
The Testaments of Culhuacan

(provisionally modified first edition)

Edited by

S. L. Cline and Miguel León-Portilla

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[THIS EDITION WAS PLANNED IN THE EARLY 1990s AND DID NOT
COME TO PASS; CONTENTS OF THIS DRAFT ARE THE SAME AS THE
ORIGINAL EDITION WITH CORRECTION OF A FEW TYPOS AND CLEAR
MINOR ERRORS; NEW TYPOS MAY HAVE BEEN INCURRED.
FORMATTING AND PAGE NUMBERS ARE DIFFERENT, BUT DOCUMENT
NUMBERS THE SAME.]

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Foreword

SINCE THE first edition of the Testaments of Culhuacan has been out of print for some years now, a second would be appropriate. Today, it would seem superfluous to point to recent advances in Nahuatl philology and to the general significance of older Nahuatl texts, as I did in the original foreword.

But let me devote a few words to extolling the particular set of texts being republished here. The Testaments of Culhuacan are now familiar to many specialists and have been referred to in various related works. Sarah Cline herself, one of the coeditors, has made the most intensive use of them; they form the principal documentary base of her book *Colonial Culhuacan*,¹ surely the most comprehensive and intimate portrait now existing of a postconquest Nahua community at one particular point in time. (One of the many uses of that study is as the fullest imaginable guide to the present collection.) I too have gone over the testaments closely and repeatedly, using passages from them as examples of all manner of phenomena in my book *The Nahuas After the Conquest*.² Nahuatl documents in general are a rich source, and any aggregation of Nahuatl testaments especially so, but both Cline and I have found that the Culhuacan testaments seem to touch on an absolutely extraordinary number of topics, to be denser than most other wills and broader than one might expect from their mass—not to forget their exceptional color and humanity, which stand out even in a larger documentary corpus notable precisely for those qualities.

Neither Cline nor I, nor other scholars, have come anywhere near exhausting the potential of the Culhuacan testaments. Their virtual inexhaustibility is seen also in the reaction of the substantial number of students who have read the collection and always emerge with slightly different perspectives, fastening on different individuals of the many who populate the texts, or on different aspects of gender, religion, housing, money dealings, or naming patterns, or discovering as they sometimes do entirely new topics that have occurred to no one else.

The primary intention of the new edition is simply to make these important texts readily available once again. Neither the transcriptions nor the translations have been

entirely redone, and the introduction and commentaries to the individual documents are substantially as before. Nevertheless, Cline and I did not fail to learn a thing or two from our later deep study of these materials, and as a result some changes have been made in the translation of certain passages. The transcriptions have been reviewed anew against the originals, with some correction of mistakes. Some typographical errors were discovered and corrected (to balance out the new ones perhaps committed). We hope that the present type face is more satisfactory than the one in the first edition, a result of technical limitations that have by now been overcome. None of us imagines that the present edition will be the last; these are texts to which scholars and others will be returning indefinitely. It would be desirable to adopt a transcription policy in which all of the overbars and other marks of the original would be retained, and a full analytical index would have obvious value. Considerations of time and expense have prevented the attainment of these goals for now. At a deeper level, many of the words and passages found puzzling at the time of preparing the first edition are puzzling still. It is to be hoped that parallel examples will be found in the other comparable texts which continue to surface, and another edition at some future time can come closer to a fully definitive translation.

James Lockhart
Series Editor
1993

THE PRECEDING speaks in terms of an edition which, quite advanced though it was, never reached completion. The reason was partly new endeavors and competing obligations of the participants. Perhaps even more decisive was the awareness of a need for deeper-going change, especially in the transcription. At the time of the original edition, some punctuation-like marks, mainly dots or periods and to some extent diagonals, were ignored as inconsistent and unessential. Surely they are not fully systematic, and through other means the meaning can usually be determined without them. But later they proved to be less arbitrary than they had

¹Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986. Presently available as an ACLS E-Book 2007. The link is <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb03757>.

²Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

seemed; in many cases they delineate a phonological/semantic phrase that is the primary feature of Nahuatl syntax, and they also help place the writing in Culhuacan in this epoch more precisely within the framework of regional and temporal evolution.

Thus the notion has now been conceived of another edition with a transcription which will reproduce everything in the original that can be rendered in print. A good beginning has been made, but completion is far from imminent, and so the present electronic version based largely on the first edition has been prepared and is being made available to individuals. Aside from the lack of punctuation, the principal feature of the transcription here that will be changed is the practice of resolving the overbar of the original with the letter *n*. There are good reasons for this measure, but the question of *n* versus the overbar hardly affects the meaning.

Not much of the content of the translations will be changed in a future edition. Some terms are retained here

that in view of experience over the intervening years would now be handled differently. For example, it is now clear that the word *tomín* for an eighth of a peso soon virtually went out of use in Spanish, and today we translate it as “real.” The word *-namic*, meaning literally “spouse of either gender,” is translated here as wife or husband depending on the gender of the person referred to. Now it is known that in later times much Nahuatl usage made a distinction between *-cihuauh* for wife and *-namic* for the male spouse only, thus in effect husband, and to reflect this historical evolution the planned edition will translate *-namic* as spouse.

Despite the changes that are in the process of being made, in the meantime scholars and students can get the vast majority of the substance of this unique corpus from its present form.

J. L.

2007

³A section of the original with full punctuation and overbars instead of *n* can be seen in Lockhart, *Nahuatl as Written* (UCLA Latin American Center Nahuatl Studies Series, 6, Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press and UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 2001), pp. 190–92.

Introduction

“THE BOOKS are filled with names of kings,” complained Bertolt Brecht. And indeed our knowledge of the prehispanic Nahuas is essentially restricted to imperial histories. Until recently, historical studies of colonial-era Nahuas have also been political, emphasizing elites. Social history aims to present a more complete picture of life, a picture which includes the poor as well as the rich. Through collective biography, we discern general patterns of society from the lives of individual men and women. Many local-level Nahuatl documents from the colonial era survive, a large number of them recording transactions by ordinary people. The majority of these documents are European legal instruments of a type introduced after the conquest, but readily adopted by the Nahuas. One such type is the will. A will is a window into someone's life, an inventory of property, a list of loved ones remembered by bequests. Testaments were made by Nahua men and women from all strata of society, a rich source for colonial social history.

The book of testaments of Culhuacan, a parchment-bound set of sixty-five wills,¹ is the largest homogeneous collection of sixteenth-century Nahuatl wills known to exist. The town of Culhuacan was a famous prehispanic center, reputedly a refuge for the Toltecs. By their connections to the Culhuacan royal line, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan asserted their legitimacy as the heirs of empire. Thus any large collection of records from this historically important town has special interest to scholars. But the testaments of Culhuacan are not important only for their provenience. From the large number of extant wills, many general patterns of everyday life in a colonial Nahua town emerge: social relations, landholding, political structure, and inheritance. Some of these patterns were previously unknown, poorly understood, or known only in the most general terms. The testaments are especially valuable in that most of them were written in a very concentrated period (1579-1582) and in that a number of the testators are

related to one another.

The manuscript and its origin. The book of testaments formed part of the library of Dr. Ignacio Pérez Alonso, who permitted one of us, Dr. Miguel León-Portilla, to examine it and reproduce it photographically. At the present time, it is preserved at the Library of the Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City. Bound in what appears to be the original parchment, the book pertained to the Augustinian convent of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan. At some undetermined date, possibly after the departure of the Augustinian religious in 1756, or later, after the demolition of the old church, around 1892, the manuscript passed into private hands.

The folios are of Spanish paper of the period, not the native figbark paper, *amatl*. Each one measures 31 x 21 cm. The unnumbered first folio is in Spanish and concerns the transfer of the testaments. What can be read of the date indicates that this part was written in the eighteenth century. The second folio is also unnumbered; it is a fragment in Nahuatl concerning the preservation of the wills. Most of the folios are numbered, however. Breaks in the numbering indicate that some folios have been lost.

The collection of testaments is large, containing 52 complete wills and 13 fragments, totaling 65. There are 29 complete testaments by men, 23 by women, and one fragment in which the gender of the testator cannot be determined. The wills are generally in chronological order, the first one dated 1579 and the last one 1599. Two wills of high nobles found near the end of the collection are dated earlier in the 1570s, don Pedro de Suero's from 1572 (Document 63) and doña María Juárez's from 1577 (Document 71). The final folio, personal memoranda on one of the notaries (Document 83), refers to events in 1606. The largest number of dated wills is from 1581 with 20, followed by 1580 with 14. Fourteen are undated, but many were undoubtedly composed in the years 1580 and 1581 since they are

¹Miguel León-Portilla published a preliminary description of the corpus, “El libro de los testamentos indígenas de Culhuacán, su significación como testimonio histórico,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 12: 11–31. Parts of this introduction are translations from that Spanish text. See S. L. Cline's book *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) for an extended analysis of the testaments of Culhuacan.

found between testaments dated in that period, the notaries' hands are recognizable, and the testaments fall within the period of those notaries' terms of office. In addition, the people mentioned in the undated testaments appear in other contemporary wills.

The resident Augustinian religious often made notes in Spanish in the book of wills, registering the disposition of property and certifying that masses were said. While the hands of the Nahuatl notaries are clear and legible, the hands of the Spanish friars are often careless scrawls. The annotations in Spanish indicate the friars' continued access to the Nahuatl wills and their ongoing interest in their Indian parishioners' affairs. The religious are fray Juan Núñez, fray Juan Zimbrón, fray Cristóbal de Agurto, fray Rodrigo de Moscoso, fray Sebastián de Castro, and fray Agustín Farfán.

Documents related to the testaments of Culhuacan. Two sets of documents found in other archival repositories are closely related to the testaments of Culhuacan. One set is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Manuscrit Mexicain 110, known as the Proceso de Culhuacan. This is a lawsuit of the 1590s, containing a copy of the testament in Nahuatl copied by one of the principal Culhuacan notaries, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado. The lawsuit, between competing sets of heirs, is in Spanish with the exception of two native pictorials and the Nahuatl will of Cristina Tiacapan, with a translation into Spanish (the only Culhuacan testament to have a contemporary colonial translation). The other set of documents, completely in Nahuatl with native cadastrals, is found in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Ramo Tierras, Volume 58, expediente 4. It concerns the division of the estate of doña Juana Luisa, a member of the Motecuhzoma family. The documents include her testament and various municipal documents dealing with the division of the estate. The size of the estate and the prominence of the testator and her heirs help explain the town government's involvement. These two sets of documents were excluded from the present publication due to limitations on space and have been published separately.²

Antecedents for the introduction of testaments in New Spain. At present it has not been determined whether there were prehispanic precedents for legal, written testaments. A reference by fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinia denies such a tradition in the Cuernavaca area.

...wills were not the custom in this land, but they left their houses and lands to their children, and the eldest, if he was a grown man, possessed it, and took care of his brothers and sisters, as the father had done during his lifetime. As the brothers (and sisters?) grew up and married, the oldest brother divided with them according to what he had. And if the sons (and daughters?) (of the deceased) were unmarried, the brothers and sisters (of the deceased) entered the lands and did with their nephews (and nieces?) as I have said the eldest brother did with the other property.³

An account by Francisco López de Gómara indicates that there was a great diversity of inheritance patterns in Mexico as a whole, and between nobles and "peasants" (*villanos*). Gómara's general description supports Motolinia's account. The oldest brother inherited the estate and took care of his siblings, nieces and nephews.⁴ With such general rules for inheritance, there seems to be no need for written testaments. Often matters of wills and inheritance are implicitly mixed and confounded with the theme of succession to office, where definite rules operated. Durand-Forest has speculated that in pre-conquest times, the Nahuas may have bequeathed property through an oral declaration of will as a public act.⁵ Although a lawsuit from Mexico-Tenochtitlan says that written wills were first used by Indians in the late 1540s, there is one example of an oral testament which if valid would date to ca. 1534.⁶

We are inclined to think that although its form is presently unknown, there existed in prehispanic central Mexico some type of testamentary institution. Its existence would make it much easier to understand why in the colonial period so many Indians, far from showing resistance, made their testaments in their own language before notaries, accepting Spanish juridical forms.

²They are included as appendices in Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan*.

³Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinia, *Memoriales o libro de las cosas de Nueva España*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1971, pp. 134–35. Translation into English by S. L. Cline.

⁴Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, ed., México, 1943, pp. 222–23.

⁵Jacqueline Durand-Forest, "Testament d'une indienne de Tlatelolco," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n.s. t 1.1, pp. 129–58.

⁶Edward Calnek, personal communication.

Notarial practice and notaries. To fray Alonso de Molina and other friars who wrote afterward, we apparently owe the original preparation of formulas and rules for the use of notaries in charge of Indian wills. In his *Confessionario mayor en lengua mexicana y castellana*, published in Mexico City in 1565, there is a full chapter dedicated to this matter. A notary is to be asked:

You who are notary, did you perform your office well and faithfully, and were you discreet and prudent in all the things that you are obligated to do, or did you perhaps without the proper fidelity but with trickery and prejudice to someone give to understand and affirm that which was false? And when the invalid made a testament, signifying and declaring his final will, did you perform your office faithfully and without trickery? Do you know well all the things that you are obligated to do in order that the testament should be good and firm? Think then now about what I will tell you and I will examine well, because you are obligated to do and carry out all the things I will tell you and declare.⁷

Molina then gives a series of admonishments and rules directed to the notaries. These refer to the qualities that witnesses should have, the secrecy with which the testament is to be done, the necessity for the testator to know his or her rights and obligations, to indicate if he or she has debts to pay, and freely select the one who will carry out the dispositions. The notary ought, in addition, to read back the text dictated to him and obtain the approval of the testator and attestation by the witnesses. Finally, in the same section of the *Confessionario mayor*, Molina outlines a scheme for how a testament should be written, specifying formulas which became standard.

The Culhuacan wills were written by several local Indian notaries. However, there was apparently only one notary functioning at a time (there may have been another in Culhuacan's dependency of Santiago Tetla). In the first months of 1580, Alonso Dávila de Santiago signed four testaments, and his hand is identifiable in three others. Following him as notary is Juan de San Pedro, who wrote fourteen testaments in the period July-December 1580. He may have learned his skill from

another notary, Miguel García, since both had similar hands. García, who wrote one of the wills, never used any of the notarial titles, such as *escribano nombrado*, "appointed notary," or *escribano de la iglesia*, "notary of the church," but he seems to have functioned as a notary of some kind, since his estate contained books, a writing desk, and inkpots (Document 31).

A third of the Culhuacan wills were written by Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado. A municipal document found in the book of testaments (Document 61) indicates his performance was not, however, unblemished; he suppressed a number of testaments and consequently the book was taken from him. Yet his public career did not end there. The final folio of the book indicates that he again held the office of notary as well as *alcalde* (Document 83).

Other notaries were (don) Alonso Dávila de Santiago, Diego Hernández, and Juan Bautista. The last may be two different men with the same name, since the hand of one text (Document 73) is quite different from that of the others (e.g., Documents 74, 76). All of the Culhuacan notaries have thoroughly Hispanized names.

Form of the testaments and textual style. Nahuatl wills follow a standard form. After a religious invocation comes a series of bequests, the first often being provisions for burial and masses. Each piece of property or possession is enumerated and a specific heir chosen. Those who witness the will are then individually named. Often the witnesses include the testators' kin and heirs. Almost obligatory witnesses are town officials, the executors called *albaceas*, a Spanish loanword into Nahuatl (which we have translated "executor," the almost exact equivalent in English). The notary then affirms the validity of the will, dates it, and signs it with his name and official title. The format follows closely the Spanish model for testaments, with standard Nahuatl invocations being essentially direct translations from Spanish formulas. Usually the invocation calls upon the Holy Trinity or Jesus and the Virgin Mary. Formulas vary from one notary to another and also within the career of a given notary. Some wills lack an invocation altogether. Testaments were considered as religious as well as legal documents. In theory, the invocation and religious formulas were as important as the bequests of property which make up the body of the will. Evidently some of the Culhuacan notaries, however, gave less

⁷Fray Alonso de Molina, *Confessionario mayor en lengua mexicana y castellana*, por Antonio de Espinosa, 1565, f. 58r and v. Translation is from León-Portilla (1976).

⁸Philippe Ariès. *L'homme devant la mort*, Editions de Seuil, Paris, 1977, p.188.

weight to the formulas. On a number of occasions formulas are truncated or omitted altogether, and the degree of inadvertent error in some of the introductory sections tells us that the notaries were napping while writing them. On the other hand, some invocations have extra touches which suggest that certain testators took the religious function of the will seriously and influenced the wording. The body of the testaments is also stylized, for the most part. The most typical entries are bequests of land such as the following:

And there are two chinampas of mine in Acalotenco (at the edge of the canal?), each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Francisco Cihuatepanecatl, regidor mayor. I give them to my children, who are to cultivate them (Document 19).

Land bequests usually follow that form: identification of the type of land, the location and size, and the bequest. In this type of statement, the notary acted to regularize the wording. All the entries are made in the first person, but the similarity in wording of this type of statement points to notarial phrasing.

At times the notary reported the testator's speech more directly, recording verbatim quotes. Often these little speeches are colorful—and very revealing of interpersonal relations. The will provided testators a forum to vent their spleen, single out kin for special praise, and make explanations for their actions. Many of these speeches, often found in women's wills, explain the disinheritance of a particular person. Especially good examples are in Document 26 and Document 40.

Procedures and conventions of transcription and translation. This volume contains transcriptions of the Nahuatl and Spanish texts as well as our translations into English. We present both for a number of important reasons. Precise rendering of meaning from one language to another is virtually impossible to achieve, especially in the case of an idiom as little understood as the Nahuatl of the colonial period. We attempt to arrive

at the *sense* of what is said, but alternative glosses are possible for many passages. The presentation of the Nahuatl transcription allows others to make their own translations. Also, the transcription gives scholars access to documents which are not easily available. Presentation of the transcription has the special advantage of allowing readers to see loanwords from Spanish and the forms they appear in.

Producing printed transcriptions from handwritten documents requires modifications of the original. We have chosen not to reproduce some standard notarial devices. Overbars to denote nasals are transcribed as their alphabetical equivalent. Thus, *çā*, “just, only,” in the handwritten text becomes *çan* in our transcription.⁹ Abbreviations for *qui* and *que* also have not been reproduced here, but spelled out. Standard abbreviations for personal names have been retained, but are resolved in the translation. For instance, “fran^{CO}” is retained in the transcription but is found as “Francisco” in the translation. Vowel length, ignored in the original (as in nearly all colonial-period texts), has not been indicated. Often the original text lacks clear divisions into separate words; our transcription creates such divisions following modern norms. In all other respects we have followed the orthography of the original.

In a number of places, the meaning of the Nahuatl text is unclear, and we have indicated through parentheses, question marks, and comments the provisional nature of the present translation. A few terms which have passed from Nahuatl into Mexican Spanish have been retained in our translation. Occasionally Nahuatl terms appear within the English text. Most notable are the terms for units of measure of land. To aid the reader, a glossary of terms follows this introduction. It includes: names for offices which are loanwords from Spanish standard in the literature; common Nahuatl loanwords into Mexican Spanish which have gained currency; and explanations of terminology difficult to translate. Where there is a very close equivalent in English, such as with

⁹In general, it can be said that there is nothing at all unusual in the way overbars are treated in the Culhuacan documents; they are used generously for all manner of syllable-final nasals, as tends to be the case in many sixteenth-century Nahuatl texts. When the Culhuacan notaries employed letters rather than overbars, they, like other writers of their time, most often wrote *n* rather than *m* for syllable-final nasals even before bilabial consonants, thus *onpa*, “there,” more often than *ompa*, *quinmaca*, “he gives it to them,” rather than *quimmaca*. In resolving overbars we have therefore always used *n*. There is one peculiarity in Culhuacan overbar usage; a long line is conventionally written over the name “Ana.” This could be interpreted as Anna, Anan, or Annan, but we have come to the conclusion that it is simply an additional signal to help identify a short name, thus used also at times in Spanish, and we have ignored it in transcription. Another problem is the intention where there is a line over a Spanish loanword containing *ñ*. Most Spanish writers made no formal distinction between the tilde and the overbar, relying on context for the correct interpretation. In the Culhuacan texts, there is no way of knowing if the intention of *año*, “year,” is *año* or *anno*; though the latter is more probable, we have left the overbar unresolved with such words.

“executor” for “albacea,” we have used it.

The texts have been assigned document numbers, each testament or other text having its own number. At times when a note in Spanish or Nahuatl relates to a testator or topic, it will be numbered with the document it accompanies. For example, Mateo Juárez's testament is Document 24, and the notation in Spanish concerning the estate is Document 24A. Some documents are only a few lines, others are pages long. Cross-references in the text are to document numbers. Preceding the Nahuatl documents are short introductory notes, alerting the reader to some of the special features of each text. Limitations on space have kept these introductions to a few lines in most cases. Our hope is that they make the document comprehensible as a separate entity and that when the documents and brief explanations are read as a whole, the reader will acquire a cumulative knowledge of the corpus.

Significance of the Testaments of Culhuacan. From local-level Nahuatl documentation a picture of life in colonial Indian towns can be reconstructed. Since the Culhuacan wills were written by and for the use of the Indians, the resulting picture of society is entirely from the natives' perspective. This is in contrast to most works on native life, which use sources from or are directed toward the Spanish world.

Testaments are a significant source of historical and cultural information on Nahua society. Their main civil function is to provide an orderly transfer of property from the testator to his or her heirs. A will is thus an inventory of the testator's estate, usually including houses, land, and movable property such as agricultural tools, cooking utensils, weaving equipment, occasionally books and musical instruments, and in a few instances, horses and mules. A testator's choice of heirs is revealing of the social dynamics of kin relationships, with some people favored over others, and some systematically excluded.

Bequest patterns are the most obvious type of information that testaments provide. The testaments of Culhuacan are especially important because most studies of Nahua inheritance have used wills found in lawsuits as their source of information. Competing claimants introduced wills into evidence to bolster their cases. Studies of bequest patterns based on such cases are

likely to have skewed results. The Culhuacan wills, bound together in a book, much the same as native baptismal, marriage and burial records, likely reflect the more normal, undisputed cases.

Since the period when the bulk of the Culhuacan wills were composed was one of epidemic mortality, there are a number of testators related to each other. Testament clusters of members of the same family show the same individuals in different social roles. For example, one Angelina Moxel (Document 50) can be seen as daughter, sister, wife and mother, in the testaments of her father (Document 47), of her husband (Document 57), and of herself. She is an heiress, witness and testator, three different legal roles.

The proportion of Culhuacan testators of high social rank is doubtless higher than among the general population. One indication of the testators' high status is their noble titles. Four testators have the Spanish noble title *don* or *doña*, while a number of others have Nahuatl noble titles, such as *tecuhtli*¹⁰ and *tlacochcalcatl*. In addition, a large number of testators, though untitled themselves, were related to titled people. Despite a disproportionate number of high status people among the testators, many had quite modest estates and lacked apparent ties to the upper stratum.

The wills provide a whole range of information on various aspects of Nahua cultural life. How Indian town government functioned, especially concerning estate division, can be seen. The importance of Christian religious forms is evident from the many bequests for masses to aid testators' souls. Land tenure is perhaps the largest single matter which the wills illuminate.¹¹ Native terminology is retained for soil classification, measurement, and civil categories of land, indicating strong Indian control of land in the late sixteenth century. Changes in Nahuatl due to Spanish cultural influence are evident in numerous Spanish legal or religious concepts, and also the names for objects from Spanish material culture which were in use in late sixteenth-century Culhuacan. Another phenomenon related to language is naming patterns. Christian given names were universal by this time, but individuals used a wide variety of second names, some Nahuatl, some Spanish. There were differences in the type of names men and women had. Women's were much more stylized. Names also varied

¹⁰We use this spelling, thought inelegant or incorrect by some, because it is the form of the word most frequently seen in colonial-period texts and specifically in the testaments of Culhuacán.

¹¹S. L. Cline, “Land Tenure and Land Inheritance in late Sixteenth-Century Culhuacan,” in *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, H. R. Harvey and Hanns Prem, eds. University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

along class lines, nobles tending to have more Hispanicized names.

Although the testaments often have stylized texts, nonetheless they are the final words of the dying. From

them fine and valuable analyses of cultural patterns can be written, but just as importantly, in them the voices of long dead men and women are heard.

Glossary and Conventions of Translation

- Albacea* - Executor
- Alcaide* - Jailor
- Alcalde* - Judge and cabildo member
- Alguacil* - Constable
- Alguacil mayor* - Chief constable
- Almud* - One twelfth of a fanega
- Altepetl - A sovereign state, including both the people and the territory; in central Mexican conditions usually of moderate size, on the order of a European city state. Became the basis of the postconquest indigenous municipality.
- Braza - Spanish unit of measure, a fathom, commonly two varas (yards); also used by Spaniards to translate “matl” and “quahuil”
- Callalli - House land, land considered to go with the house and indivisible from it, but not necessarily the same as the houselot or solar
- Calpulli - Territorial or social unit; the exact meaning unclear at present
- Calpollalli - Calpulli land; the details of its tenure are unclear
- Chinampa** - Long, narrow, man-made extensions of farmland into the lakes around Mexico City; often called *chinamitl* in Nahuatl; frequently referred to simply by number of chinampas without reference to the terms *chinamitl* or *chinampa* but unambiguous because of the use of the verb *temi* to specify location
- Chiquihuite** - A type of basket (Nahuatl: *chiquihuitl*)
- Church attendant(s) - Gloss for *teopantlacatl* “church person” and *teopantlaca* “church people”; often glossed in Spanish as cantor(es), “(choir) singer(s)”, referring to people who accompany the deceased's bodies to church, in charge of sweeping up around the church, etc.; the same as a sacristan?
- Church tepixqui - Gloss for *teoyotica tepixqui*, a lower official possibly in charge of making sure people went to church
- Cihuacalli - “Woman house”, possibly a common room; owned by both men and women
- Cihuatepixqui - A female lower official, perhaps in charge of women
- Cihuatlalli - “Woman land”; possibly a type of dowry land
- Compadre* - Ritual coparent
- Cuartillo* - One-fourth, of an almud or real
- Diputado* - Deputy
- Don* - Noble title held at this time only by men of highest rank
- Doña* - Noble title held by women of highest rank
- Fanega* - Unit of dry measure, about a bushel and a half
- Fiscal* - Highest Indian church official, general steward of the church and supervisor of lower officials
- Fray* - Spanish title for European friars
- Gobernador* - Governor, often the same person as the tlatoani (see Juez-gobernador)
- Huehuetlalli - Patrimonial land, a special category of inherited land
- Huipil** - Woman's blouse (Nahuatl: *huipilli*)
- Jacal** - Hut (Nahuatl: *xacalli*)
- Jícara** - A type of calabash vessel (*xicalli*)
- Juez-gobernador* - “Judge-governor”, the highest office in a major Indian political unit (altepetl); in the first generation or so of the colonial period the juez-gobernador was usually the tlatoani or native dynastic ruler, later the offices of tlatoani and juez-gobernador were separate
- Matl - Unit of measure, literally “hand, arm” a measure apparently originally derived from the distance covered by both outstretched arms, though commonly more than that in practice
- Mayordomo* - Steward, here apparently always a church official
- Mecate** - Measure of area, in most places 20 x 20 matl but in the Culhuacan wills seemingly 20 x 200; literally “cord” (Nahuatl: *mecatl*)
- Metate** - Grinding stone (Nahuatl: *metlatl*)
- Mexicatlalli - “Mexico land”, a civil category of unclear status
- Molcajete** - Small mortar for grinding chiles (Nahuatl: *molcaxitl*)
- Peso* - Spanish monetary unit of eight reales
- Petate** - Reed mat (Nahuatl: *petlatl*)
- Quahuil - Unit of measure, literally “stick” or “rod”, often equivalent to the matl, though sometimes larger
- Quappantli - A measure for an amount of stone
- Quauhacalli - Unit of measure, presumed to be about half a fanega
- Quauhtlalli - A type of land possibly deriving from *quahuil*, “tree(s)”, meaning wooded land or woods or alternatively, deriving from *quauhtli*, “eagle”, a type of conquered land
- Real - Spanish monetary unit, one-eighth of a peso
- Regidor* - Councilman in the cabildo

- Regidor mayor* - Chief councilman
- Solar* - Houselot
- Tecomate** - clay (or sometimes gourd) vessel (Nahuatl: *tecomatl*)
- Tecpan - Unit of social organization of high nobles; court; noble house
- Tecpancalli - Palace or community house, often where high nobles lived but with some public aspects; land often pertained to it (*tecpantlalli*)
- Tecuhtli - Indian noble title; lord
- Telpochcalli - "Young-man house," in the Culhuacan wills meaning a house built before a man's marriage; in the traditional sources, a school for commoner boys
- Tepixqui - Lower official, literally "one in charge of people"
- Tequitl - Glossed "tribute" or "work"; found in the Culhuacan wills usually with the sense of "tribute"
- Tezontle** - Type of porous stone (Nahuatl: *teçontli*)
- Tlatoani - Native dynastic ruler
- Tlalcohualli - Purchased land, a fundamental civil category; found in Nahuatl local-level documentation as early as 1535
- Tlaxilacalleque - Glossed "ward heads" but could mean simply "ward people"
- Tlaxilacalli - (Residential) subdivision of an Indian town, here translated "ward"
- Tomín* - Spanish unit of money and coin equal to a real, eight to a peso; came to mean "money" in Nahuatl
- Topile - Official in charge of something, literally "holder of a staff"; often the deputies (*diputados*) or executors (*albaceas*) sign their names with the title *topile* rather than their Spanish loanword titles
- Topile of the church - Gloss for *teopan topile*, a church official of some sort
- Yollotli - Unit of measure, literally "heart"; a measure from the middle of the chest to the outstretched hand; often half a matl

*Loanword from Spanish into Nahuatl

**Loanword from Nahuatl into Mexican Spanish

The Testaments of Culhuacan

Transcriptions, translations, and commentary

f. (1)

Document 1*Fragment in Spanish, 17?9*

This fragment in Spanish from the eighteenth century is an acknowledgment of having received in keeping the testaments from the natives of Culhuacan.

1	1
2 San Ju ^o ebangelista . . .	2 San Juan Evangelista . . .
3 que los tengo en deposito (guardado?) . . .	3 that I am keeping them in deposit
4 ron dh ^{os} naturales siendo gobernador.?D ⁿ Ja- zinto . . .	4 . . . the said natives, don Jacinto . . . being governor
5 tian año de 17?9 - le faltan en el Prinsipio como . . .	5 . . . the year of 17?9 - at the beginning about . . . are missing
6 ra en la foja . . vna nota en que declara le faltan (20?)	6 . . . on folio . . . a note saying that (20?) (sheets) are missing
7 claro los rreseui me los entrego el	7 I declare that I received them . . . handed them over to me
8 Sebastian de la bega como parese por el pedaso del prinsipio	8 Sebastián de la Vega, as is seen through the fragment at the beginning

f. (2)

Document 2*Fragment in Nahuatl, n.d.*

This fragment in Nahuatl concerns the measures for conserving the testaments.

1	1
2	2
3	3
4 omoteneuh	4 the said
5	5
6 yn ipanpa	6 because
7 yhuan	7 and
8 nahuati	8 (ordered?)
9 yn oncan micuilo	9 written there
10 omitzon	10 sewn
11 ynic ce tlatatl	11 the first person
12 monahuatilli (omenti?)	12 ordered (two?)
13 (huizque?) yn ixquich	13 all
14 Jeronimo	14 Gerónimo
15 yuh	15 thus
16	16
17 chico	17 (?)
18 amo tle nenpolihui	18 nothing (is missing?)
19 pa nican (nictlalia?)	19 (wherefore) (I place) here (my signature)
don jhoan	Don Juan Marcos.
marcos	

f. (3?)

Document 3*Testament Fragment of the Mother of Vázquez, Nov. 18, 1579*

Testament fragments often give important information. This final portion of a woman's will allows us to identify her as the mother of Agustín Vázquez, a Culhuacan nobleman. Typically, her property consists of houses, land, and movable goods. Not unexpectedly, two of the heirs are her direct descendants, identified by name and kin relationship. A third, Martín Cano, receives a house and acts as witness to the will, but his relationship to the testator is not spelled out. This situation is frustratingly common.

/f. (3?)/ - yhuan niquitoa y nocal yn oca nica tonatiuh y(cala)quiyanpa yztzicac yoan centetl caçolli (sic) yne-m(ac) noconeuh agustin vasquez auh yn yancuic no... nicmacatiuh yn noxhuiuh yn bartasal uas(quez) yoan yn ixquich xolar mochi ytech yez yn noxh(uiuh) auh y notelpoch yn itatzin ycal catca nicmacatiuh ytech nicpouhtiuh yoan yn itlallo yn ipan ycac

- yhuan centetl caltepiton tonatiuh yquičayanpa yztzicac nicnomaquilitiuh yn m̄n gano quimocuiliz yn tetl

- yhuan niquitoa centepan huipillatetectli yoan tochomitli auh monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez missa nopan yc mitoz yoan nematequixicalli monamacaz

- yoan ontetl casa cecentetli niquinmacatiuh notelpoch yoan noxhuiuh

- yxquichi yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxqui ymix(pan) omochiuh señor don Juan ramirez matheo ... m̄n gano Lurenço Lupez auh oquitlallique y . . .

don Ju^o Ramirez Lurenço Lupez

Auh in nehuatl a^ol davila de sanctiago es^rno y nican colhuacan niquitoa ca qualli ca mel(ahuac) ynin testamento yhuan nehuatl oniquic(uilo) ypampa nican nic-tlallia notoca nofirma omo(chiuh) yc xviii mani metztli de nou^e mil (y quin^os) y setenta y nueue años

nixpan

...

/f. (3?)/ - And I declare that the house where I am, which faces west, and an old (house), the inheritance of my child Agustín Vázquez, and my new (house?) I give to my grandchild Baltasar Vázquez, and the whole house lot will belong to my grandchild. And to my son I give the house which was his father's. I assign it to him with the land on which it stands.

- And a small house which faces toward the east I give to Martín Cano. He is to take the stone.

- And I declare that there is cloth on a loom for a huipil, and rabbit fur; it is to be sold, and with the proceeds masses will be said for me. And a jícara for washing hands is to be sold.

- And I give my child and grandchild one each of the two chests.

- This is all the statement that the invalid made. It was done before the lord don Juan Ramírez, Mateo ..., Martín Cano, and Lorenzo López, and they set down their (signatures).

Don Juan Ramírez. Lorenzo López.

And I, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, notary here in Culhuacan, say that this testament is good and true, and I wrote it, wherefore I place here my name and signature. Done the 18th of the month of November of the year 1579.

Before me, (Alonso Dávila de Santiago, appointed notary).

f. 4r

Document 4*Testament of María Tiacapan (a), wife of Andrés Icnotl, n.d.*

María Tiacapan is one of four women so named in the Culhuacan testaments. Tiacapan, "first" or "oldest," is a woman's birth order name. In the present collection alone, there are ten women testators with that second name. Wills allow testators to give specific property to selected heirs. María seemingly has no children of her own and leaves her land to nephews. Testaments were used to limit inheritance as well. The weakness of stepkin relations can be seen in her restrictions on what the stepdaughters receive. Bequests of land usually give the measurements of the property, but often only the number of units of measure and not the unit itself.

/f. 4r/ s m^a ma^dg maria tiacapan
ynamic andres ycnotl

- In ica ytocatzin tte^o Jex̄po yoan yn itlaçonantzin santa

/f. 4r/ María Tiacapan, wife of Andrés Icnotl, of Santa María Magdalena

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his pre-

m^a yn mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitzaque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl yn quenni nehuatl maria tiacapan nicnocihuatl notlaxillacalpan sancta m^a madalena cihuatecpa maçonellihui yn ninococohua yece y noyollia yn naniman amouen ca zan pactica auh ca huel mellahuac ynic nicneltoquitia yn santissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios espirito sancto çan ce nyelitzin Exencia yoan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de romana yoan yn ica yn inotzaloca yn itlatlauhtiloca yn tte^o dios nicchihua yoan nictecpana yni notesstamento y notlanequiliz ymis(. . ?) ya nictecpana

- ynic centlamantli niquitoa y noyollia y naniman ca nicnomaquilia yn tte^o dios yeyca ca oquimochihuilli yoan oquimomaquixtillico yn ica yn itlaçoyezçotzin y nican tlapac (sic) auh ma quimonequilti yn canpa quimonequiltiz ma quimohuiquilli auh y nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeyca ca tlalli ytech oquiz auh niquitoa yntla oninomiquilli ompa motocatiuh yn nonacayo yn onpa toteopanchan S Juan Euangelista

/f. 4v/ - yhuan niquitohua yn oncan nica calli tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yzticac yoan centetl xochimilcopa yzticac auh yn tlalli yn ica hueyac xochimilcopa chiuchnanmatl ypan cenyollotli auh ynic patlahuac yn huitzilo pochcopa (sic) nanmatl auh ynin ca mochi nicmacatiuh y nopillo gasbar cuetli auh ce missa nechtlacoliz yhuan castoltetl yn ichinanyo mochi nicmacatiuh amoyac tle quelehuiliz

- yhuan niquitohua centetl nocal tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yzticac chiquacenmatl yn tlalli yn ica hueyac ypan cenyollotli auh ynic patlahuac nanmatl auh yn (sic) ca mochi nicmacatiuh y nopillo ytoça melchior tleçannen auh ca ytech nicpouhtih amoyac aca quincuiliz quelehuiliz yoan yn ichinayo ca ya quichihua ca no mochi nicmacatiuh

- yhuan niquitohua noteuhtlal huixachtlan mani cenpoalyahualihqui ymilltitech yn mig^l telez auh niquitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nopillotzin lurenço yaoxochiquitl amoyac quellehuiliz

- yhuan niquitoa nomill ompa mani yn sanctiago tetla ompoalli ynic hueyac cenpoalli ynic patlahuac ymilltitech tomas nauhyotl auh missa topan yc mitoz monamacaz

- yhuan niquitoa tloxamanilli nauhtecpantli yoan quauh-tectli cenpoalli onmacuilli yoan ce huepantli yoan ome tlaquetzalli yoan ce tlayxquaytl yoan ome quahuacatl yoan calnacaztli macuiltetl yoan tetl cenquapantli auh yn ica mochi monamacaz missa topan yc mitoz tonehuan y nonamictzin catca andres vasguez yoan ce cassa amo tle tepoztli ytech ca no monamacaz missa . . .

cious mother Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, María Tiacapan, widow, from the ward of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are tranquil and healthy. I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, whose essence is just one, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. With invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and ordain this, my testament, my will . . . I am ordering.

- First I declare that I give my spirit and soul to our lord God because he made it and he came to redeem it with his precious blood here on earth; let him use it where he pleases, let him take it. And my body I give to the earth because from the earth it came. Also I declare that when I die, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

/f. 4v/ - And I declare that the house where I am, which faces west, and another which faces toward Xochimilco with land nine matl and one yollotli long, and four matl in width, toward Huitzilopochco, all of this I give to my nephew Gaspar Cuetli. And he is to favor me with a mass. Also I give him all of the 15 chinampas of (the house). No one is to covet anything of him.

- And I declare that I have a house that faces west with land six matl and one yollotli long, and four matl wide. And I give it all to my nephew named Melchor Tleçannen. I assign it to him, and no one is to take it from him nor covet it of him. And I also give him all the chinampas of (the house), which he is already working.

- And I declare that I have dry land in Huixachtlan, 20 (units of measure) on all sides, next to the field of Miguel Téllez. And I say I give it all to my nephew Lorenzo Yaoxochiquitl. No one is to covet it of him.

- And I declare that I have a field in Santiago Tetla, 40 (units) long and 20 wide, next to the field of Tomás Nauhyotl. It is to be sold and with (the money) a mass is to be said for us.

- And I declare that 80 wooden shingles and 25 (piles) of firewood, and a beam and two square pillars, and a lintel, and two thick poles and five house-(corners?), and a quappantli of stone are all to be sold in order that a mass be said for both of us, myself and my deceased husband, Andrés Vázquez. And also a chest that does not have a lock is to be sold and a mass . . .

/f. 5r*/ - yhuan centetl comitl no monamacaz yhuan puerta no monamacaz

- yhuan niqutohua yn axcan nonamictzin ocatca y mo-miquilli ytoca catca migl garcia auh ca oquitlallita yn inenanahuatl yn ipanpa ytlatqui moch notech quicauhta auh axcan ya nicxexeloa yhuan vc cepa niqutohua yn iuh quitota nonamictzin catca Excan xeliuiz yn tlamantli yn ipan mani calli ontetl tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac auh yn tlalli yn ica patlahuac yn huixachtlan-pahuic nanmatl yoan cenyolotli auh yn xochimilcopa macuilmatl auh ca mochi niquinmacatiuh niquincahuilitiuh y nochahuaconehuan fran^{ca} Juāna tiacapan yoan yn ixquich yn milli yn chinamitl mochi ya niquincahuilia mochi yntech pohuiz canel yntatzin yyaxca yoan chiquacentetl quauhtecomatl conmocuilia yn ipanpa aocmo cepa ytla quitotihui auh nechmacazque ce ps^o oc notech monequiz yn ipanpa yxquich yc noyollo yc pachihuiz ynic teoyotica nitenamic onicatca ya yxquich niqutoa

- yxquichi yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli auh camo huellacuiloa ypanpa yn amo oquitlalli yfirma ymixpan testigos migl telez Juan baptista pablo Jeronimo fabia ximenez andres garcia domingo de s laçaro lucas laçaro bernaldo quauhtli lurenço de sanctiago yoan aluaceas don a^ol ximenez yoan lurenço lupez auh nican oquitlalique yn intoca y huellacuiloa

nixpan omochiuh

A^ol davila

de sanctiago

escr^o nonbrado

(don?) A^ol xīēz

/f. 5r*/ - And a pot is also to be sold; in addition, a door is to be sold.

- And I declare that the person who recently was my husband and who died was named Miguel García. He left behind various commands concerning his property; he conferred it all on me, and now I am dividing it, and again I declare that according to what my deceased husband said, the level land on which two houses stand facing east is to be divided into three parts. And the land is four matl and one yollotli wide, facing Huixachtlan, and five matl (long) toward Xochimilco. And I give and bequeath all of it to my stepchildren Francisca and Juana Tiacapan. And I leave all the fields and chinampas to them; all of it will belong to them, because it is their father's property. And they will take six wooden jars. Because of (all) this, they will not make objections again. And they are to give me a peso which will be used for me, with which I will rest satisfied as the legitimate wife I was. This is all I declare.

- This is all that the invalid declared, and she does not know how to write, for which reason she did not put down her signature. Before the witnesses: Miguel Téllez, Juan Bautista, Pablo Gerónimo, Fabián Jiménez, Andrés García, Domingo de San Lázaro, Lucas Lázaro, Bernardo Quauhtli, Lorenzo de Santiago, and the executors don Alonso Jiménez and Lorenzo López. And those who know how to write placed their names here.

Done before me, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, appointed notary. Don Alonso Jiménez.

*It is possible that a page is missing, or even that it is a question of two distinct testaments.

f. 5v

Document 4A

Annotation in Spanish, March 28, 1583

/f. 5v/ En 28 de março de 1583 a^os dio miguel Joseph tres pesos y (m^o?) por vna casilla uieja de andres ycnotl difunto para misas por su alma y se empecaron a dezir y se diran y se haze el conuento cargo dellas

/f. 5v/ The 28th of March of the year 1583 Miguel Josef gave three (and a half?) pesos for a small, old house of Andrés Icnotl, deceased, for masses for his soul, and they began to be and will be said, and the convent takes responsibility for them.

f. 6r

Document 5

Testament Fragment of Ana Mocol, n.d.

Although its invocation is fairly typical, this testament fragment does have one atypical feature. Ana Mocol is the only testator to be worried about Purgatory and request a vigil to speed her soul heavenward.

/f. 6r/ Ana Mocel

- Ica yn itocatçin Sanctissima Trinidad tetatçin tepiltçin yhuan ss^{to} Nicpehualtia in notestamento

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin Quittazque Inin Amatl In nehuatl Ana moçel nican nochan colhuacan ypan in tlaxillacali cohuatlan momoztitlan Nicchihua in notestamento Maçihui in mococohua nonacayo yece in nonoyollo (sic) in noçieliz in notlanamiquliz in notlacquiya Aquen ca çan pactica ypanpa in nictlalia notestamento Iz catqui in notlanequiliz ynic mochipa mopiyaz ynic ayac quitlacoç ca yehuatl yn ye nicpehualtia

- Huel achtopa yehuatl in Nanima ymactçinco nocontlia (sic) in tote^o dios nicnotlatlauhtilia ynic quimotlaocoliliz ynic nechmopolhuiliz yn ixqui notlatlacol ynic nechmohuizquiliz yn ichantçinco yn ilhuicatl iytic yn iquac naniman quitlalcahuiz nonacayo yhuan nicnequi huell onca yn iglesia in motocaz nonacayo oc cenca yehuatl in naniman ypallehuiloca ynic amo honpa huecahuaz Purcatori nicnequi ce Vigilia yhuan centetl Missa ynic motocaz nonacayo

/f. 6r/ Ana Mocel

- In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, I begin my testament.

- Know all who see this document that I, Ana Mocel, whose home is here in Culhuacan, in the ward of Coatlan Momoztitlan, make my testament. Even though my body is sick, my spirit and will, my soul and understanding are tranquil and healthy. For this reason I order my testament. Here is my will, in order that it always be observed and no one go against it; it is this which I now begin.

- First of all, I place my soul in the hands of God our lord. I ask him to favor me by pardoning me all my sins, and to carry me to his home in heaven when my soul abandons my body. And I want my body to be buried right in the church. And as a special aid to my soul, in order that it not stay long in Purgatory, I want a vigil and a mass when my body is buried.

f. 10r

Document 6

Testament Fragment of María Salomé, n.d.

Widowed once, María Solomé confidently entrusts the care of her child from her first marriage to her second husband, Juan Téllez. She provides the means to do so with bequests of land to her husband and child. Care of children who have not yet come of age is a major concern of testators. Concerning land, note that in some cases María specifies how many rows her chinampas are divided into, thereby giving us some rare and helpful hints on the physical configuration of the chinampa system. (Document 9 provides the same kind of information.)

/f. 10r/ Maria Salome S Ju^o bap^{ta} ollopan

- In ica ytocatçin tte^o Jex̄p̄o yhuan yntlaçonantzin yn ilhuicac cihuapilli sancta m^a mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl yn quenin nehuatl Maria Salomen nican nochan colhuacan maçonellihui yn nino-cocohua yece yn noyollia y nanima camo quen catqui ca çan pactica auh ca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espirito sancto çan ce yyelitzin auh yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtilloca yn tte^o dios nicchihua yoan nictecpana yn in notestamento y notlanequiliz

- ynic centlamantli yn noyollia y nanima ca nicnoma-maquillia (sic) yn tte^o dios yeyca ca oquimomaquixtillico yn ica ytlaçoyezçotzin yoan yn ica yn itlayyohuilitzin auh ma quimonequilti yn canpa quimonequiltiz quimomaquilliz auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeyca ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- yhuan niquitohua y nocal yn onpa mani coltonco tla-

/f. 10r/ María Salomé of San Juan Bautista Ollopan

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, María Salomé, whose home is here in Culhuacan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are tranquil and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, that are of just one essence. And now with invocation and supplication of our lord God, I make and order this my testament and will.

- First, I give my spirit and soul to our lord God because he redeemed it with his precious blood and with his suffering. Let him dispose of it where it pleases him. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that I have a house in Coltonco which is

pantimani auh niquitoa camo ytech pohuiz yn noconetzin maria ana ca monamacaz missa ypan yc mitoz yn achtopa nonamictzin catca a^ol osorio yn calli yoan tlamantli ca ça tlapanqui tictotlapania yn Juan yaomitl

- auh niquitohua centetl huapalcuezcumatl yyaxca yn nonamictzin catca auh niquitohua ca nicmacatiuh y noconeuh m^a ana

- yhuan niquitoa centetl cassa yoan yn ixquich callitic onoc yn comitl yn quahuil yoan tlaquetzalli ontetl yoan hontetl quauhtlancochcochtli (sic) ca mochi nicmacatiuh y noconeuh m^a ana

- yhuan yn atentlalli macuitetl cacaxtolcuemiltl auh nicmacatiuh yn noconetzin m^a ana

- yoan niquitoa y amoxcuitlac matlactetl onahui cecenpoalpatli auh niquitohua ca nicmacatiuh y noconetzin maria ana canel ytatzin ytlatqui

/f. 10v/ - yhuan yn opa teçizco xv pōli ypa iiii pohualli ynic huiyac cenpohualli ynic patlahuac auh oncan quichihua Ju^o yaomitl achto chicuetetl ye quichiva oc yevatl quimacatia a^ol osorio auh ynic opan quimacac alonso de naua chicuaçetetl auh y ye mochi quichiva Ju^o yaomitl matlactetl onahui Auh niquitoa v tetl oca quicuiz yn Ju^o garcia nicmaca auh yni tlalli nicmaca yn mariana yoan yn nonamic Ju^o delez ma quimocuitlahuiz ypan motlatoltiz

- yhuan yn opa s migl̄ chiconp̄li ynic huiyac Auh yn(ic) patlahuac cenp̄li ymiltitech fran^{co} xiuhtli catca Auh yn oc centlapal çano ytoca fran^{co} ynin onicteneuh milli nicnomaquiliuh (sic) in noconetçin in tlapac omotocateneuh

- yhuan y notlalteuh yn tlalmilli in nechmomaquilitia nonamictçin catca ytoca t^{ca?} a^ol osorio huitznahuatl catca yn opa mani xalpa xiloxochitla atlauhtenco x p̄li ypan matlacmatl ynic huiyac Auh ynic patlahuac cenp̄li Auh y notech ocatca ca chiconp̄li ypan caxtolmatl ynin milli yn onicteneuh nicnomaquilitiuh yn noconetçin tepatoco Auh yn oc onp̄li yn ipan caxtolmatl omacoc in Ju^o yaomitl

- yhuan yn opa tlallachco yn iquiyavac mel^f morales chicuacenpoalli yvan matlacmatl yc huiac Auh çenpoalli ynic patlahuac auh niquitoa ma yehuatl quicui yn Ju^o yaomitl nicmaca noyollocopa nicmaca

- yhuan yahualliuhca quauhtlalpan yepoalli omatlactli yc huiac auh çenpoalli ynic patlahuac ytzalla p^o tlapochteuhctli çe mani Auh niquitoan ma yc quimocuitlahuiz yn piltontli nonamic Jua delez nicnomaquillia canel nonamic ca quimocuitlahuiz

divided. And I declare that it is not to belong to my child, María Ana; it is to be sold for a mass to be said for my first husband, now deceased, Alonso Osorio. The house and level land are divided. Juan Yaomitl and I divide them between us.

- And I declare that I have a wooden grain bin that belonged to my deceased husband. And I say that I am giving it to my child María Ana.

- Also I declare that as to a chest and everything inside the house, the pots, the wood, and the two wooden pillars, the two (wooden brackets), I give all of it to my child María Ana.

- And I give the land at the edge of the water, five (chinampas), each with 15 furrows, to my child María Ana.

- And I say that in Amoxcuitlac there are 14 (chinampas) of 20 rows each, and I say that I give them to my child María Ana because they were the property of her father.

/f. 10v/ - And in Teccizco there is (land) 380 (units of measure) long and 20 wide. And Juan Yaomitl sows there; first he sowed eight (chinampas) that Alonso Osorio gave him, and the second time, Alonso de Nava gave him six, in such a way that in all, Juan Yaomitl sows 14. And I declare that Juan García will take five (chinampas) there that I gave him. And I give (the rest of) this land to María Ana and to my husband, Juan Téllez. Let him look after and speak for her.

- And in San Miguel (there is land) 140 (units) long, and 20 wide, next to the field of Francisco Xiuhtli, deceased. And on the other side (there is land of someone else) who is also called Francisco. And this field that I have mentioned I am giving to my child, already mentioned above.

- And my dry land, the cultivated field that my husband named Alonso Osorio Huitznahuatl gave me, is in Xalpan, in Xiloxochitla Atlauhtenco, 210 matl long and 20 wide. And my part was 155 matl. I am giving this field I have mentioned to my child (in) Tepantonco. And the remaining 55 matl were given to Juan Yaomitl.

- And in Tlallachco at the entrance of Melchor Morales there is (land) 130 matl long and 20 wide. And I declare that Juan Yaomitl should take it. I give it to him with all my heart.

- And in Yahualihcan, in the woods, (there is land) 70 (units) long and 20 wide, all together between (the lands of) Pedro Tlapochteuhctli. And I declare that with this Juan Téllez is to care for the girl. I give it to him because he is my husband; he will care for her.

- yhuan tetla yntocayoca tonatiuh^{CO} yepoalli ynnic huiaac auh cenpoalli yc patlahuac quimati lucas mimiyavatl auh ynni tlalli nicnomaquillia yn nonamic Ju^O deles yoan pilotl (sic) mariana quimocahuillizque ynpanpa ca civatzintli que quichivatiuh auh yehuatl quimocuintlahuiz yn nonamic Juan dellez

- And in (Santiago) Tetla, in the place called Tona-tiuh(tzin?)co, there is (land) 60 (units) in length and 20 in width. Lucas Mimiahuatl knows about it. And this land I am giving to my husband Juan Téllez and to the girl María Ana. They will share it. Because she is a female, how is she going to work it? My husband Juan Téllez is to look out for her.

f. 11r

Document 7

Municipal Document, Posthumous Statement for Martín, March 18, 1580

The late Martín neglected to make a will before he died. The importance of making testaments is emphasized by this posthumous declaration to “the very magnificent lords” of the Culhuacan council concerning Martín's mere three-peso estate.

/f. 11r/ m̄n del barrio de s^t andres

- Y nican ypan Altepetyl Colhuacan yc xviii mani metztlitl de março mill y qui^{OS} y ochenta años y muy mag^{COs} señores don Juan marcos de uelasco go^{OR} juez yoan aHdes yn ipan omoteneuh altepetyl yxpantzinco onecico yn don a^{OL} ximenez mig^L de sanctiagio aluaceas oquitoque tlatol-tica ca omomiquilli yn itoca m̄n ytlaxillacalpan Sanct andres auh amo tle oquichiuhta yn itestamento auh ca onez Ey p^{OS} yn itlatqui auh ypanpa y motlanahuatillia yhuan quinmonahuatillia aluaceas yn tomines ompa quicahuatihui yn teopan ynic missa ypan yc mitoz yn m̄n yoan mochi contemozque yn oc quexquich yntla ytla oc oncatqui yn itlatqui ynic amo tle nenpolihuiz yhui yn oquimitalhuique yn omotlanahuatillique ypanpa nican oquimotlalilique ytoqa yfirmas

fr ^{CO} florez	don Jhoan mar	nixpan omochiuh
aHde	cos de uelasco	a ^{OL} davila
		de sanctiagio
		es ^O nonbrado

/f. 11r/ Martín from the ward of San Andrés

- Here in the town of Culhuacan, the 18th of March of the year 1580, before the very magnificent lords don Juan Marcos de Velasco, juez-gobernador, and the alcaldes of the said town, appeared don Alonso Jiménez and Miguel de Santiago, executors. And they declared orally that one called Martín from the ward of San Andrés died, and he had not left any testament, and three pesos that belonged to him had been discovered. For this reason they give orders and instruct the executors to deliver the money to the church so that with it masses will be said for Martín. And they are to search everything to see if there is anything else that belongs to him so that nothing is lost. Thus they declared and ordered, and for this reason they set down their names and signatures.

Francisco Flores, alcalde. Don Juan Marcos de Velasco. Done before me, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, appointed notary.

f. 12r

Document 8

Annotations in Spanish, Jan. 16, 1580; Feb. 2; n.d.

/f. 12r/ En 16 dias del mes de hen^O de 1580 truxeron a^{OL} dauila de s^tiago escriuano y a^{OL} ximenez y ger^{MO} meneses y miguel de stiago quatro p^{OS} que mathias diff^{TO} dexo para misas y baltasar diff^{TO} dos p^{OS} y m̄n uçuma vn peso todo esto se Recojo de personas que lo tenian prestado y estos dhos diff^{OS} no hizieron testamento sino mandaron de palabra que lo diesen a la yglesia y asi lo dieron que son todos siete p^{OS} y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre que fecho ut supra

/f. 12r/ The 16th day of the month of January, 1580, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, notary, Alonso Jiménez, Gerónimo Meneses, and Miguel de Santiago delivered four pesos that Matías, deceased, left for masses, and the late Baltasar, two pesos, and Martín Oçoma, one peso. All this was collected from people who had borrowed it, and these said deceased people did not make testaments but ordered orally that it should be given to the church. And thus it was given, amounting to seven pesos altogether. And as true I signed my name; date given above.

fr Joan nuñez

- En 2 de hebr^o R^{bi} de a^{ol} ximenez y miguel de sancti-
tiago siete p^{os} por m^a beatriz y su marido para Rogar a
dios por ellos y dezilles misas

fr Joan nuñez

- En este d^o R^{bi} de los dhos un peso por Ju^o xolotl diff^{to}
como albaceas y dixosele vna misa

fr Joan nuñez

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 2nd of February I received from Alonso Jiménez
and Miguel Santiago seven pesos on behalf of María
Beatriz and her husband, to be used to pray to God for
them and say masses for them.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- This day I received from the said persons as executors
one peso for Juan Xolotl, deceased, and a mass was said
for him.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 12v

Document 9

Testament of Juan Tezca, Jan. 15, 1580

Juan Tezca probably made a testament believing he would die imminently. The notary indicates in the margin, however, that Juan miscalculated his demise. Juan's only heir is his wife, but notably, he does not leave her his "patrimonial land" (*huehuetlalli*), a special civil category of land.

/f. 12v/ joan tezca

- Yn ica ytocatzin tte^o jex^{po} yhuan yn itlaçonantzin
cihuapilli sancta m^a ma mochintin quimatican yn ix-
quichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque ynin amatl yn
quenin nehuatl juan tezca nican nochan colhuacan no-
tlaxillacalpan Cihuatecpan maçonellihui y ninococohua
hece yn noyollia y naniman camo quen catqui ca çan
pactica auh ca mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanc-
tissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espirito sancto çan
ce ynyelitzin Esencia yoan ca mochi nicneltoca yn ix-
quich quimoneltoquitia sancta yglesia de roma auh ypan-
pa yn axcan yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtilloca y tte^o dios
nicchihua yoan nictepana ynin notestamento

- ynic centlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia y naniman ca
nicnomaquilia yn tte^o dios heyca ca oquimomaquix-
tillico yn ica yn itlaçohezçotzin y nican tlalticpac auh yn
nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlalli yeyca ca ytech oquiz auh
yn iquac oquiz y naniman y nonacayo onpa tocotiuh yn
toteopanchan sanct juan Euagelista

- ynic ontlamantli niquitohua nohuehuetlal nechmoca-
huililita y nocoltzin franc^{co} t...huacatl auh yn tlalli ompa
mani yn xillotonco (...tlayelpa?) onpoalli yn ica hueyac
auh xx pouali yn ica (patlac?) auh niquitoa yntla
ninomiquiliz monamacaz xeliuhqui (in?) yc ninotocaz
yoan xeliuhqui missa nopan yc mitoz

- yhuan niquitohua yn notlalman x matl ynic hueyac auh
ynic patlahuac vi matl yoan nocal ypan icac tonatiuh
ycallaquianpa ytzicac yoan nauhtetl ycalchinayo calte-
potzco (temi?) auh yn calixpan temi ontetl matlatlac-
cuemil yoan yymotlan ça chiquacencuemil auh ca
mochi nicmacatiuh yn nonamic juayn nonamic juannanna

/f. 12v/ Juan Tezca

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious
mother, the noble lady Holy Mary, know all who see and
read this document that I, Juan Tezca, whose home is
here in Culhuacan in the ward of Cihuatecpan, even
though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are
tranquil and healthy; and I truly believe in the Most Holy
Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one
essence, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome
believes. Therefore now with invocation and
supplication of our lord God, I make and order this my
testament.

- First I declare that I give my spirit and soul to our lord
God, because he came to redeem it with his precious
blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth
because from there it came. And when my soul has left
it, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan
Evangelista.

- Second I declare that I have my patrimonial land which
my grandfather Francisco T...huacatl left me; and the
land is in Xillotonco..., 40 (units of measure) long and 20
wide. And I declare that when I die, it is to be sold; with
half (of the proceeds) I will be buried, and with the
other, a mass will be said for me.

- And I declare that I have my level land, ten matl long
and six matl wide, and my house stands on it facing
west; and four chinampas which belong to the house are
behind it. And in front of the house there are two
(chinampas), each one with 10 furrows, and beside it
there are only six furrows. And I give all of it to my

- yhuan niqutoa ix tetl nochinan nechmomaquillita y notatzin catca onpa temi yn acatzintitlan cecenpoallcuemiltl auh niqutoa ca nicmacatiuh yn nonamic juanna

- yhuan niqutoa chicontetl nochinan nechmocahuililita yn notatzin onpa temi quauhtenanco cecenpoalcuemiltl auh niqutoa ca nicmacatiuh yn nonamic juanna

/f. 13r/ Ayamo miqui s^{ta} m^a ma^dg

- yhuan niqutoa nauhtetl nochinan matlatlaccuemitl onpa temi amaxac yoan (marked out: yn itlalmany) ymillo cenpoalli yn ica hueyac x matl yn ica patlavac auh niqutoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic juanna

- yhuan çanno honcan yn amaxac mani nomill matlacmayahualihqui auh niqutoa ca nicmacatiuh yn nonamic juanna

- yhuan niqutoa xiloxochiatlahuco mani yn nomill onpoalli yn ica hueyac yoan cenpoalli yn ica patlahuac auh niqutoa nicmacatiuh y nonamic

- yhuan niqutoa onpoalli nomill ompa mani chalcocalcan auh niqutoa ca nicmacatiuh yn nonamic juanna ymilnahuac y don p^o muyse

- yhuan niqutoa EEmatl ynn otictomamacaque yn tlalli ynic oncan titetatacazque yn onpa xillomanco auh yn nonemac tetl tlallan ca oncan monequiz yn teopan trasfiguration auh ynn onictatacac notech monequiz yc nino-tocaz

- Yxquichi ynn oquito yn cocoxcatzintli ymixpan testigos mig^l de sanctiago fran^{co} muyse juan pabstist(a) jeronimo de s pablo andres garcia jacob malcoch auh amo nican oquitlallique yn intoca ypanpa amo huelacuiloa omochiuh yc xv mani meztli de henero mill y qui^{os} y ochenta años

nixpan omochiuh
a^ol davila de
sanctiago
es^o nombrado

wife Juana.

- And I declare that I have nine chinampas which my father gave me, which are in Acatzintitlan, each one 20 furrows. And I declare that I am giving them to my wife Juana.

- And I declare that I have seven chinampas that my father left me, that are in Quauhtenanco, each one 20 furrows. And I declare that I am giving them to my wife Juana.

/f. 13r/ ([The testator], from Santa María Magdalena, has not died yet).

- And I declare that I have four chinampas with 10 furrows each, with their field (that goes with them), 20 matl long and 10 wide. And I declare that I am giving it to my wife Juana.

- And also in Amaxac is my cultivated field, 10 matl on all sides. And I declare that I am giving it to my wife Juana.

- And I declare that in Xiloxochiatlahuco is my field 40 (units) long and 20 wide. And I declare I am giving it to my wife.

- And I declare that in Chalcocalcan my field is of 40 (units). And I declare that I am giving it to my wife Juana. It is next to the field of don Pedro Moysén.

- And I say that there is land in Xilomanco which we divided among ourselves, three matl each, in order to quarry stone. And my portion of the stone, that which is (still) under ground, is to be used in the church of (the ward of) Transfiguración, and what I have quarried will be used for me, and with it I will be buried.

- This is all that the invalid declared, before the witnesses Miguel de Santiago, Francisco Moysén, Juan Bautista, Gerónimo de San Pablo, Andrés García, and Jacobo Malcoch. They did not put down their names because they do not know how to write. Done the 15th of the month of January of the year 1580.

Done before me, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, appointed notary.

f. 15v

Document 10

Testament of Juan Bautista, February 5, 1580

Juan Bautista likely was a young man when he died, indicated by his leaving property to older relatives. Although Juan has a modest estate, he is related to an important, titled Culhuacan official, the alcalde don Francisco Flores. Unlike other testators who knew the precise location of their properties, doubtless because they cultivated them themselves, Juan does not know where one of his fields of "patrimonial land" is.

/f. 15v/ Joan baptista

- memoria ypanpa Juan pabista ytlaxillacalpan cihua tec(pan)

- ynic centlamantli quitoa chicontetl nochinan ompa temi yn acatzintitlan onechcohuillicon fran^{CO} chimalquauh ome ps^O yoan 4 ts onechmacac auh camo ypan ca çan onechxixico auh oc ce ps^O nechmacaz ynnic titononotzca auh yntlacamo quinequiz ma cana monamacaz yn nochinan

- yhuan çanno honcan yn acatzintitlan temi nochinan chicontetl ychinannahuac Jacobo m̄in monel auh niquitoa ca nicnomaquilitiuh yn notlatzin don fran^{CO} flores ytechzincico nicipouhtiuh

- yhuan chicuetetl nochinan ompa temi cueptecco ychinantitlan Juan mimich anton teylpi auh monamacaz missa nopan yc mitoz yn ipatiuh ca mochi nechmomaquilita y notatzin catca Juan de sanctiago

- yhuan chicontetl nochinan tlamaztonco temi quimocahuilita y notlatzin catca mateo cecuitzin catca auh no monamacaz missa nopan yc mitoz yn ipatiuh yez

- yhuan niquitoa nomill ompa mani yn ayauhtonco chicuepoalli yn milli auh Epoalli nicnomaquilitiuh yn notlatzin don fran^{CO} flores auh no yepoalli nicmacatiuh y nochahuanantzin madalena auh onpoalli monamacaz missa topan yc mitoz nehuatl yuan notatzin nonantzin yeyca ca onechmocahuililitiaque y milli

/f. 16r/ s^{ta} ma^a ma^dg cihuatecpan

- yhuan cenpoalli nomill ompa mani Sanct andres auh monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez missa nopan yc mitoz yn ipatiuh yez nehuatl yoan notatzin yoan nonantzin

- yhuan nomill tlallachco mani ompoalli auh amo cenca nixtlamati yn onpa mani huehuetlalli auh niquitoa yntla neciz ma nechmopallehuilizque yn pipiltin yn iquac neciz ca monamacaz missa topan yc mitoz nehuatl yoan notatzin nonantzin

- yhuan ome ps^O yto min nicnotlanehui yn miguel techichino auh yn iquac monamacaz nomill oncan quiçaz ynic nitlaxtlahuaz

- yhuan nomil ompa mani huixachtlan ynemac catca y notatzin catca cenpohualli auh nocenyollocopa niquitoa ca nicnomaquilitiuh y notlatzin don franc^{CO} flores aHde amoyac quimocuuliliz

- ye ixquichi yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli yxpan testigo don fran^{CO} flores bartasal cano omochiuh yc v mani metztlitl febrero mill y qui^{OS} y ochenta años

/f. 15v/ Juan Bautista

Memorandum concerning Juan Bautista of the ward of Cihuatecpan

- First he declared, "I have seven chinampas in Acatzintitlan; Francisco Chimalquauh came to buy them from me, and he gave me two pesos, four tomines (but it is not enough?). He just fooled me; another peso is to be given to me according to our agreement. If he does not want (to give it to me), let my chinampas be sold to someone (else).

- I also have seven chinampas in Acatzintitlan next to the chinampas of Jacobo Martín Monel (?). And I declare that I am giving them to my uncle, don Francisco Flores; I assign them to him.

- In addition, there are eight chinampas of mine in Cueptecco next to the chinampas of Juan Mimich and Antón Teilpi. These are to be sold so that with the proceeds a mass will be said for me. My late father, Juan de Santiago, gave it all to me.

- And there are seven chinampas of mine in Tlamaztonco that my late uncle, Mateo Cecuitzin, left me. These too are to be sold, and with the proceeds masses said for me.

- And I declare that I have a field in Ayauhtonco of 160 (units of measure); I give 60 to my uncle, don Francisco Flores, and I also give 60 to my stepmother Magdalena. And 40 are to be sold in order that with (the proceeds) a mass will be said for us, for me and my father and mother, because they left me the field.

/f. 16r/ Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan

- And there is a field of mine 20 (units) (square?) in San Andrés. It is to be sold, and with the proceeds a mass is to be said for me and my father and mother.

- And there is a field of mine in Tlallachco (measuring) 40 (units). I am not well acquainted with where the patrimonial lands are there. I declare that if they are found, let the noblemen aid me when they appear; let them be sold and with (the proceeds) a mass be said for me and my father and mother.

- And I borrowed two pesos of Miguel Techichino's money, and when my field is sold, (from the proceeds) will come the money to pay the debt.

- And there is a field of mine in Huixachtlan, the inheritance of my late father, (measuring) 20 (units). With all my heart I declare that I am giving it to my uncle, don Francisco Flores, alcalde. No one is to take it from him.

- This is the entire statement that the invalid made, before the witnesses don Francisco Flores and Baltasar Cano. Done the 5th of the month of February of the year 1580.

nixpan omochiuh
a^ol davila
de sanctiago
es^o nonbrado

Done before me, Alonso Dávila de Santiago, appointed notary.

f. 24r

Document 11

Annotations in Spanish, June 9, 1580; June 21, (1580)

/f. 24r/ - En 9 de Junio de 1580 a^os R^{bi} de los albaceas a^ol ximenez y gabriel maldonado y miguel de sanctiago quatro p^os para que se digan de misas por doña luisa hr^a de don baltasar que fue gouernador que es ya diff^o y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre

- En este dia R^{bi} de los dhos otros quatro p^os para que se digan de misa por aug^{tin} tzunpan y Joana su muger del barrio de olupan y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre

- En este dia R^{bi} de los dhos dos p^os para que se digan de misas por gaspar hicnoxuchitl de tezcacoatl y por verdad lo firme de mi nombre

fr Joan nuñez

- En 21 de Junio R^{bi} de los albaceas quatro p^os para misas por p^o amantecatl y por su hijo nicolas y por verdad lo firme

- En este dia R^{bi} de los dhos tres p^os y seis t^s para misas por Joachin de s^t Ju^o

fr Joan nuñez

/f. 24r/ - The ninth of June of the year 1580, I received from the executors Alonso Jiménez, Gabriel Maldonado, and Miguel de Santiago four pesos in order that masses be said for doña Luisa, sister of don Baltasar who was gobernador, who is now deceased, and as truth I signed it with my name.

- On this day I received from the said persons another four pesos in order that a mass be said for Agustín Tzompan and Juana, his wife, from the ward of Ollopan, and as truth I signed it with my name.

- On this day I received from the said persons two pesos in order that masses be said for Gaspar Icnoxochitl of Tezcacoac, and as truth I signed it with my name.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 21st of June I received from the executors four pesos for masses for Pedro Amantecatl and for his son Nicolás, and as truth I signed it.

- On this day I received from the said persons three pesos and six tomines for masses for Joaquín de San Juan.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 24r

Document 12

Concerning the Estate of Miguel Sánchez, n.d.

Notes in Spanish often indicate how testators' property was disposed of. Here is a statement by Diego de Paz, one of the signers of the Relación Geográfica of Culhuacan, to the effect that he bought a piece of land from the estate of Miguel Sánchez, whose testament follows.

/f. 24r/ Conpre yo diego de paz un pedaço de tierra de miguel sanchez en nueve p^os los cuales di a la viuda delante del padre fray Ju^o zinbron prior deste conbento y dio dellos a la yglesia cinco p^os los cuales Resibio el padre prior testigos miguel de Ribas y miguel Jacobo y don Ju^o gouernador e yo lo firme porque ansi me lo Rogaron los diputados

diego de paz

/f. 24r/ I, Diego de Paz, bought a piece of land of Miguel Sánchez for nine pesos, which I gave to the widow in the presence of Father fray Juan Zimbrón, prior of this monastery, and from that she gave five pesos to the church, which the father prior received. Witnesses: Miguel de Ribas and Miguel Jacobo (de Maldonado) and don Juan (Marcos), gouernador. And I signed it because the deputies besought me to.

Diego de Paz.

Document 12A*Testament Fragment of Miguel Sánchez Tlacatecuhtli, n.d.*

Miguel Sánchez, like other testators, identifies his houses by the direction in which they face. The houselot is called by the Spanish loanword *solar*. Buying and selling houses was fairly common. The prices paid were usually low, so that Miguel's three-peso house is not surprising. What is noteworthy is that he purchased it from his sister; in the Culhuacan testaments sales usually involve unrelated people.

/f. 24v/ Miguel Sanchez tlacatecuhtli
 s^{ta} m^a asup^o amatlah

- yn ica ytocatzin tte^o Jex̄p̄o yhuan yn itlaçonantzin yn ilhuicac cihuapilli sancta m^a y mochipa ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatican yn quitazque ynin amatl yn quenin nehuatl miguel sanchez tlacateuchtl nican nochan colhuacan notlaxillacalpan amantlan maçonellihui y nino-cocohua hece y noyollo yn notlalnamiquliz ca çan pactica auh ca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn tte^o Jex̄p̄o auh ypanpa axcan yn ica ynotzaloca yn itlaltlauhtillocatzin nicchihua y notestamento y notlanequiliz
 - ynic centlamantli niquitoa y noyollia y nanima ca nicnomaquilia yn tte^o dios yeyca ca oquimochihuilli yoan oquimomaquixtillico y nican tlalticpac auh y nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeyca ca tlalli ytech oquiz
 - auh niquiquitoa (sic) y nocal ontetl yn oncan onicatca tonatiuh yquičayanpa ytztimani auh yn isolaryo cenpo-hualyahualihuiqui auh ca mochi nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Jeronimo chachallaca
 - yhua nocalcohual tianquiztenco ycac Ey ps^o nicmacac y nohueltiuh m^a auh ca çaniyo yn calli amo no yehuatl yn itlallo auh nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Jeronimo chachallaca
 - yhuan nochinan matlactetl ompan temi quaxochtenco auh ca nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Jeronimo
 - yhuan centetl nochinan ompa onoc yn tlacatecco opohualhueyac ychinantitlan gabriel d s fran^{co} auh ca nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Jeronimo
 - yhuan nochina Ey temi EEpantli ompa temi yn atlimopilohuayan auh ca nicmacatiuh p^onilla nomach

/f. 24v/ Miguel Sánchez Tlacatecuhtli of Santa María Asunción Amantlan

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, eternally virgin, know all who see this document that I, Miguel Sánchez Tlacatecuhtli, whose home is here in Culhuacan in the ward of Amantlan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and understanding are healthy. I truly believe in our lord Jesus Christ, and for this reason with invocation and supplication to him I make my testament and will.
 - First I declare that I am giving my spirit and soul to God our lord because he made it and came to redeem it here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.
 - And I declare that I have two houses, where I used to be, which face east, with their houselot of 20 (units of measure) on all sides. And I give all of it to my child Gerónimo Chachalaca.
 - And I have a purchased house which stands in Tianquiztenco (beside the marketplace?). I gave (paid) three pesos to my older sister María for it. It is just the house, without its land. And I give it to my child Gerónimo Chachalaca.
 - Also there are 10 chinampas of mine in Quaxochtenco. And I give them to my child Gerónimo.
 - And there is a chinampa of mine in Tlacatecco of 40 (units) in length, next to the field of Gabriel de San Francisco. And I give it to my child Gerónimo.
 - And there are three chinampas of mine, of three (rows) each, in Atlimopilohuayan (where there is a cascade). And I give them to my niece Petronilla.

Document 13*Auction of the estate of don Juan Téllez, n.d.*

Most of the Culhuacan testaments lack long lists of movable property. The inventory of the sale of don Juan Téllez's goods indicates he owned all kinds of native products, but also things which came from the Spanish world: scissors, shoes, glass bottles, chests. Although most goods are priced in Spanish currency, values smaller than half a tomín are given in cacao beans, a traditional medium of exchange. The local prior, fray Juan Núñez, participated in the auction. Likely he was concerned about this estate division because don Juan as fiscal mixed church monies with his own. This important document contains a rare speech by the prior, directed to a doña

Juana de San Gabriel, who is presumably the widow of don Juan Téllez. Concerned as it is with obscure items of material culture, the present document also contains more than its share of translation puzzles.

/f. 35r/ - Çeçillia Ellenan ychpoch acpacpa çihuapilli oquicouh xicaltecomatl michuacayotl çentetl 2 t^s ypatiuh omochiuh

- don Ju^o garçia ytomines ycc omoxtlauh çentetl ystaya plato yhuan çentetl yscouila no ystaya ypatiuh ypan pollihui vi t^s quimotlacuitia don Ju^o tellez

- fran^{co} vazquez çihuatepanecatl oquimocohui yn tla-
pechtli ypatiuh vi t^s

- m^a tiacapan yna^c Ju^o matian oquicouh tohomitl tlatlapalli mediopan

- fran^{co} acaçayol oquicouh yetetl tecomatl xincayo ypatiuh 1 t^s

- apolona tiacapan yna^c thomas tlachtototl oquicouh xicalli media ypatiuh

- aug^{tin} ycnotl yteicauh di^o hernandez matlallihui oquicouh huitzoctli ypatiuh m^o

- miguel nauhyotl teopantopille oquicouh quahuicpalli ontetl ypatiuh m^o

- Ju^a tiacapan oquicouh petlaçolli macuilli ypatiuh m^o

- Bernardino tzapotlacatl xallah oquicouh botixa medio ypatiuh

- barthasal leon tlatzoncatopille oquicouh limeta chichilitic ypatiuh 1 t^s

- In ye mochi omoçetlalli t^s ynn omotominpouh v p^os ypan 7 t^s ymixpan testigos yn çanno yehuantin omotlacohuique yhuan yxpantzinco yn totlaçotatzin p^e fray Ju^o nonez prior yhua (crossed out: fiscal) gabriel mal^{do} yhuan aluaças m̄n tlacatepanecatl antonio xallacatl yhuan fiscal a^ol ximenez yhuan no nehuatl nixpan miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o de lla yglesia

- Axcan fiernes 8tl de Julio ycc oppa omonamacac yn i-tlatqui don Ju^o tellez fiscal ocatca ynic çentlamantli otlayxiptlayotililoc ytomines gabriel mal^{do} omacoc çentetl Caxa ehuatl ypan çouhtoc tzaccayo ypatiuh x t^s yhuan digeras ypatiuh 2 t^s yc açi 1 p^os ypan 4 t^s ytencopatzinco prior

- Dona Ju^a de s^t gabriel çentetl acha ycc otlayxiptlayotililoc (sic) teopan ocallac siera quauhteconi ytencopatzinco yn prior fray Ju^o nonez

- antonio chimalpanecatl oquicouh çe tlahuitolli yhuan botasçolli yztac 2 t^s

- fran^{co} acaçayol oquicouh vaqueta çabatos 1 t^s ypatiuh

/f. 35r/ - Cecilia Elena, daughter of a noblewoman of Acpacpa, bought a tecomate in Michoacan style; it cost two tomines.

- The money that was owed don Juan García was paid with a plate made of tin and a bowl (or, brush) of his, also of tin. The price paid for them was six tomines which don Juan Téllez had borrowed from him.

- Francisco Vázquez Cihuatepanecatl bought a bed; it cost six tomines.

- María Tiacapan, the wife of Juan Matías, bought a striped cloth of various colors with rabbit fur, for half a tomín.

- Francisco Acaçayol bought three broken tecomates; they cost a tomín.

- Apolonia Tiacapan, the wife of Tomás Tlachtototl, bought a jícara; it cost half a tomín.

- Agustín Icnotl, younger brother of Diego Hernández Matlalihui, bought a digging stick; it cost half a tomín.

- Miguel Nauhyotl, topile of the church, bought two wooden seats; they cost half a tomín.

- Juana Tiacapan bought five old petates; they cost half a tomín.

- Bernardino Tzapotlacatl of Xallah bought a jug; it cost half a tomín.

- Baltasar León, topile of tailors, bought a green glass bottle; it cost a tomín.

- When the money was counted it all came to five pesos, six tomines. (Done) before the witnesses and also before the buyers and before our dear father, fray Juan Núñez, prior, and (crossed out; the fiscal) Gabriel Maldonado, and the executors Martín Tlacatepanecatl and Antonio Xallacatl, and the fiscal Alonso Jiménez, and also before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church.

- Today Friday the 8th of July, again the goods of don Juan Téllez, former fiscal, were sold. First the money of Gabriel Maldonado was replaced; he was given a chest with a hide spread out on it, with a lock, which is worth 10 tomines; and some scissors, worth two tomines, with which it comes to a peso and four tomines; (done) by order of the prior.

- To doña Juana de San Gabriel an axe in exchange for a saw for cutting wood which was given to the church; (done) by order of the prior fray Juan Núñez.

- Antonio Chimalpanecatl bought a (crossbow?) and some old white boots for two tomines.

- Francisco Acaçayol bought some leather shoes; they

- gabriel mal^{do} oquimocohui tzoahuacalli tlacuilloli çen-pohualtetl ypan v tetl cacahuatl

- Ju^a tiacapan oquimocohui xicalçolli çentetl x tetl cacahuatl

- dona Ju^a oquicouh atzetzehuaztli (?) x tetl cacahuatl

- Ju^a tiacapan yna^c fran^{co} tellon oquicouh çentetl xicalli yhuan çentetl tecomatl tzayanqui yhuan tanayahualtontli ypatiuh medio yhuan x tetl cacahuatl

- otlaçiquihuepiton (sic) oquicouh ychpochton alguaçil mayor v tetl cacahuatl

- Ju^a teicuiuh yna^c tlatlapo oquicouh tecomatl xincayo otentzatzayan ypatiuh xv tetl cacahuatl yhuan quauhtanaçolli ychmecatica tlatlapilli ypatiuh omochiuh 1 t^s

- apollona de coronado oquicouh tlatlapallichcatl medio yhuan çe ayotectli a(qua?)huitl quahuiztitl yc tlacuilloli medio yhuan toptanayahualtontli çenpohualtetl ypatiuh omochiuh

- meçia teicuiuh oquimocohui xicalli oyçoliuh caxtoltetl cacahuatl

- Auh yn yehuatzin totlaçotatzin fray Ju^o nonez prior oquimonahuatilli yn yehuatzin çihuapilli dona Ju^a de s^t gabriel oquimolhuilli nopiltz(e) /f. 35v/ Nopiltze (sic) ma xicmopielli ynni tlatquipatitl ma oc moçennechico yn ixquich tlatquitl ma mochi monamaca auh ynn iquac moçentlalliz yn quexquich oncan yolpachihuitillozque ynic macozque yn t^s yn ipall omotlacuitiaque ca çenca miyequintin yn quitlani yn t^s Canpa ticnextizque Camo onehuazque yntla nel moçentlalliz çenpohualli p^os ynic tlaxtlahuililillozque auh ca nehuatl noyoma nictemamacaz çeçeyaca yn teaxca ynic yolpachihuitillozque (topilhuah?) yhuin ynn oquimitalhui p^e prior fray Ju^o nonez Auh nica momachiotia yn noya (sic) teopan ontetl Casa yhuan çentetl Escritura tzaccayo yhuan mesa huey ahuehuatl yhuan escallera çe yhuan tlecuilli çentetl yhuan taça chichiltic yetetl yhuan peyotl (?) ontetl xicalli yhuan tepotzo ycpalli nauhtetl yhuan apantlecaxitl çentetl yuhqui tlapal huehuatl yc tlachiuhtli yhuan Esbata pozteclli çe yhuan huiyac ycpalli ome yetetl ycpalli huehuecapan

cost a tomín.

- Gabriel Maldonado bought a painted headboard(?) for 25 cacao beans.

- Juana Tiacapan bought an old jícara for 10 cacao beans.

- Doña Juana bought (a water sprinkler, hyssop?) for ten cacao beans.

- Juana Tiacapan, wife of Francisco Tello, bought a jícara and a cracked tecomate and a small round basket with a handle; they cost half a tomín and 10 cacao beans.

- The young daughter of the alguacil mayor bought a small reed basket for five cacao beans.

- Juana Teicuh, the wife of the caretaker, bought a collapsed tecomate with a cracked rim, which cost 15 cacao beans. She also (bought) an old wooden basket with a handle, tied with maguey cords, that cost a tomín.

- Apolonia de Coronado bought some varicolored cotton for half a tomín, and a calabash vessel (like) a water pipe painted with (quauhiztitl) for half a tomín, and a small round covered basket that cost 20 (cacao beans).

- Mecía Teicuh bought an old jícara for 15 cacao beans.

- And our dear father, fray Juan Núñez, prior, gave an order to the noblewoman doña Juana de San Gabriel, and he said to her, “my lady, /f.35v/ guard the proceeds from these goods and collect all the remaining goods; let it all be sold. And when it is collected, whoever gave loans to (don Juan Téllez) will be satisfied by being given the money, for there are many who are requesting money. Where are we going to get it? They will not have enough even if 20 pesos are collected with which they are to be compensated. And I myself will distribute to each one of them their property so that our children (i.e., the parishioners to whom debts were owed) will be satisfied.” Thus said the father prior fray Juan Núñez. And here is manifested what there was in the church: two chests, a (writing desk? scripture?) with a latch, a big table made of willow wood, a ladder, a (censer? brazier?), three red cups (with covers?), two jícaras, four seats with backs, a large brazier made like a big upright drum that is set on the ground, a broken sword, two benches, and three high chairs.

/f. 35v/

Document 13A

Testament Fragment of don Juan Téllez, n.d.

/f. 35v*/ - In ica ytocatzi tote^o Jesux̄pō yhuan yn itlaçonantzi yn ilhuicac çihuapilli s. m^a mochipa ychpochtili ma quimatica yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn quipoazque yn amatl yn queni nehuatl don Ju^o tellez nica nocha

/f. 35v*/ - In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, don Juan Téllez, whose home is here in

nocha (sic) s. Ju^o colhuacan notlaxilacaltia s^t m^a asupcio amantla tianquitzenco maçonellihui y ninocohua heçe yn noyolia yn naniman yhuan çenca melahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn Sanctisima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Ešpū santo Can çe yn iyellitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia Sancta yglesia de roma Auh ypanpa yn axca ynotzaloca yn itlatlauhtilocatzin yn tote^o dios nicchihua yhuan nictecpana y nica notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua y noyolia yçemactzinco nocontlalia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli oquimomaquixtilli ycah yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlalticpac Auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehicah ca tlalli ytech oquiz

San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, in the ward of Santa María Asunción Amantlan Tianquitzenco, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul...and I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and ordain my testament.

- First I declare that I place my spirit entirely in the hands of our lord God, since he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood, and my body I give to the earth, since from the earth it came.

*For clarity of presentation, the text of this folio has been rearranged. In the original, the testament fragment of don Juan Téllez (Document 13A) is at the top of the page and the continuation of the prior's speech at the bottom. The testament invocation has lines through it, indicating cancellation. Although the text is mainly formula, it does identify don Juan's place of residence.

f. 36v

Document 14

Testament of Miguel Chimalteuctli, July 21, 1580

Shared bequests are common in the Culhuacan testaments. Here, the testator's daughter Elena shares a house with his son Francisco and another with his grandson Matías. Occasionally people were concerned about their tribute duties. Miguel sets aside some of his crops for tribute “so that I do not cause bother for my children.”

/f. 36v/ Miguel chimalteuctli S^{ta} ana

- In ica ytocatzi tote^o Jesu xpō yhuan yn itlaçonatzi yn ilhuicac çihuapilli Sancta maria mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochinti quimatica yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn quipohuazque ynin amatl y nehuatl miguel chimalteuhmilnahuacatl nica nochan S Juan Euag^{ta} culhuaca onca nipohui yn ipan tlaxilalli (sic) Santa Ana tepanecapa maçonellihui y ninococohuan heçe y noyolia yn naniman camo quen catqui çan pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzi dios Ešpū Sancto çan çe yn iyelitzin yhuan ca mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica yn inotzaloca ytlatlauhtiloca yn tote^o dios nicchihua yhuan nictecpana ynin notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua y noyolia yn naniman ca nicnomaquilia yn tote^o dios heyca ca oquimochihuilli yhuan ca oquimomaquixtilico yn ica yn itlaçohezçotzi y nican yn tlalticpac auh y nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlalli heyca ca ytech oquiz auh yn iquac oquiz yn naniman y nonacayo onpa tocotiuh yn toteopancha S Juan Euag^{ta}

- Ihuan niquitohuan ynic nicpehualtia y notlatol yn onca nicatqui y nocaltzin çan çetetzintli tonatiuh ycalaquianpa

/f. 36v/ Miguel Chimalteuctli of Santa Ana

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, Miguel Chimalteuhmilnahuacatl (sic), whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Tepanecapan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed and sound. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, which are of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and ordain this my testament.

- First I declare that I give my spirit and soul to our lord God because he made it and came to redeem it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from there it came. And when my soul has left it, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

- And I declare, beginning my statement, that my house where I am, which faces west, has just one room, and its

ytzticac auh yn ijolaryo ynic huiyac xv matl auh ynic patlahuac x matl ça mochi niquimacatiuh y nochpoch yn itoca Elena teyucic concahuizque y noxhuiuh yn itoca mathia auh yn iyatentlalo yn chinamitl ii tetl quimoxelhuizque çeçentetl canazque yhuan niquinnotlatlauhtilia y nopilhuan ii tetl missa nechtlacolizque y nochpoch yn itoca Elena teyucic

- Ihuan niquitohuan y nochinan yn onpa temi hahuacatitla vii tetl nicmacatiuh y nochpoch yhuan vii tetl nochinan onpa temi yn itocayoca hecatitla yhuan nicmacatiuh y nochpoch Ellena ayac quicuiliz quichalaniliz

- Ihuan niquitohuan yn onpa huixachtla xiloxochatlahuco y noteuhtlal i poali ynic huiac auh ynic patlahuac çano ychquich (sic) 1 poalmatl ca nicmacatiuh y noxhuiuh yn itoca mathia

- Auh y nocal yn onpa ycac yn ahuacatitla ça çentetzintli niquinmacatiuh y nopilhuan yn omenti quimoxelhuizque y notelpoch yn itoca fran^{CO} cohuanan yhuan y nochpoch yn itoca Ellena teyucic auh yn ontetl nohuapal yn ipa nicochi nicmacatiuh y noxhuiuh yn itoca mathia

- Ihuan niquitohua yn chinampa onoc yn tonacayotl yntla mochiuaz yntla quimomacahuiliz yn tote^O hocca moxeloz yxquich monamacaz missa yc topan mitoz yn ipatiuh yez tomines yxquich totlacalaquil ypan mochiuaz ynic amo niquintoliniz y nopilhuan

- Ihuan niquitohua i tetl monamacaz yn iquac yntla oninomiquilli y nopan polihuiz yc nitocoz yhua niquitohuan macuiltetl tecomatl onpa mani yn icha notelpoch yn itoca Juan taniel ii t^S ypatiuh monamacaz yn iquac i(?) oninomiquilli nopan polihuiz ye yxquich y niquitoa

- ye yxquich y notlatol niquitohua yn nehuatl miguel chimalteuh y nicquintlamamacac y nochpoch yhuan y noxhuiuh ymixpa testigosme /f.37r/ omochiuh yn in testamento testigosme Juan lazaro miguel Jacobo tepixqui miguel mizquicalcatl matheo tecpanecatl alguaçil fran^{CO} de s Jr^{MO} colhuatecuhtli marcos xochicalcatl matheo yaoyzquizqui (sic) fran^{CO} cohuanan Juan bap^{TA} teopantlacatl Juan taniel martin sanchez ymon yn coxcatzintli miguel chimalteuh yhuan ymixpa çihuatzitzinti meçia xoco yna^C matheo tecpanecatl alguaçil Juanna xoco yna^C Jua lazaro Ellena teyucic yna^C mīn s chez

- Imixpantzinco alvaças gabriel maldonado alvaça mayor marti de s tiago anton Jacobo alguaçilesme ypanpa amo huelacuiloahua amo quitlalia yntoca firma auh y

houselet is 15 matl long and 10 matl wide. I give all of it to my daughter named Elena Teicuh; she and my grandchild named Matías will share it. And they will divide the land at the edge of the water that belongs to the house, two chinampas; each one will take one. And I beseech my children, my daughter named Elena Teicuh (and my grandchild) that they favor me with two masses.

- And I declare that there are seven chinampas of mine in Ahuacatitlan; I give them to my daughter. And there are seven chinampas of mine in a place called Ecatitlan; I give them to my daughter Elena. No one is to take them from her or dispute with her about them.

- And I declare that in Huixachtlan, in Xiloxochatlahuco (in the ravine with cornflowers), I have dry land, 20 (matl) long and also 20 matl wide. I give it to my grandchild named Matías.

- And a house of mine stands in Ahuacatitlan, with just one room. I give it to my two children, my son named Francisco Coanan and my daughter named Elena Teicuh; they are to divide it between themselves. And the two planks that I sleep on I give to my grandchild named Matías.

- And I declare that what is planted on the chinampas, if our lord God allows it to ripen, is to be divided into two parts. One part is to be sold and with the proceeds in money, masses will be said for us. With an equal amount, our tribute will be paid so that I do not cause bother for my children.

- And I declare that one (chinampa) is to be sold when I die; (the proceeds) will be spent on my burial. And I declare that there are five tecomates in the house of my son named Juan Daniel which are valued at two tomines; they are to be sold when I die and (the proceeds) will be spent on me. This is all I declare.

- This is all the declaration I make, I, Miguel Chimalteuh (sic), concerning what I distributed to my daughter and grandchild. Before the witnesses /f. 37r/ was done this testament. The witnesses are: Juan Lázaro, Miguel Jacobo, tepixqui; Miguel Mizquicalcatl; Mateo Tecpanecat, alguacil; Francisco de San Gerónimo Colhuatecuhtli; Marcos Xochicalcatl; Mateo Yaoquizqui; Francisco Coanan; Juan Bautista, teopantlacatl; Juan Daniel; and Martín Sánchez, the son-in-law of the invalid Miguel Chimalteuh. And (it was done) before the women: Mecía Xoco, wife of Mateo Tecpanecat, alguacil; Juana Xoco, wife of Juan Lázaro; and Elena Teicuh, wife of Martín Sánchez.

- Before the executors, Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor, and Martín de Santiago and Antón Jacobo, alguaciles. Since they do not know how to write, they did

nehuatl Ju^o de s p^o Escri^o oniquicuilo yn testamento nican nictlalia notoca firma omochiuh yc xxi mani metztli de Julios mil y quinientos y ochenta Añōs

Juan de s p^o
escri^o nunbrado

not set down their names and signatures. And I, Juan de San Pedro, notary, wrote the testament. Here I place my name and signature. Done the 21st of the month of July of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 38r

Document 15

Testament of Domingo Yaotl, July 23, 1580

Working a piece of land did not imply ownership. Here, Domingo has planted on his mother's land and bequeaths the crop to his young son Andrés, but he says “the land is my mother's property and I have nothing to do with it.” Although chinampa agriculture was predominant in Culhuacan, there were other types of land and crops. Domingo left his son magueys for their juice.

/f. 38r/ domingo yaotl St^a ana tlacuillocan

- In ica ytocatzin tote^o Jesu xp̄o yhuan yn itlaçonantzi yn ilhuicac çihuapili sancta maria mochipa ychpochtli ma mochinti quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl yn nehuatl domingo yaotl nica nochan S Juan Euag^{ta} colhuaca notlaxilacaltia s ana tlacuiloca maçonellihui y ninocohuan heçe y noyolia yn nanima amo quen catqui ça pactica Auh ca huel melahuac ynic nicnoneltotoquitia (sic) yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Esp̄u Sancto çan çe yn iyelitzin Enseçia yhuan ca mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica yn inotzaloca yn itlatlauhtiloca yn tote^o dios nicchihuan yhuan nictepana y notestamento y notzonquizcatlanequiliz

- Ynic çetlamantli niqutohua y noyolia naniman yçemactzinco nocontlalia yn tote^o dios heyca ca oquimochihuilli yhuan ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica yntlaçoh-ezçotzi y nican tlalticpac auh y nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlali auh yn iquac oquiz y naniman y nonacayo ompan tocotiu y toteopanchan S Juan Euag^{ta}

- Inic ontlamantli niqutohuan y notlatol yn onpa mani noteuhtlal ayauhtonco çepoalmatl ynic huiac auh ynic patlahuac çano yxquich yn çepoalmatl titomilnetechana Juan bap^{ta} teyotica tepixqui auh niqutohua nicmacatiah y nochichihuaca yn itoca ana ynamic barthasal ynicacihuamo (sic) yn Jr^{mo} tlaxcalçeçec ycha mexicatizino acatzintitla yc quiquimohuapahuiliz (sic) y nopiltzi macayac (sic)

- Ihuan niqutohua y nopiltzin yn itoca antres ylpitoc nicmacatiah yn onicnochiuilli yn imilco onoc y nonantzin yn tonacayotl yhuan hetzintli yhuan metzintli auh yn tlali ca yyaxcatzin y nonantzin camo ytech ni-

/f. 38r/ Domingo Yaotl of Santa Ana Tlacuilocan

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady, Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, Domingo Yaotl, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, in the ward of Santa Ana Tlacuilocan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed and sound. And I believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore with invocation and supplication of our lord God I make and order my testament and final will.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of our lord God, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth. When my soul has left it, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

- Second I declare in my statement that there is dry land of mine in Ayauhtonco that is 20 matl long and also 20 matl wide. My field borders that of Juan Bautista, church tepixqui. And I declare that I give it to my wetnurse named Ana, the wife of Baltasar, (deceased?), who is the daughter-in-law of Gerónimo Tlaxcalcecec, citizen of Mexicatzinco (in the ward of) Acatzintitlan. With this she will bring up my child. Let no one (disturb her).

- And I declare that to my child named Andrés Ilpitoc I give what I planted, the maize, the beans, and the magueys that are on the field of my mother. And the land is my mother's property and I have nothing to do with it.

quiça

- Ihuan niquitohuan noteuhtlal onpa mani yn toçititla çepoalmatl ynic huiac auh ynic patlahuac çano yxquich yn çepoalmatl nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin yn itoca antres ylpitoc

- Ihuan niquitohuan yn toteuhtlal yn onpa mani yn ça ye no onpa toçititla nauhoalli ynic huiac auh ynic patlahuac çenpoalmatl auh ynin ca ticoncahuiya y noteyccauhtzin catca yn omomiquilli yn itoca fran^{CO} ayotoch auh ca niquitohuan ca monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez tomines yc missa topan mitoz toimesti y noteyccauhtzin catca yc tipalehuilozque

- no yhuan niquitohuan y nochinan macuiltetl yn natenaltaltzin amo huihuiyac çan tepitoto nicmacatiuh y nopiltzi yhuan yn oncan onoc yn tonacayotl ça moch itech ca quimoqaltiz yn itocan andres ylpitoc

- Ihuan niquitohuan yn nocaltzin y nechmoquilitiuh y notatzin catca auh yn axca oc çepa nehuatl nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin onca moyetztiyez yntla quinemitiz tote^O

- Ihuan niquitohuan ii t^S nicnotlacui ytomintzin yn itoca Simo yaotl ayamo niquixtlahuan i tomin nicnotlacui ytomintzi augusti tetlanmecatl /f.38v/ ayamo niquixtlahua Auh niquitoa y nonamictzin catca yn icpatzi yn quimochihuilizquia yn iquac mop(e)hualti y mococotzinohua auh nima momiquilli quimocahuilitia centepa yn ihuipiltzin yezquia oquimotetequilli heçoyxti oquimatelhuillica auh niquitohua ma monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yc moxtlahuaz y nonetlacuil iii t^S yhuan yntla oc çequi mocahuaz ytech pouhqui yn piltontli yn itoca antres

- Ihuan niquitohuan yn acalli o(m?)yçoliuh monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yquac monequiz yc notocoz yc nipalehuilo

- Auh çentetl anzaron tlaltepoztl yhuan çentetl notepozhuic yhuan çe nocochilo yhuan ontetl nobrezada y niquentoc mochi nicmacatiuh y nopiltzi yn itoca antres ylpitoc yhuan niquitoa y nican catqui yn tetzintli y noteuh moçentlaliz Auh yntla çenquapantli mochihuaz monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez monepantlaxeloz yxquich yntech pouhqui yez yn aquique quimoçaquilizque yxquich ytech pouhqui yez yn piltontli

- Ihua niquitohua chiquaçentetl nometzi nican catqui quiyahuac nimacatiuh y nopiltzi yn itoca antres ylpitoc quimihchiquiliz ytech monequiz yn oniquito y notzonquizcatlanequiliz macayac quitlacoç

- ye yxquich yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli yn itoca domingo yaotl ymixpa testigosti fran^{CO} de s Jr^{MO}

- And I declare that there is dry land of mine in Tocititlan 20 matl long and also 20 matl wide. I give it to my child named Andrés Ilpitoc.

- And I declare that there is dry land of ours, also in Tocititlan, 80 (matl) long and 20 matl wide. My late younger brother, who died, named Francisco Ayotoch, shares it with me. And I declare it is to be sold and with the proceeds masses will be said for both of us, for my late younger brother and me, with which we will be helped.

- And I declare that there are five chinampas of mine at the edge of the water, not long but just small; I give them to my child, and all that is planted there is to belong to him, and my child Andrés Ilpitoc will be fed from it.

- And I say that I have a house that my late father gave me, and now I in turn give it to my child; he will be there (live there) if our Lord allows him to live.

- And I declare that I borrowed two tomines in money from someone named Simón Yaotl. I have not yet paid the debt. I borrowed one tomin in money from Agustín Tetlanmecatl, /f. 38v/ and I have not yet paid it. And I declare that my late wife had yarn that she was going to make into something when she began to get sick and then she died. She left behind what was to be a huipil; she had woven (warped) all three lengths and had hand-rubbed it. And I declare that it is to be sold, and with the proceeds my debts of three tomines will be paid. And if something is left over, it belongs to the boy named Andrés.

- And I declare that there is a worn-out boat; it is to be sold, and the proceeds will be used to help me be buried.

- And I have a hoe, a tool to work the soil, and a digging stick with a metal tip, and also a knife, and two blankets (with which I cover myself). I give all of this to my child named Andrés Ilpitoc. And I declare concerning the stone that is here that my stone is to be gathered together, and if it amounts to a quappantli, it is to be sold, and the proceeds are to be divided. One half will belong to those who transport it, and the other part will belong to the boy.

- And I declare that I have six magueys here at the entrance. I give them to my child named Andrés Ilpitoc. He is to scrape them (to get the juice), and it will be used for him. Let no one violate my final will that I have declared.

- This is all that the invalid named Domingo Yaotl said in his declaration before the witnesses Francisco de San

amiztlatohua miguel de sdiago alguaçiles m̄in de s lazaro tlacochcalcatl p^o alvarez teopantlacatl Juan bap^{ta} teoyotica tepixqui p^o nunez texopanecatl augusti vazquez tetlamecatl mateo xuarez simo yaotl yhuan ymixpa çihuatzintzinti ana tiacapa yna^{cat} Juan bap^{ta} Juanna maria yna^{cat} p^o tepanecatl catca Juanna tiacapa ynamic lazaro amoyahual ana teyucic ynamic matheo xuarez ana teyuhic Juana teyuhic ynamic catca p^o atlacuil

- Ininn omochiuh testamento yntencopatzinco yn yehuantziti alvaçeasti gabriel mal^{do} alvaçea mayor m̄in de sdiago Antonio Jacobo aluaçilesme auh y nehuatl Juan de s p^o EScrivano nunbrado nicneltilia nica nictlalia notoca firma omochiuh yc xxiii mani metztlil de Julios mil y quinientos y ochenta Años

Juan d s p^o
EScri^o nunbrado

f. 40r

Document 16

Testament Fragment, August 2, 1580

Neither the name nor the gender of this testator are given explicitly, but the form of “my elder brother” (*notiachcauh*) implies that we are dealing with a male. A noteworthy feature of this fragment is the inventory of parts of a dismantled house. Major items like beams, doors, and lintels were often bequeathed separately.

/f. 40r/- yhuan onteme quacanacame (sic) quima yn martin macuil Auh ca oniquixtlaauh auh nechmacaz y notomin notech monequiz yoan x iii hectotoltin yntech pohuiz y notatzin auh moxelozque xeliuhqui ytech pohuiz v tetl auh hentetl ytech pohuiz y nahuitzin auh y notiachcauh hentetl ytech pohuiz yoan no hetetl y nehuatl notech pohuiz

- Ihuan xxx quauhtectli yoan ome quahuacatl çe tlayxquatl yoan huapalli Ey Ey xopetlatl yyaxcan Juan chocani auh monamacaz yntech pohuiz missa yoan Ey metla (sic) yntech pouhqui Juan chocani yoan çe nometl monamacaz missa

- ye ixquich yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli ymixpan testigostin don Juan garçia tlacochcalcatzintli miguel telez algayte petro codier matlatlatl p^o de pervino p^o muyse tezacohuacatl Juan bap^{ta} xalli gabriel ypan (sic) mochiuh çihuatzintzinti ana tiacapan Ana yna^{cat} miguel zero cozcaquauh Juanna xoco ynamic miguel telez yaotl maria xoco ychpochtli Juanan tiacapan ynamic gabriel ypan (sic) mochiuh maria tlacoh ynnamic don Juan garçia tlacochcalcatl

Gerónimo Amiztlatoa and Miguel de Santiago, alguaciles; Martín de San Lázaro Tlacochcalcatl; Pedro Alvarez, church attendant; Juan Bautista, church tepixqui; Pedro Núñez Texopanecatl; Agustín Vázquez Tetlanmecatl; Mateo Juárez; and Simón Yaotl. (Done) also before the women: Ana Tiacapan, widow of Juan Bautista; Juana María, widow of Pedro Tepanecatl, deceased; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Lázaro Amoyahual; Ana Teicuh, wife of Mateo Juárez; Ana Teicuh; and Juana Teicuh, widow of Pedro Atlacuil.

- This testament was done by the order of the executors, Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor, and Martín de Santiago and Antonio Jacobo, alguaciles. And I, Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary, verify it; I place here my name and signature. Done the 23rd of the month of July of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

/f. 40r/- And Martin Macuil knows about the two chickens I paid him for; he is to give me my money so that it will be spent for me. And there are 13 grown turkey hens (European chickens?). They will belong to my father. They will be divided; the part to belong to him will be five (turkey hens), and three will belong to my aunt; and three will belong to my elder brother, and also three will belong to me (sic, making 14).

- And there are 30 (heaps of) firewood and two poles, and a lintel of a door, and three planks, and three (stones for?) a house foundation, which are the property of Juan Chocani. And they are to be sold for a mass for him. And three metates that belong to Juan Chocani and a metate of mine are to be sold toward a mass.

- This is all the invalid declared in (his?/her?) statement. (Done) before the witnesses don Juan García Tlacochcalcatzintli; Miguel Téllez, alcaide; Pedro (Gutiérrez) Matlatlatl; Pedro de (Pervino?); Pedro Moysén Tezcacoatl; Juan Bautista Xalli; and Gabriel. And done before the women: Ana Tiacapan; Ana, widow of Miguel Cerón Cozcaquauh; Juana Xoco, wife of Miguel Téllez Yaotl; María Xoco, unmarried woman; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Gabriel; and also done before María Tlaco, wife

- Imixpantzinco omochiuh alvaçeasti gabriel mal^{do} don a^{ol} de s.tiago Escrí^o nunbrado diego s.chez teopantlacatl topille antoni^o Jacobo alguaçiles onitlacuilo nehuatl Escrí^o Juan de s p^o nica nictlalia notoca firma omochiuh yc ii tl mani de agostos mill y quinientos y ochenta Años 1580

Juan de s p^o
Escrí^o nunbrado

of don Juan García Tlacochealcatl.

- Done before the executors Gabriel Maldonado and don Alonso de Santiago, appointed notary, and Diego Sánchez, church attendant (and?) topile; and Antonio Jacobo, alguaciles. I wrote it, Juan de San Pedro, notary, and I place here my name and signature. Done the 2nd of August of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 41r

Document 17

Testament of Ana Tiacapan (a), widow of Baltasar Nentequitl Tecpanecatl, July 17 1580

Ana Tiacapan's property consists almost entirely of buildings of one kind or another. "Houses" appear to be, in fact, single-room buildings in a compound, many with separate ownership. One of the structures was a public house where her late husband "attended to the rulers and traders." Another of her houses is a "woman's house" (*cihuacalli*). The term appears in other testaments (Documents 18, 47, 50, 80). Notable items in Ana's estate are Spanish fruit trees, which are bequeathed separately.

/f. 41r/ S^{ta} m^a tezacohuac Ana Tiacapan
ynamic catca bal^{ar}
nentequitl tecpanecatl
ychan S^t M^a asumpçion amantlan

- In ica ytocatzin tote^o Jes xp̄o yhua yn itlaçonatzin yn sancta maria mochipa ychpochtli mochinti quimatica yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl yn nehuatl ana tiacapan nican nochan S Ju^o Euagelista colhuaca notlaxilacalpa Sancta m^a mag^{na} tezacohuac maçonellihui yn ninococohuan heçe y noyolia y naniman amo quen catqui çan pactica çenca melahuac ynic nicnelneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios ešp̄us̄to yhuan ca mochi nicne(l)toca yn ixquich quimodelneltoquitia y sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica yn inotzaloca ytlatlauhtiloca yn tote^o dios nichihuan yoan nictecpana y notestamento macayac quitlacoç notzonquizca (sic)

- Inic çentlamantli niquitoa y noyolia y naniman ymactzinco nocontlalia yn tote^o dios heyca ca oquimochihuilli yhuan ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica yn itlaçoh-ezçotzin auh y nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca ytech oquiz

- Inic ontlamantli niquitohua yn nehuatl y notocan ana tiacapan yhuan y nicuhetzin catca yn itoca Juanatzin teycuictzin catca yn omomica totlaoncahuil yn caltzintli ynic mochiuh yn opan mani hatlahco auh yn yehuatzin catca yn barthasal nentequitzin catca onca quinmochiyeliya(a?) yn tlatoque yhuan yn pochteca amanteca auh quimitalhui yn iquac yn ye momiquiliz como huelitiz y

/f. 41r/ Santa María Tezacacoac Ana Tiacapan, widow of Baltasar Nentequitl Tecpanecatl, whose home was Santa María Asunción Amantlan

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, Holy Mary, eternally virgin, know all who see and read this document that I am Ana Tiacapan, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan in the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezacacoac. Even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are calm and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore with invocation and supplication of our lord God, I make and ordain my testament. Let no one violate my final (will).

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul in the hands of our lord God because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood. And my body I give to the earth because from there it came.

- Secondly, I declare that I, named Ana Tiacapan, and my late younger sister named Juana Teicuh who died, shared the building of the house that is next to the ravine (in Atlauhco?). And there the late Baltasar Nentequitl attended to the rulers and traders of Amantlan (i.e., maintained a public house). And (Baltasar) declared when he was about to die, "I cannot make a testament." I declare

nicchihuaz yn testamento niqutohuan ca oncate yn omenti y nohuepoltzitzihuan qui (sic) yehuanti quimomachiltia ypanpa ca çequi onpa huala yn tetzintli yn tezcacohuac yhuan yn tonacayotl yn oca monec yn qualoc ynic mochiuh yn caltzintli auh yni canel inchantzinco

- Auh ypanpa y nehuatl y notoca ana tiacapan niqutoa ca cenca nitlanahui y ninococohuan ypanpa y nicchihuaz testamento ynic nicpehualtia y notlatol niqutohuan yn çihucallli y xochimilcopahuic ycac yn tonatuih yquičaypanpa ytziticac monamacaz yhuan yn xocotl yn peras yhuan yn icos yn ithualco mani mochi monamacaz auh yn ipatuih misa yc topan mitoz yn teyxti çan ihuical yn calli yn oniquito monamacaz

- Ihuan niqutohuan yn tlecopatl yn nepantla actica ytech pouhqui yn itoca Ju^O piyoch yhuan niqutohuan yn mexicopahuic ycac yn calli yn çanno ytech çaliuhticac yn tlatlatilcalli catca ytetzinco pouhqui yn mağna tiacapan yn inamictzin gabriel mal^{do} alvaçea mayor

- Ihuan niqutohuan yn xochmilcopa ytziticac yn caltzintli yhuan yn çanno ytech çaliuhtica yn çanno onpa ytziticac yn xochmilcopa yn onca micatilticaca yn tote^O ca onteyxti ytetzinco pouhqui yn mariatzin tlacoyehuan yn inamictzin don Ju^O garcia tlacochcalcatzintli

- Ihuan niqutohuan yn oquichpa yn çano onpan ytziticac y xochmilcopa yn nezcoloyan catca ytetzinco pouhqui yn çayxquich yn (...)tzi yn itoca bartasal de s fran^{co} hiyacamecatzintli

/f. 41v/ - Ihuan niqutohua yn tlacpac yn oniquito yn monamacaz yn calli yhuan yn iyatentlalo yn chinamitl ca çan tepitoto amo huihuiac monamacaz çaymoch ihuical çan quicenpatioyotiz yn aquin quicohuaz yn calli auh yntlacanoçomo çiez yn aqui quicohuaz tlaca çayteopan pouhqui yn xocotl yhuan niqutohuan yn huexotla Ey ... mochi mochi (sic) teopan pouhqui yntetzinco monequiz yn teopixque auh quene catqui Jolar amo ytech tiquiča amo ytech titlatohua auh yn oniquito yn monamacaz yn calli yn aqui yn ocan moyetztez çan ihuical yez Jolar Auh quene catqui yn itlaltzi yn izquica catqui yn chinamitl yhuan yn iteuhtlaltzi amo ytech tiquiča cayehuanti quimomachiltia yn oc onmoyetztecate yn oquichtzitzinti yn eynti ynic çe ytoca don Ju^O g^a tlacochcalcatzintli ynic ome ytoca barthasal hiyacamecatzintli yniquey ytoca gabriel mal^{do} alvaçea mayor ypanpa cayquimomachiltia yn quezquican catqui yn itlaltzin hihui yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli quinmolhuili o nopilhuantziztin cayixquich yn oniquito yn oanquimocaquiltique y nican anmoyetztecate y nican anmoyetztecate cayotizque

that there are two brothers-in-law of mine who know about this because part of the stone (to make the house) was brought from Tezcacoac, and the food that was used and eaten when the house was built; (they know about it) because (Tezcacoac? the house?) is their home.

- Thus I, Ana Tiacapan, declare that my illness is very grave, and for this reason I make my testament. Beginning my statement, I declare that the “woman's house” that stands toward Xochimilco and faces east is to be sold, and also the fruit trees, the pears and the figs that are in the patio, all will be sold, and with the proceeds masses will be said for all three of us. What I have said will be sold belongs to the house.

- And I declare that the storeroom that is in the middle (of the complex) belongs to someone named Juan Piyoch, and I declare that another house (room) stands in the direction of Mexico City, also attached to what was the storeroom, and it belongs to Magdalena Tiacapan, wife of Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor.

- And I declare that as to the house (room) that faces toward Xochimilco and (the other one) attached to it, which also faces toward Xochimilco, where (an image) of our Lord stood, both belong to María Tlacoehua, wife of don Juan García Tlacochealcatzintli.

- And I declare that the great hall which also faces Xochimilco, where people used to warm themselves, all of it belongs to (my ?...) named Baltasar de San Francisco Iyacamecatzintli.

/f. 41v/ - And I declare that regarding the house that I mentioned above that is to be sold, its land at the edge of the water, the chinampas, just small (ones), not long, are to be sold; it is all just part (of the house). Whoever buys the house will pay for all of it, but if the person buying the house doesn't come to agreement, the fruit trees will belong to the church and will be used for the friars. And I declare that the (three willows?) belong to the church. And regarding how the houselot is (where the buildings are), we have nothing to say about it. The houselot will pertain to whoever will be in the house there, that I said is to be sold. And concerning the land (of the house) and where the chinampas are with their dry land, we have nothing to say about that either. And there are three men still living who know about this: first, don Juan García Tlacochealcatzintli; second, the person named Baltasar Iyacamecatzintli; and third, the person named Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor. They know in what places their lands are. Thus the invalid made her declaration, and she said to them “O my children, this is all I have declared and what you who are present and who will be named here have heard.”

- Ie yxquich yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli ymixpa testigosti maria tlahcoyehuan yna^c don Ju^o g^a ana yna^{cat} fran^{co} hiçicatiuh Juanan xoco ydynamic miguel zero alguaçil angelina ydynamic diego apachiuhqui Auh yn toquichti yn imixpa omicuillo amatl fran^{co} huitlalocatl acaçayol donmingo de s lazaro

- yn omochiuh testamento ytencopatzinco y yehuatzin senior gab(riel) mal^{do} alvaçea mayor

- Auh y nehualt Ju^o de s p^o escri^o nubrado alvaçes nicneltilia nica nictlalia nican nictlalia (sic) notoca nofirman omochiuh yc xvii metztli de Julios mil y quinientos y ochenta \O(Anos, ¯) 1580

Juan de s p^o
escri^o nunbrado

- This is all that the invalid said in her statement before the witnesses: María Tlacoehua, wife of don Juan García; Ana, widow of Francisco Icicatiuh; Juana Xoco, wife of Miguel Cerón, alguacil; Angelina, wife of Diego Apachiuhqui; and the men before whom the document was written were Francisco Huitlalocatl Acaçayol and Domingo de San Lázaro.

- The testament was done by order of the lord Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor.

- And I, Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary and executor, verify it; I place here my name and signature. Done the 17th of the month of July of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 41v

Document 18

Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 41v/ vendiose vna casa de ana teycuh difunta a lucas tlaxapoch En nueve pesos y medi(o) dijeronse de misas por la difunta

frai Joan
Zimbron

(hasta?) aqui (s)on (v)einte (...V)na con el Pedaso del Prinzipio suelto

/f. 41v/ A house of the late Ana Teicuh was sold to Lucas Tlaxapoch for nine and a half pesos; they were used for masses which were said for the deceased.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

(Up to?) here there are twenty (one?) (sheets?) counting the loose piece at the beginning.*

*A note by someone trying to organize the set of testaments.

f. 42v

Document 19

Testament of Miguel Cerón, August 5, 1580

Judged by most of Miguel Cerón's property, he was a man of modest means, but in addition to the typical parcels of land mentioned in his testament we find one strikingly atypical one. "By means of justice," or through judicial decision, he was given land which traditionally was held by the native ruler or tlatoani. This special category of land, we are told, was not privately held, not even by the ruler, much less bequeathed. Yet Miguel treats the ruler's office land like any other parcel, leaving part to his relatives and having part sold for masses. This altered status of ruler's office land is but one example of changes in native land tenure after the Spanish conquest.

/f. 42v/ Miguel çeron tequaqualloc tezacohuac

- memoria ypanpa miguel zero tequanqualoc ytlaxilacalpa m^a mağna tezacohuac

- ynic i tlamantli quitohuan ynic niconpehualtia yn nolatol yn oncan oninoyeticatca (sic) yn nocaltzin etemani yn çihuacalli tonatiuh ycalaquiyanpa yztzicac calixayoticac ynic ontetl çan itech çaliuhtica çano tonatiuh ycalquiyanpa yztzicac ynuquetel xochmilcopa yztzicac çan caltepito ytech nicpouhtih y nonamictzi ça moch itech

/f. 42v/ Memorandum concerning Miguel Cerón Tequanqualoc of the ward of (Santa) María Magdalena Tezacocoac

- First he declared: I begin my statement. My houses where I have been are three; the "woman's house" which faces west and forms the front of the house; the second, attached to the first, which also faces west, and the third, which faces toward Xochimilco, just a small house. I assign it to my wife; all of it will belong to her, named

yez yn itoca Juanan xoxopanxoco onca quimopachilhuitiez y nopilhuanzitzitzi canel ymaxca canell incal macayac quincuiliz

- yhuan yn çano nica yn iyatentlalo iii tetl yn ichinayo çan tepitoto amo huihuiyac niqinmacatiuh yn nonamic yhuan yn nopilhuan onca quimocuilizque hohuatzintli anoço ytla onca quimotlalilizque yehuanti quimati ca ça ye (sic) niqiçemaxcatituh amoyac quincuiliz

- yhuan niqutohuan yn nocaltzi yn onpa yeac yn tiyanquitzenco tonatiuh yqiçayanpa yzticac monamacaz notech pohuiz yn ipatiuh yez yn iquac yntla ninomiquiliz nopan popolihuiz

- yhuan yn nochinan yn chicontetl yn ipa titotequitilia nicmacatiuh y nonamic quimochihuiliz canel oncate yn ipilhuanzitzitzi amoac quicuiliz qui(...)ehuatl quimomachiltia quinmacatiaz yn iquac yntla momiquiliz

- yhuan nochinan ompan temi acalotenco çeçenpohualhuiyac ontetl ymiltitech fran^{CO} çihuatepanecatztintli Regidor manyor niqinmacatiuh yn nopilhuan quichihuazque

- Yhuan yn onpa ytocayoca cueptecco yn inemac yn piltontli yn itoca Juachin çentecpantli yn chinamitl yn quimomaquilitiuh yn don Ju^O telez tiaquitzenco chane catca macayac quicuiliz canel ynemac yn piltontli yn miltitla gabriel mal^{do} Ju^O otlicahuetzoc

- Yhuan niqutohuan yn onpa ytocayoca toçititla yn onimacoc yn teuhltali hepohualli ypan matlacmatl ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac i pohuali yni ca tlatocatlalli sustiçiatca yn onimacoc auh niqutohuan occa nicxelohuan onpohuali nicquinmacatiuh yn nonamic yhuan yn nopilhuan Auh y nehuatl çenpohualli ypan matlacmatl notech pohuiz monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez missa yc nopan mitoz macayac quitlacoç y notzonquizcatlanequiliz yn ipa nomiquiztepan

- Ye ixquich yn oquito yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzi (sic) yn itoca miquel zero tequanqualoc ymixpan cihuatztintli maria xoco ynic don Ju^O garçia tlacoçcalcatl tecuhctli Juanan xoco yna^c yn cocoxcatzitli

- Imixpa omochiuh alvaçes gabriel mal^{do} m̄n̄ de s.tiago Anto Jacobo algauçilesme yhuan yntecopatzin don fran^{CO} florez alde miquel de livas algauçil mayor yn oniquicuilo y nehuatl Ju^O de s^O EScr^O nican nictlalia notoca firman omochiuh yc v mani metztli de agustos mil y quinientos y ochenta Añōs

Juana Xoxopanxoco. There she is to be in charge of my children, since it is their property and their house. Let no one take it from them.

- And I am also giving the land here at the edge of the water that belongs to the house, three chinampas that are just small, not long, to my wife and children. From it they are to get tender ears of maize, or perhaps they will build something there. They will decide. I give it completely to them as their property. Let no one take it from them.

- And I declare that there is a house of mine in Tianquitzenco which faces east. It is to be sold, and the proceeds will belong to me; when I die, it will be spent on me.

- And there are seven chinampas of mine on which we (pay tribute). I give them to my wife, who is to cultivate them, because she has children. No one is to take them from her. She knows that she will give (the chinampas) to them when she dies.

- And there are two chinampas of mine in Acalotenco, (at the edge of the canal?) each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Francisco Cihuatepanecatl, regidor mayor. I give them to my children, who are to cultivate them.

- And in the place named Cueptecco there is the inheritance of the boy named Joaquín Centecpantli. (They are) the chinampas that don Juan Téllez (Documents 13 and 13A), whose home was Tianquitzenco, gave him. Let no one take them from him, because they are the inheritance of the boy. (They are) next to the fields of Gabriel Maldonado and Juan Otlicahuetzoc.

- And I declare that in the place called Tocititlan there is dry land that was given me, 70 (units of measure) in length and 20 in width. It is "ruler's (office) land" and it was given me by means of justice. And I declare that I divide it into two parts; I give 40 to my wife and children, and 30 will belong to me. It is to be sold, and with the proceeds masses will be said for me. Let no one violate my final will on the verge of my death.

- This is all the invalid named Miguel Cerón Tequanqualoc said in his declaration before the women Maria Xoco, wife of don Juan García Tlacoçcalcatl tecuhctli, and Juana Xoco, wife of the invalid.

- Done before the executors Gabriel Maldonado, Martín de Santiago, and Antón Jacobo, algauçiles, and by order of don Francisco Flores, alcalde, and Miguel de Ribas, algauçil mayor. I, Juan de San Pedro, notary, wrote it. Here I place my name and signature. Done the 5th of August of the year 1580.

Juan de s p^o
Escr^o

Juan de San Pedro, notary.

f. 43v

Document 20

Testament Fragment of Tomás of Aquino, n.d.

Most Culhuacan testators left money for masses for themselves or close relatives. But Tomás gives money directly to the prior, fray Juan Núñez, to thank God for giving him good fortune in life. Tomás is unusual in another way. More than most godparents, he shows affection for his godson by giving him a substantial bequest, part of a house, and then, thinking that the building is dilapidated and nearly worthless, instead advises his wife to favor the boy in some other way.

/f. 43v/ thomas de aquino s^{ta} m^a mag^d cihuatecpa

- In ica ytocatzin tote^o Jesu xp̄o yhuan yn itlaçonantzi yn ilhuicac çihuapilli Sancta maria mochipa ychpochtli ma mochinti quimatica yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl y nehuatl thomas de aquino nican nocha sancta maria mathalegna çihuatecpa maçonelihui yn ninococohua heçe y noyolia y naniman amo quen catqui çan huel pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn santissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios ešpu sancto ça çe yn iyeliztin yhuan ca mochi nicneltoaca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia Sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtiloca yn tote^o dios nicchihua yhuan nictecpana y notestamento y notzonquizcatlanequiliz macayac quitlacoç

- ynic centlamantli niquitohuan y noyolia y naniman ca nicnomaquilia yn tote^o dios heyca ca oquimochihuilli y huan ca oquimomaquixtili yn ica itlaçohezçotzi y nican tlalticpac auh y nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlali heyca ca ytech oquiz auh yn iquac oquiz y naniman y nonacayo onpa tocotiuh yn toteopancha S Ju^o Euag^t

- Ynic ontlamantli niquitohua ca onicchiuh yn huentzintli onicnomaquilito yyomatcatzinco yn totlaçomahuiztatzin priyor fray Ju^o nunez nicnolhuili notlaçotatzine ca yz catqui nohuentzi nicchihua vi p^os noyolocacopa amo ma ytla ypanpa amo ma oniquichtec ca niquitohua yn ixquich cahuitl yn oninonemiti yn onechmomaquilliyaa (sic) yn tote^o yn ixquich y notech omonequia ma no yuh nicnocuepillili

- Yhuan niquitohuan yn nocaltzin yn onca onicatca yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac nicmacatiuh y nonamic Juanan tiacapan amo no ac quicuiliz yhuan yn nocalnepanol yn xochmilcopa yzticac ça mochi itech çeyez y nonamic yhuan yn yehuatl teoyotica noconetzin y nicnonapalhui yn itoca casbar yn ipiltzi marcos morales ychan cohuatla tenanco

- Auh yn chinamitl yn ipa onitequitia yn onpa temi yn itocayoca tequacuילו vii tlachicontepohualli yhuan y nican yn antentlali çan ic açi yn chicontetl nicmacatiuh y

/f. 43v/ Tomás de Aquino of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady, Holy Mary, eternally virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, Tomás de Aquino, whose home is here in Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are tranquil and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and order my testament and last will. Let no one violate it.

- First, I declare that I give my spirit and soul to God our lord because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from there it came. And when my soul leaves it, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

- Second, I declare I have made an offering: I went to give it to our dear and honored father, prior fray Juan Núñez, in person, and I said to him, “My dear father, here is my voluntary offering of six pesos that I make for no special reason; neither did I steal it, but I say that during all the time that I have lived, our Lord gave me all that I needed; let me likewise thus return it to him.”

- And I declare concerning my house where I have been, which faces east, I give it to my wife, Juana Tiacapan. Nor is anyone to take it from her. And I have (upper stories? a two-story house?) facing toward Xochimilco; all of it together will belong to my wife and my godchild that I adopted (embraced), named Gaspar, child of Marcos Morales, whose home is Coatlan Tenanco.

- And there are some chinampas on which I (paid tribute) in the place named Tequacuילו, which count as seven, and only with the land here at the edge of the water do

nonamic yhuan niqutohuan y nochina yn onpa temi tecuitlaapa matlactetl çecenpohualhuiyac ymiltitech m̄n çan quicuiz yhuan nicmacatiuh y nonamic Juana tiacapan amo ac quicuiliz yhuan niqutohuan y nonamic yn ipilhuan ca cenca onechmocuitlahuique yn izquipa oninococohuaya ca cenca onechtlaçotlaque auh niqutohuan çan nica ytlantzincō moyetztiyezque yn innantzin

- Auh yn oniquitoca yn tlapac y nocalnepanol yn onicmacaca yn teoyotica noconetzin yn casbar ca oyçoliuh yn quauhtzintli auh yn axca niqutohua ma çan itlatzi quimomaquiliz y nonamic yn piltzintli yc mohuapahualtiz yntla monemitiz yntla noço momiquiliz

they come to be seven. I give them to my wife. And I declare that there are 10 chinampas of mine in Tecuilaapan, each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Martín. She is just to take them, and I give them to my wife, Juana Tiacapan. No one is to take them from her. And I declare that my wife's children took care of me a lot every time I was sick, and they showed me much affection (treated me very well), and I declare that they will remain here together with their mother.

- And concerning the upper story of mine that I mentioned above that I gave to my godchild Gaspar, the wood is already old. And now I declare that my wife is to give some small thing to the boy with which he will be brought up, if he lives, or, if he dies....

f. 46v

Document 21

Testament of Juana Tiacapan (a), August 22, 1580

Juana, like many Culhuacan women without surviving children, leaves considerable amounts of property to her husband. Since he seems to be from Mexico City, she goes further and tries to guarantee his residence rights where she owns land. Juana also makes a charitable bequest, leaving land to the district heads (or district people, *tlaxilacaleque*) to assign “to some poor person.” Also like many testators, Juana is worried about debt payment. Not all the debts are in currency: Juana earlier borrowed a cloak for her daughter's shroud.

/f. 46v/ Joana Tiacapan S^{ta} Ma aSup^o anticpac

- Yn ica yn itocatzin Sanctisima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios (ça?) çe (sic) Eṣpu sancto ça çe huel neli dios yxquichihuelitzin yçemactzinco nocontlalia yn nanima yntla ninomiquiliz ma yehuatzin nechmohuiquililitzinoz yn tote^o dios heyca ca ytlamaquixtiltzin yn naniman ca yxiplatzi auh ma huel yehuatzin y noangel notepixcatzin nechmohuiquiliz yn ixpantzinco dios heyca y nehuatl Juana tiacapa nican nochan S Ju^o Evagelista colhuacan notlaxilacaltia Sancta M^a asupçio aticpac ma huel quimatica yn aquiue quipohuazque quicaquizque y notestamento ca atle nicnopielilia yn tote^o dios hatle teocuitlatl nicpia yn huentzintli nicchihuaz heyca yn iuh niqutohua nican niclalia notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohuan yn onca nihuetztoç yn onca ninococohua yn ipan tlaxilacali S.ta ana hiyauhtenco yn onca nechmocahuilitiuh y notatzin catca Ju^o yaotzin yni xolar yn iquac momiquili ca nechmomaquilitia auh yn axca ca niqutohua nicmacatiuh y nonamic yn itoca lazaro de san pablo ca oniquinotlatlauhtilli yn iyauhtenco tlaca ca oniquinolhuilli nica amotlantzinco moyetztiyez y nonamicetzin no yhuan niqutohua yn iyatentlalo xolar ontetl yn chinamitl amo huel çecenpo-

/f. 46v/ Juana Tiacapan of Santa María Asunción Aticpac

- In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God omnipotent, I place my soul entirely in his hands. And when I die, let God our lord carry me to him, because he redeemed my soul and (it is made in) his image; and let my guardian angel carry me before God. For I am Juana Tiacapan, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, in the ward of Santa María Asunción Aticpac; know all who read and hear my testament that I keep nothing for our lord God (i.e., I have nothing). I have no gold to make offerings. I say this because here I order my testament.

- First I declare that where I lie sick, in the ward of Santa Ana Iyauhtenco, my deceased father, Juan Yaotzin, left me and gave me this houselot when he died. Now I declare that I give it to my husband named Lázaro de San Pablo, and I have addressed the people of Iyauhtenco, and I said to them, “My husband will remain here among you.” Also I declare that the houselot has its land at the edge of the water, two chinampas that do not measure a full 20 matl each, but just 10 each. And I give them to

hualli çan matlatlacmatl yhua nicmacatiuh y nonamic amo ac quicuiliz no yhua niqutohua y nechmomaquili y notatzin catca yn icchinatzí (sic) vii tetl yn onpa quauhtenanco ohtenco he nipa coyohuacanpa ymiltitla augusti patoçicuil tepixqui auh yn axcan oc çepa nehualt nicmacatiuh y nonamic ypan tequitiz amo ac quicuiliz canel ytech nicpouhtih

- Ihuan niqutohua y nixcoyan nochinantzi chicontetl y nimacoc yn iquac yn oc nichpochnemi yn çanno honpa quauhtenanco niquimacatiuh yn tlaxilacaleque hiyauhtenco tlaca aço haca quimomaquilizque ycnotlacatl canel tequiti yn tlali ca huel noyolocacopa y niccahua

- Auh yhuan niqutohua y notatzin catca y nechmomaquilitih yn itlalmiltzin çenpohuali ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac çanno yxquich nicmacatiuh y nonamic lazaro de s pablo ymiltitla Ju^o bap^{ta} teyotica tepixcati onpa y mani yn itocayoca yahualihca

- Auh y nican cohuatla yn teuhtlali y nechmomaquilitih y notatzin catca yn itlalmiltzin çenpohualli ynic huiaç auh ynic patlahuac çanno yxquich nicmacatiuh y nonamic lazaro de s pablo amo ac quicuiliz

- Auh hu in opa sanctiagio tetla y noteuhtlal yn onpa mani nau(h)pohualli titomilnetechana yn miquel de s.tiagio alguaçil ... (onpa?) yn texalpa yhuan nicmacatiuh y nonamic moch itech nictlalitiuh amo ac quicuiliz ypan tequitiz auh yn onca Sanct adres amaxac /f. 47r/ çentetl y nochina yn ocan onoc çenpohualhuiyac ymiltitla p^o quiyauh yhua nicmacatiuh y nonamic

- Auh yz catqui niqutohua yn iquac ytla oninomiçquili monamacaz yn tetl y nican quiyahuac onoc y çan oc çecemantoc yn ipatiuh ez tomintzin nopan popoliuhiz yc nitocoz yhua çequi yc missa nopan mitoz nechmopalehuiliz y nonamictzi nopan tlatoz ynic qu içihca nopan mitoz missa

- Ihuan niqutohua oniquilnamic oncatqui tonetlacuil v p^os ypan vi ts yhua tilmatl çentetl yn ayamo moxtlahua ome p^os ytomintzi pablotzi tlamaca ychan mexico s pablo ypan popoliuh y nochpoch catca yn itoca m^a yquac yn ilpiticatca yc tlaxtlahualoc auh y iii p^os ypan ey tomin huala coyohuaca s.to augusti palpa ytomintzin Juan tepanecatl teuhctli onpa ycha y palpa auh ey ytomintzi mateo xvarez ychan tlacatecco auh y tilmantli yc moquimilihuitia y noconetzin catca yn iquac momiquilli ytilmatzi yn m̄n tlacochealcatzintli xochicuetzi auh yn ixquich y nica ycuiliuhtoc yn tonetlacuil niqutohua yn tetl mochi monamacaz y nica onoc yn ipatiuh yez tomines çequi yc moxtlahuaz yn tonetlacuil

my husband; no one is to take them from him. And I declare also that my late father gave me seven chinampas of his in Quauhtenanco, next to the road, on the far side toward Coyoacan, next to the field of Agustín Patocicuil, tepixqui. And now I in turn give them to my husband; he will (pay tribute) on them. No one is to take them away from him, because I assign them to him.

- And I declare that I have seven chinampas, my own property, that were given to me when I was still unmarried; they are also in Quauhtenanco. I give them to the ward heads, those of Iyauhtenco. Perhaps they will give them to some poor person because (the land is obligated for tribute?). With all my heart I leave it to them.

- And I declare that my late father gave me his field, 20 (units of measure) in length and the same in width. I give it to my husband Lázaro de San Pablo. The field is next to the field of Juan Bautista, church tepixqui. It is in the place called Yahualihcan.

- And here in Coatlan there is dry land that my late father gave me, his field. It is 20 (units of measure) long and the same in width. I give it to my husband Lázaro de San Pablo. No one is to take it from him.

- And in Santiago Tetla there is dry land of mine, 80 (units of measure long); it borders the field of Miguel de Santiago, alguacil (in?) Texalpan. And I give it to my husband, I assign all of it to him. No one is to take it from him; he is to (pay tribute on it). /f. 47r/ And in San Andrés Amaxac there is a field of mine, 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Pedro Quiyauh. And I give it to my husband.

- And I declare that when I die, the stone that is still scattered here at the entrance is to be sold. The proceeds in money are to be spent on my burial, and with one part a mass will be said for me. My husband will speak for me so that a mass is said for me quickly.

- And I declare that I have remembered that we have debts of five pesos and six tomines and a cloak that have not yet been paid. Two pesos belong to Pablo Tlamaca, whose home is Mexico City (in the ward of) San Pablo; they were spent for my late daughter named María when she was in custody, and with it various things were paid for. And three pesos and three tomines came from Coyoacan, from San Agustín Palpan, belonging to Juan Tepanecatl tecuhtli, whose home is Palpan. And three tomines belong to Mateo Juárez, whose home is Tlacatecco. And the cloak with which my late daughter was enshrouded when she died belonged to Martín Tlacochealcatl Xochicuetzin. And as to all of our debts that are written here, I declare that all of the stone that is

- Ihuan oc çentlamantli oniquilnamic notlalmil onpa mani yn toçititla çenpohuali ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac çanno yxquich yn çenpohuali titomilnetechana mag̃na yna^{cat} p^o de la cruz niqitohua monamacaz yn tlali yc moxtlahuaz yn tonetlacuil catel yehuatzin quimomachiltia y nonamictzi ye ixquich y notestamento ma quimatica yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn amatl yn quipohuazque macayac quitlacoç yn ixquixquich (sic) yn oquicuilo yn imixpan omochiuh testigosme Ernado garçi nohuepoltzi ycha mexico s pablo Ju^o bap^{ta} teoyotica tepixcati marcos vazquez p^o quiyauh auh y çihua ymixpa yn omotlacaquitique ynic çe ytoça martha teuhcho y-tlaçonamic Ernado garçi ana mocel yna^{cat} luis xalacatl mag̃na yna^{cat} p^o de la cruz ysabel tiacapan ynamic p^o quiyauh

- ymixpa alvaçeasti omotlacaquitique m̃m̃ de s.tiago anton Jacobo algauçilesme yn oniquicuilo testamento y nehuatl Escri^o nica nictlalia notoca firman omochiuh yc xxii mani metztli de agostos mil y quinientos y ochenta años

Juan de s p^o
Escrivano

here is to be sold and with one part of the proceeds in money our debts will be paid.

- And another thing I remembered: there is a field of mine in Tocititlan, 20 (units of measure) in length and also 20 wide, next to the field of Magdalena (Tiacapan), widow of Pedro de la Cruz. I declare that the land is to be sold in order to pay our debts. My husband knows about this. This is all my testament; know all who see and read this document that no one is to violate anything that he (the notary) has written. Done before the witnesses Hernando García, my brother-in-law, whose home is Mexico City (in the ward of) San Pablo; Juan Bautista, church tepixqui; Marcos Vázquez; and Pedro Quiyauh; and before the women who heard it, the first named Marta Teuhccho, the dear wife of Hernando García; Ana Mocel, widow of Luis Xallacatl; Magdalena (Tiacapan), widow of Pedro de la Cruz; Isabel Tiacapan, wife of Pedro Quiyauh.

- (Done) before the executors who heard it, Martín de Santiago and Anton Jacobo, alguaciles. I the notary wrote the will. I place here my name and signature. Done the 22nd of the month of August of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, notary.

f. 47v

Document 22

Annotation in Spanish, December 5, 1580

/f. 47v/ En 5 de dizi^e 1580 a^os R^{bi} de los diputados seis p^os y seis t^s para que se digan de misas por baltasar xiuhtli de Sanctiiago
fr Joan nunez

/f. 47v/ The 5th of December of the year 1580 I received from the deputies six pesos and six tomines to be used for saying masses for Baltasar Xiuhtli(?) of Santiago.
Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 48r

Document 23

Statement by the Executors, September 23, 1580

Documents were occasionally mislabeled by the notary, as in the present case. This certification of monies that Indian officials delivered for masses contains an interesting reference to the “former executors (*albaceas*).” In Spanish legal practice, executors were chosen individually by testators to carry out the orders of the will. Among these Nahuas in Culhuacan, executors seem to have been a type of town official. Note that the Spanish prior certifies this Nahuatl statement (though he does so in Spanish). We have produced Documents 23, 23A, and 23B in the order in which they appear, but the Spanish of 23A is probably intended to come after the Nahuatl signatures, which seem to refer to 23. The rest of Document 23B is an afterthought to 23.

/f. 48r/ Mateo xvarez s p^o çacahapan

- I nican altepetl ypan s Ju^o Euagelis (sic) colhuaca yc xxiii mani metztli de setiembre mil y quinientos y

/f. 48r/ Mateo Juárez of San Pedro Çacaapan [not, in fact, his testament]

- Here in the town of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, the 23rd of the month of September of the year 1580, I

ochenta años y nehuatl fixcal gabriel mal^{do} yhuan tehuantia (sic) miguel garçia m̄n de s.tiago anton Jacobo alvaçeasti yn ipanpa yn çentlamantli yn omanca alvaçasme a^ol ximenez miguel de s.tiago yn quicauhtiaque yn miccatlatquitl yn tomines yn ococacauhticatca auh tehuantin oticnechicoque ynic palehuilozque ynic missa ynpa mitoz yn ixquichtin yn tlatquihuaque yn omomiquillique auh axcan calaqui teopan otictomaquilito yn totlaçota p̄r ypan viernes

- ynic çe ytoca caspar xochipay ychan s.ta m^a maḡna tezacohuac onpa miquito s nicolas cuitlatetelco quitlalia ypan testamento quitotia 4 p^os yntech pohuiz y notatzin yhuan nonatzin missa yquipa mitoz auh ynic ome tlatatl ytoca barthasal xiuhuly ycha S.di^o tetla i p^os ytomines yniqey ytoca augustin tzonpa ychan ytlaxilalcaltia s Ju^o bap^{ta} ollopa ytzcotla i p^os ytomin ynic nahui tlatatl ytoca lurenço yaoxochitli ytlaxilalcaltia S.ta m^a maḡna çihuatecpa i p^os yn itomin omonamacac yn itlaol çan aquitzin ynic macuilli tlatatl ytoca Ju^ohana (sic) ytlaxilalcaltia atotolco i p^os yn itomin // auh yni hey p^os ça chachayavatoc yc açi x p^os ypan i p^os auh v t^s yc micuilo alonbra

the fiscal, Gabriel Maldonado, and we, Miguel García, Martín de Santiago, and Antón Jacobo, executors, since the other group of former executors, Alonso Jiménez and Miguel de Santiago, left behind the goods of the dead, the money they had gone along leaving on various occasions, we collected it in order that they be aided with masses that will be said for all the property owners who died. And today, Friday, (the money) was brought to the church, and we went to give it to our dear father, the prior.

- The first is named Gaspar Xochipain, whose home is Santa María Magdalena Tezacacoac, who died in San Nicolás Cuitlatetelco; he made a bequest in his testament, saying “Four pesos will belong to my father and my mother in order to say masses for them.” And the second person is named Baltasar Xiuhltli, whose home is Santiago Tetla; one peso in money is his. The third is named Agustín Tzompan, whose home and ward are San Juan Bautista Ollopan Itzcotla; one peso is his. And the fourth person is named Lorenzo Yaoxochitl, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa; one peso is his. A little of his maize was sold. The fifth person is named Juana, of the ward of Atotolco; one peso in money is hers. And there are three pesos (distributed among various people?), with which it amounts to 11 pesos; with five tomines (some part of the church?) was painted with yellow color.

f. 48r

Document 23A*Annotation in Spanish, September 23, 1580*

- En 23 de Septi^e de 1580 a^os truxeron los albaceas a la yglesia onze p^os que son los que arriba dize de estos diff^{tos} para dezillos de misas por ellos y por verdad lo firme de mi nombre
fr Joan nuñez

- The 23rd of September of the year 1580 the executors delivered to the church 11 pesos that are those mentioned above of these deceased persons to be used to say masses for them, and as truth I signed it with my name. Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 48r

Document 23B*Annotations in Nahuatl, n.d.*

- tixpa omochiuh nixpa omochiuh nixpa omochiuh
Miguel garçia gabriel mald Juan p^o
fixcal EScri^o
- Auh ynchalchiuh y quitlalica brenta yn iquac motocac dona ana de coronado çan oc netlacuiloc ynic motocac quitoque ytetlacayohua yc moxtlahuaz yn chalchihuitl monamacaz 3 p^os yn netlacuiloc auh canno (sic) 3 p^os ypatih omochiuh y chalchihuitl omonamacaz (sic) yc misa ynpan omito yn tlatquihuaque

- Done before us, Miguel García. Done before me, Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. Done before me, Juan de San Pedro, notary.

- And concerning their emerald (green stone) that they pawned when doña Ana de Coronado was buried, the (money) for her burial was borrowed. Her relatives said that the three pesos borrowed are to be paid by selling the emerald, which also cost three pesos. And the emerald was sold, and with the proceeds masses were said for the owners.

f. 48r

Document 23C*Annotation in Spanish, n.d.*

- dixeronse tres misas por estos tres diff^{tos} en este monasterio de S Ju^o Ebangelista de Culhuacan y dieron la limosna tres p^{os} y seis t^{os}

Fr Joan nuñez

- Three masses were said for these three deceased in this monastery of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, and they gave alms of three pesos and six tomines.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 48v

Document 24*Testament of Mateo Juárez, n.d.*

Some Culhuacan testators proclaim their poverty. The declaration “I have no property or goods,” is not unusual, even when the testator in fact owns some property. In this case, Mateo's estate really is smaller than many.

/f. 48v/ Mateo xvarez s p^o çacahapa

- In ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios E^{spu} sancto ça huel çe neli dios nicnoneltoquitia nicpehualtia y notestamento ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn amatl ypan nictlalia notestamento ca y nehuatl matheo xvarez nicnotl nican nochan S Ju^o Euag^{ta} colhuaca onca nipohui yn ipan tlaxilacalli S p^o çacahapa achtopan yçemactzinco ymactzinco (sic) nocotlallia y noyolia y naniman yn tte^o dios ca ytlachihualtzin yn iquac y ninomiquiliz ma quihualmaniliz yn ixquich yn notlatlacol ma nechmopolhuiliz auh ca niquitohua ca hatley y naxca y notlatqui ca çan ixquich ynic nicpehualtia y notlatol macayac quitlacoç y nican nictecpanaz y naxca y notlatquitzin ocatca

- Inic centlamantli niquitohua yn caltepitzin yn xochmilcopa yzticac yntla ninomiquilliz monamacaz yn ipatiuh ez yn toⁿtzin yc missa nopa mitoz mochi yn tepantetzintli yuha (sic) yn notecouhaltzin mocentlalliz mochi monamacaz ynic missa nopan mitoz

- Inic ontlamantli niquitohua yn tepozhuictzintli vi toⁿ nicmacac ayamo huecauha ce tlacatl oquitlaco ytoça p^o achane macamo nictolliniz ma ça nahui toⁿmitzin yçiuhca amechmomaquilliz yuha yc missa nopa mitoz luha niquitohua yn tlaltepoztlitli no monamacaz yc ninotocaz yn ipatiuh huel macuiltomi amechmomaquillizque

- yn nonamictzin ytoça ynes nicnomaquillia cempantzin yn huehuequauhtzintli yn quicauhtiaque y notatzin yn nonatzin yhuan nicnomaquillia ynn acalçoltzintli canel atle otictopielliyaya ehuatl quicuiz yn tlecuillapa temi ahu (sic) inic opantli ehuatl quimati yn notiachcatzin yn Rexitör Ju^ohuantzín (sic) quimomamacazque yn ime-

/f. 48v/ Mateo Juárez of San Pedro Çacaapan

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I begin my testament. Know all who see and read this document in which I ordain my testament that I, Mateo Juárez, poor person (orphan?), whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of San Pedro Çacaapan, first place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord because it is his creation, and when I die, let him come to take it; let him forgive me all my sins. And I say that I have no property nor goods; I just begin my testament. No one is to violate it. Here I will put in order what has been my property.

- First I declare that there is a small house that faces toward Xochimilco; when I die, it is to be sold and with the proceeds masses will be said for me, and all the stone of the wall and the stone that I bought is to be gathered together and sold in order that masses be said for me.

- Second I declare that there is a digging stick with a metal blade which I gave six tomines for. (Not long ago) someone named Pedro Achane ruined it. Let me not bother him, let him promptly give you four tomines in order that masses be said for me. And I declare that the hoe (same item as the digging stick?) is also to be sold in order that I be buried; the price to be given you is a full five tomines.

- And I give to my wife named Inés a row of (20?) (inherited trees?) that my father and my mother left me. And I give her the old boat; since we don't have anything, she is to take that. It is in Tlecuilapa. And concerning the other (row of trees?) my elder brother, the regidor Juan, knows about it. The three of them are to

yxtin

- au (sic) i tehuantin yn oc teyxtin tehua titononotza tiquitohua camo huel ticixitinizque yn ixquich yn itech ca yn chinamitl çan mochi ytech ca yn çihuatzintli ynes yn inamic ocatca matheo Juharez çann oca motlapiel-litiez techchixtiyez yuhqui tonatzin mochiuhtiez e yxquich yn tonenontzal y neuhatl Ju^o fazquez xallacatl Ju^a tiacapa Ju^a teycui yn imixpann omochiuh yn testicosme anton atzacualcatl Ju^o acolnahuacatl Ju^o tocuiltecatl domingo tlacatecutli miguel gabriel anthres coc(/ç?)olliloc Ju^o colhuatecutli e yxquich tixpan omochiuh alvaceasti topilleque antonio xallacatl m̄n tlacatecpanecatl

nixpan omochiuh
Miguel garcia

Juan de s p^o
Escrivano

distribute them among themselves.

- “And we, the other three, are in agreement and say that we cannot destroy (fractionalize) all that belongs to the woman Inés, widow of Mateo Juárez, (including) the chinampas. All that belongs to her (is in her charge); she is only to take care of (the property) and attend to us as if she were made our mother. This is all the agreement (made by) me, Juan Vázquez Xallacatl, Juana Tiacapan, and Juana Teicuh.” Done before the witnesses Anton Atzacualcatl, Juan Acolnahuacatl, Juan Tocuiltecatl, Domingo Tlacatecutli, Miguel Gabriel, Andrés Cocoliloc, Juan Colhuatecutli. That is all, done before us the executors-topileque, Antonio Xallacatl and Martín Tlacatecpanecatl.

Done before me, Miguel García. Juan de San Pedro, notary.

f. 49r

Document 24A*Annotation in Spanish, n.d.*

/f. 49r/ R^c de una casilla que se vendio de matheo Juarez cinco pesos digo dos pesos y çinco tomines dijeronse dos misas cantadas

frai Joan
Zimbron

/f. 49r/ I received from a small house of Mateo Juarez's that was sold five pesos, or rather two pesos and five tomines; two high masses were said.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 49v

Document 25*Testament of María, widow, August 25, 1580*

Provision for payment of debts was one of the reasons testators made wills. María has debts from both her first and second marriages. She carefully distinguishes between debts that she contracted mutually with her husbands and those she feels no responsibility to pay.

/f. 49v/ maria hicoçiuatl S^{ta} m^a mag^d cihuatecpan

- In ica ytocatzin yn dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios E^{spu} sancto ça huel çe nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia nicpehualtia yn notestamento ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn amatl yn ipa nictlalliya yn notestamento ca y nehuatl maria nicoçihuatzintli nonamic ocatcan fran^{co} quauhtli nican nochan S^a m^a mag^{na} çihuatecpan achtopan yçemactzinco nocontlalliya y noyollia yn naniman yn tote^o dios ca ytlachihualtzin yn iquac yn ninomiquiliz ma quihualmanilliz yn ixquich yn notlatlacol ma nechmopolhuiliz auh ca niqitohuan ca hatley ma ytla notlatquitzin ma nicnopyellia yn tote^o dios ynic nino-huenchihuaz auh yni ma quimatica yn notlacayohuan yn ixquichtin quitazque yn quicaquizque yn notestamento - ynic niconpehualtia yn notlatol niqitohua yn tocaltzin

/f. 49v/ María, widow, of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I begin my testament. Know all who see this document in which I order my testament that I, María, widow, whose husband was Francisco Quauhtli, and whose home is here in Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan, first place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of our lord God, because it is his creation; when I die, let him come to take it, and let him forgive me all my sins. And I declare that I keep no property for God our lord (I have no goods) with which to make an offering, and let all my (close relatives) who see and hear my testament know this.

- To begin my statement, I declare that our house which

ynn otictoquechilique y nonamictzin catca yn itoca m̄n huitzilcohuatl catca yhuan yn nehuatl notocan nimaria niquitohuan monamacaz y calli ynic ninotequipachohua ca yz catqui yn tiquitlacoticate yn nonamictzin catca m̄n huitzilcohuatl catca tictotlanehuique tomintzin 4 t^s ayamo moxtlahua yntlatqui yn tlaxillacaleque // auh ynic ome nonamic ocatca ytoaca fran^{co} quauhtli tictotlanehuique 1 p^os yc tiquizque yn teilpilloya yquac yn tilpiticatca tomextin tlaxillacalleque yntlatquitzin yc açi yn 1 p^os ypan v t^s // auh i t^s m^o ytlaquitzin (sic) aug^{tin} xiuhtzin no moxtlahuaz // auh yz catqui yhua niquitohua yn amo nicmatin yn quitlacotia yn nonamic ocatca ytoaca fran^{co} quauhtli i p^os ypan nahui tomin yn amo quixtlaughtia auh yn axca niquitohua ma quihualcaquitin y nochahuaconetzin yn itoca casbar ma quimoxtlahuilli yn i ps ypan 4 t^s ma quinmopallehuilli yn itatzin yn inatzin canel oc yehuantin yn quimotlacuitiaque auh yn iquac oquicaquitito yni tlatolli niman quihualito ca ye qualli ma niquimixtlahuilliz y notatzin y nonatzin yntla nechmochic(a)hui/f. 50r/lliz yn tote^o dios ca yhui y nicatqui ca ninococohuan yhui yn quito yn caspar ynic omopaccanonotzque yn ichahuanatzin auh yn iquac yn oquicac yn tlatolli çenca yc moyolali yn ichahuanantzin // auh yn axca y nehuatl niquitohua y nicocoxcatzintli y notoca nimaria yn oniquito yn monamacaz yn tocaltzin yn tonehua tictoquechilique yn yacachto nonamictzin catca yn ipatuih yez tomintzi yc motlahuaz (sic) yn tlapac yn onicteneuh yn tonetlacuil i p^os ypan v t^s auh yn ipan icac yn calli yn tlalmantzintli ça chiquaçematl yn otlicapan auh yn çematl oqu iyoma quimomaquillituih yna aug^{tin} teyxpantzin y nonamictzin catca auh yn quezquitzin mocahuaz yn ipatuih yez yn caltzintli yn tomintzin ma yc misa nopan mitoz ca ye ixquich y niquitohua ynic ninonanahuatituih ma yçihca monamacaz yn caltzintli y macayac quitlacoç y notestamento // yn imixpan omochiuh yn otlacaque nican motocayotia yn tlaxillacalleque yn testigostin m̄n coçales tepixqui bablo Jr^{mo} miguel huantli topille thomas xochihua ytzcuiztonteco antres tepal m̄n axcan calpilcatzintli auh yn çihuatzitzintin yn otlacahque ynic çe ytocan Juana ynamic Ju^o cuehtli barbara ynamic antres tepal lluisa ynamic aug^{tin} teixpantzin Juahua (sic) yna^c antres xochicohuatl

- tixpan omochiuh tialbaciastin miguel g^a m̄n de s.tiago anton Jacobo Ju^o p^o nehuatl onitlacuillo yn tlapac nitocateneuhica nican tictlalia totoca yhuan tofirmas omochiuh testamen (sic) Juebes yc xxv mani augustos mil y qui^{os} y ochenta 1580 Anos

my late husband, named Martín Huitzilcoatl, and I, named María, built is to be sold. Here is what worried me and what my late husband Martín Huitzilcoatl and I have done wrong: we borrowed four tomines in money belonging to the ward heads and they have not been paid back yet. And my late second husband named Francisco Quauhtli and I borrowed a peso belonging to the ward heads so that we could leave jail when we were both imprisoned, with which it comes to one peso and five (sic) tomines. And one tomin and a half belongs to Agustín Xiuhtzin; it will also be paid back. Here is something else I declare: I don't know about something bad that my late husband named Francisco Quauhtli did: he left a peso and four tomines unpaid. And now I say, let someone go and inform my stepchild named Gaspar; let him pay the peso and four tomines. Let him aid his father and his mother, since they were the ones who borrowed it. And when they went and informed him as to what she said, he immediately replied "Very well, let me pay it for my father and my mother if our lord God gives me life, /f. 50r/ for I am sick too." Thus said Gaspar, with which he and his stepmother came to agreement, and when she heard what he had said, his stepmother was very reassured. And now I, the invalid María, declare concerning our house that I said is to be sold, that we both built, my first husband and I, that with the proceeds in money will be paid the debt mentioned above, our loan of one peso, five tomines. And of the level land, only six matl of it, on which the house stands, toward the road, my late husband himself gave one matl to the mother of Agustín Teixpantzin. And with all that remains from the proceeds in money from the house, let them say masses for me. This is all I declare in my testament. Let the house be sold promptly, and let no one violate my testament.

Done before those who heard and are named here: the ward heads and witnesses Martín González, tepixqui; Pablo Gerónimo; Miguel Huantli, topile; Tomás Xochihua Itzcuintzontecon; Andrés Tepal; Martín Axcán Calpilcatzintli(?); and the women who heard, the first named Juana, wife of Juan Cuetli; Bárbara, wife of Andrés Tepal; Luisa, wife of Agustín Teixpantzin; Juana, wife of Andrés Xochicoatl.

- Done before the executors, Miguel García, Martín de Santiago, Antón Jacobo, (and?) Juan (de San) Pedro. I, whose name is mentioned just above, wrote it. Here we place our names and signatures. This testament was done Thursday the 25th of August of the year 1580.

Miguel garcia

nixpa omochiuh
 Juan petro
 s^o nobrado

Miguel García. Done before me, Juan (de San)
 Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 50v

Document 26*Testament of Ana Juana, September 16, 1580*

Ana Juana is most outspoken in her testament. The source of trouble is her good-for-nothing third husband: she wants her son, not her husband, to inherit her property. Her tirades against the husband provide real insight into the dynamics of her marriage, but also specific reasons for disinheritance. Her son Juan Francisco is to receive land which will provide the basis for his tribute duties (*tequitl*), including public work duty (*coatequitl*), a type of rotary labor, as well as a hay tribute (*coaçacatl*) and other duties. In older Nahuatl texts in general, there is ambiguity in the meaning of *tequitl*, which can be either “work” or “tribute,” and the associated verb *tequiti*, which can be either “to work” or “to perform tribute duties, pay tribute.” Here *tequiti* seems to refer quite unambiguously to tribute, and we tend to take that as its meaning throughout the Culhuacan testaments.

/f. 50v/ Ana Joana S^{ta} ana tlacuillocan

- In ica ytocatzin totecuiyo Jesu xp̄o yhuan yn itlaçonatzin yn ilhuicac çihuapilli y S^a m^a ma mochinti quimatica yn ixquichti y quitazque ynin amatl y nehuatl Ana Ju^a nican nochan Sanc Ju^o Euag^{ta} colhuacan notlaxilacaltia Sancta ana tlacuiloca achpan (sic) yçemactzinco nocontlalliya y noyolliya yn naniman yn tte^o dios ca ytlachihualtzin yn iquac y ninomiquiliz ma quihualmaniliz yn ixquich yn notlatlacol ma nechmopopolhuiliz Auh yn talticpac naxca yn onicnopieliliya yn tte^o dios y notlatqui ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn nohuayolque y notestamento macamo ytlacahuiz y notlatol y nictlalliya amatl ipa

- Inic niconpehualtia y notlatol y notepancaltzin yn ohitenco ycac yn ayamo motlapachohua nicmacatiuh y notelpoch yn itoca Ju^o fran^{co} auh yn ipan icac yn xolar ynic patlahuac xv matl yn xochmilcopahuic yhua y mexicopahuic auh yni huiyac ça x matl yn tonatiuh yquičayanpahuic yhuan çentetl calç(ol?)tzintli yn oncan icac xochmilcopa yzticac mochi nicmacatiuh yn notelpoch i yhuan yn onpa temi iii tetl nochinan caltenco çeçenpohualhuiyac ymiltitech m̄in tlacochcalcatzintli yhuan yn onpa ytocayoca quauhtenanco ontetl yn nochinan yn onpa temi çeçenpohualhuiyac acalotenco ymiltitech fran^{co} yaoxomol catca yhuan çentetl quiyahuac onoc x matl yhuan iii tetl mexicatlalli ytocayocac (sic) Ayoc yni mochi nican icuihliuhtoc yn chinamitl ça mochi nicmacatiuh y notelpoch y Ju^o fran^{co} caneye (sic) ipan tequiti macayac quicuiliz yn quemaniya

- Auh yn onpa y apilco temi y nochina chicontetl çeçenpohualhuiyac niqutoa ca ye ixquich cahuitl yn nino-

/f. 50v/ Ana Juana of Santa Ana Tlacuillocan

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, know all who see and read this document that I, Ana Juana, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, in the ward of Santa Ana Tlacuillocan, first place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because it is his creation. When I die, let him come to take it, and let him pardon me all my sins. And let my (close) relatives know what the earthly property is that I keep for our lord God. Let no one violate my statement that I put on paper.

- Thus I begin my declaration: there is an enclosure of mine standing beside the road that is not yet roofed. I give it to my son named Juan Francisco. The houselot on which (the enclosure) stands is 15 matl wide toward Xochimilco and toward Mexico City, and in length (sic) toward the east, it is only 10 matl. And I also give my son an old house that stands there facing toward Xochimilco. And there are three chinampas of mine next to the house, each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Martín Tlacochcalcatzintli. And there in the place called Quauhtenanco there are two chinampas of mine, each one 20 long, at the edge of the canal, next to the field of the late Francisco Yaoxomol. And also there is one (chinampa) of 10 matl that is at the entrance, and three (chinampas which are) “Mexica land” (see Document 80) in the place named Ayoc. And I give all of these chinampas recorded here to my son Juan Francisco because he already (pays tribute on them). Let no one ever take them from him.

- And in Apilco there are seven chinampas of mine, each one 20 (units) long. I declare that as long as I am ill

cocohuan ma nopan polihuiz yn iquac yntla ninomiquiliz ma monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez tomintzin yc nitoco

- Auh yn onpa S.diago tehtla 3 poalli y noteuhtlal ynic çehca ytocayoca yczotitla hohuicanpolco titomilnetecha(na) matheo yllamatzin ynic ocan ytocayocan texalpan titomilnetechana p^o quilelmo ycnötl amantecatl ynic quexcan ytocayoca temamatlac titomilnetechana p^o ytztoatl yhuan /f. 51r/ nican huixachtla çenpoalli yn onca mani y noteuhtlal titomilnetechana miguel coltzin yni mochi nicann icuihliuhtoc y noteuhtlal çan mochi nicmacatiuh y notelpoch Ju^o franc^{co} macayac quicuiliz ca ypan tequitiz ypan quichihuaz yn cohuatequitl yn cohuaçacatl yn ixquich nepapan tequitl

- Auh yz catqui yhuan niqutohuan yn itechpan yn nonamic yn itoca gabriel ytzmalli ca cenca tlahueliloc ma quemaniya quitollini y notelpoch ma yntla ytech quitlami ca hamo nicmatin yn quexquich yn inetlacuil auh ca hamo ma yca (sic) onechmacac yn ma tomines y ma quitohuan timotolliniya yn iuhqu(e/i) yn omomiquillique yeyntzintzin catca yn omenti y nonamicztintzinhuan catca ca nepanötl oticotlatoctiyaya yn tlalticpac tonetlayecoltilliz auh ynin yehuatl yntla xochiqualli oquicuito yntla noço tlaölli oquicuito ca yyoma yn quinamaca camo nechiyntitiya yn quexquich quicohua auh yn tlaölli ca ça nechtamachihuillia y nechmaca auh ypapa niqutohua ynic ninomauhtia y niqutohua macamo yntla ytech quitlamiz y notelpoch ca nicnotlatlauhtillia yn yehuatzin yn Sennor don franc^{co} florez alde ma ypa motlatoltiz ma quihualmanilliz canel teoyotica yconetzin macamo quimoxicahuilliz

- Auh yn oniquito tlapac yn onicmacac y notelpoch yn Ju^o franc^{co} yn xochmilcopa ytzticac calli ca ynemac catca yn nohuazhuatzin (sic) catca yn momiquilli auh ca niqutohua macamo quimoxitinillizque ma ça quipatiyo-(tiz?n?) y notelpoch yn Ju^o franc^{co} çan tomitzin quimanaz yaz teopa yc palehuilloz yn xpantzinco yn tte^o dios

- Auh iz catqui ynn oniquixtlauh yn huel conmati y noyollo yn inetlacuil yn nonamic i p^os ytomintzin yn don franc^{co} florez alde 4 t^s ytomintzin yn icuictzin yn itoca Jua^ana xoco 4 t^s ytomin ychan sanc matheo auh i p^os ça nechitlanilli yn nonamic quito xochiqualli yc nicanaz çaniuh quicuixti amo quicouh yn xochiqualli auh yn ye mochi oniquixtlauh nahui p^os ye yxquich yn oniquicuillo yn onictlalli yn ipa amatl y notestamento yn imixpa omochiuh yn tlaxillacalleque testigosme p^o tepanecatl m̄m tlapochcalcatl xochicuetzin di^o de tabiyan

they are to be used for me, and when I die, let them be sold, and with the proceeds in money I will be buried.

- And in Santiago Tetla there are 60 (units of measure) of dry land of mine; the first part is in the place named Iççotitlan Ohuicanpolco, next to the field of Mateo Ila-matzin, and the second part is in the place named Texalpan, next to the field of Pedro Guillermo, a poor person (orphan?) from Amantlan. And the third is in the place named Temamatlac, next to the field of Pedro Itztoatl, and /f. 51r/ here in Huixachtlan there are 20 (units of measure) of dry land of mine, next to the field of Miguel Coltzin. I give all of this dry land which is recorded here to my son Juan Francisco. Let no one take it from him, because on the basis of it he will do the tribute duties, on it he will perform the public work duty, and (give) the hay tribute and all the various tributes.

- And here is what I say concerning my husband named Gabriel Itzmalli, who is a great scoundrel. Let him never bother my son, nor let him accuse (my son) of anything. I don't know how many debts he has. He never gave me anything whatever, not money nor telling me "poor you," as did the three who died, two of whom were my husbands, because together we carried out the duties of life on earth. But look, this one, if he went to fetch fruit or if he went to fetch maize, he would sell it himself without showing me how much he had bought. But as to the maize he gave to me, he just measured it out. For this reason I say that I am afraid (that he will do something bad); I declare that he should not attribute anything to my son; I beseech lord don Francisco Flores, alcalde, to speak for (my son) and come to take him, because (my son) is his godchild. Let him not abandon him.

- And the house which faces toward Xochimilco that I mentioned above that I gave to my son Juan Francisco was the inheritance of my late sister-in-law who died. And I say that it is not to be torn down. Let my son Juan Francisco pay something for it; he is to offer a little money to the church for the aid (of my sister-in-law) before God our lord.

- And here are the debts of my husband that I have paid, as I very well know: one peso which belongs to don Francisco Flores, alcalde, and four tomines that belong to his younger sister named Juana Xoco, and four tomines that belong to someone whose home is San Mateo. And my husband asked me for a peso and said "I am going to get fruit with it," and he just collected it and didn't buy the fruit. In all I paid four pesos. This is all my testament which I have written (sic) and put on paper. Done before the ward heads as witnesses: Pedro

teopatlatl domingo çane p^o xochinanacaz yhuan ym-ixpan çihuatintinti Ju^a m^a yna^{cat} p^o tepanecatl mag^{na} yna^c p^o tecpanecatl Ju^a tiyacapa yna^c di^o de tabian ana tiacapa yna^c tlacochcalcatl mag^{na} domingo yna^c ana xoco yna^{cat} Ju^o hatonemac

- Imixpa omochiuh alvaçiaſti m̄in de sanctiaco anton Jacobo alguaçilesme auh y nehuatl Ju^o de S p^o oniquicuillo yn testamento yhuan yxpan di^o de tabian omochiuh yc xvi mani metztli setienbre mille y quiniets y ochenta a^{nos}

Tecpanecatl; Martín Tlacoçcalcatl Xochicuetzin; Diego de Tapia, church attendant; Domingo Çannen; Pedro Xochinanacaz; and before the women: Juana María, widow of Pedro Tepanecatl; Magdalena, wife of Pedro Tecpanecatl; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Diego de Tapia; Ana Tiacapan, wife of (Martín) Tlacoçcalcatl; Magdalena, wife of Domingo (Çannen); Ana Xoco, widow of Juan Atonemac.

- Done before the executors Martín de Santiago and Anton Jacobo, alguaciles. And I, Juan de San Pedro, wrote the testament. (Done) also before Diego de Tapia (sic). Done the 16th of the month of September of the year 1580.

f. 52r

Document 27

Posthumous Statement for Miguel Ecoc and Wife, November 13, 1580

People who died without making testaments were a concern of town government. Here, town officials investigate why the deceased husband and wife did not make testaments. Indications are that notaries made house calls on the dying.

/f. 52r/1580 a^{os}

- Axcan domingo yc xiii mani metztli y novienbre mil y qui^{os} y ochenta a^{nos} yn tehuantin martin d s.diago anton Jacobo albacias topileque otinotzalloque yn ipanpa yn omiquillique yn atle quichiuhuaque testamento yn itoca catca miguel Ecoc yhua yn inamic catca yn opan ynchan S.ta m^a mag^{na} çihuatecpa yn quicauhtiaque oc çe ynconehuh auh yn axca ca o no momiquilli auh y no yehuatl yn itocan anton tepatohua yhuan yn JuJhep (sic) d s. marcos otiquintlatlanique yn ipan (sic) amo quichiuhuaque yntestamento quitohuan ca yn iquac yn ye momiquiliz yn tohuepoltzin catca niquilhui ma hualauh yn tlacuillo ynic micuiloz y maxca y motlatqui auh nima quito ca hamo huelitiz ca oncatqui oc çe tlacatl yn amomach yn piltzintli çihuatintli ca ytech pouhqui y naxca y notlatqui yhua yn chinanpan onoc yn tonacayotl auh y yehuatl yn itoca diego yaotl yntemihcamo quitohua ca iz catqui yei p^{os} ypan v t^s nicmana yc nocohuan yn chinapan onoc yn tonacayotl misa ycqu ipa mitoz y nomotatzin yhuan ynomotatzin yc quinmopalehuiliz yn p̄or auh yn iquac yn yn oquicaque yn yn tlacpac tocate-neuhticate testicoti çenca yc opanpaque yc omoyolalique auh yn axcan ca oquimoneltilli y p̄or llunes yhuan martes yn ipa mito misa onitlacuillo EScri^o nican nictlallia nofirma ynic neltitica

Jua petro
s^o nobrado

/f. 52r/1580

- Today, Sunday, the 13th of the month of November of the year 1580, we, Martín de Santiago and Antón Jacobo, executors-topileque, were called because one whose name was Miguel Ecoc and his late wife died without making testaments. Their home was Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa. They left a child, but now it too has died. And we also interrogated persons named Antón Tepatoa and Josef de San Marcos as to why they didn't make their testaments. And they said, "When our late sister-in-law was about to die I said to her 'let the notary come to write down all your property.' And then she said 'It is not possible, because there is another person, your niece, the little girl, to whom my property belongs, as well as the crops planted on the chinampas.'" And one named Diego Yaotl, son-in-law of the deceased (or their son-in-law through a deceased daughter?), said, "Here are three pesos and five tomines that I offer in order to buy the crop on the chinampas, in order that masses be said for my father-in-law and mother-in-law, so that the prior may aid them." And when the witnesses whose names are mentioned above heard it, it made them very happy and satisfied. And now on Monday and Tuesday the prior fulfilled it, and masses were said for (the deceased). I the notary wrote it. I place here my signature to verify it.

Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 53r

Document 28*Testament of Pablo Quechol, October 13, 1580*

The possession of a hoard of cacao beans, some items preserved in large pots as if for sale, and other interesting movable property hints that Pablo Quechol and his recently deceased parents may have been *pochteca* or indigenous-style traders. Pablo's two thousand cacao beans were to get married with, but he shows no evidence of having tied the knot. Since he is young and unattached, nearly all of Pablo's estate goes for masses for him and his parents. He does give a bit to the sick, and there are some insignificant bequests to a Francisca Tlacoehua and a small child, being perhaps a woman Pablo has lived with and the latter's child of uncertain paternity.

/f. 53r/Pablo Quechol Tezacoahuac

In ica ytocatzin yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yuha (sic) ss^{to} yuha yn itlaçonantzin yn ilhuicac çiuha-pilli ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn in anatl (sic) yn ipa nictlallia yn notestamento y neuhatl y nipablo quechol nican nochan In S Ju^ohuan (sic) Evagellista colhuaca oncan nipohui yn Sta maria magthdalena tezacoahuac maçonellihui y ninococohua çan pactica yn noyollo yn naniman amo nitlapolohua (y?)e noconpehualtia yn notestamento

- Inic centlamantli niqitohua yn caltzintli yn onechmo-maquillitiaque yn notatzin yn nonatzin monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez missa yc topan mitoz yntla oc cequi mocauhaz heuhatl yn tequitl yc patiz yuhan yn tepacalli yn tlayahuallotoc ca no monamacaz mochi yc missa topan mitoz yuhan yn tenacaztli vi tetl yuhan yn tepantetl momatlalliz mochi monamacaz ynic missa ypa mitoz y notatzin yuhan y nonatzin auh yn cuetzintli yacuic mantica ca ypatiuh 4 p^os ypa vi to^s monamacaz yuhan centetl breçada yacuic momacac iii p^s ypatiuh onteyxti notech pouhqui yn icuac omonamacac missa yc nopa mitoz auh yn centlayxtli heçotl yn cuetzintli ca nicmaca yn fran^{ca} tlacoheuha yuhan ce metlatl nicmacatiuh ce notech pouhqui monamacaz yc missa nopan mitoz yuhan niqitohua yn cacahuatl ca yc ninonamictizquia macuiltzontli yn quicauhtiaque yn notatzin yn nonatzin auh yntla oninomi-quilli cequi oca monequiz auh tla oc cequi mocahuaz monamacaz mochi yc missa nopan mitoz yhan quauhtectli xx^{tli} o 4 nahui no monamacaz çan mochi yc missa nopan mitoz yn tecomatl çan macuiltetl ma quimomamacaca y nahuihua yuha ontetl tamalcomitl monamacaz yntla cana nopapa netlacuilloz yc moxtlahuaz yuha chinamitl ontetl no monamacaz ytech pouhqui yn cocoxcztintzinti momamacazque yn ipatiuh yntech tlamiz yn ipatiuh auh chinamitl temi petlacotitla çan chincontetl no monamacaz y ipatiuh moxeloz yntla cana nopapa netla-

/f. 53r/Pablo Quechol of Tezacoac

- In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of (the Son's) precious mother, the heavenly lady, know all who see and read this document in which I order my testament that I am Pablo Quechol, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, and I belong (to the ward of) Santa María Magdalena Tezacoac. Even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are healthy and I have not lost my judgment; I thus begin my testament.

- First I declare that I have a house that my father and my mother gave me. It is to be sold and with the proceeds masses will be said for us. If something is left over, the tribute is to be paid with it. And the enclosure which surrounds (the house) is to be sold, and masses will be said for us with (the proceeds). And the six worked corner stones and the stone for walls are to be (gathered together) and all are to be sold in order that masses be said for my father and mother. And there is a new skirt which cost four pesos, six tomines; it is to be sold. And (there is) a new blanket, for which was given (paid) the price of three pesos; both things belong to me and when they are sold, masses are to be said for me with (the proceeds). And I am giving a simple skirt of three lengths to Francisca Tlacoehua. I also give her a metate, and one which belongs to me is to be sold in order that masses be said for me. And I declare there is cacao with which I was going to get married, two thousand beans that my mother and father left me. And when I die, one part will be used there (for the burial), and if some part still remains, all of it is to be sold in order that masses be said for me. And the 24 (piles) of firewood are also to be sold, all for masses to be said for me with it. And there are just five tecomates which are to be distributed among my aunts, and two large pots for tamales are to be sold, and if something should be borrowed from anyone on my behalf, it will be paid back from this. There are two chinampas. They are also to be sold, (and the money) will belong to the sick; it will be distributed to them, the proceeds will be devoted to them. And the seven chinampas in Petlacontitlan are also to be sold; the

cuilloz yc tlatlapatz auh yuhan chinantzintli temi acatzintitlan vii tetl yntla oninomiquilli yntla quexquich neltlacuiloz no yc tlat(la?)xtlahualloz yuhan niqutohua yn s lorenço tetlapanaloyan mani ce(n)pohualli oncastolli monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez onca yc missa nopa mitoz yn acallopa ynn ocan motlapiellia yn totlaçonatzi s ta m^a yhua niqutohua s diagu mani milli oca quiztimani nicmacatiuh yn fran^{ca} tlaçoehua opohualli tlapac nima he tlatzintla mani opohualli (y?) niqinmaca yn nomatzintzinhuac yn monemitia cuitlahuac cecenpohualli quicuzque yuha yeytica yetzintli cequi monamacaz cequi yntech pohuiz yntla huallazque yn cuitlahuac tlaça yuhan chiquihuitl molcaxitl contica mamani monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez momamacazque yn cocoxcatzintzinti acolçolli atlan onoc yyacal yn piltontli (nicquixti) tlahuacpa ma moxexello ma tlatla acalhuapalli o(...)tetl no monamacaz nopa popollihuiz xaquetaçolli no monamacaz yntech pohuiz yn cocoxcatzintzinti yhua centetl metlatl nicomaquilliya yn isabeltzin yuha niqutohua ycpatzintli cetica yuhan m^o ytech monequiz yn piltontli yuhan tepozhuictli v tl /f. 53v/ ome yacuic monamacaz oyçolliuh heyn monamacaz notech monequi(z) ye yxquich yn notlatol yn oniquito yntla ytla oniquilcauh yn amo micuillo ytla motaz yn icuac mocentlallituih yn monamacaz ynic missa topan mitoz yn notatzin yn nonatzin yuhan yn nehuatl nipablo ye yxquich yn notlatol yn no..nanahuatil ynic nitlanahuatituh yn talticpa

- Inn otlaçaque yn testicosmen yz cate ynic cen don Ju^o garçia franc^{co} atecpanecatl teoyotica tepisque domingo lançaro miguel Ravael çaçapech p^o calnahuacatl antonnio mimich franc^{co} Resitor mayor çihuatecpanecatl çihua ynic cen Ju^a yna^c catca ceron m^a yna^c Ju^o g^a ana yna^c catca mig^h xanchez (sic) tlatateccuilitl ysabel ynamic atecpanecatl ana yna^c fran^{co} Resitor mayor ye yzquinti ynn otlaçaque yn imixpan otlanahuati y pablo yn ipa testamento yn imixpa alvaceas topilleque anton xallacatl m̄n tlatatecpanecatl ypa meztli octubre yc matlaquilhuitia omey mille y quinientos y ochnda (sic) años onitlacuillo yn nehuatl miguel garcia

proceeds are to be divided to pay back anything that should have been borrowed from various people on my behalf. And also the seven chinampas in Acatzintitlan (are to be sold) when I die; whatever should have been borrowed will be paid back with (the proceeds). And I say that in San Lorenzo Tetlapanaloyan there are 35 (units of measure of land) that are to be sold; with the proceeds masses will be said for me. (They are) next to the canal where the (image of) our dear mother, Saint Mary, stands guard. And I declare that in Santiago (Tetla) there are some fields which are divided in two parts. The 40 (units of measure) above I gave to Francisca Tlaçoehua. And then there are 40 below, which I give to my nephews (and nieces?) who live in Cuitlahuac. Each one is to take 20. And concerning the three reales worth of beans, one part is to be sold, and the other part is to belong to those in Cuitlahuac, if they come here. And the baskets (chiquihuites) and mortars (molcajetes) that are in large pots are to be sold. And the proceeds are to be distributed to the sick. And concerning the old boat that is next to the water, which belongs to the small child and which I took out (of the water?) onto dry land, let it be divided (into planks) and burned (sold for firewood); two boat planks are also to be sold and (the money) spent on me. And an old jacket is also to be sold, and (the money) will belong to the sick. And I give a metate to Isabel. And I declare that there is a real and a half's worth of yarn; it will be used for the child. And there are five /f. 53v/ metal-tipped digging sticks; the two new ones are to be sold, and the three worn ones are (also) to be sold, and the (money) will be spent on me. What I have declared is all my statement. If I forgot something and it was not written down, and if it is seen when all (my goods) are gathered together, it will be sold and with it masses will be said for us, for my father and my mother and me, Pablo. This is all my declaration, all that I order on earth.

- Here are the witnesses who heard it, first don Juan García and Francisco Atecpanecatl, church tepixque (i.e., plural, referring to both); Domingo Lázaro; Miguel Rafael Çaçapech; Pedro Calnahuacatl; Antonio Mimich; Francisco Regidor Mayor (sic) Cihuatecpanecatl. And the women: the first is Juana, widow of Cerón; María, wife of Juan García; Ana, widow of Miguel Sánchez Tlatatecuhtli; Isabel, wife of Atecpanecatl; and Ana, wife of Francisco Regidor Mayor. These are all who heard it, before whom Pablo gave orders in his testament. Before the executors-topileque, Antón Xallacatl and Martín Tlatatecpanecatl, on the 13th day of October of the year 1580. I, Miguel García, wrote it.

f. 53v

Document 28A*Annotation in Nahuatl, December 11, 1580*

/f. 53v/ - axcan sabb^o yc xi mani metztli deçienbre mil y qui^{os} y ochenta años omonamac (sic) yn tlacpac tocat-eneuhtic yn ixquich ycuiliuhtica ynic çentlamantli omonamac (sic) cueytl ypatiuh ii p^os breçada ii p^os quauhtectli ypatiuh yhua y mochi quauhtotonti yhua ye yxquich yntlatquitzin ocatca yn omimiquilique yn ye mochi omoçentlalli chiquaçen p^os yhuan vi t^s yn misa yqu inpa mitoz yeixtin ynic çe ytoca p^o atzil ynic ome ytocan mağna ynamic yn p^o atzil yniqey yntelpoch ytoca ytocan (sic) pablo quechol auh nican moneltiliya yn totlaçotatzin quimotlaliliya yfirmatzin yhua nican tic-tlaliya tofirman yn tehauanti talbaçiastin

/f. 53v/ - Today, Saturday, the 11th of the month of December of the year 1580, everything written down (belonging to) the above named was sold. First a skirt was sold for the price of two pesos, and a blanket for two pesos, and the price of the wood and all the kindling and all the (movable) property that belonged to those who died, all of it came to six pesos and six tomines, with which masses will be said for all three of them, the first named Pedro Atzil, the second named Magdalena, wife of Pedro Atzil, and the third, their son, named Pablo Quechol. And it is verified here: our dear father set down his signature, and we the executors also place our signatures here.

f. 53v

Document 28B*Annotations in Spanish, December 11, 1580; n.d.; n.d.*

/f. 53v/ - En 11 de dizi^e de 1580 a^os R^{bi} de los diputados seis p^os menos dos (reales?) para dezir de misas por p^o atzil y magdalena su muger y p(or) su hijo los quales todos murieron y por todos se les dijeron la(s) misas conpraron los diputados para estas misas un peso de (cera?)

fr Joan nuñez

esto se hizo de lo que estos diff^{tos} dexaron de lo que tenían en casa sino es de veynte bracas de tierra que tienen en s^t (...) que se an de vender y dezille de misas en la hermita de n^raseñor(a)

dieron peso y m^o por dos chinantles (sic) de pablo otocihual(l y?) quinze pesos por la casa del mesmo pablo todo lo qual s(e) dijo de misas por el y por sus difuntos compro todo lo (dicho?) fran^{co} uazquez y diosele la posesion dello

frai Juan zinbron

/f. 53v/ - The 11th of December of the year 1580 I received from the deputies six pesos minus two (reales) to be used for saying masses for Pedro Atzil and Magdalena, his wife, and for his son, who all died, and for them the masses were said. The deputies bought for these masses one peso's worth of (wax?).

Fray Juan Núñez

- This was done from what these deceased left, from what they had at home; it is not from the 20 brazas of land they have in San (...) that is to be sold to be used for saying masses in the wayside chapel (ermita) of Our Lady.

- They gave one peso and a half for the chinampas of Pablo Otoncihuahatl (and) 15 for the house of the same Pablo, all of which went for saying masses for him and for his deceased (relatives); Francisco Vázquez bought all the aforesaid and was given possession of it.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 54r

Document 29*Testament of Ana Tiacapan (b), November 20, 1580*

An unusual verbal exchange between a testator and heir is recorded here. Ana tries to give a boat to her daughter. But the daughter declines it and gives it instead to her father, saying that he is the one who takes it to gather dried grass for tribute (see Doc. 26), and she wants him to keep on using it. Note the presence of Mateo Juárez Tecpanecatl, official in charge of masons (*tetzotzoncatopile*), who clearly is a stoneworker himself.

f. 54r Ana Tiacapan S^{ta} ana tepanecapan
- Itestamento ana ti^a yna^c pablo ychan s^t ana tepanecapa

/f. 54r/ Ana Tiacapan of Santa Tepanecapan
- The will of Ana Tiacapan, wife of Pablo, whose home is Santa Ana Tepanecapan.

- In ica yn itocatzin Dios tetatzin Dios tepiltzin Dios Ešpu s^o ça huel çe nelli Dios nicnoneltoquitiya nicpehualtia y notestamento ma quimatica yn isquichtin yn quitazque yn amatl ypan nictlalliya notestamento ca y nehuatl ana tiyacapa nican nochan s Ju^o Euag^{ta} colhuacan notlaxillacaltia S^t ana tepanecapa achtopa yçenmacztinco nocontlallia y noyollia y naniman yn tte^o dios ca itlachihualtzin yn iquac y ninomiquliz ma quihualmanilliz yn ixquich y notlatlacol ma nechmopolhuiliz ynic onicnoyollitlacalhui ca hatle nicnopielilia yn tte^o d. (sic) yn huentzintli nicchihuaz yeica yn iuh niqutoa nictlallia y notestamento

- Inic nicpehualtia y notlatol niqutoa niquinomaquilli nahui tomin y notomintzin yn tetzotzonque yc onechmotequililizquia tepantzintli yehuatl yn matheo xvarez tecpanecatl tetzotzoncatopille yhuan yheuatl (sic) Ju^o toneuhtzin ychan tzaqualco auh yni niqutohua ma çan hualauh y notomintzin onca monequiz yntla ninomiquliz auh yn caltzintli yn quimocahuiltiuh yn totatzin catca yn onechmomaquilli y nicuhctzin yn anatzin xocotzin yn inamic p^o totzin ontetl çentetl xochmilcopa yzticac auh çentetl caltepitzin calitic hicac niqutoiuh ma moxitiñi onteyxti nica hualaz yn tetzintli quimocaltillizque yn tte^o hixiptlatzin ynmase yehuatl quimatin y nonamic yn pablo yhua y nochpoch yn itoca m^a xoco quichihuazque quineltilizque auh yniquetetl caltepitzin ca onicxitini ca onicnozco yn quauhtzintli yhuan yn temazcaltzintli ca ticoncahuiya y nicuhctzin yn tlapac tocateneuhtica y notech pouhqui yn tetzintli yn ixquich nonemac monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez tomintzin misa yc nopa mitoz auh yn oca nihuetztoc yn caltzintli yn itech çaliuhtica xacalli ca nicmacatiuh y nochpoch yn tlapac tocateuhtica (sic) nicmacatiuh yn xahcalli haço cana monamictiz onpa quimocaltiz yn quauhtzintli auh yn acalli nicmacatiuh y nochpoch auh yn yehuatl yn teichpoch nima quito ca hamo huelitiz y nicanaz yn acaltzintli huel noyollocacopa nicnomaquilliya y notatzin ca cohuaçacatzitli yc conmotequilliya ca quimohuiquilitinemiz ye ixquich yn omicuiilo yni tlatolli yn ipan omotlalli amatl yn testamento auh yn oquicac tlatolli yn oquinnotzque ca yquac yn çepa oçotlahuac cocoxcatzintli nica motocayotiya yn testigostin ynic çe matheo xuarz tecpanecatl miguel popolloloc fran^{co} tlamaceuh // auh yn çihua yna^c catca don p^o muysy ytoca juanatzin ynic ome m^a tlahco yna^c fran^{co} tlamaceuhqui ana xocotzin yna^c p^o tochtli ynin omicuiillo yquac yn domingo nepantla tonatiuh yc xx^{tl} mani metztlí y novienbre de mil y quinientos y ochenta años

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I begin my testament; know all who see this document in which I order my testament that I, Ana Tiacapan, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, of the ward of Santa Ana Tepanecapan, first place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord because it is his creation; when I die let him come to take it, and let him forgive me all my sins with which I have offended him. I keep nothing for our lord God (I have no goods) with which to make an offering; the reason I say this is that I am ordering my testament.

- To begin my declaration I declare that I gave four tomines of my money to the masons who were going to build me a wall (some walls); they were Mateo Juárez Tecpanecatl, topile of masons, and Juan Toneuhtzin, whose home is Tzaqualco. But I say, let my money be brought back, and it will be spent when I die. And as to the two houses (rooms) that my late father left, that my younger sister Ana Xoco, wife of Pedro Tochtzin, gave me, one facing toward Xochimilco and the other, a little house that is inside (the complex), I declare that both should be torn down and the stone be brought here, and with it a house (chapel?) will be built for the image of our Lord; my husband Pablo and my daughter María Xoco know about this, they will do it and carry it out. And I tore down a third little house (room) and warmed myself with the wood; and as to the sweathouse that I and my younger sister mentioned above share, the stone belongs to me and it is all my inheritance; it will be sold, and with the proceeds in money masses will be said for me. And as to the house where I lie sick, which is attached to a hut (jacal), I give it to my daughter whose name is mentioned above, and I give her the hut; if she marries somewhere, she should build herself a house there with the wood. And I give the boat to my daughter. But then the daughter said, "It cannot be that I should take the boat; with all my heart I give it to my father, because he gathers the hay (zacate) tribute with it. He is to go about taking it." This is all my declaration that is written and set down on paper, the testament. And those who heard the declaration, who were called when the invalid fainted once, the witnesses, are named here: the first, Mateo Juárez Tecpanecatl, Miguel Popolloloc, Francisco Tlamaceuh(qui); and the women: the widow of don Pedro Moysén, named Juana; the second, María Tlaco, wife of Francisco Tlamaceuhqui; Ana Xocotzin, wife of Pedro Tochtli. This was written Sunday at noon, the 20th of the month of November of the year 1580.

- Tehuantin oticaquito tlahtolli talbaçiaſti nica tictlalliya totoca yhuan /f. 54v/ tofirmas ynic neltitica yn itlahtol yn inenanahuatl yn cocoxcatzintli omochiuh axca domingo

Martin de di^o (sic) Anto Jacobo Juan d s p^o
topille topille Escri^o

- We the executors who went to hear the declaration place here our names and /f. 54r/ signatures to verify the declaration and orders of the invalid. Done today, Sunday.

Martín de Santiago, topile. Antón Jacobo, topile. Juan de San Pedro, notary.

f. 55r

Document 30

Testament of Antonio de San Francisco Tlemachica, July 23, 1580

The Culhuacan testaments contain a number of testament clusters, with close kin dying within a short period. One such cluster consists of Antonio, his niece María Tiacapan (Document 49), another niece's husband, Pablo Huitznahuatl (Document 47), and the latter's daughter, Angelina Mocol (Document 50), and her husband, Juan Velázquez (Document 57). Some property can be traced through a number of testaments. For example, the house which Antonio gives his niece María is to be bequeathed by her in turn.

/f. 55r/Ant^o de s fran^{co} tilloca

- Itestamento antoni^o de s. fran^{co} tlemachica

- In ica ytocatzin tte^o Jesu xpo yhuan yn itlaçonatzin yn ilhuicac çihua(pilli) yn S^t m^a mochipa ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica yn ixquichtin yn (quit?)tazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl y nehuatl notoca antonio de s.fran^(co) tlemachica nican nocha S Ju^o Euag^{ta} colhuacan onca nipohui yn ipan tlixilacalli S fran^{co} tlaacatecpa maçonellihui yn mococohua y nonacayo Eçe y noyollia y naniman ca hamo quen catqui ca ça huel pactica Auh ca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitiya yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios \O(Espu, ¯) S^o çace yn iyelliztzin Eſçençia yhuan ca mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitiya Sancta yglesia de roma Auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca yn itlatlauhtilloca yn tte^o dios nichihua (sic) yhua nictecpana y notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohua y noyollia yn naniman ca nicnomaquilliya yn tte^o dios Eyca ca oquimochihuilli yhuan ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica yn itlaçoezçotzin y nican talticpac Auh y nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlalli Eeica ca ytech oquiz auh onpa tocotih y toteopancha Sant Jua Euagelista

- ca yz catqui ynic ninotequipachohua ynic nictlaliya y notestamento amatl ipa niqutohuan yn onca nihuetztoç yn onca ninococohua y nocaltzin yn tonatiuh ycallaquiyanpa yzticac nicmacatiuh y nomachtzin yn itoca barbara tlahco yn inamic pablo d s gabriel hayac quicuiliz auh ynic ontetl nocaltzin yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac niquimacatiuh yn m^a tiyacapan yn inamic barthasal tallez yhuan nicmacatiuh yn tepancalli çao huel quimotlapachilhuizque macayac quinchalaniliz yn quemaniya ca huel noyollocacopa y niquinmacatiuh

- yhuan niqutohua y nican quiyahuac tetemi y notenacaz

f. 55r Antonio de San Francisco Tilocan

- The testament of Antonio de San Francisco Tlemachica

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and his dear mother, the heavenly lady, Holy Mary, eternally virgin, know all who see and read this document that I am named Antonio de San Francisco Tlemachica, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of San Francisco Tlacatecpa, and even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and order my testament.

- First I say that I give my spirit and soul to our lord God because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from there it came; it is to be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

- Here is what concerns me so that I order my testament on paper: I say that I give my house where I lie sick, which faces west, to my niece named Bárbara Tlaco, wife of Pablo de San Gabriel (Huitznahuatl); no one is to take it from her. And there is another house of mine which faces east. I give it to María Tiacapan, wife of Baltasar Téllez. And I give her the enclosure; perhaps they can roof it. Let no one ever dispute with them over it, since I give it to them of my own free will.

- And I say that here at the entrance (of the house) there

chichuetetl yn huehuey tetl flatlayecxintli monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yc nitocoz yn (i)quac yn iquac (sic) yntla o-ninomiquilli auh yn ome y nometlatzin ca monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez nopan popoliuiz notech monequiz auh yn çentetl casa tepito niquinmacatiuh yn noxhuihua onca quitlatlahlizque (sic) yntzotzomatzin auh y nica micatilticac crucifixus huel naxca notlatqui auh niqutohua amo canpa yaz çan ocan icaz y nochantzico

- yhuan niqutohua y nochina yn opa temi quauhtenanco chiquaçentetl nicmacatiuh y nomach m^a tiacapa yn inamic bal^{ar} tellez auh y noxhuiuh yn itoca magna çano chiquaçentetl nicmacatiuh auh yniquexca nicxelohtiuuh ma-cuilitetl nicmacatiuh yn oc çe tlacatl noxhuiuh yn itoca maria yni nochina çan onca çenca yn quauhtenauhco (sic) yn oniquixexelhui macayac quincuiliz

/f. 55v/ - auh yn opa tlachco (sic) y nomil yn onpa catqui ix pohualli ypan matlacmatl titomilnet(e)chana yn yehuatzin tlacatl tlahtohuani don Ju^o Ramirez hotepotzco cuitlahuacpahuic nauha nicxellohua yn chichuhauhpo-huali iii pohualli ypan matlacmatl niquinmacatiuh y noxhuihua yn itoca mathallegna yhua yn itoca monica concahuizque auh y yehuatl fran^{co} maxihuitl ii pohualli nicmacatiuh auh yn ihueltiuuh yn itoca ana tlachco ii pohualli nicmacatiuh auh yn yehuatl maria tiyacapan yn inamic bal^{ar} tellez y nomach ii pohualli nicnicmacatiuh (sic) macayac quincuiliz macayac quinchalaniliz

- Auh y noteuhtlal tapalcatlalli matlacpohualli auh occa nicxelotiuuh v poalli monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez tomines notech pohuiz misa nopan ic mitoz ma yciuhca neltiz auh yn oc no macuilpohualli niquinmacatiuh y noxhuihua hexca nicxelotiuuh ii pohualli nicmacatiuh yn fran^{co} maxihuitl i pohualli nicmacatiuh yn ihueltiuuh yn itoca ana tlachco i pohualli nicmacatiuh y nomach yn inamic bal^{ar} tellez auh ynic macuilpohualli ça ye iyaxca y nomach maria yna^c bal^{ar} tellez yc opohualli y nicmacatiuh

- Auh yn opa S lurenço y noteuhtlal 3 pohuallhuiyac auh ynic patlahuac i pohualli occa nicxelotiuuh çenpohualli ypan matlacmatl nicmacatiuh y noxhuiuh yn itoca maçna i pohualli ypan matlacmatl nicmacatiuh yn monica ynin çan concahuiz yn oniquito 3 pohualli macayac quincuiliz yn quemaniya

- Auh yn opa quaxochco chalcocalca y noteuhtlal yn opa mani chiquaçenpohualli (ynic patlahuac) ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac çenpohualli auh noçeyollo(ca)copa niquitotiuuh nicmacatiuh yn altepetl ytech nictlalitiuh aço honca quimotlalilizque coloz yn altepehuaque yn colhuaque aço yntla onca quimotlalilizque yehuanti quimomachitia

are eight corner stones. The stones are large and smoothly worked. They are to be sold, and with the proceeds I will be buried when I have died. And there are two metates of mine. They are to be sold and the proceeds spent on me; it is to be used for me. And there is a small chest that I give to my grandchildren; they can put their clothing there. And the crucifix which stands here is entirely my property. I say that it is not to be taken anywhere but just stay at my home.

- And I say there are six chinampas of mine in Quauhtenanco. I give them to my niece María Tiacapan, wife of Baltasar Téllez. And to my grandchild named Magdalena, I also give six (chinampas). In the third place, I am distributing five (chinampas); I give them to another grandchild of mine named María. These chinampas of mine are together with those in Quauhtenanco. Let no one take from them what I distributed to them.

/f. 55v/ - And in (Tlallachco) there is a field of mine which is 190 matl (in length), bordering the field of the lord tlatoni don Juan Ramírez. It is behind the road and facing Cuitlahuac. I am distributing in four parts the 190 (matl). I give 70 matl to my grandchildren named Magdalena and Mónica; they are to share it. And to Francisco Maxihuitl I give 40, and to his older sister named Ana Tlaco I give 40. And to María Tiacapan, wife of Baltasar Téllez, my niece, I give 40. Let no one take it from them, let no one dispute it with them.

- There is dry land of mine in Tapalco of 200 (units of measure); I divide it in two parts; 100 are to be sold, and the proceeds in money are to belong to me; masses are to be said for me with it. Let it be carried out promptly. And the other 100 I give to my grandchildren. I divide them in three parts: I give 40 to Francisco Maxihuitl; I give 20 to his older sister named Ana Tlaco; I give 20 to my niece, wife of Baltasar Téllez. And (the rest to come to) 100 already belongs to my niece María, wife of Baltasar Téllez, with which I am giving 40 to her.

- In San Lorenzo there is dry land of mine, 60 (units of measure) in length and 20 in width; I am dividing (the land) in two parts; I give 30 matl to my grandchild named Magdalena, and I give 30 to Mónica; they are to share these 60 (matl) that I have mentioned. Let no one ever take it away from them.

- And in (Santa Bárbara) Quaxochco Chalcocalcan there is dry land of mine 120 (units) long and in width 20. With all my heart I say that I give and assign it to the city, and perhaps the city elders, those in charge of Culhuacan, will raise a cross there or build something else there. They know what they will do. The length of

tel (oc?) motepotzocatiuh yn ixquich ynic huiyac auh niquitotihu haço ca(n?)a ytlatzinn onca nitlaolliloz (sic) yntech monequiz y nopilhuan y noxhuihuan auh yhua niquitohua yn yehuatl Ju^O pazquez regidor ychan s^t ana tzapotla ca onicnamaquilltin y nochina macuilletl çençe-pohualhuiyac ii p^Os ypa nahui tomin onechmacac titomilnetechana yn Ju^O pab^{ta} huecamecatl catca ca o notech monec yn tomintzin ca ye onicçemaxcati y nochinan ye ixquich y niquitotihu macayac quitlacoç quichalaniz yn quemaniya nican motocayotiya yn testigostin ynic çe ytocan pablo d s gabriel huitznahuatl tecuhctli fran^{CO} huitlaloçatzintli Ju^O vazquez regidor Ju^O de arameta quauhtli miguel zero tequanqualoc yhuan quimomachitia yn yehuatzin señor don fran^{CO} florez allde // auh yn ci-huatzintzin barbara tlahco yna^C pablo d s gabriel m^a yna^C bal^{ar} tellez antonia /f. 56r/ ynamic Ju^O de arameta franc^{ca} yna^{cat} miguel colhuacaçol ana tlahco yna^C lazaro ymixpa omochiuh albaçiastin gabriel ma^ldo mⁱⁿ de s di^O anton Jacobo auh y nehuatl EScrivano yn onic-tlali testamento nican nicneltilliya nictlallia notoca nofirmas omochiuh yc xxiii mani metztli de Julios mil y qui^{OS} y ochenta Años

Juan de s p^O
Escri^O

the land is still being investigated. And I say that perhaps I will be given a grant of some part of it which will be used for my children and grandchildren. And I say that I sold five of my chinampas, each one 20 (units) in length, to Juan Vázquez, regidor, whose home is Santa Ana Tzapotla. And he gave me two pesos, four tomines. The land borders the field of the late Juan Bautista Huecamecatl. The money was used for me and I have already made my chinampas his property. This is all I say; let no one ever violate or dispute it. Here are named the witnesses: the first is named Pablo de San Gabriel Huitznahuatl tecuhtli; Francisco Huitlaloçatzin; Juan Vázquez, regidor; Juan de Alameda Quauhtli; Miguel Cerón Tequanqualoc (Document 19); and also the lord don Francisco Flores, alcalde, knows about it. And the women: Bárbara Tlaco, wife of Pablo de San Gabriel (Huitznahuatl); María (Tiacapan), wife of Baltasar Téllez, Antonia, /f. 56r/ wife of Juan de Alameda; Francisca, widow of Miguel Colhuacaçol; Ana Tlaco, wife of Lázaro. Done before the executors Gabriel Maldonado, Martín de San Diego, and Antón Jacobo. And I, the notary, wrote the testament. Here I verify it and set down my name and signature. Done the 23rd of the month of July of the year 1580.

Juan de San Pedro, notary.

f. 56v

Document 31

Testament of Miguel García, December 20, 1580

Miguel García functioned as a notary in his lifetime, as seen in the testament issued by him in this very collection. At his death, he leaves behind evidence of his profession: inkpots, a writing desk, and—almost unique among the testators—books. Miguel's will is filled with unfinished business transactions, likely connected with his notarial duties. Miguel owns “church land” (*teopanmilli*), a civil category of land of unclear status (see Document 71). Filled with suggestive detail, this testament is one of the richest in the entire collection.

/f. 56v/ Miguel garçia trasfiguracion tlateco ytestamento miguel garçia

- In ica ytocatzin yn tte^O Je xp̄o yhuan yn itlaçonatzin yn ilhuicac cihuapilli S^t m^a mochipa ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica yn ixquixtin (sic) yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yn in amatl yn nehuatl nimiguel garçia nica nochan S Ju^O Euag^{ta} colhuaca notlaxilalcaltia trasfiraçio tlatechco maçonelyhuiuh (sic) yn mococohua yn nonacayo heze yn noyollia yn naniman amo quen catqui ça huel pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitiya yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yhuan dios Ešpu sancto çan çe yn iyelitzin heseçia yhuan ca mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitiya Sancta

/f. 56v/ Miguel García of Transfiguración Tlatecco - The testament of Miguel García

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother the heavenly lady, Holy Mary, eternally virgin, know all who see and read this document that I am Miguel García, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, of the ward of Transfiguración Tlatecco; even though my body is ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed and sound. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, which are of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God

yglesia de roma auh ca ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca yn itlatlauhtiloca yn tte^o dios nicchihua yhuan nictepana y notestamento y notzonquizcatlanequiliz macayac quitlaco

- Inic çentlamantli niqitohua yn noyolliya yn naniman ca nicnomaquilia yn tte^o dios heica ca oquimochihuilli yn huan (sic) ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica yn itlaçoezçotzin y nica tlalticpac Auh yn nonacayo ca nicmaca yn tlalli heica ca ytech oquiz yn iquac oquiz yn naniman yn nonacayo onpa tocotiuh yn toteopanchan S Ju^o Euagelista

- Auh yz catqui ynic niclaltiuh y notestamento ynic ayac quitlaco y notlatol yntla ninomiquiliz ax (sic) nicxexelotih y nocal y notlal niqitohua yn huehuecalli yn techmomaquilitia y not(e/a)tzin catca yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac niquinmacatiuh y noxhuiuh yhua y nocnotzin yn tictonapalhuique y noxhuiuh yn quicuz ye nipa mexicopahuic auh yn Ju^o yn icnotlacatzintli xochmilcopahuic yn quicuz çan cocahuizque macayac inca mocacayahua yz yn quemaniya

- Auh yn oca nihuetzotc y nocaltzin xochmilcopa yzticac niquinmacatiuh y nomachua yn gabriel netlamatin yhua yn inamic onca yezque auh yn otetl yancuic caltotonti monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez t^s netlacuilli yc moxtlahuaz anoço ça yehuantl quicohuazque y nomach yn gabriel yn aquí quitlani ytlatqui

- Auh yn tlacuilotecomatl iii tetl çentetl ypatiuh i p^os çentetl ypatiuh iii t^s çentetl ypatiuh 4 t^s monamacaz yhuan xii tetl yn amo tlacuiloli noteco mochi monamacaz yn xv tetl auh yn ipatiuh yez tomintzin tonetlacuil yc moxtlahuaz yhuan ontetl notlaltepoc monamacaz yhuan çentetl cassa tzaccayo ytech catqui zerozo monamacaz ypatiuh mochihuaz i p^os çan oc quipiezque y nomachhua yn ipatiuh yntla cana quitlaniquihui netlacuilli yc mox...

- Auh yn vi p^os ytomines hernado xuares ychan s^t ana mochi oniquixtlauh teçemixpan omochiuh auh yn yehuatzin yn inamictzin catca don p^o muyse macpalchiactzin tictotlacuique ytomintzin i p^os omoxtlahuatzi(no) auh yz catqui ytomín miguel yaochoca 4 t^s quixtlahuaz p^o matlalatl 4 t^s nehuatl notech catqui moxtlahuaz hauh (sic) yn yehuatl yn inantzin catca pablo ychan ytzcotla i p^os yn quimotlacuitiuh yt^s grecolio auh yehuatl quixtlahuaz yn pablo yn quinemitia miguel x̄z algayte

/f. 57r/ - Auh y nohuapal viii yhuan çentetl nohuapal-

our lord I make and order my testament and final will; no one is to violate it.

- First I declare that I give my spirit and soul to God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from there it came; when my soul has left it, my body will be buried at our church of San Juan Evangelista.

- Here is how I order my testament so that no one will violate my declaration when I die. Now I distribute my houses and lands. I declare that I give the patrimonial house that faces east, that my late father gave us, to my grandchild and to my orphan that we adopted; my grandchild is to take (the part of the house) toward Mexico City and Juan, the orphan, is to take (the part) toward Xochimilco. The two of them are just to share it; let no one ever trick them.

- And the house where I lie faces toward Xochimilco. I give it to my nephews Gabriel Nentlamati and his wife. They will be (live) there. And the two new small houses (rooms) will be sold and with the proceeds in money debts will be paid. Or perhaps those who are demanding my nephew Gabriel's property (the creditors) will just buy them.

- And the three painted tecomates—one valued at one peso, one valued at three tomines, and one worth four tomines—will be sold together with the twelve unpainted tecomates of mine. All 15 will be sold, and with the proceeds in money our debts will be paid. And my two hoes will be sold, and a closable chest with a lock will be sold; one peso will be asked as its price. And my nephews will keep (the money which represents) the price (of all of it); if someone comes from somewhere asking (the payment of) debts, with it (the debts) will be paid.

- And as to the six pesos in money that belong to Hernando Juárez, whose home is Santa Ana, I paid it all back; it was done in full public view. And we borrowed a peso from the former (late?) wife of don Pedro Moysén Macpalchiactzin, and it was paid back. And I have here four tomines of Miguel Yaochoca's money; he is to pay four tomines to Pedro Matlalatl, and I am in charge of this, it will be paid. And the late mother of Pablo, whose home is Itzcotla, borrowed a peso from Gregorio, and Pablo, whom Miguel Jiménez, alcaide, maintains (in his house), is to pay it.

/f. 57r/ - And the seven planks of mine and my granary

cuezco yhuan Escruiania notlilteco yc onitlacuilohuaya mochi monamacaz misa topan ic mitoz yn ipatiuh tomintzin

- Auh yn yehuatl yn mag^{na} yn ina^{cat} thomas hatecpa- necatl catca vi p^os ytomines quimohuenti yn onca tras- figuraçio yteopanchantzinco quauhtzintli yc mocohuaz auh onicpiaya onicotlacui moxtlahuaz auh ii p^os ypa 4 t^s huel ipaltzinco tictotlacuique yn itomintzin yllamatzin yn tlapac tocateneuhlica yhua moxtlahuaz auh yn no- cavallo mochipa motetlaneuhitiaz yehuatl quixtlahuaz ytech nicahua y nomach gabriel omoxtlauh yn vii ypa 4 t^s tecemixpa

- Auh yn metlatl iiii apaztli v tetl tamalcomitl i tetl monamacaz tonetlacuil yc moxtlahuaz yn ipatiuh auh yn oras i tetl yhua nobreviario i tetl yhua iii tetl nahuatlatolli yhuan i tetl cofessionario monamacaz quimocohuizque teopantlaca yhuan hetzintli x tlamatlaclamaltepiz- tiztin auh yn iquac omoyecti monamacaz mochi misa topan ic mitoz auh y castilan totolme iiii tetl nica mo- quazque yn iquac ytla oninomiquilli

- Auh yz catqui onicpieya coztic teocuitlatl tlatzotzontli ymaxca yn cohuateca yhuan çihuatecpaneca tlateca mexicapa pipiltin onicnomaquillito yn totlaçotatzin p^{or} fray Ju^o nunez yntecopa yn a^ol ximenez yhua Ju^o d s miguel yehuanti quimononochilique quimolhuilique auh ça tequitl nechmitlanilili

- Auh i natentlal chinantzintli y nican quiyahuac x tetl yhuan yn onpa temi hayacac vii tetl ynin ohcanixti nicmacatiuh y nomach gabriel netlamati yhuan yn opa temi s p^o çacahapa vii çan oc no ytech ca yn gabriel toteopantlal ychinantitlan fran^{co} conçales catca

- Auh in tlamacazcatlalpa çano toteopanmil çenpohual- huiyac ça necoc yxquich yhua yn onca toçititla nomil çenpohualyahualtic auh yn opa S.diago iii pohualhuiyac y nomil yn onpa mani (to?)natiuhco titomilnetechana p^o techachal catca yhuan çenpohualli yczotitla mani titomilnetechana martin yaotepitzin ynin mochi chiqua- çenpohualixti ça mochi nicmacatiuh y nomach gabriel nentlamatin ayac quenmaniya quincuiliz quimixtoquiliz

-Auh yn çe yscobo yhuan coyolomitl ii yhuan i xontera yhuan çentetl xera quauhteconi yhuan çentetl hacha quauhtlapanalloni yhuan çentetl tehuilotl tazça iii t^s ypatiuh yhuan çe yxiplatzin temaquixtiani cruçifixus yhuan iii tetl taplamasa yhuan ome hezpetlatl yhuan iiii

of planks and my writing desk and my inkpot with which I wrote, all of it is to be sold in order for masses to be said for us with the proceeds in money.

- And Magdalena, who was the wife of the late Tomás Atecpanecat, made as an offering six pesos in money to buy wood for the church of the (ward of) Trans- figuración. I kept it and borrowed it; it is to be paid back. And we borrowed two pesos and four tomines from the above mentioned old woman. It will also be paid back. And my horse is always to be kept hired out to someone, and that will pay (the price of the horse?). I entrust this to my nephew Gabriel. Eight pesos and four tomines have been paid publicly (toward buying the horse).

And four metates and five tubs and a large pot for tamales are to be sold, and with the proceeds our debts will be paid. And a book of hours, a breviary of mine, three (breviaries?) in Nahuatl, and a confessional manual are to be sold. The church attendants are to buy them. And also three rosaries, after they are cleaned, will be sold, and with all of it masses will be said for us. And the four hens will be eaten here when I have died.

- And there is here some hammered gold that I was keeping, property of the people of Coatlan, Cihuatecpan and Tlatecco, and the nobles of Mexicapan, and I went to give it to our dear father the prior, fray Juan Núñez, by the order of Alonso Jiménez and Juan de San Miguel; they called him and told him, and he (the prior) simply asked me for it.

- And as to my land at the edge of the water, the 10 chinampas here at the entrance, and the seven (chinampas) that are in Ayacac, I give (the chinampas) in both of these places to my nephew Gabriel Nentlamati. And the seven (chinampas) that are in San Pedro Çacaapan also correspond to (are charged to) Gabriel; they are our church land, next to the chinampas of the late Francisco González.

- And in the land of Tlamacazco, there is also a church field of ours, 20 (units of measure) long and the same on all sides. And in Tocitlan there is a field of mine, 20 (units) round. And in Santiago Tetla there is a field of mine 60 long, in (To?)natiuhco, next to the field of the late Pedro Techachal. And there are 20 in Iczotitlan, next to the field of Martín Yaotepitzin, and all these 120 I give to my nephew Gabriel Nentlamati. No one is ever to take them from them or claim them from them.

- And as to a chisel and two awls and a plane and a saw for cutting wood and an axe to split wood and a glass cup worth three tomines and an image of the savior on the cross and three retablo images and two elaborately painted reed mats (petates) and four wooden pipes for

haquauhitl mochi monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yc mox-
 tlauaz tonetlacuil ye ixquich y nictlalia notestamento
 ma yçihca tipalehuilozque yn ixquich onicteneuh ynic
 tlatlaxtlahualoz ma yçihca monamaca nopa motla-
 toltizque yn tlaxilacaleque yhuan y nomach gabriel nen-
 tla/f. 57v/mati ymixpan omochiuh testigosti martin de
 s.taçion mateo tlilancalqui fran^{CO} hatecpanecatl tepixqui
 Ju^O calnahuatl otlicahuetztoc diego hernandez gabriel
 x̄z ycnofl anton mimich grecolio muyse auh yn çihua
 ynic çe ytocan maḡna ti^a yna^{cat} atecpanecatl ana yna^{cat}
 p^O ycnoxochitl ana yna^{cat} lucas leonarto Juana yna^{cat}
 m̄in chahuatzin catca yxpan omochiuh m̄in de s.diago
 albaçiatopille nehuatl onitlacuiloto EScri^O nica nictlallia
 notoca yhuan nofirmas omochiuh axca martes yc xx tia
 metztli deçienbre mil y qui^{OS} y ochenta 1580 anos

nixpan omochiuh
 Ju^O de san p^O
 E^Os (sic) nobrado

water, all of it will be sold and with the proceeds our
 debts will be paid. This is all I order in my testament.
 Let us be aided promptly, let everything I have men-
 tioned with which the various (debts) are to be paid back
 be sold quickly. The ward heads will speak for me,
 along with my nephew /f. 57v/ Gabriel Nentlamati.
 Done before the witnesses Martín (de Santaçion?);
 Mateo Tlilancalqui; Francisco Atecpanecatl, tepixqui;
 Juan Calnahuatl Otlicahuetztoc; Diego Hernández;
 Gabriel Jiménez (poor person, orphan?); Antón Mimich,
 Gregorio Moysén. And the women: the first is named
 Magdalena Tiacapan, widow of Atecpanecatl; Ana,
 widow of Pedro Icnoxochitl; Ana, widow of Lucas
 Leonardo; Juana, widow of the late Martín Chahuatzin.
 Done before Martín de Santiago, executor topile. I the
 notary wrote it; here I place my name and signature.
 Done today, Tuesday, the 20th day of the month of
 December of the year 1580.

Done before me, Juan de San Pedro, appointed notary.

f. 58r

Document 32

Annotations in Spanish, January 3, 10, 17, 1581

/f. 58r/ 1581
 En 3 de hen^O de 1581 a^Os R^{bi} de los diputados min di^O y
 miguel Joseph albaceas y Ju^O p^O Escriuano tres p^Os para
 que se digan de misas por maria tiyacapan y fran^{CO}
 xvarez diff^{tos} era her^{na} de luis el sastre son de S Andres
 y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre que es fecho ut supra
 fr Joan nuñez

- En 10 de hen^O de 1581 a^Os R^{bi} de los diputados dichos
 diez t^s y mas diez almudes de maiz y ocho almudes de
 frijoles para que se hiziese bien por el anima de Ju^O
 quenel del barrio de S.tiago y por verdad lo firme de mi
 nonbre fecha ut supra

fr Joan nuñez

- En 17 de hen^O de 1581 R^{bi} de los diputados tres p^Os
 para dezir de misas por marcos yocatl y marina mocel
 marido y muger diff^{tos}

- Este dia R^{bi} otro tanto para hazer lo mismo por matheo
 yaoquizqui y marta su muger anbos diff^{tos}

/f. 58r/ 1581
 The 3rd of January, 1581, I received from the deputies
 Martín Diego and Miguel Josef, executors, and Juan (de
 San) Pedro, notary, three pesos to be used for saying
 masses for María Tiacapan and Francisco Juárez,
 deceased (she was the sister of Luis, the tailor; they are
 from San Andrés); and as truth I signed it with my name.
 The date is given above.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 10th of January, 1581, I received from the said
 deputies 10 tomines and also 10 almudes of maize and
 eight almudes of beans, in order to do good for the soul
 of Juan Quennel of the ward of Santiago. And as truth I
 signed it with my name; dated above.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 17th of January, 1581, I received from the deputies
 three pesos to be used for saying masses for Marcos
 Yocatl and Marina Mocel, husband and wife, deceased.

- Today I received the same amount to do the same for
 Mateo Yaoquizqui and his wife Marta, both deceased.

f. 59r

Document 33*Testament of Juana Tiacapan (b), February 2, 1581*

Although Juana owns very little land, she bequeaths the largest number of magueys of any testator (the plants go for masses). Testators often used wills to reward their heirs' good behavior. Juana's son-in-law Gaspar receives a small house for helping her.

/f. 59r/Ju^a Tiacapan Reyes cohuatlah

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn quení nehuatl Ju^a tiacapan Nican nochan sanct Ju^o Euangelista colhuacan oncan nipohuih yn ipan tlaxillacali eitlatocan Cohuatlan Maçonelihui yn ninococohua heçe yn noyollia naniman pacticah amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel melahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Ešpu s̄to Çan ce yn iyelitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de Roma Auh ypampa yn axcan yn ica yn inotzalocatzin yn itlatlauhtilocatzin tote^o dios nicchihua nictecpana yn notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohua y nehuatl Ju^a tiacapan yn noyollia yn naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca oquimochihuih yhuan oquimomaquixtili yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^c auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehicah ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Ihua niqutohua yn calli ynn onca nihuetztoc tonatiuh yquičayanpa ytzticac monamacaz totech pouhquiez yn nonamic catca fran^{co} yc pallehuiloz yn taniman missa yc topan mitoz Çan quičenhuicaz yn calli yn ixquich ycc açitica tonemac yhuan yn vii tetl chinantotonti yn itlahuicallo calli no monamacaz çanno totech pohuiz yn nona^c fran^{co} yc missa topan mitoz

- No yhuan nomeuh ontecpantli oncaxtolli monamacaz notech monequiz yn yntla (sic) oninomiquilli missa yc nopan mitoz yhuan çintli aocmo miyec çan çentlacoman-tica yn catqui yhuan Etl çenquahuacalli ye monamicca-yotl yhuan yn axcan ypan xihuitl omochiuh Etl onte-comatl monamacaz mochi yc pallehuiloz yn nanima

- Auh ynn oc çentetl caltontli yn yancuic caltontli yn canno (sic) tonatiuh yquicayanpa (sic) ytzticac ytech nicpohua yn nomontzin gasbar achane quicuz ypanpa ca çenca mochipa oneçpallehui oneçmocuitalhui auh yntla ninomiquilliz ymac nonehuaz ypanpa nicmaca calli

- yhuan nocpauh xxxvii mallacatl yhuan çen tanayahualli ycheatl yhuan iii metlatl yhuan xacalmatlaquahuitl xii yhuan tepozhuictontli yhuan tamalcomitl ontetl mochi monamacaz mochi missa yc nopan mitoz yn quexquich ypatih yez ye ixquich yn itlatol yn cocoxcatzintli ynic

/f. 59r/Juana Tiacapan of (Tres) Reyes Coatlan

- Know all who see and read this document that I am Juana Tiacapan, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Tres Reyes Coatlan; even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed, and I very truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order my testament.

- First I say that I, Juana Tiacapan, place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that the house where I lie, which faces east, will be sold (and the money) will belong to us, my late husband Francisco and me, in order to aid our souls with masses said for us. And everything up to where our inheritance ends will go with the house, and the seven small chinampas that accompany the house will also be sold, and (the proceeds) will also belong to us, my husband Francisco and me, in order to say masses for us.

- Also 55 magueys of mine will be sold (and the proceeds) will be spent on me when I have died; masses will be said for me with it. And concerning the ears of corn, there are not many left, just half (a quauhacalli) and a quauhacalli of last year's beans, and two tecomates of beans that were harvested this year. All of it will be sold in order to aid my soul.

- And the other house of mine, the new little house that also faces east, I assign to my son-in-law Gaspar Achane. He is to take it because he has always helped me greatly and took good care of me, and when I die it is through him that I will (get along, have sufficient for burial?); for this reason I give him the house.

- And as to 36 spindles with yarn and a round basket with a handle, (full) of cotton, and three metates, and 12 beams (for building) huts (jacales), and a small metal tipped digging stick, and two large pots for tamales, all of it will be sold, and with whatever the proceeds are,

oquitlalli ytestamento yn ixpan omochiuh testicos Ju^o pab^{ta} tlatol gaspar achane mel^{or} tellez çihuatemoc marcos cohuatecatl antres mizquitl çihua ju^a ana çihuatepixqui Ju^a tiacapan Ju^a teicuh marta tlacoh luçia teicuh

- Iz catqui çatepan oquito yn cocoxcatzintli not^s 2 p^{os} mopia yn iquac tla nimiquiz yc nitocoç auh niman otitlatemoque y tehuantin aluaçiasme yn onez t^s yn teixpan omopouh ix p^{os} auh otitlanahuatique yn quexquich cahuitl huetztoç cocoxcatzintli aço çequi ytech monequiz ynic amo çan nenpolihuiz ynic çequi yc pallehuiloç yaniman Axcan lunes omicuillo yn testamento yc 2tl de hebrero de 1581

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia Niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento Ju^a tiacapan yhuan nehuatl niquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

Migl Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

masses will be said for me. This is all the declaration of the invalid with which she ordered her testament before the witnesses Juan Bautista Tlatol; Gaspar Achane; Melchor Téllez Cihuatemoc; Marcos Coatecatl; and Andrés Mizquitl. The women: Juana Ana, cihuatepixqui; Juana Tiacapan; Juana Teicuh; Marta Tlaco; Lucía Teicuh.

- Here is what the invalid said afterwards: "There are two pesos of mine in money; when I die I will be buried with them." Immediately we the executors searched for it, and when the money was found it was counted publicly; (it came to) nine pesos. And we ordered that for however long the invalid should live, perhaps some part will be used for her so that it will not be wasted, and with one part her soul will be helped. Today, Monday, the testament was written, the 2nd day of February of 1581.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Juana Tiacapan ordered her testament well and truly, and I wrote it; here I place my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 59v

Document 33A

Annotations in Spanish, Feb. 22, 1581, March 1, 1581, Dec. 7, 1583

/f. 59v/

1581 a^{os}

- En 22 hebr^o se dixerón dos misas cantadas la vna por Ju^a tiacapan de nextitlan y la otra por su marido fran^{co} yten dieron quatro p^{os} para cera y limosna y cantores y por verdad lo firme

fr Joan nuñez

- digo yo fr Ju^o nuñez p^{or} de este conv^t de culhuacan que R^{bi} de los albaceas quatro costales de maçorcas y vna hanega de frijoles y vnos malacatillos de hilado siete o ocho que mandaron traer de limosna estos dos diff^{tos} de arriba a este su monaster(io) y por verdad lo firme de mi nombre que es fecha En prim^o de marco de 1581 a^{os}

fr Joan nuñez

- R^{bi} dos pesos y m^o de que se dijo vna misa ca(n)tada solemne de san ambrosio por Joana teacap(a) diff^a por vn pedaçillo de tierra que conpro ga(s)par de san pablo fecha a 7 de diziembre de 1583

frai Joan
zimbron

/f. 59v/

The year 1581

- On February 22 two high masses were said, one for Juana Tiacapan of Nextitlan and the other for her husband Francisco. Item, they gave four pesos for the wax and alms and singers, and as truth I signed it.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- I, fray Juan Núñez, prior of this monastery of Culhuacan, say that I received from the executors four sacks of ears of maize and a fanega of beans and some little spindles of yarn, seven or eight, that these two deceased above ordered brought as an offering to this, their monastery, and as truth I signed it with my name; it is dated the 1st of March of the year 1581.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- I received two pesos and a half with which was said a solemn high mass of Saint Ambrose for Juana Tiacapan, deceased, for a small piece of land that Gaspar de San Pablo bought. Dated the 7th of December 1583.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 60r

Document 34*Testament of Vicente Xochiamatl, November 27, 1579*

During this period of epidemics, testators often made provisional bequests to their heirs, not sure of their survival. Vicente leaves part of a house to his son “if he lives; if he dies it is to be sold and torn down.” Vicente is apparently a stonemason, calling upon a mason to speak for him about an unpaid debt for work in the church of San Francisco Tequiquipan.

/f. 60r/S Ju^o bap^{ta} ollopa Viçente xochiamatl
Testamento

- Ynic çentlamantli niqutohua yn nehuatl notoca viçente xochiama nican nochan sanct Ju^o pab^{ta} ollopan nicpehualtia yn nican ca yn caltzintli yn tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yzticac nicmacatiuh yn nopiltzin ytoca Ju^o ytech pohuiz yntla oc monemitiz Auh yn nomeuh çentcapanntli yn ye huehuey niqinxelhuitiuh yn nopilhuan yhuan cequi monamacaz yc neçiz tlacallaquilli Auh yn calnepanolli monamacaz yn çenpantli yc missa ypan mitoz yn notatzin auh yn ipann icac yn oc çenpantli yn tlani ycac çann oquiuh yez yntla oc nemiz yn piltontli yn Ju^o pab^{ta} ytech pohuiz Auh yntla momiquiz monamacaz tlatitech yaz auh yn ichinayo yn mochi onicpieya çan mochi ytech yez yn nopiltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} v tetl amoxcuitlac temi ymiltitlan antonio moçemitohua Auh yn quaxochco temi ontetl çeçenpohualli ynic huiyac çanno ymiltitlan yn antoniotzin mochi ytech nicpohua yn nopiltzin Ju^o auh ynn acalotenco temi 4 tetl ymiltitlan antonio ayotetzin quihuicatica talmantli nicmacatiuh yn nopiltzin yn itoca Ju^o pab^{ta} auh yn tlalmilli yn onpa mani huixachtlan çenpohualli ymiltitlan antonio cuitlachcohuacatl mochi ytech ca yn nopiltzin yahuallihçan (sic) mani çenpohualli ymiltitlan p^o acxoquauh catca ytech pohui yn nopiltzin Çanno onpa yn yahuallihcan onpohualli ymiltitlan marcos de leon tlacatecatl Auh yn s^ttiag (sic) mani onpohualli ymiltitlan cuitlachcohuacatl catca Çan mochi quicui yn nopiltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} ynn oncan cacah metzitzinti macamo yca mocacayahuaaz ynn oncan tlachihua ma nopan motlatoltizque yn tlaxillacalleque auh yn tetlapanaloyan manih no ompohualli ymiltitlan miguel De ribas quipatioti p^o ordiz ma ytlatzin quitlaocolizque yn piltzintli ytech niccauhtituh fabian ximenez tetzotzqui (sic) auh ypan onitlatequipano yn teopa sanct fran^{co} tequiquipan ayamo tle nechtlaxtlahuia ma nopan motlatoltiz yn fabiantzin ca tomextin yn otitlatequipanohuaya Auh yn nocal yn tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yzticac chililicoh mani monamacaz ca otitononotzque yn augustin te

/f. 60r/Vicente Xochiamatl of San Juan Bautista Ollopa
Testament

- First I declare that I, Vicente Xochiamatl, whose home is here in San Juan Bautista Ollopan, begin (my testament). I give the house which is here facing west to my child named Juan. It will belong to him if he lives. And I am distributing among my children 20 magueys that are already big. Part of them are to be sold in order to pay the tribute. And concerning the house of two stories, the floor (above) is to be sold and with it masses will be said for my father. And the other floor over which it stands, which is below, is to continue as it is, and it will belong to the boy Juan Bautista, if he lives. If he dies it is to be sold and torn down. And its chinampas, all that I had, all of them will be for my child Juan Bautista. There are five in Amoxcuitlac next to the field of Antonio Mocemitoa, and in Quaxochco there are two chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, also next to Antonio's field. I assign all of it to my child Juan. And at the edge of the canal there are four (chinampas), next to the field of Antonio Ayotetzin, that go with some level land. I give them to my child named Juan Bautista. And there is cultivated land in Huixachtlan, 20 (units of measure long), next to the field of Antonio Cuitlachcoacatl; all of it will belong to my child. In Yahualihcan there are 20 (units of measure of land) next to the field of the late Pedro Acxoquauh; it belongs to my child. Also in Yahualihcan there are 40 (units of measure of land) next to the field of Marcos de León Tlacatecatl. And in Santiago (Tetla) there are 40 (units of measure of land) next to the field of the late Cuitlachcoacatl. My child Juan Bautista is to take it all. And there are magueys here and there; let those who cultivate there not fool him (about them); let the ward heads speak for me. And in Tetlapanaloyan there are also 40 (units of measure of land) next to the field of Miguel de Ribas; Pedro Ortiz bought them. Let him give a little something to the child. I make Fabián Jiménez, mason, responsible for it. And I worked in the church of San Francisco Tequiquipan and they haven't paid me anything yet. Let Fabián speak for me, because we both worked there. And there is a house of mine that faces

llona ca quimocohuizenqui nechmacaz ix p⁰s ypatiuh yez yc missa topan mitoz yn tomextin nonamictzin moyetz-ticatca Auh yn itlalcohualtzin catca notatzin moyetz-ticatca amaxac temi xii ymil catcah yn Don Ju⁰ de aguilar tzin catca yn ipatiuh 8 p⁰s monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yc missa ypan mitoz yn notatzin yhuan nonantzin Auh yn cohuatlantoncoh x tetl yn itlalcohual çanno ytech pohuiz yn notatzin yhuan nonantzin v p⁰s ypatiuh mochiuh çentetl nicmaca yn teoyotica nopilhuan ytoca gregorio tzitzilcatoc 2 p⁰s yc onitemilti notlaxtlahuil mochiuh ma quicuiquihui yn tlatquihuaque yn çintli onpa temi yn quaxochco 2 tetl çeçempohualli omatlactli ynic huihuiyac In metl onoc chililico yntech pohuiz yn nopan tlatozque yn tlaxillacalleque

(c)a ye ixquich ynn oniquito yn oniquinmacac yn nopilhuan macayac quimellehuiliz ca çan nican quimocuitlahuiz yn nomonnantzin ytoca maria tiacapan yn imixpan omochiuh yn testamento nican motocayotia augustin tecpanecatl thomas te aquino anton cuitlachcohuatl miguel totol p⁰ chicotl gregorio tzitzilcatoc miguel tonal omochiuh yc xxvii de novienbre de 1579 años

de Luna and I agreed and he wants to buy it. He is to west, in Chililico, which is to be sold, because Agustín give me nine pesos, which will be its price. Masses will be said for the two of us, my late wife and me, with it. And concerning the purchased land in Amaxac that belonged to my late father, 12 (chinampas), which were the fields of the late don Juan de Aguilar, and cost eight pesos, it will be sold and with (the proceeds) masses will be said for my father and my mother. And in Coatlan-tonco there are 10 (chinampas), purchased land of (my father) that will also belong to my father and mother; they cost five pesos. One (of the chinampas) I give to my godchild named Gregorio Tzitzilcatoc. I worked a field for someone for two pesos that I was paid; let the owners come to take the maize (which is on the field). In Quaxochco (on the border?) there are two (chinampas), each one 30 (units of measure) long. The magueys that are Chililico will belong to the ward heads, who will speak for me.

This is all. Let no one covet of them what I said I gave to my children, for my mother-in-law named María Tiacapan is to care for them here. Those before whom the testament was done are named here: Agustín Tecpanecatl, Tomás de Aquino, Antón Cuitlachcoatl, Miguel Totol, Pedro Chicotl, Gregorio Tzitzilcatoc, and Miguel Tonal. Done the 27th of November of the year 1579.

f. 60v

Document 34A

Annotation in Spanish, March 18, 1581

/f. 60v/ En 18 de março de 1581 a⁰s se acabo de pagar vna casa que se vendio por ocho p⁰s de este diff^{to} de estotra plana que se dize Viçente la qual mando que se le dixesen de misas y así se le dixeron y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre

fr Joan nuñez

/f. 60v/ The 18th of March of the year 1581 payment was completed on a house that was sold for eight pesos, belonging to this deceased of the other page, called Vicente, which (amount) he ordered to be used for saying masses, and so they were said for him; and as truth I signed it with my name.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 60v

Document 35

Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 60v/ - En este dia truxeron los diputados miguel Joseph y aug^{tin} vazquez y p⁰ de s^t nicolas alguazil dos p⁰s y tres to^s para que se dixesen de misas por min vitzilcoatl diff^{to} y asi se le dixeron

fr Joan nuñez

yo Rⁱ tambien otro p⁰s y medio de lymosna de missas para este diff⁰

/f. 60v/ - On this day the deputies Miguel Josef and Agustín Vázquez, and Pedro de San Nicolás, alguacil, brought two pesos and three tomines to be used for saying masses for the late Martín Huitzilcoatl, and so they were said for him.

Fray Juan Núñez.

I also received another peso and a half of offering for masses for this deceased.

f. 61r

Document 36*Testament of Melchor de Santiago Ecatl, n.d.*

Among other things, testaments were used to repudiate responsibility for debts. Melchor has been a mayordomo of the church, but staunchly maintains that no irregularities occurred during his tenure. Melchor's estate includes a piece of "patrimonial land" (*huehueltalli*) that the tecpan of his ward gave him. Most other owners of patrimonial land merely said they received it from their parents or grandparents. The form *-tlacayohuan* usually means one's relatives and is here so translated, but the context arouses the suspicion that here "fellow humans" is the intention. The mysterious *molcalçoltzitzinti*, left untranslated, should perhaps be understood as *molcaxçoltzitzinti*, "little used sauce bowls" (or conceivably "little used hand mortars").

/f. 61r/ Melchior de s.tiago S^{ta} m^a mag^d atotolco

- In ica ytocatzin Dios tetatzin Dios tepiltzin Dios Espu çan çe huel nel (sic) nelli Dios nicnoneltoquitia nicpehualtia yn notestamento yn nehuatl mel^{or} D S^ttiago hecatl nican nochan S^t Ju^o Euangelista colhuacan notlaxillalcaltian s^t m^a mag^{na} tezacohuac atotolco achtopa yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn naniman yn tote^o Dios ma quihualmaniliz yn iquac yntla nechmomicitiliz ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn notlacayohuan yn quittazque ynn amatl ypan nictlallia notestamento ynicc ayac quitlacoç notlatol atle ma yntla nicnopielilia yn tote^o Dios auh cann (sic) ixquich niquitohua yn nocal yn tonatiah quixnamicticac auh niquitohua moxiniz monamacaz auh yn quexquich ypatiah yez t^s missa yc topan mitoz tonehuan y nonamictizn auh yn ixquich yn quauhçoltzitzinti yn callitic onoc ynhan yn molcalçoltzitzinti aço aca quinonequiltiz (sic) quimocoheiz yn ixquic (sic) yn amo çenca hueyxtica ypatiah yn quexquich yn nonechicoz (sic) mochi totech pohuiz yc missa mitoz

- No yhuan niquitohua yn metlatl iii monamacaz yhuan tepozhuictli çe monamacaz yhuan yn calçolli ça çenpatli tlapachiuhca auh yn çentlapal opachiah ye tonatiah ycallaquianpa yzticac no monamacaz aco (sic) aca quimonequiltiz quimocoheiz yhuan yn teçontli quartillapan yhuan tlaquahuac tetzintli yn mochi caltitlan onoc nonechicoz monamacaz yn quexquich moçentlalliz t^s yntla o mochi omonamacac missa yc topan mitoz yn ipatiah yez yn ixquich onicteneuh

- yhuan niquitohua nohuexouh quiahuac mani ome no monamacaz auh ynnic onitlatzatzacuaya acatzintli yntla aca quipoztequiz quimocoheiz yhuan yn chinamitl y naxca v tetl tlachicontepouhtli ymiltitech yn hrnado (sic) tlacocohua ychan cohuatlan yhuan yn oc çencni temi vii tetl ymiltitlan lazaro tecuetz niquitohua yn iquac tla

/f. 61r/ Melchor de Santiago of Santa María Magdalena Atotolco

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I begin my testament. I am Melchor de Santiago Ecatl, whose home is San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan in the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezacacoac Atotolco. First I place my soul entirely in the hands of God our lord; let him come and take it when he brings about my death. Let all my close relatives who see this document in which I order my testament so that no one violates my words know that I keep nothing at all for God our lord (I have no property). I declare only my house which faces east. I say that it is to be torn down and sold, and with whatever the proceeds are in money masses will be said for us two, my wife and me. And perhaps someone will want to buy all the old wood inside that house and the old (...?). All of it is not worth much; however much is collected will belong to us in order for masses to be said with it.

- And I declare that three metates are to be sold, and one metal-tipped digging stick is to be sold, and the old house facing west, which has just one wing roofed and on one side has fallen in, is also to be sold. Perhaps someone wants to buy it. And a cuartillo's worth of tezontle and the hard rock and all that is lying next to the house is to be gathered together and sold. And all the money will be put together when everything is sold, in order for masses to be said for us with the price of all that I have mentioned.

- And I declare that there are two willows of mine at the entrance. They will also be sold. And as to the reeds with which I enclosed (the property), perhaps someone will take them apart to buy them. And there are five chinampas belonging to me (counted as seven, by sevens?), next to the field of Hernando Tlacocohua,

oquiz atl monamacaz yn iocannixti onicteneuh missa yc topan mitoz yn quexquich ypatiuh yez t^s tonehuan yn nonamictzi catca

- No yhuan niqutohua ynn onpa tetlapanalloyan mani nomil iii pōlī ynic huiyac çenpohualli ynic patlahuac ymlitēch yn baplo xvarez catca auh yn çentlapal ycac lurencō (sic) tlacochtecutli ychan ollopan yhuan ynn onimacoca huehuatlalli tecpan cohuatlan epohualhuiyac auh no epohualcoyahuac yn iocannixti onicteneuh mochi monamacaz ca tel quimati yn p^o De s^t nicollas yehuatl tlapon auh yn quexquich ypatiuh yez t^s mochi yc missa topan mitoz yn tonehuan nonamictzin

- Ihuan niqutohuan yn not^s mopia altepetl ytic 1 p^os yhuan 4 t^s yc acic tiezmo quimomachitia yn tlatohuani Juez yhuan Joseph De castaneta auh niqutohua yn nehuatl canel ye onpa mopia auh totlacallaquil yc patiz çan yehuan quimitlanizque yn mayordomosme aocmo mitlaniz yhuan sachristiame (sic) ynt^s onicipiaya 4 t^s auh niqutohua yc moxtlahuaz nohuehueh quimocohuia sanct bar^{me} tlaca v t^s yc quipatiotizque ye onpa quipia quimati Joseph /f. 61v/ De castaneta auh ma macoz yn Jacobo De s^t marcos yn sachistan (sic) yn 4 t^s ca yntlanechicol y tlatlahuazque tlapolloque teopan

- No yhuan nechmopieltilitia yn Do a^ol De S^ttiago Escr^o omoyetzticatca yn iquac mohuicac yehantzincō vi t^s auh onicotlacui auh canel o notech monec moxtlahuaz cana quiçaz ytech yn monamacaz yn totlatquitzin auh niqutohua yntla onez t^s teopan pohuiz ypampa yn iuh niqutohua ynin yn t^s aoccan yaqui mochiuh yn iquac nimayordomo nicatca çan mocauhtiquiz ayac neçi ynn aquin ytomines acan pouhqui auh ypanpa y niqutohuah ma teopan callaquiz amo nenpolihuiz

- ye ixquich y niqutohua macayac quitlacoç yn notlatol ayc (sic) quenmaniyan ytla quitoz nicanpa notepotzco yn iquac oninomiquil (sic) ca ye ixquich cahuitli yn notech oquimotlallili yn itetlacoliliztzin (sic) yn tote^o Dios yn iJu^as.tzin yn ixquich onicteneuh yn oniquito yn amapan omicuillo mochi neltiz atle ytlacahuiz ypanpa yn iuh

whose home is Coatlan, and there are seven in another place, next to the field of Lázaro Tecuetz. I declare that when the water has left (the chinampas), those in both locations that I have mentioned are to be sold in order for masses to be said for us, my late wife and me, with however much the proceeds are in money.

- In addition I say that there is a field of mine in Tetlapanaloyan which is 60 (units of measure) long and 20 wide, next to the field of the late Pablo Juárez. And on one side is the (field) of Lorenzo Tlacochtecutli, whose home is Ollopan. And there is patrimonial land (of the) Coatlan palace (tecpan) that I was given, 60 (units of measure) long and also 60 wide. All (of the land) that I have mentioned in both locations will be sold. Pedro de San Nicolás knows about this; he measured the land. And with whatever the proceeds in money are, masses will be said for us, my late wife and me.

- And I declare that there is one peso and four tomines of my money that is kept inside the altepetl (at the council building?) in order to complete the tithe (i.e., the altepetl owes me the money). The juez-gobernador and Josef de Castañeda know about it. And I say that since it is kept there, our tribute is to be paid with it. It is to be asked only of the mayordomos; the sacristans are not to be asked. I kept four tomines of their money. And I say that it is to be paid back with my upright drum that the people of San Bartolomé are buying; they are to pay five tomines for it. They already have (the drum) there (in San Bartolomé). Josef /f. 61v/ de Castañeda knows about it. And let the four tomines be given to Jacobo de San Marcos, the sacristan; since they collected it, they are to pay for things (and spend it on things?) at the church.

- In addition, don Alonso de Santiago, who was notary, gave me six tomines to keep when he went to his home (died), and I borrowed them. And since I used them for myself, they are to be paid back; (the money) will be taken from the sale of some part of our property. And I declare that if (some?) money appears, it will belong to the church; the reason I say this is that this money had not yet disappeared when I was mayordomo. It was just there and it was not established whose money it was, nor did it belong to anyone. And for this reason I say it should be delivered to the church and not spent in vain.

- That is all I say. Let no one violate my words; no one is ever to say anything after my time, when I am dead, (for during all this time our lord God has visited his mercy and justice on me. [i.e., I have become ill?]). All of what I have mentioned and said and is written on paper is to be carried out, nothing is to go wrong; the reason

quitoz yn ixpan omochiuh testicos tlaxillacalleque p^o niquitohua ayac yyaxca ytlatqui oticpiellique yn ixquich cahuitl otinenque tlap^c yn nonamictzin ayac tle huel ytzpancalqui Gr^{mo} çayetihui Çyhuan (sic) maria tiacapan yna^c ocatca hernando maria tiacapan yna^c Gr^{mo} çayetihui tixpan miguel Joseph augustin vazquez p^o De s nicollas Di^o Ellias aluaçiasme

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo De mal^{do} Escrivano de la yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquiltalli ytestamento yn yehuatl mel^{or} de s^tiago nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

Miguel Jacobo
De mal^{do} nonb^{do}

why I say this is because we have not had the property of others in all the time we have lived on earth, my wife and I. No one can say anything. Done before the witnesses: the ward heads Pedro Itzpancalqui and Gerónimo Çayetihui, and the women, María Tiacapan, widow of Hernando, and María Tiacapan, wife of Gerónimo Çayetihui. Before us, Miguel Josef, Agustín Vázquez, Pedro de San Nicolás and Diego Elías, executors.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Melchor de Santiago ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. I place here my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 62r

Document 36A

Annotation in Spanish, March, 1581

/f. 62r/ En principio de marco de 1581 a^os R^{bi} de los diputados quatro p^os de limosna para misas por melchior Ecatl y por su muger ana de la madalena tezcacoac

fr Joan nuñez

/f. 62r/ At the beginning of March of the year 1581, I received from the deputies four pesos in offering for masses for Melchor (de Santiago) Ecatl and his wife, Ana, from (Santa María) Magdalena Tezcacoac.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 62v

Document 37

Testament of Ana Xoco, n.d.

Judicial awards were one way of acquiring property; here, a judge has given Ana some of her chinampas. This same judge, Juan Gallego, gave another woman testator some land (Document 43). Some other land that Ana owns is purchased land in Calpoltitlan. The same toponym is associated in the Culhuacan texts with other parcels of purchased land, indicating that certain areas had more land available for sale than others.

/f. 62v/ Ana xoco S^{ta} cruz

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque ynn amatl yn quenin nehuatl Ana xoco Nicanochan s^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan onca nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli s^t cruz tlallachcoh maçonellihui y ninococohua yn noyollia naniman pactica amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia yn Sanctissima Trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios E^{spu} s^{to} çançe yn iyellitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca ynn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlahuhtillocatzin yn Dios nicchihua notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia yn naniman yçemactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli yhuan oquimomaquixtilitzino yca yn itlaço-Ezçotzin yn nican tlapac (sic) auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech(c?h?) oquiz

/f. 62v/ Ana Xoco of Santa Cruz

- Know all who see and read this document that I am Ana Xoco, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Cruz Tlallachco; even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and calm. I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, who are of just one essence. And I believe in all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God I make my testament.

- First I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Yhuan niquitohua ynn atentlalli ontetl onpa temi ynn onpa onicatca yn s^{ta} cruz nechmacac yn Juez Ju^o caleco çeçenpohualhuiyac nicmaca yn noxhuiuh fran^{ca} ytech pohuiz yhuan yn calpoltitlan notlalcohual ontetl çeçenpohualhuiyac nicmacac x t^s ypan ii t^s nicmaca yn noxhuiuh mag^{na} ytech pohuiz quicuiz Auh yn motlauh-xauhcan onpa temi viii ..? ymiltitech Ju^o quentli catca niquinmacatiuh yn noxhuiuhan yn teoyotica nopilhuan nanauhtetl quicuizque ynmomextin yn mag^{na} yhuan yn Çeçilia niquinmaxcatitiuh Auh yn ecatitlan yn tzaqualcatlalli xv tetl nicmaca macuiltetl yn p^o tepitz yhuan yn barnabe iii tetl nicmaca yhuan yn nicol(as) iii tetl nicmaca auh ontetl nicmaca yn m̄in maçehual no on(tetl?) nicmaca yn Rafael auh yn oncan onicatca ynn atlan yn x(a?)calli oncan ycac monamacaz yn tzintepantli no xitiniz monamacaz notech pohuiz ca amo ma huei ynic catqui aço aca quinequ(i) yn quimocohuiz oncan chaneque notech pouhqui yez yn iquac nim(i)quiz yhuan çe metlatl nicmaca yn noxhuiuh fran^{ca} auh yn acalç(olli?) nicmaca yn nomontzin Di^o maçayhuil yhuan yn acalpiatzli nicm(a)ca yn maria yn inamic Jolian ayac quicuiliz ye yxquich y niquitohua ymixpan omochiuh testigos fran^{co} Gr^{mo} amiztlatohua Di^o maçayhuil miguel quechol Ju^o huitztlacatl m̄in cohuaçacatl Rafael muyse migl carçia ychan coyohuacan Çihua m^a yna^c p^o tepi(tz) m^a tiacapan monica tiacapan ysabel tiacapan tixpan migl-Joseph p^o nicollas aluacias

- auh yn ixquich noçihuatlatqui mochi monamacaz yc missa nopan mitoz amo nenpolihuiz

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o
della yglesia

f. 63r

/f. 63r/ En 7 de março de 1581 a^{os} R^{bi} de los albaceas y escriuano Jacobo seis p^{os} para dezir de misas por ana xoco porque asi lo mando en su testamento que esta en estotra plana

fr Joan nuñez

- And I declare that there are two (chinampas) at the edge of the water where I used to be in Santa Cruz; the judge Juan Gallego gave them to me. Each one is 20 (units of measure) long. I give them to my grandchild Francisca; they will belong to her. And in Calpoltitlan there are two (chinampas), land I bought; each one is 20 (units of measure) long. I gave twelve tomines for them. I give them to my grandchild Magdalena. They will belong to her, and she is to take them. And in Motlauh-xauhcan there are eight (chinampas) next to the field of the late Juan Quentli. I give them to my grandchildren, my godchildren (or, my legitimate descendants?); each one of the two, Magdalena and Cecilia, is to take four. I make the (chinampas) their property. And in Ecatitlan, in the land of Tzaqualco, there are 15 (chinampas). I give five to Pedro Tepitz, and I give three to Bernabé, and to Nicolás I give three, and I give two to Martín Macehual, and I also give two to Rafael. And the hut that stands where I used to be, next to the water, is to be sold, and also the foundation wall is to be torn apart and sold, (and the proceeds) will belong to me. The (hut) is not big; perhaps one of the inhabitants there would like to buy it, and the (proceeds) will be for me when I die. And I give my grandchild Francisca a metate. And my old boat I give to my son in law Diego Maçaihuil, and I give the narrow boat to María, the wife of Julián. No one is to take it from her. That is all I say. Done before the witnesses Francisco Gerónimo Amiztlatoa, Diego Maçaihuil, Miguel Quechol, Juan Huitztlacatl, Martín Coaçacatl, Rafael Moysén, and Miguel García, whose home is Coyoacan; and the women: María, wife of Pedro Tepitz, María Tiacapan, Mónica Tiacapan, Isabel Tiacapan; and before us, Miguel Josef and Pedro (de San) Nicolás, executors.

- And all my women's things are to be sold in order for masses to be said for me; none of it is to be wasted.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church.

Document 37A

Annotation in Spanish, March 7, 1581

/f. 63r/ The 7th of March of the year 1581 I received from the executors and the notary Jacobo (sic) six pesos to be used for saying masses for Ana Xoco, because she ordered it thus in her testament which is on the other page.

Fray Juan Núñez.

f. 63v

Document 38*Testament of Lucía Teicuh, February 21, 1581*

Lucía is one of the few women to own “patrimonial land.” Unfortunately her relationship to the girl (also named Lucía) to whom she leaves this special kind of land is unknown. Usually only the closest of kin, lineal relatives, and most often of the same gender as the owner, receive land of this type. Lucía has her testament witnessed by a large number of women. The fact that women are witnesses is not unusual; the high proportion is.

/f. 63v/ luçia teiuc S^{ta} m^a aSup^o tzaqualco

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quicauquique amatl yn queni nehuatl luçia teicuh Nican nochan S^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan onca nipohui yn ipan tlaxilacalli S^t m^a Asupçio tzaqualco maçonellihui yn ninococohua heçe yn noyolia y naniman Çan pactica yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Ešpū santo yhuan mochi niceltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia De roma auh ypanpa yn axcan yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtilocatzin yn tote^o Dios nicchihua yn notestamento

- Ynic çentlamantli Niquitohua y nehuatl luçia teicuh yn noyolia y naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca oquimomaquixtili yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^c auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Yhuan niquitohua yn nocal yn onca nihuetztoç yn tonatiuh ycallaquianpa ytzticac nicmacatiuh y nopillotzin ytoca fran^{ca} tiacapan yn catqui cuitlahuac ca ychan macayac yca mocacayahuz auh yn milli yn ayauhti..na iiii pōlī meyotoc ayamo huehuei quin omotecac niquitohua ytech yez onicteneuh ytoca fran^{ca} ytlahuicallo yez yn calli yhuan (sic)

- Auh ynn oncan tlamacazcatlalpan çenpohualli ymiltitech ymiltitech (sic) yn miguel garçia ocatca monamacaz missa yc nopan mitoz yn ipatiuh yez t^s

- No yhuan niquitohua temi chinamitl v tetl çeçenpohualhuiyac auh yn tepitoton no v tetl yc huallaçitica yn iquiyahuac cuicapantzin oncan ytocayocan quetzallapan nicmaca y nochpoch yn m^a tiacapan yn inamic miguel tochtli ychan ollopan

- yhuan yn oncan tequixquipan temi chinamitl vi tetl çeçenpohualhuiyac monamacaz yc nipallehuiloç yntla oninomiçilli auh ynn onpa Ecatit(lan?) onpa temi chinamitl x tetl no monamacaz yn quezqui ypatiuh yez t^s missa yc nopan mitoz yhuan yn oncan çacahapan oc mottaz no monamacaz onpa nimacoc chinamitl ymil-

/f. 63v/ Lucía Teicuh of Santa María Asunción Tzaqualco

- Know all who see and hear this document that I am Lucía Teicuh, whose home is here is San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa María Asunción Tzaqualco; even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound, and I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and I believe all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make my testament.

- First I, Lucía Teicuh, declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord because he redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that my house where I lie, which faces west, I give to my niece named Francisca Tiacapan, who is in Cuitlahuac, because it is her home; let no one trick her. And there is a field in Ayauhti(tlan?) of 80 (units of measure), with magueys that are not large yet because they have just recently been planted. And I declare that it will belong to the person named Francisca whom I mentioned. It will go along with the house.

- And the 20 (units of measure of land) in the land of Tlamacazco next to the field of the late Miguel García will be sold, and with the money from its price, masses will be said for me.

- And I say also that there are five chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, and also five small (chinampas) near the entrance of Cuicapantzin, in the place named Quetzalapan; I give them to my daughter María Tiacapan, wife of Miguel Tochtli, whose home is Ollopan.

- And in Tequixquipan there are six chinampas, each one 20 long; they are to be sold in order that I be helped when I die. And in Ecati(tlan) there are 10 chinampas. They are also to be sold and with however much the proceeds are in money, masses will be said for me. And in Çacaapan (there is land) which will first be inspected

titech yn miguel ..matl catca no monamacaz Çano notech pouhqui ez yc pallehuilloz yn naniman auh yn o.. atotocoyan temi chinamitl iii tetl amo huihuiyac çan tepitoton nicmaca yn luçia yn ipiltzin catca bal^{ar} yaomanatl ayaquicuiliz Ca huehuetlalli yhuan yn onpa tetla ompa mani milli onpohualli oncan yn tenepantla ymiltitech yn bal^{ar} oçelotl catca nicmaca yn luçia piltontli yn onicteneuh No yhuan çentetl Casa nicm(aca) yn nopitzin ana tiacapan yn ina^c mel^{or} tianquiznahuacatl yhuan (nic)maca çe metlatl yhuan çe nicmaca yn ana tlaco yna^c Ju^o toneuh metla(tl) yhuan çe nicmaca metlatl yn luçia piltontli oncan teçiz auh yn tlapech(tli) ypa ni-huetztoc çan nican maniz ytech pouhqui yn tlacpac onictene(uh) yn onicmacac calli fran^{ca} ti^a ye ixquich yn itlatol cocoxcatzintli ymixpan omochiuh testamento mel^{or} tianquiznahuacatl augusti vazquez aluaci(a) p^o atlmolon Ju^a xoco yna^c ca aug^{ti} telona ana tlaco yna^c Ju^o toneuh Ju^a tlaco yna^c cochpin Ju^a moçel yna^c Ju^o tetzauh Ju^a tiacapan yna^c p^o tlama ana tiacapan yna^c tiaquiznahuatl (sic) ana xoco çihua(te?)pixqui s^t ana tepanecapan yna^c catca Ju^o ylcahualloc

/f. 64r/ - auh y nehuatl miguel jacob de mal^{do} Escri^o de la yglesia ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento yn yehuatl luçia teicuh yhuan nehuatl (o)niquicuillo auh nican nictlallia notoca nofirnan (sic) axcan yc 21 de hebrero de 1581 años

- Iz catqui yhuan niquitohua oniquilcauh yn nocpauh yn onicpiaya yhuan yn ixquich noçihuatlatqui yhuan yn mochi callitic onoc mochi monamacaz yhuan chiconteme totolme quanacame monamacazque yn quezqui t^s motlapihuiz missa yc nopan mitoz ye xquich (sic) y niquitohua

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nob^{do}

f. 64r

Document 38A

Annotations in Spanish, March 30, 1581; April 11; February 22, 1584

/f. 64r/ - En 30 de março de 1581 a^os se dixo por luzia teiuc vna misa cantada con sus belas de sera que con diez to^s que truxeron de limosna se mercaron por todo

fr Joan nuñez

- En 11 de abril del dho ano se dixo vna misa cantada /f.

and will also be sold. Some chinampas were given to me there, next to the field of the late Miguel (...)matl; they are also to be sold, and the proceeds will belong to me to aid my soul. And in Atotocoyan there are three chinampas, not long but small; I give them to Lucía, child of the late Baltasar Yaomanatl; no one is to take them from her, because they are patrimonial land. And in (Santiago) Tetla there is a field, 40 (units of measure long?), in Tenepantla, by the field of the late Baltasar Ocelotl; I give it to the child Lucía that I mentioned. Also there is a chest that I give to my elder sister Ana Tiacapan, wife of Melchor Tianquiznahuacatl, and also I give her a metate. And to Ana Tlaco, wife of Juan Toneuh, I give a metate, and I give a metate to the child Lucía for her to grind with. And the bed on which I lie will just stay here; it will be for the person I mentioned above that I gave the house to, Francisca Tiacapan. This is all the statement of the invalid. The testament was done before Melchor Tianquiznahuacatl; Agustín Vázquez, executor; Pedro Atlmolon; Juana Xoco, widow of Agustín de Luna; Ana Tlaco, wife of Juan Toneuh; Juana Tlaco, wife of Cochpin; Juana Mocel, wife of Juan Tetzauh; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Pedro Tlama; Ana Tiacapan, wife of (Melchor) Tianquiznahuacatl; Ana Xoco, cihuatepixqui in Santa Ana Tepanecapan, widow of Juan Ilcahualloc.

/f. 64r/ I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, (say) that Lucía Teicuh ordered her testament well and truly, and I wrote it. And here I place my name and signature, today the 21st of February of the year 1581.

- Here is something else I say that I forgot (to mention): my (cotton) yarn that I had and all my woman's things and everything inside the house is to be sold, and the seven chickens are to be sold. And with however much money is gained, masses will be said for me. That is all I declare.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

64r/ The 30th of March of the year 1581 a high mass was said for Lucía Teicuh, with its wax tapers, which were all bought with an offering of 10 tomimes that was brought.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 11th of April of the said year a high mass was said

por luzia teiuc la que se dixo luego y para cera y lo demas dieron doze tomines

fr Joan nuñez

- En 22 de hebrero de 1584 se dijeron dos misas cantadas lucia digo vna misa cantada

frai Joan zimbron

for Lucía Teicuh, which was said right away, and for the wax and the rest they gave 12 tomines.

Fray Juan Núñez.

- The 22nd of February of 1584 two high masses were said for Lucía, or rather one high mass.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 64v

Document 39

Testament of Mariana, widow of Juan Rafael (Tlacochealcatl), March 17, 1581

Although Mariana died after her husband Juan Rafael (Document 42), her will precedes his in the collection. The five precious stones he left her are now down to four, and she somewhat gratuitously denigrates their size. Interestingly, there is no mention of the children to whom Juan Rafael left a substantial portion of his estate; presumably what he gave them was their entire portion. Mariana owns some chinampas called "house land" (*callalli*) which add up to seven in number, apparently three nearby and four at a distance. Seven seems to have been an ideal number of chinampas.

/f. 64v/ Mariana muger de Ju^o Raphael

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipo- huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl mariana nonamic ocatca Ju^o Rafael oncan onipohuia yn ipan tlaxillacalli ey- tlatocan cohuatl (sic) maçonellihui y ninococohuan y noyollia naniman Çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctiS- sima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Ešpu s̄to Çan çe yn iyelliztin (sic) yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia de roma auh yeica yn axcan yn ica ynotzalloca ytlatlauhtillocatzin yn tote^o Dios nicchihua yn notestamento

- ynic çentlamanti (sic) niqutohua yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca o- quimochihuilli yhuan oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaço- Ezçotzin y nican tlap^c auh y nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- No yhuan niqutohua yn nehuatl Ca atle ma ytla onic- nopielli yn tote^o Dios Çan yxquic (sic) niqutohua no- casaçol çentetl yhuan çentetl poertaçolli yhuan çentetl tlaltepoztlitli yhuan nauhtetl yztac chalchihuitl çan tepi- toton yhuan ome huapaçolli yhuan 7me tlaxamanilli monamacaz yn quezqui ypatihuh mochihuaz t^s yntla huell açiz centetl missa ma yçihua yc pallehuiloç yn noyollia naniman

- dixose por esta diff^{ta} vna misa cantada y dieron de limosna diez t^s y dos para la cera En março de 1581 a^os

fr Joan nuñez*

- auh yz catqui yn nictemamacatiuh çe metlatl oncan o-

/f. 64v/ Mariana, the wife of Juan Rafael

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Mariana, widow of Juan Rafael, belonging to the ward of Tres Reyes Coatlan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make my testament.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- In addition, I declare that I have kept nothing at all for God (I have no property); all I declare is an old chest that I have and an old door, a hoe, and four white stones (pearls?), just little ones, and two old planks, and seven shingles. (All of it) is to be sold and if the proceeds in money are enough for a mass, let my spirit and soul be promptly aided with it.

- A high mass was said for this deceased; they gave an offering of 10 tomines, and two for the wax, in March of the year 1581.

Fray Juan Núñez.*

- Here is what I am distributing to people; a metate,

(ti)tlaquaya y nonamictzin ocatcah nicmacatiuh yn nonnantzin Ju^a tiacapan nicaxcatia Auh yn chinamitl yn onpa temi teçizcoh vii tetl çeçenpohualhuiyac ymiltitech yn augustin vazquez chane cuecuetlacayan nicmacatiuh yn marcos yn ipiltzin m̄in cano çanno oncan chane yn cuecuetlacayan yhuan yn ipiltzin miguel tlacochin ytoça çanno miguel nicmacah yn callalli vii tetl yaçicah onpa temi nauhtetl yn onpa huey ayaoc yc naçi yn chicontetl ayac quixtoquilliz ca ye nicaxcatia yhuan yn oncan tzaqualcatlalli çenpohualli yhuan yn sanctiago tetlah onpa mani onpōli oncan yn texalpan çan mochi ytech nicpohua nicmacatiuh yn nopilotzin yn ipiltzin miguel tlacochin ayac quenmanian ytlah qui(toz?) ca ye nicmah yxquichin y niquitohua macayac quitlacoç yn notlatol ymixpan omochiuh testigos miguel Joseph augustin vaz(quez) p^o de sanct nicollas aluaçiaſti tlaxillacalleque mel^{or} tellez anton tepotzitolloc Ju^a tiacapan miguel ypiltzin tlacochin axcan vier(nes) 17 de março de 1571 (sic) años onitlacuillo

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o

which we used to prepare meals with, I and my late husband; I give it to my mother-in-law Juana Tiacapan, I make it her property. And in Teccizco there are seven chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Agustín Vázquez, citizen of Cuecuetlacayan. I give them to Marcos, the child of Martín Cano, also citizen of Cuecuetlacayan. And to the child of Miguel Tlacochin, also named Miguel, I give the house land, seven (chinampas) in all. Four are at (Huei Ayaoc? Ayoc?), with which I reached the seven. No one is to claim them from him, because I make them his property. And there are 20 (units of measure of land) in the land of Tzaqualco, and in Santiago Tetla there are 40, in Texalpan. I assign and give it all to my nephew, the child of Miguel Tlacochin. No one is ever to say anything (against this), because I know about it (am responsible for it). This is all I declare. Let no one violate my words. Done before the witnesses Miguel Josef, Agustín Vázquez, Pedro de San Nicolás, executors, and the ward heads Melchor Téllez, Anton Tepotzitoloc, and Juana Tiacapan, and Miguel, the child of Tlacochin. Today Friday the 17th of March of the year 1571 (sic). I did the writing.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

*This notation in Spanish comes in the midst of the Nahuatl text.

f. 65v

Document 40

Testament of María Tiacapan (b), daughter of Baltasar Cipriano, March 17, 1581

María's is a hard luck story. Left orphaned, she was then abandoned by her uncles, whom she expected to play the conventional role of surrogate parents. María's praise of her grandmother, who did fill that role, is cut off by the notary's curt *et cetera* (a most useful loan phrase for scribes!). The district heads or district people (tlaxillacalleque) are the same group as in Document 39, which was executed the same day.

/f. 65v/ Maria tiacapan ypiltzin catca bal^{ar} çibriano Cohuatla ychan

- In nehuatl maria tiacapan notatzin catca bal^{ar} çibriano oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli eitlatocan cohuatlan aocmo nichuelmati yn nonacayo yntla ninomiquilliz ma yehuatzin tote^o Dios quihualmanilliz yehica Ca nitlachihualtzin Ca ytlamaquixtiltzin Auh ynn axcan niquitohua Ca yn ixquich cahuitl ynn otitonemitique tlap^{ac} yn ye yxquich cahuitl tepaltzinco titonenemiti yn yehuantin yn notlahuan yn nohuayolque ayc quenmaniyan oquitoque yn motollinia yn tomachhuan yn çan texomolco tecaltech ycnoyxtli quitetecatinemi yn motollinia yn acaço tle quimoqualtia auh ynn axcan yn notlahuan amo no quitohua yn ye mococohua yn tomach yn ma tiquitati atle yntetlaçotlalliz quichihua auh yeica yn iuh niquitohua

/f. 65v/ María Tiacapan who was the daughter of Baltasar Cipriano, whose home is Coatlan

- I am María Tiacapan, my father was Baltasar Cipriano, and I belong to the ward of Tres Reyes Coatlan; my body no longer feels well. If I die, let our lord God come and take my (soul) because it is his creation and he redeemed it. Now I declare that during all the time we have lived on earth we have been the dependents of others, and those uncles (and aunts?) of mine, my relatives, never said, "Our nieces (and nephews?) are afflicted (poor), they just live in the corners of other people('s houses); next to their walls they spread out their humble (beds?); they are poor and perhaps they have nothing to eat." Nor do my uncles even now say "Our niece is sick, let's go see her." They show me no

Ca huel yehuatl omotlamaçehui yn noçitzin Ju^a ana tocamac quimaquillitihuitz yn cana aço onemaquilliloc tlaxcaltzintli yehuatl omotlamaçehui yn ye ixquich cahuitl ticnocahualloque e^{tca} (sic)

- Auh yn axcan niquitohua yn nocoltzin catca thomas cacama ychan tzaqualco auh yn nonantzin omoyetz-ticatca yc mixnamicque yn notlatzin catca lucas yc moteilhuito mexico yn calli yn chinamitl auh Jus^a quitlacoxello yxquich quimacaque yn nonantzin catca auh ynn iquac momiquilli totech quipouhtia auh yn nehuatl niquitohua canel ye o totech quipouhtia yn ixquich yn iuh yxtlapantica yn quahuitl yn tetl yn ixquich yc catqui moch ic missa nopan mitoz

- Auh y nicuihtzin mag^{na} xoco ytech nicpohua ynn icaltzin catcah yn notatzin bal^{ar} çibriano yhuan yn vii tetl chinamitl yhuan yn çempohualli teuhtlalli tlaelpa ymiltitech yn Ju^o çaoya Çan mochi ytech çenyez canel yaxca catca yn totatzin catca ayac tle quixtoquilliz

- Auh ynn onpa yahuallihcan çempohualli ymiltitech catca yn notlatzin lucas nicmaca yn noçitzin Ju^a ana tiacapan ypanpa y nicmaca ca yn ye ixquich cahuitl titocnopiltillique ca yehuatl otechmocuitlahui ayaquenmaniyen quixtoquilliz nicmaca aço quimonamiquilliz

- Auh ynnic ontetl yn tocal mani tzaqualco yn tonatiuh callaquianpa yzticac ca tonemac yn tlecopatl yn quahuitl yn tetl yn tlaquetzalli yhuan yn boerta yhuan çe metlatl auh nicmaca y nicuihtzin mag^{na} concuiz yn metlatl yhuan yn poerta yhuan tlaquetzalli auh yn tlecopatl monamacaz yn quezqui ypatih yez t^s missa yc ypan mitoz yn nonantzin catca ye ixquich yn niquitohua macayac quitlacoç yn notlatol yn ixpan testigos aug^{tin} vazquez miguel Joseph p^o de sanct nicollas aluaçias tlaxillacalleque mel^{or} anton tepotzitolloc miguel ypiltzi migl tlacotzin Ju^a tiacapan axcan viernes 17 de março de 1581 a^os onitlacuillo nehuatl

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o

affection (charity). The reason I say this is that Juana Ana, my grandmother, truly has performed meritoriously; she came to give us pieces of bread to eat that perhaps she was given somewhere. She has acquired merit in the whole time since we were left orphaned, etc. (sic).

- And now I say my late grandfather, Tomás Cacama, whose home was Tzaqualco, and my late mother disputed with my late uncle Lucas, and they went to Mexico City to accuse each other over the houses and chinampas. And the judge divided it in half and gave one part to my late mother. And when she died, she assigned it to us. And I declare that since she assigned us all her share, the wood and the stones and everything that there is, with all of it masses are to be said for me.

- And to my younger sister Magdalena Xoco I assign the house that belonged to my father Baltasar Cipriano. And the seven chinampas and the 20 (units of measure) of dry land (in?) Tlaelpa, next to the field of Juan Çaoya, all of it together will be hers because it was the property of our late father; no one is to claim any of it from her.

- And in Yahualihcan there are 20 (units of measure of land) next to the former field of my uncle Lucas. I give it to my grandmother, Juana Ana Tiacapan; the reason that I give it to her is that the whole time since we were orphaned children she cared for us. No one is ever to claim it from her; I give it to her. Perhaps she will sell it.

- And there is another house of ours in Tzaqualco that faces west; the storeroom, wood, stone, wooden pillars, the door and a metate are our inheritance. I give my younger sister Magdalena (Xoco) the metate, the door, and the pillars; she is to take them. But the storeroom is to be sold, and with however much the proceeds are masses will be said for my late mother. That is all I say. Let no one violate my statement. (Done) before the witnesses Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, Pedro de San Nicolás, executors, and the ward heads Melchor (Téllez), Antón Tepotzitoloc, Miguel, child of Miguel Tlacoçhin, and Juana Tiacapan. Today, Friday the 17th of March of the year 1581. I did the writing.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

f. 66

Document 41

Testament of Luis Tlahpotonqui, February 12, 1581

That we are dealing with pochteca is in this case more than an inference; the verb *pochtecati* “to act as a trader, do business” actually occurs here. Luis is the son of Antonio de Santa María, a Culhuacan trader who seems to have operated on quite a grand scale; many debts were owed him when he died. Luis's testament is a futile attempt to collect the debts. The son was not the wheeler-dealer his father had been, since few debts are from his own transactions. The testament tells us a good deal about the role of credit, payment in kind, collection through legal

agencies, and geographical mobility in sixteenth-century indigenous trading. Antonio and Luis would seem to have kept running two-way accounts with some clients. Consider the confusing case of a don Alonso: apparently don Alonso owed 15 pesos at one time, reduced it to 10 by outright payment, then paid five and a half pesos toward a horse which subsequently died after Luis had taken it back, so that amount was counted toward the original debt along with three pesos' worth of honey that he gave Luis, leaving one and a half pesos outstanding.

Luis makes a number of bequests, including patrimonial land, to his kinswoman María Tiacapan (Doc. 53). He calls her *noteicauh*, which like all Nahuatl expressions for siblings is applicable also to cousins. In the absence of specific strong evidence to the contrary we translate these terms using sibling terminology, as we have done here, although there is reason to believe that María was in fact Luis's younger cousin rather than sister.

The notary's reference to the Holy Trinity as one person is probably to be attributed not so much to doctrinal error as to a lack of understanding of the meaning of the Spanish word *persona*.

/f. 66r/ luys tlahppotonqui

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque Amatl yn queni nehuatl luys tlahppotonqui Nican nochan sanct Ju^o Euangelista Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli sancta maria aSupcio tianquizcolco Maçonellihui yn ninococohua yeze yn noyollia naniman pacticah amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad dios tetatzin dios depiltzin (sic) dios Espu sto Çan çe persona çan ce in iyelitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimonaltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de Roma auh ypampa yn axca yn ica ynotzalco ytlatlauhtilocatzin yn tote^o dios nicchihua nictecpana yn notestamento

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua yn nehuatl luys tlahppotonqui yn noyollia naniman yçenmactinco (sic) nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli ycah yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^c auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehicah ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Ihua niquitohua achto nicpehualtia yn itlatqui catca notatzin antonio de sancta maria yn tetch polliuhtica tomines yn quixtлахuazque Inic 1 tli Ju^a tiacapan yna^c catca Ju^o acah ychan mexicoh oquixtлахuaz xiii (sic) yhuan 4 t^s auh ynn ayamo quixtлахuaz oc 1 p^os yhuan 4 t^s yhuan yc tepan tlatoque yn m̄in cano aHde omoyetzticatcah yhuan luys sanchez yhuan Ju^o cohualt topilleque catcah ypanpa lazaro hualmoquetza oc quixtлахuaz xx(i?) p^os ypanpa quimichtectia cavalosme onteme

- No yhuan ayamo moxtlahua t^s miguel huelilhuitl ypiltzin ytoca xuachin ayamo moxtlahua oc ix p^os auh ynn oquixtлахuaz iii p^os çann onca otlatequipanohuaya yn tochan ynic otlaxtлахuaz iii p^os ynin t^syc quiz telpilloyan ypanpa quiquaxamani Ju^o de sanct miguel yquac alguaçil mayor catca ynin çann içiuhca quixtлахuaz Ihuan

/f. 66r/ Luis Tlahppotonqui

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Luis Tlahppotonqui, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa María Asunción Tianquizcolco, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are healthy and undisturbed. And I firmly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one person (sic) and of one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and order my testament.

- First say I, Luis Tlahppotonqui, that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I say that first I begin with that which was the property of my father, Antonio de Santa María, there is money spent on others that they are to pay back. First, Juana Tiacapan, widow of Juan Aca, whose home is Mexico City, paid back 13 (pesos) and four tomines, but she has yet to pay another peso four tomines. And (for this money?) Martín Cano, who was alcalde, and Luis Sánchez and Juan Coatl, who were topilleque, interceded in the matter of Lázaro Hualmoquetza, who still must pay twenty- (one?) pesos because he stole two horses.

- And also there is money not yet paid (by) Miguel Huelilhuitl, child of one named Joaquín; nine pesos are not yet paid. And as to the three pesos which he paid, he just worked at our home to pay it. With this money he got out of jail, because he broke the head of Juan de San Miguel when he was alguacil mayor. And he is to pay

ayamo quixtlahuaz Ju^a tzapa viii p^os quimomachitia yn Ju^o de sanct miguel yquac a^hde catca tel ytech ca yn notatzin ytestamento yn quitlallitia yçihca quixtlahuaz

- Yhuan ayamo moxtlahua xx p^os ytoca Ellias ychan quauhtlalpan yhuan çentetl freçada ynic tlaçentlallili ma yçihca quixtlahuaz ytech mottaz ynn itestamento to-tatzin yn quitlallitia

- No yhuan ynn ayamo quixtlahua ts ytoca panchimalcatl ychan huapalcalcoh ma yçihca quixtlahuaz yn 1 p^os auh yn xomiltepec no onpa quipia t^s don a^ol xv p^os auh ynn oquixtlauh v p^os auh v p^os yhuan iiii t^o nechmacac yc quicouh nocavallo auh yn cavallo çan ye no çepa niquahucac Auh nicanatlan mic yn cavallo yhuan iii p^ostica necuhtetzahuac auh niquitohua yehuatl yc moxtlahuaz ynn onpa mopia t^s x p^os Ca ça i p^os ypan 4 t^s yn huallaz No yhua ytech cah don miguel de Castaneta ychan xomiltepec ypanpa cavallo ypatihuc yc mononotzque yn notatzin catca anto^o de santa maria ayamo quixtlahuan ix p^os No yhuan ayamo quixtlahuan yc moteilhuiqueh quahuecahuaz (sic) ca ytoca don miguel de castaneta yhuan alvarado ayamo quixtlahua iiii p^os yhuan ayamo moxtlahua quitquic ytoca hernando ychan xomiltepec pochtecatizquia Auh amo huel mochiuh ynin moxtlahuaz yn xii p^os tel ytech ca yn itestamento yn notatzin Auh yz catqui yn huel nomatica onictetlacuiltih gabriel huecamecatzintli quimotlacuicoh ix t^s yçihca quixtlahuaz notech monequiz missa yc nopan mitoz yhuan fran^{co} tello 2 p^os quimotlacui missa yc nopan mitoz

- No yhuan niquitohua yn itlalcohual yetih notatzin yn tetl yn oztotl ynn oncan teopan quiyahuac yn iquaxochtitech Ju^o perez aço aca que (sic) quimocoheiz /f. 66v/que auh yn ipatihuc yez yn t^s ytech pohuiz yn notatzin Missa yc ypan mitoz

- Auh yn çanno ytlacohual yn notatzin ytocayocan huexocalcoh ypatihuc mochiuh xx p^os auh niquitohua monamacaz yc missa ypan mitoz yn notatzin ytech pouhqui No yhuan Candellas tlahualli çan nican opopolihuc auh niquitohua yc moxtlahuaz monamacaz milli ayauhtoncoh 4 poli yc miSsa ypanpa mitoz yn noçitzin catca m^a moçel auh yn mocahuaz yn oc quexquich t^s notech monequiz MiSsa yc nopan mitoz yn nehuatl

this promptly. And Juan Tzapa still has not paid eight pesos. Juan de San Miguel knows of this from when he was alcalde, but it is (also) in the testament that my father ordered. He is to pay it promptly.

- And one called Elías, whose home is Quauhtlalpan, still has not paid 20 pesos and a blanket together with it. Let him pay it back promptly. It will be seen in the testament that my father ordered.

- In addition, one named Panchimalcatl, whose home is Huapalcalco, has not paid some money. Let him pay back one peso promptly. And in Xomiltepec don Alonso also has (owes) some money, 15 pesos. He paid five pesos and he gave me five pesos four tomines to buy a horse of mine. But I brought the horse back again, and here (by the water? in Atlan?) the horse died. And he gave me three pesos worth of honey. And I say that with that is paid the money that he owes there, the 10 pesos. He will just bring one peso four tomines. Also don Miguel de Castañeda, whose home is Xomiltepec, has obligations for the price of a horse. He and my late father, Antonio de Santa María, had an agreement about it; (Castañeda) has not yet paid nine pesos. In addition the aforesaid don Miguel de Castañeda and Alvarado have not yet paid (money) with which they litigated (...?); they have not yet paid four pesos. And that which a person named Hernando, whose home is Xomiltepec, took with him has not been paid. He was going to carry on commerce with it but was not able to do it. Those 12 pesos are to be paid. And it is also (written) in the testament of my father. And here is what I myself have lent to others: Gabriel Huecamecatzintli came to borrow nine tomines. He is to pay it back promptly; it will be used to say masses for me. And Francisco Tello borrowed two pesos; with it masses are to be said for me.

- In addition, I say that my father had purchased land (among stones and caves? rocky and pitted?) which is at the entrance of the church, by the boundary of Juan Pérez; perhaps someone will want to buy it, /f. 66v/ and the proceeds in money will belong to my father in order for masses to be said for him.

- Also there is purchased land of my father's at the place named Huexocalco; it cost 20 pesos. I say that it will be sold, and with (the proceeds) masses will be said for my father. It belongs to him. In addition, (money) was spent here for candles and offerings. And I say that in order to pay for it, the field in Ayauhtonco of 80 (units of measure) is to be sold. And with (the proceeds) a mass is to be said for my late grandmother, María Mocol; and whatever money remains will be used for me; a mass will be said for me with it.

- No yhuan yn tetlah y nauhcan manilli yn ipan catqui ytestamento notatzin yntla aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz yn quexquich ypatiuh yez t^s yc miSsa mitoz yc pallehuiloz yn notatzin çan quimixcahuiz Ihuan tecontlacuilli (sic) vi tl yhuan çentetl tiçayo yhuan çentetl frenta nicma (sic) tototl tlacuilotecoma ynin onicteneuh yn vi tetl tlacuilotecoma yhuan çentetl tiçayo monamacaz ynquac oninomiçuilli notech pouhuiz missa yc nopan mitoz canel notech pouhqui

- Yhuan niqutohua ynin yn tecomatl tototl ynn onpa techan mani te... ma aca ypal^{co} quimocuillituih anoço huel yaz yn notex matheo opan ma mocahuatiuh yn 4 t^s No yhuan yn oncan ayahualolcoh oncan temi chinamitl huehuatlalli nicmaca yn noteicauh maria tiacapan vi tetl amo tel çenca huehhuey Çan tepitoton ypanpa y nicmacah canel tohuehuatlal yhuan ynn onpa yn motlauh-xauhcan onpa temi vi tetl auh çentetl oquichtecque nicmacah yn p^o huelyehuatl chane cuecuetlacayan

- Auh ynn oncan çihuatlalpan ytocayocan tlacuilocan ynemac catca yn notatzin çenpohualli ytech nicpohua yn noteicauh maria tiacapan yhuan yn ina^c matheo Auh yn huehuatlalli iii poli monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez yn tomines cocoxcatzitzinti yc tlaocolilozque yn quezqui ypatiuh yez

- No yhuan niqutohua yn calli nechmacatia yn notatzin ontetl xochmilcopa yztimani ynin notech pouhqui ynn oc quezquihuitl nihuetztoz yn calquauhtzintli notech monequiz tlatlaz yn iquac yntla oninomiçuilli Auh yn tetlapanaloyan 2 poli ompa mani auh çanno 2 poli quaxochco tehuitztitlan mani çeçenpohualli ynic papatlahuac monamacaz 2 poli yc pallehuilloz yn notlatzin thoribio tecmillotzin Auh yn oc no onpohualli ych (sic) nicpohua yn noteycauh maria tiacapan yn inamic matheo ohpan yhuan matlacmatl mani huixchtlan (sic) çenpohualli ynic huiyac monamacaz missa yc nopan mitoz yn ipatiuh yez t^s

- yhuan niqutohua ynn omoxtlauh t^o yztapallapan Jus^{a-}tica ynn oquixtlauh auh mopia telpilloyan vi p^os auh onimacoca 2 p^os yc onicpehualtizquia nonetlayecoltiliz auh canel o notech monec auh yn ye mochi oquixtlauh t^s 8 p^os auh ynn oc chiquaçen p^os nicnepantlaxelohua iii p^os yc missa ypan mitoz yn notatzin auh yn oc no iii p^os notech pouhqui yn nehuatl miSsa yc nopan mitoz çann içiuhca amo huecahuaz ye ixquich y niqutohua notlatol

- And in (Santiago) Tetla, there are four (fields?) which are in the testament of my father. Perhaps someone will want to buy them, and with however much the proceeds are in money masses will be said exclusively to help my father. And there are six (painted) tecomates, and one varnished white, and one (in the form of?) a bird, which I gave as a pawn. These six painted tecomates and the varnished one that I have mentioned will be sold when I have died, (and the proceeds) will belong to me so that masses will be said for me, since (the tecomates) belong to me.

- And I say that this bird tecomate is in the house of someone in Te(tla). Let someone go to collect it from him. Perhaps my brother-in-law Mateo Opan can go; let him deliver the four tomines (that I owe the person with whom I hocked it). In addition in Ayahualolco there are chinampas, patrimonial land. I give six to my younger sister (cousin) María Tiacapan. They are not very big, but just small; I give them to her because it is our patrimonial land. And in Motlauh-xauhcan there are six chinampas—they stole one; I give them to Pedro Huel-yehuatl, citizen of Cuecuetlacayan.

- In Cihuatlalpan, in the place called Tlacuilocan, (there is land) that was the inheritance of my father. Twenty (units of measure) I assign to my younger sister María Tiacapan and her husband Mateo (Opan). And 60 (units) of patrimonial land is to be sold, and with the proceeds in money alms are to be given to the sick with however much the purchase price is.

- And also I say that there is a house that my father gave me, of two buildings, facing Xochmilco; this is for me (in which to live) for however many days I yet lie sick, and when I have died the wood of the house will be burnt (as firewood). And in Tetlapanaloyan there are 40 (units of measure of land), and also in Quaxochco Tehuitztitlan there are 40, each one 20 wide; 40 will be sold in order to help my uncle Toribio Tecmillotzin. And the other 40 I assign to my younger sister, María Tiacapan, wife of Mateo Opan. And in Huixachtlan there is (land) of 10 (units) (in width), 20 long. It will be sold, and with the proceeds in money masses will be said for me.

- And I say that as to the money that was paid in Ixtapalapa, (someone) paid it by legal order; six pesos are (still being) kept at the jail, and two pesos were given to me to use in my affairs, and were used for me. In all, (someone) paid eight pesos, and I divide the other six (as follows): three pesos will be for saying masses for my late father. And the other three pesos belong to me for masses. (It is to be paid) promptly, without delay. That is all I say in my declaration.

- In ixpan omochiuh testigos ynic oquitlalli ytestamento luyt tlahpotonqui Augustin vazquez miguel Joseph p^o de S^t nicolas aluacias / miguel de Ribas p^o huelyehuatl matheo opan fran^{co} xallih Ju^a tiacapa yna^c catca Ju^o acah ychan mexicoh ana xoco çihuatepixqui ynamic catca p^o çoçamalocatl /f. 67r/ p^onilla ychpoch p^o huelyehuatl Maria tiacapan yna^c matheo ohpan Ju^a teicuh ychpochtli Axcan domingo yc 12 dias del mes de hebrero de mil y q^{os} y ochenta y on anos auh yn quexquich oniquilcauh oc ceppa motepotztocaz yn itestamento notatzin catca onpa mottaz yntla ytla oniquilcauh ynn amo micuilo

- In nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^{do} de la yglesia niqutohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynicc oquitlalli ytestamento yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo auh nican nictlallia notoca nofirma ynic neltitiez testamento yhuan amo huellacuillohuan yn alvacias ypanpa yn amo quitlallique ynfirmas

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

- Luis Tlahpotonqui's testament was done and ordered by him before the witnesses Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, and Pedro de San Nicolás, executors, and Miguel de Ribas; Pedro Huelyehuatl; Mateo Opan; Francisco Xalli; Juana Tiacapan, widow of Juan Aca, whose home is Mexico City; Ana Xoco, cihuatepixqui, widow of Pedro Coçamalocatl; Petronilla, /f. 67r/ daughter of Pedro Huelyehuatl: María Tiacapan, wife of Mateo Opan; and Juana Teicuh, unmarried young woman. Today is Sunday the 12th day of the month of February of the year 1581. And whatever I have forgotten is to be investigated again in the testament of my late father. One can see there if I have forgotten something and it was not written.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that he ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature to verify the testament. And the executors do not know how to write, for which reason they did not set down their signatures.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 67r

Document 41A

Annotations in Spanish, November 8, 1583; n.d.

/f. 67r/ diose un pedacillo de tierra a fran^{co} moysen por peso y medio dijose vna misa cantada por el dueño difunto luyt tlahpotonqui en 8 de nobiembre de 1583

frai Joan zimbron

R^{bi} de Jhoana tiacapan onze t^s para que se digan de missas los quales toma en su poder

fr chrōua l de agurto

/f. 67r/ A small piece of land was given to Francisco Moysén for a peso and a half; a high mass was said for the late owner, Luis Tlahpotonqui, on the 8th of November, 1583.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

I received from Juana Tiacapan 11 tomines to be used for saying masses, which (money) is taken in custody by

Fray Cristóbal Agurto.

f. 67v

Document 42

Testament of Juan Rafael Tlacochealcatl, February 27, 1581

Juan Rafael is the husband of another testator, Mariana (Document 39). His estate is especially interesting because of the different civil categories of land he owns, including calpulli land (*calpollalli*), patrimonial land (*huehuetlalli*), and an ambiguous category called *quauhtlalli* which may be a type of conquered land. He owns land bordering the church land (*teopanmilli*) that another testator, doña María Juárez (Document 71), left; by his mentioning it by civil category, it is clear the status of the land was publicly known. Juan Rafael participated in real estate transactions with identifiable Spaniards, including the local prior and the prior's brother-in-law. Another aspect of the will is that Juan Rafael had apparently acted as official executor of testaments, and his statements shed considerable light on the modus operandi of these functionaries, although the out-of-context remarks also leave us in some confusion as to several particulars.

/f. 67v/ Ju^o Rafael tlacochcalcatl

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque amatl yn queni nehuatl notoca Ju^o Rafael notlaxilacaltia eytlacocan cohuatlan maçonnelihui y ninococohua yeçe y noyollianiman (sic) amo quen catqui yhuan huel mella-huac ynic nicniconeltoquitia (sic) Sanctissima Drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Espu sto yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia sancta yglesia De Roma auh yeica yn axcan yn ica yn inotzallocatzin ytlatlautiloca yn tote^o Dios nicchihua notestamento

- Ynic çentlamantli yn noyollianiman yeçenmactzinco (sic) nocontlallia y to^o Dios yeica ca oquimochihui ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlalp^c auh yn nonacayo nicmacah yn tlalli yeica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- ynic ontlamantli niquitohua yn nocal tonatiuh ycalla-quiyampa yzticac niquinmaca yn nopilhuan omentin ynic çe ytoca Ju^a ynic ome ytoca p^onilla xocoh quimixtlanpanizque yn Ju^a ye itepotzco quicuiz auh yn p^onilla ye quiyahuatentli quicuiz ynic onicteneuh yn itepotz v tl auh yn inacaz iii yematl Çan nican motlapielliztiezque (sic) Çan quahuil quicohuazqueh

- Auh yn nomilcohual çenpohualli yn nomil ynic huiyac çan neçoyahualtic (sic) ynin onicteneuh nicquaxochnamiquiz yn teopanmilli ynn oquicauhtia Dona m^a xuarez ynin milli onicteneuh nicmacatuh yn p^onilla Auh chalchihuitl macuiltetl nicnomaquillia yn nonamic mariana Auh yn tepancalli xochmilcopa yzticac çann oqu ihu yez Auh yn hueca chinampa matlactetl hoonpohual-huiyac nicmaca yn p^onilla Auh ynn axalpan nicquaxochnamiqui yn gasbar achane Auh yn oc çentlapal nicquaxochnamiqui yn mel^{or} tellez auh yn tecuitlaapan vii tetl çenpohualhuiac nicquaxochnamiqui Ju^o tellez nicmaca yn franc^{co} tezcah nomach yn quauhtlalli çenpohualli ça necoc yahualtic nicquaxochnamiqui yn fran^{co} chantli catca yhuan çenpohualli tetlah nicquaxochnamiqui yn Ju^o Çaoya auh ynn oc çentlapal nicquaxochnamiqui ynn mel^{or} tellez ynin onicteneuh huehuatlalli ynn occanyxti yntla ninomiquilliz nopan popollihuiz notech monequiz Auh y nican caltitlan notlalcohual çe p^os ypan 4 t^s yn quicuicoh maria ynamic Jeronimo ynin onicteneuh monamacaz nopan popolihuiz miSsa yc mitoz nopan Auh yn icalchinayo calli Calpollali chicontetl nicmacah yn p^onilla Auh yn calli yn icaltzin catca notatzin catcah teopan pohuiz yc miSsa nopan mitoz yn ixpan omochiuh testigos Augustin Vazquez aluaçia

/f. 67v/ Juan Rafael Tlacochcalcatl

- Know all who see this document that I, Juan Rafael by name, of the ward of Tres Reyes Coatlan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed, and I believe very firmly in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make my testament.

- First I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Second I declare that my house that faces west I give to my two children, the first of whom is named Juana and the second, whose name is Petronilla Xoco. They are to divide it between themselves: Juana will take the part behind, and Petronilla will take the part at the entrance; this said (house is) five matl wide and three matl by the side. They are just to take care of things here; they are just to buy wood (to make repairs?).

- Concerning my purchased fields, I have a field 20 (units of measure) square. This said (field) of mine borders with the field of the church that doña María Juárez left. This said field I give to Petronilla. And five precious stones I give to my wife Mariana. And the enclosure that faces Xochimilco is to continue as it is. And the 10 chinampas that are at a distance, each one 40 (units of measure) long, I give to Petronilla. And (in Axalpan?) (there is land) of mine that borders with Gaspar Achane, and on the other side it borders with Melchor Téllez. And in Tecuitlaapan (I have) seven chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, that border with Juan Téllez; I give them to Francisco Tezca, my nephew. And (I have) (wooded land? conquered land?) 20 (units of measure) square that borders with the late Francisco Chantli, and 20 in (Santiago) Tetla that borders with Juan Çaoya, and on the other side with Melchor Téllez. Both of these said pieces of patrimonial land will (be sold) if I die, (and the money) spent on and used for me. And here, next to the house, I have land that I bought. María, wife of Gerónimo, came to take one peso and four tomines (for the land). Let this said (land) be sold (and the money) used for me, to say a mass for me. And the seven chinampas that belong to the house and are calpulli land I give to Petronilla. And the house which used to be my late father's will belong to the church, in order for masses to be said for me. (The testament) was

/f. 68r/ - Di^o hernandez mel^{or} tellez anton tepatohua fran^{co} muysse Ju^a tiacapan m^a ana tiacapan martha tlahcoh

- Inicc opa oquito yn tepancalli yn ayamo motlapachohua monamacaz nopan popoliuiz yehuatl yn xochmilcopa yzticac Axcan martes yc xxv mani metztli hebrero De mill y quinientos y ochenta y vn Anos

- Auh yz catqui nimitznopieltilia tlatolli yn tehua ti-Escri^o oniquilcauhcah çe tlatatl micqui o ypan nitlatohuaya ytocha catcah p^o cohuatecatl nican chane ohuatlan ymil onicnamacazquia onpa yn tetlapanalloyan ma v poli ayamo quipatiotia yn p^o ortiz yn v poli tlalli auh yn nechmacac iii p^{os} yehuatl yn nomil yc quicohua çenpoli onmatlactli onçe ynic huiac ymiltitech yn Ju^o de sanct luys catca yhuan yn p^o de sanct nicolas çentlapal nechzacuihticac yquac ticcuito yt^s yn a^ol perez catca auh ynin t^s Amo mochi oniccuic o çequi mimicque yn ticçenpopollique nots yn ipatiuh notlal xx on x tli yquac fiscalti Ju^o tellez toqualtecutli 1 p^{os} vi no yc ticocohuque 4 t^stica totech monec yn miguel tellez tlalpatcatl ychan çihuatecpan ca tonehuan yn ticcuih t^s ytomin a^ol pez auh yn 4 ts tiquallitquique ticmacaqueh yn fiscal yni niqutohua tlatolli Ca huel quimomachitia yn miguel tellez auh ypanpa yn axcan nimitznopieltilia notlatol yni oniceneuh nomil ypatiuh canel naxca macayac ytla notech quitlamiz yntla oninomiquilli ypanpa yn iuh niqutohua yn v poli milli ca oquimottillito yn tolaçotatzin pror (sic) fray Ju^o nonez yhuan yn itetzin Di^o De Sanct Roman yhuan ytelpoch yn quittato milli v poli yn imil catca p^o cohuatecatl auh niqutohua ma tlahhua yn ordiz tel amo nic.... auh ca mochipa ypan onitlatohuaya auh canel amo huel onicchiuh (m)a yçiuha pallehuiilloz yn miccatzin (sic) ca miecpa ypanpa onitollini ynic onictepotztocatinen milli ca tel ye omonotzinoque yn tolaçotatzin prior yn yehuatl ordiz ynic yehuatl quipatiotiz auh yn quauhtlalli onpohualli tel o no quimottilli yn tolaçotatzin Çanno ymil yn p^o cohuatecatl yc onaci vii poli Ca çan mochi monamacaz yhuan onpa temi çoquiach onpoli çenpoli ynic patlahuan yni am (sic) neçi yn canin temi ayac oquimachitocac ynn onitlatlaniaya niqutohuan yntla neçi yntla aca quimomachitocaz no ytech pohuiz monamacaz yxquichi ynic nimitznonahuatillia yn ixpan Ju^a tiacapan p^onilla m^a ana ynamic yn ye miznequi (sic) axcan lunes xxvii De hebrero 1581 a^{os}

done before the witnesses Agustín Vázquez, executor, /f. 68r/ Diego Hernández, Melchor Téllez, Antón Tepatoa, Francisco Moysén, Juana Tiacapan, María Ana Tiacapan, and Marta Tlaco.

- He (spoke) again and said that the enclosure, which is not yet covered, is to be sold, and (the money) to be spent on me. It is (the structure) that faces toward Xochimilco. Today Tuesday, the 25th of the month of February of the year 1581.

- Here is a declaration that I forgot that I entrust to you, notary; I used to speak for a person now dead, whose name was Pedro Coatecatl, citizen here in Ohuatlan (Coatlan?). I was going to sell his field in Tetlapanaloyan of 100 (units of measure). Pedro Ortiz (who was going to buy it) has not yet paid for these 100 (units) of land. But he gave me three pesos to buy a field of mine, 31 long, next to the field of the late Juan de San Luis, and on one side it touches the land of Pedro de San Nicolás. When we went to collect money from the late Alonso Pérez, I didn't collect all the money; some of them were dead. (Instead) we spent all my money, the proceeds from my 30 (units) of land; at that time, Juan Téllez Toqualtecutli was fiscal. We bought (something) with one peso, six tomines, and four tomines were used for us, Miguel Téllez Tlalpatcatl, whose home is Cihuatecpan, and me, because both of us went to collect the money of Alonso Pérez, and we brought back four tomines that we gave to the fiscal. What I declare here Miguel Téllez knows well, and the reason I now entrust my statement to you is that, since the proceeds of my aforementioned field belong to me, let no one accuse me of anything when I have died. The reason I say this is that our dear father, the prior, fray Juan Núñez, and his brother-in-law Diego de San Román and his son went to see the field of 100 (units of measure) that belonged to Pedro Coatecatl. And I say, let Ortiz pay, because I (can't collect the payment); even though I always urged it, I have been unable to do it. Let the deceased be aided promptly, because many times I have gone to the trouble of making investigations concerning the field. But now our dear father the prior and Ortiz have come to agreement that he will pay the price. And our dear father also saw 40 (units of measure) of (conquered? wooded?) land which is also the field of Pedro Coatecatl, with which it comes to 140 (units of measure of land). All of it is to be sold. And in Çoquiach there are (some chinampas) 40 (units of measure long) and 20 wide which have not been located, and no one whom I questioned knows about it. I declare that if they do appear, if someone finds out about it, that also will

- Onitlacuillo yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escr^o
Della yglesia

Miguel Jacobo
De mal^{do} nob^{do}

belong to him and will be sold. This is all I make manifest to you. (Done) before Juana Tiacapan, Petronilla,, and María Ana, wife of the one about to die. Today, Monday, the 27th of February of the year 1581.

- I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, did the writing.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 69r

Document 43

Testament of Juana Tiacapan (c), June 2, 1581

Often when a testator orders property sold, we have little idea whether the transaction ever took place or not. Here, Juana orders the sale of some goods connected with weaving, plus some barnyard fowl. Following the will is the certification of the sales to some Culhuacan women. The terminology connected with weaving is potentially valuable in understanding techniques and technology; however, precisely because these things are so technical and little known, much of our translation relating to weaving is provisional.

/f. 69r/ Ju^a tiacapan

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl Ju^a tiacapan nican nochan sanct fran^{co} atenpa maçihui yn ninococohua yeçe y noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia sanctiSsa (sic) Drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Espu sto çan çe Dios yxquichihuellitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia De Roma auh yeayah ynn axcan nicchihua yn notestamento macayac quitlacoç

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohua yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^c auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehicah ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Inic ontlamantli niqutohua yn milli nimacoc sanctiagoo tetlah 2 poli ymiltitech yn p^o cuicapantzin oncan yn çihuapahtlah ymil catca nocoltzin Ju^o cuixcocatl yhuan çanno ychinantzin huehuetlalli çenpohualli ynin onic-teneuh ytech pohui nicmaca yn nohuepoltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} ayac quixtoquilliz ypampa ca nonemac Auh yn icpauh catca y nicuihtzin Antonatzin yn inamic ocatca nohuepoltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} niqutohua canel yna^ctzin ocatca auh ma quimocuilli yehuatl quimomachitia aço quite-tlaquehuiz miSsa yc ypan mitoz yn iquac tla oyecauh ypanpa yn iuh niqutohua yn macamo yc nechtlatzacuilitz yn Dios ypanpa camo huel onicchiuh yn nehuatl auh ynn onicteneuh ycpatl çentlatectli yhuan ome machiotl yhuan i otlatica onoc yhuan çe tepiton yc nahui ma quimocuilli ma yehuatl quimomachitia y nohuepoltzin

/f. 69r/ Juana Tiacapan

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Juana Tiacapan, whose home is here in San Francisco Atempan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one omnipotent God. And I believe all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. Therefore now I make my testament; let no one violate it.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul in the hands of our lord God because he redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Second I declare that there is a field that was given to me in Santiago Tetla, 40 (units of measure long), next to the field of Pedro Cuicapantzin in Cihuapatla; it was the field of my grandfather Juan Cuixcocatl, together with the chinampas (of the field), patrimonial land, 20 (units of measure long). This said (land) belongs to and I give it to my brother-in-law Juan Bautista; no one is to claim it from him, because it is my inheritance. And as to the yarn that belonged to my younger sister Antonia, who was the wife of my brother-in-law Juan Bautista, I declare that since she was his wife, let him take it. He knows if perhaps he will hire someone (to finish weaving it), and upon its completion (and sale) a mass will be said for her. The reason why I say this is so that God will not castigate me because I myself have not been able to do it. And the yarn that I mentioned (consists of) a piece of woven cloth and two (designs), of which one is stretched on the canes (for weaving), and, fourth, a

- No yhuan niqutohua nocaSa tepiton nixcoyan onicno-cohuicah nicmacah y nohuepoltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} aço yamauh oncan quitlatlalliz ayac quixtoquilliz auh yn çanno onca yn tomatlah onca temi chinamitl v tetl nechmacac yn Ju^o callego Juez çanno nicmaca yn nohuepoltzin Ju^o pab^{ta} yn ixquich oniquito yn iquac yntla oninomiquilli ma yçihca quimoteittilliz yn notecuiyotzin fran^{co} mal^{do}

- Auh iz catqui oncan oninentlamatia onictocac milli onpa yn yahualliuhcan 2 poli yhuan tlamacazcatlalpa i p̄oli ynin onicteneuh camo nixcoyan notlal ca ytlal yn notatzin auh yn toctli nicmaca quimochihuilliz y nicuihtzin Di^o ytech nicpohua No yhuan ycpalli ayamo quiçi çentlatectli yhuan ome machiotl yhuan tlapilli çentetl quauhpachtli nicmaca y nicuhtzin Di^o aço aca ytla quichihuiz (sic) yehuatl quimati

- Yhuan niqutohua çe nometla tepiton yhuan ce machiotl yhuan yaltepiton ontetl yhuan çentetl yztac yepatl nicmacah yn teoyotichah noconeuh Miguel auh yn anaton nicmaca yn metlatepitan ayac quimixtoquilliz ca ye niquinmana

/f. 69v/ - Ihuan niqutohua yn nocpatzin çetipan çann oc tlatetctli yhuan i machiotl yhuan omotlatl machiotl Ça tzotzopiz yhuan tlatlapalli m^opan monamacaz yn quezqui ypatiuh yez t^s miSSa yc nopan mitoz yhuan çe metlatl yhuan patos tepiton nauhteme quin pipiltototi yhuan çentetl ye huehueton yn macuiltetl yhuan onteme yectotolme quinhuapahua yn nohuexiuhtzin monamacaz-que yc mochi çenyaz yn teopan miSSa yc nopan mitoz yntla omonamacac

- yhuan nicnotlacui tlapillicpatl onquatzomitl macoz ynn iahuitzin andres ytoca çeçellia ychan tianquizçolcoh No yhuan nicnotlacui 4 t^s ytomín y noçitzin ma yciuhca macoz yn iquac monamacaz nocpauh ye yxquich yn niqutohua macayac quemania ytla quitoz ypanpa ca atle ytlatqui ytech naci onictemacac y notatzin ca huel nixcoyan notlatqui yn onictemacac auh y noçihuatlatqui ca amo no tle ytech naçituih ynn ixquich cahuitl oninonemiti yn onicnonenextilli ymixpan omochiuh yn itestamento cocoxcatzintli fran^{co} mal^{do} Ju^o lazaro Di^o mal^{do} Ju^o pab^{ta} coro topille teopan Ju^a tiacapan yna^c Ju^o laz^o m^a tiacapan yna^c ocatca Di^o miguel teoyotica

small (piece of cloth). Let my brother-in-law take it, he knows about this.

- In addition, I declare that I have a small chest that is my property; I bought it. I give it to my brother-in-law, Juan Bautista. Perhaps he will put his papers there. No one is to claim it from him. And also in Tomatla there are five chinampas that the judge Juan Gallego gave me. I give them also to my brother-in-law, Juan Bautista. Let my lord, Francisco Maldonado, quickly manifest all that I declare when I have died.

- Here is something I have put much effort into: I planted a field in Yahualliuhcan, 40 (units of measure) (long?), and in the land of Tlamacazco one of 20, and this (land) I mention is not my property nor my land, but that of my father. But the crop I give to my younger brother Diego, who is to reap it; I assign it to him, and also a (cloth seat? some yarn?), not a full piece of cloth yet, and two (designs) and a (tied? knotted?) piece, which is dark in color. I give it to my younger brother Diego; perhaps someone can make something out of it; he knows about it.

- And I declare that there is a small metate of mine and a (design) and two small (hanks of yarn?), black in color, and a (hank?) of white yarn. I give it to my godchild Miguel, and to little Ana I give a small metate. No one is to claim it from them, because I offer it to them.

/f. 69v/ - In addition I declare that I have a tomín's worth of yarn, only warped (i.e., not finished weaving), and (a design), and two (designs) on the canes (for weaving), which are to be finished, and half a tomín's worth of (cloth) which is striped with various colors; it will be sold, and with however much the proceeds are in money, masses will be said for me. And a metate and four recently hatched ducklings and one (already older), five (in all), and two turkey hens (now mature) that my fellow parent-in-law raised will be sold. When it is sold, all (of the money) will go to the church in order for masses to be said for me.

- And I borrowed two (lengths?) of (tied? knotted?) yarn; it is to be given to the aunt of Andrés, named Cecilia, whose home is Tianquizçolco. Also I borrowed four tomines from my grandmother; they are to be given to her quickly when my yarn is sold. This is all I declare. Let no one ever say anything (against it) because in what I gave to others I have not touched my father's property, because what I gave to others is truly my own property. Nor with my woman's things do I touch (my father's property); during the time I have lived on earth, I have acquired them by my own efforts. The testament of the invalid was done before Francisco Maldonado; Juan

tepixqui

- aluaçias Aug^{tin} vazquez Di^o Ellias alguacil

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo De mal^{do} Escri^o Della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ynic oquitlalli ytestamento Ju^a tiacapan yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlalli notoca nofirma Axcan viernes yc 2tl Dias Del mes De Junio De 1581 anos

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
De mal^{do} nonb^{do}

Lázaro; Diego Maldonado; Juan Bautista, topile of the church choir; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Juan Lázaro; María Tiacapan, widow of Diego Miguel, church tepixqui.

- The executors are Agustín Vázquez and Diego Elías, alguacil.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Juana Tiacapan ordered her testament well, and I wrote it. I place here my name and signature. Today, Friday, the 2nd day of the month of June of the year 1581.

Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 69v

Document 43A

Annotation in Nahuatl, June 16, 1581

/f. 69v/ - Iz catqui yn quiteneuhtih monamacaz Ju^a tiacapan auh omonamacac ynic çe m^a Sallome quicohua batos onteme 4 t^s oquiman Ju^a muyse quicohua batos huehueton 1 t^s ypan m^o yhuan otlatica onoc machiotl 1 t^s oquicouh çihuatotolme vi t^s oquicouh m^a Salome yhuan ycpatl yeçotl ayamo tlachichiuh 4 t^s yhuan machiotl 1 t^s ypan m^o otlatica onoc metatl quicohua m^a tiacapan Calpoltitlan 3 t^s yn ye mochi omoçentlalli t^s 2 p^os ypan 5 t^s yn omonamacac ytlatqui Ju^a tiacapan axcan viernes yc 16 Dias Del mes De Junio De 1581 Anos ymixpan omochiuh otlanamacoc Ju^a muysse fran^{co} mal^{do} Ju^o pab^{ta} Ju^a tiacapan yna^c Ju^o laz^o m^a Salome ychpochtli augustin vazquez miguel Joseph auh ynin yt^s tlatquipatiotl oquimochihuilli missa yn totlaçotatzin prior ymixpan ts^ome gabriel mal^{do} augstin (sic) vazque (sic) miguel Joseph onitlacuilo

Miguel Jacobo

/f. 69v/ - Here are the things that Juana Tiacapan said were to be sold, and they were sold. María Salomé is the first (buyer); she bought two ducks for four tomines; Juana Moysén offered to buy the (older) duck for a tomín and a half, and she bought (a design) that was on the canes for a tomín; and María Salomé bought the turkey hens for six tomines, and three lengths of yarn (already woven) which is not yet adorned (embroidered?), for four tomines; and a (design) that is on the canes for a tomín and a half. And María Tiacapan of Calpoltitlan bought a metate for three tomines. And all the money together makes the sum of two pesos and five tomines, from the goods of Juana Tiacapan that were sold today, Friday, the 16th day of the month of June of the year 1581. The sale was done before Juana Moysén; Francisco Maldonado; Juan Bautista; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Juan Lázaro; María Salomé, unmarried young women; Agustín Vázquez; and Miguel Josef. And with this money of hers (of the late Juana Tiacapan), the price of the goods, our dear father the prior said a mass. Done before the witnesses Gabriel Maldonado, Agustín Vázquez, and Miguel Josef. I did the writing, Miguel Jacobo (de Maldonado).

f. 70v

Document 44

Testament of Joaquín de Luna, June 17, 1581

Death found Joaquín in Culhuacan. Even though he is from Mexico City, he orders burial and masses in the church in Culhuacan. Joaquín's estate lists no land, but he owns at least one horse, and possibly a mule, worth more than many Culhuacan houses.

/f. 70v/ Xuachin de lona

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitzazque yn quipohuazque yn amatl yn queni nehuatl xuachin de lona nochan mexico notlaxillacatlan sanct ju^o amanalco maçonellihui yn ninococohua yn noyollia naniman çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia yn Sanctisima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu santo çan çe yn iyelitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimomeltoquitia sancta yglesia de Roma auh yehica yn axcan nicchihua notestamento ett^a

- ynicc ontlamantli niquitohua yn nehuatl xuachin y noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli Ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin auh yn nonaCayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica Ca ytech oquiz yn tlalli

- No yhuan niquitohua nicpia çentetl nocahuallo macho yn iquac yntla ninomiquilli Conmaniliz y nicauhtzin ju^a tiacapan quimopielliz auh ypampa yn iuh niquitohua missa yc nechpallehuiz vi tetl yuhqui yn çan quimopatiotilliz ytech nicçencahua yn iquac tla omochiuh missa çan yehuatl quimomachitia ma yçihca nechmopallehuilliz ynn ixpan^{co} dios yn iquac tla oninomiquilli

- Auh yz catqui i p^os nots yn iquac tla oninomiquilli yc nitocoz huentzintli nicchihua yn ichantzincan sanct ju^o Euang^{ta} auh yz catqui 2 ts yc nechanaquihui yn teopantlachah ynic quihuicazque notlalnacayo yn ichantzincan tote^o yn iquac nitocoz

- No yhuan niquitohua nechpiellia nocavallo ynn onpa cuitlatetelco quipia ytoca min cano ypatihui viii p^os yn onicteneuh Cavallo monamacaz oncan quiçaz nicnotlacui iii p^os yhuan iiii ts ytomín yn min cano ynn onicteneuh yn quipia nocahuayo niquitohua yn iquac tla omonamac nocavallo ynn onicteneuh Ca ye çe xihuitl ynn onpa ycac ynn onpa quitlayecoltia yn martin Cano auh quitlaxtlahuiz ynic otlatequipano

- No yhuan Cruz yc onechchichihuilizquia çanno onpa chane yn cuitlatetelco ytoca miguel onicmacac i p^os yhuan 4 ts auh yn yn ts ynn onicteneuh notech pohuiz yc nipallehuiloz yn ixpan^{co} dios Missa yc nopan mitoz yehuantzitzin quimomachitia yn ncauhtzi (sic) Ju^a tiacapan ye yxquich yn niquitohua yn iqua (sic) yntla ninomiquilliz macayac quitlacoz yn imixpan omochiuh testigosme ju^a tiacapan yna^c catca ju^o acatl ju^a muysen migl vazquez moloncatl m^a tiacapan yna^c matheo hopan fran^{ca} tiacapa yna^c ocatca fran^{co} maxihuitl yhuan alvaçias Augstin (sic) vazquez miguel Joseph axcan jueues yc xvii de junio de 1581 Anos Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacob de mal^{do} nonbrado niquitohua Ca qualli ynic oquitlalli ytestamento yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican

/f. 70v/ Joaquín de Luna

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Joaquín de Luna, whose home is Mexico City in the ward of San Juan Amanalco, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed; and I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now I make my testament, etc. (sic)

- Second (sic) say I, Joaquín, that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- In addition, I declare that I have a horse (mule?), and when I have died, my younger sister Juana Tiacapan will take it and have it. And the reason I say this is that she is to aid me with six masses, as if she bought (the animal); I put her in charge of it, she has the responsibility of arranging the masses. Let me be helped promptly before God when I have died.

- And there is one peso of my money. I make it an offering, so that when I have died I will be buried at the church of San Juan Evangelista. And there are two tomines so that the church attendants will come to take me and accompany my earthly body to the church of our Lord when I am buried.

- In addition, I declare that in Cuitlatetelco someone named Martín Cano is keeping a horse of mine valued at eight pesos. This said horse will be sold and from it will come three pesos and four tomines that I borrowed from the said Martín Cano who is keeping my horse. And I declare that when my horse that I mentioned is sold, since it has been there for a year in the service of Martín Cano, he is to pay for the horse's work.

- Also there is another person, citizen of Cuitlatetelco, named Miguel, who was going to fix up a cross for me for a peso and four tomines that I gave him, and this said money will belong to me to aid me before God, and with it a mass will be said for me. My younger sister Juana Tiacapan knows about this. This is all I declare. When I die, let no one violate (my declaration). Done before the witnesses: Juana Tiacapan, widow of Juan Acatl; Juana Moysén; Miguel Vázquez Moloncatl; María Tiacapan (Document 53), wife of Mateo Opan; Francisca Tiacapan, widow of Francisco Maxihuitl; and the executors, Agustín Vázquez and Miguel Josef. Today, the 17th of June of the year 1581. And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary, declare that he ordered

nictlallia notoca nofirma

Miguel jacob
de mal^{do} Escri^o

his testament well, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

f. 71v

Document 45

Testament of Simón Moxixicoa, January 22, 1581

This testament and related documents indicate that testators' attempts to impose their will on their heirs were not always successful. Simón wants his wife to raise his children at the marital residence after he dies. His wife has other ideas. With her relatives supporting her case, she disputes her late husband's will and has town officials separate her goods from his estate after his death so that she can leave.

/f. 71v/ Simon moxixicohua

- Ma qumatica yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque yn amatl yn queni nehuatl Simon moxixicohua nican nochan sanct ju^o Euangellista colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli sanct fran^{co} tlacateopan Maçoyhui yn ninocohua yeçe yn noyollia yn naniman amo quen catqui yhuan cenca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu sancto çan çe yn iyelitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia de Roma auh yn axca yn ipampa yn itlatlauh-tilocatzin to^o dios nicchihua nitecpana yn notestamento - ynic i tlamantli niqutohua yn nehuatl Simon yn noyollia naniman çenmactzin^{co} nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli oquimomaquixtilli yn nican tlap^c yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin Auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica Ca tlalli ytech quiz

- No yhuan niqutohua yn nocal yn tonatiuh ycallaqui-anpa yzticac yn quin otictoquechillique yn nonamictzin catca ynn achto omomiquilli niquinmacatiuh yn nopilhuan fran^{ca} tiacapan yhuan yn bar^{me} di^o auh yn inantzin yn quin oniconamicti Çann oncan quinpachotiyez amo canpa yaz çan yc çenyez yn ixquich yc cah nosolar auh yn iatentlallo ytech pouhqui yn nopiltzin bartholome di^o yhuan ynn etel chinamitl oncan temi yn atezcapan no ytech nicpohua yn bar^{me} di^o

- yhuan niqutohua yn nochinan vii tetl ynn onpa temi motlauhxauecan ytech poqui (sic) nicmaca yn nochpoch fran^{ca} tiacapan Auh yn teoyotica nopiltzin yn itoca mathia yn ipiltzin Jacobo tlatolehua nicmaca ontetl chinamitl çeçenpohualli onmatlatlactli yn onpa temi motlauhxauecan auh ynn ixelliuhca yn oc no iii tetl nicmaca yn nona^c m^a justina quicuiz

- Auh ynn atentlalli yn oncan çillan yhuan yn onpa çacahapan vii tetl ychinan catca yn bal^{af} tlaçochalcatl nicmaca yn nopiltzin bar^{me} di^o catel yeppa ytech pouh-

/f. 71v/ Simón Moxixicoa

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Simón Moxixicoa, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of San Francisco Tlacateopan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. Therefore now with supplication of God our lord I make and order my testament.

- First say I, Simón, that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Also I declare that there is a house of mine that faces west, that my late wife, who died first, and I built. I give it to my children, Francisca Tiacapan and Bartolomé Diego; and their mother whom I married after (the death of my first wife) is just to rule them there and not go away to another place. All myouselot is to be with (the house); and its land at the edge of the water belongs to my child Bartolomé Diego. And the three chinampas that are in Atezcapan I also assign to Bartolomé Diego.

- And I declare that there are seven chinampas of mine in Motlauhxauecan. They belong and I give them to my daughter Francisca Tiacapan. And I have a godchild named Matías, son of Jacobo Tlatolehua, to whom I give two chinampas that are in Motlauhxauecan, each one 30 (units of measure long). And the other part, another three, I give to my wife María Justina. She is to take them.

- And I give the land at the edge of the water in Cillan, and also the seven chinampas in Çacaapan which were Baltasar Tlaçochalcatl's, to my child Bartolomé Diego.

qui nictlachicahuillia yn nehuatl yhuan ... çanno ymil catca yn bal^{ar} tlaochcalcatl x tetl auh v tetl ytech pouhqui yn baltholome di^o quimonepantlaxelhuizque auh ynn onpa y(e/a)catitlan onpa temi yn chinamitl ix tetl ytech pouhqui yn nopiltzin bar^{me} di^o ayac quixtoquilliz

- No yhuan niquitohua ynn onpa tlatlahqui tepec yxpah oncan mani çenpohualli çan necoc yahualtic ytech nicpohua yn nonamic nicmaca ayac quixtoquilliz yn m^a justina auh ynn onpa sanctiago tetlah ytocayocan tene-pantla onpoli niquinmaca yn nopilhuan fran^{ca} tiacapan yhuan bar^{me} di^o çeçenpohualli quicuzque quimonepantlaxelhuizque Auh yn piltzintli ynn onechmomaquillica tote^o dios yntla çemilhuil onmonoltitoz ytech pouhqui yn noquauhtec xx pantli ayac quixtoquilliz yehuatl quimati yn inantzin

/f. 72r/ - yhuan niquitohua yn metlatl nahui ome ytech nicpohua yn fran^{ca} tiacapan no ome yn bar^{me} ypanpa ca çan ymomextin yn nopilhuantzitzin auh yn tlaltepoztlitl yn tlateconi yn tepozhuictli ytech pouhqui yn bar^{me} diego ca oquichtli aço nemiz Auh ixquich yn nocallitic onoc yn notlatlatquitl (sic) çan ynnehuan yntech pouhqui yn nopilhuan Ca ymaxca çan quiçenpiezqueh Auh yn teçontli hualla sanctiago tetla çen quauhpanitli monamacaz notech pohuiz yc nitocoç auh yn tlaquahuac tetl amo çenca miyec nicmaca yn bar^{me} di^o yehuatl quimati aço ytla quichihuaz Auh yn tetl yn calnacatzli Caltitlan catqui ytech pohuiz yn totlaçotatzin sanct fran^{co} yc mochi-huaz ycaztzin ayac quimaxcatiz ye yxquich y niquitohua notlatol macayac quenmaniya ytla quitoz nicanpa notepotzco yn iquac oninomiçuilli

- Ymixpan omochiuh testigos ynic oquitlalli ytestament Simon moxixicohua ynic çe lorenzo xochiten tepixqui miguel cuixcocatl miguel yaotl ju^o xochitl ju^o fran^{co} yaotl Jacobo tlatolehua philipe andres yxpopoyotl yzquintini yn tlaxillacalleque auh yn çihua ana teicuih yna^c ju^o tellez alde m^a justina yna^c yn ye momiquilliznequi marina mag^{na} ymonnan ju^a tiacapan yna^c ju^o xochitl ana çeçilia yna^c philipeh andres p^onilla ynac miguel cuixcocatl

- Auh yn nehuatl Miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ynic oquitlalli ytestamento Simon moxixicohua yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

Axcan yc 22 dias del mes de Enero de 1581 annos

They belonged to him before and I confirm his rights. And the other field which was Baltasar Tlaochcalcatl's (has) 10 (chinampas), and five belong to Bartolomé Diego; he (and his sister?) are to divide (the 10) between them. And in Yacatitlan there are nine chinampas that belong to my child Bartolomé Diego. No one is to claim them from him.

- Also I declare that facing Tlatlahquitepec there are 20 (units of measure of land) square that I assign and give to my wife. No one is to claim them from María Justina. And in Santiago Tetla, in the place named Tenepantla, I give 40 (units of measure of land) to my children Francisca Tiacapan and Bartolomé Diego. Each is to take 20; they are to divide it between them. And to the little child that our lord God gave me, if he stays a day (if he lives), belong my 20 piles of wood. No one is to claim them from him. His mother knows about this.

/f. 72r/ - And I declare that of four metates of mine I assign two to Francisca Tiacapan and also two to Bartolomé, because they are both my children. And a hoe, an axe, and a metal-tipped digging stick belong to Bartolomé Diego because he is male, if he lives. And all of our things that are inside the house belong to both my children, because it is their property and they are to have it all. And a quappantli of porous stone (tezontle) that was brought from Santiago Tetla is to be sold, (and the money) will belong to me in order to bury me. And the hard stone, not much of it, I give to Bartolomé Diego. He knows if he will build something (with it). And the stones for corners of houses that are next to the house will belong to our dear father San Francisco, with which to make his house (to build the church of San Francisco Tlaxatecpán). No one is to appropriate them. This is all I declare. Let no one ever say anything after my time, when I have died.

- Simón Moxixicoa ordered his testament before witnesses, the first, Lorenzo Xochiten, tepixqui; Miguel Cuixcocatl; Miguel Yaotl; Juan Xochitl; Juan Francisco Yaotl; Jacobo Tlatolehua; Felipe Andrés, blindman; these are all the ward heads. And the women: Ana Teicuh, wife of Juan Téllez, alcalde; María Justina, wife of the one about to die; Marina Magdalena (his?/her?) mother-in-law; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Juan Xochitl; Ana Cecilia, wife of Felipe Andrés; and Petronilla, wife of Miguel Cuixcocatl.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Simón Moxixicoa ordered his testament well, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature.

Today, the 22nd of the month of January of the year

Min Tlaccatepanecatli
aluaçia topille

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

1581.

Martín Tlaccatepanecatli, executor and topile. Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 72r

Document 45A

Concerning the Estate of Simón Moxixicoa, May 27, 1581

/f. 72r/ - Yn nican ypan altepetl Colhuacan yc 27 dias del mes de mayo de 1581 a^{os} yn yehuantzitzin Senores aHdes lurenço de sanct fran^{co} yhuan ju^o tellez yhuan fiscal gabriel mal^{do} ymixpan^{co} onecico yn yehuatl yna^c catca Simon moxixicohua ytoca m^a justina yhuan mochintin ohuallaque yn itlacayohuan cihuatl oquitoque ma ticcaquican yn testamento yn quitlallitia micqui auh niman omotemo yn testamento yhuan omopouh oquicacque yn tetlacayohua auh ynic omoteixpahui yn için çihuatzintli cen çan (sic) yc maahuah çenca yc motollinia

- auh ynic omotlanahuatillique senores aHdes oquimitalhuique ynnic oquimonahuatillique çihuatzintli oc xictlakahui yn calli yhuan xicquixti yn quauhtectli yhuan yn moçin yhuan yn ixquich yn moçihuatlatqui ayac teahuaz çann ihuiyan yocoxca xicquix/f. 72v/ti yn motlatqui yhuan yxpantzinco mochihuaz yn alguacil mayor auh ynn aquin ytla quitoz jus^a chihuilliloz telpilloyan tlalliloz yhuin ynn omotlanahuatillique senores alldes ymixpan^{co} Regidores fran^{co} G^{mo} fran^{co} xochicalcatl

Augusti ximenez
alguacil mayor

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbr^{do}

Auh yn iquac oquiquixti ytlatqui çihuatzintli oquiquixti yn için yhuan ynn iquauhtec yhuan ycihuatlatqui çann ihuiyan pacca yhuan ynchalchiuhtexoxoc oquipiyeltique yn ina^c miguel yaotl yehuatl quinpiyelliz yn pipiltotontin yn ipilhuan ximon moxixicohua Nican oquimotlallilique ynfirmatzin etc

Don lurenço de
sanct fran^{co} aHde

ju^o tellez
aHde

Nixpan
omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

/f. 72r/ - Here in the city of Culhuacan, the 27th day of the month of May of the year 1581, before the lords alcaldes, Lorenzo de San Francisco and Juan Téllez, and the fiscal, Gabriel Maldonado, appeared the widow of Simón Moxixicoa, named María Justina, and all the relatives of the woman came and said, "Let us hear the testament that the deceased ordered." And then the testament was searched for and was read and the relatives heard it. And they complained about the woman's unshelled maize; they disputed greatly over it and were very discontented about it.

- And thus the lords alcaldes ordered: they said that they ordered the woman: "Abandon the house and take the firewood and your unshelled maize and all your woman's things. No one is to quarrel, but you are to take your property /f. 72v/ in peace. And it will be done before the alguacil mayor, and whoever says anything (counter to it) will have justice done him and will be put in jail." Thus ordered the lords alcaldes before the regidores Francisco Gerónimo and Francisco Xochicalcatl.

Agustín Jiménez, alguacil mayor. Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

And when the woman took out her property, in peace she took her unshelled maize and her cut wood and her woman's things. And they give in keeping to the wife of Juan Yaotl the precious green stones of the little children of Simón Moxixicoa, to keep them for (the children). Here they put their signatures, etc. (sic).

Don Lorenzo de San Francisco, alcalde. Juan Téllez, alcalde. Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 73r

Document 46

Testament of Tomás Motolinia, March 8, 1581

Tomás's second name proclaims him a poor person, but he owns a fair amount of land, including purchased land. Tomás takes his role as uncle seriously, bequeathing land to a nephew so the young man "will come to establish himself as an adult man with the tribute."

/f. 73r/ thomas motollinia

- ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuaz (sic) amatl yn queni nehuatl tomas motolinia nican nochan yehitlatocan cohuatlan maçihui y ninococohua yeçe y noyollia naniman pactica amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yhuan dios Espu santo çe çe (sic) huel nelli dios yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de roma auh yehica yn axcan yn ica ynotzallocatzin tote^o dios yn itlaltlauhtiloca nicchihua nictecpana yn notestamento

- Ynic çentlamantli yn noyollia yn naniman yçenmacztzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli yhua ca xyiptlatzi auh yn notlalnacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehuica (sic) ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- No yhuan niquitohua ca atle ma ytla nicnopiellilia yn tote^o dios ynic nicchihuaz huentzintli teopan auh çann ixquich niquitohua motollinia yn nochpoch barbara ynes yntla quimonemitilliz yn tote^o dios ytech nicpohua yn nochinancohual yn onpa temi yxtlapanco yn ichinantzin catca yn çihuapilli dona ju^a de motecuihçoma nicmacac vi p^os auh tel oncatqui tonenonotzal toconçierdo ynic amo aca quenmanian ytla quitoz

- yhuan niquitohua yn nocal yn quin oyecauh tonatiuh ycallaquianpa ytzticac yhuan yn tepancalli xochmilcopahuic ytzticac yhuan yn quauhtectli yhuan yn tlaxamanilli yn ixquich yn callitic onoc totlatlatqui çan mochi yntech nicpohua yn nopilhuan parbara ynes yhuan yn nomon fran^{co} moysse niqinçemaxcatituih ayac quincuilliz auh yn oncan nihuetzoc yn xochmilcopa ytzticac yn tohuehual ca yn iquac momiquilli yn nonantzin catca ynic techlamamacatia çan tictixtlania yn calli yn nohueltiuh ana tiacapan auh yn axcan niquitohua çann iuh yez canel notech pouhqui çanno oc çeppa yntec nicpohua yn nopilhuan quin yehuan quimati yntla nemizque aço quimonamaquillizque auh yn tlalmilli çenpohualli onmatlactli ynmiltitech yn m̄n xiuhtlan catca ychan sanct fran^{co} atenpa auh niquitohua notech pouhqui monamacaz Ca meytoc missa yc nopan mitoz yntla neçiz ypatuih yez yn ts

- No yhuan niquitohua nots v p^os onpa mopia yn huepantli ytemoya acalli yc oniccohuazquia ma mitlanituih yn quipia ytoca Gr^{mo} auh yn iquac huallaz ts yc tippallehuilozque teopan callaquiz auh yn tetla onpa mani ompohualli çenpohualli nicmaca yn nohueltiuh ana tiacapan no çenpohualli nicmaca yn nochpoch barbara ynes oncan yn tenepantla çan huel quimonepantlaxelhuizque auh yn notlalcohual tomatlah nicmacac 3 p^os

/f. 73r/ Tomás Motolinia (“poor person”)

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Tomás Motolinia, whose home is here (in the ward of) Tres Reyes Coatlan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order my testament.

- First, I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and it is in his image. And my earthly body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- I also say that I keep nothing for our lord God (have nothing) with which to make an offering at the church. I just say that my daughter Bárbara Inés is poor, and if our lord God allows her to live, I assign her my purchased chinampas in Ixtlapanco. (They were) the chinampas of the noble lady, doña Juana de Montezuma. I gave her six pesos and also there exists our written agreement, so that no one can ever make objections.

- And I say that as to a house of mine, recently finished, which faces west, with a corral that faces toward Xochimilco, along with the firewood and the shingles and all of our property which is inside the house, I assign it all to my daughter Bárbara Inés and my son-in-law, Francisco Moysén. I make it their property, and no one is to take it from them. And as to our patrimonial house, which faces Xochimilco, where I lie sick, when my late mother died, she gave each one of us his part. We just divide the house, my elder sister, Ana Tiacapan, and I. And now I say that it is to continue thus, since that which belongs to me I in turn assign to my children. They can decide, if they live, if they will sell it or not. And there is cultivated land of 30 (units of measure) by the field of the late Martín Xiuhtlan, whose home was San Francisco Atempan. And I say that it belongs to me. It is to be sold, for it is sown with magueys. When the proceeds in money have been collected, masses will be said for me with it.

- In addition, I say that there are five pesos of mine which are kept (where the planks go down to the water?), and with it I was going to buy a boat. Let it be requested of the one who has it, named Gerónimo, and when the money is brought, with it we will be helped; it will be delivered to the church. And in (Santiago) Tetla there are 40 (units of measure of land). I give 20 to my elder sister Ana Tiacapan, and I also give 20 to my

nicmacac yn nomon fran^{co} muysse yehuatl quimati ca ynmaxca ayac quimixtoquilliz auh ynn atezcatenco temi nauhtetl yhuan centetl ay..cac onoc nicmaca yn nomach y nomach (sic) Ju^o ayac(yo?a?) yntla nemiz yc hualmoquichquetzaz yn tequitica ayac quixtoquilliz oca yxquichi y niquitohua notlatol ymixpan omochiuh aluaçias /f. 73v/ augustin vazquez miguel joseph p^o de sanct nicollas di^o Ellias yhuan gaspar de sanct pablo ana tiacapan yna^c ju^o çaoya barpara ynes yna^c fran^{co} muysse

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento yn yehuatl thomas motollinia yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma axcan miercolles yc 8 tl dias del mes de março de 1581 a^{os}

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

daughter Bárbara Inés. It is in Tenepantla, and they are to divide it between them. And there is purchased land of mine in Tomatla. I gave three pesos for it. I gave it to my son-in-law Francisco Moysén. He knows about it, for it is his property; no one is to claim it from him. And in Atezcatenco there are four chinampas and one that is in (...). I give them to my nephew Juan Ayac(yo?a?), if he lives. With it he will come to establish himself as an adult man with the tribute. No one is to claim it from him. This is all I say. Done before the executors Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, Pedro de San Nicolás, Diego Elías, and Gaspar de San Pablo; Ana Tiacapan, wife of Juan Çaoya; and Bárbara Inés, wife of Francisco Moysén.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Tomás Motolinia ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature. Today, Wednesday, the 8th day of the month of March of the year 1581.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 73v

Document 46A

Annotations in Spanish, January 10, 1582

/f. 73v/ R^e de gaspar de san pablo seys pesos que se dijeron de misas de vna casa que compro de tomas motolinia diff^o por el qual se dijeron las misas

fray Joan
zimbron

R^e cinco pesos del mesmo diff^o de vnos magueyes que se vendieron dijeronse de misas en 10 de enero de 1582

fray joan
Zimbron

/f. 73v/ I received from Gaspar de San Pablo six pesos which were used for saying masses, from (the proceeds from) a house he bought from Tomás Motolinia, deceased, for whom the masses were said.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

I received five pesos from the same deceased from some magueys that were sold; they were used to say masses on the 10th of January of 1582.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 74r

Document 47

Testament of Pablo de San Gabriel Huitznahuatl, March 11, 1581

Pablo Huitznahuatl's will is part of a major cluster of testaments. In addition to giving land to his daughter Angelina Mocel (Doc. 50), Pablo makes a number of unusual bequests to others. One is so that people will console his wife and children after his death. He also gives chinampas to the elders (*huehuetque*) of Tomatla and some land to the city fathers of Culhuacan (*altepehuaque*). This type of bequest is relatively uncommon. One of Pablo's plots is measured in *mecatl* (lit: cord), a unit which in Culhuacan seems to have been 200 units of measure by 20, since it is here explicitly so defined. In other parts of central Mexico, the *mecatl* was 20 x 20.

/f. 74r/ pablo huitznahuatl

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn qui-

/f. 74r/ Pablo Huitznahuatl

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Pablo

pohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl pablo de sanct gabriel huitznahuatl Notlaxillalcaltian sanct. m^a mag^{na} tezcohuac Maçonellihui yn ninococohua hece yn noyollia yn naniman çan pacticatqui amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima drinidad dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios Espu sancto çan çe huel nelli dios yxquichihuelli yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de Roma auh ypampa yn axcan yn ica yn inotzallocatzin ytlatlauhtilocatzin yn tote^o dios nicchihua nictecpana yn notestamento

- Ynic çentlamantli Niquitohua yn nehuatl yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli yhuan oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlalticpac auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica Ca tlalli ytech quiz

- No yhuan niquitohua yn nocal yn çihuacalli tonatiuh yquičayanpa yztzicac yhuan yn xochmilcopa yztzicac yhuan yn iatentlallo vii tetl ytech nicpohua y nochpoch ytoca angellinan moçel ayac quixtoquilliz

- Yhuan ynn oc çentetl nocal yn çanno xochmilcopahuic yztzicac yn ça tlatzahueticac yn oncan onitetlalliaya yntech nicpohua yn nopilhuan omentin çihuatzitzinti yhuan yn nonamic barbara tlaco ca tel onca ycaltzin çan moxinititih nican huallaz yn xallan

- Yhuan niquitohua yn nochinan temi ytocayocan acatzintitlan vii ymiltitech yn bapian ximenez ocatca niquitohua ytech pouhqui yez yn nochpoch angellinan moçel ayac quicuilliz yhuan yn ontetl acallotenco temi ymiltitech catca yn ju^o huitzil yhuan çanno acallotenco temi oncan yn tlateco ontetl ymiltitech yn miguel nem(a/e)lla catca Çanno ytech pohui y nochpouh (sic) angellinan moçel ayac quixtoquilliz

- yhuan niquitohua ontetl temi yquiyahuac yn p^o muyse quichiuhtinemi auh niquitohua ytech nicpohua nicmaca ayac quixtoquilliz yhuan oc no chicontetl oncan temi yn tlateco Çanno ytech nicpohua p^o muyse ayac quixtoquilliz nic(axc?)atia

- No yhuan niquitohua yn huehuetlalmantli yn oncan mani tezcohuac yhuan yyatentlallo Chicontetl yhuan tlalmilli çenpohualli onpa mani yn toçititlan çan necoc yahualtic ynmiltitech yn tezcohuaca (sic) ytech nicpohua yn noxhuiuh ytoca ju^o pab^{ta} ayac quenmaniyan quixtoquilliz huel nicçemaxcatia auh yn oncan ayauhtonco oncan mani ompohualli nicmaca yn nochpoch angellina

de San Gabriel Huitznahuatl, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezcacoac, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I very truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the son, and God the Holy Spirit, one true omnipotent God. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order my testament.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of our lord God, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from the earth it came.

- And I declare that I have a house, the “woman's house” which faces east and toward Xochimilco, and has seven chinampas at the border of the water. I assign it to my daughter named Angelina Mocel; no one is to claim it from her.

- And I assign another house of mine, also facing Xochimilco, which is attached (to the first), where I let other people live, to my two children and my wife Bárbara Tlaco, because even though they have a house, it is being torn down; they are to come here (from) Xallah.

- And I declare that there are seven chinampas of mine in the place named Acatzintitlan next to the field of the late Fabián Jiménez. I say that they will belong to my daughter Angelina Mocel. No one is to take them from her. And there are two (chinampas) in Acallotenco (or, at the edge of the canal?) next to what was the field of Juan Huitzil, and also in Acallotenco, in Tlateco, there are two (chinampas) by the field of the late Miguel Nem(e/a)lla. I also assign these to my daughter Angelina Mocel. No one is to claim them from her.

- And I declare that there are two (chinampas) at the entrance of Pedro Moysén's, which he works. And I say that I assign them and give them to him. No one is to claim them from him. Also there are seven (chinampas) in Tlateco which I also assign to Pedro Moysén. No one is to claim them from him; I make them his property.

- In addition I declare that I assign the level patrimonial land in Tezcacoac with its seven (chinampas) at the edge of the water, and 20 (units of measure) square of cultivated land in Tocititlan, next to the fields of those of Tezcacoac, to my grandchild named Juan Bautista. No one is ever to claim them from him. I make them entirely his property. And in Ayauhtonco there are 40

moçel auh no onpohualli niquinmaca yn nopilhuan monicah yhuan Ellena yntla mohuapahualtizque Ca ym-axca quimpiyelliz yn innantzin Barbara tlacoh yhuan ompohualli quauhtlalli onpa mani yn tlahuacan çanno yntech popohui yn nopilhuan monica yhuan Ellena yhuan yn innantzin quimpiyelliz yhuan tetla onpa mani onpohualli oncan yn texalpan Nicmacah yn angellinan moçel ayac quixtoquilliz nicaxcatia

- Yhuan niqutohua yn ompah çacaapan ompa temi viii tetl nicmaca yn ju^o ypiltzin catca ju^o çimmaxal ypampa y nicmaca ma quenmanian ycnolamatizque quimittaquihui yn nopilhuantiztin ma quiyollaliquihui yn nonamictzin ynn iquac tla oninomiquilli auh ynin yn chinamitl onicteneuh viii tetl ymiltitech yn çihuapilli nomachtzin /f. 74v/ dona Ellena Constantina yn inamictzin Senor ju^o de sanct miguel No yhuan no nicmaca v (?) tetl yn notex yn ytoca lurenço ypiltzin catca Simon temictia Niquinmaxcatia ayac quincuilliz

- No yhuan niqutohua ynn onpa ytocayocan sanct m^a natiutias tomatla no onpa temi nochinan vi tetl niquinmacatiuh yn onpa tlaca yn huehuetque ynic çe nicmaca chinamitl p^o muyse yhuan p^o michatl yhuan Ernando Rotriquez p^o de alvarado miguel tlacatecuhtli antonio tocah yn izquintini ynn oniquinteneuh çeçentetl quimomamacazque niquinmaxcatituh ayac quinmixtoquilliz

- Yhuan niqutohua yn onpa ytocayocan amoxcuitlac onpa mani çenpohualli çan necoc yahualtic ymiltitech yn xuachin ytelpoch catca ticoc yahuacatl ychan çihuatecpan nicmaca yn bernardino vazquez ychan xalla yhuan yn onpa ytocayocan oçellotepec matlacmatl ynic coyahuac auh ynic huiyac Epohualli Çanno ytech nicpohua yn nomach bernardino vazquez

- No yhuan yn ixquich yn noquichtlatqui ynn acaltzintli yhuan yn casa yhuan yn tecomatl yhuan yn notlapech yn huapaltzitzintih ynn ixquich ynn otictonenextillique nonamictzin barbara tlaco ayac tle huel ytla quixtoquilliz yhuan yn huapalcuezcomatl oxitin çan mochi quimoçencui(?)lizque ayac tle huel quixtocaz Çan mochintin niquinçemaxcatia yn nopilhuantiztin omentin yhuan yn nonamictzin macayac ynca mocacayahuaz

- Auh yz catqui oniquilcauh yn chinamitl temi tlacatecco vi tetl ymiltitech catca ynn augustin tehuitl ytech nicpohua yn noxhuiuh ju^o pab^{ta} ayac quenmanian quix-

(units of measure of land); I give them to my daughter Angelina Mocel. And also there are 40 that I give to my little children Mónica and Elena, if they grow (until they are adults), for it is their property. Their mother Bárbara Tlaco is to guard it for them. And there are 40 (units of measure) of (wooded? conquered?) land in Tlahuacan. It is also to belong to each of my children, Mónica and Elena, and their mother is to guard it for them. And in (Santiago) Tetla there are 40 (units of measure), in Texalpan. I give it to Angelina Mocel. No one is to claim it from her; I make it her property.

- And I declare that in Çacaapan there are eight (chinampas), which I give to Juan, who was the child of Juan Cimmaxal. The reason I give them to him is so that sometime they will take pity and come to see my children, let them come to console my wife when I have died. And the aforesaid eight chinampas are next to the field of the noble lady, my niece doña Elena Constantina, wife of the lord Juan de San Miguel. Also I give five (chinampas) to my brother-in-law named Lorenzo, who was the child of Simón Temictia. I make them his property; no one is to take them from him.

- Also I declare that in the place called Santa María Nativitas Tomatla there are also chinampas of mine, six of them. I give them to the elders there. The first of the people to whom I give chinampas is Pedro Moysén, and (the others are) Pedro Michatl, Hernando Rodríguez, Pedro de Alvarado, Miguel Tlacatecuhtli, and Antonio Toca. To each of these whom I have mentioned will be given one (chinampa). I make them their property; no one is to claim them from them.

- And I declare that in the place called Amoxcuitlac there are 20 (units of measure of land) square, by the field of Joaquín, who was the son of (Diego?) Yahuacatl, whose home is Cihuatecpan. I give it to Bernardino Vázquez, whose home is Xallah. And in the place Ocelotepec there is (land) which is 10 matl in width and 60 in length. I assign it also to my nephew Bernardino Vázquez.

- And also as to all my men's things, a boat, a chest, a tecomate, my bed, the small planks, all that we acquired, my wife Bárbara Tlaco and I, no one is to claim any of it from her, and the grain bin made of planks that fell down, they are to take all of it together. No one is to claim it. I make it entirely the property of my two children and my wife. Let no one cheat them.

- Here is something I forgot: there are six chinampas in Tlacatecco by the field of Agustín Tehuitl. I assign them to my grandchild Juan Bautista. No one is ever to

toquilliz

- yhuan niquitohua ytech nicpohua yn altepetl nic(maca?) çemmecatl ynic huiyac x pōh auh ynic patlahuac çenpohualli ynin nictenehua tlalli oncan yn ayltitlan auh ompohualli oquicuic yn xp̄oival m̄in auh yn chicuepohualli quicuizque yn Colhuaque niquinnomaquillia ynn altepehuaque Colhuaque ayac quitlacoç yn notlatol tel otiquitoque otitononotzque yn nonamictzin barbara tlacoh yxquich in ynn oquitoque Auh yn yehuatl yn barbara tlacoh ynin no yehuatl oquilhui ynin omoteneuh yehuatl oquilnamicti yn iuh omi to yn tlatolli ynic otictlallique ytlatol yn yehuatl baplo de sanct gabriel ychan sanct m^a magdalenan cihuatecpan tezcacoahuac

- Ymixpan omochiuh augustin vazquez Miguel Joseph p^o de sanct nicollas di^o Ellias aluaçia topilleque barbara tlacoh yna^c yn cocoxqui ye momiquilliznequi /f. 75r/ - m^a tiacapan yna^c bal^{ar} tellez cohuatequitopille angellinan moçel ynamic ocatca ju^o vellazquez ytelpoç ocatca p^o tlanencauh ychan xallah Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli Ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento ... y- huan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notocah

Axcan sabado yc xi dias del mes de março de 1581 a^os

Miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} nonbr^{do}

claim them from him.

- And I declare that I assign to the city one mecatl (of land), 200 (units of measure) long and 20 wide. This aforesaid land is in Ailtitlan. Cristóbal Martín took 40 (units) and those of Culhuacan are to take the 160 remaining. I give them to the elders of the city of Culhuacan. No one is to violate my statement, because my wife Bárbara Tlaco and I have spoken concerning this and come to agreement. All this they declared. And Bárbara Tlaco also said the aforementioned to him. She remembered that that which was said as we have written in the statement of Pablo de San Gabriel, whose home is Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan Tezcacoac.

- Done before Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, Pedro de San Nicolás, and Diego Elias, executors-topileque; Bárbara Tlaco, wife of the invalid who is about to die; María Tiacapan, wife of Baltasar Téllez, topile (of tribute labor); and Angelina Moçel (Document 50), widow of Juan Velázquez (Document 57), who was the son of Pedro Tlanencauh, whose home is Xallah. And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that he ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. Here I place my name.

Today, Saturday the 11th day of the month of March of the year 1581.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 75v

Document 48

Testament of Juan de San Pedro, March 16, 1581

Juan has the same name as a Culhuacan notary, but whether he is the same man as his namesake cannot be determined, especially since the person here seems to have taken his surname from his ward, a common phenomenon. Juan's most interesting possession is his "young man's house" (*telpoçcalli*), built before he married. The term appears in sources on Nahuas as a school for commoner boys, but may also have had this other meaning.

/f. 75v/ Ju^o de sanct pedro

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl ju^o de sanct p^o notlaxillacaltia sanct p^o çaaapan maçonellihui y ninococohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynnic niconeltoquitia sanctissima drinidad tetaatzin tepiltzin dios Espu santo yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn Sancta yglesia de Roma auh yeyca yn axcan yn ica ynotzalloca ytlauhtilloca yn tote^o dios nicchihuah nictecpana yn notestamento

- Ynic çentlamantli niquitohua y noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn toto^o (sic) dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli oquimomaquixtillitzin^{no} yca yn itlaço-

/f. 75v/ Juan de San Pedro

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Juan de San Pedro, of the ward of San Pedro Çacaapan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed; and I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order my testament.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my

Ezçotzin y nican tlalticpac auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tla (sic) yeica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- No yhuan niqutohua yn nocal ynn oncan nihuetztoç yn tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yzticac niquinmaca yn nopilhuan m^a tiacapan yhuan yn augustin ypampa yn iuh niqutohua yn ynic niquinmaca yn nopilhuan Canel neltelpochcal ca oc nitelpochtli yn nicquetz calli cayamo ninonamictia auh yeicah yn iuh niqutohua çan oncan moyetztiyezque yn nopilhuantzitzin yn imeyxtin yntla mohuapaltizque ca onpa tepal^{co} monoltitoc yn sanct ju^o xaltilolcoç ayac tle quimixtoquilliz

- yhuan niqutohua y nocal yn caltitlan ycac tonatiuh yquiçayanpa yzticac yn quinn oticquetzca tonehuan nonamic niqutohu(a) nicneltillia yn iuh quitotiuh noteicauh parbara tiacapan yn quitemacatiuh quauhtectli matlactel quimacatiuh yn inamic luys perez yhuan yn icompadre di^o de tabian ychan sanct ana tetlan mani(i?) no x tetl yhuan yn nahuitzin ana xoco no quimacatiuh v tetl ycc onaçi yn xx ommacuili quixitinizque yehuatl quimomamacazque amo ytlacahuiz yn itlatol yn noteicauh barpara Canel ye oquiteaxcatitia ayac quimixtoquilliz no nehuatl niqutohu(a)

- No yhuan yn iapecho mochiuhtoc yn itecocayo onic-teneuh calli oncan pohuiz yn ichantzincotlaçotatzin Sanct pedro Canah oncan monequiz auh yn itlaquetzallo mochiuhtimani ome nicmaca yn nahuitzin ana xoco auh yn itlayxquayo mochiuhtoc monamacaz yhuan yn çempantli quauhtectli yn no xxv li notech pohuiz yhuan yn tetl huel çenmatl yn onicotlatlapihuilli mochi monamacaz yhuan acalhuapalli monamacaz x tetl ye içoltic yhuan v tetl yntech pohuiz yn nopilhuan auh yntla omonamacac acalhuapalçolli x tetl aço huell açiz ontetl missa ye tipallehuilozque yn ixpantzinco dios yn tonehuan nonamictzin

- yhuan niqutohua y nechcahuillitih notatzin catca Calli xochmilcopa yzticac nicmaca y nahuitzin ana xoco ypampa y nicma/f. 76r/ca çenca ye nechmocuitlahuia ye nechtequipanohua yn ipampa cocolliztli ypampa yn iuh niqutohua nicaxcatia ayac quenmaniyen quixtoquilliz

- No yhuan niqutohua yn metlatl e iii çan mochi yntech pohuiz yn nopilhuan ayac quimixtoquilliz Ca ymaxca yhuan yn iatentlallo nocal yhuan yn iqiyahuac temi vii tetl domingo tlacatecuhtli yhuan ynn onpa tecuitlaapan no v tetl çeçenpohualhuiyac onmamacuilli çan mochi yntech pohui yn nopilhuan ayac quimixtoquilliz Ca ym-

body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that I give the house where I lie, which faces west, to my children María Tiacapan and Agustín. The reason I say that I give it to my children is that it is my "young man's house," because I was still a young man when I built the house, not yet married. Therefore I declare that all three of my children are to be there if they grow to be adults, for they are dwelling in the house of other people in San Juan Xaltilolco. No one is to claim it from them.

- And I declare concerning my house (next to the other house?) that faces east, that we two, my wife and I, built after (we married), I say that I am carrying out what my younger sister Bárbara Tiacapan said, that she gave the (firewood, leftover wood) to others; she gave 10 (piles) to her husband Luis Pérez, and 10 also to her compadre Diego Tapia, whose home is Santa Ana Tetla; and she also gave five to my aunt Ana Xoco, with which it comes to 25; (the house) is to be knocked down and distributed to them. The words of my younger sister Bárbara are not to be violated, because she already made it the property of others; no one is to claim it from them, and I also say it.

- In addition, (the platform in the water on which stands?) the said house, (its stone foundation?), will belong to the home (church) of our dear father San Pedro (of Çacaapan), it will be used in some part of it. And the two wooden columns of (the house) I give to my aunt Ana Xoco. And its lintel will be sold and a row of (the firewood, kindling), also 25 (piles), will belong to me, and also the stone, one full matl of it that I have accumulated, is all to be sold. And the 10 used boat planks are to be sold, and (the proceeds of) five will belong to my children. When they are sold, the 10 old boat planks, perhaps (the money) will be enough for two masses in order that we be aided before God, my wife and I.

- And I say that my late father left me a house facing Xochimilco; I give it to my aunt, Ana Xoco; the reason why /f. 76r/ I give it to her is that she took much care of me and served me in my illness. For this reason I say that I make it her property; no one is ever to claim it from her.

- Also I declare that all three metates will belong to my children. No one is to claim them from them, because they are (my children's) property. And the land at the edge of the water that goes with my house, and seven (chinampas) that are at the entrance of Domingo Tlacatecuhtli, and also the five (chinampas) in Tecuitlaapan,

axcah

- yhuan ynn acaltzintli çentetl çanno yntech pohuiz yn nopilhuantzitzin quitetlaneuhtizque oncan neçiz yn intech monequi yn quimoqualtizqueh yhuan matlatl quinn oniquehuaya ye çenvara ynic huiyac çan mochi yntech pohui yn nopilhuantzitzin ayac tle huel quimixtoquiliz

- ye ixquich y niquitohua notlatol mayac (sic) tle quitoz yn iquac oninomiçuilli ayac tle nicpiyellia ma ytla Ymixpan omochiuh tlaxillacaleque domingo tlacatecuhtli p^o de sanct nicollas yhua depodados augusti vazquez miguel joseph di^o Ellias Axcan jueues yc xvi de março de mill quiniyentos y ochenta y vn Anos

- auh yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento yn yehuatl ju^o de st p^o ychan s^t p^o çacapan yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca no-firma ynic neltitiez

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

each one 25 (units of measure) long, all belong to my children. No one is to claim it from them, because it is their property.

- And a boat is also to belong to my children. They are to rent it to others, and from that they will get what they need to eat. And the net which I recently (made?) that is now one vara long, all of it belongs to my children. No one can claim any of it from them.

- This is all I declare in my statement; let no one say anything (counter to it) when I have died. I am not keeping anything for anybody, absolutely nothing (I owe nothing to anyone). Done before the ward heads Domingo Tlacatecuhtli and Pedro de San Nicolás and the deputies Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef and Diego Elías. Today, the 16th of March of the year 1581.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Juan de San Pedro, whose home is San Pedro Çacaapan, ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it, and to verify it I place here my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 76r

Document 48A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 76r/ Recebi en cumplimi^o deste testam^o peso y medio para missas por este diff^o
fr chr̄ual de agurto

/f. 76r/ I received in fulfillment of this testament a peso and a half for masses for this deceased.

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

f. 76v

Document 49

Testament of María Tiacapan (c), young woman of Tlemachica, May 20, 1581

María Tiacapan's will is another in a large testament cluster. Her relative, Antonio de San Francisco Tlemachica (Doc. 30), who calls her "my niece" she calls "my lord" (*notecuiyotzin*), used in some Culhuacan wills as a term of address for "uncle" or someone who acts as surrogate parent (see Doc. 53). María gives a little house to her older sister Bárbara Tlaco, wife of the testator Pablo Huitznahuatl (Doc. 47).

/f. 76v/ maria tiacapan tlemachica ychpoch

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque ynn amatl yn queni nehuatl maria tiacapan onechmohuapahuilli notecuiyotzin anto^o tlemachicatzin Maçoyhui yn ninococohua yeçeh yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan cenca huel mellahuac ynic ninonneltoquitia (sic) yn sanctissima drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Eş̄pu santo yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de Roma auh ynn axca yn ica yn inotzallocatzin tote^o dios nicnotlatlauh-tillia yn iquac onimic ma quihualmanilliz y naniman ca ytlamaquixtiltzin auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica c a tlalli yntech oquiz

/f. 76v/ María Tiacapan, young woman of Tlemachica

- Know all who see and read this document that I, María Tiacapan, whom my lord Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachica raised, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. I very truly believe in the Most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Now with invocation of our lord God I request that when I die he come to take my soul, because it is something redeemed by him. And my body I give to the earth because from the earth it came.

- Yhuan niquitohua yn calli mani tillocan yn quimoca-huillitih yn notecuiyotzin antonio tlemachicatzin yn nechmomaquillitia yn iquac momiquilli Auh niquitohua yn tepancalli yn tlayahuallotoc yntla ninomiquilliz monamacaz notech monequiz nopan popollihuiz Auh yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa ytzicac ytech nicpohua yn nonamic bal^{ar} tellez ayac quixtoquilliz Çan yc cenyez yn xollar Auh yn tonatiuh ycallaquianpa ytzicac Caltepiton yhuan ynn ohcalli nicnomaquillia yn nopitzin barbaratzin yn ina^czin ocatca huitznahuatl ayac quixtoquilliz nicaxcatia

- Auh yn tapalcatlalpan mani milli ymiltitech yn tlatohuani catca don andres de coronado yztahuacan onpohualli niquitohua monamacaz yntla aca quinequiz quimocohuiz yn quezqui ypatih yez \bar{s} Missa yc nopan mitoz Auh yn quauhtenanco temi chinamitl çan tlapouhtli cenpohualli no monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez \bar{s} missa yc nopa yc mitoz

- No yhuan yn oncan teçizco no oncan temi chinamitl ymiltitech yn tlatohuani catca don p^o de svero yepohualli ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac çenpohualli no monamacaz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz ca nechmomaquillitih yn notecuiyotzin antonio tlemachicatzin no monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez \bar{s} missa nopan yc mitoz

- No yhuan niquitohua yn onpa xillomanco onpa nima-coc tetl itic catqui ytech ca ynic patlahuac iii matl yn mexicopahuic Auh ynnic huiyac chiconmatl yn coyo-huacanpahuic ytech nicpohua yn nonamic bal^{ar} tellez ayac quixtoquilliz canel nonemac yhuan ynn onpa huixachtlan ocotitlan ymiltitech hernando Rotriquez ychan sanct m^a natiuitas tomatla onpohualli oc çepa ytechch (sic) antica ymil catca min xiocuil ychan sanct fran^{co} tlaxoxouhco ynin onicteneuh tlalli nicmaca onpohuallixti yn nonamic bal^{ar} tellez

- Yhuan niquitohua ynn oncan atempan yquičayan Ju^o quenitolloctzin oncan mani tlalmantli ytlal catca ytoa montlatocaçomatzin ynic patlahuac namatl yn tepepa auh ynic patlahuac (sic) macuilmatl yn mexicopahuic yhuan yn chinamitl no v tetl /f. 77r/ amo huehueh çan tepitoton no monamacaz yntla aca quinequiz quimocohuiz yn quezqui ypatih yez \bar{s} missa yc nopan mitoz

- And I declare that there is a house in Tillocan that Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachicatzin, my lord, gave me when he died. And I say that the enclosure that surrounds it, if I die, is to be sold and (the proceeds) used for and spent on me. And (the house) which faces east I assign to my husband Baltasar Téllez. No one is to claim it from him, and the houseslot is to be included with it. And I give the little house which faces west, with (the passageway), to my older sister Bárbara (Tlaco), who was the wife of (Pablo de San Gabriel) Huitznahuatl. No one is to claim it from her. I make it her property.

- And also in Tapalco there is a field of 40 (units of measure) next to the field of the former tlatoani, don Andrés de Coronado (of?) Iztahuacan. I say that it is to be sold; if someone wants to buy it, with however much the proceeds are in money masses are to be said for me. In Quauhtenanco there are (uncounted? unregistered?) chinampas of 20 (units of measure). These are also to be sold, and with the proceeds masses are to be said for me.

- In addition, in Teccizco there are also some chinampas next to the field of the late tlatoani don Pedro de Suero (Document 63); they are 60 (units) in length and 20 in width. These are also to be sold, if someone wants to buy them, because my lord Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachicatzin gave them to me. They are also to be sold, and with the proceeds in money masses are to be said for me.

- In addition, I declare that in Xilomanco I was given (a piece of land) with stones on it. It is three matl wide toward Mexico City, and toward Coyoacan it is seven matl long. I assign it to my husband Baltasar Téllez. No one is to claim it from him, because it is my inheritance. And in Huixachtlan Ocotitlan, by the field of Hernando Rodríguez, whose home is Santa María Nativitas Tomatla, there is (land) of 40 (units). And on the other side it abuts with the former field of Martín Xiocuil, whose home is San Francisco Tlaxoxouhco. I give this land that I have mentioned, all 40 (units), to my husband Baltasar Téllez.

- And I declare that in Atempan at the entrance of Juan Quenitolloctzin('s place) there is level land which belonged to one named Motlatocaçomatzin; in width it is four matl toward the mountain in length it is five matl toward Mexico City. And there are five chinampas, /f. 77r/ not large but small. These are also to be sold if someone wants to buy them, and with the proceeds masses are to be said for me.

- No yhuan ynn onpa chalcocalcan sancta barbara quaxochco napohualli ymiltzin catca yn notecuiyotzin antonio tlemachicatzin tzin (sic) no monamacaz onpohualli auh yn oc no ompohualli ytech nicpohua yn nonamic bal^{ar} tellez ayac quixtoquilliz

- Auh ynn onpa tzapotlah ynn onpa achto ninamique-ticatcah onpa catqui tetl tlayahuallotetl xii yhuan çan miyec yn tetl ma onoc monamacaz auh yn quezqui y-patiuh yez \bar{s} oncan quiçaz tonetlacuil oc onca yn çe nonamic catca yn \bar{s} ticcuique tzapotlaca chicuihnahui \bar{s} ma moxtlahuaz quimocuillizque yntla onez \bar{s} auh yn mocahuaz yn ixelliuha \bar{s} missa yc topan mitoz yntla huel achi miyequi yez \bar{s} aço huel tonehuan titlaocollozque yn achto nonamic catca topan tlatoz yn nonamic axcan

- Auh yn nocpauh huipiltiamictli oyezquia quin çe çotl ynn otzop ytech nicpohua yn nonamic bal^{ar} tellez aço aca tlaquehualtzintli quichihuiliz Auh yn ixquich y noçihuatlatqui Çan mochi quiçencuiz ayac tle quixtoquilliz ye ixquich yn niquitohua notlatol macayac quitlacoç yn ixquich oniquito ymixpan omochiuh testigos aluaçias miguel joseph aug^{tin} vazquez di^o Ellias alguaçil yhuan no yxpan yn inamic ye momiquilliznequih bal^{ar} tellez topille barbara tlaco maria salome Axca martes yc xx tl dias del mes de mayo de 1581 años

- Yn nehuatl miguel jacob de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento yn maria tiacapan yn nehuatl nican nictlallia notococa (sic) nofirma ynic neltitiez

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

- And also in Chalcocalcan, in Santa Bárbara Quaxochco, there are 80 (units of land) which were the field of my lord Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachicatzin; 40 are also to be sold, and the other 40 I assign to my husband Baltasar Téllez. No one is to claim it from him.

- And in Tzapotla where I was married the first time, there are 12 (rounded? boundary?) stones, and there is a great deal of stone left that may be lying there. It is to be sold, and from however much the proceeds are will come the means to pay the debt that we still have. I and one who was my husband took nine tomines in money from the people of Tzapotla. Let it be paid back; they are to take the money when it has been collected. And with the part of money that remains, masses are to be said for us; if there is enough money, both of us, I and my late first husband, will be favored. My present husband will speak for us.

- And only a quarter (one length) of my yarn which was going to be a huipil to sell is finished. I assign it to my husband, Baltasar Téllez; perhaps some hired person can finish it for him. And as to all my women's things, he is to take it all; no one is to claim it from him. This is all my declaration. Let no one violate anything I have said. Done before the witnesses: the executors, Miguel Josef and Agustín Vázquez; Diego Elías, alguacil; and also before Baltasar Téllez, topile, husband of the one about to die; Bárbara Tlaco; and María Salomé. Today, Tuesday the 20th day of the month of May of the year 1581.

- I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, wrote the testament of María Tiacapan. I place here my name and signature to verify it.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 78r

Document 50

Testament of Angelina Mocol, May 2, 1581

Many members of Angelina's family had just recently died or were about to (such as her aunt María Tiacapan in the previous document). She makes provisional bequests to her nephew, because she expects her son Nicolás to die. Among Angelina's property are things she received from her father Pablo Huitznahuatl (Doc. 47) and her husband Juan Velázquez (Doc. 57).

The testament contains some weaving terminology much like that in Document 43, and the same provisos apply. There is also an interesting example of the use of kinship terms. Angelina refers to María Salomé and Petronilla as her sisters-in-law (*nohuezhuatzitzinhuau*), which from the context they surely must have been. Yet in the later episode in which they offer to help by doing her unfinished weaving and making an offering to the church (Doc. 50A), the two refer to Angelina as “our younger sister” (*ticuiuhztzin*). Since they are unmarried, they are probably younger than she. We presume that here the lineal term is used instead of the affinal, as some-

times happened, and further that this is one of the cases where younger and older are reversed to show respect. See Document 52A for another example of female in-laws helping out in this way.

/f. 78r/ Angellinan moçel ychpoch catca pablo huitznahuatl

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn quení nehuatl angellinan moçel notlaxillacaltian sancta maria mag^{na} tezacohuac maçonellihui yn ninocohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios E^spu Sancto çan çe huel nelli Dios yxquichihuellitzin ye çenmactzinco (sic) nocontlallia yn naniman ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtillitino yca yn itlaço-Ezcotzin (sic) auh yntla Ninomiquilliz ma quihualmanilliz yn noyollia yn naniman yn tote^o auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- ynic çentlamantli niquitohua ynn onechmomaquillitia notatzin catca pablo huitznahuatl yn çihuacalli tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac monamacaz yntla ninomiquilliz ypanpa ca atle ma yntla nicnopiellia notlatqui yc nitocoç nopan popollihuiz auh yn quexquich mocahua yn ipatiuh yez calli yc missa nopan mitoz notech pohuiz

- Auh ynic ontetl yn xochmilcopahuic yzticac nicmacatiuh yn nopillotzin Ju^o pabista yhuan çan mochi yhuicallo yn chinamitl çan mochi quičencuiz yhuan yn acatzintitlan temi chinamitl chicontetl ymiltitech pabian tetzotzonqui catca ytech nicpohua yn noconeuh nicollas yntla nemiz quicuiz Auh yntla momiquilliz monamacaz missa topan yc mitoz yhuan ynn ontetl temi chinamitl tlacatecoç yhuan ynn oc no çecni temi ontetl aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz yn quexquixquich (sic) ypatiuh yez t^s aço huel çe missa yc tipallehuilozque

- No yhuan niquitohua yn teutlalli ayauhtonco nauhpohualli Ca ompohualli yntech pouhqui yn nicuihtzintihuan xallah tepal^{co} omotlacatillique auh yn onpohualli yn notech quipouhtia yn notatzin catca niquitohua monamacaz auh yn ipatiuh yez t^s missa yc nopan yc mitoz yn iquac tla onez Auh ynn onpa tetla ytocayocan texalpan nicmacatiuh y noconeuh nicollas yntla nemiz auh yntlacamo quin no yquac monamacaz missa yc topan mitoz

- Auh yn caxa yn quin otictocohuica nonamic ocatca ytech pouhqui yn noconeuh nicollas yc chichitilloz monamacaz auh yn çe matlatl monamacaz cantella yc moco-huaz yn iquac tla oninomiquilli yc tocoç yn nonacayo

/f. 78r/ Angelina Mocel, who was the daughter of Pablo Huitznahuatl

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Angelina Mocel of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezacacoac, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed, and I very truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God omnipotent. I place my soul entirely in his hands, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood. And when I die, let our Lord come to take my spirit and soul. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- First I declare that my late father Pablo (de San Gabriel) Huitznahuatl gave me the “woman’s house,” which faces east; it is to be sold when I die because I have no assets at all with which to be buried. And whatever money should be left of the proceeds from the house will be spent on me, for masses to be said for me. It will belong to me.

- And I give the second (house, room), facing Xochimilco, to my nephew Juan Bautista with all the chinampas which accompany it; he is to take all of it. And there are seven chinampas in Acatzintitlan by the field of the late Fabián, stone mason. I assign them to my child Nicolás. If he lives, he is to take them. And if he dies, they are to be sold and with (the proceeds) masses will be said for us. And there are two chinampas in Tlacatecco, and two more in a separate place; perhaps someone will want to buy them. Perhaps however much money the sale price comes to will be enough for a mass to help us.

- In addition, there is some dry land in Ayauhtonco of 10 (units of measure). Forty belong to my younger sisters who were born in someone else’s household in Xallah. And as to the 40 which my late father assigned to me, I say it is to be sold, and with the proceeds in money, masses are to be said for me, when (the money) has been collected. And I give (land) in (Santiago) Tetla in the place named Texalpan to my child Nicolás, if he lives. And if he does not (live) then it too is to be sold in order for masses to be said for us.

- And the chest my late husband and I bought belongs to my child Nicolás; it is to be sold, and with it he will be given milk. And a metate is to be sold in order to buy candles for the burial of my body when I have died.

- Auh ynn oncan ychan ocatca nonamic nechmacatia calltztintli xochmilcopa yzticac Auh canel nonemactzin ocatca auh oquimopatiotillique yn nohuezhuatzitzinhuan maria Salome yhuan p^onilla onechmacaque vi t^s auh ynin yn t^s amo ma çan cana onicahuilpollo o ypan popolliuh yn noconetzin yn quicauhtiu nonamic aocmo ni-quixtoca canel ye teaxca Ca omonamacac

/f. 78/ - No yhuan nocpauh quinn oçotl huipilli oyezquia otlatitech catqui auh yniqueçotl ayamo moteteca auh oncatqui yapalli ontlatectli yhuan tochomitl 1 t^s y m^opan yhuan quauhachtli achito yhuan tlapilli achiton yhuan çe machiotl yhuan ychcatl 1 t^stica yhuan centetl tilmatl ytilma ocatca yn nonamic ca yntla oc oninemini ca o yc nicpallehuizquia yn nonamic missa quezquitel oniquitlanizquia auh yn axcan niquitohua monamacaz ytech pohuiz yn nonamic aço aca quinequiz quimocohuiz ytech pouhqui yez ymixpan omochiuh testigos aluaçias augusti vazquez miguel Joseph Di^o Ellias alguaçil bal^{ar} tellez topille barbara tlaco maria Salome Axcan martes yc 2 tl de mayo de 1581 anos

- In nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento yn angellina moçel ynic otlatlatlallitia nican nictlallia nofirma

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

f. 78v

Document 50A

Annotation in Nahuatl, May 28, 1582

/f. 78v/ - In tehuantin albaçeas augustin vazquez miguel Joseph miguel Jacobo Escri^o yn iz tlacpac teneuhtica huipilli yezquia quitotica yhuan yn izquitlamantli tecpantoc çan yehuantin oquitoque ynn ychpopochti m^a Salome yhuan p^onilla ma çan ticchihuacan yn icpatl yhuan yn mochi teneuhtica Ca tehuantin ticcahuatihuiz yn huentzintli ypampa Canel ticuihtzin ocatca ynn o-mac(/t?)otia (?) Auh ynic ticneltillia ynn otiquittaque t^s tixpan onez 1 p^os ypan 4 t^s ynn ocillac teopan ynn otictomaquillique totlaçotatzin prior fray Ju^o zimbrom yxpan testigo fiscal gabriel mal^{do} axca lunes yc (?) 28 de mayo de 1582 Anos

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o

- And where my late husband's home was he gave me a house facing Xochimilco. And inasmuch as it was my inheritance, my sisters-in-law María Salomé and Petronilla bought it; they gave me six tomines. And I did not spend this money for any idle purpose; it was spent on my child whom my husband left behind. I no longer lay claim to the house, because it now belongs to others and was sold.

/f. 78v/ - In addition, there is my yarn, recently (spun into) two lengths. It was to be for a huipil and is stretched on the canes (is on the handloom). The third length is not warped yet. And there are two hanks of black (yarn) and some rabbit fur cloth that is worth one and a half tomines. And there is a little dark colored (yarn) and a little (tied? knotted?) (yarn) and a (design?), and cotton which is worth a tomín, and a cloak which was my late husband's. If I had lived, I was going to help my husband with it and request some masses. And now I say it is to be sold and is to belong to my husband. Perhaps someone will want to buy it; it is to belong to him. Done before the witnesses: the executors Agustín Vázquez; Miguel Josef; Diego Elías, alguacil, Baltasar Téllez, topile; Bárbara Tlaco, María Salomé. Today, Tuesday the 2nd day of May of the year 1581.

- I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, wrote the testament of Angelina Moçel, as she made the various orders. I place here my signature.

Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

/f. 78v/ - We, the executors, Agustín Vázquez and Miguel Josef, and Miguel Jacobo (de Maldonado), notary, declare as to the (cloth) mentioned here above which she says was going to be a huipil, and the various things that are mentioned, the unmarried young women María Salomé and Petronilla said, "Let us make up the yarn and all that is mentioned above, and we will go and make the offering, because (it was to our younger sister to whom it was given?)." And to verify it, (we declare) that we saw the money, one peso four tomines, which was presented before us and was brought to the church, and which we gave to our beloved father the prior, fray Juan Zimbrón. (Done) before the witness, the fiscal, Gabriel Maldonado.

Today, Monday, the 28th of May of the year 1582.
Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

Document 51

Testament of Gerónimo Teuhcihuahatl, May 15, 1581

Among Gerónimo's holdings is some "calpulli land" (*calpollalli*). The term appears in only one other testament, that of Juan Rafael Tlacochealcatl (Doc. 42). In view of the importance of this category in the literature, one would have expected more generous use of it in the Culhuacan wills. On the other hand, the testaments have numerous instances of the term *tlalmilli* (e.g. Doc. 47), to which Charles Gibson attributes the meaning "a plot or segment in the calpullalli" (*Aztecs*, p. 267). Conceivably, then, "tlalmilli" is being used instead of "calpollalli." We have seen no indication in the texts, however, that "tlalmilli" means anything more than a cultivated field, perhaps among others, as opposed to a chinampa, and we have translated the term accordingly.

/f. 79r/ Gr^{mo} teuhçihuahatl

- Ma quimatican ynn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl notoca Gr^{mo} teuhçihuahatl notlaxillalcaltia Eyhtlatocan cohuatlan maçonellihui yn ninococohua yn noyollia naniman Çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Espu sancto Çe yn iyellitzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimonequiltia (sic) yn tonantzin Sancta yglesia de Roma auh yeica yn axca yn ipan notzonquizcatlanequilliz yn ye nomiztenpa (sic) nictlallia yn notestamento macayac quitlacoç yn iuh ye nictecpana

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua yn nehuatl Gr^{mo} yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o Dios yehica Ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin yn nican tlalticpac auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli yntech oquiz

- No yhuan niquitohua yn nocal tonatiuh ycallaquianpa yztzicac yhuan yn itech calliuhitica (sic) yn çanno onpa yztzicac ytech nicpohua yn nonamic ytoca maria tlacoh yhuan yn nopiltzin quin omotlacatilli aço mohuapahuallitiz oncan yezque

- auh yn huei calli yn tonatiuh yquicayanpa yztzicac tle-copayo aocmo yancuic ca oyçolliuh yn iniquac tla ononomiquilli monamacaz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz nopan popollihuiz yc nitocoz Auh yn icalchinanyo nicmacatiuh yn nopiltzin ytoca Di^o vi tetl Auh ynn oc no çecni temi anal nauhtetl yn chinamitl nicmacatiuh yn nonamic m^a tlaco ontetl yn çepenpohualli auh çentetl ompohualhuicac ytech nicpohua ayac quixtoquilliz

- Ihuan niquitohua ontetl temi yquiyahuac yn Di^o ttepon catca huexotl ypan ycac ytech nicpohua nicmaca yn nopiltzin Di^o yhuan teuhçihuahatl ymiltitech yn Ju^o tlapixcatzin oncan ynn otl ycac calpollalli çenpohualli meyo-toc çanno ytech pohuiz yn nopiltzin Di^o ayac quixtoquilliz

/f. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuahatl

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Gerónimo Teuhcihuahatl by name, of the ward of Tres Reyes Coatlan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of just one essence. And I believe all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. Therefore now as my ultimate will, on the verge of my death, I order my testament. Let no one violate what I thus order.

- First say I, Gerónimo, that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Also I declare there is a house of mine facing west, and attached to it is one that also faces in the same direction. I assign them to my wife named María Tlaco and to my child just born if it grows up; they will be there.

- And as to the large house that faces east, with a store-room, now not new but old, when I have died it is to be sold; perhaps someone will want to buy it, and (the money) will be spent on me for my burial. And I give the six chinampas belonging to the house to my child named Diego. And in another place, at the other side of the water, there are four chinampas that I give to my wife María Tlaco. Two are 20 (units of measure long) each, and one is 40 long. I assign them to her; no one is to claim them from her.

- And I declare there are two (chinampas) at the entrance (of the property of) the late Diego Ttepon; willows stand on them. I assign and give it to my child Diego. And there is dry land next to the field of Juan Tlapixcatzin where the road is; it is calpulli land, 20 (units of measure long), planted with magueys. It will also belong to my child Diego; no one is to claim it from him.

- No yhuan çe metlatl nicmaca yn nonamic m^a tlahco Auh yn nopiltzin Di^o quimopiyellilia çe metlatl yn nomonnantzin ana teicuih quimomaquilliz ytech pouhqui ypanpa Ca quimocohuitiuh yn nonamictzin catca yhuan çentetl Caxa nicmaca ayac quixtoquilliz ca yaxca

- Ihuan niqutohua yz catqui nicnotlacui t^s coyohuacan 1 p^os ypan v t^s auh niqutohua yn tlapac onicteneuh calli yn monamacaz yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa yztzicac ma yehuatl oncan quiçaz ma yc moxtlahuaz macoz yn tlatquihua ye ixquich yn niqutohua notlatol nehuatl Gr^{mo} yn inixpan (sic) omochiuh ynn otlacacque testigos Domingo Ramos teoyotica tepixqui ana teicuih yllamatzin ana teicuih ynamic ocatca p^o olin mag^{na} teicuih ynamic ocatca gasbar morales ana tiacapan yllamatzin yhuan tixpan aug^{tin} vazquez miguel Joseph aluças Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo De mal^{do} Escri^o Della yglesia niqutohua Ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli y-testamento yn yehuatl Gr^{mo} teuhçihuatl yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma ynic neltitiez ynin testamento Axcan lunes a xv de mayo de 1581 a^os

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

- Also I give a metate to my wife María Tlaco. And my mother-in-law Ana Teicuh is keeping a metate for my child Diego. She is to give it to him; it belongs to him, because my late wife bought it. And I give her a chest. No one is to claim it from her because it is her property.

- And I declare that I borrowed money in Coyoacan, one peso, five tomines. And I declare that the house I mentioned above that faces east is to be sold and from it is to come (the money) by which it should be paid back and given to the owner. This is all the declaration that I, Gerónimo, make. Done before those who heard it, the witnesses: Domingo Ramos, church tepixqui; Ana Teicuh, the old woman; Ana Teicuh, widow of Pedro Olin; Magdalena Teicuh, widow of Gaspar Morales; Ana Tiacapan, the old woman; and before us, Agustín Vázquez and Miguel Josef, executors. And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Gerónimo Teuhçihuatl ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature to verify this testament. Today, Monday, the 15th of the month of May of the year 1581.

- Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 79r

Document 51A

Annotation in Nahuatl, January 21, 1582

/f. 79r/ - Axcan Jueves yc 21 de Enero de 1582 a^os yn tlapac teneuhlica tomines ynetlacuil Gr^{mo} teuhçihuatl yn quimotlacui Coyohuacan auh yn tlatquihua oquicuico omacoc yn 1 p^os ypan v t^s ycc omoxtlauh yn quiten-euhitia calli monamacaz auh oticnamacaque yn tehuantin aluacias miguel Joseph yhuan aug^{tin} vazque (sic) yhuan Escri^o Della yglesia auh ynn ocalcough ytoca thomas quauhxinqui ychan tloxoxiuhco

/f. 79r/ - Today, Thursday, the 21st of January of the year of 1582, concerning the money mentioned above, the debt of Gerónimo Teuhçihuatl who borrowed it in Coyoacan, the owner came to take it, and one peso, five tomines were given to him. It was paid with the house that he mentioned should be sold. We sold it, we the executors Miguel Josef and Agustín Vázquez and the notary of the church, and the buyer of the house is named Tomás ..., carpenter, whose home is Tloxoxiuhco.

f. 80r

Document 52

Testament of Ana Tlaco, June 18, 1581

Residence and citizenship in a town were distinct categories, as Ana makes clear. As with the other out-of-town testator, Joaquín de Luna (Doc. 44), Ana orders masses said for her in Culhuacan. Like Joaquín, she owns a pack animal, and both testators were likely engaged in commerce. In both instances there is the still unresolved question of whether a *caballo macho* was a horse or a mule. The term also appears in Document 81, where since *macho* also appears alone, one is somewhat inclined toward the interpretation “mule.”

/f. 80r/ Ana tlaco ychan yacapichtlan Ju^o boeno yna^c

/f. 80r/ Ana Tlaco, whose home is Yecapixtla, wife of Juan Bueno

- In ica ytocatzin Sanctissima drinidad detatzin tepiltzin Dios Eſp̄u ſt̄o nicpehualtia yn notestamento ma quimatican ynn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn quenin nehuatl Ana tlacoh onpa nochan yn yacapichtla Auh nican ypan ninemi ynn altepel (sic) Sanct Ju^o Euangellista Colhuacan oncann ipan ninemi ynn ipan tlaxillacalli sanct fran^{co} tlacateopan Maçonellihui yn ninococohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui pactica amo ninotlapollotia yhuan huel mochi yca noyollo nicnoneltoquitia yn dios yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia Sancta yglesia De Roma Auh yeica yn axcan yn ica ynotzallocala ytlatlauhtillocala yn tote^o Dios nicnicchihua (sic) nictecpana yn ça tlazaccan notzonquizcatlanequillizpan yn ye nomiquiztenpan

- Inic çentlamantli yn noyollia naniman nicnomaquillia yn tote^o dios yeica ca oquimochihuilli yhuan ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn tlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^c auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Inicc ontlamantli niquitohuan yn nocavallo yn macho onpa quihuicatinemi ynn onpa yacapichtlan huallaz monamacaz ca yn iquac niccouh xv p^os nicmacac Auh yn iquac yntla aca quimocohuiz yntla onez tomines tlacoxellihuz yxquich onpa yaz yn yacapichtlan no yxquich nican callaquiz yn ichantzincos Sancto Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan miSsa yc nopan mitoz

- Inicqu etlamantli niquitohua yz catqui 1 p^os notomines yn iquac tla oninomiquilli 6 t^s nohuentzin Auh 2 t^s yc canaquihui yn notlalnacayo teopantlaca macozque yhuan nechmomaquilli y nicuihtzin miguel techichino milli çenpohualhuiyac auh ynic patlahuac onpohualli nicmacatiuh yn nicuihtzin miguel yztic aço cantella yc nechtlacolliz yn iquac miccaylhuitl yhuan çetipan ycpatl yztac yhuan ome machiolt nicmacatiuh yn nochpoch maria yhuan cueytl onpa cah yn quahuitl...co quipia atriano quicuz yn nochpoch maria yhuan ynn onpa onoc yacapichtlan yn totlatqui çan yehuatl quimati yn nonamic Ju^o poeno quixelhuiz yn nochpoch maria Candella yc nechtlacolliz teopan callaquiz ye ixquich y niquitohua notlatol macayac quitlacoç ymixpan omochiuh ynn oquicacque ytlatol cocoxcatzintli augusti vazquez miguel Joseph mig^l Rafael lurenço xochiten Jacobo tlatollehua augustin yaochihualloc miguel yztic augusti Grmo p^onilla tlaco mag^{na} m^a xoco Chritina (sic) tiacapan axcan domingo yc xviii mani metztli Junio de 1581 anos

- Auh y nehuatl miguel Jacobo Escri^o della yglesia

- In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, I begin my testament. Know all who see and read this document that I, Ana Tlaco, whose home is Yecapixtla, but I live here in the city of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, living in the ward of San Francisco Tlacateopan, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed and sound, and I have not lost my judgment, and with all my heart I believe in God, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order (my testament) as my ultimate and final will, now on the verge of my death.

- First I give my spirit and soul to God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Second, I declare that my horse (mule?) that they are taking about in Yecapixtla is to be brought here and sold. When I bought it I gave 15 pesos for it; if someone wants to buy it, when the money has been collected it is to be divided into two equal parts; one half will go to Yecapixtla, and the other will be delivered to the church of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan here, and with it masses will be said for me.

- Third, I declare that I have here one peso in money. When I have died, six tomines will be my offering. And for two tomines, the church attendants will come to take my body; (the money) will be given to them. And my younger brother Miguel Techichino gave me a field 20 (units of measure) long and 40 wide (sic). I give it to my younger brother Miguel Itztic, and perhaps he will favor me with some candles on the feast of the dead (see also Document 53). And I give one (tomín's worth) of white yarn and two (designs) to my daughter María, and my daughter María is to take a skirt that is in (Quahuitl...co?), that Adriano is keeping. And as to our property that is in Yecapixtla, my husband Juan Bueno knows about it, he is to distribute part to my daughter María (and from the other part) he will favor me with candles to be delivered to the church. This is all I say in my declaration; let no one violate it. Done before those who heard the declaration of the invalid: Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, Miguel Rafael, Lorenzo Xochiten, Jacobo Tlatolehua, Agustín Yaochihualloc, Miguel Itztic, Agustín Gerónimo, Petronilla Tlaco, Magdalena Tlaco, María Xoco, Cristina Tiacapan. Today, Sunday, the 18th of the month of June of the year 1581.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo, notary of the church, wrote the

nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento ana tlaco ychan testament of Ana Tlaco, whose home is Yecapixtla.
yacapichtlan

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

f. 80v

Document 52A

Annotations in Nahuatl, June 19, 1581; June 24, 1581

/f. 80v/ - Axcan lunes yc xviii mani metztli Junio de 1581 anos Missa ypan omito ana tlaco yna^c ocatca Ju^o boeno ychan yacapichtlan yn huentli omochiuh 1 p^os yhuan 2 t^s omonamacac ycpauh ontlatectli yapalli yhuan aquiton yc ey ymixpan fiscal gabriel mal^{do} augustin vazquez miguel Joseph

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nob^{do}

- Axan (sic) Jueves yc xxiiii de Junio de 1581 a^os ycc oppa ypan omito missa ana tlaco yna^c ocatca Ju^o boeno oquiquitque ycpauh quicauhtia yn iquac mic oquipalehui yna^c miguel ytzic ytoaca p^onilla yn huentli omochiuh 1 p^os ypan 4 t^s ynn omacoc totlaçotatzin p^e fray Ju^o zinbro prior yxpan fiscal gabriel mal^{do} augus^{tin} vazquez miguel Joseph yhuan Escri^o

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nob^{do}

/f. 80v/ - Today, Monday, the 19th of the month of June of the year 1581, a mass was said for Ana Tlaco, who was the wife of Juan Bueno and whose home is Yecapixtla; an offering was made of one peso, two tomines; two skeins of black yarn and a little of a third (skein) were sold before the fiscal Gabriel Maldonado, Agustín Vázquez, and Miguel Josef.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

- Today, Thursday, the 24th (sic) of June of the year 1581, for the second time a mass was said for Ana Tlaco, who was the wife of Juan Bueno; they wove the yarn that she left when she died; the wife of Miguel Itztic, named Petronilla, helped her. An offering of one peso, four tomines was made, which was given to our dear father, fray Juan Zimbrón, prior, before the fiscal, Gabriel Maldonado, Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, and the notary.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 81r

Document 53

Testament Fragment of María Tiacapan (d), n.d.

María is the kinswoman of Luis Tlahpotonqui; likely she is his cousin, though they call each other by terms which we must translate into English as “brother” and “sister” (see Doc. 41). She calls Luis's father “my lord,” while he calls him “father.” Her husband, like Luis, is a trader. She herself owns an interest in a horse, doubtless used in commerce, and wants the revenues from it to take care of her son Francisco. She acted as witness to the will of another trader and horseowner, Joaquín de Luna (Doc. 44). One of María's requests is that she be remembered every year on “the day of the dead” (*miccailhuil*), perhaps the same day as the Christian feast.

/f. 81r/ - Yn ica yn itocatzin sanctissima drinidad (sic) tetatzin tepiltzin dios E^pu (sic) sancto çan çe huel nelli dios yxquichihueli Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl Maria tiacapan nican nochan sanct m^a asupçion tianquizçolco maço-nellihui yn ninocohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynnic niconeltoquitia tote^o yhuan mochi nicneltoaca yn ixquich quimoneltoquiti (sic) Sancta yglesia de Roma auh yeica yn axcan yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtillocatzin

/f. 81r/ - In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God omnipotent, know all who see and read this document that I, María Tiacapan, whose home is here in Santa María Asunción Tianquizçolco, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in our Lord, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord I make and order (my testament) as my final will, now on the verge

tote^O dios nicchihua nitecpana yn ça notzonquizcatlanequilizpan yn ye nomiquiztenpan

- ynic çentlamantli niqutohua yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia tote^O dios yehica ca ytlachihualtzin Ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlap^C auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Yhuan niqutohua yn nehuatl m^a tiacapan yn yehuatl yn nonamic matheo hopan nicmaca yn chinamitl vii tetl çan tepitoton ymiltitech catca yn Ju^O achallala oncan yn iz atotolco atezcapan yhuan yn nechmomaquillitih noquichihuatzin luys tlauhpotonqui yn oncan ayahualolco niquinmacatiuh y nicuihtzitzinhuan Ju^a ytech nictlallitih ayac quitlacoç yn notlatol

- No yhuan niqutohua yn tlamantli ynn iquiyahuac p^O coyoxiuhzin yhuan yn ichinayo no niquinmacatiuh y nicuihtzitzinhuan ca ymaxca auh yn nechmomaquillitih notecuiyotzin antonio d s m^a yn oncan tequixquipan ymiltitech yn cohuatlan ychan ytoca chamol tlachicontepouhtli niqutohua ytech nicpohua y nonamic matheo hopan ayac quixtoquilliz Auh yn ompa çihuatlalpan yn nechmacatiuh noquichtiuh oc çepa çanno yntech nicpohua y nicuihtzitzinhuan yehuan quimati ca ymaxca çan quimoçenpiellizque ayac quimixtoquilliz

- Yhuan niqutohua yn ontetl cavallome çentetl huel yxcoyan oquimonenextilli yn nonamic Auh ynic ontetl ca ye tonepantlanextil ca ycc otitotollinique ynicc onez yc mohuapahualtiz yn noconetzin fran^{CO}

- No yhuan niqutohua yn oncan nihuetztoç huehuecaltzintli yn oncan techmocahuillitih yn ipal^{CO} otitotlaccatillique çan mochi yntech pouhqui yn nicuihtzitzinhuan yhuan yn ijolar catca notatzin yn inemac ytech çalliuhtica yn itlacohuatzin catca notecuiyotzin antonio de s m^a monamacaz ytech niccahua yn nonamic matheo hopan yn iquac miccaylhuitl yc nechilnamiquiz yn ixpan^{CO} dios candellas yc quicallaquiz yn çe xiuhtica macamo nechilcahuaz

of my death.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because it is his creation, and he redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I, María Tiacapan, declare that I give my husband Mateo Opan seven small chinampas next to where the field of Juan Achalala was, here in Atotolco Atezcapan. And what my elder brother Luis Tlauhpotonqui gave me in Ayahualolco I give to my younger sisters; (specifically) I assign it to Juana. No one is to violate my words.

- In addition I declare that I also give the level land at the entrance of Pedro Coyoxiuhzin, with its chinampas, to my younger sisters since they belong to them. And in regard to what my lord, Antonio de Santa María, gave me, in Tequixquipan by the field (of a person) from Coatlan named Chamol, divided in seven parts (chinampas), I declare that I am assigning it to my husband Mateo Opan. No one is to claim it from him. And in regard to what my elder brother gave me in Cihuatlalpan, I likewise give it in turn to my younger sisters. They know about it, since it belongs to them. They will always keep it, no one is to claim it from them.

- And I declare regarding the two horses that my husband earned one of them entirely by himself. But the second (horse) we earned together; it cost us trouble to acquire it. With (the revenues from) it, my child Francisco will be raised.

- In addition, I declare that the place where I lie, the patrimonial house, which our progenitors left us, is all to belong to my younger sisters; and itsouselot, which was the inheritance of my father, attached to (the house), and was purchased by my lord, Antonio de Santa María, is to be sold. I put my husband Mateo Opan in charge of seeing to it that on the day of the dead with (the proceeds) he remember me before God and bring candles (to the church) each year. Let him not forget me.

f. 81v

Document 54

Posthumous Statement for Antonio Toca, May 20, 1583

This posthumous declaration of Antonio Toca's goods is typical of the genre. Here, the gravity of the epidemic conditions is suggested by the fiscal's comment: "They left no children, all of them died, and they made no testament; they just died."

/f. 81v/ - Y nican ypan altepetl Colhuacan yc 20 dias del mes de mayo de 1583 a^os yn nehuatl gabriel mal^{do} /f.

81v/ - Here in the city of Culhuacan, the 20th day of the month of May of the year 1583, I, Gabriel Mal-

fiscal y nican ypan altepetl omoteneuh nican nictlallia nicnezcayotia yn itechpa yn yehuatl antonio toca catca ychan sanct m^a natiuitas tomatl (sic) yn ixquich yn itlatqui quicauhtia yn çintli yn huauhtli ynn etl yhuan yn ixquich ytlatqui catca mochi omonamacac auh yn çintli Çan yehuatl ynn ocillac teopan çentetl acalli auh ypampa y nican nicnezcayotia aocac ynconeuh oquicauhtiaque mochintin omomiquillique auh atle quichiuhquiaque testamento çan yuh momiquillique Auh yn incal ocatca yn oncan yquiyahuac augustin tlaçaca omonamacaz oquicouh marcos quauhtli yn oncatca p^o xohuarez yhuan omacac carta te paco yn marcos quauhtli ynic oquicouh calli auh yn itech çalliuhtica caltontli quauhchayahuacayo ynemac yn inamic p^o ychan sanct ju^o bap^{ta} ollopan yn itlacpahuitec ju^o gonçalles tocuiltecatl auh ynic ayac motlapolloltiz onpa mottaz yn carta te paco ypampa y nican monezcayotia auh ynic nicneltillia nican nictlallia notoca nofirma yhuan yn yehuantin aluaçeas

Gabriel mal^{do} fiscal fra^{co} florez Miguel jacobo de mal^{do} nonb^{do}

donado, fiscal here in the said city, set down and manifest here what concerns the deceased Antonio Toca, whose home was Santa María Nativitas Tomatla. All the things that he left, the unshelled maize, the amaranth, the beans, and all that belonged to him was sold. And just one boatload (quauhacalli?) of maize was delivered to the church. The reason I manifest this here is because they left no children; all of them died, and they made no testament; they just died. And the house that was theirs, at the entrance of Agustín Tlaçaca ('s property) was sold; Marcos Quauhtli bought it. It is where Pedro Juárez used to be. Marcos Quauhtli was given a bill of sale (that showed) how he bought the house. And the small house attached to (the house), of wooden grating, is the inheritance of the wife of Pedro, whose home is San Juan Bautista Ollopan; (she is) the stepchild of Juan González Tocuiltecatl. And so that no one should be confused, what is manifested here will be seen in the bill of payment. And to verify it I place here my name and signature, along with the executors.

Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. Francisco Flores. Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 82r

Document 55

Testament of Pedro Cano Acatl, October 7, 1581

Pedro owns both purchased houses and purchased land, as well as inherited property. The distinction between purchased and inherited property is fundamental. Note that Pedro paid for part of his property in cash and completed the purchase price by work.

/f. 82r/ p^o cano acatl

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl p^o Cano acatl nican nochan colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlixillacalli sancta maria natiutas tomatla maçoyhui yn ninococohua yn nitlanahui yeçe yn noyollia nanima çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia Sanctissima drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu Sancto çan centeotl dios nicnoneltoquitia yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia Sancta yglesia Romana Auh yehica yn axcan nicchihua yn notestamento yn çatlatzaccan notzonquizçantlanequillizpan (sic) yn ye yuh niquitohua axcan ynic ayac quitlacoç

- Inic centlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia naniman ycemactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca ytlachihualtzin ca oquimomaquixtilli y nican tlap^c yca yn itlaçoeççotzin auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Inic centlamantli niquitohua yn nehuatl p^o cano acatl yn oncan nihuetztoç caltzintli tonatiuh yquičayanpa ytziti-

/f. 82r/ Pedro Cano Acatl

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Pedro Cano Acatl, whose home is here in Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa María Nativitas Tomatla, even though I am gravely ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and God the Holy Spirit, just one divinity, God, in whom I believe. And I believe all that the Holy Roman Church believes; therefore now I make my testament; what I now say is with my ultimate and final will so that no one is to violate it.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because it is his creation and he redeemed it here on earth with his precious blood. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- First (sic) say I, Pedro Cano Acatl, that the house in which I lie, facing east, was not built by me, nor is it

cac Ca amo notlaquetzal amo ma notlahihyohuilliz Ca çan calcohualtintli ypatih ix p⁰s ycal catca yn anton Rafael acatzon Ca yc tzatzia matlactli p⁰s yn çihuapilli moyetztica Coyohuacan yn inamic p⁰ de la ortiz Auh niqitohua yntech nicpohua nopilhuan yn imeyxtin augostin ycnotl yhua m^a tiacapan yhuan pedro ynin oniquinteneuh ayac quimixtoquilliz Ca ymaxca Canel oquicnopilhuique ypal^{co} yn tote^o Dios

- No yhuan notlalcohual 4 p^{oh} ytlaltzin dona ju^a de s^t gabriel nicmacac matlactli p⁰s yhuan 4 t⁰s ynn epohualli auh ynic napohualli çenpohualli çan notlaocoliloca mochihuh ypampa quemaniyan ytech tetlacamachilliztli onichihuh auh niqitohua ynn oniquinteneuh nopilhuan çan mochintin yntech pohuiz ayac quimixtoquilli (sic) ypampa ca noçiyahuilliz ca notlapallihuiz

- No yhuan niqitohua nochinancohual ymiltzin catca yn tlatohuani don ju^o de aguillar gobernador catca matlactetl omome ypatih 3 p⁰s ypan 4 t^s Can (sic) yuhqui yn tlatlamantotonti amo huehucy Çanno yntech yez yn nopilhuan ayac quimixtoquilliz Ca ymaxca

- Auh yn onpa tecuitlaapan nochinannemac nauhtetl yn çeçenpohualli ypan macuilmatl auh oc no oncan temi no nauhtetl ychinan catca fran^{co} huelliquac catca nican chane nicmacac ome p⁰s ypan 4 t⁰s ynn itech nicpohua yn nochinannemac yhuan notlalcohual yyoccanixti nicmaca yn p⁰ ycnotl yn xocoyotl ayac quixtoquiliz

- Auh yn notlalnemac yn oncan tlacuechihuhcan chicutetl ytech nicpohua ynn agustin ycnotl nicaxcatia auh ynn atentaltzintli yetetl yn oncan temi ynn achto nicatca çeçenpohualli auh niqitohua ytech pouhqui yez ynn omentin oquichtin quimochihuillizque ohontetl ytla nemizque ye ixquich yn notlatol p^o cano acatl nican nochan s^t m^a natiuitas tomatla ymixpan testigos mⁱⁿ ytzcuin yhuan bal^{ar} nentlamati ana teycuiuh yna^c mⁱⁿ ytzcuin augustin ycnotl yhuan m^a tiacapan yntatzin yn ye momiquilliznequi yhuan Ju^o xaxo teopan topille tlachpanqui No yhuan niqitohua ca atle ma ytla nicpia yn tlaxillacalleque yntomines ayac tle notech quitlamiz E^{tca} Axcan omicuillo domingo yn itextamento (sic) p^o cano acah yc 7tl dias del mes de octubre de 1581 anos

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacob de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo ynin testamento auh ynic nicneltillia nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

(the result of) my work, but is a house purchased for the price of nine pesos. It was the house of Antón Rafael Acatzon, and a noblewoman of Coyoacan, the wife of Pedro Ortiz, had it announced (for sale) for 10 pesos. And I declare that I assign it to all three of my children, Agustín Icnotl, María Tiacapan, and Pedro (Icnotl). No one is to claim it from those whom I mention, for it is their property and they have deserved it by God our lord.

- Also I have purchased land of 80 (units of measure that was) the land of doña Juana de San Gabriel, and I gave her 10 pesos, four tomines for 60, and to complete 80, 20 were just donated to me because sometimes I gave her obedience (I did things she ordered me to do). And I say that it is to belong to all of my children already mentioned; no one is to claim it from them, for it is (something I acquired with) my toil and effort.

- In addition, I declare that there are some purchased chinampas of mine that were the field of the tlatoani don Juan de Aguilar, former gobernador. There are twelve (chinampas), and they cost three pesos, four tomines. And just so the small pieces of level land, not large, will also belong to my children. No one is to claim (the parcels) from them, for they are their property.

- And in Tecuitlaapan there are four inherited chinampas of mine, each one of 25 matl. In addition, there are four chinampas there that belonged to the late Francisco Hueliquac, citizen here. I gave him two pesos, four tomines. And I assign and give my inherited chinampas and my purchased land, both of them, to Pedro Icnotl, the youngest. No one is to claim it from him.

- And there are eight (chinampas) in Tlacuechihuhcan, my inherited land, which I assign to and make the property of Agustín Icnotl. And the three (chinampas) at the edge of the water there, in the first place where I lived, each one of 20 (units of measure), I say that they are to belong to the two males; they will cultivate two each, if they live. This is all the declaration by me, Pedro Cano Acatl, whose home is here in Santa María Nativitas Tomatla. (Done) before the witnesses Martín Itzcuin; Baltasar Nentlamati; Ana Teicuh, wife of Martín Itzcuin; Agustín Icnotl and María Tiacapan, whose father is about to die, and Juan Jaso, topile of the church and sweeper. Also I declare that I have no money at all of the ward heads; no one is to accuse me of anything, etc. (sic). The testament of Pedro Cano Acatl was written today, Sunday, the 7th day of the month of October of the year 1581.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, wrote this testament. And to verify it, I place here my name and signature.

thomatla Miguel jacob de Mal^{do} non^{bdo}

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.
Tomatla.

f. 83r

Document 56

Testament of Miguel Huantli, September 24, 158(?)

As just seen, inherited and purchased land were basic categories in sixteenth-century Culhuacan, but some people also worked land not their own. Miguel has cultivated a chinampa belonging to someone else and considers himself the owner of only the crop. While the chinampa was probably rented, the term used, *tepal-tzinco*, specifies only that Miguel was able to work the land through the agency of some other person; possibly he merely asked permission to cultivate an unused plot. While some testators were perfectly willing to impose on their relatives, Miguel worries that he has bothered his sister too much. Interestingly, Miguel owns “women’s things” (*cihuatlatquitl*) (likely sewing equipment and cooking pots and utensils). Note also the terminology having to do with tribute: *toquauhacallaol* “our half-fanega-maize,” and *totetlacauhtequiuh* “our tribute (duty) as subjects.”

/f. 83r/ Miguel huantli

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitzazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl notoca Miguel huantli notlaxillacaltia sanct m^a mag^{na} Çihuatecpan maçonel-
lihui yn ninococohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac (y?)nic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima drinidadada (sic) tetatzin tepiltzin dios Eşpu Ca çequi yellitzin yxquichihuelli yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia de Roma auh yeica yn ica ytlatlauhtillocatzin tote^o dios nicchihua nitecpana yn ipan notzonquizcatlanequillizpa yn ye nomiquiztepan

- ynic ontlamantli niqutohua yn nehuatl miguel huantli yn noyollia naniman ycenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin yn nican tlaltiepac Auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Yhuan niqutohua yn nocal yn tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac yhuan yn itech çaliuhticac xochmilcopa yzticac Caltepiton monamacaz ytech niccahua yn ana tiacapan nohueltiuh yntla aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz yn quezqui ypatiuh yez t^os missa yc topan mitoz

- No yhuan ynn acatzintitlan temi chinamitl vii tetl çan ytlahuicallo yez yn calli tlacpac onicteneuh yehica canel ytlahuicallo yn calli Ca ypan otitequitia auh centetl noçacamol amo nochinan çan tepal^{co} onicnellimiquilli Niquitohua yn oncan onoc chinampa nicmaca yn ana tiacapan yn nohueltiuh yhuan çentetl notilma nofreçada nicmacatiuh yhuan oc no çecno onicnohuauhcuenti amo no nochinan çanno tepal^{co} niqutohua ynn oncan onoc huauhtli çanno ytech pouhqui yn nohueltiuh quimocuicuiltiz ayac quixtoquilliz nicaxcatia

/f. 83r/ Miguel Huantli

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Miguel Huantli by name, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan, even though I am ill, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, of one essence and omnipotent. I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore with supplication of God our lord I make and ordain (my testament) with my last will, already on the verge of my death.

- Second (sic) say I, Miguel Huantli, that I put my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that there is a house of mine that faces east, with a small house that is attached to it and faces Xochimilco. It is to be sold; I entrust it to my older sister Ana Tiacapan. If someone wants to buy it, with however much the proceeds in money amount to, masses will be said for us.

- And also in Acatzintitlan there are seven chinampas; they will just go with the house I mentioned above because they are the dependencies of the house, (and we used to pay tribute on them). And there is a chinampa that I cleared but which doesn't belong to me; I only cultivated it (with the permission) of someone else. I declare that I give what is planted on the chinampa to Ana Tiacapan, my older sister, and I give her a mantle of mine, a blanket. And in another place there is also (a chinampa) that I sowed in amaranth. It isn't my chinampa either, rather also someone else's. I declare that

- Yhuan niquitohua yn notlalcohual çempohualli ynn oncan ayltitlan ytlal yn ju^o saxo ytelpoch catca tzapotlacatl niquitohua monamacaz yn quezqui ypatih yez t^os tomissa yc topan mitoz yn quezqui ypatih yez No yhuan ynn onpa sanctiagto tetla ompa mani nomil ymiltitech yn miguel tilma ychan ollopan oncan yn temamatlac oncan yn catca thomas camaxochitl Auh ynicc occan oncan yn icçotitlan ynin onicteneuh tlalli onpohualli çanno ytech yez yn calli monamacaz çan ytlahuicalllo yez yn tlapac onicteneuh yhuan ynn onpa tomamatlah 7ontetl çan mochi ytech ez yn calli onicteneuh

- Yhuan niquitohua ynn onicnochiuillica tlalmilli 3 poh yhuan 7 tetl chinamitl ynn oncan onoc çintli çann oc moçencuicuz auh yn iquac yntla omoçentlalli oncan quiçaz yn toquahuacallaol yhuan tlapacallaquilli macamo yc motollinizque yn tlaxillacalleque ma quimocuillizque Canel totetlacauhtequih Auh yn quexquich mocahuaz tlaoltzintli monamacaz missa yc topan mitoz yhuan yn ixquich tocallitic totlatqui yn totech omonequia toçihuatlatqui çan mochi monamacaz mochi totech pohuiz Yhuan niquitohua yz catqui t^os vi p^os o yc niquinpal-lehuizquia yn nopilhuan omentin yhuan yn nonamicztzin ocatca yntla oc onine(mi?)ni ca yçihca o ypan nitlatozquia o missa ynpan mochihuazquia auh yn axcan niquitohua ma yçihca quimocallaquillizque yn aluaciasti ma quimocahuillitihui ynic yçihca ynpan mitoz missa nonamic yhuan omentin notelpochhuan

/f. 83v/ No yhuan ontetl nacalçol çentetl acalpiasztli çan ic ontetl yn iquac tla oninomiçuilli monamacaz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz yc nitocoç aço cantellatzin yc mocohuaz macamo yntla yc motolliniz yn nohueltihuatzin Ca ye nictollinia

- Yhuan niquitohua ca atle ma yntla nicnotlacui anoço yntla aca nicpiellia aço yntla tlaxillacalli yteocuitl anoço yntla aca yntlatqui nicpia macayac tle yntla notech quitlamiz yn ye nicanpa notepotzco yn iquac oninomiçuilli Ca atle aca yntla oniccuilli ca huel mellahuac ynic onictlalli notestamento yhuin ynic otlanhuaui yn yehuatl miguel huantli ymixpan omochiuh testigos yn tlaxillacalleque andres gartia (sic) min gonçalles miguel tellez domingo Ramos teoyotica tepixqui gaspar tellez cuetli Ju^o (liber?) marcos ycnol Çihua ana tiacapan yna^c catcah a^ol conpollo ju^a tiacapan yna^c thomas de aquino ana tiacapan yna^c catca

the amaranth that is sown there belongs to my older sister; she is to take it. No one is to claim it from her; I make it her property.

- And I declare that there is purchased land of mine in Ailtitlan, 20 (units of measure). It was the land of Juan Jaso, who was the son of Tzapotlacatl. I declare that it is to be sold, and with however much the proceeds are in money masses will be said for us. Also in Santiago Tetla there is a field of mine next to the field of Miguel Tilma, whose home is Ollopan, in Temamatlac where Tomás Camaxochitl used to be. And (there is land) in a second place, in Icçotitlan; this land I mention is 40 (units of measure); it is likewise to go with the house and to be sold; it is just to go along with what I mentioned above. And in Tomamatla there are seven (chinampas). All of it is to go with the said house.

- And I declare that I worked a planted field of 60 (units of measure) with seven chinampas. The maize that is planted there is all to be picked, and when it is collected together, from it will be taken our half fanega of maize and the tribute. Let the ward heads not afflict themselves (worry themselves) about it. Let them take it because it is our tribute as subjects. And however much maize is left is to be sold in order to say masses for us. And all of what is our house, all our things that we used, all our woman's things are to be sold and all (the money) will belong to us. And I declare there are six pesos in money with which I was going to help my two children and my late wife; if I had lived longer, I was going to see that a mass was said for them. And now I say, let the executors promptly deliver it, let them go to leave it (in the church) in order that masses be promptly said for my wife and my two sons.

/f. 83v/ Also there are two old boats of mine; the second is narrow; they are to be sold when I have died. Perhaps someone will want to buy them, and with (the money) I will be buried, or candles will be bought. Let my older sister not be bothered over this, for I've bothered her (too much) already.

- And I declare that I have not borrowed anything at all, nor do I owe anything to anyone, and I have no money of the ward, nor anyone's goods. Let no one accuse me of anything afterwards, when I am dead, for I took nothing from anyone. I have ordered my testament in all truth. Thus disposed Miguel Huantli. Done before the witnesses, the ward heads Andrés García; Martín González; Miguel Téllez; Domingo Ramos, church tepixqui; Gaspar Téllez Cuentli; Juan (Liber?); Marcos Icnol. The women: Ana Tiacapan, widow of Alonso Conpolo; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Tomás de Aquino;

m̄in aztatl ana tiacapan yna^c catca mel^{Or} tenpiaz m̄inna yna^c marcos ycnol martha tiacapan yna^c m̄in gonçalles fran^{ca} xoco ynumeric Ju^O cuicuil Yzquintini yn testigos ymixpan omochiuh

- tixpan omochiuh aluaçias augustin vazquez miguel Joseph Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^O della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic o-quitlalli ytestamento yn yehuatl miguel huantli yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictlall(ia) notoca nofirma Axcan domingo omicuillo yc 24 de setiembre de 158(1?)

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

Ana Tiacapan, widow of Martín Aztatl; Ana Tiacapan, widow of Melchor Tempiaz; Martina, wife of Marcos Icnol; Marta Tiacapan, wife of Martín González; Francisca Xoco, wife of Juan Cuicuil. These are the witnesses before whom (the testament) was done.

- Done before us, the executors, Agustín Vázquez and Miguel Josef. And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, say that Miguel Huantli ordered his testament well and truly, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature. Today, Sunday, it was written, the 24th of September of 158(?).

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 83v

Document 56A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/83v/ compro bernardo cuauhtli en seys pesos vna casilla de miguel difunto digeronse de misas por el miguel y sus difunctos

frai joan zimbron

/f. 83v/ Bernardo Quauhtli bought for six pesos a little house of Miguel, deceased; with them masses were said for Miguel and his deceased.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 84r

Document 57

Testament of Juan Velázquez, February 13, 1581

If Juan's testament were found in isolation, we would think him a relatively poor person. Yet Juan is the husband of Angelina Mocol (Doc. 50), a well-connected noblewoman. Following Juan's testament is an update by the notary of what happened to Juan's relatives, including his father-in-law Pablo Huitznahuatl (Doc. 47), as well as a cross-reference to his wife's will. This is one of several testaments containing references to indigenous musical instruments (Docs. 36, 59).

/f. 84r/ Ju^O vellazquez de 1581 a^{Os}

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl notoca Ju^O velazquez nochan s^t ju^O Euag^{ta} Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli sanct ana tlacuillocan xalla notatzin catca p^O tlanencauh maçoyhui yn ninococohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan çenca huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctisiman drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios E^{spu} santo çan huel nelli dios yxquichihuelli nicnoneltoquitia yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia Romana Auh ypampa ynn axcan yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtilloca nicchihua nictcepana yn notestamento yn çatlatzaccan notzonquizcatlanequillizpan yn ye nictcepana axcan (yn)

- Ynic centlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia naniman ycenmaetzinco nocontlallia yn tote^O dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoezçotzin y nican talticpac Auh yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeh-

/f. 84r/ Juan Velázquez The year 1581.

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Juan Velázquez by name, whose home is San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Tlacuilocan Xallah (my father was Pedro Tlanencauh), even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed. And I very truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, only one true omnipotent God in whom I believe. And I believe all that the Holy Roman Church believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of (God) I make and order my testament, which I order now with my ultimate and final will.

- First I declare that I put my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

ica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- yhuan niqutohua, ynn onpohualli tlallmilli nechmo-
maquillitih notatzin catca ynn onpa tepec xallatlahco
yhuan ome capollin oncan mani auh niqutohua çen-
pohualli monamacaz auh yn ipatiuh yez t^os missa yc
nopa mitoz yc pallehuilloz yn naniman Auh ynn oc no
cenpohualli nicmaca yn nopiltzin Nicollas yntla quimo-
nemittiliz tote^o dios ayac quixtoquilliz ca yyaxca ayac
tle huel quitoz

- No yhuan yn oncan Calltenco temi nochinan no ma-
cuiltetl çanno ytech pohuiz yn nopiltzin yntla nemiz
quicenyelliz yn nopiltzin yyaxca yez ayac quixtoquilliz
no yhuan yn caltzintli xochmilcopahuic yzticac çentetl
çan tepiton amo huey yntla nemiz nopiltzin ytech pouh-
qui yez oncan yez yn nonamic auh yntla momiquilliz
quiniquac monamacaz ytech pohuiz yn nopiltzin

- Yhuan niqutohua not^os nictetlacuilti ytoça bernabe
ychan chiqualloapan yxpan çanno onpa ychan
ycalnahuac ca ytoça Jxuaachin (sic) n(o?/a?) mitlaniz vi
t^os auh yntla omoxtlauh notech pohuiz yehuatl ytech
niccahua yn yn (sic) fran^{co} ypiltzin catca miguel
Colhuacaçol Ca no ixpan mochiuh ynic nictetlacuilti
yehuatl quiçihuitiz No yhuan nictlacuilti ix t^os ynn
antonio tecomoni ypan polihuiz 3 t^os huehuatl i t^os
tlapitzalli i t^os cochillo auh 4 t^os huel quimotlacui ycc
onaçi (ix?) t^os quixtlahuaz yçihuca teopan callaquiz
mochi yc nipallehuilloz Auh yz catqui noçallahueras
xoxotic ayamo huecahua quin oniccouhca auh yc
mopatlaz yztac tilmatl yn iquac tla ninomiquilliz yc
quimilliuhtiaz yn notlalnacayo yhuan yz catqui çentetl
notilma onicnolpilliaya tlamacho monamacaz candella
yc mocohuaz yc nitocoz yn iquac tla oninomiquilli
ymixpan omochiuh testigos fran^{co} florez pablo de sanct
gabriel huitznahuatl miguel josep(h) çihuatecpanecatl
aluaçia angellina moçel ynamic yn cocoxcatzintli ye
miquiznequi maria salome p^onilla tlaco xpina tlahco
yna^c /f. 84v/ ju^o ycnottl Axcan omicuillo ytestamento ju^o
vellazquez yc 13 dias del mes de hebrero de 1581 Anos

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacob de mal^{do} Escri^o della
yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo yhuan y nicneltillia ca ye
mellahuac ynic omotecpan testamento yn nehuatl

- And I declare that there are 40 (units of measure) of
cultivated land at the mountain at Xallatlahco which my
late father gave me. And there are two native cherry
trees there. And I say that 20 (units) are to be sold, and
with the proceeds in money masses will be said for me to
help my soul. And the other 20 (units) I give to my child
Nicolas, if our lord God gives him life. No one is to
claim it from him, because it is his property. No one can
make objections.

- And also by the house there are five of my chinampas
which also will belong to my child if he lives. My child
is to keep them forever, and they will be his property; no
one is to claim them from him. Also as to the house
which faces toward Xochimilco, of one (room), just
small, not large, it is to belong to my child if he lives.
My wife will be there, but if my child dies, then it is to
be sold and (the proceeds) are to belong to him.

- And I declare that I lent money to someone named
Bernabé, whose home is Chiqualoapan, in the presence
of a person whose home is also there, next to his house,
named (Joaquín?). Six pesos are to be requested (of
Bernabé), and when it is paid, (the money) is to belong
to me. I entrust (the matter to) Francisco, who was the
child of Miguel Colhuacaçol, for it was also in his
presence that I lent it (to Bernabé). He is to hasten (the
collection). Also I lent nine tomines to Antonio Te-
comoni to spend on (the following): three tomines for an
upright drum, a tomín for a flute, a tomín for a knife, and
four tomines he simply borrowed, with which it comes to
nine tomines. He is to pay it back, and all of it is to be
delivered promptly to the church to help me. And there
are some green European trousers (zaraguelles) of mine;
it hasn't been long since I bought them. And they are
to be exchanged for white cloth, and when I die, my
earthly body will be wrapped in it. There is an em-
broided cloak of mine which I wore. It is to be sold to
buy candles for my burial when I have died. Done
before the witnesses Francisco Flores; Pablo de San
Gabriel Huitznahuatl; Miguel Josef Cihuatecpanecatl,
executor; Angelina Mocel, wife of the invalid about to
die; María Salomé, Petronilla Tlaco; Cristina Tlaco, wife
/f. 84v/ of Juan Icnottl. The will of Juan Velázquez was
written today, the 13th day of the month of February of
the year 1581.

- And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the
church, wrote it; I verify that he ordered his testament
truly. I,

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 84v

Document 57A

Annotation in Nahuatl, n.d.

/f. 84v/ - yn iz teneuhtica yn ju^o vellazquez omic yn ipiltzin nicollas yhuan yn inamic angellinan yhuan y-monta pablo huitznahuatl aocac omocauh auh yn itestamento ypan motaz yzqui ypan ca yn tlapohualli yn folio 78

/f. 84v/ - The son Nicolás of the Juan Velázquez mentioned here died, and his wife Angelina (Mocel), and his father-in-law Pablo (de San Gabriel) Huitznahuatl. No one was left. And (his wife's) testament will be seen on folio number 78.

f. 85r

Document 58

Testament of Ana Mocel, January 15, 1582

Ana Mocel's estate contains two groups of chinampas in sets of seven. As we have had occasion to mention before, seven seems to have been an "ideal" number of chinampas, turning up numerous times in the wills. For some reason Ana makes most of her bequests to her son-in-law, although it appears that her daughter, his wife, is still alive.

/f. 85r/ Ana moçel

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque Amatl yn notestamento yn queni nehuatl notoca ana moçel nican nochan sanct ju^o Euangelista Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlixillacalli Sanct ana tzapotla maçoçhui yn ninococohua yn çenca tlanahui nonacayo yece yn noyollia yn naniman çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctissima drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios E^spu sancto yhuan huel mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn sancta yglesia Romana auh yehyca yn axcan yn ica ynotzaloca ytlatlauhtillocatzin yn dios nicchihua nictecpana yn ca (sic) tlatzaccan notzonquizcatlanequilizpan yn ye nomiquiztenpan yn iuh niquitohua axcan ynic ayac quitlacoç yn iquac oninomiçuiltl moçipa yuh mopiaz yn oc quexquich cahuitl yn ye ompa titztihui

- Ynic ontlamantli yn noyollia yn naniman yçenmactzinco noconcahua yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimomaquixtilli yca yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican talticpac auh yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- yhuan niquitohua y noncall (sic) yn onca nihuetztoc tonatiuh yquičayanpa yzticac nicmaca yn nomontzin antonio xallacatl ytech nicpohua ayac quixtoquilliz yhuan chinamitl vii tetl çan ytlahuicallo yez can ytlahuicallo yn calli ynn onicteneuh ynn onicteneuh (sic) chinamitl ymiltitech catca yn miguel çanen catca çanno mochi ytech nicpohua yn nomontzin antonio xallacatl ayac quixtoquilliz ca yaxca

/f. 85r/ Ana Mocel

- Know all who see and read this document, my testament, that I, named Ana Mocel, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Tzapotla, even though I am sick, and my body is in very bad health, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit. And I believe all that the Holy Roman Church believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God I make and order (my testament) with my ultimate and final will at the hour of my death, so that no one will violate what I say now when I have died, and it is always to be observed in the future, in the coming time.

- Second (sic) I declare that I leave my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I assign and give to the earth because from earth it came.

- And I declare that the house where I lie, which faces east, I give to my son-in-law Antonio Xallacatl. I assign it to him; no one is to claim it from him. And there are seven chinampas that will go along with it, for they accompany the house I mentioned. And the chinampas I mentioned are next to the former field of the late Miguel Çannen. I likewise assign all of it to my son-in-law Antonio Xallacatl; no one is to claim it from

- No yhuan niqutohua ynm (sic) ompa apilco vii tetl temi chinamitl yuhqui yn ma occan quiztica can yc çenca yn vii tetl niqutohua monamacaz yn iquac yntla ninomi-quilliz nopam popollihuiz - yc nitocoz -

- Yhuan niqutohua yn tetl jolarpan huehuetzoc oc mo-nechicoz yn quexquich motecaz tetl monamacaz aço çequi yc nipallehuiloz missa yc nopan mitoz yhuan çequi yc nitocoz yntla oc cana quimocuilliz quimotlacuiz yc tlaxtlahuaz, çan mochi yn tetl pani onoc

- Yhuan huexotl yey monamacaz çan yc moçennechicoz ynn onicteneuh tlapac monamacaz yc moçentlalliz no-tech pohuiz yhuan quauhçolli apechtli catca monamacaz yc moçentlalliz yhuan nauhtetl ycpatetl yhuan quauh-pachtli aquiton monamacaz auh yn noxhuihuan augustín yhuan ju^a niqinmaca ome metlatl Auh yn quahuacalli yn tepal^{co} tianquiznahuac onicchiuaya ytech niccahua yn noconeuh yhuan yn nomon antonio xallacatl ymixpan omochiuh testigos ynn omotlalli testamento miguel Rafael, colli (?) ju^o d s.tiago ju^o bap^{ta} matheo yllama miguel quechol ju^o tellez jolian bal^{ar} gasbar xochiquiyauh melchior quauhtli ju^a tiacapan mag^{nan} tiacapan ju^a tiacapan ana tiacapan luysa tiacapan ju^a teycuiuh maria teycuiuh mag^{nan} tlacoh /f. 85v/ yhuan no yxpan omochiuh yn antonio xallacatl axcan domingo nepantla tonatiuh yn omicuilo testamento yc xiiii de Enero de 1582 años ynn oquicacque ytlatol cocoxcatzintli dibotados diego hernandez miguel joseph Auh yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de mal^{do} Escri^o della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento ana moçel nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

Miguel jacobo
de mal^{do} nonbrado

f. 85v

/f. 85v/ vendieronse siete camellones del difunto aRiba nonbrado en dos pesos y medio que se dijeron de misas

frai joan zimbron

him, for it is his property.

- Also I declare that in Apilco there are seven chinampas; they are as though in two parts, and together they are seven. I declare they are to be sold when I die, and (the money) will be spent on me for my burial.

- And I declare that the stone lying in various parts of the houselot is to be gathered together, and however much stone is assembled is to be sold. Perhaps with one part I will be aided and masses will be said with it for me. And with the other part I will be buried. If it is necessary to borrow something from someone, it will be paid from all the stone that is lying on the ground.

- And there are three willow trees that are to be sold. They will just be joined with what I mentioned above that is to be sold and (the money) will belong to me. And the old wood (that served as foundation for a building standing in water?) is to be sold and put together with the rest. And the four skeins of yarn and a little dark-colored (yarn) is to be sold. And to my grandchildren Agustín and Juana I give two metates. And the (wooden trough?) that I was making (by means of another person? for another person?) next to the market I leave to my daughter and son-in-law, Antonio Xallacatl. The testament was done and ordered before the witnesses Miguel Rafael Colli, Juan de Santiago, Juan Bautista, Mateo Ilama, Miguel Quechol, Juan Téllez, Julián Baltasar, Gaspar Xochiquiyauh, Melchor Quauhtli, Juana Tiacapan, Magdalena Tiacapan, Juana Tiacapan, Ana Tiacapan, Luisa Tiacapan, Juana Teicuh, María Teicuh, Magdalena Tlaco, /f. 85v/ and also done before Antonio Xallacatl. Today, Sunday at mid-day, the testament was written, on the 14th of January of the year 1582. The deputies Diego Hernández and Miguel Josef heard the statement of the invalid. And I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, wrote the testament of Ana Mocel. Here I place my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

Document 58A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 85v/ Seven chinampas of the deceased named above were sold for two pesos and a half, for which masses were said.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 87r

Document 59*Testament of Andrés de San Miguel, October 20, 1581*

This is the only will from Culhuacan's political subdivision of Tetla, which apparently had its own notary. The document in the collection is only a copy, the original being kept by Andrés's wife. Andrés entrusts his drums to a ward head "for entertaining the public," first extracting some money for masses for himself.

/f. 87r/ Andres de s^t miguel ychan tetlah

- In ica yn itocatzin dios tetatzin yhua dios tepiltzin dios Esp̄u santo ça ce huel nelli teotl nicnoneltoquitia yn nehuatl notoca Andres de sanct miguel nican nochan Sanctiagotetlah oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli Sanct ana yyauhtenco tenepantla nictlallia notestamento ma quimatican yn ixquichtin quittazque yn tle yn nicneltillia macayac quitlacozy nic çentlamantli niqutohua

- yn ipan ycac nocal yyauhtencatlalli ca ypan nitequiti canel naxca ynn ipan ycac nocal ompohualli yn notlal huel maxca (sic) auh niqutohua yn nehuatl andres canel onca yn nonamic maria quihuapahua yn nopiltzin ytoaca fran^{CO} yyaxca yez yn ipan ycac nocal yntla nemiz yn nopiltzin fran^{CO} Auh yntla momiquilliz canell onca yn nonamic ca yehuatl quimati yc nopan tlatoz Auh yn ihuicallo tllali yn nocal çan yc çenyey ynn onpa tlanexpan yepohualli nicçentlallia yntla nimiquiz ca çan yc macuilpohualli ynn omicuillo

- Auh ynic nicchipahua yn noyollia naniman niqutohua yn nehuatl andres migl atle nican nicpia mah teaxca mah tetlatqui atle ma tlaxillacaltlatquitl nicpia

- Auh yn calpoltitlan tllali oniccouh yn nehuatl andres de s^t miguel ompohualli yn tllali ypatihuh chicome pesos auh nicxellohua çenpohualli naxca yn nehuatl andres auh çenpohualli nicmaca yn nopiltzin matheo xuarez oc nechtlacolliz çe pesos yc nitlaocoliloz yn nehuatl ca çan nel ymaxca

- Auh yn teponaztli yhuan huehuetl canel naxca niqutohua yn nehuatl andres Ca techiyelloni ytech niccahua nicpiyeltia yn thomas de aquino auh oc no ytla nechtlacollizque tomintzin 1 p^{Os}

- ye yxquich y niqutohua notlatol yn nehuatl andres de s^t migl ymixpan omochiuh testigos tlaxillacalleque sanctiagotetlah ynic çe thomas de aquino amiztlatohua fran^{CO} muyse quahuitencatl gabriel yaotl gabriel jalome matheo xuarez yhuan no yehuatl yn inamic ye momiquilliznequi maria ana

- In nehuatl Ju^O zeberino nixpan omochiuh yn itlatol andres de Sanct miguel yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento ynic otlananahuati amo motequipachohua

/f. 87r/ Andrés de San Miguel, whose home is Tetla

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true divinity in whom I believe, my name is Andrés de San Miguel, whose home is here in Santiago Tetla, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Iyauhtenco Tenepantla. I order my testament: know all who see it that no one is to violate what I verify. First I declare:

- Concerning (the land) in Iyauhtenco on which my house is built and (on which I pay tribute), since it is my property on which my house stands, there are 40 (units of measure) of my land that truly belong to me, and I, Andrés, declare that since I have a wife, María, who is raising my child named Francisco, (the land) where the house stands will be the property of my child Francisco, if he lives. But if he dies, since my wife is alive, she knows how to speak for me concerning it. And the land that accompanies my house will be together with the 60 (units of measure of land) in Tlanexpan; I put it all together if I die, and with this there are 100 (units of measure of land) (written here? registered?).

- And to purify my spirit and soul I, Andrés (de San) Miguel, say that I keep no property of other people nor property of the ward.

- And in Calpoltitlan there is land that I, Andrés de San Miguel, bought. The land is 40 (units of measure long) and cost eight pesos. And I distribute it: 20 are the property of me, Andrés, and 20 I give to my son Mateo Juárez. He is to favor me first with one peso for my aid, since it is his property.

- And as to the log drum and the upright drum, since they are my property, I, Andrés, say that they are for entertaining the public. And I leave and entrust them to Tomás de Aquino, but first they are to favor me with some money, a peso.

- That is all the statement that I, Andrés de San Miguel, make. Done before the witnesses and ward heads, the people of Santiago (Tetla), first Tomás de Aquino Amiztlatoa, Francisco Moysén Quahuitencatl, Gabriel Yaotl, Gabriel Salomé (sic), Mateo Juárez, and also the wife of the person about to die, María Ana.

- The statement of Andrés de San Miguel was done before me, Juan Ceverino, and I wrote his testament, as he made the various orders; he was unconcerned and his

huel pactica yyollo yztica amo motlapollotia Axcan yc
xx tl mani metztli de octubre de 1581 años

inin yc omochiuh traslado çan huel yuhqui yn itech
oquiz original atle oc çentlamantli ytlán ocallac tlatolli
çan huel yhui yn icuilliuhitica Auh ynn original quiptiaz
yn tenamic m^a ana ychan s^tiago oniquicuillo yn nehuatl

Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} Escri^o

spirit was undisturbed and alert; he had not lost judgment. Today, the 20th of the month of October of the year 1581.

This copy was done so that it came out entirely the same as the original; not one word was added to the statement, but it is written exactly the same. And the wife (of the testator), María Ana, whose home is Santiago (Tetla), will keep the original. I wrote it,

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

f. 88r

Document 60

Testament of Diego Sánchez, February 17, 1583

Crime and interethnic violence were not unknown in Culhuacan. Diego lies dying in the church's hospital (called by the Spanish loanword) from a knife wound inflicted on him by a black man (Nahuatl: *tliltic*). Diego is the only testator to show evidence of having been a surrogate father to his younger siblings: "I was as their father and ruled them." To judge from the testaments, this pattern mentioned in the traditional sources either had never been common in Culhuacan or was disappearing in the late sixteenth century. Diego's will is one of the richest in details on land, houses, and the tribute status of property, not to speak of human relations.

/f. 88r/ diego s.chez s^{ta} m^a mag^d

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque quipo-
huazque amatl notestamento yn queni nehuatl notoca
diego s^ñez nochán colhuacan notlaxillacatlan sancta
maria mag^{na} çihuatecpán maçoyhui yn çenca tlanauhtoc
yn nonacayo yeçe yn noyollia yn naniman çan pactica
amo motlapollotia yhuán çenca mellahuac ynic nic-
noneltoquitia yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin
dios Ešpu s^{to} çá çé perSona yxquichihuelli yhuán mochi
nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin
Sancta yglesia Romana Auh yeyca yn axcan nicchihua
nitectpana yn çá notzonquizecatlanequillizpan yn ye
nomiquiztenpan yn notlatol ynic ayac quenmania ytla
quitoz nicanpa notepotzco ynn iquac oninomiquilli Ca
huel mellahuac ynic nitlanahuati axcan

- ynic ontlamantli Niquitohua yn nehuatl diego sanchez
yn noyollia naniman yçenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o
dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli yn
ica ytlaçoEzçotzin y nican tlalticpac Auh yn nonacayo
nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- Iniquetlamantli niquitohua y nehuatl diego sanchez
Ca yn notatzin catca ca atl quichiuhtia testamento
Auh yn axcan niquitohua motollinia yn noteycahuan
Ca yuhqui yn intatzin onicatca Ca oniquinpachoti-
catca Auh macamo quenmanian ytla yc mochallaniz-
que yn iquac tla oninomiquilli Auh niquitohua yn
noteycauh yn noteyc(u?i?)h yn çá xocoyotl yn itoca
bal^{ar} ytech nicpohua yn huehuetlalmantli yntla ne-
miz tlalticpac ypan tequitiz ypan quichihuaz yn ixquich

/f. 88r/ Diego Sánchez of Santa María Magdalena

- Know all who see and read this document, my testa-
ment, that I, named Diego Sánchez, whose home is here
in Culhuacan, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Ci-
huatecpán, even though my body is gravely ill, my spirit
and soul are sound and not confused. And I truly believe
in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy
Spirit, who are just one person (sic), omnipotent; and I
believe all that our mother, the Holy Roman Church
believes. Therefore now I make and order my statement
with my last will, already on the verge of my death, in a
way that no one is ever to say anything counter to it after
my time, when I have died, because what I now order is
very true.

- Second (sic) say I, Diego Sánchez, that I place my
spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord,
because he made it and redeemed it with his precious
blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth
because from earth it came.

- Third say I, Diego Sánchez, that my late father made
no testament. And now I declare that my younger
brothers (and sisters) are deprived; I was as their father
and ruled them. Let them not ever dispute over anything
when I have died. And I declare that to my younger
brother, the youngest, named Baltasar, I assign the pa-
trimonial level land, if he lives; on it he will (pay tribute)
and perform all the obligations.

tequitl

- Auh yn noteycauh gasbar chichimecatl ytech nicpohua nicmaca yn quetzia (sic) toçitzin yn caltzintli tonatiah ycallaquiyanpa yztzicac Çan mochi ynic çentlamellauhtica yc huillantica yn ompa nezcolloyan oncan quinchixtiez yn noteycahuan

- Auh yn xochmilcopa yztzicac ytech yez ynn onicteneuh noteycauh bal^{ar} yn ça xocoyotl yhuan çequi notech pohuiz tlacoxelliuhiz yn iquac ytla oc nipatiz çan tlapantiez Auh yntla yçihuca nimiquiz Çan mochi ytech yez auh ytlatzin huentzintli quichihuaz yc nechtlacolliz yn ixpan^{co} dios yc mitoz misas Auh yntlacanoçomo nemiz Camo huel nicmati ca yehuatzin quimomachitia yn tote^o mochi missa yc mitoz monamacaz

- No yhuan niqutohua yn tlecopatl ça oxixitin Auh yn quahuitl yn icpac otenca ca oc ytech omonec y nonantzin yn iquac momiquilli Auh niqutohua yn axcan Inn eyntin Çihuatzintli noteyccahuan Ju^a tiacapan yhuan augustina tlaco yhuan maria xoco niquincenmaca quecahuizque quimomamacazque yn tzintepantli yn çan mochi yc açitica atlan mochi quicuizque ayac tle quimixtoquilliz quimellehuilliz

- Auh yntla huallaz oc çe tlacatl noteycauh Ju^o tototl yhuan ynn oc çe tlacatl çihuatl ytoca mag^{na} yn imomextini ca çenca ynpampa otitotollinique yn tomextin noteycauh Casbar chichimecatl Ca miyec yn t^s ynpampa otiquixtlauhque auh yn Ju^o tototl Ca mochi tlacatl quimati yn altepehuaque yn çanno tonehuan ypampa otitlacotique yn noteycauh oticlatequipanilhuique mel^{or} de morales auh niqutohua yn axcan ma yuhqui yn yehuatl ynnemac ypan pohui aocle huel quixtocazque ca ye oniquintlamamacaz ynn onechmocuitlehuique

/f. 88v/ - No yhuan niqutohua yn atentlaltzintli canel tequiyi ca ypan tequitihua ca mochi ytech pouhqui yn xocoyotl aço quimonemitilliz yn tote^o dios macayac quixtoquilliz yhuan oc no chicontetl chinamitl çanno oncan yn quiyahuac titomilnetechana yn thomas çemilamatzin catca çanno ytech yez yn bal^{ar} yn toxocoyouh amo ac quixtoquilliz

- yhuan niqutohua teuhtlalli çenpohualli oncan yn cohuatlan ypan ymiltitech yn bal^{ar} amallo çanno ytech nictlallia yn bal^{ar} yn xocoyotl aço nemiz ca ypan quichihuaz yn ixquich tequitl

- No yhuan niqutohua ynn ompa Sanctiagotetla no ompa mani teuhtlalli ompohualli ymiltitech yn pablo Gr^{mo}

- And to my younger brother, Gaspar Chichimecatl, I assign and give the house that our grandmother built, that faces west, (all that goes right up to the hearth where we warmed ourselves goes with it). There he will take care of my (other) younger brothers.

- And (the house) that faces Xochimilco will be for my said younger brother Baltasar, the youngest, and one part will belong to me. It is to be divided in half; while I am still being treated it is to be shared, and if I die quickly, all of it will be for him, but he is to make some small offering for my aid before God, with which masses will be said (for me). And if he doesn't live either, for I cannot know this, and (only) our Lord knows it, it will be sold and with all (the money) masses will be said.

- In addition I declare there is a storeroom that collapsed, and the wood which was above was used for my mother when she died. And I declare now that to my three younger sisters, Juana Tiacapan, Agustina Tlaco, and María Xoco, I give the foundation (the stone); the three of them are to share it and distribute it among themselves. They are to take all of it, reaching to the water; no one is to try to claim anything from them or covet it of them.

- And if another younger brother of mine, Juan Tototl, comes, and another female person (younger sister) named Magdalena, we have gone to great trouble over the two of them, both of us, my younger brother Gaspar Chichimecatl and I, for we paid a lot of money for them. And also we two, my younger brother and I, Gaspar Chichimecatl and I, served for Juan Tototl, as all the city fathers know; we worked for Melchor Morales. And I say that that is to be considered their inheritance. They cannot claim anything more, for I have already made the distribution to those who cared for me (in my illness).

/f. 88v/ - In addition I declare that there is land at the edge of the water (which is tributable, for tribute is paid of it); all of it belongs to the youngest, if God our lord lets him live. Let no one claim it from him. And there are another seven chinampas that are at the entrance, next to the field of the late Tomás Cemilamatzin. It will also belong to Baltasar, the youngest of us. No one is to claim it from him.

- And I declare that I assign 20 (units of measure) of dry land in Coatlan, next to the field of Baltasar Amaro, to Baltasar the youngest. If he lives he will (do all the tribute duties on it).

- In addition, I declare that in Santiago Tetla there is also dry land of 40 (units of measure), next to the field of

çima çenpohualli nicmaca yn noteycauh gaspar chichimecatl auh çenpohualli notech pohuiz monamacaz missa yc nopan mitoz yn iquac oninomiquilli tel yehuatl quimati yn noteycauh nopan tlatoz

- No yhuan niqitohua tlallachco chinamitl 3 pōli yntech nicpohua quimomamacazque yn noteycauhan gaspar chichimecatl yhuan Ju^a tiacapan yhuan augustina tlaco yhuan maria xoco quinauhcahuizque çan yehua quimati quimoxexelhuizque macamo yc mochallanizque yn quemanian

- Auh yn tlalmilli oçellotepec çenpohualhuiaç macuilmatl ynic patlahuac ymiltitech yn andres tlalhuitoctzin catca ychan cohuatlan concahuizque yn omentin çihua noteycauhan Ju^a tiacapan yhuan augustina quimonepan-tlaxelhuizque ayac quimixtoquilliz

- Ihuan niqitohua y noxolar yn çanno oncan quiyahuac chiquaçenmatl yn mexicopahuic auh ynic patlahuac çan tepiton aço ematl yn mochi yn ipan oncan icac ycal catca Ju^o perez çentetl xochmilcopa yztzicac çentetl tonatiuh yquiçayanpa yztzicac ynn onteyxti auh çentetl tlanamactli quinamacatia yn nonamic catca ome pesos ypatih auh oc ceppa omonamacazquia oquicohuazquia yn p^o olli Auh yn iquac micque yz catqui ynetlacuil i p^os ypan v t^s Auh nehuatl auh nehuatl (sic) oniquixtlauh yn t^s auh yn calli yuhqui yn ma ye no çepa onicocohui ye no çepa huel notech pouhtica yn axcan ypampa ca onitlaxtlauh nehuatl Auh yn ipann icac tlalmantli ca tequiti ynmac niccahua yn tlaxillacalleque aço aca quimomaquillizque yhuan yn iatentlallo ontetotonti çann ic çenyez amo ytech nitlatohua çan niccahua auh yn calli yn onicteneuh notech pohuiz yn aquin quimocohuiz oncan yez ma yçihca nechpallehuiz yn ixpan^{co} dios missa yc nopan mitoz

- Auh yn tecuitlaapan 7 tetl çanno ytlahuical yez yn tlalmantli temacoz yhuan çepohualli tlalmilli tepetlayxquac çanno ytech yez yn tlalmantli temacoz yhuan çempohualli tlalmilli Sanctiago tetla çanno ytech yez yn tlalmantli temacoz

- Auh yn caltepiton yn tlapac onicteneuh tonatiuh yquiçayanpa yztzicac no monamacaz ytech pohuiz yn Ju^o perez catca yn calle yn quezqui ypatih yez t^s missa yc ypan mitoz ayac quichallaniz yn iuh ye nictecpana nolatol

- auh yn noJolar ynn onicteneuh tlapac chiquaçenmatl

Pablo Gerónimo Cima. I give 20 to my younger brother Gaspar Chichimecatl, and 20 will belong to me; it will be sold in order for masses to be said for me when I have died. My younger brother knows about this and will speak for me.

- Also I declare that in Tlallachco there is a chinampa 60 (units of measure long). I assign it to my younger siblings Gaspar Chichimecatl, Juana Tiacapan, Agustina Tlaco, and María Xoco; they are to distribute it among themselves. The four of them are to share it; they know how they are to divide it among themselves. Let them not ever argue about it.

- And as to the cultivated land in Ocelotepec, 20 (matl) long and five matl wide, next to the field of the late Andrés Tlalhuitoctzin, whose home was Coatlan, my two younger sisters, Juana Tiacapan and Agustina, are to share it; they are to divide it between themselves. No one is to claim it from them.

- And I declare that as to myouselot, also at the entrance, it is six matl toward Mexico City and small in width, perhaps three matl. All that stands there, both houses, were Juan Pérez's. One faces toward Xochimilco and the other toward the east. And one was sold; my late wife sold it for the price of two pesos. And another time it was going to be sold; Pedro Olin was going to buy it. And when they died his debt was one peso, five tomines. And I paid the money, and the house is as if I had bought it again. Now it belongs to me fully again, because I paid for it. And the level land on which (the house) stands (pays tribute). I leave it in the hands of the ward heads. Perhaps they will give it to someone. And its land at the edge of the water, two small (chinampas) will just go along with (the level land). I don't speak concerning it; rather, I renounce it. But the house that I mentioned will belong to me. Whoever should buy it is to be there. Let me be aided quickly before God and masses said for me with (the money).

- And seven chinampas in Tecuitlaapan will also go along with the level land; they will be given to someone. And 20 (units of measure) of cultivated land in Tepetlayxquac will also go with the level land and will be given to someone. And 20 (units) of cultivated land in Santiago Tetla will also go with the cultivated land and will be given to someone.

- And the small house that I already mentioned above, that faces east, will also be sold. And however much the proceeds are in money will be dedicated to Juan Pérez, who was the house owner; with it masses will be said for him. No one is to dispute how I order my statement.

- And as to myouselot that I mentioned above, six

yhuan yatentlallo ontetonti aço aca quinequiz quimoco-huiz notech pohuiz yc açiz yn quexquich notech pohuiz t^s missa yc nopan mitoz yhuan yn chinamitl 7 tetl ymiltitech Ju^o payn no notech pohuiz yhuan /f. 89r/ teuhltalli yahuallihcan ymiltitech yn andres garçia xochicohuatl çanno notech pohuiz monamacaz missa yc nopan mitoz Auh yn noSolar ytech ca yn ixquich ic ca quaxochtli yn iuh tlatlalili çannih yez quicuiz yn noteycauh gasbar chichimecatl yhuan ontetotonti tlaquac temi chinamitl yhuan quicuiz yn noteycauh amo ytlacahuiz yn notlatol yn oniquito

- No yhuan niqitohua ynn ompa achto namique ocatca nonamictzin catca yn ompa ycac ycal yn oncan tlacatecpán xochmilcopa yztica çanno monamaz (sic) missa yc mitoz ynpan yn quexquich yez ypatih oc mottaz monemilliz aço huel teyxtin tilnamicozque ynn achto ynamic catca yhuan yn nehuatl yhuan nonamic ayac ytla oncan quitoz

- yhuan niqitohua yn nehuatl diego sanchez totococ yn yehuatl ynn onechmicti yn onechcochillohui ynic ye nimiquiznequi axcan ca yntla çan cocoliztli oniccuini canel ye nomiquian auh ynin ca atle notlatlacol Auh ynn axcan niqitohua yntla neçiz yn tilitic yn imac onicocox cochillotica yn nican teopan oSpital yn oncan nipatillo tlaxtlahuaz yhuan quintlaxtlahuiz yn dodorti yn titizi yn quexquich quitlanizque quinmacaz Auh yn tetomines yn nicnotlacui matlaclti pesos yn mochi çeçenmantoc y nictepiellia çeçeyaca tlaxtlahuillozque yhuan çequi teaxca onicpia (sic) tel yehuatl quimati yn noteycauh ytech niccahua yehuatl quitemacaz yn çequi teaxca yhuan yecatzinco quipia amatl ytoça Don gasbar quicohuaznequi yntla quicohuaz ma yçihca huallaz yn ipatih macoz yn inamictzin catca miguel zeron ca yaxca auh yntlacamo çan yçihca huallaz yn amatl macoz yn axcahua

- ye yxquich y niqitohua ma nechmotlapopolhuilican yn ixquichtin y nohuayolque yhuan yn ixquichtin yn intlan oninonemiti yhuan yn impal^{co} onixtlama yn teopantlaca macamo nechilcahuazque yn ixpan^{co} dios et^a ymixpan omochiuh yn oquicacque ytlatol cocoxcatzintli diego schez miguel de ribas dibotato miguel Gr^{mo} pablo gervasion diego de tapian Ju^o Rafael teopantopille yzquinin yn teopantla (sic) auh yn tlaxillacalleque hue-

matl and its land at the edge of the water, two small (chinampas), perhaps someone will want to buy them, and it will be dedicated to me. With however much the money comes to, masses will be said for me. And the seven chinampas next to the field of Juan Pain will also be for me. And the dry land in /f. 89r/ Yahualihcan, next to the field of Andrés García Xochicoatl, will also be dedicated to me. It will be sold in order for masses to be said for me. And all that belongs to my houselot, as far as the boundaries, will be as it is. My younger brother Gaspar Chichimecatl is to take it, and my younger brother is also to take the two small chinampas at the head of the property). No one is to violate the statement that I have made.

- In addition, I declare that where I was married the first time there stands the house of my late wife, in Tlacatecpán, facing Xochimilco. It will also be sold, in order for masses to be said for her with however much the proceeds are. First it will be seen and considered if all three of us, my first wife, and I, and my (present?) wife can be remembered. No one is to say anything (counter to this).

- And I, Diego Sánchez, say that the person who attacked me was banished; he cut me with a knife (causing injuries) from which I am about to die. (It is not as?) if I had just taken sick, because it is the moment of my death. Nor was it my fault. And now I say, if the black man by whose hand I was wounded by a knife should appear, he is to pay (what it costs) here in the church hospital where I am being treated. And he is to pay the physicians and give them what they should ask. And the money that I borrowed from other people, 10 pesos, all of the debts I owe here and there, will be paid to each one. And I have some goods belonging to others (I have debts). My younger brother knows about it and I entrust it to him. He will give people their property. And in Acatzinco someone named don Gaspar has some paper that he wants to buy. If he buys it, let the proceeds be brought promptly and be given to the widow of Miguel Cerón, for it belongs to her. But if he doesn't (want to buy it), let the paper be brought quickly and given to its owner.

- That is all I say; let all my relatives forgive me and all with whom I have lived and those through whom I became learned, the church attendants. Let them not forget me before God, etc. (sic). Done before those who heard the statement of the invalid Diego Sánchez: Miguel Ribas, deputy; Miguel Gerónimo; Pablo Gervasio; Diego de Tapia; Juan Rafael, topile of the church; all these are church people, and the ward heads, Miguel

huetque miguel Joseph Regidor Joseph de sanct marcos lucas lazaro Ju^o baptista andres garçia gasbar chichimecatl ytiachcauh yn ye miqiznequi auh yn çihua Ju^a tiacapan yna^c fran^{co} muyse augustina omonamicti tequixquipan m^a tiacapan yna^c gasbar chichimecatl Ju^a tiacapan yna^c catca thomas de aquino Axcan omicuillo testamento nican oSpital ypan domingo yc 17 dias del mes de hebrero de 1583 años

- Auh yn nehuatl Escri^o nob^{do} nehuatl oniquicuillo yn testamento ytencopatzinco yn moy mag^{co} señor don Ju^o Ramirez gob^{or} yhuan señores aHdes yhuan señor fiscal gabriel mal^{do} yn nehuatl ca huel mellahuac ynic oniquicuillo auh ynic nicneltillia nican nictlallia nofirma

Nixpan omochiuh
Miguel Jacobo
de mal^{do} nob^{do}

Josef, regidor; Josef de San Marcos; Lucas Lázaro; Juan Bautista; Andrés García; Gaspar Chichimecatl, whose older brother is about to die. And the women; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Francisco Moysén; Agustina, who married in Tequixquipan; María Tiacapan, wife of Gaspar Chichimecatl; Juana Tiacapan, widow of Tomás de Aquino. The testament was written here in the hospital, today, Sunday the 17th day of the month of February of the year 1583.

- And I, the appointed notary, wrote the testament, by order of the very magnificent lord don Juan Ramírez, gobernador, and the lords alcaldes, and the lord fiscal Gabriel Maldonado. I wrote it truly, and to verify it I place here my signature.

Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

f. 89r

Document 60A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 89r/ Rⁱ de las mandas que este diff^o mando para missas seys p^os

fr Chr̄ual de agurto

f. 89r I received six pesos from the bequests that this deceased ordered for masses.

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

f. 90r

Document 61

Municipal Document: The Preservation of Wills, June 29, 1585

Although the person writing testaments in Culhuacan was often entitled “notary of the church,” preservation of the book of testaments was under municipal jurisdiction. The notary Miguel Jacobo “hid many testaments that the dead ordered,” and so the book was taken away from him. His lapse in ethics had no long-term effects on his career (cf. Doc. 83).

/f. 90r/ - Axcan Sabato yc xx 9 dias del mes de Junio de mil qui^os y ocheta y cico anos y yehuatzintzin y moy mag^{co} senior gon^r yhuan senores aHdesme ytecopatz^{co} cuillilo y llipro y yehuatl miguel Jacobo yn ipapa çeca miec oquitlatin y testamieto y quitlallitihui y mimitatzintzinti yehuatl nahuatillo y Ju^o bap^{ta} quimocuitlahuiz yn ixquich testamieto Axca maco y llipro ymixpatzinco señores alhuaçias miguel Juseph fran^{co} bazquez nixpan omochiuh y nehuatl p^o de s pablo Escri^o
(...) don Ju^o Ramirez p^o d s aug^{tin}
aHtes governador aHdes

/f. 90r/ - Today, Saturday, the 29th day of the month of June of the year 1585, by order of the very magnificent lord governor and the lords alcaldes, the book was taken from Miguel Jacobo because he hid many testaments that the deceased ordered. Juan Bautista was ordered to take care of all the testaments, and today the book was given to him before the lords executors, Miguel Josef and Francisco Vázquez. Done before me, Pedro de San Pablo, notary.
_____, alcalde. Don Juan Ramírez, governor. Pedro de San Agustín, alcalde.

f. 90v

Document 62*Statement of Ana Tiacapan, January 10, 1588*

Ana did not make a formal will, but this short declaration, apparently written down posthumously, served as one. Through it, she notifies the ward heads about her seemingly straightforward bequest to her son, indicating their interest in property division.

/f. 90v/ - Yz catqui yn itlatol ocatca ytoca ana tiacapan ycha s^{ta} cruz + ynic monahuatituih quito : y calltzintli tlapacalli nocal nicmacatiuh y noconeuh ytoca Simon Vazquez ça mochi ytech nictlallituih ca ye quimatin mochi yn chinamitl nochinacohual x tl cecepolli ymil catca andres tlahuıtec E quinamacac lurenço xiuhtemal catca amo ac quichalanilliz ca nicmacatiuh yn noconeuh Ehuatin niquinonahuatillituih yn tlaxillacalleque Ehuatin testigosme yn oquicaque ytlatol cocoxqui ynic ce ytoca p^o Ellias atzaqualcatl a^ol tezcacohuacatl pab^o huecamecatl fran^{co} vazquez felliphe ycnottl topille yhuan yn iconeuh cocoxqui yntoca Simon Vazquez onticaque tlatolli tehuantin albaceastin axcan domingo yc x tli mani de Enero de 158(8?) a^os

- miercoles yc xiii Enero 1588 anos missa ypan omito ana tiacapa y tlapac tocateneuhtica yn omacoc totatzin t^osnes p^e vi^o fray sebastia yn oquimochihuilli misa

Augustin Vazquez	miguel Joseph	Nixpan
dibotados	dibotados	ju ^o bap ^{ta}
		Excri ^o

/f. 90v/ - Here is the statement that Ana Tiacapan, whose home is Santa Cruz, made; as to what was ordered she said: the house of mine (with a flat roof?) I give to my child named Simón Vázquez; I assign him everything, as he already knows, with all the chinampas, the 10 chinampas that I bought, each one of 20 (units of measure), that were the field of Andrés Tlahuıtec. The late Lorenzo Xiuhtemal sold them. No one is to dispute it with him, for I give them to my child and I notify the ward heads who were the witnesses who heard the statement of the invalid: first the person named Pedro Elías Atzaqualcatl; Alonso Tezcacoacatl; Pablo Huecamecatl; Francisco Vázquez; Felipe Icnottl, topile; and the child of the invalid, named Simón Vázquez. We the executors heard the declaration, today, the 10th day of January of the year 158(8?).

- Wednesday the 13th of January of the year 1588 a mass was said for Ana Tiacapan, named above; the money was given to our father vicar fray Sebastián, who said the mass.

Agustín Vázquez, deputy. Miguel Josef, deputy.
Before me, Juan Bautista, notary.

f. 91r

Document 63*Testament of don Pedro de Suero, January 8, 1572*

Except for a fragment (Doc. 13A), this is the only testament in the Culhuacan collection issued by a man with the Spanish noble title "don" (though usage among Indians of Culhuacan seems not to have settled down entirely by 1580); don Pedro here is referred to in the body of the testament without his title, and the same vacillation is seen in the case of the alcalde (don) Francisco Flores. The present testator is also the only one referred to anywhere in the corpus as *tlatoni* (see Doc. 49). Don Pedro has married within his class: his present wife is a *doña*, and his first wife, though without that title, is nevertheless referred to as a noblewoman (*cihuapilli*). As with the other titled testator, *doña* María Juárez (Doc. 71), don Pedro bequeaths no residence, but has extensive lands. The unit of measure for don Pedro's land is the *quahuıtl* rather than the more common *matl*; however, the *quahuıtl* is used in another testament (Doc. 78).

/f. 91r/ don p^o de Suero

- Yn ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios E^{spu} sancto niconeltoquintia Ca ça çen huel nelli dios ixquichihuelli yn ipanpa yn axcan nictlallia notestamento ytla quimonequiltiz yn tote^o dios yntla ninomiquilliz achtopa ymactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios y noyollia

/f. 91r/ Don Pedro de Suero

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, in whom I believe, for he is just one true God omnipotent; therefore now I order my testament. If our lord God should wish that I die, first I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord;

y nanima ma quimotlaocolliliz maçoyhui yn mococohua y nonacayo yece y noçializ yn notlalnamiquilliz ca yztoc ayamo ninotlapololtia ynic niçtlallia notestamento yn nehuatl pedro de S^{ro} nican nochan ayahualolco ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quintazque yn in amatl noconpehualtia y notlatquitzin y nomiltzin tecizco chinamitl cempoualli ynic patlahuac ahu inic huiyac 15 poua ...? auh ompoualli onicmacac y nomatzin ana teycucho yna^c p^o huilocpal y(...)omome catca yn in (cec?)poualli ytezincó yez y çihuapilli y nonamictzin dona m^a teycuihtzin / auh yn inematcatca yn achto nonamic catca luysatzin macuilpoualli ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cemp(oualli) ytocayocan zoquiac auh cempoualli quicuz antonio temaçantzín yntechpa yn atehuaque Auh y nanopoualli quimocuilliz y nonamictzin d...na maria auh petlacotitla matlactetl chinamitl yhua ytezincó yez yn çihuapilli y nonamictzin yhuan tlamaztonco matlactetl omeyn y ... ytezincó pouhiz y nonamictzin dona m^a / auh chinamitl 6 tetl atotolco cecempohualhuiyac nicmacatiuh y noteycauh juseph de s^t marcos / auh y tlamilli tlatepotzco chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ompoualli yc onitlaxtlaui y nican tapalcatlalpa auh ompoualli onicmacac y di^o mochichihua ... auh yn (o?)c oncatqui çà 4 poualli yn in ytezincó pouhiz y çihuapilli yn (no)namictzin yeh onpahuic yn ayltitlapa / auh y tlapillocan matlacpou(alli) ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli tonehuan tonemac y non(a)mictzin catca luysa xocotzin yn in ytezincó yez y çihuapilli dona (m^a) y nonamictzin auh tomatla cempoualli ynic peuhitca ynic patlahua(c) ahu inic huiyac 4 poualli auh çà chicuenquahuitl ynic patlahuac yn(i)c onquinça yhuan ytezincó yez y çihuapilli y nonamictzin dona ma(ria) auh tlatepotzco xalpa milyacahuitztli ynic patlahuac chicuenquahui(tl) auh ynic huiyac chicuenpoualli auh ynic onquinça çà cenquahuitl ynic patlahuac auh yn in ytezincó pouhiz y nonamictzin dona maria auh yn tapalcatlalpa cempoualli ypan nauquahuitl ynic patlahuac yn itechpa Juan quenitoloc yn ipan icuiliuhitca madamieto (s?)entencia /f. 91v/ yn ixquich ytezincó pouhiz y nonamictzin dona maria hoca yxquich in y nixcoyan naxcatzin yhua oquiz catqui ompoualli ayahualolcatlalli ytlaltzin catca yn çihuapilli y nonamictzin catca luysatzin onpa chalcocalcan oncan ocatca miguel acyehuatl yhuan ytezincó yez y onamictzin (sic) dona m^a auh oc cecni ompoualli ynematcatca nopiltzin (cleme^{de}) ompa chalcocalcan / yhuan itezincó pouhiz y nonamictzin dona m^a auh tlahuaca yntech

let him favor it. Though my body is ill, nonetheless my will and memory are alert and I have not yet lost the judgment to make my testament, I, Pedro de Suero, whose home is here in Ayahualolco. Know all who see this document that I begin (to manifest) my property. In Teccizco there is a field of mine, of chinampas, 20 (units of measure) wide and 300 long. And I gave 40 (in width?) to my niece Ana Teicuhcho, wife of (Pedro Huilocpal, who was...? the late Pedro Huilocpal Y...omome?). This [remaining?] 20 will be for the noblewoman doña María Teicuh. And concerning what was the inheritance of my first wife Luisa, (land) 100 (units of measure) long and 20 wide, in the place named Çoquiac, Antonio Temaçatzin is to take 20 next to the (people of Atenuacan? inhabitants of the shore?), and my wife doña María is to take the 80 (remaining). And in Petlacontitlan there are 10 chinampas. They will be for the noblewoman, my wife; and in Tlamaztonco there are 13 chinampas that will belong to my wife, doña María. And I give the six chinampas in Atotolco, each one 20 (units of measure) in length, to my younger brother Josef de San Marcos. And as to the cultivated land in Tlatepotzco that was 160 (units of measure) long and 20 wide, with 40 I paid a debt here in Tapalcatlalpan (land of Tapalco), and 40 I gave to Diego Mochihihua, and the 80 that remain will belong to the noblewoman, my wife. It is (the part) toward Ailtitlan. And in Tlapillocan there are 200 (units of measure of land) in length, and 20 in width that were the inheritance of both of us, Luisa Xoco, who was my wife, and me. This (land) will be for the noblewoman doña (María), my wife. And in Tomatla there is (land) 80 (units of measure) in length and 20 in width at the beginning, but just eight quahuitl in width at the other end. It will be for the noblewoman my wife, doña María. And in Tlatepotzco, in Xalpan, there is a pointed field that is eight quahuitl at one end and just one quahuitl wide at the other, and is 160 in length. This will belong to my wife, doña María. And in Tapalcatlalpan (land of Tapalco) there is (land) 24 quahuitl in width, next (to the field of) Juan Quenitoloc, that is mentioned in a legal order and judgement (that were awarded to me). /f. 91v/ All of it will belong to my wife, doña María. That is all my property; and there are 40 more (units of measure) of land in Ayahualocan, which was the land of the noblewoman, my late wife, Luisa. (The land) is in Chalcocalcan where Miguel Acyehuatl used to be, and it will belong to my wife, doña María. And in another place there are 40 (units of measure of land) that were the inheritance of my son Clemente, in Chalcocalcan, and it will belong to my

ymiltitech antonio tlemachica ca ye yxquich y niquitohua / nixcoyan naxcatzin ynic onictlalli notestamento yn imixpan omochiuh testamento Joachin motemachi maria teycuih ynamicatca y tlachiyayatzin ana teicuih ynamic p^o huillocpal maria ynamicatca Esteua de s^t p^o fran^{ca} ychpoch malcotzin catca yxpantzinco y çihuapilli ynamictzin p^o de suertzin axcan homicuillo ytestamento mardes ypan metztli enero yc viii ylhuitl 1572 a^os hoquimotlallili yn itlatoltzin y p^o de suero honitlacuillo ytecopatzinco yn tlatohuani don Juan de aguilar gouernador y nehuatl Di^o hernandez Escrivano

wife doña María. And it is next to the people of (Cui)-tlahuac, next to the field of Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachica (cf. Document 30). This is all my property that I declare in ordering my testament. The testament was done before Joaquín Motemachi; María Teicuh, widow of Tlachiyayatzin; Ana Teicuh, wife of Pedro Huillocpal; María, widow of Esteban de San Pedro; Francisca, daughter of the late Marcos; and before the noblewoman, the wife of Pedro de Suero. Today, Tuesday, the 8th day of the month of January of the year 1572, his testament was written and Pedro de Suero ordered his statement. I did the writing of it by order of the tlatoani don Juan de Aguilar, gobernador, I, Diego Hernández notary.

f. 91v

Document 63A*Annotation in Spanish, n.d.*

/f. 91v/ Reciuí quatro p^os para misas -
Ytem 7 ps de quatro misas de las tierras de chalcocalca que se vendieron a pedro ortiz

frai joan Zimbron

/f. 91v/ I received four pesos for masses. Item, seven pesos for four masses from the lands in Chalcocalcan which were sold to Pedro Ortiz.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

f. 92r

Document 63B*n.d.*/f. 92r/techtamendo don p^o de ssuello

/f. 92r/Testament of don Pedro de Suero. (Label for Document 63.)

f. 93r

Document 64*Testament of María Teicuh (a), June 7, 1585*

María lacks any noble titles, but she has considerable property and good connections, and she seems to live in a *tecpancalli* or palace. She is attempting to guarantee her children's right to live there, but expects them to “keep it swept and attend to the public there.” She has land that the judge, Juan de los Angeles, gave her; this same judge also acted in a case concerning doña María Juárez (Doc. 71). Note that María thought nothing of giving two of her daughters the same first name, Magdalena, apparently in honor of the district.

/f. 93r/ M^a teicuhc s^{ta} m^a mag^d

- In ican ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios E^{spu} Sancto ça huel ce nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia nicpehualtia y notestamento ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque y notestamento Ca y nehuatl notoca nim^a teycuic nica nochan s^t Ju^o Euagn^{ta} colhuacan notlaxillacaltia s^{ta} m^a mag^{na} Çihuatec (sic) achtopan yehuatz ymactzinco nocontlallia y noyollia y naniman yn t^o dios ynic nictlallia yn notestamento ynic ayac quitlacozy y notlatol y niquitotuih ynic ninomaquixtitiuh yn ixpan^{co} yn t^o dios niquitohua yntla ninomiquilliz yni nocal tonatiuh quix-

/f. 93r/ María Teicuh of Santa María Magdalena

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I begin my testament. Know all who see my testament that I, named María Teicuh, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan, first place my spirit and soul in the hands of God our lord, and I order my testament so that no one will violate my statement which I am making to redeem myself before God our lord. I declare that if I die, this house of mine that faces east is to be

namicticac moxitiniz monamacaz yn tetl misa yc nopan mitoz

- auh y quauhtectli / quimoxelhuizque / y nopilhua / ynnic ce ytoca / mag^{na} fran^{ca} / macuiltetl quicuiz yn quauhtectli / ynic ome / ytoca / mag^{na} xoco / macuiltetl quicuiz / yn quauhtectli / yniquey ytoca / Ju^a beronican / quicuiz macuiltetl y quauhtectli

- auh y Ju^a moysse ymonatzin go^r otetl / otetl (marked out) / quicuiz y quauhtectli yhua centetl tlaquetzalli / quicuiz y Ju^a moysse

- auh y Ju^a tiacapan / Çihuatepisqui / quicuiz / yn centetl tlaquetzalli / yn ixnamic Etica

- auh yn oc cequi / mocahuaz / quauhtectli / yhuan tlayx-quatl / centetl niqui / macatiuh / y noxhuihtzintzinhua / quitlatizque Ça nican /

- auh yn itecocayo / otetl monamacaz/

- auh y cuepteco / temi / nochinanemac / caxtoltetl / nechmacac / xoez / Ju^o dellos agelles / monamacaz / yn ipatiuh ez / missa yc nopan mitoz

- auh y chinamitl / tlamaztoco temi / mochi nicmacatiuh / y Ju^o de s pablo / oca quimocuillizque ohuatzintli / y nicuictzintzinhua / mochi nicmaca / quicholhuia yn acalotli

- auh yn acatzintitlan / temi chinamitl / 4 tetl / hohopohuallhuia / yhua otetl / tepitoton / oquimocohuique / y nohuexiuhtzin / aug^{tin} teyxpantzin yhua yn ina^c luysatzin tiacapan / Nechmacaque / ome pesos yntech nicnec y calli

- auh y tlallachco / opohualli ytlahuicallo / ycalli / ni-quinmacatiuh / y y (sic) nopilhuan / quimoxelhuizque / cepohualli / quicuiz / y mag^{na} fran^{ca} auh no cepolli / quicuiz y mag^{na} xoco / auh aço ytlatzin / nechtlaoollizque / y nopilhuan / Ca yehuatin quimatin /

- auh y milyacahuitztl / chiquaçentetl / nicmaca / (E? 3?)tetl / y noxhuihtzin / Ju^a beronica / ayac quixtoquilliz / ayac quichallanilliz / ca nicaxcatituh

- auh yn etetl / nicmaca y Ju^a moysse / ayac quixtoquillia / ayac quichallanilliz / ca niquimaxcatiz

/f. 93v/ - auh yn ayltitlan / huehuatlalli / nonemac / 7 polli / ynic huia / auh ynic pantlahuac / ça matlacmatl / omonamacac opolli 4 pesos / quima y fran^{co} flores y t^s / o ytech nicnec yn onictlapacho / y calli / yc mocouh / tecoc / yhua quauhtectli / yhua acapixolli / ça mochi / o ytech monec / y calli / atle ma notech omonec

torn down, and the stone will be sold in order for masses to be said for me.

- And my children will divide the firewood (from the house); the first, named Magdalena Francisca, is to take five (piles of) firewood; the second, named Magdalena Xoco, is to take five (piles of) firewood; the third, named Juana Verónica, is to take five (piles of) wood.

- And Juana Moysén, the mother-in-law of the governor, is to take two (piles of) firewood; and Juana Moysén will take a square wooden pillar.

- And Juana Tiacapan, cihuatepixqui, is to take a wood column valued at three (tomines).

- And the other firewood remaining and a lintel of a door I give to my grandchildren. They will burn it here.

- And the two (foundation walls?) (of the house) are to be sold.

- And in Cueptecco there are 15 inherited chinampas of mine that the judge, Juan de los Angeles, gave me. They are to be sold, and with the proceeds masses will be said for me.

- And I give all the chinampas that are in Tlamaztonco to Juan de San Pablo. And my (great grandchildren?) are to take their tender maize from there. I give all of it, on both sides of the canal, to (Juan de San Pablo).

- And in Acatzintitlan there are four chinampas, each one 40 (units of measure) long, and two small ones, which my child's parent-in-law Agustín Teixpan and his wife Luisa Tiacapan bought. They gave me two pesos that I spent on the house.

- And in Tlallachco I give the 40 (units of measure of land) that accompany the house to my children. They are to divide it; Magdalena Francisca will take 20 and Magdalena (sic) Xoco will also take 20. Perhaps my children will do me some little favor (in the way of masses); they know (what they will do).

- And of the six long narrow fields I give three to my grandchild Juana Verónica. No one is to claim them from her nor argue about them with her, because I make them her property.

- And the (other) three (fields) I give to Juana Moysén; no one is to claim them from her nor argue about them with her, because I make them her property.

/f. 93v/ - And in Ailtitlan there is patrimonial land, my inheritance, 140 (units of measure) long and only 10 matl wide. Forty were sold for four pesos; Francisco Flores (offered?) the money, and I spent it to roof the house and to buy (foundation stone?) and firewood and reeds to spread (on the roof?); all of it was spent on the house and none of it was used for me (personally).

- auh opohualli / nicmaca / y nochpoch / mag^{na} fran^{ca} / çan ic çencan yc nicyahualallia / Ezpohualli (sic) / yhua matlacmatl / ayac quitlacoç / ayac quixitinilliz / y nochpoch / mag^{na} fran^{ca} / yhua yn ina^c / fran^{co} flores

- auh y huixachtlan / cepohualli / yhuan matlacmatl / ynic huiyac / auh ynic pantlahuac / cepohualli / niquimacatiuh / yn nopilhua / ynic ce ytoca mag^{na} fran^{ca} / yna^c franc^{co} flores nicmacan / matlacmatl / ynic ome / ytoca mag^{na} xco (sic) yna^c Ju^o mel^{or} / nicmacan / matlacmatl

- yniquey / ytoca Ju^a beronica / yna^c Ju^o augustin (sic) / nicmacan matlacmatl / yc açi cepohualli omatlactli / ayac quimitlacalhuiz

- auh yn ayauhtonco / Nicmacan / cepohualli / y piltontli augustina / yn ipiltzin catcan / chimalquauh / auh y metl mochi / ocan onoc / monamacaz / yn ipatiuh Ez / missa yc nopan mitoz / auh y noxhuihtzin / Ju^a beronica / nicmaca cepohualli ypan matlacmatl / auh y Ju^o de s^t pablo / nicmacan / cepohualli / ypan matlacmatl yc açi 4 polli / ayac quitlatlacalhuiz / ca niquimaxcatian

- auh yn opan / quauhtenaco / macuiltetl / y chinamitl / nicmacan / y mag^{na} xoco / yn inamic Ju^o mel^{or}

- auh y calli / yn quin omotlapachon / çan techiEz / ca tecpacalli / maçihui techiez / ca ça ye yncean y nopilhuan yhua y noxhuihtzintzinahuan / çaniuhca yez / tlachpanazque techiezque

- auh y calli / xochmilcopan / yzticac y quimocahuilitiaque yn omomiquillique y nicuitzin / catcan ytoca fran^{ca} mochi monamacaz / y tetl / y quauhtectli / yn tlaquetzalli / yn ipatiuh yez / yn t^s missa yc topan mitoz

- auh y piltontli / aug^{ina} nicmacan / y caltitlan / onoc tetzintli / quicuiz omatl ytech pouhqui

- auh y pal^{ar} tomecan / yhua yn fran^{co} huitlallocalatzintli yn omextin / aocmo tle huel quitozque / ca oquicuique / yn inemac / aocmo tle huel quixtozque

/f. 94r/ - Ye ixquich yn itlatol / y cocoxcatzintli / yn imixpan / testicosme omochiuh testamento / Ju^o de s^t pablo / Ju^o augustin teopatlatcatl / Çihua / Ju^a moyse ymonatzin go^{or} mag^{na} fran^{ca} yna^c fran^{co} flores / mag^{na} xoco / yna^c Ju^o mel^{or} / Ju^a beronica / yna^c Ju^o aug^{tin} / m^a yna^c Ju^o de s^t pablo / Ju^a tiacapa çihuatepisqui luysa tiacapan / yna^c aug^{tin} teyxpan / yhua alvacias fran^{co} vazquez / axcan omicuillo / fiernes ypan metztli de Junio yc 7 tli dias de 1585 anos

- And I give 40 (units of measure) to my daughter Magdalena Francisca; it is together with the 70 matl (which I place around it?). No one is to violate it nor destroy it for my daughter Magdalena Francisca and her husband Francisco Flores.

- And (the land) in Huixachtlan, 30 matl in length and 20 in width, I give to my children; to the first, named Magdalena Francisca, wife of Francisco Flores, I give 10 matl; to the second, named Magdalena Xoco, wife of Juan Melchor, I give 10 matl.

- To the third, named Juana Verónica, wife of Juan Agustín, I give 10 matl, with which it comes to 30. No one is to violate it.

- And in Ayauhtonco I give 20 (units of measure of land) to the girl Agustina, who was the child of Chimalquauh. And all the magueys that are there will be sold, and with the proceeds masses will be said for me. And to my grandchild Juana Verónica I give 30 matl, and to Juan de San Pablo I give 30 matl, with which it comes to 80 (matl). No one is to violate it, because I make it their property.

- And I give the five chinampas in Quauhtenanco to Magdalena Xoco, wife of Juan Melchor.

- And the house which has just been roofed will be for the public because it is the tecpancalli (palace), but despite its being public, it is the home of all my children and grandchildren. It will be as it has been; they are to keep it swept and attend to the public there.

- And as to the house that faces toward Xochimilco that those who died left, my younger sister named Francisca (and others), all of it is to be sold, the stone, the kindling wood, the wood columns, and with the proceeds in money masses will be said for us.

- And to the child Agustina I give the stone that lies next to the house. She is to take two matl; it belongs to her.

- And concerning Baltasar Tomeca and Francisco Huitlallocalatzintli, the two can make no further objections, because they took their inheritance; they cannot claim more.

/f. 94r/ - This is all the statement of the invalid. The testament was done before the witnesses Juan de San Pablo and Juan Agustín, church attendant; the women: Juana Moysén, mother-in-law of the gobernador; Magdalena Francisca, wife of Francisco Flores; Magdalena Xoco, wife of Juan Melchor; Juana Verónica, wife of Juan Agustín; María, wife of Juan de San Pablo; Juana Tiacapan, cihuatepixqui; Luisa Tiacapan, wife of Agustín Teixpan; and the executor Francisco Vázquez. Written

- In itestamento m^a teyucih nica nicneltillia amatl /
ypan nictlalia nofirma y nehuatl

gabriel mal ^{do}	Ju ^o bap ^{ta}
fiscal	Escr ^o
	nobrado

yn testamento oniquicuillo yntecopantzin yn s^{or} y
nehuatl Escr^o / teopan

today, Friday, the 7th day of the month of June of the
year 1585.

- To verify the testament of María Teicuh, I place on
paper my signature, I,

Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. Juan Bautista, appointed
notary.

I wrote the testament by the order of the lord, I, the
notary of the church.

f. 94r

Document 64A

Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 94r/ Recibi para cumplimi... deste testamento tres p^os
de lymosna de missas Por esta diff^a

fr Chr^oual de agurto

Rⁱ otros p^os de lymosna para missas por el anima deste
diff^o

fr chr^oual de agurto

/f. 94r/ I received in fulfillment of this testament three
pesos in alms for masses for this deceased (woman).

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

I received more pesos in alms for masses for the soul of
this deceased (man, sic).

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

f. 94v

Document 65

Testament of Joaquín Matlalaca, November 30, 1585

Joaquín owns both purchased land and a purchased house in addition to property inherited from his father. He has possession of the house, but has not yet paid the full purchase price. His ordering that the price be paid is an attempt to insure that his son's inheritance is not endangered. Note the graphic passage on the physical dangers of debt collection in sixteenth-century Culhuacan.

/f. 94v/ Juachin matlallacan s^{ta} maria asup^o amatlah

- In ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios E^{spu}
sancto ça huel ce nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia nicpehualtia
y notestamento ca y nehuatl notocan xuachi matlallacan
nica nochan s^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan oca nipohui yn
ipan tlaxillacalli s^{ta} m^a aSopçion atotolco achtopan
yehuatzin ymactzinco nocotlallia yn noyollia y naniman
y t^o dios ynic nictlallia y notestamento ynic ayac qui-
tlacoz y notlatol y niquitotih ynic ninomaquixtitiuh yn
ixpan^{co} yn t^o dios niquitohuan

- Inic centlamantli yn noyollia naniman ycenmactzinco
nocotlallia yn t^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli ca oqui-
momaqui(x)tilli yca yn itlaçoyeçotzin y nica tlalticpac
auh y nonacayo nicmaca y tlalli yehica ca tlalli ytech
oquiz

- Inic otlamatli niquitohuan y nehuatl xuachi matlallaca
noto(min)tzin 4 p^os quipia ytocan Gr^{mo} ychan s^{ta}? ma-
theo tlaxopan ma quimitlanillizque yn albaceasti yc
misa nopa mitoz ca mochipan oniquitlaniliyaya çan ic
onechmictizquia ytla oc onechmochicahuilliani yn t^o

/f. 94v/ Joaquín Matlalaca of Santa María Asunción
Amantlan

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God
the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I
begin my testament. I am named Joaquín Matlalacan,
my home being here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan,
belonging to the ward of Santa María Asunción Atotolco
(sic). First I place my spirit and soul in the hands of God
our lord to order my testament such that no one violates
my statement that I am going to make regarding how I
redeem myself before God our lord.

- First I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of
God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with
his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to
the earth because from the earth it came.

- Second say I, Joaquín Matlalacan, that a person named
Gerónimo, whose home is San Mateo Tlalxopan, has
four pesos of my money. Let the executors ask him for
them in order that masses be said for me; many times I
asked him for them, but he almost killed me over them.

dios ca oninoteylhuizquia auh yni ca ytetzinco n(ic)-cauhituh yn albaceastin quimitlanizque yc pallehuiloz y naniman

- Ihua niquitohua yni nocalcohualtzin Etemani cetetl xochmilcopan yztzicac ynic otetl tonatiuh yquiçayapa yztzicac yniquete(tl) tonatiuh ycallaquiapan yztzicac nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Sepastia ytech pohuiz ytlā quimochicahuilliz t^o dios ca nicpien carta te paco ynic nel-titica nocalcohual auh ynic 4 tetl çā calçolli oteco ycac y çan itech çalliuhtican tonatiuh ynquiçayapan yztzica(c) çā mochi ytech pohuiz y nopiltzin Sepastia auh oc 4 tomin yc açiz yn ipatiuh moxtlahuaz auh yn iyatetlallo y quiyahuallotica mochi quicuiz y nopiltzin auh y notatzin nechmacatia x tetl y chinamitl opan quaxochco petlacotitlan auh nixcoya nomil 7 tetl ymiltitla y Ju^o malcoch catcan mochi nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin auh notlalcohual ymil catcan Don Ju^o De aguillar opa tlacpac ocotitlan opohualli nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Sepastia E tlacpac yca ytlalcohual y nonatzin auh cepohualli opan mani tlatlahuquitepetl ytech / techmacatia yn totatzin catca co-cahuiya y noteycauh nicollas auh yn axca omomiquilli E nicmacatiuh y noteycauh marcos x matl quicuiz auh yn oc matlacmatl quicuiz y nopiltzin Sepastia cocahuizqu(e) auh yn opan yahualliuhca opolli techmamaquillitia yn totatzin catca cepolli quicuiz y noteycauh marcos auh cepolli quicuiz y nopiltzin sepastia E coyohuacapaahuic y quicuiz nopiltzin E yxquich y niquitohua notlatol macayac quitlacoç y niquitotuh ytlā ninomiquilliz auh ma oc niquilnamiqui açoquitla oniquilcauh ca niquinotemolliz yn albaceastin In imixpan omochiuh testamento yn testigosme migl Dellez pochtecatl migl ahuatecatl luyš pere (sic) Çihua xp.na Çihuatepisqui Ju^a teyucic yn inatzin cocoxcatzintli mag^{na} tiacapan yn ina^c cocoxcatzintli ymixpan alvaceastin yn omotlacaquitique /f. 95r/ fran^{co} vazquez migl Jusepe axcan Sabbado yntlamia metztli te nobiebre de 1585 anos yn testamento omicillo yteopan^{co} yn s^{or} gabriel mal^{do} fiscal y nehuatl Escri^o teopan

Ju^o bap^{ta}
nobrado

If God had given me health, I would have complained (in court). But I leave it to the executors to ask for (the money), with which my soul will be aided.

- And I declare that I have a purchased house of three parts; one faces toward Xochimilco, the second faces east, and the third faces west. I give it to my child Sebastián. It will belong to him if God our lord gives him life (if he lives). I have the bill of payment to verify that it is my purchased house. And a fourth room is just an old building; it stands at the side of the road attached to the part that faces east. All of it will belong to my child Sebastián. Four tomines are still lacking to complete the price; it is to be paid. And my child is to take all its land at the edge of the water that surrounds it. And my father gave me 10 chinampas that are in Quaxochco Petlacontitlan. And there are seven chinampas, my fields and my property, next to the field of the late Juan Malcoch. I give it all to my child. And I give my purchased land that was the field of don Juan Aguilar, there above in Ocotitlan, 40 (units of measure), to my child Sebastián. (It is there above along with the purchased land of my mother?) And there are 20 (units of measure of land) next to Tlatlahuquitepetl (Red Mountain) that my late father gave us. My younger brother Nicolás shared (the land with me). Now he has died; I give 10 matl to my younger brother Marcos, and my child Sebastián is to take the other 10 matl. They are to share it. And in Yahualihcan there are 40 (units of measure of land) that our late father gave us. My younger brother Marcos is to take 20, and my child Sebastián is to take 20. My child will take the part toward Coyoacan. That is all I say; let no one violate my statement when I have died. And perhaps I will remember something more that I forgot; I will ask the executors. The testament was done before the witnesses Miguel Téllez Pochtecatl (or merchant), Miguel Ahuatecatl, Luis Pérez, and the women: Cristina, cihuatepique; Juana Teicuh, mother of the invalid; and Magdalena Tiacapan, wife of the invalid. (Done) before the executors, who heard it, /f. 95r/ Francisco Vázquez and Miguel Josef. Today, Saturday, the last day of November of the year 1585, it was written by the order of the lord Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. I, the notary of the church,

Juan Bautista, appointed (notary).

f. 95r

Document 66

Testament Fragment of Agustín Quauhñex, n.d.

This bare fragment gives only the name of the testator. The rest of the folio is blank.

/f. 95v/ testamentom

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl agostin quauhnes nicanocha s^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan oca nipoh...

/f. 95v/ Testament

- Know all who see and read this document that I, Agustín Quauhnes, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging . . .

f. 96r

Document 67

Testament of María Teicuh (b), July 28, 1586

Actions have consequences. María orders all of her considerable property sold for masses, despite her having children and grandchildren as possible heirs. "No one cared for me during my illness . . . because if they had cared for me, I would have given them something." Though the widow of a man with the title don, María does not use the corresponding title doña.

/f. 96r/ m^a teyucic yna^c catca do Ju^o garcian s^t m^a mag^d tezcacohuac

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehuatl m^a teyucic nican nochan s^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan Notlaxillacaltia s^{ta} m^a magna tezcacohuac maçonellihui yn nicocohua Ece yn noyollia yn nanima çan pactica amo que can yhuan huel melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu Sancto çà ce huel nelli dios yxquichihueli Nicnoneltoquitia yhua mochi nicneltocan yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn Sancta yglessia de Roma auh ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzaloca yntlatlauhtilloca nicchihua nictecpana yn notestamento yn çan tlatzancan notzonquizatlanequilizpan yn ye nictecpanna axcan

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohua yn noyollia naniman yn cemactzinco nocotlallia yn tote^o dios yeyca ca oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilli ynca ytlaçøEçotzin y nica tlalticpac auh y nonacayo nicmacan yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli yntech oquiz Ihua niqutohua yn nocaltzin tonatiuh ycallaquiypa yztzicac yhua çentetl xochmilcopa yztzicac çan ite çalliuhtica ca huel notlayhiyohuilliz yhua yn quin otocotoquechillique y nona^ctzin ocatca don Ju^o g^a yn çà mochi yc mani tocaltzin niqutohua monamacaz yn quezqui ypantiuh mochihuaz teopan callaquiz missa yc topan mitoz tonehua y nona^ctzin ocatca yhuan y yacato nona^cmictzin catca auh çà nica tlaxillacalleque quicuizque macozque yhua yn ixquich yn chinamitl mochi monamacaz tetch (sic) pohuiz yc missa topan mitoz yhuan niqutohua yn opa Sanctiagø mani milli x pølli oce ma yçiuha monamacaz canel nechmomaquillitia y nonamictzin ocatca don Ju^o garçia yn ipatiuh Ez milli ma niman içiuha missa topan ic mitoz y nona^ctzin ocatca don Ju^o g^a yntla oninomiquilli No yhua niqutohua yn milli mani Sanct lureçø y notech quimocahuillitia y nonamictzin ca ypan quimotlallillitia testamento çà nicchicahua

/f. 96r/ María Teicuh, widow of don Juan García, of Santa María Magdalena Tezcacoac

- Know all who see and read this document that I, María Teicuh, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezcacoac, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are sound and undisturbed. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true omnipotent God in whom I believe. And I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. For this reason now with invocation and supplication of (God) I make and order my testament; what I now order is with my ultimate and final will.

- First I say that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came. And I declare that there is a house of mine that faces west and one that faces toward Xochimilco, just attached to (the first). And truly it is (the result of) my work, and we built it after (marrying), I and my late husband, don Juan García. All that is in our house I declare is to be sold, and whatever the proceeds come to will be delivered to the church; with it masses will be said for both of us, my late husband and myself, and (also) for my first husband, now deceased. And the ward heads here are to take (the house) and it will be given to them. And all the chinampas are to be sold, and the (money) will belong to us in order for masses to be said for us. And I declare there is a field in Santiago (Tetla) of 220 (units of measure). Let it be sold quickly, since my late husband don Juan García left it to me, and with the proceeds of the field let masses be said promptly for us, my late husband don Juan García and me, when I have died. Also I declare there is a field in San Lorenzo (Tetzonco?) that my husband left me. He put it in his testament, and I

testamento y milli Epolli niqutohua teopan pohuiz yntla oninomiquilli ma yçihca monamacaz yn quezqui ypantiuh Ez milli missa topann ic mitoz y nonamictzin ocatca don Ju^o garçia No yhuan niqutohua y huixachtla mani milli ca ypan quimotlallillitia testamento aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz y milli yn quezqui ypantiuh Ez missa topann ic mitoz tonehua yn nona^ctzin ocatca don Ju^o garçia No yhua niqutohua yn çoçititla opohualli monamacaz missa topann ic mitoz No yhua niqutohua yn tlachco mani milli oca cecni oteco ynic oca nextlatiltitlapan yni ça mochi monamacaz teopan pohuiz misa topann ic mitoz y nonamictzin ocatcan don Ju^o ga^a ypanpa y ça mochi teopan nicpouhtih cayac onechmocuitlahui yn ipa cocolliztli y ma nopilhua y ma noço noxhuihua ayac ca ytla onechmocuitlahuiani ca oniquimamacatiazquia yn iuh quitotia y nona^ctzin catcan ayatle (sic) quixtoça ça e ocaca ymaxca y nopilhua

- No yhua toçaxa otetl yhua centetl nocpa(...)tiamic yhua ychca 8 polli yhua tlacuillo tecomatl otetl tilmatl i tetl 8 tetl quahuacatl 9 tetl huapalli otetl tlaquetzalli v tetl tollicpalli v tetl ne(te?)xonni i tetl tlapachtli metlatl 4 tecomatl tloxamanilli x tetl ynic nicteneuh mochi monamacaz misa topan yc mitoz y nona^ctzin ocatca don Ju^o ga^a amo ac quitlacoç y notlatol yn imixpan omochiuh testamento testigosme mig^l Josep dibotados fran^{co} vazquez dibotados tlaxillacalleque mig^l telled pochtecatl p^o? muyse tezcacohuatl mateo xvarez tlillacalqui mig^l Ernan tequitopille p^o chapol Cihua Ju^a xoco Ju^a m^a axcan sabbado yc xviii Jollio 1586 anos

Nixpan		Nixpan
miguel Joseb	gabril (sic) mal ^o	fran ^{co} vazquez
dibodados	fiscal	dibotados
	Nixpan	
	Ju ^o bap ^{ta}	
	Escri ^o	

f. 96v

Document 67A*Annotations in Spanish, June 18, 1587, Sept. 3, 1587*

/f. 96v/ R^c tres pesos de missas por el anima de don Ju garcia y su muger a diez i ocho de junio de 1587 a^os

merely confirm the testament; the field is 60 (units of measure). I say that it will belong to the church; when I have died, let it be sold promptly, and with however much the proceeds are of the field, masses will be said for us, my late husband don Juan García and me. And I also declare that in Huixachtlan there is a field that (my husband) put in the testament; perhaps someone wants to buy the field, and with however much the proceeds are masses will be said for us two, my late husband don Juan García and me. In addition I declare that in Tocititlan 40 (units of measure of land) are to be sold in order to say masses for us. Also I declare that in Tlallachco there are fields, in one place next to the road and in the other place (toward Nextlatiltitlan?); all of this is to be sold and will belong to the church to say masses for my late husband don Juan García and me. And the reason I assign everything to the church is that no one cared for me during my illness, neither my children nor my grandchildren, nor anyone, for if they had cared for me I would have given them something. Let no one claim anything that my late husband said at death; my children already have what belongs to them.

- Also there are two chests of ours and one (piece of cloth) that is marketable, and 160 (skeins of cotton? sheep?), and two painted tecomates, and a mantle, and eight poles, nine boards, two wooden pillars, five reed seats, five (stones for grinding?), a metate (that one presses down on?), four tecomates and ten shingles. What I have mentioned is all to be sold in order for masses to be said for us, my late husband don Juan García and me; no one is to violate my statement. The testament was done before the witnesses: Miguel Josef, deputy, Francisco Vázquez, deputy, and the ward heads Miguel Téllez Pochtecatl (or merchant), Pedro Moysén Tezcacoatl, Mateo Juárez Tlillancalqui, Miguel Hernán-(dez?), topile of tribute, and Pedro Chapol. The women: Juana Xoco, Juana María. Today, Saturday, the 18th of July of the year 1586.

Before me, Miguel Josef, deputy. Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. Before me, Francisco Vázquez, deputy. Before me, Juan Bautista, notary.

/f. 96v/ I received three pesos for masses for the soul of don Juan García and his wife on the 18th of June of the

fr rrodrigo de moscoso
digo que los tres pesos arriba contenidos que se dieron
por las veynte bracas de tierra fueron ocho pesos y por
berdad lo firme de mi nonbre ffho a 3 de setienbre de
1587 anos

fr rrodrigo de Moscoso

year 1587.

Fray Rodrigo Moscoso.

I say that the three pesos mentioned above that were
given for the 20 brazas of land were eight pesos, and as
truth I signed it with my name. Done the 3rd of
September of the year 1587.

Fray Rodrigo Moscoso.

f. 96v

Document 68

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 96v/* Rⁱ tres p^os de lymosna Para missas Por el anima
de marcos diff^o y por su muger y porque es verdad ets

fr chr̄oual de agurto

/f. 96v/* I received three pesos in alms for masses for
the soul of the late Marcos and his wife, and because it is
true, etc. (sic).

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

*This document actually precedes Document 67A on the folio. It does not seem to refer to María Teicuh.

f. 97r

Document 69

Testament Fragment of Miguel Oçoma, n.d.

This fragment of Miguel's statement lacks all the usual formalities of a testament, possibly because he died before he could make one. What we have here appears to be a partial reconstruction of his verbatim statement, directly addressing the people at his deathbed. As such it may bring us closer than other wills to the actual scene. Miguel's most interesting possessions are a minor book of hours and two books of doctrine. The only other testator to own books is the notary Miguel García (Doc. 31). Like the notary, Miguel Oçoma sets aside food to be eaten on the occasion of his funeral.

/f. 97r/ Miguel Oçoma ychan s fr^{co} antepan

- Iz catqui yn itlatol migl oçoma ycha s^t fran^{co} atepan
ynic omonanahuatitia yn ipan cocolliztli quito / tla xi-
hualmohuican nopiltzintzinne yn tehuatzin migl yuhca-
tlatzin yhua yn tehuatzin migl cohuatequitzin nimech-
nonahuatillia (sic) yntla moztla yntla noço huiptla ni-
nomiquilliz ma yçihca nopan amotlatoltizque yn itech-
pa nanima / niquitohua onicnopielliaya tstzin ome pesos
yn iquac yntla oninomiquilli ma yc nitocoç auh yn oquez-
qui mocahuaz yc misa nopa mitocoç (sic) yhua niquito-
tohua (sic) ce cuezcomatl teticac y çitli otlamatica mona-
macaz yc misa nopa mitoz auh yn oc notlamatica (sic) ca
nicmaca nopiltzin Ju^o yntech monequiz yhuan cotica
ycac Etl monamacaz mocetalliz y quez (sic) t^s misa yc
nopa mitoz yxquich y niquitohua notechpa auh cetetl co-
tica yca tlaolli quimoqualtizque y nechmotoquillizque
yhua cetetl cototli yquicac Etl paloloz yn iquac niniquiz
(sic) auh yn tehuatzin migl cohuatequitzin nimitzno-

/f. 97r/ Miguel Oçoma, whose home is San Francisco
Atempan

- Here is the statement of Miguel Oçoma, whose home is
San Francisco Atempan; as he gave orders when he was
ill, he said:

Draw close, my lords, you, Miguel Iuhcatlatzin and
you, Miguel Coatequitzin, I instruct you, if I die tomor-
row or the next day, to speak promptly on behalf of my
soul. I declare I have in keeping two pesos in money,
and when I have died, let me be buried with it, and with
what should be left, a mass is to be said for me. And I
say that there is a granary full of unshelled maize; two
parts will be sold and with this a mass is to be said for
me, and the other two parts I give to my child Juan. It
will be used for him. And the beans that are in the pots
are to be sold. However much money results will be
gathered together and with it a mass will be said for me.
This is all that I say concerning myself. And a pot of
shelled maize will be eaten by those who will bury me,
and they will taste the beans in the little pot when I die.
And you, Miguel Coatequitzin, I beseech you; my child

tlatlauhtillia y nopiltzin Ju^o motollinia ca mopopolli-
huitiz nimitznomaquillia motlatzincō nonemitiz (sic) auh
y calli yhua ce tlateconi yhua centetl tlaltepoztlī yhua
cetetl cotototlī yquicac huauhtlī auh y chinamitl çacaapa
ymiltitla migl cozcatlaneuh v tetl oopollī huīac yhua
cetetl oras tepito yhua otetl doctrina y ça ye mochi naxca
mochi yntech pouhqui y nopiltzin auh y nochpoch catcan
ytoca antona yn ichinanemac catcat (sic) 4 tetl yntech
pohui y nochhuiuh (sic) m^a auh ...

Juan is poor and will perish; I give him to you; he is to
live with you. And as to the house, an axe, a hoe, a
small pot full of amaranth seed, and the five chinampas
in Çacaapan next to the field of Miguel Cozcatlaneuh,
each (chinampa) 40 (units of measure) long, and a minor
(book of) hours, and two doctrines, all of which is my
property, all belongs to my child. And concerning the
four chinampas that were the inheritance of my late
daughter named Antonia, they belong to my grandchild
María, and . . .

f. 97v

Document 70*Annotations in Spanish, n.d.*

/f. 97v/ Rⁱ de los alBaceas de min (?) andres tepantemoc
seys p^os para missas por su anima y porque es verdad lo
firme de mi nombre

fr chr̄oual de agurto

Rⁱ otros dos p^os de missas Por el anima de agustin
quauh..x diff^o

fr chr̄oual de agurto

Rⁱ vn p^os por vna misa del anima de andres dif^o y por
verdad lo firme de me nonbre

fr sebastian

de castro

/f. 97v/ I received from the executors from Martín (?)
Andrés Tepantemoc six pesos for masses for his soul and
because it is true I signed it with my name.

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

- I received another two pesos for masses for the soul for
the late Agustín Quauh(ne?)x (Document 66).

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

- I received one peso for a mass for the soul of Andrés,
deceased, and as true I signed it with my name.

Fray Sebastián de Castro.

f. 98r

Document 71*Testament of doña María Juárez, April 17, 1577*

Doña María's will is one of the most important of the collection. She is the only woman of the testators to use the Spanish noble title *doña*. She holds "woman land" (*cihuatlalli*), a standard category of unknown significance, though possibly a type of dowry land; has involvement with the tecpan's lands; prohibits Spaniards from buying her land; and sets up the rental of some of her land to give continuous income for masses. This last parcel is mentioned in Juan Rafael Tlacochealcatl's will (Doc. 42). Note the spelling *tlahxillacalli* for *tlaxilacalli*, "ward"; the *h* betrays the presence of a glottal stop in the first syllable, which possibly can help in analyzing the constituents, origin, and true meaning of this important and still puzzling term. The *h* also appears here once in the related word for ward heads or ward people, confirming that it is no scribal error. The debt owed to Diego Ramírez, the famous inspector of encomiendas for viceroy don Luis de Velasco, was surely not a new one, for Ramírez died in 1555, 22 years before this testament (*Epistolario de Nueva España* [México, 1940], 8:28).

/f. 98r/ Don (sic) m^a Xuarez

- Yn nican ypan altepetl s^t Ju^o Evang^{ta} Colhuacan ye
xvii abril De 1577 anos yn ica ytocatzin Sanctissima
trinidad tetatzin tepil (sic) yhuan Eṣpu Sancto nicno-
pohuillia (sic) yn notestamento ma quimatican yn ix-
quichtin quitazque ynin amatl yn nehuatl notoca Dona
m^a xuarez ninococohua nican nochan yn ipan tlahxilla-
calli s^{ta} ana caltenco tecpan auh maçoyhui yn mococo-
hua nonacayo ca yn noyollia yn naniman y noçiElliz yn

/f. 98r/ Doña María Juárez

- Here in the city of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, the
17th of April of the year 1577, in the name of the Most
Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, I order my
testament. Know all who see this document that I,
named doña María Juárez, invalid, whose home is in the
ward of Santa Ana Caltenco Tecpan, although my body
is sick, my spirit and soul, my will and understanding are
undisturbed and sound through our lord God. If I die I

notlacaquilliz ahque catqui ça pactiva yn ipal^{co} yn t^o d (sic) yntla ninomiquilliz achtopan yncemactzinco noncahua y naniman ca yxiptlatzin ca ytlachihualtzin ma quihualmanilliz ma quimotlaocollilliz auh ma nechmopolhuilliz yn ixquich notlatlacol ynic onicnoyollitlacalhui auh ca yz catqui yn tpe onicnopiellillia (sic) tt^o d.

- ynic centlamantli niquitohua yn itechpa omentin nopilhuan yn Ju^o xvarez ca ye ixquich cahuitl ynn onitztoc yn ahcan hualmoquetzan auh yn ce tlacatl yn dona ana çihuanehnehqui (sic) ca mococohua auh yn ixquich yn innemac ca oc amo niquicuicullia ca ye ytech can yn quimomaquilitia yn tlacatl note^o Don andres xvarez yn itatzin aço nelli yn aquin quiyollitlacohua yn ipanpa yn o achto nictecpan ca yn ixquich nixcoyan naxca yn none-mac yn notech ca auh ynn axcan oc ceppa nictectallia yn tecpacalli yn iuh ca testamento çaniuh yez yn mochi ycalchinayo tecpan yhua yn tlallachco milli yhuan y nican quauhtenanco chinamitl yhua yn amaxac yhuan y huixachtlan yn çihuatlalli yhua yn çano onpa huixachtlan yn ocelotepec callacticac yhuan yn axalli cohuatlan yn imiltitechzinco Don Ju^o tellez yn icotonca quimochihuillia yhuan yn tomatla yn tlalmilli yhuan yn toçicolco yn oc cequi tlalli çan mochi ytech yez yn tecpancalli

- Auh yn ometin nopitzintzihuan ana teycui ynamic catca Ju^omo Erdo (?) yhuan magna tiacapan ynamic p^o De la cruz † niquitohua niquinomaquillia hoopohualli yn tlalli yn opan toçicolco auh ynin tlalli yn niquimaca ca naxca / ca nonemac yn iuh ypan yhuiculliuhtica testamento

- yniquetlanmantli yn çacahapa yn icalchinayo tecpancalli yn quicalchinayotitia Juez Juan de lus angeles xx tli yn cecenpohualhuia auh onicxello yn x tetl onictemacac quimatin yn ixquichtin tlaxhillacalleque yn S^{ta} ana ca (sic) auh yn oc no / matlactetl oc notech ca ca naxca ca nonemac

/f. 98v/ - ynic nauhtlamantli oc cepa nictenehua yn icotonca yn tomatlan yn ixquich yn chinamitl monamacaz yc moxtlahuaz yn xv p^{os} yn itomines Diego Ramirez visitador auh ynin t^s çan nican opopolliuh ypanpa yn iuh nictlallia ma teopan callaquiz teotlatquitl yc neçiz yc mocohuaz auh yntla oc cequi mocahuaz t^s macozque yn motollinia yhuan yn ospital mopatia yn cocoxque auh yntlacamo huel macozque çan mochi teopan callaquiz yc missan topan mitoz auh ynin chinamitl onicteneuh amo Espannoltin quicohuazque çan yehuatin y nican altepehuaque

- ynic v matli niquitohua yn cohuatlan nomil yn ipan first

place my soul entirely in (God's) hands, because it is his image and his creation. May he come to take it and have mercy on it, and may he pardon me all the sins with which I have offended him. Here is what I guard on earth for our lord God (i.e., my property).

- First, concerning my two children, I declare that Juan Juárez has always been looking about and has not come to settle down anywhere; and the other, doña Ana Cihuanenequi, is sick; but I have not taken from them all their inheritance which belongs to them, that the lord don Andrés Juárez, my lord (husband) and their father gave to them. If anyone is disturbed by the testament that I executed first, everything is my property and inheritance and belongs to me. And now again (I order concerning?) the tecpancalli (palace); it is to be as in the testament, with all the house chinampas of the tecpan, and the fields in Tlallachco, and the chinampas here in Quauhtenanco and in Amaxac, and the "woman land" in Huixachtlan, and the other (land) in Huixachtlan (which extend into?) Ocelotepec, and the (wet sandy land?) in Coatlan next to the field of don Juan Téllez (Document 13, 13A), who sows his part of it, and cultivated land in Tomatla, and the other lands in Tociçolco; all will go along with the tecpancalli.

- And as to my two older sisters, Ana Teicuh, widow of (Gerónimo? Hernando?), and Magdalena Tiacapan, wife of Pedro de la Cruz, I declare that I give each one 40 (units of measure) of land in Tociçolco. And this land I am giving them is my property and my inheritance as is written in the testament.

- Third, as to the house chinampas of the tecpan in Çacapan that the judge Juan de los Angeles declared to be its house chinampas, there are 20 of them, each one 20 (units of measure) long. I have divided them; 10 of them I alienated, as all the ward heads of Santa Ana Cal(tenco) know, and the other 10 still belong to me, for they are my property and my inheritance.

/f. 98v/ - Fourth, I mention again the piece (of land) in Tomatla. All the chinampas are to be sold in order to pay the 15 pesos which belong to Diego Ramírez, the inspector. And since he has disappeared, I order that the money be delivered to the church in order to acquire and buy things for the church. And if any money is left over, it is to be given to the poor and to the hospital to cure the sick. And if it is not possible to give it to them, it is all to be delivered to the church to say masses for us. And Spaniards are not to buy these chinampas that I have mentioned, but only the citizens here.

- Fifth, I declare that that my field in Coatlan, with

mani torazos monamacaz yc missan nopan mitoz yn ça nixcoyan amo Espannol quicohuaz çanno yehuantin y nica altepehuaque

- ynic vi matli niquitohua yn tlachco nomil amo / monamacaz çan motetlaneuhtitiaz yn cecexiuhlica auh yn oncan / neztiaz t^s yc missan nopan mihtoz hoca yx-quichin yn tlalli ynic pallehuilloz taniman auh niquinotenehuillia ometin yn topan tlatozque niquinixquechillia niquinnotlatlauhtillia yn albaças migl g^a teopan yhuan min lazaro dipotado auh yntla momiquillizque oc cepan motlayxquechillizque yn aqui que quinmotillizque ca ye yxquich yn notlatol yn nehuatl Dona m^a xarez ninococohua nican / nocha s^t ana calteco tecpan ymixpan omochiuh yn otlacacque yn tlaxillacaleque fran^{co} De s Gr^{mo} xochicozca yhuan Ju^o vazquez calal fran^{co} tlamaceuhqui p^o chicotl yhua min laz^o dipotado yhua migl g^a teopan yhua a^{ol} x̄z yhuan yn çihuapili Dona ana tiacapantzin

Ju^o bap^{ta}
Escri^o

peach trees on it, is to be sold in order for masses to be said for me, for me in particular. No Spaniard is to buy (the field), but likewise only the citizens here.

- Sixth, I declare that my field in Tlallachco is not to be sold, but is just to be rented out each year, and with the money that is acquired there masses are to be said for us. This is all the land with which our souls will be helped. I mention, appoint, and request two people to speak for us, the executors Miguel García, (notary of the) church (Document 31), and Martín Lázaro, deputy. If they die, new people are to be named to take care of it. This is the entire declaration of me, doña María Juárez, invalid, whose home is here in Santa Ana Calteco Tecpan. Done before those who heard, the ward heads, Francisco de San Gerónimo Xochicozca; Juan Vázquez Callal; Francisco Tlamaceuhqui; Pedro Chicotl; Martín Lázaro, deputy; Miguel García, (notary of the) church; and Alonso Jiménez; and the noblewoman doña Ana Tiacapantzin.

Juan Bautista, notary.

f. 98v

Document 71A

Annotation in Spanish, March 8, 1593

/f. 98v/ - las tierras que dejo doña maria xuares para que se vendiesen como consta por este testamento se cumplido y las tierras se vendieron a los indios de S^{ta} maria tomatlan fecha en culuacan a 8 de marco de 1593

fray Ju^o
de . . . ymal (?)

/f. 98v/ The land that doña María Juárez left to be sold as recorded by this testament was executed, and the lands were sold to the Indians of Santa María Tomatla. Done in Culhuacan, the 8th of March, 1593.

Fray Juan de (. . .)ymal?

f. 99r

Document 72

Receipt of funds at the church, April 20, 1586

Generally, as has already been seen in this volume, the friars of the Augustinian monastery themselves wrote brief receipts in Spanish for money received in connection with testaments for the purpose of saying masses. In the present cases the process is seen from the other side. The fiscal, the highest Indian religious official, and the deputies (*diputados*), the same officials elsewhere called executors (*albaceas*), are recorded in Nahuatl entries as overseeing the transfer of funds to the Spanish prior of the monastery.

/f. 99r/ - axcan fiernes yc xx mani metztli de abril de 1586 anos yz momachiyotia yn icalnemac ocatca miguel nacaçitotoc ynic omoxitini ynic omonanamacac quauh-teççolli tlapancaltotli yhua yn ça tzintepantli yn omo-centlalli yn cepan omacoc totlaçotatzin p^e prior ii p^os teçopatitoytl yhua quauh-teççolpatitoytl ymixpan^{co} gabriel mal^o fiscal yhua miguel Joseph agustin vazquez dibotados

/f. 99r/ - Today, Friday the 20th of the month of April of the year 1586, it is manifested here that the inherited house of Miguel Nacaçitotoc, a little house (with a flat roof?), was torn down, and the old wood and the foundation wall were sold. (The money) which it amounted to was given all together to our dear father prior, two pesos, which was the price of the tezontle and the old wood. (Done) before Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal, and Miguel

- ynic opan omacoc t^snes tetlaquactli ypatiuh iii p^os omatican (sic) yn oquicahuaco t^snes p^o tzapotlacatl anto xallacatl ymixpan^{co} fiscal yhua dibotados

- ynuquexpan oquicahuacoc (sic) t^snes i p^os anto^o xallacatl agustin batoçicuil tepisque ymixpan^{co} fiscal yhua dibotados yxquichi yn ipan o yc mito misa miguel nacazitztoc ynic ayac motlapolloltiz nican quimotlallia ynfirmitzin p^e prior yhua tehuatin ynic neltitica axca miercolles ypan 2 deçienbre

	fr chr̄oual de agurto	
fran ^{co} vaz	gabriel mal ^o	Miguel Josep
quez dibo	fiscal	dibotados
tados		Nixpan
		Ju ^o bap ^{ta}
		Escr ^o

Josef and Agustín Vázquez, deputies.

- The second time money was given (to the prior?) there were three pesos, the price of (a head stone? hard stone?). Pedro Tzapotlacatl and Antonio Xallacatl came personally to deliver the money before the fiscal and the deputies.

- The third time, Antonio Xallacatl and Agustín Patocicuil, tepixque (i.e., plural referring to both), came to deliver one peso in money before the fiscal and the deputies, and with all of this, masses were said for Miguel Nacazitztoc. And in order that no one will be confused, the father prior sets down his signature along with us in order to verify it. Today, Wednesday, the 2nd of December.

Fray Cristóbal de Agurto. Francisco Vázquez, deputy. Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal. Miguel Josef, deputy.

Before me, Juan Bautista, notary.

f. 99v

Document 73

Testament of Agustín Tepanecatl, June 23, 1589

Culhuacan testators sometimes worried about their tribute obligations. Here, Agustín gives his children some land so that “they will produce its tribute when I have died, the tribute of the dead.” By “tribute of the dead” Agustín apparently simply means the tax on the land still owing from the time when he has had it. As to the writing of the will, this one is one of the poorest performances by a notary. The writer signs himself Juan Bautista, but his hand and style are completely different from the Juan Bautista who wrote other wills (Docs. 64, 65, 67, 71, 74, 78). The frequent omission and intrusion of letters and the use of final *s* instead of *z* are characteristics looking ahead to a later time.

/f. 99v/ Santana tepanecapa Anticpacc

In ica yn itocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios epiritto (sic) sato ça çe huel melli (sic) dios ninoneltoquitia (sic) ma quimatica yn ixquichti quitazque yn quipohuazque y notestamento ynic ninomanquixtitiuh yn xpantzinco y totecuiyo dios ynic ayc (sic) quitlacos y notlatol yntla nimiquillis (sic) ma quihualmanillis y noyollia nanima yn totecuiyo Dios Ca ytlamaquixtitzin y auh y nonacayo nicma (sic) y tlalli yeica ytech quiça y tlalli ca ytech oquiz y tlalli y quenì nehuatl angosti tepanecatli y nica nocha San Jua enbagellista colhuaca y ca nipohui yn ipa tlaxillacalli sa^{ta} Ana anticpac en nicchihua notestamento ynic ayac quitlacoç y notlatol

- Inic çetlamatli quitohua yn oca nihuetztoç y nocal ca çan oca yes camo monamacas ca çan oca yes yhua mochi y callitic ca mochi oca yes yc motequipanosque y nopilhua macamo ytlacahuiz y notlatol y nehuatl angosti tepanecatli

/f. 99v/ (Agustín Tepanecatl) of Santa Ana Aticpac

In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, know all who see and read my testament with which I redeem myself before God our lord that no one is to violate my statement if I die. Let God our lord come to take my spirit and soul, for he is its redeemer. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came. (Know) that I am Agustín Tepanecatl, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Aticpac. Now I order my testament so that no one will violate my statement.

- First, I declare that the house where I lie is to be as it is. It is not to be sold but just to be there, and all that is in the house will be there. And my children will work with it. Let the statement of me, Agustín Tepanecatl, not be violated.

- Inic otlamatli niqutohua mani notlal yn oca xilloxochiatlauhteco mani yn ipa otlí santiago íiii huiac (sic) ii opohualhuiac niquimacatehua y nopilhua oca quinextisque yn itlacallaquil y tla oninomiquilli y micatlacallaquilli auh yni tlalli onicteneuh titotlanamiqui yn antonio de patohua ytlaxillacall tomatla ynic xochmilcopa auh ynic tepeccopa titomilnamiqui y Sata Crus tlalli macamo ytlacahuis y notlatol y nehuatl agosti tepanecatli

- Ini yeytlamatli quitohua notlatol y nehuatlí (sic) agosti tepanecatli (sic) yn oca acoçac yn otlama y nocall yhua y nochina opa cate ii otel y niquimacatehua yn nopilhua Ju^o antes yhua y fr^{ca} xoco yhua angellina tiacapa macamo ytlacahuiz y notlatoll Ca ye ixquich yn itlatoll y coxqui yn agosti tepanecatli yn imixpa yn omotlalli yn destameto yn otlacaque ynic çe ytoca fra^{co} ge^{mo} ynic ome Jua bauhtista Ju^o bernardo tequitopille Julia telles p^o sanne çihua yn imixpa Ju^ana ana magna ynamic Ju^o Rafaell Axca Jubes (sic) xxiii Junio 158(9?) anos

Escribano Ju^o bap^{ta}

- Second, I declare that there is land of mine in Xiloxochiatlauhtenco, on the Santiago (Tetla) road, four (units of measure wide) and 40 long. I give it to my children, and there they will produce its tribute when I have died, the tribute of the dead. And toward Xochimilco this said land borders with (property of) Antonio de Padua, of the ward of Tomatla, and toward the hill it borders with the land (of the ward of?) Santa Cruz. Let the statement of me, Agustín Tepanecatli, not be violated.

- Third say I, Agustín Tepanecatli, in my statement, that in Acoçac I have a house (in two parts?) and two chinampas of mine are there. I give them to my children Juan Andrés, Francisca Xoco, and Angelina Tiacapan. Let my words not be violated. This is all the statement of the invalid Agustín Tepanecatli. Those before whom the testament was ordered and who heard are first, one named Francisco Gerónimo; second, Juan Bautista; Juan Bernardo, topile of tribute; Julián Téllez; Pedro Çannen; and before the women: Juana Ana; Magdalena, the wife of Juan Rafael. Today, Thursday, the 23rd of June of the year 158(?).

Juan Bautista, notary.

f. 100r

Document 74

Testament of Juana Martina, December 20, 1587

Juana Martina, like many testators, owns a religious object, a crucifix, which she wants kept in her ward's chapel in exchange for a tomín from the ward heads. She additionally assigns some land to her ward chapel, but wants to be buried at the "great church of San Juan Evangelista." The notary shows his apparent lack of grasp of the initial formulas.

/f. 100r/ Ju^a mīnna S^{ta} m^a mag^d çihuatecpa

- In ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin dios Ešpu Sancto ça çen huel nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque ynin notestamento ynic ninomaquixtitiuh yn ixpan^{co} yn tote^o dios ynic ayac quitlacoç y notlatol yntla ninomiquilliz ma quihualmanilliz y noyollia yn nanima tote^o dios Ca ytlamaquixtiltzin auh y nonacayo nicmacan tlalli Eyca ca ytech quiz yn tlalli

- Inic çentlamantli niqutohua y nehuatl Ju^a minna yntla oninomiquilli ca nicnequi ma opa nitocoç yn iglesia huey teopan s^t Ju^o Euang^{ta} ynhua yn ayamo motoca nonacayo centetl missa nopan mitoz niçtlallia huentzintli 1 p^os

- Inic ontlamantli niqutohua yn ocan nihuetztoç callzintli tonatiuh quixnamicticac yhua çentetl xochmilcopan yzticac niqutohua monamacaz y queçqui ypatih Ez missa topan yc mitoz y nonamictzin catca yhua y no-

/f. 100r/ Juana Martina of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, know all who see and read this my testament with which I redeem myself before God our lord, in a way that no one is to violate my statement if I die, let our lord come to take my spirit and soul, because he is their redeemer. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- First say I, Juana Martina, that when I have died, I want to be buried at the great church of San Juan Evangelista, and before I am buried a mass is to be said for me. I place an offering of a peso.

- Second I declare that as to the house where I lie that faces east and the other that faces toward Xochimilco, I say they are to be sold and with however much the proceeds are masses will be said for us, my late husband,

monatzin catca yhua noconeuh catca

- Ihua chinamitl 7 tl ychinatitla andres vazquez yn temi chinamitl acatzintitla yhua s^{ta}ago mani milli oca y mani cecepolli yn cecni ymiltitech yn p^o yaotl catca ynic oca ymiltitech y migl ocellotl catca ynhua huixachtlan i polli ymiltitech Ju^o netlamatin yni onictene(uh?) ça mochi yhuicallo y calli

- Ihua metlatl cen monamacaz notech monequiz yn ipatiuh yhua çen nicmacatiuh y nicuhctzin ytoca minna m^a canaz y metlatl yhua tlapachtli niquimaca y nopilhua ytoca mathia p^o yhua yn ina^c ytoca ynes auh 1 tstzin nechtlacollizque yhua croçifixo onicnopielliaya oca motlapielliz y tonatzin ychan^{co} S^{ta} m^a mag^{na} no i tstzin nechtlacollizque y tlaxillacalleque yhua i tetl noteco nicmaca matia p^o

- Ihua monamacaz noteco ix tetl yn ipatiuh macozque teopantlaca yc nechpallehuizque yhua yquiyahuac mani tlalmatl yn migl Joseph dibotados ytetzinco nicpohua yn tonatzin S^{ta} m^a mag^{na} auh yn ichinayo Etetototi chichicueEmatototin onicnamaquilti y migl Josep dibotados onechmacac i p^{so} ca o notech monec yc nicaquiztillituih E yxquich y niquitohua macayayac (sic) tle notech quitlamiz y nicapan notepotzco ayac tle nicpiellia yyaxca yn imixpan testigos Ju^o de s^{ta}ago tixpallotl / matia p^o gaspar mel^{or} migl Josep / çihua Ju^a tiacapan çihuatepisqui m̄inna m^a m^a ana yna^c Ju^o nonez (?) ynes yna^c matia p^o m^a yna^c gaspar mel^{or} /f. 100v/ axcan lunes yohua omochiuh testamento yc xx mani deçiembre 1587 anos

Miguel Josep	agustin vazquez	gabriel mal ^o
dibotados	dibotados	fiscal
	Nixpan	
	Ju ^o bap ^{ta}	
	escri ^o	

f. 100v

/f. 100v/ digo yo fray sebastian de castro que en cumplimiento deste testamento se an dicho tres missa por esta diff^a y para la limosna dieron tres p^os

fr Sebastian
de Castro

my late mother-in-law, my late child and me.

- And there are seven chinampas next to the chinampas of Andrés Vázquez; the chinampas are in Acatzintitlan. And in Santiago (Tetla) there are fields, each of which is 20 (units of measure long), first next to the field of the late Pedro Yaotl, and second next to the field of the late Miguel Ocelotl. And in Huixachtlan there (is land) next to the field of Juan Nentlamati (measuring) 20 (units). All of this which I have mentioned accompanies the house.

- And as to the metates, one is to be sold and the proceeds spent on me, and one I give to my younger sister Martina María; she is to take the metate. And the bed I give to my son Matías Pedro and his wife named Inés, and they are to favor me with a tomín. And I have a crucifix; it is to be kept in the home (chapel, church) of our mother Santa María Magdalena, and the ward heads are also to favor me with a tomin (for the crucifix). And I give a tecomate of mine to Matías Pedro.

- And nine tecomates of mine are to be sold and the proceeds will be given to the church attendants to aid me. And the level land that is at the entrance of Miguel Josef, deputy, I assign to (the church of) ou mother Santa María Magdalena. And I sold the three small chinampas that belong to (the land), each one of just eight matl, to Miguel Josef, deputy. He gave me one peso that was spent on me wherefore I am explaining it. That is all I say; let no one accuse me of anything after I am dead. I keep nothing that belongs to anyone (else). (Done) before the witnesses Juan de Santiago Tixpallotl, Matías Pedro, Gaspar Melchor, Miguel Josef; the women: Juana Tiacapan, cihuatepizqui; Martina María; María Ana, wife of Juan Núñez; Inés, wife of Gaspar Melchor. /f. 100v/ Today, Monday (at nightfall?) the testament was done, the 20th of December of the year 1587.

Miguel Josef, deputy. Agustín Vázquez, deputy. Gabriel Maldonado, fiscal.

Before me, Juan Bautista, notary.

Document 74A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 100v/I, fray Sebastián de Castro, say that in compliance with this testament three masses have been said for this deceased, and they gave three pesos toward the alms.

Fray Sebastián de Castro.

f. 101r

Document 75*Testament Fragment of Gregorio de San Agustín, n.d.*

Although the vast majority of bequests in the Culhuacan testaments are to close relatives, some are of a charitable nature. The recipients of Gregorio's broken-bottomed boat are Juan Pobre and Domingo Pobre. Their surname is the Spanish loanword "poor," and possibly they were in fact paupers. The phrase *teopan nemi* which is applied to them is, however, ambiguous. It might mean that they live at the church (gratis), but the more frequent meaning would be that they are occupied at the church in various tasks, possibly for pay.

/f. 101r/ gregorio de s^{to} augustin s^{ta} m^a asup^o tzaqualco

- In ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin yhua dios E^{spu} Sancto çan cen huel nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazquez (sic) y notestamento yn queni nehuatl gregorio de sanct agostin nica nochan Sanct Ju^o Euang^{ta} ocan nipohui yn ipan tlaxilacalli s^{ta} m^a asop^o tzaqualco maçoyhui y ninococohua Eçe y noyollia yn nanima ça pactica amo que catqui yhua huel mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia yn Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yhua dios E^{spu} Sancto ça ce huel nelli dios yhua mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn Sancta yglessia de roma auh Ehica yn axca yn ica ynotzallocatzin tote^o dios yn itlatlauhtillocatzin nicchihua nictecpanna y notestamento

- Inic centlamatli niquitohua y noyollia y naniman yn çenmactzinco nocontlallia yn tote^o dios yehica ca oquimochihuilli yhua ca yxiplatatzin auh y nonacayo nicmacatlalli Ehica ca tlalli yntech quiz

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua not^snes 6 p^os notech pohuiz yhuan nona^{ct}zin omoEtzticatca yntstzin 4 p^os yc missa ypan mitoz yhua çentetl chinamitl acpac temi çentetl nicmacan notetzin thomas auh yn çentetl nicmaca bernardino xorado auh y (sic)

- auh yn acalli Etetl yc tipallehuillozque yhua quahuacatl 4 tl quauhtectli ix tetl mochi totech monequiz yhuan tlecopantl cepantli y quauhtectli cepantli quicuiz y nohueltihuatzin magna chane atotolco no çenpantli quicuiz yn quauhtectli y nomatzin ytoca diego yn ipiltzin Ju^o

- Ihua chinamitl opan temi sancta ana tepanecapa mochi notech pohuiz auh y callin xochmilcopa yztimani ontetl ca ytech pouhqui / y noteycauh Ju^a Auh yn sanct lureço opan ca nomil opohualli ynic huiyac ynic patlahuac cenpohualli nicnomaquillia agustin vazquez fiscal yn axcan yhua chinamitl v tetl opa temi apilco / hohopohuallhuiac ypan matlatlacmatl nicmaca noteycauh Ju^a yhua chinamitl calteco temi yc preydo omochiuh auh 4 tetl honimacac /f. 101v/ notetzin ytoca thomas yhua hontetl chinamitl onicnamaquiltin y notetzin yn thomas çan ocan çentemi y chinamitl yn onimacac Auh yn oquix-

/f. 101r/ Gregorio de San Agustín of Santa María Asunción Tzaqualco

- In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, know all who see my testament that I, Gregorio de San Agustín, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista (Culhuacan), belonging to the ward of Santa María Asunción Tzaqualco, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul are healthy and undisturbed; and I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe; and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Therefore now with invocation and supplication of God our lord, I make and order my testament.

- First I declare that I place my spirit and soul entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he made it and it is in his image. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- First (sic) I say that six pesos of mine in money will belong to me. And with four pesos in money belonging to my late wife, masses will be said for her. And there is a chinampa in Acpac that I give to my brother-in-law, Tomás, and one I give to Bernardino Jurado, and ... (sic)

- And we will be aided with (the proceeds from) three boats and four poles and nine piles of wood; all of it will be spent on us. And concerning the storeroom, my older sister Magdalena, citizen of Atotolco, is to take (one measure of wood from it), and my nephew named Diego, son of Juan, is to take (one measure).

- And there are some chinampas in Santa Ana Tepanecapan; all of them will belong to me. And as to the two houses that face toward Xochimilco, they belong to my younger sister Juana. And in San Lorenzo there is a field of mine 40 (units of measure) long and 20 wide; now I give it to Agustín Vázquez, fiscal. And there are five chinampas in Apilco, each one 50 matl long; I give them to my younger sister Juana. And there are chinampas (next to the house? in Caltenco?) over which a suit was brought: I gave four of them /f. 101v/ to my brother-in-law named Tomás, and I sold two chinampas

quich oncatqui (sic)

- auh çentetl acalli Eltlapaqui niquimacatiuh y Ju^o bofle yhua domingo bofle teopan nemi / concahuizque yn acalli ynic nauhtetl / nacal / ocatca

- Ihua opa mani tlallachco milli cepohualli ymiltitlan agustin vazquez fiscal çentetl tictixtlapannia fiscal yni milli notech pouhuiz yhua teuhtlalli 4 pōll i opohualli notech pouhqui auh onpohualli nicmaca noteycauh Ju^a yntech Ez yni mani milli atlahuhteco

- Ihua tlaltepoztlitli hontetl yhua cenchicohuictli yhua tlaçuilloltecomatl hontetl yn oc quexquich oca motaz mochi totech pouhuiz yn imixpan omochiuh testamento

to my brother-in-law Tomás. All of the chinampas I have given him are together there, and as to the rest that there are ...

- And I give a boat with a broken bottom to Juan Pobre and to Domingo Pobre who (live at the church? work at the church?). They will share the boat, which was the fourth of my boats.

- And in Tlallachco there is a field of 20 (units of measure), next to the field of Agustín Vázquez, fiscal. The fiscal and I divide it. This field will belong to me. And there is dry land of 80 (units of measure); 40 belong to me, and 40 I give to my younger sister Juana; it will be for her. This field is (at the edge of the ravine? in Atlahuco?).

- And two hoes and (a type of digging stick) and two painted tecomates, and whatever else should be seen (around my place) is all to belong to us. This testament was done before ...

f. 102r

Document 76

Posthumous Statement for Ana Xoco, January 5, 1588

Ana Xoco's estate is not large, containing typical goods. Note that her maize is measured by the Spanish unit of dry measure, the *fanega*.

/f. 102r/ I nican ypan altepetl colhuaca yc v dias del mes de Enero de 1588 anos yn nehuatl agustin vazquez fiscal y nica ypa altepetl omoteneuh nican nictlallia nicnezçayotia yn itechpan y hehuatl ana xoco / ocatca ychan s^{ta} m^a m^a (sic) mag^{na} çihuatecpa tezcacoahuac yn itlatqui quicauhtia yn itlaol ynic omotamachiuh 6 anecas ypan m^o anecan yhua y mochi yn itlatlatqui catca mochi omonanamacac huipilli otepan yhua casantotli yhua metlatl çen yhua tlaltepoztlitli çentetl yn ça E mochi omonanamacac yn itlatqui y moçentlalli t^{nes} 6 ps^o ynic missa ypan mitoz ana xoco ypapa y nican nicnezçayotia ayocac yconeuh oquicauhtia yhua amo no tle testamento quichiuhntia çaniuh momiquilli ypapa amo ac motlapolloltiz yz quimotlallillia carta te vaco ynic neltitica nica nictlallia notoca / nofirmas yhua yehuantin albaceasme auh yn testigosme amo huel tlacuillohua ypapa amo ymatica quitlallia yfirmas ynic ce fran^{co} huitziltecatl glegorio muyse luys perez quillermo de s^t min topille p^o chapol Ju^o agusti teopantlatcatl Ju^o xalli agustin teyxpan / miguel tetzcallohua çihuan Ju^a tecuiccho yna^c migl tetzcallohua luysa yna^c agusti teyxpan Etc

Agusti vazquez dibotados	Agustin Vazquez fiscal	Miguel Joseph dibotados
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/f. 102r/ - Here in the city of Culhuacan, the 5th day of the month of January of the year 1588, I, Agustín Vázquez, fiscal here in the said city, set down and manifest concerning Ana Xoco, deceased, whose home was Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpa Tezcacoac, the property she left: her maize, which was measured at six fanegas and a half, and all her various things were sold, a huipil (in two parts?), a small chest, a metate, and a hoe. All of her goods were sold and the money came to six pesos, with which masses will be said for her, Ana Xoco. Therefore here I manifest it. She left no children and did not make a will; she just died. In order that no one should become confused, here a bill of payment is issued for them. In order to verify it, I place here my name and signature with the executors; the witnesses do not know how to write, for which reason they do not set down their signatures in their own hands. The first, Francisco Huitziltecatl; Gregorio Moysén; Luis Pérez; Guillermo de San Martín, topile; Pedro Chapol; Juan Agustín, church attendant; Juan Xalli; Agustín Teixpan; Miguel Tetzcaloa; the women: Juana Tecuhcho, wife of Miguel Tetzcaloa; Luisa, wife of Agustín Teixpan, etc. (sic).

Agustín Vázquez, deputy (sic). Agustín Vázquez, fiscal. Miguel Josef, deputy.

Nixpan omochiuh
 Ju^o bap^{ta}
 Escri^o n^o

Fray sebastian
 de castro

Before me, Juan Bautista, appointed notary. Fray
 Sebastián de Castro.

f. 102v

Document 77

Fragment of a Spanish Annotation by fray Agustín Farfán, September, 158(0?8?)

This fragment of a Spanish friar's standard receipt of money is almost useless, but since fray Agustín Farfán, noted author of three medical texts, signed it, it does indicate his presence in Culhuacan in the 1580s (the paleography is unclear and could be read 1580 or 1588, although since the surrounding documents are from 1588, the latter seems more likely).

/f. 102v/ .ustin farfan que rreçibi
 ..ndres clemente para que
 .l dicho andres clemente y por
 .por verdad lo firme fecha
 .e setiembre 158(0?8?) a^os
 fray Aug^{tin}
 farfan

/f. 102v/ ...(Ag)ustín Farfán who received
 ...(A)ndrés Clemente in order that
 ...(the) said Andrés Clemente and for
 ...as truth I signed it. Done
 ...September of the year 158(0?8?)
 Fray Agustín Farfán.

f. 103r

Document 78

Testament Fragment of Bernardino Vázquez, 1588

Bernardino was part of a prominent Culhuacan family, being the nephew of Pablo Huitznahuatl (Doc. 47), and here he speaks of business transactions with a rich kinsman, Juan de San Miguel. Many wealthy Culhuacan citizens were selling land both to other Indians and to Spaniards in the late sixteenth century.

/f. 103r/ bernardino vazquez s^{ta} ana xalla
 testamento de 1588 a^os
 - In ican ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepil (sic) yhua dios
 Ešpu sancto ça ce huel nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia ma
 quimatica yn ixquixtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque y
 notestamento yn queni nehuatl bernardino vazquez nica
 nochan San Ju^o Euang^{ta} colhuacan ypa nipohui yn
 tlaxillacalli Sancta ana xallah niqitohua maçihui yn
 mococohua nonacayo yn cenca tlanahui Ece y noyollia y
 naniman hamo que catqui çan pactica niqitohua y no-
 tzonquizatlanequillizpan yn he nomiquiztepan nic-chi-
 hua nictcepanna y notestamento macayac quitacoz Inic
 centlamantli niqitohua y noyollia naniman yncenmac-
 tzinco nocotlalli (sic) yn tt^o dios yehican ca oquimoma-
 quixtilli yn ica yn itlaçoEzçotzin y nican talticpac auh y
 nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yehica ca tlalli yntech quiz
 - Ihua niqitohua opan mani milli San lureço opohualli
 ypan yn calpoltitlan milli oncan yn omotlalnamacac Ju^o
 de san migl monamacaz missa nopann ic mitoz

/f. 103r/ Bernardino Vázquez of Santa Ana Xallah
 Testament from the year 1588
 - In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God
 the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe,
 know all who see and read my testament that I, Ber-
 nardino Vázquez, whose home is here in San Juan Evan-
 gelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana
 Xallah, say that though my body is ill and in very bad
 health, nonetheless my spirit and soul are undisturbed
 and sound; I say, let no one violate my testament, which
 I make and order with my last will, now on the verge of
 my death. First I declare that I place my spirit and soul
 entirely in the hands of God our lord, because he
 redeemed it with his precious blood here on earth. And
 my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.
 - And I declare that in San Lorenzo there are 40 (units of
 measure of land) (among? next to?) the fields of Cal-
 poltitlan; the person who sold the land was Juan de San
 Miguel. It is to be sold in order for masses to be said for

- Ihua niqitohua nicohuilli ymil Ju^o de s^t miguel o-
pōlli quimatin p^o de san nicollas oncan yn teçoncalticpac
monamacaz notech pohuiz

- Niqitohua y nocal tonatiuh ycallaquiyapan ytzticac
çan nican quimopanchilhuitiez y nopilhuatzintzin y
nonamictzin ynic cen yntoca Ju^o ynic ome ytoça agustin
ca ychan auh yn tleçopa nocochiya huel nicaxcatia y
nopiltzin Ju^o nicmaca auh yn nican xollar ynic pan-
tlahuac mexicopan onpohualli omacuilli yn opan onaçi /
ateco ynic tlapouhtli auh yn coyohuacapan çan ocan on-
açi yn hualquiça / noteycahua çan ocan açitica auh y ne-
pan y nica tlalli opan onaçi huehue otli ycaya yn itech ca
noteycahua

- Ihua niqitohua yn acocalli monamacaz çan ixquich yn
tlacpac yncac notech pohuiz ma yçihca monamacaz

- yhua nocaxan centetl nicmaca y nopiltzin Ju^o auh cen-
tetl nicmaca y nocaxan y nonamictzin yntoca maria
/f. 103v/ - Ihua niqitohua çan niccentlallia yn ixquich
callitic onoc notlapech yn ixquich nohuapal yhua quauh-
tectli yhua notlacuilloltecon yn ça mochi tetextitoc ça
mochi yntech ca y nonamic quipielliz y nopilhuatzintzin
ca ymaxca

- Ihua niqitohua nochina temi oncan / in tonalleca ynpa
can tlalmantli ynic patlahuac mexicopan onpōlli onma-
cuilli auh yn coyohuacapan onpolli oncaxtolli ynic tla-
pouhtli onca honpehua yn iquiyahuac catcan quauhnel-
huatzin niqitohua ca çano ytech nicahua y nonamictzin
yhua y nopilhuatzintzin ca ymaxca

- Auh yz catqui nicaquiztillitih macamo nechmotzacuil-
tilliz yn tt^o dios yn çentetl chinamitl acallotetl (sic)
quitocatoc ca ye quimatin yn Ernando xvarez ca onca yn
tepiltzin yn ichpochtli nemi mexico ca yyaxcan ynin
onicteneuh chinamitl çentetl çanno honca yn onicteneuh
tlacpac

- Ihua coltoco temi chinamitl çan tla(a?)pohualli ynic
tlapouhtli onpolli yhua nauhuahuitli yn coyohuacapan
auh yn xochmillcopan ynic patlahuac opolli ypan o-
quahuil ca nicnepantlaxellohua cepohualli nicmaca nic-
axcatia y nopiltzin Ju^o auh yn çenpolli nicmaca y no-
piltzin agustin oc quipielliz y nonamictzin

- Ihua temi

me.

- And I declare that I bought a field from Juan de San
Miguel, 40 (units of measure), as Pedro de San Nicolás
knows, in Teçoncalticpac. It is to be sold and the (mo-
ney) will belong to me.

- I declare that there is a house of mine facing west.
Here my wife is to govern my children, the first of whom
is named Juan and the second Agustín, for it is their
home. And as to the (storeroom, office) where I sleep, I
make it the special property of my child Juan; I give it to
him. And the house/lot here is 45 (units of measure)
wide toward Mexico City, counted as far as where it
reached the edge of the water; and toward Coyoacan it
just extends up to where my younger siblings exit (or
where their land ends?), and on the far side, the land here
which extends up to where the old road used to be
belongs to my younger siblings.

- And I declare that the upper house, only what stands
above, is to be sold and is to belong to me; let it be sold
promptly.

- And one chest of mine I give to my child Juan, and
another of my chests I give to my wife named María.

/f. 103v/ - And I declare that I am placing together all
that is inside the house, my bed, all my planks and the
piles of firewood, my painted tecomates, and all (the
odds and ends lying about?); all of it is to belong to my
wife, who will keep it for my children, since it is their
property.

- And I declare that there are chinampas of mine in To-
nalecan, next to the level land; in width, toward Mexico
City, it measures 45 (units of measure) and toward Co-
yoacan 55, and it begins where the entrance of Quauh-
nelhuatzin was. I say that I also leave it to my wife
along with my children, for it is their property.

- Here is what I explain so that God our lord doesn't
punish me: there is a chinampa that follows the border
of the canal, as Hernando Juárez knows, and the child (of
the owners), an unmarried young woman, lives in
Mexico City, and it is her property. This said chinampa
is also in the place I mentioned above.

- And in Coltonco there are uncounted (not divided into
discrete units?) chinampas; they measure 44 quahuil
toward Coyoacan and in width, toward Xochimilco, 42
quahuil. And I divide it into two equal parts: 20 I give
to my child Juan and make his property. And the other
20 I give to my child Agustín. My wife is to keep it for
them for now.

- And there are (chinampas) . . .

f. 104v

Document 79*Testament of María Inés, February 23, 1589*

María Inés seemingly has a modest estate, but she is the aunt of the wealthy Culhuacan noblewoman, doña Elena Constantina. In fact, doña Elena owes money to María Inés, who now expects the still unpaid sum to go toward masses for her own soul. María Inés apparently has no husband or children, and leaves her house to the ward heads, “for it is their patrimonial home.”

/f. 104v/ M^a Ines s^{ta} ana tzapotlah

In ican yntocatzin tote^o Jhesu xp̄o yhuan yntlaçonatzin ylhucac çihuapilli sancta m^a mochipan huel nelli ych-pochtlih ma mochitin quimatican yn ixquichti yn quit-tazque yn quipohuazque ynin Amatl yn queni nehuatl m^a Ines nincan nochan colhuacan hoca ninpohui yn ipa tlaxillacalli sancta ana tzapotlah maçonellihui y ninococohuan yecen y noyollia in naniman y notlalnamiquilliz amo que can ça pactican auh ca nelli mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia in sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Eşpu sancto Essencia yhuan mochi nicneltocan yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia sancta inglessia de romana ynic nictecpanna notestameto ynic ayac quitlacoç y notzoquizcatlanequilliz

- Innic centlamatli niquitoan y noyollia y naninman y-mactzinc noconcenhuan nicnomaquillia yn tote^o dios ynpanpa ca yntlaçozezyoticatzincon hoquimomaquix-tillico y nican tlalticpac ma quimonequilti ynic quihual-manilli y naninman auh y nonacayo nicmacan yn tlalli ynpanpa ca tlalli yntech onquiz yhuan yn iquac nimiquiz honpan nitocoç ycallitic yglessia huetzitli mocahuatiah

- Inic otlamantli niquitohua y nopillotzin dona Ellena gusdatina y namic Ju^o de s miguel quimopiallia notomitzin cenpesus yc missa nopan mitoz yn inquac honinomi-quilli amo ac quilhuiz ayc cenpan tle quitoz ca ninquinocahuillilia y nocaltzin yn tlaxillacalleque chaneque s^{ta} ana ca yn huehuechan y nmac y nonehualtiz yn ixquich naxca yc nechmopallehuillizque huel yntechtzinco nic-cenhuan

- Iniquetlamatli niquitoan y notlalmil toçititlah homaca honicnamacac auh yn ipatiah yn tlalli yc missa nopa mitoz auh yn ixquich y notlatqui yehuatih quimatin yn quimocuitlahuiya animan yhuan yn oninquiteneuh yn tlaxillacalleque chanenque quimochihuillizque

- Ixquich y notlatol amo ac quitlacoç ymixpan testigos-me y huel hotlacaque yntzotlah oncatca yn cocoxquin ynic cen fran^{co} Jr^{mo} yninc ome Ju^o bap^{ta} tochtli yninc y Ju^o bernardo tequitica tepixqui ynic nahui lazaro huelliquac ynic macuilli Jullia telez p^o tleçane yhuan ymixpan çihua Juana ana yncocihuatl yhuan mağna

/f. 104v/ María Inés of Santa Ana Tzapotla

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, the heavenly lady Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, María Inés, whose home is here in Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa Ana Tzapotla, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit, soul, and memory are undisturbed and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, (of just one?) essence, and I believe all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Thus I order my testament so that no one will violate my final will.

- First, I declare that I entirely deliver and give my spirit and soul into the hands of God our lord; I give it to him, because he came to redeem it with his precious blood here on earth. May he deign to come take my soul. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came. And when I die, it will be buried inside the church; an offering will be made.

- Second, I declare that my niece, doña Elena Constantina, wife of Juan de San Miguel, has a peso of my money. When I have died, a mass will be said for me with it. No one is ever to make objections (without reason?) (about the fact that) I leave my house to the ward heads, citizens of Santa Ana, for it is their patrimonial home. Through their agency I will have enough. They are to aid me with all my goods; I leave it entirely to them.

- Third, I declare that I sold cultivated land of mine in Tocitlan (to Omaca?), and with the proceeds from the land masses will be said for me. And those who care for my soul know about (are entrusted with) all my goods; the ward heads and citizens that I mentioned are also to do it.

- This is all of my statement; no one is to violate it. (Done) before the witnesses who heard well and were at the head (of the bed) of the invalid, the first named Francisco Gerónimo; the second Juan Bautista Tochtli; the third Juan Bernardo, tepixqui of tribute; the fourth Lázaro Hueliquac; the fifth Julián Téllez; Pedro Tleçanen; and before the women: Juana Ana, widow; Magda-

ynamic miguel Raphael yhuan ynamic Ju^O tochtli m^a
ana Axca Jueves yc xxiii de hebr^O de 1589 anos

miguel	Agustin vazquez	nixpan
Juseph	dibotado	mar ^{COs} Jurge
dibutado		Escr ^O nobrado

lena, wife of Miguel Rafael; and the wife of Juan (Bautista) Tochtli, María Ana. Today, Thursday, the 23rd of February of the year 1589.

Miguel Josef, deputy. Agustín Vázquez, deputy.
Before me, Marcos Jorge, appointed notary.

f. 105r

Document 80

Testament of Diego Hernández, December 29, 1589

One of Diego Hernández's possessions is a "woman house" (*cihuacalli*). Spanish translations of the colonial period occasionally render the word as *cocina*, and some scholars have suggested that it denotes a common or family room where various household tasks were accomplished, but in truth we have very little specific information on what a *cihuacalli* really was. Since Diego, as well as other men (Doc. 47), owns one, it is clear, however, that it was *not* necessarily a house owned by a woman. It is true that he leaves it to a woman, his wife, giving the rest of his house to his son. Another term of unknown significance is "Mexica land" (*mexicatllalli*). In the present collection, only one other testator mentions this category (Doc. 26), but it does turn up in other local-level Nahuatl documentation for the nearby town of Xochimilco (AGN Vínculos 279-1-82v, 86v). Though Diego Hernández has the same name as a Culhuacan notary, it cannot be established that the testator is the notary.

/f. 105r/ diego hernandez s bar^{me} xallateco

- In ican intocatzin in tote^O Jhesu x̄pō yhua yn itlaçonatzin s^{ta} m^a mochipan huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochiti quimatican yn ixquichtin y quittazque yn quipohuazque ynin amatl yn quenī nehuatl diego hernandez / nica nochan colhuacan hoca ninpohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli s bar^{me} xallatecon maçonelyhui y ninococohuan yecen y noyollia in naniman y notlalnamiquilliz y notlacaquilliz amo que can çā pactican auh ca nelli mellahuac ynic nicnoneltoquitia / in sanctissiman trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Eš̄pū sanctu yhuan yn ixquich yn quimoneltoquitia in Sancta yglesia de rromana ynic nictecpanaz y notestamento y notzonquizcatlanequilliz amo ac quixnamiquiz y notlatol

- Ynic cetlamatli niquitoan in noyollia in naniman yncemactzinco noconcenahuan nicnomaquillia in tote^O dios ynpanpa ca ytlaçoyezoticatzinco hoquimomaquixtillico y nica tlalticpac ma quimonequilltin inni quihualmanilliz in naninma auh y nonacayo nicmaca tlalli ypanpa ca tlalli yn intech oquiz yhuann iquac nimiquiz hopan nitocotihu y S Ju^O callitic teopan huetzitli mocahuatiuh

- Ynic otlamatli niquitoan y nocaltzin tonatiuh yquičayapa Itzticac çihuacalli centequizticac callixayo nicmaca y nonamic teoyotican yntoca Ju^a m^a yhuan cenpohuali notlalmil yntocayocan tochihiuc ayac quixtoquilliz niccmaxcatitiuh

- yninetlamatli niquitoan in nopiltzin yn intocan Ju^O melchior nicmacatiuh y nocal yacuic yetemanin tonatiuh

/f. 105r/ Diego Hernández of San Bartolomé Xalatenco

- In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his precious mother, Holy Mary, eternally true virgin, know all who see and read this document that I, Diego Hernández, whose home is here in Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of San Bartolomé Xallatenco, even though I am sick, nonetheless my spirit and soul, my memory and understanding are undisturbed and healthy. And I truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and all that the Holy Church of Rome believes. Thus I make my testament and final will; no one is to dispute my statement.

- First, I declare that I deliver and give my spirit and soul entirely into the hands of God our lord, because he came to redeem it with his precious blood here on earth; may he deign to come take my soul. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came. And when I die, I will be buried inside the church of San Juan (Evangalista); an offering will be made.

- Second, I declare that as to a house of mine which faces east, a "woman's house" of one unit, with a portal, I give it to my legitimate wife named Juana María, with 20 (units of measure) of cultivated land of mine in the place named Tochihiuc. No one is to claim it from her; I make it entirely her property.

- Third, I declare that I give to my child named Juan Melchor my new house of three parts that faces west,

yallaquiapan yztimanin yhuau yn itlalmayo matlacmatl ynic patlahuac yhuau yn atetlalli yepohualli ynic huiyac xochmilcopahuic yhuau noqua temin mexicatlalli chicotetl cencepohualli yhuau noqua çetetl honoc nochina tlalmatitlan ynic huiyac hopohualli ymiltitlah Ju^o tlacatecuictli yhuann oc cecni temi nochina yntocanyocan tolma yetetemin yehepohualhuiyac yhuicpan mexicatzinca yhuann ipa can tlalmatli mochi nicmaca nipiltzin Ju^o melchior yhuau niqutoan noqua temin nochina hotetl yquihuac y noteycauh luys hernandez hoonpohualhuiyac yhuau cenpohualli noteuhtlal hopa manin yntocayocan chalcocalcan yahauyuhcan titomilnetechana Ju^o tlacatecuictli auh oc no cecni mani çano hopan yahualihcan cenpohuali çano titomilnetechana Ju^o tlacatecuictli yhuau nica hocotitla atlauhteco yntepotzco yn tepetl matlallo (?) huehuetlalli cenpohualli homacuili yhua nicmacatiuh y nopiltzin Ju^o melchior yhua yn opan s.tiago tetlah hopa mani nomil cenpohuali yntocayoca tecaxic auh ynic ocan yntocayocan teçotitlah hoca tequixtillo cenpohualli hocanixtin nicmaca nopiltzin Ju^o melchior yhuau cetetl huapalcuezcematl nicmaca nopiltzin yhuau niqutoan nicnocoahuica ycal catca p^o cuezco tonatiuh yquicayapan yztiticac yehuatl nicmacac in notomines yn inamic yntocan mag^d hopan nemi tecuctolla axcan nicmacac yei pesus auh yn axca amo nicnequi y nicohuaz ma ça nechcucpilli y notomines macoz y nopiltzin Ju^o melchior

/f. 105v/ - Ihua niqutoa in Jheronimo xochicol yn ical catcan quimocohui in andres ytzui yei pesus quimacac ye missa homito auh yniquipan ynic nitestigo

- yhua niqutoan yn oca motenehuan xallatecon hocan icac ycal catca thomas amin monamacaz missa ye ypan mitoz ma yciuhca monamacan Ca ye ixquich y niqutoan ymixpan yn otlacaque testigosme Ju^o tlacatecuictli fran^{co} moysse andres ytzui simo p^o miguel Ju^o Jacobo de s bar^{me} topille yhuau yn inamic diego hernandez mag^d ma^a matina ana ycnocihuatl Axca Sabato ye 29 dizienbre de 1589 anos

- tixpan miguel Juseph mar^{cos} jurge
diputado Escri^o bopligo

with its level land 10 matl in width. And as to the land at the edge of the water which is 60 (units of measure) long toward Xochimilco, seven (chinampas) of "Mexican land" in a separate place, each one 20 (units), and a chinampa of mine in a separate place, next to the level land, 40 (units) long, next to the field of Juan Tlacatecuhtli, and three chinampas of mine in another place, called Tolman, each one 60 (units) long toward the people of Mexicatzinco, with level land that adjoins it, I give all of it to my child Juan Melchor. And I declare that in a separate place there are two chinampas of mine at the entrance of my younger brother Luis Hernández, each one 40 (units) long. And there are 20 (units) of dry land of mine in the place named Chalcocalcan Yahualihcan; the field borders with that of Juan Tlacatecuhtli. And in another place, also in Yahualihcan, there are 20 (units of measure of land), also bordering fields of Juan Tlacatecuhtli, and here in Ocotitlan (at the edge of the ravine? in Atlauhtenco?) behind the (green?) mountain, there is patrimonial land of 25 (units). And I give it to my child Juan Melchor. And in Santiago Tetla there is a field of mine, of 20 (units), in the place called Tecaxic. And in a second place, named Teçontitlan, from where stones are taken, there are 20 (units of land), and both (pieces of land) I give to my child Juan Melchor. And a granary made of planks I give to my child. And I declare that I bought the house facing east that used to be Pedro Cuezcon's. I gave my money to his wife, named Magdalena, who lives in Tecuhtollan; recently I gave her three (more?) pesos. But now I don't want to buy it; let her return my money to me. It is to be given to my child Juan Melchor.

/f. 105v/ - And I declare that Andrés Itzcuin bought from Gerónimo Xochicol a house that was his, and he gave him three pesos with which masses were said, and I was (present?) as a witness.

- And I declare that in the place named Xallatenco the house of Tomás Amin stands; it is to be sold and with (the money) masses are to be said for him. Let it be sold promptly. That is all I say, before the witnesses who heard it: Juan Tlacatecuhtli, Francisco Moysén, Andrés Itzcuin, Simón Pedro, Miguel Juan, Jacobo de San Bartolomé, topile, and the wife of Diego Hernández, Magdalena María, and Martina Ana, widow. Today, Saturday, the 29th of December of the year 1589.

Before us: Miguel Josef, deputy. Marcos Jorge, notary public.

Document 81

Testament Fragment of Miguel Hernández, n.d.

In the Culhuacan wills, testators often refer to legal documents and court judgments to bolster claims of ownership. Since Miguel's residence is a purchased house, he is careful to point out that "we bought it and there is a judgment about how (the purchase) is valid." Much Spanish terminology is used in such cases, here *compañía*, "company, formal partnership"; *concierto*, "(notarized) agreement"; *sentencia*, "judgment." Miguel may have been executor of testaments or deputy in the past. There is still an outstanding (and confusing) matter concerning a man's shirt (*camixatlí*) left by a dying woman to be sold for masses. Miguel gave the shirt to someone who wore it out before dying in turn. In Miguel's view, the man's heirs should now pay for the shirt, but the heirs seem to say that they had lent the woman's family money before her death, that the shirt was in return for it, and that that sum (probably long since spent) should be used for any masses said.

/f. 106r/ - ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque y quipohuazque ynin amatl yn queni nehuatl miguel Hernandez nica nochan s^t Ju^o Euagn^{ta} colhuacan ypan nipohui yn tlaxilacali s^{ta} m^a ma^{gna} tezcacohuac ca nelli melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia yn sanctissima trinidad dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin yhua dios Espu s^{to} yhua yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonatzin s^{ta} yglessia de romana camo ninotlapololtia ynic noyolocacopan nicchihua y notestamento ynic ayac quitlacoç notlatol yn iuh mochipa neltitiez

- ynic centlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia y nanima nicnomaquillia yn t^o dios ma quihualmaniliz ypanpa ca oquimomaquixtilli yn ica yn tlaçoyeçotzin auh y nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeyca ca ytech quiz yn tlalli

- ynic otlamantli niquitohua nocavalos macho nechmictilli yn agustin yaochihualoc ycha s^t fr^o tlaxoxiuhco yni macho ypatiuh mochiuh caxtollí p^os ypa i p^os nechmictilli copania ticchihuaya yn iquac nechmictilli canel tonepatlatlacol mochiuh auh yn axca niquitohua ca nicnepatlanxellohua yn ipatiuh nicpolhuia 8 p^os amo quixtlahuaz auh ça chi 8 p^os quixtlahuiz yçiuhca teopa nicpohua 8 p^os missa yc nopan mitoz nopa motlatoltizque yn dibotatos

- yniquetlamantli niquitohua notlalcohual tlamantli yhua chinamitl v tetl cecephualhuiaç çan iatelo (sic) mochiuhtica yni nicohuili atonio tlemachicatzin catca nicmacac x tli p^os ypan i p^os ynin onicteneuh opan atechicalca camo çan ixquich yn ipatiuh mochiuh ca miyec oca yn coçierdo ynic tlacouhtli çan ixquich y niquitohua ynin ca nicmacatiuh y noxhuiuh bal^{ar} y capa nemi ytla hualaz ytech pohuiz amo ac quitlacoç y notlatol yhua otetototin chinamitl opa temi y tequacuilco ymiltitla Juachi ramirez ynin onicteneuh chinamitl mo-

/f. 106r/ - Know all who see and read this document that I, Miguel Hernández, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa María Magdalena Tezcacoac, truly believe in the Most Holy Trinity, God the father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and all that our mother, the Holy Church of Rome, believes. I have not lost my judgment, so that of my own will I make my testament in a way that no one is to violate my statement and it will be true forever.

- First, I declare that I give my spirit and soul to God our lord; let him come to take it, because he redeemed it with his precious blood. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- Second, I declare that Agustín Yaochihualoc, whose home is San Francisco Tlaxoxiuhco, killed (a mule?) of mine; it cost 16 pesos and he killed it; when he killed it, we made a company, because it was the fault of both of us. And now I declare that I divide the price in two; I forgive him eight pesos that he is not to pay, and he will just promptly pay the eight pesos (remaining). I assign eight pesos to the church, with which masses are to be said for me; the deputies are to speak for me.

- Third, I declare that as to the purchased level land of mine, with five chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, which constitute its land at the edge of the water, I bought this from the late Antonio (de San Francisco) Tlemachicatzin (Document 30). I gave him 11 pesos; this (land) that I mention is in Atechcalcan. (The 11 pesos) were not the whole price; (it was) much (more). There is a written agreement of how it was bought, and this is all I declare. I give this to my grandchild Baltasar, who lives somewhere (I don't know exactly where). It is to belong to him if he comes back. No one is to violate my statement. And there are two small chinampas in Tequacuilco next to the field of Joaquín Ramírez, and these said chinampas are to be sold

namacaz yn ipatiuh notech pohuiz missa nopa yc mitoz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimomaniliz i p^os nopa motlatoltizque yn tibotadosme

- ynic 4 tli notlama yquiyahuac mel^{or} Ju^o niquitohua monamacaz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocohuiz yn ipatiuh yn quezqui mochihuaz teopan pohuiz missa / nopa yc mitoz nopa motlatoltizque yn tibotadosme /f. 106v/ nochina temi acatzintitlan 4 tetl temi ymiltitlan thomas xochihuan yni onicteneuh niqumaca yn noxhuihua m^a beronica otetl nicmaca auh y fr^{ca} magna otetl nicmaca niqumaxcatituh ayac quimixtoquilliz

- auh yn oca nihuetztoz caltzingtli ycal catca gabriel acol ticouhque ocatqui Sentençinan ynic neltitica canel tonehua totlacohual y nona^c niquitohua çan tlapanticac notech pohuiz yn cenpantli aço ytlantzin nechtlacolizque y nopilhua y noxhuihua ca tel oca yn inatzin y nomicaçihuamotzin missa nechtilanizque auh yn cenpantli ytech pohui y nona^c Auh yz catqui niquitotuh tetlatqui teaxcan tibieltiloque camixatli ytlatqui catca yntoca m^a ychpoch fr^o tototoc quitelauhtizqu(i?/e?) yn iquac ynoçihuatl catca amo huel quitemacac / auh quitotia yn iquac E momiquiliz ma xicmopielic ca monamacaz y camixatli missa yc ypan mitoz y nonatzin catcan auh yn axca niquitohua quimotlanehui Ju^o cuicuic oquicollotia ca oca yn ina^c yhua yn icihuamo ytocan m^a ana yn ina^c mig^l de la † ye quicuico auh yn axca ma quixtlahua ma callaqui y teopa yçiuhca ypan motlatoltizque y dibotadosme auh yzca / oquito y m^a ana yn ina^c mig^l de la † cruz totomines tiqitopieltillique i p^os ypan 4 t^snes teopa pouhqui ma moxtlahua ma calaqui y teopan ma yc mito misa

and the proceeds will belong to me; with it masses are to be said for me. Perhaps someone will want to offer a peso (for them). You deputies will speak for me.

- Fourth, I declare that my level land at the entrance (of the property) of Melchor Juan is to be sold; perhaps someone will want to buy it. However much the proceeds are will belong to the church in order for masses to be said for me. You deputies will speak for me. /f. 106v/ And there are four chinampas of mine in Acatzintitlan, next to the field of Tomás Xochihua, and I give these said chinampas to my grandchildren. I give two to María Verónica and two to Francisca Magdalena. I make it their property; no one is to claim it from them.

- And the house where I lie was the house of Gabriel Acol. We bought it, and there is a judgment about how (the purchase) is valid, because the both of us, my wife and I, bought it. I declare that it is divided; one section (wing) is to belong to me, and perhaps (my?) children and grandchildren will favor me with some little thing; although their mother, my daughter-in-law, wife of my late son, is alive, they are to request a mass for me. And the (other) section belongs to my wife. And here I declare the goods of other people that were given to us to keep: a shirt that belonged to one named María, daughter of Francisco Tototoc (she was going to give it to someone when she was widowed, but she wasn't able to give it to anyone). And she said when she was at the point of death "Keep the shirt: it is to be sold and with it masses will be said for my late mother." And now I declare that Juan Cuicuic borrowed (the shirt) and left it worn by use (when he died). His wife and his daughter-in-law named María Ana, wife of Miguel de la Cruz, have already come to take (the shirt back?). Now let them pay for it and let it be brought promptly to the church. The deputies are to see to it. And here is what María Ana, wife of Miguel de la Cruz, said: "We lent them one peso and four tomines of our money. It belongs to the church; let it be paid and brought to the church, and let masses be said with it."

f. 107v

Document 82

Testament of Marcos Hernández Acolnahuacatl, November 21, 1599

The people who issued the last three testaments in the Culhuacan collection all bore the—under the circumstances—rare surname of Hernández, but nothing indicates any other kind of relationship between them. Spanish surnames are often an index of high status. In the closing formulas, most of the Culhuacan testaments specify the day of the week and the full date, figured by the European system. Marcos's will includes also a saint's day, that of Saint Catherine, but it is not clear whether or not that day had any special significance to the testator or to the town of San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan. Note the passage in which Marcos compares his grandchildren to little birds hatched in the nest, his house. This seems to be a standard metaphor; a similar

phrase is found in a speech recorded in Alonso de Zorita's work (*Life and Labor in Ancient Mexico* [New Brunswick, NJ, 1963]:141).

/f. 107v/ - In ica ytocatzin dios tetatzin dios tepiltzin yhua dios E^spu s^{to} ça ce huel nelli dios nicnoneltoquitia nicchihua nictecpanna y notestamento ma quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipohuazque yni amatl y queni nehuatl notocan marcos Hernandez acolnahuacatl nica nocha s^t Ju^o Euag^{ta} colhuacan / oca ypa nipohui yn tlaxillacalli sanctsimo (sic) atlacapan niquitohua y tla quimonequiltiz tt^o dios ninomiquilliz ma quihualmanilliz y noyollia naniman ca ytlamacaxiltzin (sic) auh y nonacayo nicmacan yn tlalli yeyca ca tlalli yntech quiz - Niquitohua ynic centlamantli ynin caltzintli yn oca ni-huetztoc yn tonatiuh yquicayanpan (sic) yztzicac yhua y mochi tepantlatzaqualli yn tlayahualotoc yhua ynic tlapouhtli yn xolar y mexicopahuic ynic tlapouhtli chicue-matl auh y tonatiuh ycallaquiyapa yc onacitica yn axoch-totli niquitohua ca niquimacatiuh y noxhuihtzintzinhua nahuitin ynic ce ytocan Sallome ynic ome fi^{co} yniquey yn ytocan m^a ynic nahui diego yn inahuixtin niqui-macatiuh y ma yuh totoltzintzintin ca oca omotlapanal-tique ca ytlayhiyohuilliz yn icitzin catcan ca ça nican quimopachilhuitiez yn inatzin ytocan m^a auh y caltepito tonatiuh ycallaquiyapan yztzicac yn tzintepantli ca no-flatqui naxcatzin auh y quahuatl ynic motlapacho ca ytlatquitzin Sanctsimo (sic) tlaxillacalleque ymaxca auh çan ixquich yn quicuzque yhua y tepatli xamitl ynic onitzaqu e xamitl yhua niquitohua y nochina temi acal-lomac ça nica quiyahuac niquitohua ontetl yn chinamitl yntechtzinco nicpohua y totatzin sanctsimo aço ylatzi oca qui (sic) quimotlallillizque yn tlaxillacalleque yntez-zico monequiz Sanctsimo ynin onicteneuh chinamitl amo huihuic çan matlatlacmatotontin ye xochmilcopan yztzoc // auh ynic otetl ynic nauhtetemi Ca ytech nic-pohua y nochpoch ytocan ana m^a yn ina^c at^o mig^h nicaxcatitih ayac quichalanilliz yn onicteneuh chinamitl centetl xochmilcopan yztzoc centetl coyohuacapan yztzoc nicaxcatitih ayac quichalanilliz auh y nican quiyahuac temi chinamitl 4 tetl tepitoto auh çano oca cecni temi otetl çano tepitoto yc chiquacentetl y nica ytech nicauh-tiu(h?) y noxhuihua niquimacatiuh yhua y nocihuamo-tzin ytoca m^a ayac quixtoquilliz yhua niquitohua centetl matlatl y se (sic) yacuic quin opanhuetz yhua centetl quinepantl /f. 108r/ nemi niquitohua monamacaz notech pohuiz yn ipatiuh yn quezqui yez missa nopann ic mitoz

/f. 107v/ - In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one true God in whom I believe, I make and order my testament. Know all who see and read this document that I, by name Marcos Hernández Acolnahuacatl, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santísimo Atlacapan, say that if God our lord desires that I die, let him come to take my spirit and soul, because it is something redeemed by him. And my body I give to the earth because from earth it came.

- First, I declare that as to this house where I lie, facing east, with all the enclosure of stone that surrounds it, and concerning the measurements, the house lot measures eight matl toward Mexico City and toward the west it goes as far as the small water flowers, I declare that I give it to my four grandchildren, the first named Salomé, the second Francisco, the third named María, and the fourth Diego. And I give it to all four, as if they were little birds, because there they left the egg, and (the house is the product) of the work of their late grandmother, and here their mother named María is to rule (raise) them. And concerning the small house that faces west, the foundation wall is my property, but the wood which it is covered with is the property of the ward heads of Santísimo. They are to take it all, with the wall of adobe—what I enclosed it with was adobe. And I declare that there are some chinampas of mine (in Acalomac? on the other side of the canal?) right here at the entrance. I declare that I assign two chinampas to our father of Santísimo (the ward saint?). Perhaps the ward heads will put something there that Santísimo needs. These chinampas that I mention are not long but 10 matl each, no more, facing toward Xochimilco. And the other two (chinampas) of the four I assign to my daughter named Ana María, wife of Antonio Miguel. I make it her property, no one is to dispute with her over the said chinampas, one facing toward Xochimilco and the other toward Coyoacan. I make it her property, and no one is to dispute it with her. And here at the entrance, there are four small chinampas, and in a separate place there are another two, also small, with which there are six. Here I leave them to my grandchildren. I give (the chinampas) to them and to my daughter-in-law named María. No one is to claim them from them. And I say that as to a net, a new one just (completed?) and one (still in the process of being made?), /f. 108r/ I declare that they will be sold, and the proceeds will belong to me, and with

auh yn axcan omochiuh yn cintzintli ca ça mochi ni-
quimacatiuh y noxhuihua yhua y nocihuamontzin ca
ytlayhiyohuilliz auh yn notzotzomatzin freçata ma qui-
namacazque y nopilhua yhua notech pohuiz yn ipatiuh
missa nopa yc mitoz ye yxquich y niqutohua notlatol yn
imixpan testigosme yn oniquinenotzalla yn oquicaque
notlatol fr^o moyse thomas de aquino domingo Hernandez
ant^o miguel simo chapol tepixqui cihuatzintzinti m^a Ju^a
yçihuamo y cocoxqui Ju^a minna yna^c bal^{me} ana m^a
yna^c at^o mig^l m^a Jr^{ma} ycha cihuatecpa ysabel m^a yna^c
glegorio naçol axca Jueves ypa ylhuitzi S^{ta} cadarina yc
xxi dias del mes de nobienbre de 1599 anos yxpa omo-
tlacaquitin diego de tabia alhuacil dibotados

Ju^o bap^{ta}
Escri^o
yglesia

however much the proceeds are, masses will be said for
me. And I give all of the recent yield of my ears of
maize to my grandchildren and my daughter-in-law
because it is (the result of) their work. And let my
children sell my used blanket, and the proceeds will
belong to me in order for masses to be said for me. This
is all I say in my statement, before the witnesses I called
who heard my declaration: Francisco Moysén; Tomás
de Aquino; Domingo Hernández; Antonio Miguel;
Simón Chapol, tepixqui; and the women: María Juana,
daughter-in-law of the invalid; Juana Martina, wife of
Bartolomé; Ana María, wife of Antonio Miguel; María
Gerónima, whose home is Cihuatecpa; Isabel María,
wife of Gregorio Naçol. Today, Thursday, the feast of
Saint Catherine, the 21st day of November of the year
1599. Before Diego de Tapia, alguacil and deputy, who
heard it.

Juan Bautista, notary of the church.

f. 108v

Document 83

Personal Memoranda, (1600s)

We have seen earlier (Doc. 61) that Miguel Jacobo (de Maldonado), who wrote a third of the wills in the Culhua-
can collection, had the book of testaments taken from him because he had hidden some wills. Nevertheless, he
apparently regained favor. At some point someone scribbled three personal notes about his career at the back of
the book (something similar is found in various Nahuatl histories and annals). It is possible that given the time
elapsed, the person spoken of is a descendant of the original Miguel Jacobo. Most likely, however, the document
concerns the same man, attaining the relatively high municipal office of alcalde late in life—not an unusual
pattern for a Nahua notary.

/f. 108v/ - Miguel Jacobo Escri^o omochiuh ypan ano de
1602 yhuan aHde 1603 / Escri^o 1604 yhuan 1605 a^os auh
yn ipan 1606 opeuh mococohua huel ypeuhyan xihuitl

E

Es Escri^o

/f. 108v/ Miguel Jacobo was made notary for the year
1602 and alcalde for 1603, and notary for 1604 and
1605. And in 1606 he began to get sick, right at the
beginning of the year.

Notary (a doodle)