I have translated it as a refrain: "He is Ipalnemohuani." In the same way that a chorus is repeated, the singer is stopping every so often to remind everyone that we are talking to or about *Ipalnemohuani*, he who is the giver of life.

Mictlan tecutli – Literally the lord of (or in) *Mictlan*, or the land of the dead. This has been translated as lord of the underworld, but this has a Classical or Christian connotation and there is not any reason to believe that *Mictlan* was "underground." In fact, in the Florentine Codex there are mentions of "all those

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[9] Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Las Ocho Relaciones y el Memorial de Colhuacan II,* Edited by Rafael Tena (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), 112-113.

[10] Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Monograph 13 (Albany: University at Albany, 2001), 88, 103.

who are above us in *Mictlan*, in the sky," which would indicate that it was not meant to be an "underworld."[11]

Moquequeloa – "The Mocker,"[12] from *quequeloa* to tease, mock, ridicule someone. It is unclear if this was a specific divinity or a word referring to any powerful divinity.

Moyocoyatzin – Literally, "creator", but with the sense of "Capricious Creator"[13] from *yocolia* – to make something for someone. See also *Titlacauan*.

Titlacauan – Literally, "We are his slaves." Possibly another name for *Tezcatlipoca* (the "Smoking Mirror"). In the Florentine Codex it states that *Auh yoan in titlacaoan quitoaia, ca no iehoatl in quitemacaia in netoliniliztli, in cococ teupouhqui: yoan tetech quitlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in oui, in teucocoliztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaalaualiztli, in qualocatl, in xiiotl, in xochiciuiztli, in quexiliuiliztli, in xoteuconauiliztli: yoan in oc cequi cuculiztli* – "And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave—leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, hemorrhoids, piles, chilblains, and other sicknesses"[14] And yet in the same Book of the Florentine Codex it states, *Auh in titlacaoan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli* – "And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli."[15] It could be that these gods were all subtly different but that in

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[11] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 11-12.
[12] Sullivan, "Tlatoania and tlatocayotl in the Sahagún manuscripts,"225–238. See esp. p. 228.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: 3 - The origin of the gods*, Appendix, 11.
[15] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 3,* 17.

the explanation given to Sahagún and his aides they were grouped together as one in the same.

Tlaloc – the deity of water, rain; a priest associated with rain. The lord of Tlalocan, the rain drenched paradise where those who died of water-related causes went after death. It was said that these people were specially chosen by Tlaloc.

Tloque nahuaque – possessor or master of that which is near, close, in reference to God or, in preconquest times, to powerful indigenous deities. Louise Burkhart has said that this is the name that became associated with the Christian God.[16] At the time that the songs and prayers were being recorded the term would not have been associated with the Christian god yet.

Totecuio – "Our Lord." This is the term that came to be associated with "Our Lord Jesus Christ" but would not have signified this at the early stage in which the songs and prayers were written. It would have been a replacement for the name of a god in the songs or prayers. Alternatively, it was meant literally to mean "our lord," as in "our ruler."

TERMS FOR AFTERLIVES OR "THE LAND OF THE DEAD"

Ilhuicatl (Ilhuicac) – the celestial realm, heaven, sky. This term originally meant simply the sky. It is clear that there was some sense that the afterlife might be there, in the sky, as it is paired with *Mictlan* in a number of places in the prayers. In terms of Catholic religious texts, this is the term that was adopted for the concept of heaven and was juxtaposed with *Mictlan,* which was used as a term for hell. In the

[16] Louise M. Burkhart, *Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 95.

prayers and songs though, there is no indication that these two possible "lands of the dead" were any different, and there certainly was not any indication that *Mictlan* was a place of punishment whereas *Ilhuicac* was a paradise. In the older texts, those that had less Hispanic influence and were meant to represent the preconquest oral traditions, I have translated this as "sky" whereas in the theatrical plays that were translations of Spanish or Latin originals, or were meant very clearly to teach the Nahuas about Heaven and Hell, I have translated it as "Heaven" as, I believe, it was intended to be this way in either case.

Mictlan – place of the dead, land of the dead; hell, in hell, to hell (in colonial usage). From *micqui* or *miqui* "to die" and the relational word -*tlan* meaning "next to" or "among" and often used in place names to denote "place of." Later in Christianized texts it is used interchangeably with Hell but would not have had any negative connotation in the preconquest era. There was no sense of punishment or damnation as the word Hell might evoke in Christian readers. It was not necessarily an underworld either, as the prayers and songs couple it with *Ilhuicac*, which meant "in the sky."

Quenonamican – This was understood to be a place like Mictlan (or possibly another name for Mictlan), a land of the dead. It was some manner of mysterious place where people went after death. Miguel León-Portilla discusses a variety of these afterlives in reference to the *Cantares* as a whole. *Quenonamican*, is defined by León-Portilla as, "the place where those, in one way or another, live."[17] This though, is belied by the way that it is used in the songs, in which it is clearly a

[17] Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: a Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963),127-132.

land of the dead, wherein people do not actually live. Possibly from "quenon", how or how long and "ahmicqui", one who does not die; thus a place where shades live for some unknown time. It has often been translated into English as the Place Unknown.

Tlalocan – a domain governed by the rain deity, *Tlaloc*; an earthly paradise. Here we get the closest concept of a paradise like afterlife, but it is clear from the texts that even here in the home of Tlaloc, that the dead did not remain forever. The name implies an earthly paradise, which is understandable, seeing as drought was deadly, and this land promised rains and constantly blooming vegetation.

Tonatiuh ichan – This is literally the Home of the Sun, as in the god of the sun. There is an idea present in the Florentine Codex that implies that the gods of the sun were the ones sought out to lead in war, or that the lords of the sun, *tonatiuh itlatocahoan*, were at least, the leaders of the warriors.[18] This could be why warriors killed in battle or sacrificed were said to join the gods in the Home of the Sun.

OTHER TERMS OF INTEREST

Macehualli (plural: Macehualtin) – usually defined as commoner, or those not of the ruling or noble class. That definition makes complete sense when juxtaposed with *pilli* or noble. In the case of the songs and prayers though, the word is instead juxtaposed with the gods, and therefore, it is more likely to mean, "humans," those who die, or "mere mortals" on earth. Both Horacio Carochi and James

[18] Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain; Book 8 – Kings and Lords,* No. 14, Part 9, eds. and transl. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 2nd edition (Santa Fe and Salt Lake City: School of American Research and the University of Utah, 2012), 52.

Lockhart have made note of this alternate meaning. Carochi defined the word as, "commoner, human being, indigenous person,"[19] and Lockhart defined it as, "common person, not noble; human being; after ca. 1600, sometimes indigenous person, referential equivalent of Indian."[20] Later, as is noted, the term was used to mean an indigenous person, but that is not to be confused with the meaning of the word in the songs, which is contextually translated as "mere mortal."

-Nahuac – next to, on the side of, near; close to; with, in company of. In the Book of the Dead a number of people, all from the town of Tlamacazcapan are listed as having been "*ynahuac* [a Spaniard]." There are numerous interesting implications that come out of this, but with regard just to the definition of this term, it seems to have meant that the dead person was the "neighbor of" or lived "close to" the Spaniard, as in on his property or estate. Therefore, it is translated as "he/she was the neighbor of [name]."

Pilli (plural: pipiltin) – a person of noble lineage; or, a child. When possessed, the meaning of the term becomes "a child," especially when given the reverential (-*tzin*), such that *tepiltzin* is "someone's child," and *ipiltzin* is "his or her child." In the Book of the Dead, the term *tepiltzin* does not appear however, and instead, children are labeled with just *pipiltzin,* but the context makes it clear that these were children. It is unusual that the scribe would not have used the more

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[19] Horacio Carochi, S.J., *Grammar of the Mexican language with an explanation of its adverbs* (1645), translated and edited with commentary by James Lockhart, UCLA Latin American Studies Volume 89 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 2001), 505.
[20] James Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl, with Copious Examples and Texts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press and UCLA Latin American Studies, 2001), 223.

grammatically correct term, but seeing as it is consistent, it was not a mistake but instead how he knew to write the word.

-Pohui – to belong, count (as). This term is used frequently in the Book of the Dead and is variously translated as "belonged to" or "of" a particular town, depending on the syntax of the sentence. It was used to connect the dead with their place on earth, but also keep track of tribute counts for the individual towns.

Teuapan – This term is derived from *teoatl*, divine liquid i.e. blood, and *-pan* meaning "in the time of" or "in the place of," and means "battlefield." It is possible that the spilling of blood was part of feeding the gods, thereby allowing them to live through the sacrifice of blood on the battlefield.

Appendix A

Ycnocuicatl	"A Lamentation"
27. Can yehuan Dios yn ipalnemohua can tonnemi yehua yã ye mitzonchixtoque in mocnoicnihua ye cuicatica onnentlamatoq ye xochitica // yan	27. Where is he, Dios, Ipalnemohuani?[18] Where do you live? [19] For a long time, your humble friends have been lying waiting for you. They are lying about suffering with flowers and songs.[20]
f.12v can quitemohua mellel tlaycoltia mitzonyaitlanilia moyollio in tleyotl mahuizyotl aya ohua:	f.12v Where (how) do they seek your feelings, do they desire, do they call for your heart, honor, respect. (vocables)[21]
3. Can niquittoa onon niquilnamiqui ye antla ye iuhqui a icnopillotle tle yca	3. How do I say it? How do I remember it? There is nothing like orphanhood.[22]

[18] I have left the terms for the gods, including the Christian Dios, untranslated so that it is clear when a loan word is being used.
[19] He speaks directly to the god.
[20] Flowers and song combined are a standard Nahuatl metaphor to mean poetry.
[21] They are already dead, lying on a battlefield, calling out to a god for comfort. They are speaking to god in a way that the Christians at the time would not, they speak casually to him, about him as though he were a corporal being, like their gods were, with hearts and honor and respect. The addition of Dios has caused a great deal of speculations about the Christianization of these songs, but it was more than likely added in or used to replace a preconquest deity's name.
[22] There is nothing so painful as being an orphan, I can't even remember it, or speak of it, express it.

cehuiz in noyollo tle yca polihuiz in notlayocol nihuexotzincatl mach oc onca ye nota, mach oc onca ye nonã oc nechonnechixtiez oc nechonyollocehuiz auh yn amo niccentlamitinemiz a ycnopillotl[1] ohuaya.	How will my heart be calmed, how will my sadness ease? I am Huexotzincan.[23] It is said that my father exists still, it is said that my mother exists still, they will be waiting for me, they will calm my heart. What I will never finish with is perhaps being orphaned.[24]
8. Nonteyhua paquihua aahuielo nican tocnihuan onca ye inquach ycozqui ahu in nehua ninotolinia antle ic nonpactaz antle ic nahuixtehuaz tenahuac ye nican ohuaya	8. I call for people. There is joy, pleasure. Here are our friends, there are their blankets, their jewelry.[25] As for me, I suffer. I will take pleasure in nothing, I will enjoy nothing among people. They were here.[26] (exclamation)
11. Momalinan teucyotl momalinãn icniuhyotl in tecpillotl aya ca õcan ca ompa huallaz noconnequi noconelehuia in tlpc antle ic nonpactaz antle. Etc	11. Lordship and friendship wind together, nobility still exists there, it will come this way.[27] I need it, I desire it,[28] on earth I will take pleasure in nothing, etc.

[1] This term has the dual meaning of "orphanhood and misery." It will be translated based on context throughout the songs and prayers.
[23] I am strong like those of Huexotzinco, therefore I will be calmed and eased.
[24] I will always be an orphan.
[25] Their earthly goods, the things they took pleasure in.
[26] This could also be, "they are here."
[27] The subject could also be "he."
[28] The subject could also be "he."

14. Titloque tinahuaque[2] timitzahuiltia nican antle mocnoopilhuia monahuac ypalnemohua[3] can ihui xochitl ypã titechmatia can toncuetlahui timoc- nihuan	14. You, *Tloque Nahuaque*, we entertain you here. Nothing is obtained by entreaty from you. *He is Ipalnemohuani.*[29] You just look upon us as flowers. We just wither, we who are your friends.
17. Yn can no iuhqui quetzalitztli ticxaxamania can no iuhquin tlacuilolli tic-popoloa ixquich ompa yahu I çan no ye mictlã[4] can tocepanpoliuhyan	17. You crush it [our life] like a feather.[30] You erase it like a painting. All just go to Mictlan, our place of disappearing together.
20. Tle ypan titechmati ycelteotl yhuin tiyolli yhuin ye topolihuian can tonpo-polihuitihui timacehualti cannelpa tonyazque.	20. What do you take us for? *He is the only god*. We are life,[31] this is our perishing place, we just go about

[2] *Tloque Nahuaque* was the name given to the omnipresent god, literally "the lord of the near and the nigh." This name later became synonymous with the Christian god who would overtake the religious texts, but at this time it would have had a preconquest meaning. See Louise M. Burkhart, *Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 95, and Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Monograph 13 (Albany: University at Albany, 2001), 45. I have decided not to translate this because to do so, I believe, would obscure its meaning. For more, see the Glossary.
[3] *Ypalnemohua* is used as a refrain. In the same way that a chorus is repeated, the singer is stopping every so often to remind everyone that we are talking to him: he who is literally the giver of life.
[4] The afterlife or land of the dead. Later in Christianized texts it is used interchangeably with Hell but would not have had that kind of negative connotation in the preconquest era. For more, see the Glossary.
[29] I have translated it as a refrain: "He is Ipalnemohuani," and have italicized the phrase as it is somewhat separate from the meaning of the text and narrative of the song. For more on the meaning of the name Ipalnemohuani, see the Glossary.
[30] The subject "it" here is perhaps "life."
[31] Literally, "we are heart."

disappearing, we *macehualtin*[32] [mere mortals] – where will we go?

22. Can yeic nichocayan ynic tontlatzihui ypalnemohuani chalchihuitl tlapani quetzalli poztequia timoquequeloa o antaque antle ypan titechmati tech-tlatia titechpopolohua nicana.

22. This is my weeping place because you are lazy. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. The green stone jewels broke into pieces, the feather split.[33] You laugh. We are nothing. You look upon us as nothing. You kill us, you destroy us.

25. Anca moneyocol ticmanaya motzaqual motlaqual yn ipalnemoani ayac can quittoa monahuac ycnopillotica tontlatlanilo.

25. Thus that is your divine work. We offer your temple, your food. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. No one would say that by your side, by means of orphanhood, that you are [successfully][34] beseeched.[35]

27. Chalchiuhitzmolintoc onquetzalcuepontoc achin moyollo

27. Your heart sprouts jewels, blossoms feathers. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. No one

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[32] *Macehualtin* literally means commoners, or those not of the ruling class. And that definition makes complete sense when juxtaposed with *pilli* or noble. In this instance, though, *macehualtin* is juxtaposed against the gods, and therefore, it is more likely to mean, humans, those who die, or mere mortals on earth. For more, see the Glossary.

[33] Could be present tense, "splits," but given that the first verb is in the preterit, I am translating it as the preterit to keep the tense the same. (This could have been a poetic change or an error, just as anyone might make when writing.)

[34] Literally, "piteously."

[35] Literally, "We are questioned or examined thoroughly." Personal Communication with John Sullivan at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.

ypalnemoa ayac Çan quittoa monahuac ycnopiltica.

says that by your side they have attained their desires.[36]

29. Achin oncan yecan tinemi xonahuauiacã ỹ çan cuel achic cohuatihua in çan ixquich cahuitl ommahuiztihua yn tlaca ayac nelli mocniuh in çan cuel achic onnetlanehuilo y iectli moxochiuh can cocahuic xochitl.

29. There, we live in a good place. Enjoy! For now, there is marriage. There is always esteem. Among men, no one is truly your friend. We just borrow the good things for a bit, your flowers are just dried[37] flowers.

f.13r

1. Yxquich in cueponi mopetlapan mocpal ypan in tecpillotl ỹtlahuatl ytec in tecucyotl tlatocayotl ye ic malinticac in moyaoxochiuh can cocahuic xochitl.

f.13r

1. Everything blossoms on your throne. Nobility, lineage, inside lordship and rulership stand winding together. Your war flowers are just dried flowers.

4. Ye antle nel o tic ytohua nican ypalnemohua can iuhquî temictli cã toncochitlehua in tiquittoa tlpc. ayac nellin tiquilhuilya nican.

4. Here he says nothing true. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. Just like a dream that we wake from with a start.[38] What we say, here on earth is that you tell no one the truth.

[36] Or "have been favored."
[37] Literally, "yellowing."
[38] Literally, "jump out of bed awake."

6. Tlanel ye chalchiuitl tlamatelolli timaco ypalnemoani xochicozcatica ton tlatlanilo tonitlanililo ach in tecpillotl in quauhyotl oceloyotl ach ayac nellin tiquilhuia nican.	6. Truly, the green stone we are given is already broken. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. By means of flower jewels we are defeated. You are beseeched. As for nobility, as for warriorhood,[39] perhaps you tell no one here the truth about it.
9. Yoyahue ypalnemohuani moquequeloa ca temictli ỹ tocotoa[5] ỹ tocniuh ontlaneltoca toyollo ye nelli moqueloa yehuã Dios.	9. (exclamation) *He is Ipalnemohuani*. He laughs. What we speak is a dream. He, who is our friend, believes in our heart [life]. In truth, Dios is tickled.[40]
11. Tla tonicnoahuiacan xopancalitec tlacuilolpan in technemitia ypalnemohuani ye quimati ye conitoa ynic timiqui timacehualtin ayac ayac ayac nel on tinemi ye nican.	11. Be merciful! In the green house, [the rainy season] on the surface of a painting, he sustains us. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. He knows, he says, that we die, we *macehualtin* [mere mortals]. In truth, we, none of us, none of us,[41] truly live here.

[5] From *teconitoa* - "We say it." Personal Communication with Sergio Romero at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[39] Literally, "eagles, jaguars." Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6,* 256.
[40] He is tickled, as in "tickled pink," delighted. Personal Communication with John Sullivan at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[41] The triple repetition here has been limited to two in the translation for clarity.

14. Onen nontlacat onen nõquiçaco anqui ye nicã in tlapc ninotolinia in manel nonquiz in manel nontlacat niquittoa tle naiz[6] onohuaan tepilhuan Ma teixco ninen in quê huel ximimatia ye noyehuataz yeyantli nolhuil çan ninotolinia tonehuaz cã noyollo tinocniuh yn ayaxcanin tlpc ye nican.

14. In vain, was I born. In vain, did I emerge here on earth long ago. I suffer. Although I emerged, although I was born where there are people, among children, I say, to do what? Be cautious! For I have lived on the surface, and that I will be departing a customary place is my reward.[42] I just suffer, in my heart [my life]. You who are my friends will depart. It is hard here on earth.[43]

19. quenin nemoa in tenahuac mach ilihuiz tinemi an tehuit[7] teixco ninemi çan ihuian can ycel nelli ỹ can nõnopechteca çã nontolotinemi ỹ tenahuac.

19. How do people live among others? It appears we live thoughtlessly together. [On the surface,] I just live with discretion, alone. Truly, I humble myself. I go on living and suffering among people.

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[6] *Itla nai* is "to do something" so *tle naiz* is "to do what?"

[7] Read *tehuic*. Personal Communication with Sergio Romero at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017. *Teuic* is translated as "hazia alguno, o otra con otro (in Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, f.112) and *huic* is defined as the preposition "toward," and *te* meaning "someone," implying toward each other, and therefore translated here as "together."

[42] The component parts of these two sentences are: "Be careful. How I lived on the surface, that I will be departing a customary place is my reward."

[43] Literally, "I just suffer. You will depart. It is just my heart (my life). You are my friend." I believe that this is a poetic device in which the subject alternates (perhaps there were meant to be two speakers) and therefore have translated it so that it flows in English.

22. Maca xicnotlamati noyollo maca octle xicyocoya ye nelli ayaxcã ycnopiltihua in tlpc ye nellin cococ yc ontimalihuiz yn motloc monahuac ypalnemohua.	22. Don't fool my heart! Don't make pulque![44] Truly, it is difficult to prosper on earth. Truly, affliction will well up near you who are *Tloque Nahuaque*. *He is Ipalnemohuani*.
25. Çan niquintemohua niquimilnamiqui in tocnihuã cuix occepa huitze ỹ cuix oc nemiquihui ca cen tipolihui ça çe ye nican in tlpc. macacocoya yiollo ytloc yNahuac Ypalnemohua.	25. I seek them. I remember them, our friends. Have they come again? Is there life again? [45] Here on earth, we die completely.[46] May his heart not suffer, he who is *Tloque Nahuaque*.[47] *He is Ipalnemohuani*.
28. Çan ye ica nichoca nicnotlamati nonicnocahualoc in tenahuac in tlpc. quẽ connequî moyollo ypalnemohuani ma oc mellel onquiça ycnopillotl ma oc ontimalihui monahuac titeotl yehuan Dios an tinechmiquitlani.	28. Just for that I cry, with sadness.[48] Here on earth among people I am abandoned as an orphan. How they need your heart. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. May your feeling [anguish] come forth a bit more. It is

[44] "Maca octli" – another way of saying don't joke or fool me. Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, April 5, 2017.
[45] The implied answers to the questions here are "no." See my discussion of this in Chapter 1, Section 5.
[46] Translation aided by John Sullivan. Personal Communication with John Sullivan at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[47] The subtle change from the line above, with likely a similar meaning or sentiment. Like elsewhere, the author is poetically playing with the words which subtly changes the meanings.
[48] Literally, "I am very sad." Personal Communication with Joe Campbell at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.

	orphanhood. May you be exulted[49] a bit more near you who are a god. *He is Dios*. [50] Do you not wish death upon me?
31. Aço amo tipactinemi tlpc. anca çan titocnihuã ynic hualpaquihua tlpc.	31. Are we are discontented on earth? Just because we have friends, we are happy on earth.
f.13v anca noch ihuin titiotolinia anca noch ihuin teopohui tenahuac ye nican.	f.13v Therefore, in this way we all suffer. Therefore, in this way, people are afflicted here among others.
3. Çan ca ilhuicatl[8] ytec oncan ticyocoya motlatol can yehuã Dios q ̂nin toconnequiz Mach titilatzihuiz ye nicã ticynayazin motẽyo in momahuiço in tlpc ye nican quenî toconnequiz.	3. In the sky, you create your words. *He is Dios*. How is it possible that you will desire this? It seems you are lazy [apathetic]. You will hide it,[51] squelch your fame, your honor, here on earth.

[8] *Ilhuicac* literally means "sky," but will later come to mean "heaven" in a Christian sense. In this preconquest text I am translating it as sky. For more, see the Glossary.
[49] Literally, "to be honored treated with respect or exultation glorified." Personal Communication with Louise Burkhart at the Northeastern Group of Nahuatl Scholars Conference in New Haven, CT, May 6, 2017.
[50] The refrain that had been composed of "He is Ipalnemohuani" begins to interchange at this point with "He is Dios." More reason to believe that as these songs were copied down, Dios was being used as a replacement for the old god's name, albeit inconsistently at this point.
[51] Could be "are we hiding?"

	How is it possible that you will desire this?
6. Ayac huel icniuh ypalnemohuani antocnihuã anquuhta amocelotl cannelpa toyazque titlacocohua ye nicã antepilhuã.[9]	6. He has no friends![52] *He is Ipalnemohuani*. You all are our friends. You are all eagles; you are all Jaguars [warriors]. Where will we go? We suffer very much here. You are all wellborn children.
8. Yn ma onnentlamati techcocolia in techmictiani ximotlapalocã moch onpa toyazque quenonamican[10]	8. That which makes people languish is that he hates us. He kills us. Be daring! We will all go to *Quenonamican* [a place unknown].
10. Ma mixco ninen can ninotolinitinemi yn ixpã ypalnemoan yehuã Dios çan techoncuilia çan techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tlpc. ye nican oc xõmocẽmaticã	10. May I not live before you. I just go on living in suffering in front of you, Dios. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. He just plays with us, which is what he is famous for and honored for here on earth. Pay attention! I

[9] This has the sense of someone's wellborn (i.e. noble) children. The idea is that these are the children of the nobles and therefore nobles themselves, but this is not rendered in the grammar explicitly and therefore has been left out of the translation. Personal Communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.
[10] *Quenamican* is a place, like Mictlan, a land of the dead, but without any known specifications. For more, see the Glossary.
[52] Literally, "his friends are no one."

namechõcauhtehuaz yn antocnihuã yn antepilhuã	will abandon you upon departing, you all are our friends, you are someone's wellborn children,
14. Yn tlaca ayac huel ixpa yn ipalnemohua cã yhuian Dios cã techoncuilia cã techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tlpc ye nican oc xonmocenmatican.	14. if no one is able to [has the power to] be before Ipalnemohuani. Quietly,[53] Dios just goes on taking us for himself, he just plays with us which is what he is famous and honored for here on earth. Pay attention!
17. Yn cã ticcac ticocohua moyollo huel xitechonithua xitechoniztlaco yhuin tinemi nican ixpan ypalnemohua maca ic ximiqui ma cemicac nican xinemi tlpc.	17. Where you were [where you stood] your heart was very sick. See us! Look at us. Thus, we live here in front of *Ipalnemohuani*. Don't ever die, always live here on earth.
20. Auh y nehua niquittoa e can achica çan iuhquin eloxochitl ypan titomatico in tlapc can toncuetlahuico antocnihuã maoc ompolihui ycnopillotl ma oc amelel quiça ye nican.	20. And I always say it seems that, just like magnolias, we just wither here on earth. You who are all our friends. May orphanhood disappear, may your feelings come out here.

[53] Yuian (yhuian) is, "peacefully, calmly, with proper reserve and dignity." A common phrase is "yuian yocoxca nemiliztli" – a good or calm life. Personal Communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.

23. Tleyn tiquazque antocnihuã tle yca tahuiazque canon i yolî tocuic canin tlacati tohuehueuh ninentlamatiã tlpc. canî nemia ma malintimaniz yn icniuhyotl ma malintimaniz in cohuayotl huehuetitlan mach oc niquiça-quiuh mach oc niquehuaquihu ỹ cuicatl ahu in çanio nican yn ataca ye nicã can ayahuitl can yacahuilotl ninomanaz ma tontlaneltocan noyollo cuix nicã tochan tpc çann i tolinican y teopouhcã tinemi cã noconcuitiuh can niquitlanitiuh cuix iuhqui Xochitl ma occeppa nicpixoz, cuix tonacayotl occepa nictocaz in nota in nonã cuix oc

23. How will we eat, you who are all our friends? How will we be contented? Where does our song live? Where is our drumming born? I used to suffer and live on earth. May friendship[54] twist and spread out in the presence of the drum. It seems that I'm still coming out, I am raising my song here. Here it is just cloudy, here we are just dried up. May you believe in my heart. Is it that we live here on earth just in a place of suffering, we live in a place of affliction. I just go along grasping, I just go along begging. Is it [life] like flowers, that I can harvest again? Will I bury the earthly remains of my father and my mother, again?

f. 14r

cuix oc // xilotiz oncacamatiquihu, in tlpc. yca nichoca ayacon teca techicnocauh-que

f.14r

Will the green maize bear fruit again, will there be secondary ears of maize[55] here on

[54] *coayotl* or *cohuayotl* is literally, "comradeship." Personal Communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.

[55] This is a reference to an agricultural occurrence when a second ear of corn grows from one shank. This would have held a metaphorical meaning to the Nahuas.

tlpc. can yhcacyn ohtli mictlan ỹ temoyã ca ximohuayan, cuix oc nelli nemohua quenonamicã cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo çan topco petlaacalco ontetlatia ontequimiloa ypalnemohuani cuix oncan niquimitaz ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix nechalmacazque incuic intlatol nocontemohua ayacon teca techicnocauhque

earth? I cry because I am not in the company of anyone. They left us orphaned on earth. They are standing on the road to *Mictlan*. Is there still life there in Q*uenonamicã*? Does our heart believe? [56] It is just a secret, in a reed chest. He kills people. He shrouds people. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. Will I be among them ever again, my mother and my father? Will there be exchange of songs, of words? I seek them. In the company of no one, they left us orphaned.

9. Yecoc[11] xochitl man nequilmilolo man necuiltonolo antepilhuan huelixtihuitz cuecueyontihuitz çanyo xopã nomaci' catihuitz cempohualxochitl yecoc xochitl tepetitech.

9. The flowers are well laid out, shrouds are spread out,[57] wealth is spread out. You are all wellborn children. Many come swarming. Only in the rainy season will there come to be marigolds well laid out by the hill.

[11] From *yec* (well, good, right, thoroughly) and *oc* (to be lying, to stretch out).
[56] Could also be: "Does he believe in our hearts?"
[57] Literally passive of *quimiloa* – "there was shrouding."

12. Yn çã xiuhcalitic noncuica maquizcalitic niontlatoa çã nicuicanitl	12. Just inside the bower I sing, I escaped inside the house. I sing. I am just a singer.
14. Oc xocõyocoyacã xiquilnamiquicã quenonamicã ompa ye ichã aya nelli ye tõyahui yn ompa ximoa çan timacehualti anca toyolia ixpan ye onyaz quiximatiz çan yehuã Dios.	14. Yet, you test it here! You remember it here. In Quenonamican [a place unknown], there in his home there is no truth. We journey to there, where you live. We are just *macehualtin* [mere mortals] therefore our spirit will go in front of us, only he will know it. *He is dios.*
17. Tleỹ anquiyocoya? tlein anquilnamiqui antocnihuã macatle[12] xicyocoyacã totech onquica in yectli xochitl çan iuhqui yellel in ipalnemohua çã mochi ticyocoya mochi tiquilnamiqui ticNotlamati ye nicã	17. What do you all [our friends/humans] make? What do you all remember, you all who are our friends? Don't create anything for us. The good flowers emerge just like his sadness. *He is Ipalnemohuani.* Only we create everything. We remember everything. We suffer here.

[12] *Ma tle* is indicative of doubt, and *Maca* is the negative imperative, "Don't!" Carochi, *Grammar of the Mexican Language*, 106–107.

20. Mochihu in tepilhuã mochihu in cococ teopouhtica nezcaltilo yehuã Dios Ma xihualã tinocniuh tlein ticyocoya tlein tiquilnamiqui mochipã tlpc çanio nican maca xitlaocoya ycnopilotl in ye nicmati cococ yca teopouhtica titonemitia nochipan tlpc.

20. All [his] children were afflicted by torment in growth. *He is dios*. Come take it! We who are friends, what do we create? What do we remember always here only on Earth? Don't be sad, poor orphan. I already know anguish by means of calamity. We sustain ourselves forever on earth.

24. Oacico ye nican yn ielel ytlaocol ypalnemoa ye itic onnemia ma onnechoquililo in quauhtli ye nican can tipopoliɤuizque ayac mocahuaz.

24. He arrived here with his feelings of sadness. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. He lives inside. May the eagle jaguar [warrior] mourn me here. We will just be lost. There will no longer be life.

26. Xicyocoyacã antepilhuã ahuexotzinca manel ye chalchihuitl manel teocuitlatl no ye ompa yaz in canin ximohua q͂nonamican ayac mohuaz.

26. Create it! [Life?] You all who are the wellborn children of Huexotzinco. Although green stones, although precious metals,[58] are also there, they will go to Quenonamican, where no one will live.

[58] Usually meaning "gold or silver."

28. Nichoca nihualicnotlamati y niquilnamiqui chalchihuitl tlaçoxihuitl yn otictlati yn otiquimilo ycelteotl ach tle yca Cuix in toyollo tle yca polihuiz in totlayocol çâ ninẽtlama in tlanel moxochiuh yn tlanel yectlin a mocuic mach oc mocuepaquiuh in ayoquatzin cuix occepa niquittaz cuix occepa nicnotzaz in huehuetitlan.

28. I weep. I go away knowing orphanhood. I remember the precious stones and the precious greenery. You burnt it. You shrouded it. *He is one god*. Why? Is it [what is] our heart? What will diminish our sadness? I was just unhappy even given your flowers, even given the goodness of your song. Will[59] Ayoquantzin still return? Will I see him again? Will I speak of him again, next to the drum?

f. 14v

1.Ye toCuic toxochiuh ticehua ycuic ycelteotl yc onmoquechnahuatiuh yn icniuhyotl y matitech mãtiuh in cohuayotl in nicototehuac in tochihuitzin in conitotehuac in coyolchiuhqui ça tontemiquico ahnelli ahnelli tinemico in tlpc.

f. 14v

1. With our poetry we raise his song. *He is one god*. We embrace friendship, holding hands, growing up spread out. I break him, Tochihuitzin before dying. Coyolchiuhqui said it before dying.[60] We just see it here in our dreams. We dream here. It is not true. We do not end up living on earth.[61]

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[59] From *mach*, a dubitative particle, Carochi, *Grammar of the Mexican Language*, 424–429.
[60] These are names, perhaps of the men on the battlefield dying.
[61] I blended the second ahnelli into the second sentence, but it could be, "We only dream here. It is not true. It is not true that we end up living on earth."

5. Xoxopan xihuitl ypan tochihuaco hualcecelia hualitzmolini in toyollo xochitl in tonacayo cequi cueponi oncuetlahuia in conitotehuac yn tochihuitzin	5. In the rainy season [springtime] of the year, we came here, this way things are refreshed, this way our lives grow. Like flowers, some parts of the human body bloom and wither, Tochihuitzin said before dying.
8. Çan itlatol çan iciehuiz ontlahuiz in toca moquequeloa techahahuilohua nica ayac huelo ayac huelon quilhuiz yn itlatol ypalnemoani.	8. He will just become armed with his words. He laughs. He wastes us here. No one can undo it, no one can undo it. He will come to do what he said.[62] *He is Ipalnemouani*.
10. Yn tel ca ço[13] huemac in timalo teçoçomoc teuctli tlacatecolotl yc oyauh in cuetzpal oçomatlin teuctli tlachquiehuitl çan ontemo huehueyotian tlpc ayac huelo ayac huelo.	10. [?] a large offering when we were captured – Tezozomoc, Lord Tlcatecolotl, then went Cuetzpalozomatlin, Lord Tlachquiehuitl. They just descend, growing old before dying on earth. No one can undo it. No one can undo it.

[13] The meaning of this combination of particles is unclear, perhaps with the sentiment of "Even with," or "As."
[62] Literally, "He will come to do it, his word."

13. Ma huel manin tlalli ma huel ica tepetl quihualitoa ayoquã çan yehuan cuetzpaltzin.	13. Let the earth [as in, the dirt, the soil] lie. Let it be because of the mountain,[63] says Ayocuan, he who is Cuetzpaltzin.[64]
15. Tlazcallan huexotzinco in a izquixochitl cacahuaxochitl ma onnemahmaco ma huel mani tlalla	15. In Tlaxcala, in Huexotzinco, let all the many flowering trees, cacao flowers be given out [scattered]. Let them lie on earth [or, in the dirt].[65]
17. Nihuinti nichoca nicnotlamati nicmati niquittoa nic ilnamiqui macaic nimiqui Macaic nipolihui	17. I get drunk. I cry. I suffer. I know it. I say it. I remember it. May I not die. May I not perish.
19. Yn can ahmicohua in can ontepetihua y ma oncã niauh macaic nimiqui Macaic nipolihui.	19. May I go where there is no death. Where mountains are made.[66] May I go there. May I not die. May I not perish.

[63] *Tepetl* is sometimes used on its own to symbolize the altepetl, or there could have been a battle on a hill.
[64] Tentative translation.
[65] Tentative translation. It could be that they are referring to the idea of lots of fallen men lying with scattered flowers, sinking into the earth, as *tlallan* could be underground. This may be coming from the long history of war with Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco before the conquest.
[66] Ontepetihua –tentative translation. Perhaps this is refereeing to the caves that feature so repeatedly in the origin myths, such as that presented in the Historia Tolteca Chichimeca, where those living there do not die.

21. Anmonecuiltonol ãmonmoquimiloa antepilhuan quauhtli iztac in petlacalcatl[14] ma yanquitlatzihuiliti chimalli xochitl, ic totonquia ic etic mochiuhtoc xayacamachan.[15]

21. You wrap yourselves in your riches, you wellborn children, Quauhtli Iztac, the Petlacalcatl. Don't neglect the flower shield, on which Xayacamachan, will be burned, will lie heavily.

24. Anca icnopillotl ontitimaliuhtaz quenonamicã ãca ayaznequi ãtepilhuan amontlachiaznequi yn ompa nemohua amachcahuã. Çan ca yellel ytlaocoly ixochiuh ye icuic ma ic tonahuiacã petlacalcatl in quauhtli iztac quenman tlacahuaz yn icelteotl yn ipaltinemi ye nican

24. Therefore [in] misery, you depart thinking of your honor to Quenonamican. Therefore, you are about to go, you who are well born children, you are about to see, the place where your older brothers exist. Just there exist his sadness, his mercy, his flower, his song. May [we or you] be happy because of it [the poetry and song]. Petlacalcatl Quauhtli Iztac, when he will abandon things here. *He is one god*. *He is Ipalnemohuani*.

29. Teicnohuica teicnocemilhuitiltia yn ipaltinemi yehuã dios anqui ycococauh[16] ontemocniuhtia ypetlapã quenmã

29. He takes away suffering, he detains misery for a day. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. *He is Dios*. Great is his sustenance. He

[14] The title of a tribute collector. Frances Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza*, Vol 2, 4, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 35.
[15] A ruler of Huexotzinco
[16] Property, or sustenance, either way it doesn't make sense

tlacahuaz yn icelteotl in ipaltinemi ye nican.

makes friends on his reed mat [He befriends kings.][67] When will he leave it here [on earth]. *He is one god*. *He is Ipalnemohuani*.

f. 15r

1.Xochinquahuitl onicac in tamoan ychan dios yecha, oncan tiyocoloc tinahuatiloque teuctlatoltica techylacatzoa in çã yehuan toteouh yn ipaltinemi.

f. 15r

1. The flowering tree is standing in Tomoanchan in the house of Dios. There we were created, we were ruled. He holds court. He entwines us. *He is our god. He is Ipalnemohuani.*

4. Yhui yn teocuitlatl in nicpitza nicchalchiuhtequi yectli tocuic yhuin teoxihuitl icni nappa, techilacatzohua nappa tamo, tamoa ychan yehuã Dios ypalnemohuani e xonahuia e nicã xopanian xopancalitic

4. Like this gold, I play the wind instrument. I cut green stones, our song is as good as the turquoise. Four times, he entwines us four time in Tamoanchan. *He is Dios*. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. Enjoy yourself here in the rainy season [summer, green time of year], in the green house.

8. Ye monecuiltonol moteicnelil huelon nemohua ypalnemohuani tlalpcque

8. Already your happiness, your mercy [allows?] [68] living on earth. *He is*

[67] The sense of these two sentences together is that he befriends the kings that will die and become his food.
[68] Perhaps with the sense of "empowers"

timohuihuixoa y timotzetzeloa nican moqu[17] i[n] nochan moqu i[n] nocal ymancã quemon in tlpc ynic ye nemohua mopetlapan momahuiçoocã ayac çan quittoa monahuac tonteicnoytta tontemopepenia

Ipalnemohuani. You shake yourself, you shake yourself here. He lies in my home, he lies in my house where it is on earth. Thus, already there is life on your reed mat [throne], in your honor. No one just says that by your side you are someone compassionate, [that] you choose someone for yourself.

13. Ycã monoma in tehuatl tonteicnoytta mochiel ymãca mocal ymãca cã mitzontlapielia ypalnemoani xiuhtzin in coyolchiuhqui xihuitl popoca moquihuitzin ayac çan quittoa monahuac tonteycnoitta.

13. By yourself you view all people with compassion. Where your house was, where it was, he was in charge of you, Xiuhtzin, the bell maker, Xihuitl Popoca, Moquihuitzin. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. No one just says that you are one who takes pity on people.

17. Cuicatl ayolque Xochitl ancueponque antepilhuãN i çacatimaltzin in tochihuitzin ompa ye huitze xochimecatl

17. In song you live. You blossomed like flowers. You are all well borne children. There the flower ropes [garlands] have already come for Zacatinmaltzin [and] Tochihuitzin.

[17] Moqu – mo oc – yn nocal – he lies [lay] in my house.

19. Ça ye colinia yhuehueuh yayacach ypalnemohuani amoxicuiliuhtoc anmocuic anquiçoçoa a huehuetitlan motenehuatzin moquauhtzetzeloa xochiyaoyotica conahuiltia ycelteotl.

19. Already he starts up his drum, his rattle. *He is Ipalnemohuani*. Paintings are spread out, being recited next to the drum. Motenehuatzin moves his head, he is entertained by the flower war.[69] *He is one god*.

[69] The song about the war. Or the performance of.

Appendix B

Chapter 3 - The Warriors' Prayer

Ic ey capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollocopa quitoaia, inic quitlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in quitocaiotiaia iaotl necoc iaotl, monenequi: inic quiitlaniliaia in tepaleuilixtli, in iquac iaoiutl muchioaia. Iehoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque: cenca quaqualli in metaphoras, in machiotlatolli inic tlatoaia: ioan vel itech neci in quenin vel quineltocaia, ca in ixquichtin in iaomiquia: vmpa viia in Tonatiuh ichan, inic cemicac vmpa mocuiltonozque

Third Chapter. Here are related the words which they uttered from their very hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named Yaotl, Necoc yaotl, Monenequi, to request aid when war was waged. Those who prayed were the priests. Very good are the metaphors, the figures of speech, with which they spoke. And from them it is quite apparent how they really believed that all those who died in war went there to the house of the sun, there to rejoice forever.

Tlacatl, totecoe: tloquee, naoaquee, ioalle, ehecatle, moiocoiatzine, monenequie, titlacavane iaotzine: a ca nelle axcan, ca ioli ca tlacati, ca molinia, ca mopitza ca momamali in teuatl, in tlachinolli: a ca camachaloa, ca tentlapani in tlaltecutli:

O Tlacatle, O our lord, O Tloque Nahuaque, O night, O wind, O moyocoya, O Monenqui, O titlacauan, O Yaotl, truly warfare now takes form, is born, stirs, is inflamed, is bored with a firedrill. For Tlaltecutli opens his mouth, parts his lips,

auh ca oalmomana in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztli in tlapotonilli in anemiuhqui:

and there appear the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering [of sacrifice], the incomparable.

Aviz nelle axcan, maviltiz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: auh teatlitiz, tetlamacaz, tetlaqualtiz in topan in mictlan: auh ca ie oalitztotoc ie oallachialotoc in topan in mictlan, in ilvicac in quezqui: auh in aquinin tlacnopilviz in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl: auh in tetzon, in teizti, in texillan in tetozcatlan actiaz, in cauiltiz: auh in catlitiz, in quitlamacaz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli, yn ixtlaoacan, in ixtlaoatl inepantla, in itic in mopôpoiauhtoz, in mopopoiaoaz: in vncan xixitiniloz, momoiaoaloz, in tzatzaianaloz, in niman vncan yhiiotl quiçaz:

And truly now the Sun, Tlaltecutli[4], will be happy. And those who are above us in Mictlan will give drink, offerings, and food [to the gods]. And all those who are above us in Mictlan, in the sky, already lie watching, are already observing. Whoever is a suffering eagle warrior, a suffering ocelot warrior, a noble will cry out[5] from the gut.[6] He will make the Sun, Tlaltecutli happy, will gladden him, will give him drink and serve him. On the [battle]field, in the midst of the [battle]field, he will be brave, valiant. There he will be undone, scattered, cut to pieces. Then and there he will breath his last.

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[4] *Tlaltecutli* literally means Lord of Earth. For more on gods' names see the Glossary.
[5] Could also be, "to beg or entreat."
[6] In one's abdomen, in one's throat – from the gut (generous person or a speech or prayer from the gut and throat.)

A mach oc commati in nantli, in tatli, in tlacachivale, in tzone, in izte, in veve, in ilama: auh in ça noço, ac teoaniolcatzin in teauitzin, in tetlatzin: mach oc commati in quen poliui in tlacachioalli: anca quen oquimotetzavili in tenantzin, in itlan ocochiaiaticatca, in imetzpan quitlatlaliticatca: auh in imemeialotzin, quemeva ic oquimotetzauili

The mother, the father, the family,[7] the old man, the old woman, do not know of it yet. Nor do any of the assembled kinsmen – the aunts, the uncles – know yet how their relative died. Nor the mother who strengthened him, the one by whose side he used to be lulled to sleep, the one who used to place him on her thigh, and the one who with her milk had indeed strengthened him.

Quen achi muchiuh, inic otetzauac, inic oalmozcalti, inic ooapaoac: in tetatzin ovmpa onquiz, nelli mach in oontla itlapaliviz, nelli mach yn oiiellelacic inic oquixtemotinen in cochcaiutl, in neeuhcaiutl: auh ie iehoatl, in totech vmpilcac, in toquezpan, in toquechtlan tocompiloa:

For the little that was done in order that he be strengthened, grow, develop, the father suffered want. Truly, he consumed his strength. He endured anguish in going in search of his breakfast and dinner and for he who is the one who clings to us [like a child], he whom we hang on our hips, around our necks.

Cuix oc commati in quen poliui in itlacachioal, in cuix calaquiloz, in cuix

Do they yet know how their relative died? Will he save himself? then and there will

[7] *in tlacachivale, in tzone, in izte* - This phrase has the implication of those with the same antecedents, the same ancestors, and those who come from the same body, which is to say, one's family.

noço niman vncan vetziz tequitl: ma çan ivian, ma çan iocuxca quivalmaniliz, ma ixillan ma itozcatlan, ma imacochco, ommotecatiuh in tonan, in tota, in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli:

[his work] fall? May the Sun, Tlaltecutli, who is our father and our mother just peacefully and gently lay him out. May he place him within his own body.[8]

Ca amo ticmotlanevilia, ca vncan pouhqui, ca vncan itauhqui ca ipan motlacatili, ca iuhcan oaliualoc, in catlitiz, in quitlaqualtiz, in quitlamacaz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: auh ca amo ica timomachtitzinoa, ca vncan onoque, ca vncan xamantoque, in tepilhoan, in chalchiuhtin, in maquiztin, in tlaçoti ca vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanilia, timotevipanilia: vncan timoteicuilvia,

Be not mistaken about them, from birth they have been dedicated, promised, thus they were sent to give drink, ford and offerings to the Sun, Tlaltecutli. And do not doubt it, for there [on the battlefield] they lie, there lie shattered, peoples' children, the precious green stones, the bracelets, the precious items: for there like necklaces, like precious feathers we place them [as an offering before you],[9] arrange them in order, record their names there.

Tlacatle iaotzine, titlacaoane, tezcatlipucae, ioalle, ehecatle: manoço iviian, iocuxca texillan tetozcatlan

O Tlacatle, O Yaotl, O Titlacauan, O Tezcatlipoca, O night, O wind: May it be peaceful. May whoever has been noble,

[8] Literally, "lay him out or place him by way of his throat and gut," and so could have a sense of ingesting, as the gods seems to be frequently hungering and thirsting for these warriors.
[9] To place something before someone, an offering to the gods.

maquiltitiaz in ac iehoatl: auh in quezqui oticmomaceuili, manoço ivian, iocuxca itech onaciz in Tonatiuh in manic in tlanexti in totonametl, in quauhtleooanitl, in vel cuicuiliuic in nexeoac in quauhtli in ocelutl, in tiacauh, in oquichtli, in iavmicqui in xoppilli:[1] auh manoço yvian, iocuxca intech onaciz in tiacavan in iamicque, in tepilhoan: in quitzicquaquatzin, in maceuhcatzin, in tlacavepantzin, in ixlilcuechaoac, in hivitl temoc in chachoacuetzin: auh in ie muchintin, in ie ixquichtin, in quauhti in ocelo, in ilvicatl itic, in vmpa cauiltia in Tonatiuh, in xippilli in tiacauh in iavmicqui yn vmpa coiouia:

may he be adorned. May you peacefully arrive at the Sun which spreads,[10] shines; the resplendent one, the ascending eagle, the spotted eagle, the ashen one, the eagle, the ocelot, the leader, the manly man, the one who died in war, the turquoise prince. And may they peacefully arrive among the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the peoples' children, Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauepantzin, Ixtlilcuechauac, Ihuitl Temoc, [and] Chahuacuetzin; and all, all the several eagle warriors who are in the sky where they gladden the Sun, the turquoise prince, the valiant warrior, the one who died in war – They attained it by their own effort.[11]

Auh in vmpa motlamachtia mocuiltonoa, in cemicac in muchipa in cemanqui, in acan tlanqui in quichichina in nepapan

And there, always, forever, perpetually, time without end, they rejoice, they live in abundance, where they suck the different

[1] *Xippilli* or *xoppilli* - another name for the Sun.
[10] Or "he who has spread."
[11] Literally, "to withstand a difficult task."

xuchitl, in aviiac: in velic inic pactinemi, inic auixtinemi in tiacahoa: inic iuhquima ivintitinemi, in aquimati in aoc quilnamiqui in tlein cemilvitl, in tlein ceiooal: auh in aoc quixmati in cexiuh, in oxiuh in çan cēmanqui in innecuiltonol, in innetlamachtil, in quichichina nepapan xuchitl, in aiectli in paquilizxuchitl, in ahauializxuchitl, in ipan mictiui, in quicolitiui in tepilhoan in queleuitiui

flowers, the fragrant, the savory. In this wise the valiant warriors live in joy, in happiness. It is as if they live drunk, not knowing, no longer remembering the affairs of the day, the affairs of the night, and no longer giving heed to one year, to two years. Eternal in their abundance, their joy. The different flowers they suck, the choice ones, the flowers of joy, the flowers of happiness: for which the noblemen go to death – go having feelings and passion.[12]

Auh in axcan tlacatl, totecoe: titlacaoane, ma ivian, iocoxca yxillan, itozcatlan, imacochco ommoteca in tonan, in tota, in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: ma quioalmanili, ma quioalmocelili:

And now, O Tlacatle, O our lord, O Titlacauan, may the Sun, Tlaltecutli, who is our father and our mother peacefully and gently lay him out. May he place him within his own body. May he take [him], may he admit [him].

Auh ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequitilia, tlacatle totecoe: in ie ixquich nepapan

And you do your labor, you do your duty, O Tlacatle, o our lord. All the different

[12] The sentiment here is that they were passionate for life, love, lust, and yet in other translations, this has been interpreted as the noblemen and warriors longing for death.

quauhtli ocelutl: in toneoa, in chichinaca in iiollo, in nentlamati in mitzmonochilia, in mitzmotzatzililia: in amo quitlaçotla in itzontecon in ielchiquiuh, in teca quimotla, in teca quitepachoa[2] in miquiznequi: manoço achitzin xicmottitili in quinequi, in queleuia, in tiçatl, in ivitl: manoço xicmomachiotili
in Tonatiuh inan, in Tonatiuh ita, in teatlitiz, in tetlaqualtiz, in tetlamacaz in topan in mictlan, in ilvicac:

eagle [warriors], the ocelot [warriors], those who suffer pain, who suffer torment in their hearts, who are anguished, those who call upon you, who cry out to you, those who do not value their heads, their breasts, those who are hit [with stones] , those who are about to die: concede to them a little bit, show them what they desire, what they long for, the chalk, the down feathers, concede to him, let him make a mark[13] upon himself. [So that] those above us in Mictlan, in the sky, will give drink, food, and offerings to the Sun, their mother, the Sun, their father.

Auh in quipiaz in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, in quipachoz, in tlacateccatiz, in tlacochcalcatiz: ma xicmonantili, ma xicmotatili in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in cenquauitl, in cemixtlaoatl mantiuh: in quimottitia in texcalli, in atlauhtli:

And those who will guard the eagle mat, the ocelot mat, those who will govern, those who will be Tlacateccatl, those who will be Tlacochcalcatl, make them mothers, make them father of the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who travel all

[2] *Te-ca*: by means of people; *quimotla*, *quitepachoa*: they stoned him (could relate to battle or sacrifice.) Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019; and Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 225.
[13] Indicating that he is prepared to die as a sacrifice.

the forest, all the [battle]fields, of those who seek out the stone, the precipice.

In imac maniz in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztli in tlapotonilli: auh in mitzmotlatotoniliz, in quitotonz: auh in quitimaloz in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in tençacatl, in tlalpiloni, in nacochtli, in cuecueiochtli, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatli, in quemitl: auh in quitotoniz, in ilviltiz, in imaceoaltiz, in quicnopilviz, in quimaceoaz in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuitl, in quetzalli: auh in teucuitlatl in motzmolinca, in mocelica in motzopelica, in maviaca: in motechcopatzinco vitz, in monacaiotzin:

In their hands will rest the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering. And they will enrich you, they will enrich and will honor [others] with the shield, the device, the lip pendant, the head band, the ear plug, the ear pendant, the wristband, the band for the calf of the leg, the breech clout, the cape, the vestment. And they will enrich those whose desert, whose merit it is, who will obtain, who will gain as merit the precious green stones, the precious turquoise, the precious feathers, and the gold which are your tenderness, your sweetness, your fragrance which comes from your body.

Auh in ie ixquich in quauhtli, in ocelutl: manoço achitzin quicnopilvi, ma achitzin itech matilivi in tiçatl, in ivitl, ma xicmottitili in tlamaviçoolli, macamo

And all, the eagle [warriors], the ocelot [warriors], concede to him a little bit of his merit/worth; may [the warrior] be covered with chalk, with down feathers.

mavi in iiollo, ma cauiiacamati, ma quitzopelicamati[3] in itzimiquiliztli, ma ica in iiollo cavilti, in necoc tene, in tlapotonilli, in itzpapalotl, ma quinenequi, ma quehelevi in itzimiquizxuchitl, ma quiuelicamati, ma cauiiacamati, ma quitzopelicamati in iooalli, in tlacocomotzaliztli, in icavaquiliztli: ma xicmoviviti, ma xicmocniuhti.

Show him the marvel. May he not be afraid in his heart. May he know the fragrance, the sweetness of death by the obsidian knife [as a sacrifice]. May [the warrior] leave by means of his heart/strength/valor with double edged spade,[14] with the ritual feathering, with Itzpapalotl. May he desire, may he long for the flowery death by the obsidian knife [as a sacrifice].[15] May he know the deliciousness, the fragrance, the sweetness of the darkness, the din of battle, the roar of the crowd. May you join him; be his friend.

Auh inic tinecoc iautzin, inic timoiocalatzin, inic timoquequeloa, inic aiac motenpan: ma xicmotlaoantili, ma xicmivintili, ma xicmoxocomictili yn toiaouh, ma imac oalmotlaça, ma

And as you are Necoc Yaotl, as you are Moyocoyatzin, as you are Moquequeloa, so that no one is at your borders, intoxicate our enemies; inebriate them, make them drunk. May they cast

[3] From -*tzopelica* for this phrase as a whole I think I am on firm ground with this phrase *O cenquizcaahuiacatzopellicaychpochtzintle ma* meaning, "Oh perfectly fragrant and sweet maiden" (mid sixteenth century, Central Mexico) Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Monograph 13 (Albany: University at Albany, 2001), 121.
[14] This is literally – a spade or something similar with two edges; also, a gossiper.
[15] i.e. once it has gotten to the point of no return, may he ask for death.

quioalmomaca, ma ica oalmomotla in tocnoquauh, in tocnocelouh, in aiavia, in avellemati, in toneoatinemi, in chichinacatinemi in tlalticpac.

themselves into the hands of, may they give themselves to, may they come [unaware] upon/hit up against our suffering eagle warriors, our suffering ocelot warriors, who rejoice not, who are unhappy, who live in torment, who live in pain on earth.

Ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin tlacatl, totecoe, teutle, teimatinie, techichivanie: ma ximotlatlatlalili, ma ximotlatecpanili, ma ximotemamanili, ma necuiltonolo, ma netlamachtilo, ma veia, ma vecapanivi in quappetlatl, in ocelupetlatl: ma motequaiotl, ma motleioti in teuatl, in tlachinolli: ma ioli, ma tlacati in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in Tonatiuh iteavilticauh, in itetlamacacauh, in çan canin, in çan quēman in ticmomacaviliz in contocaz in Tonatiuh in tlaltecutli

Incline your heart, O Tlacatle, o our Lord, o god, o Teimatini,[16] o Techichiuani, to arrange, to order things, to establish the people. May there be wealth and prosperity; may it grow, may it gain honor with respect to the eagle mat, on the ocelot mat [in war]. May there be ferocity, glory in war. May the eagle [warrior], the ocelot [warrior] live, exist [or be born]– he who is the gladdener,[17] the servant, of the Sun. Somewhere, sometime, you will grant that they will follow the Sun, Tlaltecutli.

[16] Literally, "the knower of people."
[17] He gladdens the sun, brings pleasure to the sun, by feeding him.

In intech onaciz, in intech vmpouiz in tiacaoan, in iavmicque, in quauhtin ocelo: in quinamiqui, in cauiltia in totonametl in xippilli: auh in quichichina nepapan xuchitl, in quitlamachtia in ilvicatl itic, in Tonatiuh ichan,	They will arrive among, will belong with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the eagle [warriors], the ocelot [warriors] who receive, who gladden the resplendent one, the turquoise prince. And they suck various flowers; they prosper in the sky, the home of the Sun.
O ca ixquitzin ic nimitznotza: ic nimitzpôpôlotza totecuioe.	This is all with which I address you, with which I speak unintelligibly to you, O our lord.

Chapter 5 - The Funeral Prayer

Ic macuilli capitulo, vncan moteneoa in tlatolli: inic quitlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca, in quitocaiotiaia titlacaoa, moquequeloa, in iquac miquia tlatoani, inic oc ce motlatocatlaliz. Auh inin tlatolli, iehoatl quitoaia in vei tlenamacac catca, miec in vncan moteneoa: in quaqualli tlatolli.	Fifth Chapter. Here are related the words with which they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they called Titlacauan, Moquequeloa, when the ruler died, in order that another be installed. And this discourse he who was the principal priest repeated. Here are told many good discourses.
ca ooiatia, ca otoconmotlatili, ca otoconmocxipachilvi, ca otoconmotoptemili, ca otoconmopetlacaltemili: ca ontlama in tochan in apochquiaoaiocan, in atlecalocan: ca iequi cevitoc, ca oontlama in mitoa in atecpitla	He has gone. You [the god] have killed him,[19] you have crushed him,[20] you have placed him in a wicker basket, in a box.[21] He has known our home, the place with no outlets, or smoke holes [a place of suffocation and death].[22] Already he lies resting, for he has known the so-called place of no fleas [a place of peace].

[19] The god has killed the ruler. Although this can mean to hide oneself, it is the sense of killing or of taking out of view. The clear intention of the phrase is that it is the god who has cause the death of the ruler and taken him away, hidden him away out of sight.
[20] The sense here is of stepping on him or pressing him down and squashing him.
[21] The imagery here may be coming from the fact that the gear and weapons of sacrificed enemies was kept in wicker boxes. Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019.
[22] *in apochquiaoaiocan, in atlecalocan* - Of this phrase Dibble and Anderson say that a more literal translation would include a chimney or fire place as opposed to "place with no outlets, the place with no openings." The Spanish text reads, "donde ni ay Ventana, ni luz ninguna." Here as a compromise between the absolute literal and a subjective non-literal I have translated it as "a place with no outlets or smoke holes," but either way the sense is that there is no escape.

In ocuelachic, in oachitzinca, inomitzommotlaamanililico in tlalticpac in. N. auh in onellehoatl in otoconminecuilitili, in oitentlan toconmoquixtili in motzopelica, in maviaca, in otoconmottitili, in oixtlan toconmoquixtili in motleio in momavizio: in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl, in ocemilvitl, in oachica mitzmotlaamanililico: auh in oontlamaviçoco in mopetlaquac in mocpalquac, in vncan oonelcicivico, in omitzontlaocolnonotzaco.

Briefly, for a while, N. hath come to assume your troubles for you on earth. And truly you have caused him to smell, you have caused to pass before his lips, your sweetness, your fragrance. You have caused him to see, you have caused him to pass before his face, your glory, your wonder, the rule, the governing. For a day, for a while, he came to assume your troubles for you. And he came to reap reward on your reed mat, your reed seat; there he came to await your breath, your words; there he came to sigh, he came to call out to you in sadness.

A ca oontlama, ca ocontocac in tonan, in tota in mictlan tecutli in tzontemoc in cueçal, in techoalamictoc, in techoalteuciuhtoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oallamatatacatoc: in acan veli quichiuhtoc in ceiooal, in cemilvitl oallaitlantoc, in oaltzatzitoc:

He knew, he has followed our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli, Tzontemoc, Cuezalli, who keeps thirsting for us, who keeps hungering for us, who keeps panting, who keeps coveting, who remains restless; by night, by day he keeps demanding, he keeps crying out.

Auh ca nelle axcan, ca intech oonacic ca oquimonma in iachcocolvan, in itechiuhcaoan in ie nachca onmantivi, in oieccoco in petlapan, in icpalpan in tetecuti, in tlatoque: in tlacatl in acamapichtli, in tiçocic, in avitzotl, in veve motecuçoma, in axaiaca: in nican onicatiuh in motecuçoma in iluicamina,

And really now he has approached, he has known his great-grandfathers, his progenitors, those who had already gone beyond to reside, those who had come to establish the kingdom – the lords, the rulers, the lord Acamapichtli, [and] Tizoc, Auitzotl, Ueue Motecuzoma, Axayacatl, the one who has here followed Motecuzoma Ilhuicamina.

Auh in ie ixquiin tetecutin in tlatoque, in otlaquico, in otlamamaco in oquimaviçoco: auh in oquitimaloco in petlatl, in icpalli, in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl: auh in ovel mitzontlatetequilitiaque, in ovel mitzonmotlatlatlalililitiaque in titloque, in tinaoaque, in timoiocoia, in timoquequeloa:

And all these lords, these rulers, came to govern, came to marvel at, and came to glory in the kingdom, the rulership, the government. And they ordered, they arranged things well for you, you who are Tloque Nahuaque, you who are Moyocoya, you who are Moquequeloa.

Auh in oconquetzteoaque in vei quimilli, in vei cacaxtli, in vei tlamamalli, in tlatconi, in tlamamaloni in etic, in temamauhti in aixnamiquiliztli, in aieoaliztli in iteputzco in icuitlapan contlaliteoaque,

They stood up the large bundle upon leaving, the large carrying frame, the great burden, the subjects, the governed, – the heavy, frightful, insupportable, insufferable. They put it from their backs

concauhteoaque in intzon, in imizti: in ocuel achic quimontzonteconacocuico, in oquimonteniotico,

upon leaving. They departed leaving it to their offspring.[23] To him who for yet a little while came to raise up their heads, who came glorifying them.

In axcan oquimontocac, in oquimomma: in otoconmotlatili, in otiqualmotzatzilili. Oieh tlacauhqui in moiollotzin oticmocnelili, ca oceuh in iiollo in inacaio, ca oia, ca oommotecato in atecpitla ca ie quiceuitoc:

Now he has followed them; he has come to know them – he whom you have killed, he whom you have summoned hence. You have already inclined your heart; you have blessed him, for his heart, his body are relieved; for he has gone, for he has gone to lay in the so-called place of no fleas [a place of peace]; for already [you have] put him to rest.

Auh ca ocenmaian catca, ca ocenmaian onquiz, ca ocen onquiz in tlaltipac: mach çan cana viloaia, oalilotiz, oalmocuepaz oc ceppa ixco, icpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl: auh cuix oc conitoquiuh in ma iuh ie, y[n]in ma iuh muchioa, y: auh oc ceppa ma

And it has been forever; he has gone forever; he has left the earth completely. Has he perhaps just gone somewhere to come back, to return, that once again the altepetl may look upon his face? And will he still come to say: "May this be so;

[23] Literally, "their hair, their fingernails," a metaphor for children/offspring as in from one's own body.

ia imixco imicpac tlachiaquiuh[18] in tetecutin in tlatoque, cuix oc quittazque, cuix oc quiximatizque, cuix oc quicuizque, canazque in iten, in itlatol: cuix oc quinciappovaz, cuix quinciauhquetzaz: a ca ocen oncatca, ca ocen onquiz, a ca oceuh, ca otlaiooac: ca oceuh in ocutl, ca opoliuh in tlavilli in tlanextli: ca ocenmaian icnopiltic in atl, in tepetl: anca quen tlamamaniz, mach oc oalmotlamachitia, anca ça quen poliviz: auh anca ça quen popololoz in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli:

may this be done?" And will he yet again soon come among the lords, the rulers? Will they yet see him, yet know him? Will they yet take, yet hold to his word?[24] Will he yet console them, greet them? It has been complete. He has left completely. It is extinguished, it has darkened; the torch is extinguished; the light, the splendor is destroyed; the altepetl is eternally orphaned. And so in what manner will he assume the burden? Will he still concern himself, considering that the vassals[25] will somehow perish and considering that they will somehow be destroyed?[26]

Auh in atl, in tepetl, cuix yio nican iteputzco ica necacaiaoaloz xixiniz, momoiaoaz, in onelli mach ipan quiçoçoaco in iahaz, in icuitlapil, in onelli

And the altepetl, will it perhaps here in his absence be mocked? Will it divide? Will it scatter? Truly he came spreading his wings, his tail feathers over it; truly

[18] *imixco tlatlachia in teci cioa* – "They passed among the grinding women." James Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, Repertorium Columbianum v. 1 (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1993), 126. So *imixco tlatlachia* is to pass among them, to come among them.
[24] Literally, "his lips, his words," but this difrasismo has the meaning of his words or speech.
[25] Literally, "Tail and wing" but is a metaphor for commoners or vassals.
[26] Alternate: therefore, he will just be destroyed, and so the commoners will just be destroyed.

mach ipan mohonoltitivia: auh man oce cuel ma cactimani, ma iooatimani in matzin, in motepetzin, ca inencauhian ticmuchivilia tlacatle totecoe. Aviz nelle axcan, quen quinequi in moiollo: cuix cactimaniz, cuix iooatimaniz in atl, in tepetl, cuix inencauhian ticmuchiviliz:

he spread himself over it. And does your altepetl lie abandoned, lie darkened? For you, O Tlacatle, O our lord, make it his place of desolation. And here, in truth, now in what manner does your heart desire? Will the altepetl lie abandoned, will it lie darkened? Will you make it his place of desolation?

A ieh motolinia in tlatquitl, in tlamamalli, in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli: ca inan, ca ita quitemoa, ca inan ita quinequi, ca mopachollani: a nelle motolinia in cenquavitl, in cençacatl mantiuh, in teutlalli quitoca, in ixtlaoatl quinamiqui, in quimixtemolia, in quitemoa ȳ quicui, in quitepoloa in quilitl, in quavitl, in tlacotl:

O, miserable are those who are carried, who are borne, the vassals, who seek their mother, their father; who require their mother, their father; who desire to be governed. Truly miserable are those who go in all the forests, in the grasslands; who follow the dry lands; who encounter, who search out the deserts; who seek, take, consume the plants, the wood, the sticks.

Auiz nelle motolinia in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in miquiznequi, in anemiznequi in onvetzi iiollo in ixtlaoacan, in teuapan:

And here, in truth, miserable is the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering

ac itech oalmotzatziliz in otehoan motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetozcatlan maquiltitiaz, ac inan, ac yta quioalchioaz: auh ac conchoquiliz, ac conelciciviliz:	ocelot warrior, who are about to die.[27] They are not going to live,[28] their hearts[29] will spill out on the plain, on the battlefield.[30] Who will shout about them? Who will entreat with the gods [for them?] by shouting with feeling from the gut. Who will go about adorned [for the funeral]? Who will be his mother? Who will be his father to come do it [mourn for him]? Who will cry for him? Who will sigh for him?
Motolinia in teuhio, in tlaçullo ac quipapacaz, ac cahaltiz, ac quicuiliz, ac caniliz in ihaca, in ipalanca, ac quiquaniliz, ac chico tlanaoac quiviquiliz:	The one who is covered in dirt and filth is miserable. Who will wash him? Who will bathe him? Who will take, who will remove his stench, his rottenness? Who will remove it, put it aside?[31]

[27] *Miquiznequi* – the verb *nequi* does have the suggestion of "to want," but it is more about something that is going to happen, and especially when combined with the future tense as it is here.
[28] Again, this is more literally, they are about to not live, i.e. they are about to die, or they are not going to live through this.
[29] Could have the sense of lifeblood.
[30] *Teuapan* here is derived from *teotl* – god, *atl* – water, and is a concrete term for battlefield. Possibly from the idea of blood as the water of the gods.
[31] This entire paragraph is regarding the fact that he was left out/abandoned on the battlefield or away from home, being sacrificed, and now there is no one to take care of his body, and to prepare him for his funeral/burial/cremation.

Auh ieehoatl in ixquatech mana, in motzotzona in movitequi in maceoalli, ac quiceviz: auh in ixaiotzin quimatentivitz, ac quichoquiliz, ac quixaiopâpachoz, cuix monomatlatlaliliz, cuix conmuchiviliz in miquiztli in miquini in polivini, in onelli ovican ia: auh ac quitêtecaz in petlatl in icpalli, ac tlatlatlaliz, ac tlatecpanaz, ac quitlaliz ac quinaoatiz in nantli, in tatli, in petlatiz, in icpaltiz:

And they, the common folk who confront each other, who beat each other, who strike each other, who will quiet them? And he who goes about saddened, who will weep for him? Who will dry his eyes? Who will arrange things?[32] Who will create death for the mortal things, the perishable things? Will the one who takes the difficult path be the one who will take responsibility? And who will establish the royal line? Who will dispose of things? Who will establish, who will command the mother, the father, who will govern?

Auh ac coliniz ac quiiolitiz in vevetl, in aiacachtli, in vncan molnamiqui, in vncan moiocoia in teuatl, in tlachinolli: auh in vncan quimocotonilia in imiquiz in aavia, in avellamati, in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelutl in niquiznequi: auh ac quinnechicoz in quauhtli, in ocelutl

And who will move, who will put life into the drum, the gourd rattle, where war is remembered, where war[33] is created and where it will be cut, the death of the unhappy, the miserable, the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering ocelot warrior who is about to die? And who

[32] To arrange things, in person, himself, but with the sentiment of taking responsibility.
[33] In teuatl, in tlachinolli is an accepted attestation of war or battle.

will gather [the remains of] the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors?

Tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaquee: manoçotlacaoa in moiollotzin, ma xicmomacavili, maxicmonextili, ma xicmomachiotili in ac iehoatl, in mitzonmotlapialiliz in tlatquiz, in tlamamaz, in oneticiviz in conaviltiz in atl, in tepetl, in imetzpan contlatlalitiez, in conaviltiz, in contlavivitequiliz in atl, in tepetl:

O Tlacatle, O our lord, O Tolque Nahuaque, incline your heart; concede, reveal, designate which one will guard for your, will govern, will fortify, will gladden the altepetl; which one will place the altepetl upon his thigh, will fondle it, will dandle it?

Manoço xicmomacavili, tlacatle totecoe: ca onnemiin. N. manoço iehoatl xicmomacavili, manoço iehoatl xicmomachiotili, ma iehoatl compia, y, ma iehoatl achitzinca xoconmotlaneuhtili in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin: auh in motecuiotzin, in motlatocaiotzin, manoço iehoatl xicmocnoittili, xicmopepeniili: maxicmanili in cuitlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan: auh ma xicmotleiotili, ma xicmotequaiotili

Concede, O Tlacatle, O our lord, that N. live. Concede to him, designate him, that he may guard this. Give him as a loan for a little while your reed mat, your reed seat, and your rule, your kingdom. Show compassion for him; choose him. Take him from the excrement, from the filth, and glorify him, make him like a fierce animal.

Tlacatl, totecoe: ma tona, ma tlatvi xicmuchivili. Ca ixquich ic mixpan nitlacoloa, ic mixpan nitlaviltequi in nimaceoalli: manoço quinequi in moiollotzin, in quecin toconmonequiltiz.	O Tlacatle, O our lord, make the sun to shine; let there be light. It is all with which I, a mere mortal, go astray, go amiss in your presence. May what your heart requires be in the manner in which you will desire it.

Appendix C

El Libro de los Difuntos[1]

f. 1r

1. 1619 anos ~ Los difuntos: ~

2. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 ylhuitl de henero 1619 años micque
catallinā piltzintli micqui yta migl^{e} mocario pohui tlatenco
juā piltzintli micqui yta mig^{l} Maldonado pohui huexo^{co}

5. ypā domi͡go yc 6 de henero 1619 años micque
mā castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Pasqual de roças pohui almoya[huaca]
pellipe piltzin micqui yta pa^{o} vallencía pohui ocotepec

8. ypā lunes yc 7 de henero 1619 años micqui

f. 1r

1. Year 1619 ~ The Deceased: ~

2. Died on Saturday the 5th day of January 1619:
The child Catalina died. Her father was Miguel Mocario of Tlatenco.
The child Juan died. His father was Miguel Maldonado of Huexotzinco.

5. Died on Sunday the 6th of January 1619:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
The child Felipe died. His father was Pablo Vallencía of Ocotepec.

8. Died on Monday the 7th of January 1619:

[1] "El Libro de los Difuntos," The John Carter Brown Library, Codex Ind. 43.

[blank space][2] anprosio de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapa	[blank space] Ambrosio de Santiago of Xaltepetlapan.
10. ypā jueves yc 10 de henero 1619 años micque fran^{co} piltzintli yta juā bap^{ta} pohui ocotepec antona yta juā chane tetzcoco	10. Died on Thursday the 10th of January 1619: The child Francisco. His father was Juan Bautista of Ocotepec. Antonia. Her father was Juan a citizen of Tetzcoco.
13. ypā sab^{o} yc 12 de henero 1619 años J mig^{l} xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui hueco^{co} tecpā namic ma^{a} jallome di^{o} poyça micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank space] pohui callacohuayā diego yta diego pz pohui huexo^{co} mag^{na} yna fran^{ca} pohui tlanicōtlā	13. On Saturday the 12th of January 1619: Juan Miguel Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Maria Salome. Diego Poyza died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space] of Callacohuayan. Diego. His father was Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco. Magdalena. Her mother was Francisca of Tlanicontlan.

[2] There are numerous places where blank spaces have been left where a name, or sometimes a town, should be. In these cases, it is almost certain that the scribe intended to find out the name and fill it in later. It is possible in the case of children that they may not have been named, having died in very early infancy, but there is no way to know that for sure.

20. ypā domigo y^{c} 13 de henero 1619 años micqui fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca pohui tlanicotla tlapo^{hui}	20. Died on Sunday the 13th of January 1619: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Tlanicontlan Tlapohui.
22. ypā lunes yc 14 de henero 1619 anos pelliphe de s. tiago amo nican chane testigo diego pab^{ta} chane chillapa – ycha micq̆ diego gar^{a} xalatatzin	22. On Monday the 14th of January 1619: Felipe de Santiago. He is not a from here. Witness: Diego Bautista from Chillapan – he died in the house of Diego García Xalatatzin
25. ypā martes yc 15 ylhuitl de henero 1619 años micqui micqui piltzintli yxhuiuh fran^{co} pereguino pohui quana [page ripped]	25. Died on Tuesday the 15th of January 1619: The child died. The grandchild of Francisco Pereguino of Quana[lla].
27. ypā miercoles yc 16 de henero 1619 años micque mathias micqui piltzintli yxhuiuh di^{o} maceuh xaltepetlapa mig^{l} micqui piltzintli yta pa^{o} de maçallino pohui coyotzin[co]	27. Died on Wednesday the 16th of January 1619: The child Matías, the grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan died. The child Miguel died. His father was Pablo de Mazallino of Coyotzin[co].

30. ypā sab^{o} yc 19 de henero 1619 micque juā de gan^{te} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā namic aña nenca testigo jusepeh hernadez juana ypiltzin Gabriel pohui texica mag^{na} ximenez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic miguel mēdez pohui huexo^{co} totollac testigo fran^{co} pz

30. Died on Saturday the 19th of January 1619:
Juan de Gante died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Ana Nenca. Witness: Joseph Hernández.
Juana, the child of Gabriel of Texica. Magdalena Jiménez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Méndez of Huexotzinco Totollac. Witness: Francisco Pérez.

36. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de henero 1619 a^{o}s micque
pa^{o} ximenez miq ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui ocotepec testigo mig^{l} de anocolo mar[aillina] micq̃ tlapopohuillilaq̃[3] pohui huexo^{co}

36. Died on Sunday the 20th of January 1619:
Pablo Jiménez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec. Witness: Miguel de Anacolo.
Maria [illegible] died. She belonged to Huexotzinco. She confessed.

[3] The meaning of this word is pardon or forgiveness, but the sense here is that she confessed before death. That is, a priest was called and made it to her deathbed in time to hear her confession. This act of extreme unction, or more modernly the anointing of the sick is an important death ritual as it implies that the person was granted a "good death."

f. 1v

1. [ypā] martes y 22 de henero 1619 años micque pipiltzintzinli

[page ripped] tatzin fran^{co} gotierez pohui acxolta

[augu]stin ytatzin mathias hernatez pohui almoyahuaca

f. 1v

1. On Tuesday the 22nd of January 1619, these children died:

[page ripped] His father was Francisco Gutiérrez of Acxolta.

[Augu]stin. His father was Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

4. [ypā] miercoles yc 23 de henero 1619 años omicqui piltzintl

[blank space] ytatzin Geronimo quixata pohui huexo^{co} totollac

4. On Wednesday the 23rd of January 1619. A child died:

[blank space] His father was Jerónimo Quixata of Huexotzinco Totollac.

6. ypā jueves yc 24 de henero 1619 años omicqui

aña quetzalamel micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui almoyahuaca ynamic Gabriel molales

6. Died on Thursday the 24th of January 1619:

Ana Quetzalamel died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her husband was Gabriel Morales.

9. ypā Viernes yc 25 de henero 1619 años omicque pipiltzintzin

juana yta fran^{co} neahual pohui xaltepetlapa

9. On Friday the 25th of January 1619, these children died:

Juana. Her father was Francisco Neahual of Xaltepetlapan.

juana yta simon de aquino pohui huexo^{co} totollac

Juana. Her father was Simón de Aquino of Huexotzinco Totollac.

12. ypā sab^{o} yc 26 de henero 1619 años omicqui piltzintl
jusepha yta juā pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac

12. On Saturday the 26th of January 1619, a child died:
Josepha. Her father was Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

14. ypā lunes yc 28 de henero 1619 años micqui
mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl} micq̃ ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui almoy[a]huaca ynamic juā pz

14. Died on Monday the 28th of January 1619:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Juan Pérez.

17. ypā martes yc 29 de henero 1619 años micque
simon pz mic ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui tiyaquizteco ynamic sosta cacallo xo^{tl}
matheo xuare micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamacazcapa ynamic juana castilla xo^{tl}

17. Died on Tuesday the 29th of January 1619:
Simón Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tiyanquiztenco. His spouse was Sosta Cacalloxochitl.
Mateo Suare[z] died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

22. ypā Viernes yc 1 de ebrere 1619 años micqui	22. Died on Friday the 1st of February 1619:
martha yta mig^{l} martonato pohui tepetzinco	Marta. Her father was Miguel Maldonado of Tepetzinco.
24. ypā sab^{o} yc 2 de ebrero 1619 años micqui	24. Died on Saturday the 2nd of February 1619:
[Line left blank.]	[Line left blank.]
26. ypā domigo yc 3 de ebrero 1619 años omicque	26. Died on Sunday the 3rd of February 1619:
gabriel amonica chane cholola chane testigo jua pz	Gabriel. His was not from here. He was from Cholula. Witness: Juan Pérez.
lureço telpohitl[4] ynatzin ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui totollac	The young man Lorenzo. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
29. ypā lunes yc 4 de hebrero 1619 anos omicque	29. Died on Monday the 4th of February 1619:
diego marmoleso telpohtl ynatzin hellena castilla xo^{tl}	The young man Diego Marmoleso. His mother was Elena Castillanxochitl.

[4] *Telpochtli* means a young man, unmarried but who is of an age to marry. He and others like him were likely what we would call today teenagers or adolescents.

juā a^{o}l omic ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} Totollac ynamic [blank space] Bera betolla yta mig^{l} Rodriquez pohui tiaquizteco

[Line left blank.]

Juan Alonzo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was [blank space]. Vera Bedoya. Her father was Miguel Rodríguez of Tianquiztenco.

[Line left blank.]

35. ypā Viernes yc 8 de hebrero 1619 omicque pipiltzintzintin
lureço yta joseph quahtecatl pohui ocotepec
mag$^{nay\ ta}$ juā pabtista pohui huexo^{co}

35. On Friday the 8th of February 1619, these children died:
Lorenzo. His father was Joseph Quahtecatl of Ocotepec.
Magdalena. Her father was Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco.

38. ypā domigo yc 10 de hebrero 1619 anos
omicque pipiltzintzin amatlacatl

38. On Sunday the 10th of February 1619:
No one's children died.

40. ypā martes yc 12 de hebrero 1619 anos
ma^{a} yta fran^{co} pohui almoyahuaca

40. On Tuesday the 12th of February 1619:
Maria. Her father was Francisco of Almoyahuacan.

angelyna castilla xo^{tl} omic ytechca tlacallacaquilli po[hui] almoyahuaca ynamicqui[5] mathias de gante	Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Matías de Gante.
f. 2r	f. 2r
1. ypā miercoles yc 13 de hebrero 1619 años micque justa castillā xo^{tl} micqui tlapopolhuillo pohui acxotl juā bap^{ta} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almo[yahuaca]	1. Died on Wednesday the 13th of February 1619: Justina Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan died. She confessed. Juan Bautista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.
4. ypā sab yc 16 de hebrero 1619 años micque poras piltzintli micqui yta domi͡go deribas pohui [huexo^{co}] Xaltepet^{an} mathias ynā ma^{a} jalmoe pohui tlanicōtlā	4. Died on Saturday the 16th of February 1619: The child Poras died. His father was Domingo de Rivas of [Huexotzinco] Xaltepetlan. Matías. His mother was Maria Salome of Tlanicontlan.

[5] This is likely a scribal error. Having written *micqui* so often it isn't hard to see how he would then add *qui* to the end of *ynamic*. That being said it could also be read as *ynamicqu i[n]* in which case a better translation would be "She was the spouse of the one who is Matías de Gante" implying that he is someone very well known, or who has already been mentioned.

ma[a] jallome micqui pohui hexo[co] atzonpa ynamic [illegible] pz	Maria Salome of Huexotzinco Atzonpan died. Her spouse was [illegible] Pérez.
juana micqui ypiltzin marcos pz pohui huexo[co]	Juana died. She was the child of Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco.
antona yconeuh[e] ynes cahuaxoch pohui ocotepē	Antonia, the child of Inés Cahuaxoch of Ocotepec.
10. ypā domi͡go yc 19 de hebrero 1619 anos micqui	10. Died on Sunday the 19th of February 1619:
angelyna ypiltzin Pasqual de s. fran[co] pohui coyotzinco	Angelina, the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.
12. ypā lunes yc 20 de hebrero 1619 anos micqui	12. Died on Monday the 20th of February 1619:
ynes castillā xo[tl] micqui pohui tlamacazcapa ynamic pellipe [de la cruz]	Inés Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapa died. Her spouse was Felipe [de la Cruz].
14. ypā martes yc 21 de hebrero 1619 anos micqui	14. Died on Tuesday the 21st of February 1619:
angelina ypiltzin jua pz pohui huexo[co]	Angelina, the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco.

16. ypā yc 20 de hebrero 1619 años micque	16. Died on the 20th of February 1619:
juā evgellista micqui ynamic mā castillā xo^{tl} pohui coyotzinco	Juan Evangelista died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.
di^{o} xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzopā yc ocalpo[lhui][6]	Diego Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. The barrio gathered for him.
lurenço piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pohui tlamacazcapā	The child Lorenzo died. He was the child of Francisco of Tlamacazcapan.
antona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} de s. mig^{l} pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Antonia died. She was the child of Pablo de San Miguel of Tianquiztenco.
nicolas micq̃ ypiltzin pa^{o} gar^{a} pohui ocotepec	Nicolas died. He was the child of Pablo García of Ocotepec.
juana piltzin micqui ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co}	The child Juana died. She was the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco.

23. ypā jueves yc 21 de hebrero 1619 año micque	23. Died on Thursday the 21st of February 1619:
melchor hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma[illegible] pohui tla[macazca]pā	Melchor Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ma[ria illegible] of Tla[macazca]pan.

[6] *Ocalpolhui* or *ocalpolhiuhque* – translated here as "The barrio gathered." For more see Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, Sexta Edición, Primera Reimpresión, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2013), 11v, "calpulhuia" and Rémi Siméon, *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana*. Siglo XXI, 1977, 62, for the past tense passive form.

fran^{co} vazguez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui [ocotecpec]	Francisco Vasquez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of [Ocotepec].
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā [illegible]cel pohui tetzcoca[pa]	The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan [illegible] of Tetzcocapan.
27. ypā Viernes yc 22 de hebrero 1619 a^{o}s micqui ypiltzintli	27. On Friday the 22nd of February 1619, a child died:
antonio ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co}	Antonio, the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco.
29. ypā sab^{o} yc 23 de hebrero 1619 omicque	29. Died on Saturday the 23rd of February 1619:
gabriel çaynos ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicqui [ve]ronica castilla xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuaca	Gabriel Ceynos. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Veronica Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
pe^{o} degāte omicq̆ ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank space]	Pedro De Gante died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space].
33. ypā lunes yc 25 de hebrero 1619 omicque	33. Died on Monday the 25th of February 1619:
ma^{a} piltzin pa^{o} pohui ateco	María, the child of Pablo of Atenco.

catharina ypiltzin juā pohui huexo^{co}	Catharina, the child of Juan of Huexcotzinco.
36. ypā martes 26 de hebrero 1619 omicque	36. Died on Tuesday the 26th of February 1619:
[melchiora] ypiltzin [illegible] pohui tlanicōtlā	Melchora, the child of [illegible] of Tlanicontlan.
matheo piltzin yta di^{o} [delona] pohui tlan[icontlan]	The child Mateo. His father was Diego de Luna of Tlan[icontla].
[blank space] piltzin yta juā [perez] pohui [tlamacazcapā]	The child [blank space]. His father was Juan [Pérez] of [Tlamacazcapan].
40. ypā domi͡go yc 3 de março 1619 años micque	40. Died on Sunday the 3rd of March 1619:
di^{o} piltzintli yta juā xuarez pohui [tianquiztenco]	The child Diego. His father was Juan Suárez of [Tianquiztenco].
angelina jua^{a} pz pohui tezcocapā	Angelina Juana Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
43. ypā lunes yc 4 de março 1619	43. On Monday the 4th of March 1619:
[augutina] ypiltzin fran^{co} [illegible]	[Agustina] The child of Francisco [of illegible].
45. ypā martes yc 5 de março 1619	45. On Tuesday the 5th of March 1619:

[illegible] pohui [illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible].

f. 2v

1. ypa [illegible] yc 6 ylhuitl de marzo 1619 anos

[illegible] perez miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui alenco ynami [m^{a} castilla] xo^{tl} testigo matheo de los angelles

f. 2v

1. On [illegible] the 6th day of March 1619:

[illegible] Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was María Castillanxochitl. Witness: Mateo de Los Angeles.

4. [ypā] jueves yc 7 de marzo 1619 anos

[m^{a}] piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} de gante pohui tetzcocapā

4. On Thursday the 7th of March 1619:

The child María died. Her father was Pedro de Gante of Tetzcocapan.

6. [y]pa Viernes yc 8 ylhuitl de março 1619 anos micqui

[illegible] S. tama^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui Huex$^{[co]}$ [Totollac] testigo [dō] juan de cozmā

[antona piltzin] micqui ypiltzin juan ximenez pohui huexo^{co} tototllac

6. Died on Friday the 8th day of March 1619:

[illegible] de Santa Maria died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco [Totollac]. Witness: don Juan de Guzman.

The child Antonia died. She was the child of Juan Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

mig^{l} ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexo^{co}	Miguel, the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.
11. ypa yc 9 de março 1619 anos [ma^{a}]piltzin ypiltzin di^{o} pohui acxotlā [pedromila] piltzin ypiltzin pellipe pohui acxotlā [di^{o}] ypiltzin juan Lazaro pohui tlanacazcapan justina castilla xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tianqui[ztenco]	11. On the 9th of March 1619: The child María. She was the child of Diego of Acxotlan. The child Petronilla. She was the child of Felipe of Acxotlan. Diego, the child of Juan Lazaro of Tlamacazcapan. Justina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.
16. ypā domingo yc 10 de março 1619 años micqui [blank space] ypiltzin don fran^{co} de osacastro pohui huexo^{co} totollac [blank space] ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui tlanacazcapan	16. Died on Sunday the 10th of March 1619: [blank space] He was the child of don Francisco de Osacastro of Huexotzinco Totollac. [blank space] He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlamacazcapan.
19. ypā lunes yc 11 de março 1619 años micqui	19. Died on Monday the 11th of March 1619:

juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin auqustin pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child Juana died. She was the child of Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
21. ypā martes yc 12 de março 1619 años micqui estevā mondales micqui chane tlaxcallan veronica castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui almoyahuacā ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mathias de san mig^{l} hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juāez xuarez pohui almoyahuacā	21. Died on Tuesday the 12th of March 1619: Esteban Morales from Tlaxcallan[75] died. Veronica Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías de San Miguel. The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Suárez of Almoyahuacan.
26. ypā jueves yc 14 de março 1619 anos micque matheo de los anegelos omic ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui anteco ynamic juana castilla xo^{tl} juā quaquatzin omicqui amo nica chane cholola huatlahua[7] juana ypiltzin juā tecauiçal poui almoyahuaca	26. Died on Thursday the 14th of March 1619: Mateo de Los Angeles died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl. Juan Quaquatzin died. He was not from here. He was from Cholula Huauhtlahuac Juana, the child of Juan Tecauizal of Almoyahuacan.

[7] Place name, possibly Huauhtlahuac or Huetlahuac.
[75] An orthographic variant of Tlaxcala.

[blank space] yconehui ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui azopā	[blank space] He was the child of María Castillanxochitl of Atzonpan.
32. ypā domingo yc 17 de março 1619 añoz micqui juana ypiltzin anres gabriel pohui totollac juā desalto ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tepetzinco ynamic augustina castilla xo^{tl} pe^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin augustin p[ere]z pohui tetzcocapan	32. Died on Sunday the 17th of March 1619: Juana, the child of Andrés Gabriel pohui Totollac. Juan de Salto. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. His spouse was Agustina Castillanxochitl. The child Pedro died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
37. ypā lunes yc 18 de março 1619 años micque veronica castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui atzonpā ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic domi͡ngo pz lucas yplitzin mig^{l} pz pohui coyotzinco	37. Died on Monday the 18th of March 1619: Veronica Castillanxochitl of Atzonpan died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Domingo Pérez. Lucas, the child of Miguel Pérez of Coyotzinco.
41. ypā miercoles yc 17 de março 1619 micqui	41. Died on Wednesday the 17th of March 1619:

pa^{o} ypiltzin lurenço mirāda pohui coyotzinco	Pablo, the child of Lorenzo Miranda of Coyotzinco.
43. ypa domingo yc 21 de março 1619 anos juā calisto micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} Tecpan ynamic augustina castilla xo^{tl}	43. On Sunday the 21st of March 1619: Juan Calisto died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Agustina Castillanxochitl.
46. ypā lunes yc 22 de março 1619 a^{o}s mag^{na} piltzintli ypiltzin don juā de cozmā pohui xaltepetlapā	46. On Monday the 22nd of March 1619: The child Magdalena. She was the child of Juan de Guzman of Xaltepetlapan.
f. 3r 1. ypā jueves yc 25[8]de março 1619 a^{o}s micqui [fr]an^{co} Hernandez zapadero miqui ytechca tlacal[laquilli][tian]quiztenco ynamica ma^{a}	f. 3r 1. Died on Thursday the 28th of March 1619: Francisco Hernández Zapadero died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. His spouse was Maria.
4. ypā Viernes yc 26 de março 1619[9]	4. On Friday the 26th of March 1619:

[8] This could be an 8 or a 5, but the 28th would be correct for the day of the week.
[9] This is an example of a time when the day of the week and the date don't line up historically. This is probably an indication that these records were being copied down from memory or from other writings and the scribe made a mistake with either the date or the day of the week. This happens a few times over the

hellena ca xochitl ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mig[l] michteuh pohui xaltepe[tl] hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe[o] gonçales pohui almoya[cā]	Elena Castillanxochitl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Michteuh of Xaltepetlapan. The child Elena died. She was the child of Pedro Gonzales of Almoyahuacan.
7. ypā domingo yc 31 de março 1619 años micqui bartholome ypiltzin pe[o] gonçales pohui almoya[huacan]	7. Died on Sunday the 31st of March 1619: Bartolomé, the child of Pedro Gonzales of Almoyahuacan.[76]
9. ypā lunes yc 1 de abril 1619 años andres Gabriel chane atlixco	9. On Monday the 1st of April 1619: Andrés Gabriel from Atlixco.
11. ypā miercoles yc 3 yhuitl de abril 1619 a[o]s micque fran[co] Hernandez micqui yta tlapopolhuilli[10] pohui tlanicōtlā	11. Died on Wednesday the 3rd of April 1619: Francisco Hernández died. The father heard his confession. He belonged to Tlanicontlan.

course of the record. In most cases it happens a few times in a row, as though the first mistake created a chain reaction.

[10] Although literally this translates to his father pardoned him, the Nahua scribes often used *yta* or "father" for priest, but the word "father" had to be possessed, and therefore was written *yta*, but with the meaning of priest rather than "his father"

[76] Pedro Gonzales of Almoyahuacan losses two children in one week.

mig^{l} pz micqui ychā micqui juā molaro ytechca tlacallaquilli tlamacazcapā lucas ypiltzin pe^{o} xuares pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Miguel Pérez died. He died in the home of Juan Morello. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. Lucas, the child of Pedro Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
16. ypā jueves yc 4 de abril 1619 año micqui ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic juā pz testigo Gabriel [ca]sme	16. Died on Thursday the 4th of April 1619: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Juan Pérez. Witness: Gabriel [Casme].
19. ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl de abril 1619 anos andres de roas micqui yechca tlacllaquilli ynamic martha ac xo pohui xaltepetlapā [blank space] ypiltzin di^{o} yxconauhqui pohui totollac	19. On Friday the 5th day of April 1619: Andrés de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Marta Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan. [blank space] He was the child of Diego Yxconauhqui of Totollac.
23. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 ylhuitl de abril 1619 a^{o}s	23. On Saturday the 6th day of April 1619:

fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic di^{o} xuarez pohui xaltepe^{an}	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
25. ypā domingo yc 7 de abril 1619 a^{o}s micqui [Line left blank.]	25. Died on Sunday the 7th of April 1619: [Line left blank.]
27. ypā lunes yc 8 ylhuitl de abril 1619 años mag^{na} de s. ta cruz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui yauhtzinco yc ocalpolhiuhque testiquo pe^{o} xuarez	27. On Monday the 8th day of April 1619: Magdalena de Santa Cruz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Yauhtzinco. The barrio gathered for her. Witness: Pedro Suárez.
30. ypā martes yc 9 de abril 1619 año pa^{o} ximinez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic monica angellina ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic mathias de [blotched out] roças testigo estavā morquina	30. On Tuesday the 9th of April 1619: Pablo Jiménez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was Monica Angelina. Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas. Witness: Esteban Morquina.

35. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 ylhuitl ymē de abril 1619 años
Balthasar molares micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tezcocapā ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl}

35. On Saturday the 13th day of the month of April 1619:
Baltazar Morales died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Texcocapan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

38. ypā lunes yc 15 ylhuitl de abril 1619 años
diego Hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzonpā ynamic ma^{a} cadena

38. On Monday the 15th day of April 1619:
Diego Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. His spouse was Maria Cadena.

41. ypā miercoles yc 17 de abril 1619 años
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui yta pasqual pz pohui coyotzinco

41. On Wednesday the 17th of April 1619:
The child Maria died. Her father was Pasqual Pérez of Coyotzinco.

43. ypā jueves yc 18 ylhuitl de abril 1619 años
simō crocel micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui totollac ynamic yn castillā xo^{tl}

43. On Thursday the 18th of April 1619:
Simón Crocel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.

46. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 ylhiuitl ym̄es de abril 1619 años
mig^{l} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} de luna pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

46. On Saturday the 20th day of the month of April 1619:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Miguel de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

48. ypā lunes yc 22 de abril de 1619 a^{o}s micqui
fran^{ca} chane chollolla ycha omoto[11] fran^{co} de tonal

48. Died on Monday the 22nd of April 1619:
Francisca from Cholula in her home. Francisco de Toral said so.

50. ypā martes martes yc 23 de abril 1619 a^{o}s
miq^{t} ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui ocotepec

50. On Tuesday the 23rd of April 1619:
Miguel, the child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

f. 3v
1. ypā miercoles yc 24 de abril 1619 a^{o}s
veroni[ca] ypiltzin di^{o} pz chane xaltepetlapā

f. 3v
1. On Wednesday the 24th of April 1619:
Veronica, the child of Diego Pérez from Xaltepetlapan.

[11] Tentative translation: Reflexive form of ihtoa. As will be seen later in this document there are instances where this phrase looks more like it might be "ycha[n] manato" which would imply the same idea, but with the more specific meaning of "brought him/herself here [to bring the news]."

juana ychpochtli[12] yhuepol augustin pz atzōpa	The young woman Juana. He brother-in-law was Agustín Pérez [of] Atzonpan.
4. ypā jueves yc 25 de abril 1619 a^{o}s di^{o} pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui thohcuillā ynamic juana castilla xo^{tl} testigo fran^{co} de la cerda mathias yconeuh angellina pohui totollac	4. On Thursday the 25th of April 1619: Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tocuillan. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl. Witness: Francisco de la Cerda. Matías, the child of Angelina of Totollac.
8. ypā miercoles yc 8 ylhuitl de mayo 1619 a^{o}s Fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā camacho pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	8. On Wednesday the 8th of May 1619: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
10. ypā jueves yc 9 de mayo 1619 años ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias de roças pohui atenco testigo fran^{co} cornorio ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin juā camacho pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	10. On Thursday the 9th of May 1619: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Atenco. Witness: Francisco Cornorio. The child Maria. She was the child of Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[77]

[12] *Ychpochtli* means a young woman, typically a maiden or girl old enough to marry but who has not done so yet. She and other's labled thus were probably what we would consider teenagers or adolescents today.
[77] Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco lost his wife and daughter in two days.

fran^{co} piltzintli yta mathias de roças pohui totlac	The child Francisco. His father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.
15. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de mayo 1619 años sebastian de la crus micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui [tian][quiztenco] ynamic [blank space]	15. On Saturday the 11th of May 1619: Sebastián de la Cruz died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. His spouse was [blank space].
18. ypā domingo yc 12 de mayo 1619 años ma^{a} micqui ychpochtli ypiltzin mathias vardes pohui huexo[^{co}] totollac ~~ypā~~ fran^{co} piltzintli yconeuh angellinacastillan xo^{tl} pohui totollac	18. On Sunday the 12th of May 1619: The young woman Maria died. She was the child of Matías Valdes of Huexotzinco Totollac. The child Francisco. He was the child of Angelina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.[78]
23. ypā lunes yc 13 de mayo 1619 micqui juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic augustin pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpa	23. Died on Monday the 13th of May 1619: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Agustín Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[78] Possibly the second child Angelina has lost in the month, the first on April 25th.

26. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1619 años
fran^{co} perecrino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mariaña pohui quanalla

26. On Tuesday the 14th day of the month of May 1619:
Francisco Pereguino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Mariana of Quanalla.

29. ypā jueves yc 16 de mayo 1619 años
ma^{a} cacallo xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlapopolhuilloc pohui huexo^{co} tototlac
fran^{co} gar^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} Jacob pohui huexo^{co} totollac
antona xillotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhiu[hque] pohui huexo^{co} totollac

29. On Thursday the 16th of May 1619:
Maria Cacalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac died. She confessed.
Francisco García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Jacob of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Antonia Xillotl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs Huexotzinco Totollac.

35. ypā domingo yc 19 de mayo 1619 años
mag^{na} ypiltzin mig^{l} ordana pohui acxotlā
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui tetzcocapā

35. On Sunday the 19th of May 1619:
Magdalena, the child of Miguel Ordana of Acxotlan.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Agustín Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

augustina castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yncamic di^{o} de aquino pohui thohcuillan	Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.
barnabe piltzintli micqui yconeuh antona xillotl catca pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The child Barnabe died. He was the child of the late Antonia Xillotl[79] of Huexotzinco Totollac.
mathias piltzin micqui ypiconeuh juana desilba pohui totollac	The child Matías died. He was the child of Juana de Silva of Totollac.
43. ypā lu martes yc 17 de mayo 1619 años micqui	43. Died on Tuesday the 17th of May 1619:
juā comacho micqui yc ocalpolhiuhque pohui huexo^{co} tecpan	Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. The barrio gathered for him.[80]
melchior pz micqui ytecha tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank space] pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Melchor Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space] of Huexotzinco Totollac.
47. ypā domingo yc 21 de mayo 1619 años	47. On Sunday the 21st of May 1619:
augustin pe^{o} micqui chane cuetlaxohuapā	Agustín Pedro from Cuetlaxohuapan died.

[79] Antonia Xillotl died three days earlier.
[80] Juan Camacho's wife died on the 8th and his daughter on the 9th.

f. 4r

1. ypā lunes yc 22 de mayo 1619 años micqui
ma^{a} ychpochtli ypiltzin luiz z^{o} pohui huexo^{co} totollac
m̄j̄n cordes micqui tlapopolhuilliloc pohui xaltepetlapā yc ocalpolhuique

f. 4r

1. Died on Monday the 22nd of May 1619:
The young woman Maria. She was the child of Luis Zocalo of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Martín Cordes of Xaltepetlapan died. He confessed. The barrio gathered for him.

4. ypā jueves yc 6 de junio 1619 a^{o}s simō de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aña castillā xo^{tl} pohui Atenco juā piltzintli ypiltzin fran^{co} pohui tlanicōtlā

4. On Thursday the 6th of June 1619:
Simón de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Castillanxochitl of Atenco.
The child Juan. He was the child of Francisco of Tlanicontlan.

8. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 de junio 1619 a^{o}s ma^{a} de s. luis micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui xaltepetlapā

8. On Saturday the 8th of June 1619:
Maria de San Luis of Xalteptelapan died. She confessed.

10. ypā lunes y 10 de junio 1619 años
pa^{o} macallina micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic hellena castillā xo^{tl} pohui
coyotzinco

10. On Monday the 10th of June 1619:
Pablo Macalina died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to his spouse
Elena Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.

13. ypā martes yc 11 de junio 1619 años
diego pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
tlapopolhuilloc pohui huexo^{co} totollac

13. On Tuesday the 11th of June 1619:
Diego Pérez died. He confessed. His
tribute responsibility belongs to
Huexotzinco Totollac.

16. ypā j viernes yc 12 de junio 1619 a^{o}s
rapael piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz
tetzcocapā
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui
tlanicōtlā
fran^{ca} micqui piltzintli ypiltzin anto^{o} pz
pohui huexo^{co}

16. On Friday the 12th of June 1619:
The child Raphael died. He was the child
of Francisco Pérez [of] Tetzcocapan.
The child Juan died. He was the child of
Juan Pérez of Tlanicontlan.
The child Francisca died. She was the
child of Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco.

20. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 de junio 1619 años
fran^{co} de la cruz micqui chane tetzcoco

20. On Saturday the 13th of June 1619:
Francisco de la Cruz from Tetzcoco died.

22. ypā martes yc 16 de junio 1619 años

22. On Tuesday the 16th of June 1619:

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} angenio pohui huexo^{co}

The child Juan died. He was the child of Pablo Angenio of Huexotzinco.

24. ypā domi͡go yc 14 de junio 1619 a^{o}s juā gaspar micqui chane cholollā

24. On Sunday the 14th of June 1619: Juan Gaspar from Cholula died.

ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Balthasar de mj͡n pohui ocotepec

The child Maria died. She was the child of Baltazar de Martín of Ocotepec.

27. ypā martes yc 2 de jullio 1619 juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā caynos pohui huexo^{co}

27. On Tuesday the 2nd of July 1619: The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Ceynos of Huexotzinco.

juana piltzintli ypiltzin juā pz pohui totollac

The child Juana. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Totollac.

30. ypā miercoles yc 3 de jullio 1619 años omicqui hellena ynes ychpohtl ypiltzin diego macauhui pohui xaltepetlapā

30. Died on Wednesday the 3rd of July 1619: The young woman Helena Inés. She was the child of Diego Macauhui of Xaltepetlapan.

merchior piltzintli ypiltzin bernatino de luna pohui cacallachohuayn luçiya ypiltzin juā gabriel pohui tlanicotla

The child Melchor. He was the child of Bernardino de Luna of Cacallachohuayan Lucia, the child of Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.

34. ypā Viernes yc 5 de jullio 1619 anos omicqui
diego mathias ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} ynamic paolla

34. Died on Friday the 5th of July 1619: Diego Matías. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. His spouse was Paola.

36. ypā domi͡go yc [blank date] de jullio 1619 años
simō de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yna^{mic} ma^{a} jalloma pohui almoyaua

36. On Sunday the [blank date] of July 1619:
Simón de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Salome of Almoyahuacan.

38. ypā miercoles yc [no date] de juliio 1619 a^{o}s micqui
agatha amoxoch pohui xaltapetlapā ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco bartholome chane chololllā
ma^{a} piltzin micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} fran^{co} pohui tototollac

38. Died on Wednesday the [date blank] of July 1619:
Agatha Amoxoch of Xaltepetlapan. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Bartolomé from Cholula.
The child Maria died. She was the child of Miguel Francisco of Totollac.

f. 4v

1. ypā sab^{o} [illegible] augusto 1619 micqui

f. 4v

1. Died on Saturday [illegible] of August 1619:

angellina [monica] micqui pohui huexo^{co} totollac ytechca tlacallaqui yc ocalpolhiuhque	Angelina Monica died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. The barrio gathered for her.
4. ypa domi͡go yc 3 de augusto 1619 año micqui [blank space] micqui ynamic juā saleate pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	4. Died on Sunday the 3rd of August 1619: [blank space] died. Her spouse was Juan Saleate of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
6. ypā lunes yc 4 de augusto 1619 micqui juana maria micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynami matheo varios pohui almoyahuacā juā bap^{ta} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlanacazcapā ynahuac juā cahualero arias malmoleso micqui ynamic [blank space] ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā	6. Died on Monday the 4th of August 1619: Juana Maria died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Mateo Varios of Almoyahuacan. Juan Bautista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, neighbor of Juan Caballero. Arias Malmoleso died. His spouse was [blank space]. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan.

13. ypā miercoles yc 6 de augusto 1619 a^{o}s ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui yc ocalpolhuiuhque ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac	13. On Wednesday the 6th of August 1619: Inés Castillanxochitl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.
16. ypā Viernes yc 8 de augusto 1619 a^{o}s pe^{o} juachin telpochtli micqui huexo^{co} totollac	16. On Friday the 8th of August 1619: The young man Pedro Joaquin of Huexotzinco Totollac died.
18. ypā miercoles yc 23 de augusto 1619 a^{o}s ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} ycnociuatl chane calpā hellena castillā xo^{tl} ynamic juā chane que tlaxcallā	18. On Wednesday the 23rd of August 1619: The widow, Maria Castillanxochitl from Calpan. Elena Castillanxochitl, her spouse was Juan from Tlaxcallan.
21. ypā martes yc 3 setiébre 1619 micqui [blank space] ypiltzin juā alvarez pohui xaltepetlapā	21. Died on Tuesday the 3rd of September 1619: [blank space]. He was the child of Juan Alvarez of Xaltepetlapan.

Juā fran^{co} [illegible- uhqui] amonicā chane	Juan Francisco [illegible]. He was not from here.
24. ypā miercoles yc 4 setiébre 1619 años augustina piltzintli ypiltzin juā pz pohui totollāc	24. On Wednesday the 4th of September 1619: The child Agustina. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Totollac.
26. ypā jueves yc 4 setiembre 1619 micqui augustina varazquez ynamic pa^{o} cehuamotl ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzonpā fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} vartes pohui totollac	26. Died on Thursday the 4th of September 1619: Agustina Velázquez, her spouse was Pablo Cehuamotl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. The child Francisca died. She was the child of Diego Valdez of Totollac.
30. ypā sab^{o} yc 14 setiébre 1619 año micqui jujana teocuitla xo^{tl} ycnoçihuatl micqui pohui atenco ytechca tlacallaquilli	30. Died on Saturday the 14th of September 1619: The widow Juana Teocuitlaxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco.

33. ypa lunes yc 16 de setiébre 1619 año catallina castilla xo^{tl} miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco ynamic di^{o} de roças

33. On Monday the 16th of September 1619:
Catalina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Diego de Rosas.

36. ypā miercoles yc 17 de setiebre 1619 ano
ma^{a} matlal omic ytechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolihuique pohui almoyhuaca testico auguti pohui xaltepetlapa

36. On Wednesday the 17th of September 1619:
Maria Matlal died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. The barrio gathered for her. Witness: Agustín of Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypā juaves yc 19 de setiebre 1619 años omicqui
ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} ynamic Antonio pz pohui xaltepetlapa tlapopolhulliloqui

39. Died on Thursday the 19th of September 1619:
Maria Castillanxochitl, her spouse was Antonio Pérez of Xaltepetlapan. She confessed.

f. 5r

1. ypā martes yc 1 de octobre 1619 años omic

f. 5r

1. Died on Tuesday the 1st of October 1619:

mig^{l} pertoco omicqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic xtina ca xo^{tl} pohui acxotla ma^{a} cacallo xo^{tl} omic ytechca tlcallaquilli ynamic diego pz tetlama[caz]capa	Miguel Pertoco died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Cristina Castillanxochitl of Acxotla. Maria Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Diego Pérez [of] Tetlamacazcapan.
6. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 de octobre 1619 años juana ychpohtl ypiltzin pa^{o} xuarez pohui tetlanmcazcapa	6. On Saturday the 5th of October 1619: The young woman Juana, the child of Pablo Suárez of Tetlamacazcapan.
8. ypā lunes yc 7 de octobre 1619 años omicqui aña castilla xo^{tl} ynamic juā pz ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetlamcazçapa ynahua[c] juā gahualleto	8. Died on Monday the 7th of October 1619: Ana Castillanxochitl, her spouse was Juan Pérez. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetlamacazcapan. She was the neighbor of Juan Cahuallero.
11. ypā miercoles yc 9 octobre 1619 omicque pipiltzintzinti [luna] ypiltzin di^{o} ordes pohui xaltepetlapa	11. On Wednesday the 9th of October 1619, these children died: Luna, she was the child of Diego Ortis of Xaltepetlapan.

ma^{a} ypiltzin juā de aquino pohui almoyahuacā	Maria, she was the child of Juan de Aquino of Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 de octobre 1619 año ma^{a} piltzin ypiltzin mig^{l} pz pohui almoyahuacā	14. On Saturday the 13th of October 1619: The child Maria. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
16. ypā lunes yc 14 de octobre 1619 ano mique juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin estavā coto pohui tianquiztenco	16. Died on Monday the 14th of October 1619: The child Juana died. She was the child of Esteban Soto of Tianquiztenco.
18. ypā jueves yc 17 de octobre 1619 año micqui catallinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pellipe de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapā	18. Died on Thursday the 17th of October 1619: The child Catalina died. She was the child of Felipe de Santiago of Xaltepetlapan.
20. ypā Viernes yc 18 de octobre 1619 año micqui	20. Died on Friday the 18th of October 1619:

ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic gaspar juā ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamcazcapā ynahuac beroz	Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gaspar Juan. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamcazcapan. She was the neighbor of Beroz.
23. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de octobre 1619 años micqui juā ypiltzin pe^{o} de gāte pohui totollā	23. Died on Sunday the 20th of October 1619: Juan, the child of Pedro de Gante of Totollac.
25. ypā martes yc 22 de octobre 1619 años omicque justina ychpohtl ycha micqui juā morilo pa^{o} ypiltzin antoinio de s. razalo pohui totollac	25. Died on Tuesday the 22nd of October 1619: The young woman Justina died in the home of Juan Morello. Pablo, the child of Antonio de San Lazaro of Totollac.
28. ypā jueves yc 24 de octobre 1619 años omicque ma^{a} ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpan juā ypiltzin juachi de aquino pohui anteco	28. Died on Thursday the 24th of October 1619: Maria, the child of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Juan, the child of Joaquin de Aquino of Atenco.

mā castilla xo^{co} ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{co} pohui tetlamacazca$_{pa}$	Maria Castillanxocoyotl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco of Tetlamacazcapan.
32. ypā Viernes yc 25 de octobre 1619 micqui gaspar chane s. pellipe	32. Died on Friday the 25th of October 1619: Gaspar from San Felipe.
34. ypā domi͡go yc 27 de octobre 1619 años micque van^{ca} castilla xo^{cot} ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mathias deroças pohui acxotla testigo mig^{l} gar^{a} mathias ypiltzin mathias [blank space] pohui tepetzinco gathallina ypiltzin diego pz pohui huexo^{co}	34. Died on Sunday the 27th of October 1619: Bianca Castillanxocoyotl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías de Rosas of Acxotlan. Witness: Miguel García. Matías, the child of Matías [blank space] of Tepetzinco. Catalina, the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco
39. ypā lunes yc 28 de octobre 1619 años micqui andres ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui tetlamacazcapa	39. Died on Monday the 28th of October 1619: Andrés, the child of Juan Bautista of Tetlamacazcapan.

41. ypā Viernes yc 1 de noviébre1619 años micqui
mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic mig^{l} de s. bartollome pohui almoyahuacā

41. Died on Friday the 1st of November 1619:
Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel de San Bartolomé of Almoyahuacan.

44. ypā jueves yc 7 de nobiébre 1619 año
nicoles piltzintli ypiltzin mig^{l} hernādez pohui almoyahuaca
[pe]^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar^{a} pohui xaltepetlapā

44. On Thursday the 7th of November 1619:
The child Nicolas. He was the child of Miguel Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
The child [Pedro] died. He was the child of Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 5v

1. ypā martes yc 12 de nóviébre 1619 año micqui
martha castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco

f. 5v

1. Died on Tuesday the 12th of November 1619:
Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco.

3. ypā jueves yc 14 de noviébre 1619 año

3. On Thursday the 14th of November 1619:

pasqual p[ere]z micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco yc ocalpolhiuhque	Pasqual Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco. The barrio gathered for him.
5. ypā sab^{o} yc 16 de noviébre 1619 año micqui mag^{na} tozpetlacal micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui atenco	5. Died on Saturday the 16th of November 1619: Magdalena Tozpetlacal of Atenco died. She confessed.
7. ypā domi͡go yc 17 de noviébre 1619 año micqui hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic jusep hernādez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	7. Died on Sunday the 17th of November 1619: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Joseph Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
9. ypā martes yc 25 de noviébre 1619 año micqui mariana micqui pohui tianquiztenco ynamic estevā de roças pohui tianquiztenco mig^{l} piltzintli miqui y[n] piltzintli ypiltzin melchior pz pohui almoyahuacā	9. Died on Tuesday the 25th of November 1619: Mariana died. She belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Esteban de Rosas of Tianquiztenco. The child Miguel died. The child was the son of Melchor Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

ma[a] piltzintli micqui y[n] piltzintli ypiltzin Be[r]nardo de çamora pohui coyotzinco	The child Maria died. The child was the daughter of Bernardo de Zamora of Coyotzinco.
14. ypā miercoles yc 26 de noviébre 1619 año micqui jusina castillā xo[tl] micqui ynamic bartholome pz pohui tlanacazcapa	14. Died on Wednesday the 26th of November 1619: Justina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Bartolomé Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
16. ypā jueves yc 27 de noviébre micqui paolla miqui piltzintli ypiltzin pe[o] lupes pohui ocotepec	16. Died on Thursday the 27th of November [1619]: The child Paola died. She was the child of Pedro Lopez of Ocotepec.
18. ypā martes yc 3 de eciébre 1619 año paolla paollilo ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec yc ocalpolliuhqu[e]	18. On Tuesday the 3rd of December 1619: Paola Paollilo. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. The barrio gathered for her.
20. ypā miercoles yc 4 ylhuitl deciébre 1619 año	20. On Wednesday the 4th day of December 1619:

dona mag^{na} demetoça micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} te$_{pā}$	Doña Magdalena de Mendoza died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
22. ypā jueves yc 5 deciébre 1619 años micqui aña ma^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic andres p[ere]z pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	22. Died on Thursday the 5th of December 1619: Ana Maria died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
25. ypā lunes yc 16 deçiébre 1619 año micqui matheo xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā ynamic augustina	25. Died on Monday the 16th of December 1619: Mateo Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Agustina.
28. ypā miercoles yc 18 deciébre 1619 años aña [blank space] micqui ynamic Bernādo deçamora pohui coyotzin[co]	28. On Wednesday the 18th of December 1619: Ana [blank space] died. Her spouse was Bernardo de Zamora of Coyotzinco.[81]

[81] Bernardo lost his daughter on the 25th of November and his wife on the 18th of December.

30. ypā martes yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciébre 1619 año
diego pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
hellena casti

30. On Tuesday the 24th day of the month of December 1619:
Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility [belongs to] Elena Castillan.

32. ypā viernes yc 27 deciembre 1619 año micqui
hellena nochtlaca ciualt micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexoco totollac ynamic sebastiā dellez
[blank space] ypiltzin juā bapta tecada pohui Atenco

32. Died on Friday the 27th of December 1619:
The woman Elena Nochtlaca died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Sebastián Dellez.
[blank space]. He was the child of Juan Bautista Tejada of Atenco.

36. ypā domi͡go yc 29 deciébre 1619 año
[blank space] ypiltzin peo pohui tlanicótlā

36. On Sunday the 29th of December 1619:
[blank space]. He was the child of Pedro of Tlanicontlan.

38. ypā lunes yc 30 deciebre 1619 año

38. On Monday the 30th of December 1619:

aña piltzin micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui atenco	The child Ana died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Atenco.
[blank space] ypiltzin juā romero salmiento pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	[blank space]. He was the child of Juan Romero Salmiento of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
[blank space] ypiltzin Pasqual de roças pohui xaltepetlapā	[blank space]. He was the child of Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 6r	f. 6r
1. ypā martes yc 31 yluitl deciebre 1619 mique	1. Died on Tuesday the 31st day of December 1619:
pasqual quetzpal micqui ytechca tlacallaqluilli ynamic hellena castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Pasqual Quetzpal died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
F. Geronimo decartas 1620 años[13]	fray Geronimo de Cartas. The Year 1620.
7. ypā miercoles yc 1 ylhuitl de henero 1620 a^{o}s	7. On Wednesday the 1st day of January 1620:
pasqual ypiltzin sebastiā dellez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Pasqual, the child of Sebastián Dellez of Huexotzinco Totollac.[82]

[13] Signature and heading for the next year. Throughout the Book, a number of friars sign the Book, some writing passages about view and reviewing the book, other, like this one, simply leaving a signature.
[82] Pasqual's wife died on the 27th of December and now his son on the 1st of January.

juana de s. ta cruz omiqˆ ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic jua pz pohui huexo totollac

Juana de Santa Cruz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} omicqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego deroças pohui huexo^{co} tecpa

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Diego de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

juā hernatez omic techca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} pohui tlamaçacapa

Juan Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria of Tlamacazcapan.

15. ypā Viernes yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es dehenero 1620 año

15. On Friday the 3rd day of the month of January 1620:

hellena cacallo xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā

Elena Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

17. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año

17. On Monday the 6th day of January 1620:

juana xillotl micqui ychpochtli pohui atenco ypiltzin juā soldero

The young woman Juana Xillotl of Atenco died. She was the child of Juan Soldero.

19. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año

19. On Thursday the 11th day of January 1620:

pellipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel sanchez pohui huexo^{co}	The child Felipe died. He was the child of Miguel Sánchez of Huexotzinco.
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Francisca died. She was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
22. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año micque	22. Died on Saturday the 11th day of January 1620:
hellena ychpochtli ynahuac gabriel de Alvarado	The young woman Elena, neighbor of Gabriel de Alvarado.
24. ypā lunes yc 13 de henero 1620 año	24. On Monday the 13th of January 1620:
piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo pohui [tholicuillā]	A child died. He was the child of Mateo of Tocuillan.
26. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año	26. On Tuesday the 14th day of January1620:
pe^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pohui tepetzinco	The child Pedro died. He was the child of [blank] of Tepetzinco.
piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz tepoz pohui atenco	A child died. He was the child of Juan Pérez Tepoz of Atenco.

29. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año
[blank space] piltzintli ychā omoto antonio pz chane xaltepetlapā

29. On Thursday the 16th day of January 1620:
The child [blank space] [died] in his home. Antonio Pérez from Xalteptetlapan said so.

31. ypā sabº yc 18 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año
pedromilla micqui pohui tlatenco ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic peº de luna

31. On Saturday the 18th day of January 1620:
Petronilla died. She belonged to Tlatenco. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pedro de Luna.

f. 6v
1. ypā lunes yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1620 año micqui
franca castilla xotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic franco neçahual pohui huexoco totollac
aña piltzintli micqui ypiltzin marcos pohui tlaniçōtlā

f. 6v
1. Died on Monday the 20th day of the month of January 1620:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Nezahual of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Ana died. She was the child of Marcus of Tlanicotlan.

5. ypā martes yc 21 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año
geronimo piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph hernadez pohui hueco^{co} tecpā

5. On Tuesday the 21st day of January 1620:
The child Geronimo died. He was the child of Joseph Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

7. ypā jueves yc 23 de henero 1620 año
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mig^{l} tzoto pohui huexo^{co} totollac

7. On Thursday the 23rd of January 1620:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Soto of Huexotzinco Totollac.

10. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de henero 1620 año
juana piltzintli ypiltzin Rapael Rodriquez pohui huexo^{co} totollac

10. On Saturday the 25th of January 1620:
The child Juana. She was the child of Raphael Rodríguez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

12. ypā dom͡igo yc 26 de henero 1620 año
hellena ypiltzin di^{o} pochel pohui tlanicōtlā
[blank space] ypiltzin lurenço de luna pohui coyotzinco

12. On Sunday the 26th of January 1620:
Elena, the child of Diego Pochel of Tlanicontlan.
[blank space]. He was the child of Lorenzo de Luna of Coyotzinco.

15. ypā miercoles yc 29 de henero 1620 años micqui diego de luna omicqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlateco	15. Died on Wednesday the 29th of January 1620: Diego de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco.
18. ypā jueves yc 30 de henero 1620 años micqui juā ypiltzin lureco decalto pohui chiyahuitzinco	18. Died on Thursday the 30th of January 1620: Juan, the child of Lorenzo de Calto of Chiyahuitzinco.
20. ypa Viernes yc 31 de henero 1620 años micqui lureco [blank space] ynamicqui[14] [blank space]	20. Died on Friday the 31st of January 1620: Lorenzo [blank space]. His spouse was [blank space].
22. ypā sab^{o} yc 1 ylhuitl de hebrero 1619 año micque augustin ypiltzin juā degante piltz pohui atenco	22. Died on Saturday the 1st day of February 1620: Agustín, the child of Juan de Gante of Atenco.

[14] This is likely a scribal error. Having written *micqui* so often it isn't hard to see how he would then add *qui* to the end of *ynamic*. That being said it could also be read as *ynamicqu i[n]* in which case a better translation would be "He was the spouse of the one who is [blank space]" implying that she is someone very well known, or who has already been mentioned. Seeing as the scribe never went back to fill in the name, this is much less likely to be the case though.

24. ypā domi͡go yc 2 ylhuitl de hebreo 1620 año	24. On Sunday the 2nd day of February 1620:
augustina castillā xotl micqui pohui tlamacazcapā ynamic dio hernādez domi͡go decāte micqui pohui cecallacohuayā ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Augustina castillā xotl luçia castillā xotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ytlahco pohui tlatéco	Agustina Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Tlamacazcapan. Her spouse was Diego Hernández. Domingo de Gante died. He belongs to Cecallacohuayan. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl. Lucia Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco.
30. ypā lunes yc 3 de hebrero 1620 año micqui	30. Died on Monday the 3rd of February 1620:
pasqual de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā	Pasqual de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan,
32. ypā martes yc 4 de hebrero 162[0] año	32. On Tuesday the 4th of February 1620:
martina piltzintli ypiltzin dio pochel pohui tlanicótlā	The child Martina died. She was the child of Diego Pochel of Tlanicontlan.[83]
franco migl micqui chane calpotlapā ynamic juana pedromilla	Francisco Miguel from Calpotlapan died. His spouse was Juana Petronilla.

[83] Diego Pochel's first daughter died on January 26th and a second daughter died on February 4th.

35. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 ylhuitl de hebrero 1620 año
andrea ypiltzin matheo castanata pohui atenco
hellena piltzintli ypiltzin juā de. S. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

35. On Saturday the 8th day of February 1620:
Andrea, the child of Mateo Castaneda of Atenco.
The child Elena. She was the child of Juan de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

38. ypā domi͡go yc 9 de hebrero 1620 año
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual pz pohui coyotzinco

38. On Sunday the 9th of February 1620:
The child Elena died. She was the child of Pasqual Pérez of Coyotzinco.

40. ypā martes yc 11 de hebrero 1620 año
martha castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec ynamic andres xuarez

40. On Tuesday the 11th of February 1620:
Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Andrés Suárez.

f. 7r
di^{o} pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tianquiztenco

f. 7r
Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.

3. ypā miercoles yc 12 de hebrero 1620 año
aña castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic simó de roças pohui xaltepctlapā
catallinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Bernardino monez pohui almoyahuacā juā plittzintli ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} pohui ocotepec

3. On Wednesday the 12th of February 1620:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Simón de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Catalina died. She was the child of Bernardino Muñoz of Almoyahuacan.
The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.

8. ypā jueves yc 13 de hebrero 1620 año
pe^{o} mig^{l} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui totollac ynamic martina castillā xo^{tl}
mathias piltzintli ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
[blank space] piltzintli ypiltzin juā mētez pohui tiāquiztéco

8. On Thursday the 13th of February 1620:
Pedro Miguel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac. His spouse was Martina Castillanxochitl.
The child Matías. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Huecotzinco Tecpan.
The child [blank space]. He was the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.

13. ypā Viernes yc 14 de hebre(sic) 1620 año

13. On Friday the 14th of February 1620:

ma^{a} amaxochi[15] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Pasqual de roças pohui cecallacohuayā	Mariana Xochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Pasqual de Rosas of Cecallacohuayan.
ma^{a} jallome chane tezcoco ycha omicqui dó juā de cozma	Maria Salome from Tezcoco died in the home of don Juan de Guzman.
17. ypā sab^{o} yc 15 de hebrero 1620 año juā telpochtli micqui pohui acxotlā juā çaynos yta di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} dorado pohui chiyauhtzinco	17. On Saturday the 15th of February 1620: The young man Juan of Acxotlan died. His father was Juan Ceynos. The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.
20. ypā martes yc 18 de hebrero 1620 año ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel de roças pohui almoyahuacā	20. On Tuesday the 18th of February 1620: Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguelde Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
23. ypā Viernes 21 de hebrero 1620 año	23. On Friday the 21st of February 1620:

[15] *Ma^{a} Amaxochi* is being translated here and below as Mariana Xochitl but, it is also possible that this could be a name like Acaxoch, or a type of flower being used as a name.

gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de. S. fran^{co} pohui coyotzinco	The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.
26. ypā sab^{o} yc 22 de hebre(sic) 1620 año ma^{a} piltzintli micqui yconeuh fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlatenco ma^{a} amaxoch ychpochtli ypiltzin Pasqual angel pohui cecallaçohuayā	26. On Saturday the 22nd of February 1620: The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco. The young woman Mariana Xochitl. She was the child of Pasqual Angel of Cecallacohuayan.
31. ypā lunes yc 24 de hebrero 1620 año di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā antonio pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamacazcapā ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}	31. On Monday the 24th of February 1620: The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan. Antonio Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
36. ypā martes yc 25 de hebrero 1620 año	36. On Tuesday the 25th of February 1620:

nicolas piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh anprosio degante pohui cecallacohuayā	The child Nicolas died. He was the grandchild of Ambrosio de Gante of Cecallacohuayan.
aña ychpochtli ypiltzin fran^{co} pohui thohcuillā	The young woman Ana, the child of Francisco of Tocuillan.
40. ypā jueves yc 26 de hebrero 1620 año Bartholo pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli	40. On Thursday the 26th of February 1620: Bartolomé Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse
ynamic Augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā testigo juā [Garcia?]	Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Witness: Juan [García].
f. 7v	f. 7v
1. ypā Viernes yc 27 de hebrero 1620 año melchora piltzintli ypiltzin lurenço degardo pohui chiyauhtzinco	1. On Friday the 27th of February 1620: The child Melchora. She was the child of Lorenzo de Gardo of Chiyauhtzinco.
3. ypā lunes yc 2 de março 1620 año joseph piltzintli ypiltzin Antonio de s. juā pohui atenco	3. On Monday the 2nd of March 1620: The child Joseph. He was the child of Antonio de San Juan of Atenco.
5. ypā martes yc 3 de março 1620 año	5. On Tuesday the 3rd of March 1620:

mathias piltzin ypiltzin juā chille pohui acxotlā	The child Matías. He was the child of Juan Chille of Acxotlan.
diego[16] piltzintli ypiltzin pellipe crauasar pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Diego. He was the child of Felipe Crauasar of Xaltepetlapan.
8. ypā miercoles yc 4 de março 1620 año [blank space] piltzin ypiltzin di^{o} de la cruz pohui tlatenco	8. On Wednesday the 4th of March 1620: The child [blank space]. He was the child of Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
10. ypā jueves yc 5 de março 1620 año hellena de la cruz ychpochtli ypiltzin Nicolas pz pohui huexo^{co}	10. On Thursday the 5th of March 1620: The young woman Elena de la Cruz. She was the child of Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco.
ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin anto^{o} de. S. juā pohui atenco	The child Maria. She was the child of Antonio de San Juan of Atenco.[84]
13. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 ylhuitl de março 1620 año	13. On Saturday the 7th day March 1620:
juā ypiltzin estavā de olarte pohui atenco	Juan, the child of Esteban de Oralte of Atenco.

[16] On the original, it is clear that Diego was written in at a later time in a different hand, or at least a different quill and ink, giving credence to the idea that the blanks were left with the intention of having them filled in at a later time.

[84] Antonio de San Juan's son died on March 2nd and his daughter on March 5th and he will die on March 21st.

thomas piltzintli ychā omoto a^{o}l pz	The child Tomás [died] at home. Alonzo Pérez said so.
16. ypā domi͡go yc 8 de março 1620 año [blank space] ypiltzin diego pz pohui huexo^{co}	16. On Sunday the 8th of March 1620: [blank space]. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco.
18. ypā miercoles yc 11 de março 1620 años ma^{a} mag^{na} ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicqˆ gabrial de la cruz pohui antenco ma^{a} castilla xo^{co} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui tlanicōtlā	18. On Wednesday the 11th of March 1620: Maria Magdalena. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse who is Gabriel de la Cruz of Atenco. Maria Castillanxocoyotl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.
21. ypā sab^{o} yc 14 de março 1620 año miqui juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pillipe pohui tetlamacazcapā	21. Died on Saturday the 14th of March 1620: The child Juana died. She was the child of Felipe of Tetlamacazcapan.
23. ypā martes yc 17 de março 1620 año	23. On Tuesday the 17th of March 1620:

aña nenca micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic pe^{o} gotierez	Ana Nenca died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Pedro Gutiérrez.
26. ypā miercoles yc 18 de março 1620 año Bartholome piltzintli micqui ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe pohui thohcuillā [blank space] piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh di^{o} maticauh pohui xaltapetlapā	26. On Wednesday the 18th of March 1620: The child Bartolomé died. The child Maria. She was the child of Felipe of Tocuillan. The child [blank space] died. He was the grandchild of Diego Maticauh of Xaltepetlapan.
30. ypā jueves yc 19 de março 1620 año di^{o} de. S. fran^{co} telpochtli ypiltzin Pasqual de s. fran^{co} pohui coyotzinco ma^{a} Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic juā de luna	30. On Thursday the 19th of March 1620: The young man Diego de San Francisco. He was the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.[85] Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Juan de Luna.
34. ypā sab^{o} yc 21 de março 1620 año	34. On Saturday the 21st of March 1620:

[85] Pasqual de San Francisco's younger son died on the 21st of February and this older son on the 19th of March.

antonio de s. juā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic [blank space]

martha casti xo^{tl} omicqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aprosio degata pohui s. Nicolas cecallacohuaya

juā ypiltzin diego varona pohui xaltepetlapa

luis ypiltzin mig^{l} pz pohui tezcocapā

agelyna ychipohtl ytatzin estava deoralte pohui atenco

Antonio de San Juan died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was [blank space].

Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Ambrosio de Gata of San Nicolas Cecallacohuayan.

Juan, the child of Diego Varona of Xaltepetlapan.

Luis, the child of Miguel Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

The young woman Angelina. Her father was Esteban De Oralte of Atenco.

f. 8r

1. ypā domi͡go yc 22 de março 1620 año

hellena castillā xo^{tl} micgui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic di^{o} palma

augustin paroçal micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic ma^{a} jallona

f. 8r

1. On Sunday the 22nd of March 1620:

Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Her spouse was Diego Palma.

Agustín Parozal died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Maria Salome.

6. ypā lunes yc 23 ylhuitl de março 1620 año fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tezcocapā ynamic simó pz	6. On Monday the 23rd day of March 1620: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan. Her spouse was Simón Pérez.
9. ypā martes yc 24 de marco 1620 año di^{o} ypiltzin juā depalma pohui almoyahuacā michaela ypiltzin juā pz pohui almoyahuacā [blank space] ypiltzin gapriel morāte pohui tetzcocapā	9. On Tuesday the 24th of March 1620: Diego, the child of Juan de Palma of Almoyahuacan. Micaela, the child of Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan. [blank space]. He was the child of Gabriel Morante of Tetzcocapan.
13. ypā jueves yc 26 de março 1620 año micqui domigo hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzópā	13. Died on Thursday the 26th of March 1620: Domingo Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan.
15. ypā Viernes yc 27 de março 1620 año micque	15. Died on Friday the 17th of March 1620:

gabriel molares micqui pohui ocotepe	Gabriel Morales of Ocotepec died. His
ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā	tribute responsibility belongs to his
xo^{tl} pohui	spouse Maria Castillanxochitl.
ma^{a} ypiltzin matheo sanchez pohui	Maria, the child of Mateo Sánchez of
xaltepetlapā	Xaltepetlapan.
sebastiona mexia ytechca tlacallaquilli	Sebastiana Mexia. Her tribute
pohui thohcuilla ynamic di^{o} hernādez	responsibility belongs to Tocuilla. Her
salvator piltzintli ypiltzin juā hernādez	spouse was Diego Hernández.
pohui thohcuillā	The child Salvador. He was the child of
	Juan Hernández of Tocuillan.
22. ypā domi͡go yc 29 de março 1620 año	22. Died on Sunday the 29th of March
micque	1620:
hellena piltzintli ypiltzin pa^{o} ximenez	The child Elena. She was the child of
pohui tetzcocapā	Pablo Jiménez of Tetzcocapan.
24. ypā lunes yc 30 de março 1620 año	24. On Monday the 30th of March 1620:
mathias ypiltzin lucas pz pohui ^{a}tenco	Matías, the child of Lucas Pérez of
[Line left blank.]	Atenco.
	[Line left blank.]
27. ypā martes yc 31 de março 1620 año	27. On Tuesday the 31st of March 1620:

ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli [blank space]	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to [blank space].
ma^{a} piltzin ypiltzin juā de luna pohui chiyauhtzinco	The child Maria. She was the child of Juan de Luna of Chiyauhtzinco.
30. ypā miercoles yc 1 ylhuitl de abril 1620 año	30. On Wednesday the 1st day of April 1620:
andres mig^{l} ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā hellana castillā xo^{tl} ynamic	Andrés Miguel. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Elena Castillanxochitl was his spouse.
33. ypā sab^{o} yc 4 de abril 1620 años	33. On Saturday the 4th of April 1620:
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} palmah pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Isabel died. She was the child of Diego Palma of Xaltepetlapan.[86]
[blank space] ypiltzin Gabriel	[blank space]. He was the child of Gabriel.
36. ypā domigo yc 5 ylhuitl de abril 1620 años	36. On Sunday the 5th day of April 1620:
mariana piltzintli ypiltzin di^{o} ximenez pohui totollac	The child Mariana. She was the child of Diego Jiménez of Totollac.

[86] Diego Palma's wife died on March 22nd and his daughter on April 4th.

ysabel piltzintli ypiltzin fran^{co} necahual pohui xaltepetlapā

domi͡go pz ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic sabina castillā xo^{tl}

The child Isabel. She was the child of Francisco Necahual of Xaltepetlapan.

Domingo Pérez. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Sabina Castillanxochitl.

41. ypā lunes yc 6 de abril 1620 años pillipe telpochtli ychā micqui omoto mj͡n

41. On Monday the 6th of April 1620: The young man Felipe died at home. Martín said so.

43. ypā martes yc 7 de abril 1620 años cepiciā piltzintli pohui atenco

anto^{o} piltzintli ypiltzin mathias vardes pohui totollac

43. On Tuesday the 7th of April 1620: The child Cepirian of Atenco.

The child Antonio. He was the child of Matías Valdez of Totollac.

f. 8v

1. ypā martes yc 8 ylhuitl de abril 1620 años agelyna ypiltzin mig^{l} pz pohui xatepetlapa

mathias moreno ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xotl pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 8v

1. On Tuesday the 8th day of April 1620: Angelina, the child of Miguel Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

Matías Moreno. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

5. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl de abril 1620 años omicque	5. Died on Thursday the 9th day of April 1620:
micaela ypiltzin juā corço pohui acxotla	Michela, the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.
magna ypiltzin paº xalmieto pohui xaltepetlapa	Magdalena, the child of Pablo Salmiento of Xaltepetlapan.
8. ypā viernes yc 10 de abril 1620 año	8. On Friday the 10th of April 1620:
diego hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhiuhque omicqui yn inamic pohui thocuillā testigo melchior quachao	Diego Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse from Tocuillan. The barrio gathered for him when he died. Witness: Melchor Quachao.
thoribio piltzintli ypiltzin juā corço pohui acxotlan	The child Torivio. He was the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.[87]
Fr. Geronimo de cartas	fray Geronimo de Cartas
13. ypā domi͡go yc 12 ylhuitl de abril 1620 años micque	13. Died on Sunday the 12th day of April 1620:
gaspar piltzintli ypiltzin paº de panecatl pohui tetzcocapā	The child Gaspar. He was the child of Pablo de Panecatl of Tetzcocapan.

[87] Juan Corzo's daughter died on April 9th and his son on April 10th and an unnamed child on April 16th.

[blank space] piltzintli ychā omoto castro	The child [blank space] [died] at home. Castro said so.
16. ypā lunes yc 13 de abril 1620 años micque hellena ypiltzin matheo varios pohui almoyahuacā [blank space] piltzintli ypiltzin mig^{l} de s. tiago pohui cecallacohuayā	16. Died on Monday the 13th of April 1620: Elena, the child of Mateo Varios of Almoyahuacan. The child [blank space]. He was the child of Miguel de Santiago of Cecallacohuayan.
19. ypā martes yc 14 de abril 1620 años ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin juā evāgellista pohui huexo^{co} tecpā pasqual piltzintli ypiltzin Rapael pz pohui tlamacazcapā pasqual piltzintli ymach matheo mētida pohui acxotlā	19. On Tuesday the 14th of April 1620: The child Maria. She was the child of Juan Evangelista of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Pasqual. He was the child of Raphael Pérez of Tlamacazcapan. The child Pasqual. He was the nephew of Mateo Mentieda of Acxotlan.
23 ypā jueves yc 16 de abril 1620 años	23. On Thursday the 16th of April 1620:

di^{o} pz telpochtli ypiltzin Rapael pz pohui tlamacazcapā	The young man Diego Pérez. He was the child of Raphael Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.[88]
[blank space] ypiltzin juā corço pohui acxotlā	[blank space]. He was the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.
26. ypā lunes yc 20 de abril 1620 años	26. On Monday the 20th of April 1620:
veronica castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotla ynamic Miguel gar^{a}	Veronica Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Miguel García.
juā Miguel telpochtli ypiltzin miguel salmiéto pohui huexo^{co}	The young man Juan Miguel. He was the child of Miguel Salmiento of Huexotzinco.
hellena piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel deribas pohui huexo^{co}	The child Elena. She was the child of Miguel de Rivas of Huexotzinco.
31. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de abril 1620 años mique	31. Died on Saturday the 25th of April 1620:
dona ma^{a} dehuellasea ynamic don fran^{co} deosacastro pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Doña Maria de Huellasea. Her spouse was don Francisco de Osacastro of Huexotzinco Totollac.

[88] Raphael Pérez's younger son died on April 14th and his older son on April 16th.

34. ypā domi͡go yc 26 de abril 1620 años micque	34. Died on Sunday the 26th of April 1620:
ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ycnocihuatl ynamic catea Miguel casatli pohui tiāquiztenco	The widow Maria Castillanxochitl died. Here spouse was the late Miguel Casatli of Tianquiztenco.
bernardina ypiltzin joseph de luna pohui cecallacohuayā	Bernardina, the child of Joseph de Luna of Cecallacohuayan.
di^{o} [blank space] ypiltzin Bernardino de luna pohui cecallacohuayā	Diego [blank space]. He was the child of Bernardino de Luna of Cecallacohuayan.
maria ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui tianquiztenco	Maria, the child of Diego Pérez of Tianquiztenco.
40. ypā sab^{o} yc 2 de mayo 1620 años miqui	40. Died on Saturday the 2nd of May 1620:
ma^{a} mag^{na} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuaca ynamic diego caynos	Maria Magdalena died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Diego Ceynos.
43. ypā martes yc 5 de mayo 1620 años	43. On Tuesday the 5th of May 1620:
Beronica piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel deribaspohui huexo^{co}	The child Veronica. She was the child of Miguel de Rivas of Huexotzinco.[89]

[89] Miguel de Rivas' first daughter died on April 20th and his second daughter on May 5th.

f. 9r

1. ypā jueves yc 7 de mayo 1620 años
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Sebastian
pz pohui xal[tepetla]pā

3. ypā sab^{o} yc 9 de mayo 1620 años
micque
ma^{a} Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ypnamic[17] juā de luna pohui
cecalcohuayān
polloma ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic
pellipe çaynos pohui quaxallā
mathiana ynā Bernardina

8. ypā lunes yc 11 de mayo 1620 años
micque
ma^{a} piltzintli ypiltzin juā deroças pohui
huexo^{co}

10. ypā martes yc 12 ylhuitl de mayo 1620
años

f. 9r

1. On Thursday the 7th of May 1620:
The child Elena died. She was the child
of Sebastián Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

3. Died on Saturday the 9th of May 1620:
Maria Jacob died. Her tribute
responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan
de Luna of Cecallcohuayan.
Paloma. Her tribute responsibility
belongs to her spouse Felipe Ceynos of
Quaxallan.
Matiana. Her mother was Bernardina.

8. Died on Monday the 12th day of May
1620:
The child Maria. She was the child of
Juan de Rosas of Huexotzinco.

10. On Tuesday the 12th day of May
1620:

[17] A scribal error.

sebastiona ychpochtli micqui pohui acxotlā	The young woman Sebastiana from Acxotlan died.
pedromilla ypiltzin jacobo pz pohui acxotlā	Petronilla, she was the child of Jacobo Pérez of Acxotlan.
13. ypā sabº yc 16 de mayo 1620 años	13. On Saturday the 16th of May 1620:
diº ypiltzin diº salgado pohui tepetzinco	Diego, he was the child of Diego Salgado of Tepetzinco.
15. ypā lunes Viernes yc 22 de mayo 1620 años	15. On Friday the 22nd of May 1620:
maª ypiltzin yta[18] mathias de roças pohui tlanicótlā	Maria, she was the child of [her father] Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.
17. ypā lunes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1620 años	17. On Monday the 25th day of the month of May 1620:
maª castilla Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic andres pz pohui sancta maª almoyahuacā testigo peº de roças	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan. Witness: Pedro de Rosas.
Fr Antonio [Pardos?]	fray Antonio [Pardo]

[18] The scribe has written both "she was the child of," and "her father was," here. This was likely a mistake or a correction because the yta is above the line.

21. ypā Viernes yc 29 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1620 años micqui mā piltzintli yta Pasqual degante pohui atenco	21. Died on Friday the 29th day of the month of May 1620: The child Maria. Her father was Pasqual de Gante of Atenco.
23. ypā domigo yc 31 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1620 años micqui juā perez miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamaazcapā ychā omoto juana pz tzapah ynamic juana castillā xotl ychā juanez	23. Died on Sunday the 31st day of the month of May 1620: Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. He was at home. The dwarf Juana Pérez said so. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl from Juárez.
26. ypā miercoles lunes yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1620 años micqui maa ychpochtli micqui ynā maa castillā xotl pohui huexoco tecpā	26. Died on Monday the 8th day of the month of June 1620: The young woman Maria died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
28. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1620 años micqui	28. Died on the 10th day of the month of June 1620:

Bartholome piltzintli micqui yta di^{o} z^{o} pohui tetzcocapā	The child Bartolomé died. His father was Diego Zocalo of Tetzcocapan.
30. ypā domi͡go^{miercoles} yc 24 ylhuitl de junio 1620 años micque ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego xochimāqui pohui cecallacohuayā catallinā de metina micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{co} asorio pohui xaltepetlapā	30. Died on Wednesday the 24th day of June 1620: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Xochimanqui of Cecallacohuayan. Catalina de Metina died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Asorio of Xaltepetlapan.
35. ypā jueves yc 25 de junio 1620 años micque mag^{na} piltzintli micqui yta pa^{o} de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	35. Died on Thursday the 25th of June 1620: The child Magdalena died. Her father was Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
37. ypā martes yc 29 ylhuitl ymes de junio 1620 años o micqui fran^{ca} piltzintli ynatzin marta pohui acxotla	37. Died on Tuesday the 29th day of the month of June 1620: The child Francisca. Her mother was Marta of Acxotlan.

monica piltzintli micqui yta matheo de la cruz pohui acxotla

The child Monica died. Her father was Mateo de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

f. 9v

1. ypā jueves yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullios 1620 años omicque
martha piltzintli yta fran^{co} Antonio chane xallitzintla
fran^{co} de s. juā micqui ycha augusti pz chane tezcoco

f. 9v

1. Died on Thursday the 2nd day of the month of July 1620:
The child Marta. Her father was Francisco Antonio from Xallizintlan.
Francisco de San Juan died in the home of Agustín Pérez from Tezcoco.

4. ypā martes yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1620 años micqui
augustin caynos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui acxotlā

4. Died on Tuesday the 7th day of the month of July 1620:
Agustín Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan.

7. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1620 años micqui
[blank space] ychā micqui pe^{o} xuarez chāne [blank space]

7. Died on Saturday the 10th day of the month of July 1620:
[blank space] died in the home of Pedro Suárez from [blank space].

9. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1620 años micqui
juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhiuhque pohui tlamacazcapā ychā juarez

9. Died on Thursday the 16th day of the month of July 1620:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. The barrio gathered for her in the home of Juárez.

12. ypā Viernes 17 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1620 años micqui
maª jallome micqui tlapopolhuilloc ycnoçiuatl pohui atenco ynamic catea. Thomas de. S. Miguel.

12. Died on Friday the 17th day of the month of July 1620:
The widow Maria Salome of Atenco died. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Tomás de San Miguel.

15. ypā sabº yc 18 ylhuitl ym̄es de jullio 1620 años micqui
geronimo de las āgelles micqui tlapopolhuilloc ynamic hellena tolcenllotl pohui almoyahuacā

15. Died on Saturday the 18th day of the month of July 1620:
Geronimo de Las Angeles died. He confessed. His spouse was Elena Tolcenllotl of Almoyahuacan.

18. ypā domi͡go yc 19 ylhuitl de jullio 1620 años micqui
ynes tolcellotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui coyotzinco

18. Died on Sunday the 19th day of July 1620:
Inés Tolcellotl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco.

21. ypā lunes yc 20 de jullio 1620 años micqui
augustin de olarte micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}

21. Died on Monday the 20th of July 1620:
Agustín de Olarte died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

24. ypā domigo yc 26 de jullio 1620 años micqui
apronica ypiltzin mathias de la cruz pohui huexotzinco

24. Died on Sunday the 26th of July1620:
Apronica, the child of Matías de la Cruz of Huexotzinco.

26. ypā lunes yc 27 de jullio 1620 años micqui
ma^{a} [blank space] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} ynamic juā terispas

26. Died on Monday the 27th of July 1620:
Maria [blank space] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. Her spouse was Juan Terispas.

28. ypā Viernes yc 31 ylhuitl ymes de jullio 1620 años micqui
[blank space] ypiltzin Pasqual xochicuicuiqui pohui tezcocapa

28. Died on Friday the 31st day of the month of July 1620:
[blank space]. He was the child of Pasqual Xochicuicuiqui of Tetzcocapan.

30. ypā lunes yc 3 de agusto 1620 162 años micqui juā ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui anteco	30. Died on Monday the 3rd of August 1620: Juan, the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.
32. ypā domi͡go yc 9 de agusto 1620 años micqui fran^{ca} ypiltzin juā pz pohui tezcocapa	32. Died on Sunday the 9th of August 1620: Francisca, the child of Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
34. ypā martes yc 11 de agusto1620 años micqui ma^{a} ynes micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicqui luys mexia pohui tepetzinco ytestico estava martonato	34. Died on Tuesday the 11th of August 1620: Maria Inés died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Luis Mexia of Tepetzinco. Witness: Esteban Maldonado.
37. ypā lunes yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de augosto 1620 años micqui pe^{o} ypiltzin juā alvalez pohui xaltepetlapā	37. Died on Monday the 18th day of the month of August 1620: Pedro, the child of Juan Alvarez of Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypā jueves yc 27 yhuitl ymes de augosto 1620 años micqui
juana castilla xo^{tl} ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Gabriel de. S. sepastia pohui quanalla

39. Died on Thursday the 27th day of the month of August 1620:
Juana Castillanxochitl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Gabriel de San Sebastián of Quanalla.

f. 10r
fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui sancta mā salminilolco ynamic melchiez pz testigo Rapael pz fran^{co} pz
bartholome piltzintli micqui ypiltzin bartholome pz pohui tlanicōtlā

f. 10r
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Santa Maria Xalminilolco. Her spouse was Melchor Pérez. Witness[es]: Raphael Pérez and Francisco Pérez.
The child Bartolomé died. He was the child of Bartolomé Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

5. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es setiembre 1620 años micqui
di^{o} z^{o} micqui ytechca tlacallaqui pohui saltepetlapā ynamic fran^{ca} ma^{a} testigo pillipe crauasar

5. Died on Saturday the 5th day of the month of September 1620:
Diego Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. His spouse was Francisca Maria.
Witness: Felipe Crauasar.

8. ypā domi͡go yc 6 ylhuitl de setiēbre 1620 años micqui
martha nonez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpulhiuhque pohui xaltepetlapā
testigo fran^{co} dolan

8. Died on Sunday the 6th day of September 1620:
Marta Nuñez died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Witness: Francisco Durán.

11. ypā Viernes yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de setiēbre 1620 años micque
Barnado atococ micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui s. ta cruz atēco
testigo Miguel dorado
mathias xochmitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui Spū sancto tetzcocapā
ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl}
pedromilla micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui s. fran^{co} tianquiztenco ynamic
melchior de. S. tiago.

11. Died on Friday the 18th day of the month of September 1620:
Barnado Atococ died. Half of his tribute responsibility belongs to Santa Cruz Atenco. Witness: Miguel Dorado.
Matías Xochmitl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Espíritu Sancto Tetzcocapan. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.
Petronilla died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to San Francisco Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Melchor de Santiago.

18. ypā miercoles yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de setiēbre 1620 años

18. On Wednesday the 23rd day of the month of September 1620:

luisa castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic mig^{l} de biēbenida testigo di^{o}
[Line left blank.]

Luisa Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Miguel de Bienvenida. Witness: Diego
[Line left blank.]

22. ypā sab^{o} yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1620 años micq̃
ma^{a} jallome piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual xochicuiuic pohui tetzcocapā

22. Died on Saturday the 3rd day of the month of October 1620:
The child Maria Salome died. Her father was Pasqual Xochicuicuic of Tetzcocapan.[90]

25. ypā sab^{o} yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1620 años micq̃
magthalena castilla Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic pillipe de. S. tiago pohui huexotzinco totollac testigo lurenço de corrdo

25. Died on Saturday the 9th day of the month of October 1620:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Felipe de Santiago of Huexotzinco Totollac. Witness: Lorenzo de Corrdo.

29. ypā domigo yc 18 de octobre 1620 años micqui

29. Died on Sunday the 18th of October 1620:

[90] Pasqual Xochicuicuic's first child died on the 31st of July, his second on the 3rd of October. His third child a daughter named Antonia will die on the 26th of December 1620.

diego telpohtl ypiltzin fran^{co} ximenez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The young man Diego. He was the child of Fransico Jimínez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
31. ypā jueves yc 22 de octobre 1620 años micqui juā ypiltzin juā metez pohui tianquizteco	31. Died on Thursday the 22nd of October 1620: Juan, the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.
33. ypā Viernes yc 23 de octobre 1620 años micqui pedromilla ypiltzin fran^{co} ximenez pohui totollac	33. Died on Friday the 23rd of October 1620: Petronilla, the child of Francisco Jimínez of Totollac.[91]
35. ypā sab^{o} yc 24 ylhuitl de octobre 1620 años micqui apollonia ximenez micqui pohui almoyahuacā ytechca tlacallaquilli di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin luis gotierez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	35. Died on Saturday the 24th day of October 1620: Apollonia Jimínez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. The child Diego died. He was the child of Luis Gutiérrez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

[91] Francisco Jimínez's older son died on October 18th and his daughter on October 23rd.

f. 10v

1. ypā martes yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1620 años
Augustina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} alvarez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 10v

1. On Tuesday the 27th day of the month of October 1620:
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Diego Alvarez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. ypā miercoles yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1620 año
thoribio mētez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atēco ynamic aña cacallo xo^{tl}

4. On Wednesday the 28th day of the month of October 1620:
Torivio Méndez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Ana Cacalloxochitl.

7. ypā yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1620 años micqui
mathias clemēte micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihq̆ pohui acxotlā
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin luis mexia pohui tepetzinco

7. Died on the 10th day of the month of November 1620:
Matías Clemente died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan.
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Luis Mexia of Tepetzinco.

11. ypā Viernes yc 13 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1620 años micqui

11. Died on Friday the 13th day of November 1620:

ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoya^{ca} ynamic Bernardino monuz [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio degante pohui atenco	Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Bernardino Muñez. The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Antonio de Gante of Atenco.
15. ypā martes yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1620 años merchi^{or} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mētez pohui huexo^{co} pasqual micqui ycha lucas pz o micqui amo nica chane chololla chane	15. On Tuesday the 17th day of the month of November 1620: The child Melchor died. He was the child of Juan Méndez of Huexotzinco. Pasqual died. He died in the home of Lucas Pérez. He was not from here. He was from Cholula.
19. ypā jueves yc 19 ylhuitl y[n] mes de noviēbre 1620 años micque fillipe ypiltzin fran^{co} xuarez pohui acxotla ma^{a} ypiltzin juā metez pohui tiyaquizteco	19. Died on Thursday the 19th day of the month of November 1620: Felipe, the child of Francisco Suárez of Acxotlan. Maria, the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.
22. ypā sab^{o} yc 21 de noviēbre 1620 años micqui	22. Died on Saturday the 21st of November 1620:

diego ypiltzin matheo xuarez chaneque s. matheo tenescalco	Diego, the child of Mateo Suárez from San Mateo Tenescalco.
24. ypā miercoles yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de noviēbre 1620 años micq̆ diego ypiltzin aºl tegante chane s. [yllesusi][19]	24. Died on Wednesday the 25th day of the month of November 1620: Diego, the child of Alonzo de Gante from San [Yllesusi].
26. ypā Viernes yc [illegible] ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēmbre 1620 años micqui justa castillā xotl micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic mathias perez	26. Died on Friday [illegible] day of the month of November 1620: Justina Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Matías Pérez.
30. en cinco dias del mes de deciembre [illegible - de los vah?][20] nus[nuestro] p[adr]e fray juª marquez Maldonado nus[nuestro] padre de esta provyª[provincial] visto este libro de los difunto de este convto de huexotzinco a mano de su p[adr]e le tenga el [illegible - mil nu cin alado] que has [f. 11r] ta aqui se [h]a le leido [illegible - de asentar los] que	30. On the 5th day of the month of December, [illegible], our priest fray Juan Marquez Maldonado, our priest of this province, viewed this book of the deceased of this convent of Huexotzinco and from the hand of his priest he takes [illegible – next to it] [f. 11r] That has been read up to here, [what was set

[19] This is likely a Saint's name rendered in Nahuatl, but it is unclear which name they meant.
[20] Must mean "has come" in some way.

viven el los que mueren y lo firmo de su nombre
Ante mí
fray juan marquez maldonato Pr
fr ant^{o} detapiar
secret^{o}

down?][92] of those who live and those who die. He signed it with his name.
Before me:
fray Juan Marquez Maldonado, Priest
fray Antonio de Tapia
Secretary

14. ypā jueves yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1620 años
pa^{o} piltzintli micqui yta andres de s tiago pohui s. Nicolas ocacallacohuayan

14. On Thursday the 3rd day of the month of December 1620:
The child Pablo died. His father was Andrés de Santiago of San Nicolas Cacallacohuayan.

17. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1620 micque
sebastiā de nahua micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic ma^{a} castillā xochitl
[blank space] piltzintli micqui yta Augustin pz pohui s. luis coyotzinco

17. Died on Saturday the 5th day of the month of December 1620:
Sebastián de Nahua died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
The child [blank space] died. His father was Agustín Pérez of San Luis Coyotzinco.

[92] As in written down, perhaps.

21. ypā domigo yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1620 años micqui
pa^{o} degante micqui telpochtli pohui s. ta. Cruz atenco

21. Died on Sunday the 6th day of the month of December 1620:
The young man Pablo de Gante of Santa Cruz Atenco died.

23. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciebre 1620 años micqui
hellena ypiltzin fran^{co} maçahu l pohui huexo^{co} totollac
Beronica ypiltzin Gabriel de la cruz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
Juseph piltzintli micqui yta di^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

23. Died on Friday the 11th day of the month of December 1620:
Elena, the child of Francisco Macehual of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Veronica, the child of Gabriel de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Joseph died. His father was Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

27. ypā domi͡go yc 13 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1620 años micqui
ysabel castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpan ynamic pa^{o} deroças
lucas piltzintli micqui yta juā pz pohui tlmacazcapā

27. Died on Sunday the 13th day of the month of December 1620:
Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Pablo de Rosas.
The child Lucas died. His father was Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

31. ypā sabº yc 19 ylhuitl y[n]mēs deciēbre 1620 años

maª dechauez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzōpā ynamic diº deribas

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio decocol pohui atenco

pasqual piltzintli micqui yta pillipe deaquino pohui acxotlā

31. On Saturday the 19th day of the month of December 1620:

Maria de Suárez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. Her spouse was Digeo de Rivas.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Antonio de Cocol of Atenco.

The child Pasqual died. His father was Felipe de Aquino of Acxotlan.

f. 11v

1. ypā sabº yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mēs deciēbre 1620 años micque

antonio piltzintli micqui yta juā salmiēto pohui tlatenco

simō telpochtli ychā moto tlacateuhuitli acxotlā

antona piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual xochicuicuic pohui tetzcocapā

f. 11v

1. Died on Saturday the 26th day of the month of December 1620:

The child Antonio died. His father was Juan Salmiento of Tlatenco.

The young man Simón [died] in his home. Tlacateuctli[93] [of] Acxotlan said so.

The child Antonia died. Her father was Pasqual Xochicuicuic of Tetzcocapan.

[93] This was the nobleman's title.

6. ypā lunes yc 28 deciēbre 1620 años mique	6. Died on Monday the 28th of December 1620:
varvora castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic lucas pz pohui coyotzinco	Barbara Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Lucas Pérez of Coyotzinco.
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ynā Augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui cecalla^{an}	The child Francisca died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Cacallacohuayan.
f. 12r	f. 12r
1. 1621 años	1. The year 1621.
3. ypā Viernes yc 1 de henero 1621 años	3. On Friday the 1st of January 1621:
hellena piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Elena died. Her father was Matías Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
5. ypā sab^{o} yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1621 años	5. On Saturday the 2nd day of the month of January 1621:
pedromila piltzintli micqui yta andres pzpohui almoyahuacā	The child Petronilla died. Her father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.[94]
7. ypā lunes yc 4 de henero 1621 años	7. On Monday the 4th of January 1621:

[94] Andrés Pérez's wife died on May 25th of 1620, his daughter on January 2nd of 1621.

ma[a] piltzintli micqui yta mathias pochel pohui almoyahuacā	The child Maria died. Her father was Matías Pochel of Almoyahuacan.
9. ypā Viernes 8 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1621 años aña hueytlacatl chane cuetlaxcohuapā ychā anoto pe[o] xuarez s. tiago tlamacehuaya	9. On Friday the 8th day of the month of January 1621: Ana, the old person, from Cuetlaxohuapan [died] at home. Pedro Suárez [of] Santiago Tlamacehuayan said so.
12. ypā sab[o] yc 9 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años simō telpochtli pohui huexo[co] totollac ynā mag[na] castillā xo[tl]	12. On Saturday the 9th day of January 1621: The young man Simón of Huexotzinco Totollac. His mother was Magdalena Castillanxochitl.
14. ypā lunes yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1621 años pasqual pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic angellinā castillā xo[tl]	14. On Monday the 11th day of the month of January 1621: Pasqual Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. His spouse was Angelina Castillanxochitl.

17. ypā martes yc 12 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años
juā xochipā micqui pohui acxotlā ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Ysabel de s. toma^{s}

17. On Tuesday the 12th day of January 1621:
Juan Xochipan died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Isabel de San Tomas.

20. ypā miercoles yc 13 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años
lucas pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic catea vervora castillā xo^{tl} yc ocalpolhiuhque
Bartholome micqui ychā anoto Nicolas vasoido español

20. On Wednesday the 13th day of the month of January 1621:
Lucas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. His spouse was the late Barbara Castillanxochitl.[95] The barrio gathered from him.
Bartolomé died at home. Nicolas Vasoido, the Spaniard, said so.

24. ypā Viernes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1621 años micqui
mā castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic Pasqual noquā

24. Died on Friday the 15th day of the month of January 1621:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Pasqual Noquan.

[95] Barbara Castillanxochitl, here noted as deceased, died on December 28th, 1620.

27. ypā sab^{o} yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1621 años micqui
michaella piltzin micqui yta juā pz pohui huexo^{co}

27. Died on Saturday the 16th day of the month of January 1621:
The child Micaela died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco.

29. ypā lunes martes yc 2 ylhuitl de hebre 1621 años micqui
mathias piltzin^{tli} micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar^{a} pohui tiāquiztenco

29. Died on Tuesday the 2nd day of February 1621:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Miguel García of Tianquiztenco.

31. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl de hebrero 1621 años micqui
lazaro de ācolo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui texcocapā ynamic luisa castillā xo^{tl}

31. On Wednesday the 3rd day of February 1621:
Lazaro de Ancolo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Texcocapan. His spouse was Luisa Castillanxochitl.

f. 12v

1. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebre 1621 años
gaspar de aquino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} ^{tecpá} ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl}

f. 12v

1. On Wednesday the 10th day of the month of February 1621:
Gaspar de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl.

4. ypā lunes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1621 años micqui
sebastion pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac yc ocalpolhuihque fran^{ca} __ ypiltzin diego morāte pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

4. Died on Monday the 15th day of the month of February 1621:
Sebastián Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. The barrio gathered for him. Francisca, she was the child of Diego Morante of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

10. ypā miercoles yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebre 1621 años micqui
hellena castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego salmiēto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

10. Died on Wednesday the 17th day of the month of February 1621:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Salmiento of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

13. ypā Viernes yc 19 ylhuitl de hebrero 1621 años micqui
di^{o} andres de la corona micqui ynamic mag^{na} de s. fran^{ca} pohui huexo^{co} totollac

13. Died on Friday the 19th day of February 1621:
Diego Andrés de la Corona died. His spouse was Magdalena de San Francisca of Huexotzinco Totollac.

16. ypā domi͡go yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1621 años micqui

16. Died on Sunday the 21st day of the month of February 1621:

thomas de lona micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltapetlapā

Tomás de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

pasqualla piltzintli micqui ypiltzintli di^{o} salgado pohui tepetzinco

The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Diego Salgado of Tepetzinco.

20. ypā lunes yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1621 años

20. On Monday the 22nd day of the month of February 1621:

fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui almoyahuacā

The child Francisco died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

22. ypā domi͡go yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1621 años micqui

22. Died on Sunday the 28th day of the month of February 1621:

di^{o} piltzin micqui ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

24. ypā jueves yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1621 años micqui

24. Died on Thursday the 4th day of the month of March 1621:

juana pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic pe^{o} vazques pohui ocotepec

Juana Pérez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Pedro Vazquez of Ocotepec.

27. ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1621 años
hellena yztac Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli y~~pa~~namic pa^{o} de helera pohui huexo^{co} totollac
miguel ypiltzin marcos de aquino pohui atenco

27. On Friday the 5th day of the month of March 1621:
Elena Iztacxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pablo de Herrera of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Miguel, the child of Marcos de Aquino of Atenco.

31. ypā domi͡go yc 7 ylhuitl de março 1621 años
melchora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mj͡n pohui almoyahuacā

31. On Sunday the 7th day of March 1621:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.

34. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1621 años
michaela piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapā
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui almoyahuacā

34. On Wednesday the 10th day of the month of March 1621:
The child Micaela. She was the child of Felipe de Santiago of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Maria died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

37. ypā domi͡go yc 14 ylhuitl de março 1621 años

37. On Sunday the 14th day of the month of March 1621:

melchora castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic juā fran^{co}

Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan. Her spouse was Juan Francisco.

40. ypā Viernes yc 19 de março 1621 años ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mēz tiāquiztēco pohui

40. On Friday the 19th of March 1621: The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.

f. 13r

1. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 de março 1621 años micqui
maria Rodriquez miqui ytechcatqui tlacallaquilli ynamic mathias de la cruz pohui huexo^{co} totollac

f. 13r

1. Died on Saturday the 20th of March 1621:
Maria Rodríguez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Totollac.

4. ypā martes yc ^{7} de ablir 1621 años micqui
ma^{a} piltzintli yconeuh ma^{a} pz pohui xaltepetlapā

4. Died on Tuesday the 7th of April 1621: The child Maria. She was the child of Maria Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

6. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de abril 1621 años
geronimo z^{o} micqui pohui tetzcocapa ytechca tlacallaquilli Ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl}

6. On Saturday the 10th day of the month of April 1621:
Geronimo Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

9. ypā miercoles yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de abril 1621 a^{o}s
[blank space] telpotzintli ychā amoto juā ximenez

9. On Wednesday the 14th day of the month of April 1621:
The young man [blank space] [died] at home. Juan Jiménez said so.

11. ypā jueves yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de abril 1621 años micqui
juā hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynahuac pe^{o} de vibero ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl}
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā hernādez pohui thohcuillā

11. Died on Thursday the 15th day of the month of April 1621:
Juan Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his neighbor Pedro de Vivero. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.[96]
The child Matías died. He was the child of Juan Hernández of Tocuillan.

[96] This could also be that "his tribute responsibility belongs to his wife Juana Castillanxochitl, neighbor of Pedro de Vivero." There are cases in the town of Tlamacazcapan where tribute was apparently paid by the estate holder, and if this is a case similar to that then it would make sense that Pedro de Vivero is being named as the man owing tribute by virtue of being the one who pays on behalf of his tenants.

16. ypā domi͡go yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de abril 1621 años micqui
fran^{ca} tomiyauh[21] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā

16. Died on Sunday the 18th day of the month of April 1621:
Francisca Tomiyauh died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

18. ypā martes yc 20 ylhuitl de abril 1621 años micqui
mig^{l} de s. fran^{co} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic marianā

18. Died on Tuesday the 20th day of April 1621:
Miguel de San Francisco died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. His spouse was Mariana.

21. ypā jueves yc 22 abril 1621 años
ma^{a} Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā ynamic a^{o}l de s. tiago
di^{o} piltzintli ypiltzin di^{o} paynos pohui almoyahuacā
mig^{l} piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe de aquino pohui acxotlā

21. On Thursday the 22nd of April 1621:
Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Alonzo de Santiago.
The child Diego. He was the child of Diego Paynos of Almoyahuacan.
The child Miquel. He was the child of Felipe de Aquino of Acxotlan.

[21] *tomiyauh* = Our maize tassel, a name for girls (Central Mexico, sixteenth century), see: Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Primeros Memoriales, ed. Thelma D. Sullivan, et al. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 255.

26. ypā sab^{o} yc 24 de abril 1621 años micqui
hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{co} perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

26. Died on Saturday the 24th of April 1621:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

29. ypā domi͡go yc 25 ylhuitl de abril 1621 años micque
miguel caros micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic pohui huexo^{co} totollac
juā perez micqui tlaxcallā chane

29. Died on Sunday the 25th day of April 1621:
Miguel Caros died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his wife of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Juan Pérez died. He was from Tlaxcallan.

33. ypā jueves yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1621 años
a^{o}l d. s. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlaco yc ocalpolhuihque pohui acxotlā
testigotin matheo xuarez
aña sanchez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic di^{o} de s. juā pohui atenco

33. On Thursday the 6th day of the month of May 1621:
Alonzo de Santiago died. The barrio gathered for him. Half of his tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan.
Witness: Mateo Suárez.
Ana Sánchez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Diego de San Juan of Atenco.

f. 13v

1. ypā sabº yc 8 ylhuitl ymes de mayo 1621 años micqui
aña castillā xotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamcazcapā ynahuac hernādo ordez

4. ypā lunes yc 10 ylhuitl de mayo 1621 años micqui
hellena cortes micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic catca diº cortes yc ocalpolhuihque pohui xaltepetlapā
paolla piltzintli micqui ychā amoto juā nonez

8. ypā domigo yc 16 de mayo 1621 años paº piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel Rodriquez pohui tianquiztenco

10. ypā martes yc 18 de mayo 1621 años

f. 13v

1. Died on Saturday the 8th day of the month of May 1621:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. Her neighbor was Hernando Ortiz.

4. Died on Monday the 10th day of May 1621:
Elena Cortés died. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Diego Cortés. Her responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.
The child Paola died at home. Juan Nuñez said so.

8. On Sunday the 16th of May 1621:
The child Pablo died. He was the child of Miguel Rodríguez of Tianquiztenco

10. On Tuesday the 18th of May 1621:

di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Rapael Rodriquez pohui huexo^{co} totollac fran^{co} pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic aña gar^{a}	The child Diego died. He was the child of Raphael Rodríguez of Huexotzinco Totollac. Francisco Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. His spouse was Ana García.
14. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1621 años micq̆ marcalida castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechcatqui tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui santa cruz atenco	14. Died on Friday the 21st day of the month of May 1621: Margarita Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Santa Cruz Atenco.
17. ypā lunes yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1621 años micqui ma^{a} ~~mo~~ [blank space] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic mig^{l} di^{o}	17. Died on Monday the 24th day of the month of May 1621: Maria [blank space] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Miguel Diego.
20. ypā jueves yc 27 ylhuitl de mayo 1621 anos salvator piltzintli micqui ychā amoto juā dolen	20. On Thursday the 27th day of May 1621: The child Salvatore died at home. Juan Durán said so.

22. ypā sab^{o} yc 29 ylhuitl de mayo 1621 años
aña castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic juā pz pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez

22. On Saturday the 29th day of May 1621:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, neighbor of Juárez.

25. ypā jueves yc 10 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años
michaela piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} hernādez pohui xaltepetlapā

25. On Thursday the 10th day of June 1621:
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Xaltepetlapan.

27. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años
di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias z^{o} pohui almoyahuacā

27. On Friday the 11th day of June 1621:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías Zocalo of Almoyahuacan.

29. ypā sab^{o} yc 12 de junio 1621 años
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} aogenio pohui huexo^{co} totollac

29. On Saturday the 12th of June 1621:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Pablo Angenio of Huexotzinco Totllac.

31. ypā martes yc 15 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años

31. On Tuesday the 15th day of June 1621:

di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} deroças pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.
33. ypā miercoles yc 16 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años	33. On Wednesday the 16th day of June 1621:
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} Rodriquez pohui atenco	The child Juan died. He was the child of Diego Rodríguez of Atenco.
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} vallençia pohui ocotepec	The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco Valencia of Ocotepec.
[blank space] piltzintli micqui	The child [blank space] died.
37. ypā jueves yc 17 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años	37. On Thursday the 17th day of June 1621:
luçia nenca micqui pohui totollac ynamic matheo xuarez tlapopolhuih	Lucia Nenca of Totollac died. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez. She confessed.
39. ypā Viernes yc 18 de junio 1621 años	39. On Friday the 18th of June 1621:
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo ger^{a} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Juan died. He was the child of Mateo García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
f. 14r	f. 14r
1. ypā martes yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de junio 1621 años micque	1. Died on Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of June 1621:

juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} dolon pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapā	The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco Durán of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Ramirez pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Ramírez of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltsin di^{o} gar^{a} pohui s. tiangustin atzōpā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Diego García of Santa Agustín Atzonpan.
9. ypā jueves yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de junio 1621 años	9. On Thursday the 24th day of the month of June 1621:
hellena castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui sanc Battholome thohcuillā ynamic juā pz	Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to San Bartolomé Tocuillan. Her spouse was Juan Pérez.
magthalena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Bartholome pz pohui tlanicōtlan	The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Bartolomé Pérez of Tlanicontlan.
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Ramirez pohi sanctiago xaltepetlapa	The child Miguel died. She was the child of Juan Ramírez of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
16. ypā Viernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de junio 1621 años	16. On Friday the 25th day of the month of June 1621:

ma[a] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Maldonado pohui huexo[co] tecpā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Maldonado of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
juana Gomez micqui chichimecatl micqui ynamic juā gar[a] ynahuac pe[o] de vivero	Juana Gomez, a Chichimec, died. Her spouse was Juan García, the neighbor of Pedro de Vivero.
20. ypā viernes yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de julio 1621 anos	20. On Friday the 2nd day of the month of July 1621:
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Thomas de aquino pohui acxotlā	The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Tomás de Aquino of Acxotlan.
23. ypā martes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es y[n] m̄es de jullio 1621 años	23. On Tuesday the 6th day of the month of July 1621:
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin Ramirez pohui xaltapetlapā	The child Miguel died. He was the child of Agustín Ramírez of Xaltepetlapan.
fran[ca] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel Maldonado pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Francisca died. She was the child of Miguel Maldonado of Xaltepetlapan.
28. ypā miercoles yc 7 ylhuitl de jullio 1621 años	28. On Wednesday the 7th day of July 1621:

juana piltsintli micqui ypiltzin mig[l] de roças pohui tlatenco

The child Juana died. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.

30. ypā jueves yc 8 ylhuitl de jullio 1621 años
ma[a] jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec ynamic miguel gar[a]

30. On Thursday the 8th day of July 1621:
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Miguel García.

33. ypā lunes yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1621 años
di[o] piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh anprosio de gante pohui cecallacohuaya
bonetora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin sebastian de miça pohui chiyauhtzinco

33. On Monday the 12th day of the month of July 1621:
The child Diego died. He was the grandchild of Ambrosio de Gante of Cecallacohuayan.
The child [Pandora?] died. She was the child of Sebastián de Misa of Chiyauhtzinco.

f. 14v

1. ypā jueves yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1621 años
andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin martin pz chane noyotzinco

f. 14v

1. On Thursday the 15th day of the month of July 1621:
The child Andrés died. He was the child of Martín Pérez from Noyotzinco.

5. ypā martes yc 20 de jullio 1621 años ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui quonallā pohui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Gabriel de. S. Sebastian	5. On Tuesday the 20th of July 1621: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Quanallan. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Gabriel de San Sebastián.
9. ypā miercoles yc 21 de jullio 1621 años amprosio de gante micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlaco pohui cecallacohuayā	9. On Wednesday the 21st of July 1621: Ambrosio de Gante died. Half of his tribute responsibility belongs to Cecallacohuayan.[97]
12. ypā jueves yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1621 años pe^{o} piltzintli micqui ynā melchiora castillā Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā	12. On Thursday the 22nd day of the month of July 1621: The child Pedro died. His mother was Melchora Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
15. ypā sab^{o} yc 24 ylhuitl de jullio 1621 años jusepah piltzintli micqui y[ta] fran^{co} pohui tlanacazcapā	15. On Saturday the 24th day of July 1621: The child Joseph died. His father was Francisco of Tlamacazcapan.

[97] Ambrosio de Gante's grandson died on July 12th.

17. ypā martes yc 27 ylhuitl de jullio 1621 años
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias pz pohui huexotzinco totollac

17. On Tuesday the 27th day of July 1621:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Matías Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

20. ypā miercoles yc 28 ylhuitl de jullio 1621 años micqui
mā castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui sanota cruz atenco yc ocalpolhuih ynamic catea thoribio mētez

20. Died on Wednesday the 28th day of July 1621:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Santa Cruz Atenco. The barrio gathered for her. Her husband was the late Torivio Méndez.[98]

23. ypā miercoles yc 4 ylhuitl de augusto 1621 años
pasqualla piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco tzaqualcatl pohui thohcuillā

23. On Wednesday the 4th day of August 1621:
The child Pasqual died. He was the child of Francisco Tzaqualcatl of Tocuillan.

26. ypā sabo yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de augusto 1621 años micqui
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pao gara pohui sanc Pablo ocotepec

26. Died on Saturday the 7th day of the month of August 1621:
The child Juana died. She was the child of Pablo García of San Pablo Ocotepec.

[98] Torivio Méndez died on October 28th, 1620.

29. ypā domi͡go yc 8 ylhuitl de augusto 1621 años micqui
hellena tlapal micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui almoyahuacā ynamic catca juā bap[ta]

29. Died on Sunday the 8th day of August 1621:
Elena Tlapal of Almoyahuacan died. She confessed. Her husband was the late Juan Bautista.[99]

32. ypā miercoles yc 11 ylhuitl de augusto 1621 años
ma[a] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin bartholome vallīçia pohui huexo[co] tecpā

32. On Wednesday the 11th day of August 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Bartolomé Valencia of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

35. ypā jueves yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de augusto 1621 años
joseph pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui thocuillā ynamic veronica

35. On Thursday the 12th day of the month of August 1621:
Joseph Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tocuillan. His spouse was Veronica.

f. 15r

1. ypā martes yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de augusto 1621 años

f. 15r

1. On Tuesday the 17th day of the month of August 1621:

[99] Juan Bautista probably died on the 13th of February 1619 but his wife's name is not listed with him there only his town.

mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel coto pohui totollac	The child Matías died. He was the child of Gabriel Soto of Totollac.
3. ypā Viernes yc 20 de augusto 1621 años [blank space] ynā martina [left blank]	3. On Friday the 20th of August 1621: [blank space]. His mother was Martina.
5. ypā sabº yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes de augusto 1621 años	5. On Saturday the 21st day of the month of August 1621:
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco pz pohui huexoco	The child Elena died. She was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Melchior hernādez pohui tetzcocapā	The child Juana died. She was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
antona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui tetzcocapā	The child Antonia died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
9. ypā jueves yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes de augusto 1621 años	9. On Thursday the 26th day of the month of August 1621:
balthasar micqui chane sanc bonauētora ychā amoto joseph crucel pohui tetzcocapā	Baltazar died. He was from San Bonaventura. He was at home. Joseph Crucel of Tetzcocapan said so.
12. ypā sabº yc 27 de augusto 1621 años	12. On Saturday the 27th of August 1621:

juana piltzin micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} deroças pohui atenco	The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco de Rosas of Atenco.
14. ypā lunes yc 30 de augusto 1621 años fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin melchor hernādez pohui tetzcocapā	14. On Monday the 30th of August 1621: The child Francisco died. He was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
16. ypā Viernes yc 3 ylhuitl setiēbre 1621 años martina castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechcatqui tlacallaquilli ynamic sebastian huitznahuacatl pohui almoyahuacā	16 On Friday the 3rd day of September 1621: Martina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Sebastián Huitznahuacatl of Almoyahuacan.
19. ypā domi͡go yc 5 ylhuitl setiēbre 1621 años juā perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} coyohnaquiz pohui xaltepetlapā	19. On Sunday the 5th day of September 1621: Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Coyohnaquiz of Xaltepetlapan.
22. ypā martes yc 7 ylhuitl setiēbre 1621 años	22. On Tuesday the 7th day of September 1621:

antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de s. fran^{co} pohui coyotzinco	The child Antonio died. He was the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de tores pohui atenco	The child Matías died. He was the child of Matías de Torres of Atenco.
hellena piltzintli miqui ypiltzin pe^{o} salgado pohui tepetzinco	The child Elena died. She was the child of Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.
26. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de setetiebre 1621 años	26. On Tuesday the 14th day of the month of September 1621:
mathias telpochtli ^{miqui} pohui ocotepec	The young man Matías of Ocotepec died.
28. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de setiēbre 16 ylhuitl 1621 años	28. On Thursday the 16th day of the month of September 1621:
pasqual de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Justina cohuanen pohui Sanc Bartholome thocuillā	Pasqual de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his wife Justina Cohuanen of San Bartolomé Tocuillan.
31. ypā lunes yc 21 ylhuitl de setiēbre 1621 años	31. On Monday the 21st day of September 1621:
mathias telpochtli micqui ypiltzin juā xuarez pohui xaltepe^{an}	The young man Matías died. He was the child of Juan Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

33. ypā martes yc 29 setēbre 1621 años
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Thomas de aquino pohui acxotlā

33. On Tuesday the 29th [of] September 1621:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Tomás de Aquino of Acxotlan.

36. ypā martes yc 5 ylhuitl de octobre 1621 años
lucas piltzin micqui ypiltzin ^{tli} juā bap^{ta} pohui xaltepetlapā

36. On Tuesday the 5th day of October 1621:
The child Lucas died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 15v

1. ypā sab^{o} yc 9 ylhuitl de octobre 1621 años
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de cāte pohui atēco

f. 15v

1. On Saturday the 9th day of October 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Pasqual de Gante of Atenco.

4. ypā miercoles yc 13 de octobre 1621 años
di^{o} salmiēto micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yn inamic catca ytoca hellena castillā xo^{tl} yc ocalpolhuihque pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

4. On Wednesday the 13th of October 1621:
Diego Salmiento died. His tribute responsibility belongs Huexotzinco Tecpan. His late wife was named Elena Castillaxochitl. The barrio gathered for him.

8. ypā domi͡go yc 16 de octobre 1621 año ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar^{a} pohui xaltep^{an}	8. On Sunday the 16th of October 1621: The child Maria died. She was the child of Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.
10. ypā lunes yc 17 ylhuitl de octobre 1621 años thomas de aquino micqui tlapopolhuilloa pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	10. On Monday the 17th day of October 1621: Tomás de Aquino died. He confessed. He belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
13. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1621 año clara miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynahuacmic fran^{co} Antonio pohui tlanacazcapā ynahuac andres rios	13. On Friday the 21st day of the month of October 1621: Clara died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Antonio of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Andrés Rios.
17. ypā domi͡go yc 23 ylhuitl de octobre 1621 años hellena [blanck space] micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui tetzcocapā	17. On Sunday the 23rd day of October 1621: Elena [blank space] died. She confessed. She belongs to Tetzcocapan.
19. ypā lunes yc 24 de octobre 1621 años	19. On Monday the 24th of October 1621:

mathias micqui ppiltzintli ypiltzintzin di^{o} pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan
22. ypā Viernes yc 29 de octobre 1621 años di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypilhuā miquel pz pohui huexo^{co} lazaro piltzintli micqui	22. On Friday the 29th of October 1621: The child Diego died. They were the children of Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco. The child Lazaro died.
26. ypā lunes yc 1 de noviēbre 1621 años hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic pa^{o} pz pohui acxotlā	26. On Monday the 1st of November 1621: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pablo Pérez of Acxotlan.
29. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1621 año juā pz micqui yc ocalpolhuihque ynamic catca hellena castillā xo^{tl} pohui tianquiztenco	29. On Wednesday the 3rd day of November 1621: Juan Pérez died. The barrio gathered for him. His wife was the late Elena Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.
32. ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1621 años	32. On Friday the 5th day of November 1621:

matheo micqui piltzintli ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui almo^{ca}	The child Mateo died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
34. ypā domigo yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1621 años	34. On Sunday the 14th day of the month of November 1621:
monica ychpochtli micqui chane atlixco ychā amoto miguel gar^{a} pohui chiyauhtzinco	The young woman Monica died. She was from Atlixco. She was at home. Miguel García of Chiyauhtzinco said so.
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui almoya^{cā}	The child Antonio died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
f. 16r	f. 16r
1. ypā lunes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1621 años	1. On Monday the 15th day of the month of November 1621:
ynes catillā xo^{tl} micqui cocoxcatzintli ychā juā bap^{ta} pohui huexo^{co}	Inés Castillanxochitl died. She was very sick. She was in the home of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco.
juan [blank space] ypiltzin juā pz pohui atenco	Juan [blank space]. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Atenco.
5. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 de noviēbre 1621 años	5. On Saturday the 20th of November 1621:

martin tepozneoa tlapopolhuillo pohui huexo^{co} totollac

Martín Tepozneoa of Huexotzinco Totollac. He confessed.

7. ypā martes yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1621 años
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel deçamora pohui huexo^{co} totollac

7. On Tuesday the 23rd day of the month of November 1621:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel de Zamora of Huexotzinco Totollac.

10. ypā jueves yc 25 de noviēbre 1621 años
angellinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui chiyauhtzinco
domi͡go telpochtli micqui chane amaquemecā ychā amoto pe^{o} serrano

10. On Thursday the 25th of November 1621:
The child Angelina died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Chiyauhtzinco.
The young man Domingo from Amaquemecan died. He was at home. Pedro Serano said so.

14. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1621 años
lurenço de s. juā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui atenco

14. On Saturday the 27th day of November 1621:
Lorenzo de San Juan died. His tribute responsibility belongs his spouse to Juana Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

monica tezpetlacal ynamic juā Vazquez pohui huexo^{co} totollac

Monica Tezpetlacal. Her spouse was Juan Vazquez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

18. ypā lunes yc 29 de noviēbre 1621 años
augustin perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} totollac
simō piltōtli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} de luna pohui tlanicōtla
fran^{ca} piltontli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui tlanicōtla

18. On Monday the 29th of November 1621:
Agustín Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Simón died. He was the child of Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan.
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

23. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl deciēbre 1621 años
simō deroças micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Ysabel castillā xochitl pohui tianquiztenco

23. On Monday the 6th day of December 1621:
Simón de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.

26. ypā domigo yc 19 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1621 años

26. On Sunday the 19th day of the month of December 1621:

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā ximenez pohui huexo^{co} totollac

The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} chane chololllā

The child Melchora died. She was the child of Diego from Cholula.

29. ypā martes yc 21 deçiēbre 1621 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} ansuello de. S. mig^{t} pohui huexotzinco totollac

29. On Tuesday the 21st of December 1621:

The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco Consuello de San Miguel of Huexotzinco Totollac.

32. ypā jueves yc 23 deciēbre 1621 años di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} pochel pohuiz almoyahuacā

32. On Thursday the 23rd day of December 1621:

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.

34. ypā lunes yc 27 deciēbre 1621 años Balthasar nonez micqui pohui tiāquitenco tlapopolhillo ynamic ma^{a} caynos [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph tiçanoyotl

34. On Monday the 27th of December 1621:

Baltazar Nuñez of Tianquiztenco died. He confessed. His spouse was Maria Ceynos.

The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl.

38. ypā jueves yc 30 deciēbre 1621 años pillipe de. S. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

38. On Thursday the 30th of December 1621:
Felipe de Santiago died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 16v

1. ypā Viernes yc 31 ylhuitl deciēbre 1621 años
augustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac
mariana micqui chane s. tiago sallitzintlā ychā omoto fran^{co} de s. Miguel consuello pohui huexo^{co} totollac

f. 16v

1. On Friday the 31st day of December 1621:
The child Agustín died. He was the child of Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Mariana from Santiago Xallitzintlan. She was at home. Francisco de San Miguel Consuello of Huexotzinco Totollac said so.

Fr. Antonio pardos

fray Antonio Pardo

13. 1622 años omomiquilhque

13. The year 1622 – These are the dead:

14. ypā martes yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1622 años
maª micqui chane cuetlaxcohuapā ychā omoto miginero

14. On Tuesday the 4th day of the month of January 1622:
Maria from Cuetlazcohuapan died at home. A migrant said so.

16. ypā Viernes yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1622 años
augustitia micqui amo nicā chane ychā anoto çā ya yehuatl mesonero Español

16. On Friday the 7th day of the month of January 1622:
Agustina died. She was not from here. She was at home. Only the one who is the innkeeper, a Spaniard, said so.[100]

19. ypā domigo yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1622 años
luisa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā chane chololllā
angellina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin peº Rodriquez pohui huexoco tecpā

19. On Sunday the 9th day of the month of January 1622:
The child Luisa died. She was the child of Juan from Cholula.
The child Angelina died. She was the child of Pedro Rodríguez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

23. ypā lunes yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1622 años

23. On Monday the 10th day of the month of January 1622:

[100] It is likely that she lived and worked at the inn as some kind of servant. The other possibility is that she was passing through and died in the inn, with no one else to speak for her save the innkeeper.

pillipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Felipe died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
25. ypā martes yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1622 años fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexotzinco tecpā	25. On Tuesday the 11th day of the month of January 1622: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
28. ypā miercoles yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1622 años mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui huexo^{co} juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de s. fran^{co} pohui xaltepe^{an}	28. On Wednesday the 12th day of the month of January 1622: Mariana died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan de San Francisco of Xalteptetlapan.
31. ypā Viernes yc 14 de henero 1622 años augustina castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic lucas pz pohui acxotlā	31. On Friday the 14th of January 1622: Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Lucas Pérez of Acxotlan.
34. ypā domi͡go yc 23 de henero 1622	34. On Sunday the 23rd of January 1622:

melchior xuarez chane sanc martin tlauhtzintecac

Melchor Suárez from San Martín Tlauhtzintecac.

zacarias de roças micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic castillā Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā

Zacarias de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

sabastiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin bathasar pohui almoyahuacā

The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Baltazar of Almoyahuacan.

joseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Domingo Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 17r

1. ypā miercoles yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1622 a^{o}s

ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel pohui chololl̄a

f. 17r

1. On Wednesday the 9th day of the month of February 1622:

The child Maria died. She was the child of Gabriel of Cholula.

3. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1622 años

hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō juachin de allameda pohui xaltepetlapā

3. On Thursday the 16th day of the month of February 1622:

The child Elena died. She was the child of don Joaquin de Alameda of Xaltepetlapan.

6. ypā sabº yc 19 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1622 años
pedromilla piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Thomas de aquino pohui acxotlā

6. On Saturday the 19th day of the month of February 1622:
The child Petronilla died. She was the child of Tomás de Aquino of Acxotlan.

8. ypā lunes yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1622 años
juana cacallo Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic simō pz pohui xaltepetlapā

8. On Monday the 20th day of the month of February 1622:
Juana Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Simón Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

12. ypā martes yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1622 años
maª Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic anmallo de. S. ta maª pohui almoyahuacā
ysabel piltzintli ypiltzin andres perez pohui almoyahuacā

12. On Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of February 1622:
Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Amallo de Santa Maria of Almoyahuacan.
The child Isabel. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

16. ypā miercoles yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebreº 1622 años

16. On Wednesday the 23rd day of the month of February 1622:

lurenço piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} corço pohui acxotlā	The child Lorenzo died. He was the child of Juan Bautista Corzo of Acxotlan.
pa^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Pablo died. He was the child of Pedro Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
19. ypā Viernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebre 1622 años	19. On Friday the 25th day of the month of February 1622:
maria castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihque pohui atenco ynamic catea melchior maltonado	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Melchor Maldonado.
23. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 años	23. On Wednesday the 3rd day of the month of March 1622:
çacarias de roças micqui ytechca tlapopolhuilili ynamic aña cacallo Xochitl pohui tiāquiztenco	Zacarias de Rosas died. He confessed. His wife was Ana Cacalloxochitl of Tianquiztenco.
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā callisto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Callisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
sebastiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Balthasar de s. tiago acxotlā	The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Baltazar de Santiago [of] Acxotlan.

28. ypā jueves yc 4 de março 1622 años
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go de lona pohui xaltepetlapā

28. On Thursday the 4th of March 1622:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Domingo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.

30. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 ylhuitl de março 1622 año
manoel micqui chane calpā ychā omoto sebastiā pohui huexo^{co}
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā pz pohui atenco
juachin gar^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic martha yztac xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui acxotlā

30. On Saturday the 6th day of March 1622:
Manuel from Calpan died at home. Sebastián of Huexotzinco said so.
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Juan Pérez of Atenco.
Joaquin García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Marta Iztacxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Ana died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Acxotlan.

37. ypā martes yc 8 ylhuitl de março 1622 años
maria castillā Xochitl micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui atenco

37. On Tuesday the 8th day of March 1622:
Maria Castillanxochitl of Atenco died. She confessed.

39. ypā miercoles yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 año
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estavā coto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

39. On Wednesday the 9th day of the month of March 1622:
The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Esteban Soto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f.17v

1. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 año
diego çaynos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnochoquichtli pohui huexo^{co} totollac

f. 17v

1. On Friday the 11th day of the month of March 1622:
The widower Diego Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

4. ypā sab^{o} yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 año amoto
hellena p castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic di^{o} juā pohui atenco

4. On Saturday the 12th day of the month of March 1622:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Juan of Atenco.

7. ypā miercoles yc 16 de março 1622 año

7. On Wednesday the 16th of March 1622:

pasqual çaynos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillan Xochitl pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Pasqual Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.
11. ypā jueves yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 año miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{t} deribas pohui huexo^{co} tecpan	11. On Thursday the 18th day of the month of March 1622: The child Miguel died. He was the child of Miguel de Rivas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
14. ypā sab^{o} yc 19 de março 1622 año fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui yconeuh juana pohui tlanicōtlā	14. On Saturday the 19th of March 1622: The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan of Tlanicontlan.
16. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de março 1622 año di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	16. On Sunday the 20th of March 1622: The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
18. ypā mar lunes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1622 año	18. On Monday the 21st day of the month of March 1622:

aña micqui chane ocellotepec ychā micqui juā mēdez onpa anoto	Ana from Ocellotepec died. She died at home. Juan Méndez from over there said so.
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pillipe chane tlaxcallā	The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Felipe from Tlaxcallan.
24. ypā sab^{o} yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de abril[22] 1622 año	24. On Saturday the 26th day of the month of [March] 1622:
juā Maldonado micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} çacallo xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Juan Maldonado died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Cacalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
27. ypā sab^{o} yc 16 de abril 1622 año	27. On Saturday the 16th day of April 1622:
[blank space] ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui almoyahuacā	[blank space]. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
29. ypā miercoles yc 20 de abril 1622 año	29. On Wednesday the 20th of April 1622:
pa^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres ximenez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The child Pablo died. He was the child of Andrés Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

[22] This is historically the wrong day of the week and given the flow of the dates it is possible that the scribe meant to write March, not April.

33. ypā Viernes yc 22 de abril 1622 año
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin sebastiā pz
pohui huexo^{co}

33. On Friday the 22nd day of April 1622:
The child Joseph died. He was the child
of Sebastián Pérez of Huexotzinco.

35. ypā sab^{o} yc 23 de abril 1622 año
michaela piltzintli micqui ypiltzin
Augustin pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac

35. On Saturday the 23rd day of April
1622:
The child Micaela died. She was the child
of Agustín Pérez of Huexotzinco
Totollac.

38. ypā martes yc 27 ylhuitl de abril 1622
año
ma^{a} jallome micqui ypiltzin Geronimo
quijada pohui huexo^{co}
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simō de
aquino pohui almoyahuacā

38. On Tuesday the 27th day of April
1622:
Maria Salome died. She was the child of
Geronimo Quijada of Huexotzinco.
The child Matías died. He was the child
of Simón de Aquino of Almoyahuacan.

f. 18r
1. ypā sab^{o} yc 30 de abril 1622 año
Rapael mēdez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyah
huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 18r
1. On Saturday the 30th of April 1622:
Raphael Méndez died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to his spouse
Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco
Tecpan.

4. ypā domi͡go yc 1 de mayo 1622 año
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta}
pohui tetzcocapā

4. On Sunday the 1st of May 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

6. ypā miercoles yc 4 de mayo 1622 año
melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin
Antonio Lazaro pohui huexo^{co}
ma^{a} micqui ychā tepoztlā ychā anoto lucas
pz pohui thohcuillā
Estevā quetzalmacoc micqui ynamic
hellena castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

6. On Wednesday the 4th of May 1622:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Antonio Lazaro of Huexotzinco.
Maria died in her home in Tepoztlan. She was at home. Lucas Pérez of Tocuillan said so.
Esteban Quetzalmacoc died. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

12. ypā martes yc 10 ylhuitl de mayo 1622 año
fran^{co} de s. mig^{l} Consuelo micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank space] pohui
huexo^{co} totollac
juā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui
tlamacazcapā ynahuac pe^{o} de pipelo

12. On Tuesday the 10th day of May 1622:
Francisco de San Miguel Consuelo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space] of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. He was the neighbor of Pedro de Pipelo.

17. ypā lunes yc 16 ylhuitl de mayo 1622 año
geronimo quijadamicqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic hellena castillā xo^{tl}

17. On Monday the 16th day of May 1622:
Geronimo Quijada died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl.[101]

20. ypā jueves yc 20 de mayo 1622 año
anmalo de s. tama^{a} micqui yc ocalpolhuihque pohui almoyahuacā

20. On Thursday the 20th of May 1622:
Anmalo de Santa Maria of Almoyahuacan died. The barrio gathered for him.

22. ypā Viernes yc 26 de mayo 1622 año
balthasar çaynos miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli [blank space]
aña castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui chiyauhtzinco ynamic fran^{co} bātha
mathias de las te micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}

22. On Friday the 26th of May 1622:
Baltazar Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to [blank space].
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Chiyauhtzinco. Her spouse was Francisco Banta
Matías de Laste died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

[101] Geronimo Quijada's daughter died on April 27th.

28. ypā Viernes yc 3 de junio 1622 año
antonio pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ynes castillā xo^{tl}
pasquala piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} de senilla pohui cecallacouayā

28. On Friday the 3rd of June 1622:
Antonio Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.
The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Miguel de Senilla of Cecallacohuayan.

32. ypā miercoles yc 8 ylhuitl de junio 1622 año
dō lucas de la corona micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic juana
di^{o} piltzintli micq̆ ypiltzin juā milrada pohui huexo^{co}

32. On Wednesday the 8th day of June 1622:
Don Lucas de la Corona died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was Juana.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Mirada of Huexotzinco.

36. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl de junio 1622 año
mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec ynamic fran^{co} gotierez

36. On Thursday the 9th day of the month of June 1622:
Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Francisco Gutiérrez.

f. 18v

1. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de junio 1622 año

ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec ynamic Pablo gar^{a}

5. ypā lunes yc 12 de junio 1622 año micqui

pe^{o} hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}

8. ypā miercoles yc 14 de junio 1622 año [blank space] micqui yteca tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco ynamic juā de los āgelles Beatriz chalchiuh tlaniyahual micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic juachin z^{o}

13. ypā Viernes yc 24 de junio 1622 año

f. 18v

1. On Saturday the 10th day of the month of June 1622:

Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Pablo García.

5. Died on Monday the 12th June 1622:

Pedro Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs Tlanicontlan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

8. On Wednesday 14th of June 1622:

[blank space] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco. Her spouse was Juan de Los Angeles. Beatriz Chalchiuh Tlaniyahual died. She belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Her spouse was Joaquin Zocalo.

13. On Friday the 24th of June 1622:

ma[a] Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquizteco ynamic Thomas tlilli[23] thomas de lona micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā yc ocalpolhuihque	Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Tomás the Black. Tomás de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. The barrio gathered for him.
18. ypā lunes yc 27 de junio 1622 año – micque fran[ca] piltzintli micqui ypilzin mathias de roças pohui acxotlā mag[na] ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin pe[o] gar[a] pohui xaltepetlapā juā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic mariana	18. Died on Monday the 27th of June 1622: The child Francisca died. She was the child of Matías de Rosas of Acxotlan. The young woman Magdalena died. She was the child of Pedro García of Xaltepetlapan. Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria.
22. ypā martes yc 28 de junio 1622 años – mag[na] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin [blank space] pohui atzōpā	22. On Tuesday the 28th day of June 1622: The child Magdalena died. She was the child of [blank space] of Atzonpan.

[23] *Tlilli* is the word for black, or sometimes soot, but was also used as a person's name. For more on this name and this man see Chapter 5, Section 2 of this dissertation.

24. ypā sab^{o} yc 30 de junio 1622 año varbora castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallāquilli chane tepāco pohui quapilco	24. On Saturday the 30th of June 1622: Barbara Castillanxochitl from Tepanco died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Quapilco.
27. ypā lunes yc 4 de jullio 1622 año Beronica castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic di^{o} pz martha piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel mexia pohui teptezinco juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres xuarez pohui ocotepec	27. On Monday the 4th of July 1622: Veronica Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Her spouse was Diego Pérez. The child Marta died. She was the child of Miguel Mexia of Teptezinco. The child Juana died. She was the child of Andrés Suárez of Ocotepec.[102]
32. ypā miercoles yc 5 de jullio 1622 año juā vallençia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} ynamic ma^{a} jallome	32. On Wednesday the 5th of July 1622: Juan Valencia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. His spouse was Maria Salome.
35. ypā miercoles yc 12 de jullio 1622 año	35. On Wednesday the 13th of July 1622:

[102] Andrés Suárez's wife died on February 11th, 1620.

mag^{na} de s. tama^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā ynamic Thomas pz	Magdalena de Santa Maria died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Tomás Pérez.
38. ~~ma~~^{a} ypā yc 20 de jullio 1622 año ma^{a} cozcaniyauh micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā marcos pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	38. On the 20th of July 1622: Maria Cozcaniyauh died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Marcos of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
f. 19r	f. 19r
1. ypā lunes yc 15 ylhuitl de augusto 1622 año pasqual vartes micqui yntechca tlacallaquilli yhuā mimā yn inamic mique	1. On Monday the 15th day of August 1622: Pasqual Vartes died, together with his spouse. Their tribute responsibility belongs to [left blank].
5. ypā lunes yc 22 de augusto 1622 año lucas pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes castillxo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā	5. On Monday the 22nd of August 1622: Lucas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

8. ypā miercoles yc 24 de augusto 1622 año juana ypiltzin lucas pz pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juā cahuallero lucas telpochtli ypiltzin Pasqual gar^{a} pohui coyotzinco	8. On Wednesday the 24th of August 1622: Juana, the child of Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juan Caballero. The young man Lucas. He was the child of Pasqual García of Coyotzinco.
11. ypā Viernes yc [blank date] de augusto 1622 año mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tianquiztenco ynamic diego de rocas	11. On Friday the [26th] of August 1622: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Diego Rosas.
14. ypā miercoles yc 30 de augusto 1622 año catallinā xillotl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui s. juā quapilco oncā chane tepāco	14. On Wednesday the 30th of August 1622: Catalina Xillotl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to San Jan Quapilco, over there close to Tepanco.
17. ypā Viernes yc 2 de setiēbre 1622 año hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} de. S. tiago pohui atenco	17. On Friday the 2nd of September 1622: The child Elena died. She was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.

sebastiā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph tiçanoyotl tepetzinco	The child Sebastián died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl [of] Tepetzinco.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de s. mig^{l} pohui aenco	The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan de San Miguel of Atenco.
21. ypā domi͡go yc 4 ylhuitl de setiembre 1622 año	21. On Sunday the 4th day of September 1622:
balthasar telpochtli micqui ychā omoto	The young man Baltazar died at home.
bartholome ocellotl pohui atenco	Bartolomé Ocellotl of Atenco said so.
cl͡ara piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres perez pohui ocotepec	The child Clara died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Ocotepec.
24. ypā martes yc 6 de setiēbre 1622 año	24. On Tuesday the 6th of September 1622:
hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā	Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel hernādez pohui tetzcocapā	The child Ana died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
27. ypā jueves yc 8 de setiēbre 1622 año	27. On Thursday the 8th of September 1622:

melchior hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tepetzinco ynamic ma^{a} jallome	Melchor Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. His spouse was Maria Salome.
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā crocel pohui tetzcocapā	The child Antonio died. He was the child of Juan Crucel of Tetzcocapan.
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Bernardino cornejo pohui Totollac	The child Diego died. He was the child of Bernardino Cornejo of Totollac.
32. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 de setiēbre 1622 año juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} martin pohui tlamacazcapā	32. On Saturday the 10th of September 1622: The child Juan died. He was the child of Francisco Martín of Tlamacazcapan.
34. ypā miercoles yc 14 de setiēbre 1622 año	34. On Wednesday the 14th of September 1622:
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph tiçanoyotl pohui tepetzinco	The child Miguel died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl of Tepetzinco.[103]
di^{o} piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe de. S. tiago pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The child Diego. He was the child of Felipe de Santiago of Huexotzinco Totollac.

[103] Joseph Tizanoyotl's first son died on the 2nd of September and his second on the 14th of September.

f. 19v

1. en diez y ocho dias del mes septi^{br} de mill y seis cientos y veinte y dos años nus (nuestro) pr juan marquez maldonado qualificador de es^{to} offi^{o} [de le y mg^{o}] y nus provy^{a} esta provy^{a} de es^{to} ebangelis vidas y visto este libro en que sea sientan los difuntos [y alldo aqui] se tenia el cuidada que tiene ordenado la provy^{a} y mando al p^{r} [aqui?]se tubiese el mismo para que el viese el de cuido efecho y lo firmo su pr el mismo dia mes y año

fray juan marquz m^{i} maldonado pr

antemi

fran^{co} Delona

secret^{o}

f. 19v

1. On the 18th day of the month of September 1622, our priest Juan Marquez Maldonado, the Inquisitor of this office [of the magistrate?] and our provincial of this province of the evangelical life and viewed this book in which the dead are remembered [and next to it, here] he had taken care and had ordered the province and commanded the priest [here] to do the same for that which he saw. [With care] he signed it your priest on the same day, month, and year.

fray Juan Marquez Maldonado Priest

Before me:

fray Francisco De Luna

Secretary

14. ypā sab^{o} yc 18 ylhuitl de setiēbre 1622 año amo

~~Tequaltac~~

fran^{co} pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetzcocapa-ynamic ma^{a} jacob

14. On Saturday the 18th day of September 1622:

Francisco Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan. His spouse was Maria Jacob.

sebastiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual gar^{a} pohui coyotzi͡co	The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Pasqual García of Coyotzinco.
19. ypā jueves yc 22 de setiēbre 1622 año di^{o} xochimāqui micqui pohui cecallacohuayā ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihque di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph tiçanoyotl pohui tepetzinco	19. On Thursday the 22nd of September 1622: Diego Xochimanqui died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Cecallacohuayan. The barrio gathered for him. The child Diego died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl of Tepetzinco.[104]
23. ypā Viernes yc 23 de setiēbre 1622 año fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de la cruz pohui tiāquiztenco	23. On Friday the 23rd of September 1622: The child Francisco died. He was the child of Juan de la Cruz of Tianquiztenco.
25. ypā domi͡go yc 25 de setiēbre 1622 año	25. On Sunday the 25th of September 1622:

[104] This is the third child Joseph Tizanoyotl has lost in a year.

magthalena çaynos miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic diego pz

Magdalena Ceynos died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Diego Pérez.

28. ypā martes yc 27 de setimbre 1622 año micque
hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco yamic mathias de roças
hellena ayauh xoch micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexotzinco totollac ynamic fran^{co} cornerio

28. Died on Tuesday the 27th of September 1622:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas.
Elena Ayauhxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Francisco Cornejo.

33. ypā martes yc 5 ylhuitl de octobre 1622 año
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui tetzcocapa

33. On Tuesday the 5th day of October 1622:
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan.

35. ypā miercoles yc 6 ylhuitl de octobre 1622 año
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui tetzcocapā

35. On Wednesday the 6th day of October 1622:
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan.

37. ypā jueves yc 7 de octobre 1622 año mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetzcocapā ynamic matheo xuarez	37. On Thursday the 7th of October 1622: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez.[105]
f. 20r	f. 20r
1. ypā Viernes yc 8 ylhuitl de Octobre 1622 año ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de olarte pohui almoyahuacā	1. On Friday the 8th day of October 1622: The child Maria died. She was the child of Matías de Olarte of Almoyahuacan.
3. ypā sab^{o} yc 9 ylhuitl de octobre 1622 año [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} varios pohui coyotzinco	3. On Saturday the 9th day of October 1622: The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Diego Varios of Coyotzinco.
5. ypā martes yc 1 de noviēbre 1622 año	5. On Tuesday the 1st of November 1622:

[105] Mateo Suárez has lost two daughters and a wife in the space of three days. It is possible that the daughters were very young as they have the same name. It could also be that it was a scribal error, but seeing as they are listed on separate days, it seems likely that there were two daughters.

maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic di^{o} de varios	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. Her spouse was Diego de Varios.[106]
8. ypā jueves yc 10 ylhuitl noviēbre 1622 año nicolas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} hernādez pohui tepetzinco	8. On Thursday the 10th day of November 1622: The child Nicolas died. He was the child of Diego Hernández of Tepetzinco.
10. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1622 año mathias ypiltli ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	10. On Friday the 11th day of November 1622: Matías, the child was the son of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
12. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 de noviēbre 1622 año marcos piltzintli ypiltzin de gaspar pz pohui almoyahuacā	12. On Saturday the 6th of November 1622: The child Marcos. He was the child of Gaspar Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā domi͡go yc 13 de noviēbre 1622 año	14. On Sunday the 13th of November 1622:

[106] Here it is possible that Diego Varios and Diego de Varios were the same man, especially considering how common it was for disease to hit families at the same time.

ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} de aquino pohui thocuillā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.
antona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Antonia died. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go pz pohui tiāquiztēco	The child Maria died. She was the child of Domingo Pérez of Tianquiztenco.
fran^{ca} piltzintli ypiltzin juā Pasqual pohui totollac	The child Francisca. She was the child of Pasqual of Totollac.

19. ypā lunes yc 14 de noviēbre 1622 año	19. On Monday the 14th of November 1622:
gabriel de la cruz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco ynamic ma^{a} castillā Xochitl	Gabriel de la Cruz died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

23. ypā martes yc 15 de noviēbre 1622 año	23. On Tuesday the 15th of November 1622:
juā barnabe micqui chane piaztlā $^{s.\ tamaa}$ ^{asumpo} ynamic maria ychaā omoto juā bap^{ta}	Juan Bernabé from Piaztlan Santa Maria Asumpcion died at home. His spouse was Maria. Juan Bautista said so.

26. ypā miercoles yc 16 de noviēbre 1622 año
hellena castillā xo^{tl} micqui
ytlapopolhuilloc pohui coyotzinco ynamic
catca Geronimo de ls āgelles çacatla

26. On Wednesday the 16th of November 1622:
Elena Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco died. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Geronimo de Las Angeles Zacatla.

29. ypā jueves yc 17 de noviēbre 1622 año
maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui atzōpā ynamic catea
thamiā cosme – yc ocalpolhuihque

29. On Thursday the 17th of November 1622:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpa. Her spouse was the late Damian Cosme. – The barrio gathered for her.

32. ypā Viernes yc 18 de noviēbre 1622 año
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} de tures
pohui tlatēco

32. On Friday the 18th of November 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Diego de Torres of Tlatenco.

34. ypā lunes yc 21 de noviēbre 1622 año
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} xuarez
pohui huexo^{co} totollac

34. On Monday the 21st of November 1622:
The child Ana died. She was the child of Miguel Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

36. ypā Viernes yc 26 de noviēbre 1622 año
ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic pa^{o} ximenez

36. On Friday the 26th of November 1622:
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Pablo Jiménez.

39. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de noviēbre 1622 año
fran^{ca} ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin juā fran^{co} pohui chane cuetlaxcohuapā
joseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} pz pohui almoyahuacā

39. On Saturday the 27th of November 1622:
The young woman Francisca died. She was the child of Juan Francisco from Cuetlaxcohuapan.
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

42. ypā jueves yc 1 deciēbre 1622 año
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin de roças pohui ocotepec

42. On Thursday the 1st of December 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Agustín Rosas of Ocotepec.

44. ypā lunes yc 5 ylhuitl ym̄es deciēbre 1622 año

44. On Monday the 5th day of the month of December 1622:

pasqualla piltzintli micqui yconeuh ma[a] castillā xo[tl] pohui huexo[co] tecpā	The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
f. 20v	f. 20v
1. ypā jueves yc 8 deciēbre 1622 año fran[ca] castillā xo[tl] micqui pohui atenco ynamic juachin de aquino aña quatec micqui tlapopolhuilli pohui huexo[co] totollac	1. On Thursday the 8th of December 1622: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Joaquin de Aquino. Ana Quatec of Huexotzinco Totollac died. She confessed.
4. ypā martes yc 13 deçiēbre 1622 año estevā marquina micqui pohui acxotlā ynamic juana xillotl	4. On Tuesday the 13th of December 1622: Esteban Marquina died. He belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Juana Xillotl.
6. ypā miercoles yc 14 deciēbre 1622 año antona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel mocario pohui tlatenco	6. On Wednesday the 14th of December 1622: The child Antonia died. She was the child of Miguel Mocario of Tlatenco.

juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego gotierez pohui almoyahuacā

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Gutiérrez of Almoyahuacan.

9. ypā jueves yc 29 ylhuitl deçiēbre 1622 año
di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} tetores pohui almoyahuacā
ysabel yt di^{o} pz pohui xaltepetlapā

9. On Thursday the 29th day of December 1622:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Pedro de Torres of Almoyahuacan.
Isabel. Her father was Diego Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

12. ypā sab^{o} yc 31 deciēbre 1622 año
juseph gatena micqui pohui sāc luis coyotzinco ynamic hellena castillā xo^{tl}

12. On Saturday the 31st of December 1622:
Joseph Catena died. He belongs to San Luis Coyotzinco. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl.

17. de 1623 año – omomiquilliqũe
18 ypā lunes yc 2 y[n] m̄es de henero 1623 año
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} de lona pohui huexo^{co} totollac

17. The year 1623 – These are the dead:
On Monday the 2nd of the month of January 1623:
The child Isabel died. She was the child of Diego de Luna of Huexotzinco Totollac.

antona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo de lona pohui xaltepe^{an}	The child Antonia died. She was the child of Mateo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.
21. ypā domi͡go yc 8 ylhuitl de henero 1623 año fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallāquilli ynamic fran^{co} de roças pohui huexotzinco totollac	21. On Sunday the 8th day of January 1623: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.
24. ypā lunes yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1623 año mariana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias vardos pohui huexo^{co} totollac	24. On Monday the 9th day of the month of January 1623: The child Mariana died. She was the child of Matías Pardo of Huexotzinco Totollac.
27. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1623 año sebastiā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}	27. On Monday the 6th day of the month of January 1623: Sebastián Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

30. ypā yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1623 año
pa^{o} aogenio micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac
aña p p piltzintli micqui yconeuh Augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā
pasqualla micqui ypiltzin joseph quauhtecatl pohui ocotepec
sebastiana ypiltzin di^{o} vardez pohui huexo^{co} totollac

30. On the 11th day of the month of February 1623:
Pablo Angenio died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Ana died. She was the child of Agustina Castillaxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
Pasquala died. She was the child of Joseph Quauhtecatl of Ocotepec.
Sebastiana, the child of Diego Valdez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

36. ypā lunes yc 13 de hebre 1623 año
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} gotiarez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

36. On Monday the 13th of February 1623:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Pedro Gutiérrez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

38. ypā miercoles yc 15 de hebrero 1623 año
di^{o} micqui ypiltzin domi͡go hernādez pohui tlatenco

38. On Wednesday the 15th of February 1623:
Diego died. He was the child of Domingo Hernández of Tlatenco.

mig^{l} telpochtl ypiltzin joseph barnatez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The young man Miguel. He was the child of Joseph Varantez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
f. 21r	f. 21r
1. de março 1623 aoño	1. In March 1623:
2. ypā jueves yc 2 ylhuitli mani me[t]ztli de março 1623 año miqui ana cacalo Xochitl miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic franco bazquez pohui tepetzinco testigo Miguel lobez	2. On Thursday the 2nd day of the month of March 1623: Ana Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Franco Vazquez of Tepetzinco. Witness: Miguel Lopez.
5. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1623 año mathias de lona micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic angellinā castilla Xochitl	5. On Monday the 6th day of the month of March 1623: Matías de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was Angelina Castillanxochitl.
8. ypā mielcores yc 8 ylhuitl ym̄es de março 1623 años	8. On Wednesday the 8th day of the month of March 1623:

mathias ^{micqui} ypiltzin Nicolas pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Matías died. He was the child of Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
10. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1623 año augustina piltzintli micqui ynā ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlanicōtlā	10. On Thursday the 9th day of the month of March 1623: The child Agustina died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan.
12. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de março 1623 año mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui huexo^{co} totllac ynamic juā bap^{ta} coyolchiuhqui	12. On Saturday the 11th of March 1623: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Juan Bautista Coyolchiuhqui.[107]
15. ypā Viernes yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1623 años mariana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin luys mig^{l} pohui tlamacazcapā	15. On Friday the 17th day of the month of March 1623: The child Mariana died. She was the child of Luis Miguel of Tlamacazcapan.
17. ypā jueves^{miercoles} yc 22 ylhuitli y[n] mes de março 1623 años	17. On Wednesday the 22nd day of the month of March 1623:

[107] *Coyolli* – jingle bells, castanets, therefore coyol-chiuhqui is a bell maker.

pedromilla micqui ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui antēco	Petronilla died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.
juā [blank space] piltzintli yconechui martha garçia pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Juan [blank space]. He was the child of Marta García of Xaltepetlapan.
20. ypā biernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1623 años	20. On Friday the 25th day of the month of March 1623:
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui tlamacapā	The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
22. ypā saba^{to} yc 26 ylhuitli y[n] mes de março 1623 años	22. On Saturday the 26th day of the month of March 1623:
merchior micqui chane huaxacaç ychā omoto juā tore^{a}	Melchor died. He was from Huaxacac. He was at home. Juan Torres said so.
24. ypā Viernes yc 31 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1623 año	24. On Friday the 31st day of the month of March 1623:
ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic Gabriel çacapanecatl	Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Gabriel Zacapanecatl.
maria micqui ynamic juā āmo nicā chaneque ychā omoto pe^{o} hernādez Esp̄anol	Maria died. Her spouse was Juan. They were not from here. She was at home. Pedro Hernández, the Spaniard, said so.

ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The child Maria died. She was the child of Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
30. ypā lunes yc 10 de abril 1623 año ma^{a} axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mathias de la cruz phui almoyahuacā	30. On Monday the 10th of April 1623: Maria Axochiatl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías de la Cruz of Almoyahuacan.
33. ypā miercoles yc 12 de abril 1623 año bartollome micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Agustina pohui tecpā	33. On Wednesday the 12th of April 1623: Bartolomé died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina of Tecpan.
35. ypā jueves yc 13 de abril 1623 año ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzintli pa^{o} deroças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	35. On Thursday the 13th of April 16123: The child Maria died. She was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
37. ypā lunes yc 17 de abril 1623 año	37. On Monday the 17th of April 1623:

mathias degāte micqui y^{te}chca tlacallaquilli ynamic mag^{na} castilla xochitl pohui almoyahuacā	Matías de Gante died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
40. ypā miercoles yc 19 de abril 1623 años mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} deroças pohui tlanicotlā ma^{a} juana miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihque chiyahuitzinco testigo ytoca sepastia de [misa]	40. On Wednesday the 19th of April 1623: The child Matías died. He was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlanicontlan. Maria Juana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs Chiyahutzinco. The barrio gathered for her. Witness: His name is Sebastián de [Misa].
f. 21v	f. 21v
1. ypā sab^{o} yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de abril 1623 años sabina ceyno micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic mathias doletino pohui coyotzinco	1. On Saturday the 22nd day of the month of April 1623: Sabina Ceynos died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías de Letino of Coyotzinco.
4. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1623 años	4. On Wednesday the 3rd day of the month of May 1623:

mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpollique pohui almoyahuaca auh ytestico ytoca frran^{co} delapena	Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. The barrio gathered for her. And the name of the witness is Francisco de La Peña.
nicolas micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} de s. tiago pohui anteco	Nicolas died. He was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.
8. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1623 años	8. On Thursday the 9th day of the month of May 1623:
mariā micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} mocallio pohui tlatēco	Maria died. She was the child Miguel Mocallio of Tlatenco.
10. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhutl y[n] memes de mayo 1623 años	10. On Thursday the 16th day of the month of May 1623:
jusana[24] de oralte micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā dellipas pohui antzopa	Juana de Oralte died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Dellipas of Atzonpa.
13. ypā Viernes yc 24 de mayo 1623 años	13. On Friday the 24th of May 1623:

[24] There does appear to be an s or something similar in this name, but it seems likely to be a scribal error.

Mathias ypiltzin pelipe de s. tiago huipo[25] huexo^{co} totollac	Matías, the child of Felipe de Santiago [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
15. ypā jueves y 30 de mayo 1623 años ma^{a} [blank space] micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} xoarez huipo tiaquizteco	15. On Thursday the 30th of May 1623: Maria [blank space] died. She was the child of Miguel Suárez [of] Tianquiztenco.
17. ypā domi͡go yc 1 de junio 1623 años aña micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} ximenez huipo huexo^{co} totollac	17. On Sunday the 1st of June 1623: Ana died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.
19. ypā miercoles yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años di^{o} gotierez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ysavel castilla xochitl pohui tlanicotla	19. On Wednesday the 7th day of the month of June 1623: Diego Gutiérrez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan.
22. ypā domi͡go yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años pasqual –	22. On Sunday the 11th day of the month of June 1623: Paqual –

[25] In the next few lines, we find the word *huipo*. As there doesn't seem to be a definition for this term, and because it appears in the right place in the sentence to be a mistake for *pohui*, I have gone ahead with the assumption that the scribe simply interchanged the letters of *pohui* and have translated it as though this were the case.

yta mig^{t} de mahtin pohui coyotzinco maria –	Their father was Miguel de Martín of Coyotzinco. Maria –
26. ypā martes yc 13 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años pasqual deroças micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juana castilla xo^{tl} pohui juexotzinco totollac	26. On Tuesday the 13th day of the month of June 1623: Pasqual de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.
29. ypā Viernes yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años juā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juana castitla xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuaca ytestico gaspar pz	29. On Friday the 16th day of the month of June 1623: Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. Witness: Gaspar Pérez.
32. ypā jueves yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años augustino ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui tezcocapā [blank space] ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui tlanicotla	32. On Thursday the 22nd day of the month of June 1623: Agustino, he was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan. [blank space]. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

f. 22r

1. ypā lunes yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años

simon pz micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic apromicā tozpetlacal pohui tepetzinco

f. 22r

1. On Monday the 26th day of the month of June 1623:

Simón Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Apromican Tozpetlacal of Tepetzinco.

4. ypā Viernes yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años

mariana micqui ynamic paº hernatez chane tlalmanalco

4. On Friday the 30th day of the month of June 1623:

Mariana died. Her spouse was Pablo Hernández from Tlalmanalco.

6. ypā lunes yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1623 anos

franco pz matlamani micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui huexotzinco yc ocalpol[huih]que

6. On Monday the 3rd day of the month of July 1623:

Francisco Pérez Matlamani died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. The barrio gathered for him.

9. ypā miercoles yc 19 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1623 anos

franca ypiltzin Bernalto xuarez pohui xaltepetlapa

9. On Wednesday the 19th day of the month of July 1623:

Francisca, the child of Bernardo Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

11. ypā martes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1623 anos
ysabel castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mig^{l} gar^{a} pohui atēco – testico juā pz

11. On Tuesday the 25th day of the month of July 1623:
Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel García of Atenco. – Witness: Juan Pérez.

14. ypā jueves yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1623 años
mathias ypiltzin mig^{l} de rocas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

14. On Thursday the 27th day of the month of July 1623:
Matías, the child of Miguel de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

16. ypā Viernes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes 1623 años
fran^{co} sanchez micqui ychan omoto sinola[26] chaneque Tlaxcala ynamic Justina castilla xo^{tl}

16. On Friday the 28th day of the month [of July] 1623:
Francisco Sánchez died at home. The Spanish lady said so. Their home is in Tlaxcala. His spouse was Justina Castillanxochitl.

19. ypā domi͡go yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullios 1623 años

19. On Sunday the 30th day of the month of July 1623:

[26] A common spelling of "señora" in Nahuatl.

ma[a] de ceey micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolihuique pohui acxotla testico mig[l] ortona	Maria de Cey[nos] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. The barrio gathered for her. Witness: Miguel Ortona.
22. ypā domi͡go yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de Agosto 1623 años aña micqui ypiltzin dō diego dequevara pohui xaltepetlapa	22. On Sunday the 6th day of the month of August 1623: Ana died. She was the child of don Diego de Guevara of Xaltepetlapan.
24. ypā martes yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] mes de Agosto 1623 años pasqual micq̃ ypiltzin Pasqual mocēcauh pohui almoyahuacā mig[l] micqui ypiltzin juā pab[ta] pohui cencalacohuaya	24. On Tuesday the 8th day of the month of August 1623: Pasqual died. He was the child of Pasqual Mocencauh of Almoyahuacan. Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Cencalacohuayan.
28. en diez y ocho dias de 1623 a[o] estando nus pe fr domingo de portu nus provy[a] desta provy[a] del es[to] evang[o] visitando este conv[to] de la ciu[d] de huexotzinco vio este libro donde senetar los qurdios que se mueren en esta oya ciu[d] y hallo que esta	28. On the 18th day of [August] 1623. Our priest fray Domingo de Porto was here. Our provincial of this province of the evangelist. Visited this convent of the city of Huexotzinco. He saw this book where they, the dearest (loved ones) that

convta [riqu^{or}?] que la provy^{a} tíene de termínado y an lo firmo dy día mes y año fr. Domingo de Portu
moio Provy^{a}

have died in this city and found that this convent [alderman?], the provincial has completed, and he signed it on this day, month, and year.
fray Domingo de Porto
Our Provincial

f. 22v

1. ypā Viernes yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de Agosto 1623 años
juana micqui ypiltzin diego Calisto pohui chiyahuitzinco

f. 22v

1. On Friday the 18th day of the month of August 1623:
Juana died. She was the child of Diego Calisto of Chiyahuitzinco.

3. ypā martes yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto – 1623 anos
mathias de roças micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juana castilla xochitl pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

3. On Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of August 1623:
Matías de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

6. ypā miercores yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1623 años
[blank space] micqui ypiltzin diego dealana pohui huexo^{co} totollac

6. On Wednesday the 23rd day of the month of August 1623:
[blank space] died. He was the child of Diego de Alana of Huexotzinco Totollac.

8. ypā domi͡go yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1623 años
luyz deçamora micq̃ ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic aña yzta Xochitl pohui huexo^{co} totollac

8. On Sunday the 27th day of the month of August 1623:
Luis de Zamora died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Iztacxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

11. ypā Viernes yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiebre 1623 años
bartolome micqui ypiltzin juā sanchez pohui tlamaçazcapā

11. On Friday the 8th day of the month of September 1623:
Bartolomé died. He was the child of Juan Sánchez of Tlamacazcapan.

13. ypā martes yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1623 a^{ñ}o^{s}
pe^{o} de galdo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes castillā xo^{tl} pohui sanc lurenço chiyauhtzinco

13. On Tuesday the 10th day of the month of October 1623:
Pedro de Gardo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Castillanxochitl of San Lorenzo Chiyauhtzinco.

16. ypā Viernes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1623 a^{o}s
clara castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Antonio pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac

16. On Friday the 15th day of the month of October 1623:
Clara Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

19. ypā lunes yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1623 a^{o}s
juā micqui chane tlaxcallā tlatlapācan ynamic ma^{a} testigo varvora tepenetl pohui tiāquiztenco
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} xuarez pohui huexo^{co} totollac

19. On Monday the 19th day of the month of October 1623:
Juan, from Tlaxcallan Tlatlapancan, died. His spouse was Maria. Witness: Barbara Tepenetl of Tianquiztenco.
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Pedro Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

23. ypā Viernes yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de nobiēbre 1623 a^{o}s
dona juana dealmote micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic don Gabriel xuarez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

23. On Friday the 10th day of the month of November 1623:
Doña Juana de Almote died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse don Gabriel Suárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de nobienbre 1623 a^{o}s
ysabel [blank space] micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui s. tama^{a} almoyahuacā ymōnan[27] juā de chauaues

26. On Saturday the 11th day of the month of November 1623:
The widow Isabel [blank space] of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan died. She was the mother-in-law of Juan de Chaves.

[27] From *ymonnan* – Mother-in-law. Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl,* 152.

29. ypā Viernes yc 18 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1623 año
fran^{co} neçahual micqui ycnohoquichtli
ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac

29. On Friday the 18th day of November 1623:
The widower, Francisco Nezahual died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

32. ypā Viernes yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre1623 año micqui
di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin gaspar pz
pohui s. tamā salmimilolo

32. Died on Friday the 24th day of the month of November 1623:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Gaspar Pérez of Santa Maria Salminilolo.

36. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de nobiēbre 1623 año
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin lucas pz
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz
pohui almoyahuacā

36. On Saturday the 25th of November 1623:
The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Lucas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Matías died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

41. ypā domi͡go yc 26 de novibre 1623 año
ma^{a} axochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic di^{o} de la cruz pohui tlatenco

41. On Sunday the 26th of November 1623:
Maria Axochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.

f. 23r

antonio micqui ypiltzin Estevā de hellera pohui atenco

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel deçamora huexo^{co} totollac

f. 23r

Antonio died. He was the child of Esteban de Herrera of Atenco.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Miguel de Zamora [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.

3. ypā martes yc 28 de noviēbre 1623 año

mig^{l} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go herernādez pohui tlatenco

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā de olondo pohui atenco

3. On Tuesday the 28th of November 1623:

The child Miguel died. He was the child of Domingo Hernández of Tlatenco.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Esteban de Orlando of Atenco.

8. ypā Viernes yc 1 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1623 año

[blank space] ypiltzin Pasqual douilla mic poūi tohcuillā

8. On Friday the 1st day of the month of December 1623:

[blank space]. He was the child of Pasqual de Villa of Tocuillan.

10. ypā domi͡go yc 3 ylhuitl deciēbre 1623 año

10. On Sunday the 3rd day of December 1623:

luis Maldonado micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic ma[a] castillā Xochitl	Luis Maldonado died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de s. martin pohui almoyahuacā	The child Juan died. He was the child of Matías de San Martín of Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā sab[o] yc 16 deciēbre 1623 año juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap[ta] pohui almoyahuacā	14. On Saturday the 16th of December 1623: The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Almoyahuacan.
16. ypā martes yc 19 deciēbre 1623 año pedromilla piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Jacob pz pohui acxotlā	16. On Tuesday the 19th of December 1623: The child Petronilla died. She was the child of Jacob Pérez of Acxotlan.
19. 1624 año	19. The year 1624.
20. ypā lunes yc 1 ylhuitl de henero 1624 año omomiquillique miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig[l] de seuillā pohui cecallacohuayā	20. On Monday the 1st day of January 1624, these are the dead: The child Miguel died. He was the child of Miguel de Sevilla of Cecallacohuayan.

melchior piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l}	The child Melchor died. He was the child
fran^{co} ximenez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	of Francisco Jiménez of Huexotzinco
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mig^{l} pz pohui	Totollac.
tlamacazcapā	The child Ana died. She was the child of
lucas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui	Miguel Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Lucas died. He was the child of
antonio tliltic micqui yehuatl yn pilloloc[28]	Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
	Antonio, the African, died. He was the
	one who was hanged. [i.e. executed as a
	criminal.]
26. ypā martes yc 2 ylhuitl de henero 1624	26. On Tuesday the 2nd day of the month
año	of January 1624:
mig^{l} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā di^{o}	The child Miguel died. He was the child
chaneque ocohuitocco	of Juan Diego. They were from
	Ocohuitocco.
28. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl de henero	28. On Wednesday the 3rd day of January
1624 año	1624:
michaela piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias	The child Micaela died. She was the child
hernādez pohui almoyauacā	of Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

[28] Oilloloc – piloa – to hang someone. See Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl,* 195.

30. ypā jueves yc 4 ylhuitl de henero 1624 año
melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de aquino pohui acxotlā

30. On Thursday the 4th day of January 1624:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Miguel de Aquino of Acxotlan.

32. ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1624 año
augustina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā

32. On Friday the 5th day of the month of January 1624:
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

34. ypā sabº yc 6 de henero 1624 año
diº piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diº tepeuh pohui huexoco tecpā

34. On Saturday the 6th of January 1624:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Tepeuh of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

36. ypā domigo yc 7 de henero 1624 año
melchiora piltzintli micq̃ ypiltzin franco ximenez pohui acxotlā

36. On Sunday the 7th of January 1624:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Francisco Jiménez of Acxotlan.

38. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl de henero 1624 año
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui huexoco tecpā

38. On Wednesday the 10th day of January 1624:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} huexo^{co} totollac	The child Matías died. He was the child of Juan Bautista [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.
f. 23v	f. 23v
1. ypā Viernes yc 12 de henero 1624 año ma^{a} jallo[me] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā miguel pohui atenco	1. On Friday the 12th of January 1624: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Miguel of Atenco.
4. ypā lunes yc 15 de henero 1624 año aña castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel acate pohui tlaonictlā juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō fran^{co} deosa castro pohui huexo^{co} totollac	4. On Monday the 15th day of January 1624: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Acate of Tlanicontlan. The child Juan died. He was the child of don Francisco de Osacastro of Huexotzinco Totollac.
8. ypā miercoles yc 18 de henero 1624 año ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin [blank space]	8. On Wednesday the 18th of January 1624: The child Maria died. She was the child of [blank space].

[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel Osorio	The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Gabriel Osorio.
11. ypā Viernes yc 19 de henero 1624 año di^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mi͡n chane calpā	11. On Friday the 19th of January 1624: The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Martín from Calpan.
13. ypā jueves yc 25 de henero 1624 año hellena quetzaltzahua micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnoçihuatl pohui acxotlā	13. On Thursday the 25th of January 1624: Elena Quetzaltzahua died. Her tribute responsibility belongs Acxotlan. She was a widow.
16. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de henero 1624 año ma^{a} jallome micqui chane tepeyacac ynamic gaspar lupez chaneque tepeyacac mathias pz micqui chane tlaxcallā ychā anoto Gabriel de albarado Espa̅nol	16. On Saturday the 27th of January 1624: Maria Salome from Tepeyacac died. Her spouse was Gaspar Lopez. They were from Tepeyacac. Matías Pérez from Tlaxcallan died. He was at home. Gabriel de Alvarado, the Spaniard, said so.
21. ypā martes yc 30 de henero 1624 año	21. On Tuesday the 30th of January 1624:

gabriel piltzintli micqui ynā fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui totollac	The child Gabriel died. His mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
juā piltzintli micqui ynā ma^{a} pohui atzōpā	The child Juan died. His mother was Maria of Atzonpan.
24. ypā sab^{o} yc 3 ylhuitl de hebrero 1624 año	24. On Saturday the 3rd day of February 1624:
fran^{co} de aquino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolliuhque pohui xalte almoyahuacā	Francisco de Aquino died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.
27. ypā martes yc 6 ylhuitl de hebrero 1624 año	27. On Tuesday the 6th day of February 1624:
di^{o} pz mizquipolcatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic magthalena castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā	Diego Pérez Mizquipolcatl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
30. ypā martes yc 13 de hebereo 1624 año	30. On Tuesday the 13th of February 1624:
sebastian çaynos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpoliuhque pohi tepetzinco	Sebastián Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. The barrio gathered for him.

ysabel amaxoch micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ypānamic diego molales pohui atenco	Isabel Amaxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Morales of Atenco.
35. ypā miercoles yc 26 de hebrero 1624 año fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui hui huexo^{co} totollac	35. On Wednesday the 26th of February 1624: The widow Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.
38. ypā jueves yc 7 de março 1624 año hellena castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnoçihuatl ynamic catea Pasqual quezpal pohui huexo^{co} totollac	38. On Thursday the 7th of March 1624: The widow Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was the late Pasqual Quezpal.
41. ypā mart sab^{o} yc 9 de março 1624 año hellena tlacuilolyo^{te} micq̃ ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic catea Estevā quetzalmacoc pohui xaltepetlapā	41. On Saturday the 9th of March 1624: Elena Tlacuilolyolte died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse the late Esteban Quetzalmacoc of Xaltepetlapan.

leonardo piltzintli micq̃ ypiltzin juā deciudad pohui almoyahuacā	The child Leonardo died. He was the child of Juan de Ciudad of Almoyahuacan.
45. ypā martes yc [illegible] de março 1624 año nicolas yaoteuh miqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui thocuillā ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}	45. On Tuesday the [illegible] of March 1624: Nicolas Yaoteuh of Tocuillan died. He confessed. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
48. ypā domigo yc 24 de março 1624 año juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui huexo^{co} totollac	48. On Sunday the 24th of March 1624: The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
f. 24r 1. ypā lunes yc 25 de março 1624 año jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz tlamacazcapā pohui	f. 24r 1. On Monday the 25th of March 1624: The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
3. ypā miercoles yc 27 de março 1624 año	3. On Wednesday the 27th of March 1624:

andres Gabriel micqui chane chollollā huelloncā pohui s. tiago yzquitlā yn inamic luçia juana

Andrés Gabriel died. He was from Cholula Huelloncan of Santiago Izquitlan. His spouse was Lucia Juana.

6. ypā domi͡go yc 7 de abri(sic) 1624 año pasqual piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domigo hernatez tlanacazcapa pohui

6. On Sunday the 7th of April 1624: The child Pasqual died. He was the child of Domingo Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.

8. ypā sabº yc 13 de abril 1624 año magna piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui ocotepec

8. On Saturday the 13th of April 1624: The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

10. ypā martes yc 30 de abri(sic) 1624 años
pasqual franca micqui ychipohtl pohui tlanicotla ytatzin mathias cōtielez

10. On Tuesday the 30th of April 1624: The young woman Pasqual Francisca died. She belongs to Tlanicontlan. Her father was Matías Contielez.

12. ypā sabº yc 4 de mayo 1624 años magna piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco deçamola pohui acxotla

12. On Saturday the 4th of May 1624: The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Francisco de Zamora of Acxotlan.

14. ypā domigo yc 5 de mayo 1624 1624 años pasqual mcqui ycha[n] manato anto[n] mari[a] amo nica chane[29]	14. On Sunday the 5th of May 1624: Pasqual died at home. Anton Maria ended up coming here [to bring the news]. He is not from here.
16. ypā lunes yc 6 de mayo 1624 años juā pelipe micqui amo nica chane ynamic Ysabel juana chaneque topo yaco ychan manato pa^{o} menecs	16. On Monday the 6th of May 1624: Juan Felipe died. He was not from here. His spouse was Isabel Juana. They were from Topoyaco. He was at home. Pablo Menezes said so.
19. ypā lunes yc 14 de mayo 1624 años aña castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic merchioz hernatez pohui tlamacazcapa ycha juā moliro	19. On Monday the 14th of May 1624: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Melchor Hernández of Tlamacazcapan. She was in the home of Juan Morello.
22. ypā ~~l~~martes yc 22 de mayo 1624 años miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin marcos de aquino pohui atenco	22. On Tuesday the 22nd of May 1624: The child Miguel died. He was the child of Marcos de Aquino of Atenco.

[29] Tentative translation. Looks like: ycha[n] manato anto[n] maxi[a] amonicachane – from ana, used reflexively – to bring oneself or to come, pluse with a "to." That is to say that this could be a deep-structure form "manato"—that is mo+ ana + to. So, "ended up bringing him/ herself", or, more succinctly: "S/He came ["to bring word" being implied]"

monica ycpac xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Monica Icpacxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.
26. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de mayo 1624 año mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} de la cruz pohui acxotlā	26. On Saturday the 25th of May 1624: The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlan.
28. ypā miercoles yc 28 de mayo 1624 año aña micqui chaneque sallitzintlā ynamic joseph	28. On Wednesday the 28th of May 1624: Ana died. Her spouse was Joseph. They were from Sallitzintlan.
30. ypā Viernes yc 7 de junio 1624 anos hellena de la cruz micqui tlatlapoporhuilili pohui acxotla	30. On Friday the 7th of June 1624: Elena de la Cruz of Acxotlan died. She confessed.
32. ypā miercoles yc 12 de junio 1624 anos juā Rotriquez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic mariana pohui almoyahuacā sepastia piltzintli ypiltzin joseph gantena pohui coyotzinco	32. On Wednesday the 12th of June 1624: Juan Rodríguez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Mariana of Almoyahuacan. The child Sebastián. He was the child of Joseph Catena of Coyotzinco.

36. ypā sab^{o} yc 15 de junio 1624 anos
fran^{ca} piltzintli ypiltzin pā hernatez pohui almoyahuaca
juana piltzintl ypiltzin pa^{o} de roças pohui huexotzin tecpā

36. On Saturday the 15th of June 1624:
The child Francisca. She was the child of Pablo Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
The child Juana. She was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

39. ypā juaves yc 21 de junio 1624 anos
fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlaco tlacalaquilli ynami fran^{co} de roças pohui anteco

39. On Thursday the 21st of June 1624:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Rosas of Atenco.

f. 24v

1. ypā jueves yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1624 años
juā pab^{ta} pelazquiz micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic ma^{a} ximenez pohui xaltepetlapa

f. 24v

1. On Thursday the 27th day of the month of June 1624:
Juan Bautista Pelazquiz died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan.

4. ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jurios(sic) 1624 años

4. On Friday the 5th day of the month of July 1624:

augusti piltzintli ypliltzin ponapetola[30] deroças pohui almoyahuaca	The child Agustín. He was the child of Bonaventura de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
7. ypā domi͡go yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1624 a^{o}s mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā lazaro pohui tlamacazapā	7. On Sunday the 7th day of the month of July 1624: Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Lazaro of Tlamacazcapan.
10. ypā martes yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de jullio 1624 año miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di^{o} ximenez pohui huexotzinco totollac	10. On Tuesday the 9th day of the month of July 1624: The child Miguel died. He was the child of Diego Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
13. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1624 años fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} de la cruz pohui huexo^{co} tecpān	13. On Saturday the 27th day of the month of July 1624: The child Francisca died. She was the child of Pablo de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[30] For the translation of this name see: J. Olko, J. Sullivan, and J. Szeminski, *Dialogue with Europe, Dialogue with the Past: Colonial Nahua and Quechua Elites in Their Own Words* (University Press of Colorado, 2018), 259.

15. ypā Viernes yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1624 años
fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui tlatlapolpolhuilili
ynamic Pasqual gar^{a} pohui acxotla

15. On Friday the 16th day of the month of August 1624:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. She confessed. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Acxotlan.

18. ypā miercoles yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiebre 1624 años
mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquili li
ynamic juā de lo
luysa piltzin^{tl} [y]na pohui huexotzinco
tecpa testicō mathias dercelo pohui
almoyahuaca

18. On Wednesday the 4th day of the month of September 1624:
Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Juan Delo.
The child Luisa. Her mother was from Huexotzinco Tecpan. Witness: Matías Del Cero of Almoyahuacan.

22. ypā jueves yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiebre 1624 años
fran^{co} mig^{l} micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli
ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui ocotepec

22. On Thursday the 5th day of the month of September 1624:
Francisco Miguel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.

25. ypā Viernes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiebre 1624 a^{o}

25. On Friday the 6th day of the month of September 1624:

simio de aquino micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juana castilla xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuaca

Simón de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahaucan.

28. ypān lunes yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiebre 1624 a^{o}
maria ceynos ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic merchior conmez pohui almoyahuaca

28. On Monday the 9th day of the month of September 1624:
Maria Ceynos, her tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Melchor Gomez of Almoyahuacan.

31. ypā martes yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1624 años
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de letino pohui coyotzinco

31. On Tuesday the 2nd day of the month of October 1624:
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Matías de Letino of Coyotzinco.

33. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1624 años
aña alpalato micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juā de alana pohui huexo^{co} totollac

33. On Wednesday the 3rd day of the month of October 1624:
Ana Alparato died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan de Alana of Huexotzinco Totollac.

36. ypā miercoles yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1624 años

36. On Wednesday the 17th day of the month of October 1624:

pa^{o} ceynos micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic maria ceynos pohui cecallacohuaya fran^{ca} micqui amo nica chane ycha miqui diego alparato	Pablo Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Ceynos of Cecallacohuayan. Francisca died. She was not from here. She died in the home Diego Alparato.
f. 25r	f.25r
1. ypā martes yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1624 años juana piltzintli ypiltzin juā hernatez pohui thocuilla jusehp piltzintli ypiltzin pe^{o} valeçia pohui tlanicotla	1. On Tuesday the 23rd day of the month of October 1624: The child Juana. She was the child of Juan Hernández of Tocuillan. The child Joseph. He was the child of Pedro Valencia of Tlanicontlan.
4. ypā domigo yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de notiebre 1624 años juā metez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic aña rosas pohui tiaquizteco testico juā de la cruz	4. On Sunday the 17th day of the month of November 1624: Juan Méndez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Rosas of Tianquiztenco. Witness: Juan de la Curz.

juā pab^{ta} xihuitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} cacallo Xochitl pohui huexo^{co} totollac

Juan Bautista Xihuitl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Cacalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

9. ypā martex yc 26 de novoiēbre 1624 año mathias de s. m͡rn micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic [blank space]

9. On Tuesday the 26th of November 1624:
Matías de San Martín died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. His spouse was [blank space].

12. ypā miercoles yc 27 de noviēbre 1624 año
ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} micq̆ ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic pe^{o} decate pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

12. On Wednesday the 27th of November 1624:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pedro de Cate of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

15. ypā jueves yc 28 de noviēbre 1624 año juana cacallo xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic juā pz yxcocoxqui

15. On Thursday the 28th of November 1624:
Juana Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse is the blind Juan Pérez.

juā medina micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic [blank space]

Juan Medina died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was [blank space].

20. ypā Viernes yc 29 de noviēbre 1624 año
matheo Evāgellista micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā yc ocalpolhuihque

20. On Friday the 29th of November 1624:
Mateo Evangelista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. The barrio gathered for him.

23. ypā sab^{o} yc 30 de noviēbre 1624 año
ma^{a} jallome micqui ycnoçihuatl ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui huexo^{co} totollac

23. On Saturday the 30th of November 1624:
The widow Maria Salome died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

26. ypā lunes yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] mes de çiembre 1624 ās
maría castila xochitli miquic ytechcatqui tlacalaquili ynamic sim^{o}e de la cruz pohui ateco

26. On Monday the 3rd day of the month of December 1624:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Simón de la Cruz of Atenco.

29. ypā sanb^{o} yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] mes decienbre 1624 $\overline{as}$
fran^{co} micqui ychan anato pinela ynamic ma^{a} pohui tlamacazcapa

29. On Saturday the 15th day of the month of December 1624:
Francisco died at home. Pinela said so. His spouse was Maria of Tlamacazcapan.

31. ypā sab^{o} yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes deçienbre 1624 años
di^{e}go dexilpa micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Ysabel de la colona pohui anteco

31. On Saturday the 21st day of the month of December 1624:
Diego de Silva died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Isabel de la Corona of Atenco.

34. ypā domigo yc 29 ylhuitl y[n] mes deçienbre 1624 años
juā piltzintli ypiltzin diego pz pohui xaltapetlapā

34. On Sunday the 29th day of the month of December 1624:
The child Juan. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

36. ypā lunes yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes deçienbre 1624 anos
juā yna merchiora castilla xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

36. On Monday the 30th day of the month of December 1624:
Juan, his mother was Melchora Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 25v

1. – 1625 años –

f. 25v

1. – The year 1625 –

2. ypā miercoles yc 1 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1625 años
juā piltzintl ypiltzin juā pz pohui tlamacazpa ynahuaq̃ Gabriel alpalato

2. On Wednesday the 1st day of the month of January 1625:
The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Gabriel Alvarado.

5. ypā sabº yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
aña castila Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Bunapetola cotielez pohui huexoco tecpa

5. On Saturday the 4th day of the month of January 1625:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Bonaventura Cotielez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. ypā miercoles yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
maa magnana micqui ytechca tlacalaquili tlaco pohui huexoco tecpa
gaspal de roça micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic hellena cacallo xotl pohui ocotepec

8. On Wednesday the 8th day of the month of January 1625:
Maria Magdalena died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Gaspar de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Elena Cacalloxochitl of Ocotepec.

12. ypā martes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
fran^{co} de la pena micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aña cacalloxochitl pohui huexo^{co} tecpa

12. On Tuesday the 15th day of the month of January 1625:
Francisco de la Peña died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Cacalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

15. ypā jueves yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1624^{5} años
matheo garçia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aña deocuitla xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
pasqualla piltzintl ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui antēco

15. On Thursday the 17th day of the month of January 1625:
Mateo García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Teocuitlaxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Pasquala. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.

19. ypā Viernes yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1624^{5} años
juana ychpohtl ypiltzin juā de luna pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

19. On Friday the 18th day of the month of January 1625:
The young woman Juana. She was the child of Juan de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

21. ypā domigo yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 anos

21. On Sunday the 20th day of the month of January 1625:

juā piltzintl ypiltzin juā pz pohui tlamacazca

The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlamazcacapan.

23. ypā lunes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
ysabel piltzintl ypiltzin diego hernatez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

23. On Monday the 21st day of the month of January 1625:
The child Isabel. She was the child of Diego Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

25. ypā miercoles yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
juā piltzintli ypiltzin juā Lazaro pohui tlamacazcapa

25. On Wednesday the 22nd day of the month of January 1625:
The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Lazaro of Tlamacazcapan.

27. ypā domigo yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
antona piltzintl ypiltzin dieo ceynos pohui almoyahuaca
[blank space] piltzintl ypiltzin pelipe hernatez pohui anteco

27. On Sunday the 26th day of the month of January 1625:
The child Antonia. She was the child of Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.
The child [blank space]. He was the child of Felipe Hernández of Atenco.

30. ypā martes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 anos

30. On Tuesday the 28th day of the month of January 1625:

sepastia piltzintl ypiltzin mig^{l} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpan	The child Sebastián. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
32. ypā mielcores yc 29 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años pasqual mocencahua micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juana castilla Xochitl pohui almoyahuaca	32. On Wednesday the 29th day of the month of January 1625: Pasqual Moncencahua died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
35. ypā jueves yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 anos ma^{a} castilla Xochitl miq̆ ytechca tlacalaq̆lli tlaco yc ocalpollihuique pohui ocotepec	35. On Thursday the 6th day of the month of February 1625: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. The barrio gathered for her.
38. ypā domi͡go yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 anos juā piltzintl ypiltzin barnalto xuarez pohui xaltepetlapa marcos piltzintl ypiltzin mig^{l} mihteuh pohui xaltepetlapa	38. On Sunday the 9th day of the month of February 1625: The child Juan. He was the child of Bernardo Suárez of Xaltepetlapan. The child Marcos. He is the child of Miguel Mihteuh of Xaltepetlapan.

41. ypā jueves yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 años
hellena piltzintl ypiltzin Pasqual de la cruz pohui anteco

41. On Thursday the 14th day of the month of February 1625:
The child Elena. She was the child of Pasqual de la Cruz of Atenco.

f. 26r

1. ypā domi͡go yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 años (wrong day of the week)
mig[l] piltzintl ypiltzin don diego de quebala pohui xaltepetlapa

f. 26r

1. On Sunday the 18th day of the month of February 1625:
The child Miguel. He was the child of don Diego de Quevala of Xaltepetlapan.

3. ypā Viernes yc [blank date] ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 años
antrez ypiltzintl ypiltzin Pasqual vohui tetlamacazcapa

3. On Friday the [blank date] day of the month of February 1625:
The child Andrés. He was the child of Pasqual of Tetlamacazcapan.

5. ypā martes yc 4 de março 1625 años
fran[co] garçia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma[a] Jacob pohui huexotzinco totollac
gabriel piltzintl ypiltzin juachi hernatez pohui almoyhuacan

5. On Tuesday the 4th of March 1625:
Francisco García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Jacob of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Gabriel. He was the child of Joaquin Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

9. ypā jueves yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de
março 1625 anos
nicaola piltzintl ypiltzin Miguel xuarez
pohui almoyahuaca

9. On Thursday the 6th day of the month
of March 1625:
The child Nicola. She was the child of
Miguel Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

11. ypā domi͡go yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de
março 1625 años
maria pilzintl ypiltzin mathias de roças
çipita pohui acxotla

11. On Sunday the 16th day of the month
of March 1625:
The child Maria. She was the child of
Matías de Rosas Zipita of Acxotlan.

13. 42 fr lsro de baldiuia
en dies dias del mes de março de le año de
mil y seiscientos y veínte y seis[31] visitando
este convto de uexocingo viste libro con
que se ponen por memoria los difuntos y
salle que ay ciudado en escrivirles, el qual
encargo que se contiue
fray Franco Rodriguez
comisso visitor

13. 42 fray Lazaro de Valdivia
On the 10th day of the month of March of
the year of 1626, I visited this convent of
Huexotzinco and viewed this book where
they put the memories of the deceased
and take care in writing these [names],
which I charge them to continue.
fray Francisco Rodríguez
Visiting Commissioner

f. 26v
[Blank Page]

f. 26v
[Blank Page]

[31] The year of the deaths is 1625, so it could be that they came a year later, but more likely that this was a mistake. Or he could have been using the old-style calendar.

f. 27r

1. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1625 anos
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui tlamacascapa

3. ypā lunes yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] mes de ma^{r}ço 1625 anos
augustina ychpohtl micqui ycha manato atonmari

5. ypā miercoles yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1625 anos
diego piltzintl ypiltzin yaspar decaniçal pohui Almoyahuacan

7. ypā domi͡go yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1625 aos
juana piltzintli mi^{c}qui ypiltzin pa^{o} de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpa

f. 27r

1. On Friday the 21st day of the month of March 1625:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Tlamacazcapan.

3. On Monday the 24th day of the month of March 1625:
The young woman Agustina died at home. Anton Maria said so.

5. On Wednesday the 26th day of the month of March 1625:
The child Diego. He was the child of Gaspar de Canical of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Sunday the 30th day of the month of March 1625:
The child Juana died. She was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

9. ypā jueves yc 01 de aprill 1625 años[32] mariana piltzintl micqui ypiltzin Miguel hernatez pohui tlamacazcapa	9. On Thursday the [10th] of April 1625: The child Mariana died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.
11. ypā jueves yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos maria castilla Xochitl micqui quimo tlapopolhuilili y juez ynamic juā perez pohui tezcocapā	11. On Thursday the 17th day of the month of April 1625: Maria Castillanxochitl died. She confessed to a judge. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
14. ypā Viernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos micqui quimotoquilli y[n] totlaçomahuiz tatzin temachitiani fran^{ca} castilla Xochitl ycnocihuatzintl quimo tlapopolhuilili yn xoy^{e}z[33] pohui xalteptetlapan	14. She died on Friday the 25th day of the month of April 1625. She was buried by he who is our precious and revered father and preacher. The dear widow Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan also confessed to the judge.
18. ypā domigo yc 27 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos micque	18. Died on Sunday the 27th day of the month of April 1625:

[32] Wrong day of the week unless the scribe meant the 10th.
[33] A Nahuatl phonetic rendition of "juez."

juā marti amo telpochitl amo nica chane ychamanato diego maçehui	The young man Juan Martín. He was not from here. He was at home. Diego Macehui said so.
maria jallom qui pe motlapopolhuilli yxoyez ynamic juā garçia pohui s. ta cruz anteco – quimotoquilli ytotatzin temachitiani	Maria Salome. She confessed to the judge. Her spouse was Juan García of Santa Cruz Atenco. – she was buried by he who is our father and preacher.
22. ypā miercoles yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes de aprilli 1625 anos	22. On Wednesday the 30th day of the month of April 1625:
nicolas piltzintl ypiltzin Gabriel coto pohui huexotzinco totollac	The child Nicolas. He was the child of Gabriel Soto of Huexotzinco Totollac.
24. ypā miercoles yc 7 ylhuilli y[n] mes de mayo 1625 años oquimotoquili yn totatzin[34] fr. Gabriel de roçes	24. On Wednesday the 7th day of the month of May 1625 they were buried by he who is our father fray Gabriel de Rosas.

[34] *Totatzin* became a term used for priest, or father of the church, and is usually translated as our priest. But given that this source also uses the word *ytlamacaz*, a preconquest term for priest, I will translate the first as "father" and the latter as "priest."

diego p̄a lias miqui quichihuā tlacallaquili ynamic maria cacalo xochitli pohui sani luyx coyotzinco – testigo juº pz malues	Diego Panlias died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Cacalloxochitl of San Luis Coyotzinco. – Witness: Juan Pérez Malves.
28. ypā miercoles yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos aña [blank space] micqui tlapopolhuililoqui pohui atzopā testigo juā de lipas	28. On Wednesday the 14th day of the month of May 1625: Ana [blank space] of Atzonpan died. She confessed. Witness: Juan de Libas.
30. ypā domigo yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos micq̆ quimotoquli ytotlaço mahuiz tatzin fray alosa bartholome de valeçia ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic pedromila pohui huexotzinco tecpā	30. On Sunday the 18th day of the month of May 1625 the dead were buried by our precious, revered father fray Alonzo. Bartolomé de Valencia. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Petronilla of Huexotzinco.
34. ypā lunes yc 19 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos micqui piltzintl nicolas piltzintl ypiltzin merchior de la cruz pohui anteco	34. On Monday the 19th day of the month of May 1625, this child died: The child Nicolas. He was the child of Melchor de la Cruz of Atenco.

f. 27v	f. 27v[108]
1. ypā martes yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos micque oquimotol[quili] ytotlaço mahuiz tatzin fray Nicolas juana micqui ycha manato tzahuiqui[35] ytechca tlacalaquili tlaco amo namique pelipe ypiltzin juā pab^{ta} pohui ocotepec	1. Died on Tuesday the 20th day of the month of May 1625: They were buried by the beloved, revered, father fray Nicolas. Juana died at home. Tzahuiqui came [to bring the news]. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to [?].[109] She was not married. Felipe, the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.
5. ypā miercoles yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos gabriel piltzintl micqui ypiltzin Miguel calos pohui huexotzinco totollac	5. On Wednesday the 21st day of the month of May 1625: The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Miguel Carlos of Huexotzinco Totollac.

[35] The meaning of this word is unclear, so for the moment it is being left as the possible name of the person who delivered the news that Juana had died.

[108] From folios 27v –29r, the scribe blocks off names to the left and all of the relational details are in the lines to the right. This creates some confusion, but for the ease of transcription and translation I have continued to list each person on their own line and to list the date first.

[109] The name of a town or person should be here but is not and there is no space that might indicate it was left blank on purpose.

7. ypā miercoles yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 años omomiquillique piltzintzin tioquimotoquilli fray Gabriel de menes
juā yta Miguel gantona yna maria castilla Xochitl pohui almoyahuacan testigo diego gotierez
maria jaloma yta diego juā yna maria Jacob pohui tepetzinco testigo juā mor[illegible]

7. On Wednesday the 28th day of the month of May 1625, these children died: They were buried by fray Gabriel de Menes.
Juan. His father was Miguel Cantona. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. Witness: Diego Gutiérrez.
Maria Salome. Her father was Diego Juan. Her mother was Maria Jacob of Tepetzinco. Witness: Juan Mor[ales?].

12. ypā jueves yc 29 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 anos omomiquillique omopipiltzintzinti quimotoquilli fray sepastia berazquez
juā yta Esteva de Errera yna maria castila Xochitl pohui anteco testigo Esteua doleto merchioz deroças
juana ynatzin fran^{ca} tlacuillo Xochitl pohui acxotla testigo andres mex[ia] [cut off]

12. On Thursday the 29th day of the month of May 1625, these are the dead: These children were buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez.
Juan. His father was Esteban de Herrera. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Atenco. Witness: Esteban de Leto [and] Melchor de Rosas
Juana. Her mother was Francisca Tlacuilloxochitl of Acxotlan. Witness: Andrés Mexia.

17. ypā sab^{o} yc 31 ylhuitl y[n] mes de mayo 1625 años omi^{c}qui oquimotoquilli fra~~ye~~y pe^{o}dro drabasaua parpola ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Miguel hernatez pohui tlamacazcapa ytestigo Esteva martonato

17. On Saturday the 31st day of the month of May 1625 they died and were buried by fray Pedro de Vasaura.
Barbara. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Hernández of Tlamacazcapan. Witness: Esteban Maldonado.

20. ypā lunes yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] mes de yonio 1625 anos omicpipiltzintli quitoca cuicanime ~~te~~
juana yta juā ceynos pohui huexotzin totollac testigo pellipe quaoçoma

20. On Monday the 2nd day of the month of June 1625, a little child died. The church musicians buried him.
Juana. Her father was Juan Ceynos of Huexotzinco Totollac. Witness: Felipe Quaozoma.

23. ypā jueves yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mes de ^{ju}yonio 1625 anos omomiquilique pipiltzintzin tioquimotoquili yn totatzin fr. nicolas
agushin yta pasquar pz yna magtalena castila xochitli pohui xaltepetlapā

23. On Thursday the 5th day of the month of June 1625, these children died: They were buried by our father fray Nicolas.
Agustín. His father was Pasqual Pérez. His mother was Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

hellena yta yuseph perez yna maria castila xochitli pohui chiyauhtzinco	Elena. Her father was Joseph Pérez. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Chiyauhtzinco.
27. ypā mardes yc 10 ylhuitli y[n]mes de junio 1625 años momiquiliquinoloquili yn totatzin fry po valberban pohuiya huexotzinco Rapahel tecate - ytechcatca tlacalaquili ynamic ma[a] ca calo xochitli	27. Died on Tuesday the 10th day of the month of June 1625: He was buried by the father fray Pedro Valvervan of Huexotzinco. Raphael de Cate. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Cacalloxochitl.
30. ypā lunes yc 16 ylhuilli y[n] mes de junio 1625 año miqui piltzintli ynes yta diego pz yna maría jallome pohui ooctepec quimotoquilitotla çotatzin fr martin de aquire	30. On Monday the 16th day of the month of June 1625, this child died: Inés. Her father was Diego Pérez. Her mother was Maria Salome of Ocotepetc. She was buried by the father fray Martín de Aguirre.
33. ypā mardes yc 17 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años miqui	33. Died on Tuesday the 17th day of the month of June 1625:

sebastana yta fran^{co} de silpā yna cathalina fran^{ca} pohui ateco quimotoquili fr. Martin de aquirre

Sebastiana. Her father was Francisco de Silva. Her mother was Catalina Francisca of Atenco. She was buried by fray Martín de Aguirre.

36. ypā jueves yc 19 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micque pipiltzintzin augastin yta fran^{co} juarz yna maría cacalo xochitli pohui atzonpan
antonio y[ta] ju^{o} deorla ta yna matalena cacalo xochitli pohu xaltepetlapā quinotoquili fr. Martin de aquire[36]

36. On Thursday the 19th day of the month of June 1625, these children died:
Agustín. His father was Francisco Juárez. His mother was Maria Cacalloxochitl of Atzonpan.
Antonio. His father was Juan de Orlate. His mother was Matalena Cacalloxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
They were buried by fray Martín de Aguirre.

f. 28r

1. ypā domigo yc 22 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años omomiquili

f. 28r

1. On Sunday the 22nd day of the month of June 1625, he died:

[36] In these few entries, the names actually come before the dates, but have been moved to be in line with the details that are about them.

diego piltzintli ytatzin don juº de guzman ynatzin doña matalena deaerrazco quinotoquili fr Gabriel de meneçes

The child Diego. His father was don Juan de Guzman. His mother was doña Matalena De Arerazco. He was buried by fray Gabriel Menezes.

5. ypā lunes yc 23 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micqui
maª sallome ytechcatqui tlacallaquili ynamic diego juarez pohui huexotzinco tecpā quimotoquili fr peº lauasagua

5. Died on Monday the 23rd day of the month of June 1625:
Maria Salome. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Juárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. She was buried by fray Pedro la Vasagua.

8. ypā sabaº yc 28 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micqui
micaella piltzintli yta migue catena yna maría castila xochitli pohui almoyahuacā quimotoquili totatzin fr martin de aquire

8. Died on Saturday the 28th day of the month of June 1625:
The child Micaela. Her father was Miguel Catena. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. She was buried by our father fray Martín de Aguirre.

11. ypā domigo yc 29 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micqui

11. Died on Sunday the 29th day of the month of June 1625:

[blank space] yta diego castaneta yna [blank space]	[blank space]. His father was Diego Castaneta. His mother was [blank space].
14. ypā lunes yc 30 ylhutl y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micqui pilipe piltzintli yta Miguel ordas yna juana de [illegible] pohui huexotzin^{co} tecpā quimotoquili fr. Nicolas de oriquere	14. Died on Monday the 30th day of the month of June 1625: The child Felipe. His father was Miguel Ortis. His mother was Juana de [illegible] of Huexotzinco Tecpan. He was buried by fray Nicolas de Orique.
17. ypā mardes yc 1 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años micqui piltzintl ju^{a}na piltzintli yta diego Calisto yna berlonica castila xochitli pohui chiyauhtzinco quimotoquili fr. nicolas	17. On Tuesday the 1st day of the month of July 1625, this child died: The child Juana. Her father was Diego Calisto. Her mother was Veronica Castillanxochitl of Chiyauhtzinco. She was buried by fray Nicolas.
21. ypā Viernes yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julios de6 1625 $\overline{as}$ juaña piltzintli yta Pablo balençia yna analueca pohui ocotepec quimotoquili yn totatzin fr. Gabriel de mençeces	21. On Friday the 4th day of the month of July 1625: The child Juana. Her father was Pablo Valencia. Her mother was Ana Lucia of Ocotepec. She was buried by our father Gabriel de Menezes.

24. ypā sabaº yc 5 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años micqui
bartholome piltzintli yta diego pz yna maª castila xochitli pohui almoyahuacan quimotoquili fr xpohual bertrañ

24. Died on Saturday the 5th day of the month of July 1625:
The child Bartolomé. His father was Diego Pérez. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. He was buried by fray Cristóbal Bertran.

27. ypān martes yc 8 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años momiquilli ypiltzintli quimotoquili yn totatzin fr. Sebastían berlasquez
juana piltzintl yta bartholome juan yna hellena cauilli pohui tlanicotla

27. Died on Tuesday the 8th day of the month of July 1625:
The child was buried by our father fray Sebastián Velazquez.
The child Juana. Her father was Bartolomé Juan. Her mother was Elena Cauilli of Tlanicotlan.

30. ypā sabaº yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julios 1625 años momiquilli que pipiltzintzintin quimotoquili totatzin fr. Sebastían berlasquez
micaella piltzintli yta diºgo juāuz^{andre} pohui huexotzin tecpā ynan hellena castila xochitli

30. Died on Saturday the 12th day of the month of July 1625:
These children were buried by our father fray Sebastián Velazquez.
The child Micaela. Her father was Andrés of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her mother was Elena Castillanxochitl.

nicolas yta diº juarez pohui huexotzinco tecpā

Nicolas. His father was Diego Juárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

35. ypā miercoles yc 16 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años omo miquili andres pz quitlapopolhui juez – andre pz tlatlapopolhuili ynamic maría de çuida[37] yn testigo don juº de çiudad yn totatzin quimotoquili fr marti de aquire huexotzinco pohuiya

35. Died on Wednesday the 16th day of the month of July 1625:
Andrés Pérez confessed to the judge – Andrés Pérez [died]. He confessed. His spouse was Maria de Ciudad. Witness: don Juan de Ciudad. He was buried by our father fray Martín de Aguirre of Huexotzinco.

f. 28v

1. ypā mardes yc 22 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años
[peº] decan te tetzcoapa miqui – omic peº de cate ynamic maría salome auh yn testigo Pablo simenez chane testzcocapa quimotoquili fr matheº lovez

f. 28v

1. Died on Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of July 1625:
Pedro de Cate [of] Tetzcocapan died. – Pedro de Cate died. His spouse was Maria Salome and the witness was Pablo Jiménez from Tetzcocapan. He was buried by fray Mateo Lopez.

[37] Likely a scribal error, read *çiudad*.

diego piltzintli micqui – yta simon de aquino yna peºmilla pohui huexotzinco totollac

The child Diego died. His father was Simón de Aquino. His mother was Petronilla of Huexotzinco Totollac.

6. ypā lunes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julios 1625 años micqui
parbura cacalo Xochitl tetzcocapā miqui – parbura cacalo Xochitl quichihuaya tlaco tlacalaquili ynamic joseph agustin chaneque tetzcocapā testigo paº simenez quimotoquili fr xpō varberdian

6. Died on Monday the 28th day of the month of July 1625:
Barbara Cacalloxochitl [of] Tetzcocapan died. – Half of Barbara Cacalloxochitl's tribute was made by her spouse Joseph Agustin. Their home is in Tetzcocapan. Witness: Pablo Jiménez. She was buried by fray Cristóbal Valverdian.

10. mardes de julios 29
sarbatro piltli miqui tlanicotla – yta Melchior mendez ynan Augustina cacalo Xochitl pohui
tlanicotla quimotoquili fr. Martin de aquirre

10. Tuesday July 29th
The child Sarbatro [of] Tlanicontlan died. His father was Melchor Méndez. His mother was Agustina Cacalloxochitl of Tlanicontlan. He was buried by fray Martín de Aguirre.

14. ypā mardes yc 29 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julio 1625 anos micqui

14. Died on Tuesday the 29th day of the month of July 1625:

fran^{co} Antonio miq̆ chane amaquemecā – chane amaqueme quimotoquili yn totatzin fr. Xpōbal vertran ycha manato andres Rios Espanor testigo pe^{o} pz quachihuaya tlacalaquili	Francisco Antonio from Amaquemecan. He was buried by our father fray Cristóbal Bertran. He was at home. Andrés Rios, the Spaniard was the one who came here [to bring the news]. Witness: Pedro Pérez. His tribute was made to Amaquemecan.
18. ypā domigo yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micque quimotoquili yn totatzin fr Nicolas de orive Ma^{a} jalome xochitli mecaçihuatl ytechca tlacallaquili ynamic juan garçía pohui huexotzinco totollac ma^{a} piltzin yta jua milrada yna hellena castila Xochitl pohui huexotzin^{co} tecpā pasqual piltzintli yta ju^{o} mathe^{o} ynan fran^{ca} castila Xochitli pohui coyotzin^{co}	18. On Sunday the 10th day of the month of August 1625, they died and were buried by he who is our father fray Nicolas de Orive. Maria Salome Xochitl Mecacihuatl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan García of Huexotzinco Totollac. The child Maria. Her father was Juan Milrada. Her mother was Elena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Pasqual. His father was Juan Mateo. His mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.

maría piltzintli yta juº baptista yna maª Salome pohui atecō	The child Maria. Her father was Juan Bautista. Her mother was Maria Salome of Atenco.
26. ypā lunes yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 anos miqui quimotoquili yn totatzin fr xp̄obal verdrā agustina piltzintli – yta andres de la çruzº ynan juºna pohui huexotzinco tecpa juana piltzintli ycha manado pilipe de leon Españor	26. On Monday the 11th day of the month of August 1625, they died and were buried by he who is our father fray Cristóbal Bertran. The child Agustín. His father was Andrés de la Curz. His mother was Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Juana. She was at home. Felipe de Leon, the Spaniard, was the one who came here [to bring the news].
31. ypā jueves yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 anos miqui quimotoquili yn totatzin fr Nicolas de orive maría piltzintli yta sepastian ceynos ynana heleⁿª pohui tepetzinco	31. On Thursday the 14th day of the month of August 1625 she died and was buried by the one who is our father fray Nicolas de Orive. The child Maria. Her father was Sebastián Ceynos. Her mother was Elena of Tepetzinco.

34. ypā Viernes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micqui quimotoquili yn totatzin fr Nicolas de orive
fran^{co} delliberra tlatlapopolhuilili pohui huexotzinco totollac
maria sueytlacatl ycha manato pilipe de leon chane huexyacac

34. On Friday the 15th day of the month of August 1625 they died and were buried by the one who is our father fray Nicolas de Orive.
Francisco de Liberra of Huexotzinco Totollac. He confessed.
Maria, the old person. She was at home.
Felipe de Leon, from Huexyacac was the one who came here [to bring the news].

38. ypan domigo yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micqui piltzintli quimotoquili fr Sebastian berrasquez
juaña piltzintl yta melchor pz pohui tianquizteco

38. On Sunday the 17th day of the month of August 1625 this child died and was buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez.
The child Juana. Her father was Melchor Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

41. ypā mardes yc 19 ylhuitli y[n] mes de agusto 1625 anos micqui quimotoquili fr sebastia berlasquez pohui huexotzinco totollac xaltapetlapa
ysabel yzqui xochitli tlatlapopolhuilili

41. On Tuesday the 19th day of the month of August 1625 she died and was buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez of Xaltepetlapan.
Isabel Izquixochitl. She confessed.

45. ypan lunes yc 26 ylhuitli y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años miqui quimotoquili fr Sebastian berlasquez pohui tianquizteco ysabel castial xochitli tlatlapolhuilili

45. On Monday the 26th day of the month of August 1625, she died and was buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez of Tianquiztenco.
Isabel Castillanxochitl. She confessed.

f. 29r

1. ypan sabaº yc 31 ylhuitli y[n] mes de agusto 1625 anos [mic]que ome pipiltzintzintin fr xpohual vertran joseph piltzintli yta franco garçia yna marí castila Xochitl pohui tlanicotla [blank space] – yta juº xojuarez yna maría luvespo

f. 29r

1. On Saturday the 31st day of the month of August 1625: two children died. fray Cristóbal Bertran [buried them].
The child Joseph. His father was Franco García. His mother was Maria Castillaxochitl of Tlanicontlan.
[blank space]. His father was Juan Suárez. His mother was Maria Lopez.

5. ypā mardes yc 16 ylhuitli y[n] mes de septiembre 1625 anos miqui quimotoquili yn totatzin fr matheº lovez pohui yatholuita barnape chal chiuh tepehua ytestigo Esteva mardonado tlatlapopolhuilli

5. On Tuesday the 16th day of the month of September 1625. He died and was buried by the one who is our father Mateo Lopez of Yatoluita.
Barnabé Chalchiuh Tepehua. Witness: Esteban Maldonado. He confessed.

8. ypan sabaº yc 20 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiember 1625 años micqui juº piltzintli – yta mathias derojas yna juana castila xochitli pohui acxotlan

8. Died on Saturday the 20th day of the month of September 1625:
The child Juan. His father was Matías de Rojas. His mother was Juana Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan.

10. ypan domigo yc 21 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiember 1625 anos micque ome pipiltzintzintin fr xpohual bertran nicolas – yta sebastían simenez
[Line left blank]

10. On Sunday the 21st day of the month of September 1625 two children died. fray Cristóbal Bertran [buried them].
Nicolas. His father was Sebastián Jiménez
[Line left blank.]

14. ypā sabaº yc 27 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiember 1625 años miqui piltzintli quamotoquili fr Nicolas de ove ana piltzintli – yta juºn baptista yna anna cauaneya pohui acxotlan

14. On Saturday the 27th day of the month of September 1625, the child died and was buried by fray Nicolas de O[ri]ve.
The child Ana. Her father was Juan Bautista. Her mother was Ana Cauaneya of Acxotlan.

17. ypā domigo yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes septiember 1625 años micqui quimotoquili yn totatzin fr martin de aquino
fran^{co} mig^{l} piltzintl – yta aqustin pz yna maria ana pohui xaltepetlapa

17. On Sunday the 28th day of the month of September 1625, he died and was buried by the one who is our father fray Martín de Aquino.
The child Francisco Miguel. His father was Agustín Pérez. His mother was Mariana of Xaltepetlapan.

20. ypā miercoles yc 1 ylhuitli y[n] mes de October 1625 años micqui piltzintli quimotoquili yn totatzin fr gavriel de meneçes
juan – yta juan Ramirez yna ma^{a} aotec Xochitl xaltepetlapā

20. On Wednesday the 1st day of the month of October 1625. The child died and was buried by the one who is our father Gabriel de Menezes.
Juan. His father was Juan Ramírez. His mother was Maria Aotecxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

23. ypan lunes yc 6 ylhuitli y[n] mes October 1625 años micqui piltzintli quimotoquili yn totatzin fr Nicolas de obe

23. On Monday the 6th day of the month of October 1625, this child died and was buried by he who is our father fray Nicolas de O[ri]ve.

miraslla yta juº baptista yna anna cauaneya pohui acxotlan	Marisela. Her father was Juan Bautista. Her mother was Ana Cauaneya of Acxotlan.[110]
26. ypā Viernes yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1625 años micqui ynes piltzintli micqui ynā maª castillā xotl pohui ocotepec	26. Died on Friday the 10th day of the month of October 1625: The child Inés died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.
28. ypā sabº yc 11 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1625 años micqui magna castillā xotl micqui ynamic diº pz pohui almoyahuacā	28. Died on Saturday the 11th day of the month of October 1625: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
30. ypā domigo yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1625 años quimotoquilli fray Gabriel de meneces diego mocario micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic luisa castilla xotl pohui tlatenco	30. On Sunday the 12th day of the month of October 1625 he was buried by fray Gabriel de Menezes. Diego Mocario died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Luisa Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco.

[110] Juan Bautista and Ana Cauaneya's first daughter died on September 27th, 1625.

34. ypā lunes yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1625 años micqui
angellinā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic di^{o} de luna pohui almoyahuacā quimotoquilli fray xp̄onal

34. Died on Monday the 20th day of the month of October 1625:
Angelina died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de Luna of Almoyahuacan. She was buried by fray Cristóbal.

37. ypā martes yc 21 de octobre 1625 años micqui
Bernardino telpochtli micqui quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpo͡nal ytatzin lucas Ramirez pohui coyotzinco

37. Died on Tuesday the 21st of October 1625:
The young man Bernardino died. He was buried by our father fray Cristóbal. His father was Lucas Ramírez of Coyotzinco.

f. 29v
1. ypā Viernes yc 24 de octobre 1625 año micqui
juā marcos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli quimotoquilli totatzin fray Nicolas de oRique pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic maa hellena piltzintli micqui yta simeo de la cruz pohui atenco

f.29v
1. Died on Friday the 24th day of October 1625:
Juan Marcos died and was buried by our father fray Nicolas de Orique. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Maria.
The child Elena died. Her father was Simón de la Cruz of Atenco.

5. ypā martes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de octobre 1625 años micqui
marcos – ypiltzin Miguel michteuh pohui xaltepetlapā
mathiana piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

5. Died on Tuesday the 28th day of the month of October 1625:
Marcos. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Mariana died. Her father was Matías Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. ypā domi͡go yc 2 noviēbre 1625 años micqui
sebastiona piltzintli micqui ytah mathias deolarte ynamic agellinā pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ~~ange~~

8. Died on Sunday the 2nd of November 1625:
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Matías de Olarte. Her mother was Angelina of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
~~ange~~

12. ypā lunes yc 3 ylhuitl nobienbre 1625 años micqui
luisa castillā xo^{tl} micquic tlapopolhuilloc quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpo̅ul pohui tetzcocapā

12. Died on Monday the 3rd day of November 1625:
Luisa Castillanxochitl died. She confessed. She was buried by our father fray Cristóbal of Tetzcocapan.

15. ypā martes yc 4 ylhuitl noviēbre 1625 años micqui

15. Died on Tuesday the 4th day of November 1625:

juā toçihuitl micqui ytanamic pedromilla pohui almoyahuacā quimotoquilli totatzin fray xopo͞ual

Juan Tocihuitl died. His wife was Petronilla of Almoyahuacan. He was buried by our father fray Cristóbal.

18. ypā viernes yc yc 7 ylhuitl noviēbre 1625 años micqui
sebastiana piltzintli micqui yta Melchior de. S. tiago pohui tiāquizte

18. Died on Friday the 7th day of November 1625:
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Melchor de Santiago of Tianquiztenco.

20. ypā domi͡go yc 9 ylhuitli noviēbre 1625 año micqui
lurenço piltzintli ypiltzin Bernardo xuarez pohui xaltepetlapa

20. Died on Sunday the 9th of November 1625:
The child Lorenzo. He was the child of Bernardo Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

23. ypā martes yc 10 de nobiēbre 1625 años micqui
mathias pachel micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aña Rodriquez pohui almoyahuacā quimotoquilli fray diego

23. Died on Tuesday the 10th of November 1625:
Matías Pachel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Rodríguez of Almoyahuacan. He was buried by fray Diego.

27. ypā miercoles yc 12 de noviēbre 1625 años micqui

27. Died on Wednesday the 12th of November 1625:

mathiana piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Mariana died. Her father was Matías Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[111]
29. ypā jueves yc 13 de noviēbre 1625 años micqui maria lupez micqui ynamic catca juā marcos yc ocalpolhuihque pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli totatzin fray diego pedro vallençia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} $_{xotl}$ castillā pohui tlanicōtlā quimotoquilli fray diego	29. Died on Thursday the 13th of November 1625: Maria Lopez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Juan Marcos.[112] The barrio gathered for her. She was buried by our father fray Diego. Pedro Valencia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan. He was buried by fray Diego.
34. ypā lunes yc 17 de noviēbre 1625 años micqui hellena piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de luna pohui acxotlā simō perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tetzcocapā	34. Died on Monday the 17th of November 1625: The child Elena died. Her father was Miguel de Luna of Acxotlan. Simón Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan.

[111] Matías Pérez's first daughter of the same name died on the 28th of October 1625.
[112] Juan Marcos died on October 24th, 1625.

f. 30r

1. ypā jueves yc 20 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1625 años
magthallena ychpochtli micqui yta sebastiā simō ynā mariana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā – quimotoquilli fray nicolas

f. 30r

1. On Thursday the 20th day of the month of November 1625:
The young woman Magdalena died. Her father was Sebastián Simón. Her mother was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan – she was buried by fray Nicolas.

4. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1625 años
maria tlapallizqui Xochitl miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic lurenço decardo pohui chiyauhtzinco

4. On Friday the 21st day of the month of November 1625:
Maira Talpallizquixochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Lorenzo de Cardo of Chiyauhtzinco.

7. ypā sab^{o} yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de noviēbre 1625 años
lurenço piltzin micqui quihualhuicaque tle castillā ychā juā marquez

7. On Saturday the 22nd day of the month of November 1625:
The child Lorenzo died. They brought him here from Spain. He was in the home of Juan Marquez.

[blank space] piltzintli micqui ynā aña Rodriquez pohui almoyahuacā quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpo̅ual	The child [blank space] died. His mother was Ana Rodríguez of Almoyahuacan. He was buried by our father fray Cristóbal.
11. ypā martes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] m̅es de noviēbre 1625 años ynes piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli totatzin fray Nicolas ytatzin mateo xuarez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	11. On Tuesday the 25th day of the month of November 1625: The child Inés died. She was buried by our father fray Nicolas. Her father was Mateo Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
14. ypā Viernes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] m̅es de noviēbre 1625 años hellena piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpo̅ual yn itatzin fran^{co} goberez pohui acxotlā	14. On Friday the 28th day of the month of November 1625: The child Elena died. She was buried by our father fray Cristóbal. The one who was her father was Francisco Goberez of Acxotlan.
17. ypā lunes yc 1 deciēbre 1625 años	17. On Monday the 1st of December 1625:

pa^{o} de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mag^{na} aogenia pohui acxotlā quimotoquilli fray martin	Pablo de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Angenio of Acxotlan. He was buried by fray Martín.
melchiora piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} mathias pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli fray martin	The child Melchora died. Her father was Pedro Matías of Huexotzinco Tecpan. She was buried by fray Martín.
juana piltzintli micqui anmo nicā chane ychā manato juā decaton	The child Juana died. She was not from here. She was at home. Juan de Caton was the one who came here [to bring the news].
23. ypā jueves yc 4 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años	23. On Thursday the 4th day of December 1625:
justina xochitlamallin yxpopoyotl ynamic Pasqual de roças pohui acxotlā quimotoquilli totatzin fray martin	Justina Xochitlamallin, the blind. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Acxotlan. She was buried by our father fray Martín.
26. ypā domi͡go yc 7 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años	26. On Sunday the 7th day of December 1625:

melchiora piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh sebastiā simō pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli totatzin fray gabriel

The child Melchora died. She was the grandchild of Sebastián Simón of Huexotzinco Tecpan. She was buried by our father fray Gabriel.

29. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años
sebastiā de la lohua micqui quimotoquilli fray Gabriel ynamic mari
gabriel asorio micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli quimotoquilli fray Gabriel ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

29. On Wednesday the 10th day of December 1625:
Sebastián de la Lohua died. He was buried by fray Gabriel. His spouse was Maria.
Gabriel Asorio died. He was buried by fray Gabriel. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

33. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1625 años
mariana micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray Gabriel yn imamic ytoca Pablo de luna pohui thohcuillā

33. On Saturday the 13th day of the month of December 1625:
Mariana died. She was buried by our precious father fray Gabriel. Her tribute responsibility belongs to the one who was her spouse, named Pablo de Luna of Tocuillan.

36. ypā miercoles yc 17 ylhuitl y[n] mēs deciēbre 1625 años
maria piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli totlaçotatzin fray Nicolas deoriquen ytatzin juā hernādez pohui atēco
gaspar lupez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray Nicolas deorique ynamic aña pohui tlamacazcapā
[blank space] morinā ychā catqui dō juā de palma
nicolasa piltzintli micqui ynā aña deosacastro pohui huexo^{co} totollac
ana piltzintli micqui yta Thomas de aquino pohui s. pe^{o} quauhnopoltitlā

36. On Wednesday the 17th day of the month of December 1625:
The child Maria died. She was buried by our precious father fray Nicolas de Orique. Her father was Juan Hernández of Atenco.
Gaspar Lopez died. He was buried by our precious father fray Nicolas de Orique His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana of Tlamacazcapan.
[blank space] Morinan. He was in the home of don Juan de Palma.
The child Nicolasa died. Her mother was Ana de Osacastro of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Ana died. Her father was Tomás de Aquino of San Pedro Quauhnopoltitlan.

f. 30v

1. ypā martes yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes deçiebre 1625 años

f. 30v

1. On Tuesday the 23rd day of the month of December 1625:

[o]nio piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli totlaço mahuitatzin fray sepastia ytatzin juā hernatez pohui anteco	The child [Ant]onio died. He was buried by our precious and revered father fray Sebastián. His father was Juan Herenández of Atenco.
4. ypā Viernes yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes deçiebre 1625 años sepastia dequobala telpohtl micqui quimotoquilli totlaço mahuiz tatzin fray nicolas deoriquen ytatzin dō diego dequepala pohui xaltepetlapa ysabel castilla xo^{tl} micqui tlapopolhuilloc ycnoçihuatl pohui tlanícōtlā quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray sebastiā	4. On Friday the 26th day of the month of December 1625: The young man Sebastián de Quepala died. He was buried by our precious and revered father fray Nicolas de Oriquen. His father was don Diego de Quepala of Xaltepetlapan. The young woman Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died. She confessed. She was buried by our precious father fray Sebastián.
9. ypā domi͡go yc 28 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años	9. On Sunday the 28th day of December 1625:

mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiz tenco ynamic lurenço de lona quimotoquilli fray xpo̅ual	Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna. She was buried by fray Cristóbal.
12. ypā lunes yc 29 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años juā molares micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank space] çā mictilloc ytlamacazcauh Gabriel de albarado quimotoquilli totaco tatzin fray nicolas melchiora piltzintli micqui ynā fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli totlaça tatzin fray xpo̅ual	12. On Monday the 29th day of December 1625: Juan Morales died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space]. He was just murdered. His priest was Gabriel de Alvarado. He was buried by our precious father fray Nicolas. The child Melchora died. Her mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. She was buried by our precious father fray Cristóbal.
fr Lz^{o} debaldiuia	fray Lazaro de Valdivia
19. 1626 años	19. The year 1626

20. ypā microles yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1626 años
lucas pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray Nicolas de vriquen

20. On Wednesday the 7th day of the month of January 1626:
Lucas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. He was buried by our precious father fray Nicolas Enrique.

23. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 de henero 1626 años
[blank space] miqui piltzintli yta fran^{co} [blank space] pohui huexo^{co} tecpā quimotoquilli totoaço tatzin fray xp̄oual

23. On Saturday the 10th of January 1626:
The child [blank space] died. His father was Francisco [blank space] of Huexotzinco Tecpan. He was buried by our precious father fray Cristóbal.

26. ypā microles yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de henero 1626 años
antonio telpochtli micqui ynā martha [blank space] pohui acxotlā quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray xp̄oual

26. On Wednesday the 14th day of the month of January 1625:
The young man Antonio died. His mother was Marta [blank space] of Acxotlan. He was buried by our precious father fray Cristóbal.

juana piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} ximenez pohui huexo^{co} totollac quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray matheo

The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
She was buried by our precious father fray Mateo.

31. ypā jueves yc 15 de henero 1626 años [blank space] piltzintli micqui yta lurenço de lona pohui tiāquiztenco
clara piltzintli micqui yta pa^{o} pz pohui almoyahuacā

31. On Thursday the 15th of January 1626:
The child [blank space] died. His father was Lorenzo de Luna of Tianquiztenco.
The child Clara died. Her father was Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

34. ypā Viernes yc 16 de henero 1626 años mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
juā piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} lopez pohui tlamacazcapā

34. On Friday the 16th of January 1626:
Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Juan died. His father was Pedro Lopez of Tlamacazcapan.

f. 31r

1. ypā jueves yc 29 de henero 1626 años

f. 31r

1. On Thursday the 29th day of January 1626:

pollas telpochtli micqui ynā paolla de la corona pohui huexo^{co} huexo^{co} totollac ma^{a} ychpochtli micqui yta hellias pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The young man Pollas died. His mother was Paola de la Corona of Huexotzinco Totollac. The young woman Maria died. Her father was Elías of Huexotzinco Totollac.
4. ypā Viernes yc 30 de henero 1626 años ana piltzintli micqui ynā Augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui tocuillā	4. On Friday the 30th of January 1626: The child Ana died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
6. ypā domi͡go yc 1 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1626 años mathiana piltzintli micqui ynā martha pohui acxotlā	6. On Sunday the 1st day of the month of February 1626: The child Mathiana died. Her mother was Marta of Acxotlan.
8. ypā jueves yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebre 1626 años miguel piltzintli micqui yta Miguel gregorio pohui huexo^{co} tecpā die^{o} piltzintli micqui ynā martha pohui acxotlā	8. On Thursday the 5th day of the month of February 1626: The child Miguel died. His father was Miguel Gregorio of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Diego died. His mother was Marta of Acxotlan.[113]

[113] Marta's son and daughter die in the same week.

11. ypā lunes yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebrero 1626 años
mathias de luna micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic hellena castillā xo^{tl}

11. On Monday the 9th day of the month of February 1626:
Matías de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl.

14. ypā martes yc 10 de hebrero 1626 años
bar^{me} ytah andres teuhtli pohui acxotlā ynamic hellena

14. On Tuesday the 10th of February 1626:
Bartolomé. His father was Andrés Teuh[c]tli of Acxotlan. His wife was Elena.

16. ypā Viernes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de hebre 1626 años
ma^{a} micqui piltzintli yta pa^{o} de. S. Miguel pohui atēco ynā barbora

16. On Friday the 14th day of the month of February 1626:
The child Maria died. Her father was Pablo de San Miguel of Atenco. Her mother was Barbara.

18. ypā lunes yc 17 de hebrero 1626 años

18. On Monday the 17th of February 1626:

juā Lazaro micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamacazcapā ynamic mag^{na} Rodriquez

Juan Lazaro died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. His spouse was Magdalena Rodríguez.

21. ypā miercoles 18 de hebre 1626 años luis chane chololllā micqui ychā omoto Gabriel Osorio catea pohui huexo^{co}

21. On Wednesday the 18th of February 1626:
Luis from Cholula died. He was at home. The late Gabriel Osorio of Huexozinco said so.

23. ypā martes yc 24 de hebrero 1626 años [blank space] piltzintli micqui yta Melchior de la cr^{+}uz pohui atenco

23. On Tuesday the 24th of February 1626:
The child [blank space] died. His father was Melchor de la Cruz of Atenco.

25. ypā miercoles yc 25 de hebrero 1626 años
aña ychpotzintli micqui ytā juā de chauez pohui almoyahuacā
[blank space] piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de arana ynatzin dona juana de mētoça

25. On Wednesday the 25th of February 1626:
The young woman Ana died. His father was Juan de Chavez of Almoyahuacan. The child [blank space] died. His father was Miguel de Arana. His mother was doña Juana de Mendoza.

28. ypā lunes yc 2 de março 1626 años ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihque pohui huexo^{co} totollac

28. On Monday the 2nd of March 1626: Maria Castillanxochitl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

31. ypā martez yc 3 de março 1626 años augustin piltzintli micqui yta Miguel sachez pohui huexo^{co} totolla
diego piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} pz pohui atzōpā
[blank space] piltzintli micqui yta simō gar^{a} pohui totollac

31. On Tuesday the 3rd of March 1626: The child Agustín died. His father was Miguel Sánchez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Diego died. His father was Francisco Pérez of Atzonpan.
The child [blank space] died. His father was Simón García of Totollac.

35. ypā jueves yc 5 de março 1626 años ysabel piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual decāte pohui Atenco

35. On Thursday the 5th of March 1626: The child Isabel died. His father was Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.

fr Lz^{o} de baldiuia

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

f. 31v

1. ypā Viernes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1626 años

f. 31v

1. On Friday the 6th day of the month of March 1626:

michaela micqui ynatzin Augustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui thocuilla	Micaela died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
jueseph piltzintli micqui ynā martha castillā xo^{tl} pohui acxotlā	The child Joseph died. His mother was Marta Castillaxochitl of Acxotlan.[114]
ma^{a} ynes yta Miguel ortona pohui acxotlā	Maria Inés. Her father was Miguel Ortona of Acxotlan.
5. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1626 años	5. On Saturday the 7th day of the month of March 1626:
ma^{a} ychpochtli micqui yta lucas decolol pohui acxotlā	The young woman Maria died. Her father was Lucas de Colon of Acxotlan.
7. ypā domi͡go yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de março 1626 años	7. On Sunday the 8th day of the month of March 1626:
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic Thomas deseda	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Tomás de Seda.
10. ypā miercoles yc 12 de março 1626 años	10. On Wednesday the 12th of March 1626:

[114] This is the third child Marta has lost. The first two died on the 1st and 5th of February respectively.

fran^{ca} piltzintli miqui yta juā hernādez pohui huexo^{co} totollac	The child Francisca died. His father was Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Totollac.
antona micqui piltzintli ynā Augustina angellinā pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Antonia died. Her mother was Agustina Angelina of Xaltepetlapan.
13. ypā Viernes yc 13 de março 1626 años pasqual de roças micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ma^{a} castillāxochitl	13. On Friday the 13th of March 1626: Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan died. He confessed. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
16. ypā sab^{o} yc 14 de março 1626 años aña castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic antonio perez cachopin[38]	16. On Saturday the 14th of March 1626: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Antonio Pérez, the *Spaniard*.
19. ypā martes yc 17 de março 1626 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepec ynamic augustin perez	19. On Tuesday the 17th of March 1626: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Agustín Pérez.

[38] A pejorative term for Spaniard, which is interesting because he seems to be the only Spaniard called out in this way, and the only one who is married to a Nahua woman. The other Spaniards are usually witnesses, messengers, or, of course Friars, and are noted with Español.

22. ypā Viernes yc 20 de março 1626 años juā piltzintli micqui yta juā de. S. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	22. On Friday the 20th of March 1626: The child Juan died. His father was Juan de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui yta Pablo de la cruz pohui acxotlā	The child Francisco died. His father was Pablo de la Cruz of Acxotlan.
25. ypā sab^{o} yc 21 de março 1626 años antona ychpochtli yta Miguel ortona pohui acxotlā	25. On Saturday the 21st of March 1626: The young woman Antonia. Her father was Miguel Ortona of Acxotlan.[115]
juā piltzintli micqui yta diego matheo pohui almoyahuacā	The child Juan died. His father was Diego Mateo of Almoyahuacan.
28. ypā domi͡go yc 22 de março 1626 años diego piltzintli micqui yta juā bap^{ta} pohui tetzcocapā	28. On Sunday the 22nd of March 1626: The child Diego died. His father was Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.
30. ypā martes yc 24 de março 1626 años Bartholome piltzintli mic piltzin ypiltzin matheo bartholome pohui tocuillā	30. On Tuesday the 24th of March 1626: The child Bartolomé died. The child was the son of Mateo Bartolomé of Tocuillan.
hellena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel die^{o} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Diego of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[115] Miguel Ortona's younger daughter died on March 6th and his older daughter on March 21st.

33. ypā domi͡go yc 29 de março 1626 años Balthasar telpochtli ychā manato dō juā decozmā

33. On Sunday the 29th of March 1626: The young man Baltazar. He was at home. Don Juan de Guzman was the one who came here [to bring the news].

35. ypā miercoles yc 1 de abril 1626 años gabriel micqui āmo nicā chane ychā anoto sebastia gotierez pohui acxotlā pasqual telpochtli micqui ychā anoto juā mētoça pohui huexoco tecpā

35. On Wednesday the 1st day of the month of April 1626:
Gabriel died. He was not from here. He was at home. Sebastián Gutiérrez of Acxotlan said so.
The young man Pasqual died. He was at home. Juan Mendoza of Huexotzinco Tecpan said so.

38. ypā sabo yc 4 de abril 1626 años maria piltzintli micqui yconeuh Augustina pohui xaltepetlapā

38. On Saturday the 4th of April 1626: The child Maria died. She was the child of Agustina of Xaltepetlapan.

40. ypā domi͡go yc 5 de abril 1626 años juā perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic franca Xochitlamalin pohui almoyahuacā

40. On Sunday the 5th of April 1626: Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Xochitlamalin of Almoyahuacan.

42. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl de abril 1626 años
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel de lona pohui acxotlā

42. On Monday the 6th day of April 1626:
The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Gabriel de Luna of Acxotlan.

44. ypā sabº yc 11 de abril 1626 años
franco de. S. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexoco tecpā ynamic mariana
ana piltzintli micqui yta juā Miguel pohui huexoco tecpā

44. On Saturday the 11th of April 1626:
Francisco de Santiago died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Mariana.
The child Ana died. Her father was Juan Miguel of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

48. ypā miercoles yc 15 de abril 1626 años
juseph de. S. ta maª ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamicōtlā ynamic juana castillā xotl

48. On Wednesday the 15th of April 1626:
Joseph de Santa Maria. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

f. 32r
1. ypā Viernes yc 17 de abril 1626 años
gregorio piltzintli micqui yta juā deçiudad pohui almoyahuacā

f. 32r
1. On Friday the 17th of April 1626:
The child Gregorio died. His father was Juan de Ciudad of Almoyahuacan.

pasqualla piltzintli micqui yta Sebastian de roças pohui almoyahuac	The child Pasquala died. Her father was Sebastián de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
mathias telpochtli micqui yta mathias doleto pohui huexo^{co} Totollac	The young man Matías died. His father was Doleto of Huexotzinco Totollac.
5. ypā domi͡go yc 19 de abril 1626 años Maria ortas micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic diego tepeuh	5. On Sunday the 19th of April 1626: Maria Ortiz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Her spouse was Diego Tepeuh.
8. ypā Viernes yc 24 de abril 1626 años juana xilloniyauh[39] ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā	8. On Friday the 24th of April 1626: Juana Xilloniyauh. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.
10. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de abril 1626 años ma^{a} jallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atzōpā ynamic die^{o} pz	10. On Saturday the 25th of April 1626: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. Her spouse was Diego Pérez.
ma^{a} Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnocihuatl pohui almoyahuacā	The widow Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

[39] *Xilonen* is the name of a goddess, and *yauh* means "to go," therefore there could be something more going on here, but seeing as *yauh* is not the past tense, my initial thought that it might mean that she "went" as in "she died," is likely not correct. For the moment, I am leaving it as a name.

13. ypā domi͡go yc 26 de abril 1626 años jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō juā de palma pohui almoyahuacā

13. On Sunday the 26th of April 1626: The child Joseph died. He was the child of don Diego de Palma of Almoyahuacan.

15. ypā miercoles yc 29 de abril 1626 años juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de serbātes pohui huexoco totollac

15. On Wednesday the 29th of April 1626:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Matías de Servantes of Huexotzinco Totollac.

18. ypā Viernes yc 1 de mayo 1626 años antonio peres micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic mariana
mariana micqui ynamic dieo Maldonado ytlamacaz albarado
maa monica micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic dieo pz pohui huexoco totollac

18. On Friday the 1st of May 1626: Antonio Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. His spouse was Mariana.
Mariana died. Her spouse was Diego Maldonado. Her priest was Alvarado
Maria Monica died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

24. ypā domi͡go yc 3 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1626 años

24. On Sunday the 3rd day of the month of May 1626:

mathias piltzintli micqui yta juā pedro pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Matías died. His father was Juan Pedro of Xaltepetlapan.
maria piltzintli micqui yta mathias de roças pohui tlamacazcapā	The child Maria died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Tlamacazcapan.
maria nicolasa piltzintli yta juā deçiudad pohui almoyahuacā	The child Maria Nicolasa. Her father was Juan de Ciudad of Almoyahuacan.[116]
28. ypā martes yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1626 años	28. On Tuesday the 5th day of the month of May 1626:
nicolasa yta diego [blank space]	Nicolasa. Her father was Diego [blank space].
30. ypā sabº yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es de mayo 1626 años	30. On Saturday the 9th day of the month of May 1626:
marcos piltzintli micqui yta Pablo garª pohui ocotepec	The child Marcos died. His father was Pablo García of Ocotepec.
32. ypā domi͡go yc 10 de mayo 1626 años	32. On Sunday the 10th of May 1626:
juā marcos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maª castilla xotl pohui tetzcocapā	Juan Marcos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan.

[116] Juan de Ciudad's first child died on April 17th and his second on May 3rd.

miguel yta juā mexia pohui huexotzinco totollac	Miguel. His father was Juan Mexia of Huexotzinco Totollac.
36. ypā lunes yc 11 de mayo 1626 años miguel piltzintli micqui ynā fran^{ca} pohui tetzcocapā nicolas perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic Helena mexia	36. On Monday the 11th of May 1626: The child Miguel died. His mother was Francisca of Tetzcocapan. Nicolas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Elena Mexia.
40. ypā jueves yc 14 de mayo 1626 años andres z^{o} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetzcapā	40. On Monday the 14th of May 1626: Andrés Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan.
42. ypā lunes yc 18 de mayo 1626 años maria juana micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui huexo^{co} tecpan marcos micqui piltzintli yta fran^{co} gar^{a} pohui tlatenco	42. On Monday the 18th of May 1626: Maria Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. She confessed. The child Marcos died. His father was Francisco García of Tlatenco.
45. ypā jueves yc 21 de mayo 1626 años	45. On Thursday the 21st of May 1626:

diego micqui chane michuacā ychā omoto Balthasar gar[a] pohui tlamacazcapā

Diego died. He was from Michoacán. He was at home. Baltazar Garcías of Tlamacazcapan said so.

pasqual piltzintli micqui yta Antonio pz pohui totollac

The child Pasqual died. His father was Antonio Pérez of Totollac.

f. 32v

1. ypā lunes yc 1 de junio 1626 años

ana chalchiuh neneh micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā de s. tiago pohui huexotzinco tecpā

juseph piltzintli micqui yta mathias de roças pohui tlanicōtlā

f. 32v

1. On Monday the 1st of June 1626:

Ana Chalchiuh Neneh died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Joseph died. His father was Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

5. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl de junio 1626 años

antonio perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic [blank]

miguel piltzintli micqui yta diego de aquino pohui tocuillā

5. On Wednesday the 3rd day of June 1626:

Antonio Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. His spouse was [blank].

The child Miguel died. His father was Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.

9. ypā domigo yc 7 ylhuitl de junio 1626 años
juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego de roças pohui tlanicōtlā

9. On Sunday the 7th day of June 1626:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

12. ypā jueves yc 11 ylhuitl de junio 1626 años
juā de roças micqui pohui tianquiztenco ynamic maª jalome
diego micqui amō nicā chane ychā anoto diego xuarez tlatlape

12. On Thursday the 11th day of June 1626:
Juan de Rosas died. He belongs to Tianquiztenco. His spouse was Maria Salome.
Diego died. He was not from here. He was at home. Diego Suárez [of] Tlatlape said so.

15. ypā Viernes yc 12 de junio 1626 años
augustin piltzintli micqui yta Antonio pz pohui almoyahuacā
pasquala piltzintli miqui yta mathias dolentino pohui coyotzinco

15. On Friday the 12th of June 1626:
The child Agustín died. His father was Antonio Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Pasquala died. Her father was Matías Tolentino of Coyotzinco.

18. ypā lunes yc 15 de junio 1626 años

18. On Monday the 15th of June 1626:

aña [smudged out] piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual de roças pohui xaltepe^{an}	The child Ana died. Her father was Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.
20. ypā martes yc 16 de junio 1626 años diego yta xp͡onal de lona pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	20. On Tuesday the 16th of June 1626: Diego. His father was Cristóbal de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
22. ypā miercoles yc 17 de junio 1626 años pillipe piltzintli micqui yta andres monez pohui almoyahuacā	22. On Wednesday the 17th of June 1626: The child Felipe died. His father was Andrés Muñoz of Almoyahuacan.
maria jalome piltzintli micqui yta juā Calisto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Maria Salome died. Her father was Juan Calisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
nicolas piltzintli micqui yta pa^{o} ximenez pohui ocotepec	The child Nicolas died. His father was Pablo Jiménez of Ocotepec.
lucas micqui āmomicā chane ychā anoto juā fernādez Espa͡nol	Lucas died. He was not from here. He was at home. Juan Fernández, the Spaniard, said so.
27. ypā jueves yc 18 de junio 1626 años sebastiana piltzintli micqui ynā ynes paola pohui atenco	27. On Thursday the 18th of June 1626: The child Sebastián died. His mother was Inés Paola of Atenco.
29. ypā Viernes yc 19 de junio 1626 años	29. On Friday the 19th of June 1626:

luisa ychpochtli ychā omoto Gabriel catca juā piltzintli micqui yta andres pohui totollac	The young woman Luisa. She was at home. The late Gabriel said so.[117] The child Juan died. His father was Andrés of Totollac.
32. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 de junio 1626 años juā Ramirez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic ma^{a} aotec xochitl	32. On Saturday the 20th of June 1626: Juan Ramírez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. His spouse was Maria Aotecxochitl.
35. ypā domi͡go yc 21 de junio 1626 años mathias de lona micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui tocuillā ynamic ana castillā xo^{tl} angelinā castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco ynamic miguel mocario	35. On Sunday the 21st of June 1626: Matías de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belonged to Tocuillan. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl. Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco. Her spouse was Miguel Mocario.
39. ypā martes yc 23 de junio 1626 años mariana piltzintli miqui ypiltzin matheo Castaneda pohui atenco	39. On Tuesday the 23rd of June 1626: The child Mariana died. She was the child of Mateo Castaneda of Atenco.

[117] Presumably by the time this was written, this man Gabriel had died.

41. ypā miercoles yc 24 de junio 1626 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres pz pohui tetzcocapā

41. On Wednesday the 24the of June 1626:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Andrés Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

43. ypā domi͡go yc 29 de junio 1626 años ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de s. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

43. On Sunday the 29th of June 1626:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

45. ypā martes yc 31 de junio 1626 años juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā metoça pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

45. On Tuesday the 31st of June 1626:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Mendoza of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 33r

1. ypā miercoles yc 1 de julio 1626 años ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Calisto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 33r

1. On Wednesday the 1st of July 1626:
The child Isabel died. She was the child of Juan Calisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

3. ypā domi͡go yc 5 de julio 1626 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaqui ynamic diego molares pohui totolac

3. On Sunday the 5th of July 1626:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Morales of Totollac.

5. ypā lunes yc 6 de julio 1626 años
pillipe piltzintli micqui yconeuh fran^{ca}
ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā
simō piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pz
pohui tlanicōtlā

5. On Monday the 6th of July 1626:
The child of Felipe died. He was the child of Francisca Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Simón died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

8. ypā miercoles yc 8 de julio 1626 años
diego piltzintli omicqui ypiltzin diego
pohui tlamacazcapā

8. On Wednesday the 8th of July 1626:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Tlamacazcapan.

10. ypā Viernes yc 10 de julio 1626 años
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā m͡jn
pohui almoyahuacā

10. On Friday the 10th of July 1626:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.

12. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de julio 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pillipe
pohui tlamacazacepā
helena piltzintli ypiltzin juā hernādez
pohui tlanicōtlā

12. On Saturday the 11th of July 1626:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Felipe of Tlamacazcapan.
The child Elena. She was the child of Juan Hernández of Tlanicontlan.

Fr LZ^{o} debaldiuia

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

16. ypā domi͡go yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julio 1626 años – micqui
domi͡ga piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pochel pohui almoyahuacā

16. Died on Sunday the 12th day of the month of July 1626:
The child Dominga died. She was the child of Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.

18. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julio 1626 años micque
jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de seuilla pohui cecalacohuahuayā
augustina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego deolozco pohui xaltepetlapā
marta piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego Ramirez pohui acxotlā

18. Died on Tuesday the 14th day of the month of July 1626:
The child Josepha died. She was the child of Miguel de Sevilla of Cecalacohuayan.
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Diego de Olozco of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Marta died. She was the child of Diego Ramírez of Acxotlan.

22. ypā Viernes yc 17 de julio 1626 años
ma[a] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph de lona pohui chiyauhtzinco
fran[co] de lacerta micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco ynamic aña castillā xochitl

22. On Friday the 17th of July 1626:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Joseph de Luna of Chiyauhtzinco.
Francisco de la Certa died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.
His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl.

26. ypā sab[o] yc 18 de julio 1626 años

26. On Saturday the 18th of July 1626:

antona castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui atenco yc ocalpollhuihque

Antonia Castillanxochitl of Atenco died. She was a widow. The barrio gathered for her.

diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego fran^{co} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Francisco of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

29. ypā domi͡go yc 19 de juli 1626 años augustina castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic Melchior hernādez pohui s. ta aña

29. On Sunday the 19th of July 1626: Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Melchor Hernández of Santa Ana.

juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel gregorio pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Gregorio of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

33. ypā lunes yc 20 de julio 1626 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

33. On Monday the 20th of July 1626: The child Maria died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} pz pohui almoyahuacā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

ysabel castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic joseph hernādez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez

Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Joseph Hernández of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez.

mathias Velazquez micqui telpochtli ynātzin fran^{ca} ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā

The young man Matías Velazquez died. His mother was Francisca Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan.

40. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de julio 1626 años gabriel piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā bap^{ta} pohui huexo^{co} totollac juana pasquala micqui ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic barnabe de s. tiago pohui acxotlā

40. On Saturday the 25th of July 1626: The child Gabriel died. His father was Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco Totollac. Juana Pasquala died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Banabe de Santiago of Acxotlan.

f. 33v

1. ypā martes yc 28 de julio 1626 años maria Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā mathias piltzintli micqui yta juā perez pohui tlanicōtlā

f. 33v

1. On Tuesday the 28th of July 1626: Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Matías died. His father was Juan Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

5. ypā miercoles yc 29 de julio 1626 años ysabel piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā pasqual pohui acxotlā

5. On Wednesday the 29th of July 1626: The child Isabel died. Her father was Juan Pasqual of Acxotlan.

juana piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} perez pohui tetzcocapā	The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
nicolasa piltzintli ytatzin Miguel perez pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Nicolasa. Her father was Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

9. ypā jueves yc 30 de julio 1626 años	9. On Thursday the 20th of July 1626:
maria jalome micqui tlapopolhuillo ynamic catea juā de roçasyc ocalpollhuihque pohui tiāquiztenco	Maria Salome of Tianquiztenco died. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Juan de Rosas. The barrio gathered for her.[118]
gabriel de roças micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Helena castillā Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā	Gabriel de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
maria piltzintli micqui ytatzin Miguel pz pohui s. Rapael xillotepec	The child Maria died. Her father was Miguel Pérez of San Raphael Xillotepec.
martin piltzintli micqui yta Estevā ortas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Martín died. His father was Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
augustina piltzintli micqui ytatzin helias deçamora pohui totolac	The child Agustina died. Her father was Elías de Zamora of Totollac.
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} deçamora pohui acxotlā	The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco de Zamora of Acxotlan.

19. ypā Viernes yc 31 de julio 1626 años	19. On Friday the 31st of July 1626:

[118] Juan de Rosas died on June 11th, 1626.

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin diego de la cruz pohui acxotlā

The child Juan died. His father was Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

21. ypā sab^{o} yc 1 de augusto 1626 años mariana micqui ynamic diego pz pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juā moliro

21. On Saturday the 1st of August 1626: Mariana died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juan Morello.

24. ypā domi͡go yc 2 de augusto 1626 años diego mathias telpochhtli ytatzin Miguel sanchez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

24. On Sunday the 2nd of August 1626: The young man Diego Matías. His father was Miguel Sánchez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. ypā Viernes yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de augusto 1626 años
maria ytatzin juā mētez pohui s. ta aña xalmimilolco
miguel martin āmo nicā chane cuetlaxcohuapā[40] huallelua ychā omoto juā ortes

26. On Friday the 7th day of the month of 1626:
Maira. Her father was Juan Méndez of Santa Ana Xilmimilolco.
Miguel Martín. He was not from here. He was from Cuetlaxcohuapan Huallelua. Juan Ortiz said so.

29. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 de augusto 1626 años

29. On Saturday the 8th of August 1626:

[40] Cuetlaxcohuapan was the indigenous name for Puebla.

juā piltzintli micqui yta juā deribas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Juan died. His father was Juan de Rivas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

31. ypā miercoles yc 12 de augusto 1626 años
melchior piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui xaltepetlapā
antonio piltzintli yta Miguel hernadez pohui xaltepetlapā

31. On Wednesday the 12th of August 1626:
The child Melchor died. His father was Matías Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Antonio. His father was Miguel Hernández of Xaltepetlapan.

34. ypā domi͡go yc 15 de augusto 1626 años
lucas pz micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} tlamacazcapā ynahuac juā cohualero

34. On Sunday the 15th of August 1626:
Lucas Pérez died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juan Caballero.

37. ypā miercoles yc 19 de augusto 1626 años
nicolasa piltzintli micqui yta diego pz pohui ocotepec

37. On Wednesday the 19th of August 1626:
The child Nicolasa died. Her father was Diego Pérez of Ocotepec.

39. ypā jueves yc 20 de augusto 1626 años
miguel piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de s. tiago pohui tiāguiztenco

39. On Thursday the 20th of August 1626:
The child Miguel died. His father was Miguel de Santiago of Tianquiztenco.

41. ypā miercoles Viernes yc 20 de augusto 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual gar^{a} pohui tiāquiztenco
andres piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} pz pohui almoyahuacā

41. On Friday the 20th of August 1626:
The child Diego died. His father was Pasqual García of Tianquiztenco.
The child Andrés died. His father was Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

44. ypā sab^{o} yc 22 de augusto 1626 años
miguel piltzintli micqui yta Pablo ximenez pohui totollac

44. On Saturday the 22nd of August 1626:
The child Miguel died. His father was Pablo Jiménez of Totollac.

46. ypā lunes yc 24 de augusto 1626 años
andres piltzintli micqui yta Miguel hernādez pohui xaltepe^{an}

46. On Monday the 24th of August 1626:
The child Andrés died. His father was Miguel Hernández of Xaltepetlapan.

48. ypā martes yc 25 de augusto 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de. S. fran^{co} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

48. On Tuesday the 25th of August 1626:
The child Diego died. His father was Miguel de San Francisco of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 34r

1. ypā miercoles yc 26 ylhuitl de augusto 1626 años

f. 34r

1. On Wednesday the 26th day of August 1626:

ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mētez pohui s. ta aña	The child Isabel died. She was the child of Juan Méndez of Santa Ana.
magthalena piltzintli micqui yta juā hernādez huexo^{co} tecp	The child Magdalena died. Her father was Juan Hernández [of] Huexotzinco Tepan.
augustin piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de lona pohui huexo^{co}	The child Agustín died. His father was Miguel de Luna of Huexotzinco.
5. ypā Viernes yc 28 de augusto 1626 años	5. On Friday the 28th of August 1626:
pasquala piltzintli micqui yta juā hernādez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Pasquala died. Her father was Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan
juana piltzintlitli micqui yta Estevā gotierez pohui Ocotepec	The child Juana died. Her father was Esteban Gutiérrez of Ococtepec.
8. ypā domi͡go yc 30 de augusto 1626 años	8. On Sunday the 30th of August 1626:
diego piltzin micqui ynā juana castillā Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā	The child Diego died. His mother was Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
10. ypā miercoles yc 2 de stiēbre 1626 años	10. On Wednesday the 2nd of September 1626:
xpi͡na castillā xo^{tl} ychpochtli yta juā gotierez pohui ocotepec	The young woman Cristina Castillanxochitl. Her father was Juan Gutiérrez of Ocotepec.

juana piltzintli micqui yta diego de rocas pohui almoyahuacā	The child Juana died. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
13. ypā jueves yc 3 de setiebre 1626 años juana piltzintli micqui yta diego hernādez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac albardo melchior piltzintli micqui yta Pablo ximenez pohui totollac	13. On Thursday the 3rd of September 1626: The child Juana died. Her father was Diego Hernández of Tlamacazcapan, neighbor of Alvarado. The child Melchor died. His father was Pablo Jiménez of Totollac.
16. ypā Viernes yc 4 de setiēbre 1626 años juana piltzintli yta diego de roças pohui almoyahuacā clara piltzintli micqui yta domi͡go pz pohui xaltepetlapā	16. On Friday the 4th of September 1626: The child Juana. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Almoyahuacan. The child Clara died. Her father was Domingo Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
19. ypā sabº yc 5 ylhuitl de setiēbre 1626 años catalinā piltzintli micqui franco pz pohui huexoco tecpā	19. On Saturday the 5th day of September 1626: The child Catalina died. [Her father was] Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

21. ypā domi͡go yc 6 de setienbre 1626 años

antona piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} de roças pohui atenco

maria piltzintli micqui yta juā hernādez pohui tocuillā

andres piltzintli miqui yta juā hernādez pohui atenco

21. On Sunday the 6th of September 1626:

The child Antonia died. Her father was Francisco de Rosas of Atenco.

The child Maria died. Her father was Juan Hernández of Tocuillan.

The child Andrés died. His father was Juan Hernández of Atenco.

25. ypā lunes yc 7 de setiēbre 1626 años

bernardo piltzintli micqui yta joseph hernādez pohui tlamacazcapā

ma^{a} piltzintli micqui yta pillipe hernādez pohui tlamacazcapā

melchior telpochtli yta Pablo valēçia pohui ocotepec

juā piltzin micqui yta Pasqual dorado pohui chiyauhtzinco

25. On Monday the 7th of September 1626:

The child Bernardo died. His father was Joseph Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.

The child Maria died. Her father was Felipe Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.

The young man Melchor. His father was Pablo Valencia of Ocotepec.

The child Juan died. His father was Pasqual Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.

30. ypā miercoles yc 9 de setiēbre 1626 años

30. On Wednesday the 9th of September 1626:

catalinā piltzintli micqui yta diego de roças pohui almoyahuacā	The child Catalina died. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.[119]
gaspar pz micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui tlamacazcapā	Gaspar Pérez died. He confessed. He belongs to Tlamacazcapan.
angelina piltzintli micqui yta mathias de roças pohui totollac	The child Angelina died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.
34. ypā jueves yc 10 de setiēbre 1626 años	34. On Thursday the 10th of September 1626:
jacobo perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā ynamic Helena cacallo xochitl	Jacobo Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Elena Cacalloxochitl.
antona piltzintli micqui yta pillillipe de roças pohui huexoco totollac	The child Antonia died. Her father was Felipe de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.
38. ypā lunes yc 14 de setiēbre 1626 años	38. On Monday the 14th of September 1626:
augustina piltzintli micqui yta sebastiā ximenez pohui Totollac	The child Agustina died. Her father was Sebastián Jiménez of Totollac.

[119] Diego de Rosas' first daughter died on September 2nd and his second of the same name on September 4th and his third on September 9th.

diego telpochtli micqui chane tlaxcallā ychā omoto jacobo pz [pohui] acxotlā	The young man Diego from Tlaxcalla died. He was at home. Jacobo Pérez of Acxotlan said so.[120]
41. ypā martes yc 15 de setiēbre 1626 años sebastiana piltzintli micqui yta Pablo de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	41. On Tuesday the 15th of September 1626: The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
43. ypā miercoles yc 16 de setiēbre 1626 años diego de cāte telpotzintli micqui yta juā de cāte pohui atenco mag^{na} piltzintli micqui yta matheo xuarez pohui ocotepec	43. On Wednesday the 16th of September 1626: The young man Diego de Cate died. His father was Juan de Cate of Atenco. The child Magdalena died. Her father was Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.
46. ypā jueves yc 17 de setiēbre 1626 años juā piltzintli micqui yta lurenço xuarez pohui Ocotepec	46. On Thursday the 17th of September 1626: The child Juan died. His father was Lorenzo Suárez of Ocotepec.

[120] Jacobo Pérez died four days before the person he is apparently bringing the news of death about. There are a few possibilities here: 1. This could be another person, perhaps a son or family member, 2. It could be a mistake, or 3. The *ychan* here might mean that Diego was in the house of Jacobo, being from Tlaxcalla but staying in Acxotlan. It is hard to say with any certainty in this case.

juseph piltzintli micqui yta juā cosme pohui huexo^{co} totollac

The child Joseph died. His father was Juan Cosme of Huexotzinco Totollac.

catallina piltzintli micqui yta diego pz pohui xaltepetlapā

The child Catalina died. Her father was Diego Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 34v

1. ypā domi͡go 20 de setiēbre 1626 años micaela piltzintli micqui ytatzin mathias de roças pohui totollac

f. 34v

1. On Sunday the 20th of September 1626:

The child Micaela died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.

3. ypā lunes yc 21 de setiēbre 1626 años maria piltzintli micqui ytatzin diego Castaneda pohui almoyahuacā

3. On Monday the 21st of September 1626:

The child Maria died. Her father was Diego Castaneda of Almoyahuacan.

miguel piltzintli micqui ytatzin Pasqual pz pohui atenco

The child Miguel died. His father was Pasqual Pérez of Atenco.

6. ypā martes yc 22 de setiēbre 1626 años domi͡go piltzintli micqui ytatzin andres pz pohui almoyahuacā

6. On Tuesday the 22nd of September 1626:

The child Domingo died. His father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

8. ypā jueves yc 24 de setiēbre 1626 años
maria ychpochtli micqui ynatzin ana
tlapapal pohui tepetzinco
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} de
roças pohui totollac
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ytatzin Antonio
decocol pohui atenco

8. On Thursday the 24th of September 1626:
The young woman Maria died. Her mother was Ana Tlapapal of Tepetzinco.
The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco de Rosas of Totollac.
The child Francisco died. His father was Antonio de Cocol of Atenco.

12. ypā sab^{o} yc 26 de setiēbre 1626 años
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō juachin
de alameta pohui xaltepetlapā
andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias
nones pohui tepetzinco

12. On Saturday the 26th of September 1626:
The child Juana died. She was the child of don Joaquin de Alameda of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Andrés died. He was the child of Matías Nuñez of Tepetzinco.

15. ypā domi͡go yc 27 de setiēbre 1626
años
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel
perez temachti pohui coyotzinco

15. On Sunday the 27th of September 1626:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez, the teacher, of Coyotzinco.

melchior piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego çaynos pohui tetzcocapā

The child Melchor died. He was the child of Diego Ceynos of Tetzcocapan.

18. ypā jueves yc 3 de octobre 1626 años
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de. S. fran^{co} pohui coyotzinco
maria deçiudad micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic catca andres pz
fran^{ca} ypiltzin fran^{co} de roças pohui huexotzinco totollac

18. On Thursday the 3rd of October 1626:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.
Maria de Ciudad died. She confessed. She belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was the late Andrés Pérez.[121]
Francisca, the child of Francisco de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.[122]

22. ypā Viernes yc 45 de octobre 1626 años
micaela piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pztemachti pohui coyotzinco
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} pohui xaltepetlapā

22. On Friday the 5th of October 1626:
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez, the teacher, of Coyotzinco.[123]
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Xaltepetlapan.

[121] Andrés Pérez died on July 16, 1625.
[122] Francisco de Rosas' first daughter of the same name died on September 24th and this one on October 3rd.
[123] Miguel Pérez's son died on September 27 and his daughter on October 5th.

fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
26. ypā domi͡go yc 5 de octobre 1626 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin sebastiā simō pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	26. On Sunday the 5th of October 1626: The child Diego died. He was the child of Sebastián Simón of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
28. ypā lunes yc 6 de octobre 1626 años matiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simō maceuh pohui tetlamacazcapā	28. On Monday the 6th of October 1626: The child Martiana died. She was the child of Simón Maceuh of Tetlamacazcapan.
30. ypā miercoles yc 8 de octobre 1626 años juā gar^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ytlamacazcauh pe^{o} decea	30. On Wednesday the 8th of October 1626: Juan García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his priest Pedro Decea.[124]
32. ypā jueves yc 9 de octobre 1626 años	32. On Thursday the 9th of October 1626:

[124] There is no space left here to fill in a town that Juan García's tribute is owed to. It could be that this priest was responsible for paying his tribute, or it could be a scribal error and the *ytlamacazcauh* was written by mistake where *(te)tlamacazcapan* was supposed to be, making the name Pedro Decea perhaps a priest, or someone who brought the news of his death.

micaela piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo çaynos pohui totollac	The child Micaela died. She was the child of Mateo Ceynos of Totollac.
34. ypā Viernes yc 8 de octobre 1626 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin sebastiā de mica pohui chiyauhtzinco	34. On Friday the 8th of October 1626: The child Diego died. He was the child of Sebastián de Mica of Chiyauhtzinco.
36. ypā sabo yc 10 de octobre 1626 años pasqual telpochtli micqui ypiltzin mathias pochel pohui almoyahuacā pasqualla ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin mathias pochel pohui almoyahuacā franca costādina micqui ynamic diego costādina pohui xaltepetlapā ynes piltzintli micq̃ ypiltzin diego albarado pohui atzonpā	36. On Saturday the 10th of October 1626: The young man Pasqual died. He was the child of Matías Pochel of Almoyahuacan. The young woman Pasquala died. She was the child of Matías Pochel of Almoyahuacan.[125] Francisca Constantine died. Her spouse was Diego Constantine of Xaltepetlapan. The child Inés died. She was the child of Diego Alvarado of Atzonpan.
41. ypā lunes yc 12 de octobre 1626 años	41. On Monday the 12th of October 1626:

[125] Matías Pochel loses two children in one day.

catalina ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin Augustin de s. tiago pohui cecalacohuayā	The young woman Catalina died. She was the child of Agustín de Santiago of Cecalacohuayan.
maria piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe cranasar pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Maria. She was the child of Felipe Cranasar of Xaltepetlapan.
44. ypā martes yc 13 de octobre 1626 años	44. On Tuesday the 13th of October 1626:
maria castillā xochitli micqui ynamic Pasqual gar[a] pohui xaltepetlapā	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Xaltepetlapan.
46. ypā miercoles yc 14 de octobre 1626 años	46. On Wednesday the 14th of October 1626:
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual gar[a] pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Maria died. She was the child of Pasqual García of Tianquiztenco.
48. ypā Viernes yc 16 de octobre 1626 años	48. On Friday the 16th of October 1626:
juana piltzintli micqui yta Pablo de. S. tiago pohui atenco	The child Juana died. She was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.
augustin piltzintli micqui yta marcos pz pohui huexotzinco tecpā	The child Agustín died. His father was Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 35r

1. ypā domi͡go yc 18 de octobre 1626 años
catalina piltzintli ypiltzin joseph hernādez
pohui tezcocapā
ysabel ychā omoto Pasqual de roças pohui
xaltepetlapā

f. 35r

1. On Sunday the 18th of October 1626:
The child Catalina. She was the child of
Joseph Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
Isabel. She was at home. Pasqual de
Rosas of Xaltepetlapan said so.

4. ypā lunes yc 19 de octobre 1626 años
juā baptista micqui ynamic ma[a]
quetzallizhua pohui hui huexo[co] totolla
ma[a] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Rapael
xuarez pohui totollac
ma[a] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran[co] perez
pohui almoyahuacā
ma[a] piltzinli micqui ypiltzin mathias de
roças pohui atenco

4. On Monday the 19th of October 1626:
Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Maria
Quetzallizhua of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Maria died. She was the child
of Raphael Suárez of Totollac.
The child Maria died. She was the child
of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Maria died. She was the child
Matías de Rosas of Atenco.

9. ypā martes yc 20 de octobre 1626 años
melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simō
perez pohui huexotzinco tecpā
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar[a]
pohui ocotepec

9. On Tuesday the 20th of October 1626:
The child Melchora died. She was the
child of Simón Pérez of Huexotzinco
Tecpan.
The child Diego died. He was the child of
Miguel García of Ocotepec.

juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pz pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tianquiztenco.
marcos piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de. S. fran^{co} pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Marcos died. He was the child of Miguel de San Francisco of Xaltepetlapan.
14. ypā miercoles yc 22 de octobre 1626 años	14. On Wednesday the 22nd of October 1626:
andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pablo de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Andrés died. He was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
16. ypā jueves yc 23 de octobre 1626 años	16. On Thursday the 23rd of October 1626:
ynes piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pablo ximenez pohui ocotepec	The child Inés died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez of Ocotepec.
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Rapael xuarez pohui totollac	The child Juana died. She was the child of Raphael Suárez of Totollac.
19. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de octobre 1626 años	19. On Saturday the 25th of October 1626:

juā de olarte micqui ynamic mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

Juan de Olarte died. His spouse was Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

21. ypā lunes yc 26 de octobre 1626 años martha camil mi^{c}qui pohui huexotzinco tecpā ynamic catca juachin gar^{a}

21. On Monday the 26th of October 1626: Marta Canil of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Joaquin García.

24. ypā martes yc 27 de octobre 1626 años Bartholome piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui acxotlā

24. On Tuesday the 27th of October 1626: The child Bartolomé died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Acxotlan.

26. ypā miercoles yc 28 de octobre 1626 años

fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō lucas de arana pohui ocotepec

sebastian piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo sebastiā pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez

gaspar piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Melchior pz pohui almoyahuacā

juana piltzintli micqui yconeuh ma^{a} deseto pohui huexotzinco totollac

26. On Wednesday the 28th of October 1626:

The child Francisca died. She was the child of don Lucas de Arana of Ocotepec.

The child Sebastián died. He was the child of Sebastián of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez.

The child Gaspar died. He was the child of Melchor Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Maria Deseto of Huexotzinco Totollac.

32. ypā jueves Viernes yc 30 de octobre 1626 años
helena çaynos micqui ytechca tlacallāquilli ynamic matheo ximenez pohui totollac
pillipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā Yehelera pohui atenco

32. On Friday the 30th of October 1626:
Elena Ceynos died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Mateo Jiménez of Totollac.
The child Felipe died. He was the child of Esteban Yehelera of Atenco.

36. ypā domi͡go yc 1 de noviēbre 1626 años
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin antonio perez pohui tlamacazcapā
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego gar[a] pohui almoyahuacā

36. On Sunday the 1st of November 1626:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Antonio Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
The child Juana died. She was the child of Diego García of Almoyahuacan.

39. ypā lunes yc 2 de noviēbre 1626 años
[aña] martha yztac Xochitl micqui pohui huexotzinco totollac ynamic catca luis deçamora
helena castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego mexia pohui almoyahua[co]

39. On Monday the 2nd of November 1626:
Ana Iztacxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was the late Luis de Zamora.[126]
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Mexia of Almoyahuacan.

[126] Luis de Zamora died on August 27th of 1623.

juā calos telpochtli pohui totollac
yteyccauh Miguel calos
apolomia ychpochtli yconeuh donātona
decalinçia pohui xaltepetlapā

The young man Juan Calos of Totollac.
His younger brother was Miguel Carlos.
The young woman Apolonia. She was the child of doña Atona de Calincia of Xaltepetlapan.

45. ypā martes yc 3 de noviēbre 1626 años
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin
Bernardino cornejo pohui totollac
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres pz
pohui almoyahuacā

45. On Tuesday the 3rd of November 1626:
The child Antonio died. He was the child of Bernardino Cornejo of Totollac.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez od Almoyahuacan.

48. ypā miercoles yc 4 de noviēbre 1626 años
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
bartholome pohui tocuillā
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
baptista pohui tetzcocapā

48. On Wednesday the 4th of November 1626:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Juan Bartolomé of Tocuillan.
The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

f. 35v

1. [a]ntona piltintli micqui ypiltzin fran^co^
pz pohui atzōpan

f. 35v

1. The child Antonia died. She was the child of Francisco of Atzonpan.

maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui atzōpan	The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco of Atzonpan.[127]
aña castillā Xochitl ynamic lucas chane cecalaco huayā s. topā	Ana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Lucas from Cecalacohuayan San Topan.
4. ypā jueves yc 5 de noviēbre 1626 años	4. On Thursday the 5th of November 1626:
ysabel de abreo micqui ynamic juā dolen	Isabel de Avero died. Her spouse was Juan Durán.
andres ximenez micqui ynamic catallinā castillā Xochitl pohui totollac	Andrés Jiménez died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
7. ypā Viernes yc 6 de noviēbre 1626 años	7. On Friday the 6th of November 1626:
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā ortas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Juan died. He was the child of Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
9. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 ylhuitl de noviēbre 1626 años	9. On Saturday the 7th day of November 1626:
martina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā contecatl pohui almoyahuacā	The child Marina died. She was the child of Juan Contecatl of Almoyahuacan.
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin lurenço juā pohui tlanicōtolā	The child Matías died. She was the child of Lorenzo Juan of Tlanicontlan.

[127] Francisco loses two children in one day.

12. ypā lunes yc 9 de noviēbre 1626 años	12. On Monday the 9th of November 1626:
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bonauetora pohui almoyahuacā	The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Bonaventura of Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā martes yc 10 de noviēbre 1626 años	14. On Tuesday the 10th of November 1626:
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego pochel pohui almoyahuacā	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.
16. ypā miercoles yc 11 de noviēbre 1626 años	16. On Wednesday the 11th of November 1626:
clara piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres perez pohui almoyahuacā	The child Clara died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de aquino pohui totollac	The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco de Aquino of Totollac.
19. ypā Viernes yc 14 de noviēbre 1626 años	19. On Friday the 14th of November 1626:

melchiora piltzintli micqui yconeuh ma[a] aotec Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Melchora died. She was the child of Maria Aotecxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.[128]
21. ypā domi͡go yc 15 de noviēbre 1626 años maria ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin juā cōtecatl pohui almoyahuacā don lucas de arana micqui ynamic dona maria de mētoça pohui ocotepec diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simō pz pohui huexo[co] tecpā justina castillā Xochitl ycnoçihuatl pohui almoyahuacā	21. On Sunday the 15th of November 1626: The young woman Maria died. She was the child of Juan Contecatl of Almoyahuacan.[129] Don Lucas de Arana died. His spouse was doña Maria Mendoza of Ocotepec. The child Diego died. He was the child of Simón Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The widow Justina Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan [died].
26. ypā miercoles yc 18 de noviebre 1626 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui xaltepetlapā	26. On Wednesday the 18th of November 1626: The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

[128] Maria Aotecxochitl's son died on October 1, 1625 and her husband on June 20, 1626 and her daughter now on November 14, 1626.
[129] Juan Contecatl's younger daughter died on November 7th and his older daughter of the same name died on November 15th.

28. ypā jueves yc 19 de noviēbre 1626 años
miguel perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic maria castillā xochitl
juā Miguel micqui chane tlacopā omopouhca huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic ynamic ynes luisa cecilla
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel caros pohui huexo^{co} totollac

28. On Thursday the 19th of November 1626:
Miguel Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
Juan Miguel died. He was from Tlacopan. He belonged to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Luisa Cecilla.
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Miguel Carlos of Huexotzinco Totollac.

34. ypā Viernes yc 20 de noviēbre 1626 años
matheo xuarez micqui ynamic mag^{na} yztac Xochitl pohui totollac
simō piltzin micqui ypiltzin juā Gabriel pohui tlanicōtlā

34. On Friday the 20th of November 1626:
Mateo Suárez died. His spouse was Magdalena Iztacxochitl of Totollac.
The child Simón died. He was the child of Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.

37. ypā domi͡go yc 22 de noviēbre 1626 años

37. On Sunday the 22nd of November 1626:

luisa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego morāde pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Luisa died. She was the child of Diego Morando of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

39. ypā martes yc 24 de noviēbre 1626 años
pablo piltzintli micqui ynātzin Catalina castillā Xochitl pohui totollac

39. On Tuesday the 24th of November 1626:
The child Pablo died. His mother was Catalina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

41. ypā miercoles yc 25 de noviēbre 1626 años
miguel de ancolo micqui ynamic Augustina castillā Xochitl pohui totollac
aña castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic cas catca fran^{co} de lacerda pohui tiāquizteco
maria castillā castillā Xochitl ychpochtli pohui tetzcocapā
apollonia çaynos ynamic catea gabriel çaynos pohui almoyahuacā

41. On Wednesday the 25th of November 1626:
Miguel de Ancolo died. His spouse was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Francisco de la Cerda of Tianquiztenco.
The young woman Maria Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan.
Apolonia Ceynos. Her spouse was the late Gabriel Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.

46. ypā jueves yc 26 de novienbre 1626 años micqui

46. Died on Thursday the 26th of November 1626:

maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de aquino micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā deroças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco de Aquino of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Matías died. He was the child of Juan de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

49. ypā Viernes yc 27 de noviēbre 1626 años
lazaro piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego martin pohui tlamacazcapā

49. On Friday the 27th of November 1626:
The child Lazaro died. He was the child of Diego Martín of Tlamacazcapan.

51. ypā sab^{o} yc 28 de noviēbre 1626 años
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

51. On Saturday the 28th of November 1626:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 36r
1. ypā lunes yc 30 de noviēbre 1626 años
lurenço piltzintli micqui ypiltzin lurēço Vazquez pohui tetzcocapā

f. 36r
1. On Monday the 30th of November 1626:
The child Lorenzo died. He was the child of Lorenzo Vazquez of Tetzcocapan.

helena ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin don lucas de mēdoça pohui ocotepec	The young woman Elena died. She was the child of don Lucas de Mendoza of Ocotepec.
4. ypā martes yc 1 deciēbre 1626 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui huexotzinco tecpā fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz catca pohui atenco	4. On Tuesday the 1st of December 1626: The child Maria died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Francisco died. He was the child of the late Juan Pérez of Atenco.[130]
7. ypā miercoles yc 2 deciēbre 1626 años juana pasqualla micqui ynamic juā pz pohui huexotzinco tecpā nicolas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā diego pohui tlanicōtlan apolomia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā macuil po atenco	7. On Wednesday the 2nd of December 1626: Juana Pasquala died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[131] The child Nicolas died. He was the child of Juan Diego of Tlanicontlan. The child Apolonia died. She was the child of Juan Macuil of Atenco.
11. ypā jueves yc 3 deçiēbre 1626 años	11. On Thursday the 3rd of December 1626:

[130] Juan Pérez (of Atenco) probably died on June 27, 1622.
[131] Juan Pérez's (of Huexotzinco Tecpan) wife died on December 2, 1626 and his child died on December 1, 1626.

diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} de aquino pohui ocotepec	The child Diego died. He was the child of Pablo de Aquino of Ocotepec.
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child Joseph died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
pe^{o} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin die^{o} dechauez pohui totollac	The child Pedro died. He was the child of Diego de Chaves of Totollac.

15. ypā Viernes yc 4 deciēbre 1626 años	15. On Friday the 4th of December 1626:
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin anmonicā chane ychā omoto juā delgaliro	The child Diego died. He was the child of [?]. He was not from here. He was at home. Juan Delgarito said so.
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā deolarte pohui atenco	The child Elena died. She was the child of Esteban de Olarte of Atenco.
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin tli Balthasar gar^{a} pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Juan died. He was the child of Baltazar García of Tianquiztenco.

19. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 deciēbre 1626 años	19. On Saturday the 5th of December 1626:
andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de lacerda pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Andrés died. He was the child of Francisco de la Cerda of Tianquiztenco.

21. ypā domi͡go yc 6 deciēbre 1626 años	21. On Sunday the 6th of December 1626:

fran^{co} de aquino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Augustina castillā xochitl pohui huexotzinco tecpā	Francisco de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
24. ypā lunes yc 7 deciēbre 1626 años diego de olarte micqui tlapopolhuilloc ynamic mag^{na} hernādez pohui almoyahuacan helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar^{a} pohui tlamacazcapā miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin jacobo pz catca pohui acxotlā	24. On Monday the 7th of December 1626: Diego de Olarte died. He confessed. His spouse was Magdalena Hernández of Almoyahuacan. The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel García of Tlamacazcapan. The child Miguel died. He was the child of the late Jacobo Pérez of Acxotlan.[132]
29. ypā miercoles yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] m̄es deciēbre 1626 años melchior piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui acxotlā	29. On Wednesday the 9th day of the month of December 1626: The child Melchor died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Acxotlan.
31. ypā Viernes yc 11 deciēbre 1626 años	31. On Friday the 11th of December 1626:

[132] Jacobo Pérez died on the 10th of September 1626.

angellinā castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic fran^{co} deroças pohui huexo^{co} totolac melchiora castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic gaspar xuarez pohui almo$_{auacā}$

Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gaspar Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

35. ypā domi͡go yc 13 deciēbre 1626 años ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micq̆ yc ocalpolliuhque pohui almoyahuacā

35. On Sunday the 13th of December 1626:
Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. The barrio gathered for her.

37. ypā lunes yc 14 deciēbre 1626 años mag^{na} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual dorado pohui chiyauhtzinco

37. On Monday the 14th of December 1626:
The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Pasqual Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.

39. ypā martes yc^{15} 1626 años jusepah piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual pz pohui tlamacazcapā

39. On Tuesday the 15th of [December] 1626:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Pasqual Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} salgado pohui tepetzinco	The child Elena died. She was the child of Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.
42. ypā miercoles yc 16 deciēbre 1626 años	42. On Wednesday the 16th of December 1626:
dō mathias de guebera momiquilli ynamictzin dona xpi͡na	Don Matías de Guevara died. His spouse was doña Martina.
sebastiana micqui ynamic mig^{l} de la cruz pohui almoyahuacā	Sebastiana died. Her spouse was Miguel de la Cruz of Almoyahuacan.
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de. S. Miguel pohui atenco	The child Diego died. He was the child of Francisco de San Miguel of Atenco.
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Melchior hernādez pohui atetzcocapā	The child Matías died. He was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
47. ypā jueves yc 17 deciēbre 1626 años	47. On Thursday the 17th of December 1626:
augustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child Agustín died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
49. ypā sab^{o} yc 19 deciēbre 1626 años	49. On Saturday the 19th of December 1626:
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

aña quetzalpetla micqui ynamic juā xuarez pohui Ocotepec	Ana Quetzalpetla died. Her spouse was Juan Suárez of Ocotepec.
52. ypā lunes yc 21 deciēbre 1626 años antonio decocol micqui pohui atenco	52. On Monday the 21st of December 1626: Antonio de Cocol of Atenco died.
f.36v	f.36v
1. ypā miercoles yc 23 deciēbre 1626 años juā micqui año nicā chane chane tetzcoco ychā amoto fran^{co} tlacochua	1. On Wednesday the 23rd of December 1626: Juan died. He was not from here. He was from Tetzcoco. He was at home. Francisco Tlacochua said so.
3. ypā jueves yc 24 deçiēbre 1626 años pe^{o} mathias mathias micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā diego micqui anmo nicā chane ychā anoto mag^{na} hernādez	3. On Thursday the 24th of December 1626: Pedro Matías of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Diego died. He was not from here. He was at home. Magdalena Hernández said so.

mariana micqui ynamic Pasqual Xochicuicuic pohui tetzcocapā	Mariana died. Her spouse was Pasqual Xochicuicuic of Tetzcocapan.[133]
7. ypā domi͡go yc 27 deçiebre 1626 años maria piltzintli ypiltzin andres pz pohui almoyahuacā	7. On Sunday the 27th of December 1626: The child Maria. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
9. ypā martes yc 29 deciēbre 1626 años miguel piltzintli ypiltzin matheo hernādez pohui tetzcocapā juseph piltzintli pohui huexoco ypiltzin juā bapta huexoco tecpā magtalena Pasqual davilla pohui tocuillā	9. On Tuesday the 29th of December 1626: The child Miguel. He was the child of Mateo Hernández of Tetzcocapan. The child Joseph of Huexotzinco. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Magdalena. [Her relative was] Pasqual de Villa of Tocuillan.[134]
13. ypā miercoles yc 30 deciēbre 1626 años pasqual piltzintli micqui pohui tiāquiztenco	13. On Wednesday the 30th of December 1626: The child Pasqual died. He belongs to Tianquiztenco.

[133] Pasqual Xochicuicuic's daughter died on December 26, 1620.
[134] The relationship is unclear. It is likely father/daughter but could be husband/wife.

juā fran^{co} micqui ynamic juana ma^{a} pohui atzōpan

juā gar^{a} micqui yc ocalpolhiuhque yn pohui atenco

Juan Francisco died. His spouse was Juana Maria of Atzonpan.

Juan García died. The barrio gathered for him. He belongs to that which is Atenco.[135]

17. ypā jueves yc 31 deciēbre 1626 años juana piltzītli micqui ypiltzin juā deroças pohui huexotzinco tecpā

diego çinpro micqui ytechca tlacalauili y [blank space] pohui almoyahuacā

pedrona piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pedro Rodriquez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

17. On Thursday the 31st of December 1626:

The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Diego Zinpro died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

The child Petrona died. She was the child of Pedro Rodríguez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Fr LZ^{o} devaldivia

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

23. de 1627 años

23. The year 1627

24. ypā Viernes yc 1 de henero 1627 años

24. On Friday the 1st of January 1627:

[135] Juan García's will is on file at the BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.44r–v.

pasqual aoquā micqui ynamic Augustina velazque pohui huexo^{co} totolac	Pasqual Aoquan died. His spouse was Agustina Velazquez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de roças pihui tlanicōtlā	The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.
27. ypā sab^{o} yc 2 de henero 1627 años juā Pasqual micqui ychā anoto centeno[41]	27. On Saturday the 2nd of January 1627: Juan Pasqual died. He was at home. Centeno said so.
29. ypā domi͡go yc 3 de henero 1627 años gaspar xuarez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Angelina almoy^{cā}	29. On Sunday the 3rd of January 1627: Gaspar Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Angelina [of] Almoyahuacan.
justina hernādez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic die^{o} tamiā xaltepe^{an}	Justina Hernández died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Tamia [of] Xaltepetlapan.
melchiora castilā xo^{tl} micq̆	Melchora Castillanxochitl died.
33. ypā lunes yc 4 de henero 1627 años	33. On Monday the 4th of January 1627:

[41] A Spanish sur name.

lucas Ramirez micqui ytechca tlacalaquili	Lucas Ramírez died. His tribute
ynamic ma^{a} çanē coyotzinco	responsibility belongs to his spouse
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin antonio	Maria Zane [of] Coyotzinco.
decāte pohui atenco	The child Maria died. She was the child
nicolasa yta Gabriel dorado pohui	of Antonio de Cate of Atenco.
chiyauhtzinco	Nicolasa. Her father was Gabriel Dorado
hellena piltzītli micqui piltzin Miguel pz	of Chiyauhtzinco.
pohui almoyahuacā	The child Elena died. She was the child
diego piltizntlitli micqui ypiltzin lurenço	of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
pohui s. lurenço	The child Diego died. He was the child of
	Lorenzo of San Lorenzo.
39. ypā martes yc 5 de henero 1627 años	39. On Tuesday the 5th of January 1627:
ma^{a} axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli	Maria Axochiatl died. Her tribute
ynamic die^{o} de la cruz pohui tlatēco	responsibility belongs to her spouse
	Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
f.37r	f. 37r
mathiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā	The child Mathiana died. She was the
ortas huexo^{co}	child of Esteban Ortiz [of] Huexotzinco.
2. ypā miercoles yc 6 de henero 1627 años	2. On Wednesday the 6th of January
	1627:

ma[a] piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh die[o] maceuh xaltepetlapā	The child Maria died. She was the grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
maria piltzintli micqui yconeuh mariana almoyahuacā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Mariana [of] Almoyahuacan.
angellinā piltzintli matheo hernādez pohui tetzcocapā	The child Angelina. [She was the child of] Mateo Hernández of Tetzcocapan.
sebastiā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā demētoça pohui huexo[co]	The child Sebastián died. She was the child of Juan de Mendoza of Huexotzinco.

7. ypā jueves yc 7 de henero 1627 años	7. On Thursday the 7th of January 1627:
pablo de la cruz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic augustina castillā Xochitl pohui huexo[co] totollac tecpā	Pablo de la Cruz died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
fran[co] piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh diego maceuh xaltepetlā	The child Francisco died. He was the grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.[136]
maria axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquli ynamic diego de la cruz tlatenco	Maria Axochitatl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de la Cruz [of] Tlatenco.

[136] Diego Maceuh's granddaughter died on January 6 and his grandson on January 7.

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui almoyahuacā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

13. ypā Viernes yc 8 de henero 1627 años
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe pz pohui tlamacazcapā
augustina castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Geronimo gotierez coyotzinco
diego telpochtli ypiltzin mathias pohui atenco

13. On Friday the 8th of January 1627:
The child Elena died. She was the child of Felipe Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Geronimo Gutiérrez [of] Coyotzinco.
The young man Diego. He was the child of Matías of Atenco.

17. ypā lunes yc 11 de henero 1627 años
fran^{co} Vazquez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolhuihq̃ pohui tepetzinco
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de lona pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

17. On Monday the 11th of January 1627:
Francisco Vazquez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. The barrio gathered for him.
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

20. ypā miercoles yc 13 de henero 1627 años
diego piltzintli miqui ypiltzin matheo çaynos pohui totolac

20. On Wednesday the 13th of January 1627:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Mateo Ceynos of Totollac.

fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic $^{juā\ de\ lona}$ pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres perez pohui almoyahuaca

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Miguel died. He was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

25. ypā jueves yc 14 de henero 1627 años

melchior conmez micqui ytechca talcalaquilli yc ocalpollihuique pohui almoyahuaca

diego hernatez micqui ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic mag^{na} maria pohui tlamacazcapa ynahuaqui Gabriel alpalado

miguel piltzintl ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui tlanicotla

hellena castilla xochi micqui ytechico tlacalaquili ynamic mig^{l} perez pohui ocotepec

matheo piltzintl micqui ypiltzin jacobo alpaliz pohui xaltepetlpan

25. On Thursday the 14th of January 1627:

Melchor Gomez died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

Diego Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Maria of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Gabriel Alvarado.

The child Miguel. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Pérez of Ocotepec.

The child Mateo died. He was the child of Jacobo Alpaliz of Xaltepetlapan.

35. ypā Viernes yc 15 de henero 1627 años catalina maria ychipohtl micqui ytatzin jua decaniçal pohui almoyahuaca

35. On Friday the 15th of January 1627: The young woman Catalina Maria died. Her father was Juan de Canical of Almoyahuacan.

38. ypā sabº yc 16 de henero 1627 años ynes de xilpa y micqui ytechca tlacatlaquili pohui anteco
juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin xpo͡ual pohui xaltepetlapā

38. On Saturday the 16th of January 1627: Inés de Silva died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco.
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Cristóbal of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 37v

1. ypā domi͡go yc 17 de henero 1627 años maª piltzintli micqui ypiltzin paº de s. tiago pohui atenco
augustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franᶜᵒ de s. Miguel pohui ocotepec
melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Melchior garª pohui xaltepetlapā

f. 37v

1. On Sunday the 17th of January 1627: The child Maria died. She was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.
The child Agustín died. He was the child of Francisco de San Miguel of Ocotepec.
The child Melchora died. She was the child Melchor García Xaltepetlapan.

5. ypā martes yc 19 de henero 1627 años andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā molares pohui tlamacazcapā

5. On Tuesday the 19th of January 1627: The child Andrés died. He was the child of Juan Morales of Tlamacazcapan.

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin lucas perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

miguel gar^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic aña de s. tamā chiyauh$_{tzinco}$

fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin gaspar de roças pohui totolac

The child Elena died. She was the child of Luca Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Miguel García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana de Santa Maria [of] Chiyauhtzinco.

The child Francisca died. She was the child of Gaspar de Rosas of Totollac.

10. ypā miercoles yc 20 de henero 1627 años

fran^{ca} ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin pa^{o} ximenez pohui totollac

pedromilla micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego mētez tecpā

juā matheo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic domi͡ga pohui tecpā

10. On Wednesday the 20th of January 1627:

The young woman Francisca died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez of Totollac.

Petronilla died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Méndez [of] Tecpan.

Juan Mateo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Domingo of Tecpan.

14. ypā jueves yc 21 de henero 1627 años

14. On Thursday the 21st of January 1627:

ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual davilla tocuillā	The child Ana died. She was the child of Pasqual de Villa [of] Tocuillan.[137]
16. ypā Viernes yc 22 de henero 1627 años fran^{co} valençia micqui ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic antona juana ocote juseph telpochtli ypiltzin juā de los āgeles pohui tlatenco juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo morāte s. tana pohui monica piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de lona pohui tlanicotla maria hernatez micqui ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic andres d. s. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpa	16. On Friday the 22nd of January 1627: Francisco Valencia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Antonia Juana [of] Ocotepec. The young man Joseph. He was the child of Juan de Los Angeles of Tlatenco. The child Juana died. She was the child of Mateo Morante Santa Ana of [blank space]. The child Monica died. She was the child of Juan de Luna of Tlanicontlan. Maria Hernández died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
23. ypā sab^{o} yc 23 de henero 1627 años miguel mocario micqui ynamic ana roxas pohui tlatenco	23. On Saturday the 23rd of January 1627: Miguel Mocario died. His spouse was Ana Rosas of Tlantenco.

[137] Pasqual de Villa's daughter Magdalena died on December 29, 1626 and Ana now on January 21, 1627.

25. ypā domi͡go yc 24 de henero 1627 años	25. On Sunday the 24th of January 1627:
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres de s. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Juana died. She was the child of Andrés de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[138]
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui almoyahuacā	The child Isabel died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
28. ypā lunes yc 25 de henero 1627 años	28. On Monday the 25th of January 1627:
juā piltzin micqui anprosio de s. tiago ypiltzin xaltepetlapā	The child Juan died. He was the child of Ambrosio de Santiago [of] Xaltepetlapan.
hellena piltzintli micqui yconeuh ynes castillā xo^{tl}	The child Elena died. She was the child of Inés Castillanxochitl.
31. ypā martes yc 26 de henero 1627 años	31. On Tuesday the 26th of January 1627:
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go deribas pohui tecpā	The child Francisco died. He was the child of Domingo de Rivas of Tecpan.
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de. S. Miguel atenco	The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco de San Miguel [of] Atenco.
beronica piltzintli ypiltzin juā de lona pohui coyotzinco	The child Veronica. She was the child of Juan de Luna of Coyotzinco.
juā piltzintli yconeuh marta antona xaltepetlapā	The child Juan. He was the child of Marta Antonia [of] Xaltepetlapan.

[138] Andrés de Santiago's wife died on January 22, 1627 and his daughter died on January 24, 1627.

juana piltzintli yconeuh marta antona xaltepetlapā	The child Juana. She was the child of Marta Antonia [of] Xaltepetlapan.[139]
37. ypā jueves yc 27 de henero 1627 años ma^{a} Jacob micqui ynamic mathias de serbātes totollac	37. On Thursday the 27th of January 1627: Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was Matías de Servantes [of] Totollac.
39. ypā Viernes yc 28 de henero 1627 años ^{juā}Pasqual pilpiltzintli ypiltzin fran^{co} de la Cerda pohui tiaquiztenco	39. On Friday the 28th of January 1627: The child Juan. He was the child of Francisco de la Cerda of Tianquiztenco.
41. ypā sab^{o} yc 30 de henero 1627 años diego pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} ynamic he^{le}na mag^{na}	41. On Saturday the 30th of January 1627: Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. His spouse was Elena Magdalena.
43. ypā domi͡go yc 31 de henero 1627 años pa^{o} pz telpochtli ypiltzin juā pz pohui almoyahuacā diego juā micqui ynamic ma^{a} ychā anoto cendeno	43. On Sunday the 31st of January 1627: The young man Pablo Pérez. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan. Diego Juan died. His spouse was Maria. He was at home. Centeno said so.

[139] Marta Antonia loses two children in the same day.

f. 38r

1. ypā lunes yc 1 de hebrero 1627 años
thomas de seda micqui yc ocalpolhuihque
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
maria juana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
yc ocalpoliuhque pohui atzopā

f. 38r

1. On Monday the 1st of February 1627:
Tomás de Seda died. He barrio gathered
for him. He belongs to Huexotzinco
Tecpan.
Maria Juana died. Her tribute
responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. The
barrio gathered for her.

4. ypā mates yc 2 de hebre 1627 años
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres
perez pohui almoyahuacā
bernardina Sabina micqui ynamic gaspar
soldero pohui totollac

4. On Tuesday the 2nd of February 1627:
The child Matías died. He was the child
of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
Bernardina Sabina died. Her spouse was
Gaspar Soldero of Totollac.

7. ypā miercoles yc 3 de hebre 1627 años
jusepā mag^{na} micqui yc ocalpolliuhque
pohui totollac
ma^{a} yztac xo^{tl} micqui ynamic pillipe
hernādez pohui tlamacazcapā

7. On Wednesday the 3rd of February
1627:
Josepa Magdalena died. The barrio
gathered for her. She belongs to Totollac.
Magdalena Iztacxochitl died. Her
husband was Felipe Hernández of
Tlmacazcapan.

fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
11. ypā jueves yc 4 de hebrero 1627 años lucas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā juana piltzintli p micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā	11. On Thursday the 4th of February 1627: The child Lucas died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan. The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
14. ypā Viernes yc 5 de hebrero 16267 años ysabel piltizntli micqui ychā omoto juā bap^{ta} xaltepetlapā diego piltzintli micq̃ ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā catalinā piltzintli ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui totollac	14. On Friday the 5th of February 1627: The child Isabel died. She was at home. Juan Bautista [of] Xaltepetlapan said so. The child Diego died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Catalina. She was the child of Matías de Rosas of Totollac.
18. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 ylhuitl de hebrero 1627 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de la cruz tiāquiztenco	18. On Saturday the 6th day of February 1627: The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan de la Cruz [of] Tianquiztenco.

nicolas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de silba atenco	The child Nicolas died. He was the child of Francisco de Silva [of] Atenco.
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui ychā omoto juā cahuallero	The child Maria died. She was at home. Juan Caballero said so.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Agustín Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
23. ypā domigo yc 7 de hebrero 1627 años	23. On Sunday the 7th of February 1627:
mariana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlaco pohui tlanicōtlā	Mariana died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.
aña piltzintli micqui ycha anoto juā cahualero	The child Ana died. She was at home. Juan Caballero said so.
26. ypā martes yc 9 de hebrero 1627 años	26. On Tuesday the 9th of February 1627:
pe^{o} gar^{a} micqui ytechca tlacallaquili ynamic juana tomiyauh$_{xaltepetlapa}$	Pedro García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Tomiyauh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
ma^{a} jalome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolliuhque pohui atenco	Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. The barrio gathered for her.
30. ypā miercoles yc 10 de hebrero 1627 años	30. On Wednesday the 10th of February 1627:

ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic fran^{co} catena pohui coyotzinco	Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Catena of Coyotzinco.
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Juan died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
diego piltzin micqui ypiltzin lucas pz huexo^{co} tecpa	The child Diego died. He was the child of Lucas Pérez [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
juana ychpochtli ypiltzin mathias hernādez pohui huexo^{co}	The young woman Juana. She was the child of Matías Hernández of Huexotzinco.

35. ypā jueves yc 11 de hebrero 1627 años juā piltzintli micqui chane chololla ychā ynātzin juana	35. On Thursday the 11th of January 1627: The child Juan died. He was from Cholula. He was at home. His mother was Juana.

37. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 de hbrero 1627 años helena piltzintli micqui yconeuh milchiora cacahua Xochitl xaltepetlapā	37. On Saturday the 13th of February 1627: The child Elena died. She was the child of Melchora Cacahuaxochitl [of] Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypā domi͡go yc 14 de hebrero 1627 años
miguel Rodriguez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} jalome tiāquiztenco

39. On Sunday the 14th of February 1627:
Miguel Rodríguez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Salome [of] Tianquiztenco.

42. ypā lunes yc 15 de hebrero 1627 años
pasqual [blank space] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} tlanico$_{tlā}$

42. On Monday the 15th of February 1627:
Pasqual [blank space] died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl [of] Tlanicontlan.

44. ypā martes yc 16 de hebrero 1627 años
sebastian telpochtli micqui ypiltzin andres de s. tiago pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

44. On Tuesday the 16th of January 1627:
The young man Sebastián died. He was the child of Andrés de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

46. ypā miercoles yc 17 de hebrero 1627 años
augustina piltizntli micqui ypiltzin mathias de cozmā pohui xaltepetlapā

46. On Wednesday the 17th of February 1627:
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Matías de Guzman of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 38v

1. ypā jueves yc 18 de hebrero 1627 años micaela piltzintli micqui ypiltizn Miguel xuarez tiāquiztēco

f. 38v

1. On Thursday the 18th of February 1627:
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Miguel Suárez [of] Tianquiztenco.

3. ypā sabº yc 20 de hebrero 1627 años magna hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnociuatl pohui huexoco tecpā
dieº piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pzpohui xaltepetlapā
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego valençia pohui tecpā

3. On Saturday the 20th of February 1627:
The widow Magdalena Hernández died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Diego Valencia of Tecpan.

8. ypā martes yc 23 de hebrero 1627 años franco hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexoco tecpā

8. On Tuesday the 23rd of February 1627:
Francisco Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

10. ypā miercoles yc 24 de hebrero 1627 años

10. On Wednesday the 24th of February 1627:

mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexotzinco	The child Matías died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz xaltepetlapā	The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Pérez [of] Xaltepetlapan.

13. ypā jueves yc 25 de hebrero 1627 años mag^{na} anjuelo micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juā fernādez totollac	13. On Thursday the 25th of February 1627: Magdalena Anjuelo died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Fernández [of] Totollac.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.[140]

16. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de hebrero 1627 años ma^{a} mag^{na} micqui ytechca tlacallaquili yc ocalpolliuhque ynahua[c] albarado	16. On Saturday the 27th of February 1627: Maria Magdalena died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her neighbor Alvarado.[141]

[140] This is Juan Pérez's sixth child to die in the month. The first three on February 3rd and 4th, the fourth on February 20th, the fifth on February 24th and finally this child on February 25th.
[141] This could be that Maria Magdalena's tribute responsibility passed to the town which was left out or that it was left in the care of Alvarado.

19. ypā domi͡go yc 28 de hebrero 1627 años
juā pilipe micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juana castillā xochitl ynahuac juā cahualero

19. On Sunday the 28th of February 1627:
Juan Felipe died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl, the neighbor of Juan Caballero.

22. ypā lunes yc 1 de março 1627 años
helena castillā xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mig^{l} x^{u}arez pohui tiāquiztenco

22. On Monday the 1st of 1627:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

25. ypā miercoles yc 3 de março 1627 años
catalina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui ocotepec

25. On Wednesday the 3rd of March 1627:
The child Catalina died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

27. ypā jueves yc 4 de março 1627 años
maria ychpochtli ypiltzin mathias hernādez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

27. On Thursday the 4th of March 1627:
The young woman Maria. She was the child of Matías Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

29. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 de março 1627 años

29. On Saturday the 6th of March 1627:

miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Miguel died. He was the child of Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
31. ypā lunes yc 8 de março 1627 años juseph piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh Miguel de roças tlatenco	31. On Monday the 8th of March 1627: The child Joseph died. He was the grandchild of Miguel de Rosas [of] Tlatenco.
33. ypā martes yc 9 de março 1627 años helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel sarmiēto huexo^{co} tecpā juliana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Nicolas pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā diego piltzin micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui tlatenco ynes castillā Xochitl micq̃ ytechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolliuhque ynamic catca Antonio pz pohui almoyahuacā	33. On Tuesday the 9th of March 1627: The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Sarmiento [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Juliana died. She was the child of Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Inés Castillanxochitl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was the late Antonio Pérez.
39. ypā miercoles yc 10 de março 1627 años	39. On Wednesday the 10th of March 1627:

augustina castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpoliuhque pohui huexo^{co} totollac

Agustina Castillanxochitl died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

42. ~~hele~~ ypā jueves yc 11 de março 1627 años
ma^{a} mag^{na} micqui āmo nicā chane ychā omoto hernādo cendeno

42. On Thursday the 11th of March 1627: Maria Magdalena died. She was not from here. She was at home. Hernando Centeno said so.

44. ypā Viernes yc 12 de março 1627 años
augustina piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel sarmiēto pohui huexo^{co}

44. On Friday the 12th of March 1627: The child Agustina. She was the child Miguel Sarmiento of Huexotzinco.

46. ypā domigo yc 13 de março 1627 años
aña yztac Xochitl miqui ynamic Balthasar gar^{a} pohui tiāquiztenco

46. On Sunday the 13th of March 1627: Ana Iztacxochitl died. Her spouse was Baltazar García of Tianquiztenco.

f. 39r
diego piltzintli ypiltzin juā de cāte pohui atenco

f. 39r
The child Diego. He was the child of Juan de Cate of Atenco.

2. ypā lunes yc 15 de março 1627 años

2. On Monday the 15th of March 1627:

catalina piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel de roças pohui tlatenco	The child Catalina. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.
gabriel piltzintli micqui ychā omoto Gabriel de albarado	The child Gabriel died at home. Gabriel de Alvarado said so.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā molares pohui xaltepetlapā	The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Morales of Xaltepetlapan.
6. ypā jueves yc 18 de março 1627 años	6. On Thursday the 18th of March 1627:
augustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Miguel huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Agustín died. He was the child of Juan Miguel [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
8. ypā Viernes yc 19 de março 1627 años	8. On Friday the 19th of March 1627:
diego piltzintli micqui ynā maria castillā Xochitl s. luis s. topā	The child Diego died. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] San Luis San Topan.
10. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 de março 1627 años	10. On Saturday the 20th of March 1627:
augustina de s. Estevā micqui ynamic Antonio gar^{a} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Agustina de San Esteban died. Her spouse was Antonio García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
12. ypā domi͡go yc 21 de março 1627 años	12. On Sunday the 21st of March 1627:

pedro piltzintli micqui ypiltzin catena pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Pedro died. He was the child of Catena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
14. ypā lunes yc 22 de março 1627 años maria piltzintli micqui ychā omoto pedro Rodriquez tecpā jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego çaynos pohui almoyahuacā juā ynamic maria fran^{ca} chaneque cholollā	14. On Monday the 22nd of March 1627: The child Maria died at home. Pedro Rodríguez [of] Tecpan said so. The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan. Juan. His spouse was Francisca. Their home is in Cholula.
18. ypā martes yc 23 de março 1627 años juā amiztlato micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui totollac	18. On Tuesday the 23rd of March 1627: Juan Amiztlato of Totollac died. He confessed.
20. ypā miercoles yc 24 de março 1627 años helena piltzintli micqui – pilhuā lucas pz pohui tlamacazcapā antona piltzintli micqui – juana piltzintli micqui ychā anoto albarado	20. On Wednesday the 24th of March 1627: The child Elena died – They were the children of Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazcapan. The child Antonia died – The child Juana died at home. Alvarado said so.

augustin piltzintli micqui ynā ma^{a} castillā Xochitl pohui tecpā	The child Agustín died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
catalinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} pohui atenco	The child Catalina died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.
luisa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin luis z^{o} pohui totollac	The child Luisa died. She was the child of Luis Zocalo of Totollac.
28. ypā jueves yc 25 de março 1627 años maria castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juā pab^{ta} pohui ocotepec	28. On Thursday the 25th of March 1627: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel michteuh xaltepe^{an}	The child Antonio died. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{ca} pz huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Matías died. He was the child of Francisca Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
33. ypā Viernes yc 26 de março 1627 años aña castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycha albarato	33. On Friday the 26th of March 1627: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to the home of Alvarado.
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego m͡pn tlamacazcapā	The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Martín [of] Tlamacazcapan.

36. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de março 1627 años
aña de s. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic luis z^{o} pohui totollac
ysabel piltzintli micqui ynā ma^{a}
bartolome piltzintli micqui ypiltzin
Melchior pz pohui tecpā

36. On Saturday the 27th of March 1627:
Ana de Santiago died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Luis Zocalo of Totollac.[142]
The child Isabel died. Her mother was Maria.
The child Bartolomé died. He was the child of Melchor Pérez of Tecpan.

41. ypā domi͡go yc 4 de abril 1627 años
domi͡go piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
Calisto pohui tecpā
ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco
ysabel piltzintli micqui yconeuh fran^{ca}
pohui tecpā

41. On Sunday the 4th of April 1627:
The child Domingo died. He was the child of Juan Calisto of Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.
The child Isabel died. She was the child of Francisca of Tecpan.

46. ypā martes yc 6 de abril 1627 años
pedro de cāte micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui tetzcocapā ynamic augustina

46. On Tuesday the 6th of April 1627:
Pedro de Cate died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan.
His spouse was Agustina.

[142] Luis Zocalo's child died on March 24th and his wife on March 27th.

f. 39v

1. ypā miercoles yc 7 de abril 1627 años
gabriel piltzintli micqui yconeuh fran^{ca}
maria pohui tlamacazcapā

3. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 de abril 1627 años
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic marcos pz pohui
huexo^{co} tecpā
juā micqui chane chololllā ychā omoto
matheo de lona tlanic^{an}

7. ypā martes yc 12 de abril 1627 años
matheo piltzintli micqui ypiltzin august pz
tetzcocapā
geronimo piltzintli micq̃ ypiltzin pa^{o} de la
cruz pohui acxotlā
augustin piltzintli ypiltzin juā baptista
pohui atenco

f. 39v

1. On Wednesday the 7th of April 1627:
The child Gabriel died. He was the child
of Francisca Maria of Tlamacazcapan.

3. On Saturday the 10th of April 1627:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her
tribute responsibility belongs to her
spouse Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco
Tecpan.
Juan died. He was from Cholula. He was
at home. Mateo de Luna [of] Tlanicotlan
said so.

7. On Tuesday the 12th of April 1627:
The child Mateo died. He was the child
of Agustín Pérez [of] Tetzcocapan.
The child Geronimo died. He was the
child of Pablo de la Cruz of Acxotlan.
The child Agustín. He was the child of
Juan Bautista of Atenco.

11. ypā miercoles yc 14 de abril 1627 años juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel de la cruz huexo^{co} tecpā	11. On Wednesday the 14th of April 1627: The child Joseph died. He was the child of Gabriel de la Cruz [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
13. ypā Viernes yc 16 de abril 1627 años ysabel de la corona micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic catca diego de silba pohui atenco	13. On Friday the 16th of April 1627: Isabel de la Corona died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse the late Diego de Silva of Atenco.
16. ypā sabato yc 17 de abril 1627 años juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā gar^{a} pohui tetzcocapā	16. On Saturday the 17th of April 1627: The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan García of Tetzcocapan.
18. ypā domi͡go yc 18 de abril 1627 años diego telpochtli ypiltzin Miguel michteuh xaltepetlapā	18. On Sunday the 18th of April 1627: The young man Diego. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.[143]
20. ypā miercoles yc 21 de abril 1627 años	20. On Wednesday the 21st of April 1627:

[143] Miguel Michteuh's daughter died on March 25th and his older son died on April 18th.

maria Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel perez pohui almoyahuacā juā ypiltzin juā de la cruz pohui tiāquiztenco	Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan. The child Juan. [He is the child of] Juan de la Cruz of Tianquiztenco.
miguel telpochtli micqui ynā pedromillā castillā xochitl pohui tecpā	The young man Miguel died. His mother was Petronilla Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
helena xilotl micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic que Miguel gar[a]	Elena Xilotl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. Her spouse was Miguel García.
27. ypā jueves yc 22 de abril yc maria balençia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic lucas pz pohui tlanicōtlā	27. On Thursday the 22nd of April Maria Valencia died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Lucas Pérez of Tlanicontlan.
30. ypā Viernes yc 23 de abril 1627 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Balthasar gar[a] pohui tianquiztēco	30. On Friday the 23rd of April 1627: The child Maria died. She was the child of Baltazar García of Tianquiztenco.
32. ypā lunes yc 3 de mayo 1627 años	32. On Monday the 3rd of May 1627:

lucas perez micqui itechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpoliuhque pohui tlanicōtlan

Lucas Pérez died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.

maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel cosme pohui huexo^{co}

The child Maria died. She was the child of Gabriel Cosme of Huexotzinco.

36. ypā miercoles yc 5 de mayo 1627 años ynes castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā mēdez pohui s. tana salminitolco

36. On Wednesday the 5th of May 1627: Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Méndez of Santa Ana Salminitolco.

maria apolomia micqui ytechca talcallauilli ynamic andres diego pohui xaltepetlapā

Maria Apolonia died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Diego of Xaltepetlapan.

41. ypā martes yc 11 de mayo 1627 años mathias hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

41. On Tuesday the 11th of May 1627: Matías Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

44. ypā lunes yc 17 de mayo 1627 años maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego ximenez pohui tlamacazca$_{pa}$

44. On Monday the 17th of May 1627: The child Maria died. She was the child of Diego Jiménez of Tlamacazcapan.

miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā bap^{ta} pohui ocotepec	The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.
47. ypā jueves yc 21 de mayo 1627 años fran^{ca} luisa micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic pillipe consuelo pohui tlatenco	47. On Thursday the 21st of May 1627: Francisca Luisa died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.
f. 40r	f. 40r
1. ypā domi͡go yc 30 de mayo 1627 años helena castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic fran^{co} de nahua pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	1. On Sunday the 30th of May 1627: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Nahua of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
mathias piltzintli micqui y[n] piltzintli ypiltzin juā Miguel huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Matías died. The child was the son of Juan Miguel [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
miguel micqui ypiltzin juā migeul pohui tlamacazcapā	Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Miguel of Tlamacazcapan.
6. ypā Viernes yc 4 de junio 1627 años juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā deconizales pohui almoyahuacā	6. On Friday the 4th of June 1627: The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan de Cañizares.

juana paola micqui ynamic juā matheo pohui tlamacazcapā lurēco dabilla	Juana Paola died. Her spouse was Juan Mateo of Tlamacazcapan. Lorenzo de Villa.[144]
10. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 de junio 1627 años luçia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph quauhtecatl ocotepec juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe crauasar pohui xaltepetlapā catalinā castilla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic die^{o} tzaueuhcan ynahua Melchior moliro	10. On Saturday the 5th of June 1627: The child Lucia died. She was the child of Joseph Quauhtecatl [of] Ocotepec. The child Juan died. He was the child of Felipe Crauasar of Xaltepetlapan. Catalina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Tzaueuhcan, the neighbor of Melchor Morilo.
15. ypā domi͡go yc 6 de junio 1627 años juachin pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolliuhque pohiuhque pohui xaltepetlapā	15. On Sunday the 6th of June 1627: Joaquin died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. The barrio gathered for him.
18. ypā martes yc 8 de junio 1627 años	18. On Tuesday the 8th of June 1627:

[144] The relationship is not clear here. It could be that Lorenzo de Villa was a neighbor as is so often mentioned in Tlamacazcapan, but we can't be sure.

ma[a] marta ychpochtli ytechca tlacallaquilli ychā omoto juā desectea	The young woman Maria Marta. Her tribute responsibility belongs to [blank space]. She was at home. Juan de Sectea said so.
20. ypā Viernes yc 10 de junio 1627 años maria castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo[co] tecpa	20. On Friday the 10th of June 1627: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
22. ypā miercoles yc 16 de junio 1627 años fran[ca] castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā angelista pohui atenco	22. On Wednesday the 16th of June 1627: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Angelista of Atenco.
25. ypā doimi͡go yc 20 de junio 1627 años ma[a] çipta ychpochtli micqui pohui tlaniçōtlā	25. On Sunday the 20th of June 1627: The younger woman Maria Zapata of Tlanicontlan died.
27. ypā lunes yc 21 de junio 1627 años pasqual telpochtli micqui ychā omoto andres bribi	27. On Monday the 21st of June 1627: The young man Pasqual died at home. Andrés Vrivi said so.

29. ypā martes yc 22 de junio 1627 años juā Miguel micqui ytecha tlacallaquilli ynamic [blank]

29. On Tuesday the 22nd of June 1627: Juan Miguel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse.

31. ypā miercoles yc 23 de junio 1627 años [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe crausar pohui xaltepetlapā

31. On Wednesday the 23rd of June 1627: The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Felipe Crausar of Xaltepetlapan.

33. ypā miercoles yc 7 de julio 1627 años pedro piltzin micqui ypiltzin diego de aquino pohui ocotepec

33. On Wednesday the 7th of July 1627: The child Pedro died. He was the child of Diego Aquino of Ocotepec.

35. ypā jueves yc 8 de julio 1627 años Diego xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maria Beronica pohui tepetzinco aña tlacoçihuatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Estevā maldonado pohui tepetzinco

35. On Thursday the 8th of July 1627: Diego Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Veronica of Tepetzinco. Ana Tlacocihuatl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Esteban Maldonado of Tepetzinco.

40. ypā Viernes yc 9 de julio 1627 años

40. On Friday the 9th of July 1627:

helena fran^{ca} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic mathias angel pohui cecallacohuyā domi͡go piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de roças pohui totollac

Elena Francisca died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Matías Angel of Cecallacohuayan.
The child Domingo died. He was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Totollac.

44. ypā sab^{o} yc 10 de julio 1627 años miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego albarez pohui atzōpan

44. On Saturday the 10th of July 1627:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Diego Alvarez of Atzonpan.

f. 40v

1. ypā lunes yc 12 de julio 1627 años jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de roças pohui totollac

f. 40v

1. On Monday the 12th of July 1627:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Totollac.

3. ypā martes yc 13 de julio 1627 años nicolas –
ypilhuā mathias de roças pohui acxotlā
ysabel –
ma^{a} micqui ypiltzin Miguel de roças pohui almoyahuacā

3. On Tuesday the 13th of July 1627:
Nicolas –
They were the children of Matías de Rosas of Acxotlan.
Isabel –
Maria died. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

8. difuntos Fr LZ^{o} debaldiuia

8. The deceased. fray Lazaro de Valdivia

10. en 2 de Agosto [de el 27] Nuestro Pr Fray miguel de la cruz qualific^{or} del santo offi^{o} y nueo (nuestro) Provya deste provy^{a} del santo evang^{o} vio este libro de los difuntos y le hallo esta [conforme alo que la] provy^{a} tiene ordenado y le firmo
Fr miquel de la cruz
mrg. Provy^{al}
Antemi
fr ysidroor donéz
secretario

10. On the 2nd of August of [the year 16]27. Our priest fray Miguel de la Cruz the Inquisitor of the holy office and our Provincial of this province of Santo [Evangelist] and viewed this book of the deceased and found that this [was according to] the provincial had ordered and signed it.
fray Miguel de la Cruz
Marquis Provincial
Before me:
fray Isidor Doñez
Secretary

18. ypā Viernes yc 15 de julio 1627 años ysabel ypiltzin Pasqual de s. fran^{co} pohui coyotzinco
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl ytechca tlacallaquilli namique ychā anoto Ysabel gar^{a}

18. On Friday the 15th of July 1627: Isabel, the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse. She was at home. Isabel García said so.

22. ypā lunes yc 18 de julio 1627 años
miguel telpochtli yconeuh ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}
pohui tetzcocapā

22. On Monday the 18th of July 1627:
The young man Miguel. He was the child of Maria Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan.

24. ypā lunes yc 27 de julio 1627 años
andresa ypiltzin mathias malmoleso pohui tocuilla
juā piltzintli ypiltzin math diego de tones pohui almoyahuacā

24. On Monday the 27th of July 1627:
Andresa, she was the child of Matías Malmoleso of Tocuillan.
The child Juan. He was the child of Diego de Torres of Almoyahuacan.

27. ypā martes yc 28 de julio 1627 años
andrsa piltzintli ypiltzin Estevā pohui tlamacazcapā
antona piltzintli yxhuiuh ma^{a} cohnatl pohui xaltepe^{an}

27. On Tuesday the 28th of July 1627:
The child Andresa. She was the child of Esteban of Tlamacazcapan.
The child Antonia. She was the grandchild of Maria Cohnatl of Xaltepetlapan.

30. ypā miercoles yc 4 de augusto 1627 años
Barnardo xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic angelinā ma^{a} pohui xaltepetlapā

30. On Wednesday the 4th of August 1627:
Bernardo Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Angelina Maria of Xaltepetlapan.

33. ypā jueves yc 5 de augusto 1627 años pasqual piltzintli micqui ypiltzin die^{o} pz pohui tecpā

33. On Thursday the 5th of August 1627: The child Pasqual died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tecpan.

f. 41r

1. ypā martes yc 8 de augusto 1627 años antona piltzintli micqui diego de la cruz pohui acxotlā

f. 41r

1. On Tuesday the 8th of August 1627: The child Antonia died. [Her father was] Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

3. ypā jueves yc 9 de augusto 1627 años juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domi͡go pohui huexotzinco tecpā

3. On Thursday the 9th of August 1627: The child Juan died. He was the child of Domingo of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

5. ypā martes yc 14 de agusto 1627 años mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui acxotlā

5. On Tuesday the 14th of August 1627: The child Matías died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Acxotlan.

7. ypā miercoles yc 15 de augusto 1627 años
ma^{a} axochiatl micqui ynamic diego maceuh pohui xaltepetlapā

7. On Wednesday the 15th of August 1627:
Maria Axochiatl died. Her spouse was Diego Maceuh of Xaltepetlapan.

apolonia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual xochicuicuic tetzcocapā

juana ypiltzintli ypiltzin pipillpe hernādez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The child Apolonia died. She was the child of Pasqual Xochicuicuic [of] Tetzcocapan.

The child Juana. She was the child of Felipe Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

11. ypā martes yc 24 de augusto 1627 años

mathias piltzintli ynā fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl pohui acxotlā

11. On Tuesday the 24the of August 1627:

The child Matías. His mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan.

13. ypā miercoles yc 25 de augusto 1627 años

diego piltzintli ynā maria jalome pohui xaltepetlapā

13. On Wednesday the 25th of August 1627:

The child Diego. His mother was Maria Salome of Xaltepetlapan.

15. ypā jueves yc 27 de augusto 1627 años

fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl ytechca tlacalaquilli tlaco pohui tetzcocapā

15. On Thursday the 27th of August 1627:

Francisca Castillanxochitl. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan.

17. ypā sab^{o} yc 29 de augusto 1627 años

17. On Saturday the 29th of August 1627:

maria cacallo Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Melchior de la cruz pohui ocotepec	Maria Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Melchor de la Cruz of Ocotepec.
20. ypā lunes yc 31 de augusto 1627 años maria ychpochtli micq̃ ypiltzin mathias nonez pohui tepetzinco miguel piltzin sebastiā çaynos pohui tepetzinco pohui	20. On Monday the 31st of August 1627: The young woman Maria died. She was the child of Matías Nuñez of Tepetzinco The child Miguel. [He was the child of] Sebastián Ceynos of Tepetzinco.
23. ypā miercoles yc 1 de setiēbre 1627 años [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā martin pohui almoyauan	23. On Wednesday the 1st of September 1627: The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.
25. ypā lunes yc 6 de setiēbre 1627 años jusepah piltzintli ypiltzin Augustin perez pohui xaltepetlapā	25. On Monday the 6th of September 1627: The child Joseph. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
27. ypā miercoles yc 8 de setiēbre 1627 años	27. On Wednesday the 8th of September 1627:

mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tlaco pohui totollac	Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac.
30. ypā jueves yc 9 de setiēbre 1627 años fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic antonio perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	30. On Thursday the 9th of September 1627: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
33. ypā Viernes yc 10 de setiēbre 1627 años juana veronica ychpochtli ypiltzin Miguel gar^{a} pohui acxotlā	33. On Friday the 10th of September 1627: The young woman Juana Veronica. She was the child of Miguel García of Acxotlan.
35. ypā jueves yc 15 setiēbre 1627 años maria Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic diego hernādez	35. On Thursday the 15th of September 1627: Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Diego Hernández.

38. ypā martes yc 5 de octobre 1627 años agustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} perez pohui tocuillā

38. On Tuesday the 5th of October 1627: The child Agustín died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Tocuillan.

40. ypā sab^{o} yc 16 de octobre 1627 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Antonio perez ynahuac oriui
fran^{co} ychā anoto Escodero
domi͡go ychā anoto Estero

40. On Saturday the 16th of October 1627:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Antonio Pérez, neighbor to Orive.
Francisco [died] at home. Escodero said so.
Domingo [died] at home. Estero said so.

f. 41v

1. ypā viernes yc 22 de octobre 1627 años diego Bap^{ta} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexotzinco totollac

f. 41v

1. On Friday the 22nd of October 1627: Diego Bautista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

4. ypā viernes yc 29 de octobre 1627 años maria jalome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā

4. On Friday the 29th of October 1672: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Juan Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

helena castillā Xochitl micqui yc ocalpolliuhque pohui xaltepetlapā	Elena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. The barrio gathered for her.
8. ypā lunes yc 1 de noviēbre 1627 años pillipe telpotzin micqui ypiltzin Estevā decoto pohui atenco melchior piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego perez pohui xaltepetlapā	8. On Monday the 1st of November 1627: The young man Felipe died. He was the child of Esteban de Soto of Atenco. The child Melchor died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
11. ypā Viernes yc 5 de noviēbre 1627 años lurenço Calisto 1627 anos micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui chiyauhtzinco ynamic maria jacob	11. On Friday the 5th of November 1627: Lorenzo Calisto died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Chiyauhtzinco. His spouse was Maria Jacob.
14. ypā lunes yc 8 de noviēbre 1627 años maria jalome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā tomie pohui huexotzinco tecpā	14. On Monday the 8th of November 1627: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Tomie of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

17. ypā miercoles yc 10 de noviēbre 1627 años	17. On Wednesday the 10th of November 1627:
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Augustin pz pohui coyotzinco	The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Coyotzinco.
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā joseph pohui tecpā	The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Joseph of Tecpan.
20. ypā martes yc 16 de noviēbre 1627 años	20. On Tuesday the 16th of November 1627:
ysabel cacallo Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic Estevā decoto pohui atenco	Isabel Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Esteban de Soto of Atenco.[145]
23. ypā jueves yc 18 de noviēbre 1627 años	23. On Thursday the 18th of November 1627:
mariana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā daniel pohui huexoco tecpā	The child Mariana died. She was the child of Juan Daniel of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
peo Rodriquez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maa castillā xotl pohui huexotzinco tecpan	Pedro Rodríguez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[145] Esteban de Soto's son died on November 1st and now his wife on November 16th. It is also possible that this Esteban de Soto is the scribe who wrote many of the wills from Huexotzinco in this period. See Appendix D.

27. ypā sabº yc 20 de noviēbre 1627 años pilipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Cuenca pohui ocotepec	27. On Saturday the 20th of November 1627: The child Felipe died. He was the child of Juan Cuenca of Ocotepc.
29. ypā jueves yc 2 deciēbre 1627 años luçia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin paº de roças pohui tecpā pablo telpochtli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de senilla pohui cecallacohuayā	29. On Thursday the 2nd of December 1627: The child Lucia died. She was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Tecpan. The young man Pablo died. He was the child of Miguel de Senilla of Cecallcacohuayn.
32. ypa Viernes yc 3 deciēbre 1627 años pilipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio Ortas tecpā	32. On Friday the 3rd of December 1627: The child Felipe died. He was the child of Antonio Ortiz [of] Tecpan.
34. ypa sabº yc 4 deçiēbre 1627 años mathias piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel xuarez pohui almoyahuacā	34. On Saturday the 4th of December 1627: The child Matías. He was the child of Miguel Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

36. ypā miercoles yc 8 deciēbre 1627 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de roças tecpā

36. On Wednesday the 8th of December 1627:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías de Rosas [of] Tecpan.

38. ypā Viernes yc 10 deçiēbre 1627 años helena castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic
fran^{co} perez pohui s. tana salmimilolco
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic pohui atenco ynamic Pasqual tecāte

38. On Friday the 10th of December 1627:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Pérez of Santa Ana Salmimilolco.
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse of Atenco. Her spouse was Pasqual de Cate.

43. ypā domi͡go yc 12 deciēbre 1627 años Balthasar telpochtli micqui amo nican chane ychā anoto pe^{o} Rodriquez pohui tecpā
pasqual piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā lurenço pohui tlanicōtlā

43. On Sunday the 12th of December 1627:
The young man Baltazar died. He was not from here. He was at home. Pedro Rodríguez of Tecpan said so.
The child Pasqual died. He was the child of Juan Lorenzo of Tlanicontlan.

47. ypā lunes yc 13 deciēbre 1627 años
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de roças pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

47. On Monday the 13th of December 1627:
The child Juana died. She was the child of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

49. ypā jueves yc 16 deciēbre 1627 años
balthasar piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pablo pz pohui ocotepec
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego fran^{co} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

49. On Thursday the 16th of December 1627:
The child Baltazar died. He was the child of Pablo Pérez of Ocotepec.
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Diego Francisco of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f.42r

1. ypā Viernes yc 17 deciēbre 1627 años
lucas piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego de arana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā baptista pohui huexotzinco tecpā

f.42r

1. On Friday the 17th of December 1627:
The child Lucas died. He was the child of Diego de Arana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. ypā sab^{o} yc 18 deciēbre 1627 años

4. On Saturday the 18th December 1627:

fran^{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego molares pohui totollac	The child Francisco died. He was the child of Diego Morales of Totollac.
6. ypā yc 20 deciēbre 1627 años pedromilla piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres perez pohui almoyahuacā pasquala piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā perez pohui tlamacazcapā	6. On the 20th of December 1627: The child Petronilla died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan. The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
9. ypā martes yc 21 deciēbre 1627 años andres piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres ximenez pohui totolac lurenço piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego albarez pohui atzonpā	9. On Tuesday the 21st of December 1627: The child Andrés died. He was the child of Andrés Jiménez of Totollac. The child Lorenzo died. He was the child of Diego Alvarez of Atzonpan.
12. ypā Viernes yc 24 deciēbre 1627 años juā Estevā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic fran^{ca} pohui xaltepetlapā fran^{co} telpochtli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} aocnel	12. On Friday the 24th of December 1627: Juan Esteban died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca of Xaltepetlapan. The young man Francisco died. He was the child of Francisco [of] Aocnel.

15. ypā domi͡go yc 26 deciēbre 1627 años Bernardina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} cornerio pohui totolac diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pe^{o} de roças pohui tecpā	15. On Sunday the 26th of December 1627: The child Bernardina died. She was the child of Francisco Cornelio of Totollac. The child Diego died. He was the child of Pedro de Rosas of Tecpan.
18. ypā martes yc 28 deciēbre 1627 años sebastiā piltzintli micqui chane xaltepetlapā s. topā	18. On Tuesday the 28th of December 1627: The child Sebastián died. He was from Xaltepetlapan San Topan.
20. ypā miercoles yc 29 deciēbre 1627 años juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā perez pohui xaltepetlapā	20. On Wednesday the 29th of December 1627: The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
Fr LZ^{o} debaldivia	fray Lazaro de Valdivia
23. – de 1628 anos –	23. – The year 1628 –
24. ypā lunes yc 3 de henero 1628 años	24. On Monday the 3rd of January 1628:

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} pz pohui huexotzinco tecpā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. ypā miercoles yc 5 de henero 1628 años
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe Consuelo pohui tlatenco

26. On Wednesday the 5th of January 1628:
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.

28. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 de henero 1628 años thomas piltzintli ychā anoto juā chualero

28. On Saturday the 8th of January 1628: The child Tomás [died] at home. Juan Caballero said so.

30. ypā domi͡go yc 9 de henero 1628 años juā piltzintli ypiltzin juā perez pohui tlanicōtlan

30. On Sunday the 9th of January 1628: The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

32. ypā martes yc 11 de henero 1628 años fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca juā bernardo yc ocalpolliuhque pohui xaltepetlapā

32. On Tuesday the 11th of January 1628: Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. Her spouse was the late Juan Bernardo. The barrio gathered for her.

veronica piltzintli ypiltzin Gabriel de lona pohui tecpā	The child Veronica. She was the child of Gabriel de Luna of Tecpan.
36. ypā miercoles yc 12 de henero 1628 años andres gar[a] micqui pohui ocotepec yasabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Melchior mentez pohui tlanicōtlā veronica castillā Xochitl tlapopolhuilloc pohui totollac	36. On Wednesday the 12th of January 1628: Andrés García died. He belongs to Ocotepec. The child Isabel died. He was the child of Melchor Méndez of Tlanicontlan. Veronica Castillanxochitl of Totollac [died]. She confessed.
40. ypā lunes yc 17 de hebrenero 1628 años mag[na] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de cāte pohui atenco	40. On Monday the 17th of January 1628: The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.
42. ypā jueves yc 20 de henero 1628 años sebastia huitznahuacatl micqui tlapopolhuilloc ynamic [blank space]	42. On Thursday the 20th of January 1628: Sebastián Huitznahuacatl died. He confessed. His spouse was [blank space].

44. ypā miercoles yc 26 de henero 1628 años
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de angolo pohui tecpā
miguel micqui ypiltzin juā çarate pohui totollac

44. On Wednesday the 26th of January 1628:
The child Ana died. He was the child of Matías de Angolo of Tecpan.
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Zarate of Totollac.

f. 42v

1. ypā domi͡go yc 6 de hebrero 1628 años
andesa [blank space] micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel de roças pohui almoyahuacā

f.42v

1. On Sunday the 6th of February 1628:
Andesa [blank space] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

4. ypā lunes yc 7 de hebrero 1628 años
melchiora çarate micqui ynamic franco de aquino pohui almoyahuacā

4. On Monday the 7th of February 1628:
Melchora Zarate died. Her spouse was Francisco de Aquino of Almoyahuacan.

7. ypā miercoles yc 10 de hebrero 1628 años
matheo ximenez micqui ynamic marta xoco pohui huexoco tecpā

7. On Wednesday the 10th of February 1628:
Mateo Jiménez died. His spouse was Marta Xoco[yotl] of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

fran^{ca} Xochitlamalin micqui ynamic mathias de roças pohui almoyahuacā	Francisca Xochitlamalin died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
11. ypā jueves yc 11 de hbrero 1628 anos bartholome ocexotl micqui ynmi[42] Ysabel castilla xo^{tl} pohui anteco ytechca tlacataquilli pedro cocoxicatzintl micqui amo nica chane calpa[n] hualmehuatia	11. On Thursday the 11th of February 1628: Bartolomé Ocexotl died. His spouse was Isabel Castillanxochitl. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Pedro, the sick man, died. He was not from here. He departed the house as he left.[146]
15. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 de hebrero 1628 años capriā z^{o} micqui ytlacallaquilli ytechca ynamic Helena gar^{a} pohui almoyahuacā	15. On Saturday the 13th of February 1628: Caprian Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena García of Almoyahuacan.
18. ypā domi͡go yc 15 de hebrero 1628 años	18. On Sunday the 15th of February 1628:

[42] Probably a hurried *ynamic*.
[146] That is, just before dying. This is a tentative translation.

pilipe de aquino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic angelinā cacallo Xochitl pohui acxotlā	Felipe de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Angelina Cacalloxochitl of Acxotlan.
antonio micqui piltzintli yta diego juā pohui tecpā	The child Antonio died. His father was Diego Juan of Tecpan.
andres xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā	Andrés Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
24. ypā domi͡go yc 22 de hebre 1628 años juā depalma micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā	24. On Sunday the 22nd of February 1628: Juan de Palma died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
27. ypā lunes yc 23 de hebrero 1628 años juseph xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic maria jalome pohui xaltepetlapā maria piltzintli mic yta miquel de roças pohui almoyahuacā	27. On Monday the 23rd of February 1628: Joseph Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Salome of Xaltepetlapan. The child Maria died. Her father was Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

31. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl de março 1628 años
juā de aquino motepe^{xi}hui[43] chane chiyauhtzinco

31. On Monday the 6th day of March 1628:
Juan de Aquino, the criminal [died]. He was from Chiyauhtzinco.

33. ypā yc 11 de maço 1628 años
martin telpochtli micqui pohui tecpā

33. On the 11th of March 1628:
The young man Martín of Tecpan died.

35. ypā domi͡go yc 2 de abril 1628 años
andres gar^{a} micqui ytechca[44] tlapopolhuilloc y ynamic pedromilla pohui tecpā

35. On Sunday the 2nd of April 1628:
Andrés García died. He confessed. The one who is his spouse Petronilla belongs Tecpan.

38. ypā domi͡go yc 9 de abril 1628 micqui ma^{a} cacallo xo^{tl} tlapopolhuilloc yc ocalpoliuhque pohui almoyahuacā
ynes castilla Xochitl tlapopolhuillo pohui totollac

38. Died on Sunday the 9th of April 1628:
Maria Cacalloxochitl of Almoyahuacan. She confessed. The barrio gathered for her.
Inés Castillanxochitl of Totollac. She confessed.

[43] Motepexihuiani - el que cometio algun crimen grave. See Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana,* f.60r.
[44] Scribal error, as though the scribe were about to write *ytechca tlacallaquilli*, but then wrote *tlapopolhuilloc* instead. It has been left out of the translation. But in theory it could be that this is saying that his tribute responsibility belongs to his wife.

41. ypā miercoles yc 3 de mayo 1628 a^{o}s ma^{a} jalome ynamic miquel valazquez pohui acxotlā

41. On Wednesday the 3rd of May 1628: Maria Salome. Her spouse was Miguel Velazquez of Acxotlan.

43. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 de mayo 1628 a^{o}s augustin perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepe

43. On Saturday the 6th of May 1628: Agustín Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec.

45. ypā jueves yc 18 de mayo 1628 a^{o}s melchiora piltzintli micq̃ yta die^{o} de roças pohui tlamiōtlā

45. On Thursday the 18th of May 1628: The child Melchora died. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

47. ypā martes yc 23 de mayo 1628 años juā martin micqui ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā

47. On Tuesday the 23rd of May 1628: Juan Martín died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

f. 43r

1. ypā martes yc 30 de mayo 1628 años pilipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego peauh tencatl pohui huexotzinco

f. 43r

1. On Tuesday the 30th of May 1628: The child Felipe died. He was the child of Diego Pehuatecatl of Huexotzinco.

4. ypā miercoles yc 31 de mayo 1628 años

4. On Wednesday the 31st of May 1628:

ana castillā Xochitl micqui ytlapopolhuilloc pohui atenco mathias[decate][45]	Ana Castillanxochitl of Atenco died. She confessed. [Her spouse was] Matías de Cate.
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin peº tecpatl huexotzinco	The child Maria died. He was the child of Pedro Tecpatl [of] Huexotzinco.
Fr. LZº de baldivia	fray Lazaro de Valdivia
8. ypā lunes yc 5 de junio 1628 años melchiora castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juseph perez po totollac	8. On Monday the 5th of June 1628: Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Joseph Pérez [of] Totollac.
11. ypā miercoles yc 7 de junio 1628 años sebastian perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Helena castilla Xochitl pohui huexotzinco tecpan	11. On Wednesday the 7th of June 1628: Sebastián Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
14. ypā miercoles yc 15 de junio 1628 años barbora castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego xuarez pohui almahuacā	14. On Wednesday the 15th of June 1628: Barbara Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

[45] Appears to have been written in later, so it is possible that the relationship is not spouse, but instead that he was a witness or the one who verified the information.

17. ypā lunes yc 10 de julio 1628 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallāquilli ynamic andres perez pohui tlamacazcapā

17. On Monday the 10th of July 1628: Juana Castillanxochitl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

20. ypā martes yc 17 de julio 1628 años marta castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztēco

20. On Tuesday the 17th of July 1628: The widow Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.

23. ypā lunes yc 284 de julio 1628 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Estevā rodriquez pohui [blank space]

23. On Monday the 24th of July 1628: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Esteban Rodríguez of [blank space].

26. ypā miercoles yc 26 de julio 1628 años juseph hernādez micqui ytechca tlacallaquill ynamic juana tozpetlacal pohui huexotzinco tecpā

26. On Wednesday the 26th of July 1628: Joseph Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs his spouse Juana Tozpetlacal of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

F Franco Barriento

fray Francisco Barrientos

30. en treinta de septiembre de mill y seis ce^{o} y v^{te} y ocho estando en este conve^{to} de huexotzingo nue R^{do} P^{r} Fr Miguel de la cruz qualificador de es^{te} offic^{o} de la ing^{or} Nus Provy^{a} de la provi^{a} de es^{te} Evarag^{o} visito este libro y le hallo conforme a la esta difunto y ordenado y lo firmo –

Fr Miguel de la cruz

mio prouy^{ala}

Antemi

Fran^{co} deochandiando

secrett^{o}

30. On the 30th of September of the year 1628, he was in this convent of Huexotzinco, our revered priest fray Miguel de la Cruz the Inquisitor of this office of the [Inquisitor], our provincial of the province of the evangelist and viewed this book of the deceased found that it was in accordance and ordered and signed it.[147]

fray Miguel de la Cruz

Provincial

Before me:

Francisco de Ochandiande

Secretary

f. 43v

1. ypā lunes yc 30 de julio 1628 años mag^{na} castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic migt perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 43v

1. On Monday the 30th of July 1628: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[147] It seems as though this last sentence was inversed somehow. This is the sense of it, but not literal.

4. ypā lunes yc 6 de agusto 1628 años	4. On Monday the 6th of August 1628:
Juā piltzintli micqui yta diego de caniçalas pohui almoyauacā	The child Juan died. His father was Diego de Canizales of Almoyahuacan.
catallinā piltzintli miqui yta diego çaynos pohui tetzcocapā	The child Catalina died. Her father was Diego Ceynos of Tetzcocapan.
juana ynes tzauhcā[46] anoto pohui almoyahuacā	Juana Inés of Almoyahuacan. Tzauhcan so said.
8. yc 15 de agusto 1628 años	8. The 15th of August 1628:
sebastiana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexotzinco tecpā	Sebastiana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.
11. yc 20 domi͡go de agusto 1628 años	11. Sunday the 20th of August 1628:
melchiora cacalina Xochitl miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic [luis] de roças pohui tlanicontlā	Melchora Catalina Xochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Luis de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.
14. ypā martes yc 23 de octobre 1628 años	14. On Tuesday the 23rd of October 1628:

[46] *Tzauhqui* is a spinner or weaver which is where this name could be coming from but seeing as it is more likely *tzauhca* which has been translated as a place of spinning or weaving, perhaps this was her place of death.

dō juā decozomā micqui ynamic dona mag^{na} de Belasco xaltepetlapā	Don Juan de Cozoman died. His spouse was doña Magdalena Velasco [of] Xaltepetlapan.
16. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de octobre 1628 años matias [de la] cruz micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoya^{cā} juana piltzintli micqui yta diego de roças pohui totollā	16. On Saturday the 27th of October 1628: Matías de la Cruz died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. The child Juana died. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Totollan.
19. ypā miercoles yc 1 noviēbre 1628 años dō pe^{o} gar^{a} micqui chane atlixco	19. On Wednesday the 1st of November 1628: Don Pedro García died at home in Atlixco.
21. ypā sab^{o} yc 12 noviēbre 1628 años diego pochel micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā juā de ribas micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui atzōpā	21. On Saturday the 12th of November 1628: Diego Pochel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. Juan de Rivas of Atzonpan died. He confessed.

25. ypā lunes yc 20 nobiēbre 1628 años maria de la cruz micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui tiānquiztenco nicā motocac ychā calpā ychā anoto juā osorio

25. On Monday the 20th of November 1628:
Maria de la Cruz of Tianquiztenco died. She confessed. Here she was buried [at] her home in Calpan in her home. Juan Osorio said so.[148]

28. ypā Viernes yc 27 de noviēbre 1628 años
maª paxnal Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ycnociuatl pohui tlanicōtlā

28. On Friday the 27th of November 1628:
The widow Maria Pachnalxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.

31. ypā Viernes yc 4 deciēbre 1628 anos juā martin micqui chane Mexico ychā anoto marianan tiāquiztēco

31. On Friday the 4th of December 1628:
Juan Martín died at home in his residence of Mexico. Mariana [of] Tianquiztenco said so.

33. ypā sabº yc 5 deciēbre 1628 años maª castillā xotl micqui yconeuh Pasqual de s. juā pohui almoyahuacā

33. On Saturday the 5th of December 1628:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her son was Pasqual de San Juan of Almoyahuacan.

[148] Tentative translation.

pe^{o}milla micqui ynamic catca andres gar^{a} pohui tecpā	Petronilla died. Her spouse was the late Andrés García of Tecpan.
37. 1629 años	37. The Year 1629
38. ypā martes yc 13 de hebrero[47] 1629 años bartholome pz micqui ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tocuillā	38. On Tuesday the 13th of January 1629: Bartolomé Pérez died. His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
41. ypā miercoles yc 8 de março 1629 años baltha[zar] soldero micqui pohui atenco	41. On Wednesday the 8th of March 1629: Baltazar Soldero of Atenco died.
43. ypā [domi͡ngo] yc 11 de marxo 1629 aos [matias] de cozmā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic marlina pohui xaltepetlapā	43. On Sunday the 11th of March 1629: Matías de Guzman died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Marlina of Xaltepetlapan.
f.44r	f.44r
1. Ypā sab^{o} yc 18 de marco 1629 a^{o}s	1. On Saturday the 18th of March 1629:

[47] This could be January of February.

[D]iego de tores micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic agustina xillotl pohui almoyahuacā	Diego de Torres died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Xillotl of Almoyahuacan.
[mariana] castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic Pablo gar^{a} pohui acxotlā	Mariana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pablo García of Acxotlan.
5. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de marco 1629 años [m^{a} ca illegible] Xochitl micqui tlapopolhuilla pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	5. On Sunday the 20th of March 1629: [Maria Castillan]xochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. She confessed.
7. ypā domi͡go yc 1 de abril 1629 años [ma] yzla xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Pablo de lona pohui tecpā	7. On Sunday the 1st of April 1629: [Maria Iztac]xochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.
9. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 de abril 1629 años mathias piltzintli yta Miguel de cante pohui tecpā	9. On Saturday the 7th of April 1629: The child Matías. His father was Miguel de Gante of Tecpan.
11. ypā lunes yc 9 de abril 1629 a^{o}s [d]elias deçamora micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic clara castillā xo^{tl} pohui [ponlac?]	11. On Monday the 9th of April 1629: [Delias?] de Zamora died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Clara Castillanxochitl of [Pontlac?].

14. ypā martes yc 10 de abril 129 años fran^{co} [tlacochin] micqui ynamic [illegible - crossed out?] Helena castilla xo^{tl} pohui tlatenco helena castillā Xochitl pohui poh tlatenco ynamic catca fran^{co} tlacochin	14. On Tuesday the 10th of April 1629: Francisco Tlacochin died. His spouse was Helena Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco. Helena Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco. Her spouse was the late Francisco Tlacochin.[149]
17. ypā jueves yc 12 de março 1629 año[s] [Juliana de milla] micqui ynamic juā Bap^{ta} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ma^{a} micqui ychā anoto [aconto marin]	17. On Thursday the 12th of March 1629: [Juliana de Milla] died. Her spouse was Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Maria died at home. [illegible] Martín said so.
20. ypā lunes yc 16 de março 1629 años juā Miguel micqui pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac Gabriel albar[ado] miquel [de viēbenida] micqui ynamic fran^{ca} ma^{a} pohui atenco	20. On Monday the 16th of March 1629: Juan Miguel of Tlamacazcapan died. His neighbor was Gabriel Alvarado. Miguel de Bienvenida died. His spouse was Francisca Maria of Atenco.
Fr. Juan Barrientos	fray Juan Barrientos

[149] This husband and wife passed in the same day.

24. en 12 de Agosto de 1629 años nó p^{r} fr Fran^{co} apodaca de la provy^{a} del monesterio y convn^{to} es de esta nueba esp visito este libro donde se asietan los difuntos naturales y le hallo [sec p^{o}] como la ordenado [por esta ciu]dad prouy^{a} y le firmo de su nbr
fr Fran^{co} de apodaca
[comisonar?] general
antemí
Fr fran^{co} de reybaga
secret^{o}

24. On the 12th day of August in the year 1629, our priest, padre fray Francisco Apodaca the Provincial of this monastery and convent of New Spain viewed this book where they place [the names of] the dead Indians and found it ordered, for the city provincial and he signed with his name.
fray Francisco de Apodaca
Commissioner General
Before me:
fray Francisco de Reyvega
Secretary

32. ypā lunes yc 21 de março 1629 años juā de los āgeles micqui ynamic Helena calilo pohui tlatenco

32. On Monday the 21st of March 1629: Juan de los Angeles died. His spouse was Elena Calilo of Tlatenco.

34. ypā martes yc 10 de abril 1629 años diego morāte micqui ynamic mariana pohui tlatenco almoyahuacā

34. On Tuesday the 10th of April 1629: Diego Morante died. His spouse was Mariana of Tlatenco Almoyahuacan.

36. ypā jueves yc 25 de março 1629 años

36. On Thursday the 25th of March 1629:

mathias Castillo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā

Matías Castillo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

pedrona piltintli micqui ypiltzin fran^{co} de s. miquel pohui atenco

The child Petrona died. She was the child of Francisco de San Miguel of Atenco.

martin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego de aquino pohui tecpā

The child Martín died. He was the child of Diego de Aquino of Tecpan.

f. 44v

1. ypā miercoles yc 24 de junio 1629 años juā perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juana perez pohui huexotzinco tecpā

f. 44v

1. On Wednesday the 24th of June 1629: Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Juana Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 de julio 1629 años miceala piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā coto pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

4. On Saturday the 7th of July 1629: The child Micaela died. He was the child of Juan Soto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

6. ypā domingo yc 8 de julio 1629 años juā mexia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes cacallo xochitl pohui totollac

6. On Sunday the 8th of July 1629: Juan Mexia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Cacalloxochitl of Totollac.

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin marcos vartes pohui totollac	The child Elena died. She was the child of Marcos Valdes of Totollac.
10. ypā miercoles yc 11 de julio 1629 años matheo Castaneda micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes tlapallizqui Xochitl pohui atenco	10. On Wednesday the 11th of July 1629: Mateo Castaneda died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Tlapallizquixochitl of Atenco.
13. ypā jueves yc 12 de julio 1629 años luisa castillā Xochitl ynahuac garª malpaldira	13. On Thursday the 12th of July 1629: Luisa Castillanxochitl, the neighbor of García Malpaldira.
15. ypā sabº yc 14 de julio 1629 años ysabel temoscoso micqui pohui almoyahuacā ycnoçiuatl	15. On Saturday the 14th of July 1629: The widow Isabel Temoscoso died. She belongs to Almoyahuacan.
maria mētoça micqui ynamic paº mētoça pohui totollac	Maria Mendoza died. Her spouse was Pablo Mendoza of Totollac.
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin sebastiā pohui acxotlā	The child Antonio died. He was the child of Sebastián of Acxotlan.
19. ypā martes yc 14 de agusto 1629 años mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā	19. On Tuesday the 14th of August 1629: The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

21. ypā domigo yc 18 de agusto 1629 años franca ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gara pohui xaltepetlapā	21. On Sunday the 18th of August 1629: The young woman Francisca died. She was the child of Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.
23. ypā sabo yc 1 setiēbre 1629 años maa jalome miqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui totollac	23. On Saturday the 1st of September 1629: Maria Salome of Totollac died. She confessed.
25. ypā domi͡go yc 2 setiēbre 1629 años juana tomiyauh miqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui xaltepetlapā	25. On Sunday the 2nd of September 1629: Juana Tomiyauh of Xaltepetlapan died. She confessed.
27. ypā lunes yc 3 setiēbre 1629 años miguel piltzintli micqui yta diego xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā lucas piltzintli micqui yta Miguel crocel pohui ocotepec	27. On Monday the 3rd of September 1629: The child Miguel died. His father was Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan. The child Lucas died. His father was Miguel Crocel of Ocotepec.
Fr. Franco Barrientos	fray Francisco Barrientos

32. ypā jueves yc 18 de octobre 1629 años ma^{a} jalome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	32. On Thursday the 18th of October 1629: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
35. ypā Viernes yc 19 de octobre 1629 años thomas de aquino micqui ynamic Justina nēca pohui acxotlā	35. On Friday the 19th of October 1629: Tomás de Aquino died. Her spouse was Justina Nenca of Acxotlan.
37. ypā Viernes yc 26 de octobre 1629 años juā telpochtli micqui yta fran^{co} perez pohui totollac	37. On Friday the 26th of October 1629: The young man Juan died. His father was Francisco Pérez of Totollac.
39. ypā Viernes yc 2 noviēbre 1629 años	39. On Friday the 2nd of November 1629:

die^{o} juā miqui chane cuetlaxcohuapā yn inamic juana fran^{ca} huellan teatinas ychā anoto juā dolen yn ayamo momiquillia achotopa quihuicac[48] amatl antonio ocuixcatlicha tlanicōtlā	Diego Juan died. He was from Cuetlaxcohuapan. The one who was his spouse was Juana Francisca from Huetlan Teatinas. So said Juan Durán. He is not yet dead. First, Antonio took the paper to Ocuizcatlichan Tlanicontlan.[150]
f.45r	f.45r
1. ypā domi͡go yc 14 noviēbre 1629 años ma^{a} ana de calinçia micqui pohui xaltepetlapā	1. On Sunday the 14th of November 1629: Mariana de Calinsia of Xaltepetlapan died.
3. ypa miercoles yc 25 noviēbre 1629 años antona cacallo xochitl micqui ynamic juā ximenez pohui chiyauhtzinco	3. On Wednesday the 25th of November 1629: Antonia Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez of Chiyauhtzinco.
6. ypā domi͡go yc 2 deciēbre 1629 años	6. On Sunday the 2nd of December of 1629:

[48] From *huica*.
[150] Tentative translation.

pasqual de s. fran^{co} micqui ytechca tlacallāquilli ynamic maria xo^{tl} pohui coyotzinco	Pasqual de San Francisco died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Xochitl of Coyotzinco.
9. ypā lunes yc 10 deciēbre 1629 años fran^{co} cornerio micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma^{a} fran^{ca} pohui totollac	9. On Monday the 10th of December 1629: Francisco Cornelio died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Francisca of Totollac.
12. ypā jueves yc 13 deciēbre 1629 años sebastiā piltzintli micqui yta juā martin pohui almoyahuacā	12. On Thursday the 13th of December 1629: The child Sebastián died. His father was Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā sab^{o} yc 15 deciēbre 1629 años andres piltzintli micqui yta pedro xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā	14. On Saturday the 15th of December 1629: The child Andrés died. His father was Pedro Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
16. ypā jueves yc 20 deciēbre 1629 años	16. On Thursday the 20th of December 1629:

fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzintli ynā ana castillā xo^{tl} chane s. xi͡pe	The child Francisca died. She was the child of Ana Castillanxochitl from San Martín.
18. – 1630 años	18. – The year 1630
19. ypā jueves yc 3 de henero 1630 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo^{co} totollac diego piltzintli micqui yta marcos de aquino pohui tecpā	19. On Thursday the 3rd of January 1630: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. The child Diego died. His father was Marcos de Aquino of Tecpan.
23. ypā miercoles yc 23 de henero 1630 años Bartholome Rodriquez micqui ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepe^{an}	23. On Wednesday the 23rd of January 1630: Bartolomé Rodríguez died. His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
25. ypā Viernes yc 1 de hebrero 1630 años thomas tlilli micqui ylapopolhuilloc pohui tiāquiztenco	25. On Friday the 1st of February 1630: Tomás, the black, of Tianquiztenco died.[151] The barrio gathered for him.

[151] His will is on file at the BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.40r–v.

27. ypā jueves yc 7 de hebrero 1630 años
diego piltzintli micqui yta juā hernādez
pohui tlamacacazcapā
jusep ytatzin juā crucel pohui ocotepec

27. On Thursday the 7th of February 1630:
The child Diego died. His father was Juan Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.
Joseph. His father was Juan Crucel of Ocotepec.

30. ypā martes yc 12 de hebrero 1630 años
diego de roças micqui ynamic fran^{ca}
castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
antona piltzintli micqui pohui almoyahuacā

30. On Tuesday the 12th of February 1630:
Diego de Rosas died. his spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Antonia of Almoyahuacan died.

33. ypā domi͡go yc 17 de hebre^{o} 1630 años
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl micqui pohui coyotzinco
helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca sebastiā perez pohui Tecpan

33. On Sunday the 17th of February 1630:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco died.
Elena Castillanxochtil died. Her spouse was the late Sebastián Pérez of Tecpan.

37. ypā martes yc 5 de março 1630 años

37. On Tuesday the 5th of March 1630:

luis z^{o} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui totolac ynamic domi͡ga jalome	Luis Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac. His spouse was Dominga Salome.
39. ypā sab^{o} yc 6 debril 1630 años estēva çoto micqui ynamic juana castillā Xochitl pohui tiāquiztēco	39. On Saturday the 6th of April 1630: Esteban Soto died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.
41. ypā Viernes yc 17 de mayo 1630 años juā baptista micqui ynamic Helena castillā Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā	41. On Friday the 17th of May 1630: Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
44. ypā sab^{o} yc 18 de mayo 1630 años diego gotierez micqui ynamic ma^{a} jalome pohui almoyahuacā	44. On Saturday the 18th of May 1630: Diego Gutiérrez died. His spouse was Maria Salome of Almoyahuacan.
f. 45v	f.45v
1. ypā lunes yc 20 de mayo 1630 años ynes castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā tlapopolhuilloc otonpā huititl ynamic catca	1. On Monday the 20th of May 1630: Inés Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Otonpanhuititl.[152]

[152] Tentative translation. I am leaving this as a name, because I can't puzzle out a meaning. *Topan* could mean above us, referring to the dead spouse, but that is not at all clear.

4. ypā martes yc 28 de mayo 1630 años ana castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic andres xuarez pohui almoyahuacā	4. On Tuesday the 28th of May 1630: Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Andrés Suárez of Almoyahuacan.
7. ypā lunes yc 17 de junio 1630 anos diego castaneta miqui ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā	7. On Monday the 17th of June 1630: Diego Castaneda died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
10. ypā lunes yc 24 de junio 1630 años migeul hernādez micqui ynamic maª castillā Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapā	10. On Monday the 24th of June 1630: Miguel Hernández died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
13. ypā martes yc 25 de junio 1630 años pedromila micqui ynamic catca juā tlapechua pohui almoyahuacā migl y çacapanecatl micqui ynamic maria pohui almoyahuacā	13. On Tuesday the 25th of June 1630: Petronilla died. Her spouse was the late Juan Telpechua of Almoyahuacan. Miguel Izcacapanecatl died. His spouse was Maria of Almoyahuacan.
18. ypā jueves yc 27 de junio 1630 años maria Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic juā de canizales pohui almoyahuacā	18. On Thursday the 27th of June 1630: Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan de Canizarez of Almoyahuacan.

21. ypā sab^{o} yc 29 de junio 1630 años
miguel diego telpochtli micqui pohui tecpā
ynā mariana

21. On Saturday the 29th of June 1630:
The young man Miguel Diego of Tecpan
died. His mother was Mariana.

23. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 de julio 1630 años
juā martin poyça micqui ynamic mag^{na}
castilla Xochitl pohui s. Nicolas
cecallacohuayā
maria piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā çaynos
pohui Huexotzinco totollac

23. On Saturday the 13th of July 1630:
Juan Martín Poyca died. His spouse was
Magdalena Castillanxochitl of San
Nicolas Cecallacohuayan.
The child Maria died. Her father was
Juan Ceynos of Huexotzinco Totollac.

Fr. Gabriel [quitos?]

fray Gabriel [Quintos?]

28. ypā yc 17 de julio 1630 años
antonia piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual gar^{a}
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
juā tohueyo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui
almoyahuacā

28. On the 17th of July 1630:
The child Antonia died. Her father is
Pasqual García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Juan Tohueyo died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to his spouse
Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

32. ypā jueves yc 25 de julio 1630 años
di^{o} agustin de velasco micqui huelli ipā
ylhuitzin satiago yn momiquilli

32. On Thursday the 25th of July 1630:
Diego Agustín de Velasco died. He died
right on the feast day of Santiago.

34. ypā sab^{o} yc 27 de julio 1630 años maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic fran^{co} nonoz pohui almoyahuacā

34. On Saturday the 27th of July 1630: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Nuñez of Almoyahuacan.

36. ypā jueves yc 1 de agusto 1630 años miguel gregorio micqui ynamic juana ynes pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

36. On Thursday the 1st of August 1630: Miguel Gregorio died. His spouse was Juana Inés of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

38. ypā sab^{o} yc 3 de agusto 1630 años juana ynes micqui yc ocalpolinhque ynamic catca Miguel gregorio pohui tecpā

38. On Saturday the 3rd of August 1630: Juana Inés died. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Miguel Gregorio of Tecpan.[153]

41. ypā lunes yc 5 de agusto 1630 años apelonia castillā xo^{tl} micqui tlapopolhuillo pohui Totollac

41. On Monday the 5th of August 1630: Apolonia Castillanxochitl of Totollac died. She confessed.

43. ypā martes yc 13 de agusto 1630 años maria [illegible xsea] micqui ynamic juā baptista pohui almoyahuacā

43. On Tuesday the 13th of August 1630: Maria [illegible] died. Her spouse was Juan Bautista of Almoyahuacan.

[153] This husband and wife died in 2 days of one another.

f. 46r

1. ypā lunes yc 19 de agusto 1630 años
andres monez micqui ynamic maria castillā
xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā

3. ypā miercoles [blank space]
Balthasar molares micqui pohui tetzcocapā

5. ypā sab^{o} yc 21 setienbre 1630 anos
pe^{o} hernādez micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui
huexo^{co} tecpā
ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā
hernādez tlamacazcapā ynahuac juā
cahuallero

9. ypā viernes yc 27 setiēbre 1630 años
ana de. S. ta ma^{a} micqui pohui tzauhcā
ycnoçihuatl
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic
Pasqual de. S. juā pohui almoyahuacā

f. 46r

1. On Monday the 19th of August 1630:
Andrés Moñez died. His spouse was
Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

3. On Wednesday [blank space]
Baltazar Morales of Tetzoccapan died.

5. On Saturday the 21st of September
1630:
Pedro Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan
died. He confessed.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse
was Juan Hernández [of] Tlamacazcapan.
Her neighbor was Juan Caballero.

9. On Friday the 27th of September 1630:
The widow, Ana de Santa Maria of
Tzauhcan died.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her
spouse was Pasqual de San Juan of
Almoyahuacan.

13. ypā martes yc 1 de octobre 1630 años juā de. s. tiago micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā Xochitl pohui tlamacazcapa ynahua [pe?] juarez
ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic jua perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac oribe

13. On Tuesday the 1st of October 1630: Juan de Santiago died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of [Pedro?] Juárez.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tlamcazcapan, the neighbor of Orive.

18. ypā martes yc 8 de octobre 1630 años Juā perez micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā Xochitl yc ocalpolliuhq̆ pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac oribre

18. On Tuesday the 8th of October 1630: Juan Pérez died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Orive. The barrio gathered for him.

21. ypā martes yc 15 de octobre 1630 años marta nenca micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui totollac

21. On Tuesday the 15th of October 1630: Marta Nenca of Totollac died. She confessed.

23. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de octobre 1630 años
helena castilla Xochitl micqui yc ocalpolliuhque ynamic catca pe^{o} de la cruz quitocato s. Miguel pohui tiāquiztenco

23. On Sunday the 20th of October 1630: Elena Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco died. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Pedro de la Cruz. She was buried in San Miguel.

26. ypā sab^{o} yc 26 de octobre 1630 años mig^{l} de luna micqui ynamic maria pohui almoyahuacā

26. On Saturday the 26th of October 1630:
Miguel de Luna died. His spouse was Maria of Almoyahuacan.

28. ypā domi͡go yc 3 noviēbre 1630 años maria castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic balthasar perez pohui tlanacazcapā yna

28. On Sunday the 3rd of November 1630:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Baltazar Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

31. ypā lunes yc 4 noviēbre 1630 años agustina castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Melchior mētez pohui tlanicōtlā

31. On Monday the 4th of November 1630:
Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Melchor Méndez of Tlanicontlan.

34. ypā martes yc 5 noviēbre 1630 años

34. On Tuesday the 5th of November 1630:

diego hernādez telpochtli micqui chane tlaxcalla nopallocā yca [illegible][49] juā cahualero	The young man Diego Hernández died. He was from Tlaxcala Nopallocan. [We know] because Juan Caballero [said so].[154]
37. ypā miercoles yc 6 noviēbre 1630 años juā bap^{ta} micqui pohui totollac ynamic Catalina barbora	37. On Wednesday the 6th of November 1630: Juan Bautista of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Barbara.
39. ypā Viernes yc 8 noviēbre 1630 años pasqual perez micqui pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac anto martine	39. On Friday the 8th of November 1630: Pasqual Pérez died. He belongs to Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Anton Martín.
41. ypā domi͡go yc 10 noviēbre 1630 años Rapael xuarez micqui ynamic apolonia	41. On Sunday the 10th of November 1630: Raphael Suárez died. His spouse was Apolonia.
f. 46v 1. ypā lunes yc 11 noviēbre 1630 años	f. 46v 1. On Monday the 11th of November 1630:

[49] Looks like - *yca yones* or *yauis*.
[154] Tentative translation.

diego meneçes micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic ma^{a} croc^{e}l	Diego Menezes of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Maria Crocel.
3. ypā jueuenes yc 14 noviēbre 1630 años melchior mēdez micqui pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic Agustina castillā xo^{tl} yn techca tlacallaquilli [blank space] juā hernādez micqui ynamic mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tocuillā	3. On Thursday the 14th of November 1630: Melchor Méndez of Tlanicontlan died. His spouse was Agustina Castillanxochitl and their tribute responsibility belongs to [blank space]. Juan Hernández died. His spouse was Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
7. ypā miercoles yc 15 noviēbre 1630 años Rapael xuarez micqui ynamic apolonia castillā Xochitl pohui tlamacazcapā	7. On Wednesday the 15th of November 1630: Raphael Suárez died. His spouse was Apolonia Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan.
10. ypā domigo yc 19 noviēbre 1630 años marcalita castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic balthasar pohui ocotepec	10. On Sunday the 19th of November 1630: Margarita Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Baltazar of Ocotepec.

13. ypā lunes yc 20 noviēbre 1630 años apolonia castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca Rapael xuarez yc ocalpolliuhque pohui tlamacazcapā
Balthasar gar[a] micqui pohui tiāquiztenco fran[co] perez micqui ynamic mariana pohui almoyahuacā
luisa meneçes micqui pohui cecallacohuayā ynamic juā catena
mathias de roças micqui ynamic mariana pohui xaltepetlapā

13. On Monday the 20th of November 1630:
Apolonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Raphael Suárez of Tlamacazcapan. The barrio gathered for her.[155]
Baltazar García of Tianquiztenco died.
Francisco Pérez died. His spouse was Mariana of Almoyahuacan.
Luisa Menezes died. She belongs to Cecallacohuayan. Her spouse was Juan Catena.
Matías de Rosas died. His spouse was Mariana of Xaltepetlapan.

F gabriel quinto

fray Gabriel [Quintos?]

23. – 1631

23. – The year 1631

24. ypā martes yc 7 de henero 1631 años ma[a] Jacob micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui Ocotepec

24. On Tuesday the 7th of January 1631:
The widow Maria Jacob of Ocotepec died.

[155] Raphael Suárez died on November 15, 1630.

juā catena micqui ynamic catca luis meneçes pohui cecallacohuayā

juā catena micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynami maria

Juan Catena died. His spouse was the late Luisa Menezes of Cecallacohuayan.[156]

Juan Catena of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Maria.

29. ypā martes yc 14 de henero 1631 anos miguel piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de. S. fran^{co} pohui xaltepetlapā

29. On Tuesday the 14th of January 1631: The child Miguel died. His father was Miguel de San Francisco of Xaltepetlapan.

31. ypā miercoles yc 15 de henero 1631 años

maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā de lona pohui tecpā

31. On Wednesday the 15th of January 1631:

Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Luna of Tecpan.

33. ypā jueves yc 16 de henero 1631 años ma^{a} Jacob piltzintli micqui yta simō gar^{a} pohui totollac

cadellina m^{i}cqui [blotched out] yta mallias de roças ypiltzintli pohui xaltepetlapa yc 30 ynmes de he~~pi~~ero

33. On Thursday the 16th of January 1631:

The child Maria Jacob died. Her father was Simón García of Totollac.

Cadellina died. Her father was Matías de Rosas. The child was from Xaltepetlapan.

On the 30th of the month of [January][157]

[156] Luisa Menezes died on November 20, 1630.

[157] This line could have been added to correct the date below it, which should in fact be before it.

37. ypā miercoles yc 29 de he~~bre~~^{ne}ro 1631 años	37. On Wednesday the 29th of January 1631:
fran^{co} de la fuēte micqui ynamic fran^{ca} yztac xo^{tl} pohui tlatenco	Francisco de la Fuente died. His spouse was Francisca Iztacxochitl of Tlatenco.
39. ypā jueves yc 30 de hebrero[50] 1631 años	39. On Thursday the 30th of [January] 1631:
pa^{o} de helera micqui ynamic ana matlal pohui totollac	Pablo de Herrera died. His spouse was Ana Matlal of Totollac.
41. ypā Viernes yc 31 de he~~bre~~^{ne}ro 1631 años	41. On Friday the 31st of January 1631:
mathias catena micqui ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpa	Matías Catena died. His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
43. ypā domi͡go yc 2 de hebrero 1631 años	43. On Sunday the 2nd of February 1631:
ysabel castillā xo^{tl} ychpochtli micqui yta juā de lona pohui tecpā	The young woman Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her father was Juan de Luna of Tecpan.

[50] Probably henero because it is between two corrected henero entries.

f. 47r

mig^{l} de. S. fran^{co} micqui ynamic ma^{a} pohui xaltepetlapā

f. 47r

Miguel de San Francisco died. His spouse was Maria of Xaltepetlapan.

2. ypā lunes yc 3 de hebrero 1631 años

juana ychpochtli micqui yta juā mirāta pohui tecpa

miguel piltzintli micqui yta bar^{me} de roças pohui tolac

pasqual de billa micqui yn nimā yhuā ycihuauh micque pohui tocuila

2. On Monday the 3rd of February 1631:

The young woman Juana died. Her father was Juan Miranta of Tecpan.

The child Miguel died. His father was Bartolomé de Rosas of Totollac.

Pasqual de Villa died. Then, also his wife died. They belong to Tocuillan.

6. ypā miercoles yc 11 de hebrero 1631 a^{o}s

antonio gar^{a} micqui ynamic ynes mag^{na} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

6. On Wednesday the 11th of February 1631:

Antonio García died. His spouse was Inés Magdalena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. ypā jueves yc 12 de hebrero 1631 a^{o}s

antonio piltzin micqui yta diego perez pohui almoyahuacā

8. On Thursday the 12th of February 1631:

The child Antonio died. His father was Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

10. ypā martes yc 18 de hebrero 1631 años
mariana micqui ynamic Miguel sarmiēto
pohui tecpā
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl micqui pohui
cecallacohuāyā
miguel piltzintli micqui yta anton perez
pohui totollac

10. On Tuesday the 18th of February 1631:
Mariana died. Her spouse was Miguel Sarmiento of Tecpan.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Cecallacohuayan died.
The child Miguel died. His father was Anton Pérez of Totollac.

14. ypā miercoles yc 19 de hebrero 1631 a^{o}s
miguel sarmiēto micqui yc ocalpolliuhque
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
gabriel [qenitos]

14. On Wednesday the 19th of February 1631:
Miguel Sarmiento Huexotzinco Tecpan died. The barrio gathered for him.[158]
Gabriel [Quintos?]

18. En veynte y dos dias del mes de febrero de mill y seis cientos y trenta y un año estando en este convento de uexotzinco nio Pe^{dr} Fr fran^{co} de vs^{co} lebar jubilad califieadr del es^{to} offi^{o} mio provy^{al} este Pouy^{a} del LZ^{o} cuanz^{o} vio este libro de los difuntos y hallo conforme los de

18. On the twenty-second day of the month of February of the year 1631, here in this convent of Huexotzinco, our priest fray Francisco de [Visco] brought the retired Inquisitor of this office of our Provincial of this province of Lazaro Cuanzo. He saw this book of the dead

[158] Miguel Sarmiento's wife died the day before him.

[ornado] y mandado Por la provy^{al} y lo firmo
fray fran^{co} de vi^{co}
mio provil
Antemi
fray Antonio sarg
secrett^{o}

and found it in accordance [as ordered and commanded] for the Provincial and he signed it.
fray Francisco de Visco
Our Provincial
Before me:
fray Antonio Sarge
Secretary

29. ypā miercoles yc 26 de hebre^{o} 1631 años
miguel ortona micqui ynamic ana quetzalpetla pohui acxotlā
nicolasa piltzintli micqui yta Bar^{me} de roças pohui totollac
agustina piltzintli micqui yta juā perez pohui tlamacazcapā

29. On Wednesday the 26th of February 1631:
Miguel Ortona died. His spouse was Ana Quetzalpetla of Acxotlan.
The child Nicolasa died. Her father was Bartolomé de Rosas of Totollac.
The child Agustina died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

33. ypā lunes yc 3 de março 1631 años
ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic andres perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez yn techca tlacallaquilli

33. On Monday the 3rd of March 1631:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Andrés Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez and her tribute responsibility belongs to him.

36. ypā martes yc 4 de março 1631 años
domi͡go de tores mic ynamic mariara
castilla co^{tl} pohui tlatenco
lucas piltōtli micqui yta mathias de cāte
pohui totollac

36. On Tuesday the 4th of March 1631:
Domingo de Torres died. His spouse was
Mariara Castillanxocoyotl of Tlatenco.
The child Lucas died. His father was
Matías de Cate of Totollac.

f. 47v

1. ypā viernes yc 7 de março 1631 años
maria castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic fran^{co}
gabriel pohui huexotzinco tecpā

f. 47v

1. On Friday the 7th of March 1631:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse
was Gabriel of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 de março 1631 años
juseph piltzintli micqui yta diego perez
pohui huexotzinco tecpā
pedromila piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} salgado
pohui tepetzinco

4. On Saturday the 8th of March 1631:
The child Joseph died. His father was
Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan
The child Petronilla died. Her father was
Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.

8. ypā martes yc 11 de março 1631 años
miguel gar^{a} micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui
tianquiztenco
maria piltzintli micqui yta diego morāte
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

8. On Tuesday the 11th of March 1631:
The widower Miguel García of
Tianquiztenco died.
The child Maria died. Her father was
Diego Morante of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

11. ypā miercoles yc 12 de março 1631 años	11. On Wednesday the 12th of March 1631:
pasqual piltzintli micqui yta juā perez pohui tlamacazcapā juā torez	The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Pérez of Tlmacazcapan, Juan Torres.[159]
13. ypā jueves yc 13 de março 1631 años	13. On Thursday the 13th of March 1631:
maria gar[a] micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui huexotzinco tecpā	The widow Maria García of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
fran[ca] castillā xo[tl] micqui ynamic pe[o] salgadopohui tepetzinco	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.[160]
mag[na] piltzintli micqui yta Melchior hernātez pohui almoyahuaca	The child Magdalena died. Her father was Melchor Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
andresa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin jua Baptista pohui cote pohui ocotepec[51]	The child of Andresa died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.
18. ypā sab domigo yc 16 de março 1631 años	18. On Sunday the 16th of March 1631:

[51] This repetition is likely a scribal error.
[159] It is likely that this is another "the neighbor of" but the *ynahuac* was left out.
[160] Pedro Salgado's son Joseph died on March 8, 1631 and now his wife of March 13, 1631.

maria sanchez micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui acxotlā	The widow Maria Sánchez of Acxotlan died.
sebastiana piltzintli micqui ychā anoto pilipe maldonato pohui coyotzinco	The child Sebastiana died at home. Felipe Maldonato of Coyotzinco said so.
21. ypā martez yc 18 de março 1631 años diego de semilla micqui ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	21. On Tuesday the 18th of March 1631: Diego de Semilla died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
23. ypā jueves yc 20 de março 1631 años mariana miqui ynamic juā ximenes pohui ocotepec	23. On Thursday the 20th of March 1631: Mariana died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez of Ocotepec.
agustina piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} xuarez pohui atzōpā	The child Agustina died. Her father was Francisco Suárez of Atzonpan.
26. ypā miercoles yc 25 de março 1631 años	26. On Wednesday the 25th of March 1631:
ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui atenco	The widow Ana Castillanxochitl of Atenco died.
antona piltzintli micqui yta lucas pz pohui tlamacazcapā	The child Antonia died. His father was Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.[161]

[161] His will is on file at the BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.33r.

29. ypā jueves yc 26 de março 1631 años melchiora piltzintli micqui yta Melchior hernādez pohui tlanicōtla

29. On Thursday the 26th of March 1631: The child Melchora died. Her father was Melchor Hernández of Tlanicontlan.

31. ypā Viernes yc 28 de março 1631 años diego ynā Agustina castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā
pasquala piltontli micqui yta Miguel deribas pohui tecpā
nicolas piltōtli micqui yta bar^{me} perez pohui tlanicōtlā

31. On Friday the 28th of March 1631: Diego. His mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Pasquala died. Her father was Miguel de Rivas of Tecpan.
The child Nicolas died. His father was Bartolomé Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

35. ypā domi͡go yc 30 de março 1631 años ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic Geronimo pz pohui tiāquiztenco
juana cacallo xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias de cate pohui totollac
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} denahua pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

35. On Sunday the 30th of March 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Geronimo Pérez of Tianquiztenco.
Juana Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Cate of Totollac.
The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco de Nahua of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

39. ypā lunes yc 31 de março 1631 a^{o}s

39. On Monday the 31st of March 1631:

micaela piltōtli micqui yta matheo Bap^{ta} pohui tlamacazcapā

The child Micaela died. Her father was Mateo Bautista of Tlamacazcapan.

mag^{na} piltontli yta Miguel gar^{a} pohui atenco

The child Magdalena. Her father was Miguel García of Atenco.

42. ypā jueves yc 3 de abril 1631 años juā de torez micqui ynamic pohui tlatenco antona piltōtli micqui yta diego xuarez pohui tiāquiztēco

42. On Thursday the 3rd of April 1631: Juan de Torres died. His spouse was of Tlatenco.

The child Antonia died. Her father was Diego Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

45. ypā Viernes yc 4 de abril 1631 a^{o}s micaela piltōtli micqui yta luis mexia pohui tepetzinco

45. On Friday the 4th of April 1631: The child Micaela died. Her father was Luis Mexia of Tepetzinco.

f. 48r

1. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 de abril 1631 años helena piltōtli micqui yta diego xuarez pohui tiāquiztenco

f.48r

1. On Saturday the 5th of April 1631 The child Elena died. Her father was Diego Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

domi͡go piltōtli micqui yta agustin valēçia pohui ocotepec

The child Domingo died. His father was Agustín Valencia of Ocotepec.

4. ypā lunes yc 7 de abril 1631 años

4. On Monday the 7th of April 1631:

ana castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic fran^{co} meneçes pohui almoyahuacā

mathias bar^{me} micqui ynamic ma^{a} jalome pohui tlanicōtlā

juana piltōtli micqui yta juā Rodriquez pohui tlamacazcapā

Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Menezes of Almoyahuacan.

Matías Bartolomé died. His spouse was Maria Salome of Tlanicontlan.

The child Juana died. Her father was Juan Rodríguez of Tlamacazcapan.

8. ypā martes yc 8 de abril 1631 años

fran^{ca} perez micqui ynamic [blank space] pohui tiāquiztenco

lucas perez micqui telpochtli pohui tiāquiztenco

fran^{co} piltōtli micqui yta marcos de aquino pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

8. On Tuesday the 8th of April 1631:

Francisca Pérez died. Her spouse was [blank space] of Tianquiztenco.

The young man Lucas Pérez of Tianquiztenco died.

The child Francisco died. His father was Marcos de Aquino of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

12. ypā Viernes yc 10 de abril 1631 a^{o}s

miguel gar^{a} micqui ynamic ana teocuitla xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

12. On Friday the 10th of April 1631:

Miguel García died. His spouse was Ana Teocuitlaxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

14. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de abril 1631 a^{o}s

14. On Saturday the 11th of April 1631:

sebastiā piltōtli micqui yta diego de la cruz totollac	The child Sebastián died. His father was Diego de la Cruz [of] Totollac.
juana piltōtli micqui yta domi͡go deribas tecpā	The child Juana died. Her father was Domingo de Rivas [of] Tecpan.
17. ypā domi͡go yc 13 de abril 1631 a^{o}s catallina castillā malcelliana micqui ynamic Estevā de olarte pohui atenco	17. On Sunday the 13th of April 1631: Catalina Marceliana died. Her spouse was Esteban de Olarte of Atenco.
19. ypā lunes yc 14 de abril 1631 a^{o}s mag^{na} ychpochtli micqui yta juā mirāta pohui tecpā	19. On Monday the 14th of April 1631: The young woman Magdalena died. Her father was Juan Miranda of Tecpan.
ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui acxo^{tl} – ynamic catca fran^{co} vazquez	Maria Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan died. – Her spouse was the late Francisco Vazquez.
22. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de abril 1631 a^{o}s andresa micqui yta Miguel de. S. bar^{me} pohui almoyahuacā	22. On Sunday the 20th of April 1631: Andresa died. Her father was Miguel de San Bartolomé of Almoyahuacan.
24. ypā jueves yc 24 de abril 1631 a^{o}s juana de sillba micqui pohui totollac	24. On Thursday the 24th of April 1631: Juana de Sevilla of Totollac died.
simō decaca micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	Simón de Caca of Tlanicontlan died.

ynes ychpochtli micqui yta xpo͡ual de lona pohui tecpā	The young woman Inés died. Her father was Cristóbal de Luna of Tecpan.
diego mentes micqui ynamic Ysabel ortes pohui tecpā	Diego Méndez died. His spouse was Isabel Ortiz of Tecpan.
29. ypā Viernes yc 2 de mayo 1631 aºs ma nenca pohui ocotepec	29. On Friday the 2nd of May 1631: Maria Nenca of Ocotepec [died.]
31. ypā miercoles yc 7 de mayo 1631 años ana maª micqui pohui s. tana ychā omoto matheo garª pohui tecpā	31. On Wednesday the 7th of May 1631: Ana Maria of Santa Ana died at home. Mateo García of Tecpan said so.
33. ypā lunes y 10 de mayo 1631 años maria de s. bartholome micqui pohui acxotlā	33. On Monday the 10th of May 1631: Maria de San Bartolomé of Acxotlan died.
35. ypā martes yc 11 de mayo 1631 años agustin de aquino micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic ynes nenca	35. On Tuesday the 11th of May 1631: Agustin de Aquino of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Inés Nenca.
37. ypā miercoles yc 14 de mayo 1631 años	37. On Wednesday the 14th of May 1631:

maria de la cruz micqui ynamic anto perez pohui acxotlā

Maria de la Curz died. Her spouse was Anton Pérez of Acxotlan.

39. ypā sab^{o} yc 17 de mayo 1631 años juana fran^{ca} micqui ynamic Pablo Vazquez pohui acxotlā

39. On Saturday the 17th of May 1631: Juana Francisca died. Her spouse was Pablo Vazquez of Acxotlan.

piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} maltonato pohui tecpā

A child died. His father was Francisco Maldonado of Tecpan.

42. ypā miercoles yc 21 de mayo 1631 a^{o}s pablo vazguez micqui pohui acxotlā

42. On Wednesday the 21st of May 1631: Pablo Vazquez of Acxotlan died.

44. ypā jueves yc 22 de mayo 1631 fran^{co} de sebila micqui ynamic mag^{na} de moseoso tecpā

44. On Thursday the 22nd of May 1631: Francisco de Sevilla died. His spouse was Magdalena de Moseoso [of] Tecpan.

f. 48v

f. 48v

1. ypā martes yc yc 8 de mayo 1631 años ana piltzintli micqui yta pa^{o} de roças pohui tecpā

1. On Tuesday the 8th of May 1631: The child Ana died. Her father was Pablo de Rosas of Tecpan.

3. ypā Viernes yc 30 de mayo 1631años

3. On Friday the 30th of May 1631:

sebastian piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} xuarez pohui totollac	The child Sebastián died. His father was Pedro Suárez of Totollac.
5. ypā lunes yc 2 de junio 1631 a^{o}s maria micqui yta mathias hernādz pohui almoyahuacā	5. On Monday the 2nd of June 1631: Maria died. Her father was Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
7. ypā martes yc 10 de junio 1631 años ana teocuitla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca Miguel gar^{a} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	7. On Tuesday the 10th of June 1631: Ana Teocuitlaxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[162]
10. ypā jueves yc 14 de junio 1631 años ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic marcos mocario pohui tlateco	10. On Thursday the 14th of June 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Marcos Mocario of Tlatenco.
12. ypā lunes yc 16 de junio 1631 años fran^{co} telpochtli micqui ytelpoch fray fran^{co} Bariētes yhua llihua sallapā yn telpochtli	12. On Monday the 16th of June 1631: The young man Francisco died. He was the young man of fray Francisco Valientes. The young man was from Xallapan.

[162] Miguel García died on April 10, 1631.

antona de. S. ta cruz micqui ynamic pe^{o} xuarez pohui totollac

Antonia de Santa Cruz died. Her spouse was Pedro Suárez of Totollac.

17. ypā Viernes yc 20 de junio 1631 años simō perez micqui ynamic ma^{a} de lin torne pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
pedromilla castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca Bar^{me} valençia pohui tecpā
miguel [ycol?] micqui telpochtli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
lucas piltzin micqui yta mathias pohui tecpā

17. On Friday the 20th of June 1631:
Simón Pérez died. His spouse was Maria Delintorne of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Petronilla Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Bartolomé Valencia of Tecpan.
The young man Miguel [illegible] of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
The child Lucas died. His father was Matías of Tecpan.

24. ypā lunes yc 23 de junio 1631 a^{o}s ynes [ma]ria ynamic gaspar hernādez pohui hexo^{co} tecpā

24. On Monday the 23rd of June 1631:
Inés Maria [died.] Her spouse was Gaspar Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. ypā martez yc 24 de junio 1631 años gaspar hernādez micqui yc ocalpollihuque pohui huexo^{co}

26. On Tuesday the 24th of June 1631:
Gaspar Hernández of Huexotzinco died. The barrio gathered for him.[163]

[163] This husband and wife died a day apart.

28. ypā miercoles 1631 a^{o}s de julio ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui tianquiztenco

28. On Wednesday the [no date] of July 1631:
Maria Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco died.

30. ypā jueves yc 10 de julio 1631 a^{o}s ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mig^{l} ortas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

30. On Thursday the 10th of July 1631:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Ortiz of Huexotinco Tecpan.

32. ypā Viernes yc 11 de julio 1631 años juā macuil micqui ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui atenco

32. On Friday the 11th of July 1631:
Juan Macuil died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

34. ypā jueves yc 17 de julio 1631 a^{o}s miguel delintorne micqui ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
piltzintli micqui yta Miguel ortaz pohui tecpā
diego Valēçia micqui pohui huexotzinco tecpālucia miqui ynamic diego vallencia pohui tecpā

34. On Thursday the 17th of July 1631:
Miguel Delintorne died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
A child died. His father was Miguel Ortiz of Tecpan.
Diego Valencia of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
Lucia died. Her spouse was Diego Valencia of Tecpan.

[Two lines follow that are in a different hand and are crossed out – illegible]

[Two lines follow that are in a different hand and are crossed out – illegible]

f. 49r

1. ypā martes yc 15 de julio 1631 años[52]
catalinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel ortas pohui tecpā
melchior pz micqui ynamic marta de juilta pohui tecpā
diego piltzin micqui ypiltzin Miguel ortas pohui tecpa

f. 49r

1. On Tuesday the 15th of July 1631:
The child Catalina died. She was the child of Miguel Ortiz of Tecpan.
Melchor Pérez died. His spouse was Marta de Julita of Tecpan.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Ortiz of Tecpan.[164]

5. ypā jueves yc 17 de julio 1631 años
ana ychpochtli miqui ypiltzin diego de aquino pohui atenco
sebastiā telpochtli micqui ypiltzin juā ortas pohui tecpā

5. On Thursday the 17th of July 1631:
The young woman Ana died. She was the child of Diego de Aquino of Atenco.
The young man Sebastián died. He was the child of Juan Ortiz of Tecpan.

8. ypā domi͡go yc 20 de julio 1631 años
diego hernādez micq̆ ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā

8. On Sunday the 20th of July 1631:
Diego Hernández died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

[52] The dates go out of order for a day here.
[164] Miguel Ortiz's wife died on July 10th and his unnamed child on July 17th and another daughter and son die on July 15th.

piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pohui almoyahuacā	A child died. He was the child of Diego of Almoyahuacan.
11. ypā martes yc 29 de julio 1631 años juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pz pohui almoyahuacā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā ortas pohui tecpa	11. On Tuesday the 29th of July 1631: The child Juan died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan. A child died. He was the child of Juan Ortiz of Tecpan.[165]
14. ypā Viernes yc 31 de julio 1631 años maria castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic Miguel yohualcohuacatl oco$_{tepec}$ melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego ximenez pohui tecpā fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic miquel yohualcohuatl pohui ocotepec	14. On Friday the 31st of July 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Yohualcohuacatl [of] Ocotepec. The child Melchora died. She was the child of Diego Jiménez of Tecpan. Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Yohualcohuatl of Ocotepec.
18. ypā martes yc 5 de agusto 1631 años miguel deribas micqui ynamic Ysabel omaxoch pohui tecpā	18. On Tuesday the 5th of August 1631: Miguel de Rivas died. His spouse was Isabel Amaxoch of Tecpan.

[165] Juan Ortiz's older son died on July 17th and now this younger, unnamed child on the 29th of July.

antona castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic diego xuarez pohui tecpā	Antonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Tecpan.
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca diego de lona pohui tlanicotlā	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan.
22. ypā sab^{o} yc 9 de agusto 1631 años luisa castillā Xochitl micqui pohui tlatenco	22. On Saturday the 9th of August 1631: Luisa Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco died.
24. ypā domigo yc 10 de agusto 1631 años fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca mathias pz tecpā	24. On Sunday the 10th of August 1631: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Matías Pérez [of] Tecpan.
juana ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin catca gaspar hernādez tecpa	The young woman Juana died. She was the child of the late Gaspar Hernández [of] Tecpan.
27. ypā martes yc 12 de agusto 1631 a^{o}s diego orrtez micqui ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl} pohui totollac	27. On Tuesday the 12th of August 1631: Diego Ortiz died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
helena piltzintli micqui pohui Totollac	The child Elena of Totollac died.
30. ypā jueves yc 14 de agusto 1631 años	30. On Thursday the 14th of August 1631:

maria castillā xochitl micqui ynamic catca	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse
diego Vartes pohui totolac	was the late Diego Vartes of Totollac.
diego de lona micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan died.
33. ypā Viernes yc 15 de agusto 1631 aºs	33. On Friday the 15th of August 1631:
angelinā maª micqui ynamic juā Antonio	Angelina Maria died. Her spouse was
pohui tecpā	Juan Antonio of Tecpan.
35. ypā lunes yc 18 de agusto 1631 años	35. On Monday the 18th of August 1631:
peº decāte micqui pohui huexotzinco tecpā	Pedro de Cate of Huexotzinco Tecpan
	died.
37. ypā Viernes yc 22 de agusto 1631 años	37. On Friday the 22nd of August 1631:
juana castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl	The widow Juana Castillanxochitl of
pohui totollac	Totollac died.
miguel perez micqui ynamic juana	Miguel Pérez died. His spouse was Juana
catallinā pohui almoyahuacā	Catalina of Almoyahuacan.
pasqual piltōtli micqui yta marcos perez	The child Pasqual died. His father was
pohui tecpā	Marcos Pérez of Tecpan.
f. 49v	f. 49v
1. ypā domi͡go yc 24 de agusto 1631 aºs	1. On Sunday the 24th of August 1631:

miguel ortona telpochtli micqui pohui acxotlā	The young man Miguel Ortona of Acxoltan died.
3. ypā lunes yc 25 de agusto 1631 años nicoles delandino telpochtli ytā juā deçmora pohui huexo^{co} huexo^{co} tecpā	3. On Monday the 25th of August 1631: The young man Nicolas de Ladino. His father was Juan de Zamora of Huexotzinco Tepcan.
5. ypā martes yc 26 de agusto 1631 años juā ortez micqui ynamic [blank space] pohui huexo^{co} tecpā andrea piltzintli micqui huexotzinco totollac – yta mathias deçamora	5. On Tuesday the 26th of August 1631: Juan Ortiz died. His spouse was [blank space] of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[166] The child Andrea [of] Huexotzinco Totollac died. – Her father was Matías de Zamora.
8. ypā miercoles yc 27 de agusto 1631 años helena piltzintli micqui yta juā de lona pohui tlanicōtlā	8. On Wednesday the 27th of August 1631: The child Elena died. Her father was Juan de Luna of Tlanicontlan.
10. ypā miercoles yc [left blank]	10. On Wednesday the [blank]

[166] This is likely the same Juan Ortiz whose children died the month before.

ysabel yta marcos pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Isabel, her father was Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
12. ypā jueves yc 28 de agusto 1631 años magdalena castillā Xochitl micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā juā de s. tia$_{go\ ynamic}$ antonio piltzintli micqui yta diego de aquino pohui tocuilla	12. On Thursday the 28th of August 1631: Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was Juan de Santiago. The child Antonio died. His father was Diego Aquino of Tocuillan.
15. ypā domigo yc 31 de agusto 1631 anos juā de roças micqui ynamic angelinā tlapapal pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	15. On Sunday the 31st of August 1631: Juan de Rosas died. His spouse was Angelina Tlapapal of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
17. ypā domi͡go yc 7 setiebre 1631 años juā perez micqui ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā luçia castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā de la cruz pohui totollac juā piltzintli micqui yta fran^{co} xuarez pohui atzōpā	17. On Sunday the 7th of September 1631: Juan Pérez died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan. Lucia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de la Cruz of Totollac. The child Juan died. His father was Francisco Suárez of Atzonpan.

21. ypā martes yc 9 setiēbre 1631 años
miguel piltzintli micqui yta juā perez pohui almoyahuacā
maria piltzintli micqui yta marcos perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

21. On Tuesday the 9th of September 1631:
The child Miguel died. His father was Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Maria died. Her father was Marcus Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

24. ypā miercoles yc 10 de setiēbre 1631 años
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic domi͡go deribas pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

24. On Wednesday the 10th of September 1631:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Domingo de Rivas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. ypā jueves yc 11 setiebre 1631 años
juā de la cruz micqui ynamic pedromilla pohui tiāquiztenco

26. On Thursday the 11th of September 1631:
Juan de la Cruz died. His spouse was Petronilla of Tianquiztenco.

28. ypā Viernes yc 12 setiēbre 1631 años
maria xillotl micqui ynamic fran^{co} catena pohui coyotzinco

28. On Thursday the 12th of September 1631:
Maira Xillotl died. Her spouse was Francisco Catena of Coyotzinco.

30. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 setienbre 1631 años maria piltzintli micqui yta Gabriel coto pohui Totollac

30. On Saturday the 13th of September 1631:
The child Maria died. Her father was Gabriel Soto of Totollac.

32. ypā lunes yc 15 setienbre 1631 años ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias de roças pohui tecpā

32. On Monday the 15th of September 1631:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Tecpan.

34. ypā martes yc 16 setiēbre 1631 años marcos vartes micqui ynamic mariana pohui totollac
antona ximenez micqui ynamic mathias de luna pohui tecpā

34. On Tuesday the 16th of September 1631:
Marcos Vartes died. His spouse was Mariana of Totollac.
Antonia Jiménez died. Her spouse was Matías de Luna of Tecpan.

37. ypā miercoles yc 17 setiēbre 1631 años maria jallome micqui ynamic lurenço de lona pohui tecpā

37. On Wednesday the 17th of September 1631:
Maria Salome died. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna of Tecpan.

maria cacallo xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca agustin de olarte almoyahuacā	Maria Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Agustín de Olarte [of] Almoyahuacan.
40. ypā sab^{o} yc 20 setiēbre 1631 a^{o}s gaspar hernādez micqui ychā anoto diego xuarez micq̆ tlanicōtlā juā piltzintli micqui yta domi͡go de ribas pohui tecpā	40. On Saturday the 20th of September 1631: Gaspar Hernández died at home. Diego Suárez said so. He died in Tlanicontlan. The child Juan died. His father was Domingo de Rivas of Tecpan.
44. ypā miercoles yc 24 de setiēbre 1631 años mathias de la cruz micqui ynamic antona ximenez pohui tecpā	44. On Wednesday the 24th of September 1631: Matías de la Cruz died. His spouse was Antonia Jiménez of Tecpan.
f. 50r	f. 50r
1. ypā miercoles yc 1 de octobre 1631 años miguel de roças micqui ynamic Helena cacallo xo^{tl} pohui tlatenco	1. On Wednesday the 1st of October 1631: Miguel de Rosas died. His spouse was Elena Cacalloxochitl of Tlatenco.
3. ypā jueves yc 2 octobre 1631 años	3. On Thursday the 2nd of October 1631:

antona castillā xo^{tl} micqui ypiltzin miquel de roças pohui tlatenco	Antonia Castillanxochitl died. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.[167]
5. ypā Viernes yc 3 de octobre 1631 años piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā Rodriquez pohui tiāquiztenco	5. On Friday the 3rd of October 1631: A child died. He was the child of Juan Rodríguez of Tianquiztenco.
7. ypā lunes yc 6 de octobre 1631 años domingo de ribas micqui ynamic catca fran^{ca} cacallo xo^{tl} pohui tecpā	7. On Monday the 6th of October 1631: Domingo de Rivas died. His spouse was the late Francisca Cacalloxochitl of Tecpan.[168]
9. ypā miercoles yc 8 de octobre 1631 a^{o}s catalina de s. ta ma^{a} miqui pohui thocuillā	9. On Wednesday the 8th of October 1631: Catalina de Santa Maria of Tocuillan died.
11. ypā jueves yc 9 de octobre 1631 años miguel pz micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	11. On Thursday the 9th of October 1631: Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan died.

[167] Miguel de Rosas died on October 1st and his child on October 2nd and his wife will die on October 28th.
[168] Domingo de Rivas' son died on sept 20th and his wife on the 10th of September.

13. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 de octobre 1631 años maria canil micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	13. On Saturday the 11th of October 1631: Maria Canil of Tlanicontlan died.
15. ypā miercoles yc 15 de octobre 1631 a^{o}s miguel diego micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	15. On Wednesday the 15th of October 1631: Miguel Diego of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
17. ypā jueves yc 16 de octobre 1631 años ana matlal micqui tlapopolhuillo pohui tlanicōtlā mathias hernādez micqui ynamic juana matlal pohui xaltepetlapā	17. On Thursday the 16th of October 1631: Ana Matlal of Tlanicontlan died. She confessed. Matías Hernández died. His spouse was Juana Matlal of Xalteptetlapan.
20. ypā Viernes yc 17 de octobre 1631 a^{o}s agustina castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic fran^{co} ximenez pohui totollac	20. On Friday the 17th of October 1631: Agustina Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was Francisca Jiménez of Totollac.
22. ypā jueves yc 23 de octobre 1631 años	22. On Thursday the 23rd of October 1631:

fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Antoni pz pohui totollac	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her husband was Antonio Pérez of Totollac.
ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias deroças pohui tecpā	Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Tecpan.
lurenço de lona micqui ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui coyotzinco	Lorenzo de Luna died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.
maria jalome micqui ynamic domi͡go hernādez pohui tlatenco	Maria Salome died. Her spouse was Domingo Hernández of Tlantenco.
27. ypā sab^{o} yc 25 de octobre 1631 a^{o}s diego micqui vilātzin[53] ychā anoto juā pz catca	27. On Saturday the 25th of October 1631: Diego, the invalid, died at home, so said the late Juan Pérez.[169]
29. ypā martes yc 28 de octobre 1631 a^{o}s helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca Miguel de roças pohui tlatenco	29. On Tuesday the 28th of October 1631: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.
31. ypā miercoles yc 29 de octobre 1631 años	31. On Wednesday the 29th of October 1631:

[53] From *huilantli – uilantil* - a person who is handicapped, alter-abled, or who goes along on all fours, crawling.
[169] It is likely that Juan Pérez had died by the time this record was being written.

diego de lona micqui ynamic Helena pohui tlanicōtlā	Diego de Luna died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.
sebastiā pz micqui yta Estevā pz pohui almoyahuacā	Sebastián Pérez died. His father was Esteban Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh ana de roças pohui tiāquiztenco	A child died. He was the grandchild of Ana de Rosas of Tianquiztenco.
ana micqui ynamic Rapael perez ychā hualla anton m͡jn	Ana died at home. Her spouse was Raphael Pérez. Anton Martín came to say so.
mathias telpochtli micq̆ yta lurenço de lona pohui xaltepetlapā	The young man Matías died. His father was Lorenzo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.
37. ypā Viernes yc 31 de octobre 1631 años	37. On Friday the 31st of October 1631:
pilipe clabasar micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic mariana	Felipe Clabasar of Xaltepetlapan died. his spouse was Mariana.
piltzintli micqui yta juā pohui tecpā	A child died. His father was Juan of Tecpan.
40. ypā lunes yc 3 noviēbre 1631 aºs	40. On Monday the 3rd of November 1631:
diego de lona micqui ynamic p hellina pohui tlanicōtlā	Diego de Luna died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.

42. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 noviēbre 1631 años
marcos pz micqui pohui tecpā ynamic ma^{a}
pohui tecpā
piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} pohui tecpā

42. On Saturday the 8th of November 1631:
Marcos Pérez of Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria of Tecpan.
A child died. His father was Pedro of Tecpan.

f. 50v

1. ypā domingo yc 9 de noviēbre 1631 años
[fran^{co}] perez micqui pohui huexo^{co} totolla
ynamic ana atenpelol Xochitl
diego roças micqui pohui ocotepec ynamic
juana castillā xo^{tl}

f. 50v

1. On Sunday the 9th of November 1631:
[Francisco] Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac died. His spouse was Ana Atenpelolxochitl.
Diego Rosas of Ocotepec died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

4. ypā miercoles yc 12 noviēbre 1631 años
pasqual delona micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl}
juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui s. tiago
xaltepetlapā s. topā

4. On Wednesday the 12th of November 1631:
Pasqual de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
Juana Castillanxochitl of Santiago Xaltepetlapan San Topan died.

sebastian piltzintli micqui yta xpo̅ual de lona	The child Sebastián died. His father was Cristóbal de Luna.
ysabel micqui yta pa^{o} de la cruz pohui tlanicōtlā	Isabel died. Her father was Pablo de la Curz of Tlanicontlan.
9. ypā jueves yc 13 noviēbre 1631 años	9. On Thursday the 13th of November 1631:
juā bap^{ta} micqui pohui totollac ynamic jusana de lintorne	Juan Bautista of Totollac died. His spouse was Jus[ti]na de Lintorne.
piltzintli micqui tecpā	A child [of] Tecpan died.
12. ypā sab^{o} yc 15 noviēbre 1631 años	12. On Saturday the 15th of November 1631:
diego mig^{l} micqui ychā anoto jacobo pz acxotlā	Diego Miguel died at home, so said Jacobo Pérez [of] Acxotlan.
pe^{o} de roças micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic marta castillā xo^{tl}	Pedro de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Marta Castillanxochitl.
15. ypā lunes yc 17 noviēbre 1631 años	15. On Monday the 17th of November 1631:
mathias piltōtli yta juā de lona pohui tecpā	The child Matías. His father was Juan de Luna of Tecpan.

17. ypā martes yc 18 noviēbre 1631 años
antonio piltzintli yta diego valençia pohui xaltepetlapā
fran^{ca} tozpetlalal micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic Estevā perez

17. On Tuesday the 18th of November 1631:
The child Antonio. His father was Diego Valencia of Xaltepetlapan.
Francisca Tozpetlalal of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Esteban Pérez.

20. ypā miercoles yc 19 noviēbre 1631 años
ana miyahua xoch micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā yllamatzin y[c]oneuh xp̄oual
mariana micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic diego perez
diego piltzintli micqui yta diego Ramirez pohui acxotlā

20. On Wednesday the 19th of November 1631:
Ana Miyahuaxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. She was an old woman. Cristóbal was her child.
Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez.
The child Diego died. His father was Diego Ramíerz of Acxotlan.

24. ypā jueves yc 20 noviēbre 1631 años
maria ximenez micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui xaltepetlapā
diego pinero micqui pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic mag^{na} ma^{a}

24. On Thursday the 20th of November 1631:
The widow Maira Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan died.
Diego Pinero of Tlanicontlan died. His spouse was Magdalena Maria.

27. ypā Viernes yc 21 noviēbre 1631 a^{o}s juā telpochtli micqui ycha anoto mathias pinero pohui tlanicōtlā	27. On Friday the 21st of November 1631: The young man Juan died at home. Matías Pinero of Tlanicontlan said so.
29. ypā miercoles yc 26 noviēbre 1631 años maria piltotli micqui yta catca mig^{l} diego pohui tlanicōtlā diego perez micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic mariana	29. On Wednesday the 26th of November 1631: The child Maria died. Her father was the late Miguel Diego of Tlanicontlan. Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Mariana.
32. ypā jueves yc 27 noviēbre 1631 a^{o}s fran^{co} mathias micqui chane tlaltene[n]co teylpilloyā yn manoto ompa mic	32. On Thursday the 27th of November 1631: Francisco Matías from Tlaltenco died. He was brought to jail and died.[170]
34. ypā domigo yc 30 noviēbre 1631 años mag^{na} varvora micqui pohui s. fran^{co} tepeyacac	34. On Sunday the 30th of November 1631: Magdalena Barbara of San Francisco Tepeyacac died.

[170] Tentative translation. Either: *yn maxolo*? [passive of "asi"] or *manato*? [ano + to]. Alternatively: He got himself to the jail and died there. [The prison was part of the municipal complex—it's not entirely illogical that it could have been used as a sort of spatial marker.]

jusepa piltōtli micqui yta juā perez pohui tiāquiztenco	The child Josepha died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Tianquiztenco.
ypā pa^{o} de. S. tiago pohui atenco	Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.
38. ypā lunes yc 1 deciēbre 1631 años	38. On Monday the 1st of December 1631:
maria yna ma^{a} ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā	Maria. Her mother was Maria Jiménez of Xaltepetlapan.
40. ypā martes yc 2 deciēbre 1631 años	40. On Tuesday the 2nd of December 1631:
gaspar micqui chane tlatlapanallā ychā anoto diego de la cruz pohui acxotlā malli quimictia	Gaspar from Tlatlapanallan died at home. Diego de la Cruz of Acxoltan said so. A prisoner killed him.[171]
fran^{ca} catillā Xochitl micqui ynamic Pasqual de tores almoyahuacā pohui	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Torres of Almoyahuacan.
f. 51r	f. 51r
1. ypā jueves yc 4 deciēbre 1631 años	1. On Thursday the 4th of December 1631:

[171] Presumably the man became a prisoner after killing him.

luçia xahual micqui ynamic mathias de roças pohui xaltepetlapā

Lucia Xahual died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

miguel çaynos micqui pohui tlanicōtlā ynamic mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl}

Miguel Ceynos of Tlanicontlan died. His spouse was Magdalena Castillanxochitl.

4. ypā Viernes yc 5 deçibre 1631 año juana micqui pohui tlanicōtlā

4. On Friday the 5th of December 1631: Juana of Tlanicontlan died.

6. ypā jueves yc 11 deçiēbre 1631 años estevā coto micqui ynamic mariana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

6. On Thursday the 11th of December 1631:
Esteban Soto died. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. ypā sab^{o} yc 12 deciēbre 1631 años mag^{na} valençia micqui ynamic pa^{o} de la cruz pohui tlanicōtlā
micacela piltzintli micqui yta juā bap^{ta} pohui cecallacohuayā

8. On Saturday the 12th of December 1631:
Magdalena Valencia died. Her spouse was Pablo de la Cruz of Tlanicontlan.
The child Micaela died. Her father was Juan Bautista of Cecallacohuayan.

11. ypā lunes yc 15 deçiēbre 1631 a^{o}s

11. On Monday the 15th of December 1631:

miguel yohualcohuatatl micqui pohui ocotepec	Miguel Yohualcohuatatl of Ocotepec died.
helena castillā Xochitl micq̃ ynamic diego de la cruz pohui tlatenco	Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic diego çaynos pohui almoyahuacā	Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.
15. ypā martes yc 16 decienbre 1631 años pe^{o}milla micqui yta diego çaynos pohui almoyaca	15. On Tuesday the 16th of December 1631: Petronilla died. Her father was Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.
17. ypā sab^{o} castollomome decienbre 1631 años juā perez micqui pohui tecpa	17. On Saturday the 17th of December 1631: Juan Pérez of Tecpan died.
19. ypā juepes yc 25 decienbre 1631 años ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui xaltepetlapa ynamic matheo xuarez helena castilla xoch^{tl} micqui pohui ocotepec ynamic Miguel lupez	19. On Thursday the 25th of December 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez. Elena Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec died. Her spouse was Miguel Lopez.

die^{go} caynes micqui pohui almoyahuaca yc ocalpoliuhque	Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan died. The barrio gathered for him.[172]
Fr. sebastian florez	fray Sebastián Flórez
24. 1632 años	24. The year 1632
25. ypā Viernes yc 9 henero 1632 anos juseph xuarez micqui pohui coyotzinco ynamic maria martina	25. On Friday the 9th of January 1632: Joseph Suárez of Coyotzinco died. His spouse was Maria Martina.
angelina castilla Xochitl micqui pohui tlanicontla ynamic joseph de lona	Angelina Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died. Her spouse was Joseph de Luna.
ysavel ortas micqui pohui tecpa ynamic catca diego coētes	Isabel Ortiz of Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Diego Cortés.
29. ypā domi͡go yc 11 henero 1632 años piltzintli micqui yta pilipe Consuelo pohui tlatēco	29. On Sunday the 11th of January 1632: A child died. His father was Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.
pe^{o} micqui yta Pablo delle cruz pohui tlanicōtla	Pedro died. His father was Pablo de la Curz of Tlanicontlan.
32. ypā martes yc 13 de henero 1632 a^{o}s	32. On Tuesday the 13th of January 1632:

[172] Diego Ceynos' wife died the day before on the 15th and his daughter now on the 16th.

jusep piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh Agustina valazq̃z Ocotepec

The child Joseph died. He was the grandchild of Agustina Valazquez [of] Ocotepec.

34. ypā miercoles yc 14 de henero 1632 años
juā martin micqui ynamic fran^{ca} perez almoyahuacā
diego de lona micqui ynamic Agustina [illegible] pohui xalte[illegible]
antona micq̃ yta pe^{o} pohui tlamacazcapā
melchiora piltzintli micqui yna fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} pohui ocotepec
pe^{o} de roças micqui ynamic Helena pohui tlanicōtlā

34. On Wednesday the 14th of January 1632:
Juan Martín died. His spouse was Francisca Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.
Diego de Luna died. His spouse was Agustina [illegible] of Xaltepetlapan.
Antonia died. Her father was Pedro Tlamacazcapan.
The child Melchora died. Her mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.
Pedro de Rosas died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.

f. 51v

1. [ypā sab^{o} yc 17] henero 1632 años
[illegible] micqui ynamic p^{e}dromilla lupez pohui tecpā

f.51v

1. On Saturday the 17th of January 1632:
[illegible] died. His spouse was Petronilla Lopez of Tecpan.

3. ypā domi͡go 18 de henero 1632 años

3. On Sunday the 18th of January 1632:

miguel telpochtli micqui yta don Gabriel xuarez pohui tepā	The young man Miguel died. His father was Gabriel Suárez of Tecpan.
5. ypā lunes yc 19 de henero 1632 años antonio piltzintli micqui yta pa^{o} de la cruz pohui tlatenco	5. On Monday the 19th of January 1632: The child Antonio died. His father was Pablo de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
7. ypā jueves yc 22 de henero 1632 a^{o}s antona tlapallezmi Xochitl micqui ynamic diego detores pohui tlatenco	7. On Thursday the 22nd of January 1632: Antonia Tlapallezmixochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de Torres of Tlatenco.
10. ypā lunes yc 26 de henero 1632 años juā diego telpochtli micqui yta juā arāta pohui atenco	10. On Monday the 26th of January 1632: The young man Juan Diego died. His father was Juan Aranta of Atenco.
12. ypā miercoles yc 28 de henero 1632 años balthasar perez micqui ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} almoyahuacā	12. On Wednesday the 28th of January 1632: Baltazar Pérez died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl [of] Almoyahuacan.
14. ypā jueves yc 29 de henero 1632 años	14. On Thursday the 29th of January 1632:

juā matheo micq̃ pohui ynahuac juarez ynamic andresa

Juan Mateo died. He was from [?] the neighbor of Juárez. His spouse was Andresa.

16. ypā Viernes yc 30 de henero 1632 años Bartholome s. chez micqui pohui tlanicōtlā yc ocalpoliuhque
andresa micqui ynamic catca juā matheoynahuac juarez

16. On Friday the 30th of January 1632: Bartolomé Sánchez of Tlanicontlan died. The barrio gathered for him.
Andresa died. Her spouse was the late Juan Mateo, the neighbor of Juárez.[173]

19. ypā domigo yc 1 de hebre 1632 años ma[a] piltzintli micq̃ yta diego xuarez pohui almoyahuaca

19. On Sunday the 1st of February 1632: The child Maria died. Her father was Diego Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

21. ypā lunes yc 2 de hebrero 1632 años juā xuarez micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic angelinā castillā xo[tl]

21. On Monday the 2nd of February 1632: Juan Suárez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Angelina Castillanxochitl.

23. ypā jueves yc 6 de hebrero 1632 años ma[a] piltzintli micqui yta matheo ximenez pohui Totollac

23. On Thursday the 6th of February 1632:
The child Maria died. Her father was Mateo Jiménez of Totollac.

[173] This husband and wife died a day apart.

piltzintli micqui yta juā pohui totollac	A child died. His father was Juan of Totollac.
26. ypā sab^{o} yc 7 de hebrero 1632 años juā baptista micqui ynamic Ysabel castillā xo^{tl} pohui tecpā	26. On Saturday the 7th of February 1632: Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
28. ypā martes yc 10 de hebrero 1632 años juseph micqui ytlamacazcauh juanes huitzocā melchiora micqui ynamic diego ytlamacazcauh juanes mariana micqui ynamic juā lupez pohui ocotepec	28. On Tuesday the 10th of February 1632: Joseph died. His priest was Juárez Huitzocan. Melchora died. her spouse was Diego. Her priest was Juárez. Mariana died. Her spouse was Juan Lopez of Ocotepec.
32. ypā miercoles yc 11 de hebrero 1632 años diego orana micqui ynamic ana de s. ta ma^{a} pohui totollac	32. On Wednesday the 11th of February 1632: Diego Orana died. His spouse was Ana de Santa Maria of Totollac.
34. ypā jueves yc 12 de hebrero 1632 años	34. On Thursday the 12th of February 1632:

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā Estevā pohui xaltepetlapā

The child Juan died. His dear father was Esteban of Xaltepetlapan.

36. ypā Viernes yc 13 de hebrero 1632 a^{o}s sebastiā piltzintli micq̃ yta juā hernādez pohui atenco
melchiora ychpochtli micqui yta mathias ximenez xaltepe^{an}

36. On Friday the 13th of February 1632: The child Sebastián died. His father was Juan Hernández of Atenco.
The child Melchora died. Her father was Jiménez [of] Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypā sab^{o} yc 14 de hebrero 1632 años

39. On Saturday the 14th of February 1632:

Fr. sebastian florez

fray Sebastián Flórez

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–2r[54][55]

1. ypā jueves yc 1 de julio 1632 años gabriel cosme telpochtli micqui yta Pasqual decāte pohui atenco

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–2r

1. On Thursday the 1st of July 1632: The young man Gabriel Cosme died. His father was Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.

[54] All of the small loose pages at the back are indexed as Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907, I have added page numbers here for clarity and inserted these pages in the transcription as the dates would suggest, rather than listing them all at the end. One of these sheets contains marriage records from 1595. I have excluded these records from this Appendix.

[55] Pages may be missing because the date jumps from February to July, but a page wasn't missed the binding string is loose, the pages could be lost, or maybe never existed if the scribe died. Also, because the pages are missing, we don't know if these loose pages were copied into the book along with other names and dates.

4. ypā martes yc 6 de julio 1632 años pedromilla micqui pohui tianquiztenco ynamic catca juā de la cruz	4. On Tuesday the 6th of July 1632: Petronilla of Tianquiztenco died. Her spouse was the late Juan de la Cruz.
7. ypā lunes yc 11 de julio 1632 años fr sebia de [fz?] maa cacallo Xochitl micq̃ ynamic Melchior pohui xaltepetlapā	7. On Monday the 11th of July 1632 fray Sebastián de [Flórez?] Maria Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was Melchor of Xalteptelapan.
11. ypā martes yc 12 de julio 1632 años luçia castillā Xochitl micq̃ ynamic catca juachin ycnotl pohui huexoco tecpā juo de melmiel ynamic ma Salome	11. On Tuesday the 12th of July 1632: Lucia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Joaquin Ycnotl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Juan de Melmiel of Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Maria Salome.
ypan martes 23 de julio huexotzinco tecpan mathiana yta diego ximenez ynā maa yztac Xochitl pohui huexoco totollac yconahua juana castillā xotl pohui acxotlā[56]	[Died] on Tuesday the 23rd of July: Mathiana. Her father was Diego Jiménez. Her mother was Maria Iztacxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac, the neighbor of Juana Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan

[56] These lines seem to be crossed out, but it is hard to tell.

19. ypā miercoles yc 14 de julio 1632 años
lucas perez micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui almoya^{cā}
mig^{l} ortas micqui ynamic juana de la cruz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
gaspar nonoz ycnohoquichtli ytlamacaz juā dolen - tecpā
fran^{ca} de s. ta ma^{a} yllamatzin pohui ocotepate

19. On Wednesday the 14th of July 1632:
The widower Lucas Pérez of Almoyahuacan died.
Miguel Ortiz died. His spouse was Juana de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The widower Gaspar Nuñez. His priest was Juan Durán [of] Tecpan.
The old woman Francisca de Santa Maria of Ocotepec.

26. ypā Viernes yc 16 de julio 1632 años
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā delona pohui tlanicōtlā

26. On Friday the 16th of July 1632:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Luna of Tlanicontlan.

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–2v

1. ypā lunes yc 19 de julio 1632 años
uā perez micqui pohui tepetzinco ynamic maria
pasqual telpochtli micqui pohui coyotzinco yna xpina de mosarate

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–2v

1. On Monday the 19th of July 1632:
Juan Pérez of Tepetzinco died. His spouse was Maria.
The young man Pasqual of Coyotzinco died. His mother was Cristina de Mosarte.

fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Gabriel mor[blotched out] pohui tetzcocapā	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gabriel Mor[ante] of Tetzcocapan.
diego mēdez micqui pohui almoyahuacā	Diego Méndez of Almoyahuacan died.
domi͡go perez micqui pohui xaltepetlapā	Domingo Pérez of Xaltepetlapan died.
fran^{co} perez ynamic anā pohui huexotzinco tecpan	Francisco Pérez. His spouse was Ana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
maria ynes miqui pohui xaltepetlapā	Maria Inés of Xaltepetlapan died.
diego de. S. Miguel miqui pohui tecpā	Diego de San Miguel of Tecpan died.
juā domiel micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Juan Domiel of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
maria jalome micqui pohui tecpā	Maira Salome of Tecpan died.

14. ypā sab^{o} yc yc 25 de jolio 1632 año fran^{co} perez micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic ana castilla xo^{tl}	14. On Saturday the 25th of July 1632: Francisco Pérez of Huextozinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl.

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–3r	Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–3r
1. miqui – ypā llunes yc 20 de julio 1632 años omomiquili	1. Died on Monday the 20th of July 1632:
juā huehue pohui almoyahuaca	Juan Huehue[174] of Almoyahuacan.

[174] This could mean that he was an old man.

3. ypā miercolles yc 22 de julio 1632 años omomiq̆li Miguel ortas pohui s. juā huexotzico	3. Died on Wednesday the 22nd of July 1632: Miguel Ortiz of San Juan Huexotzinco.
5. ypā Viernes yc 24 de julio 1632 años omomiquili maria sallome ychpochtli pohui s.ma trinitel	5. Died on Friday the 24th of July 1632: The young woman Maria Salome of Santa Maria Trinitel.
7. ypā llunes yc 2 de acusto 1632 años omomiquili ystepan perez pohui almoyahuaca	7. Died on Monday the 2nd of August 1632: Esteban Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
9. ypā martes yc 3 de acosto 1632 años omomiquili llurēço pohui chiyauhtzico	9. Died on Tuesday the 3rd of August 1632: Lorenzo of Chiyauhtzinco.
11. ypā xoepes 5 de acosto 1632 años omomiquili juā perez pohui tecpa	11. Died on Thursday the 5th of August 1632: Juan Pérez of Tecpan.
13. ypā domigo y 8 de acusto 1632 años omomiquili ana caxtilla xochitl	13. Died on Sunday the 8th of August 1632: Ana Castillanxochitl.

15. ypā llune 9 de acusto 1632 años omomiquili maria pohui atenco

15. Died on Monday the 9th of August 1632:
Maria of Atenco.

17. ypā llunes 9 de acusto 1632 años omomiquili ynes pohui s. tiago saltepetlapa

17. Died on Monday the 9th of August 1632:
Inés of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.

19. ypā Viernes 13 de acusto 1632 años omomiquili
cristina pohui s. lluys coyotzico

19. Died on Friday the 13th of August 1632:
Cristina of San Luis Coyotzinco.

21. ypā domigo yc 22 manimetztli de acosto 1632 años omomiquili
matallena caxtilla Xochitl pohui tecpa

21. Died on Sunday the 22nd of the month of August 1632:
Matallena Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–3v
1. ypā llunes yc 23 manimetztli de acosto 1632 años omomiquili
petro della cr+uz pohui huexotzinco
totollac

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–3v
1. Died on Monday the 23rd of the month of August 1632:
Pedro de la Cruz of Huexotzinco
Totollac.

4. ça ypā llunes momiquili petro tecpatzi pohui tecpa	4. Died on Monday: Pedro Tecpatzi of Tecpan.
6. ypā jueves 26 manimetztli de acosto omomiquili allosom xinmennez pohui tepetzico	6. Died on Thursday the 26th of the month of August: Allosome Jiménez of Tepetzinco.
9. setieple - ypa llones 4 metztl 1632 años omomiquili merchior carcia pohui san tiago saltepetlapa momiquili jua pabtista pohui huexotzico	9. September – Died on Monday the 4th of the month 1632: Melchor García of Santiago Xaltepetlapan Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco died.
14. ypā domigo 54(sic) metztli 1632 años omomiquili matalēna pohui tecpa omomiquili telpochtli antres marti pohui atzopa omomiquili agelina tlapapal pohui tecpa 24 metztli 1632 años momiquili piltzintli yta Miguel te sanpaltolome pohui almoyahuaca	14. Died on Sunday the 5th of the month 1632: Matalena of Tecpan. The young man Andrés Martín of Atzonpa died. Angelina Tlapapal of Tecpan died on the 24th of the month [?] 1632. A child died. His father was Miguel de San Bartolomé of Almoyahuacan.

f. 52r

1. ypā Viernes yc 8 de octobre 1632 aºs diego de la cruz micqui yc ocalpollihuque pohui tlatenco

3. ypā domi͡go yc 10 de octobre 1632 años marta ortas micqui yllamatzin ymō Estevā ortes pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

5. ypā martes yc 12 de octobre 1632 años agustin Ramirez micqui ynamic ysable Helena pohui xaltepetlapā

7. ypā jueves yc 14 de octobre 1632 años helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic bar^{me} perez pohui tecpā

9. ypā domi͡go yc 17 de octobre 1632 años fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Melchior de roças pohui totollac

f. 52r

1. On Friday the 8th of October 1632: Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco died. The barrio gathered for him.

3. On Sunday the 10th of October 1632: The old woman Marta Ortiz died. Her son-in-law is Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

5. On Tuesday the 12th of October 1632: Agustin Ramíerz died. His spouse was Isabel Elena of Xaltepetlapan.

7. On Thursday the 14th of October 1632: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Bartolomé Pérez of Tecpan.

9. On Sunday the 17th of October 1632: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her Spouse was Melchor de Rosas of Totollac.

11. ypā jueves yc 21 de octobre 1632 años pasqual balentino telpochtli yta mathias bolentino pohui coyo^{co}	11. On Thursday the 21st of October 1632: The young man Pasqual Valentino. His father was Matías Valentino of Coyotzinco.
13. ypā Viernes yc 22 de octobre 1632 años ana antona micqui ynamic gregorio mestiço[57] pohui tecpā	13. On Friday the 22nd of October 1632: Ana Antonia died. Her spouse was Gregorio Mestizo of Tecpan.
15. ypā domi͡go yc 24 de octobre 1632 años juana perez micqui ynamic catca juā perez pohui tecpā [Margin: 24 octu][58] mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic diego gar^{a} pohui atzōpan	15. On Sunday the 24th of October 1632: Juana Pérez died. Her spouse was the late Juan Pérez of Tecpan. Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego García of Atzonpan.
18. ypā jueves yc 27 de octobre 1632 años maria ycihuapil Antonio vega	18. On Thursday the 27th of October 1632: Maria was the daughter of Antonio Vega.

[57] It could be that this was his last name, but likely came from the fact that he was in fact mestizo.
[58] Written in a different hand

20. ypā domi͡go yc 31 de octobre 1632 años
Bartholome micqui chane teocā ychā anoto pedro chane mixtlā pohui xaltepetlapā
mathias de tores micqui pohui huexotzinco tecpā

20. On Sunday the 31st of October 1632:
Bartolomé from Teocan died at home so said Pedro from Mixtlan. He belonged to Xaltepetlapan.
Matías de Torres of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

24. ypā miercoles yc 3 noviebre 1632 años
franco perez micqui ynamic ana castillā xotl pohui atzōpā
sebastiana ychpochtli ypiltzin juā perez pohui tetzcocapā
juā latino micqui ytlamacazcauh Gabriel albarato nimā yhuā ynamic momiquillique

24. On Wednesday the 3rd of November 1632:
Francisco Pérez died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Atzonpan.
The child Sebastiana. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
Juan Latino died. His priest was Gabriel Alvarado. Then, with him his spouse died.

Fr. sebastian florez

fray Sebastián Flórez

30. en seis de novibre de mill y seis cientos y trenta y dos años mio muy Rdo Pe fr franco de Apodaca commesice el de esta meudegoa vio este libro de los difuntos

30. On the 6th of November of the year 1632, our very revered priest fray Francisco de Apodaca, commissioner of this Convent, viewed this book of the

[nubierales] y de hallo conformeado
ordena por a provy^{a} y lo fimo
fr. Fran^{co} de Apodaca
commisio general
antemi
pedro de Audicana
secret^{o}

[names] of the deceased and found it in accordance as ordered for the Provincial and he signed it.
fray Francisco de Apodaca
Commissioner General
Before me:
Pedro de Acdicana
Secretary

f. 52v
1. ypā jueves yc 11 noviēbre 1632 años
anton^{i}o xuarez micqui ynamic dominga
juana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 52v
1. On Thursday the 11th of November 1632:
Antonio Suárez died. His spouse was Dominga Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

3. ypā Viernes yc 12 noviebre 1632 años
helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca juā
pz yc ocalpoliuhque pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
andres martin telpochtli micqui ynahuac
juanes
jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin agustin
Ramirez xaltepetlapā

3. On Friday the 12th of November 1632:
Helena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Juan Pérez. The barrio gathered for her.
The young man Andrés Martín, neighbor of Juárez died.
The child Josepha died. She was the child of Agustin Ramíerez Xaltepetlapan.

8. ypā sab^{o} yc 13 noviēbre 1632 años
maria castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl
pohui xaltepetlapā
juana perez micqui ynamic juā perez pohui
tetzcocapā

8. On Saturday the 13th of November 1632:
The widow Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died.
Juana Pérez died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

11. ypā lunes yc 15 noviēbre 1632 años
Bonauētora gotierez micqui huehuetzin
pohui huexo^{co} tepā

11. On Monday the 15th of November 1632:
The old man Bonaventura Gutiérrez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

13. ypā martes yc 23 noviēber 1632 años
helena morāte micqui ynamic Miguel pz
pohui almoyahuacā
lurenço āsuelo telpochtli micqui ypiltzin
pilipe āsuelo pohui tlatēco

13. On Tuesday the 23rd of November 1632:
Elena Morante died. Her spouse was Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The young man Lorenzo Ansuelo died. He was the child of Felipe Ansuelo of Tlatenco.

17. ypā jueves yc 25 noviēbre 1632 años

17. On Thursday the 25th of November 1632:

fran^{co} telpochtli micqui chane cholollā ychā anoto mathias tzopō xaltepe^{an} juā deçamora telpochtli ypiltzin juā deçamora pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The young man Francisco from Cholula died, so said Matías Tzopon [of] Xaltepetlapan. The young man Juan de Zamora. He was the child of Juan de Zamora of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
20. ypā lunes yc 29 noviēbre 1632 años miguel perez micqui ynamic catca Helena morāte pohui almoyahuacā	20. On Monday the 29th of November 1632: Miguel Pérez died. His spouse was the late Elena Morante of Almoyahuacan.[175]
22. ypā martes yc 23[59] noviēbre 1632 años miguel hernādez micqui ynamic juana pohui tetzcocapā fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego de aquino pohui atenco	22. On Tuesday the 23rd of November 1632: Miguel Hernández died. His spouse was Juana of Tetzcocapan. Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Atenco.
25. ypā jueves y 2 deciēbre 1632 años	25. On Thursday the 2nd of December 1632:

[59] Possibly meant to be November 30th but the correct day of the week either way.
[175] Elena Morante died on November 23rd and her spouse now on November 29th.

juana castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic
Pasqual gar^{a} pohui xaltepetlapā
miguel maldonato micqui ynamic ynes
castillā xo^{tl} ynahuac domi͡go mj͡n
antonio piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh pilipe s.
chez pohui tecpā

Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Xaltepetlapan.
Miguel Maldonado died. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl, the neighbor of Domingo Martín.
The child Antonio died. He was the grandchild of Felipe Sánchez of Tecpan.

29. ypā Viernes yc 3 deciēbre 1632 años
pasqual gartia micqui ynamic catca juana
castillā Xochitl yc ocalpolliuhque pohui
xaltepetlapā
fran^{ca} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathe
xuarez pohui almoyahuacā

29. On Friday the 3rd of December 1632:
Pasqual García died. His spouse was the late Juana Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan. The barrio gathered for him.[176]
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

33. ypā sab^{o} yc nahuitl deçiēbre 1632 años
pablo micqui chane cuetlaxcohuapā ychā
anoto pa^{o} açoqui chiuhcā

33. On Saturday the 4th of December 1632:
Pablo, from Cuetlaxcohuapan died at home. Pablo Acoqui [of] Chiuhcan said so.[177]

[176] Juana Castillanxochitl died on December 2nd and her husband now on December 3rd.
[177] Acoqui and chiuhcan could be a last name and a place name but could be just a last name.

36. ypā martes yc 7 deciēbre 1632 años fran^{ca} castilla Xochitl micqui ynamic diego de aquino pohui atenco

36. On Tuesday the 7th of December 1632:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Atenco.

39. ypā sab^{o} yc 11 decienbre 163(sic) años micque
diego de aquino micqui ynamic catca fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui atenco
ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ypiltzin juā tlacoquē chane s. lurenço chiyauhtzinco
lurenço perez micqui ynamic sebastiana pohui huexo^{co} tecpa
juā sarbmiēto micqui ynamic sebastiana pohui tlatenco
juana castillā Xochitl ynamic mathias de aquino pohui tlanicōtlā

39. Died on Saturday the 11th of December 163[2]:
Diego de Aquino died. His spouse was the late Francisca Castillanxochitl of Atenco.[178]
Maria Castillanxochitl died. She was the child of Juan Tlacoque from San Lorenzo Chiyauhtzinco.
Lorenzo Pérez died. His spouse was Sebastiana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Juan Sarmiento died. His spouse was Sebastiana of Tlatenco.
Juana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.

f. 53r

1. ypā Viernes yc 23 deciebre 1632 a^{o}s

f. 53r

1. On Friday the 23rd of December 1632:

[178] Francisca Castillanxochitl died on December 7th and her husband now on December 11th.

ma^{a} Micaela ynamic juā gregorio pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Maria Micaela. Her spouse was Juan Gregorio of Huxotzinco Tecpan.
3. ypā sab^{o} yc 24 deçiēbre 1632 años maria nenca micqui ynamic matheo mētieta pohui acxotlā mathias de roças micqui ypiltzin mathias de aquino pohui tlanicōtlā	3. On Saturday the 24th of December 1632: Maria Nenca died. Her spouse was Mateo Mentieta of Acxotlan. Matías de Rosas died. He was the child of Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.
6. ypā domigo yc 26 deciēbre 1632 años [ma]ria castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic xpo͡ual de cāte pohui huexotzinco tecpā [m]atheo bartholome micqui ynamic mag^{na} maria pohui huexo^{co} tepā	6. On Sunday the 26th of December 1632: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Cristóbal de Cate of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Mateo Bartolomé died. His spouse was Magdalena Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
10. ypā martes yc 27 deçiēbre 1632 años maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic diego chanito pohui tlanicōtlā	10. On Tuesday the 27th of December 1632: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Chanito of Tlanicontlan.

ana cacallo Xochitl ycnoçihualt micqui pohui cecalacohuayā

mariana micqui ynamic catca lurenço de lona pohui chiyauhtzinco

The widow Ana Cacalloxochitl of Cecallacohuayan died.

Mariana died. Her spouse was the late Lorenzo de Luna of Chiyauhtzinco.

14. ypā miercoles yc 28 deçiebre 1632 años

mag^{na} maria micqui ynamic matheo bartholome yc ocalpolliuhque pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

[p]illipe hernādez micqui ynamic ana pohui tlateco

14. On Wednesday the 28th of December 1632:

Magdalena Maria died. Her spouse was Mateo Bartolomé of Huexotzinco Tecpan.[179] The barrio gathered for her.

Felipe Hernández died. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.

18. ypā jueves yc 30 deciēbre 1632 años

[d]iego deroças micqui yc ocalpolliuhque pohui tlanicōtlā

fran^{co} telpochtli ypiltzin di^{o} Rodriguez omic

clara fran^{ca} yna ma lorenço de s tiago catque

18. On Thursday the 30th of December 1632:

Diego de Rosas of Tlanicontlan died. The barrio gathered for him.

The young man Francisco died. He was the child of Diego Rodríguez.

Clara Francisca. Her mother was the late Maria Lorenzo de Santiago.

[179] Mateo Bartolomé died on December 26th and his wife now on December 28th.

ant^{o} de la cruz mag^{na} jalome omique	Antonio de la Cruz [and] Magdalena Salome died.
1633 años	The year 1633
24. ypā sab^{o} yc 1 de henero 1633 anos	24. On Saturday the 1st of January 1633:
[g]abriel morāte micqui pohui tetzcacapā yc ocalpolliuhque	Gabriel Morante of Tetzcocapan died. The barrio gathered for him.
maria jalome ychpochtli chane s. ant^{o} tlatenco s. topā	The young woman Maria Salome from San Antonio Tlatenco San Topan [died].
27. ypā lunes yc 3 de henero 1633 años	27. On Monday the 3rd of January 1633:
juā telpochtli micqui yxhuihu diego maceuh xaltepetlapā	The young man Juan died. He was the grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
jusep Miguel micqui ynamic catca maria ynes pohui xaltepetlapa	Joseph Miguel died. His spouse was the late Maria Inés of Xaltepetlapan.
31. ypā martes yc 4 de henero 1633 años	31. On Tuesday the 4th of January 1633:
juā bartholome micqui ynamic juana luisa pohui tlamacazcapā	Juan Bartolomé died. His spouse was Juana Luisa of Tlamacazcapan.
micaela micqui ypiltzin Estevā ortes pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Micaela died. She was the child of Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

34. ypā domi͡go yc 9 de henero 1633 años
juā xuarez micqui ynamic fran^{ca} castillā
xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

34. On Sunday the 9th of January 1633:
Juan Suárez died. His spouse Francisca
Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

37. ypā jueves yc 13 de henero 1633 años
pasquala piltzintli micq̆ ypiltzin diego de la
cruz acxotlā
jusepa yta pilipe maldonato pohui
coyotzinco

37. On Thursday the 13th of January
1633:
The child Pasqualla died. She was the
child of Diego de la Cruz [of] Acxotlan.
Josepha. Her father was Felipe
Maldonado of Coyotzinco.

f. 53v[60]

1. yc 1 de mayo 1633 años[61]
pa^{o} de roças ynamic ma^{a} nenca pohui tecpā
helena micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
beronica juana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
juā gar^{a} ynamic ma^{a} jalome pohui huexo^{co}
tecpā
mathias de roças ynamic ana castillā xo^{tl}
pohui tecpā

f. 53v

1. The 1st of May 1633:
Pablo de Rosas. His spouse was Maria
Nenca of Tecpan.
Elena of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
Veronica Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Juan García. His spouse was Maria
Salome of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Matías de Rosas. His spouse was Ana
Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.

[60] There is another large gap in dates here.
[61] These pages seem to be organized more by town than by date, as if the lists from the towns might have been copied on that day. It seems likely during a time of epidemic that the information might have been collected elsewhere and then filled in by the date it arrived at the monastery.

diego perez ynamic mariana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Diego Pérez. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

gaspar hernādez ynamic ma^{a} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Gaspar Hernández. His spouse was Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

10. yc 2 de mayo 1633 años

10. The 2nd of May 1633:

lucas perez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Lucas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

andres perez telpochtli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The young man Andrés Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

diego Ramirez ynamic ma^{a} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Diego Ramírez. His spouse was Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

juā hernadez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

agustina Helena ynamic Pasqual pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Agustín Elena. Her spouse was Pasqual of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

fran^{ca} juana ynami Gabriel ximenes pohui tecpā

Francisca Juana. Her spouse was Gabriel Jiménez of Tecpan.

mathias de roças ynamic ana castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Matías de Rosas. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

helena xillotl pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

Elena Xillotl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

19. yc 3 de abril 1633 años

19. The 3rd of April 1633:

anma antona ychpochtli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The young woman Ana Maria Antonia of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
ana maria pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Ana Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
helena nenca pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Elena Nenca of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
domi͡go deancolo ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Domingo de Ancolo. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
pedro hernādez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Pedro Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
pasqual de roças ycnohoquichtli pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The widower Pasqual de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
ana maria ychpochtli pohui tecpā	The young woman Ana Maria of Tecpan
magdalena pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Magdalena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

28. yc 4 de abril 1633 años de mayo[62]	28. The 4th of April 1633 of May
thomas de aquino ynamic ma^{a} fran^{ca} pohui hue	Tomás de Aquino. His spouse was Maria Francisca of Hue[xotzinco].
mathias jalome ynamic ma^{a} jalome pohui tecpa	Matías Salome. His spouse was Maria Salome of Tecpan.
maria jalome ynamic de aquino pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Maria Salome. Her spouse was de Aquino of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[62] The scribe seems to be filling a lot in, not in order, so the two months seem confused.

pe^{o} xuarez ynamic ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tecpā	Pedro Suárez. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
andres perez ynamic Helena coceptiaca pohui huexo^{co} totolac	Andrés Pérez. His spouse was Elena Coceptica of Huexotinco Totollac.
juā de la cruz ynamic luçia neça hual xo^{tl} pohui totollac	Juan de la Cruz. His spouse was Lucia Nezahualxochitl of Totollac.
juā mexia pohui huexo^{co} totollac pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Juan Mexia of Huexotzinco Totollac.
mathias deçamora ynamic pollomia pohui huexotzinco totollac	Matías de Zamora. His spouse was Polonia of Huexotzinco Totollac.

37. yc 5 de mayo 1633 años	37. The 5th of May 1633:
fran^{ca} ynamic Melchior de roças pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Francisca. Her spouse was Melchor de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.
miguel deçamora pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Miguel de Zamora of Huexotzinco Totollac.
ysabel castilla xo^{tl} ynamic fran^{co} pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Isabel Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Francisco of Huexotzinco Totollac.
helena agustina ynamic juā fran^{co} pohui huxo^{co} tollac	Elena Agustina. Her spouse was Juan Francisco of Huexotzinco Totollac.
gaspar perez ynamic Helena pohui huexo^{co} totollac	Gaspar Pérez. His spouse was Elena of Huexotzinco Totollac.
ysabel castillā xo^{tl} pohui huexo^{co} totollac	

ma^{a} jalome ynamic lucas perez pohui totolac

agustina ana ynamic juā Lazaro po huexo^{co} totollac

ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} ynamic fran^{co} de lona pohui totolac

juā miquel ynamic ma^{a} jalome pohui totollac

Isabel Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

Maria Salome. Her spouse was Lucas Pérez of Totollac.

Agustina Ana. Her spouse was Juan Lazaro of Huexotzinco Totollac.

Maria Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Francisco de Luna of Totollac.

Juan Miguel. His spouse was Maria Salome of Totollac.

f. 54r

1. yc 6 de mayo 1633 a^{o}s

die^{o} miguel ynamic antona Angelina pohui totollac almoyahuacā

miguel catena ynamic maría jalome pohui almoyahuacā

juā bap^{ta} ynamic ma^{a} deseta ocalpolliuhque pohui almoyahuacā

mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl} ynamic catca die^{o} Castaneda pohui almoyahuacā

f. 54r

1 The 6th of May 1633:

Diego Miguel. His spouse was Antonia Angelina of Totollac Almoyahuacan.

Miguel Catena. His spouse was Maria Salome of Almoyahuacan.

Juan Bautista. His spouse was Maria de Seda of Almoyahuacan. The barrio gathered for him.

Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was the late Diego Castaneda of Almoyahuacan.

juana castillā xo^{tl} – ocalpohuhque pohui almoyahuacā[63] agustin perez –	Juana Castillanxochitl and Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan. The barrio gathered for them.
juana castillā xo^{tl} ynamic juā de roças pohui almoyahuacā	Juana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Juan de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
Estevā perez ynami fran^{ca} tozpetlacal pohui almoyahuacā	Esteban Pérez. His spouse was Francisca Tozpetlacal of Almoyahuacan.
mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} ynamic bar^{me} xuarez pohui almoyahuacā	Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Bartolomé Suárez of Almoyahuacan.
pasqual de roças ycnohoquichtli pohui almoyahuaca	The widower Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
mathias pz ynamic juana clara pohui almoyahuacā	Matías Pérez. His spouse was Juana Clara of Almoyahuacan.

14. yc 7 de mayo 1633 años	14. The 7th of May 1633:
simeo de la cruz ynamic Helena pohui alalmoyahuacā	Simón de la Cruz. His spouse was Elena of Almoyahuacan.
juā perez ynamic Ysabel mexia pohui almoyahuacā	Juan Pérez. His spouse was Isabel Mexia of Almoyahuacan.
maria castillā xo^{tl} ynamic miguel sāchez pohui almoyahuacā	Maria Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Miguel Sánchez of Almoyahuacan.

[63] I'm assuming this line is referring to the one above and below it. They were probably related. That's the way the scribe organizes it when two children of the same family die in one day.

miguel de aquino ynamic ana castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuacā	Miguel de Aquino. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
pa^{o} maceuh ynamic ma^{a} jallome pohui almoyahuacā	Pablo Maceuh. His spouse was Maria Salome of Almoyahuacan.
Estevā perez ynamic Agustina yzqui xo^{tl} pohui almoyahuac^{a}	Esteban Pérez. His spouse was Agustina Izquixochitl of Almoyahuacan.
juā Gabriel ynamic pedromilla pohui almoyahuacā	Juan Gabriel. His spouse was Petronilla of Almoyahuacan.
mariana pohui ocotepec	Mariana of Ocotepec.
fran^{ca} çaynos ynamic diego alberez pohui atzonpā	Francisca Ceynos. Her spouse was Diego Alvarez of Atzonpan.
lorenço mi͡jn telpochtli pohui atzopa tlatenco	The young man Lorenzo Martín of Atzonpan Tlatenco.

25. yc 8 oc mayo 1633 a^{o}s	25. The 8th of May 1633:
die^{o} de la cruz pohui tlatēco	Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
helelena castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlatenco	Elena Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco.
andres delez pohui tlatēco – antona	Andrés de Luz of Tlatenco – [his spouse was] Antonia.
thomas de. S. Miguel ynamic fran^{ca} pohui tlatenco	Tomás de San Miguel. His spouse was Francisca of Tlatenco.
pa^{o} xuarez ynamic antona pohui tlatenco	Pablo Suárez. His spouse was Antonia of Tlatenco.

die^{o} perez ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} tlatenco	Diego Pérez. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl [of] Tlatenco.
miguel quauhtli ynamic fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlatēco	Miguel Quauhtli.[180] His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco.
die^{o} decāte ynamic Agustina pohui tlatēco	Diego de Cate. His spouse was Agustina of Tlatenco.
jusep hernādez ynamic ana pohui tlatenco	Joseph Hernández. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.
juā gaspar ynamic ana pohui tlatēco	Juan Gaspar. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.

36. yc 9 de mayo 1633 a^{o}s	36. The 9th of May 1633:
mathias marcos ynami Helena ma^{a} pohui tlatēco	Matías Marcos. His spouse was Elena Maria of Tlatenco.
antonio martin ynamic fran^{ca} pohui tlatenco	Antonio Martín. His spouse was Francisca of Tlatenco.
helena castillā xo^{tl} ynamic juā diego pohui tlatenco	Elena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Juan Diego of Tlatenco.
antono pz ynamic Angelina pohui tlatēo	Antonio Pérez. His spouse was Angelica of Tlatenco.
juā martin ynamic ma^{a} pohui tlatēco	Juan Martín. His spouse was Maria of Tlatenco.

[180] Literally, eagle.

pedromila ynamic juā de la cruz omicq̆tiāquiztenco

Petronilla of Tianquiztenco died. Her spouse was Juan de la Cruz.[181]

uachin perez ynamic sebastiona tiāquiztēco juā bap^{ta} ynamic ma^{a} omique pohui atecō

Joaquin Pérez. His spouse was Sebastiana [of] Tianquiztenco

Juan Bautista of Atenco died. His spouse was Maria.[182]

45. yc 10 de mayo 1633 a^{o}s juana castillā xo^{tl} ynamic mathias de aquino pohui tlanicōtlā

45. The 10th of May 1633:

Juana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.

die^{o} de roças ynamic ~~juana~~^{juana} mathias dequino[64] tlanicōtlā yc ocalpohliuhq̆ bar^{me} hernadez Helena pohui tlanicōtlā

Diego de Rosas. His spouse was Juana Matías de Aquino of Talnicontlan. The barrio gathered for him.

mathias gar^{a} ynamic ana ycqui xo^{tl} pohui tlanicōtlā

Bartolomé Hernández. [His spouse was] Elena of Tlanicontlan.

juā gotierez ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui tlanicōtlā

Matías García. His spouse was Ana Icquixochitl of Tlanicontlan.

matheo de roças ynamic fran^{ca} pohui tlanicotlā

Juan Gutiérrez. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan.

Mateo de Rosas. His spouse was Francisca of Tlanicontlan.

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[64] I imagine this was a miscopy of some sort because it mirrors the above and if the scribe were copying from another list, it would be easy to see how this happened.

[181] It could be that they both died, seeing as the verb seems to be *micque*.

[182] It could be that they both died, seeing as the verb seems to be *micque*.

mathias fran^{co} ynamic ma^{a} calpolliuhq̃ tlanicotlā

agustina castillā xo^{tl} ynamic lurenço de luna coyotzinco

Matías Francisco. His spouse was Maria [of] Tlanicontlan. The barrio gathered for her.

Agustina Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna [of] Coyotzinco.

f. 54v

1. yc 15 de mayo 1633 a^{o}s

juā Pasqual ynamic ^{telpochtli} pohui coyotzinco

juā Ortiz ynamic mariana coyotzinco

ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} ynamic catca sebastiā delalohua coyotzinco

thomas delalohua ynamic barbora pohui coyotzinco

ana gomez ycnoçihuatl pohui tocuillā

andres mexia ynamic Helena pohui acxotlā

helena castillā xo^{tl} ynamic juā perez pohui acxotlā

f. 54v

1. The 15th of May 1633:

The young man Juan Pasqual of Coyotzinco

Juan Ortiz. His spouse was Marian [of] Coyotzinco.

Maria Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was the late Sebastián de Lalohua [of] Coyotzinco.

Tomás de Lalohua. His spouse was Barbara of Coyotzinco.

The widow Ana Gomez of Tocuillan

Andrés Mexia. His spouse was Elena of Acxotlan.

Elena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Acxotlan.

agustina cacallo xo^{tl} ynamic luis maldonate pohui tepetzinco	Agustina Cacalloxochitl. Her spouse was Luis Maldonado of Tepetzinco.
juana cacalla xo^{tl} ynamic mathias pohui tepetzinco	Juana Cacalloxochitl. Her spouse was Matías of Tepetzinco.
Fr. sebastian florez	fray Sebastián Flórez
13. ypā yc 16 de mayo 1633 años miqui magdalena castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego gar^{a} pohui atzonpā	13. Died on The 16th of May 1633: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego García of Atzonpan.
juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamci mathias deaquino pohui tlanicótlā	Juanan Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.[183]
16. yc 17 de mayo 1633 anos	16. The 17th of May 1633:
mathias telpochtli micqui ytatzin l mathias deaquino pohui tlanicótlā	The young man Matías died. His father was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.
miguel catena micqui pohui almoyahuacā	Miguel Catena of Almoyahuacan died.
diego de roças micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui tiāquiztenco	The widower Diego de Rosas of Tianquiztenco died.
juana castillā xo^{tl} ynamic quauhtla peuhcatl catea pohui tecpā	Juana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was the late Quauhtla Peuhcatl of Tecpan.

[183] Matías de Aquino died the day before on May 16th.

lurenço tenpio micqui ynamic sebastiona castillā xo^{tl} pohui tecpā	Lorenzo Tenpio died. His spouse was Sebastiana Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan.
antona castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic juā ximenez latineo pohui tetzcocapā	Antonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez Latineo of Tetzcocapan.
23. yc 17 de mayo 1633 años	23. The 17th of May 1633:
lurenço de cardo micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui chiyanhtzinco	The widower Lorenzo de Cardo of Chiyanhtzinco died.
maria castilla Xochitl micqui ynamic juā Miguel pohui tecpā	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Miguel of Tecpan.
maria Jacob micqui y^{na}mic matheo xuarez pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
27. en 20 de julio 1633 años	27. On the 20th of July 1633:
maria Jacob micqui ynamic catea fran^{co} gar^{a} pohui totollac	Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was the late Francisco García of Totollac.
pa^{o} del losna micqui ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl} pohui ocotepec	Pablo de Lonsa died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.
Fr. Diego de tapias	fray Diego de Tapias

f. 55r[65]

1. ypā sapato yc 21 de mayo 1633 anos asqual angel miqui ycnooquichitli cecallacohuaya

3. ypā lunez yc 23 de mayo 1633 anos uanna castilla xochitli miqui pohui tlanicontla

5. ypā domico yc 28 de mayo 1633 anos don diego saynos miqui ynamic dona fra^{ca} temos cosa pohui almoyahuaca

7. ypa dominco 5 de junio 1633 anos maria acostina yillamatzi miqui chane tlaxcalla ycha anoto olellutl

9. ypa jueves yc 6 junio 1633 anos juā pabtizta miqui puhui atenco ynamic marta castilla xochitli

f. 55r

1. On Saturday the 21st of May 1633: The widower Pasqual Angel [of] Cecallacohuaya died.

3. On Monday the 23rd of May 1633: Juana Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died.

5. On Sunday the 28th of May 1633: Don Diego Ceynos died. His spouse is doña Francica Temoscosa of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Sunday the 5th of June 1633: The old woman Maria Agustina from Tlaxcalla died. Olellutl so said.

9. On Thursday the 6th of June 1633: Juan Bautista from Atenco died. His spouse was Marta Castillanxochitl.

[65] This page down to line 16 was copied from one of the loose sheets in the back, Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–4r, so I have not repeated the lines, but they exist in both places.

11. ypā Viernes yc 10 de junio 1633 anos marta miqui yllamatzi pohui ocotepec

11. On Friday the 10th of June 1633: The old woman Marta of Ocotepec died.

13. ypā lunes yc 13 de junio 1633 anos catallina castilla xochitli miqui pohui Ocotepec

13. On Monday the 13th of June 1633: Catalina Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec died.

15. ypā martes yc 14 de junio 1633 anos mateo de la curz miqui pohui huexotzinco tecpa ynamic acostina fraca
peo comiz miqui ynamic Beatris de suto pohui xaltepetlapa

15. On Tuesday the 14th of June 1633: Mateo de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Agustina Francisca. Pedro Gomez died. His spouse was Beatriz de Soto of Xaltepetlapan.

18. ypā martez yc 21 de junio 1633 anos maria castilla xochitli miqui ychpochtli yn ita Miguel xolucaltez pohui almoyahuaca

18. On Tuesday the 21st of June 1633: The young woman Maria Castillanxochitl died. The one who is her father is Miguel Xolucaltez of Almoyahuacan.

21. ypā domico yc 17 de junio 1633 anos ma[a] castilla Xochitl miqui ynamic catca Miguel telletezma pui acxotl[a]

21. On Sunday the 17th of June 1633: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Letezona of Acxotlan.

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–4v[66]	Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–4v
1. ypā lunes yc 20 de junio 1633 aºs peº Gomez micqui ynamic Beatriz de soto xaltepetlapā maª castillā xotl micqui ychpochtli yn ita miguel xuarez almoyahuaca	1. On Monday the 20th of June 1633 Pedro Gomez died. His spouse was Beatriz de Soto [of] Xaltepetlapan. The young woman Maria Castillanxochitl died. The one who was her father was Miguel Suárez [of] Almoyahuacan.[184]
6. ypa lunes yc 12 de julio 1633 años Baltasar hernādez micqui ynamic angelinā maª pohui xaltepetlapā	6. On Monday the 12th of July 1633: Baltazar Hernández died. His spouse was Angelina Maria of Xaltepetlapan.
9. ypā domi͡go yc 17 de julio 1633 años maª castillā xotl micqui ynamic catca miguel de letesma pohui acxotlā	9. On Sunday the 17th of July 1633: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Letezona of Acxotlan.[185]
12. ypā dominco yc 24 de julio miqui Miguel cra sia ynamic ana castilla Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapa 1633 anos	12. On Sunday the 24th of July 1633, Miguel García died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

[66] These lines are on the back of the page that was copied into the book above but were not copied in in their entirety and with the same dates, so I am repeating these entries.
[184] The above two names are listed in the Book as well.
[185] He is listed in the Book as well.

15. ypa miercollez yc 27 julio 1633 anos piltzintli

15. On Wednesday the 27th of July 1633 A child.

17. ypa xo luenes yc 28 julio diego miqui pilltzintli ytatli diego hia ynatzi Justina pohui xaltepetlapa

17. On Monday the 28th of July, the child Diego died. His father was Diego and his mother was Justina of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 55r (continued)

23. ypā dominco yc 24 de julio 1633 anos miguel carlia miqui ynamic ana castilla Xochitl pohui xaltepetlapa

paltollome vartes momiquili ypan sabato yc 15 de octobre 1633 anos ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui toncuila

ma[a] caxtila Xochitl aniqui pohui huexotzinco tecpa ynamic miguel juā miguel piltzitli ytatzi jua Bap[ta] pohui tezco[ca]pa

juāna ma[a] mo[mi]quili ynamic juā quauhtecatl pohui huexotzico tecpa ytlamia de octobre 1633 anos

f. 55r (continued)

23. On Sunday the 24th of July 1633:

Miguel Carlia died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

Bartolomé Vartes died on Saturday the 15th of October 1633. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tocuillan.

Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was Miguel Juan

The child Miguel. His father was Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

Juana Maria died. Her spouse was Juan Quauhtecatl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. This completes October 1633.

F. Diego deltapiaz

fray Diego de Tapias

33. 1634 años

33. The year 1634

34. ypā lunes yc 20 de henero 1634 año magdalenā de la cruz micqui ynamic Pasqual deroças pohui xaltepetlapā

34. On Monday the 20th of January 1634: Magdalena de la Cruz died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

36. ypā martes tes yc 25 de hebre 1634 años
pasqual deroçal micqui ynamic catca magna de la cruz pohui xaltepetlapā
maria castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic diego perez pohui occtepec
maria castillā xotl mic ynamic catca juā vallençia pohui huexoco tecpā

36. On Tuesday the 25th of February 1634:
Pasqual de Rosas died. His spouse was the late Magdalena de la Cruz of Xaltepetlapan.[186]
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Ocotepec.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Juan Vallencia of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

40. ypā martez yc 15 de março 1634 año ana xoxal micqui yllamatzin pohui tiāquiztenco

40. On Tuesday the 15th of March 1634: The old woman Ana Xoxal of Tianquiztenco died.

[186] This husband and wife died a few days apart.

juā baptizta micqui ynamic marta castillā xo^{tl} pohui atenco

Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Marta Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

f. 55v

1. ypā jueves yc 20 de abril 1634 años
mathias deçamora micqui ynamic mariana pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
mariana micqui ynamic diego de aquino pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

f. 55v

1. On Thursday the 20th of April 1634:
Matías de Zamora died. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Mariana died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. ypā jueves yc 27 de abril 1634 año
mathias cosme micqui ynamic Helena castillā xo^{tl} pohui tecpā
juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca pa^{o} de letesma pohui ocotepec
juā de canizales micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui almoyahuaca

4. On Thursday the 27th of April 1634:
Matías Cosme died. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
Juana Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was the late Pablo de Letezona of Ocotepec.
The widower Juan de Canizares of Almoyahuacan died.

8. ypā martes yc 2 de mayo 1634 año
dona mag^{na} de velasco micqui ycnocihuatl pohui xaltepetlapā

8. On Tuesday the 2nd of May 1634:
The widow doña Magdalena de Velasco of Xaltepetlapan died.

10. ypā lunes yc 15 de mayo 1634 año sebastiana micqui ynamic diego baptista pohui acxotlā

10. On Monday the 15th of May 1634: Sebastiana died. His spouse Diego Bautista of Acxotlan.

12. ypā miercoles yc 2 de junio 1634 años juana tozpetlacal micqui yllamatzin ynātzin peo chauez pohui totolac

12. On Wednesday the 2nd of June 1634: The old woman, Juana Tozpetlacal died. She was the mother of Pedro Chavez of Totollac.

14. ypā martes yc 7 de junio 1634 año maa jalome piltzintli micqui ynatzin Ysabel castillā xotl coyotzinco
dona franca degaribara micqui pohui xaltepetlapā

14. On Tuesday the 7th of June 1634: The child Maria Salome died. Her mother was Isabel Castillanxochitl [of] Coyotzinco.
Doña Francisca de Garivara of Xaltepetlapan died.

Fr. Diego deltapiaz

fray Diego de Tapias

18. ypā jueves yc 22 de junio 1634 ano magna piltzintli micqui ytatzin matheo morate pohui huexoco tecpā

18. On Thursday the 22nd of June 1634: The child Magdalena died. Her father was Mateo Morate of Huexotzinco Tecapn.

20. ypā Viernes yc 23 de junio 1634 año
fran^{co} ximenez micqui ynamic juana
castillā xo^{tl} pohui totollac
catallina castilla Xochitl ynamic gaspar
perez pohui almoyahuacā
ysabel piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā perez
pohui almoyahuacā
ysabel piltzintli micqui ytatzin Balthasar
gar^{a} pohui almoyahuacā

20. On Friday the 23rd of June 1634:
Francisco Jiménez died. His spouse was
Juana Castillanxochitl of Totollac.
Catalina Castillanxochitl. His spouse was
Gaspar Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Isabel died. Her father was
Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Isabel died. Her father Baltazar
García of Almoyahuacan.

25. ypā sab^{o} yc 24 de junio 1634 años
josep quauhtacatl micqui pohui ocotepec
ynamic [blank space]

25. On Saturday the 24th of June 1634:
Joseph Quauhtacatl of Ocotepec died. His
spouse was [blank space].

27. ypā domigo yc 25 de junio 1634 años
Beronica maria micqui ynamic diego perez
pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
ynes castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca mig^{l}
maldonato ychā domi͡go m͡js

27. On Sunday the 25th of June 1634:
Veronica Maria died. Her spouse was
Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse
was the late Miguel Maldonado. She was
in the home of Domingo Martín.

30. ypā miercoles yc 28 de junio 1634 año

30. On Wednesday the 28th of June 1634:

juā bap^{ta} micqui ynamic catalinā ychā juā delaoba

helena piltzintli micqui ytatzin pa^{o} delona pohui tecpā

Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Catalina. He was in the home of Juan de Luna.

The child Elena died. Her father was Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.

33. ypā sab^{o} yc 1 de julio 1634 año

juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui y estāçia albarado

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} vartes pohui totollac

33. On Saturday the 1st of July 1634:

Juana Castillanxochitl died on Alvarado's estate.

The child Juan died. His father Francisco Vartes of Totollac.

f. 56r

1. en catorce de junío de mill y seis cientos ytreínta y quatro años viztando este conv^{to} de huexotzinco nūro sante fr. Luis flores comis^{o} gl de todas las prov^{as} dentre nueva espana vio este libro donde se escriber los diffuntos que en el se entierran y le hallo prov^{a} y lo firmo

fray luis florez

commi^{o} gial

f. 56r

1. On The 14th of June of the year 1634, he visited this convent of Huexotzinco. Our sacred fray Luis Flores Commissioner General of the whole province in New Spain and viewed this book where the [names] of the deceased are written that they were buried, and the provincial signed it.

fray Luis Flores

Commissioner General

antemi	Before me:
fr. Gaspar de luima	fray Gaspar de Lumia
secrti^{o}	Secretary
8. ypā lunes yc 3 de julio 1634 años	8. On Monday the 3rd of July 1634:
josep hernādez miqui ynamic Helena	Joseph Hernández died. His spouse was
castillā xo^{tl} pohui almoyauaca	Elena Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynocihuatl pohui	The widow Maria Castillanxochitl of
tecpā	Tecpan died.
11. ypā martex yc 4 de julio 1634 años	11. On Tuesday the 4th of July 1634:
dona paola de lacorona micqui pohui	Doña Paola de la Corona of Totollac
totollac ynamic mathias sebātes	died. Her spouse was Matías Sevantes.
13. ypā lunes yc 10 de julio 1634 años	13. On Monday the 10th of July 1634:
Bar^{me} caynos micqui pohui xaltepetlā	Bartolomé Ceynos of Xaltepetlapan died.
ynamic Micaela angelinaā	His spouse was Micaela Angelina.
juana castillā xo^{tl} ycnocihuatl pohui	The widow Juana Castillanxochitl of
tianquiztenco	Tianquiztenco.
fran^{co} sanchez micqui pohui tecpā ynamic	Francisco Sánchez of Tecpan died. His
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl}	spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl.
17. ypā martes yc 11 de julio 1634 años	17. On Tuesday the 11th of July 1634:

miguel acatl micqui ycnotl pohui tlanicōtlā	The orphan Miguel Acatl of Tlanicontlan died.
maria piltzintli micqui ynatzin ma^{a} castillā Xochitl pohui aten^{co}	The child Maria died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Atenco.
20. ypā miercoles yc 12 de julio 1634 años	20. On Wednesday the 12th of July 1634:
ynes ychpochtli ytatzin matheo marāte pohui tecpā	The young woman Inés. Her father was Mateo Marante of Tecpan.
icaela piltzintli micqui ynātzin fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl tecpā	The child Michael died. Her mother was Francisca Casatillanxochitl [of] Tecpan.
23. ypā jueves yc 13 de julio 1634 años	23. On Thursday the 13th of July 1634:
catalina ychpochtli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} hernādez pohui tecpā	The young woman Catalina died. Her father was Francisco Hernández of Tecpan.
ysabel castillā Xochitl micqui ycnocihuatl pohui atenco	The widow Isabel Castillanxochitl of Atenco died.
fr. Diego de tiapas	fray Diego de Tiapas
27. ypā Viernes yc 14 de julio 1634 años	27. On Friday the 14th of July 1634:

antona castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic geroni$_{mo\ pz}$

Antonia Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. Her spouse was Gernomio Pérez.

29. ypā sab^{o} yc 15 de jullio 1634 a^{o}s catalina Xochitl micqui pohui tlamacazcapā
juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} sanchez pohui tecpā
josep piltzintli yta juā perez pohui tecpā
juā piltzintli yta josep hernādez pohui almoyahuacā
jua Micaela ytatzin juā perez pohui almoyahuacā

29. On Saturday the 15th of July 1634:
Catalina Xochitl of Tlamacazcapan died.
The child Juan died. His father was Francisco Sánchez of Tecpan.
The child Joseph. His father was Juan Pérez of Tecpan.
The child Juan. His father was Joseph Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
Micaela. Her father was Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

f. 56v

maria çeynos micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
fran^{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui almoyahuacā
agustina castillā Xochitl micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
ana poçonal Xochitl micqui ynamic Melchior de la cruz atēco

f. 56v

Maria Ceynos of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
The widow Francisca Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died.
Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
Ana Pozonalxochitl died. Her spouse was Melchor de la Cruz [of] Atenco.

5. ypā domi͡go yc 16 de julio 1634 años juā piltzintli ytatzin andres mexia pohui acxotlā

5. On Sunday the 16th of July 1634: The child Juan. His father was Andrés Mexia of Acxotlan.

7. ypā lunes yc 17 de julio 1634 años marta gar^{a} micqui ycnocihuatl pohui tiāquiztenco
maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui tlanicōtla

7. On Monday the 17th of July 1634: The widow Marta García of Tianquiztenco died.
Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died.

10. ypā miercoles yc 19 de julio 1634 a^{o}s ysabel castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca agustin perez coyotzinco

10. On Wednesday the 19th of July 1634: Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Agustin Pérez [of] Coyotzinco.

12. ypā jueves yc 20 de julio 1634 años miguel diego micqui ynamic Micaela fran^{ca} pohui huexo^{co} tecpā
diego Nicolas piltontli ynātzin mariana pohui [blank space]

12. On Thursday the 20th of July 1634: Miguel Diego died. His spouse was Micaela Francisca of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Diego Nicolas. His mother was Mariana of [blank space].

15. ypā Viernes yc 21 de julio 1634 anos

15. On Friday the 21st of July 1634:

ma^{a} delentino micqui ynamic gaspar poyça cecallacohuapa	Maria de Lentino died. Her spouse was Gaspar Poyza [of] Cecallacohuayan.
agustina Helena micqui ynamic diego juā xaltepetlapā	Agustina Elena died. Her spouse was Diego Juan Xaltepetlapan.
~~ypā Viernes~~	~~On Friday~~
ynes castillā Xochitl micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic lurēço de lona	Inés Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna.
luçia piltzintli ytatzin pa^{o} de lona pohui huexo^{co} tecpā	The child Lucia. Her father was Pablo de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
21. ypā vier sab^{o} yc 22 de julio 1634 año sebastiā telpochtli yta pa^{o} de lona pohui tecpā	21. On Saturday the 22nd of July 1634: The young man Sebastián. His father was Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.[187]
23. ypā lunes yc 24 de julio 1634 año maria jalome ychpochtli micqui ynātzin ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} almoyahuacā	23. On Monday the 24th of July 1634: The young woman Maria Salome died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] Almoyahuacan.
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca fran^{co} sanchez pohui tecpā	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Francisco Sánchez of Tecpan.

[187] Pablo de Luna's daughter died on July 21st and his son on July 22nd.

26. ypā Viernes yc 28 de julio 1634 año
ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynahua juā doris
ynamic juā Pasqual

26. On Friday the 28th of July 1634:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her neighbor
was Juan de Ortiz. His spouse was Juan
Pasqual.

28. ypā sab^{o} yc 29 de julio 1634 año
ynes delafuēte micqui ynamic Pasqual
deroças pohui almoyahuacā
fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} [blank]

28. On Saturday the 29th of July 1634:
Inés de la Fuente died. Her spouse was
Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan
Francisca Castillanxochitl.

31. ypā domigo yc 30 de julio 1634 año
pe^{o} pilpitzintli micqui ytatzin pa^{o} ximenez
pohui totollac
die^{o} piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā pilipe
tianquiztenco
ynes piltzintli micqui yta diego peres pohui
almoyahuacā

31. On Sunday the 30th of July 1634:
The child Pedro died. His father was
Pablo Jiménez of Totollac.
The child Diego died. His father was
Juan Felipe [of] Tianquiztenco.
The child Inés died. Her father was Diego
Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

35. ypā lunes yc 31 de julio 1634 año
juana castilla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca
miguel hernādez pohui tezcocapā yc
ocalpolliuhque

35. On Monday the 31st of July 1634:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse
was the late Miguel Hernández of
Tetzcocapan. The barrio gathered for her.

38. ypā martes yc 1 de agusto 1634 ano lucas perez micqui pohui tlamacazcapā ynamic mariana
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl ynamic die^{o} juā ychā juares

38. On Tuesday the 1st of August 1634: Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazcapan died. His spouse was Mariana.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Diego Juan. She was in the home of Juárez.

f. 57r
pasqual piltzintli micqui ytatzin diego perezpohui almoyahuacā

f. 57r
The child Pasqual died. Her father was Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.[188]

2. ypā miercoles yc 2 de agusto 1634 año agustin telpochtli ytatzin joseph ernādez pohui cecallacohuayā
lucas piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh Helena çanē pohui coyotzinco

2. On Wednesday the 2nd of August 1634: The young man Agustín. His father was Joseph Hernández of Cecallacohuayan.
The child Lucas died. He was the grandchild of Elena Zanen of Coyotzinco.

5. ypā jueves yc 3 de agusto 1634 año juā aranta micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic [blank space]

5. On Thursday the 3rd of August 1634: Juan Aranta of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was [blank space].

[188] Diego Pérez's daughter died on July 30th and his son, now, on August 1st.

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin Melchior de roças pohui totollac

The child Juan died. His father was Melchor de Rosas of Totollac.

mag^{na} teonoscojo micqui ynamic catea fran^{co} de senilla tecpā

Magdalena Teonoscojo died. Her spouse was the late Francisco de Senilla [of] Tecpan.

ma^{a} jalome ycnoçihuatl yllamatzin pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

The widow and old woman Maria Salome of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

ma^{a} castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic jusep Miguel ychā domigo m͡jn

Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Joseph Miguel. She was in the home of Domingo Martín.

micaela Angelina ychpochtli ytatzin catca matheo gar^{a} tecpā

The young woman Micaela Angelina. Her father was the late Mateo García [of] Tecpan.

12. ypā Viernes yc 4 de agusto 1634 años

12. On Friday the 4th of August 1634:

mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Miguel gar^{a} pohui xaltepetlapā

Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.

varvora castillā xo^{tl} micq̃ ynamic pe^{o}de s. mig^{l} pohui atenco

Barbara Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pedro de San Miguel of Atenco.

juā piltzintli ytatzin mathias de la cruz pohui Atenco

The child Juan. His father was Matías de la Cruz of Atenco.

juana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic pe^{o}
mathias pohui xaltepetlpā
melchiora piltzintli micqui ynatzin ana
nicolasa pohui xaltepe^{a}
mathias decāte ynohoquichtli pohui
huexo^{co} totollac
andres telpochtli micqui ytatzin Bernardino
monoz almo^{ca}

Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pedro Matías of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Melchora died. Her mother was Ana Nicolasa of Xaltepetlapan.
The widower Matías de Cate of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The young man Andrés died. His father was Bernardino Muñez [of] Almoyahuacan.

20. ypā sab^{o} yc 5 de agusto 1634 año
pasqual piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā
marquina pohui acxotlā
juā telpochtli ytatzin juā de s. mi͡ijs pohui
almoyahuacā

20. On Saturday the 5th of August 1634:
The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Marquina of Acxoltan.
The young man Juan. His father was Juan de San Martín of Almoyahuacan.

23. ypā sab^{domigo} yc 6 de agusto 1634 ano
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca pe^{o}
de cāte pohui tecpā
helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ytatzin die^{o} gar^{a}
pohui atzopa

23. On Sunday the 6th of August 1634:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Pedro de Cate of Tecpan.
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her father was Diego García of Atzonpan.

26. ypā lunes yc 7 de agusto 1634 años
diego piltzintli micqui –
pedro piltzintli micqui –
mag^{na} piltzintli mic ytatzin juā sachez
ynahuac juā toris

26. On Monday the 7th of August 1634:
The child Diego died.
The child Pedro died.
The child Magdalena died. Her father was Juan Sánchez, neighbor of Juan Torres.

30. ypā martes yc 8 de agusto 1634 a^{o}s
pasqual piltzintli micqui ytatzin lurenço de lona pohui tecpā xalte^{an}
fran^{ca} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Pablo de lora pohui tecpā
helena callilo micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui tiāquiztenco
maria piltzintli micqui –
juana piltzintli micqui –
maria piltzintli micqui

30. On Tuesday the 8th of August 1634:
The child Pasqual died. His father was Lorenzo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.
The widow Elena Callilo of Tianquiztenco died.
The child Maria died.
The child Juana died.
The child Maria died.

37. ypā miercoles yc 9 de agusto 1634 años
helena piltzintli micqui ytatzin mathias de la cruz pohui atenco
ysabel piltzintli micqui –

37. On Wednesday the 9th of August 1634:
The child Elena died. Her father was Matías de la Cruz of Atenco.
The child Isabel died.

melchiora piltzintli micqui –	The child Melchora died.
f. 57v	f. 57v
1. ypā jueves yc 10 de agusto 1634 años	1. On Thursday the 10th of August 1634:
juā matheo telpochtli micqui ytatzin andres perez pohui almoyahuacā	The young man Juan Mateo died. His father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
ysabel piltzintli micqui –	The child Isabel died.
sebastiā piltzintli micqui –	The child Sebastián died.
miguel piltzintli micqui –	The child Miguel died.
juana piltzintli micqui –	The child Juana died.
7. ypā Viernes yc 11 de agusto 1634 año	7. On Friday the 11th of August 1634:
mathias piltzintli micqui	The child Matías died.
matheo piltzintli micqui –	The child Mateo died.
ypilhuā paº de s. miguel	They were the children of Pablo de San Miguel.[189]
luisa piltzintli micqui –	The child Luisa died.
12. ypā sabº yc 12 de agusto 1634 años	12. On Saturday the 12th of August 1634:

[189] The plural of children used here, *ypilhuan*, probably means that all three of these children were Pablo de San Miguel's, but it could also be that it is just the one listed before and after his name as has been in other cases. His wife also died on August 4th.

ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic Miguel de lona pohui huexotzinco tecpā	Ana Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was Miguel de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
14. ypā domigo yc 13 de agusto 1634 años	14. On Sunday the 13th of August 1634:
miguel jusep micqui pohui totollac ynamic catalinā castillā xo^{tl}	Miguel Joseph of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl.
micaela piltōtli micqui ytatzin mathias de roças pohui almoyahuacā	The child Micaela died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
matheo piltzintli miqui ynātzin fran^{ca} pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Mateo died. His mother was Francisca of Tlanicontlan.
mathias piltzintli micqui yta juā Gabriel pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Matías died. His father was Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.
Estevā piltzintli micqui yta juā quauhxinqui pohui tlanicōtlā	The child Esteban died. His father was Juan Quauhxinqui of Tlanicontlan.
fran^{co} piltzintli micqui yta gaspar pohui tecpā	The child Francisco died. His father was Gaspar of Tecpan.
ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic sebastiā perez pohui almoyahuacā	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Sebastián Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
22. ypā lunes yc 14 de agusto 1634 años	22. On Monday the 14th of August 1634:

pedromilla piltzintli micqui ynā s apolonia tozpetlacal tetzcocapā pohui

María piltzintli micqui yta pe^{o} perez pohui almoyahuacā

juana ychpochpochtli ytatzin Miguel caros totollac pohui

The child Petronilla died. Her mother was Apolonia Tozpetlacal of Tetzcocapan.

The child Maria died. Her father was Pedro Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

The young woman Juana. Her father was Miguel Caros of Totollac.

26. ypā martes yc 15 de agusto 1634 año antona castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic diego miguel

micaela piltzintli micqui ytatzin pe^{o} salgado pohui tepetzinco

miguel piltōtli micqui ytatzin juā perez pohui tiāquiztēco

lucas perez micqui ynamic ma^{a} ychā pe^{o} cahuallauo

juā poyza micqui ynamic apolonia ychā juā toris

don fran^{co} deguebara micqui ynamic Helena pohui xaltepetlapā

maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic fran^{co} nonez pohui almoya^{cā}

26. On Tuesday the 15th of August 1634:

Antonia Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Diego Miguel.

The child Micaela died. Her father was Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.

The child Miguel died. His father was Juan Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

Lucas Pérez died. His spouse was Maria. He was in the home of Pedro Caballero.

Juan Poyza died. His spouse was Apolonia. He was in the home of Juan Torres.

Don Francisco de Guevara died. His spouse was Elena of Xaltepetlapan.

maria castillā xo^{tl} ynamic Miguel juā pohui totollac	Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Nuñez of Almoyahuacan. Maria Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Miguel Juan of Totollac.
35. ypā miercoles yc 16 de agusto 1634 año helena castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca jacobo pz acxotlā sebastiā perez telpochtli micq̆ ynatzin mariana pohui xaltepetlapā maria piltzintli micqui ytatzin jacobo albarez pohui xaltepetlapā domi͡ga piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā cohuatepehua (could be cohuate pohui) tlanicotlā maria piltzintli ytatzin bar^{me} perez	35. On Wednesday the 16th of August 1634: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Jacobo Pérez [of] Acxotlan. The young man Sebastián Pérez died. His mother was Mariana of Xaltepetlapan. The child Maria died. Her father was Jacobo Alvarez of Xaltepetlapan. The child Dominga died. Her father was Juan Cohuatepehua [of] Tlanicontlan. The child Maria. Her father was Bartolomé Pérez.
41. ypā jueves yc 17 de agusto 1634 año mathias piltzintli ypilhuā ant^{o} de s. Estevā tepetzinco agustina ---------	41. On Thursday the 17th of August 1634: The child Matías They were the children of Antonio de San Esteban [of] Tepetzinco. Agustina.

melchiora castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic	Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her
juā Miguel almoya	spouse was Juan Miguel Almoyahuacan.
mathias de roças micqui pohui tecpā ynami	Matías de Rosas of Tecpan died. His
helena	spouse was Elena.

f. 58r[67]	f. 58r
6. ypā Viernes yc 17 de agusto 1634 año	6. On Friday the 17th of August 1634:
luçia ycnocihuatl tepeyacac –	The widow Lucia [of] Tepeyacac.
franco telpochtli pohui almoyahuacā	The young man Francisco of
ana Vazquez ychpochtli pohui	Almoyahuacan.
almoyahuacā	The young woman Ana Vazquez of
matheo juā micqui ynamic Helena angelinā	Almoyahuacan.
ynahuac juā tores	Mateo Juan died. His spouse was Elena
mathias piltzintli micqui yta paº de. S. mig[l]	Angelina, the neighbor of Juan Torres.
atenco	The child Matías died. Her father was
	Pablo de San Miguel [of] Atenco.[190]

12. ypā sabº yc 18 de agusto 1634 año	12. On Saturday the 18th of August 1634:
pablo garª micqui pohui ocotepec	Pablo García of Ocotepec died.
mathias piltōtli micqui yta domi͡go	The child Matías died. His father was
hernadez pohui tecpā	Domingo Hernández of Tecpan.

[67] The first 5 lines or so of this page were cut away.
[190] Pablo de San Miguel's wife died on Aug 4th and two (or three) other children on Aug 11th.

andres piltzintli micqui yta Balthasar gar[a] pohui xaltepetlapā

The child Andrés died. His father was Baltazar García of Xaltepetlapan.

16. ypā domi͡go yc 19 de agusto 1634 año ynes castillā xochitli micqui ynamic juā de Antonio pohui tecpā

antona piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā diego pohui xaltepetlapā

juā baptista micqui pohui totollac ynamic Helena castilla xo[tl]

fran[ca] castillā Xochitl micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic bathasar$_{pz}$

pablo perez micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ynes castilla xo[tl]

16. On Sunday the 19th of August 1634: Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Antonio of Tecpan.

The child Antonia died. Her father was Juan Diego of Xaltepetlapan.

Juan Bautista of Totollac died. Her spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl.

Francisca Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Baltazar Pérez.

Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.

22. ypā lunes yc 20 de agusto 1634 año sebastiana micqui pohui acxotlā ynamic Miguel de. S. juā

diego de lona micqui chane calpā ynamic ysabel

juana piltzintli micqui ytatzin sebastiā perez acxtlā

22. On Monday the 20th of August 1634: Sebastiana of Acxoltan died. Her spouse was Miguel de San Juan.

Diego de Luna from Calpan died. His spouse was Isabel.

The child Juana died. Her father was Sebastián Pérez [of] Acxotlan.

Estevā de roças micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	Esteban de Rosas of Tlanicontlan died.
antona piltontli micqui yta pa^{o} de. S. Miguel atenco	The child Antonia died. Her father was Pablo de San Miguel [of] Atenco.
juā piltontli micqui yta jusep hernādez xaltepetlapā	The child Juan died. His father was Joseph Hernández [of] Xaltepetlapan.
bathasar perez micqui pohui almoyahuacā	Baltazar Pérez of Almoyahuacan died.
ynamic fran^{ca} castilla	His spouse was Francisca Castillan.
pedromila piltontli ytatzin Balthasar gar^{a} xaltepetlapā	The child Petronilla. Her father was Baltazar García [of] Xaltepetlapan.
diego piltōtli micqui ytatzin Pablo perez almoyahuacā	The child Diego died. His father was Pablo Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.
matheo piltōtli micqui ytatzin juā hernādez atenco	The child Mateo died. His father was Juan Hernández [of] Atenco.

33. ypā martes yc 22 de agusto 1634 año	33. On Tuesday the 22nd of August 1634:
Balthasar martin yhuā ynamic micque ana pohui ocotepec	Baltazar Martín, with his spouse, Ana of Ocotepec, died.
diego Ramirez micqui pohui acxotlā	Diego Ramírez of Acxoltan died. His
ynamic ma^{a} gotierez	spouse was Maria Gutiérrez.
ma^{a} piltōtli micqui	The child Maria died.
simō telpochtli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} valençia xaltepetlapā	The young man Simón died. His father was Francisco Valencia [of] Xaltepetlapan.

juana ma piltotli micqui

The child Juana died.

39. ju ypā domigo yc 3 setienbre 1634 año sebastiana juana ychpochtli ynātzin ma[a] doleso xaltepetlapā

39. On Sunday the 3rd of September 1634:
The young woman Sebastiana Juana. Her mother was Maria Doleso [of] Xaltepetlapan.

41. ypā lunes yc 4 setienbre 1634 año mig[l] Gabriel telpochtli ytatzin Nicolas pz pohui huexo[co] tecpā
sebas jusepa piltzintli ytatzin pa[o] pz almoyahuacā

41. On Monday the 4th of September 1634:
The young man Miguel Gabriel. His father was Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Josepha. Her father was Pablo Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.

f. 58v[68]
Bar[me] mirāta micqui pohui atenco
agustina melchiora micqui pohui ynamic fran[co] de aquino almoya[ca]

f. 58v
Bartolomé Mirante of Atenco died.
Agustina Melchora of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Francisco de Aquino.

[68] The first 5 lines or so of this page were cut away.

juana ychpochtli ytatzin die^{o} decoca pohui tlanicōtla

The young woman Juana. Her father was Diego de Coca of Tlanicontlan.

angelina piltzintli miqui ytatzin juā pz tetzcocapa pohui

The child Angelina died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

10. ypā mar yc 5 de setiebre 1634

10. On Tuesday the 5th of September 1634:

nicolasa piltzintli yta juā bap^{ta} cecallacohuayā pohui

The child Nicolasa. Her father was Juan Bautista of Cecallacohuayan.

juā Estevā telpochtli ytatzin die^{o} pz pohui tecpa

The young man Juan Esteban. His father was Diego Pérez of Tecpan.

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin gaspar pe^{o} ocotepec

The child Juan died. His father was Gaspar Pedro [of] Ocotepec.

mag^{na} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic simō pz tecpā

Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Simón Pérez Tecpan.

nicolasa piltzin ynatzin ana de silba pohui tecpa

The child Nicolasa. Her mother was Ana de Silva of Tecpan.

jusep piltzin ynatzin Justina castillā xo^{tl} atenco pohui

The child Joseph. His mother was Justina Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

ma^{a} jalome piltzintli micqui ytatzin pe^{o} pz pohui tlamacazcapā

The child Maria Salome died. Her father was Pedro Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

Estevā maldonato micqui tepetzinco pohui

Esteban Maldonado of Tepetzinco died.

19. ypā jueves yc 7 de setiebre 1634
juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin [blank space]
catalinā castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic die^{o} de.
S. juā atenco
juā de lona micqui pohui almoyahuacā
sebastiana piltzintli micqui ytatzin matheo
morāte tecpā
gabriel piltzintli ytatzin juā bap^{ta} pohui
totollac
helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic catca juā
pz pohui totollac
sebastiā Velazquez micqui pohui
almoyahuacā
juā piltzintli ytatzin Bernardino cornejo
totollā pohui
diego piltzintli ytatzin don fran^{co}
deosacasiro totollac
mag^{na} ma^{a} micqui ynami die^{o} de la lohua
pohui coyotzinco
helena piltzintzintli micqui die^{o} xuarez
pohui xaltepe^{a}

19. On Thursday the 7th of September 1634:
The child Juan died. His father was [blank space].
Catalina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de San Juan [of] Atenco.
Juan de Luna of Almoyahuacan died.
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Mateo Morante [of] Tecpan.
The child Gabriel. His father was Juan Bautista of Totollac.
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Juan Pérez of Totollac.
Sebastián Valazquez of Almoyahuacan died.
The child Juan. His father was Bernardino Cornejo of Totollac.
The child Diego. His father was don Francisco de Osacasiro [of] Totollac.
Magdalena Maria died. Her spouse was Diego de la Lohua of Coyotzinco.

helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynamic mathias de lona totolac pohui	The child Elena died. [Her father was] Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
die^{o} piltzintli micqui ytatzin matheo xuarez ocotepec	Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Luna of Totollac.
catilina piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā de lona tlanicōtlā	The child Diego died. His father was Mateo Suárez [of] Ocotepec.
marcos piltzintli micqui ytatzin die^{o} pz pohui tecpā	The child Catalina died. Her father was Juan de Luna [of] Tlanicontlan.
micaela angelinā micqui ynamic Pasqual de la fuēte almo^{ca}	The child Marcos died. His father was Diego Pérez of Tecpan.
agustina piltzintli$^{castillā\ Xochitl}$ micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui tecpā	Micaela Angelina died. Her spouse was Pasqual de la Fuente [of] Almoyahuacan.
angelina piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā aqustin xaltepetlapā	The widow Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
ma^{a} piltzintli micqui –	The child Angelina died. Her father was Juan Agustín [of] Xaltepetlapan.
maria ychpochtli micqui ytatzin adres pz almoya	The child Maria died.
mag^{na} castillā Xochitl ynamic sebastiā pz tetzcocapā	The young woman Maria died. Her father was Andrés Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan. Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Sebastián Pérez [of] Tetzcocapan.

pasqual maldonato micq̃ telpochtli pohui tecpā ytatzin mig[l] maldonato	The young man Pasqual Maldonado of Tecpan died. His father was Miguel Maldonado.
f. 59r	f. 59r
1. ypā lunes yc [unclear date] setiēbre 1634 años	1. On Monday the [3rd] of September 1634:
melchior piltzintli micqui ytatzin pa[o] albarez xaltepetlapā	The child Melchor died. His father was Pablo Alvarez [of] Xaltepetlapan.
pa[a] de roças ycnohoquichtli micqui pohui acxotlā	The widower Pablo de Rosas of Acxoltan died.
jusepa piltzin micqui ytatzin Miguel caros pohui totollac	The child Josepha died. Her father was Miguel Caros of Totollac.
helena piltzintli micqui ytatzin jusep pz tlanicōtlā	The child Elena died. Her father was Joseph Pérez [of] Tlanicontlan.
pedrona ytatzin juā Gabriel pohui tlanicōtlā	Petrona. Her father was Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.
angelina piltzintli micqui yta fran[co] moz almoyahuacā	The child Angelina died. Her father was Francisco Muñoz [of] Almoyahuacan.
luisa xilotl micqui ynamic pe[o] xuarez xaltepetlapā	Luisa Xilotl died. Her spouse was Pedro Suárez [of] Almoyahuacan.
luis perez telpochtli ytatzin juā perez almoyahuacā	The young man Luis Pérez. His father was Juan Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.

ana ychpochtli micq̆ ytatzin die^{o} mestico
ycha domi͡go mj͡n
marcos telpochtli micqui ychā micq̆
Miguel gotierez acxotlā

The young woman Ana died. Her father was Diego Mestizo. She was in the home of Domingo Martín.
The young man Marcos died in the home of Miguel Gutiérrez [of] Acxoltan.

12. ypā jueves 27 de siebre 1634
ma^{a} quezalizhuatl micqui pohui totollac
marta castillā xo^{tl} micqui ycnocihuatl pohui atēco
antonio telpochtli yta jusep hernādez cecallacohuayā
helena castillā xo^{tl} micq̆ ynamic mig^{l} de. S. fran^{co} tecpā pohui
juana antona micq̆ ynamic mathias deroças acxotlā
justina nenca micqui pohui acxotlā pohui
die^{o} ximenez micqui telpochtli ytatzin die^{o} ximenez totolac
pe^{o} pz telpochtli micqui yta^{na}tzin mariana xaltepetlapā

12. On Thursday the 27th of September 1634:
Maria Quezalizhuatl of Totollac died.
The widow Marta Castillanxochitl of Atenco died.
The young man Antonio. His father was Joseph Hernández [of] Cecallacohuayan.
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel de San Francisco of Tecpan.
Juana Antonia died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas [of] Acxotlan.
Justina Nenca of Acxotlan died.
The young man Diego Jiménez. His father was Diego Jiménez [of] Totollac.
The young man Pedro Pérez died. His mother was Mariana [of] Xaltepetlapan.

maria de la cruz micqui pohui tecpā

ynamic Miguel maldonato

agustina –

yntatzin mig^{l} caros totlac pohui

juana –

Maria de la Cruz of Tecpan died. Her spouse was Miguel Maldonado.

Agustina –

The one who was their father is Miguel Caros of Totollac.

Juana –

25. ypā martes yc 29 de ~~agusto~~ setiebre

nicolasa piltzintli ytatzin pelipe de roças pohui almoyahuacā

agustina piltzintli micqui ytattzin ^{mi}guel de lona tecpā

ana ychpochtli micqui yta Antonio ocuixcatl tlanicōtlā

ana castillā xo^{tl} micqui ycnocihuatl pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

matheo mig^{l} micqui pohui xaltepetlapā

mig^{l} piltzintli miqui ytatzin die^{o} morate pohui tecpā

agustina piltzintli yta fran^{co} ximenez acxotlā

25. On Tuesday the 29th of September

The child Nicolasa. Her father was Felipe de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

The child Agustín died. Her father was Miguel de Luna [of] Tecpan.

The young woman Ana died. Her father was Antonio Ocuixcatl [of] Tlanicontla.

The widow Ana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

Mateo Miguel of Xaltepetlapan died.

The child Miguel died. His father was Diego Morate of Tecpan.

The child Agustina. Her father was Francisco Jiménez [of] Acxotlan.

fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui ynamic die^{o}	Francisca Castillanxochitl died. His
çaynos tetzcocapā	spouse was Diego Ceynos [of]
ysabel piltzintli ytatzin mathias de lona	Tetzcocapan.
pohui totolac	The child Isabel. Her father was Matías
matheo –	de Luna of Totollac.
ynatzin ynes castillā xo^{tl} – cecallacohuecā	Mateo –
sebastia –	Their mother was Inés Castillanxochitl –
salbator piltzintli ytatzin mig^{l} hernādez	[of] Cecallacohuacan
almoyahuacā	Sebastián –
mig^{l} perez micqui pohui tecpā ynamic	The child Salvator. His father was
juana fran^{ca}	Miguel Hernández [of] Almoyahuacan.
thomasa ychpochtli micq̆ ynatzin monica	Miguel Pérez of Tecpan died. His spouse
ychā pe^{o} cahualero	was Juana Francisca.
	The young woman Tomasa died. Her
	mother was Monica. She was in the
	house of Pedro Caballero.

41. ypā jueves yc 31 de ~~agusto~~ setiebre 1634	41. On Thursday the 31st of September
ysabel piltzintli ytatzin mathias sebastia	1634:
totollac	The child Isabel. Her father was Matías
mig^{l} valazquez micqui pohui acxotlā	Sebastián [of] Totollac.
	Miguel Velazquez of Acxoltan died.

marta piltzintli micqui yta bar^{me} çaynos	The child Marta died. Her father was
pohui xaltepetlapā	Bartolomé Ceynos of Xaltepetlapan.
pa^{o} ximenez micqui ynamic apolonia	Pablo Jiménez died. His spouse was
tozpetlacal ocotepec	Apolonia Tozpetlacal [of] Ocotepec.
ana ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin juā	The young woman Ana died. She was the
[illegible] atenco	child of Juan [illegible] [of] Atenco.
helena castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui tecpā	Elena Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
ynamic catca mathias de roças	Her spouse was the late Matías de Rosas.

f. 59v[69]	f. 59v
1. ypā viernes yc 1 de setiēbre 1634 año	1. On Friday the 1st of September 1634:
maria cacalo xo^{tl} micqui pohui tlanicōtlā	Maria Cacalloxochitl of Tlanicontlan
ynamic mathias gotierez	died. Her spouse was Matías Gutiérrez.
mariana micqui pohui huexotzinco tecpā	Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.[191]
die^{o} telpochtli micqui ytatzin juā bap^{ta}	The young man Diego died. His father
pohui cecallacohuayā	was Juan Bautista of Cecallacohuayan.
helena ma^{a} mag^{na} ynami mathias poyça	Elena Maria Magdalena. Her spouse was
ychā juā toris	Matías Poyza. She was in the home of
helena piltzintli mic ymach die^{o} tepeuh	Juan Torres.
xaltepetlapā	The child Elena died. She is the niece of
	Diego Tepeuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.

[69] The dates go out of order again here. It is clear that the area is in the middle of a devastating epidemic, and so it is understandable that much of this may have been filled in at a later date.
[191] Mariana's will is on file at the BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.48r.

antona piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} de gusto aquino almoyahuacā	The child Antonia died. Her father was Francisco de Aquino [of] Almoyahuacan.
helena piltzintli miqui ytatzin helena castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic juā pz pohui tecpā	The child Elena died. Her father was [blank] Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tecpan.
juā telpochtli micqui ytatzin mathias de aquino pohui tlanicotlā	The young man Juan died. His father was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.
gaspar poyça micqui pohui cecalacohuā	Gaspar Poyza of Cecallacohuayan died.
ma^{a} dolentino micqui pohui cecalacohuayā	Maria Tolentino of Cecallacohuayan died.

13. ypā sab^{o} yc 2 de setiebre 1634 año luçia piltzintli micqui ytatzin don fran^{co} decosacasiro totolac	13. On Saturday the 2nd of September 1634: The child Lucia died. Her father was don Francisco de Cosacasiro [of] Totollac.[192]
mathiana piltzintli micqui ytatzin fran^{co} hernādez tecpā	The child Mariana died. Her father was Francisco Hernández [of] Tecpan.
juā çaynos micqui ynamic marta teocuitla xo^{tl} xaltepe^{a}	Juan Ceynos died. His spouse was Marta Teocuitlaxochitl [of] Xaltepetlapan.

[192] Don Francisco de Cosacasiro's son died on September 7th and a daughter now on Sept 2nd – the dates are out of order.

ana fran^{ca} ychpochtli micqui ytatzin ant^{o} pz totollac

lurenço vazquez micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl}

mig^{l} delona micqui ynamic luisa pohui tecpā

The young woman Ana Francisca died. Her father was Antonio Pérez [pf] Totollac.

Lorenzo Vazquez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

Miguel de Luna died. His spouse was Luisa of Tecpan.

20. ypā domigo yc 3 de setiēbre 1634

juā bap^{ta} micqui pohui acxotla ymō[70] fran^{co} decamora

ana atenpilol Xochitl micqui totolac pohui

J mag^{na} xilotl micqui ycnocihuatl pohui totolac

juā pilipe micqui pohi tiāquiztenco ynami ariara

jusep hernadez micqui pohui almoyahuacā

antona çaynos micqui pohui acxotla

20. On Sunday the 3rd of September 1634:

Juan Bautista of Acxoltan died. His son-in-law was Francisco de Zamora.

Ana Atenpilolxochitl of Totollac died.

The widow Magdalena Xilotl of Totollac died.

Juan Felipe of Tianquiztenco died. His spouse was Ariana.

Joseph Hernández of Almoyahuacan died.

Antonia Ceynos of Acxoltan died.

[70] From *montli* – son-in-law.

27. ypā lunes yc 4 setienbre 1634
juā pe^{o} micqui pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic
ma^{a} tlachinol xo^{tl}
juana z^{o} micqui pohui coyotzinco ynamic
mig^{l} pz
antona de. S. ta ma^{a} micqui ynamic die^{o} de
la cruz pohui totolac
juā çaynos micqui pohui huexo^{co} ynamic
mariana
fran^{co} moscojo pohui huexo^{co} tecpa totllac
ysabel castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui tecpa
ynamic mathias pz
domigo de la cruz micqui pohui
xaltepetlapā ynamic Ysabel mētoca
ana ximenez micqui pohui ocotepc

27. On Monday the 4th of September
1634:
Juan Pedro of Xaltepetlapan died. His
spouse was Maria Tlachinolxochitl.
Juana Zocalo of Coyotzinco died. Her
spouse was Miguel Pérez.
Antonia de Santa Maria died. Her spouse
was Diego de la Cruz of Totollac.
Juan Ceynos of Huexotzinco died. His
spouse was Mariana.
Francisco Moscojo of Huexotzinco
Tecpan Totollac.
Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
Her spouse was Matías Pérez.
Domingo de la Cruz of Xaltepetlapan
died. His spouse was Isabel Mendoza.
Ana Jiménez of Ocotepec died.

36. yc 20 de octobre 1634 año
ysabel tozpetlacal micqui pohui atenco
ynamic catca Bar^{me} mixcita
sebastiā ximenes micqui pohui totollac
ynamic antona ma^{a}

36. The 20th of October 1634:
Isabel Tozpetlacal of Atenco died. Her
spouse was the late Bartolomé Mixita.
Sebastián Jiménez of Totollac died. His
spouse was Antonia Maria.

fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} miqui pohui teopā	Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tecpan
ynamic pa^{o} salmiēto	died. Her spouse was Pablo Salmiento.
fran^{ca} castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui ocotepec	Francisca Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.
ynamic juā croel	Her spouse was Juan Crocel.
agustina castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui tecpā	Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
ynami die^{o} pz	Her spouse was Diego Pérez.
juana castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui acxotlā	Juana Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan died.
ynamic catca juā de roças[71]	Her spouse was the late Juan de Rosas.

f. 60r	f. 60r
1. 1635 año	1. The year 1635

2. ypā jueves yc 4 de henero 1635 año	2. On Thursday the 4th of January 1635:
pablo ximenes micqui pohui huexo^{co}	Pablo Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac
totollac ynamic aña castilla xo^{tl}	died. His spouse was Ana
	Castillanxochitl.

4. ypā lunes yc 7 de henero 1635	4. On Monday the 7th of January 1635:
clara castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui totolla	Clara Castillanxochitl of Totollac died.
ynamic mathias deleto	Her spouse was Matías Deleto.

[71] The record stopped in October of 1934 – this may have been just about the end of the epidemic, but it is equally as likely that the scribe writing was too sick to continue or had died. It could also be that the amount of deaths became even more overwhelming than this and they simply kept the information coming in on separate sheets that have been lost to us. The handwriting is not significantly different, but this could be because all of this was being written after the fact and it was the same man.

6. ypā jues yc 25 de henero 1635
maria çaynos micqui pohui cecalacohuayā
ynamic juā bap^{ta}

6. On Thursday the 25th of January 1635:
Maria Ceynos of Cecallacohuayan died.
His spouse was Juan Bautista.

8. yc 8 de hebrero 1635 año
Estevā dehablera micqui pohui huexo^{co}
tecpā

8. The 8th of January 1635:
Esteban de Hablera of Huexotzinco
Tecpan died.

10. ypā Viernes yc 22 de hebrero frero
1635
antona castillā Xochitl pohui tiāquiztēco
ynamic Pasqual gar^{a}

10. On Friday the 22nd of February 1635:
Antonia Castillanxochitl of
Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Pasqual
García.

12. ypā martes yc 9 de hebre 1635 año
simō periniz micqui pohui almoyahuacā
ynamic juana de. S. ma^{a}
fran^{co} perez micqui pohui xaltepetlapā
ynami fran^{ca}
lucas piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā pz pohui
tetzcopā

12. On Tuesday the 9th of February 1635:
Simón Periniz of Almoyahuacan died.
His spouse was Juana de San Maria.
Francisco Pérez of Xaltepetlapan died.
His spouse was Francisca.
The child Lucas died. His father was Juan
Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

16. ypā jueves yc 13 de abril 1635 año

16. On Thursday the 13th of April 1635:

agustin perez micqui pohui tetzcocapā ynamic catca pe^{o}mila yc ocalpoliuhque

Agustín Pérez of Tetzcocapan died. His spouse was the late Petronilla. The barrio gathered for him.

18. ypā martes yc 1 de mayo 1635 año Bar^{me} monoz chane ancuictlalpā yhuā tocoque cihuatzintli

18. On Tuesday the 1st of May 1635: Bartolomé Muñoz from Ancuictlalpan. He was buried together with his dear woman.

20. ypā ju^{e}ves yc 10 de mayo 1635 año jusep Miguel telpochtli micqui pohui almoyahuacā ypiltzin mch^{or} pz

20. On Thursday the 10th of May 1635: The young man Joseph Miguel of Almoyahuacan died. He was the child of Melchor Pérez.

22. ypā domigo yc 6 de junio 1635 año sebastiā de aquino micqui pohui atēco ynami beronica
ma^{a} celcillia micqui pohui tetzcocapa ynamic Miguel de. S. fran^{co}

22. On Sunday the 6th of June 1635: Sebastián de Aquino of Atenco died. His spouse was Veronica.
Maria Celcillia of Tetzcocapan died. Her spouse was Miguel de San Francisco.

25. ypā jueves yc 10 de junio 1635 ano ma^{a} castillā xo^{tl} micqui ynami die^{o} pz pohui huexo^{co} tecpā

25. On Thursday the 10th of June 1635: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

maria castillā xo^{tl} micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpa ynamic catca Pasqual de roças	Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Pasqual de Rosas.
28. ypā yc 13 de junio 1635 año miguel pz micqui pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic maria castillā xo^{tl}	28. On the 13th of June 1635: Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
30. ypā Viernes yc 23 de junio 1635 año maria jalome ylla matzin micqui pohui chiyauhtzinco	30. On Friday the 23rd of June 1635: The old woman Maria Salome of Chiyauhtzinco died.
fr victoriano czmir	fray Victoriano Cozmir
34. en siete dís del mes de julio del mill seis cíentos y trenta y cínco añoz visitando este conve^{to} de Huexotzinco mo muy R^{do} Pr fr fran^{co} Rodirgui lado califi^{or} de es^{to} offsi^{o} y mo P^{r} de esta puy^{a} de es^{to} evang^{o} vio este libro de difunto y se hallo conforme a los [talleudo?] y ordenado por la provy^{a} y lo firmo	34. On the 7th day of the month of July of the year 1635, our revered priest fray Francisco Rodríguez, the Inquisitor of this office and the Provincial of this Province of evangelical visited and viewed this book of the deceased and found it in accordance [illegible] as ordered for the Provincial and signed it.

Fray Fran^{co} Rodriguez	fray Francisco Rodríguez
M^{o} P^{al}	Municipal Provincial
Antemi	Before me:
Fr. Diego de la Cueva	fray Diego de la Cueva
secret^{o}	Secretary

f. 60v	f. 60v
1. ypā miercoles yc 12 de julio 1635 años maria ychpochtli micqui pohui huexo^{co} totolac ytatzin sebastiā pz	1. On Wednesday the 12th of July 1635: The young woman Maria of Huexotzinco Totollac died. Her father was Sebastián Pérez.
3. ypā jueves yc 13 de julio 1635 años juā de lona micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui tlaniōtlā	3. On Thursday the 13th of July 1635: The widower Juan de Luna of Tlanicontlan died.
5. ypā jueves yc 19 de julio 1635 año mariana micqui pohui xaltepetlapa ycnocihuatl	5. On Thursday the 19th of July 1635: The widow Mariana of Xaltepetlapan died.
7. ypā lunes yc 23 de julio 1635 años juā ytatzin pa^{o} de lona pohui tianquiztenco	7. On Monday the 23rd of July 1635: Juan. His father was Pablo de Luna of Tianquiztenco.

9. ypā lunes yc 30 de jullio 1635 anos maria jalome micqui pohui cecalacohuāyā ynamic agustin poyça

9. On Monday the 30th of July 1635: Maria Salome of Cecallacohuayan died. Her spouse was Agustín Poyza.

11. ypā domi͡go yc 4 de agusto 1635 años [illegible] [mi]cqui pohui xotzinco totolac ypnamic [blank space]

11. On Sunday the 4th of August 1635: [illegible] died. He belonged to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was [blank space].

13. ypā martes yc 7 de agusto 1635 años diego perez micqui pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic ma^{a} quetzallizhuatl

13. On Tuesday the 7th of August 1635: Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac died. His spouse was Maria Quetzallizhuatl.

15. ypā lunes yc 13 de agusto 1635 años maria çanē micqui ycnoçihuatl ynamic catca lucas Ramirez coyotzinco

15. On Monday the 13th of August 1635: The widow Maria Zanen died. Her spouse was the late Lucas Ramírez [of] Coyotzinco.

17. ypā Viernes yc 18 de agusto 1635 años juana mathea micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic mel^{or} hernādez

17. On Friday the 18th of August 1635: Juana Matea of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was Melchor Hernández.

19. ypā lunes yc 3 de setiēbre 1635 años ana castilla xo^{tl} micqui pohui atzonpā ynamic pa^{o} hernādez

19. On Monday the 3rd of September 1635:
Ana Castillanxochitl of Atzonpa died. Her spouse was Pablo Hernández.

21. ypā jueves yc 13 setiēbre 1635 años ynes tlatalizqui Xochitl micqui pohui atēco ynamic catca matheo castane^{a}

21. On Thursday the 13th of September 1635:
Inés Tlatalizquixochitl of Atenco died. Her spouse was the late Mateo Castaneda.

23. ypā martes yc 18 setiēbre 1635 años mariana micqui pohui huexo^{co} totollac ynamic catca juā çaynos

23. On Tuesday the 18th of September 1635:
Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Juan Ceynos.

25. ypā lunes yc 22 de octobre 1635 años juā perez micqui pohui huexo^{co} tecpā ynamic ynes castilla xo^{tl}
agustin de. S. tiago momiquilli pohui s. Nicolas cecallacohuayā ynamic juana deçamora

25. On Monday the 22nd of October 1635:
Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.
Agustín de Santiago of San Nicolas Cecallacohuayan died. His spouse was Juana de Zamora.

29. ypā martes yc 2 deçienbre 1635 años dona maria de guebara momiquilli ycnoçihuatl ynamic catca dieº Rodriquez xaltepetlapā

29. On Tuesday the 2nd of December 1635:
The widow doña Maria de Guevara died. Her spouse was the late Diego Roriquez [of] Xaltepetlapan.

32. ypā miercoles yc 26 deçienbre micqui 1635 años ynamic jua mariana momiquilli ynamic juā lucas pohui tlanicōtla

32. Died on Wednesday the 26th of December 1635:
Mariana died. Her spouse was Juan Lucas of Tlanicontlan.

34. 1636 años[72]

34. The year 1636

35. ypā martes yc 5 de hebrero 1636 ano ynes castillā Xochitl momiquilli pohui totollac ynamic catca juā tlahuel$_{nomite}$

35. On Tuesday the 5th of February 1636:
Inés Castillanxochitl of Totollac died. Her spouse was the late Juan Tlahuelnomite.

37. ypā lunes yc 3 de março 1636 años domi͡go paº momiquilli pohui almoyahuacā ana castillā xo^{tl}

37. On Monday the 3rd of March 1636:
Domingo Pablo of Almoyahuacan died. [His spouse was] Ana Castillanxochitl.

[72] At this point the record becomes much less complete.

39. ypā sab^{o} yc 8 de março 1636 años
juana castillā Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā
ynamic catca juā pz
ynes castillā xo^{tl} yllamatzin chane s. tana
ychā anoto juana castilla xo^{tl} almoyaan

39. On Saturday the 8th of March 1636:
Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
Her spouse was the late Juan Pérez.
The old woman Inés Castillanxochitl
from Santa Ana. She was in the home of
Juana Castillanxochitl [of]
Almoyahuacan.

42. ypā miercoles yc 23 de abril 1636 años
miguel de callinçia momiquilli ynamic
Pasquala ma^{a} chane s. tana

42. On Wednesday the 23rd of April
1636:
Miguel de Callinzia died. His spouse was
Pasquala Maria from Santa Ana.

44. ypā Viernes yc 2 de mayo 1636 años
diego maceuh momoiquili pohui
xaltepetlapā ynamic juana castillā xo^{tl}

44. On Friday the 2nd of May 1636:
Diego Maceuh of Xaltepetlapan died. His
spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

f. 61r

1. ypā miercoles yc 21 de mayo 1636 años
marcos ximenez momiquilli ynamic
angelina castillā xo^{tl} pohui tecpā

f. 61r

1. On Wednesday the 21st of May 1636:
Marcos Jiménez died. His spouse was
Angelina Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.

fray slilaus relbana

fray [illegible]

5. en onçe de abril de mill y seis^{or} y trenta y seis anos [vis]itando este conve^{to} de Uexotzinco de m. R^{do} P^{r} fr. Fran^{co} Rodrique[z] [cal]ificador de es^{to} offi^{o} Lector jibilado y [illegible – mñopal] desta Provy[a] [de es]to conv[ento] vio este libro de difuntos y le hallo conforme [alado p - page ripped] pvy^{a} y lo firmo su B^{d}
fray fran^{co} Rodriguez
M^{o} Pal
Antemi
Fr de suauado
Secreto

5. On the 11th of April of the year 1636, our revered priest fray Francisco Rodríquez, Inquisitor of this office of the retired lector and our provincial visited this convent of Huexotzinco and viewed this book of the deceased and found it as ordered [page ripped] and signed it with his name.
fray Francisco Rodríguez
Municipal Provincial
Before me:
fray [illegible]
Secretary

15. en 6 de junio 1636 años
maria castillā xo^{tl} momiquilli ynamic juā lopez pohui tlanicōtla
juā Baptista l momiquilli ynamic [blank space] pohui tlanicotlā

15. On the 6th of June 1636:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Lopez of Tlanicontlan.
Juan Bautista died. His spouse was [blank space] of Tlanicontlan.

18. ypā viernes yc 15 de agusto 1636 años
mathias de lona momilquilli ynohoquichtli pohui totollac

18. On Friday the 15th of August 1636:
The widower Matías de Luna of Totollac died.

20. ypā Viernes yc 14 de octobre 1636 años
juana castillā xo^{tl} momiquilli ynami^{c} pelipe s. chez pohui tecpā

20. On Friday the 14th of October 1635: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Felipe Sánchez of Tecpan.

25. 1637 años

25. The year 1637

26. ypā Viernes yc 2 de henero 1637 años
maria alçoceno momiquilli ynamic Pablo s. chez pohui tecpā

26. On Friday the 2nd of January 1637: Maria Alzoceno died. Her spouse was Pablo Sánchez of Tecpan.

28. ypā martes yc 6 de henero 1637 años
melchior hernādez momiquili ycnohoquichtli pohui tocuillā

28. On Tuesday the 6th of January 1637: The widower Melchor Hernández of Tocuillan died.

30. ypā martes yc 13 de henero 1637 años
die^{o} xuarez ^{momiquilli} ynamic jusina castillā xo^{tl} pohui xaltepetlapā

30. On Tuesday the 13th of January 1637: Diego Suárez died. His spouse was Justina Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

f. 61v

1. en tres de abril de mill seíscíentos y treinta y trenta y siete años visitando este convento de [page ripped] Miguel del

f. 61v

1. On the 3rd of April of the year 1637, he visited this convent of San Miguel of Huexotzinco, our priest fray Gaspar de

uexotzinco mn͡u P^{e} Fr gaspar de liebana Pr o cutodio ahoal de este prov^{a} de es^{to} evang^{o} sceret^{o} gen^{l} de todas los prov^{as} de la nueba [espana] convi^{o} visitador nombador para la visita desta conv^{o} por mi͡o R^{ma} [page ripped - P^{r} s.] luis florez, p^{r} la santa prov^{a} de Santiago y comisi^{o} gen^{l} de esta li [page ripped] pana vio este libro donde se esriber los naturales son es di[funtos] [page ripped] le crierran y lo [h]allo coforme a lo des puesto por la prov^{a} y

Pa gaspar de lievana

comm. Vi^{or}

Antemi

fr. P^{o} delalima

s^{o}

Liébana the custodian of this province of this church, secretary general of all of the provinces of New Spain visiting named commissioner for the visit to this convent. Our revered priest San Luis Flóres, priest of the saint of the province of Santiago and commissioner general [page ripped] viewed this book where they [the names of] the dead natives are written and he believed and found it according to what is given by the provincial.

fray Gaspar de Liébana

Visiting commissioner

Before me:

fray Pablo de la Lima

Secretary

13. ypā domigo yc 12 y[n] metztli de ablil de 1637 a^{o}s

miguel piltzintli miqui ytantzi fra^{co} maltonado ynātzi martinal lopez

13. On Sunday the 12th of the month of April 1637:

The child Miguel died. His father was Francisco Maldonado. His mother was Martina Lopez.

basquala ytantzi domigo hernahtez huexotzinco tecpa pohui miqui pil$_{tzintli}$

The child Pasquala died. Her father was Domingo Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

17. ypā Viernes yc 1 ylhuitl mani metztli mayo de 1637 años
juana micqui ycha manato marta axxotl^{toca} pohui almoyahuaca aocmo tlacalaquia ysabel piltzitli momiq̃li yta xoachi hernahtez pohui almonya^{ca}

17. On Friday the 1st day of the month of May 1637:
Juana died at home. Marta Acxotl came [to bring word]. She belonged to Almoyahuacan. She no longer pays tribute.
The child Isabel died. Her father was Xoachi Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

21. ypā marte^{s} yc 12 ylhuitl mani metztli de myo 1637 anos
fra^{ca} ypiltzintli momiquili ytā mateo yna juana caxti la xochitl pohui almoyahuaca diego fra^{co} piltzintli momiquili yn ita miquel sachez yn inatzi clara pohui huexotzinco tecpa

21. On Tuesday the 12th day of the month of May 1637:
The child Francisca died. Her father was Mateo. Her mother was Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
The child Diego Francisco died. The one who was his father was Miguel Sánchez. The one who was his mother was Clara of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

basquala piltzintli momiquili yn itatzi diego fra^{co} yn inā ma^{a} pohui almoyahuaca

angelina piltzitli miqui yn ita basqual ma^{a} pohui tecpa

acuiltina piltzitli miqui yn ita juseb hernates yn ina ma^{a} xacol pohui saltepetlapa

The child Pasquala died. The one who was her father was Diego Francisco. The one who was her mother was Maria of Almoyahuacan.

The child Angelina died. The one who was her father was Pasqual Maria of Tecpan.

The child Aquiltina died. The one who was her father was Joseph Hernández. The one who is her mother is Maria Xacol of Xaltepetlapan.

31. ypā sa^{to} yc 27 ylhuitl yhmetztli junio 1637 anos

lloysa momiquili ytatzi Miguel de sa juā yn ina elena pohui acxotla

miguel piltzitli ytatzi jua xuare yninahtzi ma^{a} destohual pohui huexotzico

Esteba coto miqui ytechca tlalaquili yninamic ma^{a} pohui atehco

31. On Saturday the 27th day of the month of June 1637:

Luisa died. Her father was Miguel de San Juan. The one who was his mother was Elena of Acxotlan.

The child Miguel. His father was Juan Suárez. The one who was his mother was Maria Destohual of Huexotzinco.

Esteban Soto died. His tribute responsibility belongs to the one who was his spouse Maria of Atenco.

ysabel antona momiquili ynamic Miguel diego pohui sa atoni^{o} tlateco	Isabel Antonia died. Her spouse was Miguel Diego of San Antonio Tlatenco.
f. 62r[73]	f. 62r
1. ypā sapato yc 8 de Agosto de 1637 a[ños] ag^{na} castilla^{tl} miqui yninamic juā antores p[ohui almo]yahuaca	1. On Saturday the 8th of August 1637: Magdalena Castillan died. The one who was her husband was Juan Antores [of] [Almo]yahuacan.
3. domi͡go yc 9 Agusto [de 1637] ntresa piltzintli momiquilli ytatzin di [pohui] huexotzinco tecpa	3. Sunday the 9th of August [of 1637]: The child Andresa died. Her father was Di[ego] [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
6. lunes yc 10 ylhuitl mamimetztli [agusto 1637] marta pritzintli omicqui ytatzin marcos [pohui] s. na tomo tlateco	6. Monday the 10th day of the month of [August 1637]: The child Marta died. Her father was Marcos [of] Santa Tomás Tlatenco.
9. ypa martes y 20 ylhuitl metztli de agusto de 1637 [años] jusepa piltzintli momiquilli ytatzin mig^{t} de xirpa bohui [page ripped].	9. On Tuesday the 20th day of the month of August 1637: The child Josepha died. Her father was Miguel de Silva of [page ripped].

[73] The pages from here on are badly damagaed in the upper right and left corners respectively. I have attempted to decipher what it is possible to see.

11. ypā martes yc 25 ylhuitl mamietztl augusto de [1637]
fran^{co} piltzintli momiquilli ytatzin diego xuarez bohui [page ripped]

11. On Tuesday the 25th day of the month of August [1637]:
The child Francisco died. His father was Diego Suárez of [page ripped].

13. ypā jueves yc 3 ylhuitl setiētre de 1637 años momiquilique om tlacatl
micaela piltzintli ytatzin b^{t} trome de aquino ynatzin fran^{ca} acxotl
micaella piltzintli ytatzin miq esteva gotieres yberonica pohui ocotepe

13. Two people died on Thursday the 3rd day of September 1637:
The child Micaela. Her father was Bartolomé de Aquino. Her mother was Francisca [of] Acxotlan.
The child Micaela. Her father was Esteban Gutiérrez Veronica of Ocotepec.

16. ypa vielnes yc 4 ylhuitl setietre de 1637 año
fran^{ca} piltzintli momiquili ytatzin fran^{co}

16. On Friday the 4th day of September 1637:
The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco.

18. ypa sapato yc 5 ylhuitl momi setietre de 1637 años
momiquili ma^{a} piltzintli ytatzin don diego alpalato pohui atzopa

18. On Saturday the 5th day of the month of September 1637:
The child Maria died. Her father was don Diego Alvarado of Atzonpa.

20. ypa martes yc 8 ylhuitl mani setietre de 1637 años	20. On Tuesday the 8th day of September 1637:
luysa pirtzintl momiqui ytatzin juā pz pohui almoyahuāca	The child Luisa died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
juā ypa piltzintli momiquilli ynatzin ana de xilpa pohui ate huexotzinco tecpan	The child Juan died. His mother was Ana de Silva of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
24. ypa lunes yc 14 setietre 1637 anos	24. On Monday the 14th of September 1637:
ma^{a} piltzintli ynatzin ma^{a} mag^{na} pohui tlanicotla	The child Maria. Her mother was Maria Magdalena of Tlanicontlan.
26. ypa martes yc 15 ylhuitl setietre de 1637 anos	26. On Tuesday the 15th day of September 1637:
pasqual piltzintli momiquili ytatzin juā Rotriquez pohui ocotepe^{c}	The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Rodríguez of Ocotepec.
28. ypa vielnes yc 25 ylhuitl mani setietre de 1637 años	28. On Friday the 25th day of September 1637:
juana piltzintli momiquilli y tatzin tlatzin fran^{co} pz pohui almoyahuaca	The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan

30. diego juā ypa domi͡go yc 27 ylhuitl ymetztli setietre de 1637 anos omomiquilli yn inamic juana [blank space] pohui tepetzinco

30. On Sunday the 27th day of the month of September 1637:
Diego Juan died. The one who was his spouse was Juana [blank space] of Teptetzinco.

32. ypa sapato yc 10 ylhuitl mani metztli otobre de 1637 anos
catalena piltzintli momiquilli ynatzin Salome pohui anteco

32. On Saturday the 10th day of the month of October 1637:
The child Catalina died. Her mother was Salome of Atenco.

34. ypā miclcores yc 25 mani de nobiēbre de 1637 anos momiquilli
fran^{co} antan - fran^{co} antan pohui tezcocapa

34. Died on Wednesday the 25th of November 1637:
Francisco Anton of Tetzcocapan.

36. ypa lunes ytlamia metztli nobitre de 1637 anos omomiq̆lli
pasqual$_{\text{de aquino}}$ - Pasqual de aquino ycnocquichtli pohui s. ta. Cruz anteco aocauh ynamic

36. Died on Monday the last day of November 1637:
The widower Pasqual de Aquino of Santa Cruz Atenco. He no longer has a spouse.

f. 62v

1. [ypā mier]core yc 6 mani metztli henello de 1638 anos omomi
page ripped] castilla xo^{tl} ynamic juā cruzçel pohui ocotepec

3. [ypā mar]tez yc 19 mani mextli henello de 1638 anos omomi
[page ripped] grecollio ynamic Catalina pohui tlamacazcaya ynahuac
[page ripped] [gab]riel albrado tlahuaya

6. ypa mielcorez yc 20 mani henello omomiquilli ysab^{t} ynā
[page ripped] namic jua cruzçel pohui s. pa^{o} ocotepec

8. ypa juēves yc 4 ylhuitl mani metztli hebrero de 1638 anos
[page ripped] omomiliquilli Helena ma^{a} ynamic diego xuarez pohui s. diego xaltepetlapa

f. 62v

1. Died [on Wednesday] the 6th day of the month of January 1638:
[page ripped] Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Juan Cruzcel of Ocotepec.

3. Died [on Tuesday] the 19th day of the month of January 1638:
[page ripped] [Gregorio]. His spouse was Catalina of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of [page ripped] [Gab]riel Alvarado Tlahuaya.

6. On Wednesday the 20th of January:
Isabel died. Her spouse was Juan Cruzcel of San Pablo [of] Ocotepec.

8. On Thursday the 4th day of the month of February 1638:
Helena Maria died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of San Diego Xaltepetlapan.

11. ypa sapato y 20 mani metztli Ebrero de 1638 anos omomiquilliquiltli
mathias - mathias ytatzin diego xuarez catca ynatzin xpĪ tina castilla xo^{tl} pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapa

11. On Saturday the 20th of the month of February 1638:
Matías died. His father was the late Diego Suaárez. His mother was Cristina Castillanxochitl of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.

15. ypa lunes yc 1 ylhuitl mani metztli de março de 1638 anos
marcalita - momiquili marcalita de moxalade ynamic juachin helnadez pohui almoyahuaca

15. On Monday the 1st day of the month of March 1638:
Margarita de Moralade died. Her spouse was Joaquin Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

18. ypa sapato yc 26 mani metztli de março de 1638 anos
juã gobierez - omomiquilli juã gotieres ynamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui ocotepec

18. On Saturday the 26th of the month of March 1638:
Juan Gutiérrez died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.

21. ypa domigo y 27 mami metztli de março de 1638 ano
marcos - omomiquilli marcos piltzintli ytatzin esteva gotierez pohui ocotepec

21. On Sunday the 27th day of the month of March 1638:
The child Marcos died. His father was Esteban Gutiérrez of Ocotepec.

24. ypa domigo yc 6 manimetztli junio de 1638 anos
maria - omomiquili ma[a] ynamic mathias marmoreso pohui thocuilla

24. On Sunday the 6th of the month of June 1638:
Maria died. Her spouse was Matías Marmoreso of Tocuillan.

27. ypa martez yc 8 junio de 1638 ano omomiquilli piltzintli
helena - Helena yt[a]zin pelipe martonado pohui coyotzinco

27. On Tuesday the 8th of June 1638, this child died:
Elena. Her father was Felipe Maldonado of Coyotzinco.

29. ypa sapato y 12 manimetz junio de 1638 anos omomiq̃lli
miguel pz - Miguel pz yn ina maria pohui tlanicontla

29. Died on Saturday the 12th of June 1638:
Miguel Pérez. The one who was his mother was Maria of Tlanicontlan.

31. ypa sapato yc 19 manimetztl junio momiquilli
micaella - micaella piltzintli ytatzin Nicolas pz pohui huexotzinco tēpa

31. Died on Saturday the 19th of June [1638]:
The child Micaela. Her father was Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

34. ypa martes yc 6 ylhuitl mani julio de 1638 anos

34. On Tuesday the 6th day of July 1638:

dōa juana Ra$_{mirez}$ - omomiquilli donā juana Ramirez ycnoçihuatl pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca

The widow doña Juana Ramírez of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan died.

37. ypa vielnes yc 9 ylhuitl manimetztli jurio
omomiquilli piltzintli

37. On Friday the 9th day of the month of July:
A child died.

39. ypa martez yc 3 manimetztli augusto de 1638 anos omomiliquilli
juā deluiyas - juā de luiyas yninamic augostina ma^{a} pohui huexotzin tecpa

39. On Tuesday the 3rd of August 1638:
Juan de Luisa. His spouse was Agustina Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 63r

1. en treínta días del mes de jullio de mill [seis cientos] y treinta y ocho a^{o}o visitando este conv$^{[to]}$ [page ripped] mío muoy R^{do} P^{e} Fr Andres de Posada [page ripped] miō Pl desta prov^{a} de es^{to} evangela [page ripped] donde sea sienta los difuntos natuale[s] [page ripped] conforme lo ordenado Por la prov^{a} y [lo firmo] [page ripped]
fray andres deposada

f. 63r

1. On the 30th day of the month of July of the year 1638. Our revered priest fray Andrés de Posada of our Provincial of this church visited this convent [and viewed this book] where they remember the natives who are deceased. He found that it was according to the Provincial of the Province and signed it.
fray Andrés de Posada

miō PL	Our provincial
antemi	Before me:
fr ant^{o} detitorrz	fray Antonio de [Torres?]
secret^{o}	Secretary

11. ypa jueves yc 12 mamimetztli angosto de 1638 anos omomiquilli	11. On Thursday the 12th of the month of August 1638:
ma - piltzintli ma^{a} ytatzin locas ynatzin ma^{a} pohui huexotzinco totollac	Maria - The child Maria died. Her father was Lucas. Her mother was Maria of Huexotzinco Totollac.

14. ypa martes yc 17 manimetztli angosto de 1638 anos omomiliquilli	14. On Tuesday the 17th of the month of August 1638:
diego –piltzintli di^{o} ytatzin gaspal dellocag pohui s. ta ma^{a} a^{c}xotla	Diego - The child Diego died. Her father was Gaspar de Luca of Santa Maria [of] Acxoltan

17. ypa jueves y 16 manimetztli setiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli	17. On Thursday the 16th of the month of September 1638:
ma^{a} – piltzin ma^{a} ytatzin yō juā de ālana pohui huexotzin totollac	Maria - The child Maria died. Her father was Juan de Anlana of Huexotzinco Totollac.

19. ypa sapato yc 18 manimetztli setiebre de 1638 anos omomilquilli
diego xuarez –diego xuarez yn inami [blank space] pohui xaltepetlapa s. topa

19. On Saturday the 18th of the month of September 1638:
Diego Suárez - Diego Suárez died. The one who was his spouse was [blank space] of Xaltepetlapan San Topan.

22. ypa vielnes yc 1 mamimetztli ontobre de 1638 anos omōmiquilli
bohui huexotzinco tecpa marcos de aquino – marcos de aquino yn inami ma[a] castilla xo[tl] pohui huexotzin tecpa

22. On Friday the 1st of the month of October 1638:
From Huexotzinco Tecpan Marcos de Aquino - Marcos de Aquino died. The one who was his spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

25. ynpa jueves yc 14 manimetztli ontobre de 1638 anos omomiquilli
ana piltzintli –piltzintli ana ytatzin andonio anostaquio yn inatzin fran[ca] pohui tepetzinco

25. On Thursday the 14th of the month of October 1638:
Ana the child - The child Ana died. Her father was Antonio Anostaquio the one who was her mother was Francisca of Tepetzinco.

28. ypa lunes yc 25 mamimetztli otobre de 1638 anos omomiquil

28. On Monday the 25th of the month of October 1638:

ma^{a} sepastiana – ma^{a} sepastiana yn inamic domi͡go derosa pohui xaltepetlapa	Maria Sebastiana - Maria Sebastiana died. The one who was her spouse was Domingo De Rosa of Xaltepetlapan.
31. ynpa mielcores yc 3 manimetztli noviebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli sosta cacallo xo^{tl} –sosta cacallo xo^{tl} pohui tiaquizteco [illegible -can?] ytecaca tlacallauilli	31. On Wednesday the 3rd of the month of November 1638: Sosta Cacalloxochitl - Sosta Cacalloxochitl of Tianquiztenco died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to [illegible].
34. ypa vielnes yc 5 manimetztli noviebre de 1638 anos omomi[qui]lli piltzintli [blank space] yn[tatzin] mig^{t} bap^{ta} pohui anteco	34. On Friday the 5th of the month of 1638: The child [blank space] died. His father was Miguel Bautista of Atenco.
f. 63v	f. 63v
1. [ypa do]mi͡go yc 5 mamimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos ^{o}momi [page ripped – ana?] maria castilla xo^{tl} pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca yc[noci]huatl	1. Died [on] Sunday the 5th of the month of December 1638: [page ripped] The widow Maria Castillanxochitl of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.

4. [ypa] domi͡go yc 12 mamimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos omo[miqu]illi piltzintli andona yn tatzin lureco Vazquez pohui [tla]macazcapa	4. Died [on] Sunday the 12th of the month of December 1638 The child Antonia. The one who was her father was Lorenzo Cazquez of [Tla]macazcapan.
7. ynpa lunes yc 13 ylhuitl mamimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli piltzintli Pasqual ytatzin juā mollade pohui huexotzinco tecpa	7. On Monday the 13th day of the month of December 1638: The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Mollade of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
10. ynpa jueves y 16 mamimetztli deçietre de 1638 anos omomiquilli piltzintli fran^{co} yn tatzin sepastia anlada pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapa	10. Died on Thursday the 16th of the month of December 1638: The child Francisco. The one who is his father is Sebastián Anlada of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
13. ynpa milcores yc 22 manimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli andona –piltzintli andona yntatzin mathias deolalte ynatzin angellina pohui tlateco	13. Died on Wednesday the 22nd of the month of December 1638: Antonia - The child Antonia. The one who was her father was Matías de Olarte. Her mother was Angelina of Tlantenco.

16. ynpa vielnes yc 24 manimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli
helena – Helena çaynos ycnoçihuatl pohui s. ta cruz anteco

16. Died on Friday the 24th of the month of December 1638:
Elena - The widower Elena Ceynos of Santa Cruz Atenco.

18. ynpa martes yc 29 manimetztli deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli
mag^{na} de s. fran^{ca} – mag^{na} de s. fran^{ca} pohui huexotzinco totollac ycnocihuatl

18. Died on Tuesday the 29th of the month of December 1638:
Magdalena de San Francisco - The widow Magdalena de San Francisco of Huexotzinco Totollac.

20. de 1639 anos – ynpa sapato yc 5 manimetztli Efrero de 1639 anos omomiquilli
pelipe anso huello –pelipe ansouello yn inamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui huexotzinco tecpa

20. The year 1639 – Died on Saturday the 5th of the month of January 1639:
Felipe Ansouello - Felipe Ansouello. The one who was his spouse was Maria Castillaxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

23. ynpa jueves yc 10 manimetztl Efrelo de 1639 anos omomiquilli
maria – piltzintli ma^{a} yn itatzin domi͡go catena pohui almoyahuaca

23. Died on Thursday the 10th of the month of January 1639:
Maria - The child Maria. The one who was her father was the late Domingo of Almoyahuacan.

26. ynpa domi͡go yc 14 manimetztli hebrero de 1639 anos omomiquilli crala castilla xo^{tl} – crala castilla xo^{tl} yn inamic fran^{co} pz pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca

26. Died on Sunday the 14th of the month of February 1639:
Clara Castillanxochitl - Clara Castillanxochitl. The one who was her spouse was Francisco Pérez of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.

28. ynpa jueves yc 17 manimetztli hebrero de 1639 anos omomiquilli angustina – piltzintli angustina yn itatzin diego de aquino pohui thocuilla luys – ça[n] ya ynpa jueve omomiquilli piltzintli luys yn itatzin juā alata yn inatzin ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl}

28. Died on Thursday the 17th of the month of February 1639:
Agustina - The child Agustina. The one who was her father was Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.
Luis - When it had just turned to Thursday, the child Luis died. The one who was his father was Juan Alata and his mother was Maria Castillanxochitl.

32. ynpa mielcores yc 23 manimetztli hebrero de 1639 anos omomiquilli mathias – pirtzintli mathias ytatzin fran^{co} pz ynatzin maria castilla xo^{tl} pohui atzopa

32. Died on Wednesday the 23rd of the month of February 1639:
Mathia - The child Matías. His father was Francisco Pérez. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Atzonpan.

juana ma^{a} – omomiquilli juana ma^{a} yn inamic diego ortona pohui acxotla	Juana Maira - Juana Maria died. The one who was her spouse was Diego Ortona of Acxotlan.
36. de março – ynpa jueves yc 3 mamimetztli de marco de 1639 anos moniquilli mariana – piltzintli mariana yn itatzin matheo xuarez yn inatzin luysa ma^{a}	36. In March – On Thursday the 3rd of the month of March 1639: Marianna - The child Mariana died. The one who was her father was Mateo Suárez. The one who was her mother was Luisa Maria.
38. ynpa domi͡go yc 6 manimetztli de março momiliquilli juana – juana yc noçihuatl pohui tlamacazcapa ynahuac jua toris pa^{o} omomiquilli piltzintli pa^{o} yn itatzin pa^{o} pz ynatzin juana pohui tlamcazcapa	38. Died on Sunday the 6th of the month of March: Juana - The widow Juana of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juan Torres. Pablo - The child Pablo died. The one who was his father was Pablo Pérez. His mother was Juana of Tlamacazcapan.
42. ynpa martes yc 8 manimetztli de março de 1639 anos momiquilli	42. On Tuesday the 8th of the month of March 1639:

ych[ā] [page ripped] luçia yçihuapilpo las de caliçia[74]	[He] died at home. Lucia was his first wife of the Calicia.
f. 64r	f. 64r
1. ynpa vielnes yc 11 manim[metztli de Março de 1639 años]	1. On Friday the 11th [of the month of March? 1639]:
maª salame – piltzintli maª salame yn ita [page ripped]	The child Maria Salome the one who was her father was [page ripped].
maria pohui s. ta maª almoyahua[ca] [page ripped]	Maria of Santa Maria Almoyahua[can] [page ripped].
maª castilla xotl ça[n] ya ypa vielnes omomiquilli maria cas[tilla Xochitl] [illegible] pohui huexotzinco tecpa	Maria Castillanxochitl - When it had just turned to Friday Maria Castillan[xochitl] of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
6. ynpa domi͡go 13 manimetztli de março de 16[39] [page ripped]	6. On Sunday the 13th of the month of March 1639:
andonio – [pil]tzintli andonio yn itatzin margos moca [page ripped - cas] tilla xotl pohui tlateco	Antonio - The child Antonio. The one who was his father Marcos [his mother was] [page ripped] [Cas]tillanxochitl of Tlatenco.

[74] From *Cali* – referring to the house, perhaps.

pelipe – omomiquilli piltzintli peripe yn itatzin [page ripped]
yn inatzin ma[a] castilla xo[tl] pohui a. luyz coy[otzinco]

Felipe - The child Felipe died. The one who was his father was [page ripped]. The one who was his mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of San Luis Coy[otzinco].

11. ynpa lunes yc 14 manimetztli março de 1639
sepastia pz - sepastia pz yc cocos catzintli pohui tezcoca[pa]

11. On Monday the 14th of the month of March 1639:
Sebastián Pérez - Sebastián Pérez of Tetzcocapan [died] by means of an illness.

13. ynpa martes yc 15 manimetztli de março [1639]
melchior pz – [mel]chior pz yn inamic angustina parmalla pohui huex[otzinco] tollac

13. On Tuesday the 15th of the month of March [1639]:
Melchor Pérez - Melchor Pérez. The one who was his spouse was Agustina Parnalla of Huex[otzinco] Totollac.

16. ynpa mielcores yc 16 manimetztli de março momiq[uilli] [page ripped]
juseph – pipiltzintzinto joseph yn itatzin gaspal pohui ac[xotla] [page ripped]

16. Died on Wednesday the 16th of the month of March:
Joseph - The child Joseph died. The one who was his father was Gaspar of Acxotlan.

antres – momiquilli piltzintli antres yn itatzin di^{o} bap^{ta} yn [inantzin] [page ripped] micaella angellina pohui s. ta ma^{a} acxotla

Andrés - The child Andrés died. The one who was his father was Diego Bautista. The one who was his mother was Micaela Angelina of Santa Maria Acxotlan.

20. ynpa vielnes yc 18 manimetz^{tli} de março de 1639 anos omomiquili
maria –piltzintli ma^{a} yn itatzin di^{o} juā yn inatzin angellina pohui espirito s. to tezcocap
juā – omomiquilli piltzintli jua ynahuac onemia don fran^{co} de sirpapixcal

20. Died on Friday the 18th of the month of March 1639:
Maria - The child Maria died. The one who was her father was Diego Juan. The one who was her mother was Angelina of Espíritu Santo Tetzcocapan.
Juan - The child Juan died. He used to live next to don Francisco de Silva, the pixcal.[193]

25. ynpa lunes yc 21 manimetztli de março de 1639 anos momiquilli
nicolasa – piltzintli nicolasa yn itatzin mathias pz yn inatzin angustina pohui huexotzinco tecpa

25. Died on Monday the 21st of the month of March 1639:
Nicolasa - The child Nicolasa died. The one who was her father was Matías Pérez. The one who was her mother Agustina of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[193] The keeper

maria – momiquilli piltzintli maria yn itatzin marcos mocallio yn inatzin ana castilla xo^{tl} pohui s. to andonio tlateco

Maria - The child Maria died. The one who was her father was Marcos Mocallio. The one who was her mother was Ana Castillanxochitl of Santo Antonio Tlatenco.

30. ynpa martes yc 22 manimetztli de marco momiquilli telpochtli
diego – di^{o} yn itatzin pe^{o} chavez yn inatzin ma^{a} pohui huexotzinco totollac
juana – omomiquilli piltzintli juana yn itatzin mig^{l} cachollo pohui huexotzinco tecpa

30. Died on Tuesday the 22nd of the month of March:
Diego - The young man Diego died. The one who was his father was Pedro Chavez. The one who was his mother was Maria of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Juana - The child Juana died. The one who was her father was Miguel Cachollo of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

34. ynpa mielcores yc 23 manimetztli de marco de 1639 anos omomiquilli
diego – diego mollares yn inamic ma^{a} fran^{ca} pohui huexotzinco totll[ac]

34. Died on Wednesday the 23rd of the month of March 1639:
Diego - Diego Morales died. The one who was his spouse was Maria Francisca of Huextzinco Totollac.

fran^{co} pz – omomiquilli fran^{co} pz yn inamic juana xiloc pohui espilito san[to] tezcocapa	Francisco Pérez - Francisco Pérez died. The one who was his spouse was Juana Xiloc of Espíritu Santo Tetzcocapan.
38. ynpa jueves yc 24 manimetztli de março omomiquilli sepastiana – piltzintli sepastiana yn itatzin di^{o} fran^{co} ynatzin ma^{a} pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca juana – omomiquilli piltzintli juana yn itatzin di^{o} gralinasar yn inatzin antona pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapā	38. On Thursday the 24th of the month of March: Sebastiana - The child Sebastiana died. The one who was her father was Diego Francisco. His mother was Maria of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan. Juana - The child Juana died. The one who was her father was Diego Gralinasar. The one who was his mother was Antonia of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
f. 64v [pil]tzintli martina yn itatzin caspal hel[nandez] [page ripped] mariana pohui huexotzinco totollac	f. 64v [The child] Martina. The one who was her father was Gaspar Hernández. [Her mother was] Mariana of Huexotzinco Totollac.
3. [ypa] vielnes yc 21 manimetztli de março de 1639 anos omomiǫ̆l	3. Died [on] Friday the 21st of the month of March 1639:

[hue]ytlacatl gellonimo yn inamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pohui [hue]xotzinco tecpa omiquilli piltzintli di^{o} yn itatzin btrome de aquino yn ina[tz]in fran^{ca} sepastiana pohui s. ta ma^{a} acxotlan omomiguilli piltzintli mathias yn itatzin mathias helnadez yn inatzin mag^{na} pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca omomiquilli piltzintli antresa yn itatzin juā de roças yn inatzin ma^{a} salame pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca

The old man Geronimo died. The one who was his spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of [Hue]xotzinco Tecpan.
The child Diego died. The one who was his father was Bartolomé de Aquino. The one who was his mother was Francisca Sebastiana of Santa Maria Acxoltan.
The child Matías died. The one who was his father was Matías Hernández. The one who was his mother was Magdalena of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.
The child Andresa died. The one who was her father was Juan de Rosas. The one who was her mother was Maria Salome of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.

12. ynpa sapato yc 26 manimetztli de março de 1639 anos omomiquilli piltzintli Helena yn itatzin pe^{o} mathias yn inatzin juana fran^{ca} pohui huexotzinco tecpa

12. Died on Saturday the 26th of the month of March 1639:
The child Elena died. The one who was her father was Pedro Matías. The one who was her mother was Juana Francisca of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

15. ynpa martes yc 29 manimetztli de março de 1639 anos omomiquilli
[Mel]chior - hueytlacatl Melchior pohui huexotzinco tecpa

15. Died on Tuesday the 29th of the month of March 1639:
Melchor - The old man Melchor of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

17. ynpa vielnes yc 1 manimetztli anbilil de 1639 anos o momiquilli
mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl} –hueytlacatl mag^{na} castilla xo^{tl} pohui tezcocapa
jugepa – ça ya ypa vielnes omomiquilli piltzintli jugepa ynatzin angellina pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca
simō – omomiquilli piltzintli simō yn itatzin pe^{o} mathias ynatzin fran^{ca} ana pohui huexotzinco tecpā

17. Died on Friday the 1st of the month of April 1639:
The old woman Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan died.
Josepha – When it had just turned to Friday the child Josepha died. Her mother was Angelina of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.
Simón - The child Simón died. The one who was his father was Pedro Matías. His mother was Francisca Ana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

23. ynpa martes yc 12 manimetztli anbrilil de 1639 anos omomiquilli
juā augustin – hueytlacatl juā angustin yninamic juana ximenez pohui Ocotepec

23. Died on Tuesday the 12th of the month of April 1639:
Juan Agustín – The old person Juan Agustín died. The one who was his mother was Juana Jiménez of Ocotepec.

fran^{co} m̄n tin – omomiquilli hueytlacatl	Francisco Martín - The widower, the old
fran^{co} m̄n tin ycnooquichtli pohui	man Francisco Martín of Huexotzinco
huexotzinco tecpā	Tecpan died.
28. ynpa jueves yc 14 manimetztli anbilil	28. Died on Thursday the 14th of the
de 1639 anos omomiquili	month of April 1639:
di^{o} cahualero – hueytlacatl di^{o} cahuallero	Diego Caballero - Diego Caballero, the
yn inami mag^{na} pohui tlamacazcapa	old man died. The one who was his
	spouse was Magdalena of
	Tlamacazcapan.
30. ynpa mielcores yc 20 manimetztli	30. Died on Wednesday the 20th of the
anbril de 1639 anos omomiquilli	month of April 1639:
ma castilla xo^{tl} – hueytlacatl ana castilla	Maria Castillanxochitl - The old woman
xo^{tl} yn inamic Jacob pz pohui s. tiago	Ana Castillanxochitl died. The one who
xaltepetlapa	was her spouse was Jacob Pérez of
	Santiagao Xaltepetlapan.
de mayo	In May
34. ynpa lunes yc 2 manimetztli de mayo	34. On Monday the 2nd of the month of
de 1639 omomiquilli	May 1639:

juana castilla xo^{tl} - hueytlacatl juana ycnoçihuatl pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapa dō Miguel - ça ya ypa lunes omomiquilli telpochtli don mig^{l} yn itatzin catca don juā de cozma pohui xaltepetlapa

Juana Castillanxochitl – The old person Juana of Santiago Xalepetlapan died. She was a widow.
Don Miguel – When it had just turned to Monday, the young man don Miguel Died. The one who was his father was the late don Juan de Cozma of Xaltepetlapan.

38. yn juēves yc 5 mani metztli de mayo de 1639 ano omomiquillique
fran^{ca} juana – pipirtzitzinti ometin fran^{ca} yhua juana yn itatzin mathias helnatez yn inatzin mariana pohui huexotzinco tecpa

38. On Thursday the 5th of the month of May 1639:
Francisca Juana - Two children Francisca and Juana died. The one who was their father was Matías Hernández. The one who was their mother was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

41. ynpa martes yc 10 manimetztli de mayo de 1639 anos onomiquilli
di^{o} pz – huetlacatl di^{o} pz yninamic Catalina castilla xo^{tl} pohui hu[exotzin]co tecpa

41. On Tuesday the 10th of the month of May 1639:
Diego Pérez - The old man Diego Pérez died. The one who was his mother was Catalina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

f. 65r

1. ypa mielcores yc 11 manimetztli de mayo [1639]

micaella – [piltzin]tli yn inatzin juana xilloc pohui tezcocapa

f. 65r

1. On Wednesday the 11th of the month of May [1639]:

Micaela - [The child died.] The one who was his mother was Juana Xilloc of Tetzcocapan.

3. ynpa lunes yc 30 manimetztli de mayo [1639]

matheo xuarez – hueytlacatl matheo xuarez yn ina[mic] [page ripped] [pohui huexotzin]co tecpa

3. On Monday the 30th of the month of May [1639]:

Mateo Suárez – The old person Mateo Suárez [died]. The one who was his spouse was [page ripped] [of Huexotzin]co Tecpan.

6. ynpa mielcores yc 1 junio de 1639 anos

btrome de rocas – [Bartolome] de rocas ycnooquichtli pohuia huexotzin[co]

6. On Wednesday the 1st of June 1639:

Barolomé de Rosas - The widower [Bartolomé] de Rosas of Huexotzin[co] [died].

8. ynpa domi͡go yc 5 manimetztli junio de 1639 an[os]

8. On Sunday the 5th of the month of June 1639:

di^{o} xuarez [hueytla]catl diego xuarez yn inamic ma^{a} mag^{na} pohui [page ripped]	The old man Diego Suárez [died]. The one who was his spouse was Maria Magdalena of [page ripped]
10. ynpa lunes yc 6 manimetztli junio de 1639 anos O[momiquilli] juana castilla xo^{tl} – [juana cas]tilla xo^{tl} pohui s. ta. Ma^{a} almoyahuaca	10. On Monday the 6th of the month of June 1639: Juana Castillanxochitl – Juana [Cas]tillanxochitl of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan died.
12. ynpa sapato yc 11 manimetztli junio de 1639 ynes castilla xo^{tl} – [hue]ytlacatl ynes castilla xo^{tl} yn inamic juā ma [pohui san] maria acxotlan	12. On Saturday the 11th of June 1639: Inés Castillanxochitl – the old woman Inés Castillanxochitl [died]. The one who was her spouse was Juan [page ripped] [of] Santa Maria Acxotlan.
15. ynpa mielcores yc 22 manimetztli junio de 1639 pasqual mathias – [momi]quili hueytlacatl Pasqual mathias yninamic ma^{a} salame [pohui hue]xotzinco tecpa	15. On Wednesday the 22nd of the month of June 1639: The old man Pasqual Matías died. The one who was his spouse was Maria Salome [of Hue]xotzinco Tecpan.

mig^{l} - omomiquilli piltzintli mig^{l} yn itatzin matheo xime[nez] [inan]tzin angellina pohui huexotzinco totollac

Miguel - The child Miguel died. The one who was his father was Mateo Jimé[nez] [His mother was] Angelina of Huexotzinco Totollac.

20. ynpa mielcores yc 29 manimetztli junio de 1639 anos omomiquillique
juā milatan – huehueytlaca juā millada yn inamic helena castilla xo^{tl} pohui huexotzinco tecpa
dō juā dealana – omomiquilli don juā deallana telpochtli yn inatzin don an ma^{a} de metoça pohui s. pa^{o} ocotepec

20. On Wednesday the 29th of the month of June 1639, they died:
Juan Miranda - The old man Juan Mirada. The one who was his spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Don Juan de Alana - The young man don Juan de Alana died. The one who was his mother was doña Ana Maria de Mendoza of San Pablo Ocotepec.

jurio

July

26. ynpa lunes yc 4 manimetztli jurio de 1639 anos omomiquilli
ma^{a} antresa – hueytlcatl ma^{a} antresa yn inamic di^{o} çaynos pohui tezcopacapa

26. Died on Monday the 4th of the month of July 1639:
Maria Andresa - The old woman Maria Andresa. The one who was her spouse was Diego Ceynos of Tetzcocapan.

angusto	August
29. ynpa lunes yc 10 manimetztli angusto omomiquilli fran^{co} pz – hueytlacatl fran^{co} pz yn inamic ynes castilla xo^{tl} pohui huexotzinco totollac	29. Died on Monday the 10th of the month of August: Francisco Pérez – The old man Francisco Pérez. The one who was his spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.
31. ynpa domi͡go yc 28 manimetztli angusto de 1639 anos omomiquilli angellina castilla xo^{tl} – hueytlacatl angellina castilla xo^{tl} yn inamic di^{o} çaynos pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoyahuaca	31. On Sunday the 28th of the month of August 1639: Angelian Castillanxochitl – the old woman Angelina Castillanxochitl died. The one who was his spouse was Diego Ceynos of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan.
34. ynpa martes yc 30 manimetztli angusto de 1639 anos omomiquilli fran^{ca} tlcuilol Xochitl – hueytlacatl fran^{ca} yn inamic matheo mollate pohui huexotzinco te^{c}pa	34. Died on Tuesday the 30th of the month of August 1639: Francisca Tlcuilolxochitl – the old woman Francisca Tlcuilolxochitl. The one who was her spouse was Mateo Mollate of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

petromilla – ça ya ypa martes omomiquilli piltzintli petromilla yn itatzin die[go] xuares pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapa	Petronilla – When it had just turned to Tuesday, the child Petronilla died. The one who was her father was Diego Suárez of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.
deçiebre	December
39. ynpa sapato yc 7 manimetztli deçiebre de 1639 anos omomiquili jua pz yn inamic ma^{a} castilla xo^{tl} pui s. ta ma^{a} acxotla	39. Died on Saturday the 7th of the month of December 1639: Juan Pérez. The one who was his spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Santa Maria Acxotlan.
41. ~~heneto~~ – ynpa lunes yc 15 manimetztli heneto de 1640[39] anos omomicquilli Piltzintli pasqual yn itatzin mathias de la cruz yn inatzin juana pohui s. ta ma^{a} almoy^{a}huaca	41. ~~January~~ - On Monday the 15th of the month of January (sic)[194]1639: The child Pasqual died. The one who was his father was Matías de la Cruz. The one who was his mother was Juana of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan

[194] It is very likely that this was meant to be December, but when the scribe crossed out the January heading in the margin, he neglected to also correct the in-text month.

f. 65v

1. [ypa] [mie]lcores yc 7 ylhuitl manimetztli noviebre de 1640 anos [omomiqu]illi piltzintli sepastia yn itatzin pe^{o} matias yn inatzin fra^{ca} [po]hui s. pa^{o} oncotepec

f. 65v

1. [On] Wednesday the 7th day of the month of November 1640:
The child Sebastián died. The one who was his father was Pedro Matías. The one who was his mother was Francisca of San Pablo Ocotepec.

4. [ypa] lunes yc 1 manimetztli notiebre onmomiquilli
çihuā yn toca juana castilla xo^{tl} pohui yn inamic domi͡go helna[ndez] [p]ohui s. juā huexotzinco tecpa
momiquili piltzintli diego yn itatzin ju^{o} mig^{l} yn inatzin ju^{a} hele^{na} [po]hui espilito s. to tezcocapa

4. Died [on] Monday the 1st of the month of November:
The woman called Juana Castillanxochitl. The one who was her husband was Domingo Hernández of San Juan Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Diego died. The one who was his father was Juan Miguel. The one who was his mother was Juana Helena of Espíritu Santo Tetzcocapan.

9. [ypa] lunes yc 3 manimetztli deçiebre de 1640 anos omomiqui

9. Died [on] Monday the 3rd of the month of December 1640:

çihuatzintli ana castilla xo^{tl} yn inamic gaspal pohui s. ju^{a} huexotzinco tecpa

The woman Ana Castillanxochitl died. The one who was her husband was Gaspar of San Juan Huexotzinco Tecpan.

13. [en] nueve de junio de mill y seiscientos quar^{ta} y un anos visi[ta]ndo este conv^{to} de huexotzingo nio muy R^{do} P^{e} Fr. Lucas [benitez] Pre^{or} y Mno Prov^{al} desta pur^{a} de es^{to} evangelio vio este libro de difuntos y hallo estan conforme alo di es^{to} por la pur^{a} hasta [page ripped] onze de enero este pres^{te}ano q̃ desde entonzes [page ripped] [cerne? por g^{de}]de los clerigos por el desto lo q̃ hisieron de esto docrrinas y su p^{r} lo firmo

fr. Lucas benetez

mio pal

antemi

fr fran^{co} de ochandisad

secrett^{o}

13. [On] the 9th of June of 1641, our revered priest fray Lucas [Benitez] visited this convent of Huexotzinco our Provincial of this Province of this church and viewed this book of the dead and found it according to the Provincial [page ripped] until the 11th of January the present year since then [page ripped - illegible] of the clergy for the [that which] they made of this doctrine and our priest signed it.[195]

fray Lucas Benitez

Our Principal

Before me:

fray Francisco de Ochandiande

Secretary

[195] Tentative translation.

Appendix D

The Wills of Huexotzinco[1]

1622 Francisco Pérez[2]

[45r] Yn nicā ytocatzin dios tethatzin yhuā dios tepiltzin yhuā dios espirito sancto nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque[h] ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca fran^{co} perez nican nochā ciudad huexo^{co} ytech nipohui yn perochia sancta ma^{a} assump^{o} almoyahuacā nicchiua notestamēto auh ma[h]cihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noceialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui çan pactica	[45r] Here in the name of God, the Father, and God, the Son, and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Francisco Pérez. Here my home [is in] the city of Huexotzinco, I belong to, am attached to the parish of Santa María Asunción Almoyahuahcan. I made my testament even though my body is sick however, my heart, my mind, my memory, my hearing [my understanding] is not, I was only healthy.
auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlacahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpampa yehua ynic nican nictlallia notestamēto yn	And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I

[1] All the wills in this appendix are located at the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia in the collection, *Conjunto de testamentos en lengua náhuatl*, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tercera serie, papeles sueltos, registro número 9 caja 7, legajo 28.

[2] Possibly, he died on September 18, 1622, see JCB, "El Libro," f.19v. Will written on August 12, 1622, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.45r–v. The distance between will and death is a bit more than usual, and the man of this same name is written in the Book as attached to a different town, but it is possible this was a mistake, given the number of family members that died around this same time.

ça tlatzāco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitla[coz] yehuatli yc nicpehualtia	put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.
Huell achto yehuatl yn nanimatzin ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn totecuiyo dios ypā[m]pa ca oquimochiuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli ycah yn itlaçoezçotzin yn itech sancta cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlaococolliliz ynic nechmopopolhuilliz yn ixqui[ch] notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlacahui yn namima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā[m]pa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi yntla onechmopolhui yn totecuiyo dios ça ce tilmatli yc moquimilloz yn nonacayo yhuan nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā	First of all, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God[9] because he made it, for he redeems it, by means of his precious blood on the holy cross. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will wipe away all of my transgressions, that he will take me, to his home within heaven, when my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth because it issued from there for it is earth, for it is clay and I desire that when [at some point] it is my lord god's will that I die [I want] only a blanket with which my body will be wrapped and I want it to be buried there at our church in front of San Miguel at the base, where, there it will be opened, my

[9] *Totequiyo Dios*, refers to "Jesus."

yxpātzinco sanc Miguel Apetlac oncā motlapoz yn noseportora yn notecoch yn notlatatc oncā nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui auh yn ipā[m]pa ypallehuiloca namimah nimā centetl missa nopā mochihuaz yntla queman nechmotlatzontequilliz yn toteo dios haço [ahzo] tlaqualizpan hanoço [ahnoço] ye teotlac oc nitlalhuiz[3] yhquac yn tlamiz missa nitocaz auh yn huentzintli mocahuaz teopā hey pesos

grave will be dug, it will be opened there the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit [sake] of my soul. Then one mass will happen [be said] for me. If at some point Our Lord judges me, perhaps in the early afternoon, or the late afternoon, still I will rise when mass ends, I will be buried. And in the great church, three pesos will be left.

Ynic centlamātli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar centetl ypan mani nocalhuā centetl tlapācalli[4] yhuā centetl sacilli[5] yniquiçayā tonatiuh nehuatl nosolar yn iyaquiyā tonatiuh callotli yn amilpāpa çanno callotli yn ihuicpa norte nehuatl nosolar çatepā niquinseselhuiz yn nopilhuātzitzinhuā auh yn ipā mani nocalhuā centetl nosolar

The first thing I order: I have my one house plot upon which are my houses, a flat roofed building and a thatched building in the east. To the west a house-path towards the irrigated field. Likewise, a house-path is towards the north to my plot of land. Then I will divide [the property] for them, my many beloved

[3] When I die and I am judged, when mass ends, I will be buried. The idea of being buried on the day of death.
[4] *Tlapan* - rafters in a house from *pan* – "on", *tla* – "upon," - a flat roofed house, with a storage room up on the roof.
[5] A Thatched building (jacal).

niquin macatiuh ynteoyotica nonamictzin ytoca clara castillā xo[tl] yhuā yntopilhuātzitzinhuā ytoca diego Perez ynic ome ytoca juā ynic hey ytoca fran[ca] yc[6] nahui ytoca Pasqual ynic macuilli ytoca mathias ynin nocalhuā yhuā nosolar oncā quinmozcaltilliz yn teoyotica nonamictzin yn topilhuātzitzinhuā yhuā[7] yn teachcauh[8] diego pz ay[a]c ynca mocacayahuaz yni te yc cauhtzitzinhua [yhuā] yn inātzin ay[a]c quitequipa choz yntla quēmania quitolliniz justiçia quitlatzacuiliz

children. My houses that are on one of my house-plots, I give them to them, my spouse, named Clara Castillanxochitl and our children, named Diego Pérez; second, named Juan; third, named Francisca; fourth, named Pasqual; fifth, named Matías. There, [in?] my houses and my field, she, my legal wife will raise them, they who are, our dear little children and their older brother Diego Pérez. In regard to his [their] mother, he [Diego] will never cause her concern. If at some point, he distresses his mother, the judge will lock him up.

Ynic ōtlamātli nitlanahualia nicā nocaltitlā mani nosolar hetetl meyotoc yehuatl yn notepāco tlanipa yhuā yhuicpa norte çā ya ytech yn nocalhuā ypā mani solar yn memeh hemetepātli yc onaçih yn ce solar yn tlanipa callotli auh yn nochpoch ytoca

The second thing I order: here next to my houses, I have three parcels covered with maguey. It, that which is my lower boundary [adjacent to another piece of land]. And toward the north just up against the land upon which my houses

[6] Functioning as *inic*.
[7] This could be "with." As in she will raise them along with their older brother, meaning "with the help of."
[8] *Teachcauh* - comes from older brother. It has rank, and become the mayordomo, someone that is part of the family, will be in charge of raising the rest of the children.

hellena castillā xo[tl] cenmetepātli niquinmacatiuh yn memeh oncā yn colar calnacazco ayac quicuillaz çan i[y]o[h] ymetl auh yn etetl solar yntech pouhqui yn nonamic yhuā yn [iz]quintin nopilhuātzitzinhuā ayac quincuilliz quimmopiyalizque

sit, three rows of magueys, extend along the land down towards [arriving at] the house-path. My sister, named, Elena Castillanxochitl, I am giving her one row of magueys. Those magueys at the corner of the house. So no one will take them from her, it's just hers [nobody else's].[10] The three fields they belong to my wife and children. And no one will take the fields from them. They will keep them.

[45v] Auh yz catqui yn niquixquetztiuh yn noalbaceas don diego çaynos ma ypaltzinco yn totecuiyo dios quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli notestamēto ca ātle nicnopillia naxca notlatqui çan huel i[y]o[h] yn nosolar nauhtetl yhuan nocalhuā ontetl yn teneuhtica tlacpac yhuā centetl missa ynic nopā motlahtoltiz yhçiuhca mochiuaz yntla yhçiuhca quimotequipanilluiz yc nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote[o] dios yc

[45v] And here it is that I name [before I die] my executor don Diego Ceynos. Let it be through Our Lord [for the sake of Our Lord] that he will do it, that he will act on my testament, which I put down. My property is nothing [I have no property], just only my four plots and my two homes, which are mentioned above, and one mass will speak [will be said] for me, let it be done quickly. If he will do it quickly, for that reason, I pray to Our

[10] This could also mean only the magueys and not the land.

quimotlaocoliliz yn ihquac momiquilliz ynic no yuhqui ypā mochihuaz	Lord, God that he will be merciful [to the executor] when he dies, so that also in this way it will be done.
auh yntla ocana centetl (centetl) neciz notestamēto [nochi nicpoloa] çan i[y]o[h] neltiz ynaxca nichiua yn huel noyollocacopa onichiuh yn ixpā testigos mathias dolendino juā pz yhuā nehuatl esteuā de coto escri^{o} atle onichuallaqui annotle onictizinquiztih çā huelya yn itlatol cocoxcatzintli omochiuh ypā Viernes yc 12 ylhuitl de augusto 1622 año Auh yn cocoxcatzin āmo quimati yn ifilma quitlalli ce cruz yhuā testigotin quineltillique quitlallique ynin filma	But if somewhere another one of my testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it completely. Only this one that I make today [now] will be the valid one. My heart is able.[11] I made it in front of the witnesses Matías Tolentino, Juan Pérez and I, Esteban de Soto, scribe, I have added nothing and I also I took nothing out.[12] This is just the words of the sick person on Friday the 12th the month of August of the year 1622 and the sick person doesn't know how to sign [and] put down a cross and the witnesses verified the document and signed it.
+ Fran^{co} pz + mathias Delentino juā perez Nixpā	+ Francisco Pérez, + Matías Tolentino, Juan Pérez In the presence of [before me]

[11] Meaning, "voluntarily, of my own free will."
[12] Delete, to remove something.

Esteuā de Coto	Esteban de Soto
Escri^{o}	Scribe (Notary)

1626 Juan García[13]

[44r] Y[n] nicā ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā tepiltzin yhuā dios espirito sancto nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca juā gar[a] nicā nochā ciudad huexotzinco ytech nipohui yn bario Sancta cr+uz atenco nicchiua notestamēto auh maçihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçeialliz yn y[n] notlalnaniquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui çā pactica

[44r] Here in the name of God, the Father, and God, the Son, and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Juan García. Here my home [is in] the city of Huexotzinco, I belong to, am attached to the barrio Santa Cruz Atenco. I made my testament even though my body is sick however, my heart, my mind, my memory, my hearing [my understanding] is not, I was only healthy.

auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpāpa yehua ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn ça tlatzāco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoz ca yehuatli yc nicpehualtia

And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.

[13] He died on December 30, 1626, JCB, "El Libro," f.36v. His will was written on December 23, 1626, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.44r–v.

Huell achto yehuatl yn namina ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn totecuiyo dios ypāpa ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica ytlaçoezçotzin yn ictech sancta cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlacocolliliz ynic nechmomaquixtilliz ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichantzinco ylhicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypanpa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça ce tilmatli yc moquinilloz ynic motocaz nonacayo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā yxpātzinco totemaquixticatzin ynic monoltitoc[14] oncā motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatec yn noseportora oncan nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopizqui auh yn ipāpa nanima ypallihuilloca centetl missa nopā mochiuaz mocahuaz huentzintli teopa hey pesos

Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God, because he created it and he freed [saved] it through [with] his precious blood on the holy cross. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will redeem me that he will take me, to his home within Heaven. When my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth because it issued from there for it is earth, for it is clay and I want only a blanket with which my body will be wrapped when buried and I want it to be buried there at our church in the presence of our savior so that it be laid out where it will be opened, it will be dug, my grave. There the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit of my soul, one mass will happen. At the church, will be left as offering three pesos.

[14] *monoltitoc* – "he was lying down, laid out." See: Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood's notes from Nahuatl sessions with James Lockhart and subsequent research. https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/onoc.

Ynic centlamatli nitlanahualia nicpia nosolar centetl ypan mani nocalhuā centetl sacalin ynic hueyac cenpohualli ynic patlahuac matlacmatl[15] ynin nosolar nicmacatiuh[16] yn nopiltzin ytoca Miguel gar[a] oncā nelitoz[17] ayac quicuilliz	The first thing I order: I have one house plot, on which is spread out my houses, one thatched building which is twenty measures long and ten measures wide. With regards to my plot I give it to my child, named Miguel García. There [it will affirm][20] no one will take it from him.
Yhuā niquitohua antle naxca notlatqui nicnopillia nicnotlacatzintli[18] nell iuhqui niquitohua yxpātzinco yn totecuiyo dios	And I say it, my property is nothing, I am a pitiable person, I am a humble pious person,[21] truly thus, I say it in the presence of Our Lord, God.
Auh yz catqui y[n] niquixquetztiuh yn nopānotlatotliz[19] ytoca juā baptista tecatzin ma ypaltzinco yn totecuiyo dios quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlali nomemoria testamēto yntla	And here it is that I name [before I die], my disclosed thing, named Juan Bautista Tecatzin.[22] Let it be through Our Lord [for the sake of Our Lord] that he will do it, that he will act on my memory

[15] *Matl* - a unit of measure, measured from hand to hand (see also maitl for hand and cemmatl, one hand), the equivalent of about 6 feet, sometimes translated into Spanish as "braza."
[16] There a "*ma*" in the middle of *nic-ma-catiuh*. I have yet to puzzle this out.
[17] From *nelitoa*.
[18] From *icnopilli* and from *tlacatzintli*.
[19] *Tepanotlaliztli* or *tepanotlalli* "a disclosed thing, fame or a disseminated thing." Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, Sexta Edición, Primera Reimpresión, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2013), f.102r.
[20] Tentative translation.
[21] Tentative translation, but I believe I have the sense of it.
[22] A title or name.

occana centetl neçiz nomeria nicpollo çan i[y]o[h] nelltiz ynaxcā nicchiua yxpa testigo fran^{co} Valencia omochiuh ypā jueves yc 23 deçiēbre 1626 años

(memorandum?), my will. If somewhere another one of my memorandums [shall] appear, I destroy it completely. Only this one that I make today [now] will be the valid one. I made it in front of the witness, Francisco Valencia. It occurred on Thursday the 23rd of December of the year 1626.

+Juā gar^{a} +Fran^{co} Valencia
mixpa
estevā de
Coto
Escri^{o}

+Juan García +Francisco Valencia
In the presence of [before me]
Esteban de Soto
Scribe (Notary)

[44v] anteco

[44v] Atenco

1630 Tomás Tlilli[23]

[40r] Yn nica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā tepiltzin yhuā dios spirit sancto nicpehualtin notestamēto mā quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca Thomas tlilli nicā nochā ciudad huexotzinco huetlanicā nipohui s. fran^co^ tianquiztenco nicchiua notestemēnto auh macihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçeialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui çan pactica auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpāpa yehua ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn ça tlatzōco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequiliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoz ca yehuatli yc nicpehualtia

[40r] Here in the name of the Father, and the Son and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Tomás Tlilli. Here my home [is in] the city of Huexotzinco, Huetlanican. I belong to, am attached to San Francisco Tianquiztenco. I made my testament even though my body is sick however, my heart, my mind, my memory, my hearing is not [my understanding], I was only healthy. And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.

huell achto yehuatl yn nanima ymachtzinco nocōtlatlia yn totecuiyo dios

First of all: I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God because he made it, for

[23] He died on February 1, 1630, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.18v. His will was written on January 24, 1630, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.40r–v.

ypāpa ce oqui[mochiuilli ca oquimoma]quixtilli ynica ytlaço[exçotzin yn y]tech s. ta cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlaococotliliz ynic nechmohuiquilliz ynichātzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlacahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā[m]pa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça ce tilmahtli yc moquimilloz ynic motcaz nonacayo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā yxpātzinco .s. fran^{co} callitec[24] oncā notlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatec yn noseportora oncā nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui auh yn ipāpa nanima ypallihuilloca centetl missa nopā mochiuaz mocahuaz huētzintli teopā hey peso

he redeems it, by means of his precious blood on the holy cross. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will take me, to his home within Heaven, when my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body and I assign it to the earth because it issued from there for it is earth, for it is clay and I want only a blanket with which my body will be wrapped and I want it to be buried there at our church in front of San Francisco within, where, it will be opened, it will be dug, my grave. There the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit of my soul, one mass will happen. At the church, will be left as offering three pesos.

[24] This could be *teocalli* backwards or is it *calli – itec*(h) or something similar: I've found it translated as "en" See: *Vidas y bienes olvidados: Testamentos indígenas novohispanos,* vol. 1, Testamentos en castellano del siglo XVI y en náhuatl y castellano de Ocotelulco de los siglos XVI y XVII, eds. Teresa Rojas Rabiela, Elsa Leticia Rea López, y Constantino Medina Lima (Mexico: CIESAS, 1999), 158–159.

ynic cētlamātli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar centetl ynic hueyac cenpohualli auh ynic patlahuac matlacmatl ypā yhcac centetl nocal tlapācalli yn tlanipan [n]otepā callotli yn acopa nictepanohua Nicolas Perez catca yn ihuicpa norte nictepanohua Miguel de seuilla [yn amil]pāpa nictepanohua ytoca juā perez ynin nosolar yhuā nocal niccatiuh yn noxhuitzin ytoca sebastiā de la fuēte ayac quicui[lliz]	The first thing I order: I have my one house plot, which is twenty measures long and ten measures wide on which stands my one flat roofed house. My lower boundary[26] is the path leading to the house, upward to where I am adjacent to him, the late Nicolas Pérez which is in the direction of the north where I am adjacent to him, Miguel de Sevilla. These irrigated fields where I am adjacent to the man named Juan Pérez. This, my plot and my house I give to him, my dear grandson, named Sebastián de la Fuente. No one will take it from him.
auh yz catqui yn niquixquetztiuh yn noalbaceas yn nopānotlato[cut off]liz[25] yehuatl ytoca Miguel lopez ma ypaltzinco yn totecuiyo dios quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli tepitzin notestamēto auh yntla yhçiuhca	And here it is that I name [before I die] my executor, my disclosed thing, he, his name is Miguel Lopez. Let it be through Our Lord [for the sake of Our Lord] that he will do it, that he will work on my

[25] *Tepanotlaliztli* - fama, o diuulgacion de algo. See: Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, Sexta Edición, Primera Reimpresión, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2013), f.102r.
[26] Maybe literally "boundary downward."

quimochiuilliz yc nicnotltlauhtillia yn totecuiyo dios yc quimotlaocolliliz ynihquac quimomiquilliz ynic noyuhqui ypā mochiuaz	small little will and if he does it quickly, that thus for him it will be done.
auh yntla occana centetl neçiz notestamēto nochi nicpollohua çan i[y]o[h] neltiz ynaxcā nicchiua yn ixpā testico Miguel lopez Esteuā de coto escri^{o} omochiuh ypā jueves yc 24 de henero 1630 años auh yn cocoxcatzintli āmo quimati yn ifilma quitlalli ce cruz yhuā testicotin quinellillique	But if somewhere another one of my testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it completely. Only this one that I make today [now] will be the valid one. I made it in front of the witness, Miguel Lopez [and] Estevan de Soto, scribe. It occurred on Thursday the 24th of January of the year 1630. The sick person doesn't know how to sign [and] put down a cross and the witness verified the document (or the signature?).
+Thomas tlilli	+ Tomás Tlilli
Miguel lupez tsg	Miguel Lopez, Witness.
[illegible]	[about the signature of the grandson?]
[1630 ano]	[The year 1630]
Sebastian [de la fuente]	Sebastián de la Fuente
mixpā mochiuh	In the presence of, it was done

esteuā de coto	Esteban de Soto, Scribe (Notary)
escri^{o}	
[40v] Tianquiztenco	[40v] Tianquiztenco

163? Diego Menezes[27]

[46r] Y[n] nica yn itocatzin dios tetatzin yhua dios tepiltzin yhua dios espirito sānto nicpehualtia notestamento ma quimatica yn ixquichtin nohuayolque yn quithuazque[28] ynin amatl ca y[n] nehuatl y[n] notoca: diego meneces nica nichane yn ipa ciudad huexotzinco huetoca[29] nipohui yn ipa cahuiçara[30] Santiago saltepetlapa nicpehualtia notestamento auh maçihui yn mocochua y[n] nonacayo auh ynanima y[n] noyollia ynoç[e]ialliz y[n] notlacaquia anque ça pactica

[46r] Here in the name of God, the Father, and God, the Son, and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May all my relatives who see this document know that I, am the one named, Diego Menezes. Here, I am a resident in the city of Huexotzinco [Huehuetoca]. I belong to, am attached to the Cabecera Santiago Xaltepetlapan. I begin my testament even though my body is sick however, my soul, my heart, my memory, my hearing [my understanding] is not, only healthy.

auh nichixtica y[n] miquiztli yn ayac huel quitlalcahuia yn ayac yxpapa yehua yc nica [n]ictlatia notestamento yn ça tlatzanco yn ça tlatz[accā notlanequilliz ynic] mochipa nopaiz ynic ayac quitlacoz [ca yehuatli yc nicpehualtia]

And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept,

[27] He probably died on November 11, 1630, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.46v. His will was written on November 9, 1630, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.46r.
[28] Quitazque
[29] Likely a place name.
[30] Likely a place name but could have another significance.

Huel achto yehuatl y[n] namimatzin ymactzinco notlatia yn tote^{o} dios ca oquimochihuili yhua nicmotlatlauhtlia ynic nechmotlaocoliliz nechmohuiquiquiz yn ichantzinco yn ilhuicatl yhtec yn iquac oquitlalcahui y[n] nanima y[n] nonacayo auh y[n] nonacayo [ytech] nicpohua yn tlali ca ytech oquizqui ca tlali ca çoquitl yhua nicnequi ça ce tilmatli ynic moquimiloz ynic motocaz y[n] nonacayo oncani santiago ōpa nechmomachiyotilliz ỹ teopixqui y[n] noçeportora y[n] notecoch y[n] notlatatec yhuan inanima yn ipalehuiloca ynic ano ōpa huecahuaz y porcatoria ontetl nopam itoz misa auh y[n] mocahuaz yn huetzintli teopa nahui p^{o}s

so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.
Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God, he created it. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will take me to his home within Heaven, when my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth, it issued from it, for it is earth, it is clay and I want only one blanket with which [my body] will be wrapped. My body will be buried there [at] Santiago where the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross at my grave, my dug-out pit, my grave pit. And for the benefit of my soul so that it will not be there, in purgatory, it will be done [so that] two masses for me will be said.[38]
And in the great church, four pesos will be left.

[38] Tentative translation.

Ynic çētlamātli nitlanahuatitiuh nechhuiquilia notomi yn itoca Fran^{co} pz pohui coyotzin ome p^{o}s yhuan ome tomin yc oquiniachic nomehua ypa noxolal cohualo nopa tlaxtlahuaz yc nopa misa yn itoz	The first thing I order upon dying: He owes me my money, he whose name is Francisco Pérez of Coyotzin[co], two pesos and two tomines. With which he did them, the maguey plants, on my plot were bought [but not paid for]. He will pay for mass to be said for me.
Ynic ontlamātli nitlanahuatitiuh ynic ome misa nopa yn itoz yēhuatl tlaxtlahuaz yn don juachin de la meta nechhuiquilia notomi ome p^{o}s	The second thing I order upon dying: That two masses for me will be said. He will pay for them, he who is don Joaquin de la Meta. He owes me my money, two pesos.
Ynique tlamātli[31] nitlanahuatia nocalhua ontetl sacalti niquipia niqui[çepa]macatiuh[32] y[n] nonamictzin yn itoca maria elozel yhua nopiltzin ytoca diego meneces onca [nemizque]	The third thing I order: My houses, two thatched buildings, that I have, I give to them. One each [to] my dear spouse, named Maria Crocel and my child, named, Diego Menezes. There they will live.

[31] This is the two words running together, *ynic(qu e)tlamantli* – so the third thing.
[32] There is a çepa in the middle of this word, that shouldn't be there.

Auh y[n] niquimixquetztiuh y[n] nohual[pacezqui][33] omenti[34] pipilti ynic ça tlacatl don fran^{co} dequebara y[n]ic o[me] ytoca Pasqual debilla de [de gadol] yni[n] quimocuitlahuizque y[n] notestamento [yn nopano] tlatoltizque [yc yauh] quiquimochihuilizque no yuhqui ynipa[pa] [mochi]huaz[35] yn [yn iaquac motlato]coliliz tote^{o} dios auh y[n] nehuatl niescri[vano] mochi oniquicuilo y[n] nitlatol yn cocoxcatzin atle onicpollo ātle onic[hualla]quiz yxcuich[36] onquicuilo yxpa testico Miguel pz oquineltili ycocoxca[tzin] y ca çe cruz yuan oticneltihique yn ica totoca tofirma omochiuh ypa [sabato] yc 9 nam ymes de Nobiembre de 163(sic) a^{o}s	And now I assign upon dying, my executors,[39] both noblemen, they who are lord don Francisco de Guevara and the second named Pasqual de Villa Delgado, this, they will enact my testament for me. They will speak in favor of it in this way they will do it [quickly]. Thus, for them it will be done also when [they] die by Our Lord, God. I, myself, am the scribe. I have made it, I have said it, the sick person, I erase nothing, I will add nothing. I have made all of it in front of the witness Miguel Pérez, who verifies it, the sick person, with a cross and we verified it with our names, our signatures. It occurred on Saturday the 9th day of the month of November of the year 163[0].
+ diego me+ neces[37]	+ Diego Menezes+

[33] From or the plural of: *noalbaceas*
[34] *Omexti*.
[35] He is switching to singular here, likely an error or from the fact that he was copying from a model that only included one executor, considering he is writing his own will, unlike most of the people of the time.
[36] Ixquich.
[37] The other signatures were cut away, the paper is damaged and repaired in the lower right-hand corner, where in theory the other signature of "our names and our signatures" would be.
[39] Tentative translation.

1631 Ana Maria[40]

[28r] Yn ica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā[n] tepiltzin yhuā[n] dios spirit sancto nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtl yn quitazque ynī[n] amatl ca ya nehuatl notoca ana maria Nicā[n] nochā[n] ciudad huexotzinco oncā[n] nipohui tlamacazcapā[n] ynahuac[41] andres demayo nicchihuia notestamē[n]to auh ma(h)cihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz[42] a(h)nquē[n] catqui çā[n] pactica auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia ynic nicā[n] nictlallia notestamē[n]to yn ça[n] tlatzō[n]co[43] yn ça[n] tlatzaucā[n] notlanequilli ynic mochipa yn a[y]ac quitlacoz [ca yehuatli:]

[28r] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who reads this paper know that my name is Ana Maria. Here my house [is] in the city of Huexotzinco. There I belong to Tlamacazcapan alongside Andrés de Mayo. I made my testament even though my body is sick, however my heart, mind, and memory [my understanding] is without inconvenience, it is just fine. I am awaiting death, that which no one is able to escape. Therefore, here I set down my testament. The finalization, the completion, of my will (desire). [My will is at its finalization, its completion.] So that, for all time no one can contest it. This is it:

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[40] Possibly she died on May 7, 1631, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.48r. The town name is not consistent, but the dates line up. Her will was written on May 5 or 6, 1631, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.41r.
[41] In "the Book of the Dead," this term is translated as "the neighbor of," and perhaps should be here as well. For more see the Glossary.
[42] Trifrasismo = *yn noyollo yn noceyaliz yn notlalnamiquilliz* = sound of heart, mind, memory.
[43] *Tlatzonco = tla - tzon – co*, literally, at the place of something on top but with the sense of something "at the end of a process."

Huell achto yehuatl yn nanima[n] ymactzinco nocō[n]tlall(i)a yn toteº dios[44] ypā[m]pa ca oquinochiuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica ytlaçoezçotzin yn itech sta cruz Yhuā[n] nicnotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlacocotliliz[tli] ynic nechmopopllhuilliz yn ixquich notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichā[n]tzinco ylhuicatl[45] yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā ca ytechoquizqui catlalli caçoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça ce tilma[h]tli yc moquimilloz ynic motocaz nonacayo Yhuā[n] nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā[n] yxpātzinco totemaquixticatzin [seporcro] oncā[n] motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatac oncā[n] nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui Auh yn ipā[m]pa nanima ypallehuilloca

Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God, because he created it and he freed [saved] it through [with] his precious blood on the holy cross.[46] And I implore him to have mercy on me, to pardon all of my sins. He will take me to his home [Heaven], when my soul has abandoned my body. And this, my body, I assign it to the earth. It emerged from the earth, from the clay. And I want to be wrapped in a cloak for the burial of my body. And I want my body to be buried there, in our church in the presence of Our Savior. There the sepulture, my grave will be opened, there at my burial the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For my soul's benefit, one mass will be said for me and 2 pesos will be left as offering at the church and four

[44] *Toteuh Dios*, is a bilingual diafracismo, the two terms, *Toteoh* and *Dios* have been combined in a diafrasismo.
[45] *Yn ichanzinco ilhuicatl* - "his home" with *ilhuicatl* is being used as a title for "heaven," which at this point was meant to mean "Heaven" in a Christian sense. For more on *ilhuicatl* and its meaning see the Glossary.
[46] *Toteo* is usually used for God, the father, and not Jesus (*Totequiyo Dios*, refers to "Jesus") so there is some doctrinal confusion or misrepresentation going on in that it was Jesus who saved them on the cross.

centetl missa nopā[n] mochiuaz mocahuaz huē[n]tzintli teopa 2 peso yhuā[n] nahui to[i] [tomines] nopā[m]pa motlayehuitliz animas mayortomo

tomines will be begged of the Mayordomo on my behalf.[47]

Auh yz catqui yn niquixquichziuh yn noalbaceas ytoca Miguel pz [Pérez] ma ypaltzinco yn tote[o] dios quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli tepitzin notestamē[n]to auh yntla yhciuhca quimochihuilliz quimotequipanilluiz yc nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote[o] dios yc quimotlaocolliliz yn ihquac momiquilliz ynic noyuhqui ypā[n] mochiuaz auh yntla oc cana cēntetl neciz notestamē[n]to mochi nicpollohua çan iyoh neltiz yn axcā[n] onichiuh yxpā[n] testico Miguel perez omochiuh ypā[n] lunes yc 5 de mayo 1631 años auh yn cocoxcatzintli ā[h]mo quimati yn filma quitlalli ce cruz[+] yhuā testico quineltilli

And here it is, I assign my executor named Miguel Pérez, that by the grace of God he will do it, will execute, my small little will, which I have set down here. If he does it quickly, works quickly, I pray God that He will be merciful with him when he will die, and that thus for him it will be done. But if someplace else another testament of mine will appear, I destroy it all. Only this one, itself, will be verified which I have made now in the presence of Miguel Pérez, witness, dated Monday, the 6th of May of the year 1631. The sick person does not know her signature [how to sign]. She placed a cross. The witness verified it.

[47] She is begging the Mayordomo to cover the cost of the masses.

+ ana ma^{a} +Miguel pz	+Ana Maria +Miguel Pérez
mixpā	In my presence, [before me],
Esteuā de Coto	Esteban Soto,
Escri^{o}	Scribe (Notary)

1631 Ana Teocuitlaxochitl[48]

[29r] Yn nica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā tepiltzin yhuā dios spirito santo nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynī amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca: Ana teocuitla xochitl nican nochā ciudad huexo^{co} ytech nipohui .s. juā huexo^{co} tecpā nicchiua notestimento auh macihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçeialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz anquē catqui çā pactica[49]

[29r] Here in the name of the Father, and the child [Son], and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Ana Teocuitlaxochitl. Here my home [is in] the city of Huexotzinco, I belong to, am attached to San Juan Huexotzinco Tecpan. I made my testament. Although my body is ill, but [nevertheless] my heart, my will [desire], my memory is not. I was only healthy [well].

auh nicchixtica[50] yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpāpa yehua ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn ça tlatzāco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoz ca yehuatli yc nicpehualtia.

And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, from whose presence no one can depart, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it, and with this very thing I begin.[61]

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[48] She died on June 10, 1631, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.48v. Her will was written on June 3, 1631, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.29r–v.
[49] *Anqui* – something long. *Catqui*, preterit of *ca*.
[50] From *chiya* – *chix* preterit, or the *x* is there to add on the *tica*. And so I believe it is in the present tense?
[61] Tentative translation: I think I have all the elements, but it might not be exactly what is meant.

Huell achto yehuatl yn namima ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn totecuiyo dios ypāpa ca oquimochiuilli ca oquimomaquixlilli ynica ytlaçoezçotzin yn itech santa cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlaocoltiliz ynic nechmopopolhuilliz ynixquich notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicalt yhtec yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn namima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech ni[c]pohua yn tlalli ypāpa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça çe tilmatli yc moquinilloz ynic motocaz nonacayo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā yxpātzinco totomaquixticatzin[51] seporcro oncā motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatec yn noseportora oncā nechmomachiyolilliz yn teopixqui auh yn ipanpa nanima ypallehuilloca centetl missa nopā mochiuaz mocahuaz huentzintli teopa 3 peso

First of all, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God because he made it, for he redeems it, by means of his precious blood on the holy cross. And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will wipe away all of my transgressions, that he will take me, to his home within Heaven, when my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth because it issued from there for it is earth, for it is clay and I want only one blanket with which my body will be wrapped when buried and I want it to be buried there at our church in front of the sepulcher of our savior at the base, where, it will be opened, it will be dug, my grave. There the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit of my soul, one mass will happen. At the church, will be left as offering three pesos.

[51] *Toto-maquixtia-catzin* our (reduplicated or reflexive) redeemer. *Ca* - going about doing it, so like our eternal dear redeemer or Savior.

Ynic cētlamātli nitlanahuatia oc cētetl missa nopā mochiuaz mocahuaz huētzintli teopā 2 peso yhuā 4 to[1] (Marginalia – tatia? 2)	The first thing I order: [yet] another one mass will happen [be said] for me. In the great church, two pesos and four 4 tomines will be left.
Ynic ō tlamātli nitlanahualia nicpia nosolar centetl ypā mani nocalhuā centetl sacallin necoc cenpohualli yn tlanipa nictepanohua ytoca diego de tores yn acopa nictepanohua hotli yn amilpāpa nitepanohua ytoca juā perez ynihuicpan norte notepā hotli auh niquitohua yn metzitzintin matlactacatl[52] ytech pohuiz yn noconetzin sebastiana yn icome noconetzin ytoca juana fran^{ca} matlactacatl ytech pohuizque auh yn solar yhuā nocalhuā niquinmacatiuh yn nosocoyotzin[53] ytoca Micaela auh yntla tote^{o} dios quimochicahuilliz yn aquin quimonamichiz[54] yehuatl tlapiaz yn nicā	The second thing I order: I have my house plot upon which are my houses, a thatched building [and] on both sides twenty [measures?], downward to where I am adjacent to the man named Diego de Torres, upward to where I am adjacent to the road. The irrigated field, I am adjacent to the man named Juan Pérez. In the direction of the north my boundary is the road. Then I say it, the little beloved magueys that are up next to ten bushes of basil belongs to my dear child, Sebastiana, [she who is] her child, my dear child, named Juana Francisca.[62] The ten bushes of basil up next to them [the

[52] *tacatl*. mata de albahaca, o de cosa semejante. Bushes of basil. See: Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, Sexta Edición, Primera Reimpresión, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2013), f.90v.
[53] *Xocoyotzin*.
[54] Perhaps from *namiqui*, to meet or encounter.
[62] I think what is going on here, might be that Sebastiana is the grandchild of Ana and the daughter of Juana, as Juana is later charged with caring for the children.

nochā auh yn naxcā niquitohua ynahuac yehuātin ynahuac yezqui yn i[pā]tzin[55] ytoca juana fran^{ca} yehuatl quizcatliz yn iuictzin[56] yn uhq̆[ui] yc nitlanahuatia	magueys?] belong to them [the daughters?]. Then this plot and my houses, I give them to my youngest child named Micaela. If by Our Lord, God, they will do it quickly, who will they meet?[63] She will be in charge of this here, my house and my property which I have said with it, that they, with it, will be at [the house of] her, named Juana Francisca. She will raise her toward, in such a way, as I order it.[64]
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal ytocayocā chiyauhtla[57] ynic huayac onpohualli onmatlactli[58] auh ynic patlahuac cenpohualli yntlan ipa nictepanohua ytoca bar^{me} de roças yn acopa nictepanohua çā ya yehuatl bar^{me} de roças yn amilpāpa notepā atlentli	The third thing I order: I have my land called Chiyauhtla, is seventy [measures] long. Then it is twenty [measures] wide along on top of [it], where I am adjacent to the man named Bartolomé de Rosas upward toward where I am adjacent to him, only he, him, Bartolomé de Rosas.

[55] In or at, presumable the house of Juana Francisca. Or from ypantzinco, "on his behalf." See: Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood's notes from Nahuatl sessions with James Lockhart and subsequent research. https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/ypantzinco.
[56] *iuictzinco in dios* – toward god.
[57] Literally - Marsh
[58] Some number: 50+20 = 70 perhaps?
[63] Tentative translation.
[64] This paragraph will need more attention and for right now is no more than a tentative translation.

ynahuicpa norte nitepanohua ytoca juā evāgelista ynin niquitohua yn notlal çā quicepātequipanozque[59] yn nomōtzitzinhuā[60] yuhqui yc mitlanahuatia

This irrigated field, my boundary wall at the riverbank towards the north to where I am adjacent to the man named Juan Evangelista. This I say, my land only they are to work them together my sons-in-law, thus as I order it.

auh yz catqui yn niquixquetztiuh yn noalbaceas ytoca bar^{me} [29v] de roças ma ypaltzinco yn tete^{o} dios quimochiuilliz quinotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli notestameto auh yntla yhçuiuhca quimochiuilliz [quimote]quipanilhuiz yc nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote^{o} dios yc quimotlaocolilliz ynihquac momiquilliz ynic no yuhqui ypā mochiuaz

And here it is that I name [before I die] my executor Bartolomé [29v] de Rosas. Let it be through Our Lord [for the sake of Our Lord] that he will do it, that he will act on my testament. And if he will do it quickly, he will work on it, for that reason, I pray to Our Lord, God that he will be merciful [to the executor] when he dies, so that also in this way it will be done.

auh yntla ocana centetl neçiz notestamēto nochi nicpotlohua Çan i[y]o[h] neltiz ynaxcā nicchiua omochiuh ypā dominqo yc 3 ylhuitl ce junio 1631 años auh yn

But if somewhere another one of my testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it completely. Only this one that I make today [now] will be the valid one. It

[59] *Qui – cepan – tequipanozque.*
[60] *montli*

cocoxcatzintli amō quimati yn filma quitlalli ce cruz yhuā nehuatl esevā de coto nic[nelti]lli yca notoca nofilma	occurred on Sunday the 3rd day of June of the year 1631. The sick person doesn't know how to sign [and] put down a cross and I, Estevan de Soto, I verified it with [by means of] my name, my signature.
+ ana teocuitla xotl	+ Ana Teocuitlaxochitl
Esteuā de Coto	Esteban de Soto
Escrio	Scribe (Notary)

1631 Pedro de Cate[65]

[42r] Yn nica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā tepiltzin yhuā dios spirit sancto nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca pe^{o} decāte nicā nochan ciudad huexotzinco ytech nipohui s. juā huexo^{co} tecpā nicchihua notestamēto auh maçihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçeialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz anque catqui çā pactica	[42r] Here in the name of the Father, and the child [Son], and God, the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who sees this document know: my name is Pedro de Cate. Here my home [is in] the city of Huexotzinco, I belong to, am attached to San Juan Huexotzinco Tecpan. I made my testament. Although my body is ill, but [nevertheless] my heart, my will [desire], my memory is not. I was only healthy [well].
auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn ça tlatzāco yn ça tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quiltacoz	And so, as I am awaiting death, from whom no one can escape, as such here I put down my testament, at the very end, at the close, my will always will be kept, so that no one will damage it.
Huell achto yehuatl yn namina ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn tote^{o} dios ypāpa ca oquimochiuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yn	First of all, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God because he made it, for he redeems it, by means of his precious

[65] He died on August 18, 1631, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.49r. His will was written on August 16, 1631, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.42r.

ica ytlaçoezcotzin yn itech sancta cruz yhuā nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlaocolliliz ynic nechmopopolhuilliz ynixquich notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypāpa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlali ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça ce tilmatli yc moquinilliz ynic motocaz nonacayo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn teteopā yxpātzinco s. juā oncā motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatec oncā nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui auh yn ipāpa nanima ypallihuilloca centetl missa nopā mochiuaz mocahuaz huētzintli teopā – 2 p^{o}s –

blood on the holy cross.[66] And I implore that he will have mercy on me, that he will wipe away all of my transgressions, that he will take me, to his home within Heaven, when my soul has abandoned my body. And with respect to my body I assign it to the earth because it issued from there for it is earth, for it is clay and I want only one blanket with which my body will be wrapped when buried and I want it to be buried there at our church in front of San Juan, where, it will be opened, it will be dug. There the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For the benefit of my soul, one mass will happen. At the church, will be left as offering two pesos.

Auh yz catqui yn niquixquetztiuh yn noalbaceas yehuatl domi͡go de ribas ma ypaltzinco yn tete^{o} dios quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalla tepitzin

And here it is, I assign my executor, him, Domingo de Rivas, that by the grace of God he will do it, will execute my small little will, which I have set down here. If

[66] *Toteo* is usually used for God, the father, and not Jesus (*Totequiyo Dios*, refers to "Jesus") so there is some doctrinal confusion or misrepresentation going on in that it was Jesus who saved them on the cross.

notestamēto auh yntla yhçiuhca quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yc quimotlaocolliliz yn tote^{o} dios yn ihquac momiquilliz ynic no yuhqui ypā mochiuaz

he does it quickly, his work, he will be favored by God, when he dies, so that also in this way it will be done.

yntla ocoana centetl neçiz notestamēto nicpolohua çan i[y]o[h] neltiz yn axcā nicchiua yxpā testico domi͡go de ribas omochiuh ypā sab^{o} yc 16 de agusto 1631 a^{o}s yncocoxcatzintli
āmo quimati yn ifilma quitlalli cruz yhua testico

But if someplace else another testament of mine will appear, I destroy it. Only this one, will be verified which I have made in the presence of the witness Domingo de Rivas. It occurred on Saturday the 16th of August of the year 1631. The sick person does not know how to sign [and] put down a cross and the witness [has as well].

+Pe^{o} decāte +domi͡go de ribas
mixpa
Esteuā de
Coto
Escr^{o}

+Pedro de Gate + Domingo de Rivas
In the presence of [before me]
Esteban de Soto
Scribe (Notary)

1634 Mariana[67]

[48r] Yn ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin yhuā[n] dios tepiltzin yhuā[n] dios spirit sancto nicpehualtia notestamē[n]to m āquimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca mariana Nicā[n] nochā[n] çiudad huexo^{co} ytech nipohui huexo^{co} tecpā nicchihuia notestamēto auh ma(h)çihui yn mococahua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noçeialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz anquē catqui çā pactica Auh nicchixtica yn miquixtli yn a[y]ca huel quitlalcahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpā[m]pa yehua ynic nicā[n] nictlatlia notestamēto yn ca ça tlatzōco yn ça tlatzaucā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoz ca yehuatli yc nicpehultia

[48r] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. May everyone who reads this paper know that my name is Mariana. Here my house in the city of Huexotzinco. I belong to Huexotzinco Tecpan. I made my testament. Even though my body is sick, however my heart, mind, and memory [my understanding] is without inconvenience, it is just fine. I am awaiting death, that which no one is able to escape, that which no one is able to be in front of [stand before].[72] Beforehand therefore, here I set down my testament. The finalization, the completion, of my will. [My will is at its finalization, its completion.] So that, for all time it will be guarded, no one can contest it. This is it, when I begin it:

[67] Possibly she died on September 1, 1634, see, JCB, "El Libro," f.59v. The dates are a bit far apart, but the name and town correctly line up, and yet, many women had the same name. Her will was written on July 20, 1634, see, BNAH, *Conjunto de testamentos*, f.48r.

[72] There are illusion to standing in front of the gods in the songs and prayers as well, with the meaning that if only one could stand before, stand up to the gods, there would be no death.

Huell achto yehuatl yn namima ymactzinco nocō[n]tlallia yn totecuiyo dios ypā[m]pa ca oquimochiuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica ytlaçoezçotzin yhuā[n] nicnotlatlauhtillia ynic nechmotlacocolliliz[tli] ynic nechmopopolhuilliz yn ixquich notlatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichātzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā[m]pa ca ytechoquizqui catlalli yhuan nicnequi ce tonica nicaquitaz ynic motocaz nona[ca]yo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā apetlac oncā motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatac yn noseprtora oncā[n] nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopizqui auh yn ipā[m]pa nanima ypallehuilloca cē[n]tetl missa nopā[n] mochiuaz mocahuaz huē[n]tzintli teopa – 2 p^{o}s 4 to^{i} –

Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God, because he created it and he freed [saved] it through [with] his precious blood. And I implore him to have mercy on me, to pardon all of my sins. He will take me within his home [Heaven], when my soul has abandoned my body. And this, my body, I assign it to the earth. It emerged from the earth, and I want one tunic. I will be dressed in it, for the burial of my body. And I want my body to be buried there, in our church in Apetlac. There it will be opened, my grave, my grave pit, my sepulture. There at my burial the priest will provide me with the sign of the cross. For my soul's benefit, one mass will be said for me and at the church, will be left as offering 2 pesos and 4 tomines.

Ynic cē[m]tlameā[n]tli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar centetl ypā Mani nocalhuā centetl

The first thing I order: I have my one plot upon which is my house, one small

sacallin yn tlanipan [n]otepā callotli yn acopa[n] nictepanohua juā axāta yhuā centetl nosolar y tepāco Mani yn amilpā[n]pa nictepanohua Gabriel sanchez yn ihuicpa norte notepā[n] callotli ynin nosolar yhuā nocalhuā niquinmacatiuh yn noconetzin ytoca Miguel de .s.tiago yhuā yte[68] ycoauhtzin[69] ytoca juana niquincahuillitehua mochi yntla yxiptlayome çan iuh cā yaz[70]	thatched building, my lower boundary is the path leading to the house, upward to where I am adjacent to him, Juan Axanta. And one plot, its boundary wall spreads out towards the irrigated fields [where] I am adjacent to him, Gabriel Sánchez, which is in the direction of the north [where] my boundary wall is the path leading to the house. This one, my plot and my house, I give to them, to he who is my child named Miguel de Santiago and [with] his wife named Juana. I give it to them upon dying, all of the images as they are, only.
Ynic ōtlamātli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar ontetl nican calli[71] ipā yn tlanipa notepā callotli yn acopa notepā callotli ynamilpapa nictepanohua fran^{co} xuarez ynic huicpa norte notepā callotli ynin nosolar ontetl niquinmacatiuh yn	The second thing I order: I have my two plots here [and my] house on my boundary wall downwards of the path leading to the house, upwards to my boundary of the path leading to the house, his irrigated fields, I am adjacent to him,

[68] Read: ytech.
[69] From *çohuatl*.
[70] Could be *çaniyoh* – only/alone in the future.
[71] This should be possessed but because *nosolar* is possessed I'm taking the liberty to carry the *no* over.

nopilhuātzitzinhuā Miguel de. S. tiago yhuā juana ayac quincuilliz	Francisco Suárez. Which is in the direction of the north to my boundary wall at the path leading to the house. This one, my plot I give to them, he who is my dear children, Miguel de Santiago and Juana. No one is to take it from them.
Auh yzcate yn niquinixquetztiuh yn noalbaceashuan ytoca matheo xuarez yhuā[n] diego fran^{co} ma ypaltzinco yntote^{o} dios quimochiuillizque quinotequipanilhuizque yn onictlalli tepitzin notestamēto yntla yhçiuhca quimochiuillizque yc quinmotlaocolliliz yn tote^{o} dios yn ihquac momiquillizque	And here it is, I assign my executors named Matheo Suárez and Diego Francisco, that by the grace of God they will do it, they will execute, my small little will, which I have set down here. If they do it quickly, their work, they will be favored by God, when they die.
auh yntla oc cana centetl neçiz notestamēto nicpollohua çan i[y]o[h] neltiz yn axcā[n] nicchihua omochiuh ypā jueves yc 20 de julio 1634 años yn cocoxcatzintli quitlalli ce cruz	But if someplace else another testament of mine will appear, I destroy it. Only this one, will be verified which today [now] I have made, dated Thursday the 20th of July of the year 1634. The sick person placed a cross.

+ mariana matheo xuarez	+ Mariana Matheo Suárez
mixpā	In my presence, [before me],
Estevā de Coto	Esteban Soto
Escri^{o}	Scribe

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