The Testaments of Culhuacan
(provisionally modified first edition)

Edited by

S. L. Cline and Miguel León-Portilla

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James Lockhart, Series Editor

[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

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

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*A 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 pre-hispanic 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

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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 Nahua 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 Nahua 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 Nahua 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 Nahua 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 Nahua with native cadastral, 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

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.
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

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\(^7\) Fray 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).

\(^8\) Philippe 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 Acalotencó (at the edge of the canal?), each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to the field of Francisco Cihuatepanceatl, 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 disinherita 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, çä, “just, only,” in the handwritten text becomes çan in our transcription. 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, “franciscó” 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

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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 ompa, “there,” more often than quimmaca, “he gives it to them,” rather than químmaca. 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 n. 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.
Introduction

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 Mocel (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 and tlacochcalli. 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. 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

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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.

Introduction

Along class lines, nobles tending to have more Hisp

anized names.

Although the testaments often have stylized texts, nonethelesss 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

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

**Noble title held at this time only by men of highest rank

---

*One fourth of an almud or real

**Unit of dry measure, about a bushel and a half

***Spanish monetary unit of eight reales
Regidor mayor* - Chief councilman
Solar* - Houselot
Tecmaté** - 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

Glossary

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
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
2 San Juán evangelista . . .
3 que los tengo en deposito (guardado?) . . .
4 ron dh9s naturales siendo gobernador.?. Dn Jacinto . . .
5 tian año de 17?9 - le faltan en el Prinsipio como . . .
6 ra en la foja . . vna nota en que declara le faltan (20?)
7 claro los reseui me los entrega el
8 Sebastian de la bega como parese por el pedaso del prinsipio

Document 2

Fragment in Nahuatl, n.d.

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

1
2
3
4 omoteneuh
5
6 yin ipanpa
7 yhuan
8 nahuati
9 yin oncan micuilo
10 omitzon
11 ynic ce tlacatl
12 monahuatilli (omenti?)
13 (huizque?) yin ixquich
14 Jeronimo
15 yuh
16
17 chico
18 amo tle nenpolihui
19 pa nican (nictlalia?)
   don jhoan
   marcos

1
2 San Juan Evangelista . . .
3 that I am keeping them in deposit
4 . . . the said natives, don Jacinto . . . being governor
5 . . . the year of 17?9 - at the beginning about . . . are missing
6 . . . on folio . . . a note saying . . . (20?) (sheets) are missing
7 I declare that I received them . . . handed them over to me
8 Sebastián de la Vega, as is seen through the fragment at the beginning

Don Juan Marcos.
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.

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).

- 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).

Maria 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.

Maria Tiacapan, wife of Andrés Icnotl, of Santa María Magdalena

In the name of our lord Jesus Christ and of his pre-
m³ ymochipa huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque yn-in amatl yn quenni nehuatl maria tiacapan ninciohuatl notlaxilcalpan sancta m³ madalena cihuatetecpan maço nellihui yn ninococohua yecce y noyollia yn naniman amo quen ca za pactica auh ca huel mellahuauc ynic niconetloquitia yn santissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios espirito sancto can ce ynyelitexcencia yoan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimonetloquitia yn sancta yglesia de romana yoan yn ica yn inotzalloca yn itlatlauhtiloca ym teo dio nicchihua yoan nitecepana yni notetstamento y notlanequiliz ymis(. . ?) ya nitecepana - ynic centlamantli niquitoa y noyollia y naniman ca nicnomaquilia yn teo dio ye yca oquimochihiuilli yoan oquimomaquiliitlico yn ica yn itlaçoeyezotzin y nican tlpac (sic) auh ma quimonequilti yn canpa quimonequiltiz ma quimohuiquilli auh y nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yecca ca tlalli ytech oquiz auh niquitoa yntla oninomiquilli ompa motocatiuh yn nanacayo yn opon toteopanchan S Juan Evangelista / f. 4v/ yhuau niquitohua yn oncan nica calli tonatiuh ycallaquiyapan yaotzicac yoan centetl xochimilcopa ytzticac auh yn tlalli yn ica hueyac xochimilcopa chuichnanmatl ypan cenyolliotlli auh ynic patlahuac yhuitzilopochcica (sic) nammatl auh ynin ca mochi nucmacatiuh y nopillo gasbar cuetli auh ce misa nechtaloaciliz yhuau castoiletli yn ichinanyo mochi nucmacatiuh amoyac te quehleuhiiz - yhuau niquitohua centetl nocal tonatiuh ycallaquiyapan ytzticac chiquacenmatl yn tlalli yn ica hueyac ypan cenyollotlli auh ynic patlahuac nammatl auh ynic (sic) ca mochi nucmacatiuh y nopillo yoteca melchior teçannen auh ca ytech nipochtli amoyac aca quincuiiz quehleuhiiz yhoan yn ichinayo ca ya quichihua ca no mochi nucmacatiuh - yhuau niquitohua noteuhtlal huixachtlan mani cenpoal¬yahuahuihuqui ymillititeh yn migl telez auh niquitoa ca nucmacatiuh y nopillozctzin lurenço yaoxoquichiquitl amoyac quehleuhiiz - yhuau niquitohua nomill ompa mani yn sanctio tetla omopoalli ynic hueyac cenpoalli ynic patlahuac ymillititeh tomas nauyotl auh missa topan yc mitoz monamacaz - yhuau niquitohua laxamanilli nauhtecpantli yoan quauhtectli cenpoalli onmacuilli yhoan ce hauaenti yoan ome tlquatexalli yhoan ce tlaxquaytli yoan ome quauhacatl yoan calmacazti macuilltli yoan tetl cenquapantli auh ynic ica mochi monamacaz missa topan yc mitoz tonehuan y nonamictzin catca andres vasquez yoan ce cassa amo tecel tepoztli ytech ca no monamacaz missa . . .

- 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.

- 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 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 dry land in Huixachtlan, 20 (units of measure) on all sides, next to the field of Miguel Tellez. 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 Nauyotl. 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 . . .
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.

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

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Document 4A

Annotation in Spanish, March 28, 1583

f. 5v/ En 28 de marzo de 1583 a¢s dio migueI Joseph tres pesos y (mª?) por una casilla vieja de andres ycnol difunto para misas por su alma y se empezaron a dezir y se diran y se haze el conuento cargo dellas

f. 6r/ 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.

Document 5

Testament Fragment of Ana Mocel, n.d.

Although its invocation is fairly typical, this testament fragment does have one atypical feature. Ana Mocel is the only testator to be worried about Purgatory and request a vigil to speed her soul heavenward.
Ana Mocel - Ica yn itocatzin Sanctissima Trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yhuan ssñic pehuauatl in notestamento
- Ma quimatican yn ixquichitl quittazque Inin Amatl In nehuatl Ana moçel nican nochan colhuacan ypan in tlaxillacali cihuatlan momoztitlan Nicchihua in notestamento Maçihui in mococohua nonacayo yce yn nonoyollo (sic) in noçieliz in notlalnamiquiliz in notlalcaquiya Awen ca çan pactica ypanpa in nictlalii notestamento Iz catqui in notlalnequiliz ynic mochipa mopiyaz ynic ayac quitlacoç ca yehuatl yn y nicpehuauatl
- Huel achtopa yehuatl in Nanima ymaçtinco nocontlia (sic) in toteñ Dios nicnotlatlauhtilliz ynic quipohuazque ynin amatl yn quenin nehuatl Maria Salomen nican nochan colhuacan maçonellihui yn nicnotlatlauhtilliz ynic yhuan niquitohua y nocal yn onpa mani coltonco tla-

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.)
...- ahu niquitohua centetl huapalceucomatl yyanca yu no-
namiictzin catca ahu niquitohua ca nicmacatiuh y nocoe-
neh m³ ana
- yhuan niquitohua centetl cassa yovan yin ixquich callitic
onoc yin comitl yin quahuhtil yowan oncatl lohontel yovan
huentl quauhtlancochcohtli (sic) ca mochi nicmacatiuh
y noconeuh m³ ana
- yhuan yin atentlalli macuicatl cacaxtolecumiitl ahu
nicmacatiuh y noconeotzin m³ ana
...
- 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.

Document 7

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.

Document 8

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

/f. 12r/ En 16 días del mes de henº de 1580 truxeron aºl davila de sªtiago escruiyano y aºl ximenez y gerº mo meneses y miguel de stiago quatro pºs que mathias diffº dexo para misas y baltsasar diffº dos pºs y mín uçuma vn peso todo esto se Recojo de personas que lo tenian prestado y estos dhos diffºs no hizieron testamento sino mandaron de palabra que lo diesen a la yglesia y asi lo dieron que son todos siete pºs y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre que fecho ut supra
fr Joan nuñez
- En 2 de hebrero R bi de a0l ximenez y miguel de santiago siete p0s por m4 beatriz y su marido para Rogar a dios por ellos y dezilles misas

fr Joan nuñez
- En este d0 Rbi de los dhos un peso por Ju O xolotl diff0 como albaceas y dixosele vna mesa

fr Joan nuñez
- 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.

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.

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 which my father 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
- yhuam niquitoa ix tetl nochinan nechmoaquiullita y no-
tatzin catca onpa temi yn acatzintitlan cecenpoalcuemtit
auh niquitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic juanna

- yhuam niquitoa chicontetl nochinan nechmocauillilita
yn notatizin onpa temi quauhtenanco cecenpoalcuemtit
auh niquitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic juanna

/f. 13r/ Ayamo miqiu sta ma ma
g

- yhuam niqitoa nauhtetl nochinan matlatlaccuemitl on-
pa temi amaxac yoan (marked out: yn itlalmanyo) ymi-
lo cenoallli yn ica hueyac x matl yn ica patlauvac auh
niqitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic juanna

- yhuam çanno honcan yn amaxac mani nomill matlac-
mayahualiuhqui auh niqitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic
juanna

- yhuam niqitoa xiloxochiatlauhco mani yn nomill
onpoalli yn ica hueyac yoan cenoallli yn ica patlauvac
auh niqitoa nicmacatiuh y nonamic

- yhuam niqitoa onpoalli nomill onpa mani chalcocal-
can auh niqitoa ca nicmacatiuh y nonamic juanna
ymilahuac y don po muys
den
- yhuam niqitoa EEmatl yn otictomamacaque yn tlalli
ynic oncan titetatacaque yn onpa xilomanco auh yn
nemac tetl tlallan ca oncan monequiz yn teopan tras-
figuration auh ynn onictatacaet notech monequiz ye nino-
tocaz

- Yxquichi ynn oquito yn cocoxcatzintli ymnixpan
testigos miqis de sanctiago francó ymuys jeuan pabtist(a)
eronimo de s pablo andres garcia jacob malcoch auh
amo nican oquitallique yn intoca ypanpa amo huell-
acuiloa omochuy yx mani meztl de henero mill y
qui08 y ochenta años

nixpan omochuy
09 davila de
sanctiago
es0 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.

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 Xiloxochiatlauhco is my field 40
(units) long and 20 wide. And I declare I am giving it to
my wife.
- And I declare that in Chalcoocalcan 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 Garcia, and
Jacob 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, ap-
pointed notary.

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.
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 Tlalmaztonco 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 Ayauhtotonco 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.

- And there is a field of mine in Huixachtlan that my late uncle, Mateo Cecuitzin, left me. These too are to be sold, and with the proceeds a mass will be said for me.

- And I declare that I have a field in Ayauhtotonco 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.

- 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 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.

- 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.
f. 24r

/ f. 24r/ - En 9 de Junio de 1580 a0s Rbi de los albaceas a0l ximenez y gabriel maldonado y miguel de sanctiago quatro p0s para que se digan de misas por doña luisa hrª de don baltsar que fue gouernador que es ya diffto y por verdad lo firme de mi nombre

- En este dia Rbi de los dhos otros quatro p0s para que se digan de misa por augtin tspan y Juana su muger del barrio de olupan y por verdad lo firme de mi nombre

- En este dia Rbi de los dhos dos p0s 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 Rbi de los albaceas quatro p0s para misas por p0 amantecatl y por su hijo nicolas y por verdad lo firme

- En este dia Rbi de los dhos tres p0s y seis tª para misas por Joachin de s1 Ju0

  fr Joan nuñez

f. 24v

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 Culhuacán, 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 nuebe p0s los cuales di a la viuda delante del padre fray Ju0 zimbron prior deste conbento y dio dellos a la yglesia cinco p0s los cuales Resibio el padre prior testigos miguel de Ribas y miguel Jacobo y don Ju0 gobernador e yo lo firme porque ansi me lo Rogaron los diputados

diego de paz

/ 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.
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.

Document 12A

Testament Fragment of Miguel Sánchez Tlacatecuhtli, n.d.

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 tomin 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.

/1. 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 Chihuatecpanecatl 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 tomin.
- Francisco Acaçayol bought three broken tecomates; they cost a tomin.
- Apolonia Tiacapan, the wife of Tomás Tlachtototl, bought a jícara; it cost half a tomin.
- Agustín Icnol, younger brother of Diego Hernández Matlalihui, bought a digging stick; it cost half a tomin.
- Miguel Nauhyotl, topile of the church, bought two wooden seats; they cost half a tomin.
- Juana Tiacapan bought five old petates; they cost half a tomin.
- Bernardino Tzapotlacatl of Xallah bought a jug; it cost half a tomin.
- Baltasar León, topile of tailors, bought a green glass bottle; it cost a tomin.
- 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 Tlacatecpanecatl 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 and the executors Martín Tlacatecpanecatl and Antonio Xallacatl, and the fiscal Alonso Jiménez, and also before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church.
- To doña Juana de San Gabriel an axe in exchange for a saw for cutting wood which was given to the church; it cost five tomines.
- Some old white boots for two tomines.
- Atezcatl, and the fiscal Alonso Jiménez, and also before our dear father, fray Juan Núñez, prior, and (crossed out; the fiscal) Gabriel Maldonado, and the executors Martín Tlacatecpanecatl 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 and the executors Martín Tlacatecpanecatl and Antonio Xallacatl, and the fiscal Alonso Jiménez, and also before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church.
- To doña Juana de San Gabriel an axe in exchange for a saw for cutting wood which was given to the church; it cost five tomines.
- Some old white boots for two tomines.
- Gabriel Maldonado bought a painted headboard (?) for 25 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.
- Apolonía 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, 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 compensated. And I 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.
nocha (sic) s. Juño colhuacan notlilacaltia s a
asupcio amantla tianquintenco maçonellihui y ninococohua heç en y noyolia y naniman yhu an cencia melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia y Sanctisia trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Eşpu santo Can ce y iyelitztin yhu an mochi niconeltoca y ixquich quimonoeltoquitia Sancta yglesia de roma Auh ypanpa y nuca ynotzaloca y ntlatlauhtilocatzin y toto dios nicchihu yhu an ntcenpana y nica notestamento
- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua y noyolia ycemactzinco nocontlalia y toto dios yehica ca oquimochihuili oquimomaquitxilitl ycah y ntlatlauhtilocatzin y nica ntcenpana y nica notestamento
- Inic centlamantli niquitohua y noyolia ycemactzinco nocontlalia y toto dios nicchihu yehica ca oquimochihuili oquimomaquixtilico ycah y ntlatlauhtilocatzin y nica ntcenpana y nica notestamento

f. 36v

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 tana
- In ica ytocatzi toto Jesus xpo yhu an ntlatlauhtilocatzin y hicuac cihuapilli Sancta maria mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli ma mochintli quimaticua y iyelitzti y quitzaque y quipohuazque ynin amatl y nhuatuiltl Miguel chimalteuhmilnahuacatl nica nochan S Juan Euagculhuaca onca nipohui y ipan tlaxilalli (sic) Santa Ana tepanecapa maçonellihui y ninococohua heç e y noyolia y naniman canmo quen catqui çan pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia y Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltz dios Eşpu Sancto can ce y iyelitzti yhuan ca mochi ntcenpana y oquimomaquixtilico Sancta yglesia de roma auh ypanpa y nuca y ica y nicoeltoca ytlatlauhtilocatzin y toto dios nicchihu yhu an ntcenpana ynin notestamento
- Inic centlamantli niquitohua y noyolia y naniman ca ntcenpana y toto dios heyc ca oquimochihuili yhu an ca oquimomaquixtilico ycah y nica y nalco quicau yhc ce y naniman y nanca yonca ytochtui y ntcenpana S Juan Euag
- Ihu an niquitohuan ynic nicipoalaltli y nocaalolco y onca nicatqui y ntcenpana ynin notestamento

-/f. 36v/ Miguel Chimaltecuhtli 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 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.

- 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.
I, Miguel Chimalteuch, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, make this testament, in the presence of Gabriel Maldonado, chief executor; Juan Bautista, teopantlacatl; Juan Daniel; and Francisco de San Gerónimo Colhua tecuhtli; Marcos Xochicalcatl; Mateo Tecpanecatl, alguacil; Francisco Coanan and my daughter named Elena Teicuh; she and my grandson 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 Xiloxochatlauhco (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 tomates; 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 Chimalteuch (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 Tecpanecatl, alguacil; Francisco de San Gerónimo Colhua tecuhtli; 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 Tecpanecatl, 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 Juñ de s p ñ oniquio ulo on testimonio nican niclatli notoca firma omochiu yc xxi mani metztli de Julios mil y quinientos y ochenta Años

Juan de s p ñ escrió nunnbrado

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.

Domingo Yaotl of Santa Ana Tlacuillocan

- 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 Tlacuillocan, 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 Tlaxcalcece, 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.
- 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-ribbed 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 the edge of the water; if our Lord allows him to live.

- And I declare 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 have six magueys here at the entrance. I give them 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
amiztlatoa and Miguel de Santiago, alguaciles; Martín de San Lázaro Tlacochcalcatl; Pedro Alvarez, church attendant; Juan Bautista, church tepixqui; Pedro Núñez Texopanecatl; Agustín Vázquez Teltlamecatl; Mateo Teo; 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; 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.

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” (no-tiauchcauh) 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.

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 Tlaco; Miguel Téllez, alcaide; Pedro (Gutiérrez) Matlalatl; Pedro de (Pervino?); Pedro Moysén Tezcacoacatl; 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
A. Testamento de Ana Tiacapan (a), viuda de Baltasar Nentequitl Tecapanecatl, julio 17 de 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.

/b. 41r/ Santa María Tezcacoac Ana Tiacapan, widow of Baltasar Nentequitl Tecapanecatl, 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 Tezcacoac. 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).

- In the name 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.

- 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 Tezcacoac. 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 y testamento niquihuan ca oncate y onmenti y nohuepoltzitzihuan qui (sic) yehuanti quimo-machiltia ypanpa ca chequi onpa huala y netzintli y tezcacohuac yhuuan y tonacayotl y oca monec y qualoc ynic mochiui y calztintli ahi yni canel inchantzinco.

- Auh ypanpa y nehuatl y notoca ana tiaacapan niqiuta ca cenca nitzlanahui y ninocochuac ypanpa y nicchihuau testamento ynic niepehuitlia y notlatol niquihuan y cihuacalli y xochimilcopahuic ycac y nan tonatiuih yquica-pyanpa yztizicac monamacaz yhuuan y xocotl y peras yhuuan yicos y ituahuco mani mochi monamacaz ahi yn ipatiuh misa yc topan mito y teytxi can ihuical y calli y oniquito monamacaz

- Ihuan niquihuan y tlecopatl y nepantla actica ytech pouhui yn itoca JuO piyoch yhuuan niquihuan y mexicopahuic ycac y calli y canno ytech caliuhhticac y tlattalicalli catca yetzinzico pouhui yn magnia tiaacapan yn inamichtzin gabriel malido alvacea mayor

- Ihuan niquihuan y xochmilcopa yztizicac y calztintli yhuuan y canno ytech caliuhhtica y canno onpa yztizicac y xochmilco y onca micautiltica yn toteO ca onteytxi yetzinzico pouhui yn mariatzin tlacoyehuan y inamichtzin don JuO garcia tlacochcalcatzintli

- Ihuan niquihuan y oquicha y cano onpan yztizicac y xochmilco y nezcoloyan catca yetzinzico pouhui yn can xyuchic yn (…)tzi yn itoca bartasal de s franO hiyacamcatzintli

/ f. 41v/ - Ihuan niquihuan y tlacpac y oniquito y monamacaz y calli yhuuan y iyentatlalo y chimney tlca ca can tepito amo huhiuiac monamacaz ca mochi ihuical can quicenpatoyotiz yn aquin quicohuau y calli ahu yntlacanoçoem ciel y qui quicohuac tlca ca ye teopan pouhui yn xocotl yhuuan niquihuan y hueotola Ey ... mochi mochi (sic) teopan pouhui ynetzinzico monequiz y teopixque ahu quene catqui Jolar ame ytech tiqiuca ame ytech titlatohua ahu y oniquito y monamacaz y calli yn ahi yn ocan moyetztiez can ihuical yez Jolar Auh quene catqui yntlatzi y izquica catqui y chimney yhuuan y iteuhtlalzi amo ytech tiqiuca ca ye-huanti quimoamachiltia yn oc amoyetzitzicate yn oquich-titzintzi yn eynte ynic çe ytoaca don JuO gA tlacoch-calcatzintli ynic ome ytoaca barthasal hiyacamcatzintli ynikeyy ytoaca gabriel malido alvacea mayor ypanpa ca quimoamachiltia yn quezquican catqui y itlatzinti hiihu y oquito y titlatol y cocoxtzintli quinmolhuili o nopilhuantzintzi ca ye iquich y oniquito y anquio-macoquitilco y nican amoyetzitzicate y nican ammoto-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 Tezcacoeac, 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 Tlacohua, wife of don Juan García Tlacochcalcatzintli.

- 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 Iyacamcatzintli.

/ 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 Tlacochcalcatzintli; second, the person named Baltasar Iyacamcatzintli; 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.”
- This is all that the invalid said in her statement before the witnesses: María Tlacoehua, wife of don Juan García; Ana, widow of Francisco Icitatiuh; Juana Xoco, wife of Miguel Cerón, alguacil; Angelina, wife of Diego Apachiuqui; and the men before whom the document was written were Francisco Huitlalocatl Acayaol 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.

Document 18
Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

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.
Yez yn itoca Juana xoxopanxoco onca quimopachihuitiez y nopilhuautzitzi canel ymxaca canell incal macayac quincuiliz
- Yhuan yn çano nica yn iyatentlailo iii tetl yn ichinayo çan tepitoto amo huhiyiac niquinmacatiuy y nonamic yhuan yn nopilhuan onca quimocuilizque hohuatzintli anoço ytla onca quimotlalilizque yehuanti quimati ca ça ça ye (sic) niquichemacaxtitliy amoyac quincuiliz

- Yhuan niquitohuan yn nocaltzi yn onpa ycac yn tiyanquiztenco tonatiuh yquicayanya ytzicac monamacaz notech pohuiz yn ipatiuh yez yn iquac yntla ninomiquiliz nopan popoliuhiz
- Yhuan yn nochinan yn chicontel yn ipa titotequitilia nicmacatiuy y nonamic quimocuilizque chichuatenca monamacaz onca ynte ynpilhuautzitzi amoc quicuiliz qui(...)ehuatl qui ynicmacatiuh y nonamic qui ynicmatl

- Yhuan nochinan ompan temi acalotenco çecnopohualhuiyac ontelte ymlititec franço çihuatecpanecatzintli Regidor manyor niquinmacatiuy y nopilhuan quichihuazque

- Yhuan yn onpa ytocayoca cuyepacco yn inemac yn pilontli yn itoca Juachin çentecpantli y chinamitl y quimomaquilitz y don Juö telez tiaquiztenco chane catca macayac quicuiliz canel ynamac yn pilontli ynmiltitla gabriel maïdö Juö oticahuuetzoc

- Yhuan niquitohuan yn onpa ytocayoca tocxititla y onimacoc yn teuhltali hepohualy ypan matlacmatl ynic huiyac auh ynic pitaluac y pohualy yni ca tlatoacaltlal sustiçiatca y onimacoc auh niquitohuan occa nicxelohuan onpohualy niquinmacatiuy y nonamic yhuan yn nopilhuan Auh y nehuatl çecnopohualy ypan matlacmatl notech pohuiz monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez missa yc nopan mitoz macayac quietlaco y notzonquizcatlanecuiliz yn ipa nomiçuitzepan
- Ye iqxich yn oquito ynlatal yn cocoxcatzi (sic) yn itoca miquel zero tequnqualoc ymxixpan cihiuztitzinti maria xoco ynamic don Juö garçia tlacochoicalcatl tecuhltli Juanan xoco ynaëc yn cocoxcatzitli
- Inixpa omochiih alvaceas gabriel maïdö min de s.tiaego Anto Jacobo alguacîles yhuan ynteçopatzin don franço florez aëkdle de livas alguacil mayor yn oniquicuilo y nehuatl Juö de s pö Escriö nican nictlalitla notoca firman omochiih yc v mani metztli de agustos mil y quinientos y ochenta Años

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 Tianquiztenco 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 Cihuatecpanecatl, 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 Tianquiztenco, 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 Oticahuuetzoc.
- 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 Tequanqueloc said in his declaration before the women María Xoco, wife of don Juan García Tlacochcalectl tecuhltli, and Juana Xoco, wife of the invalid.
- Done before the executors Gabriel Maldonado, Martín de Santiago, and Antón Jacobo, alguaciles, and by order of don Francisco Flores, alcalde, and Miguel de Ribas, alguacil 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.
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 sťa mă magd cilhuatecpan

- In ica ytocatzipote Jesu xpio yHUan yn itlaçonantzi yn ilihuicac cihuapilli Sancta maria mochipa ychpochtli ma mocinti quimatica yn ixquichti yn quiquauaquqye yn ypin amatl y nehuaui thomas de aquino nican nocha sancta maria mathalegna cihuatpecpa maçonelihuei yn ninococohua heçe y xoyolia y naniman amo quen catqui çan huel pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic nincatoquie quimoc yhuantochi y chuac y no xochmilcopa yitzicac ça mochi icin nincmacatiuh y nocomic yhuantochi y chuac y no tonatiuh yquiçayanpa yitzicac na nicmacatiuh y nocomic

- ynic centlamantli niquitohuan y xoyolia y naniman ca nicnomaquixtil ytotems diox yhuanta ca oquimochihuilllh y huanta ca oquimonomaquixtilli yn ixa ica yntoaui ca yluicohuian y naniman amo quen catqui çan huel pactica auh ca huel melahuac ynic nincatoquie quimoc yhuantochi y chuac y no xochmilcopa yitzicac ça mochi icin nincmacatiuh y nocomic yhuantochi y chuac y no tonatiuh yquiçayanpa yitzicac na nicmacatiuh y nocomic

- Tomás of Aquino of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan

- 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 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 God our lord, I make and order my testament and last will. Let no one violate it.

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

- 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 Tequacuilco, which count as seven, and only with the land here at the edge of the water do
nonamic yhuan niquitohuan y nochina yn onpa temi tecuitlaapan matlactetl cecenpohualhuiyac ymilititeh mìn čan quicuiz yhuan nicałciyahu y nonamic Juanna tiacapan amo ac quicuiz yhuan niquitohuan y nonamic yn ipilhuan ca cenca onechmocuitalhuiyac izqiuipa oninonocohuaya ca cenca onechtaçotlaque ahuq niquitohuan čan nica ytlantzinco moyetztiyexque ynim nianitzi

- Auh yn oniquitoqa yn tlacpac y nocalnepanol yn onicmacaca yn teoyotica noconetzin yn casbar ca oyçoliuh ynquahtzintli ahuq yn axca niquitohua ma čan itlatzi quimomaquiliyq y nonamic yn piltzintli yc mohuapahtli yntla monemititz yntla noço momiquiliz

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.

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 čan matlatlcamatl yhua nicmacatiuh y nonamic amo ac quicuiliz no yhua niquitohua y nechmomaquili y notatzin catca yn icchinatzi (sic) vii telt y onpa quauhtenanco ohtenco he nipa coyohuacanpa ymítila augusti patóciuł tepixqui auh yn axcan oc čeça nehuatl nicmacatiuh y nonamic ypan tequitiz amo ac quicuiliz canel ytech nipcounțiuñ
- Ihuau niquitohua y nixeyoan nochinantzic chicontetl y nímacoc y in iquac oc nichpochnemi y čan noon hópax quauhtenanco niquimacatiuh y tlaxilacaleque hiyahuahenco tlaca aço haca quimomaquilizque yncotlacatl canel tequitzi y tlali ca huel hoyolocacop y nícchauha
- Auh yhua yhuau niquitohua y notatzin catca y nechmomaquistuíñ ytlalmiltzic čenpouñli auh ynic patlahuac čan noon yxquich nicmacatiuh y nonamic lazaro de s pablo ymítila Juº bapº teoyotica tepixcati onpa y mani yntocayoca yahualihuac
- Auh y nican cohuatl yntechtlal y nechmomaquiliuñ y notatzin catca y tlalxilaciltsic čenpouñli auh ynic patlahuac čan noon yxquich nicmacatiuh y nonamic lazaro de s pablo amo ac quicuiliz
- Auh hu in opa sanctiaguii telta y noteuhtlal y onpa mañi nau(h)pouñli tiotmlinetexcha yn miquel de s tiag oulcaçil ... (onpa?) ynteułpa yhuau nímacatiuh y nonamic moch ytech nićtalitiuñ amo ac quicuiliz ypan tequitiz auh y onca Sanct adresa amaxac /f. 47r/ čenteti y nochina y ocan onoč čenpouñhuayuc ymítila pº quiyauh yhuau nímacatiuh y nonamic

- Auh y czatqui niquitohua y notatzin catca y nechmomaquiliuñ ytlalmiltzic čenpouñli auh ynic patlahuac čan noon yxquich nicmacatiuh y nonamic lazaro de s pablo ymítila Juº bapº teoyotica tepixcati onpa y mani yntocayoca yahualihuac

- Ihuau niquitohua oniquílnamanic oncatqui tonetlauic y pºs ypan vi ts yhuau tilmatli čenteti y ayamuo moxtlahuac ome pºs ytmíntici pabloulti tlamaça ycuauh y mercococ y pablo yuamó popohuíuc ytc nitocoy yhuau čeçui yc misa nooan mitoz nechompole-huíliz y nonamictzi nooan tlatoq ynic qiiçiuca nooan mitoz missa
- Auh yhuau niquitohua oniquílnamnic oncatqui tonetlauic y pºs ypan vi ts yhuau tilmatli čenteti y ayamuo moxtlahuac ome pºs ytmíntici pabloulti tlamaça ycuauh y mercococ y pablo yuamó popohuíuc ytc nitocoy yhuau čeçui yc misa nooan mitoz nechompole-huíliz y nonamictzi nooan tlatoq ynic qiiçiuca nooan mitoz missa

- 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 Coyoacán, from San Agustín Palapan, belonging to Juan Bautista, church tepixqui. It is in the place called Yahuahuluhcan.

- 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 them.

- 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 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) long 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 Yahuahuluhcan.

- And and I declare that my late father gave me his field, 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.
- Ihuan oc çentlamantli oniquilnic ontpa mani yn toçtitla çenpohuali ynici huiyac ahu ynic patlahuac çanño yxquich yn çenpohuali titomilnetechana maña ynaçat p0 de la cruz niqutohua monamacaz yn tlali yc moxtlahuaz yn tonetlacuil catel yehuatzin quiq-momachiltia y nonamictzi ye ixquich y notestamento ma quimaticya yn ixquichti yn quitazque yn amatl yn quipohuazque macayac quitlacoz yn ixquiquich (sic) yin oquicuilo yn imixpan omochiuh testigosme Ernado garcí nahueltzi ycha mexico s pablo Ju0 bap1a teyotica tepixcati marcos vazquez p0 quiyauh ahu y cihua ymixpa yn omotlacaquitique ynic çe yotca martha teuhccho ytlacoz ymixpa Ernado garcí ana mocel ynaçat luis xalacaçatl maña ynaçat p0 de la cruz ysabel tiacapan ynamic p0 quiyauh

- ymixpa alväçasti omotlacaquitique mïn de s.tiago anton Jacobo alguacilesme yn oniquicuilo testamento y nehuatl Escrí0 nica nictlalia notoca firman omochiuh ye xxii mani metztlí de agostos mil y quinientos y ochenta años

Juan de s p0
Escrivano

Document 22
Annotation in Spanish, December 5, 1580

/t. 47v/ En 5 de diz1e 1580 a0s Rb1 de los diputados seis p0s y seis ts para que se digan de misas por baltsar xiuh(tli?) de Sanctiago
fr Joan nunez

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 Nahua in Culhuacan, executors seem to have been a type of town official. Note that the Spanish prior certifies this Nahautl 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 Nahautl signatures, which seem to refer to 23. The rest of Document 23B is an afterthought to 23.

Mateo Juarez s p0 ñacahapan

Mateo Juarez 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 noventa y siete, Gabriel Maldonado y Juan Pedro, antón Jacobo alvæcasti y vanpá y centlanamti y omancia alvæceasme aotl ximenez miguel de s.tiago y quicauhtiaque y miccatlatquatil y tomines y ococacuauhtiacatca auh tehuantin otiechenicoque ynic palehuiolzque ynic missa ynpa mitoz y inquichitn yin tlatquihuaque yin omomiquillique auh axcan calaquí teopan otictionaquilito yin totlaçota por ypan viernes

- ynic çe ytoca caspar xochipay ychan s.ta m'a mañña tezcacouhuac onpa míquito s nicolas cuiltlatetleco quitlalitia ynpa testamento quitotia 4 p'o's yntech pohui y no tatzin yhuan nonatzin missa yquipa mitoz auh ynic ome tlacatl ytoca barthasal xiuhtly ycha S.di teta i p'o's ytomasin yquiyey ytoca augustin tzonpa ychan ytlaxilacaltia s Juô bapta ollopá ytzctota i p'o's ytompin ynic nahuil tlacatl ytoca lurenco yaoxochitl ytlaxilacaltia S.ta m'a mañña cihuatecpa i p'o's ytompin omomonamacac yin itlaol çan aquitzin ynic macuilli tlacatl ytoca Juôhana (sic) ytlaxilacaltia atocolo i p'o's ytompin // auh yni hey p'o's çà chachayavatoc yc aqçi x p'o's i ypan i p'o's auh y v' ti 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 Tezcacoc, 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 Xiuhtli, 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 Itzctota; one peso is his. And the fourth person is named Lorenzo Yaoxochitl, of the ward of Santa María Magdalena Cihuatecpan; one peso is his. A little of my 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.

- En 23 de Septiembre de 1580 truxeron los albaceas a la iglesia onze pesos que son los que arriba dize de estos difuntos 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.

- Auh ynhchalchiu y quitlalica brenta yin iquac motocac dona ana de coronado çan oc netlacuiloc ynic motocac quitoque ytetlacoyohua yc moxtlahuaz yin chalchiuitl monamacaz 3 p'o's ynetlacuiloc auh canno (sic) 3 p'o's ypatuih omochiu ych chalchiuitl ominamacaz (sic) yc ynic misa ynpa omito yin 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 23A

Annotation in Spanish, September 23, 1580

f. 48r

Document 23B

Annotations in Nahuatl, n.d.
29

**Document 23C**

*Annotation in Spanish, n.d.*

- 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

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**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.

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/f. 48r/ 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 (or phán?), 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 stonework 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? 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 tehuitin yu oc teyxtin tehua titononotza
- tiquitohua yu camo huel ticxixitinizeq yu ixquich yu itech
- ca yu chihuatutil yu ca yu chihuatzintli yu chihuitzintli yu yx-
quich yu tonenonotza yu neuhatl JuñO fazquez xallacatl
Juña tiacapa Juñay tecui yu imixpann omochiuh yu testicosme
anton atzaquicatl JuñO acolnahucatl JuñOtociultecatl domingo
tlacatecuiltil miguel gabriel anthores coc(ſ?)olliloc JuñO
colhuayticultli e yxquich ixquichux world xallacatl
omochiuh alvaceasti topoleque antonio xallacatl min
tlacatepanecatl

nixpan omochiuh Juan de s pO
Miguel garcia Escrivano

Document 24A
Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

f. 49r

/file/ 49r/ R² de una casilla que se vendio de matheo Juarez
cinco pesos digo dos pesos y cinco tomines dijerose dos
misas cantadas

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.

/doc/ 49v/ maria hicnoçiual S³a m³a magd cihuatecpan

- In ica ytocatzin yu dinos tetatzin dinos Ešpu
sancto ca huel ca nelli dinos niconoloquitia nicipualtilia
yu notestamento ma quimaticia yu ixquichtin yu qui-
tzaque yu amatl yu ipa nictalliya yu notestamento ca y
nehuatl maria niconciuatzinti nonamic ocatacu franco
quauhtli nican nochan S³ amaña cihuatecpan achto-
pam yecmaictzinco nicientalliya y norello yu nanima
yu toteO dinos ca ylachihuatzintin yu iquac yu ninionquiliz
ma quialmanmilliz yu ixquich yu notlatlacol ma nch-
mopopohuiliz ahuh ca niquitohuan ca hatley ma yta
notlatquitzin ma ncinpiyelliz yu toteO dinos ynic
niconhuichiaz auh yu ma quimaticia yu notlacayohuan yu
ixquichtin quitzaque yu quicaquizque yu notestamento
yu niconpeualtilia yu notlatol niqitohua yu tocalztin
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 agree-
ment (made by) me, Juan Vázquez Xallacatl, Juana Tiacapan,
and Juana Teicue.” Done before the witnesses Anton
Atzacoatl, Juan Acolnahuacatl, Juan Tociultecatl, Domingo
Tlacatecohtli, Miguel Gabriel, Andrés Cocoliloc, Juan Colhuayticutl. That is all, done before
us the executors-topileque, Antonio Xallacatl and Martín
Tlacatepanecatl.

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

/doc/ 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 nonamicztin catca yn itoca mën huiztilcohuatl catca yuwan yn nehuatl notocan nimiria niquitohuay monamacaz y calli ynic nietocanpachohuca ca yz catqui yni tiquillacoticte y nonamicztin catca mën huiztilcohuatl catca tictotlanheuque tomitzin 4 tōp yñay moxtlauhua yntlatqui yni tlaxilcalque // aih ynic ome nonamic ocata ytoca franco quauhtli tictotlanheuque 1 pōs yc tiquizque yni telippolya yuqac yn tilpitica cata mestin tlaxilcalque yntlatquitzin yc aci yn 1 pōs ypan v tōp // aih i tōp mōpo yntlaquitzin (sic) agōtin xiuhtzin no moxtlauhua // aih yz catqui yhua niquitohuay yni amo nicmatin yni quitlacoti yni nonamic ocata ytoca franco quauhtli i pōs ypan nahui tomin yn amo quixtlauhtia aih yn axca niquitohua ma quihualcaquititin y nochuahuaynetzin yni itoca casbar ma quimoccualiuyli yn i p ypan 4 tōp ma quinmopallehuili yni itatzin yn inatzin canel oc yehuantin yni quitlauhuitlique aih yn uquc oquicacuquitito yni tlatlolli niman quihualillio ca yqu yquali ma niquimixtlanahuiliz y notatzin y nonatzin yntlatqui ahuyn nechmochic(a)huif. 50r/liltz yn toeto dio y niyui y nicatqui ca ninococohuan yhu yni quito yn caspar ynic omopecanotonztuca yni ichauahuanatzin // aih yn axca y nehuatl niquitohua y nicocoxcatzintli y notoca nimar yni oniquito yni monamacaz y tonalzint y niyehuah tictoquechilique yni yacachto nonamicztin catca yni ipatui yez tomitzi yc motlahuaz (sic) yni tlacpac yn onicteneuh yni toneticui i pōs ypan v tōp ahu yn ipan icac yni calli yn tlamantzinintli ca chiquaquemati yni otlicapan ahu yni checatl oqu iyoma quimomaquillituih yna agōtin teyxpantzin y nonamicztin catca ahu yni quezquiztin mohauah yni ipatiui yez yni calatzintli yni tomitzin ma yqu misa napan mitoz ca yqu ixiquh y niquitohua ynic ninonahanautituih ma yciuhca monamacaz yni calatzintli y macayac quitlacoz y notestamento // yni imixpan omochiuh ytlacatque nican mocotocayotia yni tlaxilcalque yni testostgin mën coches tepixqui bablo Jēmo miguel huantli tolitltho xenochiu ytzcuitzonteco antrtes tepal mën axcan calpilcatzintli ahu yni xihuatzintzin yni otlacahque ynic ce ytocan Juana ynicm Jūo cuetlhi barbara ynicm antrtes tepal lluisa ynicm agōtin teixpantzin Juahua (sic) ynaE antrtes xochichuahul - tixpan omochiuh tialbaciastin miguel gait mën de s.tiago anton Jacobo Jūo pōs nehuat ontlacuilo yn tlacpac nitocatenuhutchica nican tictatlia totocta yhuay tofirmas omochiuh testemen (sic) Juebes yc xxv mani augustos mil y quiōs y ochenta 1580 Anos my late husband, named Martín Huitzilcoatl, and I, named Marfa, 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 Itzcuintzonteco; Andrés Tepal; Martín Axcan 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.
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 (caotlacohuitl) 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 S¹a ana tlacuillocan
- In ica ytocatzin totecuyio Jesu xpo yhuan yn itlaconatzin yn iliucac chiuapilli y S¹ ma mochinti quimatica yn ixquichti y quitzaqe ynih amatl y nehuatl Ana Ju²a nican ochan Sanc Ju²a Euag¹a colhuacan notlaxicalaltia Sancta ana tlacuiloacute achipan (sic) ygemactzinco nocontalliyin y noyolliyin yn naniman yn tte³o dios ca ytlachihualtzin yn iquac y ninomiquiliz ma quihualmaniliz yn ixquichtin y quimatica ynhuan yn itlacon.

Ana Juana of Santa Ana Tlacuilocan
- 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 Tlacuilocan, 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 my standing beside the road that is not yet roofed. I give it to my son named Juan Francisco. The house lot 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 Martin 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) “Mexico 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...
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 Icotitlan Ohuicanpolco, next to the field of Mateo Ilamatzin, and the second part is in the place named Texalan, 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 Itztolcatl, 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 him not abandon it, 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 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

Auh yz catqui yhuan niquitohuan yn itechpan yn nonamic yn termacac y notelpoch yn yhuan niquito tlacpac yn onicmacac y notelpoch ynDON franc CO macayac quicuiliz ca ypan tequitiz ypan quichihuaz yn cohuatequitl yn cohuacacatl yn iquich nepapan tequitl
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

Document 27

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's

- Axcan domingo ye xiii mani metztli y novienbre mil y quiñones y ochenta años yn tehuantin martín d s. diago anton Jacobo alguacilesme auh y nehuatl Juó de S pó oniqui-cuilo yn testamento yhuan yxpan díó de tabian amochoiu yc xvi mani metztli setienbre mille y quinietos y ochenta cuilo yn testamento yhuan yxpan dió

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 Cihuatepan. 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 Teopatlacatl Domingo (Cañenn); Peña Xochinanacaz; and before the women: Juana María, widow of Pedro Tepanecatl; Magdalena, wife of Pedro Tepanecatl; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Diego de Tapia; Ana Tiacapan, wife of (Martin) Tlacochcalcatl; Magdalena, wife of Domingo (Çannen); Ana Xoco, widow of Juan Atonemac.

Done before the executors Martín de Santiago and Antón 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.
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.
Inn otlacaque yn testicosmen yz cate ynic cen don Juán García francisco atecapanecatl teoyotica tepisque domingo lanzaro miguel Ravelaçapech pío calnahuacatl antonnio mimich francisco Resitor mayor chihuatepecanecatl chihu ynic cen Juán ynaç catca ceron m³ ynaç Juán O' gä ana ynaç catca miguel xanchez (sic) tlacatecuhtli ysabel ynamic atecapanecatl ana ynaç francisco Resitor mayor ye yzquinti ynn otlacaque yn imixpan otlanahuati y pablo yn ipa testamento yn imixpa alvaceas topileque anton xallacatl mín tlacatepecanecatl ypa mezlti octubre ye matlaquhuitia omey mille y quинientos y ochnda (sic) ańños 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 Tetzlapalaloyan 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 Tlacoehua. 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 Atepecanecatl, church tepixeque (i.e., plural, referring to both); Domingo Lázaro; Miguel Rafael Çacapech; Pedro Calnahuacatl; Antonio Mimich; Francisco Regidor Mayor (sic) Chihuatepecanecatl. And the women: the first is Juana, widow of Cerón; María, wife of Juan García; Ana, widow of Miguel Sánchez Tlacatecuhtli; Isabel, wife of Atepecanecatl; 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 Tlacatepecanecatl, on the 13th day of October of the year 1580. I, Miguel García, wrote it.
**Document 28A**

*Annotation in Nahuatl, December 11, 1580*

/ f. 53v / - axcan sabb⁰ ye xi mani metzli deçienbre mil y qui⁰⁸ y ochenta años omonmac (sic) y tlacpac tocate- enueuhtic yn ixquich ycuiluihtica ynic çentlamantli omon- namac (sic) cuyetl ypatiuh ii p⁰⁸s breçada ii p⁰⁸s quauh- tectl ypatiuh yhua y mochi quauhitonti yhua y eyxquich yntlatquitzin ocatca yn omimiquilique yn ye mochi omoçentlalli chiquacén p⁰⁸s yhuán vi t⁸ yn misa yqu inpa mitoz yeixtin ynic çe ytocan p⁰ atzil ynic ome ytocan maña ynamic yn p⁰ atzil ynuquey yntelpoch y- toca ytocan (sic) pablo quechol ahu nican moneltliliya yn totlatçotacín quimotlaliliya yfirmatzin yhua ynic tic- tliliya tofirman yn tehauantli tabaçastiñ

/ 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.

**Document 28B**

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

/ f. 53v / - En 11 de diciembre de 1580 a os Ribi de los dipu- tots dós pesos menos dos (reales?) para dezir de misas por p⁰ atzil y magdalena su muger y p(or) su hijo los quales todos murieron y por todos se les dijeron la(s) misas compraron los diputados para estas misas un peso de (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 Ontocihuatl (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.

**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 (tetzotzconcapotetl), who clearly is a stoneworker himself.

/ f. 54r / - Ana Tiacapan  S¹⁰ ana tepanecapan

- Itestamento ana t¹⁰ yna⁶ pablo ychan s¹ ana tepanecapan

/ f. 54r / - Ana Tiacapan of Santa Tepeçacapan

- The will of Ana Tiacapan, wife of Pablo, whose home is Santa Ana Tepeçacapan.
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 tomaries 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. 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 Popololoc, Francisco Tlamaceuhqui (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.
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 Mocel (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.

Testamento antoniño de s. franço(t) 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 Tlacatepec, 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 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 en huehuey tetl tlatalayexintli monamacaz yu
ipatiu yez ye nitocoz yu (i)quac yu iquac (sic) yntla-
ominiiquili ahu yu ome y nemetlatzin ca monamacaz
yu ipatiu yez nopan popolihiui notech menequiz ahu yu
centetl casa tepito niqunmacatiui yu noxhuhiu onca
quitlatlahizque (sic) yntzotzomatizin ahu yu nica mati-
tilica crucifixus huel nazca notlatqui ahu niqitohua amo
canpa yu oncan icay y nochantzico
- yhuan niqitohua y nochina yu onpa temi quauhtenanco
chiquaquentetl niquicmatiui yu nomach m³ ticaqa yu ina-
mic bar tellez ahu yu noxhuhiu yu itoca magna çano chi-
quaque niquicmatiui ahu yu niqexca niqeczolitl nu-
cuiltetl niquicmatiui yu oc çe tlacatl noxhuhiu yu itoca
maria yu nochina oncan onca cenca yu quauhtenaucho
(sic) yu oniquixexelhui macayac quincuilliz

/ff. 55v/ - ahu yu onpa talcho (sic) yu nomil yu onpa catqui
ix pohualui yan matlacmatl titomilet(c)ehana yu yehua-
tzin tlacatl tlathohuani don Ju³ Ramirez hotepotzco
cuitlahuacpahui nauhca niqeczolitl yu chicuňanahpu-
huial iiii pohualui yan matlacmatl niqunmacatiui y no-
xhuhiu yu itoca mathaleagna yhua yu itoca monica
concahuizque ahu yu yehuatl franco maxihuitle iii pohualu
niquicmatiui ahu yu ihueltiui yu itoca ana tlacho i ii
pohualui niquicmatiui ahu yu yehuatl maria tiyaçuacan yu
inamic bar tellez yu nomach ii pohualui niqicmatiui
(sic) macayac quincuilliz macayac quinchalaniliz
- Auh yu noteuhltal tapalcatlalii matlacpohualli ahu occa
niqeczolitl yu poalloni monamacaz yu ipatiu yez tomines
notech pohuiz misa nopan ic mitoz ma yciuicha neltiz ahu
yu oc no macuihualli niqunmacatiui y noxhuhiu
hexca niqeczolitl ii pohualui niquicmatiui yu franco
maxihuitle i po hualli niqunmacatiui yu ihueltiui yu itoca
ana tlacho i pohualui niquicmatiui y nomach yu inamic
bar tellez ahu ynic macuihualli çu yu iyaxca yu
nomach maria ynaç bar tellez yu pohualui y niqun-
icatiui
- Auh yu onpa S lenanco yu noteuhltal 3 pohualihuiyac ahu
ynic patlahuac i po hualli occa niqeczolitl çenpohualli
yan matlacmatl niquicmatiui y noxhuhiu yu itoca maçña
i pohualui yan matlacmatl niquicmatiui yu monica yu
çan concahuiz yu oniquito 3 pohualui macayac quin-
cuilliz yu quemaniyia
- Auh yu onpa quaxochco chalcohalca yu noteuhltal yu onpa
mani chiquaçenpohuali (ynic patlahuac) ynic huixac ahu
ynic patlahuac çenpohuali ahu noçeyollo(c)apa niqun-
totuih niquicmatiui yu altepetl yecho niqetzolitl aho
conca quimotlatlilizque coloz yu altepehuauke yu colhuaque
aço yu onca quimotlatlilizque yehuantli quimomachitia
- There is dry land of mine in Tlapolco 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 Maxihuital; 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
titled 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 Chalcohalca 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
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” (teopannilli), 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 garcía trasfuiracion tlacateco ytestamento miguel garcía
- In ica ytocatzin ynteñe Je xpo yhuan yn itlaçonatzin ynz ilhuicac cihuapilli S ma³ mochipa ychpochtli ma mochintin quimatica ynz iquixitin (sic) ynz quipohuazque ynz amatl ynz nehuatl nimiguel garcia nica nochan S Juº Euagta colhuaça notlaxilacaltia trasfico ración tlacatehco maçonelyhuiiu (sic) ynz moçocohua ynz nonacayo heze ynz noyollia ynz naniman amo quen catqui ça huel pactica ahu ca huel melauhac ynic niconeltoquitya ynz Sanctissima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin yhuan dios Es пу sancto çan çen ynz iylelitztin heseçia yhuan ca mochi nicneltoc ahu iquixich quimonoetoquitya Sancta 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 Hucemecatl. 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 Huitlalocatzin; Juan Vázquez, regidor; Juan de Alameda Quauhtli; Miguel Cerón Tequanzahual (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.

Juan de s pº
EScriº

/f. 56v/ Miguel García de Transfiguración Tlacateco
- 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 Tlacateco; 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...
Pablo, whom Miguel Jiménez, alcaide, maintains (in his home is Itzcotla, borrowed a peso from Gregorio, and this, it will be paid. And the late mother of Pablo, whose four tomines to Pedro Matlala Macpalchiactzin, and it was paid back. And I have here a peso from the former (late?) wife of don Pedro Moysén back; it was done in full public view. And we borrowed Hernando Juárez, whose home is Santa Ana, I paid it -payment of) debts, with it (the debts) will be paid.

And the seven planks of mine - one valued at one peso, one valued at three tomines, and one worth four tomines - will be sold together 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 Yaococha's money; he is to pay four tomines to Pedro Matlala, 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.

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 debts will be paid. Or perhaps those who are demanding my nephew Gabriel's property (the creditors) will just debt (rooms) will be sold and with the proceeds in money they will ke-sold; they will be (live) there. And the two new small houses will be (live) there. And the two new small houses and lands. I declare that I give the patrimonial house that face 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 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.

- 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 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 Yaococha's money; he is to pay four tomines to Pedro Matlala, 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.

- 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 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 Yaococha's money; he is to pay four tomines to Pedro Matlala, 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.
cuezco yhuan Escriuania notlilteco yc onitlacuilohuaya mochi monamacaz misa topan ic mitoz yn ipatiuh tomintzin
- Auh yn yehuatl yn magna yn inaćat thomas hatecapeneatl catca vi p0s ytonmes quimohuienti yn onca tras-figuracio yteopanchantzinco quauhtzintli yc mocohuaz auh onicpiaya onicnolutcui moxtlahuaz auh ii p0s ypa 4 t5 huel ipaltzinco tictotlauici quen ytomintzin yllamatzin yn tlapac tocateneuthtica yhua moxtlahuaz auh yn no-cavallo mochipa metetlanuhtitiaz yehuatl quixtlahuaz ytech nicahua y nomach gabriel omoxtlauh yn vii ypa 4 t5 tecemixpa

- Auh yn metlatl iii apazti v tetl tamalcomitl i tetl mo-namacaz tonetlauic yc moxtlahuaz yn ipatiuh auh yn oras i tetl yhua nobreviario i tetl yhua iii tetl nahuatlatolli yhua i tetl cofesionario monamacaz quimocohuizque teopantlaca yhua yettzintli x tlmatlactlamamelepiti- tzitzin auyyn yn iqac omoxyuc monamacaz mochi misa topan ic mitoz auh yn castilan totolme iii tetl nica mo- quazque yn iqac ytlac oninomiquilll
- Auh yz catqui onicpia yvcoz tcocuitl tlatoztontli ymxacax ycuhuateca yhua chihtucapanca tlacateca mexica pipiltin oninomaxquitli ytlatoztotzin pör fray JuO nunez yntecopa yn a0l ximenes yhua JuO d s miguel yehuanti quimonomochilque quimolhuilique auh ça tequitl nechmitlanill

- Ahi in tlamacazcatlalpa çano toteopanmil çenpohual-huiyac çat neqco yxquich yhua yn onca tocctilta nomil çenpohualyahuatlctic auh yn opa S.diago iii pohauhuiyac y nomil yn onpa mani (to?)natiuho tilitonilamitechana p0 techachal catca yhua çenpohualli yczotilta mani tilitonilamitechana martin yaoteptzin yin mochi chiquaçenpohualixti y mochi nicmacatiuh y nomach gabriel nentlamati ayac quenmaniya quincuiliz quimixtoquiliz

- Auh yn çe yscoboc yhua coyolomiti ii yhua i xontera yhua çentetl xera quauhtconci yhua çentetl hacha quauhtlananloni yhua çentetl tehuiotl tazaç iii t8 ypatiuh yhua çe yxiptlatzin temaquixtiyan cruçifixus yhua iii tetl taplamasa yhua ome hezetlatl yhua iii 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 Madgalena, who was the wife of the late Tomás Atepecanatl, made as an offering six pesos in money to buy wood for the church of the (ward of) Transfiguración. I kept it and borrowed it; it is to be paid back. And we borrowed two pesos and four tomnines 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 tomnines 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 Tlacatecco, and the nobles of Mexicanp, 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 Tlamacaczo, there is also a church field of ours, 20 (units of measure) long and the same on all sides. And in Tocititlan there is a field of mine, 20 (units) round. And in Santiago Tetla there is a field of mine 60 long, in (To?)natiuho, next to the field of the late Pedro Techachal. And there are 20 in Iczotitlan, next to the field of Martin Yaoteptzin, 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 tomnines and an image of the savior on the cross and three retablo images and two elaborate-ly painted reed mats (petates) and four wooden pipes for
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 Tlillancalqui; Francisco Atecpanecatl, tepixqui;
Juan Calnahuacatl Oticahuetztoc; 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.

Document 32
Annotations in Spanish, January 3, 10, 17, 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 Nuñez.

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

- 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.
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.

/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 A- chane. 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 all of it will be sold, and with whatever the proceeds are,)...
oquitlalli ytestamento yn ixpan omociuhtestics Juö pab³a tlatal gaspar achane melôr tellez cihuatemoc marcos cohuatcatl antres mizquilti ciultu juö ana cihuatexpiquixi Ju³a tiacapan Ju³a teicuh martla tlocoh luçiä teicuh

- Iz catqui çatepan oquito yn cocoxcatzintli not⁸ 2 pôs mopía yn iqüac tla nimiquiz ye nitocoz ahu niman otitlatemoque y tehuantin aluaciamse yn onez t³ yn te-ixpan omopouh ix pôs ahu otitlanahuatiqne ye quex- quich cahuitl huetztoz cocoxcatzintli aço çequi ytech monequiz ynic amo çan nenpolihuiz ynic çequi ye pallehuiloz yaniman Axcan lunés omicuillo yn testa-mento ye 2tl de hebrero de 1581

- Auh yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo de mal³o Escri³o della yglesia Niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento Ju³a tiacapan yhuuan nehuatl niquicuillo nican nictlallia notoca nofirma

Migl Jacobo
de mal³o 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; Mel-chor Téllez Cihuatemoc; Marcos Coatecatl; and Andrés Mizquilit. 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 publi-cly; (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/

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 Zimbrón.

/f. 59v/

- 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.
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 Tequixquipan.

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 Tequixquipan.

- 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 magueyes 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 Yahualihuican there are 20 (units of measure of land) next to the field of the late Pedro Acxoaquah; it belongs to my child. Also in Yahualihuican there are 40 (units of measure of land) next to the field of Marcos de León Tlacateccatl. 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 magueyes here and there; let those who cultivate them to 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 Tequixquipan 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 quimocohuiznequi nechmacaz ix p0s ypatiuh yez ye missa topan mitoz yn tometzin nonamictzin mo- yetzticatac Auh yn itlalcohalltizin catca notatzin moyetz- ticatac amaxac temi xii ymil catcah yn Don Ju0 de agui- larzti catca ynz ipatiuh 8 p0s monamacaz yn ipatiuh yez ye missa ypan mitoz yn notatzin yhuan nonantzin Auh yn cohuatlantoncoh x tetl yn itlalcohalltizin catca notatzin x tetl yn itlalcohalltizin catca notatzin yhuan nonantzin v p0s ypatiuh mochichu 2 p0s menacah temi xii ymil catcah yn Don Ju- ano de Aguilarlazti catca notatzin y huan nonantzin Auh yn cohuatlantoncoh x tetl yn itlalcohalltizin catca notatzin yhuan nonantzin v p0s ypatiuh mochichu 2 p0s menacah temi xii ymil catcah yn Don Ju- ano de Aguilarlazti catca notatzin x tetl yn itlalcohalltizin catca notatzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan nonantzin yhuan 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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 diff0 de estotra plana que se dize Vicente la qual mando que se le dixesen de misas y así se le dieron y por verdad lo firme de mi nonbre fr Joan nuñez

Document 35

Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

/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.
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" (huetlaahuiztlati) 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 molcaçoltitzinti, left untranslated, should perhaps be understood as molcaçoltitzinti, “little used sauce bowls” (or conceivably “little used hand mortars”).

- In ica ytocatzin Dios tetatzin Dios tepiltzin Dios Espu can cz huei nel (sic) nelli Dios nicnoneltoquita nicipahualtia yn notsestamento yn nehuatl melOf D S’tiago hecatl nican nochan S1 Ju0 Evangelista colhuacan notla-xillacaltian s4 m3a tsa tecxacoac atotolco achtopa yeñmactzinco nocontlallia yn naninan yn tote0 Dios ma quihuamaniliz yn iquac yntla nechmoticiltliz ma quimatican yn iquichitin yn notlacayohuan yn quittaz-queyn amatl ypan nicfllallia notsestamento ynicc acay quitlacozy notlatol atle ma ylta nicnopielilia yn tote0 Dios auy can (sic) iquichiniquitozhuia y noccal yn tonatiuh quixnmamicictac auy niquitohua moxitinix monamacaz auy yn quexquich ypatuizh yez t2a misa yc topan mitoz tonehuan y nonamictzin auy yn iquich yn quauhteczoltitzinti yn callitic onoc ynhuan yn molcaçoltitzinti aco aca quinonemictizt (sic) quimocohuiz yn ixyic (sic) yn amo çenca hueyxtica ypatuizh yn quexquich yn no-nehichoz (sic) mochi tozech pohuiz yc missa mitoz

- No yhuau niquitohua yniqufi ztni iii monamacaz yhuau tepozhuiciti ce monamacaz yhuau yn calçoltli ca çenpatlilti tlacpachiuhltica auy yn çentlapal opachieh ye tonatiuh ycallaqiyampya yzticac no monamacaz aco (sic) aca quimonequiltitzinti quimocohuiz yhuau yn toçntli quartillapan yhuau taqauhuc tzentzinti yn mochi caltitlan onoc mo-moñechoz monamacaz yn quexquich moçentltallia yzntla o moi mochi monanacamauciss ya yc topan mitoz yn ipatuih yez yn iquich onciteneuh

- yhuau niquitohua nohuexouh quiahuac mani ome no monamacaz auy ynic onitlatzatzauqayu acaçiniltezitl yntla aca quipocetquiz quimocohuiz yhuau yn chinamitl y nacaxa v tetl tlachicontepouhtli ymiltiteh yn hrrano (sic) tlacxacoac ychan cohuanal yhuau yn oc çentci temi vii tetl ymiltitan lazaro tecuetz niquitohua yn iquac tla

- 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 Tezcaacoac Atoyolco. 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 Tlacxacoac,
quiz atl monamacaz yn ioccannixti onicteneuh missa yn topan mitoz yn quexquich ypatiuh yez t³ tonehuan yn nonamictzi catca

- No yhuan niquitohua ynn onpa tetlapanalloyan mani nomil iii pōli ynic huiyac çenpohualli ynic patlahuac ymilititeh yn baplo xuarez catca ahu yn çentlapay ycac lurenco (sic) tlacochtecuhtli ychan ollopan yhuan ynn onimacoca huehuettali tecpan cohuitlan epohualhuiyac ahu no epohualcoyahuac yn ioccannixti onicteneuh mochi monamacaz ca tel quimati yn p³ De s³ nicollas yehuat tlalpon ahu yn quexquich ypatiuh yez t³ mochi yc missa topan mitoz yn tonehuan nonamictzin

- Ihuan niquitohua yn not³ mopia altepetl ytic 1 p³s yhuan 4 t³ yc acic tizmo quimomachitia yn tlatoxhuani Juez yhuan Joseph De castaneta ahu niquitohua yn nehuatl canel ye onpa mopia ahu totlacallaquil ye patiz çan yehuan quimitlanizque yn mayordomosme acocm mitlaniz yhuan sachristiatme (sic) ynt³ oniciapiya 4 t³ ahu niquitohua yc moxtlahuaz nohonhuehuy quimocohuaz sanct bar³me tlaca v t³ yc quipatiotizque ye onpa quipia quimati Joseph /f. 61v/ De castaneta ahu ma macoz yn Jacobo De s³ marcos yn sachistan (sic) yn 4 t³ ca yntlanechicol y tlaxtlahuazquze tlapolloque teopan

- No yhuan nechompiehtiltiitia yn Do a³o De S³tiago Escri³ omoyetzitcata yn iquac mohuicac ychantzinco vi t³ ahu onicnotlacui ahu canel o noteh monec moxtlahuaz cana quizaz ytec yn monamacaz yn totlaquitziin ahu niquitohua yntla onez t³ teopan pOhuiz ypanpa yn iuh niquitohua ynin yn t³ aoccan yaquq mochicin yn iquac nimayordomo nicata çan mocauhtiquiz ayac neçi ynn aquin ytomines acañ pouhqu ahu ypanpa y niquotihuah ma teopan callaquiz amo nenpolihuiz

- ye ixquich y niquitohua macayac quittlacoz yn notlatol ayc (sic) quenmaniyan ytlax quitoz nicanpa notepotzco yn iquac onimomiquil (sic) ca ye ixquich cahuitli yn noteh oquimotlalili yn itelacollitiztin (sic) yn tore³ Dios yn iJu³s.tsizin yn ixquich onicteneuh yn oniquit yon 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 (tecpant) 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 Castaëeda 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 Castaëeda 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 me. And I say 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 Castaëeda 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.

- 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
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 Cayetihui, and the women, María Tiacapan, widow of Hernando, and María Tiacapan, wife of Gerónimo Cayetihui. 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.

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.

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 Tlalchco; 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.

f. 62v

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn qui-pohuazque ynn amatl yn quenin nehuatl Ana xoco Nica nochan s¹ JuO Euang¹d colhuacan onca nipohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli s¹ cruz tlallachcoeh moçonellihui y ninocohu ayn yoyollia naniman pactica amo quen catqui yhuan canca huyl mellahauac ynic niconeltoquittia yn Sanctisima Trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Esgu sòo çan çe yn iyellitzin yhuau mochi niconelto ynn ixquich quimoneltoquittia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia de roma auy ypanpa yn axca yn ica ynotzalloca ytlallauhtil-locatzin yn Dios nicchihuia notestamento

- Inic gentlamanli niquitohua yn yoyollia yn naninan ygemactzinco nocontlallia yn tote¹³ Dios yeheca ca oquimochihuillli yhuau oquimaquixtilitizino yca yn itlaço-Eçôtzin yn nican tlalpac (sic) auy yn nonacayo nicmaca yn tlalli yeheca 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 Tlalchco; 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.
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 I give three to Martín Macuhual, 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 Maçaihuitl, 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 Maçaihuitl, Miguel Quechol, Juan Huiztztlacatl, Martín Coaçatl, Rafael Moysén, and Miguel García, whose home is Coyoacan; and the woman: María, wife of Pedro Tepitz, María Tiacapan, Mónica Tiacapan, Isabel Tiacapan; and before us, Miguel Josep 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

/f. 63r/ En 7 de marzo de 1581 añols de los albaceas y escriuano Jacobo seis pesos para dezir de misas por ana xoco porque asi lo mando en su testamento que esta en estotra plana

fr Joan nunez
Lucía es una de las pocas mujeres a las que se les da “patrimonial land.” Desafortunadamente, su relación con la niña (también llamada Lucía) a quien deja este testamento es desconocida. Generalmente, solo la más cercana de los parientes, las hijas de la herencia, reciben este tipo de tierra. Lucía deja su tesor a Lucía (también llamada Lucía) a quien deja este testamento es desconocida. Generalmente, solo la más cercana de los parientes, las hijas de la herencia, reciben este tipo de tierra. Lucía deja su tesor a Lucía (también llamada Lucía) a quien deja este testamento es desconocida. Generalmente, solo la más cercana de los parientes, las hijas de la herencia, reciben este tipo de tierra. Lucía deja su tesor a Lucía (también llamada Lucía) a quien deja este testamento es desconocida. Generalmente, solo la más cercana de los parientes, las hijas de la herencia, reciben este tipo de tierra. 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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 Ilcahualoc.

I, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.
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.

Document 39

Testament of Mariana, widow of Juan Rafael (Tlacochcalcatl), 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 Juán Raphael
- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quitazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl mariana nonamic ocatca Juán Rafael oncan onipohuia yn ipan tlaxillacalli eytlatocan cohuatl (sic) maçonellihui y ninococohuan y noyollia naniman Çañ pactica amo quen catqui yhuan čenca huel mellahuac ynic niononeltoquitia yn sanctisima trinidad tetaztin tepiltzin Dios Español Can ce yn iyelliztin (sic) yhuan mochi nioneltoquitia yn ixquich quimoneltoquitia yn tonantzin sancta yglesia de roma auh yeica yn axcan yn ica ynotzalloca ytlatlauhtillocatzin yn toteco Dios nicchihua yn notestamento
- ynic centlaman (sic) niquitohua yn noyollia naniman ygenmactzinco nocontlallia yn totec Dios yehica ca oquichimiulli yhuan quimonomauixtill yca yn itlaço Ezçotzin y nican tlalp ca yhuan niquitohua yn nicmaca yn tlalli yhica ca tlalli ytech oquiz
- No yhuan niquitohua yn nehuatl Ca atle ma yuña onic-nopiylli yn totec Dios Can yxivic (sic) niquitohua no-caçol centel yhuan centel poertacolli yhuan centel tlaltepozoti yhuan nauhtetl yztac chalchihuitl can tepitoton yhuan ome huapalçolli yhuan 7me tlaxamanilli nomamacaz ynquezqui ypati uh yhuan oquimomaquixtill tó yntla huell aqiz centel missa ma yçuhi ca pälehuiloz yn noyollia naniman
- dixose por esta diffma vna misa cantada y dieron de limosna diez tó y dos para la cera En março de 1581 a0s fr Joan nuñez* 
- auh yz catqui yn nietemamacatiuh çe metlatl oncan o-

- 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,
Maria tiacapan ypiltzin catca balzar Cipriano
Cohuatl ychan
- In nehuatl maria tiacapan notatzin catca balzar Cipriano
oncan nipohuyn ipan tlaxilcalleque cohuatl ychan ocmo nichuelmati ynn nonacayo yntla ninoquiztliyac ma
yehuatzin tole5 Dios quihualmanpilliz yehica Ca nitlachi-
hualtzin Ca ytlamaquiztitliz Auh ynn axcan niquihuitz-
Ca yn ixqui said hualatliz ynn otitomemitiqtlapac ynn ye
yxqui chinualtzin tepaltzinco titonemiti ynn yehuantin ynn
notlahuan ynn nahuayolque ayc quenmaniyan oquitoke
yn motollinia ynn tomachtlan ynn cañ tezomatolco tecaltech
ycoyoxtliz quietecatzeni ynn motollinia ynn acaçote
iquimoctli ahh ynn axcan ynn notlahuan amo no quio-
thuay ynn ye mococohua ynn tomach ynn ma tiqutate
atliz ynteltlachatlalliz quichihuay ahh yeica ynn iuh niquihuay
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 Tecictez there are seven
chinampas, each one 20 (units of measure) long, next to
the field of Agustín Vázquez, citizen of Cueuetlacayan. I
give them to Marcos, the child of Martín Cano, also
citizen of Cueuetlacayan. And to the child of Miguel
Tlacochin, also named Miguel, I give the house land,
seven (chinampas) in all. Four are at (Huei Ayoc? 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 any-
thing (against this), because I know about it (am re-
sponsible for it). This is all I declare. Let no one vio-
late my words. Done before the witnesses Miguel Josef,
Agustín Vázquez, Pedro de San Nicolás, executors, and
the ward heads Melchor Téllez, Anton Tepoztitoloc, 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.

Document 40

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

Maria’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. Maria’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 (tlaxilcalleque)
are the same group as in Document 39, which was executed the same day.

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the conventional role of surrogate parents. Maria’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 (tlaxilcalleque)
are the same group as in Document 39, which was executed the same day.
Ca huēl yehuatl omotlamaçheuii yu noctizttn Juática ana tocacay quiwamiquiltilhuizt yu cana acō onemaquiliiloc tlaxcalciintli yehuatl omotlamaçheuii yu ye iziquih cahuilic tincacahuilloloque etc (sic).


- Auh yu nicuhtzin maghā xoco ytech nicpohua ynu icalztin catcay yu notatztn bañat čibriono yhuan yu vī tutel chinamitlt yhuan yu čempohuuali teuxtllali tlaelpa ymiltitec yu Ju Chúa yco ytech či mohc ytech čenyez catca yaxca catca yu totatztn catca ayac tle quixtoquilliz.

- Auh yu onpa yahualliuhcā čempohuuali ymliltitec catca yu notatztn lucas nǐcma cu yu noctiztn Juática an yu tiacapan ypanpa y nımca cu yu ye iziquih cahuilitec cahuilic tincacahuilloloque ca yehuatl otechmociutlahui ayaquenmaniyan quixtoquilliz nımca cu aço quimonomiquilliz.

- Auh yu nỳnc ontelt yu tocal mani tzaqualco yu tonatiuq callaquiyanpa yzticac cu tonemac yu tlecopatl yu quahuilic yu tutel yu tlaquetzallic yhuan yu poerta yhuan če metlatl ahν nımca cu yu nicuhtzin maghā conucon yu metlatl yhuan yu poerta yhuan tlaquetzallic ahν yu tlecopatl monamacac yu quezqui ypaitiuc yez it mixsa yu ypan mitoz yu nonantzit catca ye iziquih yu niqitohua macayac qutilaco yu notatztn yu ixpan testigos augting vazquez miguel joseph pō de sanct nicollas aluacias tlaxillacalleque melot anton tepotzitolloc miguel ypiltzi migl tlaocaytn Juática tiacapan xcanay viernes 17 de marzo de 1581 aōs onitlacuiillo nehuatl.

Miguel Jacobo

de maldo Escrīō

affection (charity). The reason I say this is that Juana Ana, my grandmother, truly has performed meritorious-ly; she came to give us pieces of bread to eat that per-haps 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 Cácam, 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 Yahualiuhcan 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 Tepotzitolloc, Miguel, child of Miguel Tiacochein, and Juana Tiacapan. Today, Friday the 17th of March of the year 1581. I did the writing.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

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**Document 41**

*Testament of Luis Tlauhpotonqui, 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/ Luis Tlauhpotonqui
- Ma quimatican yn ixquixtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque Amatl yn queni nehualt luys tlauhpotonqui Nican nochan sanct Juº Evangelista Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillallanca sancta maria aSuplicio tianquizcolco Maçonellihui yn ninococohua yeze yn noyollia naniman pacticaх amo queni catqui yhuan huel mellahauac ynic nicnoneltoquitiia yn sancttissima trinidad dios te-tatzin dios depiltzin (sic) dios Espu stio Çañ çe persona çan ce in iyeliztzin yhuan mochi nicneltoca yn ixquich quimonoixoutziquiyta yn sancta yglesia de Roma auh ypampa yhuan luys sanchez yhuan Ju-yca tepan tlatoque yn
text.

/ f. 66r/ Luis Tlauhpotonqui
- Know all who see and read this document that I, Luis Tlauhpotonqui, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Colhuacan, belonging to the ward of Santa María Asunción Tiaquizcolco, 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.

- 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 topileque, interceded in the matter of Lázaro Hualmoquetza, who still must be paid; he paid, 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

- 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 topileque, 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 Huelihuitl, 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 de tzapa viii p 9s quiomomachitia ym Ju 9 de sanct miguel yvue ac de catca tel ytech ca ym notatzin ytestamento ym quitlallitia yciuhca quixtlahuaz

- Yhuan ayamo moxtlahua xx p 9s ytoca Ellias ychan quauhtlalan yhuan tentetl frecada ynic taçentllalli ma yciuhca quixtlahuaz ytech mottaz ynm ytestamento to- tatzin ym quitlallitia
- No yhuan ynn ayamo quixtlahuaz ts ytoca panchimalcatl ychan huapalcalcoh ma yciuhca quixtlahuaz ym 1 p 9s auh ym xomitpece no onpa quipia t 8 don a 9l xv p 9s auh ynn oquistlah v p 9s auh v p 9s yhuan iii i 9 nechmacac yc quicouh nocaivallo auh ym cavallo çan ym no çeppe niqualhuicac Auh nican atlan mic ym cavallo yhuan iii p 9s tica nechhtetzahuac auh niquitohua yehuatl ym moxt- tlahuaz ynn onpa mopia t 8 x p 9s Ca ça i p 9s ypan 4 t 5 ym huallaz No yhuan ytech cah don miguel de Castaneta ychan xomitpece ypanpa cavallo ypatiuh ym mono- notzque ym notatzin catca anto de santa maria ayamo quixtlahuazix p 9s No yhuan ayamo quixtlahuaz ym moteilhuiqueh quahuecahuaz (sic) ca ytoca don miguel de castaneta yhuan alvarado ayamo quixtlahuaz iii p 9s yhuan ayamo moxtlahuax quiqtic ytoca hernando ychan xomitpece pochhtecatiyuhu Auh amo huel mochiuh ynn moxtlahuaz ym xii p 9s tel ytech ca ym ytestamento ym notatzin Auh yz catqui ym huel nomatica onicietlauicuiltih gabriel huecamecatzintli quimotlacuicoh ix t 8 yciuhca quixtlahuaz notех monequiz missa yc nopen mitoz yhuan franCO tello 2 p 9s quimotlacuic missa yc nopen mitoz

- No yhuan niquitohua ym itlalcoholic yetiuhi notatzin ym tete ym ozotl ynn oncan teoan quyahuac ym iqua- xochtitec Ju 9 perez aco aca que (sic) quimocohuiz /f. 66v/que auh ym ipatiuh yez ym t 8 ytech pohuiz ym notatzin Missa yc ypan mitoz

- Auh ym canno ytlalcoholic ym notatzin ytocayocan huexocalcoh ypatiuhi mochiuh xx p 9s auh niquitohua monamacaz ym missa ypan mitoz ym notatzin ytech pouhqui No yhuan Candellas tlacahuali çan nican opo- poliuh auh niquitohua ym moxtlahuaz monamacaz milli ayauhtoncoh 4 poli ym MiSsa ypanpa mitoz ym noçitzin catca m 8 moçel auh ym mocañahuaz ym oc quequich t 8 notech monequiz MiSsa yc nopen mitoz ym 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 Quauhtlalan, 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 Xomitpec 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 Xomitpec, 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 Xomitpec, 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 bor- rowed 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 Molé; and whatever money remains will be used for me; a mass will be said for me with it.
- No yhuan yn tetlalh y nahuca mani on pa techan mani te... ma aca ypałCO quimoquillitiuh anoco huél yaz y nyotex matheo opan ma mocahauitlón y 4 tés No yhuan oncán ayahuato coleco oncán temi chinamitl huęhuetlalh nícmaca y nyoteicauh maria tiacapan vi telo ame tel čenca huehuyén Ĉan tepitoton ypanpa y nicmacah caneł tohueuetlalh yhuan onpa y motlauh-xauhcan onpa temi vi telo anu čentetl oquichteqe nicmacah ynP0 huęyehuati chane cuyécuetlacayan

- Yhuan niquito huay nín yin tecomatl totoł ynn onpa techan mani te... ma aca ypałCO quimoquillitiuh anoco huél yaz y nyotex matheo opan ma mocahauitlón y 4 tés No yhuan oncán ayahuato coleco oncán temi chinamitl huęhuetlalh nícmaca y nyoteicauh maria tiacapan vi telo ame tel čenca huehuyén Ĉan tepitoton ypanpa y nicmacah caneł tohueuetlalh yhuan onpa y motlauh-xauhcan onpa temi vi telo anu čentetl oquichteqe nicmacah ynP0 huęyehuati chane cuyécuetlacayan

- 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) tecomatés, and one varnished white, and one (in the form of?) a bird, which I gave as a pawn. These six painted tecomatés 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 tecomatés) belong to me.

- And I say that this bird tecomate is in the house of someone in Tet(la). Let someone go to collect it from him. Perhaps my brother-in-law Mateo Opan can go; let him deliver the four tomínes (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 Motlauhxauhcan there are six chinampas—they stole one; I give them to Pedro Huel-yehuati, citizen of Cuyécuetlacayan.

- In Cuhuatlálpac, in the place called Tlauiloçan, 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 Xochimilco; 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 Tetlapanoloyan there are 40 (units of measure of land), and also in Quaxochco Tehuitzitltlan there are 40, each one 20 wide; 40 will be sold in order to help my uncle Toribio Tecomiltzin. 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 luys tlaupotonqui Augustin vazquez miguel joseph pº de Sª nicolas aluacías / miguel de Ribas pº huelyehuatl matheo opan franco xalliJuª tiacapa yna catca Juª acah ychcan mexicoh ana xoco cihuatepixqui ynicmatheo pº coçamalocatlh /f. 67r/ pº nilla yehpocho pº huelyehuatl Maria tiacapan yna catca opan Juª teicuh ychpochtli Axcan domingo y oc ceppa motepotztocaz y ntestamento notatzin catca onpa mottaz yntla yta oniquilcauh ynn amo micuilo

- In nehuatl miguel jacobo de malndo Escripdo de la yglesia niquitohua ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic oquitlalli ytestamento yhuan nehuatl oniquicuillo auh nican nic-tlalliia notoca nofirma ynic neltieez ytestamento yhuan amo huellacuilolluyn yan aluacías ypanpa yn amo qui-tlalliique ynfirmas

   Miguel jacobo
de malndo nonbdo

       Luis Tlaupotonqui'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 JuanACA, whose home is Mexico City; Ana Xoco, cihuatepixqui, widow of Pedro Coçamalocatlh; Petronilla, /f. 67r/ daughter of Pedro Huelyehuatl: María Tiacapan, wife of Mateo Opan; and Juana Teicuh, unmarried young woman. To-day 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 franco moysen por peso y medio dijose vna misa cantada por el dueño difunto luys tlapotonqui en 8 de nobiembre de 1583

   frai Joan zimbrón

Rbi de Jhoana tiacapan onze tº para que se digan de missas los quales toma en su poder

fr chrőua l de agurto

/f. 67v

Document 42

Testament of Juan Rafael Tlacochcalcatl, 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 (huēhuētlalli), 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.
- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque amatl yn queni nehuatl notoca Juño Rafael notlaxilacaltia eytlatoctan cohuatlán maçonelihui y ninococihua yece y noyollianinan (sic) amo quen catqui yhuan huel mella-huac ynic niconicnoltoquita (sic) Sanctissima Drinidad tetatzin tepiltzin Dios Espu stó yhuan mochi nicnelotoca yn ixquich quimoltoquita sancta yglesia De Roma auh yeica yn axcan yn ica yn niztalocatzin ytlalauhiltoca yn toteño Dios nicchihuia notestamento
- Ynic çentlamatli yn noyollianinan yeçenmactzinco (sic) nocontlia y toío Dios yeica ca oquimochiuli ca oquimomaquixtili yca yn itlaçotzotzin De nican tlapc auh yn nonacayo nicmacah yn tlalli yeica ca tlatl ytech oquiz
- Ynic ontlamantli niquitohua yn nocal tonatiuh ycailaquiyanya yezticac niquinmaca yn noppiluah omentin ynic çe ytocta Juño ynic ome ytocta pñoilla xoch quimiçtilapanizque yn Juño ye itepotzco quicuih auh yn pñoilla ye quiyahuatentli quicuih ynic onticentueh yn itepotz v tl auh yn inacaz iii yematl Çan nican motlapieliztiesque (sic) Çan quauhtli quicohauzqueh
- Auh yn nomilcohuatl çenpopohuali yn nomil ynic huyiac çan neçoyahuaultic (sic) ynin onticentueh nicquaxochnamiquiz yn teopanmilli ynn oquicuauhtia Dona ma³ xuarez ynin milli onticentueh nicmacatiuh yn pñoilla Auh chalchihiuitl macuitel nicnomaquili ynn nonamic mariana Auh yn tepancalli xochmilcoya yezticac çanç oqu iuñ yez Auh yn hueca chinanpa matlactel hoonpohual-huicyac nicmaca yn pñoilla Auh ynn axalpan nicquaxochnamiqui yñ gasbar achna Auh yñ oc çentlapal nicquaxochnamiqui ynn melor telzeh auh yn tecuitlaapan vitt telçeçeçopohualuiac nicquaxochnamiqui Juño telzeh nicmaca yn francçoz tezcah nomach yn quauhtlalliy çenpopohuali çar necoc yahualtic nicquaxochnamiqui yñ francçoz chantli catca yhuan çenpopohual telatah nicquaxochnamiqui yñ Juño Çaoya auh yñ oc çentlapal nicquaxochnamiqui ynn melor telzeh ynin onticentueh huechestlalli yñ occanyxti yntla ninomiçtilizqu nipon popollihuiz noteç monequiz Auh y nican caltitlan notlacoheul çe pño³ ypan 4 ti⁵ yñ quicuioch maria ynamic Jeronimo ynin onticentueh monamacaz napon popollihuiz miSsa ye mitoz napan Auh yn icalchinayo calli Calpollali chicontetl nicmacah yn pñoilla Auh yn calli yn icaltzin catca notatzin catcah teopan poquiz yc miSsa napan mitoz yñ ixpan omochiuh testigos Augustin Vazquez aluacía

- 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 Achna, 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 Ćaoya, 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 invested here because from earth it came.
- 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.
Auh yz catqui nimitznioteiltilla tlatolli yn tehua ti-Escritón oniqualcuehac teclacl mioci qui o ypan niitlatohuaya ytocta catcah p0 cohuacatl nican chane ohuatlan ymil onicnamacazquia onpa yn tetlapanalloyan ma v poli ayamo quipatociya yn p0 ortiz yn v poli tlalli ahu yn nechmacac iii p0s yeuhu yn nomil y quicohua čenpoli onmatlactli onçe ynic huiac ymitleitec yn Ju0 de sanct luys catca yhuun yn p0 de sanct nicoles gentlapal nechtzauichticac yquac ticcuito yt8 yn a0l pez catca ahuyn in t8 Amo mochi onicucic o çequi mimicque yn tic-čenpopolloguey noyn ipatiuh notlal xx on x ti yquac fiscalti Ju0 tellez toqualtecuhtli 1 p0s vi no yc tic-tcohuihui 4 t0tica tocheh muniguy miel tellez tlapalcatl ychancan čihuatecpan ca tonehuuy yn ticcuitoht8 ytonin a0l pez ahu yn 4 ts tiquallitquique ticmacaqueh ynic yni yquac tlatolli huiac ymitleitec cn lhuayu ahu ypanpa yn axcan nimitznioteiltilla notlatol yni onicneteuhi notlal yquicohua yn v poli milli ca oquimotilitlo ynic yni yquac tlatolitzin prior (sic) fray Ju0 nique yhuuy yn itetzin Di0 De Sanct Roman yhuuy ytlelpoc qui toquiltequi v poli ynic yni yml milli cn p0 ycohuacatl auh yntlaohuayu ma tla-xlahuyu yn oriz tel amo nic.... ahu cn mochica ypan oquicohua ahu yml milli ca oquimotilitlo ynic yni yquac tlatolitzin prior (sic) fray Ju0 nique yhuuy yn itetzin Di0 De Sanct Roman yhuuy ytlelpoc qui toquiltequi v poli ynic yni yquicohua ahu yntlaohuayu ca oquimotilitlo ynic yni yquac tlatolitzin prior (sic) fray Ju0 nique yhuuy yn itetzin Di0 De Sanct Roman yhuuy ytlelpoc qui toquiltequi v poli ynic yni yquicohua ahu yntlaohuayu ca oquimotilitlo ynic yni yquac tlatolitzin prior (sic) fray Ju0 nique yhuuy yn itetzin Di0 De Sanct Roman yhuuy ytlelpoc qui toquiltequi v poli ynic yni yquicohua ahu yntlaohuayu ca oquimotilitlo.
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.

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipo-huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl Juáni tiacapan nican no-chan sanct françois atenpa maçihiuyn ninococohuaya yece y noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuan cenca hucl mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia sanctiSsa (sic) Drinidad tetatzin tepitzin Dios Espu sto çan çe Dios yxquichihuellitzin yhuan mochichi niceltoca yn ixquich quimonel-toquitia yn tonantzint sancta yglesia De Roma auh yeycah ynn axcan nicchihua yn notestamento macayac quitlaco.

- Inic çentlamantli niquitohua yn noyollia naniman yenen-matzinco nocontllalia yn tote² Dios yehica ca oquimaquixitili yca yn itlaçiEzqotzin y nican tlap² ahu ynn nonaca ynicma ca tlalli yehicah ca tlalli ytech ouqiz

- Inic ontlamantli niquitohua yn milli nimacoc sanctiago tetlah 2 poli ymiltitech yn p² cuicapantzin oncan yn çi-huapahtlah ymil catca nocoltzin Ju³ cuixcocatl yhuan çanno ychinantzint huehuetlalli çenpolcovui ynin onic-teneu ytech pohui nicma ca noheuelpoltzin Ju³ pabl³ ayac quixtoquiiliz ypampa ca nonemac Auh ynn icpauh catca y nicuihtzin Antonatzin yn inamic ocatca noheuelpoltzin Ju³ pabl³ niquitohua canel yna'tzin ocatca ahu ma quimocuilli yehuatl quimomachitita aço quitechay miSsa yc ypan mitoz yn iqac la oyecauh ypanpa ynn iu ñiquitohua ynn mamaco yc nechtlatzacuil-tiz yn Dios ypanpa camo hucl onicchiuh yn nehuatl ahu ynn onicteneu yncpatl çentlateclti yhuan ome machiotl yhuan i otlatica onoc yhuan çe tepiton yc nahui ma quimocuilli ma yehuatl quimomachitita y noheuelpoltzin belong to him and will be sold. This is all I make manifest to you. (Done) before Juana Tiacapan, Petronilla, and Marfa 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.

- Onitlacuillo yn nehuatl miguel Jacobo de maldo Escro Della yglesia

Miguel Jacobo
De maldo nobdo

Document 43

f. 69r

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 Chiuapatla; 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 yuhan niquitohua nocSa tepiton nixcoyan onicioncohuicah nicmacah y nohuelpotzin Ju₀abalta aço yamauh oncan quitlatllaliz ayac quixtoquiliz ahu y çanco onca y ontomatl onca temi chinamitl y telt nechmacaç y Ju₀callego Juez çanco nicmaca y nohuelpotzin Ju₀abalta y iniquih oniquito y iniqu yntla oninomiquiilli ma yciuhca quimoteittilliz y on notecuiyotzin francó maldo
- Auh iz catqui oncan oninentlamatia onictocac milli onpa y yahualliuhanç 2 poli yhuau tlamacazatlaça i pöli ynin onicnteneu haco nixcoy yotal ca ytal y ynotatizin ahu y noctli nicmaca quimochihuilliz y nicuihtzin Di₀ ytech nicpohua No yhuau ycpalí ayamo quiçi çentlatectli yhuau ome machiotl yhuau tlalpilli çentetl quauhpochtli nicmaca y nicuihtzin Di₀ aço aca ytlacui quichihuiz (sic) yeuatl quimati

- Yhuau niquitohua çe nometla tepiton yhuau çe machi otl yhuau yapaltepiton ontel yhuau çentetl yzac ycpatl nicmacaç y teoyotich cánocuneu Miguel ahu y anatont nicmaca y metlatepiton açay quimixtoquiliz ca yce niqquinmana

'/f. 69v/ - Ihuau niquitohua y nocaçpatzin çetipan çann oc tlatlextli yhuau i machiotl yhuau onmotlatl machiotl Ça tzotzopiz yhuau tlacapalli m³paçan monamacaz yn quezqui ypatiuh yez t⁸ miSSa yc nopan mitoz yhuau çe metlatl yhuau patos tepiton nautleme quin pípíltototi yhuau çentetl y euheuoton y macultel yhuau oantemel yecottolme quinhuapahua y nohuexuihtzin monamacazque yce mocy çenyaç y nepa miSSa yc nopan mitoz yntla omonamacac

- yhuau nicnotlacui tlalpilicpatl onquatuzomitl macoz ynn iahuitzin andres ytoça çecellia ychan tlanquizçolco No yhuau nicnotlacui 4 t⁸ ytomoc y noçtitzin ma yciuhca macoz yn iquc monamacaz nocpauh ye yxquih yh niqtitohua macacaç yquemania ytal yqitoz ypanca ca atle ytalatqui ytech naci onicntemacac y notatizin ca huel nixcoyan notlatqui y nicmacaç ahu y noçhualtalatqui ca amo no te ytech naciuhi yh iniquih cahuhtl oninonemiti y onicononextilli ynxipan omochiuhi yñ testamento cocoçxatziintli francó maldo Ju₀ lazaro Di₀ maldo Ju₀abalta coro topille teopan Juᵃ ticapan ynaç Ju₀ laz₀ m³a ticapan ynaç ocata Di₀ 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 Yahualiuhcan, 40 (units of measure) (long?), and in the land of Tlamacaço 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 tomimes 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
Document 43A
Annotation in Nahuatl, June 16, 1581

/ f. 69v / - Iz catqui yn quietenuhtliu monamacaz Juá tiacapan auh omonamacac ynic çe má Salome quicohua batos onteme 4 tō oquiman Juá muyse quicohua batos huehueto 1 tō ypan m0 yhuat otlatica onoc machiotl 1 tō oquicoh cihuatotolme vi tō oquicoh mā Salome yhuat ycpatl yegotl ayamo tlachichiuhtli 4 tō yhuat machiotl 1 tō ypan m0 otlatica onoc metatl quicohua mā tiacapan Calpoltitlan 3 tō yni ye moch moqcentalli tō 2 pōs ypan 5 tō yni omonamacac ylatqui Juá tiacapan axcan viernes yc 16 Dias Del mes De Junio De 1581 Anos ymixinp omochiuh otlanamacoc Juá muyse frac0 māl0 pabā Juá tiacapan yna Juā laz0 mā Salome ycpochtli augustin vazquez miguel Joseph auh yin yitō tlatquiocihuilqui ototlaçotatzin prior ymixinp ts0mē gabriel mal0 augstin (sic) vazque (sic) miguel Joseph onitlacuiulo

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 tomin and a half, and she bought (a design) that was on the canes for a tomin; 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 tomin 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).

Document 44
Testament of Joaquin de Luna, June 17, 1581

Death found Joaquin in Culhuacan. Even though he is from Mexico City, he orders burial and masses in the church in Culhuacan. Joaquin's estate lists no land, but he owns at least one horse, and possibly a mule, worth more than many Culhuacan houses.
- Ma quimatican on ixiquichtin on quittazque on qui-poihuazque on amatl on queni nehuatl yuchin de lona nochan Mexico notlaxillacatan sanct juO amanalco ma-conellihui on ninyocohuah on noyollia naniman canf pactica amo queen catqui yhuauu cha'cua hueh melahuac ynic niconeltoquitia on Sanctisima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu santo canf ce on iyelitztin yhuahu mochil nieneltoca on ixiquich quimoneltoquotia sancta yglesia de Roma ahuah yehica on axcan niicichiuah notestationet etraA.
- ynicc ontlamantli niquitoquhia on nehuatl ychuahuichin y no-yollia naniman yenmaactzinco noontallallia on toteO dios yehica ca quimoichiuhiulli ca quimomaquitilli yca on itlaCuEzorztitzi ahu on nomaCayo niicmaca on tlalli yehica Ca ytech oquiz on tlalli
- No yhuau niquitoquhia nicipia centetl nochauhallo macho on iquac yntla niinomiquirli Conamilon y nicauhtzin juA tiacapan quimopiiliz ahu yampa on iuh niquitoquhia missa ye nechpanahuiz ti etel yuhqui on canf quimopiitoliz ytech niicencuahua on iquac tla omochiuhi misa canf yehuatl quimonachitlia ma yciuhua nechmopahualiliz yni iapanCO dios on iyecatl tla oninomiquirli
- Auh ye catqui i pOS nts on iquac tla oninomiquirli ye nitocoz huentzintli niicichiuah on iquac tla omochiuhi misa canf yehuatl quimonachitlia ma yciuhua nechmopahualiliz yni iapanCO dios on iyecatl tla oninomiquirli

- No yhuau niquitoquhia nechpiillia nocavallo ynn onpa cuiltateleco quipia ytoca min cano ypatiuhi vii pOS ynin onicteneuhi Cavalllo monamacacz oncan ouchaz niicotlauh iiii pOS yhuan iiiis ts ytomin on iuh cano ynn onicteneuhi on quipia nocahuayo niquitoquhia on iquac tla onamacacz nocavallo ynn onicteneuhi Na ye xe xihuiz ynn onpa ycaq ynn onpa quitlayequilvia on martin Cano ahu quitlatahuiz ynic otltequipanO
- No yhuau Cruz ye onechichihiiliuquia canno onpa chane on cuiltateleco ytoca miguel onicmacacz i pOS y- yhuan 4 ts ahu ynin on ynn onicteneuhi notech pohuiz yc nipahuelizoloz on iapanCO dios Missa ye napan mitoz yeuhuantzitzin quimonachitlia on ncauihti (sic) JuA tiacapan ye yqyquih on niquitoquhia on iquay (sic) yntla niino- miquirli macayac quitlacoq on imixoup niicichiuah testigosme juA tiacapan ynaS catca juO acatl juA muyssen migl vazquez moloncatl mS tiacapan ynaS matheo hopan franCA tiacapa ynaS ocatca franCO maxhuihil yhuau alva- cias Augstln (sic) vazquez miguel Joseph axcan juuees ye xvii de junio de 1581 Anos Auh on nehuatl miguel jacobibe de maLO nonbrado niquitoquhia Na qualli ynic o- quitllli ytestamento yhuau nehuatl oniquicuillo nican
- 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 when my horse that I mentioned is sold, 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.

- Also there is another person, citizen of Cuitlatetelco 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.

- In addition, I declare that in Cuitlatetelco someone named MatíN 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.

- In addition, 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.
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.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

his testament well, and I wrote it. Here I place my name and signature.

Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

f. 71v

Testament of Simón Moxixicoa, January 22, 1581

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Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

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Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.
They belonged to him before and I confirm his rights. And the other field which was Baltasar Tlacochcalcatl'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 Tlatlauhquitepec 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.

- Also 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 Tlacatecpan). 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...
Concerning the Estate of Simón Moxixicoa, May 27, 1581

/ 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.

Document 46

Testament of Tomás Motolinía, 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.”
- No yhuan niquitohua nots v p⁰s onpa mopia yn hue-pantli ytemoyac acalli yc oniccohauazquia ma mitlanitioh yu quipia yotoca Gr⁰ moysé yu iquac huallaz ts yc ti-pallehuilozque teopan callaquiz auh yu teta onpa mani ompohualli çenpohualli nicmaca yn niquetliah ana tia-capan no çenpohualli nicmaca yn no chlorph barbara ynes oncan yu tenepantla çan huel quimonepantlaxel-huizque auh yu notlalchoyal tomatlah nicmacac 3 p⁰s

/T. 73r/ Thomas 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 Tiacapán, 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 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 Tiacapán, and I also give 20 to my...
Document 46A

Annotations in Spanish, January 10, 1582

Re de gaspar de san pablo seys pesos que se dijeron de misas de vna casa que compro de tomas motolinia diff por el qual se dijeron las misas

f. 73v

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 (huehetque) 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.
pohuazque amatl yu queni nehuatl pablo de sanct gabriel huitznahuatl Notlaxillacaltian sanct. maga tezca
cohuan Mamonllinii yu ninoocohuah hece yu noyollia yu naniman can pactacatli amo quen catqui yhuan cenca huel melahuah yu nic niconeltoquita yu san
tissima drinidade dios tetatsin dios tepiltzin dios Espu sancto can ce huel nelli dios yxquischiihue yhuan mochi nicenl-o yu ixiqui quimoneltoquita yu sancta yglesia de Roma ahu ypampa yu axcan yu ica yin inotzalotzin ytlatlauhtilochtzin yu tote^0 dios nicchihuah nictecpana yu notestamento
- Ynic centlamanlantl Niquotoha yu nehuatl yu noyollia naniman yenmactzinco nocontlalila yu tote^0 dios yehica ca oquimochiuhi yhuan oquimomaquixtilly yu ytnl
coEsztotzin yu nican tlalticpac ahu yu nonacayo nicmaca yu tlalli yehica Ca tlalli ytech oquis
- No yhuan niquitooha yu nocal yu chiuacalli tonatiuh yxquischyanpa ytzitsicac yhuan yu xochmilcopa ytzitsicac y-
huan yu inteatlallo vii tetl ytech nicpohuah yu nochpoch ytoca angellinan mocele ayac quixoquilliz
- Yhuan ynn oc centlaloc nocal yu canno xochmilcopahuic ytzitsicac yu ca tlatlazahticac yu oncan onitellallayaya ynt
ec nicpohuah yu nopolihuant omentin chiuatzitzinti yhuan yu nonamic barbara tlaco ca tel onca ycaztin yu maxi
tiniiu yu nican huallaz yu xallan
- Yhuan niquitoaha yu nochian temi ytocayocan aca
tzintitlan vii ymlititech yu bapian ximenez ocatca niqui
toaha ytech pouhqi yez yu nochpoch angellinan mocele ayac quixoquilliz yhuan yu ontel acallotence temi yml
ititech catca yu ju^0 huitzil yhuan canno acallotenco temi oncan yu tlacatecco ontel ymlititech yu miguel ne
m(a/e)lla catca Canno ytech pouhui yu nochpo hu (sic) angellinan mocele ayac quixoquilliz
- yhuan niquitoaha ontel temi yqiyahuah yu p^0 myuye quichiuhtinema ahu niquitoauc ytech nicpohuah nicmaca ayac quixoquilliz yhuan oc no chiconteltl oncan temi yu tlacatecco Canno ytech nicpohuah p^0 myuye ayac quixoquilliz nic(axc?)atia
- No yhuan niquitoaha yu hehueltllamantl yu oncan mani tezcacohuac yhuan yayentlallo Chiconteltl yhuan tlalmilll cenpohualli onpa mani yu toctitlall can necoc yahuahlic ymiltitech yu tezcacohua (sic) ytech nicpohuah yu noxhuuih ytoca ju^0 pah^12 ayac quenmaninayu quixoquilliz huel nicemexcatlia ahu yu oncan ayauntonco on
- 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 Xoch
imilco, 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 Acalotenco (or, at
the edge of the canal?) next to what was the field of Juan
Huitzil, and also in Acalotenco, in Tlactecco, there are
two (chinampas) by the field of the late Miguel Ne
m(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 Tlactecco 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 Tetzacoac with its seven (chinampas) at the edge
of the water, and 20 (units of measure) square of cul
tivated land in Tocititlan, next to the fields of those
of Tezacoac, to my grandchild named Juan Bautista. No
one is ever to claim them from him. I make them en
tirely his property. And in Ayauhtonco there are 40
moçel auh no onpohualli niquinmaca yn nipilhuan monicah yhuan Ellena yntla mohuapahualtiizque Ca ym-axca quipiylizli ynn innanzin Barbara tlaco yhuan om- pohualli quaualtiil onpa mani yn tlahuacan çanno yntech popohui yn nipilhuan monica yhuan Ellena yhuan yn innanzin quipiylizli yhuan tetla onpa mani onpohualli oncan yn tecalpan Nicmacah yn angellinan moçel ayac quixoquilliz nicaxcatia

- Yhuan niquitohua yn ompah çacaapan ompa temi vïi têl nicmaca yn juð0 ypitlzin catca juð0 cimmaxal ypampa y nicmaca ma quenmipan ycnotlamatizque quimittu- quihui ynn nipilhuantitzin ma quyollaliquihui ynn nona- mictzin ynn iquac tla oninomiqulli ahu ynin yn china- mitl onicteneuh vii têl ymiiltech ynn çihualli yno- machtzin /f. 74v/ yhuan Ellena Constantina yn inamictzin Senor juð0 de sanct miguel No yhuan no nicmaca y (v) têl ynn notex yntca lurençö ypitlzin catca Simon te- mictia Niquinmacatia ayac quixoquilliz

- No yhuan niquitohua ynn onpa ytocayocan sanct mañ natuiatas tomatla no onpa temi nochinan vi têl niquin- macatiahu ynn onpa tlaca ynn huehuquetz ynic çe nicmaca chinamitl p0 muyse yhuan p0 michatl yhuan Ernando Rodríguez yno de aluaroado miguel tlacatecutili antonio to- cahu ynn izquintini ynn onquintelteç çentetel quimuoma- macaque niquinmacatitiuh ayac quixoquilliz

- Yhuan niquitohua ynn onpa ytocayocan amoxcuittlac on- pa mani çenpohualli çan necoc yahuatlq ymiiltech yxn xuchin ytelpech catca ticoc yahuacatl ychan çihuau- tecpan nicmaca yn bernardo vazquez ychan xalla yhuan onpa ytocayocan çocelotepc matlacomtl ynic coyahuac ahu ynic huiyac Epoqualli Çango ytech nicpohua ynn nomach bernardo vazquez

- No yhuan yniçquic ynn noqiçhtlatqui ynn acaltzintli yhuan ycas yhuan yn tecomatli yhuan yon notlapex ynn huapalztitzinti ynn iquic ynn oticonenextilique no- namictzin barbara tlaco ayac ynn huel ysla quixoquilliz yhuan ynn huapalcuscomatl oxitin çan mochi quinoçën- cui(!?)izque ayac ynn huel quixoçsqu çan mochiqun- niquinmacatia ynn nipilhuantitzin omentin yhuan ynn nonamictzin macayac yeca mocacayahuaz

- Auh yz catqui oniquiquéhui ynn chinamitl temi tlacatecco vi têl ymiiltech catca ynn augustin tehuitl ytech nic- pohua ynn noxhuihui juð0 pabla ayac quenmipan yqix- (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 Tomatl a 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 Joaquin, who was the son of (Diego?) Yahuacatl, whose home is Chuatepec. 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 Váz-quez.

- And also as to all my men's things, a boat, a chest, a tecamate, 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 altepeltl nic(maca?) çemmecatl ynic huiyac x pôh ahh ynic patlahuac çenpohualli ynin nctenehua tlalli oncan yn aytltlani ahh ompohualli oquicuic yxpoval min ahh yn chicepsohualli quiciuzque yn Colhuauque niquinonmuaquillia ynn altepuehuaque Colhuauque ayac quilcoatzl ynn notlatol tel otiquitoque oitotonotzque yn nonamictzin barbara tlacoc yxquich in ynn oquitoque Auh yn yeuatuł yn barbara tlacoc ynn no yeuatuł oQUilhuil ynn omoteneuh yeuatuł oquïlnamictzi ynh iuh omito yn tlultolliotic yultlotequipa yxlułtel yn yeuatuł bilpo de sanct gabriel ychan sanct mä magdalena chinuacapan tzeczacoahuac
- Ynixpan omochiuh augustin vazquez Miguel Joseph pö de sanct nicollas diö Ellias aluacuh topiltecep barbara tlacoc ynaö yxcocoxqui yeh omiquilliznecueñi /f. 75r/ - mä tiacapan ynaö balö tellez cohuacquitopilte angellina moç el ymnac ocata juö vellazquez ytelpoch ocata pö tlancencauh xalllah Auh yn yeuatuł miguel Jacobo de malö Escriö della yglesia niquitohua ca qualli Ca mellahuac ynic oquîltlalli ytestamento ... yhuan nueuatuł oniquicuillo nican nictlalilhia notocah

Axcan sabado ycn xi dias del mes de março de 1581 aös
Miguel Jacobo de malö nonbrö

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” (telpochcalli), built before he married. The term appears in sources on Nahua as a school for commoner boys, but may also have had this other meaning.

/f. 75v/ Juö de sanct pedro
- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazqu yn quipohuazque amatl ynh quemehuatl juö de sanct pö notlaxillacaltia sanct pö çapañ maçonelhiiui y ninocohua yeç ynh yoyollia nanima amö quem catqui yhuan huel mellahuac ynic nicnontecoquitia sanctissima drinidad tetaatztin teplitzin dios Espu santo yhuan moç hicnicelhoca yn ixquich quimnetecoquitia yn Sancta yglesia de Roma ahh yeçca yn axcan yn iça ynotzalcoatl ytlahuatlilcoatl ynh totoö dios nicchiuhua nicpocañpana yn notestamento
- Ynic çentlamantli niquitohua y yoyollia nanima yçemactzinco nocontlaltia ynh totoö (sic) dios yehicha oqimochiuhuilli oquìmomaquixtiltltzin^0 yca yn itlaco-

- 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 Cihuatécapan Tezccacoac.
- Done before Agustín Vázquez, Miguel Josef, Pedro de San Nicolás, and Diego Ellias, executors-topilteque; Bárbara Tlaco, wife of the invalid who is about to die; María Triacapan, wife of Baltasar Téllez, topile (of tribute labor); and Angelina Mocel (Document 50), widow of Juan Velázquez (Document 57), who was the son of Pedro Tlancuah, whose home is Xalllah. 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.
Ezçotzin y nican tlaçticpac auh y nonacayo nicmaca yntla (sic) yeica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- No yhuau niquitoahu y nocal ynn oncan nihuetztoc yntla oncan yiquitoahu y niq doitlaquiyapan ytzicac niqnuimaca ynopilhuau ma³ tiacapan yhuau y augustin yppama yiu niquitoahu y nic niqnuimaca ynopilhuau Canel notelpochcal ca oc nitelpochti ynicuetz calli cayamo nnonanmitca auh yeicah ynu niquitoahu ca oncan moyetztiyezque ynopilhuauzititzin ynymexynt yntla mohipaultitzca ca onpa tepali monolitoc ysanct ju³ xaltiilolcoh ayac tle quimixtoquilliz

- yhuau niquitoahu y nocal yntla oncan yiquitoahu yppama ynic niqnuimaca ynic outiequetzunga yoquetz ca xopilhuauzititzin yyniis xchco yppama ynu niquitoahu ynic niqnuimaca ynopilhuau Canel notelpochcal ca oc nitelpochti ynicuetz calli cayamo nnonanmitca auh yeicah ynu niquitoahu ca oncan moyetztiyezque ynopilhuauzititzin ynymexynt yntla mohipaultitzca ca onpa tepali monolitoc ysanct ju³ xaltiilolcoh ayac tle quimixtoquilliz

- No yhuau y nican tlalticpac auh y nonacayo nicmaca yntla (sic) yeica ca tlalli ytech oquiz

- 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 Xaltiilolco. 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

- yhuán ynn acaltzintli čentet čanno yntech pohuiz yn nopilhuantzitzin quietetlauhuitizque oncan neçiz yn intech monequi yn quimoqualtizque yhuán matatl quinn oniquéhuaya ye čéntara ynic huiyac čan mochi yntech pohuiz yn nopilhuantzitzin ayac tle huel quimmixtoquiliz - ye iquich y niqtohuatli mayac (sic) tle quitoz yn iquac oninomiquill i ayac tle nicpiyellia ma ytlá Ymixinpan omochihu tlaxillacaleque domingo tlacatecuhtli pño de sanct nicollas yhua depodados augusti vazquez miguel joseph diÓ Elias Axcan jueues ye xvi de marzo de mill quintientos y ochenta y vn Anos

- ahu yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de maldonado de malono EscriÓ della yglesia niqtohuata ca qualli ca mellahuac ynic ochiquilallí ytestamento ynhuátli juño de st pño ychan stl pño çacaçapan yhuán nehuatl oniquicuillo nican nictllallia no firma ynic neltitiyey

Miguel Jacobo de maldone nobdo

Document 48A
Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 76r/ Recebi en cumplimiento deste testamento peso y medio para missas por este difunto fr chróual de agurto

/f. 76v/ Maria Tiacapan, young woman of Tlemachica, May 20, 1581

Maria 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 Bábara TLaco, wife of the testator Pablo Huitznahuatl (Doc. 47).

/f. 76v/ maria tiacapan  tlemachica ychpoch
- Ma quimatican yn iquichiquen ynviquitazque ynuiquihuazque ynn amatl ynuq uenaua maria tiacapan o- nechmohuapahuilil notecuiyotzin anto tlemachicatzin Maçoyhui ynnincohua ycehe ynu niyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuán enca huel mellahuac ynic nин- nelotquitiyey ynn sancta yglesia de Roma auh ynn axca ynu ica ynv inotzallocaçtiz toto dios nicnotlataluh- tillia ynu iquac onimic ma quihualmaniliz y naniman ca ytlamaquixtilitzin auh ynu nonacayo nicmaca ynu tlalli yehica c a tlalli ytech oquiz

Document 49
Testament of María Tiacapan (c), young woman of Tlemachica, May 20, 1581

/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.
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 houselot 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 ychan sanct m³ natuítas tomatl onpo hualli oc çeppa ytech ch (sic) antica ymil catca min xiocuil ychan sanct franCO tlaxoxouhco ynin ondieteuh tlalli niemaca onpo hualli xtiyotzin an on nonamic balAT teléz.

And I declare that in Atempan at the entrance of Juan Quenitoloctzin’s place there is level land which belonged to one named Motlatocañomatzin; 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 ahu yn oc no onpohualli ytech nicpohua yn nonamic balūt tellez ayac quixtoquilliz

- Auh ynn onpa tzapotlah ynn onpa achto ninamique ticatach onpa catqui tetl ytech nicpohua yn nonamic balūt tellez ahuh ynn onpa catqui tetl ytech nicpohua yn nonamic balūt tellez ynn onpa achto ninami que ticatcah onpa catqui tetl tlaya hualloltetl xii yhuan čan miyequi yez fů oncan quiçaz tonetlacuil oc onca yn çe nonamic catca yn fů ticiuquie tzapotlaca chicuihnahui fů ma moxtlahuaz quimocuillizque yntla onez fů ahu yn mocauh uay xnexlihua fů missa yc topan mitoz yntla huel achi miyequi yez fů aço huel tonehuan titlaocoliloquze yn achto nonamic catca topan tlatoz yn nonamic axcan

- Auh ynn ocopau huipiltiamictli oyezquia quin çe çotl ynn otzop ytech nicpohua yn nonamic balūt tellez aço aca tlaguehualtzintli quichihiulliz Auh ynn iquich y noçihuatlatiqü Čan mochi quïçencuiz ayac tle quixtoquilliz ye iquich y niqtohuoh nolitatol macayac qui tlacoz yn iquich oniquito ymixpan omochi testigos aluacás miguel joseph augūn vazquez diō Elías alguacil yhuan no y_xpath yn inamic ye momiquilliznequih balūt tellez topillé barbara tlaco maria salome Axca martes yc xx tl días del mes de mayo de 1581 años

- Yn nehuatl miguel jacobo de mālō Escrið della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo yn itestamento yn maria tiacapan yn nehuatl nican nictalallia notococa (sic) no firma ynic neltitiez

Miguel Jacobo de mālō non kō

- 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 Josefs and Agustín Vázquez; Diego Elías, alguacil; and also before Baltasar Téllez, topille, 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.
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.

/6. 78r/ Angellina moçel ychpoch catca pablo huitznahuahtl
- Ma quimatican yn ixquichitin yn quitzaqye yn quipo-
huazque amatl yn queni nehuatl angellinan moçel notla-
xicacatan sancta maria magtla tezcacohuac maço-
nellihiui yn ninoccohua yeçe yn noyollia naniman amo
quen catqui yhuan cenca huel mellaquac ynic
nicnoneltoquitia yn sanctisima trinidad tetatzin tepiltzin
Dios Eñu Sancto çañ çe huel nelli Dios yxquichiuelli-
tzin yn cenmacatzin (sic) nocontlalliia yn naniman ca
oquimochihuilli ca oquimomaquixtilitzino yca yn itla-
cozti (sic) auh yntla Ninomiquilliz ma quihuama-
nilliz yn noyollia yn naniman yn toteO auh yn nonaco-
nicmaca yn tllli yeheca ca tllli ytech oquiz
- ynic ñentlamantli niquitohya yn onechomaquillitia
notatzin catca pablo huitznahuahtl yn çihuacalli tonatiuh
yqiuçayanpa ytzxicac monamacaz yntla ninomiquilliz y-
panpa ca atle ma yntla nicppillia notlatqui zi nitocoz
npan popollhuiz auh yn quexquic hoccuau in ipatizc
yntech pouhqui yn nicuihtzi
tzinquitiloqu
- Auh ynnc onetel yn xochnicopahuec ytzxicac nicmaca-
tiuh yn nopiltozi JuO pabtista yhuan çan moçi y-
huicallo yn chinamitih çan moçi quiçencuiz yhuan yn
acatzintitlan temi chinamitil chicontel ymiltitehp abian
tetzotzocqui catca ytech nicpohua yn nocneuñ nicollas
yntla nemiz quicuiz Auh yntla momiquilliz monamacaz
missa topan ye mitoz yhuan ayn onetel temi chinamilt
lacatecchoh yhuan ynn oc no çenqui temi onetel aço aca
quimequitiliz quimochuiz yn quexquicquich (sic)
ypatiuh yeq ñaco huel çe missa ye çipdlehuilolzque

- No yhuan niquitohya yn teuhtllali ayauhtonco nauh-
pohuallii Ca ompohualli yntech pouhqui yn nicuihtzitzin-
huan xallah tepatco omotlacatillique auh yn onpohualli
yn notech quipouhcia yn notatzin catca niquitohya mo-
namacaz auh yn ipatizc yeq ñaco huel çe missa ye npan ye mitoz
yn iquac tla onen Auh ynn onpa teta yotococih texal-
pan nicmacatli y noconeuh nicollas yntla nemiz auh
yntlacamo quin no yquac monamacac missa ye topan
mitoz
- Auh yn caña yn quin oticocihuica nonamic ocatca y-
tech pouhqui yn noconeuh nicollas ye chichitilloz mona-
macaz auh yn çe matlatl monamacac cantella ye mocohuaz
yn iquac tla oninomiquilliz yc tocoz yn nonacayo

/6. 78r/ Angelina Mocel, who was the daughter of Pablo
Huitznahuahtl
- Know all who see and read this document that I, Ange-
linia Mocel of the ward of Santa María Magdalena
Tezcoac, 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) Huitznahuahtl 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 what-
ever 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 Xochimil-
co, to my nephew Juan Bautista with all the chinam-
pas which accompany it; he is to take all of it. And there
are seven chinampas in Actzinictlan 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 should come
to help us.
- In addition, there is some dry land in Ayauhttonco 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.
- 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. 78/ - No yhuan nocpauh quinn oçotl huipilli oyezquia otlatiecht catqui auh yniqecotl ayamo moteteca auh oncayqui yapalli ontlatectli yhuan tochomatil 1 t⁸ y m⁰pan yhuan quauhpachtlach achito yhuan tlalpilli achiton yhuan cę machiolt yhuan ychcatl 1 t⁸tica yhuan centetl tilmatli ytlima ocatac yn nonamic ca yntla oc oninemin i ca o ycnicpallehuizquia yn nonamic missa quezquitel oniquitlanizquia auh yn axcan niquitohua monamacac ytech pohuiz yn nonamic aça aca quinequiz quimocohuiz. 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 Peتروnilla 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 in-to) 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 tomin, 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.

-Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary of the church, wrote the testament of Angelina Mocel, as she made the various orders. I place here my signature.

Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

Document 50A

Annotation in Nahuatl, May 28, 1582

/f. 78v/ - In tehuantin albaçeas augustin vazquez miguel Joseph miguel Jacobo Escrio yn iz tlacpac teuhticatlhuipilli yezquia quitoitique yhuan yn izquitlamantlant tecpantoc cán yehuante oquitoque yn ychpopochti ma Salome yhuan p⁹nilla ma cáncicchihuaçn yn ipecatl yhuan yn mochi teuhticatlhuicatl yehuante ticcahuatiuhticatl yąn huenteztintli yppampa Canel ticuiųhtinti ocatac ynn o-mac(t?)otia (?) Auh ynic tinceltillia ynn otiquitoque t⁸ tixpan onez 1 p⁹s ypan 4 t⁸ ynn ocallac teopan ynn otiotomaquiltique totlaçotatzotzini prior fray Juº žimbrom yxpan testigo fiscal gabriel maldo axca lunes yc (?) 28 de mayo de 1582 Anos

Miguel Jacobo de maldo Escriº

/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 Zimbrown. (Done) before the witness, the fiscal, Gabriel Maldonado.

Today, Monday, the 28th of May of the year 1582.
Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.
Among Gerónimo's holdings is some “calpulli land” (calpollalli). The term appears in only one other testament, that of Juan Rafael Tlacochcaclatl (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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- Know all who see and read this document that I, Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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 name María Tlaco and to my child just born if it grows up; they will be there.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- And I declare there are two (chinampas) at the entrance to my 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- Ihuau niqitohua onetel temi yquiyahuac yn DiO tetepon catac hueoxt ypan yac ytech nicipohua nicipocac yno nopolitzin DıO yhuau teuhlalal ymilititech yn JuO tapixcatzin oncan ynn olxi yac calpollalli çenpohualli meyotec çanno ytech pohuiz yn nopolitzin DıO ayac quixtoquilliz.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- Know all who see and read this document that I, Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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 name María Tlaco and to my child just born if it grows up; they will be there.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- And I declare there are two (chinampas) at the entrance to my 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- Ihuau niqitohua onetel temi yquiyahuac yn DiO tetepon catac hueoxt ypan yac ytech nicipohua nicipocac yno nopolitzin DıO yhuau teuhlalal ymilititech yn JuO tapixcatzin oncan ynn olxi yac calpollalli çenpohualli meyotec çanno ytech pohuiz yn nopolitzin DıO ayac quixtoquilliz.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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 name María Tlaco and to my child just born if it grows up; they will be there.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- 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.

/\. 79r/ Gerónimo Teuhcihuatl
- And I declare there are two (chinampas) at the entrance to my 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.
- No yhuan çe metlatl nicmaca yn nonamic m³ tlacoh Auh yn nopiltzin Di³ quimopiyllilia çe metlatl yn nomanntzin ana teicuh quimomaquilliz ytech pouhqui ypanpa Ca quimocohuititiuh yn nonamictzin catca yhuan cêtetl Caxa nicmaca ayac quixtoquilliz ça yaxca - Ihuán niquitohtohu yz catqui nicnotlacui t³ coyohuacan i p³o's ypan v t³ ahu niquitohtohu yn tlacpac onicteneuh calli yn monamacaz yn tonatirer yquicaytapan ytzticac ma yehuatl oncan quizac ma yx moxtlahuaz macoz yn tlacpetli yxquich yn niquitohtohu notlatol nehuatl Gr³mo yn inixpan (sic) omochiuh ynn otlacacque testigos Domingo Ramos teoyotica tepixqui ana teicuh yllamatzin ana teicuh ynn oca teicuh ynn oca yhuan teicuh yllamatzin ana teicuh ynn ocalcouh ynn ocalcouh ynn ocalcouh ynn ocalcouh.

f. 79r

Document 51A

Annotation in Nahuatl, January 21, 1582

/ì. 79r/ - Axcan Jueues yc 21 de Enero de 1582 a³o's yn tlacpac teneuhtica tomíes ynetlacuil Gr³mo teuχcuiatul yz quimotlacui Coyohuacan ahu yn tlacpetli oguchiucu omocac yn 1 p³o's ypan v t³ ycc omoxtlahu ayu niuxquihua calli monamacaz ahu otićnamacaque yz tehuantin aluacias miguel Joseph yhuan augt³in vazque (sic) yhuan Escri³ Della yglesia ahu ynn ocalcouh ytocha thomas quauhxinqui ychan tlaxoxiuhco

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.”

/ì. 80r/ Ana tlaco ychan yacapichtlan Ju³ boeno ynan³ - Also I give a metate to my wife Marfa 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 Teuchiuitl 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.

/ì. 79r/ - Today, Thursday, the 21st of January of the year of 1582, concerning the money mentioned above, the debt of Gerónimo Teuchiuitl 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, say that Gerónimo Teuchiuitl 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.

/ì. 79r/ - Done before me, Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, appointed notary.

/ì. 80r/ Ana tlaco ychan yacapichtlan Ju³ boeno ynan³ - Ana Tlaco, whose home is Yecapixtla, wife of Juan Bueno
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 Tlacatepec, 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 Itzic, 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 (Qua huatl...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 Yaochihuacaloc, Miguel Itzic, 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
Document 52A
Annotations in Nahuatl, June 19, 1581; June 24, 1581

/ f. 80v - Today, Monday, the 19th of the month of June 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 tomites; 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.

Miguel Jacobo de mal\textsuperscript{do} ESCR\textsuperscript{O} Miguel Jacobo de Maldonado, notary.

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 horse owner, Joaquín de Luna (Doc. 44). One of María's requests is that she be remembered every year on “the day of the dead” (micca\textsuperscript{huitl}), perhaps the same day as the Christian feast.

/ 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 Tianquizcolco, 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
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

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.”
fiscal y nican ypan altepetl omoteneuh nican nictatlilin nicnezayotia yen itechpa yen yehuatl antonio toca catca ychyan sanct m³ natiusitas tomatl (sic) yen iyquich yen itlatqui quicauiyttia yen cinlilin yen huauhtli yen etl yhuan yen iyquich ytlataqui catca mochi omonamacaz auh yen cinlilin Çan yehuatl yen ocalac teopan çentetl acalli auh ypampa yen nican nicnezayotia aocac ymconeuoh ouciquauhtiaque mohchintin omomiquilletue auh atle quichiuhtiaque testamento çan yuh momiquillique Auh yen incal ocata yen onc an yquiyahuac augustin tlaçaca omonamacaz ouciquouh marcos quauhtli yen oncatca p⁰ xohuarez yhuan omamac carta te paco yen marcos quauhtli ynic ouciquouh calli auh yen iyteh çalliuihtica caltontli quauhchayahuacayo ynymac yen inamic p⁰ ychyan sanct ju³ bap³ ollopan yen itlaçepa huitec ju³ çongalles tocuitelcatl auh ynic ayac motlapollotiz onpa mottaz yen carta te paco ypampa yen nican monezayotia auh ynic nieneltililin nican nictatlilin notoca nofirma yhuan yen yehuantin aluaçez

Gabriel maleño fiscal fraço florez Miguel jacobo de maleño nonhñ

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 his portion of property in cash and completed the purchase price by work.

I. 82r  p⁰ cano acatl
- Ma quimatican yen iyquichtin yen quittazque yen quipohuazque amatl yen queni nehuatl p⁰ Cano acatl nican nochan colhuacan oncan nipohui yen ipan tlaxilacalli sancta maria natiuitas tomatl ahuçtiyo yen minococohua yen nitanahuui yeçê yen noyollia nanima çan pactica amo quen catqui yhuan huell mellahuac ynic niconeltoquitia Sanctissima drinidat tetatzin tepiltzin dios Espu Sancto çan centetl dios niconeltoquitia yhuan mochi nincetoca yen iyquich quimeltoquitia Sancta yglesia Romana Auh yeçê yen axcan nicchihua yen notestamento yen çac tlatzacaz notzonquizzçantlanecuillizpan (sic) yen ye yuh niquitohua axcan ynic ayac quittacoz
- Inic centlamantli niquitohua yen noyollia naninan yence mazteçino nocontllalina yen tote⁰ dios yeçê ca ytlachihualtizin ca oquimomaquixtili yen nican tlalp³ yca yen itlaczozçotzin auh yen nonacayo nicmaca yen tlaçilin yeçê ca tlatli yetch oquiz
- Inic centlamantli niquitohua yen nehuatl p⁰ cano acatl yen oncan nihuetztoc calztintli tonatiuy yquiçayanpa ytzitldonado, fiscal here in the said city, set down and manifest here what concerns the deceased Antonio Toca, whose home was Santa Maria 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 Tocuitelcatl. 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

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 his portion of property in cash and completed the purchase price by work.

I. 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
La iglesia de Nahuatl, en el testamento, ahu ynic nehuatl oniquicuillo ynin testamento auh ynic niceltillia nican nictllallia notoca no firma (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 Coyohuacan, 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 Tlacuexchiuhcan, 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, tople of the church and sweater. 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.
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: toquauhcallaol “our half-fanega-maize,” and tototlacauihequiuh “our tribute (duty) as subjects.”

/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, none the less 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 yu nołalcohual champohuali yu oncan aytitlan ytal yu j0 saxo ytepoch catca tzapotlacatl niquitohua monamacaz yu quezqui ypatiuh yez t0’s tomixca yu topan mitoz yu quezqui ypatiuh yez No yhuan yu onpa sanctiago tetla onpa mani nomil ymiltitech yu Miguel tilma ychah ollopan oncan yu temamatlac oncan yu catca thomas camaxochitl Auh ynicce oncan oncan yu icçotitlan ynic onicteneuh tllali onpohuali çanno ytech yez yu calli monamacaz çan ytlahuicallo yez yu tlacpac onicteneuh ynu onpa tomamatlañ 7ontetçl çan mochi ytech ez yu calli onicteneuh

- Yhuan niquitohua yu onincochiuillicla tlalmilli 3 poh yhuan 7 tetl chinamitl ynu oncan onoc çintli çann oc moçencuicuih ahu yu iquac yntla omoçentlalli oncan quicaz yu toquahuacallal yhuan tlacallaquilliz macamo ye motollinizque yu tlaxillacalleque ma quimocuillizque Canel totetlacauhtequiuh Auh yu quexquich mocahuaz tlaolitzintli monamacaz missa yu topan mitoz yhuan yu iixquich tocalitic toltlatqu yu totech omonequia tocìhuatlquç çan mochi monamacaz mochi totech pohuiz Yhuan niquitohua yz catqui t0’s vi p0’s yu o niçinquipalehuizquia yu nopihuan omenint yhuan yu nonamiczin ocatca yntla oc onine(mi?)ni ca yçiuhca o ypan nitlatozquia o missa ynapan moçhihuazquia ahu yu axcan niquitohua ma yçiuhcha quimocallaquilliz yu aluaciasti ma quimocauillitiliuy nicipia macayac yapito mitoz missa nonamic yhuan omenint notełpochhouan

/f. 83v/ No yhuan ontetł nacalçoł çentlel acalpiazti çan ic ontetł yu iquac tla oninomiquilí monamacaz aço aca quimonequiltiz quimocuohuiz yu niçequich aço cantellazin yu mocohuaz macamo ytal yu motolliniz yu nholetlihuatzin Ca yu nictolliniz

- Yhuan niquitohua ca atle ma ytal nicnotlacui anoçoh ytal aca nicpeliili aço ytal tlaxillacalli yteçuitil anoçoh ytal aca ytlaytqui nicpia macayac te ytal notech quitamiz yu ye nicanpa nolepotezco yu niçaciqui monamiczilí Ca atle aca ytal nicnotlii ca huel mellahuac ynic onictlalli notesamento yhuin ynic otlanahuati yu yehuatl miguel huantlî ymixin moçhuizi testigos yu tlaxillacalleque andres gartia (sic) min goçalles miguel tellez domingo Ramos teyotjica tepixqui gaspar tellez cuetzti Ju0 (liber?) marcos ycnotl Çilhua ana tiacapan ynaç catca a01 l conpollo juº tiacapan ynaç thomas de aquino ana tiacapan ynaç 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 Ollopán, in Temamatlac where Tomás Camaxochitl used to be. And (there is land) in a second place, in Iççotitlan; 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; Martin González; Miguel Téllez; Domingo Ramos, church teyotjici; Gaspar Téllez Cuentli; Juan (Liber?); Marcos Icnotl. The women: Ana Tiacapan, widow of Alonso Conpolo; Juana Tiacapan, wife of Tomás de Aquino;
mín aztatl ana tiacapan yna catca melor tenpiaz mínna yna marcos ycnotl martha tiacapan yna mín gončalles franca xoco ynamic Juö cuicuil Yzquintini yn testigos ymixon omochiu

- tixpan omochiuh alučias augustin vazquez miguel Joseph Auh yn nehatl miguel jacobo de maldo Escriö della yglesia niqituohu ca quali ca mellahuac ynic oquitallli ytestamento yn yehuatl miguel huantli yhuan nehatl oniquicuillo nican nictall(ia) notoca nofirmna Axcan domingo omicuillo yc 24 de setiembre de 158(1?)

Miguel Jacobo

de maldo nonbrado

Ana Tiacapan, widow of Martín Aztatl; Ana Tiacapan, widow of Melchor Tempiaz; Martina, wife of Marcos Icnolt; 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 Josep. 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.

Document 56A
Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 83v/ Bernardo Quauhtli bought for six pesos a little house of Miguel, deceased; with them masses were said for Miguel and his deceased.

- compro bernardo cuauhtli en seys pesos vna casilla de miguel difunto digeronse de misas por el miguel y sus difunctos

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 Mocel (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).

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehatl notoca Juö velazquez nochan suö Euagia Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillallcalli sanct ana tlacuillocan xalla notatzin catca po tlanencauh maçouyhiu yn ninocohuah yece yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuahuaiuinc luicyalhauac ynic niconeltoquitya yn santisisman drinidad tetaztin te-piltzin dios Espu santo chanuel nelli dios yxquichihuelli niconeltoquitya yhuahuay mochi nicnetloca ynic iquich quimonoeltoquitya yn sancta yglesia Romana Auh ypampa yn axcan yin ica ynotzalloca ytlatlauhtilloca nicchihuia nictecpana yn notestamento yn ça tlatzaccan notzonquixcatlanequillizpan yn ye nictecpana axcan (yn)

- Ynic centlamantli niqituohu ya noyollia naniman ycenmahtzinco nocontlallia yin totö dios yehica ca oquipochihuili ca oquimonomauquixtili yca ylniłaqueoçotzin y nican tlalticpac Auh yn nonacayo nircmaca yin tlalli yeh-

f. 83v/ Bernardo Quauhtli

f. 84r/ Juan Velázquez de 1581 aöśs

- Ma quimatican yn ixquichtin yn quittazque yn quipohuazque amatl yn queni nehatl notoca Juö velazquez nochan suö Euagia Colhuacan oncan nipohui yn ipan tlaxillallcalli sanct ana tlacuillocan xalla notatzin catca po tlanencauh maçouyhiu yn ninocohuah yece yn noyollia naniman amo quen catqui yhuahuaiuinc luicyalhauac ynic niconeltoquitya yn santisisman drinidad tetaztin te-piltzin dios Espu santo chanuel nelli dios yxquichihuelli niconeltoquitya yhuahuay mochi nicnetloca ynic iquich quimonoeltoquitya yn sancta yglesia Romana Auh ypampa yn axcan yin ica ynotzalloca ytlatlauhtilloca nicchihuia nictecpana yn notestamento yn ça tlatzaccan notzonquixcatlanequillizpan yn ye nictecpana axcan (yn)

- Ynic centlamantli niqituohu ya noyollia naniman ycenmahtzinco nocontlallia yin totö dios yehica ca oquipochihuili ca oquimonomauquixtili yca ylniłaqueoçotzin y nican tlalticpac Auh yn nonacayo nircmaca yin 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.
- Yhuan niquitohua, ynn onpohualli tllalmilli nechmomaquililitli notatzin catca ynn onpa tepec xallatlauhco yhuan ome capollin oncan mani ahu niquitohua genpohualli monamacaz ahu yn iaptiuhuy tōs misa yc nopa mitoye yc pallehuilloz yn naniman Auh ynn oc no cenpohualli nticmaca yn nopiltzin Nicollas yntla quimonemitiiliz toteö dios ayac quixtoquilliz ca yyyaxca ayac te huel quitoz
- No yhuan yn oncan Calltenco temi nochinan no maiceltel čanno ytehc pohuiz yn nopiltzin yntla nemiz quicenpīyelliz yn nopiltzin yyyaxca yez ayac quixtoquilliz no yhuan yn calztintli xochmilcopahuic ytzīcac čentetl čan tepiton amo huyey yntla nemiz nopiltzin ytehc pohuiz yez oncan yez yn nonamic ahu yntla momiquilliz quiniquac monamacaz ytehc pohuiz yn nopiltzin
- Yhuan niquitohua notōs nictetlacuitli ytoca bernabe ycham chiqualloapan yxpan čanno onpa ycham ycalnahuac ca ytoca Jxuaachin (sic) n(o?/a?) mitlaniz vi tōs ahu yntla omoxtlauh notech pohuiz yeahuatl ytehc niccahua yn yn (sic) françoys ypiltzin catca miguel Colhuacaçol Ca no ixyan mochiuh ynic nictetlacuitli yehuatl quicichuitiz No yhuan nictlacuitli ix tōs ynn antionio tecomoni ypan polihuiz 3 tōs huehuetli i tōs tlapiztalli i tōs cochillo ahu 4 tōs huel quimotlacu yecz onaqi (ix?) tōs quixtlahuaz yçiuhca teopan callaquiz mochi yc nipallehuilloz Auh yz catqui nocallahuexas xoxoctic ayamo huecahua quin onicouhca ahu yc moplatlz yztac tilmati yn iqauç tla ninomiquilliz yc quinimillhuatiz yn notlanacayo yhuan yz catqui čentetl notilma onicionpilliaya tlamacho monamacaz candella yc mocohuaz yc nitocoz yn iqauç tla oninomiquillu ymixpan omochiuh testigos françoys florez pablo de sanct gabriel huitznahuatl miguel joseph(ch) čihuatecapanectl alaucia angellina močel ynamic yc cocoxxcatzintli ycz miquiznequi maria pōnila tlaco xōpina tlacoh ynaĘ /f. 84v/ juō ycnolt Axcan omicuillo ytestamento juō vellazquez yc 13 dias del mes de hebrero de 1581 Anos
- And I declare that there are 40 (units of measure) of cultivated land at the mountain at Xallatlauhco 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 Tecomoni 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 embroidered 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 Josep Çihuatepanecatl, executor; Angelina Mocel, wife of the invalid about to die; María Salomé, Petronilla Tlaco; Cristina Tlaco, wife /f. 84v/ of Juan Icnotl. 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 Malondo, appointed notary.

Document 57A
Annotation in Nahuatl, n.d.

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.
- No yhuan niquitohua ynm (sic) ompa apilco vyi tetl temi chinamitl yhuqui ynm ma ocean quiztica can yc çenca ynm vii tetl niquitohua monamacaz ynm iqauç yntla ninomi- quilliz nopam popollihuiz - yc nitocoz -

- Yhuan niquitohua ynm tetl jolarpan huehuetzoc oc monaméchicoz ynm quexquich motecaz tetl monamacaz aço çeqüi yc nipallehuizoj missa ynm da nitocoz yc nitocoz yntla oc cana quimocuilliz quimotlacuiz yc tlaxtlahuaz, çan mochi ynm tetl pani onoc

- Yhuan huexotl yey monamacaz çan yc moçenmechicoz ynm onicteneu tlacpac monamacaz yc moçentlalliz no tech pohuiz yhuan quauhcoli apechtl catca monamacaz yc moçentlalliz yhuan nauhtetl ycpatetl yhuan quauhpaçhti aquiton monamacaz auh ynm noxhuuihuiz augustin yhuan jua niqoumaca ome metlal Auh ynm quauhacalli ynm tepalco tianquiznahuac onichcihuayua yteçc xicauhuay ynm noconeh yhuan ynom antonio xallacatl ymipnon omochiului testigos ynm otomallili testamento miguel Rafael, colli (?), juñ d s.tiago juñ bapí matheo yllama miguel quechol juñ tellez jolan balar gasbar xochiquiyauh melchior quauhhti juñ tiancacan magnan tiancacan juñ tiancacan ana tiancacan yusay tiancacan juñ teycuiuyu maria teyciuyu magnan tlocoh /f. 85v/ yhuan no xipnon omochiuhi ynom antonio xallacatl axcan domingo nepantla toniuitl ynom omicuilo testamento yx xiiii de Enero de 1582 años ynom oquicacque ytlacol cocoxcatziintli dibotados diego hernandez miguel joseph Auh ynm nehuatl miguel jacobó de mañobo Escribí della yglesia nehuatl oniquicuillo ynm testamento ana moçel nican nictllilìa notoca nofirma

Miguel jacobó de mañobo nonbrado

- 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 Quauhhti, 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.

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**Document 58A**

*Annotation in Spanish, n.d.*

/f. 85v/ vendieronse siete camellones del difunto aRibam nonbrado en dos pesos y medio que se dijeron de misas

fri Joan Zimbron

/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.
Document 59

Testamento de Andrés de San Miguel, October 20, 1581

This is the only will from Culhuaucán’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/ 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 Tlalnexpan; 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 Jalome, 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
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.

- 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 patrimonial level land, if he lives; on it he will (pay tribute) and perform all the obligations.
- Auh ym ychihuaz yn aoxixitin Auh yn teuhtlalli yteb ym mochicuizque ynn ytech yez ynn y Yntla. Tlaco yhuan maria xocoyotl aco nemiz ca ypan quiyahuac tito quixtoquilliz yhuan oc no chicontetl chinamitl yppa oncan quinchixtiz ym mochi xicauh. Yppa ytech pouhqui yn tequitihua ca mochi ytech yez ynn onicteneuh yppa ytech yez ynn onicteneuh yppa ytech yez ynn onicteneuh.

- And to my younger brother, Gaspar Chichimecaltl, 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 Chichimecaltl and I, for we paid a lot of money for them. And also we two, my younger brother and I, Gaspar Chichimecaltl 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 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...
cima çenpohualli nicmaca y noteycauh gaspar chichimecatl ahu çenpohualli notech pohuiz monamacaz missa yehuati quyitmati yni noteycauh nopa n latoz

- No yhuan niquitohua tlallachco chinamitl 3 pōli yntech nicpohuah quimomamacazque yni noteycauhuan gasbar chichimecatl yhuan Juá tiaçapac yhuan augustinac tlacoyhuan maria xoco quinaucahuizeyqu an se yhhuau quimati quimoxexeluhiuseyaqay meyquixtoquilliz

- Auh yni tlalmilli oçelotepec çenpohualhuicai macuilmatl ynic patlauhu yni mliteych in andres tlalhuitoctzin catca ychlan cohuanatl concahuza yni omenitl chiuah noteycahuac Juá tiaçapac yhuan augustinac quimonepan tlaxeluhiuseyayacay meyquixtoquilliz

- Ihuau niquitohua y noxolar y canno oncan quiyahuac chiquaçenmatl ymexcopahuic ahu ynic patlauh cacan tepiton aço ematl yni mochi yni ipan oncan icac ycal catca Juó perez çentetl xochmilcópaca ytzitljac çentetl tonatiuh yquicayaapana ytzitlac yni onteyxiti ahu çentetl tlamacaxl quinamacatia yni nonamic catca ome pesos ypatiuh ahu oc ceppa omonamacazquia oquihocalhuia yni pó ollí Auh yni iquac micque yz catqui ynetlacuil i pó's ypan v ó Auh nehuatl ahu nehuatl (sic) oniquixtlauh yni tó ahu yni calli yhhuqui yni ma ye no çeppa oninocohui yeq no çeppa huel notech pouhtica yni axcan ynpampa ca onitlaxtlauh nehuatl Auh yni ipann icac ytalmañtl ca tequito ymmaca ynicahuau yni tlaxilcatlalque yni oçca aca quimomaxuiluzquya yhuan yni intetotontl oçettotoni çann ic çenyez amo ytech nitiatohua çan niccahua ahu yni calli yni onicenteuch notech pohuiz yni axcan quimocoahuiz oncan yeq maçhiuhca nechpallehuiz yni ixpanó dio misa yeh ucap tetlo

- Auh yni tecuitlaapan 7 tetl çanno ytlahuical yeq yni tlamantli temacoz yhuan çepohualli tlamillli tepetlaxquac çanno ytech yeq yni tlamantli temacoz yhuan çepohualli tlamillli Sanctiago tetla çanno ytech yeq yni tlamantli temacoz

- Auh yni caltepiton yni tlacpac onicenteuch tonatiuh yquitoçayapa ytzitlac ahu quimomacaz ytech pohuiz yn Juó perez catca yni calle yni quezqui ypatiuh yeq tó missa yeh ypan mito no ayac quichillaniz yni iqu yni nitécpaano notlatol

- ahu yni noJolar yni onicenteuch tlacpac 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 Ocelotepac, 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 Tlaco, 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 my houselot, 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 Tepetlaxquac 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 my houselot that I mentioned above, six
- No yuuan niQuitohua ynn ompa ahtco namique oacata nonamitzin catac ynn ompa ycac ynal oncan t lacate tepan xoichiucopa ytzica cano monnamaz (sic) nisa yc mitoz ynnpan yuexquih ye ypatiuc oc mottat mo nemilliz aco huei teyxtin tlanamicozque ynn ahtco ynamic catac yuuan yn nehuatli yuuan nonamic ayac yylia oncan qitoz.

- yuuan niQuitohua yn nehuatl diego sanchez totococ yn yehuatli ynn onechmictyi ononechocchilohui ynic ye nimiquiznequi axcan ca yntla çan cocolizi onliucumi canel ye nomiquian auh ynin ca atle notlatlacol Auh ynn axcan niQuitohua yntla necji yntliti ynic ymac onicocox cochllotica ynic ynan teopan oSpital yon oncan nipatillo tlaqtlaquaz yuuan quintlaxtlaquiz yndornti yntizi ynuexquih qitlanizque quinmacaz Auh ytu tetomines ynic niconlatuc ma lauctlili pesos y mochi çenchantmoc y niçeppielia çechyaca tlaqtlaquizolozque yuuan çequi teaxca onicopia (sic) tel yehuatli quimay yuexquihayuatzin cotetuatzinmacay ynuexquih teaxca yuuan yecatzino quipia amaty yntoca Don gasbar quicohuaznequi yntla quicohuaz ma yciuhca huallaz ynuexquih macaz yinamitzin catac miguel zeron ca yaxca auh yntlacamo çan yciuhca huallaz ynuexquih macoz ynuexquih azcuhua.

- ye yxquih y niQuitohua ma nechmotlapopohluiilicac ynu exquihcit ynu nohayoqule yuuan yxquihcit ynu intlan oniyenemiti yuuan ynu impalco onixlalma ynu tepantlaca macamo nechihuacauqzique ynu ixpanco dios er e ymixpan omocchiu ni oquicacque yntlatol cococxatzintli diego cheze miguel de ribas dibotato miguel Gr pablo gervasion diego de tapian Ju Rafael teopantopillie yxquinin yteopantla (sic) auh ynu tlaxillacalleque hue matl ynu land ynu 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/ Yahualihuican, next to the field of Andres Garcia 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 house lot, 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 Tlachatcapan, 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 Sanchez, 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 Acatzincot 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 Sanchez: Miguel Ribas, deputy; Miguel Gerónimo; Pablo Gervasio; Diego de Tapia; Juan Rafael, topole of the church; all these are church people, and the ward heads, Miguel
huetque miguel Joseph Regidor Joseph de sanct marcos
lucas lazaro Juó baptista andres garcía gasbar chichimecatl
ytiachcauh ye miqiznequi ahu ye cihua
Juá tiacapan ynaí muye augustina omonamicti
tequixquipan má tiacapan ynaí gasbar chichimecatl Juá
tiacapan ynaí catca thomas de aquino Axcan omicuillo
testamento nican oSpital ypan domingo yc 17 dias del
mes de febrero de 1583 años

- Auh ye nehuatl Escriño nobdo nehuatl oniquicuillo ye
  testamento ytencopatzinco ye moy magco señor don Juó
  Ramirez gobor yhuán seños aíldes yhuán señor fiscal
gabriel maldo ye nehuatl ca huel mellahuac ynic oni-
  quicuillo ahu ynic niceltillia nican nictalllia nofirma
  Nixpan omochihu
  Miguel Jacobo
de malío nobdo

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 Tia-
capan, 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, go-
bernardor, and the lords alcaldes, and the lord fiscal Ga-
briel 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/ Rí de las mandas que este diffío mando para
missas seys pòs
fr Chróual de agurto

f. 89r/ I received six pesos from the bequests that this
deceased ordered for masses.
Fray Cristóbal de Agurto.

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 quiòs y ocheta y cico anos y yehuatzintzin y moy
magco senor gonf yhuán seños aíldesme ytecopatzco
cuillilo y liippo y yehuatl miguel Jacobo yn ipapa çeca
miec oquitlatin y testamieto y quitlallitihui y mimi-
catzintzinti yehuatl nahuatillo y Juó bapío qumociut-
tlahuiz yn ixiquch testamieto Axca maco y liippo ymix-
patzinco seños alluaçias miguel Joseph franco bazquez
nixpan omochihu y nehuatl pòs de s pablo escrió
(…)
don Juó Ramirez pò d s augtí
aíldes governor aíldes

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.
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.

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 tlatoani (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 (cihua pilli). 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 quahuitl rather than the more common matl; however, the quahuitl is used in another testament (Doc. 78).
y nanima ma quimotlaocolliz maçohyuin y mococohua y nonacayo yece y noçializ y'n nonthalaniquilliz ca ytzoc ayamo ninotlapoilitzin ynic nictlañilaitzotestamento y'n nehuatl pedro de S{\text{\textsuperscript{0}}} nican nochan ayahuatloclo ma quimatican y'ixquichtin y'ñ quintazque y'n amatl noconpuehualitia y notlatquitzin y nomiltzin tecizco chinamitz cempoualli ynic patlahuac ahu inic huiyac 15 poua ...? ahu omnipoualli onicmacac y nomaztin ana teycucho yna{\text{\textsuperscript{2}}} p{\text{\textsuperscript{0}}} huilocpal y(...o)mome catca ynin (ccee??)poualli yteztinco yez y çhuapulli y nonamitzcin dona ma{\text{\textsuperscript{a}}} teyczihuitzi y ninic patlahuac auh ynin ytetzinc o huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenhuitzi y ninic huiyac auh ynic huiyac auh o ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenquahuitzi y ninic huiyac auh ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahuac chicuenpoualli catca ynic huiyac auh ynic patlahuac cempoualli auh ynic patlahu...
Document 63A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

f. 91v

Recié quatro pesos para misas.

Item, seven pesos for four masses from the lands in Chalcocalcan which were sold to Pedro Ortiz.

Fray Juan Zimbrón.

Document 63B

n.d.

f. 92r

Testament of don Pedro de Suero. (Label for Document 63.)

Document 64

Testament of María Teicuic (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.

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 Teicuic, 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
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, chiuatepixqui, 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 Tlamanzonco 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 her property.
- 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, chiuatepixqui, 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 Tlamanzonco 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 her property.
- 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.
- auh oopohualli / nicmacan / y nochpoch / magñañ française / can ic cencan yc nicyahuallalía / Ezpohualli (sic) / yhuat matlcamatl / ayac quitlaco / ayac quixitiniliz / y nochpoch / magñañ française / yhuat ynañé / françõ flores

- auh y huixachtlan / cepohualli / yhuat matlcamatl / ynic huiyac / auh ynic pantlahuac / cepohualli / niquimatiusi / y y nopilhua / ynic ce ytoca magñañ française / ynañé françõ flores nicmacan / matlcamatl / ynic yome / ytoca magñañ xco (sic) ynañé Juñõ meñor / nicmacan / matlcamatl

- yquiey / ytoca Juñé beronica / ynañé Juñõ augustin (sic) / nicmacan matlcamatl / yc açi cepohualli omataclti / ayac quimitiacalhuiz

- auh y ayauntonco / Nicmacan / cepohualli / y pilontoli augustina / y y ipiltzin catcan / chimalquauh / auh y metl mochi / ocan onoc / monamacaá / yy ipatiúh Ez / misaa yc ynopan mitoz / auh y noxhuiuhtzin / Juñé beronica / nicmaca cepohualli ypan matlcamatl / auh y Juñõ de st pueblo / nicmacan / cepohualli / ypan matlcamatl yc açi 4 polli / ayac quitlacamtlacuil / ca niqumixcatian

- auh y opan / quauhtenaco / macuiltli / y chinamiitli / nicmacan / y magñañ xco / y inamic Juñõ meñor

- auh y calii / y y quin omotlapachon / çan techiEz / ca tecpacalli / maçhui techiez / ca ca çe ynecehan y nopilhua yhuat y noxhuiuhtzinzhinhuat / çaniiuhca yez / tlachpanazque techiezque

- auh y calii / xochmilcopan / ytitacac y quimocahuilitlazque y y omoniquilique y nicuitzin / catcan ytoca françñañ mochi monamacaá / y tét / y quauhcteltli / y y tlaqetzalli / y y ipatiúh yez / y y st misaa yc ytopan mitoz

- auh y pilontoli / augtina nicmacan / y caltitlan / onoc tetzintli / quicuiz omatl ytech pouthiqui

- auh y pañar tomecan / yhuat y y françõ huitlalloctazintli y y omextin / aocmoo tle huel quitozque / ca oquicuique / y y inemac / aocmoo tle huel quixtocazque

/l. 94r/ - Ye ixquich y liltol / y cocoxcatzintli / y y imixpan / testosme oomochiuh testamento / Juñõ de st pueblo / Juñõ augustin teopatlacatl / Chíhua / Juñé moyse ymonatzin goñor magñañ françñañ ynañé françõ flores / magñañ xco / ynañé Juñõ meñor / Juñé beronica / ynañé Juñõ augtina / mñañé Juñõ de st pueblo / Juñõ tiacapa cihuatipexqui lyusa tiacapan / ynañé augtina teyxpán / yhuat alvacias françõ vazquez / axcan omicuiloll / fiernes ypan metztli de Junio y 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 or 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 Ayauhtenanco 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 Huitlalloctazintli, the two can make no further objections, because they took their inheritance; they cannot claim more.

/l. 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, cihuatipexqui; Luisa Tiacapan, wife of Agustín Teixpan; and the executor Francisco Vázquez. Written
In testament m'am teycuich nica nicnetiltia amatl / ypan nictlalia nofirma y nehuatl

Gabriel Majdo Juobfia fiscal Escribo
nobrado

yn testament oniquicuillo yntecopantzin yn stof y nehuatl Escribo / teopan

I wrote the testament by the order of the lord, I, the notary of the church.

Document 64A
Annotations in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 94r/ Recibi para cumplimi... deste testament tres pesos de lymosna de missas Por esta diffa
fr Chiróual de agurto

Ri otros pesos de lymosna para missas por el anima deste
diffo
fr chiróual de agurto

/f. 94v/ Joaquin matlallaca of Santa Maria Asupon amatlah

- In ica ytocatzin dion tetatzin dion tepiltzin dion Eshu sancto ca huel ce nelli dion niconetloquitia nicpehualtiya y notestamento ca y nehuatl notocan xuchti matlallacan nica nochan st Juob Euangta colhuacan oca niphohui yn ipan tlaxillacalli st ma Sopcion atotolco achtoper yehuatzin ymactzinco nocotlallia yn noyollia y naniman y to dion ynic nictlallia y notestamento ynic ayac qui-tlacoz y notlatol y niquitotiu ynic nixtomauixtitiu ynic ixpansto yn to dion niquihotuahun

- Inic centlamantli ynic noyollia naniman ycenmactzinco nocotlallia y to dion yehica ca oquimochiuhelli ca oquimomauixti(yilli) yca yn itlaçoeycoztzin y nica tlalxipac ahu y nonacay niacmaca y tllali yehica ca tllali ytech oquiz

- Inic otlamatli niquihotuahun y nehuatl xuchti matlallaca noto(min)itzin 4 pesos quipia ytocan Gr of ychan st? ma-theo tlalxopan ma quimitlanillizque yn albaceasti ye misa nopa mitox ca mochipan oniquitlaniliiyaya can ic onechmictizquia ytlad oonechmochicahuiliyan yn to

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.

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/ Joaquín MatlalaCa of Santa María Asunción Amanaltan

- 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 Matlalaca, 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 Matlalaca, 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.
Testament Fragment of Agustín Quauhnex, n.d.

This bare fragment gives only the name of the testator. The rest of the folio is blank.
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/ Maria Teicuh, widow of don Juan García, of Santa María Magdalena Tezacoac
- 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 Tezacoac, 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.

/f. 95v/ Testamento
- Know all who see and read this document that I, Agustín Quauhnex, whose home is here in San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan, belonging . . .
testamento y milli Epoll niqotihuac teopan pohuiz yntla oninomiquilli mani yçiuhca monamacaz y quezqui ypa Ez milli missa topann ic mitoz y nonamictzin ocatca don Ju García No yhua niqotihuac teopan pohuiz yntla oninomiquilli mani yçiuhca monamacaz y quezqui ypa

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 Tlalachco there are fields, in one place next to the road and in the other place (toward Nextlatitlan?); 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 Tlillalcualqui, Miguel Hernández, 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

Document 67A

Annotations in Spanish, June 18, 1587, Sept. 3, 1587

/f. 96v/ R E tres pesos de missas por el anima de don Ju García y su muger a diez i ocho de junio de 1587 a o s

/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
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.

Document 68

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

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.

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.

Miguel Oçoma, whose home is San Francisco Atempan; as he gave orders when he was ill, he said:

Draw close, my lords, you, Miguel Iuhcatl atzin and you, Miguel Coatequitzin, I instruct you, if I die to
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
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 . . .
notlacaquilliz ahuque catqui ça pactica yn ipālco yn tō d (sic) yntla ninomiquilliz achtopan yncemactzinco noconahuay namanican ca yxiptlatzin ca ytlachialuitzin ma quihuinalmanizliz ma quimotlaqoolizliz ahu maila nchumpolhuizliz yn ixquich notlatlacaqo ynic onicoyolotlitalcalhui ahu ca yz catqui ync onicopieliilliz (sic) tō d.

- ynic centlamantli niquitoyna ynticha omentin nopilhuan ynu Juō xuarce ca ye ixquich cahuil ynu onitzoc ynu ahan cuhalnoquetzn ahu yx tu lacatl ynu dona ana čihuanehehequi (sic) ca mococohuay ahu yxquich ynic innemac ca oco amo niquicuillilliz ca ye ytech ca on quimomaquillizia yntlacatl noteō Don andres xuarce yntatzin aco nelli ynu aquin quyolotlcahuan ynu onitzpa ynu o aixo niqtëpcean ca yxquich nixcoyan naxca ynic ynic mac na ontechn ca ahu ynu axcan oco ceppa niqectllalillia ynic tecpacallili ynu iuh ca testamento čaniiyey nuances yxquich yntertiinyo tecpan ynu thallachico milli ywuan y nican quaahuhtenanco chinamitil ywuan y naqmacax ywuan y huixachtlatl ywu yxuano onpa huixachtla ynu xcoltepec callactiac ywuan ynxaxlilihuan ytu niquimoca ytu niqunchuy cohuatlan ynic niqectllalillia Don Juō tellez ynu xco yciotonca quimochihuillilliz ywuan y tomaltla ytu xlamillili ywuan yntu xco yciotolco ynu oce cequi xciotolco ca mocti yxtech ynic tecpacallili

- Auh ynu omenet nipintzintzuan ana tacui ynic ycamat catca Juōmo Erdo (?) ywu ymanga taqacapan ynicpō De la crox † niquitoyna niquinomaquillia hoophuallili yntu xciotolco ynu xpan xciotolco ahu ynu xciotolli ynu niqimuca ca naxca / ca nonemac ynu iuh ypan yxciutliuhuitca testamento

- yniquetlanmantlil ynu xciotahapama ynic iqueralihuy yotcemacallili ynu quicalchihuyotiaqu Juez Juan de los angeles xx ti li ynu xcocpohualhuiaqo ahu onicxello ynu x tetl niqcetmacac quimatin ynu ixquichtin thallaxillalcalleque ynu Sīa ana ca (sic) ahu ynu oc no / matlactel ot notechn ca ca naxca ca nonemac

{/f. 98v/- ynic nauhtlanmantli ynu ceq pa niqemecuhuan yni
cotonca ynu xtomatlpan ynu xquich ynu chinamitil monamacac yv moxtlahuax ynu xv pōs ynu xtomines Diego Ramírez
visitador ahu ynu tō čan niqam opopolliuh ypana ynu iuh niqitllalia ma teapen całoża teotlatquipe ynu nycz yv mocohuay ahu yntla oc cequi mocahuay tō xmacozque ynu motollinia ywu yntu ospital mopatia ynu xcoohuay ahu yntlacamu huel macozque čan mochi teapen caloquent yqv misan xpan mitoz ahu ynu chinamitil onicetnenuh amo Espanoltlil quicohuazque čan xehuatin y nuqman altepahuay

- ynic v matli niquitoyna ynu xcohuatlan nomil ynu 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 Cihuanequici, 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 Amxac, 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 Teléz (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
Document 71A

Annotation in Spanish, March 8, 1593

f. 98v

/l. 98v/ - las tierras que dejo doña María Xuares para que se vendiesen como consta por este testamento se cumplido y las tierras se vendieron a los indios de Santa María Tomatlan fecha en Culhuacan a 8 de marco de 1593

f. 99r

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.

l. 99r/ - axcan fiernes ye xx mani metztli de abril de 1586 anos yz momachiyotia yn icalnemac ocata miguel nacazitztoc ynic oxomtitin ynic omonanamacac quauhtecolli tlapanaltotli yhua yn ça tzintepantli yn omo-centlalli yn cepan omocac totlaçotatzin pē prior ii pōs tecopatiyotl yhua quauhtecopatiyotl ymixpanco gabriel mālō fiscal yhua miguel Joseph agustin vazquez dibotados
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/ (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.

f. 99v/ Santana tepanecapa Anticpac

In ica yn iotacatzin dios tectatzin dios tepiltzin dios epirit (sic) sato ça çe huel melli (sic) dios ninoneltoquitia (sic) ma quimatica yn iuxtapchi quitazque yn quipohuazque y notestamento ynic ninomanquixtiuh yi ixpantzinco y totecuiyo dios ynic ayc (sic) quitlacoy y notlatol yntla nimiquilli (sic) ma quihualmanillis y noyollia nanima yn totecuiyo Dios Ca ytlamaquixtiltzin y auh y nonacayo nicma (sic) y tlalli yeica ytech quiča y tlalli ca ytech oquiz y tlalli y queni nehuatl angosti tepancati y nica nocha San Jua enbagellista colhuaca y ca nipohui yi ipa tlaxillacalli saata Ana anticpac en nicchihua notestamento ynic ayac quitlacoy y notlatol

- Inic getlamatli quitohua yn oca nihuetztoc y nocal ca çan oca yes camo monamacas ca çan oca yes yhuac mochi y callitic ca mochi oca yes ye motequipanosque y no-pilhua macamo ytlacahuiz y notlatol y nehuatl angosti tepanecatl
- In icatoctzin dios teptitzin dios Eşpu Sancto çan chuen nelli dios nicnonelhuitia ma quimatica yon iquichtzin yon quiquohuaquake yonin notestamento ynic ninomaquixtitl MainWindow yon ixpanco yote dios ynic ayan quiltlaco y notlatotl yntla ninonmiquiliz nacuaxhuaniliz y noyollia y naninamoteo dios Ca ytlamaquixtiltzin ayy y nonacayo nmicacan tlalli Eyca ca ytech yix zn tlalli
- In ćentlamantli niquitozhua y nhuatul Juá minna yntla oninonmiquiliz na nicnequi ma opa nitocoz yn iglesias huey teopan s Juá Euanglia ynhua y naninamoteo nonacayo centetl missa nopan mitoz nciatlalli huentzintli 1 p³s
- In ćentlamantli niquitozhua ynon nihueteztoc calltzintli tonatliiquinamicticas yhua ćentetl xochmilcoapan ytzticac niquitozhua nmonacaz y quezqui ypatiiuh Ez missa topan yc mitoz y nonamictzin catca yhua y nonacayo
- 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 Tepanecatl, not be violated.
- First, I declare 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 Tepanecatl. Those before whom the testament was ordered and who heard are first, Juan Bautista; Juan Bernardo, topile of tribute; Julián Téllez; Pedro Cannen; 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.

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.
- 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 tomin. 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) our 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: Juaña Tiacapan, cihuatepixqui; Martina María; María Ana, wife of Juan Núñez; Inés, wife of Gaspar Melchor. /f. 100v/ Axcan lunes yohua omochiuh testamento yc xx mani deçiembre 1587 anos

Miguel Josep
dibotados
agustín vazquez
fiscal
Gabriel maldonado
fiscal
Nixpan
Juhoy bapta
escriba

Document 74A

Annotation in Spanish, n.d.

/f. 100v/ Digo yo fray sebastian de castro que en cumplimiento deste testamento se an dicho tres missa por esta diffra y para la limosna dieron tres pöas fr sebastian de Castro

/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.
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 San Agustín, n.d.

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. I give six pesos of my money will belong to me. And with four pesos in money belonging to my late wife, 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 at 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 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 Apilco, each one 50 matl lo. And there are some chinampas in Santa Ana Tepanecapan; all of them will belong to me. 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 at 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.

- 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 Apilco, each one 50 matl lo. And there are some chinampas in Santa Ana Tepanecapan; all of them will belong to me. 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 at 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.

- 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.

- 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.
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*.

/.../ - 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 Cihuatecpan 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 Huiztiltecatl; Gregorio Moysén; Luis Pérez; Guillermo de San Martín, topile; Pedro Chapol; Juan Agustín, church attendant; Juan Xalli; Agustín Teixpan; Miguel Tetzcaloa; the women: Juana Tecucho, wife of Miguel Tetzcaloa; Luisa, wife of Agustín Teixpan, etc. (sic).

Agustín Vázquez, fiscal. Miguel Josef, deputy.

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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*. 

/.../ - 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 Cihuatecpan 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 Huiztiltecatl; Gregorio Moysén; Luis Pérez; Guillermo de San Martín, topile; Pedro Chapol; Juan Agustín, church attendant; Juan Xalli; Agustín Teixpan; Miguel Tetzcaloa; the women: Juana Tecucho, wife of Miguel Tetzcaloa; Luisa, wife of Agustín Teixpan, etc. (sic).

**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/  
...justin farfan que rreçibi
..ndres clemente para que
.l dicho andres clemente y por
.por verdad lo firme fecha
.e setiembre 158(0?8?) aôs
..ray Aug(tin
..farfan

\f. 102v/  
...(A)gustín 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.

**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(á)a ana xallah
testamento de 1588 aôs
- In ican ytocatzin dions tetaztin dions tepil (sic) yhua dions
Eşpu sancto ça ce huel nellii dions niconeltotquitia ma
quimatica ya ixquixtin ya quityazque ya quipohuazque y
notestamento ya qui en Nehuatl bernardino vazquez nica
nochan San Juô Euang(á) colhuacan ypa nipohui yn
tlaixillacalli Sancta ana xallah niquohua maçiñui yn
mococohua nonacayo y en cerca tlanahu Ece y noyolla y
naniman hamo que catqui çan pactica niquohua y no-
tzonquizcatlanquillizpan ya ne homiquiztapan nic-chi-
hua niçecpannya y notestamento macayac quitaçoz Inic
centlamantli niquohua y noyolla naniman yncenmac-
tzinco nocotlalli (sic) yn tô ôs dions yeçican ca oquimo-
quixtilli yn ica ya ñtlaçoztizin y nican tlaçicapac auy y
nonacayo niçmaca yntlaç yehica ca tlaç yntech quiz
- Ihuâ niçiquichua opan mani milli San lureço ophualli
ypan ya calpolitilan milli oncan ya omotlalnamacac Juô
de san miçl monamacaz missa nopanû 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 Evang-
elista 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
tinely 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 tô?) the fields of Cal-
politilan; 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 NIQUITOBUA NICOHUILLI YMLI JUO DE S1 MIGUEL O-PÖLLI QUIMATIN PÖ DE SAN NICOLAS ONCAN YN TÖNCALTICPAC MONAMACAZ NOTECH POHUÍZ.

- NIQUITOBUA Y NOCAL TONATIUHI YCALLAQUIYAPAN YTZTICAC ÇAN NICAN QUIMOPANCHILHUITIEZ Y NOPILHUAUTZINTZIN Y NONAMICTZIN YNIC CEN YNTOCA JUO YNIC OME YTOSCA AGUSTIN CA YCHAN AY HN TLECOPA NOCOCHIYI HUEL NICAIXCATIA Y NOPILTZIN JUO NICMACA AY HN NICAN XOLLAR YNIC PANTLAHUAC MEXICOPAN ONPOHUALLI ONMACUILLI YN OPAH ONAÇI / ATECO YNIC TLPÁPUHTLI AY HN COYOHUACAPAN ÇAN OCAN ONAÇI YN HUALQUIÇA / NOTECYAHUA ÇAN OCAN ACUTICA AYH Y NEPAN Y NICA TLALLI OPAH ONAÇI HUEHUE OTLI YCAYA YN ITECH CA NOTECYAHUA.

- IHUA NIQUITOBUA YN ACOCALLI MONAMACAZ ÇAN IXQUICH YN TLAPAC YNCAC NOTECH POHUÍZA YN YÇIÜCHA MONAMACAZ.

- YHUÀ NOCA-XAN CENTETL NICMACA Y NOPILTZIN JUO AYH CENTETL NICMACA Y NOCA-XAN Y NONAMICTZIN YNTOCA MARÍA /F. 103V/ - IHUA NIQUITOBUA ÇAN NICCENTLALLIA YN IXQUICH CALLITIC ONOC NOTLÁPECH YN IXQUICH NOHUAPAL YHUÀ QUAUHTEC-TIL YHUÀ NOTLÁCUILLOTLECON YN CA MOCIFIETOC CA MOCHI YNTECH CA Y NONAMIC QUIPIELLIZ Y NOPILHUAUTZINTZIN CA YMAXCA.

- IHUA NIQUITOBUA NOCHINA TEMI ONCAN / IN TONALLECA YPNAÇAN TLALMANTLI YNIC PATLÁHUAC MEXICOPAN ONPOLLI ONMACUILLI AYH YN COYOHUACAPAN ONPOLLI ONCAIXTOLLI YNIC TLPÁPUHTLI ONCA HONPEHUA YN IQUIYAHUA CATCAH QAUAHUHUAUTZIN NIQUITOBUA CA CANO YNTECH NICAHUA Y NONAMICTZIN YHUÀ Y NOPILHUAUTZINTZIN CA YMAXCA.

- AYH YZ CATQUI NICAQUIZTILITIÚH MACAMOTZACUIXTILLIZ YN TÖ DIOS YN CENTETL NICAMITL AÇALOTTETL (SIC) QUITOCATOC CA YE QUIJATIN YN ERNANDO XUARÉZ CA ONCA YN TEPILTZIN YN ICHPOCHTLI NEMI MEXICO CA YXAXCAN YNIN ONICTENEUH CHINAMITL ÇENTETL ÇANNO HONCA YN ONICTENEUH TLAPAC.

- IHUA COLTOCO TEMI CHINAMITL ÇAN TLA(A?)POHUALLI YNIC TLPÁPUHTLI ONPOLLI YHUÀ NAHUQUAUHUILLI YN COYOHUACAPAN AYH YN XOCHMILCOPOAN YNIC PATLÁHUAC OPOLLI YPAN OQUAHUITL CA NICNEPANTLAXELLOHUÁ CEPOHUALLI NICMACA NICAXCATIA Y NOPILTZIN JUO AYH YN ÇENPOLLI NICMACA Y NOPILTZIN AGUSTIN OC QUIPIELLIZ Y NONAMICTZIN.

- IHUA TEMI

- 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 (money) 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 houselot 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.

- And I declare that there are chinampas of mine in Toñalecan, next to the level land; in width, toward Mexico City, it measures 45 (units of measure) and toward Coyoacan 55, and it begins where the entrance of Quauhnahuatzin was. I say that I also leave it 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 Toñalecan, next to the level land; in width, toward Mexico City, it measures 45 (units of measure) and toward Coyoacan 55, and it begins where the entrance of Quauhnahuatzin was. I say that I also leave it to my wife, who will keep it for my children, since it is their property.

- And there are (chinampas) . . .
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/ 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 Tocititlan (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-
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” (mexicatlalli). In the present collection, only one other testator mentions this category (Doc. 26), but it does turn up in other local-level Nahua 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 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 (Evan gelista); 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 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.
- Third, I declare that I give to my child named Juan Melchor my new house of three parts that faces west,
Saturday, the 29th of December of the year 1589.

Magdalena María, and Martina Ana, widow. Today, she declared 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.

Magdalena María, who lives in Tecuhtollan; recently I gave her three 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.

And I declare that in the place named Xallatenco 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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 another place, also in Yahualiuscan, 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.

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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 (camixatl) 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 sum (probably long since spent) should be used for any masses said.

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\(f. 106r\)

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 Tezcatoc, 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 Tlaxoiuhco, 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 Atechicalcan. (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 Teguacuilco next to the field of Joaquín Ramírez, and these said chinampas are to be sold...
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
In a speech recorded in Alonso de Zorita's work *Life and Labor in Ancient Mexico* [New Brunswick, NJ, 1963]:141).
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 Cihuatecpan; 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.

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 Escribano 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)