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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**

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

[f.1r]

*Izcatqui*

*yca quiztica ymtetlaocoliliztzin*<sup>111</sup>

*Samto*<sup>112</sup> *padre in itoca*

*bullā De la Sa[n]cta cruzada*

*y/ne maquililo yndias tlalli*

*ypa[n] nemi yn motene*<sup>113</sup>*hua/*

*tierra firme Del mar oceano* [sic]

*ynic quimlote/maquilia Sancto p[adr]e*<sup>114</sup>

*miec tlamantli*

*cenc/a// huei teicnililiztli*

*teoyotica tetlaocoliliztli=*

Here it is

as it emerges with its mercy

by the Holy Father named

the Bull of the Holy Crusade

as it is given to the land of the Indies

those who live in the so-called

mainland of the ocean sea

thus he, the Holy Father, gives them

many things

a very great mercy

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,<sup>115</sup> 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

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<sup>111</sup> Written in a larger font than the rest of the text.

<sup>112</sup> It should read 'Sancto' [Saint].

<sup>113</sup> 'e' written in superscript.

<sup>114</sup> 'e' written in superscript.

<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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”.<sup>117</sup>

Cortés and his men landed on the coast of the Mexican Gulf at Ulúa on the 21<sup>st</sup> 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, Izcacqui continues as follows, considering the damage of the right margin:

[f.1r]

*In ixquich ica peuh intzintic  
yn c[e]m[ica]c yn y[e]//huatl toyaouh  
yn tlacatecoltl in diablo  
y/n ipa[m]pa ynexicoliz  
yneyolcocoliz/...<sup>118</sup>/ pa quitemo  
tinemi yn quenin huel  
q/.../[t]/e//ltiz yn t[la]c[p]a[c]  
tlaca ynic amo quil/...//huizque  
yn ilhuicac necuiltonolli  
yno./.../ce[n]ca huili t[o]t[ecuiy]o<sup>119</sup> dios  
ytetlayecolticahuan /...//  
n o[m]pa ylhuicatlitlic  
yn o[m]pa hualhuet/...// tlacatecoltl  
yn ipa[m]pa ynepoaliz/...//  
yn yehuatzin. t[o]t[ecuiy]o<sup>120</sup> Jesuxpō  
yn ipa[n]/yn ce[n]ca tlapanahuia  
ytetlaçotla/...//  
nicoquimotlaçotili yn Sancta ygle/sia//  
mocaquililitehuac*

at the beginning of all  
eternally our enemy is he,  
the man-owl (devil), diablo  
because of his envy,  
its trouble [...] he descends it  
how [...] we live well  
[...] on earth,  
that is to say to not [...] in heaven,  
wealth is prepared by our Lord, dios  
providing for himself in the black heaven there  
the old devil because of its arrogance/vanity [...] he, our Lord, Jesus Christ  
it surpasses much his love for all [...] the Holy Church valued him highly  
he left upon dying

<sup>116</sup> 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.

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

<sup>118</sup> The right margin of the page is damaged, from here on to the lower section of the page.

<sup>119</sup> 'o' in superscript.

<sup>120</sup> 'o' in superscript.

A juxtaposition between good and bad is portrayed, and it 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 *tlatlahuipuchi* (*tlatlahuipochtli*), which means “woman who brings light,” is translated into Spanish as “witch” (*brujo*). The *tlatlahuipuchi* 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 *tlatlahuipuchi* 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).<sup>121</sup> 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 worshipping 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<sup>122</sup>. For Mesoamerican culture, *mictlan*

<sup>121</sup> 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).

<sup>122</sup> 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 *ylhuicatiltic*, the black heaven (*ilhuicatl* heaven, *tiltic* 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 tilitic 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' (*ihqui*). 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]<sup>123</sup>

[...] *yaotlatquit /.../*

*ictiqueleltizque ticyaochihuaz /.../*

*huelilocayo yn toyaouh Auh y/.../tlapanahuia*

*ca yehuatl yn cenca quall /i.../ tlamacehualiztli*

*ynic topa[m]pa omotlama/.../hu/i/*

*yhuan omotlaxtlahuili*

*no yehuatl y/.../milhuil yn macehual*

*yn itlaçohua[n]<sup>124</sup> y Santo [folio 1v]] huan*

*auh yn te/oyotica tlatlapoloni*

*yhuan in teoyotica tetlaxexelhuiliztli*

*ynic temaco yn o/moteneuh*

*teoyotica teicneliliztli*

*ca yehuatl/ quimomaquili yn apostol San p[edr]o<sup>125</sup>*

*yhuan y/n ixiptlahua[n] yn ipa[n] moyetzti<sup>126</sup> cate*

*yn teoyo/tica tlatocapetlatl*

*yn tlatoca ycpalli yn o[m]pa/ Roma [...]*

[if the enemy governs]

we will resist it, we will fight

the ability of our enemy and [...] it will surpass

penance is something very good

because it feared himself of something

and it made him retribute

their merit, their dignity

his beloved ones, his Saints

and divine key

and divine help

thus help is given, it has been praised

the divine mercy

apostle Saint Peter gave it to them

his image [is in] his mercy

a divine rulership

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

<sup>123</sup> Right margin of page damaged.

<sup>124</sup> 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 crucifixion of Saints, in this case Saint Peter.

<sup>125</sup> 'o' written in superscript.

<sup>126</sup> '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]<sup>127</sup>

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

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

<sup>127</sup> Left margin of page is damaged.

<sup>128</sup> In the text abbreviated as ‘xpianos.’

<sup>129</sup> ‘o’ written in superscript.

<sup>130</sup> Hand and feet are a difrasismo for corporal strenght or human resources (services) (personal communication Maarten Jansen, 2018).

<sup>131</sup> ‘i’ written in superscript.

<sup>132</sup> ‘tl’ written in superscript.

<sup>133</sup> read ‘cristianoyotl.’

<i>quimomauhcayt</i> <sup>134</sup> <i>tilia</i>	he (rev.) keeps a fearful eye on those
<i>yn ixquich</i> //...// <i>tequipanoliztli</i>	who [verb] work
<i>yhua[n] ynic quipopolohua/</i>	in order to destroy his (rev.)
<i>/.../ni axcatzin yn itlatquitzin</i>	property and belongings
<i>yhua[n]quimoyaochi/h/uilia</i>	and wage are against him (rev.)
<i>quimixnamiquilia yn tlhueliloque/</i>	he confronts the villains
<i>[f.2r]</i> <sup>135</sup> <i>Ca ye amo ça yei yomonequi yn t[ac]p[a]c</i>	it was not just four which were needed (?)
<i>chicahualiztli/ yn tl[ac]p[a]c huelitiliztli</i>	strength of the land, power and authority of the land
<i>ca ça occenca yehuatl mo/naqui</i>	principally he is needed
<i>yn t[o]t[ecuiy]o dios</i>	our Lord
<i>ytepalehuilitztin ypanpa</i>	for his help
<i>Ehuatzin papa pioquinto yte[n]copatzinco</i>	at the order of him (rev.), Pope Pius V
<i>yn t[o]t[ecuiy]o dios</i>	our Lord
<i>oquimotemaquili ynteoyotica</i>	he gave people holiness
<i>tetl/a/ocoliliztli</i>	Mercy
<i>ytoca Sancta bulla de la Sancta cruzada</i>	called the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade
<i>yhua[n] huel huei tetlaocoliliztli</i>	a very great mercy
<i>oquinmomaquilia yn ixquix</i> <sup>136</sup> <i>chtin</i>	that he gave to all
<i>ynitla /...// yopa[n]tzinco nemi su m[a]</i> <sup>137</sup> <i>gestat</i>	[...] to live in [according to] his Majesty
<i>in iuhça /...// p/.../m mitoz mocaquiztiliz</i>	[...] it will be told, it will be declared
<i>auh ynixqui/ch/</i>	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 15<sup>th</sup> 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:

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

<sup>134</sup> 't' written in superscript.

<sup>135</sup> Right margin of the page is damaged.

<sup>136</sup> An 'o' has been corrected with an 'x.'

<sup>137</sup> The text reads 'sumgestat' for 'su magestad' or his Majesty.

<sup>138</sup> 'e' in superscript.



*yn cate yn nemi yn indias tla/tic//pa[c]  
 yn toquichtin ynçihua  
 yniuh caquizt[ia]iuh motenehua  
 yn ipa[n] omito bulla  
 yhua[n] h[...]/ues ynquimotemaquilialia  
 yn Sancto Padre y [...]*

Are (dwelling), who live on the lands of the Indies  
 men and women  
 thus it will be heard, thus it is announced  
 the bull was pronounced

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]<sup>139</sup>

*yn iuh nica[n] motenehua-----  
 Inic ce[n]tlama[n]tli quinmomaquilialia in ixquichtin  
 yn itlaneltocha cahua[n]  
 tt<sup>o</sup>tecuiyo dios yn xpianome yn chaneque*

thus here it is being announced  
 how they give  
 one faith to all of them  
 our lord, lord God, the Christians and the inhabitants

*auh yn monemitia Indias-/ /tl/alli  
 ypa[n] auh yn anoço çan o[n]ca[n] hualazque  
 y-/nin mochiuaz yntetlacocoliliztli  
 auh ynic moyo//p/ehuazque  
 yn ipa[m]pa yn ihuecapanoloca  
 yn Sancta /Ca/tholica  
 yn huel ynoma ymaxcatlica  
 ytla/.../tica mohuicazque yn o[m]pa ye oc  
 yn quimohui/cazque/ yn itiyacahua[n]  
 yn iyaoquizcahua[n]  
 Su mages//tad/ yn huel quitzo[n]quixtizque  
 yn quexquich/  
 /.../tl yn quimicalizque naxcos  
 yn anoço cani//.../ ce[n]tlamantli quichihuazque  
 te<sup>140</sup>laocoliliztli-/  
 /.../p/alehuiliztli  
 yn huel yn [n]omatca yn tla[n] ya/*

and the one who (rev.) lives in the Indies  
 and they will just come there  
 this one will happen, the hating  
 and so that... conquer  
 so that is is enlarged  
 the Holy Catholic (Church)  
 ...plenty of wealth...  
 its... they will get together there  
 the brave soldiers will gather  
 their captains  
 it is his majesty who can end it  
 how much  
 ... those who fight...  
 perhaps [...] one thing, they will do the act of  
 mercy  
 the help  
 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

<sup>139</sup> Left margin of the page is damaged.

<sup>140</sup> 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. Juan Baptista, Religioso de la orden de Nra Señora del Carmen de los descalços, desta Nueva España En S. Sebastian]* [sic].<sup>141</sup> 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<sup>142</sup> quiçaz cexihuitl  
q[ui]n//.../ uilia<sup>143</sup> yn itoca yndulge[n]cia plenaria  
y//.../ loca yn ixquich yntlatlacol yntlahuel/  
/.../ yca chocazque tlaocoyazque yhuan yn/  
/.../ yc moyolmelahuazque huel nicamati/  
/.../ yntla camo noçomo huelitizque  
yn//.../ huel quelehuizye ynin yollo  
yca neyolme/la/hualiztli  
quinmotlaocolilia yn iuh tlaocolilo/

/.../ no[m]pa mohuica  
yn itocayoca[n] tierra Sanct/a/  
y[u]h/yn iuh tetlaocolilo yn ipa[n] xihuitl  
yn iq[ua]c tema/l/o/Santo/[f.3r]sancto Jubileo  
auh ynic mocaqui ca iehuat<sup>144</sup> yndulge[n]cia

because of all that, he will escape one year  
[verb] that which is called *indulgencia plenaria*  
[...] all their sin[s] and anger  
[...] because of that they will cry, they will be sad  
[...] and they will confess  
[...] if they (rev.) would not be able to  
that which their hearts can desire  
because [of] confession/by means of honesty  
they (rev.) are merciful like people will be merciful  
towards them  
those who go together  
it is the signed document, it is the Holy Land  
thus it was indulgenced in the year  
given [in] the Holy Jubilee  
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

<sup>141</sup> 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).

<sup>142</sup> The ‘ō’ in this case is not a reference to an abbreviation, as it reads *teoquiçaz* ‘will escape from danger.’

<sup>143</sup> 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.

<sup>144</sup> 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 absolute 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 caxtollilhuittl omei diciembre yn ipa[n] /ilh/uitz[i]n ynitoca sancta maria de la o*”; 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 25<sup>th</sup> 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***ylacatiliztin ylhuitzin toteo*

‘birthday of our lord’

Maytines

San Esteban

*ypan ylhuitzin San Esteua yn o[m]pa tep/.../ yn**itocay o[n]ca[n] celio’*

San Juan Evangelista

Day of the Innocents

circuncion [of Jesus]

Epiphany

San Sebastian

conversion of San Pablo

San Juan Chrisosto[m]

*purification chihuapilli* [purification of Our Lady]

Sant mathias

Santo thomas de aquino

sant benito abat [abad]

Sant pedro max

Sant felipe y Santiago

*/in ix/quich Domingo yp[an] metztli mayo*

Sant Juan ante portam latinam [= San Giovanni a Porta Latina, Rome]

*aio 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

omilhuitli Metztli Jonio

Sant antonio de padua

San Juan Baptista yh[uan] yni octaua

vigilia santo padre

*visitatio cihuapilli* [visitation of Our Lady]

Maria Magdalena

Sanctiago

Sant pedro advicula

*chihuapilli ad niues* [Our Lady of the Snow]*omilhuitl metztli Agosto*

Sancto domingo

*chihuapilli yn icotaua*

Sant nicolas de Tolentino

**date according to the Julian/Gregorian calendar**25<sup>th</sup> of December (Christmas)25<sup>th</sup> of December26<sup>th</sup> of December

there is a basilica in Rome on the Celio Hill which is dedicated to San Esteban

27<sup>th</sup> of December28<sup>th</sup> of December1<sup>st</sup> of January6<sup>th</sup> of January20<sup>th</sup> of January25<sup>th</sup> of January27<sup>th</sup> of January2<sup>nd</sup> of February24<sup>th</sup> of February in some parts of Spain (Aragon and Baleares), in the rest of the latin church 14<sup>th</sup> of May28<sup>th</sup> of January11<sup>th</sup> of July, but for many centuries celebrated on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March29<sup>th</sup> of April3<sup>rd</sup> of May

every Sunday in the month of May

6<sup>th</sup> of May19 and 20 days in the month of May, i.e. the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of May2<sup>nd</sup> of June13<sup>th</sup> of June24<sup>th</sup> of June5<sup>th</sup> of May2<sup>nd</sup> of July (since 1969 celebrated on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May)22<sup>nd</sup> of July25<sup>th</sup> of July1<sup>st</sup> of August5<sup>th</sup> of August: celebration of the inauguration of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill in Rome2<sup>nd</sup> of August9<sup>th</sup> of August22<sup>nd</sup> of August10<sup>th</sup> of September

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

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

<sup>145</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’

<sup>146</sup> ‘a’ written in superscript.

<sup>147</sup> ‘h’ written in superscript.

<sup>148</sup> Read ‘ichpochtli.’

<sup>149</sup> See dictionary Arenas [1611]: mopaltzinco ‘por tu vida’.

*y[n]noçielis<sup>150</sup> maxicmixitili ynotlalna/.../q[ui]lis<sup>151</sup>*  
*ynic huel nimitznotlaçocatlatlauhtilis*  
*ynic /.../chinoyolo nanima nonenepiltica*  
*noçielistic/.../*  
*notlaçocayhtilis t[o]t[ecuiy]oe*  
*mahuel yehuatl maniman/.../*  
*can xinechmopalehuili mamahuis yectenehual/*  
*y[n] dios tetaztin yhua[n] dios tepiltzin*  
*yhua[n] dios esp[iritu]/*  
*yn axcan yhua[n] ymochipa*  
*omayih mo<sup>152</sup>chihua\_\_*  
*¶ t[o]t[ecuiy]oe Jesuxpoe<sup>153</sup>*  
*totlaçoteyenelicatzine*  
*mamo/paltzinco xicmotlatili<sup>154</sup>*  
*ynoyolo mohuicpatz/inco/*  
*ynic nimitznocenquiscatlaçotilitzinoz*  
*¶ totlaçotemaquixticatzine Jesuxpoe<sup>155</sup>*  
*mamopaltzin<sup>156</sup>/co noyolo ytic*  
*xicmotlalila yn ixq[ui]ch*  
*motlay/hiyohuilitzin ynic nictlaçocaylnamiq[ui]z*  
*ynix[qui]ch [f.10v] nopanpa*  
*Oticmihiyohuilitzine*  
*¶ notlaçoteohue Jesuxpoe<sup>157</sup>*  
*mamopaltzinco xi\_/nech mixpatilili*  
*ynixq[ui]ch motlahiyohuilitzin\_/*  
*ma mochipa yc nimitznoyectenehuili*  
*nimitz\_/noyectenehuilitzino/*  
*¶ notlatocatzine Jesupoe<sup>158</sup> ynic nopampa*  
*cruz/i?/tech otetposminaloc ymomatzin*  
*ymocxitz[i]n/*  
*mamopaltzinco xicmotepozmili ynoma*  
*ynoc/xi yn itech tlamaçehualis crus*  
*ynic nimitznote/potztoq[ui]listzinos\_*  
*/¶ t[otecuiyoye] Jesuxpoe<sup>159</sup>notechiuhcatzine*  
*yn iuh//y/panpa cruz titech mitzmotiliniq[ui]*  
*mamopal//tzinco/ mohuicpatzinco xicmotilini*  
  
*ynoyoliana//.../ma\_\_*

my [heaven] may it lift [my thinking/memory]  
 so that with my love I plea to you  
 [...] my heart, my soul, with my tongue  
  
 my beloved, oh our Lord  
 certainly afterwards [...]

may he help me from my fear, praise  
 god father, and god child  
 and god spirit  
 now and forever  
 thus it will be [i.e. amen]  
 Oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ  
 oh our beloved righteous one  
 may by your will  
 my heart be placed toward you/close to you  
 so that I will love you entirely  
 Oh our beloved master, oh Jesus Christ  
 for your life, my heart inside  
 may all be placed toward you/close to you  
 his spirit so that I will remember lovingly  
 all [f.10v] because of me  
 oh [your spirit]  
 oh our beloved god, oh Jesus Christ  
 for your life, may he cure you  
 all, your beloved spirit  
 may I forever praise you  
 I praise you/my appraisal for you  
 oh my master, oh Jesus Christ, because of my love  
 he was nailed to the cross by its hands  
 and his feet  
 for your life, may it pierce my hand  
 my foot, with the offer of the cross  
 as such, I will enter a piece of metal  
 oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh my creator  
 because of the cross, may it tighten/turn  
 for your life, towards you, may it safeguard your  
 life  
 my heart [my soul]

<sup>150</sup> According to Raul Macuil Martínez çielis refers to *cielo* or heaven.

<sup>151</sup> Perhaps ‘yn notlalnamiquiliz.’

<sup>152</sup> ‘mo’ written in superscript.

<sup>153</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’

<sup>154</sup> 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).

<sup>155</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’

<sup>156</sup> ‘n’ written in superscript.

<sup>157</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’

<sup>158</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’

<sup>159</sup> Read as ‘Jesucristo.’



*/¶no?/t[o]t[ecuiy]oe Jesuxpoe<sup>160</sup>ypalnemohuanie*  
*nimitzno/t/etlauhtilia ynipanpa*  
*motlayhiyohuiltzin\_ /.../mocpactzinco<sup>161</sup>*  
*q[ui]n]man<sup>162</sup>que xocohuitzyahuali*  
*ma//mop/altzinco nocpac xicmomanili*  
*y[n] xocohuitzya/huali/.../*  
*yn yehuatl necnomatiliztli tlamacehua//l/is/t/li*  
*ynic ninocnomatiz<sup>163</sup> mopaltzinco\_*  
*¶ notecuiyoye Jesuxpoe<sup>164</sup>notlaçotatzine*  
*Nimitz/notlaçocatlauhtilia*  
*yhua[n] nimitznotlaçocatla/ machiltia*  
*yn ipampa yn ixq[ui]ch*  
*motlayhiyohui/[f.11r] litzin*  
*ca çan ticmopaccahiyohtli*  
*yn cenca/miec tetentlapiquiliztlatolli*  
*ma mopaltzinco/*  
*Xinechmopopolhuiltzino*  
*ynixq[ui]ch notlatlacol<sup>165</sup>/tlatol*  
*ynic onimitzmahuil q[ui]xtilitzino*  
*yhua[n]/yc nimitzmotlatlauhtilitzinohua*  
*y[n]mitzmitiliq[ui]/y[n] xococ chichicatl*  
*mamopaltzinco xinechmo/popolhuili*  
*ynotlatlacol ynatliliztica onicchiu/h*  
*y[u]h yc nimitznotlatlauhtilia*  
*yn ipampa/motlayhiyohuiltz nacatzin*  
*mamopaltzinco y/yc xinechmopopolhuili*  
*ynotlatlacol tla/?/q[ui]/liz yhuan*  
*yc nim<sup>166</sup>itnotlatlauhtilia yn ipampa/*  
*motlayhiyohuiltz yxtelolotzin mamopa/tzin//co\_*

oh our lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh for all  
 I ask of you, because of  
 your spirit [...] before you  
 they offer the crown of thorns  
 in front of you, above me, may you give it  
 the crown of thorns  
 he has modesty  
 so that I will be modest in front of you  
 oh lord, oh Jesus Christ, oh beloved father  
 I plea to you  
 and I preach to you  
 because of all  
 your spirit  
 we are just happy [with the] spirit  
 [very much] the word of the false testimony  
 by your will  
 please forgive you  
 all my sinful word[s]  
 so that I shake you and pick you up  
 and then I pray to you  
 he dresses you up in arrows, acid bile (?)  
 by your will, please forgive me  
 my sin, the drink, I made it  
 when I plea to you  
 it is because of your spirit, body  
 by your will, please forgive me  
 my sin [?] and  
 when I plea you it is because  
 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

<sup>160</sup> Read as 'Jesucristo.'

<sup>161</sup> *icpactzinco* 'encima de la cabeza de una persona de calidad' (GDN).

<sup>162</sup> The letters 'an' are underscored.

<sup>163</sup> Literally 'yo me sé pobre', humildad.

<sup>164</sup> Read as 'Jesucristo.'

<sup>165</sup> 'l' written in superscript.

<sup>166</sup> '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<sup>167</sup>; 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

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<sup>167</sup> These texts were also transmitted in pictographic manner, the so-called Testerman 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.

