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Here it is. A Nahuatl translation of European cosmology : context and contents of the Izcatqui manuscript in the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam

Heijnen, I.

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Chapter Four - A Religious Prologue: The Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade

[f.1r]	
Izcatqui	Here it is
yca quiztica ymtetlaocoliliztzin[111]	as it emerges with its mercy
Samto[112] *padre in itoca*	by the Holy Father named
bulla De la Sa[n]cta cruzada	the Bull of the Holy Crusade
y/ne maquililo yndias tlalli	as it is given to the land of the Indies
ypa[n] nemi yn motene[113]*hua/*	those who live in the so-called
tierra firme Del mar occeano [sic]	mainland of the ocean sea
ynic quimlote/maquilia Sancto p[adr]e[114]	thus he, the Holy Father, gives them
miec tlamantli	many things
cenc/a// huei teicnililiztli	a very great mercy
teoyotica tetlaocoliliztli=	a divine mercy

Through these words, Izcatqui is introduced to its readers. This chapter will explain the reference in the first lines of the manuscript to the Holy Father and the Bull of the Holy Crusade. Accordingly, I will discuss the religious character of the first 10 folios of Izcatqui, before the text itself enters the *reportorio* genre. Moreover, I will place these first 10 pages within a larger context of religiosity in early colonial Mexico, a period in which many Christian texts were produced for speakers of indigenous languages. These texts have been the subject of many studies,[115] however, there are fewer references to studies of Bulls of the Holy Crusade in indigenous languages. Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to provide a detailed examination of the pages of Izcatqui that touches upon the theme of the Bull of the Holy Crusade in particular. More specifically, then, the chapter aims to answer the following questions: what is the content of the text in Nahuatl? How does the Nahuatl text relate to other similar texts. And why has it been incorporated into the manuscript? This chapter contains a large number of transcriptions and translations. While they are subject to my interpretation, I believe that the inclusion of these translations in the main text itself, rather than in appendices, illustrates the character of the religious folios of Izcatqui in a more direct way than any description could.

4.1 Incorporation of the Americas into the Christian realm

Columbus' 1492 landfall on previously unknown islands in the Atlantic Ocean was a crucial event that directed future courses of history/histories, on either side of the Atlantic. This "discovery" gave rise to

[111] Written in a larger font than the rest of the text.
[112] It should read 'Sancto' [Saint].
[113] 'e' written in superscript.
[114] 'e' written in superscript.
[115] For examples of both Nahuatl and Yucatec Mayan texts see the work by Mark Christensen (2013); for examples of Yucatec Maya texts see William Hanks (2010) and Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmerman, & Martina Schrader-Kniffki (eds.) (2014).

a series of expeditions aimed at colonial expansion, as well as to opportunities for trade and the establishment of a now much larger Christian realm. Columbus' four expeditions led him and his men to several Caribbean islands, from the Bahamas and Hispaniola, to an island off the coast of Honduras, and, eventually, all the way down to Panama. The first planned encounter with mainland Yucatec Peninsula was not until 1517, during an expedition led by Francisco Hernández de Córdoba.[116] With this encounter, the Spaniards had finally found what they were expecting: grandeur in the form of architecture, lifestyle and precious materials such as gold. This initiated other expeditions, first by Juan de Grijalva in 1518 and a year later by Hernán Cortés – the second of whom undertook a quest to find the great Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan in Central Mexico which so (in)famously came to be known as the "Conquest of Mexico".[117]

Cortés and his men landed on the coast of the Mexican Gulf at Ulúa on the 21st of April 1519, Holy Thursday. Being devout Christians, they celebrated mass the following day – Good Friday – and erected their wooden cross. The colonizers had the goal of converting the indigenous population to Christianity, but they feared that without an organized structure and plan it was heading for failure (Ricard, 1966: 17-21). Cortés strongly urged the contemporaneous Spanish King, Charles V, to send over – in addition to the first Twelve Franciscan friars who arrived in 1524 – more Franciscan and Dominican friars to officially carry out Christian rituals such as ordination and confirmation (*ibid.*: 21).

Following from the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Izcatqui continues as follows, considering the damage of the right margin:

[f.1r]	
In ixquich ica peuh intzintic	at the beginning of all
yn c[e]m[ica]c yn y/e//huatl toyaouh	eternally our enemy is he,
yn tlacatecolotl in diablo	the man-owl (devil), diablo
y/n ipa[m]pa ynexicoliz	because of his envy,
yneyolcocoliz/.../[118]/ pa quitemo	its trouble […] he descends it
tinemi yn quenin huel	how […] we live well
q/.../[t]/e/ltiz yn t[lac]p[a]c	[…] on earth,
tlaca ynic amo quil/...//huizque	that is to say to not […]
yn ilhuicac necuiltonolli	in heaven, wealth is prepared
yno./.../ce[n]ca huili t[o]t[ecuiy]o[119] dios	by our Lord, dios
ytetlayecolticahuan /...//	providing for himself
n o[m]pa ylhuicatlitlic	in the black heaven there
yn o[m]pa hualhuet/...// tlacatecolotl	the old devil
yn ipa[m]pa ynepoaliz/...//	because of its arrogance/vanity […]
yn yehuatzin. t[o]t[ecuiy]o[120] Jesuxpō	he, our Lord, Jesus Christ
yn ipa[n]/yn ce[n]ca tlapanahuia	it surpasses much
ytetlaçotla/...//	his love for all […]
nicoquimotlaçotili yn Sancta ygle/sia//	the Holy Church valued him highly
mocahuililitehuac	he left upon dying

[116] A ship returning from Panama shipwrecked near the coast of Yucatán in 1511 and some, including Jerónimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero, reached the shore of the Peninsula. There they lived among a Maya population and learned to speak Yucatec Maya. In 1519, Hernán Cortés encountered both men; de Aguilar functioned as a translator for Cortés whereas Guerrero, having adjusted himself to a local lifestyle and married to a Maya woman, fought against the Spanish.

[117] See Matthew Restall's, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (2003), on the deconstruction of a development of (hi)stories on the Spanish Conquest.

[118] The right margin of the page is damaged, from here on to the lower section of the page.

[119] 'o' in superscript.

[120] 'o' in superscript.

yn miec tlama/.../chichicahuac teoyotica […] many powerful and divine things

A juxtaposition between good and bad is portrayed, and it is does not take long to describe who the reader should take sides with: the devil is taken to equal trouble while God brings wealth and love. In this fragment appears the first example of how certain terminology is being presented to the reader. By writing "*yn tlacatecolotl yn diablo*" the reader is immediately presented with a negative connotation to the Nahuatl word *tlacatecolotl* (man-owl). The Spanish friars appropriated a Nahuatl composite word that already had a negative connotation according to them. We can read the following in Sahagún's Book V of the Florentine Codex (folio 21v):

> "In the night the man-owls roam around, perhaps the *nahuales*, the witches, where they harm the households of people. When you see them trying to hurt the owners of the household, place obsidian at the door, or perhaps place it on the patio, during the night. They say: "the man-owls, the witches look into the mirror [e.g. obsidian], on their way to harm people. Perhaps someone will die, perhaps they will cause illness." With this, [they witch] will disappear. This time it does not hurt the people, when it sees the [obsidian] knife that is in the water." (my translation from Spanish)

The Spanish translation of the Nahuatl text in Book V illustrates how certain Nahuatl words and concepts were related to a Spanish cultural framework by Spanish translators. The Nahuatl word *tlatlahuipuchti* (*tlatlahuipochtli*), which means "woman who brings light," is translated into Spanish as "witch" (*brujo*). The *tlatlahuipuchti* was, according to Nahua speakers, a negative being that is still considered to be malign today. They are to be kept away from newborns especially, by placing a bowl of water, a pair of scissors, or an obsidian underneath the bed of the baby. Just as the text of Sahagún describes, the *tlatlahuipuchti* will go away when she sees her own reflection (personal communication Raul Macuil Martínez, see also Martín del Campo, 2009: 135, note 141). In the same fashion, people tried to warn off the *tlacatecolotl* or 'human-owl' in his harmful practices.

The word *tlacatecolotl* was a word that Christian clerics had appropriated from the Nahuatl language to talk about their devil before a Nahua audience since around the 1530's or 1540's (Burkhart, 1989: 40). *Tlacatecolotl* in the original Mesoamerican context was used to refer to the animal companion spirit (*nahualli*) that had evil intentions and caused illnesses and death (*ibid*.: 40).[121] Therefore, the word was most suitable to be selected by friars and it caught on pretty quickly as is evidenced by its use in numerous ecclesiastical Nahuatl texts (*ibid.*: 41). In the eyes of the friars, it was the devil who was responsible for indigenous people worshiping deities other than their Christian God, "fool[ing] the Indians into worshipping him with *excrements* in place of the *sacraments* of the Church of God (…) [and being] responsible for the fact that the Indians committed crimes against the faith (…)" (Moreno de los Arcos, 1991: 28).

While the word for devil is present in Izcatqui, the word representing hell, *mictlan* (the place of the dead) or *ichan tlacatecolotl* (house of the devil), is missing[122]. For Mesoamerican culture, *mictlan*

[121] Human beings are born with a companion: a *nahualli*. This *nahualli* can be an animal, but also a natural phenomenon such as wind, thunder, or rain. It is an 'alter ego' that can be communicated with through dreams. If something bad occurs to one's *nahualli*, that person is affected by it through illness for example. The definition for *nahualli* is quite complex, more so because the nahualli can either be regarded in positive and negative terms. Nowadays, the nahualli is considered to be more malign than benevolent (see Martínez González, 2009: 220-223).

[122] Mid-sixteenth century pictorial codex Magliabechi with Spanish commentary states that infierno (hell) should not be translated as *mictlan* but as *ichan tlacatecolotl* (Pharo, 2017).

was not so much a place to be feared, but rather simply a location where one would go when one's earthly life came to end. However, understandably it was selected by Spanish translators and missionaries to represent the evil and gruesome hellish place that Christians were to fear in life. As such, *mictlan* appears most frequently in Nahuatl doctrinal texts to refer to hell. In Izcatqui, however, the old devil does not reside in *mictlan*, nor in *ichan tlacatecolotl*, but in *ylhuicatliltic*, the black heaven (*ilhuicatl* heaven, *tliltic* black). On folio 1v of Codex Vaticanus A, heavens of different color are mentioned, one of them *ilhuicatl yayaucha*, or black heaven. This would be the heaven of the night (Alcina Franch, 1992: 268, 269). It was common, however, to describe heaven as a 'pure place' in contrast to hell, which was filled with dirt and filth, both of which are clearly associated with the color black. To support this claim, consider the Nahuatl sermon by Fray Alonso de Escalona, which states that *"ca atle tliltic ca atle catzauac calaquiz yn ilhuicac* 'nothing black, nothing dirty will enter heaven' (f.159v)" (Burkhart, 1989: 124). It would make sense, then, to locate *tlacatecolotl* in a black sphere or heaven. Burkhart makes use of linguistic methods to (re-)construct the metaphorical relationships friars used in their texts or sermons by using 'like' or 'as if' (*iuhqui*). The same tactic, Burkhart explains, occurs with the use of the word *teoyotica*, which she translates as "in a sacred way" or "in a divine sense." In Izcatqui, one finds the passage: *yn miec tlama[ntli/.../ chichicahuac teoyotica,* which translates as: the many things, they are strengthened in a sacred way or by something sacred. The text continues:

[f.1r][123]	
[…] *yaotlatquit /...//*	[if the enemy governs]
ictiqueleltizque ticyaochihuaz /...//	we will resist it, we will fight
huelilocayo yn toyaouh Auh y/...//tlapanahuia	the ability of our enemy and […] it will surpass
ca yehuatl yn cenca quall /i...// tlamacehualiztli	penance is something very good
ynic topa[m]pa omotlama/...//hu/i/	because it feared himself of something
yhuan omotlaxtlahuili	and it made him restitute
no yehuatl y/...//milhuil ynin macehual	their merit, their dignity
yn itlaçohua[n][124] *y Santo* [folio 1v]] *huan*	his beloved ones, his Saints
auh yn te/oyotica tlatlapoloni	and divine key
yhuan in teoyotica tetlaxexelhuiliztli	and divine help
ynic temaco yn o/moteneuh	thus help is given, it has been praised
teoyotica teicneliliztli	the divine mercy
ca yehuatl/ quimomaquili yn apostol San p[edr]o[125]	apostle Saint Peter gave it to them
yhuan y/n ixiptlahua[n] yn ipa[n] moyetzti[126]*cate*	his image [is in] his mercy
yn teoyo/tica tlatocapetlatl	a divine rulership
yn tlatoca ycpalli yn o[m]pa/ Roma […]	the royal seat is there in Rome

The sentence *in teoyotica tlatoca petlatl in tlatoca icpalli in ompa Roma* – a divine rulership, the royal seat is there in Rome – refers clearly to the location of office of Christianity, but makes use of a pre-colonial, Mesoamerican description and visualization of authority. In pre-colonial Mesoamerica, a ruling couple would sit on their throne (*icpalli*), which was placed upon a woven mat (*petlatl*). The

[123] Right margin of page damaged.
[124] Translated as ī-tlaçō-hua[n], the possessive plural of tlaçōtl "something perforated […], something pierced and bled" (Karttunen, 1983: 306-7). To my interpretation is added a reference to the crucification of Saints, in this case Saint Peter.
[125] 'o' written in superscript.
[126] 'ti' written in superscript.

combination of both was also a way to metaphorically refer to authority and power, or *petlatl icpalli* (Terraciano, 2001: 160, 165, 167).

[f.1v][127]	
[…] *Auh no yhuan yehuatzin quimochica//h/uilia*	it has strengthened
yn huehueintin yn principes [christi]anos[128] *y//.../*	the great Christian princes
yehua[n]tin tepalehuiliztica	with the help of people
Tlalticpac chica//.../ tica	on earth […]
quimeleltizque quinyaochihuazq/u/e/	they will resist it, they will fight them
/.../ oquimoneltoq[ui]tia yn t[o]t[ecuiy]o[129] *dios*	[…] they believe in our Lord God
yn infieles//.../ herejes	the infidels, heretics
yn imahua[n] yn icxihua[n] mochihua//.../ lo	their hands and their feet[130] […]
yn quintolinia	they suffer
xpianosme ynin/	these Christians

4.1.1 Extension of the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade

The arrival of the Spanish in the Americas was preceded by, on the one hand, centuries of crusades and re-conquest on the Spanish peninsula during the medieval era; and, on the other, decades of enforced Christian orthodoxy in the form of the Spanish Inquisition. In order to protect itself from any religious 'threat,' perceived or genuine, the Catholic Church granted indulgences to those who helped – either in terms of labour or finance – to build churches or monasteries, and to those who picked up the sword during one of its many crusades. These privileges were issued in official papal documents, named after the seal (*bulla*) that was attached to authenticate the document (Ruiz Medrano, 2010: 133). In the final decade of the eleventh century, Pope Urban II decided to call what has been termed the First Crusade to liberate the Holy Land of Jerusalem, by then already occupied by Muslims for more than four hundred years (Housley, 2007: 195; Purkis, 2008: 15). Meanwhile, the Pope issued Bulls of the Holy Crusade to grant remission of sins for those who did so. A significant event for New Spain took place in the 1570s, when the Bull of the Holy Crusade was expanded to cover the West Indies as well by Pope Gregory XIII.

[f.1v]	
/…/tlacamachitia yn tona[n]tzin	She makes obey, our mother
Sancta//Maria/ Catholica Romana	the holy Roman Catholic Mary
auh maço ihui/…/t/atzin	and our father
tohueitlatocatin Rey do[n] Felipe/	the great ruler, King Don Felipe
/.../ nelli ytepalehuilizticatzin	his (rev.) help is true
in iuhq[u]i[131] *yehuatl*[132] *[…] yn xpiānoyotl*[133]	thus it is he who [verb] Christianity
Auh ynatle quimi//.../xilia	and he who [verb] them nothing

[127] Left margin of page is damaged.
[128] In the text abbreviated as 'xpianos.'
[129] 'o' written in superscript.
[130] Hand and feet are a difrasísmo for corporal strenght or human resources (services) (personal communication Maarten Jansen, 2018).
[131] 'i' written in superscript.
[132] 'tl' written in superscript.
[133] read 'cristianoyotl.'

quimomauhcayt[134]*tilia*	he (rev.) keeps a fearful eye on those
yn ixquich//.../ tequipanoliztli	who [verb] work
yhua[n] ynic quipopolohua/	in order to destroy his (rev.)
/.../ni axcatzin yn itlatquitzin	property and belongings
yhua[n]quimoyaochi/h/uilia	and wage are against him (rev.)
quimixnamiquilia yn tlahueliloque/	he confronts the villains
[f.2r][135] *Ca ye amo ça yei yomonequi yn t[lac]p[a]c*	it was not just four which were needed (?)
chicahualiztli/ yn tl[ac]p[a]c huelitiliztli	strength of the land, power and authority of the land
ca ça occenca yehuatl mo/naqui	principally he is needed
yn t[o]t[ecuiy]o dios	our Lord
ytepalehuilitztin ypanpa	for his help
Ehuatzin papa pioquinto yte[n]copatzinco	at the order of him (rev.), Pope Pius V
yn/t[o]t[ecuiy]o dios	our Lord
oquimotemaquili ynteoyotica	he gave people holiness
tetl/a/ocoliliztli	Mercy
ytoca Sancta bulla de la Sancta cruzada	called the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade
yhua[n] huel huei tetlaocoliliztli	a very great mercy
oquinmomaquilia yn ixquix[136]*chtin*	that he gave to all
ynitla /...// yopa[n]tzinco nemi su m[a][137]*gestat*	[…] to live in [according to] his Majesty
in iuhça /...// p/.../m mitoz mocaquiztiliz	[…] it will be told, it will be declared
auh ynixqui/ch/	and all

The Don Felipe mentioned in the text is King Philip II of Spain, who reigned between 1556 and 1598. According to Martínez López-Cano (2014: 19-20) the Bull of the Holy Crusade was issued less frequently in the 15th century. However, King Felipe II was strongly opposed to the Protestant Reformation, the start of which is generally attributed to Martin Luther's writing in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Under his reign, Pius V was Pope between 1566 and 1572 and was notorious for his attempts to eradicate heresy. The Bull was extended to the Indies by his successor, Pope Gregory XIII:

[f.2r]	
auh yn ynyehuatzin Santo p[adr]e[138] *gregori[o de]çimo tercio*	and this one, the Holy Father Gregorio XIII
yn axca[n] moyetztica auh yn /...//	the one (rev.) who is there now
pachilhuia yn Santa yglesia catholica/...//na	the one who govers the Holy Catholic Church
ça[n] no yehuatl ypa[m]pa yn qualli tlay/cnelliliztli?//	He, through his good kindness,
quitlachicahuilia yhua[n] occe[n]ca qu/...//lia	he animates him to work and also very much [verb]
yn omoteneuh bulla De la Sanc/ta Cruzada//	the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade was announced
yn ica mochi tlacatl quimacehuaz quic/...//	at one moment, all people will obtain it [verb]
yn ixquich omoteneuh yn teoyotica	all that was mentioned divine […]
tet/...//tli teycneliliztli ynicquicnopilhuizque	[…] compassion so that they will obtain it,
/Espa//ñoles ihua[n] in indiosme	Spaniards and Indians
yhua[n] yn çaçoa p/.../yn cha[n] chihua	…make home…

[134] 't' written in superscript.
[135] Right margin of the page is damaged.
[136] An 'o' has been corrected with an 'x.'
[137] The text reads 'sumgestat' for 'su magestad' or his Majesty.
[138] 'e' in superscript.

yn cate yn nemi yn indias tla/ltic//pa[c]	Are (dwelling), who live on the lands of the Indies
yntoquichtin ynçihua	men and women
yniuh caquizt[ia]iuh motenehua	thus it will be heard, thus it is announced
yn ipa[n] omito bulla	the bull was pronounced
yhua[n] h[…]ues ynquimotemaquilia	
yn Sancto Padre y […]	the Holy Father (rev.) gives it to people

The extension of the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade to all "Spaniards and Indians" men and women according to the fragment above, seems to be described as a way of teaching ("making them understand") this papal decree and with it how to live a Christian life – at least on paper. Additionally, the phrasing *yn cate yn nemi yn indias [tlalticpac]* appears to refer to the collective of those who live on the West-Indian continent, all of whom may receive mercy from the Pope in lieu of support for the anti-Islamic crusades. Giving credit to God as the giver of life and home to those who live in the land of the Indies (las Indias occidentales) is repeated on the third folio of Izcatqui where it states:

[f.2v][139]	
yn iuh nica[n] motenehua-------	thus here it is being announced
Inic ce[n]tlama[n]tli quinmomaquilia in ixquichtin	how they give
yn itlaneltoca cahua[n]	one faith to all of them
tt^{o}tecuiyo dios yn xpianome yn chaneque	our lord, lord God, the Christians and the inhabitants
auh yn monemitia Indias-/ /tl/alli	and the one who (rev.) lives in the Indies
ypa[n] auh yn anoço çan o[n]ca[n] hualazque	and they will just come there
y-/nin mochihuaz yntetlacocoliliztli	this one will happen, the hating
auh ynic moyo//p/ehuazque	and so that… conquer
yn ipa[m]pa yn ihuecapanoloca	so that is is enlarged
yn Sancta /Ca/tholica	the Holy Catholic (Church)
yn huel ynoma ymaxcatica	…plenty of wealth…
ytla/.../tica mohuicazque yn o[m]pa ye oc	its… they will get together there
yn quimohui/cazque/ yn itiyacahua[n]	the brave soldiers will gather
yn iyaoquizcahua[n]	their captains
Su mages//tad/ yn huel quitzo[n]quixtizque	it is his majesty who can end it
yn quexquich/	how much
/.../tl yn quimicalizque naxcos	… those who fight…
yn anoço cani//.../ ce[n]tlamantli quichihuazque	perhaps […] one thing, they will do the act of
te[140]tlaocoliliztli-/	mercy
/...//p/alehuiliztli	the help
yn huel yn [n]omatca yn tla[n] ya/	the one who can… already

There is very little historical documentation of papal bulls being translated into indigenous languages. One example, however, is the published 1575 sermon of Fray Juan de la Anunciación, which deals specifically with the bull of the Holy Crusade. It is entitled, *Sermones para publicar, y despedir la Bulla de la sancta cruzada: compuestos y traduzidos, en le[n]gua Mexicana y castellana*. A second publication in Nahuatl by priest Elias de San Juan Baptista, currently being held in the British Library

[139] Left margin of the page is damaged.
[140] In superscript.

(Londen, b.37c.54) is entitled, *Compendio de las excelencias, de la Bulla de la Sancta Cruzada,en Lengua Mexicana [conpuesto por el Padre Fray Elias de S. Iuan Baptista, Religioso de la orden de Nra Señora del Carmen de los descalços, desta Nueva España En S. Sebastian]* [sic].[141] This small booklet of 24 pages was printed by the printing house of Enrico Martínez, the same author of the first *reportorio* adjusted to a Mexican context (Mexico, 1606) (Mathes, 1976: 64).

4.2 The sacrament of confession and the *Indulgencia plenaria*

The text of Izcatqui continues as follows:

[f.2v]	
yn ixquich ica teo[142]*quiçaz cexihuitl*	because of all that, he will escape one year
q[uin]//.../ uilia[143] *yn itoca yndulge[n]cia plenaria*	[verb] that which is called *indulgencia plenaria*
y//.../loca yn ixquich yntlatlacol yntlahuel/	[…] all their sin[s] and anger
/.../yca chocazque tlaocoyazque yhuan yn/	[…] because of that they will cry, they will be sad
/.../yc moyolmelahuazque huel nicamati/	[…] and they will confess
/.../yntla camo noçomo huelitizque	[…] if they (rev.) would not be able to
yn//.../ huel quelehuizye ynin yollo	that which their hearts can desire
yca neyolme/la/hualiztli	because [of] confession/by means of honesty
quinmotlaocolilia yn iuh tlaocolilo/	they (rev.) are merciful like people will be merciful towards them
/.../no[m]pa mohuica	those who go together
yn itocayoca[n] tierra Sanct/a/	it is the signed document, it is the Holy Land
y[u]h/yn iuh tetlaocolilo yn ipa[n] xihuitl	thus it was indulgenced in the year
yn iq[ua]c tema/l/o/Santo/[f.3r]*sancto Jubileo*	given [in] the Holy Jubilee
auh ynic mocaqui ca iehuat[144]*l yndul/ge[n]cia*	and thereby it was heard that it is the Indulgencia

During certain periods of the Roman calendar, punishments for sins committed and already forgiven were remitted (Ricciardelli, 2000: 4). These acts of clemency were either partial or plenary, depending on whether or not the punishment is withdrawn in part or completely. An example of such a period is the Jubilee year, which originated in Hebrew religion and recurred every 50 years during which for a complete year, slaves were freed, agricultural land was left untouched, and sold objects under force returned to their original owner. The New Testament transformed the focus on retribution of objects (objectified humans included) into one emphasizing the moral and spiritual behavior of Christians – behavior which had internalized the need of cleansing oneself from bad conduct. (*ibid.*: 4-5).

According to Izcatqui, the plenary indulgence is said to be more likely obtained by those who have an illness or who are about to die. The mendicant orders – or the religious orders that live in a modest fashion – are the ones that preach and evangelize mainly the poor. They are said to obtain the

[141] There are hardly any references to this small *Compendio.* One is found in the work by Ascensión H. de León-Portilla: *Tepuztlahcuilolli*: *Impresos en Náhuatl*. Volume 1 (1988). The author has not, however, seen the book herself. Fray Elias de San Juan Baptista is referred to as one of the member of the Carmelite order, that arrived in Mexico in 1585. Correspondence about this man states that he was excellent in Nahuatl and published several documents in this language (however these are unknown to Leon-Portilla).
[142] The 'ō' in this case is not a reference to an abbreviation, as it reads *teoquiçaz* 'will escape from danger.'
[143] Prior in the text the *tlacuilo* describes the indulgentia plenaria as *tetlaocoliliztli*. That word, however, is not used here, rather the ending in *–uilia [-huilia]* suggests a verb here. So whereas in many other occasions, the combination of *yntoca* with a noun to indicate the translation of a Nahuatl word in Spanish (or vice versa) seems not to be the case here.
[144] Read as *yehual.*

indulgence and to teach it to the "indios" (*yn quitemachtitihui yni[…] yndios*). The duty of the priest is to make them obey or understand what is in the mouth of the priest (*teopizcatequitl auh ynic mocaqui camaco yn teopixque*). People will receive the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist during Easter and some other Sacrament that is left unnamed in the text. If not, there is a risk of excommunication (expulsion from the Church altogether) and *entredicho* (being prohibited from participating in certain rituals). The text explains to the reader that during the period of Quaresma or Lent (the period of sixty days before Easter) one is allowed to eat meat, eggs, and drink milk when the mercy of the Indulgence is provided. Without that mercy, eating and drinking these products would be prohibited as a form of penance. On folio 6r, the Spanish word *indulgencia* is translated into Nahuatl as *tetlapopolhuiliztli* (*indulgencias yn tetlapopolhuiliztli*). Frances Karttunen translates this directly as 'the act of pardon' (1983: 236). Its verbal stem derives from *popolhuia*: 'to pardon' or 'to destroy something'. The grammatical morpheme, *–liztli*, turns that verb into a noun and in combination with *te-* and *–tla-*, it becomes pardoning someone something. On the same folio, the terms *sacerdotes* is paired with *teopixqui*.

The act of confession itself, as Díaz Balsera argues in line with Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, would be an act that established a relationship between a colonial force and a subaltern penitent (2005: 117). The first holds power over the latter in that the penitent is forced to confirm the belief system of the colonizer under the threat of being excommunicated. Confession, therefore, can be considered as 'an agency of acculturation' (Díaz Balsera, 2005: 117). However, the act of confession only truly fulfills its purpose if the confessor understands the act itself within a religious framework. In addition, as Foucault has argued, there is a dimension of self-sacrifice and caretaking of a group at large (which he called 'pastoral power'). If the religious agent lived a sober life in which there was no space for personal gain, then this could be all with the aim of securing a religiously correct 'life and salvation of the flock' (*ibid*.: 118).

In the first ten folios of Izcatqui, the *tlacuiloque* mention specific Catholic feast days on which someone can carry out specific religious acts in relation to the plenary indulgence. See Figure 33 in which these feast days are related to dates in the Julian/Gregorian calendar; these dates are not mentioned in Izcatqui, except for a few occasions. These days are indicated by the name of the Catholic Saint that is venerated on that day. Days are always referred to as *ilhuitzin* followed by the name of a Saint. The *–tzin* ending is the reverential suffix and as there is no absolutive suffix *–tli* the nouns are possessed. So what we read is, "its day of [Saint]," in a honorific manner. There are also instances in which an important day is referred to not only through the celebration of a Saint, but also through an actual date in the Western calendar as well. On folio 8v, for example, the *tlacuilo* writes the following: "*onca indulg[e]c[ia] p[lena]x[i]a yp[an] yc caxtollilhuitl omei deciembre yn ipa[n] /ilh/uitz[i]n ynitoca sancta maria de la ō*"; or "there is plenary indulgence on the eighteenth of December, on its day of Santa Maria de la O." This points to the idea that, on the the 25th of March in this case, the celebration featured an extra remembrance alongside the annunciation of archangel Gabriel to Mary that she was chosen to carry the son of God. This celebration is part of the final week of the Advent during which seven O-antiphons (songs that commence with the exclamation 'O') are sung. See Appendix G for a complete transcription of folios 7r to 9v.

When taking into consideration the list of days mentioned in Izcatqui, a number of observations can be made. First, that for almost every day a corresponding date in the Julian/Gregorian calendar is lacking. Second, that no additional information is provided for Saint Days and other important celebrations in relation to the plenary indulgence. And, third, that there are a couple of references to celebrations for the dedications of religious places in Rome; a place in the world that was talked about as the seat of religious authority but far away from Central Mexico. We cannot, however, make any observations about why – and in what manner – Christians celebrated during the Day of the Innocents or on the Saint Day of San Sebastian.

Day	**date according to the Julian/Gregorian calendar**
ytlacatilistzin ylhuitzin toteo ‘birthday of our lord’	25th of December (Christmas)
Maytines	25th of December
San Esteban	26th of December
ypan ylhuitzin San Esteua yn o[m]pa tep/.../ yn itocay o[n]ca[n] celio’	there is a basilica in Rome on the Celio Hill which is dedicated to San Esteban
San Juan Evangelista	27th of December
Day of the Innocents	28th of December
circumcicion [of Jesus]	1st of January
Epiphany	6th of January
San Sebastian	20th of January
conversion of San Pablo	25th of January
San Juan Chrisosto[m]	27th of January
purification chihuapilli [purification of Our Lady]	2nd of February
Sant mathias	24th of February in some parts of Spain (Aragon and Baleares), in the rest of the latin church 14th of May
Santo thomas de aquino	28th of January
sant benito abat [abad]	11th of July, but for many centuries celebrated on the 21st of March
Sant pedro max	29th of April
Sant felipe y Santiago	3rd of May
/in ix/quich Domingo yp[an] metztli mayo	every Sunday in the month of May
Sant Juan ante portam latinam [= San Giovanni a Porta Latina, Rome]	6th of May
aios de pur /.../yc ye ilhuitl yhua[n] yenahuilhuitl yhua[n] yc /.../c ylhuitl onnahui yn metztli mayo ce[m]pohual ylhuitl yn ipa[n] ylhuitzin Sancto Bernardino	19 and 20 days in the month of May, i.e. the 19th and 20th of May
omilhuitli Metztli Jonio	2nd of June
Sant antonio de padua	13th of June
San Juan Baptista yh[uan] yni octaua	24th of June
vigilia santo padre	5th of May
visitatio cihuapilli [visitation of Our Lady]	2nd of July (since 1969 celebrated on the 31st of May)
Maria Magdalena	22nd of July
Sanctiago	25th of July
Sant pedro advicula	1st of August
chihuapilli ad niues [Our Lady of the Snow]	5th of August: celebration of the inauguration of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill in Rome
omilhuitl metztli Agosto	2nd of August
Sancto domingo	9th of August
cihuapilli yn icotaua	22nd of August
Sant nicolas de Tolentino	10th of September

Sancta cruz Exaltacion	14th of September
Sant matheo apostol	21st of September
San tieronimo [San Jeronimo]	30th of September
San fran[cis]co yhuan ynoctaua	20th of September through the 5th of October
ymilhuitzin mimicque	their day, of the dead (31st of October, 1st and 2nd of November)
de dedicacion de la yglesia de sanct[o] p[edr]o y san Pablo	18th of November
cihuapilli itoca p[re]sentacion ad populum [presentation of the Virgin to the people/in the temple]	21st of November
sancto andres	30th of November, 1st and 2nd of December
ilhuitzin in co[n]cepcion	8th of December
yc caxtollilhuitl omei deciembre yn ipa[n]	the 18th of December
/ilh/uitz[i]n ynitoca sancta maria de la o	day of Santa Maria de la O
Sancto thomas apostol	21st of December
Sancta ynes	21st of January
San gregorio	3rd of September
San miguel	29th of September
Sant bartholome yhua[n] yn octaua	11th of September
San agustin	28th of August
cihuapilli Natividad	8th of September: Nativity of Mary
consecracion del salvador	Unclear

Figure 33. Table with feast days and plenary indulgences from Izcatqui related to dates of the Julian/Gregorian calendar.

4.2.1 Indigenous appropriation and clandestine use

The first folios of Izcatqui refer to the official papal bull as issued by the Pope, which was a lengthy document and so was not read by many. There was, however, another type of text – produced en masse – that was related to the Bull of the Holy Crusade and plenary indulgences. These were one-page documents of often no more than 500 words that were sold to basically anyone in order to make general restitution (Chuchiak, 2004: 67; Ruiz Medrano, 2010: 133). According to Victoria Cummins, these kinds of texts – such as, in her example, the *Bula de la Santa Cruzada* – were a "dependable form of revenue for the Spanish crown, which ostensibly put the money toward fighting the enemies of Catholicism, but actually treated it as a form of general revenue" (1988: 438). The income that came from these simplified-bulls thus did not go directly to the Church, but was a form of income for the Spanish monarchs (see also Chuchiak, 2004: 81). The price that had to be paid for a simplified-bull depended on status and income; but, according to Cummins, there was a category created for indigenous peoples who were believed to have less financial means to purchase such a text (1988: 438). The text itself often referred to its first publication in colonial Mexico in 1573 and its commission by the Spanish Commissary General of the Santa Cruzada. It also included an explicit statement that the money that was obtained through the selling of the simplified-bull was to be spent in the battle against "infidels and heretics": a power that had been ordained and granted to the Spanish Monarch by the Pope (Chuchiak, 2004: 67).

While initially everyone in New Spain could purchase him or herself a simplified-bull, in 1621 King Philip III decided that any such text owned by indigenous people had to be confiscated:

> "In 1621 the Crown specifically ruled that Spaniards alone were allowed to acquire, handle, and collect these bulls. Furthermore, all of the bulls in circulation had to be tallied inventoried to ensure that the Indians no longer possessed any. The order was universal – not a single copy of the Bull of the Holy Crusade could remain under the control of Indian pueblo authorities or commoners."
> (Ruiz Medrano, 2010: 133)

News had reached Spain that indigenous peoples made "improper" use of the simplified-bulls they bought. The work by John Chuchiak (2004) discusses an added fragment of European paper with handwritten text to the Mayan pre-colonial codex Madrid. Alongside the work by Ruiz Medrano from 2010, it became clear that indigenous peoples appropriated the simplified-bulls in whatever way they saw fit. English-man Jon Chilton, who travelled to Mexico around 1579, noted how some indigenous people made incorrect use of simplified-bulls and tore them up in small pieces that were believed were to grant them thousands of years of pardon if stuck to the walls of the house (Weckmann, 1992: 318). Another example of a supposedly improper use of the simplified-bull by indigenous peoples comes in the form of a small patch of handwritten text glued on to a page of bark paper on page 56 of codex Madrid (Chuchiak, 2004: 63). In the present there are very few examples of printed, let alone handwritten, texts that have been incorporated into these types of church documents. In fact, according to Chuchiak, these kinds of handwritten additions were only undertaken in periods in which the availability of printed bulls failed to meet demands (2004: 76). The patch on page 56, then, was probably written somewhere in the final years of the sixteenth century or at the beginning of the seventeenth century (*ibid*.: 72). This patch was thus added well before indigenous people were officially prohibited to buy and collect bulls.

The 1621 decree, however, did not necessarily change the treatment some of the simplified-bulls received from indigenous peoples. Ruiz Medrano discusses an example of a trial in 1684 in which a group of Zapotec people from San Francisco Caxonos were charged with idolatry (2010: 134). A woman was said to have stored bundles of *yaguichi* paper made from maguey alongside feathers. The bundles were removed by another person and eventually abandoned. Inside the bundles was an array of objects such as palm leaves and wrappings containing coloured feathers which were said to have been bloody. Alongside these freshly made bundles were two older ones which, besides similar objects, also contained a "holy bull of the fourth sermon of the ninth conception of Paul V" (*ibid*,: 134-135). Simplified bulls have also been found as attachments to colonial documents written by native authors. Among these documents were records of primordial titles, pictorial maps, and native nobility (*ibid.*). Several examples mentioned by Ruiz Medrano were additions made in the eighteenth century, so were contemporaneous with Izcatqui.

It is questionable whether those who incorporated a bull into a text were able to read it. Nonetheless they attributed the paper with a sacredness that would further enhance the sacredness of either an indigenous ritual bundle or document. The fact that the document represented the granting of indulgences that came directly from the authority of a religious leader (the pope) and the fact of its physical form (a bull) combined to make the simplified-bulls exactly the kind of objects likely to be appropriated by indigenous peoples. Both for its content it was a current topic for literate indigenous peoples and, when viewed with the example of Ruiz Medrano in mind, for people outside of the Catholic religious sphere as well.

4.3 Prayers

In Christianity, the Divine Office or the Liturgy of the Hours prescribed a set of prayers to be recited during particular moments throughout the day (Taft, 1986: 3, 11).The exact time and amount of prayers varied throughout the centuries, but in its most elaborated form the program is as follows: *Matins* at midnight (also called *Vigils* or *Nocturns*), *Lauds* or Morning Prayer at sunrise, *Prime* at the First Hour of the Day, *Terce* at the third Hour of the Day (mid-morning prayer), *Sext* at the sixth Hour of the Day (noon), *None* at the ninth Hour of the Day (mid-afternoon), *Vespers* during the evening and finally *Compline* at nightfall. The most important moments, however, were the morning, noon, and evening, which all comprised both private and communal prayer [i.e. in Church] (*ibid*.: 27-29). After a reorganization of the Church in the twelfth century in which parishes were served by a single presbyter and not by many clergy as was the case before, the organization of recitation of all the offices in church became problematic due to a lack of time. Praying, therefore, was carried out more frequently in the private sphere. This development led to a dire need for a portable breviary that collected all texts necessary to recite the offices (*ibid*.: 298-300).

These breviaries were a great tool for the traveling missionary outside of a convent who was not always able to join a congregation. Such missionaries were able to conveniently use their small and shortened breviary – which could be hung at the waist – at any opportune moment (Lara, 2008: 38, 65). For obvious reasons, the pocket-sized breviary was popular in New Spain, although it is likely that not many have survived the destruction of books by the Inquisition due to their shortened and thus 'incorrect' liturgical content. The Council of Trent had established an official breviary structure, format, and content (*ibid*.: 39). Additionally, Lara writes that the Council of Trent set up Franciscan regulations on who had to recite the Divine Office in 1567: "[…] the cleric-friars were to recite the psalms from the breviary, while the lay brothers recited Our Fathers and Hail Marys" (2008: 39). This might be linked to what appears on folio 10v of Izcatqui and the whereabouts of the document. The header of folio 10v refers to Maytines [*maitines*] in Spanish:

[f.10r] Maytines

¶ *Per signom crucis. paternoster. Ave maria Credo. oro.* [sic]

Totecuiyo diose totatzine	Our lord, oh god, oh our father
teycnoytanie nimitz no-/tlatlauhtilia	love God, I plea to you
maypampa yn itlayhiyohuilistzin	because its spirit
yn-/motlaçopiltzin Jesuxp[145]	the lovely child, Jesus Christ
y[n]totlaçoteycnelicatzin	our love, the righteous one
yh[ua]n/ ypampa	and/because
yn itlaçonantzin Sancta m[ari]a[146]	its beloved mother, Saint Mary
cenquisca ychph[147]*o/tli*[148]	entirely virgin
yn itlayocoyalis neteq[ui]pacholis	her sadness, pain
çotlahualitzin ma/mopaltzinco[149]	faintness/helplessness, through you/by your will
xicmotlapolhuili ynocamac	open my mouth
maxic/motlahuilili ynotlacaq[ui]lis	may it illuminate my understanding
maxicmomelahuaca/tlachiyeltili	may it teach the correct way

[145] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[146] 'a' written in superscript.
[147] 'h' written in superscript.
[148] Read 'ichpochtli.'
[149] See dictionary Arenas [1611]: mopaltzinco 'por tu vida'.

y[n]noçielis[150] *maxicmixitili ynotlalna/..//q[ui]lis*[151]	my [heaven] may it lift [my thinking/memory]
ynic huel nimitznotlaçocatlatlauhtilis	so that with my love I plea to you
ynic /...//chinoyolo nanima nonenepiltica	[…] my heart, my soul, with my tongue
noçielistic/...//	
notlaçocayhtilis t[o]t[ecuiy]oe	my beloved, oh our Lord
mahuel yehuatl maniman/...//	certainly afterwards […]
can xinechmopalehuili mamahuis yectenehual/	may he help me from my fear, praise
y[n] dios tetaztin yhua[n] dios tepiltzin	god father, and god child
yhua[n] dios esp[iritu]/	and god spirit
yn axcan yhua[n] ymochipa	now and forever
omayiuh mo[152]*chihua__*	thus it will be [i.e. amen]
¶ *t[o]t[ecuiy]oe Jesuxpoe*[153]	Oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ
totlaçoteyenelicatzine	oh our beloved righteous one
mamo/paltzinco xicmotlatili[154]	may by your will
ynoyolo mohuicpatz/inco//	my heart be placed toward you/close to you
ynic nimitznocenquiscatlaçotilitzinoz	so that I will love you entirely
¶*totlaçotemaquixticatzine Jesuxpoe*[155]	Oh our beloved master, oh Jesus Christ
mamopaltzin[156]*/co noyolo ytic*	for your life, my heart inside
xicmotlalila yn ixq[ui]ch	may all be placed toward you/close to you
motlay/hiyohuilistzin ynic nictlaçocaylnamiq[ui]z	his spirit so that I will remember lovingly
ynix[qui]ch [f.10v] *nopanpa*	all [f.10v] because of me
Oticmihiyohuiltitzine	oh [your spirit]
¶ *notlaçoteohue Jesuxpoe*[157]	oh our beloved god, oh Jesus Christ
mamopaltzinco xi_/nech mixpatilili	for your life, may he cure you
ynixq[ui]ch motlahiyohuilitzin_/	all, your beloved spirit
ma mochipa yc nimitznoyectenehuili	may I forever praise you
nimitz_/noyectenehuilitzino/	I praise you/my appraisal for you
¶ *notlatocatzine Jesupoe*[158] *ynic nopampa*	oh my master, oh Jesus Christ, because of my love
cruz//i?/tech otetposminaloc ymomatzin	he was nailed to the cross by its hands
ymocxitz[i]n/	and his feet
mamopaltzinco xicmotepozmili ynoma	for your life, may it pierce my hand
ynoc/xi yn itech tlamaçehualis crus	my foot, with the offer of the cross
*ynic nimitznote/potztoq[ui]listzinos_*	as such, I will enter a piece of metal
/¶*t/otecuiyoye Jesuxpoe*[159]*notechiuhcatzine*	oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh my creator
yn iuh//y/panpa cruz titech mitzmotiliniq[ui]	because of the cross, may it tighten/turn
mamopal//tzinco/ mohuicpatzinco xicmotilinili	for your life, towards you, may it safeguard your life
ynoyoliana//.../ma_ _ _	my heart [my soul]

[150] According to Raul Macuil Martínez *çielis* refers to *cielo* or heaven.
[151] Perhaps 'yn notlalnamiquiliz.'
[152] 'mo' written in superscript.
[153] Read as 'Jesuscristo.'
[154] Suggested reading is *xicmotlalili* as we find 3 lines below as well. In that case, the writer intended to use the verb *tlalia* or 'to place'. If the author did intend to use the ver *tlatia* the sentence would read 'may by your will my heart be hidden away from you, contradictory to a Christian message (personal communication Justyna Olko 2019).
[155] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[156] 'n' written in superscript.
[157] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[158] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[159] Read as 'Jesucristo.'

/¶*no?/t[o]t[ecuiy]oe Jesuxpoe*[160]*ypalnemohuanie*	oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh for all
nimitzno/t/etlauhtilia ynipanpa	I ask of you, because of
motlayhiyohuilitzin_/.../mocpactzinco[161]	your spirit […] before you
q[uin]man[162]*que xocohuitzyahuali*	they offer the crown of thorns
ma//mop/altzinco nocpac xicmomanili	in front of you, above me, may you give it
y[n] xocohuitzya/huali/.../	the crown of thorns
yn yehuatl necnomatilistli tlamacehua//l/is/t/li	he has modesty
ynic ninocnomatiz[163] *mopaltzinco_/*	so that I will be modest in front of you
¶ *notecuiyoye Jesuxpoe*[164]*notlaçotatzine*	oh lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh beloved father
Nimitz/notlaçocatlauhtilia	I plea to you
yhua[n] nimitznotlaçocatla/ machiltia	and I preach to you
yn ipampa yn ixq[ui]ch	because of all
motlayhiyohui/[f.11r] *litzin*	your spirit
ca çan ticmopaccahiyohuilti	we are just happy [with the] spirit
yn cenca/miec tetentlapiquiliztlatolli	[very much] the word of the false testimony
ma mopaltzinco/	by your will
Xinechmopopolhuilitzino	please forgive you
ynixq[ui]ch notlatlacol[165]*/tlatol*	all my sinful word[s]
ynic onimitzmahuil q[ui]xtilitzino	so that I shake you and pick you up
yhua[n]/yc nimitzmotlatlauhtilitzinohua	and then I pray to you
y[n]mitzmitiliq[ui]/y[n] xococ chichicatl	he dresses you up in arrows, acid bile (?)
mamopaltzinco xinechmo/popolhuili	by your will, please forgive me
ynotlatlacol ynatliliztica onicchiu/h	my sin, the drink, I made it
y[u]h yc nimitznotlatlauhtilia	when I plea to you
yn ipampa/motlayhiyohuiliz nacatzin	it is because of your spirit, body
mamopaltzinco y/yc xinechmopopolhuili	by your will, please forgive me
ynotlatlacol tla/?/q[ui]/liz yhuan	my sin [?] and
yc nim[166]*itznotlatlauhtilia yn ipampa/*	when I plea you it is because
*motlayhiyohuilis yxtelolotzin mamopa/tzin//co_*	of your spirit, its eye, before you

The above refers to three prayers (*per signum crucis; pater noster*; *ave maria*) and the confession of the faith or Apostels' Creed (*credo* or 'I believe' in Latin). The listing ends with *oro*: the Latin word for 'I speak' or 'I pray'. The text, therefore, probably refers to a ritual in which the reader first reads *Per signum crucis* (The Sign of the Cross) as a reminder of the physical act of making the sign of the cross while saying 'In the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen'. Through this ritual – which was designed to be liminal in a sense – the earthly word is taken to have been connected to a spiritual and religious one. This act was then followed by a recitation (*oro*) of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo. These are only referred to by title, not in full text, therefore it can be assumed that their reference is just a reminder to recite what is assumed to have been already learned by heart.

Given that the titles of the prayers are listed under the header of matins, this leads one to think that these were recited as morning prayers. Versions of prayers of the Divine Office were translated into

[160] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[161] *icpactzinco* 'encima de la cabeza de una persona de calidad' (GDN).
[162] The letters 'an' are underscored.
[163] Literally 'yo me sé pobre', humildad.
[164] Read as 'Jesucristo.'
[165] 'l' written in superscript.
[166] 'tz' crossed out.

indigenous languages soon after the conquest (Lara, 2008: 39). One of the first Franciscan friars to arrive in colonial Mexico was Flemish Pedro de Gante. He was born in the late fifteenth century as Pieter van der Moeren, and was named after the Flemish city of Gent close to where he was born. After his arrival in Mexico, he quickly learned Nahuatl. De Gante was an active missionary, who without doubt knew *The Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* by heart. These prayers are even mentioned in a Medieval Dutch text by Jan de Weert, "*Nieuwe doctrinael of Spieghel van sonden"* [New Doctrine or Mirror of sins], which confirms that friars were adequately prepared before they embarked on any missionary work (ed. J.A. Jacobs, 1915: 166). Now, although de Weert's work is far away from sixteenth century New Spain, the condition of a confessor to know the basic prayers fits perfectly with the prior folios of Izcatqui and its emphasis on the plenary indulgence. According to William Hanks, the *doctrina* taught first the sign of the cross in combination with four prayers [i.e. The Persignum, The Our Father, The Hail Mary and The Credo]' (2010: 250). Making the sign of the cross is an important inaugural gesture for Christian rituals as it protects against devilish influence. The prayers that Izcatqui directs a reader to recite are, according to Hanks again, meant to be recited daily prior to receiving the sacraments and were part of general missionary pedagogy (*ibid*.: 251-252).

One further genre of colonial religious texts was the bilingual confessional guide in Spanish and an indigenous language. These books were used by priests as manuals while questioning someone indigenous to the New World, and as a result were the preeminent tools to administer the sacrament of penance (Horn, 1997: 294). Well known are the *Confessionario breve* and *Confessionario Mayor, en lengua Mexicana y Castellana* [1563-1565] by Franciscan friar Alonso de Molina (the famous author of the first Nahuatl dictionary) and *Confessionario Mayor, y Menor en lengua Mexicana* [1634] by Don Bartolomé de Alva. These manuals can be traced back to thirteenth century Europe, where the Latin questionnaire helped priests to discuss which sinful acts had taken place with individuals from his congregation when this was no longer a public rite, but a private one (Alva, 1999 [1564]).

In 1611, Dominican friar Martín de León wrote his book *Camino del Cielo en lengua mexicana, son todos los requisitos necesarios para conseguir este fin, co[n] todo lo que un Xpiano debe creer, saber, y obrar, desde el punto que tiene uso de razón, hasta que muere*. This book was written for Spanish priests working with Nahuatl native speakers with the aim of helping these priests to convert the indigenous population. Apart from a Spanish introduction, the text is written fully in Nahuatl. De León, born in Mexico, mastered this language and wanted to put it to good use (Poole, 1995: 91-92). The work provides a compilation of what was perceived to be the essential tenants of a religious education, and so includes all of the following: a catechism[167]; prayers; symbols of faith; disapproval of idolatry (which gods were adored and for what 'evil' ends, adoration of fire, native baptism); a correlation between the Mexican and Roman calendar for purposes of correlating Mexican feasts and beginning of months of that calendar to the Roman one; 2 instructions for confessors; instructions for drafting testaments; instructions for reciting rosaries and prayers; an account of which sins are pardoned according to the bull of the crusade; rules to serve the Christian God the best way; seven meditations of the passion of the Christ of the seven canonical hours; instructions on how to marry (including rings); and a text on how to guide a death, from prayers recited when someone is in the process of dying up to a correct burial.

4.4 Concluding remarks

The pages of Izcatqui under consideration in this chapter were not meant to be used for the questioning of an indigenous penitent in a private meeting with a priest. Instead, the character of the first 9 folios is

[167] These texts were also transmitted in pictographic manner, the so-called Testerian manuscripts. See for example Jansen and Pérez Jiménez' article 'Tiempo, Religión e Interculturalidad en la Colonia: los catecismos pictográficos de México' (2015: 65-101).

of a descriptive nature; the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade is explained and the reader is informed about periods and days throughout the year during which confession would be appropriate. From folio 10r onwards, however, the reader is no longer informed on religious matters, but is asked to be actively part of that religious content through gestures and speech. If we follow the work of anthropologist Roy Rappaport (1999) in our interpretation, we can argue that if individuals participate in such a ritual, they also accept the ritual and its premises. This in itself does not necessarily mean that the individual believes in the ideology or doctrine connected to the ritual, because "[…] belief is an inward state, knowable subjectively if at all, and it would be entirely unwarranted either for us or for participants or witnesses to assume that participation in a ritual would necessarily indicate such a state" (*ibid*.: 120). Nonetheless, through a public ritual – in this case the Divine Office of Morning Prayer – one attests to one's acceptance of a ritual belonging to Christianity. These prayers give the text a formal character. Their importance, therefore, perhaps lay not so much in their textual content, but in the rhythm and religious formula of their delivery.

The structure itself of the first ten folios of Izcatqui is well thought out for another reason. In order to obtain plenary indulgence, the faithful has to recite a set of prayers – the ones mentioned by title in Izcatqui – as well as a devout prayer. The text builds up from explaining that Christianity is the one and only religion that can fight off evil and sin, to the assertion that this is the case only for those who are devout believers. Eventually, the text explains what plenary indulgence is and on what days it can be obtained. Finally, the physical act of reciting the text is revealed as that by which that devout Christian can actually obtain the plenary indulgence. These folios of Izcatqui, then, are simultaneously an advertisement for the Christian faith, while at the same time offering the product itself.