“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.
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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
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were further tested when I enrolled in the Yale Summer Nahuatl Program in 2014. This
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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.
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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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/.
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 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 recorded
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 Nahua speakers 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 Nahua. 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. 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. 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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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.  

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. Seven years later in *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650*, Cook offered a narrative of

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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,

9 Cook, Born to Die, 60–94.
such as enslavement, forced migration, and extended trade networks, contributed significantly to the decline in population.\textsuperscript{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

\footnote{12 Paul Kelton, \emph{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.”\(^\text{13}\) 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.\(^\text{14}\)

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.”\(^\text{15}\) 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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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

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. 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. 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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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. 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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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

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

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

\(^{23}\) Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, eds., *Beyond the Codices*, 6–11.

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

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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\(^{29}\) Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written*, 227, 230.
and lived according to their own “rules.” This is an understandable reaction to earlier works that emphasized the victimization of the Indians in America. 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.

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.)
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. 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. 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.” 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 endeavor.

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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

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

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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 emot ed 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 Nahua, they still kept a distinctly Nahua “flavor.” In this way, this dissertation will 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 Nahua 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 Quauhtlehuaniitzin 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 Quenonamian 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 Nahu 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 Nahu 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 Nahu 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 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?” 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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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* 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.
10 Could also be: “you go because of them” or “even you/we go with them.”
the god: *ca ooiatia, ca otoconmotlatili, ca otoconmocxipachilvi, ca otoconmotopetemili, ca otoconmopetlacaltemili, ca ontlama in tochan in apochquiaaoaican, in atlecalocan*:

“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].”

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 apochquiaaoaican, 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.

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 Ipalmohuanu still wish entertainment? Perhaps only here on earth are there sweet flowers and songs. Enjoy, each one, our wealth and our garments (of flowers). -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

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18 Peñafiel, Cantares Mexicanos, F.61v.1.
Florentine Codex one prayer states: *auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilquixtia*¹⁹ *in vevetitilan, in aiacachtitlan, in vncan tilaoculnonotzalo, 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 Reimpressión, 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.

21 The three songs are specifically: 1) an *yclaucucatl* 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 Huexotzican” Peñafiel, *Cantares Mexicanos*, F.6v–7, translated by Peter Sorensen, and; 3) *ycuic 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.\textsuperscript{23} For

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Fifteen Poets}, 25–26, and Lockhart does not specifically cite Sahagún in his discussion in \textit{The Nahuas After the Conquest}, 393. John Bierhorst in his book \textit{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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sung in a style so obscure that none can understand them.” 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. 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

way of understanding Nahua societal roles and obligation. 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.” 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

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

translations and his interpretations, 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*. 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. 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. 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.

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


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 Quauhtlehuani 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,

\[ oncan ypan tenehuallloya cuicatl yehuatl yn itoca tlahtohuani Huehue Aoquantzin Chichimcateuhtli tlahtohuani catca Ytztlacoçoauhcan Totollimpa; auh ynic quitlan Axayacatzin yhuan yc quicuepque cuicatl, quiquixtique quipologue yn ipan yn itoca tlahtohuanicatca Huehue Ayoquatzin, auh oc yehuatl ye yn itoca Axayacatzin yn ipan concallaquíque cuicatl, “In the song the name Huehue Ayocuantli Chichimcateuctli was mentioned, the tlatoani of Itztlaocozauhcan Totolimpan; but when Axayacatl requested it, they made changes to the song, removing and erasing from it the name of the tlatoani Huehue Ayocuantli and introducing [in its place] the name of Axayacatl.” \]

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

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culture was destroyed in the transcribing – and therefore solidifying – of a fluid, oral
tradition.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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
\textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.’\textsuperscript{41} He presents the idea that the songs were a knowledge-producing

\textsuperscript{38} Walter D. Mignolo, “Signs and Their Transmission: The Question of the Book in the New World” in

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Annals of Native America}, 7, and
Camilla Townsend, \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Cantares Mexicanos},” \textit{The Americas} 62:3 (2006): 351,

\textsuperscript{41} Gary Tomlinson, \textit{The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact}
practice that used patterns of relation, similar to metonymy. 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. 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.”

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 vellamachoia,* “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.”

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.”

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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. 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 timaceoaltli: iehoatl techmomaquili in totecui, in vetzquiztli, in cochiztli: auh ie in tonacaiutl in tochicaoaca, in tooapaoaca: auh iequene ie iehoatl in tlaltcpacaiotl, 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.” 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 xonahuauiacă ţan cuel achic čohuatihua in čan ixquich cahuitl ommahuiztihua*, “There, we live in a good place. Enjoy! For now, there is marriage. There is always esteem.” 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 Álfredo 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:

\[ \text{tlachichiquilco ĭ nemoa in viloa tlalticpac, nipa tlani, nipa tlani: acampa veli in tlaopuchco, in tlaitzcac centlani. Ma ne iuhquin titequani timuchiuh: ma çan cen tiequiquixtitie, in motlan, in mozti: ma çan cen timopipitzte, titlacēmanaz, titlamauhtiz, tāoaio, tivitzio timuchioaz: xiccacałaqui in motlan, in mozti: xiquimaavili, xiquinmechico, xiquinecpano, xiquinquêquequelo, xiquincococonavi in mopilloan, in motlatocaioa: auh xiquellelequixti in atl, in teptl, xictlatlamantili yieieia xictlali in moieliz in monemiliz:} \]

\[ \text{…on earth all live, all go along a mountain peak. Over there is an abyss; over here is an abyss. Nowhere is it possible; to the left, to the right is the abyss. Do not become as a wild beast: do not completely bare your teeth, your claws. Do not become completely enraged; do not spread fear, become thorny, become spiny. Retract your teeth, your claws. Gladden, gather, unite, humor, please your noblemen, your rulers. And make the altepetl happy. Arrange each one in his [proper] place; establish your nature, your way of life.}^{50} \]

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,

\[ ^{50} \text{Sahagún, Florentine Codex: Book 6, 53.} \]
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 tlaixquatolpópoçaoa, tlatençaquava, tlaomiçavi, tlacoloivi, tlachichiquilivi: ça tlatenpitzaoa, tlachechticeoa 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 motechopatzinco 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.
tonacaitl in xiuhtzinli 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.”

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 quimawico in chalchivitl in teuxivitl in quiltzintli in innacaiotzin totecuioa in tlamacazque in tlaloque, in quitquitivitze, in quitzetzolitivitze in intlatqui ietiuitz. Auh ma mocuiltono, ma motlamachti in iulcatzintli in xiuhtzinli: ma tlato ma papatlaca, ma tlachichina in quechol in çauan, “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 troupeial sing, flutter, sip [flower nectar].”

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.

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 totoce, 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 tōtoneatinemi, in ça çen chichichinacatinemi in iioollo, “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 titocnihüa 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

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.”  

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 iitzmolincia 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.” 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 nican ... can iuhquȋ temictli cā toncochitlehua 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.”

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-coming 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 referring 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.

ycnocuicatl is quickly smothered by anger. He pleads, *Can niquittoo 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, Ypalnemohuani,⁶⁶ literally “the giver of life,” condemning him for his part in the pain that is integral to existence on earth: *çan ihiu xochitl ypā titechmatia çan toncuetlahui timocnihu // 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

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.
erased will only live on in memory. It was not that Ipalmohuani 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: *timoqueeloa 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 cuiatlalli, 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

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

\(^{72}\) 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-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 chalchiuilt llamatelolli timaco,* “Truly, the green stone [jade] we are given is already broken,” 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 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]. In truth, we, none of us, none of us, truly live here.” 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. In the ycnocuicatl the singer says, *quenonamicā*omp a ye ichā aya nelli,

“In Quenonamican [“a place unknown”], there in his home, there is no truth.” 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, *Can yio 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

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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 *nellī* and related it to *nel – huā – yol*, 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.

is no one’s home. We will leave it forever, the fragrant flowers.”

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, but instead on Ipalnemohuani saying: ...*in çan ca otitechicneli ...in çà can tipopolihuizque in timacehualta.* “... You favor us mortals, who will just die.”

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 ximotlapalocã 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 Huexotzincañ 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].” 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 ycnopiltihu in tlpc ye nellin cococ ye ontimalihuiz yn motloc monahuac, “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…” The phrase “Don’t make pulque,” meant the singer was telling the god not to joke or try to fool him. 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 itf[!]eyo ymahuiço tlpc. ye nican oc xōmocēmaticā namechōcauhtehuaz yn antocnihuā

85 Peñafiel, Cantares Mexicanos, f.13v.8.
86 James Lockhart defines tloque nhuahuaque 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 nhuahuaque as: cabe quien esta el ser de todas las cosas, conservandolas 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 antepihuá90 Dios cā techonculia 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 ſ̆ tocotoa92 ſ̆ tocinuh ontlanetoca toyollo ye nelli moqueloa93 yehuá 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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90 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.
91 This has the sense of someoне’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.
92 Peñafiel, Cantares Mexicanos, f.13v.10–14.
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
oallaeueuetzquitilo in totecuio, in tolque naoaque, ca moiocoa ca monenequi, ca
moquequeloa: in quenin connequix, ca iuh connecquiz, ca imacpaliolloco techtlatlalitica,
technomimilvitica 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.”

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, moiocioaitzine,
titlacaoane: ma quija in poctli in aiavitl: macevi in tletl in tlach
inolli: ma momanan
tlalli, ma tlato ma moçoçooa in quechol, in çaguan: 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.

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95 Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6*, 51.
May [your people] call to you, supplicate you, know you! 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 Ipalmemohuani, 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 timitzahuiltil nican antle mocnoopilhuia monahuac, “You, Tloque Nahuaque, we entertain you here. Nothing is obtained by entreaty from you.” 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 oticltati yn otiquimilo, “I weep. I go away knowing

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96 Ibid, 4–5.
orphanhood. I remember the precious stones and the precious greenery. You burnt it. You shrouded it.” 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 ipalmemohua can tonnemi, “Where is he, Dios, Ipalnemohuani? Where do you live?” 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

98 Ibid. f.14r.28.
99 Ibid. f.12r27.
nelle axcan, tlacatl totecuioe: iooalle, ehecatle, moiocoiatzine, titlacaoune: quen quinequi in moiollotzin, quecin tocommonênequiltia: cuix ie oticmomacaulli 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?” 

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 xocōyoyacā xiquilnamiquicā quenonamicā ompa ye ichā aya nelli ye tōyahui yn ompa ximoa çan timacehualti anca toyolia i xpath ye onyaz quiximatiz çan yehuā Dios, ”Yet, you test it here! You remember it here. In Quenonamican [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 will go in front of us, only he will know it. He is dios.” Instead we find the notion that there was some

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 occepahuitze ñ 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.” 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. 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 viloaiamach oc oalmocuepaz: ca ie ixquich ca ie iuhqui ca ocen onquiz, ca ocenmaian catca, ca

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 moipten mopetlacalten, auh ca oia, ca opoliuh, ca oceu in  
ocutl, in tlavilli, ca ie cactimani, ca ie iooatimani in iatzin, in ietpetzin 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.” 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 oce onmaian ca tca, ca oce onmaian  
onquitz, ca oce onquitz in thlipac: mach  
çan ca na vil oai a, oalilotiz, oalmocuepaz  
oc ceppa icxo, icpac tlichia in atl, in  
tepetl: auh cuix oc conitoquiu 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.
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 toyollo110 çan topco petlaacalco ontetlatia ontequimiloa
... cuix oncan niquimitaz ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix nechalmacazque incuic intlatol nocontemohua ayacon teca techinocauhque. “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, “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,

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 through.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

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

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 ichan 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,

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{118} Again, as in the last chapter, I will pair these songs with prayers from Book 6 of the Florentine Codex.\textsuperscript{119} By analyzing new or updated translations of these texts we can see

\textsuperscript{117} For example, the cult of Orpheus disputed the notion of shades swirling in the land of Hades. See Radcliffe G. Edmonds, \textit{Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the “Orphic” Gold Tablets} (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

\textsuperscript{118} The three songs are specifically: an \textit{ycnocuicatl} or lamentation, my full transcription and translation of which can be found in Appendix A, Peñafiel, \textit{Cantares Mexicanos}, F.12v–15, a \textit{huexozincayotl} or “Quality of Being Huexotzincan,” Peñafiel, \textit{Cantares Mexicanos}, F.6v–7, translated by Peter Sorensen, and \textit{yeuic nezahualcoyoitzin} or “Song of Nezahualcoyotl.” Peñafiel, \textit{Cantares Mexicanos}, F.28v–29v.

\textsuperscript{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 nemiliztl in tlalticpac inic aiac chocatinemi. Auh maço iuhan, y, maço nel ivi in iuh tlamani, y, tlalticpac: cuix ic caco, cuix ic nemauhtilo, cuix ic chocatinemoa, ca nemoa in tlalticpac, tecutioa, tlatocatioa, pil/ioa, quauhtioa, ocelotioa: auh aqun ca moniquiziecotica, ca tlaaioa, ca nemiltio, necaitilo, tlatequipanolo: auh necioatlano, 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.\(^\text{120}\)

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.\(^\text{121}\)

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 ichtan, 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

\(^{120}\) 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. 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

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 Conquista*, 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 ie hoantin, 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 amonican 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 tocepanpolihyan, “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 tocenpoliviian, vmpa tlaltalpatlaoa, 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,
\textit{tocepanpolihuycan}, 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: \textit{Yzcatquj inic tonquiçaz in vncan tepetl imonamiquja. // Auh izcatquj ic itla
tonquiçaz in vtl qujpia un coatl. // Auh izcatquj iqu itlan tonquiças, in xoxouhquj
cuetzpalin in xochitonal. //Auh izcatquj ic tonquiçaz in chicuetiliuhcan. // Yzcatquj 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 \textit{xochitonal}. And
here is that with which you will travel the eight deserts. And here is that with which you

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127 Could also be “our place of perishing.”
128 Sahagún, \textit{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.” 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 macuyl in matlac, ca otijuymjonjcnocauhteoac, otijuymontlacacauhteoac, 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.” 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 monacaioitzin, tlacuelehoatl ontaiooatica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan

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130 Ibid, 43.
131 Ibid, 42.
"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!"\textsuperscript{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:

\textit{yca nichoca ayacon teca techicnocauhque tlpc. can yhcacyn ohtli mictlan y̩ temoyâ ca ximohuayan, cuix oc nelli nemohua quenonomicâ cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo çan topco petlaacalco ontetatlia} \hspace{1cm} 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 Quenonomicâ[n]? [No!] Does our heart

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, 42.
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 Quenonamicā[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 conchiao, “When it was the end of eighty days, then they burned [these]. Also the like was done when it was the end

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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 dead¹³⁷…And there in the nine places of the dead, in that place there was complete disappearance.”¹³⁸ Ocann 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 totequiu in miquiztli, ca techcenmâceuh: auh ca

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.
miquiztequithoaco 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 techalteuciuhhtoc, 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 techalteuciuhhtoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oallamatatcatoc: 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

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 teococoque, yaon in nanaoati, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xixiiti, yoan in papalani, yoan in coacivi, yoan in popoçaoalizti 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.”

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 ouahtzonli, 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: *Ahuia 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*

¹⁴² Ibid.
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* 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 hearts150 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.
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 Christian 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 onauhxiuhquite, njmā*

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 Nahuas belief, but for the benefit of the friars using the texts.
ic mocuepa, tlaçotome, huitzitzilti, xochitotol, totocozti, mixtetilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. Yoan in njcan tlaltiepac oalhui in quioalchichina, in jxchih nepapan Xochitl in qeumjit, 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 tzonpanquauitl, the xiloxochitl, the tlacoxiloxochitl.”

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.

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

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 tlacoa in moiollotzin tlacatl, totoce, 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, 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."

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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 iaotzin, inic timoiocalatzin, inic timoquequeloa, inic aiac motenpan: ma xicmotlaoantili, ma xicmivintili, ma xicmoxocomictili yn toiaouh, ma imac oalmotlaça, ma quioalmomaca, ma ica oalmomotla in tocnouauh, 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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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 oallahialotoc in topan in mictlan, in ilvicac in quezqui: auh in aquinin tlacnopilviz in icnoquauhtli, in icnoocelul: auh in tetzon, in teizti, in texillan in tetozcatlan*¹⁶² actiaz, in cauiltiz: auh in catlitiz, in quitlamacaz in Tonatiuh in tlapotecutli, yn ixtlaacan, in ixtlaaoatl ineptila, in itic in mopópoiauhtoz, in mopopoiaoz: in vncah xixitiniloz, momoiaaoaloz, in iztazianaaloz, in niman vncah yhiotl 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 out¹⁶³ 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 vncah onoque, ca vncah xamantoque, in tepilhoan, in chalchiuhtin, in maquiztin, in tlaçoti ca vncah cozcateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanilia,*¹⁶⁵ *timotevpanilia: vncah 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,

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.
¹⁶⁵ To place something before someone, an offering to the gods.
record their names there.” 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, 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 ococchiaiatricca, 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.” 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:

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Tlacatle iaozine, titlacaoane, tezcatlipucae, ioalle, ehecatle: manoço iviian, iocuxca texillan tetozcatalan^{169} maquiltitiaz in ac iehoatl: auh in quezqui otcmomaceuili, manoço ivian, iocuxca itech onaciz in Tonatiuh in manic^{170} in
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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 tetozcatalan oquiz. Inin tlatolli itechpa mitoaya in aquin itech oquiz tlatoxmeccayotl = 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 Nahua, 1963), 148–149. Elsewhere in the Florentine Codex, in texillan in tetozcatalan 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.

The spotted eagle, the ashen one, the eagle, the jaguar, 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.

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, Ixtlilcuechauac, 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, 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 Angel María Garibay K. translation of the songs as the source in which these men’s names show up. See: Angel María Garibay Kintana, Panorama literario de los pueblos Nahauas (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 mistranslation 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.\textsuperscript{176} Such that, Auiz nelle motolinia in icnoauhtli, in icnoocelutl in miquiznequi, in anemiznequi,…\textsuperscript{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…”\textsuperscript{178} to “And here, in truth, miserable is the suffering eagle warrior, the suffering jaguar warrior, the poor jaguar warrior who desireth to die, who wisheth not to live…”\textsuperscript{179} 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).

\textsuperscript{176} Sahagún, Florentine Codex: Book 6, 23.
\textsuperscript{177} 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:

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in\text{ ie ixquich nepapan quauhtli ocelul: in toneoa, in chichinaca in iollo, in nentlamati in mitzmonochilia, in mitzmotatzililia: in amo quitlaçotla in itzontecon in ielchiquih, in teca quimotla, in teca quitepachoa}\text{.}^{179} \text{ in miquiznequi: manoço achitzin xicmottitili in quinequi, in quelleuia, 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\textsuperscript{180} upon himself.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{179} Te-ca: by means of people; quimotla, quitepachoa: they stoned him (could relate to battle or sacrifice.)

\textsuperscript{180} Personal communication with Camilla Townsend, June 5, 2019; and Lockhart, \textit{Nahuatl as Written}, 225.

\textsuperscript{181} Indicating that he is prepared to die as a sacrifice.

\textsuperscript{181} Sahagún, \textit{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 timiquizqā tleycan topan aciquiui ma quimocaquitica yn tlatoque tleycā amo timiquizqā ma ticatzintli 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

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 xicmootitili in tlamaviçolli, macamo mavi in iiollo, ma cauiiacamatli, ma quitzopelicamati183 in itzimiqiliztli, ma icai in jiollo cavilti, in necoc tene184, in tlapotonilli, in itzpapalotl, ma quinenequi, ma quehelevi in jtzimjqujzxuchitl, ma quiuelicamati185, ma cauiiacamatli, ma qujtzopelicamati in ioaalli, 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

183 From -tzopelica for this phrase as a whole I think I am on firm ground with this phrase O cenquizcaahuiacatzopellicaychpochtztinte 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 quauh tin ocelo: in quinamiqui, in cauintia 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

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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 achipitlanahuico neçahualcoyotzin ayoppatihuā nicā an aya ychā tlpc oon yn ayoppatihu in tlpcquī, çā nicuicanitl ayaho on nichocaya niquelnamiqiu 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 Mexc no 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 tehuanití otiquittaque in cococ ye machoyan ohuaya // ticmomoyahaua 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 pixahuí oncā a in tlatilolco yn atlā yahqueon o in Mexica ye cihua nel ihui ica ye huiloan canon tihui in tocnihuán 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. çá can ye oncan çan quinchoquiztlapaloa o anqui huitzmanatl in çan ye ñuñ motechiuh onya o anquin ye mochin ha in tlalotlauquih, ah in tlacotzin, ah in tlacateuctli in oquihtzin y hui hui ica çá 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.

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 ytlaoeyl ... ye itic onnemia ma onnechoquilito in quauhtli ye nican can tipopoliquizque 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 ayo lque 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 intillo, in intlapallo,

195 Peñafiel, Cantares Mexicanos, f.14r.24.
196 Ibid, f.15r.17.
in piloltl 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 imizti¹⁹⁸: in ocuel achic quimontzonteacocuico, 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 miquiznequi²⁰⁰, in anemiznequi²⁰¹ in onvetzi

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 ixtlaocan, in teuapan\textsuperscript{202}: ac itech oalmotatziliz in otehoan motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetoztcatlan maquiltitiaz, ac inan, ac yta quioalchiaoaz: auh ac conchoquiliz, ac conelciciviliz, “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\textsuperscript{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?”\textsuperscript{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, \textit{auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilquixtia in vevetitlan, 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}

\textsuperscript{202} Teuapan here is derived from teotl – god, atl – water, and is a concrete term for battlefield. For more see the Glossary.
\textsuperscript{203} As in “lifeblood.”
\textsuperscript{204} Sahagún, \textit{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." 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 quiolitiz 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

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206 In teuatl, in tlachinolli is an accepted attestation of war or battle.
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*, *in vevetl, in aiacachtli: in vnca
moiocoia, in vnca
molnamiqui, in vnca
mopitza, momamali in teuatl in tlachinoll: xiquimahavili, xiquincecelti in aoaque tepeoaque? Ic tonitoloz, ic tonteneoaloz in otlacauhqui, in otlacux 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 you, and therefore the old men, the old women will weep; therefore they will sigh.”

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

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.
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 canyo xopā nomaci' catihuitz cempohualxochitl yecoc xochitl tepetitech // Yn çā xiuhcalitic noncuica maquizcalitic\(^{212}\) niontlatoa çā 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 mātiuh 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

\(^{211}\) From yeccc (well, good, right, thoroughly) and oc (to be lying, to stretch out).
\(^{212}\) From maquizitl + 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{216} Peñafiel, \textit{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

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, totonaliztli, ipan tepeihuitl in tzintic, in titech motecac vevei tepopul: cequi vel pepechtic, novian in motecac in teixco, in teicpac, in teelpan &. vellaixpolo, vel miequintin ic mique, aoc vel nenemia, çā onoca in imonoian in incuchian, aoc vel moliniaia, aoc vel mocuechiniiaia, aoc vel mocuecuetzoaia, aoc vel monacacicteca, aoc vel mixtlapachtecaia, aoc vel maquetztitecaia. Auh in iquac mocuechiniiaia, cenca_ 

Before the Spaniards appeared to us [for the second time], first an epidemic broke out, a sickness of pustules. It began in Tepeihuitl. 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
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 in totomoniliztlī, vel epoalihuitl, epoaltonal in quiz in cuetlan, in neemachoc, in iolioac: ie chalcopa vatztia, in totomonilizdī, yoā miec inic cocototzauh: amo tel ic cen cocototzauh. In momanaco Teutl eco: auh in cuetlanito ipan in Panquetzaliztli: vncañ 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

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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.
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. – 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 ça yuh tiquique tiquia tequixquialt 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.”

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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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 smallpox, 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. 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. The colonial annals then were used to continue this tradition albeit on

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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.

paper and to record the Nahua’s colonial experience. At times, these records gesture back as far as *yn iquac yn itzinpeuyoc. yn ochihualoc yn yocoyalloc cemanahuatl*, “when the universe was made and created at the very beginning…”  

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. 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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written extensively about the annals. 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. 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.” 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.

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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.


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 Quauhtlehuansitzin (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. 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

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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 ey20 tlatohuani nican yc onmotalli 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

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gall
ery.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 Mexico.
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.

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 poliuque ocniileoa  
[glyph 11 House] Nicā poliuque ycpatepeca.  
[glyph 12 Rabbit] Nicā poliu[h] calli ymanyan tla ca Matlatzinca ompaqi coculizcuitique22 yn Axayacatzin Ytoca tlucuetzpal y quimetzvitec xiquipilco ychan.  
[glyph 13 Reed] Nicā qualloc intonatiuh Mochi nezque in čiçitlaltin ygc mic yn axayacatzin auh y niman ic ò motlalli in tizozicatzin yc chicome.

In the year: 10 Tecpatl. Here the Ocuilteca were destroyed.  
In the year: 11 Calli. Here the Icpatepeca were destroyed.  
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.  
In the year: 13 Acatl. Here there was an eclipse. All the stars appeared then Axayacatl died and immediately after,

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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.\(^\text{23}\)

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 mayanaloc; 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.

25 “Codex Aubin,” f.35r.
The Codex Aubin continues, saying, [glyph 1 Rabbit] - Nican y necetochhuilloc

Quauhtica neanoc yquac y netotonacahuilloc ... yvā yéč yn aca aocmo cōñnomaca yn itlamatzoal zan ihtic actoc in momiquilih Tzopilomeh quincuahqueh aocac ñn 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.”

(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

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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 oxihuitl28 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 çà 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. 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:

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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

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item[30] Ibid, 258.
\item[31] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
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 mińco ŭ moteuhccomatzin yvā yquac açico ŭ 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.
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 āncaltzacque 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:

\begin{center}
*Niman ye ic peva in cuicatl in teyacana telpochtequitiua tehcatl conacquia ytoca tolnavacatl quatlacol yn opeuh cuicatl niman ye ic cecenyaca valaça in xpiánome tetlan ñāца niman ic nanavintin momamanato in ñxovayan*
\end{center}

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.

\begin{center}
*Niman ye contlacoviteqito in teyacana ce tlacatl quiyacavitecque yn ixiptla diablo niman quimőmavivitequito in tlazotzonaya ca ontet yn inveueuh centetl atēpa quitzotzunaya niman ye quequeçallo yc ixpoliova*
\end{center}

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.

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 Tlacatecatl 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 fashion, 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.

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
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:

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

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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.  

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 tiaacaoan in ainnemachpan in quinpoiomictique, in amo ivivi ic concauhque quiaaoalotinemi 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.”  

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, manechichiaolo in tlavitzli, in chimalli, in mil, 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

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41 Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 12*, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 140.
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 valmotpetlatzatzacque*, “then the Spanish fortified themselves,” their shields and armor too strong to be penetrated by the native weapons. 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.” 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.

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42 Ibid, 136.
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: 

*augh in ixquichtin tiacavan in omicque: nimā ie ic tequixtilo, teçacaco, teiiximacho. Augh in tenanvan in tetaoan tlachoquiztleoa techoquililo, nechoquililo, oc inchachan quinvicaca, catepan quinoalhuicaque in Teuitvalco, quincentlalique: vmpa quincentlatique, cecni in itocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Augh 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.”

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:

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\begin{align*}
Yn\ o\omic\ niman\ quivalmamalt\bar{\text{i}}q\ &\text{yn}\ itoca\ apanecatl\ niman\ ompa\ quivicac\ in\ vitzillan\ \text{can}\ ye\ ompan\ quivaltocaque\ ye\ no\ ye\ ompa\ quivicac\ \text{yn}\ ecatitl\bar{\text{a}}\ \text{can}\ ye\ ompa\ quivalmiminingue\ ye\ no\ ye\ ompa\ quivicac\ in\ tecpantzino\ c\bar{\text{a}}no\ quivaltocaque\ ye\ no\ ceppa\ quivicac\ \text{yn}\ acatlyyacapa\ \text{qn}\ ye\ ompa\ canque\ quito\ yn\ apanecatl.\ Totecuiyouane\ motollinia\ \bar{\text{y}}\ moteuhcc\bar{\text{oma}}\ cuix\ nicmamatinemiz}\\
Nim\bar{\text{a}}\ quitoque\ in\ pipiltin\ Xoconanacan\ niman\ quimonte\bar{\text{quhtique}}\ in\ calpixque\ niman\ quilatlaticex
\end{align*}
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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. 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,

\[46\text{ “Codex Aubin” in Lockhart, We People Here, 276–277.}\]
“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.

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 mopoloq tenochca ça monetechuiz y momimictique . ypanpa y yehoantin I pipilti mictiloque quitlaoculiya ypā tlatoaya y maceualli ynic monechicoz yztac tlaollī totolli totoltēl 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.”\footnote{“Annales of Tlatelolco” in Lockhart, \textit{We People Here}, 260–261.} 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: \textit{Auh in oittooque, in ois\textit{[fol. 4o]}ximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin niman quioalnapalotiquizque, quioalhuicaque in vncai itciaiocan Copulco: niman ie ic quiquaquauhtlapachoa, niman ie ic contlemina, condequechia: niman ie ic cuceuetlaca in tletl, iuquihin tetecuica, iuquihin nenepiloi a tlecueçalutl, iuquihin tlemimiiavatl moquequetza, in tlenepilli: auh in inacaio Motecuçoma, iuquihin 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.”\footnote{Sahagún, \textit{Florentine Codex: Book 12}, in Lockhart, \textit{We People Here}, 150.} 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
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 ṣuhtemoczī nimā yquechtlan canato ḡluia 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:


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.
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:

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 Tlacocheclatl Itzquauhtzin has suffered travail, for he suffered and was afflicted along with Moctezuma. What tribulations he endured on our behalf in the past,

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50 Sahagún, Florentine Codex: Book 12, in Lockhart, We People Here, 150.
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, cencinga tlaihiovia maianaia, miec in mapizmiquili aocmo quia in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça teqixquiatl in quia ic miec tlacatl momiqulī, yōā miec tlacatl ic tlaiellī quītlaz ic mic: yoān much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cuicuitzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in teqixquiçacatl: yoan quiquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan quiquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaiqili, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeotl, quiletleotzaia, quimooxquiaia quitototopozzaia, 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 techvalca techpachotiaque, çan iviä 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

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\(^{52}\) 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, colorin wood and grass, and adds that they guarded their food under shields saying, *ypa tlatetzotzontli yn atlacolli 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.”

There is less comradery in this version of the famine. The annals continue saying, *ocuilli titon techquaqz yn iquac tlepan quimontlaliya y ye ycui yncayoy vnca 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.”

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 quachti quetzalli y ye yxquich tlaçotli auctle ypa motac ça tetepuei,* “And we had a price. There was a price for a youth, a

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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.”

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:

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

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55 Ibid.
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.36

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 tlaltulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: o ca iehoātin in, in veveintin tiiacavan catea in tlaltulco, yoan inic

36 Sahagún, Florentine Codex: Book 12, in Lockhart, We People Here, 234–236.
tenochtitlan, “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 Tlacochehcalcatl 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 fraca onechcanhuitlia se tlali opan matica quauhteco nima se San Lucaz octli opa mantica sacantzotetitla amo quemani Aqui tlein quitos ca yteconpa

“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.” 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,

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." 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.” 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.” 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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62 Sahagún, “Author’s Account,” in Florentine Codex: Introduction, 85.
63 Ibid.
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 ycastolliozcycoc 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 xiiutl yn quizaco yn xaltic zauatl mochi tlacatl oquichiuh*68 *yn ueuetque ylamatque yn quin chicauatihui*69 *yhuun yn pipiltzintzintin yn cozolteca 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.\footnote{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.} This epidemic was described as a bloody affair, with those afflicted bleeding from every possible orifice.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

On the first day of August began the great sickness here in Tecamachalco. 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 Xinentec 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.\footnote{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. 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 vchpuch 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 Francisca. The Guardián, fray Francisco Goyti, married them.” 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.” 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.” 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

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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, *YXVyo\textsubscript{c} augusto ypan Asumptio oyuh youan momiquili dona Juana ynamictzin catca don Baltazar de Castillo\* ypan IX horas uallathui *Asumptio motocac ayamo tlayaulolo*, “On the 15\textsuperscript{th} 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 10\textsuperscript{th} 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 ocempueh yn ixquichica axcan ualquiztiuh cocoliztlí, “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.” 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

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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:

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.  

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

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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. 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, “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. 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 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.

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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. 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:  

\textit{Juebes a 5. de março yquac netlatiloc in tlequiixcalo yn oncan mochihua tlequiquiztli altepehuaque cohuatequitique yn motlatique achi quezquintin huel temamauhti ynic quixolocae.}  

\textsuperscript{82} Lockhart claimed that Chimalpahin began writing in real time in 1608 (\textit{Introduction} in \textit{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, (\textit{Annals of Native America}, 146–148).

\textsuperscript{82} From \textit{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

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:


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?).

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

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84 Ibid, 109–111.
sick, were hurt, and died... 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 quicuitlacoyoniaty, yn amo huel mochihua mohtuitia ynic ompa quiça atl, omoteneuh nican techyahualotoc yn capachoznequi ciudad Mexico, yc mocauh ayocmo omochiuh yn motatacaz. Yuh omihto ypampa ca cenca miequintin macehualtzizin hueca tlaca huel yxquich cincuenta mil yn oncan omomiquillico atatacoyan, y nohuiyampa tlaca, cēca 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

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 titepintonhuan in titechichicahuan, in titetentzonhuan in titeyxquamolhuan in titeteyztihuan, in titetlapallohuan in titehezçohuan, in titlayllotlacatepilhuan, in ipan otiyolque otitlacatque in ice tlaxillacalyacatl motenehua Tlaylotlacan 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

did not do something to remember these people, they would be lost forever.  
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’šs. yn momanaco Cocoliztli čahuatl Salanbio ynic micohuac huel totocac yn cocoliztli ynic nepallehuiloc yztac octli heheoquiltic tletlematzin miya yn ipā yztac octli. Yc patihuaya auh huel cenca micohuac yn cecemilhuil huel miec in motocaya auh yn ipan 1596. a’šs. amo quiz. amo caxahuac yn cocoliztli čan ye yhui totocac huel ixpoliohuac in telpochtli yn ichpochtli in tlapallihui yn huehuentzin ylamatzin pilsintli conetzintli, auh nohuian calpā. mexico moteyolcuitiliaya. y teopixq. 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.

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

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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:

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Yn iquac Domingo. yn itlamian metztli deziembre de 1595. a’c. yquac tlayahualoloc Sant Sebastian hualpehualoto ompa huilohuac in Sant. Lazaro. Acalaltitlan huel mahuiztic yn mochih yxquich tlacatl ompa huia yn timacehualtin yhuan castilteca ompa motemachtilli yn totatzin fray helias de S’. Juan bap89. calme totatzin ynin mochihu ynic tlayahualoloc ypampa cocoliztli ynic

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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 Acalaltitlan. 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

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89 For more on the aid given and Spanish reports of the epidemics affecting the indigenous, see Chapter 5, Section 3.
God and the precious lady Saint Mary would be appeased.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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:

\textit{I. calli xihuitl, 1597. años. yn iquac Sant Sebastián yhuā yehuatin yn tlācocihuapilli Sancta maría. Dios. yhuā yehuatin yn tlācocihuapilli Sancta maría. God and the precious lady Saint Mary would be appeased.\textsuperscript{90}}

1 Calli year, 1597. When it was the feast day of San Sebastián, on Monday the 20\textsuperscript{th} 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

\textsuperscript{90} Chimalpahin, \textit{Annals of His Time}, 54–55.

\textsuperscript{91} See Burkhart, \textit{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, \textit{Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570}, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003).
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:


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
wise men said that what they call the planet Mars, a great star, governed us in the aforementioned year; it is really its emanation with the epidemic.

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:

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.

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93 Literally, “its breath.”
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.

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.
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 español estin. yhuan yn inpilhuan tliltique. çan mochtin neliuhtiaque yn momiquilique. yhuan cequentin 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

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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 Metzti 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.”

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. 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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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 cencia 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.”

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 tlacayeeltzin cihuacohuatl condeStable mexico tenochtitan. auh yn

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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.”

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 mixpopolotiu, “The said noblewoman doña Agustina

de Guzmán left no children behind; [her line] was extinguished.” 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 huehuetlahtocanemiztli in huehuetlahtocatenotzalizamoxtlahtolli nican ye mihtoz ye motenehuaz in ye mopohuaz, ca amo çan çacaanilli ca amo çan tlapipictli amo çan tlahtlaquetzalli ynic tlatecpantli, ca mochi neltiztli ca mochi omochiu; ca yuh oquitotehuaque ca yuh oquitenuhuehuaque yuh otechtililitehuaque yn inhuemuitlahtol in huehueyque yllamatque, in tlahtoque in pipiltin Tzacualtitlan tenanca, in tocihuan tocolhuan in tachtonhuan in tomintonhuan in toptonhuan nican onemico, yn iuhqui yn innenonotzal mochiuhtiuh yn otechahuilitiaque. Ynin altepenenonotzaliztlahtolli yhuan tlathocatlacameycayonenonotzaliztlahtolli in tliltica tlaptictic ycuitiuhc tachihuitoc 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,

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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. Franço yn omomiquilli y notlaçoycniuhztzin Padre helias donado pouhqui yltatepanalpantzino yn señor Sanc Franço totoc oncan yn Sant. Josep mexico. ynin xochmilco ychantzinco cenca huecauh yn omotlamacehuilli yca habito. nehuatl. Domingo de S. Anton Muñon y nicniuhztzin 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*
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:

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Auh yn ipampa yc nican nictlallia
nicmachiyoitia yn imiquilitzin ynin
omoteneuhitzino huey teopixqui
omoyetzticatac yniqu iuhqui yxipltizin
omochiuhtzoticatac nican Sancto Padre
ynic huel omohueliltiayya yniqu icatzinco
ypampatzinco miec Jubileos
oquimotemaquilletia yni yuh otiquitattaque
auh monequi no quimatizque oncan in
quittazque ytocatenehuallocatzin yni
aquique catepan ye nemiquihui yni amo
quimotitlilque yni amo quimiximachilique
ynin yc huey teopixqui ocatca ypampa yuh
ninomati caocac yuhqui nican Mexico occ
e teopixqui yttoz yn oc ompa ye tonitztihui
ypan cahuil –
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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

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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?” 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

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Spanish. One such instance occurred in 1564, when the Viceroy don Luis Velasco, a
great defender of the indigenous, died. 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[n]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.]”
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:

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.
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].

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

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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 ilitctzin tlante[n]tla ycatia quitzatzauhtiaque yn ilitzi 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:

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\begin{align*}
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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.
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] huehuehtl q'[ui]tzotzo[n]tiaq'[ue] huel tetlaocolti tliltic toca y quixtlapachiuhitia 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.”

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 quitquitiuḥ yn

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114 Anales de Juan Bautista, 224.
espada huel mochi tlacatl quitac yhua[n] quyacana yn iantas yhuan cuicanime

clerigosme yhuan can 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:


And then also [came] the ruling lords – don Antonio Cortés Tehuiz 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] Franc[isc]o matlaquilhuitl motlalli lunes yn o[n]peuh acho toquemitl ixtliqucalli yohualtica tlayahualoque cece[n] cruz quiuicatiaque[u], “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,

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?” 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.

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, *yprousiontzin quihualmotitlan*. *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 mocacaughtihui mimique.*

*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.”

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

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2 Chimalpahin, *Annals of his Time*, 112–113. A note on *tetahu*: 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 motzacua 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 altar 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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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.*
– *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.

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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 Conunto de testamentos en lengua nahuatl, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropologia 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.


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 counterintuitive, 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. The Huexotzinco book, then, was well within the format of what was being done in churches elsewhere, but is more determinedly Nahuatl, 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.

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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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-altepeltl, the children would not have been counted and therefore recording them in between the lines regarding tribute would not have made any sense.

\(^{14}\) 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, and 1639 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 Rodriguez, 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

17 JCB, “El Libro,” f.19v, “en diez y ocho dias del mes septiembre de mill y seiscientos y veinte y dos años nustro pr juan marquez maldonado qualificador de esto oficio de su majestad el suyo siendo el gobernador y el superior de esta provincia de este evangelio vido y visto este libro en que se asientan los difuntos qui se tiene el cuidado de los mismos y mande que se firme su pr el mismo dia mes y año fray juan marquez maldonado pr antemi fray fran[co] Delon [a] secretario”
18 JCB, “El Libro,” f.26r, “en diez dias del mes de marzo de este año de mil y seiscientos y veinte y seis visitando este convento de uexocingo viste libro con que se ponen por memoria los difuntos y halle que ay ciudado en escribirles, el qual encargo que se contiue fray Fran[co] Rodriguez comissor visitador.”
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. 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-altepétl 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 ye 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.
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 ye 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 ye 2 ylhuītli mani me[t]ztli de março 1623 año miqui, “Died on Thursday the 2nd day (ylhuītli) of the month (metztli) of March 1623.” 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 sabō castollomome decienbre 1631 años, “On Saturday the 17th (castollomome) of December 1631.” 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 dī agustin de velasco micqui huelli ipā ylhuītzin satiago yn momiquilli, “On Thursday the 25th of July 1630: Diego Agustin de Velasco died. He died right on the feast

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20 JCB, “El Libro,” f.3v.
21 Ibid, f.21r.
22 Ibid, f.51r.
day of Santiago.”\textsuperscript{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: \textit{ça[n] ynpa jueve omomiquilli piltzintli luys yn itatzin juā alata yn inatzin ma"a castilla xo"d}, “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.”\textsuperscript{24} Without any other information we can imagine the scene as Maria sat with her young son, Luis, into the night on Wednesday the 16\textsuperscript{th} 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

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, f.45v.
\textsuperscript{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 xoḍl 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

\(^{25}\) 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* yc 21 de mayo 1633 años pasqual angel micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui cecallacohuayá."
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. 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. These were not the first grandchildren Diego Maceuh had buried, having lost a grandson named Matias on January 16, 1619. 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. 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. 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.

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 sab’ yc 11 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año micque hellena ychpochtli ynahuac gabriel de

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.
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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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] mes de henero 1622 años augustitia micqui amo 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.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{33} JCB, “El Libro,” f.6r.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 ye 2 ylhuil y[n] mes de yonio 1625 anos omic pipiltzintli quitoca cuicanime ye, “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

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 coyolchihuhqui, or a bell maker, when, *ypā sab⁹ yc 11 de março 1623 año mag⁹u castillā xo’il micqui pohui huexo⁹ totllac ynamic juā bap⁹a coyolchihuhqui*, “On Saturday the 11th of March 1623: Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Juan Bautista Coyolchihuhqui.” 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 temachtli: *Miguel pz temachtli pohui coyotzinco*, “Miguel Pérez, the teacher, of Coyotzinco.” 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*, 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 *chihuqui* – maker or someone in authority or power, therefore coyolchihuhqui 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.” 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 motepexi hui* chane chiyauhtzinco, “On Monday the 6th day of March 1628: Juan de Aquino, the criminal [died]. He was from Chiyauhtzinco.” 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, 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 Motepexhuiani - el que cometio algun crimen grave. See Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, f. 060r.  
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 subaltepetl 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

\(^{46}\) Ibid, f.52r.
\(^{47}\) JCB, “El Libro,” f.18v, and *Conjunto de testamentos en lengua nàhuatl*, 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: \textit{ypā sab\(^9\) yc 23 de hebrero 1619 omicque gabriel çaynos ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicqui [ve]ronica castilla xo\(^6\) pohui almoyahuaca, “Died on Saturday the 23\(^{rd}\) 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, \textit{ytechca tlacallaquilli tlahco bartholome chane cholollā, “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, \textit{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

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\(^{48}\) 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. 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 ylhuītli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años omomiquili andre pz tlatlapolhuili ynamic maría de čiuda53 yn testigo don juo de čiudad 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

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 čiudad.
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 mfn*, “On Monday the 6th of April 1620: The young
man Felipe died at home. Martín said so.”

Likewise, *ypā Viernes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes 1623 años fran"* sanchez micqui ychan omoto sinola* chaneque Tlaxcala yanmic Justina castilla xo"l*, “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.”

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” is very
prevalent in the entry of Andrés Pérez (above) and others like it. Confession, and

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 Nahua 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 Nahuat 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 die⁶ 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." 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. 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 domīgo yc 20 de octobre 1630 años helena castillaxochitl micqui yc ocalpoliduque ynamic catca peo de la cruz quitocato s. Miguel pohui tiāquiztencō, “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 Tianqueztencō.” Likewise, when two children were lost in one day in 1625 and it is recorded that, ypā jueves yc 19 ylhuittli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micque pipiltzinztin [augustin] yta franco juarz yna maria cacalo xochitli pohui atzonpan antonio y[ta] juo deorlata yna matalena cacalo xochitli pohu xaltepetlapā quinotoquilī fr. Martin de aguire, “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.” 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.

62 BNAH, Conjunto de testamentos, f. 48.
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 peº 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.” 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,* "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.]” 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.

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68 Ibid, f.55v.
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. tlilli, -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 ye 29 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años çā mictiloc 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.” 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,

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{74} It was in this nascent


\textsuperscript{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 pipilitzintzin amatlacatl*, “no one’s children died.” 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-altepeltl, 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. 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.

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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.


56 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.

57 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.
Map 1. Map of Huexotzinco c. 1540 showing the layout of various pueblos listed in the Book of the Dead.

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* años ... *mathias yconeuh angellina pohui totollac... ypā domingo yc 12 de mayo 1619* años ... *ypā-franco pilztintli yconeuh angellina castillan xoł pohui*, “On Thursday the 25th of April 1619: … Matias. 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’o 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 pilztintli micqui yconeuh antona xillotl catca pohui huexo’o 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." 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. 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. 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.” 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.
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 oquitlatiŋ 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.”

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.” 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, Sebastian, Miguel, and Diego.

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. The reports from the

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84 Townsend, *Here in this Year,* 91.
85 Ibid, 175.
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 recorded 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] mochihu, “There

was a serious epidemic.” 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:

On Wednesday the 3rd of February 1627: … The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

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.

On Saturday the 20th of February 1627: … The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

On Wednesday the 24th of February 1627: … The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

On Thursday the 25th of February 1627: … The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

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.
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.” 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

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.” 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ypä domigo yc 13 de agusto 1634 años} \\
&miguel jusep micqui pohui totollac \\
&ynamic catalinā castillā xoł \\
micaela piltōtli micqui ytatzin mathias de \\
roças pohui al moyahuacā \\
matheo pilztintli miqui ynatzin franca \\
pohui tlanicōtlā \\
mathias pilztintli micqui yta juā Gabriel \\
pohui tlanicōtlā \\
Estevā pilztintli micqui yta juā \\
quauhxinqui pohui tlanicōtlā \\
francos pilztintli micqui yta gaspar pohui \\
tecpā \\
mač castillā xoł micqui ynamic sebastiā \\
perez pohui al moyahuacā
\end{align*}
\]

On Sunday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of August 1634:
Miguel Joseph of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl. The child Micaela died. Her father was Matias de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
The child Mateo died. His mother was Francisca of Tlanicontlan. The child Matías died. His father was Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.
The child Esteban died. His father was Juan Quauhxinqui of Tlanicontlan. The child Francisco died. His father was Gaspar of Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Sebastian Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

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: \textit{Sanno ycuac tlatalisistli quisaco ytoca chichimeco miyec tlacatl y omoniquili ... Sanno ypa xihuitl yn opeuhqui huey CoColistli ypan abril miyec tlaCatl momiquili motocaya Semihuitl napoali tlacatl ytatzazlan pipiltzilzintin auh}

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{94} JCB, “El Libro,” f.57v.
yn achitzin omacauh ypan ytlasoylhuitzin San franco, “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.”

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 Mochiu h 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-altepeltl 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. 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. 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

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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 guardian of the monastery in Huexotzinco. Sahagún noted the religious activity in the area. 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.”

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.”

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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-altepeltl, 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-altepeltl 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

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 Atayoc 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 Ocotoloco (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 tehoaotin in chicaoque in iniooloco oquistin yoā in quin telrupuchtotoni in quintitanizque, in intitlanvan iezque, in meteneoa intlamacazcaoan: cequintin nimā quincamatlatiŋ cequintin quincamaicuilqoe: cequintin quintenicuilqoe. “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 guardian 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 sabº yc 1 de julio 1634 año juana castillā xoñ micqui yestācia 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 sabº yc 27 de hebrero 1627 años mañ micqui ytechca tlacallaquili yc ocalpolliuhque ynahaha[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 marzo 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 Español, “Gabriel de Alvarado, the Spaniard, said so.”107

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. 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* 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.” 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.” 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.
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 ma⁸ castillā Xochitl pohui tlamacazcapa ynahua neze[bloched out] juarez ma⁸ castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic jua perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac oribe

On Tuesday the 1st of October 1630:
Juan de Santiago died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Orive.

ypā martes yc 8 de octobre 1630 años
Juā perez micqui ynamic ma⁸ castillā Xochitl yc ocalpolluihuḥ 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

¹¹¹ Ibid, f.46r.
¹¹² Erika R. Hosselkus, Living with Death Between the Volcanoes, 148. “Two testators, Lucas Pérez and Baltasar Garcia, 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, 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 sabo ye 14 de março 1626 años añã castillāxochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquill pohui huexo 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].” 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textquote{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, \textit{ypā lunes yc 16 de junio 1631 años fray Francisco telpochtli micqui ytelpoch fray Francisco Bariētes yhuallihua sallapā yn telpochtli}, \textquote{On Monday the 16\textsuperscript{th} of June 1631: The young man Francisco died. He was the young man of fray Francisco Valientes. The young man was from Xallapan.”}\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{115} \textit{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. \textquote{Online Nahuatl Dictionary,}” last modified 2020, https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/cachopin.

\textsuperscript{116} JCB, \textquote{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…

franst 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

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117JCB, “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:

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.

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.

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.\footnote{JCB, “El Libro,” f.27r.}

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,
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*

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.”

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, making it clear that this conflict was hitting close to home for the Nahua 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. 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.”


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.\textsuperscript{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 Tlmacazcapan 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, \textit{yhuā nienotlatlauhaltillia ynic nechmotlacocotiliz[tli] ynic nechmopopollhuilliz 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.”}\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{124} BNAH, \textit{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 toteo 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

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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. I will discuss how the Nahua were learning these ideas, using plays from early in the colonial period, supposed to be written before 1600. 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 Nahua 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 Nahua 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, *Nahua 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 *Nahua 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 Nahua 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 Nahua 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 Ixtilixochitl, 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. 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: 

\[
Ca\ y\ Ca\ \text{yn iltatoCahuelitzin} \ y\ \text{CenmiCac moetztiCa\ y\ Jesu}\ \ddot{\text{o}}\ \text{ca timiquaniz\ y\ timictla\ miztli\ y\ titequani\ yn\ ayc\ tipachihui\ yn\ ayc\ tixhui\ ma\ xiCuitlaxitini},
\]

“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, 

\[
ca\ \text{ontocoz, ca itech onaxioaz, in motechiuhcauh: in mictlan tecutli, in cueçal, in tzontemoc: in aca\ veli quichiuihtoc, in oallamatatcatoc,}
\]

\(^{129}\) 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

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. 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. This shows that there was either pride or a fear of hell attached to how

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134 Lockhart, The Nahua, 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 Nahua, 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.”  

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. 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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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. The play begins with a prologue that one might mistake for a verse from one of the prayers or songs:

\[Ca niCan \text{aquihualmotepotztoquilia} \]
\[cenCa \text{Chipāhuac} \]
\[cēCa \text{ilanelxita y nohuia Cenmanahuac} \]
\[yn \]
\[itlāçonmahuizteoxayaCatzin ytech quiçan \]
\[y\text{71} \]
\[tech meiya y teoyotiCa ne Ñentlañiniztlī \]
\[teoyotiCa netlañontlāiztlī yn iuhqui techmonahuatīltī y tonântzin Sancta yCleçia y niCa quimotepehuillīa yn iuhqui tlçochalchihuittl CozCatl y costic yn istac \]
\[teocituittltī yn çenCan penpetlaCa yn \]
\[inpenpenyocyo yuhqui tlçōatilm \]
\[ye chipinniz \]
\[ahuyn tehuantin Ca çan ticnequixtitl \]
\[tieçepolohuuan yuhgui sochitl yntllā \]
\[oCuitlahuix tixpā oquiztiquiçan Ayocmo \]
\[totech moneq \]

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.

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

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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 axca ma Oc tictotlatlauhtitlín yn itlaçoñatzin dios pampa yn otechmnoCahuiltehuaque y tonātzing 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

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 y Macamo nimitztequipacho y nehuatl ytlal nimomiquiliz on achi huel titetequipacho Ca tēCal⁶⁰ 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.

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:

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

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 ytlā oninomiğli çan ixquich nictatlani yxpazinCo 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 motlānahuatiltzin ytlāCamo hualtotoCaz ynt etitlacotlalitzin dios Ca huel quimati noyollo Ca ye onnōnipeuh Ca huel acmo huelti ynt nōtlalo y noçoquiyocannixquich nechtequipachohua aqui techitaz aqui techaCoCuiz [24v] Otoçetziotlahuelliltic y titlatacohuaniem, “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

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are four hundred times unfortunate, we sinners!" 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: Notlaçopiltzin en ma çan ypaltzinco in Dios, ma moChipa, Çemicac XiquilnamiquiCa in oamechyaCanque = miquitzica ma amechnaoacolican in achtopa oomiquiliq, ... ca quihuentialchitoque yn amohuen in ican inMiSsa = anoco tlaltlauhtiliztica anoço tlahuenchihualiztica ... macamo ic tiquinxicahuaç in ixquichtin Animas ... Auh yn iquac tlamiz in ipec. monemiliz ca no mopaon motlatotlitzque ynic mitzmocneliliz in Dios, ynic ticmaçehuaç 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.” 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:

\textit{Auh çannimac in Çemicac Zentelayohultianime oanquicauhq.\textsuperscript{e} ynic çemicac quitonehuacaplozque anchichinatzazque in ompa = Çentlani mictlan apochquia[51r]huayocan oanmomoyauhueque = Auh canpa oanquicauhque in miccatlatquitl inic amotech omocauhq\textsuperscript{e} in ompa tlayohuia = Purgatorio = quenin amo anquinpalehuique ma xinechnanquilican = Auh in axcan, ma xiquinhuicacan in oanquiñequipanoque 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].\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{146} Vázquez, “Souls and Testamentary Executors,” 174–175.

\textsuperscript{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 quinequiyay temachtiz ayamo huel nahuatlatoahuay yn Ocan tiaquizco catca yn tlacpac motocayotay
Tozcoc oca quietzque 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

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, \textit{amo tineahuaz 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

\(^{149}\) See: Juan de la Anunciación, fray, \textit{Sermonario en Lengua Mexicana} (Mexico: por Antonio Ricardo, 1577); Matín de León, \textit{Camino del cielo en lengua Mexicana} (Mexico: En la Emprenta de Diego Lopez daualos, 1611); Juan de Mijangos, \textit{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 tlata 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
Heaven was described in the same text as, *Auh in ilhuicatl ca ytlacotecpchantzinco in Dios, auh ca zemicac ompa papacoa, necultonolo netlамachtio ilhuitihua, átle ompa huel ači 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.”

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.

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

152 Ibid, 89.
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 mohanahuiltoz, ca çenneçi yn tomio yn tlian 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 mochtin tineneuhque ayac tlatoani yn nican yxpantzinco in Dios, “Since we have died,

we are all equal. No one is a ruler here in God’s presence.” Not only does he emphasize 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 into yehuatzin yn tolca Tlaxaquixticatzin, “our precious Savior.” 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. 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

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 momahuicotitiuh, 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.” 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? Caniman amo, ninomiquiliz, ye nechhuaultilana 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.” Alva even goes so far as to answer the traditionally rhetorical question in this

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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 elochochil ypan titomatico in tlac petoncuetlahuico, “And I always say we have come to think that, just like magnolias we just wither here on earth,”162 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 oncuevoico, 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"

161 Ibid, 115.
162 This could also be: We/you know. As in: we know the way/You know the way.
163 Peñañiel, 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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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 paganism, / as Isaiah explained.”
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 notlaconacayotzin sanctissimo sacramento ca mochtin yn ilhuicac chaneque yxpan mixtlapachtlaca yxpan tlanuanenemi no yhuan yn mictlan chaneque; auh maçihui yn nitecoanotza, can*168 *yehuan calaquizque yn onechtlayecoltique; auh yn oc cequintin ma niman nechtlaclahuican. Yn ycnolacatl 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 tlaaxilticam 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**.
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 ytl a onicytlaco // Tote. Tlatlacolpan otitlacat amo otimoquatequi 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 ynm anel tinotlachihual ca ye onimitzcentelchiuh ca nel amo ticnetilli yn noteotenahuatil // Tlat Onocentzelahueltic ma cemicac nitlatla ma*
nñoçentelchiquilo. “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.”

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.”

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.”

The fact that he was a poor ruler throughout the play would not have been

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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 Martin de León\textsuperscript{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: \textit{Yn nicā ytocatzin dīos tethatzin yhuā dīos tepiltzin yhuā dīos espīrito sanctor nicpehualtia notestamēto mā quimaticā yn ixquichtin yn quitazque[h] ynin amatl ca yn nehualt notoca fran\textsuperscript{co} perez nican nochā ciudad huxeo\textsuperscript{co} ytech nipohui yn perochia sancta ma\textsuperscript{a} assump\textsuperscript{o} almoyahuacă nicchiua notestamēto auh ma[h]cihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noceialliz yn notlalamiquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui cán 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.”\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{174} Fray Alonso de Molina, \textit{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 Martin de León, \textit{Camino del cielo en lengua Mexicana} (Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1611), 139r–141r.

\textsuperscript{175} BNAH, \textit{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:

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.

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 testimonios, 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 ytoa 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.” 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 niepia nosolar centetl ypan mani nocalhuā centetl tlāpācalli*\(^179\) *yhuā centetl sacilli*\(^180\) *yniquiçayā tonatiuh nehuatl nosolar yn iyaquiyā tonatiuh callotli yn amilpāpa çanno callotli yn ihuicpa norte nehuatl nosolar çatepā niquinseselhuiẓ yn nopilhuātzitzinhuā auh yn ipā mani nocalhuā centetl nosolar niquin macatiuh ynteoyotica nonamictzin ytoa clara castillā xo\(^4\) yhuā yntopilhuātzitzinhuā*

\(^{178}\) 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)
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 oquimohiuhili y noteouh y notlatocauh auh ymacatzinco nocontlalia yhuan niquitohua yn ixquichtin y noplhua y nica notlan amoyetzicate namechnonahuatilia macamo anechmolcahuilizque ma mochipa ypanpa anquimotlauhtilizque 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

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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.” María’s bittersweet request could suggest that her children were at her bedside as she spoke to the scribe recording her words. 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 čētlamātli nītlanahuatitiuh nechhuiquilia notomi yn itoca Françoś pz pohui coyotzin ome p’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. 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.”

In this way, he is calling on someone else to pay for a mass for his soul, but he is

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 ontlanātli nitlanahuatitiuh ynic ome misa nopa yn itoz yēhuatl tlaxtlahuaz yn don juachin de la meta nechhuiquilia notomi ome p’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.” 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 onteł sacalti niquipia niquiçepamacatiuh y[n] nonamictzin yn itoca maria elo泽l 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

[^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 mocihuaz 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 motolinicte purgatorio inic quinmocnoitiliz
in Dios, in campa mohuetzticte, “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.

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 palehuirozque in animas, Cuix oc quihualmati Ca ye omimicq.* “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.” 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 mocchichua intla noo popolihuiz anquin tlatoz Cuix aço çeme oncate yn imezçohuan intlapalohua in techtequipachozque, macamo Ximotequipachotzino notlacoteachcauhztinen ma oc titoyolaliti. ma tihuian Ca ye once in tohuaxca totlatqui yhuan yn iquanomicque Ca ayocac ixpan ca za tehuetzin 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.”* Because the dead

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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.

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\(^{196}\) 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:

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].

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

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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*

*notlatocatizen ma xinechmocnoitilititzino 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 frivollities 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

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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 juventútis meæ et delícta mea ne memíneris; secúndum misericórdiam tuam memento mei tu, propter bonítatem tuam, Dómine’ (Breviarum romanum 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 onimitznoyotlytcalhuitzino in tinoteotzin tinotlatocatzin ca huel tlapanahuia inic titlacotlaloni ma xinechmotlaocolilitzino in ayac nechlaocoliani in incan tpc. auh Ca tehuatzin in tinotlaçotatzin in oitinechmochihualt innotinechmoyocoliltli Ca tinotepalehuicatzin tinotemanahuicatzin in tlaltiepac ca oniccauh in maxcatzin in motlatquitzin inic inpalehuilozquia atle nomacehual in nitlatlacoahuani amo nechilnamiqui in nohualyoque in oc nemi tlalticpac, ca tehuatzin ticmomachilitzintzinohua,

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, motlachialztitzintzinhuan in oc nemi in aic techilcahua in motlacoixpantzinco in momoztlae, inpampa tlahuenchihua in 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!”

He speaks to God on behalf of those who did remember him in their prayers.

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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 Diosë, quenin Čenca nitetlaacolti nitechocti in yca in ayac nechilnamiqui onoçentzomtlahueliltic inic ayac nechiximati in tlalticpac, oço notatzin nonantzin, aço noteachcauh, aço noteicauh, aco nohuetlihuatzin aço huecapan nohualqui inyoyahuen noteyocox [45v] catzinhen ma çan ipanpatzinco in moMiSericordiazin xitechnoittsititizino in tiçenquizcatlateochihualYchpochtzhintli ma xitechnomhuiqulitzino in timotlachihualitzizinhuan yn ayac techylnamiqui ma çan ipampatzinco in motlaçoRoSariotzin in motlatlauhtilocatzin. Ca yn oc tpc. ninemia aic onimitznolcahuili ma ye Xlnechmopalehuilitzino in ninotolina tlalticpac oniqualcauhitehuac in no=namic acmo nechilnamiqui, amo niclaocoltia aoctle once nopalehuiocu in mixpantzino ma çan huel ce MiSSsa, anoço tlalauhitilitzica ye nechilnamiqui auh in oniqualcauhilitehuac in nopalehuioca mochiuaz axcan mochi, cahuilquixtia auh in neçahualiztlaquemitl in luto çan ipan xocomictinemi momecatitinemi Cahuilquixtitinenemi ma inçiquih ma tlami ma tzomquila in tpc. ynemiliz Çaçenca ye miec inic mixitzinco mopatzinco 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

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.*

*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].” 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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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 tlaltipac annemi in antocnihuau macamo xitechahuacan in ixpantzinc in totecuiyo = Dios, Ay AY intla mochi tlacatl in quenin huel titotolinta ynic titlatlaticate titlayohuia Ca huel nelli ca techtlacaoizquia aquin amehuautin yn antohuayolque, Cuix monequi antechilcahuazque macamo itla ic Xitechilcahuacan ... otiquinhualcauhque in totepantlatocahuan yezque in motlatocaixpantzinc, 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 melahuacamatetlatzomtequililiani = Jues = inic huayoltiazque inic quimihualhuicazque yn ipanpa miccatlatquitl tlaixquetzaltin inic equipopoloque in imaxca intlatqui in animas in motoliniticate in onpa = Purgatorio inic aocac quimihamiqui,* “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

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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:

Saint Michael: Tenth, you shall not covet the goods and property of others.

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.

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

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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 asks, Cuix mochipa in tpc. “[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

206 Peñafiel, Cantares Mexicanos, f.28v.17. (Translation with help from Peter Sorensen, Celso Mendoza, and Camilla Townsend, 4-12-19).
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.

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 devoción y moral en lengua mexicana (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/.


\(^3\) See: Robert Haskett and Stephanie Wood's notes from Nahuatl sessions with James Lockhart and subsequent research. https://nahuatl.uoregon.edu/content/miqui.

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, mitzōmocxipachilviz, 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 Ipalmemohuani 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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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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who are above us in Mictlan, in the sky,” which would indicate that it was not meant to be an “underworld.””\textsuperscript{11}

Moquequeloa – “The Mocker,”\textsuperscript{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”\textsuperscript{13} from yocolia – to make something for someone. See also Titlacuauan.

Titlacuauan – Literally, “We are his slaves.” Possibly another name for Tezcatlipoca (the “Smoking Mirror”). In the Florentine Codex it states that \textit{Auh yoan in titlacaoan quitoaia, ca no iehoatl in quitemacaia in netoliniliztli, in cococ teupouhqui: yoan tетeχ quitlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in oui, in teucocoliztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaaalualitztl, in qualocatl, in xiiotl, in xochiciuiztli, in quexiliuiliztli, in xoteuconailiztli: yoan in oc cequi cuculiztli} – “And also they said of Titlacuauan 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”\textsuperscript{14} And yet in the same Book of the Florentine Codex it states, \textit{Auh in titlacaoan, no quijtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzti, iaozti, necoc iautl, neҫaoalpilli} – “And Titlacuauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neҫaualpilli.”\textsuperscript{15} It could be that these gods were all subtly different but that in

\textsuperscript{11} Sahagún, \textit{Florentine Codex: Book 6}, 11-12.
\textsuperscript{12} Sullivan, "Tlatoania and tlatoayotl in the Sahagún manuscripts,"225–238. See esp. p. 228.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Sahagún, \textit{Florentine Codex: 3 - The origin of the gods}, Appendix, 11.
\textsuperscript{15} Sahagún, \textit{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. 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

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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

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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.\(^\text{18}\) 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

Lockhart have made note of this alternate meaning. Carochi defined the word as, “commoner, human being, indigenous person,” and Lockhart defined it as, “common person, not noble; human being; after ca. 1600, sometimes indigenous person, referential equivalent of Indian.” 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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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ycnocuicatl</th>
<th>“A Lamentation”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Can yehuan Dios yn ipalnemohua can tonnemi yehua yã ye mitzonchixtoque in mocnoicnihua ye cuicatica onnentlamatoq ye xochitica // yan</td>
<td>27. Where is he, Dios, Ipalnemohuani? 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.12v</td>
<td>f.12v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can quitemohua mellel tlaycoltia</td>
<td>Where (how) do they seek your feelings, do they desire, do they call for your heart, honor, respect. (vocables)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahuizyotl aya ohua:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can niquittoa onon niquilnamiqui ye antla ye iuhqui a icnopillotle tle yca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.
How will my heart be calmed, how will my sadness ease? I am Huexotzinca. 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.

8. I call for people. There is joy, pleasure. Here are our friends, there are their blankets, their jewelry. As for me, I suffer. I will take pleasure in nothing, I will enjoy nothing among people. They were here. (exclamation)

11. Lordship and friendship wind together, nobility still exists there, it will come this way. I need it, I desire it, on earth I will take pleasure in nothing, etc.

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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, *Titloque 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 iuhquín tlacuilolli tic-popoloa ixquich ompa yahu I cán 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.

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\(^2\) *Titloque 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 quittooa 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.
ypalnemohua can iuhqui temictli cā
Ipalnemohuani. Just like a dream that we
wake from with a start.\textsuperscript{38} What we say,
here on earth is that you tell no one the
truth.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{36} Or “have been favored.”
\textsuperscript{37} Literally, “yellowing.”
\textsuperscript{38} Literally, “jump out of bed awake.”
\end{flushright}
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, perhaps you tell no one here the truth about it.

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. 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, 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.


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. 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


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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 yncopilthiua in tlpce 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 occepaa huitze ſ cuix oc nemiquihui ca cen tipolihui ca çe ye nican in tlpce. macacocoya yiollo ytlloc 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 tlpce. què connequĩ moyollo ypalnemohuani ma oc mellel onquiça yncopillotl ma oc ontimalihuí monahuac titeotl yehuan Dios

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 an tinechmiqitlani.

44 “Maca octlí” – 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.
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.
31. Aço amo tipactinemi tlpc. anca çan titocnihuâ 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. Therefore, in this way we all suffer. Therefore, in this way, people are afflicted here among others.

3. Çan ca ilhuicatl8 ytec oncan ticyocoya motlatol can yehuã Dios qˇ nin toconnequiz Mach titilatzihuiz ye nicã ticynayazin motêyo in momahuico 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 Ilhuicat 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?”
6. Ayac huel icniuh ypalnemohuani antocnihuã anquhta amocelotl cannelpa toyazque titlacohua ye nicã antepilhuã. 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 onntlamati techcocolia in techmictiani ximotlapalocã moch onpa toyazque quenonamican You are all wellborn 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. Ma mixco ninen can ninotolinitinemi yn ixpã ypalnemoan yehuã Dios çan techoncuilia çan techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tlpc. ye nican oc xômocêmaticã How is it possible that you will desire this? He is Ipalnemohuani. He just plays with us, which is what he is famous for and honored for here on earth. Pay attention! I

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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.”
14. Yn tlaca ayac huel ixpa yn ipalnemohua că yhuian Dios că techoncuilia că techonyquanilia yn itleyo ymahuiço tlpc ye nican oc xonmocenmatican. will abandon you upon departing, you all are our friends, you are someone’s wellborn children, if no one is able to [has the power to] be before Ipalnemohuani. 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!

17. Yn că 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 elochochtl ypan titomatico in tlapc can toncuetlahuico antocnihuā 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.

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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. 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 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?

Will the green maize bear fruit again, will there be secondary ears of maize here on earth?

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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 ñ temoyà
ca ximohuayan, cuix oc nelli nemohua
quenonicà cuix ontlaneltoca toyollo çan
topco petlaacalco onetlatia ontequimiloa
ypalmemothuani cuix oncan niquimitaz
ymixco nontlachiaz nonan nota in cuix
nechalmacazque incuic intlatol
nocontemohua ayacon teca
technocauhque

9. Yecoc11 xochitl man nequilmilolo man
necuiltonolo antepilhuan huelixtihuitz
cuecuyontihuitz çanyo xopà 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.

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11 From vec (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 xiuhecalitc noncuica maquizcalitic niontlatoa çã nicuicanitl

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\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{12}Ma\,t\,le is indicative of doubt, and Maca is the negative imperative, “Don’t!” Carochi, Grammar of the Mexican Language, 106–107.
20. Mochihu in tepilhuā mochihu in cococ teopouhtica nezcaltilo yehuā Dios Ma xihualā tinocniuh tlein ticyocoya tlein tiquilnamiqui mochipā tlpc çanio nican maca xīłaocoya 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 ypalmemoa ye itic onnemia ma onnechoquililo in quauhtli ye nican can tipopoliquizque ayac mocahuaz.

24. He arrived here with his feelings of sadness. *He is Ipalmemohuani.* He lives inside. May the eagle jaguar [warrior] mourn me here. We will just be lost. There will no longer be life.

26. Xicyocoyacā antepilhuā ahuxotzinca manel ye chalchihuitl manel teocuitlatl no ye ompa yaz in canin ximohua q’nōnamican 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.

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⁵⁸ Usually meaning “gold or silver.”
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*  

Ayoquantzin still return? Will I see him again? Will I speak of him again, next to the drum?

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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.*  

We just see it here in our dreams. We dream here. It is not true. We do not end up living on earth.*

---

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. 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. 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.\(^\text{62}\) He is Ipalnemoani.

10. [?] a large offering when we were captured – Tezozomoc, Lord Tlcahtecolotl, then went Cuetzpalocozomatlin, 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  

19. Yn can ahmicohua in can ontetehuia y ma onçã 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.

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\(^{63}\) *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.

\(^{66}\) *Ontetehuia* –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. Anmonecuitonol âmonmoquimiloma antepilhuan quauhtli izard 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 âca ayaznequi âtepilhuan
amontlachiaznequi yn ompa nemohua amachcahuã. Çan ca yellel ytlacocoly
ixochiuh ye icuic ma ic tonahuiacã petlacalcatl in quauhtli izard 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. \textit{He is one god. He is Ipalnemohuani.}

29. Teicnohuica teicnocemihuitiltia yn ipaltinemi yehuã dios anqui ycococauh\(^{16}\)
ontemocniuhtia ypetlapã quenmã

29. He takes away suffering, he detains misery for a day. \textit{He is Ipalnemohuani.}
\textit{He is Dios. Great is his sustenance.} He

\(^{15}\) 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 díos yecha, oncan tiyocoloc tinahuatliloque teuctlatoltica techylacatzoa in çã yehuan toteouh yn ipaltinemi.

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.

f. 15r

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 Tamoananch. 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 tlalpeque

8. Already your happiness, your mercy [allows?] 68 living on earth. He is

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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
moqu17 i[n] nochan moqu i[n] nocal
ymancã quemon in tlpc ynic ye nemohua
mopetlapan momahuiçoocã ayac çan
quittoa monahuac tonteicnoytta
tontemopepenia

Ipalmohuani. 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 cà
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 Ipalmohuani. 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.

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19. Ça ye colinia yhuehueuh yayacach ypalmemohuani amoxicuiliuhtoc anmocuic anquiçoça 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.*

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\(^{69}\) The song about the war. Or the performance of.
Appendix B

Chapter 3 - The Warriors’ Prayer

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.

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 anemiuhi: 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 ixtlaoat ineplantla, in itic in mopopoiauhotoz, in mopopoiaoz in vncaan xixitiniloz, momoiaoaloz, in tzataianaloz, in niman vncaan yhiiotl quiçaz:

And truly now the Sun, Tlaltecutli⁴, 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 out⁵ 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.

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 ochiaiaaticatca, 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 muchiuuh, inic otetzauc, inic oalmozcalti, inic ooapaoac: in tetatzin ovmpa onquiz, nelli mach in oontla itlapaliviz, nelli mach yn oiiellelacic inic oquixtemotinen in cochcaiutl, in neeuuhcaiutl: auh ie iehoatl, in totech vmpilcac, in toquezpan, in toquechtla 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 tlacachioal, in cuix calaquilo, 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:

Ca amo ticmotlanevilia, ca vncan pouhqui, ca vncan itauhqui ca ipan motlacatili, ca iuhaicn oaiualoc, 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 tlacoti ca vncan coztateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanilia, timotevpanilia: vncan timoteiucuilvia,

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], arrange them in order, record their names there.

O Tlacatle, O Yaotl, O Titlacauan, O Tezcatlipoca, O night, O wind: May it be peaceful. May whoever has been noble,

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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 cuicuiiuic in nexeoc 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
quitzicquauatzin, in maceuhcatzin, in
tlacavepantzín, in ixlilcuechaoac, in hivitl
temoc in chachoacuetzin: auh in ie
muchintin, in ie ixquichtin, in quauhtin in
ocelo, in ilvicatl itic, in vmpra cauiltia in
Tonatiuh, in xippilli in tiacauh in
iavmicqui yn vmpra 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, Quitzicquauatzin,
Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauepantzín,
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 vmpra 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, flowers, the fragrant, the savory. In this
inic auixtinemi in tiacahoa: inic iuhquima wise the valiant warriors live in joy, in
ivintitinemi, in aquimati in aoc happiness. It is as if they live drunk, not
quilnamiqui in tlein cemilvitl, in tlein knowing, no longer remembering the
ceioool: auh in aoc quixmati in cexiu, in affairs of the day, the affairs of the night,
oxiuh in çan cēmanqui in innecuiltonol, in and no longer giving heed to one year, to
innetlamachtil, in quichichina nepapan two years. Eternal in their abundance,
xuchitl, in aieactli in paquilizxuchitl, in their joy. The different flowers they suck,
ahauializxuchitl, in ipan mictiui, in the choice ones, the flowers of joy, the
quicolitiui in tepilhoan in queleuitiui flowers of happiness: for which the

And now, O Tlacatle, O our lord, O noblemen go to death – go having feelings
ma ivian, iocoxca yxillan, itozcatlan, and passion.12
imacochco ommoteca in tonan, in tota, in
 Tonatiuh in tlahtecutli: ma quioalmanili, And you do your labor, you do your duty,
ma quioalmocelili:

Auh ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequitilia, O Tlacatle, o our lord. All the different
tlacatle toteco: in ie ixquich nepapan
quauhtli ocelutl: in toneoa, in chichinaca eagle [warriors], the ocelot [warriors],
in iiollo, in nentlamati in mitzmonochilia, those who suffer pain, who suffer torment
in mitzmotzatzililia: in amo quitlaçotla in in their hearts, who are anguished, those
itzontecon in ielchiquiuh, in teca who call upon you, who cry out to you,
quimotla, in teca quitepachoa2 in those who do not value their heads, their
miquiznequi: manoço achitzin xicmottitili breasts, those who are hit [with stones]
in quinequi, in queleuia, in ticatl, in ivitl: those who are about to die: concede to
manoço xicmomachiotili them a little bit, show them what they
in Tonatiuh inan, in Tonatiuh ita, in desire, what they long for, the chalk, the
teatlitiz, in tetlaqualtiz, in tetlamacaz in down feathers, concede to him, let him
topan in mictlan, in ilvicac: make a mark13 upon himself. [So that]
Auh in quipiaz in quappetlatl, in those above us in Mictlan, in the sky, will
ocelopetlatl, in quipachoz, in tlacatecchitl, give drink, food, and offerings to the Sun,
in tlacochcalcatiz: ma xicmonantili, ma their mother, the Sun, their father.
xicmotatili in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in And those who will guard the eagle mat,
cenquauitl, in cemixtloaatl mantiiuh: in the ocelot mat, those who will govern,
quimottitia in texcalli, in atlauhtli: those who will be Tlacateccatl, those who

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 tlapiloni, in nacochtli, in cuecueiochtli, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatli, in quemitl: auh in quitotoniz, in ilviltiz, in imaceoaltiz, in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuitl, in quetzalli: auh in teucuitlatl in motzmolinca, in mocelica in motzopelica, in maviaca: in motechcopatzinco vitz, in monacaiotzin: Auh in ie ixquich in quauhtli, in ocelutl: manoço achitzin quicnopilvi, ma achitzin itech matilivi in tiçatl, in ivitl, ma xicmottitili in tlamaviçooolli, macamo 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.

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 iollo, ma cauiiacamati, ma quitzopelicamati in itzimiquiztli, ma ica in iollo cavilti, in necoc tene, in tlapotonilli, in itzpapalotl, ma quinenequi, ma quehelevi in itzimiquizxuchtl, ma quiuelicamati, ma cauiiacamati, ma quitzopelicamati in iooalli, in tlacocomotzalitzli, 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.

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

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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, totoce,
teutle, teimatini, techichivanie: ma
ximotlatatlalili, ma ximotlatecpanili, ma
ximotemamanili, ma necuiltonolo, ma
netlamachtilo, ma veia, ma vecapanivi in
quappetatl, in ocelupetatl: 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 tlat tecutli

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,
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 cauıltia in totonametl in
	xippilli: auh in quichichina nepapan
	xuchitl, in quitlamachti 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
nimitzpōpōlotza totecuioe.

This is all with which I address you, with
which I speak unintelligibly to you, O our
lord.
Chapter 5 - The Funeral Prayer


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].

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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.

A ca oontlama, ca oontocac in tonan, in tota in mictlan tecutli in tzontemoc in cueçal, in techoalamictoc, in techoalteuciuhtoc, in oallamatacatoc: 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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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;

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23 Literally, “their hair, their fingernails,” a metaphor for children/offspring as in from one’s own body.
ia imixco imicpac tlachiaquihu in may this be done? And will he yet again
tetecutin in tlatoque, cuix oc quittazque, soon come among the lords, the rulers?
cuix oc quiximatizque, cuix oc quicuizque, Will they yet see him, yet know him?
canazque in iten, in itlatol: cuix oc Will they yet take, yet hold to his
quinciapozvaz, cuix quinciauhquetzaz: a ca word? Will he yet console them, greet
ocen oncatca, ca ocen onquiz, a ca oceu, them? It has been complete. He has left
ca otlaisca: ca oceu in ocutl, ca opolih completely. It is extinguished, it has
darkened; the torch is extinguished; the
in tlavilli in tlaxteji: ca oceu maian light, the splendor is destroyed; the
icnaxotec in atl, in tepetl: anca quen altepetl is eternally orphaned. And so in
anca ça quen popoloz: ahu anca ça quen what manner will he assume the burden?
popoloz in cuilapilli, in atlapalli: Will he still concern himself, considering
that the vassals will somehow perish
and considering that they will somehow
be destroyed?

Auh in atl, in tepetl, cuix yio nican And the altepetl, will it perhaps here in
iteputzco ica necacaioaloz xixiniz, his absence be mocked? Will it divide?
momoaaz, in onelli mach ipan Will it scatter? Truly he came spreading
quiçoaco in iahaz, in cuilapilli, in onelli his wings, his tail feathers over it; truly

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{imixco tlachia in tecio} – “They passed among the grinding women.” James Lockhart, \textit{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 \textit{imixco tlachia} is to pass among them, to come among them.

\textsuperscript{24} Literally, “his lips, his words,” but this difrasismo has the meaning of his words or speech.

\textsuperscript{25} Literally, “Tail and wing” but is a metaphor for commoners or vassals.

\textsuperscript{26} Alternate: therefore, he will just be destroyed, and so the commoners will just be destroyed.
macht ipan mohonoltitivia: auh man oce
cuel ma cactimani, ma iooatimani in
matzin, in motepetzin, ca inencauhian
ticmuchivilia tlacatle totoce. 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 y 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.

And here, in truth, miserable is the
suffering eagle warrior, the suffering
in onvetzi iiollo in ixtlaoacan, in teuapan:
ac itech oalmotatziliz in otehoan  ocelot warrior, who are about to die.\textsuperscript{27}
motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetozcatlan  They are not going to live,\textsuperscript{28} their
maquiltitiaz, ac inan, ac yta quioalchioaz:  hearts\textsuperscript{29} will spill out on the plain, on the
auh ac conchoquiliz, ac conelciviliz:  battlefield.\textsuperscript{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  The one who is covered in dirt and filth
quipapacaz, ac cahaltiz, ac quicuiliz, ac
is miserable. Who will wash him? Who
caniliz in ihaca, in ipalanca, ac quiquaniliz,
will bathe him? Who will take, who will
ac chico tlanoac quiviquiliz:  remove his stench, his rottenness? Who
will remove it, put it aside\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{29} Could have the sense of lifeblood.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 quiveviz: auh in ixaiotzin quimatentivitz, ac quichoquiliz, ac quixaiopâpachoz, cuix monomatlatlaliliz, cuix conmuchiviliz in miquitzli in miquini in polivini, in onelli ovican ia: auh ac quitêtecaz in petlatl in icpalli, ac tlatlatlaliz, ac tlatecpanaz, ac quitlaliz ac quinoaatiz 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? 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 aiacachli, in vncan molnamiqui, in vncan moioocoa 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 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

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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?

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?

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 ie mixpan nitlacoloa, ie mixpan nitlavltequi 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

f. 1r

1. 1619 años ~ Los difuntos: ~

2. ypañ sabº yc 5 ylhuitl de henero 1619 años micque

catallinā piltzintli micqui yta miglº mocario pohui tlatenco

juā piltzintli micqui yta migº Maldonado pohui huexocº

5. ypañ domigo yc 6 de henero 1619 años micque

mā castillā xoº micqui ynamic Pasqual de roças pohui almoya[huaca]
pellipe piltzin micqui yta paº vallencia pohui ocotepec

8. ypañ lunes yc 7 de henero 1619 años micqui

f. 1r

1. Year 1619 ~ The Deceased: ~

2. Died on Saturday the 5º 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.

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 7º of January 1619:

“El Libro de los Difuntos,” The John Carter Brown Library, Codex Ind. 43.
[blank space]² anprosio de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapa

10. ypā jueves yc 10 de henero 1619 años micque
francó piltzintli yta juā bapíñ pohui ocotepec antona yta juā chane tetzcoco

13. ypā sabō yc 12 de henero 1619 años J migl xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui hueco co tecpā namic mañ jallome diñ poyça micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ypanic [blank space] pohui callacohuayā diego yta diego pz pohui huexocó magña yna francá pohui tlanicōtlā

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 yc 13 de henero 1619 años micqui
franca castilla xo d micqui ytechca pohui
tlanicotla tlapo hui

20. Died on Sunday the 13th of January 1619:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. She belongs to Tlanicotlan Tlapohui.

22. ypā lunes yc 14 de henero 1619 anos
pelliphe de s. tiago amo nican chane
testigo diego pabla chane chillapa – ycha
micq diego gara xalatatzin

22. On Monday the 14th of January 1619:
Felipe de Santiago. He is not 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 franco 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
migl 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 sab⁰ yc 19 de henero 1619 micque 30. Died on Saturday the 19th of January
juā de gan⁰e micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli 1619:
pohui huexo⁰ tecpā namic aña nenca Juan de Gante died. His tribute
testigo jusepeh hernandez responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco
juana ypiltzin Gabriel pohui texica Tecpan. His spouse was Ana Nenca.
mag⁰ na ximenez micqui ytechca Witness: Joseph Hernández.
metlacalli ymiguel mēdez pohui Juana, the child of Gabriel of Texica.
huexo⁰ totollac testigo fran⁰ pz Magdalena Jiménez died. Her tribute
responsibility belongs to her spouse
Miguel Méndez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
Witness: Francisco Pérez.

36. ypā domi⁰ go yc 20 de henero 1619 a⁰s 36. Died on Sunday the 20th of January
micque 1619:
pa⁰ ximenez miq ytechca tlacallaquilli Pablo Jiménez died. His tribute
ynamic fran⁰ ca castillā xo⁰l pohui ocotepec responsibility belongs to his spouse
testigo mig⁰ de anocolo Francisca Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.
mar[ailina] micq tlapopohuillilaq³ pohui Witness: Miguel de Anacolo.
huexo⁰ 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.”
1. [ypā] martes y 22 de henero 1619 años 
micque pipiltzintzinli [page ripped] tatzin franco gotierrez pohui acxolta 
[augu]stín ytatzin mathias hernandez pohui almoyahuaca 

4. [ypā] miercoles yc 23 de henero 1619 añosomicqui piltzintl [blank space] ytatzin Geronimo quixata pohui huexo co totollac [blank space] His father was Jerónimo Quixata of Huexotzinco Totollac. 

6. ypā jueves yc 24 de henero 1619 añosomicqui aña quetzalamel micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli pohui almoyahuaca ynamic Gabriel molales Ana Quetzalamel died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her husband was Gabriel Morales. 

9. ypā Viernes yc 25 de henero 1619 añosomicque pipiltzintzin juana yta franco neahual pohui xaltepetlapa Juana. Her father was Francisco Neahual of Xaltepetlapan. 

1. On Tuesday the 22nd of January 1619, these children died: 

[page ripped] His father was Francisco Gutiérrez of Acxolta. 

[Augu]stín. His father was Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan. 

On Wednesday the 23rd of January 1619. A child died: 

His father was Jerónimo Quixata of Huexotzinco Totollac. 

Died on Thursday the 24th of January 1619: 

Ana Quetzalamel died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. 

Her husband was Gabriel Morales. 

On Friday the 25th of January 1619, these children died: 

Juana. Her father was Francisco Neahual of Xaltepetlapan.
Juana. Her father was Simón de Aquino of Huexotzinco Totollac.

12. On Saturday the 26th of January 1619, a child died:

Josepha. Her father was Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

14. Died on Monday the 28th of January 1619:

Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Juan Pérez.

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. Died on Friday the 1st of February 1619:
Marta. Her father was Miguel Maldonado of Tepetzinco.

24. Died on Saturday the 2nd of February 1619:
[Line left blank.]

26. Died on Sunday the 3rd of February 1619:
Gabriel. His was not from here. He was from Cholula. Witness: Juan Pérez.
The young man Lorenzo. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

29. Died on Monday the 4th of February 1619:
The young man Diego Marmoleso. His mother was Elena Castillanxochitl.

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*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"l omic ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui

huexo co Totollac ynamic [blank space]

Bera betolla yta mig¹ Rodriguez pohui
tiaquizteco

[Line left blank.]

35. ypā Viernes yc 8 de hebrero 1619
omicque pipiltztintzintin
lureço yta joseph quahtecatl pohui
ocotepec
mag⁵⁵ 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 pipiltztintzin amatlacatl

38. On Sunday the 10th of February 1619: No one’s children died.

40. ypā martes yc 12 de hebrero 1619 anos
ma² yta fran⁷⁰ pohui almoyahuaca

40. On Tuesday the 12th of February 1619:
Maria. Her father was Francisco of Almoyahuacan.
Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Matías de Gante.

1. Died on Wednesday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of February 1619:

Justina Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan died. She confessed.

Juan Bautista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

4. Died on Saturday the 16\textsuperscript{th} of February 1619:

The child Poras died. His father was Domingo de Rivas of [Huexotzinco] Xaltepetlan. Matías. His mother was Maria Salome of Tlanicontlan.

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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 ynamicqui [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.
Maía jallome micqui pohui hexo⁰⁺ atzonpa dynamic [illegible] pz

Juana micqui ypiltzin marcos pz pohui huexocto

Antonía yconeuh⁵ ynes cahuaxoch pohui ocotecpē

10. ypā domingo yc 19 de febrero 1619 anos micqui

Angelina, the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.

12. ypā lunes yc 20 de febrero 1619 anos micqui

Inés Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapa
died. Her spouse was Felipe [de la Cruz].

14. ypā martes yc 21 de febrero 1619 anos micqui

Angelina, the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco.
16. ypā yc 20 de hebrero 1619 años
micque
juā evgellista micqui ynamic mā castillā
xo̱l pohui coyotzinco
di̱o xuarēz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui atzopā yc ocalpo[lhui]6
lurenço piltzinli micqui ypiltzin fran̄o
pohui tlamacazcapā
antonía piltzentli micqui ypiltzin pa̱o de s.
mig̱ pohui tīaquiztenco
nico̱ls mic̄q ypiltzin pa̱o gar̊ pohui
ocotepec
juana piltzin micqui ypiltzin di̱o pz pohui
huexoco

23. ypā jueves yc 21 de hebrero 1619 año
micque
melchor hernández micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic ma[illegible] pohui
tla[macazca]pā

16. Died on the 20th of February 1619:
Juan Evangelista died. His spouse was
Maria Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.
Diego Suárez died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. The
barrio gathered for him.
The child Lorenzo died. He was the child
of Francisco of Tlamacazcapan.
The child Antonia died. She was the child
of Pablo de San Miguel of Tianquiztenco.
Nicolas died. He was the child of Pablo
García of Ocotepec.
The child Juana died. She was the child
of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco.

23. Died on Thursday the 21st of
February 1619:
Melchor Hernández died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to his spouse
Ma[ria illegible] of Tla[macazca]pan.

Francisco Vasquez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of [Ocotepec].
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan [illegible] of Tetzcocapan.

27. On Friday the 22nd of February 1619, a child died:
Antonio, the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco.

29. Died on Saturday the 23rd of February 1619:
Gabriel Ceynos. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Veronica Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

33. Died on Monday the 25th of February 1619:
María, the child of Pablo of Atenco.
catharina ypiltzin juā pohui huexo 36
Catharina, the child of Juan of Huexcotzinco.

ypā martes 26 de hebrero 1619 36. Died on Tuesday the 26th of February 1619:
omicque
Melchora, the child of [illegible] of Tlanicontlan.

[melchiora] ypiltzin [illegible] pohui
tlanicōtlā
The child Mateo. His father was Diego de Tlanicontlan.

matheo piltzin yta diō [delona] pohui
The child [blank space]. His father was Juan [Pérez] of [Tlamacazcapan].
tlan[icontlan]

[blank space] piltzin yta juā [perez] pohui

[tlamacazcapā]

ypā domigo yc 3 de marzo 1619 años 40. Died on Sunday the 3rd of March 1619:
micque
The child Diego. His father was Juan Suárez of [Tianquiztenco].

diō piltzintli yta juā xuarez pohui

[tianquiztenco]

angelina juā pz pohui tezcocapā
Angelina Juana Pérez of Tetzocapan.

ypā lunes yc 4 de marzo 1619 43. On Monday the 4th of March 1619:
[agustina] ypiltzin franío [illegible]
[Agustina] The child of Francisco [of illegible].

ypā martes yc 5 de marzo 1619 45. On Tuesday the 5th of March 1619:
f. 2v

1. ypa [illegible] yc 6 ylhuitl de marzo 1619 anos
[pohui [illegible]] [illegible] of [illegible].

[perez miqui ytechca]
tlacallaquilli pohui alenco ynami castilla] xoṅ testigo matheo de los angelles

[illegible] perez miqui ytechca

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
[piltzintli micqui yta peö de gante pohui tetzcocapā]

4. On Thursday the 7th of March 1619:

The child María died. Her father was Pedro de Gante of Tetzeocapan.

6. [ypā] Viernes yc 8 ylhuitl de março 1619 anos micqui

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\textsuperscript{1} ypiltzin fran\textsuperscript{co} pz pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co} Miguel, the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.

11. ypa yc 9 de março 1619 anos 11. On the 9\textsuperscript{th} of March 1619:

[ma\textsuperscript{a}]piltzin ypiltzin di\textsuperscript{o} pohui acxotlá The child María. She was the child of

[pedromila] piltzin ypiltzin pellipe pohui Diego of Acxotlan.

acxotlá The child Petronilla. She was the child of

[di\textsuperscript{o}] ypiltzin juan Lazaro pohui Felipe of Acxotlan.

tlanacazcapan Diego, the child of Juan Lazaro of

justina castilla xochitl micqui ytechca Tlamacazcapan.


16. ypā domingo yc 10 de março 1619 años micqui 16. Died on Sunday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of March 1619:

[blank space] ypiltzin don fran\textsuperscript{co} de [blank space] He was the child of don

osacastro pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co} totollac Francisco de Osacastro of Huexotzinco

[blank space] ypiltzin mathias de roças Totollac.

pohui tlanacazcapan [blank space] He was the child of Matías
tlanacazcapan de Rosas of Tlamacazcapan.

19. ypā lunes yc 11 de março 1619 años 19. Died on Monday the 11\textsuperscript{th} of March 1619:

micqui
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin auqustin pz
pohui almoayahuacā

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 xo⁴micqui pohui
almoyahuacā ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic mathias de san mig⁴
hellen piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juāez
xuarez pohui almoayahuacā

21. Died on Tuesday the 12th of March
1619:
Esteban Morales from Tlaxcallan⁷⁵ 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 xo⁴
duā quaquatzin omicqui amo nica chane
cholola huatlahua⁷
juana ypiltzin juā tecauizal 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] yconeheui ma^ castilla xo^l
pohui azopā

[blank space] He was the child of María Castillanxochitl of Atzonpan.

32. ypā domingo yc 17 de março 1619 años micqui
juana ypiltzin anres gabriel pohui totollac
juā desalto ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui
tepetzinco ynamic augustina castilla xo^l
pe^o piltzintli micqui ypiltzin augustin
p[ere]z pohui tetzocapan

32. Died on Sunday the 17\textsuperscript{th} 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 Tetzocapan.

37. ypā lunes yc 18 de março 1619 años micque
veronica castilla xo^l micqui pohui atzonpā
ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic domingo pz
lucas ypplitzin mig^l pz pohui coyotzinco

37. Died on Monday the 18\textsuperscript{th} 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 17\textsuperscript{th} of March 1619:
Pablo, the child of Lorenzo Miranda of Coyotzinco.

43. On Sunday the 21st of March 1619:
Juan Calisto died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Agustina Castillanxochitl.

46. On Monday the 22nd of March 1619:
The child Magdalena. She was the child of Juan de Guzman of Xaltepetlapan.

4. On Friday the 26th of March 1619:
Francisco Hernández Zapadero died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. His spouse was Maria.

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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'ca

gonçales pohui almoya'ca

gonçales pohui almoyahuacan

7. ypā domingo yc 31 de março 1619 años
micqui

7. Died on Sunday the 31st of March
1619:

bartholome ypiltzin pe'o gonçales pohui almoyahuacan

Bartolomé, the child of Pedro Gonzales of Almoyahuacan.

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 años
a'o's micque

11. Died on Wednesday the 3rd of April
1619:

franco Hernandez micqui yta
tlapopoluilli10 pohui tlanicōtlā

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”
36 Pedro Gonzales of Almoyahuacan losses two children in one week.
Miguel Pérez died. He died in the home of Juan Morello. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapā. Lucas, the child of Pedro Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. 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. On Saturday the 6th day of April 1619:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Xaltepétlapan.

25. Died on Sunday the 7th of April 1619:

Magdalena de Santa Cruz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Yauhtzinco. The barrio gathered for her. Witness: Pedro Suárez.

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° yc 13 ylhuitl ymē de abril 1619 años
Balthasar molares micqui ytechca tlcallaquilli pohui tezcocapā ynamic maria castillā xotl
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 tlcallaquilli pohui atzonpā ynamic ma xochitl
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 xochitl micqui yta pasqual pz pohui coyotzinco
41. On Wednesday the 17th day 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 tlcallaquilli pohui totollac ynamic yn castillā xotl
43. On Thursday the 18th day of April 1619:
Simón Crocel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.
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.

Died on Monday the 22nd of April 1619:
Francisca from Cholula in her home. Francisco de Toral said so.

On Tuesday the 23rd of April 1619:
Miguel, the child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

On Wednesday the 24th of April 1619:
Veronica, the child of Diego Pérez from Xaltepeta.

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].”
The young woman Juana. He brother-in-law was Agustín Pérez [of] Atzonpan.

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. On Wednesday the 8th of May 1619: Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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 labeled thus were probably what we would consider teenagers or adolescents today.

\(^{77}\) Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco lost his wife and daughter in two days.
franco piltzintli yta mathias de rocas pohui totlac

The child Francisco. His father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.

15. ypā sabº 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 maº micqui ychpochtli ypiltzin mathias vardes pohui huexo[co] totollac
ypā franco 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 castillá 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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de mayo 1619 años
franço perecrno 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
maa cacallo xo'd micqui ytechca
tlapopoluilloc pohui huexoco totollac
franco gar'a micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic ma'a Jacob pohui huexoco totollac
antona xillotl micqui ytechca tlcacallaquilli
yc ocalpolhui[hque] pohui huexoco 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 tetcocapā
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.
Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.

The child Barnabe died. He was the child of the late Antonia Xillotl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

The child Matías died. He was the child of Juana de Silva of Totollac.

43. Died on Tuesday the 17th of May 1619:

Juan Camacho of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. The barrio gathered for him.

Melchor Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse [blank space] of Huexotzinco Totollac.

47. On Sunday the 21st of May 1619:

Agustín Pedro from Cuetlaxohuapan died.

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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

ma⁰ ychpochtli ypiltzin luiz z⁰ pohui huexo⁰ totollac

mijn 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 a⁰s

simō de luna micqui ytechca tlaclallaquilli

ynamic aña castillā xoīl pohui Atenco

juā pilztintli ypiltzin fran⁰ pohui tlanicōtlā

f. 4r

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 sab⁰ yc 8 de junio 1619 a⁰s

ma⁰ de s. luis micqui tlapopolhuillopc pohui xaltepetlapā

f. 4r

8. On Saturday the 8th of June 1619:

Maria de San Luis of Xaltepetlapan died. She confessed.
10. ypā lunes y 10 de junio 1619 años
pa° macallina micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic hellena castillā xo° pohui
coyotzinco

10. On Monday the 10\textsuperscript{th} 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
tlapopolhuiloc pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co} totollac

13. On Tuesday the 11\textsuperscript{th} 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\textsuperscript{s}
rapael piltzintli micqui ypiltzin fran\textsuperscript{co} pz
tetzcocapā
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui
tlanicōtlā
fran\textsuperscript{ca} micqui piltzintli ypiltzin anto\textsuperscript{o} pz
pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co}

16. On Friday the 12\textsuperscript{th} 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° yc 13 de junio 1619 años
fran\textsuperscript{co} de la cruz micqui chane tetzcoco

20. On Saturday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of June 1619:
Francisco de la Cruz from Tetzcoco died.

22. ypā martes yc 16 de junio 1619 años

22. On Tuesday the 16\textsuperscript{th} of June 1619:
Juá piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa° angenio
pohui huexoco

The child Juan died. He was the child of
Pablo Anegnio of Huexotzinco.

24. ypā domígo yc 14 de junio 1619 a°s
juá gaspar micqui chane cholollā
ma° piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Balthasar de
mjn pohui ocotepec

24. On Sunday the 14th of June 1619:
Juan Gaspar from Cholula died.
The child Maria died. She was the child
of Baltazar de Martín of Ocotepec.

27. ypā martes yc 2 de jullio 1619
juá piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juá caynos
pohui huexoco
juana piltzintli ypiltzin juá pz pohui
totollac

27. On Tuesday the 2nd of July 1619:
The child Juan died. He was the child of
Juan Ceynos of Huexotzinco.
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
merchior piltzintli ypiltzin bernatino de
luna pohui cacallachohuayn
luçiya ypiltzin juá gabriel pohui tlanicotla

30. Died on Wednesday the 3rd of July
1619:
The young woman Helena Inés. She was
the child of Diego Macauhui of
Xaltepetlapan.
The child Melchor. He was the child of
Bernardo de Luna of Cacallachohuaynan
Lucia, the child of Juan Gabriel of
Tlanicontlan.
34. Died on Friday the 5th of July 1619:

Diego Matías. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. His spouse was Paola.

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. 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 Tototolac.

1. Died on Saturday [illegible] of August 1619:
Angelina Monica died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. The barrio gathered for her.

4. Died on Sunday the 3rd of August 1619:
[blank space] died. Her spouse was Juan Saleate of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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 agosto 1619 a’s ynes castillā xolt micqui yc ocalpolhuiuhque ytechea tlacallaquilli pohui huexocot 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 agosto 1619 a’s peo juachin telpochtli micqui huexocot totollac*  
16. On Friday the 8th of August 1619:  
The young man Pedro Joaquin of Huexotzinco Totollac died.

18. *ypā miercoles yc 23 de agosto 1619 a’s ma castillā xol ycnociuatl chane calpā hellena castillā xol 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 setiembre 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.
Juán Francisco [illegible]. He was not from here.

24. On Wednesday the 4th of September 1619:
The child Agustina. She was the child of Juan Pérez of 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. 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 setiembre 1619 año

catallina castilla xo" miqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui tiâquiztenco ynamic di°
de roças

Catalina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.
Her spouse was Diego de Rosas.

36. ypã miercoles yc 17 de setiembre 1619 año

ma° matlal omic ytechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolihuique pohui almoyuaca testico
auguti pohui xaltepetlapa

Maria Matlal died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.
The barrio gathered for her. Witness:
Agustín of Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypã juaves yc 19 de setiembre 1619 años

omicqui
mad castilla xo° ynamic Antonio pz pohui xaltepetlapa tlapopolhulliloqui

Maria Castillanxochitl, her spouse was Antonio Pérez of Xaltepetlapan. She confessed.

1. ypã martes yc 1 de octobre 1619 años

omic

Died on Tuesday the 1st of October 1619:
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. On Saturday the 5th of October 1619:
The young woman Juana, the child of Pablo Suárez of Tetlamacazcapan.

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. On Wednesday the 9th of October 1619, these children died:
Luna, she was the child of Diego Ortis of Xaltepétlan.
Maá ypiltzin juá de aquino pohui
almoyahuacá
Maria, she was the child of Juan de
Aquino of Almoyahuacan.

14. ypá sabº yc 13 de octobre 1619 año
maá piltzin ypiltzin migl pz pohui
almoyahuacá
14. On Saturday the 13th of October
The child Maria. She was the child of
Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

16. ypá lunes yc 14 de octobre 1619 ano
mique
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin estavá coto
pohui tianquiztenco
16. Died on Monday the 14th of October
The child Juana died. She was the child
of Esteban Soto of Tianquiztenco.

18. ypá jueves yc 17 de octobre 1619 año
micqui
catalliná piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pellipe
de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapá
18. Died on Thursday the 17th of October
The child Catalina died. She was the
child of Felipe de Santiago of
Xaltepetlapan.

20. ypá Viernes yc 18 de octobre 1619 año
micqui
20. Died on Friday the 18th of October
ynes castillā xoł micqui ynamic gaspar juā
ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tlamecazcapā
ynahuac beroz

Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gaspar Juan. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamcazcapan. She was the neighbor of Beroz.

23. ypā domīgo yc 20 de octobre 1619
años micqui
juā ypiltzin peo 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
paō 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
maō ypiltzin mathias de rocas pohui
huexoctecpan
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'o ytechca tlacallaquilli  
ynamic fran'o 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 domingo yc 27 de octobre 1619 años micque  
van'ca castilla xo'cot ytechca tlacallaquilli 
ynamic mathias deroças pohui acxotla testigo mig' gar'a  
mathias ypiltzin mathias [blank space] pohui tepetzinco 
gathallina ypiltzin diego pz pohui huexo'co  

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'a pohui tetlamacazcapa  

39. Died on Monday the 28th of October 1619:  
Andrés, the child of Juan Bautista of Tetlamacazcapan.
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. 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. Died on Tuesday the 12th of November 1619:
Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco.
Pasqual Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco. The barrio gathered for him.

5. Died on Saturday the 16th of November 1619:
Magdalena Tozpetlacal of Atenco died. She confessed.

7. Died on Sunday the 17th of November 1619:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Joseph Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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.
The child Maria died. The child was the daughter of Bernardo de Zamora of Coyotzinco.

Died on Wednesday the 26th of November 1619: Justina Castillán died. Her spouse was Bartolomé Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

Died on Thursday the 27th of November 1619: The child Paola died. She was the child of Pedro López of Ocotepec.

Paola Paollilo. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. The barrio gathered for her.

The child María died. The child was the daughter of Bernardo de Zamora of Coyotzinco.

Died on Wednesday the 26th of November 1619: Justina Castillán died. Her spouse was Bartolomé Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

Died on Thursday the 27th of November 1619: The child Paola died. She was the child of Pedro López of Ocotepec.

Paola Paollilo. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. The barrio gathered for her.

Died on Wednesday the 4th day of December 1619:
dona mag\textsuperscript{na} demetoça micqui ytechca

tlacallaquilli pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co} tep\textsuperscript{a}

Doña Magdalena de Mendoza died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

22. ypā jueves yc 5 deciébre 1619 años
micqui

Ana Maria died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

25. ypā lunes yc 16 deciébre 1619 año
micqui
matheo xuarez micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā ynamic
augustina

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]

Ana [blank space] died. Her spouse was Bernardo de Zamora of Coyotzinco.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{81} Bernardo lost his daughter on the 25\textsuperscript{th} of November and his wife on the 18\textsuperscript{th} of December.
30. On Tuesday the 24th day of the month of December 1619: Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility [belongs to] Elena Castillan.

32. Died on Friday the 27th of December 1619: The woman Elena Nochtla died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Sebastián Dellez. He was the child of Juan Bautista Tejada of Atenco.

36. On Sunday the 29th of December 1619: [blank space]. He was the child of Pedro of Tlanicontlan.

38. On Monday the 30th of December 1619:
The child Ana died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Atenco.

[blank space]. He was the child of Juan Romero Salmiento of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

[blank space]. He was the child of Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

Died on Tuesday the 31st day of December 1619:

Pasqual Quetzpal died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The Year 1620.

On Wednesday the 1st day of January 1620:

Pasqual, the child of Sebastián Dellez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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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 Santa Cruz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Diego de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Juan Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria of Tlamacazcapan.

15. On Friday the 3rd day of the month of January 1620:

Elena Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

17. On Monday the 6th day of January 1620:

The young woman Juana Xillotl of Atenco died. She was the child of Juan Soldero.

19. On Thursday the 11th day of January 1620:
pellipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel sanchez pohui huexo°
franca piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franca° pohui huexo° tecpā

The child Felipe died. He was the child of Miguel Sánchez of Huexotzinco.
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

22. ypā sab° yc 11 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año micque
hellena ychpochtli ynahuac gabriel de Alvarado

22. Died on Saturday the 11th day of January 1620:
The young woman Elena, neighbor of Gabriel de Alvarado.

24. ypā lunes yc 13 de henero 1620 año piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo pohui [tholicuillā]

24. On Monday the 13th of January 1620: A child died. He was the child of Mateo of Tocuillan.

26. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año pe° piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pohui tepetzinco piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz tepoz pohui atenco

26. On Tuesday the 14th day of January 1620: The child Pedro died. He was the child of [blank] of Tepetzinco. A child died. He was the child of Juan Pérez Tepoz of Atenco.
29. ypā jueves yc 16 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año
[pz chane xaltepетlapā]
[blank space] piltzintli ychā omoto antonio
The child [blank space] [died] in his home. Antonio Pérez from Xaltepetetlapan said so.

31. ypā sabö yc 18 ylhuitl de henero 1620 año
[pedromilla micqui pohui tlatenco ytechca]
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] mēs de henero 1620 año micqui
[franca castilla xoṭl micqui ytechca]
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Nezahual of Huexotzinco Totollac.
aña piltzintli micqui ypiltzin marcos pohui
tlaniçōtlā
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
franca castillā xo di micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic migl 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 sabío yc 25 de henero 1620 año
juana piltzintli ypiltzin Raphael Rodríguez pohui huexo co totollac

10. On Saturday the 25th of January 1620:
The child Juana. She was the child of Raphael Rodriguez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

12. ypā domigo yc 26 de henero 1620 año
helena ypiltzin di o pochel pohui tlanicōtlā [blank space] ypiltzin lurenco 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 franĉa castillā xoł
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] ynamicqui14 [blank space]

20. Died on Friday the 31st of January 1620:
Lorenzo [blank space]. His spouse was [blank space].

22. ypā sabō yc 1 ylhuıtl de hebrero 1619 año micque
agustın ypiltzin juā degante pilzt pohui
atenco

22. Died on Saturday the 1st day of February 1620:
Agustín, the child of Juan de Gante of Atenco.

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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 ynamicqui 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. On Sunday the 2\textsuperscript{nd} day of February 1620:

Augustina 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. Died on Monday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of February 1620:

Pasqual de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan, 

32. On Tuesday the 4\textsuperscript{th} of February 1620:

The child Martina died. She was the child of Diego Pochel of Tlanicontlan.\footnote{Diego Pochel’s first daughter died on January 26\textsuperscript{th} and a second daughter died on February 4\textsuperscript{th}.}

Francisco Miguel from Calpotlapan died. His spouse was Juana Petronilla.
35. ypā sabō yc 8 ylhuītl 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 domigo 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 tlapallaquilli 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
   diō pz micqui ytechca tlapallaquilli ynamic fra n ca castillā xo tl pohui tianquiztenco
   f. 7r
   Diego Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.
3. On Wednesday the 12th of February 1620:

Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Simón de Rosas of Xaltepeltapan.

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. 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. On Friday the 14th of February 1620:

The child [blank space]. He was the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.
ma'amaxochi\textsuperscript{15} micqui ytechca  
Maríana Xochitl died. Her tribute

tlacallaquilli ynamic Pasqual de roças  
responsibility belongs to Pasqual de

pohui cecallacohuayā  
Rosas of Cecallacohuayan.

ma'amallome chane tezcoco ycha omicqui  
Maria Salome from Tezcoco died in the

dó juā de cozma  
home of don Juan de Guzman.

17. ypā sab\textsuperscript{o} yc 15 de hebrero 1620 año  
17. On Saturday the 15\textsuperscript{th} of February

juā telpochtli micqui pohui acxotlā juā  
1620:

çaynos yta di\textsuperscript{o} piltzinlī micqui ypiltzin  
The young man Juan of Acxotlan died.

mig\textsuperscript{1} dorado pohui chiyauhtzinco  
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  
20. On Tuesday the 18\textsuperscript{th} of February

ynes castillā xo\textsuperscript{d} micqui ytechca  
1620:

tlacallaquilli ynamic Miguel de roças  
Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute

pohui almoyahuacā  
responsibility belongs to her spouse

Miguelde Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

23. ypā Viernes 21 de hebrero 1620 año  
23. On Friday the 21\textsuperscript{st} of February 1620:

\textsuperscript{15} Ma'amaxochi is being translated here and below as Maríana 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. francisco pohui coyotzinco

The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Pasqual de San Francisco of Coyotzinco.

26. ypā sab° yc 22 de hebre(sic) 1620 año
ma° piltzintli micqui yconeuh franco castilla
xo°l pohui tlatenco
ma° amaxoch ychpochtli ypiltzin Pasqual
angel pohui cecallaçohuayā

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° piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias
ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā
antonio pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui tlamacazcapā ynamic ma° castilla
xo°l

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:
The child Nicolas died. He was the grandchild of Ambrosio de Gante of Cecallacohuayan.

The young woman Ana, the child of Francisco of Tocuillan.

40. On Thursday the 26th of February 1620:
Bartolomé Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan. Witness: Juan [García].

f. 7v
1. On Friday the 27th of February 1620:
The child Melchora. She was the child of Lorenzo de Gardo of Chiyauhtzinco.

3. On Monday the 2nd of March 1620:
The child Joseph. He was the child of Antonio de San Juan of Atenco.

5. On Tuesday the 3rd of March 1620:
mathias piltzin ypiltzin juā chille pohui The child Matias. He was the child of
acxotlā Juan Chille of Acxotlan.
diego¹⁶ piltzintli ypiltzin pelli pe crauasar The child Diego. He was the child of
pohui xaltepetlapā Felipe Crauasar of Xaltepetlapan.

8. ypā miercoles yc 4 de março 1620 año The child [blank space]. He was the child of
[blank space] piltzin ypiltzin diº de la cruz de. S. juā pohui
pohui tlatenco of Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.

10. ypā jueves yc 5 de março 1620 año The young woman Elena de la Cruz. She
hellena de la cruz ychpochtli ypiltzin was the child of Nicolas Pérez of
Nicolas pz pohui huexoº maº piltzintli ypiltzin antoº de. S. juā pohui Huexotzinco.
atenco The child Maria. She was the child of
Antonio de San Juan of Atenco.⁸⁴

13. ypā sabº yc 7 ylhuitl de março 1620 año Juan, the child of Esteban de Oralte of
juā ypiltzin estavā de olarte pohui atenco 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 aºl pz

The child Tomás [died] at home. Alonzo Pérez said so.

16. ypā domígo yc 8 de março 1620 año

[blank space] ypiltzin diego pz pohui huexoco

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

maº magma ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamicq^

gabrial de la cruz pohui antenco

maº castilla xoº micqui ytechca

21. ypā sabº yc 14 de março 1620 año

miqui

juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzinpillipe

23. ypā martes yc 17 de março 1620 año

pohui tetlamaaczcapā

The child Juana died. She was the child of Felipe of Tetlamaaczapan.

21. Died on Saturday the 14th 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.

23. On Tuesday the 17th of March 1620:
Ana Nenca died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Pedro Gutiérrez.

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. 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. Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. Her spouse was Juan de Luna.

34. On Saturday the 21st of March 1620:

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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
Antonio de San Juan died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to Atenco. His
spouse was [blank space].

tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic [blank
space]
Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute
responsibility belongs to her spouse
s. Nicolas cecallacohuaya
Ambrosio de Gata of San Nicolas
juā ypiltzin diego varona pohui
Cecallacohuayan.
xaltepetlapa
Juan, the child of Diego Varona of
luis ypiltzin mig'l pz pohui tezcocapă
Xaltepetlapan.
agelyna ychipohtl ytatzin estava deoralte
Luis, the child of Miguel Pérez of
pohui atenco
Tetzocapan.
The young woman Angelina. Her father
was Esteban De Oralte of Atenco.

f. 8r
1. ypā domingo ye 22 de março 1620 año
1. On Sunday the 22nd of March 1620:
hellena castillā xoīl micgui ytechca
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute
tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapă ynamic diō
responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.
palma
Her spouse was Diego Palma.
agustin paroçal micqui ytechca
Agustín Parozal died. His tribute
tlacallaquilli pohui huexoō tecpă ynamic
responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco
maa' jallona
Tecpan. His spouse was Maria Salome.
6. ypā lunes yc 23 ylhuitl de marzo 1620
año
franca castillā xoíd 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 marzo 1620 año
dió ypiltzin juā depalma pohui
almoyahuacā
micaela ypiltzin juā pz pohui
almoyahuacā
[blank space] ypiltzin gabriel morāte pohui
tetzcoapā
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 marzo 1620 año
micqui
domigo hernández 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 marzo 1620 año
micque
15. Died on Friday the 17th of March 1620:
Gabriel Morales of Ocotepec died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl.

Maria, the child of Mateo Sánchez of Xaltepetlapán.

Sebastiana Mexia. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tocuilla. Her spouse was Diego Hernández.

The child Salvador. He was the child of Juan Hernández of Tocuillan.

22. Died on Sunday the 29th of March 1620:

The child Elena. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez of Tetzococapan.

24. On Monday the 30th of March 1620:

Matías, the child of Lucas Pérez of Atenco.

27. On Tuesday the 31st of March 1620:
Maá castilá xotl miqui ytechca tlacallaquilli Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute
[blank space] responsibility belongs to [blank space].
Maá piltzin ypiltzin juá de luna pohui The child Maria. She was the child of
chiyauhtzinco Juan de Luna of Chiyauhtzinco.

30. Ypá miercoles yc 1 ylhuítl de abril 1620 año
Andrés Miguel. His tribute responsibility
ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Elena
huexocó tecpá hellana castilá xotl ynamic Castillanxochitl was his spouse.

33. Ypá sabo yc 4 de abril 1620 años
The child Isabel died. She was the child
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dió palmah of Diego Palma of Xaltepetlapan.86
pohui xaltepetlapá [blank space]. He was the child of
[blank space] ypiltzin Gabriel Gabriel.

36. Ypá domigo yc 5 ylhuítl de abril 1620 años
The child Mariana. She was the child of
mariana piltzintli ypiltzin dió ximenez Diego Jiménez of Totollac.
pohui totollac

86 Diego Palma’s wife died on March 22nd and his daughter on April 4th.
ysabel piltzintli ypiltzin franco necahual
pohui xaltepetlapa

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.

domigo pz ytechea tlacallaquilli pohui
huexo co tecpá ynamic sabina castillá xoí

41. ypā lunes yc 6 de abril 1620 años
pillipe telpochtli ychā micqui omoto mjīn

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
antoº 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 migº pz pohui
xatepetlapa
mathias moreno ytechea tlacallaquilli
ynamic franca castillá xotl pohui huexo co
tecpá

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. Died on Thursday the 9\textsuperscript{th} day of April 1620:

- Michela, the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.
- Magdalena, the child of Pablo Salmiento of Xaltepetlapan.

8. On Friday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of April 1620:

- Diego Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse from Tocuillán. The barrio gathered for him when he died. Witness: Melchor Quachao.
- The child Torivio. He was the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.\textsuperscript{87}

Fr. Geronimo de Cartas

13. Died on Sunday the 12\textsuperscript{th} day of April 1620:

- The child Gaspar. He was the child of Pablo de Panecatl of Tetzcoapan.

\textsuperscript{87} Juan Corzo’s daughter died on April 9\textsuperscript{th} and his son on April 10\textsuperscript{th} and an unnamed child on April 16\textsuperscript{th}. 

16. ypā lunes yc 13 de abril 1620 años

hellena ypiltzin matheo varios pohui almoyahuacā

The child Elena. She was the child of Mateo Varios of Almoyahuacan.

[blank space] piltzintli ypiltzin mig1 de s.
tiago pohui cecallacohuayā

The child. He was the child of Miguel de Santiago of Cecallacohuayan.

19. ypā martes yc 14 de abril 1620 años

maa piltzintli ypiltzin juá evagellista pohui huexo co tecpā

The child Maria. She was the child of Juan Evangelista of Huexotzinco Tecapan.

pasqual piltzintli ypiltzin Rapaelpz pohui tlamacazcapā

The child Pasqual. He was the child of Raphael Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

pasqual piltzintli ymah matheo mētida pohui acxotlā

The child Pasqual. He was the nephew of Mateo Mentieda of Acxotlan.

23 ypā jueves yc 16 de abril 1620 años

The child [blank space] [died] at home.

Castro said so.
The young man Diego Pérez. He was the child of Raphael Pérez of Tlamacazcapă. 88

Juan Miguel. He was the child of Juan Corzo of Acxotlan.

On Monday the 20th of April 1620: Veronica Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Miguel García.

The young man Juan Miguel. He was the child of Miguel Salmiento of Huexotzinco.

The child Elena. She was the child of Miguel de Rivas of Huexotzinco.

Died on Saturday the 25th of April 1620: 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. Died on Sunday the 26th of April 1620:

The widow Maria Castillanxochitl died. Here spouse was the late Miguel Casatli of Tianquiztenco.

Bernardina, the child of Joseph de Luna of Cecallacohuayan.

Diego [blank space]. He was the child of Bernardino de Luna of Cecallacohuayan.

Maria, the child of Diego Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

40. Died on Saturday the 2nd of May 1620:

Maria Magdalena died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

Her spouse was Diego Ceynos.

43. On Tuesday the 5th of May 1620:

The child Veronica. She was the child of Miguel de Rivas of Huexotzinco.89

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89 Miguel de Rivas’ first daughter died on April 20th and his second daughter on May 5th.
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.

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:

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17 A scribal error.
The young woman Sebastiana from Acxotlan died. Petronilla, she was the child of Jacobo Pérez of Acxotlan.

13. On Saturday the 16th of May 1620:
Diego, he was the child of Diego Salgado of Tepetzinco.

15. On Friday the 22nd of May 1620:
Maria, she was the child of [her father] Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

17. On Monday the 25th day of the month of May 1620:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan. Witness: Pedro de Rosas.

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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
The child Maria. Her father was Pasqual de Gante of Atenco.

23. ypā domingo 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 xoṭl ychā juanez
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 xoṭl
pohui huexoco tecpā
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° z° pohui tetzcocapã

The child Bartolomé died. His father was Diego Zocalo of Tetzcocapan.

30. ypã domigo° miercoles yc 24 ylhuitl de junio 1620 años micque
Ma° castillã Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynicmic diego
xochimãqui pohui cecallacohuayã
catallinã de metina micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynicmic fran° asorio pohui
xaltepetlapã

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. ypã jueves yc 25 de junio 1620 años micque
mag°a piltzintli micqui yta pa° de roças pohui huexo° tecpã

35. Died on Thursday the 25th of June 1620:
The child Magdalena died. Her father was Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

37. ypã martes yc 29 ylhuitl ymes de junio 1620 años o micqui
fran°a piltzintli ynatzin martã 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

The child Marta. Her father was Francisco Antonio from Xallizintlan.

martha piltzintli yta francó Antonio chane xallitzintla

Francisco de San Juan died in the home of Agustín Pérez from Tezcoco.

f. 9v

4. ypā martes yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1620 años micqui

Agustín Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan.

augustin caynos micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic francá castillá xońl
pohui acxotlā

7. ypā sabọ yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1620 años micqui

[blank space] died in the home of Pedro Suárez from [blank space].

[chāne [blank space] ychā micqui peö xuarez}

[blank space] died in the home of Pedro Suárez from [blank space].
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. 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. Died on Saturday the 18th day of the month of July 1620:

Geronimo de Las Angeles died. He confessed. His spouse was Elena Tolcenlottl of Almoyahuacan.

18. Died on Sunday the 19th day of July 1620:

Inés Tolcellotl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco.
21. ypa lunes yc 20 de jullio 1620 años micqui
agustin de olarte micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacan yynamic
maº castilla xo
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. ypa domigo yc 26 de jullio 1620 años micqui
apronica ypiltzin mathias de la cruz pohui huexotzinco
24. Died on Sunday the 26th of July 1620:
Apronica, the child of Matías de la Cruz of Huexotzinco.

26. ypa lunes yc 27 de jullio 1620 años micqui
maº [blank space] micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui huexotzinco yynamic juá 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. ypa 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 agosto 1620 162 años micqui
   juā ypiltzin juā pabca pohui anteco
30. Died on Monday the 3rd of August 1620:
   Juan, the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.

32. ypā domigo yc 9 de agosto 1620 años micqui
   francoa ypiltzin juā pz pohui tezcocapa
32. Died on Sunday the 9th of August 1620:
   Francisca, the child of Juan Pérez of Tetzocapan.

34. ypā martes yc 11 de agosto1620 años micqui
   maa 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 augusto 1620 años micqui
   pea ypiltzin juā alvalez pohui xaltepetalpā
37. Died on Monday the 18th day of the month of August 1620:
   Pedro, the child of Juan Alvarez of Xaltepetlapan.
39. Died on Thursday the 27\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of August 1620:

Juana Castillanxochitl. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Gabriel de San Sebastián of Quanalla.

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.

Diego Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepethlapan. His spouse was Francisca Maria. Witness: Felipe Crauasar.
8. ypā domīgo yc 6 ylhuitl de setiēbre 1620 años micqui
martha nonez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
yc ocalpulhiuhque pohui xaltepetlapā
testigo franco dolan

8. Died on Sunday the 6th day of September 1620:
Marta Nuñez died. The barrio gathered for her. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetapan. Witness: Francisco Durán.

11. ypā Vierne yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes 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 tetzcopā
ynamic juana castillā xoṭl
pedromilla micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui s. franco 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 Tetzocapan. His spouse was Juana Castllanxochitl.

18. ypā miercoles yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiēbre 1620 años

18. On Wednesday the 23rd day of the month of September 1620:
Petronilla died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to San Francisco Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Melchor de Santiago.
Luisa Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. Her spouse was Miguel de Bienvenida.

Witness: Diego

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.¹⁰

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. Died on Sunday the 18th of October 1620:

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.
The young man Diego. He was the child of Fransico Jimínez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

31. Died on Thursday the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of October 1620:

Juan, the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.

33. Died on Friday the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of October 1620:

Petronilla, the child of Francisco Jimínez of Totollac.\textsuperscript{91}

35. Died on Saturday the 24\textsuperscript{th} 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.

\textsuperscript{91} Francisco Jimínez’s older son died on October 18\textsuperscript{th} and his daughter on October 23\textsuperscript{rd}.
f. 10v

1. ypā martes yc 27 ylhuītl y[n] mes de octobre 1620 años

Augustina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di'o alvarez pohui huexo'co tecpā

4. ypā miercoles yc 28 ylhuītl y[n] mes de octobre 1620 año

thoribio mētez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui atēco ynamic aña cacallo xoṭl

7. ypā yc 10 ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviēbre 1620 años micqui

mathias clemēte micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuīhīq pohui acoxotlā [blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin luis mexia pohui tepetzinco

11. ypā Viernes yc 13 ylhuītl de noviēbre 1620 años micqui

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. 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. 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. Died on Friday the 13th day of November 1620:
mañallome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui almoya ymamic 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] mēs de
novièbre 1620 años
merchipiltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
mêtez 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
novièbre 1620 años micque
fillipe ypiltzin fran co xuarez pohui acxotla
mañypiltzin 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
Tianquiztenc.0

22. ypā sab o yc 21 de novièbre 1620 años
micqui

22. Died on Saturday the 21st of
November 1620:
diego ypiltzin matheo xuarez chaneque s. Diego, the child of Mateo Suárez from San Mateo Tenescalco.

matheo tenescalco

24. ypā miercoles yc 25 ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviembre 1620 años micq
Died on Wednesday the 25th day of the month of November 1620:
diego ypiltzin aël tegante chane s.
Diego, the child of Alonzo de Gante from San [Yllesusi].

[yllesusi]¹⁹

26. ypā Viernes yc [illegible] ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviembre 1620 años micqui
Died on Friday [illegible] day of the month of November 1620:
justa castillā xoł micqui pohui
Justina Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Matías Pérez.
almoyahuacā ynamic mathias perez

30. en cinco dias del mes de deciembre
On the 5th day of the month of
[illegible - de los vah?]²⁰ nus[nuestro]
December, [illegible], our priest fray
p[adr]e fray juañ marquez Maldonado
Juan Marquez Maldonado, our priest of
nus[nuestro] padre de esta
this province, viewed this book of the
provy[provincial] visto este libro de los
defunto de este convto de huexotzinco a
deceased of this convent of Huexotzinco and from the hand of his priest he takes
mano de su p[adr]e le tenga el [illegible - mil nu cin alado] que has [f. 11r] ta aquí se
[h]a le leído [illegible - de asentar los] que
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 firma de su nombre
down?\textsuperscript{92} of those who live and those who die. He signed it with his name.

Ante mí

fray juan marquez maldonato Pr
fray Juan Marquez Maldonado, Priest

fr ant\textsuperscript{o} detapiar
fray Antonio de Tapia

secret\textsuperscript{o}
Secretary

14. ypā jueves yc 3 ylhuītl y[n] mēs deciēbre 1620 años
14. On Thursday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} day of the month of December 1620:

pa\textsuperscript{o} piltzintli micqui yta andres de s tiago
The child Pablo died. His father was Andrés de Santiago of San Nicolas Cacallacohuayan.

pohui s. Nicolas ocacallacohuayan

17. ypā sab\textsuperscript{o} yc 5 ylhuītl y[n] mēs deciēbre 1620 micque
17. Died on Saturday the 5\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of December 1620:

sebastiā de nahua micqui ytechca
Sebastián de Nahua died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

tlacallaquilli pohui atenco ynamic ma\textsuperscript{a}
The child [blank space] died. His father was Agustín Pérez of San Luis Coyotzinco.

castillā xochitl

[blank space] piltzintli micqui yta

Augustin pz pohui s. luis coyotzinco

\textsuperscript{92} As in written down, perhaps.
21. ypā domigo yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes
deciembre 1620 años micqui
pa° 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] mes
deciembre 1620 años micqui
hellena ypiltzin franc° maçahu 1 pohui
huexco° totollac
Beronica ypiltzin Gabriel de la cruz pohui
huexco° tecpā
Joseph piltzintli micqui yta di° pz pohui
huexco° 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 domigo yc 13 ylhuitl y[n] mes
deciembre 1620 años micqui
ysabel castillā xo°l micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui huexco° tecpan ynamic
pa° 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. 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. 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. Tlacateuctli93 [of] Acxotlan said so.

The child Antonia died. Her father was Pasqual Xochicuicuic of Tetzcocapan.

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93 This was the nobleman’s title.
6. Died on Monday the 28th of December 1620:

Barbara Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Lucas Pérez of Coyotzinco.
The child Francisca died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Cacallacohuayan.

1. The year 1621.

3. On Friday the 1st of January 1621:
The child Elena died. Her father was Matías Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

5. On Saturday the 2nd day of the month of January 1621:
The child Petronilla died. Her father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.94

7. On Monday the 4th of January 1621:

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94 Andrés Pérez’s wife died on May 25th of 1620, his daughter on January 2nd of 1621.
ma² 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] mes de henero 1621 años
aña hueytlacatl chane cuetlaxcohupā ychā anoto pe⁰ 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 sab⁰ yc 9 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años
simō telpochtli pohui huexo⁰ totollac ynā magⁿa castillā xo⁰l

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] mes de henero 1621 años
pasqual pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic angellinā castillā xo⁰l

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. yпа martes yc 12 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años
juã xochipã micqui pohui acxotlã ytechca tlaclllaquilli ynamic Ysabel de s. toma

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. yпа miercoles yc 13 ylhuitl de henero 1621 años
lucas pz micqui ytechca tlaclllaquilli pohui coyotzinco ynamic catea vervora castillã xoõ yc ocalpolhiuhque Bartholome micqui ychã anoto Nicolas vasoido espaõol

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. The barrio gathered from him. Bartolomé died at home. Nicolas Vasoido, the Spaniard, said so.

24. yпа Viernes yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1621 años micqui mã castillã Xochitl micqui ytechca tlaclllaquilli pohui huexo totollac ynamic Pasqual noquã

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° yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1621 años micqui michaella piltzin micqui yta juā pz pohui huexo°

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 di micqui ypiltzin Miguel garl pohui tíaquiztenco

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 ácolo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui texcocalep ynamic luisa castillā xol

31. On Wednesday the 3rd day of February 1621:
Lazaro de Ancolo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Texcocapan. His spouse was Luisa Castillánxochitl.

f. 12v

1. ypā miercoles yc 10 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebre 1621 años gaspar de aquino micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo° tecep ynamic franca castillā xol

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 Castillánxochitl.
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. Died on Wednesday the 17th day of the month of February 1621:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Salmiento of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. Died on Sunday the 21st day of the month of February 1621:
thomas de lona micqui ytechca

Tomás de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

tlacallaquilli ynamic maⁿ castillā xoⁿ pohui

The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Diego Salgado of Tepetzinco.

xaltapetlapā

pasqualla piltzintli micqui ypiltzintli diⁿ

salgado pohui tepetzinco

20. ypā lunes yc 22 ylhuatl y[n] mēs de hebrero 1621 años

20. On Monday the 22nd day of the month of February 1621:

franco piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco pz

pohui al moyahuacā

The child Francisco died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

22. ypā domingo yc 28 ylhuatl y[n] mēs de hebrero 1621 años micqui

22. Died on Sunday the 28th day of the month of February 1621:

diⁿ piltzin micqui ypiltzin diⁿ pz pohui

huexcoⁿ tecpā

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

24. ypā jueves yc 4 ylhuatl y[n] mēs de março 1621 años micqui

24. Died on Thursday the 4th day of the month of March 1621:

juana pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli

ynamic peⁿ vazques pohui ocotepec

Juana Pérez died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Pedro Vazquez of Ocotepec.
27. 
ypā Viernes yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de marçō 1621 años
hellena yztac Xochtl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ypanamic paə de helera pohui huexo co totollac
miguel ypiltzin marcos de aquino pohui atenco

27. On Friday the 5\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of March 1621:
Elena Iztacxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pablo de Herrera of Huexotzinco

miguel ypiltzin marcos de aquino pohui atenco

31. 
ypā domingo yc 7 ylhuitl de marçō 1621 años
melchora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mēn pohui almoyahuacā

31. On Sunday the 7\textsuperscript{th} 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] mēs de marçō 1621 años
michaela piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe de s. tiago pohui xaltepetlapā
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui almoyahuacā

34. On Wednesday the 10\textsuperscript{th} 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 domingo yc 14 ylhuitl de marçō 1621 años

37. On Sunday the 14\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of March 1621:
Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlantcointlan. Her spouse was Juan Francisco.

40. On Friday the 19th of March 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Méndez of Tianquiztenco.

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. Died on Tuesday the 7th of April 1621:
The child Maria. She was the child of Maria Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
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. On Wednesday the 14th day of the month of April 1621:
The young man [blank space] [died] at home. Juan Jiménez said so.

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.

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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 Tlamacazapam 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 domīgo yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de abril 1621 años micqui
franca tomīyauh21 micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui al moyahuacā
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 y lhuitl de abril 1621 años micqui
migl de s. franca micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā y namic marianā
18. Died on Tuesday the 20th day of April 1621:
Miguel de San Francisco died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.

21. ypā jueves yc 22 abril 1621 años micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā y namic aol de s. tiago
diō piltzintli ypiltzin diō paynos pohui almoyahuacā
21. On Thursday the 22nd of April 1621:
Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Alonzo de Santiago.

migl piltzintli ypiltzin pillipe de aquino pohui acxotlā
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 tomīyauh = 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 y 24 de abril 1621 años micqui
   hellena castillā xoł micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic franco pohui
huexoc 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 domīgo y 25 ylhuītl de abril 1621 años micque
   miguel caros micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
   ynamic pohui huexoc 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 y 6 ylhuītl y[n] mēs de mayo 1621 años
   aöl d. s. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
   tlaco y ocalpolhuīque pohui acxotlā
testigotin matheo xuarez
   aña sanchez micqui ytechca tlcallaquilli
   pohui atenco ynamic di' 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 sab⁰ yc 8 ylhuītl ymēs de mayo 1621 años micquī
añā castillā xo⁰ micquī ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui tlmacazcapā ynahuac hernādo ordez

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. ypā lunes yc 10 ylhuītl de mayo 1621 años micquī
hellena cortes micquī ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic catca di⁰ cortes yc ocalpolhuīhque pohui xaltepēlapā paolla piltzintli micquī ychā amoto juā nonez

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 Xaltepēlapan. The child Paola died at home. Juan Nuñez said so.

8. ypā domígo yc 16 de mayo 1621 años pā⁰ piltzintli micquī ypiltzīn Miguel Rodríguez pohui tianquiztenco

8. On Sunday the 16th of May 1621:
The child Pablo died. He was the child of Miguel Rodríguez of Tianquiztenco

10. ypā martes yc 18 de mayo 1621 años

10. On Tuesday the 18th of May 1621:
diö piltzintli micquitl ypiltzin Rapael Rodríguez pohui huexo²⁰ totollac Francisco Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. His spouse was Ana García.

14. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuītl y[n] mēs de marcalida castillā xoö micqui ytechcatqui her tribute responsibility belongs to Santa Cruz Atenco.

17. ypā lunes yc 24 ylhuītl y[n] mēs de maÖ mo [blank space] micqui ytechca Tecpan. Her spouse was Miguel Diego.

20. ypā jueves yc 27 ylhuītl de mayo 1621 anos salvator piltzintli micquī ychā amoto juā The child Salvatore died at home. Juan Durán said so.
22. ypā sab⁰ yc 29 ylhuitl de mayo 1621 años
años
aña castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic juā pz pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tlamacazcapan, neighbor of Juárez.

25. ypā jueves yc 10 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años
años
michaela piltzintl micqui ypiltzin mig¹ hernández pohui xaltepetlapā
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Xaltepetlapan.

27. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años
di⁰ piltzintl micqui ypiltzin mathias z⁰ pohui almoyahuacā
The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías Zocalo of Almoyahuacan.

29. ypā sab⁰ yc 12 de junio 1621 años
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa⁰ aogenio pohui huexo⁰ totollac
The child Juan died. He was the child of Pablo Angenio of Huexotzinco Totllac.

31. ypā martes yc 15 ylhuitl de junio 1621 años
años
31. On Tuesday the 15th day of June 1621:
Di o piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di o deroças
pohui tlani cōtlā

33. ypā miercoles yc 16 ylhuītl de junio 1621 años
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di o Rodríguez
pohui atencō
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin francō
vallença pohui ocotepec
[blank space] piltzintli micqui

37. ypā jueves yc 17 ylhuītl de junio 1621 años
luçia nenca micqui pohui totollac ynamic
matheo xuarez tlapopolhuīh

39. ypā Viernes yc 18 de junio 1621 años
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin matheo gerā
pohui huexo co tecpā

Died on Tuesday the 22 nd day of the month of June 1621:

Lucia Nenca of Totollac died. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez. She confessed.

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Diego Rodríguez of Atenco.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco Valencia of Ocotepec.

The child [blank space] died.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Mateo García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco dolon pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapā The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco Durán of Santiago

dolon pohui s. tiago xaltepetlapā Xaltepetlapan.

Maria piltzintli micqui ypiltsin diegar pohui s. tiangustin atzōpā The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Ramírez of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.

9. ypā jueves yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1621 años 9. On Thursday the 24th day of the month of June 1621:

Elena castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca Tlacallaquilli pohui san Battholome Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute
tlacallaquilli pohui san Battholome thohcuillā ynamic juā pz responsibility belongs to San Bartolomé
tlahuillā ynamic juā pz Tocuillan. Her spouse was Juan Pérez.
magthalena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin The child Magdalena died. She was the
Bartholome pz pohui tlanicōtlan child of Bartolomé Pérez of Tlanicōtlan.
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā The child Miguel died. She was the
Ramírez pohi sanctiago xaltepetlapa child of Juan Ramírez of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.

16. ypā Viernes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1621 años 16. On Friday the 25th day of the month of June 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Maldonado of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Juana Gomez, a Chichimec, died. Her spouse was Juan García, the neighbor of Pedro de Vivero.

20. On Friday the 2nd day of the month of July 1621: The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Tomás de Aquino of Acxotlan.

23. On Tuesday the 6th day of the month of July 1621: The child Miguel died. He was the child of Agustín Ramírez of Xaltepetlapan.

The child Francisca died. She was the child of Miguel Maldonado of Xaltepetlapan.

28. On Wednesday the 7th day of July 1621:
juana piltsintli micqui ypiltzin mig₁ de ročas 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
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Miguel García.

33. ypā lunes yc 12 ylhuítl y[n] mes de jullio 1621 años
The child Diego died. He was the grandchild of Ambrosio de Gante of Cecallacohuayan.

f. 14v
The child [Pandora?] died. She was the child of Sebastián de Misa of Chiyauhtzinco.

1. ypā jueves yc 15 ylhuitl y[n] mes de jullio 1621 años
The child Andrés died. He was the child of Martín Pérez from Noyotzinco.
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. On Wednesday the 21st of July 1621:

Ambrosio de Gante died. Half of his tribute responsibility belongs to Cecallacohuayan.

12. On Thursday the 22nd day of the month of July 1621:

The child Pedro died. His mother was Melchora Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

15. On Saturday the 24th day of July 1621:

The child Joseph died. His father was Francisco of Tlamacazcapan.

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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
ypā martes yc 27 ylhuitl de jullio 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
ma 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 agosto 1621 años
pasqualla piltzintli micqui ypiltzin frańco 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 sab° yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes de agosto 1621 años micqui
juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pa° 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 domīgo yc 8 yhluitl de agosto 1621 años micqui

hellena tlapal micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui almoyahuacā yynamic catca juā bap

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 yhluitl de agosto 1621 años

maª piltzintli micqui ypiltzin bartholome valliçia 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 yhluitl y[n] mēs de agosto 1621 años

joseph pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui thocuillā yynamic 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 yhluitl y[n] mēs de agosto 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.
The child Mathias died. He was the child of Gabriel Soto of Totollac.

3. On Friday the 20\textsuperscript{th} of August 1621:

[blank space]. His mother was Martina.

The child Elena died. She was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.

The child Antonia died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

Baltazar died. He was from San Bonaventura. He was at home. Joseph Crucel of Tetzcocapan said so.

12. On Saturday the 27\textsuperscript{th} of August 1621:
480

juana piltzin micqui ypiltzin fran\textsuperscript{co} dero\textsuperscript{cas} pohui atenco

The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco de Rosas of Atenco.

14. yp\textsuperscript{a} lunes yc 30 de agosto 1621 años
fran\textsuperscript{co} piltzintli micqui ypiltzin melchor hern\textsuperscript{a}dez pohui tetzco
cap\textsuperscript{a}

14. On Monday the 30\textsuperscript{th} of August 1621:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.

16. yp\textsuperscript{a} Viernes yc 3 ylhu
tl seti\textsuperscript{ebre} 1621 años
martina castill\textsuperscript{a} xo\textsuperscript{il} micqui ytechcatqui tlc\textsuperscript{a}llaquilli ynamic sebastian huitznahuacatl pohui almoyahuac\textsuperscript{a}

16 On Friday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} day of September 1621:
Martina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Sebastián Huitznahuacatl of Almoyahuacan.

19. yp\textsuperscript{a} domígo yc 5 ylhu
tl seti\textsuperscript{ebre} 1621 años
jua\textsuperscript{a} perez micqui ytechca tlc\textsuperscript{a}llaquilli ynamic ma\textsuperscript{a} coyohnaquiz pohui xaltepeta
ap\textsuperscript{a}

19. On Sunday the 5\textsuperscript{th} day of September 1621:
Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Coyohnaquiz of Xaltepeta.

22. yp\textsuperscript{a} martes yc 7 ylhu
tl seti\textsuperscript{ebre} 1621 años

22. On Tuesday the 7\textsuperscript{th} day of September 1621:
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual de s. franco 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 peo salgado pohui tepetzinco

The child Elena died. She was the child of Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.

26. ypā martes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mēs 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] mēs 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 cohuanan 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 xaltepean

The young man Matías died. He was the child of Juan Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
33. On Tuesday the 29th [of] September 1621:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Tomás de Aquino of Acxotlan.

36. On Tuesday the 5th day of October 1621:
The child Lucas died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Xaltepetlapan.

1. On Saturday the 9th day of October 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Pasqual de Gante of Atenco.

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. On Sunday the 16th of October 1621:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.

10. On Monday the 17th day of October 1621:
Tomás de Aquino died. He confessed. He belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. On Sunday the 23rd day of October 1621:
Elena [blank space] died. She confessed. She belongs to Tetzcocapan.

19. On Monday the 24th of October 1621:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

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. On Monday the 1st of November 1621:

Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pablo Pérez of Acxotlan.

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. On Friday the 5th day of November 1621:
The child Mateo died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

The young woman Monica died. She was from Atlixco. She was at home. Miguel García of Chiyauhtzinco said so.

The child Antonio died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

Inés Castillanxochitl died. She was very sick. She was in the home of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco.

Juan [blank space]. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Atenco.

5. On Saturday the 20th of November 1621:
martin tepozneoa tlapopolhuillo pohui huexo co totollac

7. ypā martes yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes de noviembre 1621 años
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de zamora pohui huexo co totollac

10. ypā jueves yc 25 de noviembre 1621 años
angellinā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui chiyauhtzinco
domīgo telpochtli micqui chane amaquemecā ychā amoto peo serrano

14. ypā sabo yc 27 ylhuitl de noviembre 1621 años
lurenço de s. juā micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yamic juana castillā xotl pohui ateno

Martin Tepozneoa of Huexotzinco Totollac. He confessed.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel de Zamora of Huexotzinco Totollac.
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.

Lorenzo de San Juan died. His tribute responsibility belongs his spouse to Juana Castillanxochitl of Atenco.
Monica Tezpetlacal. Her spouse was Juan Vazquez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. On Monday the 6th day of December 1621:

Simón de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.

26. On Sunday the 19th day of the month of December 1621:
Juan Jiménez de Huexotzinco Totollac.

Melchora died. She was the child of Diego from Cholula.

The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco Consuello de San Miguel of Huexotzinco Totollac.

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.

The child 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 deciembre 1621 años
pillipe de S. tiago micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ystunic augustina castillā xo
pohui xaltepeltlapā

On Thursday the 30th of December 1621:
Felipe de Santiago died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillanxochitl of Xaltepeltapan.

f. 16v

1. ypā Viernes yc 31 ylhuitl deciembre 1621 años
augustin piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Antonio
pz pohui huexo co totollac
marianna micqui chane s. tiago sallitzintlā
ychā omoto franc de s. Miguel consuello
pohui huexo co totollac

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

The year 1622 – These are the dead:
On Tuesday the 4th day of the month of January 1622: Maria from Cuetlazcohuanapan died at home. A migrant said so.

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

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.

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.
The child Felipe died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

On Tuesday the 11th day of the month of January 1622:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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 Xaltepetlapan.

On Friday the 14th of January 1622:
Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Lucas Pérez of Acxotlan.

On Sunday the 23rd of January 1622:
Melchor Suárez from San Martín
Tlauhtzintecac.
Zacarias de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Baltazar of Almoyahuacan.
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Domingo Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

On Wednesday the 9th day of the month of February 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Gabriel of Cholula.

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. 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. On Monday the 20th day of the month of February 1622:
Juana Cacallo Xochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Simón Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

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.

16. On Wednesday the 23rd day of the month of February 1622:
lurençopiltziñlimicquiypiltziñjuābap\textsuperscript{la}

corçopohuiacxotlā

pa\textsuperscript{o}piltziñlimicquiypiltziñpe\textsuperscript{o}xuarez

pohui xaltepetlapā

The child Lorenzo died. He was the child of Juan Bautista Corzo of Acxotlan.

The child Pablo died. He was the child of Pedro Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

19. ypāViernesyc25ylhuitl[y]n mesde

hebre1622años

maría castillāXochitlmicquiytechca

tlacallaquillīycocalpolhuihquepohui

atencoynamiccateamelchiormaldonado

19. On Friday the 25\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of February 1622:

Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Melchor Maldonado.

23. ypāmiércocesy3ylhuitl[y]n mesde

março1622años

çacariasderoçasmicquiytechca

tlapopolhuillīynamicañacalloyochitl

pohui tīaquiztenco

23. On Wednesday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} day of the month of March 1622:

Zacarias de Rosas died. He confessed. His wife was Ana Cacalloxochitl of Tianquiztenco.

hellena piltziñlimicquiypiltziñjuā

calliostopohuihuexoc\textsuperscript{o}tecpā

sebastiana piltziñlimicquiypiltziñ

Balthasar de s. tiago acxotlā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Callisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Baltazar de Santiago [of] Acxotlan.
On Thursday the 4th of March 1622:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Domingo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.

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.
The child Ana died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Acxotlan.

On Tuesday the 8th day of March 1622:
Maria Castillanxochitl of Atenco died. She confessed.
39. ypā miercoles yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1622 año
Gabriel Piltzintli Micqui ypiltzin Estavā
Coto Pohui Huexoco Tecpan

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] mes de março 1622 año
Diego Ceynos Micqui ytechca Tlacallaquilli
Ycnochoquichtli Pohui Huexoco Totollac

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° yc 12 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1622 año amoto
Hellen Castillā Xochitl Micqui Ytechca
Tlacallaquilli Ynamic Di° Juā Pohui Atenco

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

On Wednesday the 16th of March 1622:
Pasqual Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. On Saturday the 19th of March 1622:
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan of Tlanicontlan.

16. On Sunday the 20th of March 1622:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

18. On Monday the 21st day of the month of March 1622:
Ana from Ocellotepec died. She died at home. Juan Méndez from over there said so.

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Felipe from Tlaxcallan.

24. On Saturday the 26th day of the month of [March] 1622:

Juan Maldonado died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Cacalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

27. On Saturday the 16th day of April 1622:

[blank space]. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

29. On Wednesday the 20th of April 1622:

The child Pablo died. He was the child of Andrés Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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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. On Friday the 22nd day of April 1622:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Sebastián Pérez of Huexotzinco.

35. On Saturday the 23rd day of April 1622:
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Agustín Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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.

1. On Saturday the 30th day of April 1622:
Raphael Méndez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
4. On Sunday the 1st of May 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

6. On Wednesday the 4th of May 1622:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Antonio Lazaro of Huexotzinco.

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 huexotollac ynamic
hellena castillā xo

17. On Monday the 16\textsuperscript{th} day of May 1622:

Geronimo Quijada died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochtl.\textsuperscript{101}

20. ypā jueves yc 20 de mayo 1622 año

anmalo de s. tama\textsuperscript{a} micqui ye
ocalpolhuihque pohui almoynahuacā

20. On Thursday the 20\textsuperscript{th} of May 1622:

Anmalo de Santa Maria of Almoynahuacan died. The barrio gathered for him.

22. ypā Viernes yc 26 de mayo 1622 año

balthasar çeynos miqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli [blank space]
aña castilla xo\textsuperscript{d} micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui chiyauhtzinco ynamic
franco bātha
mathias de las te micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui almoynahuacā ynamic
ma\textsuperscript{a} castillā xo\textsuperscript{d}

22. On Friday the 26\textsuperscript{th} of May 1622:

Baltazar Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to [blank space]. Ana Castillanxochtl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Chiyauhtzinco. Her spouse was Francisco Banta Matías de Laste died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoynahuacan. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochtl.

\textsuperscript{101} Geronimo Quijada’s daughter died on April 27\textsuperscript{th}. 
28. ypā Viernes yc 3 de junio 1622 año
antonio pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ynes castillā xo
pasquala piltzintli micqui ypiltzin migl 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° piltzintli micq 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.
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.

13. On Friday the 24th of June 1622:
ma Jacob micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli Maria Jacob died. Her tribute
pohui tiāquizteco ynamic Thomas tlilli pohui tlilli23 responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.
thomas de lona micqui ytechca Her spouse was Tomás the Black.
 tlacallaquilli pohui acxotlā yc Tomás de Luna died. His tribute
ocalpolhuïque responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. The
barrio gathered for him.

18. ypā lunes yc 27 de junio 1622 año –
micque 18. Died on Monday the 27th of June
franca piltzintli micqui ypilzin mathias de The child Francisca died. She was the
roças pohui acxotlā child of Matías de Rosas of Acxotlan.
magna ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin peo gara The young woman Magdalena died. She
pohui xaltepetlapā was the child of Pedro García of
juā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui Xaltepétlapan.
atenco ynamic mariana Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility
belongs to Atenco. His spouse was
Maria.

22. ypā martes yc 28 de junio 1622 años – 22. On Tuesday the 28th day of June
magna piltzintli micqui ypiltzin [blank space] pohui atzōpā 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. On Saturday the 30th of June 1622:
Barbara Castillanxochitl from Tepanco died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Quapilco.

27. On Monday the 4th of July 1622:
Veronica Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlan. 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. On Wednesday the 5th of July 1622:
Juan Valencia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco. His spouse was Maria Salome.

35. On Wednesday the 13th of July 1622:

102 Andrés Suárez’s wife died on February 11th, 1620.
Magdalena de Santa María died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. Her spouse was Tomás Pérez.

38. María Cozcaniyauh died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Marcos of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Pasqual Vartes died, together with his spouse. Their tribute responsibility belongs to [left blank].

Lucas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
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. On Friday the 26th of August 1622:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Diego Rosas.

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. On Friday the 2nd of September 1622:
The child Elena died. She was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.
The child Sebastián died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl of Tepetzinco. 

The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan de San Miguel of Atenco. 

21. On Sunday the 4th day of September 1622: 

The young man Baltazar died at home. Bartolomé Ocellotl of Atenco said so. 

The child Clara died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Ocotepec. 

24. On Tuesday the 6th of September 1622: 

Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan. 

The child Ana died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Tetzcocapan. 

27. On Thursday the 8th of September 1622:
Melchor Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. His spouse was Maria Salome.

The child Antonio died. He was the child of Juan Crucel of Tetzocapan.

The child Diego died. He was the child of Bernardino Cornejo of Totollac.

32. On Saturday the 10th of September 1622:

The child Juan died. He was the child of Francisco Martín of Tlamacazcapan.

34. On Wednesday the 14th of September 1622:

The child Miguel died. He was the child of Joseph Tizanoyotl of Tepetzinco.  

The child Diego. He was the child of Felipe de Santiago of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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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 días del mes septiembre de mill y seis cientos y veinte y dos años nuestros (nuestro) prerriente Juan Marquez Maldonado, el cualificador de este oficio y nuestro provisor a esta provincia de este evangelio y vistas este libro en que sea sientan los difuntos [y al lado aquí] se tenía el cuidado que tiene ordenado la provisión y mando al [aqui?] se tuviese el mismo para que el viese el de cuidado hecho y lo firmó su [aqui?] se tuviese el mismo día mes y año fray Juan Marquez Maldonado príncipe antemini

françois Delona
secretario

14. yapa sabato 18 ylhuítl de setiembre 1622 año amo Tequaltae
françois pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetzocapa-yanmic maia Jacob

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. On Saturday the 18th day of September 1622:
Francisco Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzeocapan.
His spouse was Maria Jacob.
The child Sebastiana died. She was the child of Pasqual García of Coyotzinco.

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. On Friday the 23rd of September 1622:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Juan de la Cruz of Tianquiztenco.

25. On Sunday the 25th of September 1622:

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104 This is the third child Joseph Tizanoyotl has lost in a year.
Magdalena Ceynos died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.
Her spouse was Diego Pérez.

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.

The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan.

The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan.
37. On Thursday the 7th of October 1622:

Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez.105

On Friday the 8th day of October 1622:
The child Maria died. She was the child of Matías de Olarte of Almoyahuacan.

On Saturday the 9th day of October 1622:
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Diego Varios of Coyotzinco.

On Tuesday the 1st of November 1622:

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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 Castillánxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Coyotzinco. Her spouse was Diego de Varios.106

8. On Thursday the 10th day of November 1622:

The child Nicolas died. He was the child of Diego Hernández of Tepetzinco.

8. ypā jueves yc 10 ylhuītl noviēbre 1622

10. On Friday the 11th day of November 1622:

Matías, the child was the son of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

10. ypā Viernes yc 11 ylhuītl de noviēbre 1622 año

12. On Saturday the 6th of November 1622:

The child Marcos. He was the child of Gaspar Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

12. ypā sabō yc 6 de noviēbre 1622 año

14. On Sunday the 13th of November 1622:

14. ypā domigo yc 13 de noviēbre 1622 año

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.
maá piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dió 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.

maá piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domígo pz pohui tiáquiztēco  

The child Maria died. She was the child of Domingo Pérez of Tianquiztencó.

franca piltzintli ypiltzin juá Pasqual pohui totollac  

The child Francsca. She was the child of Pasqual of Totollac.

19. ypā lunes yc 14 de noviembre 1622 año  

19. On Monday the 14th of November 1622:

gabriel de la cruz micqui ytechca tlcallaquilli pohui tiáquiztenco ynamic  

Gabriel de la Cruz died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztencó.

maá castillá Xochítl dió piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel pz pohui tlanicōtlā  

His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl. The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

23. ypā martes yc 15 de noviembre 1622 año  

23. On Tuesday the 15th of November 1622:

juá barnabe micqui chane piaztlā s. tamaa asumpo ynamic maria ychaā omoto juá bapta  

Juan Bernabé from Piaztlan Santa Maria Asumpcion died at home. His spouse was Maria. Juan Bautista said so.
26. ypā miercoles yc 16 de noviembre 1622 año
hellena castillā xoł 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 noviembre 1622 año
maria castillā xoł micqui ytechca tlaclallaquilli 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 noviembre 1622 año
maš piltzintli micqui ypiltzin di° 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 noviembre 1622 año
ana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin migł xuarez pohui huexoö 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 y c 26 de noviembre 1622 año
ma² jallome micquī ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexocotollac ynamic pa⁰ ximenez
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was Pablo Jiménez.

39. ypā sab⁰ y c 27 de noviembre 1622 año
franca ychpochtli micquī ypiltzin juā franca pohui chane cuetlaxcohuapā
joseph piltzintli micquī ypiltzin di⁰ pz
pohui almoyahuacā
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 y c 1 diciembre 1622 año
ma⁰ piltzintli micquī ypiltzin Augustin de roças pohui ocotepec
The child Maria died. She was the child of Agustín Rosas of Ocotepec.

44. ypā lunes y c 5 yhuictl ymes diciembre 1622 año
44. On Monday the 5th day of the month of December 1622:
The child Pasquala died. She was the child of Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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.

On Tuesday the 13th of December 1622: Esteban Marquina died. He belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Juana Xillotl.

On Wednesday the 14th of December 1622: The child Antonia died. She was the child of Miguel Mocario of Tlatenco.
joseph 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 ylhiitl deçiēbre 1622 año
diō piltzintli micqui ypiltzin peo tetores pohui almoyahuacā ysabel yt diō 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. ypa sabo yc 31 deciēbre 1622 año
joseph gatena micqui pohui sac luis coyotzinco ynnamic hellena castillā xoł

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 – omomiquilliqūe
18 ypā lunes yc 2 y[n] mes de henero 1623 año
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diō de lona pohui huexo ol 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.
The child Antonia died. She was the child of Mateo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.

21. On Sunday the 8\textsuperscript{th} day of January 1623:

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.

24. On Monday the 9\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of January 1623:

The child Mariana died. She was the child of Matías Pardo of Huexotzinco Totollac.

27. On Monday the 6\textsuperscript{th} 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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de hebrero 1623 año
pa'o aogenio micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui huexo co totollac
aña p p piltzintli micqui yconeuh
Augustina castillā xoël pohui xaltepetlapā
pasqualla micqui ypiltzin joseph
quauhtecatl pohui ocotepec
sebastiana ypiltzin di'o varde 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 Xaltepetañan.
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'o 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 domigo hernądez pohui
tlatenco
38. On Wednesday the 15th of February 1623:
Diego died. He was the child of Domingo Hernández of Tlatenco.
mig̣ telpochtli ypiltzin joseph barnatez
pohui huexo co tecpā

The young man Miguel. He was the child of Joseph Varantez of Huexotzinco.

Tecpan.

f. 21r

1. de março 1623 aoño

1. In March 1623:

2. ypā jueves yc 2 ylhuítl mani me[t]ztli
de março 1623 año miqui
ana cacalo Xochitl miqui ytechca
tlacallaquillī 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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de março
1623 año
mathias de lona micqui ytechca
tlacallaquillī pohui huexo co totollac ynamic
angellīnā 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 ylhuítl ymes de
março 1623 años

8. On Wednesday the 8th day of the month of March 1623:
10. ypā jueves yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1623 año
augustina piltzintli micqui ynā maä castillā xoilt pohui tlanicōtlā
The child Agustina died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan.

12. ypā sabō yc 11 de março 1623 año
magna castillā xoōl micqui pohui huexōco totllac ynamic juā bapō coyolchiuhqui
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 migl pohui tlamacazcapā
The child Mariana died. She was the child of Luis Miguel of Tlamacazcapan.

17. ypā juevesmiercoles yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de março 1623 años
17. On Wednesday the 22nd day of the month of March 1623:

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107 Coyoll – jingle bells, castanets, therefore coyol-chiuquhi is a bell maker.
Pedro de Atenco murió. Era hijo de Juan Bautista de Atenco.

Juana [blank space] Piltzin, hija de Marta García de Xaltepetlapán, murió el 25 de marzo de 1623.

Melchor, del lugar de Huaxacac, murió el 26 de marzo de 1623. Estaba en su casa. Juan Torres lo declaró.

maa 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
maa axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli
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
maa 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:
Matías de Gante died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

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].

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. On Wednesday the 3rd day of the month of May 1623:
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 died. He was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.

8. On Thursday the 9th day of the month of May 1623:

Maria died. She was the child Miguel Mocallio of Tlatenco.

10. On Thursday the 16th day of the month of May 1623:

Juana de Oralte died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Dellipas of Atzonpa.

13. On Friday the 24th of May 1623:

There does appear to be an s or something similar in this name, but it seems likely to be a scribal error.
Matías, the child of Felipe de Santiago [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.

15. On Thursday the 30th of May 1623:
Maria [blank space] died. She was the child of Miguel Suárez [of] Tianquiztenco.

17. On Sunday the 1st of June 1623:
Ana died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. 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' de mahtin pohui coyotzinco

Their father was Miguel de Martín of Coyotzinco.

maria —

Maria —

26. ypā martes yc 13 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años

Pasqual de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

pasqual deroças micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic juana castilla xo'll
pohui juexotzinco totollac

29. ypā Viernes yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años

Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

juā pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic
juana castitla xo'll pohui almoyahuaca
ytestico gaspar pz

32. ypā jueves yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de junio 1623 años

Agustino, he was the child of Mateo Suárez of Tetzcocapan.

augustino ypiltzin matheo xuarez pohui
tezcocapā
[blank space] ypiltzin mathias de roças
pohui tlanicotla

[blank space]. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlanicotlan.
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. On Friday the 30th day of the month of June 1623:

Mariana died. Her spouse was Pablo Hernández from Tlalmanalco.

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. On Wednesday the 19th day of the month of July 1623:

Francisca, the child of Bernardo Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
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. On Thursday the 27th day of the month of July 1623:
Matías, the child of Miguel de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. On Sunday the 30th day of the month of July 1623:

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26 A common spelling of “señora” in Nahuatl.
ma 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 dom\(\text{g}^{\prime}\)o yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de Agosto 1623 años aña micqui ypiltzin dō diego dequevara pohui xaltepetlapa

22. On Sunday the 6\(^{th}\) 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 mic\(\text{c}^{\prime}\) ypiltzin Pasqual mocēcauh pohui almoyahuacā mig\(^{l}\) micqui ypiltzin juā pab\(^{\text{ta}}\) pohui cencalacohuaya

24. On Tuesday the 8\(^{th}\) 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 días de 1623 a\(^{\circ}\) estando nus pe fr domingo de portu nus provy\(^{a}\) desta provy\(^{a}\) del es\(^{\text{to}}\) evang\(^{\circ}\) visitando este conv\(^{\text{to}}\) 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 18\(^{th}\) 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. f. 22v</td>
<td>On Friday the 18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; day of the month of August 1623:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juana died. She was the child of Diego Calisto of Chiyahuitzinco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f. 22v</td>
<td>On Tuesday the 22&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; day of the month of August 1623:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matías de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. f. 22v</td>
<td>On Wednesday the 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; day of the month of August 1623:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[blank space] died. He was the child of Diego de Alana of Huexotzinco Totollac.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. ypā domingo yc 27 ylhuítl y[n] mes de agosto 1623 años
luyz de zamora micq ytechca tlacalaquili ynamic aña yzta Xochitl pohui huexóco
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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de setiembre 1623 años
bartolome micqui ypiltzin juā sanchez pohui tlamacazcapa
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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de octubre 1623 aòs
peò de galdo micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ynes castillà xoíl pohui san
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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de octobre 1623 aòs
clara castillà xoíl micqui ynamic Antonio pz pohui huexóco 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. On Monday the 19th day of the month of October 1623:
Juan, from Tlaxcallan Tlatlapancan, died. His spouse was Maria. Witness: Barbara Tepen of Tianquiztenco. The child Francisca died. She was the child of Pedro Suárez of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. 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.

29. ypā Viernes yc 18 ylhuitl de noviembre 1623 año
françois neçahual micqui ycnohoquichtli
ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexco 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] mēs de
noviembre 1623 año micqui
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin gaspar pz
pohui s. tamā salminilolo
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 sabo yc 25 de noviembre 1623 año
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin lucas pz
pohui huexco tecpā
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin francisco 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 domingo yc 26 de noviembre 1623 año
maa axochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic die 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 huexo⁴⁰ toollac

3. ypā martes yc 28 de noviēbre 1623 año
migl piltzintli micqui ypiltzin domǐgo herernādez pohui tlatenco
juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā de olondo pohui atenco

8. ypā Viernes yc 1 ylhuitl y[n] mes deciēbre 1623 año
[blank space] ypiltzin Pasqual douilla mic poūi tohcuillā

10. ypā domǐgo yc 3 ylhuitl deciēbre 1623 año

f. 23r
Antonio died. He was the child of Esteban de Herrera of Atencio.
The child Juan died. He was the child of Miguel de Zamora [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.

3. On Tuesday the 28th of November 1623:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Domingo Hernández of Tlatencio.
The child Juan died. He was the child of Esteban de Orlando of Atencio.

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. On Sunday the 3rd day of December 1623:
Luis Maldonado died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. His spouse was Maria Castillaxochitl.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Matías de San Martín of Almoyahuacan.

On Saturday the 16th of December 1623:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Almoyahuacan.

On Tuesday the 19th of December 1623:
The child Petronilla died. She was the child of Jacob Pérez of Acxotlan.

The year 1624:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Miguel de Sevilla of Cecallacohuayan.

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.
The child Melchor died. He was the child of Francisco Jiménez of Huexotzinco.

The child Ana died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

The child Lucas died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Antonio, the African, died. He was the one who was hanged. [i.e. executed as a criminal.]

On Tuesday the 2nd day of the month of January 1624:

The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Diego. They were from Ocohuitocco.

On Wednesday the 3rd day of January 1624:

The child Micaela died. She was the child of Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
On Thursday the 4th day of January 1624:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Miguel de Aquino of Acxotlan.

On Friday the 5th day of the month of January 1624:
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

On Saturday the 6th of January 1624:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Tepeuh of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

On Sunday the 7th of January 1624:
The child Melchora died. She was the child of Francisco Jiménez of Acxotlan.

On Wednesday the 10th day of January 1624:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Matias died. He was the child of Juan Bautista [of] Huexotzinco Totollac.

1. On Friday the 12th of January 1624:
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Miguel of Atenco.

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. 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
diö piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mín chane calpā
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 tlaclallaquilli yecnōcihuatl pohui acxotlā
Elena Quetzaltzahua died. Her tribute responsibility belongs Acxotlan. She was a widow.

16. ypā sabö yc 27 de henero 1624 año
maö jallome micqui chane tepeyacac ynamic gaspar lupez chaneque tepeyacac mathias pz micqui chane tlaxcallā ychā
Maria Salome from Tepeyacac died. Her spouse was Gaspar Lopez. They were from Tepeyacac.

anoto Gabriel de albarado Español
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:
The child Gabriel died. His mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

The child Juan died. His mother was Maria of Atzonpan.

24. On Saturday the 3rd day of February 1624:
Francisco de Aquino died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

27. On Tuesday the 6th day of February 1624:
Diego Pérez Mizquipolcatl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepétlan.

30. On Tuesday the 13th of February 1624:
Sebastián Ceynos died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. The barrio gathered for him.
ysabel amaxoch micqui ytechca Isabel Amaxochtîl died. Her tribute
tlacallaquilli ypânamic diego molales responsibility belongs to her spouse
pohui atenco Diego Morales of Atenco.

35. ypā miercoles yc 26 de hebrero 1624 año 35. On Wednesday the 26th of February 1624:
franca castillă Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl The widow Francisca Castillanxochitl
ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui hui huexocototollac died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to
huexotzinco Totollac.

38. ypā jueves yc 7 de marzo 1624 año 38. On Thursday the 7th of March 1624:
hellena castilla xoîl micqui ytechca The widow Elena Castillanxochitl died.
tlacallaquilli ycnoçihuatl ynamic catea Her tribute responsibility belongs to
Pasqual quezpal pohui huexocototollac Huexotzinco Totollac. Her spouse was
the late Pasqual Quezpal.

41. ypā mart sabôt yc 9 de marzo 1624 año 41. On Saturday the 9th of March 1624:
hellena tlacuilolyolteo miccî ytechca Elena Tlacuilolyolte died. Her tribute
tlacallaquilli ynamic catea Estevâ responsibility belongs to her spouse the
quetzalmacoc pohui xaltepetlapă late Esteban Quetzalmacoc of
Xaltepetlapan.
leonardo piltzintli mic ñ ypiltzin juã The child Leonardo died. He was the
deciudad pohui almoyahuacã child of Juan de Ciudad of
        Almoyahuacan.

45. ypã martes yc [illegible] de março 1624 año
nicolas yaoteuh miqui tlapopolhuilloc Nicolas Yaoteuh of Tocuillan died. He
pohui thocuillã ynama mañ castillã xoñ confessed. His spouse was Maria
f. 24r Castillanxochitl.

48. ypã domigo yc 24 de março 1624 año The child Juan died. He was the child of
juã piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juã pz pohui Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
huexo co totollac

1. ypã lunes yc 25 de março 1624 año The child Joseph died. He was the child of
jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juã pz Juan Pérez of Tlamacacapan.
tlamacazcapã pohui

3. ypã miercoles yc 27 de março 1624 año 3. On Wednesday the 27th of March
1624:
Andrés Gabriel micaic chollollā
Cholula Huelloncan of Santiago
Izquitlan. His spouse was Lucía Juana.

6. ypā domīgo yc 7 de abri(sic) 1624 año
The child Pasqual died. He was the child
of Domingo Hernández of
Tlamacazcapan.

8. ypā sab° yc 13 de abril 1624 año
The child Magdalena died. She was the
child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

10. ypā martes yc 30 de abri(sic) 1624 años
The young woman Pasqual Francisca
died. She belongs to Tlanicontlan. Her
father was Matías Contielez.

12. ypā sab° yc 4 de mayo 1624 años
The child Magdalena died. She was the
child of Francisco de Zamora of
Acoxotlan.
14. ypā domigo yc 5 de mayo 1624 1624 años pasqual mcqui ycha[n] manato anto[n] mari[a] amo nica chane 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° menecs 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° micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic merchioz hernatez pohui tlamacazcapa ycha juā moliro Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse 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 The child Miguel died. He was the child of Marcos de Aquino of Atenco.

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29 Tentative translation. Looks like: ycha[n] manato anto[n] maxi[a] amonicachane – from ana, used reflexively – to bring oneself or to come, plus 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 Icpacochtli died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

26. On Saturday the 25th of May 1624:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlán.

28. On Wednesday the 28th of May 1624:
Ana died. Her spouse was Joseph. They were from Sallitzintlan.

30. On Friday the 7th of June 1624:
Elena de la Cruz of Acxotlan died. She confessed.

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. 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. On Thursday the 21st of June 1624:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Rosas of Atenco.

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.

On Friday the 5th day of the month of July 1624:
The child Agustín. He was the child of Bonaventura de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Sunday the 7th day of the month of July 1624:

María died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Lazaro of Tlamacazapan.

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. 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.

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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 agosto 1624 años
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. She confessed. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Acxotlan.

18. ypā miercoles yc 4 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiembre 1624 años
Mariana died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Juan Delo.

22. ypā jueves yc 5 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiembre 1624 años
Francisco Miguel died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.

25. ypā Viernes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de setiembre 1624 a°
25. On Friday the 6th day of the month of September 1624:
simio de aquino micqui ytechca  
Simón de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

tlacalaquilli ynamic juana castilla xo' 
pohui al moyahuaca  
28. On Monday the 9th day of the month of September 1624:

maria ceynos ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic merchior conmez pohui al moyahuaca  
Maria Ceynos, her tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Melchor Gomez of Almoyahuacan.

31. ypā martes yc 2 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octubre 1624 años  
31. On Tuesday the 2nd day of the month of October 1624:

[blank space] piltzinli micqui ypiltzin 
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Matías de Letino of Coyotzinco.

mathias de letino pohui coyotzinco  
33. On Wednesday the 3rd day of the month of October 1624:

aña alpalato micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli ynamic juā de alana pohui huexo'co totollac  
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:
pá³ ceynos micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli

Pablo Ceynos died. His tribute

ynamic maria ceynos pohui cecallacohuaya

responsibility belongs to Maria Ceynos of Cecallacohuayán.

franca micqui amo nica chane ycha miqui
diego alparato

Francisca died. She was not from here.
She died in the home Diego Alparato.

f. 25r

1. ypā martes yc 23 ylhuitl y[n] mes de octobre 1624 años

The child Juana. She was the child of Juan Hernández of Tocuillan.

jusehp piltzintli ypiltzin pe³ valeçia pohui tlanicotla

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

Juan Méndez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Ana Rosas of Tianquiztenco. Witness: Juan de la Cruz.
Juan Bautista Xihuitl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Calalloxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. On Wednesday the 27th of November 1624: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pedro de Cate of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

15. On Thursday the 28th of November 1624: Juana Calalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse is the blind Juan Pérez.
Juan Medina died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was [blank space].

20. On Friday the 29th of November 1624:
Mateo Evangelista died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. The barrio gathered for him.

23. On Saturday the 30th of November 1624:
The widow Maria Salome died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Totollac.

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. 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. 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. On Sunday the 29th day of the month of December 1624:
The child Juan. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

36. On Monday the 30th day of the month of December 1624:
Juan, his mother was Melchora Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.
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.

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.

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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
franço de la pena micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic aña cacalloxochitl
pohui huexoço tecpā

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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de henero 1624 años
matheo garcía micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic aña deocuitla xoṭl
pohui huexoço tecpā
pasqualla piltzintl ypiltzin juā pabta 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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de henero 1624 años
juana ychpohtl ypiltzin juā de luna pohui huexoço 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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años

21. On Sunday the 20th day of the month of January 1625:
juá piltzintli ypiltzin juá pz pohui
tlamacazca

23. ypá 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. ypá miercoles yc 22 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 años
juá piltzintli ypiltzin juá 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. ypá 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. ypá martes yc 28 ylhuitl y[n] mes de henero 1625 anos

30. On Tuesday the 28th day of the month of January 1625:
The child Sebastián. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. 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. 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 domingo yc 18 ylhuitl y[n] mes de hebrero 1625 años (wrong day of the week)
migl piltzintl ypiltzin don diego de quebala pohui xaltepeltapa
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
franco garcia micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic ma Jacob pohui huexotzinco totollac
5. On Tuesday the 4th of March 1625:
Francisco García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Jacob of Huexotzinco Totollac.
gabriel piltzintl ypiltzin juachi hernatez pohui almoxyhuacan
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

The child Nicola. She was the child of Miguel Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

11. ypā domigo yc 16 ylhuitl y[n] mes de marzo 1625 años
maria pilzintl ypiltzin mathias de roças
çipita pohui acxotla

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 veinte y seis³¹ visitando
este convro de uexocingo viste libro con que se ponen por memoria los difuntos y
salle que ay cuidado en esrivirles, el qual encargo que se contiue
fray Franco Rodriguez
comissor visitor

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.

f. 26v

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.
1. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuitl y[n] mes de marzo 1625 anos
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pab[ta] pohui tlamacascapa
The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Tlamacazcapan.

3. ypā lunes yc 24 ylhuitl y[n] mes de marzo 1625 anos
augustina ychpohtl micqui ycha manato atonmari
The young woman Agustina died at home. Anton Maria said so.

5. ypā miercoles yc 26 ylhuitl y[n] mes de marzo 1625 anos
diego piltzintli ypiltzin yaspar decaničal pohui Almoyahuacan
The child Diego. He was the child of Gaspar de Canical of Almoyahuacan.

7. ypā domigo yc 30 ylhuitl y[n] mes de marzo 1625 aos
juana piltzintli mićqui ypiltzin pa de roças pohui huexo[co] tecpa
The child Juana died. She was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
9. On Thursday the [10th] of April 1625:

The child Mariana died. She was the child of Miguel Hernández of Tlamacazapan.

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 Tetzocapan.

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. Died on Sunday the 27th day of the month of April 1625:

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32 Wrong day of the week unless the scribe meant the 10th.
33 A Nahuatl phonetic rendition of “juez.”
The young man Juan Martín. He was not from here. He was at home. Diego Macehui said so.

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. On Wednesday the 30th day of the month of April 1625:

The child Nicolas. He was the child of Gabriel Soto of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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.

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$^{34}$ *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 pa 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 Calalloxochitl of San Luis Coyotzinco. – Witness: Juan Pérez Malves.

28. ypā miercoles yc 14 ylhuītl y[n] mes de
mayo 1625 anos
aña [blank space] micqui
tlapopolihiiloqui pohui atzopâ 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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de
mayo 1625 anos micq̃ quimotoquili
ytotlaço mahuiz tatzin fray alosa
bartholome de valeciá 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 ylhuītl y[n] mes de
mayo 1625 anos micqui pilztintl
nicolas pilztintl 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.
5. 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 [?]. She was not married.

Felipe, the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.

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.

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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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.
hellen 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 momiquiquinolquili yn totatzin fry po valberban pohuiya huexotzinco

27. Died on Tuesday the 10th day of the month of June 1625:

He was buried by the father fray Pedro Valvervan of Huexotzinco.

Rapahel tecate - ytechcatca tlacalaquili ynamic ma ca calo xochitli

Raphael de Cate. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Cacalloxochitl.

30. ypā lunes yc 16 yluillli y[n] mes de junio 1625 año miqui piltzintli ynes yta diego pz yna maria 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 Ocotepete. She was buried by the father fray Martin 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:
Sebastiana. Her father was Francisco de Silva. Her mother was Catalina Francisca of Atenco. She was buried by fray Martín de Aguirre.

36. On Thursday the 19th day of the month of June 1625, these children died:

Agustín. His father was Francisco Juárez. His mother was María 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.

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 juan de guzman
ynatzin doña matalena de arerazco
quinotoquili fr Gabriel de meneches

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 ye 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 saba ye 28 ylhuitli y[n] mes de junio 1625 años micqui
micaella piltzintli yta miguel catena yna maría castilla xochitl 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 ye 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]. 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 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 ylhuitl y[n] mes de julios 1625 años micqui piltzintl juan piltzintli yta diego Calisto yna 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 de 1625 as juana piltzintli yta Pablo balencia yna 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. Died on Saturday the 5\textsuperscript{th} 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. Died on Tuesday the 8\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of July 1625:

The child was buried by our father fray Sebastián Velazquez.

29. Died on Saturday the 12\textsuperscript{th} 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.
nicholas yta diº juarez pohui huexotzinco tecpã

Nicolas. His father was Diego Juárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

35. ypã miercoles yc 16 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años omo miquili

35. Died on Wednesday the 16th day of the month of July 1625:

andres pz quitlapopolhuí juez – andre pz tlatlapopolhuí ynamic maria de çuida37 yn testigo don juº de çiudad yn totatzin quimotougli fr marti de aquire huexotzinco pohuiya

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. ypã mardes yc 22 ylhuitli y[n] mes de julios 1625 años [peº] decan te tetzcoapa miqui – omic peº de cate ynamic maria salome auh yn testigo Pablo simenez chane testzocapa quimotoquili fr matheº lovez

1. Died on Tuesday the 22nd day of the month of July 1625:

Pedro de Cate [of] Tetzocapan died. – Pedro de Cate died. His spouse was Maria Salome and the witness was Pablo Jiménez from Tetzocapan. He was buried by fray Mateo Lopez.

37 Likely a scribal error, read çiudad.
The child Diego died. His father was Simón de Aquino. His mother was Petronilla of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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 Valverdia.

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. Died on Tuesday the 29th day of the month of July 1625:
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. 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.
The child Maria. Her father was Juan Bautista. Her mother was Maria Salome of Atenco.

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].

The child Maria. Her father was Sebastián Ceynos. Her mother was Elena of Tepetzinco.
34. ypā Viernes yc 15 ylhuītl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micquī quimotoquili yn totatzin fr Nicolas de orive francisco delliberra tlatlapolhuilili pohui huexotzinco totollac maria sueytlacatl ycha manato pilipe de leon chane huexyacac

38. ypan domigo yc 17 ylhuītl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micquī piltzintli quimotoquili fr Sebastian berrasquez juana piltzintl yta melchor pz pohui tianquizteco

41. ypā mardes yc 19 ylhuītl y[n] mes de agusto 1625 años micquī quimotoquili fr sebastia berlasquez pohui huexotzinco totollac xaltapetlapa ysabel yzqui xochitli tlatalpochuiliili

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.

38. On Sunday the 17th day of the month of August 1625 this child died and was buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez.

41. On Tuesday the 19th day of the month of August 1625 she died and was buried by fray Sebastián Velazquez of Xaltepétlan.

Francisco de Liberra of Huexotzinco. Totollac. He confessed.

Felipe de Leon, from Huexyacac was the one who came here [to bring the news].

Maria, the old person. She was at home.

The child Juana. Her father was Melchor Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

Isabel Izquichitl. She confessed.
45. ypan lunes yc 26 ylhuitli y[n] mes de agosto 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 agosto 1625 anos [mic]que ome pipiltzintzintin fr xpohual vertran joseph piltzintli yta franco garcia yna marí castila Xochitl pohui tlanicotla [blank space] – yta juº xojuarez yna maría luvespo

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 Castillachitl of Tlanicontlan. [blank space]. His father was Juan Suárez. His mother was Maria Lopez.

5. ypâ 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 tlatlapolhuilli

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. ypā saba⁰ yc 20 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiembre 1625 años micqui ju⁰ 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. ypā domigo yc 21 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiembre 1625 anos micque ome pipiltzintzintin fr xpohual bertran nicolas – yta sebastian simenez

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 saba⁰ yc 27 ylhuitli y[n] mes septiembre 1625 años miqui piltzintli quamotoquili fr Nicolas de ove ana piltzintli – yta juⁿ 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. 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 Xaltepetzalan.

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 Xaltepetzalan.

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.
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. Died on Saturday the 11th day of the month of October 1625:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

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.

Juan Bautista and Ana Cauaneya’s first daughter died on September 27th, 1625.
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. 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. 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 ylhuíl y[n] mes de octubre 1625 años micqui
Marcos. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh of Xaltepeltlapā.

mathiana piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui huexo<sup>co</sup> tecpā
The child Mariana died. Her father was Mathias Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. ypā domingo yc 2 noviembre 1625 años micqui
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Matías de Olarte. Her mother was Angelina of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

12. ypā lunes yc 3 ylhuíl noviembre 1625 años micqui
Luisa Castillā xo<sup>ill</sup> micquic tlapopoluiloc
Luisa Castillanxochitl died. She confessed. She was buried by our father fray Cristóbal of Tetzcocapan.

15. ypā martes yc 4 ylhuíl noviembre 1625 años micqui
Marcos. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh of Xaltepeltlapā.

Mathianam piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui huexo<sup>co</sup> tecpā
The child Mariana died. Her father was Mathias Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. Died on Sunday the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1625:
sebastiona piltzintli micqui yta mathias deolarte ynamic agellinā pohui huexo<sup>co</sup> tecpā ange
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Matías de Olarte. Her mother was Angelina of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

12. Died on Monday the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of November 1625:
luisa castillā xo<sup>ill</sup> micquic tlapopoluiloc quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpoul pohui tetzcocapā
Luisa Castillanxochitl died. She confessed. She was buried by our father fray Cristóbal of Tetzcocapan.

15. Died on Tuesday the 4<sup>th</sup> day of November 1625:
Juan Tocihuitl died. His wife was Petronilla of Almoyahuacan. He was buried by our father fray Cristóbal.

18. Died on Friday the 7th day of November 1625:
The child Sebastiana died. Her father was Melchor de San Tiago of Tianquiztenco.

20. Died on Sunday the 9th of November 1625:
The child Lorenzo. He was the child of Bernardo Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.

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.
The child Mariana died. Her father was Matías Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.\textsuperscript{111}

29. Died on Thursday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of November 1625:

Maria Lopez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Juan Marcos.\textsuperscript{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.

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.

\textsuperscript{111} Matías Pérez’s first daughter of the same name died on the 28\textsuperscript{th} of October 1625.

\textsuperscript{112} Juan Marcos died on October 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1625.
1. ypā jueves yc 20 ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviembre 1625 años
magthallena ychpochtli micqui yta sebastiā
simō ynā mariana pohui huexo co tecpā – quimotoquilli fray nicolas

4. ypā Viernes yc 21 ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviembre 1625 años
maria tlapallizqui Xochitl miqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic lurenço decardo pohui chiyauhtzinco

7. ypā sabō yc 22 ylhuītl y[n] mes de noviembre 1625 años
lurenço piltzin micqui quihualhuicaque tle castillā ychā juā marquez

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. 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. 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
Rodriguez pohui almoyahuacā
quimotoquilli totatzin fray xpōual
The child [blank space] died. His mother
was Ana Rodriguez of Al moyahuacan.
He was buried by our father fray
Cristóbal.

11. ypā martes yc 25 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de
noviembre 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] mēs de
noviembre 1625 años
hellena piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli
totatzin fray xpōual 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
Acoxotlan.

17. ypā lunes yc 1 deciēbre 1625 años
17. On Monday the 1st of December
1625:
Pablo de Luna died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Magdalena Angenio of Acxotlan. He was buried by fray Martín.

The child Melchora died. Her father was Pedro Matías of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

She was buried by fray Martín.

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. On Thursday the 4th day of December 1625:

Justina Xochitlamallin, the blind. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Acxotlan. She was buried by our father fray Martín.

26. On Sunday the 7th day of December 1625:
melchiora piltzintli micqui yxhuuih
sebastiā simō pohui huexocō 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 ye 10 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años
sebastiā de la lohua micqui quimotoquilli fray Gabriel ynamic mari
gabriel asorio micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
quimotoquilli fray Gabriel ynamic francoa
castillā xoč pohui huexocō 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.

33. ypā sabo ye 13 ylhuitl y[n] mēs deciēbre 1625 años
mariana micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli
quimotoquilli totlaço tatzin fray Gabriel ynymamic 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. 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] Morina n. 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 Quauhnopolitlan.

1. On Tuesday the 23rd day of the month of December 1625:
[o]nio piltzintli micqui quimotoquilli totlaço mahuitatzin fray sebastiā 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 mahuis tatzin fray nicolas deoriquen ytatzin dō diego dequepala pohui xaltepetlapa ysabel castilla xoñ micqui tlapopolhuilloc ycnocihuatl pohui tlanicōtlā 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 domīgo yc 28 ylhuitl deciēbre 1625 años

9. On Sunday the 28th day of December 1625:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her
tribute responsibility belongs to
Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Lorenzo
de Luna. She was buried by fray
Cristóbal.

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.

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

The year 1626
20. ypā microles yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mes 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 sabº yc 10 de henero 1626 años
[blank space] miqui piltzintli yta fran co
[blank space] pohui huexo co tecpā
quimotoquilli totoaço tatzin fray xpuual

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] mes de henero 1626 años
antonio telpochtli micqui ynā martha
[blank space] pohui acxotlā quimotoquilli
totlaço tatzin fray xpuual

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.
The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Jiménez of Huexotzinco Totollac. She was buried by our precious father fray Mateo.

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.

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.

On Thursday the 29th day of January 1626: 

The child [blank space] died. His father was Pedro Lopez of Tlamacazcapan.
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. On Friday the 30th of January 1626:
The child Ana died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.

6. On Sunday the 1st day of the month of February 1626:
The child Mathiana died. Her mother was Marta of Acxotlan.

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.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{113} Marta’s son and daughter die in the same week.
11. ypā lunes yc 9 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de hebrero 1626 años
mathias de luna micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui huexotli tecpā ynamic hellena castillā xo
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 barme ytah andres teuhtli pohui acxotlá ynamic hellena
Bartolomé. His father was Andrés Teuh[c]tl of Acxotlán. His wife was Elena.

16. ypā Viernes yc 14 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de hebre 1626 años
ma⁵ micqui piltzintli yta pa⁰ de. S. Miguel pohui atēco ynā barbora
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
11. On Monday the 9th day of the month of February 1626:
14. On Tuesday the 10th of February 1626:
16. On Friday the 14th day of the month of February 1626:
18. On Monday the 17th of February 1626:
Juan Lazaro died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlamacazcapan. His spouse was Magdalena Rodríguez.

On Wednesday the 18th of February 1626:
Luis from Cholula died. He was at home. The late Gabriel Osorio of Huexozinco said so.

On Tuesday the 24th of February 1626:
The child [blank space] died. His father was Melchor de la Cruz of Atenco.

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
maática Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolhuihque pohui
huexocotollac

28. On Monday the 2\textsuperscript{nd} 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 huexocotollac
diego piltzintli micqui yta francisco pz pohui
atzōpā

31. On Tuesday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} 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 5\textsuperscript{th} of March 1626:
The child Isabel died. His father was
Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.

fr Lzº de baldiuia

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

f. 31v

1. ypā Viernes yc 6 ylhuitl y[n] mes de
março 1626 años

1. On Friday the 6\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of
March 1626:
michaela micqui ynatzin Augustina castillā xōtl pohui thocuilla
juseph piltzinltli micqui ynā martha castillā xōtl pohui acxotłā
maa ynes yta Miguel ortona pohui acxotłā

Micaela died. Her mother was Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
The child Joseph died. His mother was Marta Castillaxochitl of Acxotlan.\textsuperscript{114}
Maria Inés. Her father was Miguel Ortona of Acxotlan.

5. ypā sabo yc 7 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de março 1626 años
maa ychpochtli micqui yta lucas decolol pohui acxotłā

5. On Saturday the 7\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of March 1626:
The young woman Maria died. Her father was Lucas de Colon of Acxotlan.

7. ypā domingo yc 8 ylhuitl y[n] mēs de março 1626 años
franca castillā xōtl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexoā tecpā ynamic Thomas deseda

7. On Sunday the 8\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of March 1626:
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 12\textsuperscript{th} of March 1626:

\textsuperscript{114} This is the third child Marta has lost. The first two died on the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 5\textsuperscript{th} of February respectively.
The child Francisca died. His father was Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Totollac. The child Antonia died. Her mother was Agustina Angelina of Xaltepetlapan.

13. On Friday the 13th of March 1626:
Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacán died. He confessed. His spouse was Maria Castillánxochitl.

16. On Saturday the 14th of March 1626:
Ana Castillánxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpán. Her spouse was Antonio Pérez, the Spaniard.

19. On Tuesday the 17th of March 1626:
Juana Castillánxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec. Her spouse was Agustín Pérez.

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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. On Friday the 20th of March 1626:
The child Juan died. His father was Juan de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Francisco died. His father was Pablo de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

25. On Saturday the 21st of March 1626:
The young woman Antonia. Her father was Miguel Ortona of Acxotlan.\textsuperscript{115}
The child Juan died. His father was Diego Mateo of Almoyahuacan.

28. On Sunday the 22nd of March 1626:
The child Diego died. His father was Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

30. On Tuesday the 24th of March 1626:
The child Bartolomé died. The child was the son of Mateo Bartolomé of Tocuillan. The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Diego of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

\textsuperscript{115} Miguel Ortona’s younger daughter died on March 6th and his older daughter on March 21st.
33. ypā domīgo yc 29 de marzo 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 gotierrez pohui acxotlā 
pasqual telpochtli micqui ychā anoto juā 
mētoça pohui huexo\textsuperscript{co} 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 
Acoxotlan said so. 
The young man Pasqual died. He was at 
home. Juan Mendoza of Huexotzinco 
Tecpan said so.

38. ypā sab\textdegree\ yc 4 de abril 1626 años
María piltzintl 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 domīgo yc 5 de abril 1626 años
juā perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli 
ynamic fran\textsuperscript{ca} Xochitlamalin pohui 
al moyahuacā

40. On Sunday the 5th of April 1626:
Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility 
belongs to his spouse Francisca 
Xochitlmalin of Almoyahuacan.
42. On Monday the 6th day of April 1626:
The child Gabriel died. He was the child of Gabriel de Luna of Acoxotlan.

44. On Saturday the 11th of April 1626:
Francisco de Santiago died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Mariana.

48. On Wednesday the 15th of April 1626:
Joseph de Santa Maria. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

1. On Friday the 17th of April 1626:
The child Gregorio died. His father was Juan de Ciudad of Almoyahuacan.
The child Pasquala died. Her father was Sebastián de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

The young man Matías died. His father was Doleto of Huexotzinco Totollac.

5. On Sunday the 19th of April 1626:
Maria Ortiz died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. Her spouse was Diego Tepeuh.

8. On Friday the 24th of April 1626:
Juana Xilloniyauh. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.

10. On Saturday the 25th of April 1626:
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atzonpan. Her spouse was Diego Pérez.

The widow Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Almoyahuacan.

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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 domingo yc 26 de abril 1626 años

jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō juā de palma pohui al moyahuacā

15. ypā miercoles yc 29 de abril 1626 años

juseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de serbātes pohui huexo" totollac

18. ypā Viernes yc 1 de mayo 1626 años

antonio peres micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui xaltepetlapā ynamic mariana

mari ana micqui ynamic die° Maldonado ytlamacaz albarado ma° monica micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic die° pz pohui huexo" totollac

24. ypā domingo yc 3 ylhuītl y[n] mēs de mayo 1626 años

13. On Sunday the 26th of April 1626:

The child Joseph died. He was the child of don Diego de Palma of Al moyahuacan.

15. On Wednesday the 29th of April 1626:

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Matías de Servantes of Huexotzinco 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. On Sunday the 3rd day of the month of May 1626:
The child Matías died. His father was Juan Pedro of Xaltepetlapán.
The child Maria died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Tlamacazcapán.
The child Maria Nicolasa died. Her father was Juan de Ciudad of Almoyahuacan.¹¹⁶

28. On Tuesday the 5th day of the month of May 1626:

Nicolasa died. Her father was Diego [blank space].

30. On Saturday the 9th day of the month of May 1626:
The child Marcos died. His father was Pablo García of Ocotepec.

32. On Sunday the 10th of May 1626:
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
The child Miguel died. His mother was Francisca of Tetzcocapan.
miguel piltzintli micqui ynā franča pohui tetzcocapā
Nicolas Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. His spouse was Elena Mexia.
nicolas perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui huexo韵 tecpā ynamic Helena mexia

40. ypā jueves yc 14 de mayo 1626 años
Andrés Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan.
andres zō micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tetzcapā

42. ypā lunes yc 18 de mayo 1626 años
Maria Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
maria juana micqui tlapopoluilloc pohui huexo韵 tecpan
She confessed.
marcos micqui piltzintli yta franča garā pohui tlatenco
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
diego died. He was from Michoacán. He
Balthasar garā pohui tlamacazcapā
was at home. Baltazar Garcías of
pasqual piltzintli micqui yta Antonio pz
the child Pasqual died. His father was
pohui totollac
Antonio Pérez of Totollac.

f. 32v
1. ypā lunes yc 1 de junio 1626 años
Ana Chalchiuh Neneh died. Her tribute
tlacallaquilli ynamic juā de s. tiago pohui
responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan
huexotzinco tecpā
de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
joseph piltzintli micqui yta mathias de
The child Joseph died. His father was
ročas pohui tlanicōtlā
Matías de Rosas of Tlanicōtlā.

5. ypā miercoles yc 3 ylhuitl de junio 1626 años
5. On Wednesday the 3rd day of June 1626:
anterio perez micqui ytechca tlaclalaquilli
Antonio Pérez died. His tribute
pohui xaltepeltapā ynamic [blank]
responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan.
miguel piltzentli micqui yta diego de
His spouse was [blank].
aquino pohui tocuillā
The child Miguel died. His father was
Diego de Aquino of Tocuillan.
9. ypa domigo yc 7 ylhuītl de junio 1626 años
juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic diego de roças pohui tlaničōtlā

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. ypa jueves yc 11 ylhuītl de junio 1626 años
juā de roças micqui pohui tianquiztenco ynamic maē 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. ypa 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 Toltentino of Coyotzinco.

18. ypa 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
 Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

20. ypā martes yc 16 de junio 1626 años
diego yta xφonal de lona pohui huexo
  tecpā
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
The child Felipe died. His father was
  Andrés Muñoz of Almoyahuacan.
maria jalome piltzintli micqui yta juā
  Calisto pohui huexo tecpā
  was Juan Calisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
nicolas piltzintli micqui yta paº ximenez
  pohui ocotepec
The child Nicolas died. His father was
  Pablo Jiménez of Ocotepec.
lucas micqui ämomicā chane ychā anoto
  juā fernādez Español
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
The child Sebastián died. His mother was
  Inés Paola of Atenco.

29. ypā Viernes yc 19 de junio 1626 años
The child Ana died. Her father was
  Pasqua
  l de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.
luisa ychpochtli ychā omoto Gabriel catca  The young woman Luisa. She was at
juā piltzintli micqui yta andres pohui  home. The late Gabriel said so.\footnote{Presumably by the time this was written, this man Gabriel had died.}
totollac  The child Juan died. His father was Andrés of Totollac.

32. ypā sab° yc 20 de junio 1626 años  32. On Saturday the 20\textsuperscript{th} of June 1626:
juā Ramirez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli  Juan Ramirez died. His tribute
pohui xaltepetałpā ynamic ma° aotec  responsibility belongs to Xaltepetałpan.
xochitl  His spouse was Maria Aotecxochitl.

35. ypā domīgo yc 21 de junio 1626 años  35. On Sunday the 21\textsuperscript{st} of June 1626:
mathias de lona micqui ytechca  Matías de Luna died. His tribute
tlacallaquilli pohui tocuillā ynamic ana  responsibility belonged to Tocuillan. His
castillā xo°l  spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl.
angelinā castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca  Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her
tlacallaquilli pohui tlatenco ynamic miguel  tribute responsibility belongs to Tlatenco.
mocario  Her spouse was Miguel Mocario.

39. ypā martes yc 23 de junio 1626 años  39. On Tuesday the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of June 1626:
mariana piltzintli miqui ypiltzin matheo  The child Mariana died. She was the
Castaneda pohui atenco  child of Mateo Castaneda of Atenco.
41. ypā miercoles yc 24 de junio 1626 años
   diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres pz
   pohui tetzcocapā
   41. On Wednesday the 24th of June 1626:
   The child Diego died. He was the child of Andrés Pérez of Tetzococapan.

43. ypā domigo yc 29 de junio 1626 años
   maª piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juã 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
   juã piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juã 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 juã Calisto
   pohui huexo co tecpā
   1. On Wednesday the 1st of July 1626:
   The child Isabel died. She was the child of Juan Calisto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

3. ypã domigo yc 5 de julio 1626 años
   juana castillã 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 francxa
ximenez pohui xaltepetlapā
simō piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pz
pohui tlanicōtlā

The child of Felipe died. He was the child of Francisca Jiménez of Xalpetlapan.

8. ypā miercoles yc 8 de julio 1626 años
diego piltzintli omicqui ypiltzin diego
pohui tlamacazcapā

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Tlamacazcapan.

10. ypā Viernes yc 10 de julio 1626 años
joseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mjn
pohui al moyahuacā

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.

12. ypā sabo yc 11 de julio 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pillipe
pohui tlamacazacepā
helena piltzintli ypiltzin juā hernādez
pohui tlanicōtlā

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 LZo de balduia
fray Lazaro de Valdivia
16. Died on Sunday the 12\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of July 1626: The child Dominga died. She was the child of Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.

dominga piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego pochel pohui almoyahuacā

18. Died on Tuesday the 14\textsuperscript{th} 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.

josepha piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel de sevilla pohui cecalacohuahuayā

augustina piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego deolozco pohui xaltepetlapā

marta piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego Ramirez pohui acxotlā

22. On Friday the 17\textsuperscript{th} 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.

maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin joseph de luna pohui chiyauhtzinco

franco de lacerta micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco ynamic aña castillā xochitl

26. On Saturday the 18\textsuperscript{th} of July 1626:
Antonia Castillanxochitl of Atenco died. She was a widow. The barrio gathered for her.

The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Francisco of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Melchor Hernández of Santa Ana.

Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Gregorio of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Maria died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Elena died. She was the child of Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Joseph Hernández of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Juárez.
The young man Matías Velazquez died. His mother was Francisca Jiménez of Xaltepeltapan.

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.

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.

On Wednesday the 29th of July 1626:

The child Isabel died. Her father was Juan Pasqual of Acxotlan.
The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Pérez of Tetzcocapan.
The child Nicolasa. Her father was Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

9. On Thursday the 20th of July 1626:
Maria Salome of Tianquiztenco died. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Juan de Rosas. The barrio gathered for her.
Gabriel de Rosas died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillánxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

The child Maria died. Her father was Miguel Pérez of San Raphael Xillotepec.
The child Martín died. His father was Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Agustina died. Her father was Elías de Zamora of Totollac.
The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco de Zamora of Acxotlan.

19. On Friday the 31st of July 1626:
juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin diego de la cruz pohui acxotlá

The child Juan died. His father was Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

21. ypā sab° yc 1 de agosto 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.

diego mathias telpochhtli ytatzin Miguel sanchez pohui huexo°° 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 ylhuítl y[n] mes de
augusto 1626 años

26. On Friday the 7th day of the month of 1626:
Maira. Her father was Juan Méndez of Santa Ana Xilmimilolco.
miguel martin âmo nicā chane
cuetlaxcohuapā°° huallelua ychā omoto juā ortes

Miguel Martín. He was not from here. He was from Cuetlaxcohuapan Huallelua.

29. ypā sab° yc 8 de agosto 1626 años

29. On Saturday the 8th of August 1626:

°° 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 agosto 1626 años
melchior piltzintli micqui yta mathias pz pohui xaltepetlapā
antonio piltzintli yta Miguel hernandez 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 domigo yc 15 de agosto 1626 años
lucasspz micqui ynamec ma castillā xo 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 agosto 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 agosto 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 Tianquisztenco.
41. ypā miercoles Viernes yc 20 de agosto 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui yta Pasqual gar
pohui tiāquiztenco
andres piltzintli micqui yta franço pz pohui almoyahuacā

44. ypā sab° yc 22 de agosto 1626 años
miguel piltzintli micqui yta Pablo ximenez pohui totollac

46. ypā lunes yc 24 de agosto 1626 años
andres piltzintli micqui yta Miguel hernādez pohui xaltepean

48. ypā martes yc 25 de agosto 1626 años
diego piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de. S. franço pohui huexoço tecpā

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.

On Saturday the 22nd of August 1626:
The child Miguel died. His father was Pablo Jiménez of Totollac.

On Monday the 24th of August 1626:
The child Andrés died. His father was Miguel Hernández of Xaltepetlapan.

On Tuesday the 25th of August 1626:
The child Diego died. His father was Miguel de San Francisco of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

On Wednesday the 26th day of August 1626:
ysabel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā mētez
pohui s. ta aña
magthalena piltzintli micqui yta juā
hernādez huexo co tecp
augustin piltzintli micqui yta Miguel de
lona pohui huexo co

The child Isabel died. She was the child
of Juan Méndez of Santa Ana.

The child Magdalena died. Her father
was Juan Hernández [of] Huexotzinco
Tepan.

The child Agustín died. His father was
Miguel de Luna of Huexotzinco.

5. ypā Viernes yc 28 de agosto 1626 años
pasquala piltzintli micqui yta juā hernādez
pohui huexo co tecpā
juana piltzintlitli micqui yta Estevā
gotieretz pohui Ocotepec

5. On Friday the 28th of August 1626:
The child Pasquala died. Her father was
Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan
The child Juana died. Her father was
Esteban Gutiérrez of Ococtepec.

8. ypā domīgo yc 30 de agosto 1626 años
diego piltzin micqui ynā juana castillā
Xochitl pohui almoyahuacā

8. On Sunday the 30th of August 1626:
The child Diego died. His mother was
Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

10. ypā miercoles yc 2 de stiēbre 1626 años
xpīña castillā xo'ul ychpochtli yta juā
gotieretz pohui ocotepec

10. On Wednesday the 2nd of September
1626:
The young woman Cristina
Castillanxochitl. Her father was Juan
Gutiérrez of Ococtepec.
The child Juana died. Her father was Diego de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

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. 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. On Saturday the 5th day of September 1626:
The child Catalina died. [Her father was] Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
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. 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 Felipe Hernández of Tlamacazcapan.
- The child Juan died. His father was Pablo Valencia of Ocotepec.

30. On Wednesday the 9th of September 1626:

- The child Pasqual Dorado. His father was Pasqual Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.
catalinā piltzintli micqui yta diego de roças pohui almoyahuacā
Gaspar Pérez died. He confessed. He belongs to Tlamacazcapan.
gaspar pz micqui tlapopoluiloc pohui tlamacazcapā
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 jacobob perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquili pohui acxotlā ynamic Helena cacallo xochitl
Jacobo Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Acxotlan. His spouse was Elena Cacalloxochitl.
antona piltzintl micqui yta pillilipe de roças pohui huexoTotollac
The child Antonia died. Her father was Felipe de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.

38. ypā lunes yc 14 de setiēbre 1626 años augustina piltzintli micqui yta sebastiā ximenez pohui Totollac
The child Agustina died. Her father was Sebastián Jiménez of Totollac.

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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  The young man Diego from Tlaxcalla
ychā omoto jacobō pz [pohui] acxotlā died. He was at home. Jacobo Pérez of
Acxotlan said so.

41. ypā martes yc 15 de setiembre 1626 años 41. On Tuesday the 15th of September
sebastiana piltzintli micqui yta Pablo de 1626:
roças pohui huexo tecpā The child Sebastiana died. Her father was
Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

43. ypā miercoles yc 16 de setiembre 1626 años 43. On Wednesday the 16th of September
diego de cāte telpotzintli micqui yta juā de 1626:
cāte pohui atenco The young man Diego de Cate died. His
father was Juan de Cate of Atenco.

46. ypā jueves yc 17 de setiembre 1626 años 46. On Thursday the 17th of September
juā piltzintli micqui yta lurenço xuarez 1626:
pohui Ocotepec 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 ychān 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.
The child Joseph died. His father was Juan Cosme of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Catalina died. Her father was Diego Pérez of Xaltepeltlapan.

On Sunday the 20th of September 1626:
The child Micaela died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Totollac.

On Monday the 21st of September 1626:
The child Maria died. Her father was Diego Castaneda of Almoyahuacan.
The child Miguel died. His father was Pasqual Pérez of Atenco.

On Tuesday the 22nd of September 1626:
The child Domingo died. His father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
8. On Thursday the 24th of September 1626:
   Maria ychpochtli micqui ynatzin 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. On Saturday the 26th of September 1626:
   Juana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin dō Juachin de Alameda of Xaltepetlapan.
   The child Andrés died. He was the child of Matías Nuñez of Tepetzinco.

15. On Sunday the 27th of September 1626:
   Joseph piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel Pérez, the teacher, of
   Coyotzinco.
The child Melchor died. He was the child of Diego Ceynos of Tetzcocapan.

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

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.

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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.
The child Francisca died. She was the child of Juan de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. On Sunday the 5th of October 1626:
The child Diego died. He was the child of Sebastián Simón of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

28. On Monday the 6th of October 1626:
The child Martiana died. She was the child of Simón Maceuh of Tetlamacazcapan.

30. On Wednesday the 8th of October 1626:
Juan García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his priest Pedro Decea.

32. On Thursday the 9th of October 1626:

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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 Mateo Ceynos Pohui Totollac

34. Ypā Viernes yc 8 de octubre 1626 años
Diego Piltzintli Micqui Ypiltzin Sebastiā de Mica Pohui Chiyauhtzinco

36. Ypā sabo yc 10 de octubre 1626 años
Pasqual Telpochtli Micqui Ypiltzin Mathias Pochel Pohui Almoyahuacā
Pasqualla Ychpochtli Micqui Ypiltzin Mathias Pochel Pohui Almoyahuacā
Francisco Costādina Micqui Ynamic Diego Costādina Pohui Xaltepetlapā

41. Ypā lunes yc 12 de octubre 1626 años
Inés Piltzintli Mieq Ypiltzin Diego Alvarado Pohui Atzonpā

The child Micaela died. She was the child of Mateo Ceynos of Totollac.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Sebastián de Mica of Chiyauhtzinco.
The young man Pasqual died. He was the child of Matías Pochel of Almoyahuacan.
The young woman Pasqualla died. She was the child of Matías Pochel of Almoyahuacan.
Francisca Constantine died. Her spouse was Diego Constantine of Xaltepetlapan.
The child Inés died. She was the child of Diego Alvarado of Atzonpan.

---

125 Matías Pochel loses two children in one day.
The young woman Catalina died. She was the child of Agustín de Santiago of Cecalacohuayan.

The child Maria. She was the child of Felipe Cranasar of Xaltepetlapan.

44. On Tuesday the 13th of October 1626:

Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Xaltepetlapan.

46. On Wednesday the 14th of October 1626:

The child Maria died. She was the child of Pasqual García of Tianquiztenco.

48. On Friday the 16th of October 1626:

The child Juana died. She was the child of Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.

The child Agustín died. His father was Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
1. **ypā domīgo yc 18 de octubre 1626 años**
catalina piltzintli ypiltzin joseph hernández
pohui tezcocapā
ysabel ychā omoto Pasqual de roças pohui
xaltepeltlapā

4. **ypā lunes yc 19 de octubre 1626 años**
juā baptista micqui ynamic ma³
quetzallizhua pohui hui huexo⁵⁰ totoola
ma³ piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Rapael 
xuarez pohui totollac
ma³ piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franc⁵⁰ perez 
pohui almoyahuacā
ma³ piltzinli micqui ypiltzin mathias de 
roças pohui atenco

9. **ypā martes yc 20 de octubre 1626 años**
melchiora piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simō 
perez pohui huexotzinco tecpā 
diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel gar³ 
pohui ocotepec

1. On Sunday the 18th of October 1626:
The child Catalina. She was the child of
Joseph Hernández of Tetzocapan.

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. 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.
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

The child Marcos died. He was the child of Miguel de San Francisco of Xaltepetlapan.

The child Andrés died. He was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Inés died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez of Ocotepec.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Raphael Suárez of Totollac.

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

The child Marcos died. He was the child of Miguel de San Francisco of Xaltepetlapan.

The child Andrés died. He was the child of Pablo de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Inés died. She was the child of Pablo Jiménez of Ocotepec.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Raphael Suárez of Totollac.
Juan de Olarte died. His spouse was Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

On Monday the 26th of October 1626: Marta Canil of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Joaquin García.

On Tuesday the 27th of October 1626: The child Bartolomé died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Acxotlan.

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. 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. 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. 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 Castillaxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Mexia of Almoyahuacan.

¹²⁶ Luis de Zamora died on August 27th of 1623.
juā calos telpochtli pohui totollac  
The young man Juan Calos of Totollac.
yteyccauh Miguel calos  
His younger brother was Miguel Carlos.
apolomia ychpochtli yconeuh donātona  
The young woman Apolonia. She was the
decalinčia pohui xaltepetlapā  
child of doña Atona de Calincia of Xaltepetlapan.

45. ypā martes yc 3 de noviembre 1626 años  
45. On Tuesday the 3rd of November 1626:
antonio piltzintli micqui ypiltzin  
The child Antonio died. He was the child
Bernardino cornejo pohui totollac  
of Bernardino Cornejo of Totollac.
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres pz  
The child Elena died. She was the child
pohui al moyahuacā  
of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

48. ypā miercoles yc 4 de noviembre 1626 años  
48. On Wednesday the 4th of November 1626:
mathias piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā  
The child Matías died. He was the child
bartholome pohui tocuillā  
of Juan Bartolomé of Tocuillan.
gabriel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā  
The child Gabriel died. He was the child
baptista pohui tetzcocapā  
of Juan Bautista of Tetzcocapan.

f. 35v  
f. 35v
1. [a]ntona piltintli micqui ypiltzin franço  
1. The child Antonia died. She was the
pz pohui atzōpan  
child of Francisco of Atzonpan.
The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco of Atzonpan.²⁷ Ana Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Lucas from Cecalacohuayan San Topan.

4. On Thursday the 5th of November 1626:
Isabel de Avero died. Her spouse was Juan Durán.

Andrés Jiménez died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

7. On Friday the 6th of November 1626:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

9. On Saturday the 7th day of November 1626:
The child Marina died. She was the child of Juan Conecatl of Almoyahuacan.
The child Matías died. She was the child of Lorenzo Juan of Tlanicontlan.

²⁷ Francisco loses two children in one day.
12. ypa lunes yc 9 de noviembre 1626 años
miguel piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juañ
bonauetora pohui almoyahuacã

12. On Monday the 9\textsuperscript{th} of November

The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Bonaventura of Almoyahuacan.

14. ypa martes yc 10 de noviembre 1626 años
franc\textsuperscript{ca} castill\textsuperscript{a} Xochitl micqui ynamic diego pochel pohui almoyahuacã

14. On Tuesday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of November

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pochel of Almoyahuacan.

16. ypa miercoles yc 11 de noviembre 1626 años
clara piltzintli micqui ypiltzin andres perez pohui almoyahuacã
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franc\textsuperscript{co} de aquino pohui totollac

16. On Wednesday the 11\textsuperscript{th} of November

The child Clara died. She was the child of Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Maria died. She was the child of Francisco de Aquino of Totollac.

19. ypa Viernes yc 14 de noviembre 1626 años

19. On Friday the 14\textsuperscript{th} of November

1626:
Melchora Piltzintli Micqui Yconeuh Mañ The child Melchora died. She was the child of Maria Aotecxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.\textsuperscript{128}

21. ypa domigo yc 15 de noviembre 1626

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maria ychpochtli micqui ypiltzin jua cotecatl pohui almoyahuacah</td>
<td>The young woman Maria died. She was the child of Juan Contecatl of Almoyahuacan.\textsuperscript{129}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don lucas de arana micqui ynumeric dona maria de metocha pohui ocotepec</td>
<td>Don Lucas de Arana died. His spouse was doña Maria Mendoza of Ocotepec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin simo pz pohui huexotepa</td>
<td>The child Diego died. He was the child of Simón Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>justina castillaxochitl ycnocihuatl pohui almoyahuacan</td>
<td>The widow Justina Castillaxochitl of Almoyahuacan [died].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. ypa miercoles yc 18 de noviembre 1626

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui xaltepetlapa</td>
<td>The child Diego died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{129} Juan Contecatl’s younger daughter died on November 7\textsuperscript{th} and his older daughter of the same name died on November 15\textsuperscript{th}.
28. ypā jueves yc 19 de noviembre 1626 años
miguel perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
pohui al moyahuacā ynamic maria castillā
xochitl
juā Miguel micqui chane tlacopā
omopou hca huexo co tecpā ynamic ynamic
ynes luisa cecilla
joseph piltzinli 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 Castillaxochitl.
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 noviembre 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 domingo yc 22 de noviembre 1626 años
37. On Sunday the 22nd of November 1626:
The child Luisa died. She was the child of Diego Morando of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

39. On Tuesday the 24th of November 1626:
The child Pablo died. His mother was Catalina Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

41. On Wednesday the 25th of November 1626:
Miguel de Ancolo died. His spouse was Augustina 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. Died on Thursday the 26th of November 1626:
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.

On Friday the 27th of November 1626:

The child Lazaro died. He was the child of Diego Martín of Tlamacazcapan.

On Saturday the 28th of November 1626:

The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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
fran̄co piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā pz catca
pohui atenco

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
apolumia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
macuīl po atenco

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 deciēbre 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.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Pablo de Aquino of Ocotepec.

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

The child Pedro died. He was the child of Diego de Chaves of Totollac.

15. On Friday the 4\textsuperscript{th} of December 1626:

The child Diego died. He was the child of [?]. He was not from here. He was at home. Juan Delgariro said so.

The child Elena died. She was the child of Esteban de Olarte of Atenco.

The child Juan died. He was the child of Baltazar García of Tianquiztenco.

19. On Saturday the 5\textsuperscript{th} of December 1626:

The child Andrés died. He was the child of Francisco de la Cerda of Tianquiztenco.

21. On Sunday the 6\textsuperscript{th} of December 1626:
Francisco de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Castillánxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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.

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. On Friday the 11th of December 1626:

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132 Jacobo Pérez died on the 10th of September 1626.
Angelina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco de Rosas of Huexotzinco Totollac.

Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gaspar Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

35. On Sunday the 13th of December 1626:
Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. The barrio gathered for her.

37. On Monday the 14th of December 1626:
The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Pasqual Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.

39. On Tuesday the 15th of December 1626:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Pasqual Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.

On Wednesday the 16th of December 1626: Don Matías de Guevara died. His spouse was doña Martina.

Sebastiana died. Her spouse was Miguel de la Cruz of Almoyahuacan.

The child Diego died. He was the child of Francisco de San Miguel of Atenco.

The child Matías died. He was the child of Melchor Hernández of Tetzcocapan.

On Thursday the 17th of December 1626: The child Agustín died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

On Saturday the 19th of December 1626: The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
Ana Quetzalpetla died. Her spouse was Juan Suárez of Ocotepec.

On Monday the 21st of December 1626:
Antonio de Cocol of Atenco died.

Juan died. He was not from here. He was from Tetzcoco. He was at home. Francisco Tlacochua said so.

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 Xochicuic of Tetzcocapan.¹³³

7. ypā domīgo yc 27 deçiebre 1626 años
maria pintzintli 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 pintzintli ypiltzin matheo hernādez pohui tetzcocapā

9. On Tuesday the 29th of December 1626:
The child Miguel. He was the child of Mateo Hernández of Tetzcocapan.

joseph pintzintli pohui huexo co ypiltzin juā bapī huexo co tecpā

The child Joseph of Huexotzinco. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

magtalena Pasqual davilla pohui tocuillā

Magdalena. [Her relative was] Pasqual de Villa of Tocuillan.¹³⁴

13. ypā miercoles yc 30 deciēbre 1626 años
pasqual pintzintli 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.
Juan Francisco died. His spouse was Juana Maria of Atzonpan.

Juan Garcia died. The barrio gathered for him. He belongs to that which is Atenco.135

17. On Thursday the 31st of December

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.

fray Lazaro de Valdivia

23. The year 1627

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 Aoquan died. His spouse was Agustina Velazquez of Huexotzinco Totollac.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Matías de Rosas of Tlanicontlan.

27. On Saturday the 2nd of January 1627:
Juan Pasqual died. He was at home. Centeno said so.

29. On Sunday the 3rd of January 1627:
Gaspar Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Angelina [of] Almoyahuacan.
Justina Hernández died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Tamia [of] Xaltepetlapan.

33. On Monday the 4th of January 1627:

\[^{41}\text{ A Spanish sur name.}\]
Lucas Ramírez micqui ytechca tlacalaquili dynamic ma ca coyotzinco
maría piltzintli micqui ypiltzin antonio decáte pohui atenco
nicolasa yta Gabriel dorado pohui chiyauhtzinco
hellena piltzītli micqui piltzin Miguel pz pohui almoyahuacā
diego piltizntltli micqui ypiltzin lurenço pohui s. lurenço

39. ypā martes yc 5 de henero 1627 años
ma ca axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ymonic die de la cruz pohui tlatēco

f.37r

mathiana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Estevā ortas huexo

2. ypā miercoles yc 6 de henero 1627 años

Lucas Ramírez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Zane [of] Coyotzinco.
The child Maria died. She was the child of Antonio de Cate of Atenco.
Nicolasa. Her father was Gabriel Dorado of Chiyauhtzinco.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Lorenzo of San Lorenzo.

39. On Tuesday the 5th of January 1627:
Maria Axochiatl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
The child Mathiana died. She was the child of Esteban Ortiz [of] Huexotzinco.

2. On Wednesday the 6th of January 1627:
mañ piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh dieño maceuh
xaltepetlapā
maría piltzintli micqui yconeuh mariana
almoyahuacā
angellinā piltzintli matheo hernández pohui
tetzcocapā
sebastiā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
demētoça pohui huexo co

The child Maria died. She was the
grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of]
Xaltepetlān.

The child Maria died. She was the child
of Mariana [of] Almoyahuacān.
The child Angelina. [She was the child
The child Sebastián died. She was the
child of Juan de Mendoza of
Huexotzinco.

7. ypā jueves yc 7 de henero 1627 años
pablo de la cruz micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic augustina castillā
Xochitl pohui huexo co totollac tecpā
franco piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh diego
maceuh xaltepetlā
maría axochiatl micqui ytechca tlacallaquili
ynamic diego de la cruz tlatenco

7. On Thursday the 7th of January 1627:
Pablo de la Cruz died. His tribute
responsibility belongs to his spouse
Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco
Tecpan.
The child Francisco died. He was the
grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of]
Xaltepetlapān.136

Maria Axochiatl 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.
656

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Miguel perez pohui al moyahuacā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Pérez of Al moyahuacan.

13. ypā Viernes yc 8 de henero 1627 años

helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe pz pohui tlamacazcapā

The child Elena died. She was the child of Felipe Pérez of Tlamacaza capan.

augustina castillā xo‟l micqui ynamic Geronimo gotierez coyotzinco

Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Geronimo Gutiérrez [of] Coyotzinco.

diego telpochtli ypiltzin mathias pohui atenco

The young man Diego. He was the child of Matías of Atenco.

17. ypā lunes yc 11 de henero 1627 años

franco Vazquez micqui ytechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolhuih̓ qohui tepetzinco

Francisco Vazquez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tepetzinco. The barrio gathered for him.

juā piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā de lona pohui huexo”co tecpā

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

The child Diego died. He was the child of Mateo Ceynos of Totollac.
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. 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 Ocotépec.

The child Mateo died. He was the child of Jacobo Alpaliz of Xaltepétlan.
35. On Friday the 15th of January 1627:
The young woman Catalina Maria died. Her father was Juan de Canical of Almoyahuacan.

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. 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. On Tuesday the 19th of January 1627:
The child Andrés died. He was the child of Juan Morales of Tlamacazcapan.
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.

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.

On Thursday the 21st of January 1627:
The child Ana died. She was the child of Pasqual de Villa [of] Tocuillan.137

16. On Friday the 22nd of January 1627:
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. On Saturday the 23rd of January 1627:
Miguel Mocario died. His spouse was Ana Rosas of Tlantenco.

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137 Pasqual de Villa’s daughter Magdalena died on December 29, 1626 and Ana now on January 21, 1627.
25. On Sunday the 24th of January 1627:
The child Juana died. She was the child of Andrés de Santiago of Huexotzinco Tecpan.138

28. On Monday the 25th of January 1627:
The child Juan died. He was the child of Ambrosio de Santiago [of] Xaltepetlapan.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Inés Castillanxochitl.

31. On Tuesday the 26th of January 1627:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Domingo de Rivas of Tecpan.
The child Juana died. She was the child of Francisco de San Miguel [of] Atenco.
The child Veronica. She was the child of Juan de Luna of Coyotzinco.
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  
The child Juana. She was the child of
xaltepetałpā  
Marta Antonia [of] Xaltepetałpan.139

37. ypā jueves yc 27 de henero 1627 años  
37. On Thursday the 27th of January
ma a Jacob micqui ynamic mathias de  
Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was Matías
serbātes totollac  
de Servantes [of] Totollac.

39. ypā Viernes yc 28 de henero 1627 años  
39. On Friday the 28th of January 1627:
juā Pasqual pilpiltzintli ypiltzin fran co de la  
The child Juan. He was the child of
Cerda pohui tiaquiztenco  
Francisco de la Cerda of Tianquiztenco.

41. ypā sab o yc 30 de henero 1627 años  
41. On Saturday the 30th of January 1627:
diego pz micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli  
Diego Pérez died. His tribute
pohui huexo co ynamic he ken na mag na  
responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco.

43. ypā domigo yc 31 de henero 1627 años  
43. On Sunday the 31st of January 1627:
pa o pz telpochtli ypiltzin juā pz pohui  
The young man Pablo Pérez. He was the
almoyahuacā  
child of Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
diego juā micqui ynamic ma a ychā anoto  
Diego Juan died. His spouse was Maria.
cendeno  
He was at home. Centeno said so.

139 Marta Antonia loses two children in the same day.
1. ypā lunes yc 1 de hebrero 1627 años
thomas de seda micqui yc ocalpolhuihque pohui huexo co tecpa
maria juana micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli yc ocalpolihque pohui atzopa

1. On Monday the 1st of February 1627:
Tomás de Seda died. He barrio gathered for him. He belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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
maΧ yztac xo√ micqui ynamic pillipe hernández 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.
El niña Francisca murió. Era la hija de Juan Pérez de Xaltepetlapan.

11. Enviernes del 4 de febrero de 1627 años
El niño Lucas murió. Era la hija de Juan Pérez de Xaltepetlapan.

El niño Juana murió. Era la hija de Juan Pérez de Xaltepetlapan.

14. Enviernes del 5 de febrero de 1627 años
La niña Isabel murió. Estaba en el hogar. Juan Bautista [de] Xaltepetlapan dijo lo mismo.

El niño Diego murió. Era la hija de Francisco Pérez de Huexotzinco Tecpan.

La niña Catalina murió. Era la hija de Matías de Rosas de Totollac.

18. Enviernes del 6 de febrero de 1627 años
La niña María murió. Era la hija de Juan de la Cruz [de] Tianquiztenco.
nico[...]
la piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Francisco de Silva [of] Atenco.

The child Maria died. She was at home.
Juan Caballero said so.

The child Maria died. She was the child of Agustín Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.

23. On Sunday the 7th of February 1627:
Mariana died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicōtlā.
Juan Caballero said so.

The child Ana died. She was at home.
Juan Caballero said so.

26. On Tuesday the 9th of February 1627:
Pedro García died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Tomiyauh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Atenco. The barrio gathered for her.

30. On Wednesday the 10th of February 1627:
Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Catena of Coyotzinco.
The child Juan died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Lucas Pérez [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.
The young woman Juana. She was the child of Matías Hernández of Huexotzinco.

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. On Saturday the 13th of February 1627:
The child Elena died. She was the child of Melchora Cacahuaxochitl [of] Xaltepetlapan.
39. On Sunday the 14th of February 1627:
Miguel Rodríguez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Salome [of] Tianquiztenco.

42. On Monday the 15th of February 1627:

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. On Wednesday the 17th of February 1627:
The child Agustina died. She was the child of Matías de Guzman of Xaltepetlapan.
1. On Thursday the 18th of February 1627:
The child Micaela died. She was the child of Miguel Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

3. On Saturday the 20th of February 1627:
The widow Magdalena Hernández died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

8. On Tuesday the 23rd of February 1627:
Francisco Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan.

10. On Wednesday the 24th of February 1627:
The child Matías died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco.

The child Elena died. She was the child of Juan Pérez [of] Xaltepetlan.

13. On Thursday the 25th of February 1627:
Magdalena Anjuelo died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Fernández [of] Totollac.

The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetlan.140

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

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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. On Sunday the 28th of February 1627: Juan Felipe died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Castillánchitl, the neighbor of Juan Caballero.

22. On Monday the 1st of 1627: Elena Castillánchitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

25. On Wednesday the 3rd of March 1627: The child Catalina died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Ocotepec.

27. On Thursday the 4th of March 1627: The young woman Maria. She was the child of Matías Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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

joseph piltzintli micqui yxhuiuh Miguel de
gočas 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

33. On Tuesday the 9th of March 1627:
The child Elena died. She was the child of Miguel Sarmiento [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.

juliana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Nicolas pz

pohui huexo co tecpā

The child Juliana died. She was the child of Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

diego piltzin micqui ypiltzin juā pz pohui
tlatenco

The child Diego died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

ynes castillā Xochitl micq ytechca

tlacalaquilli yc ocalpolliuhque ynamic
catca Antonio pz pohui almoyahuacā

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:
agustina castillá Xochitl micqui ytechca Tlacallaquilli ye ocalpoliuhque pohui huexo^co^ totollac

42. hele-ypā jueves yc 11 de março 1627 años ma^a^ mag^ma^ micqui âmo nicā chane ychā omoto hernādo cendeno

44. ypā Viernes yc 12 de março 1627 años augustina piltzintli ypiltzin Miguel sarmięto pohui huexo^co^

46. ypā domigo yc 13 de março 1627 años aña yztac Xochitl miqui ynamic Balthasar gar^a^ pohui tiāquiztenco

f. 39r diego piltzintli ypiltzin juā de câte pohui atenco

2. ypā lunes yc 15 de março 1627 años
The child Catalina. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.

The child Gabriel died at home. Gabriel de Alvarado said so.

The child Maria died. She was the child of Juan Morales of Xaltepetlapan.

6. On Thursday the 18th of March 1627:

The child Agustín died. He was the child of Juan Miguel [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Diego died. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] San Luis San Topan.

8. On Friday the 19th of March 1627:

The child Diego died. His mother was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] San Luis San Topan.

10. On Saturday the 20th of March 1627:

Agustina de San Esteban died. Her spouse was Antonio García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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 Rodríguez tecpā
The child Maria died at home. Pedro Rodríguez [of] Tecpan said so.

jusepa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego çaynos pohui almoyahuacā
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.

juā ynamic maria franc ca chaneque cholollā
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
Juan Amiztlato of Totollac died. He confessed.

20. ypā miercoles yc 24 de março 1627 años
helena piltzintli micqui – pilhuā lucas pz pohui tlamacazcapā
The child Elena died – They were the children of Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

antona piltzintli micqui –
The child Antonia died –

juana piltzintli micqui ychā anoto albarado
The child Juana died at home. Alvarado said so.
The child Agustin died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
The child Catalina died. She was the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.
The child Luisa died. She was the child of Luis Zocalo of Totollac.

On Thursday the 25th of March 1627:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.
The child Antonio died. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.
The child Matias died. He was the child of Francisca Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

On Friday the 26th of March 1627:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to the home of Alvarado.
The child Diego died. He was the child of Diego Martín [of] Tlamacazcapan.
36. ypā sab⁰ yc 27 de março 1627 años
aña de s. tiago micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
ynamic luis z⁰ pohui totollac
ysabel piltzintli micqui ynā ma⁰
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 domīgo yc 4 de abril 1627 años
domīgo piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā
Calisto pohui tecpā
ma⁰ castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui tiāquiztenco
ysabel piltzintli micqui yconeuh fian⁰
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.

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142 Luis Zocalo’s child died on March 24th and his wife on March 27th.
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.

7. On Tuesday the 12th of April 1627:
The child Mateo died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez [of] Tetzocoapan. The child Geronimo died. He was the child of Pablo de la Cruz of Acoxotlan. The child Agustín. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Atenco.
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. 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. On Saturday the 17th of April 1627:

The child Joseph died. He was the child of Juan García of Tetzcocapan.

18. On Sunday the 18th of April 1627:

The young man Diego. He was the child of Miguel Michteuh [of] Xaltepetlapān.\(^{143}\)

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 murió. Su tributo y responsabilidad pertenece a su cónyuge Miguel Pérez de Almoyahuacan.

El niño Juan. [El es el niño de] Juan de la Cruz de Tianquiztenco.

El joven Miguel murió. Su madre fue Petronilla Castillánxochitl de Tecpán.

Elena Xilotl murió. Su tributo y responsabilidad pertenece a Coyotzinco. Su cónyuge fue Miguel García.

27. el jueves el 22 de abril

Maria Balenci murió. Su tributo y responsabilidad pertenece a su cónyuge Lucas Pérez de Tlanicōtlā.

30. el viernes el 23 de abril 1627 años

El niño María murió. Era el niño de Baltasar García de Tianquiztenco.

32. el lunes el 3 de mayo 1627 años
lucas perez micqui itechca tlacalaquilli yc ocalpoliuque pohui tlanicōtlan
maria piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Gabriel cosme pohui huexo co

Lucas Pérez died. The barrio gathered for him. His tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.
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
maria apolomia micqui ytechca talcallauilli ynamic andres diego pohui xaltepetlapā

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 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.
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Bautista of Ocotepec.

On Thursday the 21st of May 1627: Francisca Luisa died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.

On Sunday the 30th of May 1627: Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco de Nahua of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The child Matías died. The child was the son of Juan Miguel [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Miguel died. He was the child of Juan Miguel of Tlamacazcapan.

The child Juana died. She was the child of Juan de Cañizares.
Juana Paola died. Her spouse was Juan Mateo of Tlamacazcapan. Lorenzo de Villa.\textsuperscript{144}

10. On Saturday the 5\textsuperscript{th} 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 Castillonchitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Tzaueuhcan, the neighbor of Melchor Morilo.

15. On Sunday the 6\textsuperscript{th} of June 1627:
Joaquin died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Xaltepetlapan. The barrio gathered for him.

18. On Tuesday the 8\textsuperscript{th} of June 1627:

\textsuperscript{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 tlcallaquilli pohui huexoctecpa

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

franca castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlcallaquilli 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 doimigo yc 20 de junio 1627 años

ma’ cipta ychpochtli micqui pohui tlanicōtlā

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]
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
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
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 Maria Veronica of Tepetzinco. tlacallaquilli ynamic Estevā maldonado pohui 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:
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. On Saturday the 10th of July 1627:
The child Miguel died. He was the child of Diego Alvarez of Atzonpan.

On Monday the 12th of July 1627:
The child Joseph died. He was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Totollac.

On Tuesday the 13th of July 1627:
They were the children of Matías de Rosas of Acxotlan.

Maria died. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
8. difuntos Fr LZ° debaldiuia 8. The deceased. fray Lazaro de Valdivia

10. en 2 de Agosto [de el 27] Nuestro P° 10. On the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of August of [the year

Fray miguel de la cruz qualificor del santo 1627. Our priest fray Miguel de la Cruz

toffº y nueo (nuestro) Provya deste provy° the Inquisitor of the holy office and our

del santo evangº vio este libro de los Provincial of this province of Santo
difuntos y le hallo esta [conforme alo que [Evangelist] and viewed this book of the
del la] provy° tiene ordenado y le firma deceased and found that this [was
d Fr miquel de la cruz according to] the provincial had ordered

mrg. Provy° al and signed it.

Antemi fray Miguel de la Cruz

fr ysidroor donéz Marquis Provincial

secretario Before me:

fray Isidor Doñez Secretary

18. ypá Viernes yc 15 de julio 1627 años 18. On Friday the 15\textsuperscript{th} of July 1627:

ysabel ypiltzin Pasqual de s. franco pohui Isabel, the child of Pasqual de San

coyotzinco Francisco of Coyotzinco.

mag\textsuperscript{na} castillá Xochitl ytechca tlacallaquillí Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her tribute

namique ychá anoto Ysabel gar° 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 maᵃ castillā xo⁴
pohui tetzcocapā
The young man Miguel. He was the child of Maria Castillanxochitl of Tetzocapan.

24. ypā lunes yc 27 de julio 1627 años
andresa ypiltzin mathias malmoleso pohui
tocuilla
juā piltzintli ypiltzin math diego de tones
pohui almoyahuacā
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 maᵃ cohnatl pohui
xaltepeᵃⁿ
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 agosto 1627 años
Barnardo xuarez micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic angelinā maᵃ pohui
xaltepetlapā
Bernardo Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Angelina Maria of Xaltepetlapan.
33. *ypā jueves yc 5 de agosto 1627 años*

pasqual piltzin tl micqui ypiltzin die o pz

pohui tecpā

f. 41r

1. *ypā martes yc 8 de agosto 1627 años*

antona piltzin tl micqui diego de la cruz

pohui acxotlā

3. *ypā jueves yc 9 de agosto 1627 años*

juā piltzin tl micqui ypiltzin domi go pohui

huexotzinco tecpā

5. *ypā martes yc 14 de agusto 1627 años*

mathias piltzin tl micqui ypiltzin Miguel

perez pohui acxotlā

7. *ypā miercoles yc 15 de agusto 1627 años*

maa axochiatl micqui ynamic diego

maceuh pohui xaltepetlapā

33. On Thursday the 5th of August 1627:

The child Pasqual died. He was the child of Diego Pérez of Tecpan.

1. On Tuesday the 8th of August 1627:

The child Antonia died. [Her father was] Diego de la Cruz of Acxotlan.

3. On Thursday the 9th of August 1627:

The child Juan died. He was the child of Domingo of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

5. On Tuesday the 14th of August 1627:

The child Matías died. He was the child of Miguel Pérez of Acxotlan.

7. On Wednesday the 15th of August 1627:

Maria Axochiatl died. Her spouse was Diego Maceuh of Xaltepetlapan.
apolonia piltzintli micqui ypiltzin Pasqual Xochicuicuic Tetzcocapan. The child Apolonia died. She was the child of Pasqual Xochicuicuic [of] Tetzcocapan.

juana ypiltzintli ypiltzin pipillpe hernández Tecpan. The child Juana. She was the child of Felipe Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

pohui huexo co tecpā

11. ypā martes yc 24 de agosto 1627 años 11. On Tuesday the 24th of August 1627:

mathias piltzintli ynā franca castillā Xochitl acxotlā The child Matías. His mother was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan.

13. ypā miercoles yc 25 de agosto 1627 años 13. On Wednesday the 25th of August 1627:

diego piltzintli ynā maria jalome pohui xaltepetlapā The child Diego. His mother was Maria Salome of Xaltepetlapan.

15. ypā jueves yc 27 de agosto 1627 años 15. On Thursday the 27th of August 1627:

franca castillā Xochitl ytechca tlacalaquilli tlaco pohui tetzcocapā Francisca Castillanxochitl. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Tetzcocapan.

17. ypā sabo yc 29 de agosto 1627 años 17. On Saturday the 29th of August 1627:
Maria Cacallo Xochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Melchor de la Cruz of Ocotepec.

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. On Wednesday the 1st of September 1627:
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.

25. On Monday the 6th of September 1627:
The child Joseph. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Xaltepetlapan.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Half of her tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac.

30. On Thursday the 9\textsuperscript{th} of September 1627:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Antonio Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

33. On Friday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of September 1627:
The young woman Juana Veronica. She was the child of Miguel García of Acxotlan.

35. On Thursday the 15\textsuperscript{th} 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 agustín piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco perez pohui tocuillā

38. On Tuesday the 5\textsuperscript{th} of October 1627: The child Agustín died. He was the child of Francisco Pérez of Tocuillan.

40. ypā sab\textsuperscript{o} yc 16 de octobre 1627 años juana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlaclallaquilli yynamic Antonio perez ynahuac oriui franco ychā anoto Escodero domīgo ychā anoto Estero

40. On Saturday the 16\textsuperscript{th} of October 1627: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Antonio Pérez, neighbor to Orive.

f. 41v

1. ypā viernes yc 22 de octobre 1627 años diego Bap\textsuperscript{ta} micqui ytechca tlaclallaquilli yynamic ynes castillā xo\textsuperscript{i} pohui huexotzinco totollac

1. On Friday the 22\textsuperscript{nd} 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 tlaclallaquilli ynumeric juā xuarez pohui xaltepetlapā

4. On Friday the 29\textsuperscript{th} of October 1672: Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Juan Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
Elena Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. The barrio gathered for her.

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. On Friday the 5th of November 1627:
Lorenzo Calisto died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Chiyauhtzinco.
His spouse was Maria Jacob.

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 noviembre 1627 años
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin
Augustin pz pohui coyotzinco
[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā joseph pohui tecpā

17. On Wednesday the 10th of November 1627:
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Agustín Pérez of Coyotzinco.
The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Juan Joseph of Tecpan.

20. ypā martes yc 16 de noviembre 1627 años
ysabel cacallo Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacalaquilli ynamic Estevā decoto pohui atenco

20. On Tuesday the 16th of November 1627:
Isabel Cacalloxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Esteban de Soto of Atenco. 145

23. ypā jueves yc 18 de noviembre 1627 años
mariana piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā daniel pohui huexo co tecpā
peo Rodriquez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli tecpan
ynamic maa castillā xo tl pohui huexotzinco tecpan

23. On Thursday the 18th of November 1627:
The child Mariana died. She was the child of Juan Daniel of 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. On Saturday the 20th of November 1627:

The child Felipe died. He was the child of Juan Cuenca of Ocotepc.

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 Cacallacacohuyn.

32. On Friday the 3rd of December 1627:

The child Felipe died. He was the child of Antonio Ortiz of Tecpan.

34. On Saturday the 4th of December 1627:

The child Matías. He was the child of Miguel Suárez of Almoyahuacan.
36. ypā miercoles ye 8 deciēbre 1627 años diego piltzintli micqui ypiltzin mathias de roças tecpā 36. On Wednesday the 8th of December
Diego died. He was the child of Matías de Rosas [of] Tecpan.

38. ypā Viernes ye 10 deciēbre 1627 años helena castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynymic franco perez pohui s. tana salmimilolco franco castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynymic pohui atenco ynymic Pasqual tecāte 38. On Friday the 10th of December
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Francisco Pérez of Santa Ana
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse of Atenco. Her spouse was Pasqual de Cate.

43. ypā domīco ye 12 deciēbre 1627 años Balthasar telpochtli micqui amo nican chane ychā anoto peo Rodríguez pohui tecpā pasqual piltzintli micqui ypiltzin juā lurençō pohui tlanicōtlā 43. On Sunday the 12th of December
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. On Monday the 13th of December 1627:
The child Juana died. She was the child of Matías de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. 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. On Saturday the 18th December 1627:
The child Francisco died. He was the child of Diego Morales of Totollac.

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.

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.

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. On Sunday the 26th of December
Bernardina piltzintli micqui ypitzin franco
cornerio pohui totolac
The child Bernardina died. She was the child of Francisco Cornelio of Totollac.
diego piltzintli micqui ypitzin pe de rocas
pohui tecpā
The child Diego died. He was the child of Pedro de Rosas of Tecpan.

18. On Tuesday the 28th of December
sebastia piltzintli micqui chane
xal tepetlapā s. topā
The child Sebastián died. He was from Xaltepetzpan San Topan.

20. On Wednesday the 29th of December
años
juā piltzintli micqui ypitzin juā perez
pohui xal tepetlapā
The child Juan died. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Xaltepetzpan.

Fr LZ° de baldivia
fray Lazaro de Valdivia

23. – The year 1628 –

24. On Monday the 3rd of January 1628:
helena piltzintli micqui ypiltzin franco 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

26. On Wednesday the 5th of January 1628:

[blank space] piltzintli micqui ypiltzin pilipe Consuelo pohui tlatenco

The child [blank space] died. He was the child of Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.

28. ypā sabō yc 8 de henero 1628 años

28. On Saturday the 8th of January 1628:

thomas piltzintli ychā anoto juā chualero

The child Tomás [died] at home. Juan Caballero said so.

30. ypā domīgo yc 9 de henero 1628 años

30. On Sunday the 9th of January 1628:

juā piltzintli ypiltzin juā perez pohui tlanicōtlan

The child Juan. He was the child of Juan Pérez of Tlanicontlan.

32. ypā martes yc 11 de henero 1628 años

32. On Tuesday the 11th of January 1628:

franca castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic catca juā bernardo yc ocalpolliuhque pohui xaltepetlapā

Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepctlapān died. Her spouse was the late Juan Bernardo. The barrio gathered for her.
The child Veronica. She was the child of Gabriel de Luna of Tecpan.

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 Tlanicótlā.

Veronica Castillán Xochitl of Totollac [died]. She confessed.

40. On Monday the 17th of January 1628:

The child Magdalena died. She was the child of Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.

42. On Thursday the 20th of January 1628:

Sebastián Huitznahuacatl died. He confessed. His spouse was [blank space].
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. On Sunday the 6th of February 1628:
Andesa [blank space] died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

4. On Monday the 7th of February 1628:
Melchora Zarate died. Her spouse was Francisco de Aquino of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Wednesday the 10th of February 1628:
Mateo Jiménez died. His spouse was Marta Xoco[yotl] of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Francisca Xochitlamalin died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

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. On Saturday the 13th of February 1628:
Caprian Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena García of Almoyahuacan.

18. On Sunday the 15th of February 1628:

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42 Probably a hurried ynymic.
146 That is, just before dying. This is a tentative translation.
pilipe de aquino micqui ytechca
Felipe de Aquino died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse
Xochitl pohui acxotlā
Angelina Calloxoctitl of Acxotlan.
antonio micqui piltzintli yta diego juā
The child Antonio died. His father was Diego Juan of Tecpan.
pohui tecpā
andres xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
Andrés Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse
ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui
Maria Castillanxoctitl of Almoyahuacan.
al moyahuacā

24. ypā domigo yc 22 de hebre 1628 años
24. On Sunday the 22nd of February
juā depalma micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
Juan de Palma died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse
ynamic maria castillā Xochitl pohui
Maria Castillanxoctitl of Almoyahuacan.
al moyahuacā

27. ypā lunes yc 23 de hebrero 1628 años
27. On Monday the 23rd of February
juseph xuarez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
Joseph Suárez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse
ynamic maria jalome pohui xaltepetlapā
Maria Salome of Xaltepetlapan.
maria piltzintli mic yta miquel de roças
The child Maria died. Her father was Miguel de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
pohui almoyahuacā
31. ypā lunes yc 6 ylhuitl de março 1628 años
juā de aquino motepehui 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 Martin of Tecpan died.

35. ypā domīgo yc 2 de abril 1628 años
andres gara micqui ytechca tlapopoluillo loc y namic 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 domīgo yc 9 de abril 1628 micqui ma ca callo xo tlapopoluillo loc yc ocalpouihque pohui almoyahuacā ynes castilla Xochitl tlapopoluillo 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 tlapopoluillo loc 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 años
maa jalome ynamic miquel valazquez pohui acxotlā

Maria Salome. Her spouse was Miguel Velazquez of Acxotlan.

43. ypā sabo yc 6 de mayo 1628 años
augustin perez micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli pohui ocotepe

Agustín Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Ocotepec.

45. ypā jueves yc 18 de mayo 1628 años
melchiora piltzintli micq yta de roças pohui tlamiōtlā

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 xoxtlipohui almoyahuacā

Juan Martín died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

1. ypā martes yc 30 de mayo 1628 años
pilipe piltzintli micqui ypiltzin diego peauh tencatl pohui huexotzinco

The child Felipe died. He was the child of Diego Pehuatecatl of Huexotzinco.

4. ypā miercoles yc 31 de mayo 1628 años

On Wednesday the 3rd of May 1628:

On Saturday the 6th of May 1628:

On Thursday the 18th of May 1628:

On Tuesday the 23rd of May 1628:

On Tuesday the 30th of May 1628:

On Wednesday the 31st of May 1628:
Ana Castillánxochitl of Atenco died. She confessed. [Her spouse was] Matías de Cate.

The child Maria died. He was the child of Pedro Tecpatl [of] Huexotzinco.

Fray Lazaro de Valdivia


Sebastián Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Elena Castillánxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Barbara Castillánxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Diego Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

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. On Monday the 10th of July 1628: 
Juana Castillanxochitl died. His tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Andrés Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

20. On Tuesday the 17th of July 1628: 
The widow Marta Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tianquiztenco.

23. On Monday the 24th of July 1628: 
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to Esteban Rodríguez of [blank space].

26. On Wednesday the 26th of July 1628: 
Joseph Hernández died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Juana Tozpetlacal of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

F Fray Francisco Barrientos
30. en treinta de septiembre de mill y seis ce o y ve o y ocho estando en este conveto de huexotzingo nue R do P Fr Miguel de la cruz qualificador de este officio de la ing or Nus Provy a de la provi a de es e Evarag o visto este libro y le hallo conforme a la esta difunto y ordenado y lo firmo – Fr Miguel de la cruz mi o prouy ala Antemi Franco deochandiando secretto

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 tlaclallaquilli ynamic migt perez pohui huexo co tecpā

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 agosto 1628 años
Juā piltzintli micqui yta diego de caniçalas
pohui almoyauacā

catallinā piltzintli miqui yta diego çaynos
pohui tetzcocapā
juana ynes tzauhcā⁴⁶ anoto pohui almoyahuacā

4. On Monday the 6th of August 1628:
The child Juan died. His father was
Diego de Canizales of Almoyahuacan.
The child Catalina died. Her father was
Diego Ceynos of Tetzcocapan.
Juana Inés of Almoyahuacan. Tzauhcan so said.

8. yc 15 de agosto 1628 años
sebastiana castillā Xochitl micqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli pohui huexotzinco tecpā

8. The 15th of August 1628:
Sebastiana Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to
Huexotzinco Tecpan.

11. yc 20 domīgo de agosto 1628 años
melchiora cacalina Xochitl miqui ytechca
tlacallaquilli ynamic [luis] de roças pohui tlanicontlā

11. Sunday the 20th of August 1628:
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.
Don Juan de Cozoman died. His spouse was doña Magdalena Velasco [of] Xaltepetlapan.

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. On Wednesday the 1st of November 1628:
Don Pedro García died at home in Atlixco.

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. 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. On Friday the 27th of November 1628:
The widow Maria Pachnalxochitl died.
Her tribute responsibility belongs to Tlanicontlan.

31. On Friday the 4th of December 1628:
Juan Martin died at home in his residence of Mexico. Mariana [of] Tianquiztenco said so.

33. On Saturday the 5th of December 1628:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her son was Pasqual de San Juan of Almoyahuacan.

¹⁴⁸ Tentative translation.
peömilla micqui ynamic catca andres gar\textsuperscript{a}  Petronilla died. Her spouse was the late
pohui tecpā  Andrés García of Tecpan.

37. 1629 años  37. The Year 1629

38. ypā martes yc 13 de hebrero\textsuperscript{47} 1629  38. On Tuesday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of January 1629:
años  Bartolomé Pérez died. His spouse was
bartholome pz micqui ynamic fran\textsuperscript{a}  Francisca Castillanxochitl of Tocuillan.
castillā xo\textsuperscript{e}l pohui tocuillā

41. ypā miercoles yc 8 de marco 1629 años  41. On Wednesday the 8\textsuperscript{th} of March
baltha[zar] soldero micqui pohui atenco  1629:
Baltazar Soldero of Atenco died.

43. ypā [domingo] yc 11 de marxo 1629 aos  43. On Sunday the 11\textsuperscript{th} of March 1629:
matias] de cozmā micqui ytechca  Matías de Guzman died. His tribute
tlacallaquilli ynamic marlina pohui  responsibility belongs to his spouse
xaltepeltlapā  Marlina of Xaltepeltapan.

\textsuperscript{47} This could be January of February.

1. Ypā sab\textsuperscript{b} yc 18 de marco 1629 a\textsuperscript{s}  1. On Saturday the 18\textsuperscript{th} of March 1629:
Diego de Torres died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Agustina Xillotl of Almoyahuacan.

Mariana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pablo García of Acxotlan.

5. On Sunday the 20th of March 1629:

Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. She confessed.

7. On Sunday the 1st of April 1629:

Maria Iztacxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.

9. On Saturday the 7th of April 1629:

The child Matías. His father was Miguel de Gante of Tecpan.

11. On Monday the 9th of April 1629:

[D]elias de Zamora died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Clara Castillanxochitl of [Pontlac?].
14. On Tuesday the 10th of April 1629:
Francisco Tlacochin died. His spouse was Helena Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco. Her spouse was the late Francisco Tlacochin.

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. 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.

f ray Juan Barrientos

149 This husband and wife passed in the same day.
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
comisar? general

Before me:
fray Francisco de Reyvega
secretary

32. On Monday the 21st of March 1629:
Juan de los Angeles died. His spouse was Elena Calilo of Tlatenco.

34. On Tuesday the 10th of April 1629:
Diego Morante died. His spouse was Mariana of Tlatenco Almoyahuacan.

36. On Thursday the 25th of March 1629:
Matías Castillo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

The child Petrona died. She was the child of Francisco de San Miguel of Atenco.

The child Martín died. He was the child of Diego de Aquino of Tecpan.

1. On Wednesday the 24th of June 1629:
   Juan Pérez died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Juana Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

4. On Saturday the 7th of July 1629:
   The child Micaela died. He was the child of Juan Soto of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

6. On Sunday the 8th of July 1629:
   Juan Mexia died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Cacalloxochitl of Totllac.
The child Elena died. She was the child of Marcos Valdes of Totollac.

On Wednesday the 11th of July 1629: Mateo Castaneda died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Inés Tlapallizqui Xochitl of Atenco.

On Thursday the 12th of July 1629: Luisa Castillán Xochitl ynahuac gar García Malpaldira.

On Saturday the 14th of July 1629: The widow Isabel Temoscoso died. She belongs to Almoyahuacan.

Maria Mendoza died. Her spouse was Pablo Mendoza of Totollac.

The child Antonio died. He was the child of Sebastián of Acxotlán.

On Tuesday the 14th of August 1629: The child Matías died. He was the child of Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
21. On Sunday the 18th of August 1629:
The young woman Francisca died. She was the child of Miguel García of Xaltepétlan.

23. On Saturday the 1st of September 1629:
Maria Salome of Totollac died. She confessed.

25. On Sunday the 2nd of September 1629:
Juana Tomiyauh of Xaltepétlan died. She confessed.

27. On Monday the 3rd of September 1629:
The child Miguel died. His father was Diego Suárez of Xaltepétlan.
The child Lucas died. His father was Miguel Crocel of Ocotepec.

fray Francisco Barrientos
32. ypa jueves yc 18 de octobre 1629 años
    ma' jalome micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli
    ynamic Miguel pohui huexo co tecpa

35. ypa Viernes yc 19 de octobre 1629
    anos

37. ypa Viernes yc 26 de octubre 1629
    anos

39. ypa Viernes yc 2 noviembre 1629 años

32. On Thursday the 18\textsuperscript{th} of October 1629:

Maria Salome died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

35. On Friday the 19\textsuperscript{th} of October 1629:

Tomás de Aquino died. Her spouse was Justina Nenca of Acxotlan.

37. On Friday the 26\textsuperscript{th} of October 1629:

The young man Juan died. His father was Francisco Pérez of Totollac.
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.\

1. On Sunday the 14th of November 1629:

Maríana de Calinsia of Xaltepetlapan died.

3. On Wednesday the 25th of November 1629:

Antonia Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez of Chiyauhtzinco.

6. On Sunday the 2nd of December of 1629:

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48 From huica.
150 Tentative translation.
Pasqual de San Francisco died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Maria Xochitl of Coyotzinco.

9. On Monday the 10th of December 1629:
Francisco Cornelio died. His tribute responsibility belongs to his spouse Maria Francisca of Totollac.

12. On Thursday the 13th of December 1629:
The child Sebastián died. His father was Juan Martín of Almoyahuacan.

14. On Saturday the 15th of December 1629:
The child Andrés died. His father was Pedro Suárez of Xaltepetlapán.

16. On Thursday the 20th of December 1629:
francisco piltzintli micqui y piltzintli y na ana

castillán xoł chane s. xipe

18. – 1630 años

18. – The year 1630

19. ypa jueves yc 3 de henero 1630 años

jpà jueves yc 3 de henero 1630 años

juana castillán Xochitl micqui y techca

tlcallaquillpohui huexototollac

diego piltzintli micqui yta marcos de

aquino pohui tepañ

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. ypa miercoles yc 23 de henero 1630 años

23. On Wednesday the 23rd of January 1630:

Bartolomé Rodríguez micqui ynamic

francisco castillán xoł pohui xaltepeán

Bartolomé Rodríguez died. His spouse

was Francisca Castillanxochitl of

Xaltepetlapan.

25. ypa Viernes yc 1 de hebrero 1630 años

25. On Friday the 1st of February 1630:

tomás tlilli micqui ylapolhuilloc pohui

tiāquiztenco

died. His will is on file at the BNAH, Conjunto de testamentos, f.40r–v.
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. 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. On Sunday the 17th of February 1630:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco died. Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Sebastián Pérez of Tecpan.

37. On Tuesday the 5th of March 1630:
Luis Zocalo died. His tribute responsibility belongs to Totollac. His spouse was Dominga Salome.

39. On Saturday the 6th of April 1630:
Esteban Soto died. His spouse was Juana Castillán Xochitl of Tianquiztenco.

41. On Friday the 17th of May 1630:
Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Elena Castillán Xochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

44. On Saturday the 18th of May 1630:
Diego Gutiérrez died. His spouse was Maria Salome of Almoyahuacan.

f. 45v
1. On Monday the 20th of May 1630:
Inés Castillánxochitl died. She belongs to Huexotzinco Tecpan. She confessed. Her spouse was the late Otonpanhuitl.152

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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. On Tuesday the 28th of May 1630:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Andrés Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Monday the 17th of June 1630:
Diego Castaneda died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

10. On Monday the 24th of June 1630:
Miguel Hernández died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

13. On Tuesday the 25th of June 1630:
Petronilla died. Her spouse was the late Juan Telpechua of Almoyahuacan.

18. On Thursday the 27th of June 1630:
Maria Jacob died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Juan de Canizarez of Almoyahuacan.
21. On Saturday the 29th of June 1630:
The young man Miguel Diego of Tecpan died. His mother was Mariana.

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.

Fray Gabriel [Quitos?]

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. On Thursday the 25th of July 1630:
Diego Agustín de Velasco died. He died right on the feast day of Santiago.
34. On Saturday the 27\textsuperscript{th} of July 1630:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Nuñez of Almoyahuacan.

36. On Thursday the 1\textsuperscript{st} of August 1630:
Miguel Gregorio died. His spouse was Juana Inés of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

38. On Saturday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of August 1630:
Juana Inés died. The barrio gathered for her. Her spouse was the late Miguel Gregorio of Tecpan.\(^{153}\)

41. On Monday the 5\textsuperscript{th} of August 1630:
Apolonia Castillanxochitl of Totollac died. She confessed.

43. On Tuesday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of August 1630:
Maria [illegible] died. Her spouse was Juan Bautista of Almoyahuacan.

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\(^{153}\) This husband and wife died in 2 days of one another.
1. ypā lunes yc 19 de agosto 1630 años
   andres monez micqui ynamic maria castillā
   xo"l pohui almoyahuacā

3. ypā miercoles [blank space]
   Balthasar molares micqui pohui tetzcocapā

5. ypā sabo yc 21 setiembre 1630 anos
   peo hernádez micqui tlapopolhuilloc pohui
   huexoco tecpā
   ma" castillā xo"l micqui ynamic juā
   hernádez tlamacazcapā ynahuac juā
   cahuallero

9. ypā viernes yc 27 setiembre 1630 años
   ana de. S. ta ma" micqui pohui tzauhcā
   ycnoçihuatl
   mag" castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic
   Pasqual de. S. juā pohui almoyahuacā

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 Tetzocapan 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
   Tzaucan died.
   Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her
   spouse was Pasqual de San Juan of
   Almoyahuacan.
13. On Tuesday the 1st of October 1630:
Juan de Santiago died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of [Pedro?] Juárez.

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. On Tuesday the 15th of October 1630:
Marta Nenca of Totollac died. She confessed.

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. On Saturday the 26th of October 1630:
Miguel de Luna died. His spouse was Maria of Almoyahuacan.

28. On Sunday the 3rd of November 1630:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Baltazar Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

31. On Monday the 4th of November 1630:
Agustina Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Melchor Méndez of Tlanicontlan.

34. On Tuesday the 5th of November 1630:
diego hernández telpochtli micqui chane

The young man Diego Hernández died.

tlaxcalla nopallocá yca [illegible]\(^{49}\) juā cahualero

He was from Tlaxcala Nopallocan. [We know] because Juan Caballero [said so].\(^{154}\)

37. ypā miercoles ye 6 noviembre 1630 años

37. On Wednesday the 6\(^{th}\) of November

juā bap\(^{49}\) micqui pohui totollac ynamic

Juan Bautista of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Barbara.

39. ypā Viernes ye 8 noviembre 1630 años

39. On Friday the 8\(^{th}\) of November 1630:

pasqual perez micqui pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac anto martine

Pasqual Pérez died. He belongs to Tlamacazcapan, the neighbor of Anton Martín.

41. ypā domingo ye 10 noviembre 1630 años

41. On Sunday the 10\(^{th}\) of November

Rapael xuarez micqui ynamic apolonia

1630: Raphael Suárez died. His spouse was Apolonia.

f. 46v

1. ypā lunes ye 11 noviembre 1630 años

1. On Monday the 11\(^{th}\) of November

1630:

\(^{49}\) Looks like - yca yones or yanis.

\(^{154}\) Tentative translation.
Diego Menezes of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Maria Crocel.

3. On Thursday the 14\textsuperscript{th} 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. On Wednesday the 15\textsuperscript{th} of November 1630:
Raphael Suárez died. His spouse was Apolonia Castillanxochitl of Tlamacazcapan.

10. On Sunday the 19\textsuperscript{th} of November 1630:
Margarita Castillanxochitl died. Her tribute responsibility belongs to her spouse Baltazar of Ocotepec.
13. On Monday the 20th of November 1630:

Apolonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Raphael Suárez of Tlamacazcapā. 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.

Fray Gabriel [Quintos?] 23. – The year 1631

24. On Tuesday the 7th of January 1631:

The widow Maria Jacob of Ocotepec died.

155 Raphael Suárez died on November 15, 1630.
Juan Catena died. His spouse was the late Luisa Menezes of Cecallacohuayan.\textsuperscript{156}

Juan Catena of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Maria.

29. \textit{ypā martes yc 14 de henero 1631 anos}

The child Miguel died. His father was Miguel de San Francisco of Xaltepexapan.

31. \textit{ypā miércoles yc 15 de henero 1631 años}

Maria Castillánxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Luna of Tecpan.

33. \textit{ypā jueves yc 16 de henero 1631 años}

The child Maria Jacob died. Her father was Simón García of Totollac.

On the 30\textsuperscript{th} of the month of [January]\textsuperscript{157}

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\textsuperscript{156} Luisa Menezes died on November 20, 1630.

\textsuperscript{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 hebrero 1631 años
franço de la fuete micqui ynamic frança yztac xotl pohui tlatenco
37. On Wednesday the 29th of January 1631:
Francisco de la Fuente died. His spouse was Francisca Iztacxochitl of Tlatenco.

39. ypā jueves yc 30 de hebrero 1631 años
paο de helera micqui ynamic ana matlal pohui totollac
39. On Thursday the 30th of [January] 1631:
Pablo de Herrera died. His spouse was Ana Matlal of Totollac.

41. ypā Viernes yc 31 de hebrero 1631 años
mathias catena micqui ynamic frança castillä xotl pohui huexoço tecpa
41. On Friday the 31st of January 1631:
Matías Catena died. His spouse was Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

43. ypā domingo yc 2 de hebrero 1631 años
ysabel castillä xotl ychpochtli micqui yta juā de lona pohui tecpā
43. On Sunday the 2nd of February 1631:
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.
Miguel de San Francisco died. His spouse was Maria of Xaltepetlapan.

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.

On Wednesday the 11th of February 1631:
Antonio García died. His spouse was Inés Magdalena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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
magña castillā Xochitl micqui pohui
cecallacohuāyā
miguel piltzintli micqui yta anton perez
pohui totollac
10. On Tuesday the 18th of February
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 años
miguel sarmiēto micqui yc ocalpolliuhque
pohui huexocō tecpā
gabriel [qenitos]
14. On Wednesday the 19th of February
Miguel Sarmiento Huexotzinco Tecpan died. The barrio gathered for him.158
Gabriel [Quintos?]

18. En veinte y dos dias del mes de febrero de mill y seis cientos y treinta y un año estando en este convento de uexotzinco nio Peñ de Fr franco de vsco lebar jubilad califieadr del esn° offi° mio provyal este Pouy° del LZ° cuanz° 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

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158 Miguel Sarmiento’s wife died the day before him.
[ornado] y mandado Por la provyá y lo firmo
fray francio de vivio
mio provil
Antemi
fray Antonio sarg
secretto
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. ypá miercoles yc 26 de hebro 1631 años
miguel ortona micqui yynamic ana
quetzalpetla pohui acxotlā
nicolasa piltzintli micqui yta Barme de
roças pohui totollac
agustina piltzintli micqui yta juá 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. ypá lunes yc 3 de marco 1631 años
maa castillā Xochtit micqui ynamic andres
perez pohui tlamacazcapā ynahuac juarez
yn techca tlcallaquilli
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. 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. On Friday the 7th of March 1631:
Maria Castillánxochitl died. Her spouse was Gabriel of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. 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 pasqual piltzintli micqui yta juā perez pohui tlmacazcapā juā torez

11. On Wednesday the 12th of March 1631:
The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Pérez of Tlmacazcapan, Juan Torres.\textsuperscript{159}

13. ypā jueves yc 13 de março 1631 años maria gara micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui huexotzinco tecpā franca castillā xo micqui ynaemic peo salgadopohui tepetzinco magna piltzintli micqui yta Melchior hernátez pohui almoayahuaca andresa piltzintli micqui ypiltzin jua Baptista pohui cote pohui ocotepec\textsuperscript{51}

13. On Thursday the 13th of March 1631:
The widow Maria García of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pedro Salgado of Tepetzinco.\textsuperscript{160}
The child Magdalena died. Her father was Melchor Hernández of Almoyahuacan.
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:

\textsuperscript{51} This repetition is likely a scribal error.
\textsuperscript{159} It is likely that this is another “the neighbor of” but the ynahuac was left out.
\textsuperscript{160} Pedro Salgado’s son Joseph died on March 8, 1631 and now his wife of March 13, 1631.
The widow Maria Sánchez of Acxotlan died.
The child Sebastiana died at home. Felipe Maldonato of Coyotzinco said so.

21. On Tuesday the 18th of March 1631:
Diego de Semilla died. His spouse was Maria Castillán of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

23. On Thursday the 20th of March 1631:
Mariana died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez of Ocotepec.
The child Agustina died. Her father was Francisco Suárez of Atzonpan.

26. On Wednesday the 25th of March 1631:
The widow Ana Castillán of Atenco died.
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
hernández pohui tlanicōtla

29. On Thursday the 26th of March 1631:
The child Melchora died. Her father was
Melchior Hernández of Tlanicontlan.

31. ypā Viernes yc 28 de março 1631 años
diego ynā Agustina castillā xoxtli pohui
xaltepétlapā
pasquala piltontli micqui yta Miguel
deribas pohui tecpā
nicolas piltōtli micqui yta bartolome perez
pohui tlanicōtłā

31. On Friday the 28th of March 1631:
Diego. His mother was Agustina
Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetzapan.
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 domigo yc 30 de março 1631 años
maa castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic
Geronimo pz pohui tiāquiztenco
juana cacallo xoxtli micqui ynamic mathias
de cate pohui totollac
fransca piltzintli micqui yta francisco denahuatl
pohui huexotzinco 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's

39. On Monday the 31st of March 1631:
micaela piltōtli micqui yta matheo Bap
tahu pohui tlmacazcapā

t筹划 the child Micaela died. Her father was
mattina piltontli yta miguel gar
del pohui atenco

The child Magdalena. Her father was
Miguel García of Atenco.

42. ypā jueves yca 3 de abril 1631 años

42. On Thursday the 3rd of April 1631:
juā de torez micqui ynamic pohui tlatenco

Juan de Torres died. His spouse was of
antona piltōtli micqui yta diego xuarez pohui tiāquiztēco

The child Antonia died. Her father was
Diego Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

45. ypā Viernes yca 4 de abril 1631 a°s

45. On Friday the 4th of April 1631:
micaela piltōtli micqui yta luis mexia pohui tepetzinco

The child Micaela died. Her father was
Luis Mexia of Tepetzinco.

f. 48r

1. ypā sab° yca 5 de abril 1631 años

1. On Saturday the 5th of April 1631
helena piltōtli micqui yta diego xuarez pohui tiāquiztenco

The child Elena died. Her father was
Diego Suárez of Tianquiztenco.

domígo piltōtli micqui yta agustín valècia pohui ocotepec

The child Domingo died. His father was
Agustín Valencia of Ocotepec.

4. ypā lunes yca 7 de abril 1631 años

4. On Monday the 7th of April 1631:
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. 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. On Friday the 10th of April 1631:
Miguel García died. His spouse was Ana Teocuitlaxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

14. On Saturday the 11th of April 1631:
The child Sebastián died. His father was Diego de la Cruz [of] Totollac.
The child Juana died. Her father was Domingo de Rivas [of] Tecpan.

17. On Sunday the 13th of April 1631:
Catalina Marceliana died. Her spouse was Esteban de Olarte of Atenco.

19. On Monday the 14th of April 1631:
The young woman Magdalena died. Her father was Juan Miranda of Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl of Acxotlan died.
– Her spouse was the late Francisco Vazquez.

22. On Sunday the 20th of April 1631:
Andresa died. Her father was Miguel de San Bartolomé of Almoyahuacan.

24. On Thursday the 24th of April 1631:
Juana de Sevilla of Totollac died.
Simón de Caca of Tlanicontlan died.
The young woman Inés died. Her father was Cristóbal de Luna of Tecpan.

Diego Méndez died. His spouse was Isabel Ortiz of Tecpan.

29. On Friday the 2nd of May 1631:

Maria Nenca of Ocotepec [died.]

31. On Wednesday the 7th of May 1631:

Ana Maria of Santa Ana died at home.

Mateo García of Tecpan said so.

33. On Monday the 10th of May 1631:

Maria de San Bartolomé of Acxotlan died.

35. On Tuesday the 11th of May 1631:

Agustin de Aquino of Xaltepetlapan died.

His spouse was Inés Nenca.

37. On Wednesday the 14th of May 1631:
Maria de la Curz died. Her spouse was Anton Pérez of Acxotlan.

39. On Saturday the 17th of May 1631:

Juana Francisca died. Her spouse was Pablo Vazquez of Acxotlan.

A child died. His father was Francisco Maldonado of Tecpan.

42. On Wednesday the 21st of May 1631:

Pablo Vazquez of Acxotlan died.

44. On Thursday the 22nd of May 1631:

Francisco de Sevilla died. His spouse was Magdalena de Moseoso [or] Tecpan.

The child Ana died. Her father was Pablo de Rosas of Tecpan.

3. On Friday the 30th of May 1631:
The child Sebastián died. His father was Pedro Suárez of Totollac.

5. On Monday the 2nd of June 1631: Maria died. Her father was Matías Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

7. On Tuesday the 10th of June 1631: Ana Teocuitlaxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel García of Huexotzinco Tecpan.\(^{162}\)

10. On Thursday the 14th of June 1631: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Marcos Mocario of Tlatenco.

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.
Antonia de Santa Cruz died. Her spouse was Pedro Suárez of Totollac.

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.

Inés Maria died. Her spouse was Gaspar Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Gaspar Hernández of Huexotzinco died.

The barrio gathered for him.163

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163 This husband and wife died a day apart.
28. ypā miercoles 1631 a's de julio ma' castilla xo'l micqui pohui tianquiztenco
Maria Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco died.

30. ypā jueves yc 10 de julio 1631 a's ma' castillā xo'l micqui ynamic migl ortas pohui huexo'co tecpā
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'l pohui atenco
Juan Macuil died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

34. ypā jueves yc 17 de julio 1631 a's miguel delintorne micqui ynamic ma' castillā xo'l pohui huexo'co tecpā piltzintli micqui yta Miguel ortaz pohui tecpā
daigo Valècia micqui pohui huexotzinco tecpālucia miqui ynamic diego vallencia pohui tecpā
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.
f. 49r

1. ypā martes yc 15 de julio 1631 años
   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

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

8. ypā domīgo yc 20 de julio 1631 años
   diego hernādez mic Española juana castillā xoł pohui almoyahuacā

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. 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. On Sunday the 20th of July 1631:
Diego Hernández died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

The dates go out of order for a day here.

Miguel Ortiz’s wife died on July 10th and his unnamed child on July 17th and another daughter and son die on July 15th.
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.\textsuperscript{165}

On Friday the 31st of July 1631:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel Yohualcohuacatl [of] Ocotepec. The child Melchor died. She was the child of Diego Jiménez of Tecpan.

On Tuesday the 5th of August 1631:
Miguel de Rivas died. His spouse was Isabel Amaxoch of Tecpan.

\textsuperscript{165} Juan Ortiz’s older son died on July 17th and now this younger, unnamed child on the 29th of July.
Antonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Tecpan.

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan.

Luisa Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco died.

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Matías Pérez [of Tecpan].

The young woman Juana died. She was the child of the late Gaspar Hernández [of Tecpan].

Diego Ortiz died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

The child Elena of Totollac died.

Antonia Castillán died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Tecpan.

Francisca Castillán died. Her spouse was the late Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan.

Luisa Castillán of Tlatenco died.

Francisca Castillán died. Her spouse was the late Matías Pérez [of Tecpan].

The young woman Juana died. She was the child of the late Gaspar Hernández [of Tecpan].

Diego Ortiz died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

The child Elena of Totollac died.

Antonia Castillán died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of Tecpan.

Francisca Castillán died. Her spouse was the late Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan.

Luisa Castillán of Tlatenco died.

Francisca Castillán died. Her spouse was the late Matías Pérez [of Tecpan].

The young woman Juana died. She was the child of the late Gaspar Hernández [of Tecpan].

Diego Ortiz died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Totollac.

The child Elena of Totollac died.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Diego Vartes of Totollac.

Diego de Luna of Tlanicontlan died.

33. On Friday the 15th of August 1631:

Angelina Maria died. Her spouse was Juan Antonio of Tecpan.

On Monday the 18th of August 1631:

Pedro de Cate of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

37. On Friday the 22nd of August 1631:

The widow Juana Castillanxochitl of Totollac died.

Miguel Pérez died. His spouse was Juana Catalina of Almoyahuacan.

The child Pasqual died. His father was Marcos Pérez of Tecpan.

On Sunday the 24th of August 1631:
miguel ortona telpochtli micqui pohui The young man Miguel Ortona of Acxoltan died.
acxoltlä

3. ypā lunes yc 25 de agusto 1631 años 3. On Monday the 25th of August 1631:
nicole delandino telpochtli ytá juā The young man Nicolas de Ladino. His
decmora pohui huexo co huexo co tecpā father was Juan de Zamora of
Huexotzincotepcan.

5. ypā martes yc 26 de agusto 1631 años 5. On Tuesday the 26th of August 1631:
juā ortez micqui ynamic [blank space] Juan Ortiz died. His spouse was [blank
pohui huexo co tecpā space] of Huexotzincotepcan.166
andrea piltzintli micqui huexotzinco The child Andrea [of] Huexotzinco
totollac – yta mathias decamora Totollac died. – Her father was Matías de
Zamora.

8. ypā miercoles yc 27 de agusto 1631 8. On Wednesday the 27th of August
años 1631:
helena piltzintli micqui yta juā de lona The child Elena died. Her father was Juan
pohui tlanico tlä 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 huexoco tecpā Isabel, her father was Marcos Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

12. ypā jueves yc 28 de agusto 1631 años 12. On Thursday the 28th of August 1631:

magdalena castillā Xochitl micqui pohui Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Huxotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was

huexoco tecpā juā de s. tiago ynamic Huexotzinco Tecpan. Her spouse was

antonio piltzintli micqui yta diego de The child Antonio died. His father was

aquino pohui tocuilla Diego Aquino of Tocuillan.

15. ypā domigo yc 31 de agusto 1631 anos Juan de Santiago.

juā de roças micqui ynamic angelinā Juan de Rosas died. His spouse was

tlapapal pohui huexoço tecpā Angelina Tlapapal of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

17. ypā domigo yc 7 setiembre 1631 años 17. On Sunday the 7th of September

juā perez micqui ynamic juana castillā xoü 1631:
pohui almoyahuacā Juan Pérez died. His spouse was Juana

luçia castillā xoü micqui ynamic juā de la Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
cruz pohui totollac Lucia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse

juā piltzintli micqui yta franço xuarez pohui was Juan de la Cruz of Totollac.
atzōpā The child Juan died. His father was

Francisco Suárez of Atzonpan.
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. On Wednesday the 10th of September 1631:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Domingo de Rivas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

26. On Thursday the 11th of September 1631:
Juan de la Cruz died. His spouse was Petronilla of Tianquiztenco.

28. On Thursday the 12th of September 1631:
Maira Xillotl died. Her spouse was Francisco Catena of Coyotzinco.
30. On Saturday the 13th of September 1631:

The child Maria died. Her father was Gabriel Soto of Totollac.

32. On Monday the 15th of September 1631:

Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Tecpan.

34. On Tuesday the 16th of September 1631:

Marcos Vartes died. His spouse was Mariana of Totollac.

37. On Wednesday the 17th of September 1631:

Maria Salome died. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna of Tecpan.
Maria Cacallo xochitl died. Her spouse was the late Agustín de Olarte [of Almoyahuacan].

40. On Saturday the 20th of September 1631:
Gaspar Hernández died at home. Diego Suárez said so. He died in Tlanicocotlan.
The child Juan died. His father was Domingo de Rivas of Tecpan.

44. On Wednesday the 24th of September 1631:
Matías de la Cruz died. His spouse was Antonia Jiménez of Tecpan.

On Wednesday the 1st of October 1631:
Miguel de Rosas died. His spouse was Elena Cacallo xochitl of Tlatenco.
Antonía Castillánxochitl died. She was the child of Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.\textsuperscript{167}

5. On Friday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of October 1631:
A child died. He was the child of Juan Rodríguez of Tianquiztenco.

7. On Monday the 6\textsuperscript{th} of October 1631:
Domingo de Rivas died. His spouse was the late Francisca Cacalloxochitl of Tecpan.\textsuperscript{168}

9. On Wednesday the 8\textsuperscript{th} of October 1631:
Catalina de Santa María of Tocuillán died.

11. On Thursday the 9\textsuperscript{th} of October 1631:
Miguel Pérez of Tlanicontlan died.

\textsuperscript{167} Miguel de Rosas died on October 1\textsuperscript{st} and his child on October 2\textsuperscript{nd} and his wife will die on October 28\textsuperscript{th}.

\textsuperscript{168} Domingo de Rivas' son died on sept 20\textsuperscript{th} and his wife on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of September.
13. On Saturday the 11th of October 1631:

Maria Canil of Tlanicontlan died.

15. On Wednesday the 15th of October 1631:

Miguel Diego of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

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. On Friday the 17th of October 1631:

Agustina Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was Francisca Jiménez of Totollac.

22. On Thursday the 23rd of October 1631:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her husband was Antonio Pérez of Totollac.

Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Tecpan.

Lorenzo de Luna died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Coyotzinco.

Maria Salome died. Her spouse was Domingo Hernández of Tlatenco.

27. On Saturday the 25th of October 1631:
Diego, the invalid, died at home, so said the late Juan Pérez.169

29. On Tuesday the 28th of October 1631:
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Rosas of Tlatenco.

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 Luna died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.

Sebastián Pérez died. His father was Esteban Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

A child died. He was the grandchild of Ana de Rosas of Tianquiztenco.

Ana died at home. Her spouse was Raphael Pérez. Anton Martín came to say so.

The young man Matías died. His father was Lorenzo de Luna of Xaltepetlapan.

37. On Friday the 31st of October 1631:
Felipe Clabasar of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Mariana.

40. On Monday the 3rd of November 1631:
Diego de Luna died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.
42. ypā sabº yc 8 noviēbre 1631 años
marcos pz micqui pohui tecpā ynamic maº
pohui tecpā
piltzintli micqui yta peº pohui tecpā
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
[franco] perez micqui pohui huexoº totolla
ynamic ana atenpelol Xochitl
[Francisco] Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac died. His spouse was Ana Atenpeloxochitl.
diego roças micqui pohui ocotepec ynamic
juana castillā xo¹l
Diego Rosas of Ocotepec died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

4. ypā miercoles yc 12 noviēbre 1631 años
pasqual delona micqui pohui huexoº tecpā
ynamic maº castillā xo¹l
juana castillā xo¹l micqui pohui s. tiago
xaltepetlapā s. topā
Pasqual de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.
Juana Castillanxochitl of Santiago Xaltepetlapan San Topan died.
The child Sebastián died. His father was Cristóbal de Luna.

Isabel died. Her father was Pablo de la Curz of Tlanicontlan.

On Thursday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of November 1631:

Juan Bautista of Totollac died. His spouse was Jus[ti]na de Lintorne.


Diego Miguel died at home, so said Jacobo Pérez [of] Acxotlan.

Pedro de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Marta Castillanxochitl.

The child Matías. His father was Juan de Luna of Tecpan.
17. ypā martes yc 18 noviēbre 1631 años
antonio piltzintli yta diego valencia pohui
xaltepetlapā
franca tozetlalal micqui pohui
almoyahuacā ynamic Estevā perez

17. On Tuesday the 18th of November
The child Antonio. His father was Diego
Valencia of Xaltepetlapan.
Francisca Tozetlalal of Almoyahuacan
died. Her spouse was Esteban Pérez.

20. ypā miercoles yc 19 noviēbre 1631 años
ana miyahua xoch micqui pohui huexoco
tecpā yllamatzin y[c]oneuh xpoual
mariana micqui pohui huexoco tecpā
ynamic diego perez
diego piltzintli micqui yta diego Ramirez
pohui acxotlā

20. On Wednesday the 19th of November
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 Ramírez of Acxotlan.

24. ypā jueves yc 20 noviēbre 1631 años
maria ximenez micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui
xaltepetlapā
diego pinero micqui pohui tlanicōtlā
ynamic magmaa ma

24. On Thursday the 20th of November
The widow Maira Jiménez of
Xaltepetlapan died.
Diego Pinero of Tlanicontlan died. His
spouse was Magdalena Maria.
27. On Friday the 21st of November

The young man Juan died at home. Matías Pinero of Tlanicontlan said so.

29. On Wednesday the 26th of November

The child Maria died. Her father was the late Miguel Diego of Tlanicontlan. Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Mariana.

32. On Thursday the 27th of November

Francisco Matías from Tlaltenco died. He was brought to jail and died.\footnote{Tentative translation. Either: \textit{yn maxolo}? [passive of “asi”] or \textit{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.]}

34. On Sunday the 30th of November

Magdalena Barbara of San Francisco Tepeyacac died.
The child Josepha died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Tianquiztenco.

Pablo de Santiago of Atenco.

38. On Monday the 1st of December

Maria. Her mother was Maria Jiménez of Xaltepeltapan.

40. On Tuesday the 2nd of December

Gaspar from Tlatlapanallan died at home. Diego de la Cruz of Acxoltan said so. A prisoner killed him.171

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Torres of Almoyahuacan.

171 Presumably the man became a prisoner after killing him.
Lucía Xahual died. Her spouse was Matías de Rosas of Xaltepeltapan. Miguel Ceynos of Tlanicontlan died. His spouse was Magdalena Castillanxochitl.

4. On Friday the 5th of December 1631:
Juana of Tlanicontlan died.

6. On Thursday the 11th of December 1631:
Esteban Soto died. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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. On Monday the 15th of December 1631:
Miguel Yohualcohuatl of Ocotepec died.

Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.

Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.

On Tuesday the 16th of December 1631:

Petronilla died. Her father was Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan.

On Saturday the 17th of December 1631:

Juan Pérez of Tecpan died.

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.
Diego Ceynos of Almoyahuacan died. The barrio gathered for him.\textsuperscript{172}

Fray Sebastián Flórez

24. The year 1632

25. On Friday the 9\textsuperscript{th} of January 1632:

Joseph Suárez of Coyotzinco died. His spouse was Maria Martina.

Angelina Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died. Her spouse was Joseph de Luna.

Isabel Ortiz of Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Diego Cortés.

29. On Sunday the 11\textsuperscript{th} of January 1632:

A child died. His father was Felipe Consuelo of Tlatenco.

Pedro died. His father was Pablo de la Curz of Tlanicōtla.

32. On Tuesday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of January 1632:

\textsuperscript{172} Diego Ceynos’ wife died the day before on the 15\textsuperscript{th} and his daughter now on the 16\textsuperscript{th}. 
The child Joseph died. He was the grandchild of Agustina Valazquez [of] Ocotepec.

On Wednesday the 14th of January 1632:
Juan Martin 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 Tlamacazapan.
The child Melchora died. Her mother was Francisca Castillanxochtl of Ocotepec.
Pedro de Rosas died. His spouse was Elena of Tlanicontlan.

On Saturday the 17th of January 1632:
[illegible] died. His spouse was Petronilla Lopez of Tecpan.

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 pilztintli micqui yta pa⁹ 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'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 xo⁹l 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:
Juan Mateo died. He was from [?] the neighbor of Juárez. His spouse was Andresa.

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. On Sunday the 1st of February 1632:
The child Maria died. Her father was Diego Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

21. On Monday the 2nd of February 1632:
Juan Suárez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Angelina Castillanxochitl.

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.
A child died. His father was Juan of Totollac.

26. On Saturday the 7th of February 1632:
Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Isabel Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.

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. On Wednesday the 11th of February 1632:
Diego Orana died. His spouse was Ana de Santa Maria of Totollac.

34. On Thursday the 12th of February 1632:
juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā Estevā The child Juan died. His dear father was

pohui xaltepetlapā Esteban of Xaltepetlapan.

36. ypā Viernes yc 13 de hebrero 1632 aºs The child Sebastián died. His father was

sebastiā piltzintli micq̆ yta juā hernádez Juan Hernández of Atenco.

pohui atenco melchiora ychpochtli micqui yta mathias The child Melchora died. Her father was

ximenez xaltepean Jiménez [of] Xaltepetlapan.

39. ypā sabº yc 14 de hebrero 1632 años On Saturday the 14th of February

Fr. sebastian florez 1632:

fray Sebastián Flórez

Codex Ind. 43 2-Size – 32907–2r

1. ypā jueves yc 1 de julio 1632 años On Thursday the 1st of July 1632:

gabriel cosme telpochtli micqui yta The young man Gabriel Cosme died. His

Pasqual decāte pohui atenco father was Pasqual de Cate of Atenco.

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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. On Tuesday the 6th of July 1632:
Petronilla of Tianquiztenco died. Her spouse was the late Juan de la Cruz.

7. On Monday the 11th of July 1632
fray Sebastián de [Flórez?] Maria Cacalloxochitl died. Her spouse was Melchor of Xalteptelapan.

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.

[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 Acoxotlan.

56 These lines seem to be crossed out, but it is hard to tell.
19. ypañ miércoles y 14 de julio 1632 años
lucas perez micqui ycnohoquichtli pohui almoyahaca
migel ortas micqui ynnmic juan de la cruz pohui huexocoe tecpah
gaspar nonoz ycnohoquichtli ytlamacaz juan
dolen - tecpah
francisco de s. ta maria yllamatzin pohui ocotepate

26. ypañ viernes y 16 de julio 1632 años
francisco castillan xochitl micqui ynnmic juan
delona pohui tlanicoltla

1. ypañ lunes y 19 de julio 1632 años
uah perez micqui pohui tepetzinco ynnmic maria
pasqual telpochtli micqui pohui coyotzinco
yna xipina de mosarate

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. On Friday the 16th of July 1632:
Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Luna of Tlanicontlan.

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.
Francisco Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Gabriel Mor[ante] of Tetzcocapan.

Diego Méndez of Almoyahuacan died.

Domingo Pérez of Xaltepetlapan died.

Francisco Pérez. His spouse was Ana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Maria Inés of Xaltepetlapan died.

Diego de San Miguel of Tecpan died.

Juan Domiel of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

Maira Salome of Tecpan died.

14. On Saturday the 25th of July 1632: Francisco Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl.


174 This could mean that he was an old man.
3. Died on Wednesday the 22nd of July 1632:
Miguel Ortiz of San Juan Huexotzinco.

5. Died on Friday the 24th of July 1632:
The young woman Maria Salome of Santa Maria Trinitel.

7. Died on Monday the 2nd of August 1632:
Esteban Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

9. Died on Tuesday the 3rd of August 1632:
Lorenzo of Chiyauhtzinco.

11. Died on Thursday the 5th of August 1632:
Juan Pérez of Tecpan.

13. Died on Sunday the 8th of August 1632:
Ana Castillanxochitl.
15. Died on Monday the 9th of August 1632: Maria of Atenco.

17. Died on Monday the 9th of August 1632: Inés of Santiago Xaltepetlapan.

19. Died on Friday the 13th of August 1632: Cristina of San Luis Coyotzinco.

21. Died on Sunday the 22nd of the month of August 1632: Matallena Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.

1. Died on Monday the 23rd of the month of August 1632: Pedro de la Cruz of Huexotzinco Totollac.
4. çã ypã llunes momiquili petro tecpatzi pohui tecpa


6. ypã jueves 26 manimetztli de acostó omomiquili allosom xinmennez pohui tepetzico

6. Died on Thursday the 26\textsuperscript{th} of the month of August: Allosome Jiménez of Tepetzinco.

9. setieple - ypã llones 4 metztli 1632 años omomiquili merchior carcia pohui san tiago saltepetlapa

9. September – Died on Monday the 4\textsuperscript{th} of the month 1632: Melchor García of Santiago

momiquili jua pabtista pohui huexotzico

Xaltepétlan

Juan Bautista of Huexotzinco died.

14. ypã domigo 54(sic) metztli 1632 años omomiquili matalêna pohui tecpa

14. Died on Sunday the 5\textsuperscript{th} of the month 1632:

omomiquili telpochtli antres marti pohui atzopa

Matalena of Tecpan.

omomiquili agelina tlapapal pohui tecpa 24 metztli 1632 años

The young man Andrés Martín of Atzonpa died.

momiquili pilztintli yta Miguel te sanpaltolome pohui almoyahuaca

Angelina Tlapapal of Tecpan died on the 24\textsuperscript{th} of the month [?] 1632.

A child died. His father was Miguel de San Bartolomé of Almoyahuacan.
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 Ramirez 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 octubre 1632 años pasqual balentino telpochtli yta mathias bolentino pohui coyocó
11. On Thursday the 21st of October The young man Pasqual Valentino. His father was Matías Valentino of Coyotzinco.

13. ypā Viernes yc 22 de octubre 1632 años ana antona micqui ynamic gregorio mestizo57 pohui telpā
13. On Friday the 22nd of October 1632: Ana Antonia died. Her spouse was Gregorio Mestizo of Tecpan.

15. ypā domígo yc 24 de octubre 1632 años juana perez micqui ynamic catca juā perez pohui tecpā [Margin: 24 octu]58 magna castillá xoíl micqui ynamic diego gara 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 octubre 1632 años maria ycihuapil Antonio vega
18. On Thursday the 27th of October 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
On Sunday the 31st of October 1632:

Bartolomé from Teocan died at home so said Pedro from Mixtlan. He belonged to Xalpetlapan.

Matías de Torres of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

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.

fray Sebastián Flórez

On the 6th of November of the year 1632, our very reverend priest fray Francisco de Apodaca, commissioner of this Convent, viewed this book of the
[nuberales] y de hallo conforme
ordena por a provy y lo fimo
fr. Franço de Apodaca
commisio general
antemi
pedro de Audicana
secret°

ordené por a provy y lo fimo:
fray Francisco de Apodaca
Commisioner General
Before me:
Pedro de Audicana

f. 52v
1. ypā jueves yc 11 noviēbre 1632 años
anton'o xuarex micquī ynamic dominga
juana pohui huexo co tecpā

1. On Thursday the 11th of November 1632:
Antonio Suárez died. His spouse was
Dominga Juana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

3. ypā Viernes yc 12 noviembre 1632 años
helena castillā xo til micquī ynamic catca juā
pz yc ocalpoliuhque pohui huexo co tecpā
andres martin telpochtli micquī ynahuac juanes
juanes
jusepa piltzintli micquī ypiltzin agustin Ramirez xaltepetchapā

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 Martin, neighbor of Juárez died.
The child Josepha died. She was the child of Agustin Ramírez Xaltepetlapā.
8. ypā sab° yc 13 noviembre 1632 años
maría castillá Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl
pohui xaltepetlapā
juana perezc micqui ynamic juā perezc pohui
tetzcocapā

8. On Saturday the 13th of November
The widow María Castillanxoçihuatl of Xaltepétlan died.
Juana Pérez died. Her spouse was Juan Pérez of Tetzocapan.

11. ypā lunes yc 15 noviembre 1632 años
Bonauētora gotierez micqui huehuetzin
pohui huexó co tepā

11. On Monday the 15th of November
The old man Bonaventura Gutiérrez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

13. ypā martes yc 23 noviembre 1632 años
helena morāte micqui ynamic Miguel pz
pohui almoyahuacā
lurenco āsuelo telpochtli micqui ypiltzin
pilipe āsuelo pohui tlatēco

13. On Tuesday the 23rd of November
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 noviembre 1632 años

17. On Thursday the 25th of November
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. On Monday the 29th of November 1632:
Miguel Pérez died. His spouse was the late Elena Morante of Almoyahuacan.175

22. On Tuesday the 23rd of November 1632:
Miguel Hernández died. His spouse was Juana of Tetcocapan.

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Atenco.

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 Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pasqual García of Xaltepeltapan. 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. On Friday the 3rd of December 1632:
Pasqual García died. His spouse was the late Juana Castillanxochitl of Xaltepeltapan. The barrio gathered for him.\(^{176}\)

The child Francisca died. She was the child of Mateo Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

33. On Saturday the 4th of December 1632:
Pablo, from Cuetlaxcohuapan died at home. Pablo Acoqui [of] Chiuhcan said so.\(^{177}\)

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\(^{176}\) 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.
On Tuesday the 7th of December 1632:

Francisca Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Atenco.

On Saturday the 11th of December 1632:

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 Tlanicontlán.

On Friday the 23rd of December 1632:

Francisca Castillanxochitl died on December 7th and her husband now on December 11th.

¹⁷⁸ Francisca Castillanxochitl died on December 7th and her husband now on December 11th.
Ma:Micaela ynamic juá Gregorio pohui huexo co tecpā

Maria Micaela. Her spouse was Juan Gregorio of Huxotzinco Tecpan.

3. ypā sab° yc 24 dečiēbre 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 Axcotlan.
Matías de Rosas died. He was the child of Matías de Aquino of Tlanicotlan.

6. ypā domigo yc 26 dečiēbre 1632 años
[ma]ria castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic xpōual de cāte pohui huexotzinco tecpā
[m]atheo bartholome micqui ynamic mag na 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 dečiēbre 1632 años
maria castillā xoīl micqui ynamic diego chanito pohui tlanicōtlā

10. On Tuesday the 27th of December 1632:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Chanito of Tlanicotlan.
Ana Cacallo Xochitl yecoñihualt micqui pohui Cecallacohuayan died.
Mariana micqui yna micqui lurenço de Lorenzo de Luna of Chiyauhtzinco.

14. Ypā miercoles yc 28 de diciembre 1632 años
Magdalena Maria micqui yna micqui Mateo Bartolomé of Huexotzinco Tecpan. The barrio gathered for her.
Felipe Hernández died. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.

18. Ypā jueves yc 30 de diciembre 1632 años
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.
Antonio de la Cruz [and] Magdalena Salome died.

The year 1633

24. On Saturday the 1st of January 1633:
Gabriel Morante of Tetzocapan died.

The barrio gathered for him.

The young woman Maria Salome from San Antonio Tlatenco San Topan [died].

27. On Monday the 3rd of January 1633:
The young man Juan died. He was the grandchild of Diego Maceuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.

Joseph Miguel died. His spouse was the late Maria Inés of Xaltepetlapan.

31. On Tuesday the 4th of January 1633:
Juan Bartolomé died. His spouse was Juana Luisa of Tlamacazcapan.

Micaela died. She was the child of Esteban Ortiz of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
34. On Sunday the 9th of January 1633:
Juan Suárez died. His spouse Francisca Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

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.

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 Pérez. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Francisca Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Gaspar Hernández. His spouse was Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The 2nd of May 1633:

Lucas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The young man Andrés Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Diego Ramírez. His spouse was Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Juan Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Agustín Elena. Her spouse was Pasqual of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Francisca Juana. Her spouse was Gabriel Jiménez of Tecpan.

Matías de Rosas. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Elena Xillotl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The 3rd of April 1633:
The young woman Ana Maria Antonia of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Ana Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Elena Nenca of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Domingo de Ancolo. His spouse was Maria Castillánxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Pedro Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Pedro Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The widower Pasqual de Rosas of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The young woman Ana Maria of Tecpan.

Magdalena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

The young woman Ana Maria of Tecpan Magdalena of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

28. The 4th of April 1633 of May

Tomás de Aquino. His spouse was Maria Francisca of Hue[xtzinco].

Matías Salome. His spouse was Maria Salome of Tecpan.

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.
peō xuarez ynamic ma Española castillā xoł pohui

Pedro Suárez. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
tecpā

Andrés Pérez. His spouse was Elena Coceptica of Huexotinco Totollac.
andres perez ynamic Helena coceptiaca

Juan de la Cruz. His spouse was Lucia Nezahualxochitl of Totollac.
pohui huexo co totollac

Juan Mexia of Huexotzinco Totollac.
juá de la cruz ynamic lučia neča hual xoł

Matías de Zamora. His spouse was Polonia of Huexotzinco Totollac.
pohui totollac

Mathias de Zamora. His spouse was Polonia of Huexotzinco Totollac.
juá mexia pohui huexo co totollac pohui

37. The 5th of May 1633:
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 xoł ynamic fran co pohui

Isabel Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Isabel Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Totollac.
huexo co totollac

Francisco of Huexotzinco Totollac.
heleca agustina ynamic juá fran co pohui

Elena Agustina. Her spouse was Juan Elena Agustina of Huexotzinco Totollac.
huxo co tollac

gaspar perez ynamic Helena pohui huexo co totollac

Gaspar Pérez. His spouse was Elena of Huexotzinco Totollac.
totollac

ysabel castillā xoł pohui huexo co totollac

Huexotzinco Totollac.
ma\textsuperscript{a} jalome ynamic lucas perez pohui totollac
agustina ana ynamic ju\textbar Lazaro po huexo\textsuperscript{co}
totollac
ma\textsuperscript{a} castilla xo\textsuperscript{0} ynamic fran\textsuperscript{co} de lona pohui totollac
ju\textbar miquel ynamic ma\textsuperscript{a} jalome pohui totollac

f. 54r
1. ye\textsuperscript{6} de mayo 1633 a\textsuperscript{0}s
die\textsuperscript{o} miguel ynamic antona Angelina pohui
totollac almoyahuac\textbar
miguel catena ynamic mar\textbar jalome pohui almoyahuac\textbar
ju\textbar bap\textsuperscript{ma} ynamic ma\textsuperscript{a} deseta ocalpolliuhque pohui almoyahuac\textbar
mag\textsuperscript{ma} castilla xo\textsuperscript{0} ynamic catca die\textsuperscript{o} Castaneda pohui almoyahuac\textbar

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 The 6\textsuperscript{th} 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 Castillanxochitl and Agustín Pérez of Almoyahuacan. The barrio gathered for them.

Juan de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

Esteban Pérez. His spouse was Francisca Tozpetlacal of Almoyahuacan.

Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Bartolomé Suárez of Almoyahuacan.

The widower Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.

Matías Pérez. His spouse was Juana Clara of Almoyahuacan.

14. The 7th of May 1633:

Simón de la Cruz. His spouse was Elena of Almoyahuacan.

Juan Pérez. His spouse was Isabel Mexia of Almoyahuacan.

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 xocl Miguel de Aquino. His spouse was Ana
pohui almoyahuacā Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.
pa° maceuh ynamic ma° jallome pohui Pablo Maceuh. His spouse was Maria
almoyahuacā Salome of Almoyahuacan.
Estevā perez ynamic Agustina yzqui xocl Esteban Pérez. His spouse was Agustina
pohui almoyahuacā Izquixochitl of Almoyahuacan.
juā Gabriel ynamic pedromilla pohui Juan Gabriel. His spouse was Petronilla
almoyahuacā of Almoyahuacan.
mariana pohui ocotepec Mariana of Ocotepec.
franca çaynos ynamic diego alberez pohui Francisca Ceynos. Her spouse was Diego
atzonpā Alvarez of Atzonpan.
lorenço mijin telpochtli pohui atzop The young man Lorenzo Martín of
tlatenco Atzonpan Tlatenco.

25. ye 8 oc mayo 1633 a°s 25. The 8th of May 1633:
die° de la cruz pohui tlatēco Diego de la Cruz of Tlatenco.
helelena castillā xocl pohui tlatenco Elena Castillanxochitl of Tlatenco.
andres delez pohui tlatēco – antona Andrés de Luz of Tlatenco – [his spouse
thomas de. S. Miguel ynamic franca pohui was] Antonia.
tlatenco Tomás de San Miguel. His spouse was
franca ynamic antona pohui tlatenco Francisca of Tlatenco.
pa° xuarez ynamic antona pohui tlatenco Pablo Suárez. His spouse was Antonia of
Tlatenco.
Diego Pérez. His spouse was Juana Castillánxochitl [of] Tlatenco.

Miguel Quauhtli. His spouse was Francisca Castillánxochitl of Tlatenco.

Diego de Cate. His spouse was Agustina of Tlatenco.

Joseph Hernández. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.

Juan Gaspar. His spouse was Ana of Tlatenco.

36. The 9th of May 1633:

Matías Marcos. His spouse was Elena Maria of Tlatenco.

Antonio Martín. His spouse was Francisca of Tlatenco.

Elena Castillánxochitl. Her spouse was Juan Diego of Tlatenco.

Antonio Pérez. His spouse was Angelica of Tlatenco.

Juan Martín. His spouse was Maria of Tlatenco.

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180 Literally, eagle.
Pedromila ymāc juā de la cruz
Omicqtiāquiztenco
Joaquin Pérez. His spouse was Sebastiana
Uachin Perez ymāc sebastiona tiāquiztēco
Juan Bautista of Atenco died. His spouse
Jaquitaqtiāquiztenco
Jau bap Çünkü omic pohui atecō
was Maria.

45. ye 10 de mayo 1633 aös
Juana castillā xotl ymāc mathias de
Aquino pohui tlānicōtlā
45. The 10th of May 1633:
Juan Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was
Diego de Rosas. His spouse was Juana
Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.
Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan. The
barrio gathered for him.
Bartolomé Hernández. [His spouse was]
Elena of Tlanicontlan.
Juā gotierez ymāc juana castillā xolt
Matías García. His spouse was Ana
pohui tlānicōtlā
Pochiquichitl of Tlanicontlan.
Juan Gutiérrez. His spouse was Juana
Matíc garBecause ycqui xotl pohui
tlanicōtlā
Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan.
Mateo de Rosas. His spouse was
Francisca of Tlanicontlan.

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 francisco of calpolliuhqtlan. The barrio gathered for her.

agustina castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna [of] Coyotzinco.

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.
The widow Ana Gomez of Tocuillan
Barbara of Coyotzinco.
The widow Ana Gomez of Tocuillan
Andrés Mexia. His spouse was Elena of Acxotlan.
Juan Pérez of Acxotlan.
agustina cacallo xo\textsuperscript{d} ynnmc luis maldonate pohui tepetzinco

juana cacalla xo\textsuperscript{d} ynnmc mathias pohui tepetzinco

Fr. sebastian florez

13. ypā yc 16 de mayo 1633 años miqui
magdalena castillā Xochitl micqui ynnmc
diego gar\textsuperscript{4} pohui atzonpā
juana castillā xo\textsuperscript{d} micqui ynamci mathias
deaquino pohui tlanicōtlā

16. yc 17 de mayo 1633 anos
mathias telpochtli micqui ytatzin l mathias
deaquino pohui tlanicōtlā
miguel catena micqui pohui al moyahuacā
diego de roças micqui ycnohouichltl
pohui tāquiztenco
juana castillā xo\textsuperscript{d} ynnmic quauhtla peuhcatl
catea pohui tecpā

183 Matías de Aquino died the day before on May 16\textsuperscript{th}.
Lorenzo Tenpio died. His spouse was Sebastiana Castillanxochitl of Tetzcocapan. Antonia Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Jiménez Latineo of Tetzcocapan.

23. The 17th of May 1633:
- Lorenzo de Cardo of Chiyanhtzinco died.
- Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Miguel of Tecpan.
- Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was Mateo Suárez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

27. On the 20th of July 1633:
- Maria Jacob died. Her spouse was the late Francisco García of Totollac.
- Pablo de Lonsa died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl of Ocotepec.

Fray Diego de Tapias
f. 55r

1. ypā sapato yc 21 de mayo 1633 anos
asqual angel miqui ycnooquichitli
cecallacohuaya

The widower Pasqual Angel [of] Cecallacohuaya died.

3. ypā lunez yc 23 de mayo 1633 anos
uanna castilla xochitli miqui pohui
tlanicontla

Juana Castillanxochitl of Tlanicontlan died.

5. ypā domico yc 28 de mayo 1633 anos
don diego saynos miqui ynamic dona fra
temos cosa pohui almoyahuaca

Don Diego Ceynos died. His spouse is doña Francica Temoscosa of Almoyahuacan.

7. ypa dominco 5 de junio 1633 anos
maria acostina yillamatzi miqui chane
tlaxcalla ycha anoto olellutl

The old woman Maria Agustina from Tlaxcalla died. Olellutl so said.

9. ypa jueves yc 6 junio 1633 anos
juā pabtizta miqui puhui atenco ynamic
marta castilla xochitli

Juan Bautista from Atenco died. His spouse was Marta Castillanxochitl.

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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. On Friday the 10th of June 1633: The old woman Marta of Ocotepec died.


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. 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. On Sunday the 17th of June 1633: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Letezona of Acxotlan.

The young woman Maria Castillanxochitl died. The one who was her father was Miguel Suarez [of] Almoyahuacan.¹⁸⁴

6. On Monday the 12th of July 1633: Baltazar Hernandez died. His spouse was Angelina Maria of Xaltepetzapan.

9. On Sunday the 17th of July 1633: Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel de Letezona of Acxotlan.¹⁸⁵

12. On Sunday the 24th of July 1633, Miguel Garcia died. His spouse was Ana Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetzapan.

¹⁶⁶ 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. On Wednesday the 27th of July 1633
A child.

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. 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 Tetzocapan.

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. ypañ lunes yc 20 de henero 1634 año
magdalena de la cruz micqui ynamic
Pasqual deroças pohui xaltepetlapäh
Magdalena de la Cruz died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Xaltepetlapan.

36. ypañ martes tes yc 25 de hebre 1634 años
pasqual deroçal micqui ynamic catca magna de la cruz pohui xaltepetlapäh
Maria Castillán xochitl micqui ynamic diego
Maria Castillán xochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Ocotepec.

40. ypañ martez yc 15 de marzo 1634 año
ana xoxal micqui yllamatzin pohui
ticaquiztenco
The old woman Ana Xoxal of Tianquiztenco died.

186 This husband and wife died a few days apart.
Juan Bautista died. His spouse was Marta Castillánxochitl of Atenco.

Matías de Zamora died. His spouse was Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Mariana died. Her spouse was Diego de Aquino of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

Matías Cosme died. His spouse was Elena Castillánxochitl of Tecpan.

Juana Castillánxochitl died. His spouse was the late Pablo de Letesma of Ocotepec.

The widower Juan de Canizares of Almoyahuacan died.

The widow doña Magdalena de Velasco of Xaltepetlapā 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 pe⁰ 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
ma⁰ jalome piltzintli micqui ynatzin Ysabel
castillā xo⁰ coyotzinco
dona fran⁰ sa 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

18. ypā jueves yc 22 de junio 1634 ano
magna piltzintli micqui yatzin matheo
morate pohui huexo⁰ tecpā

18. On Thursday the 22nd of June 1634:
The child Magdalena died. Her father
was Mateo Morate of Huexotzinco
Tecapan.
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. On Saturday the 24th of June 1634:
Joseph Quauhtacatl of Ocotepec died. His spouse was [blank space].

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. On Wednesday the 28th of June 1634:
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. On Saturday the 1st of July 1634:
Juana Castillanxochitl died on Alvarado’s estate.
The child Juan died. His father Francisco Vartes of Totollac.

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
8. On Monday the 3rd of July 1634:
Joseph Hernández died. His spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan.

The widow Maria Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.

11. On Tuesday the 4th of July 1634:
Doña Paola de la Corona of Totollac died. Her spouse was Matías Sevantes.

13. On Monday the 10th of July 1634:
Bartolomé Ceynos of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Micaela Angelina.

The widow Juana Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco.

17. On Tuesday the 11th of July 1634:
The orphan Miguel Acatl of Tlanicontlan died. The child Maria died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

20. On Wednesday the 12th of July 1634:
The young woman Inés. Her father was Mateo Marante of Tecpan. The child Michael died. Her mother was Francisca Casatillanxochitl [of] Tecpan.

23. On Thursday the 13th of July 1634:
The young woman Catalina died. Her father was Francisco Hernández of Tecpan. The widow Isabel Castillanxochitl of Atenco died.

27. On Friday the 14th of July 1634:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonia Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan</td>
<td>died. Her spouse was Gernomio Pérez.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. On Saturday the 15th of July 1634:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalina Xochitl of Tlamacazcapan</td>
<td>died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child Juan died.</td>
<td>His father was Francisco Sánchez of Tecpan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child Joseph.</td>
<td>His father was Juan Pérez of Tecpan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child Juan.</td>
<td>His father was Joseph Hernández of Almoyahuacan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micaela.</td>
<td>Her father was Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Ceynos of Huexotzinco Tecpan</td>
<td>died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The widow Francisca Castillanxochitl of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almoyahuacan died.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agustina Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco</td>
<td>died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tecpan died.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Pozonalxochitl died.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melchor de la Cruz of Atenco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. On Sunday the 16th of July 1634:
The child Juan. His father was Andrés Mexia of Acxotlan.

7. On Monday the 17th of July 1634:
The widow Marta García of Tianquiztenco died.

10. On Wednesday the 19th of July 1634:
Isabel Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Agustín Pérez [of] Coyotzinco.

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. On Friday the 21st of July 1634:
Maá delentino micqui ynamic Gaspar Poyça Cecallacohuapan.

Agustina Elena died. Her spouse was Diego Juan Xaltepetlapan.

On Friday

Inés Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan died. Her spouse was Lorenzo de Luna.

The child Lucia. Her father was Pablo de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

21. On Saturday the 22nd of July 1634:

The young man Sebastián. His father was Pablo de Luna of Tecpan.187

23. On Monday the 24th of July 1634:

The young woman Maria Salome died. Her mother was Maria Castillanxochitl [of] Almoyahuacan.

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. On Friday the 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1634:
Ana Castillanxochitl died. Her neighbor was Juan de Ortiz. His spouse was Juan Pasqual.

28. On Saturday the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1634:
Inés de la Fuente died. Her spouse was Pasqual de Rosas of Almoyahuacan Francisco Castillanxochitl.

31. On Sunday the 30<sup>th</sup> 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. On Monday the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 1634:
Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was the late Miguel Hernández of Tetzocapan. The barrio gathered for her.
38. On Tuesday the 1st of August 1634:

Lucas Pérez of Tlamacazacapan died. His spouse was Mariana. Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Diego Juan. She was in the home of Juárez.

The child Pasqual died. Her father was Diego Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

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. On Thursday the 3rd of August 1634:

Juan Aranta of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was [blank space].

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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
magⁿa teonoscojo micqui ynamic catea franco de senilla tecpā
maᵃ jalome ycnoçihuatl yllamatzin pohui huexoⁿ tecpā
maᵃ castillā Xochitl micqui ynamic jusep Miguel ych domigo mjn
micaela Angelina ychpochtli ytatzin catca matheo garᵃ tecpā

12. ypā Viernes yc 4 de aguesto 1634 años
magⁿa castillā xoⁿl micqui ynamic Miguel garᵃ pohui xaltepetlapā
varvora castillā xoⁿl micç ynamic peⁿ de s.
migⁿ pohui atenco juā piltzintli ytatzin mathias de la cruz
pohui Atenco

The child Juan died. His father was Melchor de Rosas of Totollac.
Magdalena Teonoscojo died. Her spouse was the late Francisco de Senilla [of] Tecpan.
The widow and old woman Maria Salome of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Joseph Miguel. She was in the home of Domingo Martín.
The young woman Micaela Angelina. Her father was the late Mateo García [of] Tecpan.

12. On Friday the 4th of August 1634:
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Miguel García of Xaltepetlapan.
Barbara Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Pedro de San Miguel of Atenco.
The child Juan. His father was Matías de la Cruz of Atenco.
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. 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. 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. On Monday the 7<sup>th</sup> 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. On Tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup> 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. On Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup> of August 1634:

- The child Elena died. Her father was Matías de la Cruz of Atenco.
- The child Isabel died.
The child Melchora died.

On Thursday the 10th of August 1634:
The young man Juan Mateo died. His father was Andrés Pérez of Almoyahuacan. The child Isabel died. The child Sebastián died. The child Miguel died. The child Juana died.

On Friday the 11th of August 1634:
The child Matías died. The child Mateo died. They were the children of Pablo de San Miguel. The child Luisa died.

On Saturday the 12th of August 1634:

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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 Castillanxochitl died. His spouse was Miguel de Luna of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

14. On Sunday the 13th of August 1634:
Miguel Joseph of Totollac died. His spouse was Catalina Castillanxochitl.
The child Micaela died. Her father was Matías de Rosas of Almoyahuacan.
The child Mateo died. His mother was Francisca of Tlanicontlan.
The child Matías died. His father was Juan Gabriel of Tlanicontlan.
The child Esteban died. His father was Juan Quauhxinqui of Tlanicontlan.
The child Francisco died. His father was Gaspar of Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Sebastián Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

22. On Monday the 14th of August 1634:
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.

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 Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Francisco Nuñez of Almoyahuacan. Miguel Juan of Totollac.

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. On Thursday the 17th of August 1634:
The child Matías
They were the children of Antonio de San Esteban [of] Tepetzinco.
Agustina.
Melchora Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan Miguel Almoyahuacan.

Matías de Rosas of Tecpan died. His spouse was Elena.

On Friday the 17th of August 1634:

The widow Lucia [of] Tepeyacac.

The young man Francisco of Almoyahuacan.

The young woman Ana Vazquez of Almoyahuacan.

Mateo Juan died. His spouse was Elena Angelina, the neighbor of Juan Torres.

The child Matías died. Her father was Pablo de San Miguel [of] Atenco.  

12. On Saturday the 18th of August 1634:

Pablo García of Ocotepec died.

The child Matías died. His father was Domingo Hernández of Tecpan.

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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
pohui xaltepetlapá  

16. ypā domigo yc 19 de agosto 1634 año ynes castillā xochitli micqui ynamic juā de Antonio pohui tecpā  

16. On Sunday the 19\textsuperscript{th} of August 1634: Inés Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Juan de Antonio of Tecpan.

antona piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā diego pohui xaltepetlapá  

The child Antonio died. Her father was Juan Diego of Xaltepetlapan.

juā baptista micqui pohui totollac ynamic Helena castilla xo

Juan Bautista of Totollac died. Her spouse was Elena Castillanxochitl.

fran\textsuperscript{ca} castillā Xochitl micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic bathasar\textsubscript{pz}  

Francisca Castillanxochitl of Almoyahuacan died. Her spouse was Baltazar Pérez.

pablo perez micqui pohui almoyahuacā ynamic ynes castilla xo\textsuperscript{d}  

Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan died. His spouse was Inés Castillanxochitl.

22. ypā lunes yc 20 de agosto 1634 año sebastiana micqui pohui acxotlā ynamic Miguel de. S. juā  

22. On Monday the 20\textsuperscript{th} of August 1634: Sebastiana of Acxoltan died. Her spouse was Miguel de San Juan.

diego de lona micqui chane calpā ynamic ysabel  

Diego de Luna from Calpan died. His spouse was Isabel.

juana piltzintli micqui ytatzin sebastiā perez acxtlā  

The child Juana died. Her father was Sebastián Pérez [of] Acxotlan.
Esteván de Rosas of Tlanicontlan died.
The child Antònia died. Her father was Pablo de San Miguel [of] Atenco.
The child Juan died. His father was Joseph Hernández [of] Xaltepetlapan.
Baltazar Pérez of Almoyahuacan died.
His spouse was Francisca Castillan.
The child Petronilla. Her father was Baltazar García [of] Xaltepetlapan.
The child Diego died. His father was Pablo Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.
The child Mateo died. His father was Juan Hernández [of] Atenco.

33. On Tuesday the 22nd of August 1634:
Baltazar Martín, with his spouse, Ana of Ocotepec, died.
Diego Ramírez of Acoxoltan died. His spouse was Maria Gutiérrez.
The child Maria died.
The young man Simón died. His father was Francisco Valencia [of] Xaltepetlapan.
The child Juana died.

39. On Sunday the 3rd of September 1634:
Sebastiana Juana, her mother was Maria Doleso of Xaltepétlan.

41. On Monday the 4th of September 1634:
Miguel Gabriel, his father was Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpán.
Josepha, her father was Pablo Pérez of Almoyahuacan.

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 die⁰ decoca pohui
The young woman Juana. Her father was

tlanicōtla
Diego de Coca of Tlanicontlan.

angélina piltzintli miqui ytatzin juā pz
The child Angelina died. Her father was

tetzcocapa pohui
Juan Pérez of Tetzcocapan.

10. ypā mar yc 5 de setiembre 1634
10. On Tuesday the 5th of September

nicolasa piltzintli yta juā bap⁰a
1634:

cecallacohuayā pohui
The child Nicolasa. Her father was Juan

juā Estevā telpochtli ytatzin die⁰ pz pohui
Bautista of Cecallacohuayan.

tecpā
The young man Juan Esteban. His father

juā piltzintli micqui ytatzin gaspar pe⁰
was Diego Pérez of Tecpan.

ocotepec
The child Juan died. His father was

mag⁰a castillā xo⁰l micqui ynamic simō pz

tecpā
Magdalena Castillanxochitl died. Her

nicolasa piltzin ynatzin ana de silba pohui
spouse was Simón Pérez Tecpan.

tecpā
The child Nicolasa. Her mother was Ana

jusep piltzin ynatzin Justina castillā xo⁰l
de Silva of Tecpan.

atenco pohui
The child Joseph. His mother was Justina

ma⁰ jalome piltzintli micqui ytatzin pe⁰ pz
Castillanxochitl of Atenco.

pohui tlamacazcapā
The child Maria Salome died. Her father

Estevā maldonato micqui tepetzinco pohui
was Pedro Pérez of Tlamacazcapan.

Esteban Maldonado of Tepetzinco died.
19. On Thursday the 7\textsuperscript{th} of September 1634:

The child Juan died. His father was [blank space].

Catalina Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego de San Juan [of] Atenco.

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 don Francisco de Osacasiro of Totollac.

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 xoṭl micqui ynamic mathias de lona totolac pohui

dieö piltzintli micqui ytatzin matheo xuarez ocotepec
catilina piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā de lona tlanicōtlā

marcos piltzintli micqui ytatzin dieöpz pohui tecpā
micaela angelīna micqui ynamic Pasqual de la fuēte almoča

agustīna piltzintli castillā Xochitl micqui ycnoçihuatl pohui tecpā
angelīna piltzintli micqui ytatzin juā agustīn xaltepetlapā

maö piltzintli micqui –
maria ychpochtli micqui ytatzin adres pz almoya

magⁿa castillā Xochitl ynamic sebastiāpz tetzcocapā

The child Elena died. [Her father was] Diego Suárez of Xaltepetlapan.
Elena Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Matías de Luna of Totollac.
The child Diego died. His father was Mateo Suárez [of] Ocotepec.
The child Catalina died. Her father was Juan de Luna [of] Tlanicontlan.
The child Marcos died. His father was Diego Pérez of Tecpan.
The child Angelina died. Her spouse was Pasqual de la Fuente [of] Almoyahuacan.
The widow Agustina Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
The child Angelina died. Her father was Juan Agustín [of] Xaltepetlapan.
The child Maria died.
The young woman Maria died. Her father was Andrés Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.
Magdalena Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Sebastián Pérez [of] Tetzcocapan.
pasqual maldonato micǐ telpochtli pohui The young man Pasqual Maldonado of tecpā yatzin migl maldonato Tecpan died. His father was Miguel

Maldonado.

f. 59r

1. ypā lunes yc [unclear date] setiēbre 1634 f. 59r

1. On Monday the [3rd] of September años 1634:

melchior piltzintli micqui yatztzin paō The child Melchor died. His father was

albarez xaltepetlapā Pablo Alvarez [of] Xaltepetlapan.

paā de roças yenohoquichtli micqui pohui The widower Pablo de Rosas of Acxoltan

acxotlā died.

jusepa piltzin micqui yatztzin Miguel caros The child Josepha died. Her father was

pohui totollac Miguel Caros of Totollac.

helena piltzintli micqui yatztzin jusep pz The child Elena died. Her father was


pedrona yatztzin juā Gabriel pohui Petrona. Her father was Juan Gabriel of

tlanticōtlā Tlanicontlan.

angelina piltzintli micqui yta franco moz The child Angelina died. Her father was


luisa xilotl micqui ynnamic peō xuarez Luisa Xilotl died. Her spouse was Pedro

xaltepetlapā Suárez [of] Almoyahuacan.

luis perez telpochtli yatztzin juā perez The young man Luis Pérez. His father

almoyahuacā was Juan Pérez [of] Almoyahuacan.
Ana ychpochtli micõ ytatzin dieõ mestico ycha domïgo mûn
Marcos telpochtli micqui ychã micõ
Miguel gotierêz acxotlã

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. ypã jueves 27 de siebre 1634
Maõ quezalizhuatl micqui pohui totollac
Marta castillã xoõl micqui ycnocihuatl
Pohui atêco
Antonio telpochtli yta jusep hernãdez
Cecallacohuayã
Helena castillã xoõl micq ynamic migõ de. S.
Franço tecpã pohui
Juana antona micq ynamic mathias deroças
Acxotlã
Justina nenca micqui pohui acxotlã pohui
Dieõ ximenez micqui telpochtli ytatzin dieõ
Ximenez totolac
Pedõ pz telpochtli micqui ytaãtzin mariana
Xaltepetlapã

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 migl caros totlac pohui
juana –

25. ypā martes ye 29 de agosto setiembre
nicolasa piltzinli ytatzin pelipe de rocas
pohui al moyahuacā
agustina piltzinli micqui ytatzin migl de
lona tecpā
ana ychpochtli micqui yta Antonio
ocuixcatl tlanicōtlā
ana castillā xoǔ micqui ycnocihuatl pohui
huexo co tecpā
matheo migl micqui pohui xalpetlapā
migl piltzinli miqui ytatzin die mig morate
pohui tecpā
agustina piltzinli yta francisco ximenez
acxotlā

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. 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] Tlanicōtlā.
The widow Ana Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.
Mateo Miguel of Xalpetlapan died.
The child Miguel died. His father was Diego Morate of Tecpan.
The child Agustina. Her father was Francisco Jiménez [of] Acxotlan.
41. ypē jueves yc 31 de agusto setiembre 1634

ysabel piltzintli ytatzin mathias sebastia
totollac
migl valazquez micqui pohui acxotlā

41. On Thursday the 31st of September 1634:

The child Isabel. Her father was Matías Sebastián [of] Totollac.

Miguel Velazquez of Acoxoltan died.
The child Marta died. Her father was Bartolomé Ceynos of Xaltepetlapan.
Pablo Jiménez died. His spouse was Apolonia Tozpetlacal [of] Ocotepec.
The young woman Ana died. She was the child of Juan [illegible] [of] Atenco.
Elena Castillanxochitl of Tecpan died.
Her spouse was the late Matías de Rosas.

On Friday the 1st of September 1634:
Maria Cacalloxchitl of Tlanicontlan died. Her spouse was Matías Gutiérrez.
Mariana of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. The young man Diego died. His father was Juan Bautista of Cecallacohuayan.
Elena Maria Magdalena. Her spouse was Matías Poyza. She was in the home of Juan Torres.
The child Elena died. She is the niece of Diego Tepeuh [of] Xaltepetlapan.

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.

Mariana’s will is on file at the BNAH, Conjunto de testamentos, f.48r.
The child Antonia died. Her father was Francisco de Aquino [of] Almoyahuacan.
The child Elena died. Her father was [blank]
The young man Juan died. His father was Matías de Aquino of Tlanicontlan.
Gaspar Poyza of Cecallacohuayan died.
Maria Tolentino of Cecallacohuayan died.

13. On Saturday the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of September

The child Lucia died. Her father was don Francisco de Cosacasiro [of] Totollac.\footnote{Don Francisco de Cosacasiro’s son died on September 7\textsuperscript{th} and a daughter now on Sept 2\textsuperscript{nd} – the dates are out of order.}
The child Mariana died. Her father was Francisco Hernández [of] Tecpan.
Juan Ceynos died. His spouse was Marta Teocuitlaxochitl [of] Xaltepetlapan.
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. On Sunday the 3rd of September 1634:

Juan Bautista of Acoxolan died. His son-in-law was Francisco de Zamora.

Ana Atenpilolxocthitl 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 Acoxolan died.

70 From montli – son-in-law.
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.

Isabel Tozpetlacal of Atenco died. Her spouse was the late Bartolomé Mixita.

Sebastián Jiménez of Totollac died. His spouse was Antonia Maria.
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. On Thursday the 25th of January 1635:
Maria Ceynos of Cecallacohuayan died. His spouse was Juan Bautista.

8. The 8th of January 1635:
Esteban de Hablera of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

10. On Friday the 22nd of February 1635:
Antonia Castillanxochitl of Tianquiztenco. Her spouse was Pasqual García.

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 Tetzocapan.

16. On Thursday the 13th of April 1635:
Agustín Pérez of Tetzcocapan died. His spouse was the late Petronilla. The barrio gathered for him.

18. On Tuesday the 1st of May 1635:
Bartolomé Muñoz from Ancuictlalpan. He was buried together with his dear woman.

20. On Thursday the 10th of May 1635:
The young man Joseph Miguel of Almoyahuacan died. He was the child of Melchor Pérez.

22. On Sunday the 6th of June 1635:
Sebastián de Aquino of Atenco died. His spouse was Veronica.

25. On Thursday the 10th of June 1635:
Maria Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.
Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Pasqual de Rosas.

28. On the 13th of June 1635:

Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

30. On Friday the 23rd of June 1635:

The old woman Maria Salome of Chiyauhtzinco died.

Fray Victoriano Cozmir

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.

Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. Her spouse was the late Pasqual de Rosas.

28. On the 13th of June 1635:

Miguel Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl.

30. On Friday the 23rd of June 1635:

The old woman Maria Salome of Chiyauhtzinco died.

Fray Victoriano Cozmir

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 Francisco Rodríguez
M° Pºl
Antemi
Fr. Diego de la Cueva
secretº
Municipal Provincial
Before me:
fray Diego de la Cueva
Secretary

f. 60v

1. ypā miercoles yc 12 de julio 1635 años
maria ychpochtli micqui pohui huexocotco
totolac ytatzin sebastiā pz
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
tlanointlā
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 xaltепетlapa
cy nocihuatl
On Thursday the 19th of July 1635:
The widow Mariana of Xaltepetlapan died.

7. ypā lunes yc 23 de julio 1635 años
juā ytatzin paº de lona pohui tianquiztencotco
Juan. His father was Pablo de Luna of Tianquiztenco.
9. On Monday the 30th of July 1635:
Maria Salome of Cécallacohuayan died.
Her spouse was Agustín Poyza.

11. On Sunday the 4th of August 1635:
[i illegible] died. He belonged to Huexotzinco Totollac. His spouse was [blank space].

13. On Tuesday the 7th of August 1635:
Diego Pérez of Huexotzinco Totollac died. His spouse was Maria Quetzallizhuatl.

15. On Monday the 13th of August 1635:
The widow Maria Zanen died. Her spouse was the late Lucas Ramírez [of] Coyotzinco.

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\textsuperscript{d} micqui pohui atzonpā
ynamic pa\textsuperscript{o} hernādez

19. On Monday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of September
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\textsuperscript{a}

21. On Thursday the 13\textsuperscript{th} of September
Inés Tlatalizquixochitl of Atenco died.
Her spouse was the late Mateo Castaneda.

23. ypā martes yc 18 setiēbre 1635 años
mariana micqui pohui huexo\textsuperscript{c} totollac
ynamic catca juā çaynos

23. On Tuesday the 18\textsuperscript{th} of September
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\textsuperscript{c} tecpā
ynamic ynes castilla xo\textsuperscript{d}
agustin de. S. tiago momiquilli pohui s.
Nicolas cecallacohuayā ynamic juana
deçamora

25. On Monday the 22\textsuperscript{nd} 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 dečienbre 1635 años 29. On Tuesday the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of December
dona maria de guebara momiquilli 1635:
ycnoçihuatl ynamic catca die\textsuperscript{o} Rodríquez Her spouse was the late Diego Roriquez
xaltepetlapā [of] Xaltepetlapan.

32. ypā miercoles yc 26 dečienbre micqui 32. Died on Wednesday the 26\textsuperscript{th} of
1635 años ynamic jua December 1635:
mariana momiquilli ynamic juā lucas Mariana died. Her spouse was Juan
pohui tlanicōtla Lucas of Tlanicontlan.

34. 1636 años\textsuperscript{72} 34. The year 1636

35. ypā martes yc 5 de hebrero 1636 ano 35. On Tuesday the 5\textsuperscript{th} of February 1636:
ynes castillā Xochitl momiquilli pohui Inés Castillanxochitl of Totollac died.
totollac ynamic catca juā tlahuel\textsubscript{nomite} Her spouse was the late Juan
Tlahuelnomite.

37. ypā lunes yc 3 de marzo 1636 años 37. On Monday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of March 1636:
domīgo pa\textsuperscript{o} momiquilli pohui almoyahuacā Domingo Pablo of Almoyahuacan died.
anā castillā xo\textsuperscript{d} [His spouse was] Ana Castillanxochitl.

\textsuperscript{72} At this point the record becomes much less complete.
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

42. On Wednesday the 23rd of April 1636:
Miguel de Callinzia died. His spouse was
Pasquala Maria from Santa Ana.

44. On Friday the 2nd of May 1636:
Diego Maceuh of Xaltepetlapan died. His spouse was Juana Castillanxochitl.

f. 61r

1. On Wednesday the 21st of May 1636:
Marcos Jiménez died. His spouse was
Angelina Castillanxochitl of Tecpan.
5. en onçe de abril de mill y seis y trenta y seis años [vis]itando este convento de Uexotzinco de m. Rdo P Fr. Fran
cero [cal]ificador de esto oficio
fray Franco Rodríguez
Mº Pal
Antemi
Fr de suauado
Secreto

5. On the 11th of April of the year 1636, our revered priest fray Francisco Rodríguez, 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 castillá xo momiquilli ynamic juá
lopez pohui tlanicōtla
juá Baptista I momiquilli ynamic [blank space] pohui tlanicōtlā

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. ypá 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. On Friday the 14th of October 1635: Juana Castillanxochitl died. Her spouse was Felipe Sánchez of Tecpan.

25. The year 1637

26. On Friday the 2nd of January 1637: Maria Alzoceno died. Her spouse was Pablo Sánchez of Tecpan.

28. On Tuesday the 6th of January 1637: The widower Melchor Hernández of Tocuillan died.

30. On Tuesday the 13th of January 1637: Diego Suárez died. His spouse was Justina Castillanxochitl of Xaltepetlapan.

1. On the 3rd of April of the year 1637, he visited this convent of San Miguel of Huexotzinco, our priest fray Gaspar de
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 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. On Sunday the 12th of the month of April 1637:
The child Miguel died. His father was Francisco Maldonado. His mother was Martina Lopez.
The child Pasquala died. Her father was Domingo Hernández of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

17. On Friday the 1\textsuperscript{st} 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. On Tuesday the 12\textsuperscript{th} day of the month of May 1637: The child Francisca died. Her father was Mateo. Her mother was Juana Castillano. 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.
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 one who is her mother is Maria Xacol of Xaltepetlapan.

The child Aquiltina died. The one who was her father was Joseph Hernández.

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          Isabel Antonia died. Her spouse was
diego pohui sa atoni° tlateco                      Miguel Diego of San Antonio Tlatenco.

f. 62r^73                                           f. 62r
1. ypā sapato yc 8 de Agosto de 1637               1. On Saturday the 8th of August 1637:
a[ños]                                             Magdalena Castillan died. The one who
agⁿa castillaⁿl miqui yninamic juā antores         was her husband was Juan Antores [of]

3. domǐgo yc 9 Agusto [de 1637]                  3. Sunday the 9th of August [of 1637]:
ntresa piltzintli momiquilli ytatzin di                The child Andrėsa died. Her father was
[pohui] huexotzinco tecpa                          Di[ego] [of] Huexotzinco Tecpan.

6. lunes yc 10 ylhuítl mamimetztlí [agusto      6. Monday the 10th day of the month of
1637]                                               [August 1637]:
marta pritzintli omicqui ytatzin marcos          The child Marta died. Her father was
[pohui] s. na tomo tlateco                          Marcos [of] Santa Tomás Tlatenco.

9. ypa martes y 20 ylhuítl metztli de agusto de 1637 [años] 9. On Tuesday the 20th day of the month of August 1637:
jusepa piltzintli momiquilli ytatzin migⁿ de       The child Josepha died. Her father was
xirpa bohui [page ripped].                          Miguel de Silva of [page ripped].

^73 The pages from here on are badly damaged in the upper right and left corners respectively. I have attempted to decipher what it is possible to see.
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. 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. On Friday the 4th day of September 1637:
The child Francisca died. Her father was Francisco.

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 ylhuītl mani setietre de 1637 años
luysa pirtziintl momiquí ytatzin juā pz pohui almoyahuāca
juā ypa piltzinli momiquilli ynatzin ana de xilpa pohui ate huexotzinco tecpan

20. On Tuesday the 8th day of September 1637:
The child Luisa died. Her father was Juan Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
The child Juan died. His mother was Ana de Silva of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

24. ypa lunes yc 14 setietre 1637 anos
maa piltzinli ynatzin ma mag na pohui tlanicotla

24. On Monday the 14th of September 1637:
The child Maria. Her mother was Maria Magdalena of Tlanicontlan.

26. ypa martes yc 15 ylhuītl setietre de 1637 anos
pasqual piltzinli momiquili ytatzin juā Rodríguez pohui ocotepe c

26. On Tuesday the 15th day of September 1637:
The child Pasqual died. His father was Juan Rodríguez of Ocotepec.

28. ypa vienles yc 25 ylhuītl mani setietre de 1637 años
juana piltzinli momiquilli y tatzin tlatzin fraoco pohui almoyahuaca

28. On Friday the 25th day of September 1637:
The child Juana died. Her father was Francisco Pérez of Almoyahuacan.
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. On Saturday the 10th day of the month of October 1637:
The child Catalina died. Her mother was Salome of Atenco.

34. Died on Wednesday the 25th of November 1637:
Francisco Anton of Tetzcocapan.

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 mettli henello de 1638 anos omomi
   [page ripped] castilla xo了我的 ym ym juā cruzcel pohui ocotepec
   1. Died [on Wednesday] the 6th day of the month of January 1638:
   [page ripped] Castillanxochitl. Her spouse was Juan Cruzcel of Ocotepec.

3. [ypā mar]tez yc 19 mani mettli henello de 1638 anos omomi
   [page ripped] grecollio ym ym Catalina pohui tlamacazcaya ym ym
   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. ypa mielcorez yc 20 mani henello omomiquilli ysab' ynā
   [page ripped] namic juā cruzcel pohui s. pa'o ocotepec
   6. On Wednesday the 20th of January:
   Isabel died. Her spouse was Juan Cruzcel of San Pablo [of] Ocotepec.

8. ypa juēves yc 4 ylhuil mani mettli hebrero de 1638 anos
   [page ripped] omomiliquilli Helena ma'
   8. On Thursday the 4th day of the month of February 1638:
   ym ym diego xuarez pohui s. diego xaltepeltlapa
   Helena Maria died. Her spouse was Diego Suárez of San Diego Xaltepetlapan.
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 Xaltep tlapan.

15. On Monday the 1st day of the month of March 1638:
Margarita de Moralade died. Her spouse was Joaquin Hernández of Almoyahuacan.

18. On Saturday the 26th of the month of March 1638:
Juan Gutiérrez died. His spouse was Maria Castillanxochitl of 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. On Sunday the 6th of the month of June 1638:
Maria died. Her spouse was Matías Marmoreso of Tocuillan.

27. On Tuesday the 8th of June 1638, this child died:
Elena. Her father was Felipe Maldonado of Coyotzinco.

29. Died on Saturday the 12th of June 1638:
Miguel Pérez. The one who was his mother was Maria of Tlanicantlan.

31. Died on Saturday the 19th of June 1638:
The child Micaela. Her father was Nicolas Pérez of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

34. On Tuesday the 6th day of July 1638:
The widow doña Juana Ramírez of Santa Maria Almoyahuacan died.

37. On Friday the 9th day of the month of July:
A child died.

39. On Tuesday the 3rd of August 1638:
Juan de Luisa. His spouse was Agustina Maria of Huexotzinco Tecpan.

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.
Our provincial
Before me:
fray Antonio de [Torres?]
Secretary

11. On Thursday the 12th of the month of August 1638:
The child Maria died. Her father was Lucas. Her mother was Maria of Huexotzinco Totollac.

14. On Tuesday the 17th of the month of August 1638:
The child Diego died. Her father was Gaspar de Luca of Santa Maria [of] Acxoltan

17. On Thursday the 16th of the month of September 1638:
The child Maria died. Her father was Juan de Anlana of Huexotzinco Totollac.
19. ypa sapato yc 18 manimetzli setiembre de 1638 anos omomilquilli
diego xuarez –diego xuarez yn inami [blank space] pohui xaltepetlapa s. topa
Diego Suárez - Diego Suárez died. The one who was his spouse was [blank space] of Xaltepetlapan San Topan.

22. ypa vielnes yc 1 mamimetzli ontobre de 1638 anos omōmiquilli
bohui huexotzinco tecpa marcos de aquino – marcos de aquino yn inami maº castilla
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 manimetzli ontobre de 1638 anos omomiquilli
ana piltzintli –piltzintli ana ytatzin andonio anostaquio yn inatzin franºa pohui
tepetzinco
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 mamimetzli otobre de 1638 anos omomiquil
28. On Monday the 25th of the month of October 1638:
maa sepastiana – ma sepastiana yn inamic Maria Sebastiana - Maria Sebastiana
domingo derosa pohui xaltepetlapa died. The one who was her spouse was Domingo De Rosa of Xaltepetlapan.

31. ynpa mielcores yc 3 manimetztli 31. On Wednesday the 3rd of the month
noviebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli of November 1638:
sosta cacallo xo' – sosta cacallo xo' pohui Sosta Calalloxochitl - Sosta
tiaquizteco [illegible -can?] ytecaca Calalloxochitl of Tianquiztenco died.
tlacallauilli Her tribute responsibility belongs to
[illegible].

34. ypa vielnes yc 5 manimetztli noviebre 34. On Friday the 5th of the month of
de 1638 anos omomiquilli 1638:
piltzintli [blank space] yn[tatzin] mig' bap' The child [blank space] died. His father
pohui anteco was Miguel Bautista of Atenco.

f. 63v f. 63v
1. [yapa do]migo yc 5 mamimetztli deciembre 1. Died [on] Sunday the 5th of the month
de 1638 anos q'momi of December 1638:
[pagge ripped – anawi?] maria castilla xo' [page ripped] The widow Maria
pohui s. ta ma a al moyahuaca yc[noci]huatl Castillanxochitl of Santa Maria
Almoyahuacan.
4. [yapan] domígo yc 12 mamimetztlı deçiebre de 1638 anos ōnom[iquilli] piltzintlı andona yn tatzin lureco Vazquez pohui [tlacmacazcapa]

4. Died [on] Sunday the 12th of the month of December 1638

The child Antiona. The one who was her father was Lorenzo Cazquez of [Tlacmacazcapan].

7. ynapa lunes yc 13 ylhuitl mamimetztlı deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli piltzintlı Pasqual yatzint 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. ynapa jueves y 16 mamimetztlı deçietre de 1638 anos omomiquilli piltzintlı francisco 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. ynapa milcores yc 22 manimetztlı deçiebre de 1638 anos omomiquilli andona –piltzintlı andona yatzint mathias deolalte yatzint angellina pohui tlatoctli

13. Died on Wednesday the 22nd of the month of December 1638:

Antonia - The child Antiona. The one who was her father was Matías de Olarte.

Her mother was Angelina of Tlaltenco.
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 ycnoçihuatl

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 manimetztli Efrelo de 1639 anos omomiquilli maria – piltzintli ma’a yn itatzin domigo 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. 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. 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.

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 Maira - Juana Maria died. The one who was her spouse was Diego Ortona of Acxotlan.

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. 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. On Tuesday the 8th of the month of March 1639:
Lucía yçihuapil po las de caliciá74 [He] died at home. Lucia was his first wife of the Calicia.

1. On Friday the 11th [of the month of March? 1639]: The child Maria Salome the one who was her father was [page ripped].

Maria of Santa Maria Almoyahua [can] [page ripped].

Maria Castillanxochitl - When it had just turned to Friday Maria Castillanxochitl of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

6. On Sunday the 13th of the month of March 1639:

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 maʰ castilla xo³ 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
Tetzocapan [died] by means of an
illness.

13. ynpa martes yc 15 manimetztli de
março [1639]
melchor 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]
joseph – 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 diº bapº yn [inantzín] [page ripped]
Micaella angellina pohui s. ta maº acxotla

20. Ynpa vielnes yc 18 manimetzºli de
Março de 1639 anos omomiquilli
Maria –piltzintli maº yn itatzin diº juã yn
Inatzin angellina pohui espirito s. to
tezcocap
Juã – omomiquilli piltzintli jua ynahuac
Onemia don francoº de sirpapixcal

25. Ynpa lunes yc 21 manimetztli de março
de 1639 anos momiquilli
Nicolasa – piltzintli nicolasa yn itatzin
Mathias pz yn inatzin angustina pohui
Huexotzinco teca

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. 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 Tetzocapan.

Juan - The child Juan died. He used to
live next to don Francisco de Silva, the
pixcal.¹⁹³

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 - 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. 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. 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.
francisco Pérez - Francisco Pérez died.
The one who was his spouse was Juana Xiloc of Espíritu Santo Tetzocapan.

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

[The child] Martina. The one who was her father was Gaspar Hernández. [Her mother was] Mariana of Huexotzinco Totollac.

3. Died [on] Friday the 21st of the month of March 1639:
The old man Geronimo died. The one who was his spouse was Maria Castillanxochtli 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. 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 manimetzti de março de 1639 anos omomiquilli [Mel]chior - hueytlacatl Melchior pohui huexotzinco tecpa

Died on Tuesday the 29th of the month of March 1639:
Melchior - The old man Melchior of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

17. ynpa vielnes yc 1 manimetzti anbilil de 1639 anos o momiquilli magn castilla xoí – hueytlacatl magn castilla xoí pohui tezcocapa jugepa – ça ya ypa vielnes omomiquilli

Died on Friday the 1st of the month of April 1639:
The old woman Magdalena Castillanxochitl of Tetzocapan died.
Josepha – When it had just turned to Friday the child Josepha died. Her
Friday the child Josepha died. Her
mother was Angelina of Santa Maria

23. ynpa martes yc 12 manimetzli anbrilil de 1639 anos omomiquilli juá augustin – hueytlacatl juá angustin yninamic juana ximenez pohui Ocotepec

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.
Francisco Martín - The widower, the old man Francisco Martín of Huexotzinco Tecpan died.

28. Died on Thursday the 14th of the month of April 1639:
Diego Caballero - Diego Caballero, the old man died. The one who was his spouse was Magdalena of Tlamacazcapan.

30. Died on Wednesday the 20th of the month of April 1639:
Maria Castillanxochitl - The old woman Ana Castillanxochitl died. The one who was her spouse was Jacob Pérez of Santiago Xaltepateapan.

In May

34. On Monday the 2nd of the month of May 1639:
Juana Castillanxochitl – The old person

Juana of Santiago Xaltepetlapan 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. 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. 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.
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. 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. On Wednesday the 1st of June 1639:
Barolomé de Rosas - The widower of [Bartolomé] de Rosas of Huexotzin [died].

8. On Sunday the 5th of the month of June 1639:
The old man Diego Suárez [died]. The one who was his spouse was Maria Magdalena of [page ripped].

10. On Monday the 6th of the month of June 1639:
Juana Castillanxochitl – Juana Castilla xochitl
[Cas]tillanxochitl of Santa Maria
Almoyahuacan died.

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. 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.
Miguel - The child Miguel died. The one who was his father was Mateo Jiménez. [His mother was] Angelina of Huexotzinco Totollac.

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.

Maria Andresa - The old woman Maria Andresa. The one who was her spouse was Diego Ceynos of Tetzocapan.

July 26. Died on Monday the 4th of the month of July 1639:
angusto

29. ynpa lunes yc 10 manimetztlì angusto
omomiquilli
franco pz – hueytlacatl franco pz yn inamic
ynes castilla xoótl 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 domigo yc 28 manimetztlì
angusto de 1639 anos omomiquilli
angellina castilla xoótl – hueytlacatl
angellina castilla xoótl yn inamic dieo ñaynos
pohui s. ta maá 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 manimetztlì angusto
de 1639 anos omomiquilli
franca tlcuilol Xochitl – hueytlacatl franca
yn inamic matheo mollate pohui
huexotzinco teópa

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 Xaltepeltapan.

Deçiebre
December

39. Ynpa sapato yc 7 manimetztli deçiebre
de 1639 anos omomiquili
Jua pz yn inamic ma
a castilla xo
ii 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 164039 anos omomicquilli
Piltzintli pasqual yn itatzin mathias de la
cruz yn inatzin juana pohui s. ta ma
a
almoyahuaca

41. January - On Monday the 15th of the
month of January (sic)194
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] [m]i[en]cores yc 7 yluhitl manimetztli noviembre de 1640 anos [omomiqu]ill[i] piltzintli sepastia yn itatzin pe° matias yn inatzin fra[ca] [po]hui s. pa° oncotepec

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 onmomiqui[ll]i [ch]uá yna toca juana castilla xo° pohui yna inamic domígo helna[n]dez [p]ohui s. juá huexotzinco tecpa momiquili piltzintli diego yn itatzin ju° migl yna inatzin jua he[la=] [po]hui espilto s. to tezcocapa

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 Tetzocapan.

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
yn inamic
gaspal pohui s. ju
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 y un anos visi[ta]ndo este
conv de huexotzingo nio muy R do P Fr.
Lucas [benitez] Preer y Mno Prov al desta
pur de es evangelio vio este libro de
difuntos y hallo estan conforme alo di es
por la pur hasta [page ripped] onze de
enero este pres ano q desde entonzenes [page
ripped] [cerne? por g]de los clerigos por
el desto lo q hisieron de esto docrrinas y su
p lo firmo
fr. Lucas benetez
mio pal
antemi
fr franco de ochandisad
secreti

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 Ochandianede
Secretary

195 Tentative translation.
Appendix D

The Wills of Huexotzinco¹

1622 Francisco Pérez²

[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 franco perez nican nochā ciudad huexoño ytech nipohui yn perochia
sancta ma° assump° almoyahuacā nicchiuia notestamēto auh ma[h]cīhuí yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn
noceialliz yn notlahnamiquilliz yn notlacquia anquen catqui çan pactica
auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel And so, as I am awaiting death, from
quitlacahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpampa whom no one can escape, from whose
yehua ynic nican nictlallia notestamēto yn 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, Conjointe 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, Conjointe 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 tlazāco yn çatlatzaccā notlanequilliz put down my testament, at the very end,
ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitla[coz] at the close, my will always will be kept,
yehuatli yc nicpehualtia so that no one will damage it, and with
this very thing I begin.

Huell achto yehuatl yn nanimatzin First of all, I place my soul in the hands
ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn totecuiyo dios of Our Lord, God⁹ because he made it, for
ypā[m]pa ca oquimochiuilli ca he redeems it, by means of his precious
oquimomaquixtilli ycah yn itlaçoezçotzin blood on the holy cross. And I implore
yn itech sancta cruz yhuā that he will have mercy on me, that he
nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic will wipe away all of my transgressions,
nechmotlaocolliliz ynic that he will take me, to his home within
nechmopopolhuilliz yn ixqui[ch] heaven, when my soul has abandoned my
notlatlacol ynic nechmohuilliz yn body. And with respect to my body I
ichātzinco yluicatl yhtec yn ihquac assign it to the earth because it issued
oquitlacahui yn namima yn nonacayo auh from there for it is earth, for it is clay and
yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli I desire that when [at some point] it is my
ypā[m]pa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca lord god’s will that I die [I want] only a
çoquitl yhuā nicnequi yntla blanket with which my body will be
onechmopolhuĩ yn totecuiyo dios ça ce wrapped and I want it to be buried there
tilmatli ye moquimilloz yn nonacayo at our church in front of San Miguel at the
yhuuan nicnequi onpa motocaz yn toteopā base, where, there it will be opened, my

⁹ Totequiyo Dios, refers to “Jesus.”
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 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 children. My houses that are on one of my
ytoca clara castillā xoł yhuā house-plots, I give them to them, my
yntopilhuātzitzinhuā ytoca diego Perez spouse, named Clara Castillanxochitl and
ynic ome ytoca juā ynic hey ytoca franca our children, named Diego Pérez; second,
yc6 nahui ytoca Pasqual ynic macuilli named Juan; third, named Francisca;
ytoca mathias ynin nocalhuā yhuā nosolar fourth, named Pasqual; fifth, named
oncā quinmozcaltilliz yn teoyotica Matías. There, [in?] my houses and my
nonamictzin yn topilhuātzitzinhuā yhuā7 field, she, my legal wife will raise them,
yntla teachcauh8 diego pz ay[a]c ynca they who are, our dear little children and
mocacayahuaz yni te yc cauhztitzinhua yhuā their older brother Diego Pérez. In regard
yn inātzin ay[a]c quitequipa choz yntla to his [their] mother, he [Diego] will
quēmania quitolliniz justiçia never cause her concern. If at some point,
quiltlatzacuiliz he distresses his mother, the judge will

The second thing I order: here next to my
Ynic ötlamātlì nitlanahualia nicā nocaltitlā houses, I have three parcels covered with
mani nosolar hetetl meyotoc yehuatl yn maguey. It, that which is my lower
notepāco tlanipa yhuā yhuicpa norte çā ya boundary [adjacent to another piece of
ytech yn nocalhuā ypā mani solar yn land]. And toward the north just up
memeh hemetepātli yc onaçih yn ce solar against the land upon which my houses
yn tlanipa callotli auh yn nochpoch ytoca

---
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[il] cenmetepātlī
niquinmacatiuh yn memeh oncā yn colar
calnacazco ayac quicuillaz čan 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].

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 niquixquetziuh yn
noalbaceas don diego çaynos ma
ypaltzinco yn totecuiyo dios
quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn
onictlalli notestamēto ca ātle nicnopillia
naxca notlatqui čan huel i[y]o[h] yn
nosolar nauhtetl yhuan nocalhuā ontetl yn
teneuhtica tlacpac yhuvā centetl missa ynic
nopā motlahtoltiz yhçiuhca mochiuaz
yntla yhçiuhca quimotequipanilluiz yc
nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote9 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 But if somewhere another one of my notestamēto [nochi nicpoloa] çan i[y]o[h] testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it neltiz ynxaca nichiu a yn huel completely. Only this one that I make noyollocacopa onichiuh yn ixpā testigos today [now] will be the valid one. My mathias dolendino juā pz yhuā nehuatl heart is able.11 I made it in front of the esteuā de coto escrio atle onichuallaqui witnesses Matías Tolentino, Juan Pérez anotle onictizinquitzih çā huelya yn and I, Esteban de Soto, scribe, I have itlatol cocoxcatzintli omochiuh ypā added nothing and I also I took nothing Viernes yc 12 ylhuitl de augusto 1622 año out.12 This is just the words of the sick Auh yn cocoxcatzin āmo quimati yn ifilma person on Friday the 12th the month of quitlalli ce cruz yhuā testigotin August of the year 1622 and the sick quineltillique quitlallique ynin filma person doesn’t know how to sign [and] put down a cross and the witnesses verified the document and signed it.

+ Francisco Pérez, + Matías Tolentino,
juā perez
Nixpā
In the presence of [before me]

11 Meaning, “voluntarily, of my own free will.”
12 Delete, to remove something.
Esteuā de Coto

Escrió

Esteban de Soto

Scribe (Notary)
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. 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.

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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.
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.

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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
The first thing I order: I have one house
nosolar centetl ypan mani nocalhuā centetl
plot, on which is spread out my houses,
sacalin ynic hueyac cemphualli ynic
one thatched building which is twenty
patlahuac matlacmatl15 ynin nosolar
measures long and ten measures wide.
nicmacatiuh16 yn nopiltzin ytoca Miguel
With regards to my plot I give it to my
gar⁸ oncā nelitoz¹⁷ ayac quicuilliz
child, named Miguel García. There [it will
affirm]²⁰ no one will take it from him.

Yhuā niquitohua antle naxca notlatqui
And I say it, my property is nothing, I am
nicnopillia nicnotlacatzintli¹⁸ nell iuhqui
a pitiable person, I am a humble pious
niquitohua yxpātzinco yn totecuiyo dios
person,²¹ truly thus, I say it in the
presence of Our Lord, God.

Auh yz catqui y[n] niquixquetziuh yn
And here it is that I name [before I die],
nopānotlatliz¹⁹ ytoca juā baptista tecatzin
my disclosed thing, named Juan Bautista
ma ypaltzinco yn totecuiyo dios
Tecatzin.²² Let it be through Our Lord [for
quimochiuilliz quimotequipanilhuiz yn
the sake of Our Lord] that he will do it,
onictlali nomemoria testamēto yntla
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-cattiu. I have yet to puzzle this out.
17 From nelitoa.
18 From icnopilli and from tlacatzintli.
19 Tepanotlalitzli 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.
ocana centetl neçiz nomeria nicpollo çan (memorandum?), my will. If somewhere
i[y]o[h] nelltiz ynaxcā nicchiua yxpa another one of my memorandums [shall]
testigo franço Valencia omochiuyp p appear, I destroy it completely. Only this
jueves yc 23 deçiëbre 1626 años 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.

+Juan García +Francisco Valencia
mixpa In the presence of [before me]
estevā de Esteban de Soto
Coto Scribe (Notary)
Escri pó

[44v] anteco [44v] Atenco
1630 Tomás Tlilli

[40r] Yn nica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā tepiltzin yhuā dios spirit sancto nicpehualtín notestamēto mā quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque ynin amatl ca yn nehuatl notoca Thomas tlilli nicā nochā ciudad huexotzinco huetlanicā nipohui s. [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.

First of all: I place my soul in the hands of Our Lord, God because he made it, for

Bien franzco tianquiztenco nicchiua notestemēnto auh macihui yn mococohuarn nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noceialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz yn notlacaquia anquen catqui çan pactica auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuaia yn a[y]ac huel yxpāpa yehua ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn çā tlatzōco yn çā tlatzaccē notlanequiliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoç ca yehuatli yc nicpehualtia huell achto yehuatl yn nanima ymachtzinco nocōtlatlīa yn totecuiyo dios

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 oquimoma [mochiuilli ca]
oquixtilli ynic ytlacō [excottzin]
yn y]tech s. ta cruz yhuā
nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic
nechmotlaococotliliz ynic
nechmohuiquilliz ynicmotlatlauhtillia
nechmohuiquilliz ynicmochiuilliz
ychuā nicmotlaococotliliz ynic
nechmohuiquilliz ynicmotcaz
yhtec yn ihquac oquitlacahui yn nanima yn
nonacayo auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua
yn tlalli ypā[mp] ca ytech oquizqui ca
yn tlalli ca çoquitl yhuā nicnequi ça ce
tilmahhti yc moquimiloz ynic motcaz
nonacayo yhuā nicnequi onpa motocaz yn
toteopā yxpātzinco .s. franco callitec24 oncā
notlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatec yn
noseportora oncā nechmomachiyotilliz yn
notecoch yn teopixqui auh yn ipāpa nanima
ypallihuilloca centetl missa nopa
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.

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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 tlápācalli yn tlanipan [n]otepā callotli yn acopa nictepanohua Nicolas Perez catca yn ihucpa 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 boundary26 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 niquivquetztiuh yn noalbaceas yn nopānotlato[cut off]liz25 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

26 Maybe literally “boundary downward.”
quimochiuilliz yc nicnotltlaughtillia yn small little will and if he does it quickly,
totecuiyo dios yc quimotlaocolliliz that thus for him it will be done.
ynihquac quimomiquilliz ynic noyuhqui ypā mochiuaz

auh yntla occana centetl neçiz notestamēto But if somewhere another one of my
nochi nicpollohua çan i[y]o[h] neltiz testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it
ynaxcā nicchiua yn ixpā testico Miguel completely. Only this one that I make
lopez Esteuā de coto escrio omochiuh ypā today [now] will be the valid one. I made
jueves yc 24 de henero 1630 años auh yn it in front of the witness, Miguel Lopez
cocoxcatzintli āmo quimati yn ifilma [and] Estevan de Soto, scribe. It occurred
quitlalli ce cruz yhuā testicotin on Thursday the 24th of January of the
quinellillique year 1630. The sick person doesn’t know

+Thomas tlilli how to sign [and] put down a cross and
Miguel lupez tsg the witness verified the document (or the
[illegible] signature?).

[1630 ano] + Tomás Tlilli
mixpā mochiuh [about the signature of the grandson?]
In the presence of, it was done
esteuā de coto
escri°

[40v] Tianquiztenco

Esteban de Soto, Scribe (Notary)

[40v] Tianquiztenco
163? Diego Menezes


[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 Saltepetlapan. 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.

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 achtó yehuatl y[n] namimatzin so that no one will damage it, and with
ymactzinco notlatia yn tote° dios ca this very thing I begin.
oquimochihuili yhua nicmotatlauhtlia Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of
ynic nechmotlaocoliliz nechmohuiquiquiz Our Lord, God, he created it. And I
yn ichantzinco yn ilhuicatl yhtec yn iquac implore that he will have mercy on me,
oquitlalcahui y[n] nanima y[n] nonacayo that he will take me to his home within
auh y[n] nonacayo [ytech] nicpohua yn Heaven, when my soul has abandoned my
tlali ca ytech oquizqui ca tlali ca çoquitl body. And with respect to my body I
yhuat nechmoqueci ça ce tilmatli ynic assign it to the earth, it issued from it, for
moquimiloz ynic motocaz y[n] nonacayo it is earth, it is clay and I want only one
oncani santiago ōpa nechmomachiyotilliz blanket with which [my body] will be
ŷ teopixqui y[n] noçeportora y[n] notecoch wrapped. My body will be buried there
y[n] notlatatec yhuan inanima yn [at] Santiago where the priest will provide
ipalehuiloca ynic ano ōpa huecahuaz y me with the sign of the cross at my grave,
porcatoria onetl nopam itoz misa auh y[n] my dug-out pit, my grave pit. And for the
mocahuaz yn huetzintlī teopa nahui p°s benefit of my soul so that it will not be

38 Tentative translation.
Ynic çētlamātli nitlanahuatitiuh
nechhuiquilia notomi yn itoca Françoizon
pohui coyotzin ome p'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'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\textsuperscript{31} nitlanahuatia nocalhua
ontetl sacalti niquipia
niqui[çepa]macatiuh\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{31} This is the two words running together, \textit{ynic(qu e)tlamantli} – so the third thing.
\textsuperscript{32} There is a çepa in the middle of this word, that shouldn’t be there.
And now I assign upon dying, my executors, 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 Menezes+

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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

[28r] Yn ica ytocatzin tetatzin yhuā[n] tepiltzin yhuā[n] dios spirit sancto testatzin yhuā[n] testament. May everyone who reads this
nicpehualtia notestamē[to mā quimaticā yn ixquichtl yn quitazque ynī[n] amatl ca ya paper know that my name is Ana Maria.
nehuatl notoca ana maria Nicā[n] nochā[n] Here my house [is] in the city of
ciudad huexotzinco oncā[n] nipohui Huexotzinco. There I belong to
tlamacazcapā[n] ynahuac41 andres demayo Tlamacazcapan alongside Andrés de
nicchihuia notestamē[n]to auh ma(h)cihui Mayo. I made my testament even though
yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo my body is sick, however my heart, mind,
yn noçialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz42 and memory [my understanding] is
a(h)nquē[n] catqui çā[n] pactica auh without inconvenience, it is just fine. I am
nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel awaiting death, that which no one is able
quitlalcahuia ynic nicā[n] nictlallia to escape. Therefore, here I set down my
notestamē[n]to yn çā[n] tlatzō[n]co43 yn testament. The finalization, the
çā[n] tlatzaucā[n] notlamequilli ynic completion, of my will (desire). [My will
mochipa yn a[y]ac quitlaco [ca yehuatli:] is at its finalization, its completion.] So

This is it:

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 achtto yehuatl yn nanima[n] Firstly, I place my soul in the hands of
ymactzinco nocō[n]tlall(i)a yn tote[0] dios44
ypā[m]pa ca oquinochiuilli ca he freed [saved] it through [with] his
oquinomaquixtilli yn ica ytlaçoezçotzin precious blood on the holy cross.46
yn itech sta cruz Yhuā[n] implore him to have mercy on me, to
nicnotlatlauhtillia ynic pardon all of my sins. He will take me to
nechmotlacotliliz[tl] ynic his home [Heaven], when my soul has
nechmopplhuilliz yn ixquich notlatlacol abandoned my body. And this, my body,
ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn ichā[n]tzinco I assign it to the earth. It emerged from
ylhuicatl45 yn ihquac oquitlalcahui yn the earth, from the clay. And I want to be
nanima yn nonacayo auh yn nonacayo wrapped in a cloak for the burial of my
ytech nicpohua yn tlalli ypā ca body. And I want my body to be buried
ytechoquizqui catlalli caçoquitl yhuā there, in our church in the presence of
nicnequi ça ce tilma[h]tli yc moquimilloz Our Savior. There the sepulture, my grave
ynic motocaz nonacayo Yhuā[n] nicnequi will be opened, there at my burial the
ynic motocaz yn toteopā[n] yxpātzinco priest will provide me with the sign of the
totemaquixtcatzin [seporcro] oncā[n] cross. For my soul’s benefit, one mass
motlapoz yn notecoch yn notlatatac will be said for me and 2 pesos will be
oncā[n] nechmomachiyotilliz yn teopixqui left as offering at the church and four
Auh yn ipā[m]pa nanima ypallehuillloca

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 (Totequiy 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 tomines will be begged of the
huē[n]tzintli teopa 2 peso yhuā[n] nahui to Mayordomo on my behalf.47
[tomines] nopā[m]pa motlayehuitliz
animas mayortomot

Auh yz catqui yn niquixquichziuh yn And here it is, I assign my executor
noalbaceas ytoca Miguel pz [Pérez] ma named Miguel Pérez, that by the grace of
ypaltzinco yn tote° dios quimoχuilliz God he will do it, will execute, my small
quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli tepitzin little will, which I have set down here. If
notestamē[n]to auh yntla yhciuhca he does it quickly, works quickly, I pray
quimochihuilliz quimotequipanilluiz yc God that He will be merciful with him
nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote° dios yc when he will die, and that thus for him it
quimotlaocolliliz yn ihquac momiquilliz will be done. But if someplace else
ynic noyuhqui ypā[n] mochiuaz auh yntla another testament of mine will appear, I
oc cana cēntetl neciz notestamē[n]to mochi destroy it all. Only this one, itself, will be
nicpollohua çan iyoh neltiz yn axcā[n] verified which I have made now in the
onichiuh yxpā[n] testico Miguel perez presence of Miguel Pérez, witness, dated
omochiuah ypā[n] lunes yc 5 de mayo 1631 Monday, the 6th of May of the year 1631.
años auh yn cocoxtzintli ä[h]mo quimati The sick person does not know her
yn filma quitlalli ce cruz° yhuā testico signature [how to sign]. She placed a
quineltilli
cross. The witness verified it.

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47 She is begging the Mayordomo to cover the cost of the masses.
In my presence, [before me],

Esteban Soto,

Scribe (Notary)
1631 Ana Teocuitlaxochitl

[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 noceialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz anquē catqui că pactica

auh nicchixtica yn miquiztli yn a[y]ac huel quitlalcahuia yn a[y]ac huel yxpāpa yehua ynic nicā nictlallia notestamēto yn ca tlatzāco yn ca tlatzaccā notlanequilliz ynic mochipa mopiaz ynic ayac quitlacoz ca yehuatli ye nicpehualtia.

[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].

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.

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.
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.

\[^{51}\text{Toto-maquixtia-catzin}\] 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)

Ynic ō tlamātli nitlanahualia nicpia
nosolar centetl ypā mani nocahuā centetl
sacallin necoc cenpohualli yn tlanipa
nictepanohua ytoca diego de tores yn
acopa nictepanohua hotli yn amilpāpa
nitypanohua ytoca juā perez
ynihuicpan norte notepā hotli auh
niquitohua yn metzitzintin matlactacatl\(^2\)
ytech pohuiz yn noconetzin sebastiana yn
icome noconetzin ytoca juana franc\(^3\)
matlactacatl ytech pohuizque auh yn solar
yhuā nocahuā niquinmacatiuh yn
nosocoyotzin\(^3\) ytoca Micaela auh yntla
tote\(^6\) dios quimochahuitzilliz yn aquin
quimonamichiz\(^4\) yehuatl tlapiay yn nicā

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.

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
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.\(^6\)

\(^3\) *Xocoyotzin*.
\(^4\) Perhaps from *namiqui*, to meet or encounter.
\(^6\) 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 magueys?] belong to them [the
yehuātin ynahuac yezqui yn i[pā]tzin55 daughters?]. Then this plot and my
ytoca juana franca yehuatl quizcatliz yn houses, I give them to my youngest child
iuictzin56 yn uh[ui] yc nitlanahuatia named Micaela. If by Our Lord, God,
ytoca juana franca yehuatl quizcatliz yn they will do it quickly, who will they
iuictzin56 yn uh[u] yc nitlanahuatia meet?53 She will be in charge of this here,
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal my house and my property which I have
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal said with it, that they, with it, will be at
The third thing I order: I have my land [the house of] her, named Juana
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal Francisca. She will raise her toward, in
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal such a way, as I order it.64
Ynic hetlamātli nitlanauatia nicpia notlal
ytocayocā chiyauhtla57 ynic huayac called Chiyauhtla, is seventy [measures]
onpohualli onmatlactli58 auh ynic long. Then it is twenty [measures] wide
onpohualli onmatlactli58 auh ynic patlahuac cenpohualli yntlan ipa along on top of [it], where I am adjacent
nictepanohua ytocə barme de roças yn to the man named Bartolomé de Rosas
acopa nctepanohua că yehuatl barme de upward toward where I am adjacent to
roças yn amilpāpa notepā atlentli him, only he, him, Bartolomé de Rosas.
roças yn amilpāpa notepā atlentli

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 juá

This irrigated field, my boundary wall at

evāgelista ynin niquitohua yn notlal čā

the riverbank towards the north to where I

quicepātequipanozque59 yn

am adjacent to the man named Juan

nomōtzitzinhua60 yuhqui yc mitlanahuatia

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 niquixquetztìuìh yn

And here it is that I name [before I die]

noalbaceas ytoca barme [29v] de roças ma

my executor Bartolomé [29v] de Rosas.

ypaltzinco yn tete° dios quimochiulliz

Let it be through Our Lord [for the sake

quinotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalli

of Our Lord] that he will do it, that he

notestameto auh yntla yhçuiuhca

will act on my testament. And if he will

quimochiulliz [quimote]quipanilhuiz yc

do it quickly, he will work on it, for that

nicnotlatlauhtillia yn tote° dios yc

reason, I pray to Our Lord, God that he

quimotlaocolilliz ynihquac momiquilliz

will be merciful [to the executor] when he

ynic no yuhqui ypā mochiuaz

dies, so that also in this way it will be

done.

auh yntla ocana centetl neçiz notestamēto

But if somewhere another one of my

nochi nicpotlohua Ċan i[y]o[h] neltiz

testaments [shall] appear, I destroy it

ynaxcā nicchiua omochiuh ypā dominqo

completely. Only this one that I make

yc 3 ylhuitl ce junio 1631 años auh yn
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
Esteuā de Coto
Escriō

+ Ana Teocuitlaxochitl
Esteban de Soto
Scribe (Notary)
1631 Pedro de Cate

[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° decāte nicā nochan ciudad huexotzinco ytech nipohui s. juā huexo° tecpā nicchihuia notestamēto auh maçihui yn mococohua nonacayo yece yn noyollo yn noceialliz yn notlalnamiquilliz anque catqui că 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 ča tlatzāco yn ča 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 actuhto yehuatl yn namina ymactzinco nocōtlallia yn tote° dios ypāpa ca quimochiuilli ca quimomamaquixtilli 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 ytláçoeczotzin yn itech sancta cruz

yuá nicmotlatlauhtillia ynic

nechmotlaocolliliz ynic

nechmopopolhuilliz ynxiquich

notatlacol ynic nechmohuiquilliz yn

ichátzinco ylhuicatl yhtec yn ihquac

oquitlalcahui yn nanima yn nonacayo auh

yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yn tlalli

ypāpa ca ytech oquizqui ca tlalli ca çoquitl

yuá nicnequi ça ce tilmatl yc moquinilliz

ynic motocaz nonacayo yhuá nicnequi

onpa motocaz yn teteopā yxpätzinco 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°s –

Auh yz catqui yn niquixquetztiuh yn

noalbaceas yehuatl domígó de ribas ma

ypaltzinco yn tete° dios quimochiuilliz

quimotequipanilhuiz yn onictlalla tepitzin

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 domígó de ribas ma

ypaltzinco yn tete° 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.
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.

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].

In the presence of [before me]

Esteban de Soto

Scribe (Notary)
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].

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:

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.

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.

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.

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 ytocca Miguel de .s.tiago yhuā
yte68 ycoauhtzin69 ytocca juana
niquincahuillitehua mochi yntla
yxiptlayome çan iuh că yaz70

Ynic òtlamātli nitlanahuatia nicpia nosolar
ontetl nican calli71 ipā yn tlanipa notepā
callotli yn acopa notepā callotli
ynamiltapa nictepanohua fran60 xuarez
ynic huicpa norte notepā callotli ynin
nosolar ontetl niquinmacatiuh yn

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.

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 cohuitl.
70 Could be caniyoḥ – 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.
nopilhuátzitzinhuá Miguel de. S. tiago

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 niquinixquetziuh yn
And here it is, I assign my executors
noalbaceashuan ytoca matheo xuarez
named Matheo Suárez and Diego

Diego Francisco, that by the grace of God they
dios quimochiuillizque
will do it, they will execute, my small
quinoteqapanilhuizque yn onictlalli
little will, which I have set down here. If
tepitzin notestamēto yntla yhçiuhca
they do it quickly, their work, they will
quimochiuillizque yc quinmotlaocolliliz yn
be favored by God, when they die.
tote° dios yn ihquac momiquillizque

auh yntla oc cana centetl neçiz notestamēto
But if someplace else another testament
nicpollohua çan if[y]o[h] neltiz yn axcâ[n]
of mine will appear, I destroy it. Only this
nicchihua omochiuh ypā jueves yc 20 de
one, will be verified which today [now] I
julio 1634 años yn cocoxtatzintli quitlalli
have made, dated Thursday the 20th of
cruc ce cruz
July of the year 1634. The sick person
placed a cross.
In my presence, [before me],
Esteban Soto
Scribe
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