

OUR LADY OF SOLITUDE OF SAN MIGUEL COYOTLAN, 1619
A RARE SET OF COFRADÍA RULES IN NAHUATL

BARRY D. SELL

Dedicated to Haijo Westra

Even the relatively abundant Nahuatl corpus of colonial Mexico gives uneven coverage to the organizational trio of cabildo, church staff and cofradía. In spite of the ravages of time, neglect and deliberate destruction the first of these three, Hispanic-style town government, remains the best documented and studied. The other two are significantly less well represented in known extant writings. This loss is especially felt in the case of the voluntary associations of Christian laypersons known as confraternities or sodalities. Whereas municipal officialdom and the church support staff tended to be exclusive given the limited number of people qualified,¹ necessary and able to participate, confraternities had a propensity to be inclusive since their ability to function was in large measure directly related to the size of their memberships. Because of this greater openness Nahua cofradías could be representative of the entire community, their records (when extant) providing much grist for the mill of social historians. They potentially included Nahuas of all social classes, status and physical condition, children and adults of both sexes, those from other altepetl and occasionally even non-Nahuas like Spaniards, blacks and castas. This inclusiveness undoubtedly contributed to their great impact:

In the process of cultural transfer that Spain undertook as part of its conquest of the American continent no institution was more successful in gaining over the good will and the emotional attachment of all people than confraternities. The spiritual and material incentives offered by

¹ I am thinking here of such factors as noble birth and wealth which became de facto qualifications for certain positions. Of course cofradías sometimes reserved certain leadership posts for the high-born and wealthy but elected or chosen leaders represented numerically only an insignificant fraction of the group.

confraternities, as well as their persuasive and powerful role as venues for social nucleation, made these institutions acceptable to all regardless of race and social status. Poor Indians who could only gather enough money for an annual celebration of a patron saint shared with the haughty aristocrats of Lima or Mexico City a set of beliefs and a vested social interest in "their" confraternities that made of such disparate members of society "brothers" in the only institutions flexible enough to cater to them both.²

Sodality documents in Nahuatl are especially scarce for the formative sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Among the handful that are known to exist are several sets of confraternity rules. The most common label their Nahuatl scribes gave them was literally taken from the Hispanic world in the form of the Spanish loanword *ordenanzas* (ordinances). The oldest was composed under the guidance of the Franciscan lexicographer and *nahuatlato* (interpreter; expert in Nahuatl) fray Alonso de Molina. Two extant copies of these rules, each dated 18 September 1552 and done by different Nahuatl scribes, are housed in the USA. These may be more properly described as guidelines for *cofradía* rules since they are not tied to any one community and exist in multiple copies unsigned by their individual scribes; both were apparently intended by Molina for the mid-sixteenth century Franciscan campaign to promote the founding of *cofradías*. The one I will refer to here is in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley; the other is at Tulane University. A unique collection of working papers that belonged to the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento de Tula* that covers the years 1570-1730 is the property of the Lilly Library at Indiana University. The constitution of this *cofradía* is dated 30 October 1570. The *ordenanzas* of the sodality of San Miguel Coyotlan are a 1619 copy of an older version and belong, like the first manuscript, to the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley. A transcription and translation of this document can be found at the end of this article.

For ease of presentation and following conventions old and new, the texts will be referred to hereafter as Molina 1552, the TCB 1570 (*Tula Cofradía Book [Constitution of] 1570*), and SMC 1619 (*San Miguel Coyotlan 1619*). The existence of these texts will come as no surprise to longtime readers of *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*. In past issues John Frederick Schwaller not only detailed the location of these and many

² Asunción Lavrin, "Confraternities in Colonial Spanish America," 25, in *Nahuatl Confraternities in Early Colonial Mexico: The 1552 Nahuatl Ordinances of fray Alonso de Molina*, OFM, Barry D. Sell, ed. (The Academy of American Franciscan History, forthcoming).

other Nahuatl writings in the USA but himself provided a first-generation transcription and translation of the constitution of the TCB.³

Fundamental to any *cofradía* was a membership that provided offerings in money and kind that allowed the organization to fulfill its goals for this world and the next. Molina 1552 is the weakest on this vital point. Membership dues are never mentioned. Instead in the eighth "obligation" (as the rules are called here and in SMC 1619) the members of the *cofradía* are urged to "make an offering of four tomines or three tomines or two tomines or one tomin or half a tomin or a quarter of a tomin" or whatever they can on the feast days of Saint Mary. Those feast days (ten in all) had been spelled out in the previous obligation:

when she [i.e., Saint Mary] engendered and gave birth to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Feast of the Circumcision, the Feast of the Purification, the Feast of the Annunciation, the Feast of the Visitation, the Feast of Saint Mary of the Snows, the Feast of the Assumption, the Feast of the Nativity, the Feast of the Presentation and the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

In the seventeenth obligation it is made clear that men and women who belong to the group must make unspecified offerings when a poor person is buried by the *cofradía*. Fines are demanded in obligation twenty two but it is not clear whether they were to go to the *cofradía* directly or to the church or hospital with which the *cofradía* was affiliated. Apart from scattered exhortations to make offerings this is all Molina 1552 has to say on the composition and financial responsibilities of a sodality's membership.⁴

The other two set of *ordenanzas* are more detailed on the question of members and finances. The first ordinance of TCB 1570 notes that Spanish and Nahua adults and children can join but that there are different fee schedules. A Spanish couple will pay three pesos (i.e., one and a half pesos per married adult) upon entering, an unmarried Span-

³ See the following, all by John Frederick Schwaller: "Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Newberry Library (Chicago)," 317-343, "Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Latin American Library of Tulane University," 344-360, and "Nahuatl Manuscripts Held by the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley," 361-383, in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 18 (1986); "Constitution of the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento* of Tula, Hidalgo, 1570," in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 19 (1989), 217-244; and "Small Collections of Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States," 377-416, in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 25 (1995). A critical edition of Molina 1552 has been accepted for publication by The Academy of American Franciscan History, edited by Barry D. Sell, with contributions by Larissa Taylor and Asunción Lavrin, *Nahua Confraternities in Early Colonial Mexico: The 1552 Nahuatl Ordinances of fray Alonso de Molina, OFM.*

⁴ Citations from Molina 1552 are from the critical edition mentioned in the previous footnote.

ish adult one peso, and a Spanish child four tomines. A Nahua adult will pay four tomines and a child, two tomines. These differences in entrance fees are reflected elsewhere in the greater stated benefits that Spanish members enjoyed over their Nahua co-religionists. The eleventh rule gives non-members the option of joining on their deathbed at twice the normal rate. The twelfth and twenty first rules make it plain that Nahuas from different altepetl, even those at some distance from Tula, could be part of the organization as well. The fifth ordinance mandates that members will give offerings on the various feast days celebrated by the *cofradía*.

While not as expansive in its definition of *cofradía* members SMC 1619 returns much more frequently to the topic of money and offerings. The fourth obligation makes no mention of non-Nahuas but does specify an entrance fee of one peso for each man, six tomines for each woman, and four for each child. Offerings of wax candles will be made monthly for all the living and deceased members of the association (seventeenth obligation) and on Palm Sunday two tomines will be given to support Holy Week activities (eighteenth). Fines in money and kind for a variety of offenses appear in the following obligations: fifth (four tomines), seventh (pay for one pound of wax candles), eighth (four tomines), and twentieth (pay for one pound of wax candles).⁵

How closely all these rules might have been followed in practice can be partially answered by the working papers of the TCB. The emphasis laid in the TCB constitution on dues is reflected in the overwhelming amount of monies collected that were recorded as entrance fees in the membership lists; donations are little stressed in the constitution, and this is reflected in the few outright donations that were noted by the Nahua scribes maintaining the books. The dues actually paid by Spanish and Nahua members of various ages and married status generally followed the stated norms, especially during the first 40 years of the sodality (1570-1609) when the TCB's membership lists were carefully maintained. Just as stipulated in the constitution a small but steady stream of citizens of other altepetl joined the organization, coming from such neighboring communities as San Lorenzo Xipacoyan, Santa María Xochitlan, San Juan Michmaloyan, and Santa María Ilocan. Spaniards were admitted into membership but under a label that challenges much of the scholarly literature on indigenous peoples in which everything is defined from a Spanish perspective. The Nahua scribe who entered "Españoles" (Spaniards) on the membership lists beginning in 1587 included under this heading Spaniards along with the black and mulato slaves of some of the wealthier local Spanish families.⁶ He used "Españoles" much as I use "Hispanic" here, i.e., as indicating someone or something from the Spanish-speaking world.⁷

⁵ Here and below citations and information are based on Schwaller, "Constitution" (unless otherwise noted) and the transcription of SMC 1619 included at the end of this article.

A great deal of a *cofradía's* rationale lay in what might be termed today "volunteer work" and "community renewal." Members served spiritual and material ends in tending the sick in hospitals, looking out for each other when misfortune struck, and gathering together at times of imminent death and funerals. They also came together periodically as Nahua Christians in order to collectively celebrate the church calendar. When it all functioned properly this undoubtedly made *cofradías* very attractive to people who lived before the rise of the modern welfare state and needed to depend on themselves and their neighbors for their basic physical, emotional and spiritual needs. Perhaps the most encompassing symbols of *cofradía* activities are processional candles. Candles and candle wax are the most frequently mentioned items in many *cofradía* documents, and processions for a multitude of purposes both joyous and sad the most common occasions on which candles were used.

Here as elsewhere written norms must be compared where possible to actual practice. Once again the TCB is a unique and invaluable source of comparisons. One of the most clearly stated aims of the three *cofradía* documents was the celebration of specific feast days. Ten are listed above in the Molina-inspired *ordenanzas* of 1552. SMC 1619 includes mention of the Nativity of Saint Mary, Holy Thursday and Holy Friday, and Palm Sunday. The constitution of the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento de Tula* was originally written in Spanish by local friars and then translated into Nahuatl by a Nahua scribe. Ten specific feast days were to be observed. Five were dedicated to Saint Mary: Conception, Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity. The other five were those of Saint Joseph and Saint Francis, Holy Thursday and Holy Friday, and inescapable for any *cofradía* that honored the Most Holy Sacrament, of the Blessed Sacrament. Not all these feast days were celebrated, or at least such was not the case early in the history of the Tula *cofradía*. From the beginning of 1575 to the middle of July 1576 *cofradía* funds went for the celebration of four feast days, beginning with Corpus Christi in 1575, followed by Purification and Resurrection, and ending with Corpus Christi in 1576.⁸ This makes the more modest number of feast days mandated in SMC 1619 seem more likely and more realistic. Why there should be such a great difference between word and deed in the Tula manuscript is a subject for future research but it is another reminder that Nahuas did not blindly follow Spanish models.

Before closing some of the more unique features of SMC 1619 should be

⁶ TCB, 83.

⁷ Part of this paragraph is based on Barry D. Sell, "The Spiritual Mothers of Tula and Other Episodes in the Life of an Indigenous Confraternity" (unpublished draft).

⁸ Sell, "The Spiritual Mothers of Tula", 7.

pointed out. There are precious details about the celebration of Holy Thursday and Holy Friday (e.g., the erection of a wooden commemorative structure) that I have not seen elsewhere. More attention is given to the dress appropriate to certain occasions (especially that worn by women) than can be found in Molina 1552 or TCB 1570. The seemingly heavy emphasis on fines contrasts sharply with the other two sets of *cofradía* rules. Finally, there is mention of a female official called a “Cihuatepixque: capitana”: (a woman in charge of people, [i.e.,] a female captain) in the twelfth obligation. The possibility of women holding formal positions in a *cofradía* goes totally unmentioned in both Molina 1552 and TCB 1570 although the working papers of the latter show women in leadership positions in 1604 and as formally constituted deputies of the sodality from 1631 to circa 1695.⁹

The popularity, varied membership, widespread geographical distribution and sheer number of indigenous *cofradías* make their records (in particular those kept by native insiders in their own languages) important resources for those interested in colonial Native American communities. Just as the publication of various sodality-related pieces by *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* facilitated my work on SMC 1619, I hope that the publication of this rare set of *cofradía* rules will ease the way for others dedicated to illuminating the history of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of Mesoamerica.

Conventions governing the transcription and translation are few. For ease of presentation all abbreviations were resolved and all material in brackets is mine. Spacing of the Nahuatl text into “words” generally follows the example set by fray Juan Bautista and the Nahua teacher Agustín de la Fuente circa 1600; this coincides very closely with current norms. I have usually followed sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translation practices when translating Nahuatl into English, e.g., using “he” when the Nahuatl is clearly gender neutral. In all this there is much room for legitimate disagreement, especially given the non-standard orthography of the scribe who wrote SMC 1619. The recently deceased nahuatlato, Arthur J. O. Anderson, once wrote that there are many ways to translate colonial Nahuatl. I invite the readers of this journal to change this first-generation translation wherever they feel it needs improvement and correction.

Lastly, the presentation of colonial Nahuatl texts is not just a function of scholarly presentation and publication. The institutions holding and protecting those texts, and granting permission to use them, play a vital role too. I wish to thank the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley for permission to use Molina 1552 and SMC 1619 and the Lilly Library of Indi-

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-18.

ana University for permission to use the TCB.¹⁰

REFERENCES

- Cofradía de Santa María de la Soledad*, Mexican Manuscript 461, Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.
- LAVRIN, Asunción, "Confraternities in Colonial Spanish America", in *Nahua Confraternities in Early Colonial Mexico: The 1552 Nahuatl Ordinances of fray Alonso de Molina, OFM*, Barry D. Sell, ed., USA, The Academy of American Franciscan History, forthcoming, 25-46.
- MOLINA, fray Alonso de, *Ordinanzas para prouerchar los cofradías allos que an de seruir en estas Ospitalles*, Mexican Manuscript 455, Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.
- SCHWALLER, John Frederick, "Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Newberry Library (Chicago)", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, México, UNAM, 1986, 18, 317-343.
- , "Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Latin American Library of Tulane University", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, México, UNAM, 1986, 18, 344-360.
- , "Nahuatl Manuscripts Held by the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, México, UNAM, 1986, 18, 361-383.
- , "Constitution of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of Tula, Hidalgo, 1570", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, México, UNAM, 1989, 19, 217-244.
- , "Small Collections of Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, México, UNAM, 1995, 25, 377-416.
- SELL, Barry D., "The Spiritual Mothers of Tula and Other Episodes in the Life of an Indigenous Confraternity", unpublished draft.
- Tula Cofradía Book*, document held by the Manuscripts Department of the Lilly Library of Indiana University.

¹⁰ Continued work on the Tula Cofradía Book will be greatly enhanced by an Everett Helm Visiting Fellowship awarded by the Lilly Library.

TRANSCRIPTION OF SAN MIGUEL COYOTLAN, 1619

1619 AÑOS

IHS

Ica yn itocatzin Santissima trinidad: yn dios titatzin: yn dios tipiltzin: yhuan dios yspirito santo yn san ce huel neli yeitin personasme Auh huel neli dios tlatohuani moyetztica: yhuan tlatocatitica yn ompa yn ilhuicac cemicac nitlamachtilyan yn ica ytocatzin: cenquisca:cuale yn ichpuchtle Santa maria: yn itlaçonantzin dios yhuan yn Santosme: yn ilhuicac chanique: cemicac motlamachtiticate: yn ixpantzinco: Cihuapili Santa maria: de la conception: Auh yzcatque nican titocentallica: temochinten: ticofradiasme y nican tictlalisque: yn tofirmas: ynic otitocentallique: ospital ychantzinco: nuestro señora de la conception: yn ipan altepetl San miguel coyotlan yn quenin ticcelisque: Sancta cofradia: de la sulidad: yhuan ca timochintin: toyolocacopa: tiquetza: yhuan ticcellia: Sancta cofradia: yn quenen (2) Otechmomaqueli: tohuey:tlatocuah señor obispo ynyn quinín: ytech ca huilitilistle: ordinansas: tictopielisque: ayac aca quitlacos: quipanahues: Auh yntla aca cofradia: quipanahuiz: yehuatl ytech potica totlaçonantzin Cihuapili santa maria: ca cenca huey: tlatzacueltilos: monichicosque: oquichtin: cofrafradias: [*sic*] ynicapitulo:¹ Auh niman oncan motinehuaz: yn itlatlacol: yn oquetlaço:² yn itocatzin: Cihuapili Santa maria: oncan neSiS aque amo nele: quineltoca: Santa maria Sulidad: yhuan huey pena: yhuan tlatzacueltilos ynic amo yoqui: quechihuasque: yn cuaLten Cofradiasme—

yzcacqui [*sic*] yn huel ynahuatil: yn cofradias: ayc quisasque: cemicac: yesque: yhuan amo micuanisque yn canpa yn ayaxca ospital: motenehua: nuistra señora de la Sulidad: auh amo oc cecne: manel combento manel canpa: niteochihualoyan: yzcatque: yn quichihuazque: yn cualten cristianosme cofradiasme—

yzcacque: [*sic*] ynic yetlamantli: yn amonahuatel: yn amixquichtin: yn ancofradiasme: yn icuac ypannitlayohuiliztzin:³ yn totemaquix-

¹ ynicapitulo: possibly to be read *ynic capitulo* or *yn ica capitulo* or even *y[n] ni[can] capitulo*.

² oquetlaço: read *oquetlaco*.

³ ypannitlayohuiliztzin: read *ypan itlayohuiliztzin*.

ticatzin: yn totecuiyo Jesuchristo: yhuan totlaçonantzín: Cihuapili Santa ma^a de la Sulidad: cenca huey amonahuatil: amo yes cuala[n]tle: amonahuac: ynic animizque: yn xpantzinco (3) Cihuapili: Santa maria Ca huel cenca anquemahuztilisque yhuan yn icuac quisas procision: mochinten: quisasque: yhuan Cihuatzitzintin: mochinten: quihuicatisque yn itlayohuilstzin yn ipaSion:tzin: totecueo JeSuChriSto cemicac yuhque mochihuaz: amo aquen quitelchihuaz: y[n] Cihuapili Santa ma^a ca yn aquin san quitelchihuasneque: tlamacehualistle: ca ynin san tlacaticoLotl ypan pohue: yhuan yn aquin ytechtzinco: motlapololtis: yn cihuapili Santa ma^a yn motenehua: nuistra señora de la Sulidad: ca niman ypan huetzis: temictiani tlatlacoli: ca ypanpa: yn itlaocoyalistzin: yn ichoques: ca san yhuiyantzin: amonimitisque: yn ichantzinco: yn Cihuapili Santa maria: amo aquen mohuiyelis: ynic amo amotlan calaques: yn tlacatecoltl: san antlamatca^hmique: yn amixquichtin: yn ancofradiasme: yzcatque yn quichihuasque: yn cualten ChriStianosme cofradiasme

yzcatque: ynic nauhtlamantli: yn a^{mona}huatil: yn ancofradiasme: amomac: yas: candelas: anquetlahuilitiasque: totlaçotemaquextecatzin: Jesu [x⁰]: anquimotepotztoquilitiasque: ynic anquicnopilhuisque: yn elhuicac: ca yn aqui huil yyolocacopa: quichihuas: tlamacehualistle: ca yc tlanopilhuis yn onpa yn elhuicac yehica ca amo ahuil ca cenca temauhti: auh yzcatque: yn yehuanten yntech pohuisnique: totlaçonantzín de la Sulidad yn huel achtopa ypan moyolnonotzasque: aço yca mochi yyolo: queneque: tlanopilhuiltle yx⁴ (4)pantzinco cihuapili Santa maria: amo mocuamanas amo cahuelmatis san huel yyolocacopa quichihuas. ytlamacihualis: auh yntla huel yca mochi yyolo: quilehuiya Santa cofradia: ca quitlalis Limosna: ce peso ynic cofradia yes Auh yntla cihuatl ca quetlalis huentele chiCuacen tomin auh yntla piltontle quitlalis huentele: nahui tomen: ynic cofradia yes ca yoqui yn amonahuatil: yn ancualten yn ancofradiasme—

yzcatqui ynic macueltlamantle: yn amonahuatil: al ocaSion⁵ yn santa cofradia: totlaçonantzín de la Sulidad ca ytlayohuilstzin tt⁰ x⁰: auh yn icuac moylhuiqui^xtis natiuitas Santa maria ypan metztle Setiembre chicuey tonatiuh: Auh tlacamo huelitiz quiSaS yLhuitl yn icuac huel ypan tonali huitzi ylhuitzin totlaçonana[n]tzin ypan domingo mochihuas ylhuitl: Amo canpa mochihuas san huel oncan santa ospital mochihuaz misa ca yuhque mochiuhtias cecenxiuhtica: Auh yn ipan yLhuitzin totlaçonantzín oncan yesqui mochintin Cofradiasme: yntlacamo aqui mococohua: anoso canpa hueca oya Auh yntla san quitlatziuhcamatzin

⁴ In anticipation of the next page: *pan*.

⁵ al ocaSion: tentative arrangement of letters; originally written as *alocaSion*.

amo ypan quita Santa Cofradia: ca quixtlahuaz nahui tomin monequis xypantzinco nuistra señora de la Sulidad: Auh yn icuac mochihuas misa mochinten cofradias y[n]mac tlatlatias candeLas tlayahuaLoLoistica: quimochihuulis yLhuitzin totlaçonantzin: yzcatqui yn anquimochihuiLisque: yn ancualten: yn ancofradiasme—

*Izcatque: ynic chicuacentalmantle: yn amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme: yn ipan tlaçotsintli [*sic*] Santo Cua(5)resma motenehua domingo de paSion de San Lasaro yn ixquechten Cofradiasme mocentlaLisque y necentlaliloyan yn oncan Santa ospital nitlaçotlalistica mononotzasque: yntlan quichihuazque: yhuan [*sic*] tlen monequis yn intechpa cofradiasme: niman mochihuas cermon ynic moyolihuasque: yrmanos Cofradiasme: yhuan yntla oc cequintin: yrmanos Cofradias: moyxnamictinemi: mococolitinime: oncan moyolcehuisque: Auh yntlacamo moscalisneq[ui/ue] yn amo ypan quita: ytlanahuatiltzin totlaçonantzin quen icuac tlaçaqueltiLosque: yn aquiue: mococoliteneme: ynic amo yxquech quitlatlacalhuisque totlaçonantzin: ynic amo quitlacosque Santa cofradia: Auh yn tehuatl: tivitor yhuan monitor: Ca huel antlachiasqui: amotlan ytla cahues: xypantzinco tt⁰ Jesu x⁰ yhuan tlaçoCihuapili cemiCac ycpuchtle: [*sic*] yeheca ca amo quienmotilisneque: [*sic*] yn yehuanten mococolitinime: ca cenca quinmotelchihuilia: yn aquiue mopohteneme: nican Santa ospital: yzcatque ynic cenca anmi^{ma}isque ynic amo amonahuac caLaques tlacatecolotl yzcatque yn amonexcuitil yn ancofradiasme—

Yzcatque ynic chicontlamantle: yn amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme: yn ipan domingo de rramos: mochipa cecenxiuhtica mocentlalisque mochinte[n] cofradiasme Auh yn yehuanten yn Retor yhuan depotado yhuan mayordomos yn canpa tiotlatoLoyan oncan moce[n]tlalisque moyxquetzasque: aquen yehuanten ten [*sic*] quimohuiquilitiasque: yn imachiotzin yn itlayohui⁶ (6)listzin yn tt⁰ x⁰ yn yehuatl yn cofradia yn ye oyxquetzaLoc ca cenca miac quitlanisque: yndolgensia Auh oncan mochiasqui yn ya onahuatiloque Auh yntlacamo quiniquizque: yn aquiui nahuatiLo ynic quihuicasque: ymachiotzin tt⁰ x⁰ ca quixtlahuaz ce libra candeLas de sera: nican monequiz xypantzinco: nuistra señora: de la Sulidad yzcatque yn quichihuazque yn cualtin Christianosme Cofradiasme—

*Izcatque ynic chicueytlamantle: yn amohueynahuatil yn ancofradiasme yn icuac Jueves santo Ca huel amonahuatil: amoyxpan motzacuas SanctiSSimo Sacramento ynn onpa yglesia amo amocahuazque: yhuan nican Santa ospital: amo mochihuaz: monumento San yxquech ompa yglesia mochihuaz monumento: yn ipa[n] Jueves Santo: yn cecen-

⁶ In anticipation of the next page: *lis*.

xiuhtica: yuhqui anquichihuasque: Auh quen mostlatica viernis santo: anquihualyhcuansique: monomento oncan anquiltalisque Santa ospital auh yn ixquechten cualten cofradiasme: mocentlaLisque: moyol-Cuitisqui: yhuan quicilisqui ynacayotzin tt⁰ x⁰ yn icuac Jue^eue Santo— Auh yn icuac ya tlayahualohua SantiSSimo Sacramento: yn amomac tlatlatias yn amocandeLas cenca huey yn amonahuatil Auh yn icuac bierne santo mochintin necencahuaLos: yca tlayahuaLoListica: ca ynic techmocaqueltis: tt⁰ dios yn aquin amo yuhqui quichihuas quixtlahuas pena 4 tomen nican monequis yxpantzinco totlaçonantzin nuistra señora de la Sulidad: ca timochintin tonahuatel timochoquilisque: [sic] yxpantzinco tla⁷ (7)çoCihuapili yeheca ca cenca huey nitequipacholi cenca huey tlaocoyalis [sic] cenca huey choquiztle: oquimochihuili yn icuac oquimotilitzino: yn itlaçomahuizconetzin Jesus ye omomiquilitzino yn itech + Cruz cenca yc oçotlauhtzino yn Cihuapili Santa maria: yehica cenca quimotlaçotilia yn itlaçoconitzin JeSus Auh yzcatqui: cenca yn amonahuatil yn ancualtin yn ancofradiasme: tlamacehualistica: nisahuaListica: nitequepacholistica: ynic anquemotipotztoquilisque tlaçoCihuapili Santa maria: yzcatqui yn anquichihuasque: yn ancualten: yn a[n]cofradiasme

yzcatque ynic chicnauhtlamantle: yn amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme: ypan biernes santo: yn cecenxiuhtica yn yehuantin yrmanos cofradias huel quimatitiasqui yhuac tzilinis centetl tlapohuali: canpana ye omocencauhqui ynic mochiasque: yn cofradias: nican ospital ypanpa ynic quixohuaz ynic tlayahualosque yn icuac ome tzilinis tlapohuali tipostle: achtopa mochihuas sermon ypanpa moyolihuasque: yn ichquechten cofradiasme: Amo aqui mocoçtitias yhuan amo aqui miximatitias: mochintin quitlatisque. ymixco yca y capirotis: yhuan yn tonicas yhuan yn iscapolarios mochi tiltic yesqui yhuan mochi quipias escodo yscapoLarios: ymachiotzin: tt⁰ x⁰ yhuan yn Cihuatzitzintin: ynhueynahuatil mochintin quimoquintisque: yehuatl tiltic tilmatl yhuan cenca mocencauhtiasqui Amo tlen yes yntech tlalnamiquilistle san huel yhui⁸ (8)yantzin: anquimotipotztoquilisque: totlaçonantzin yhuan⁹ tt⁰ x⁰ nicnomatilistica: niteochihualistica yxayotica: yehica ca ypanpa cenca tlayacoyalisSotlahualistzin [sic] yn ichoquitztin yn icuac omomiquilitzino: yn itlasomahuisconetzin Jesu x⁰ Auh yn iqua^c ye mostlatica biernes santo oquimoquextilito yn ompa Jerosalen ytech Santa cruz oquihualmotimohuilitzino: Auh choquiztica: oquimonapalhuilitzino: Auh niman tlaocoyalistica: mochintin Santosme yhua[n] Sa[n]tasme

⁷ In anticipation of the next page: *ço*.

⁸ In anticipation of the next page: *yan*.

⁹ To the left in the margin: *XX*.

oquimotipotztotquilitzinoqui: yn Cihuapili Santa maria yhuan yn ixquichtin angelosme oquimoyacanilitiaqui nuistra señora de la Sulidad oquimohuiquilitiahulo: [*sic*] yn itlayohuilistzin: totlaçotemaquixticatzin: Jesu Christo yn ixquichten angelosme: yzcatqui yn quichihuasqui yn cualtin christianosme cofradiasme

Izcatqui ynic matlactlamantle: yn amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme yn quinen yca ytlaocoyalistzin ynic omomahuistenehua: [*sic*] nuistra señora de la Suledad — ca ypanpa yn itlayohuilischoquitzin Auh nima[n] oquimoquentetzino: telmatzintle: tilitic: yhuan mo^{chin}tin santosme: yhuan santasme: omocuepqui tilitic yntelma yn quimoquintia: Auh yn amihuantin: yn ancualte[n] anquimochihuilisqui yxpantzinco totlaçomahuiznantzin Santa maria tlamatcanimilistica anqui¹⁰ (9)molnamiquilisqui yn itlayohuilistzin tt⁰ Jesu x⁰ ayac mopotininimis: ayac tlatlacolmatitinimis yn mochintin cofradiasme yn quimotipotztotquilitiasque: totlaçona[n]tzin santa maria: Auh yn yehuantin freostes mayordomos yhuan depotados sa niman ayac mopohtenemesqui Auh yntla san mopuhtinime moneque tlatzacueltilos yhua[n] tlaxtlahuas nahui tomen 4 yhuan quihuicasque tlayahualoLispan yni santa cofradia ypanpa mononotzas mocnomatis yhuan tlamacehuaz yzcatqui yn quichihuasque: yn cualten yn christianosme yn confradiasme

Izcatqui ynic matlactlamantle: yhuan ce yn hueynahuatil yn confradiasme: yn cihuatzitzintin: Amo qui^{hui}casque tunicas san yxquich qui^{hui}casque yzcapolario tilitic yesque yhuan yn cobijas mochi tilitic yes yc mocuatlapachotiasqui yc neses san huel yehuatzin totlaçonantzin Sulidad yhuan mochinten: mocencauhtiasque: moticpantiasque: ynic quimotipotztotquilitiasque: totlaçonantzin yhuan quitlahuitiasque: [*sic*] yn tt⁰ su [*sic*] x⁰ yzcatqui yn quichihuasque y Cualtin christianosme cofradiasme

Yzcatque: ynic matlactlamantle: yhuan ome yn amohueynahuatil yn ancofradiasme: cecenxiuhtica mocentlaLisque cofradiasme: yn canpa y nicentlaliLoyan y nican ospital yn quichihuasque: yn capitolo: Auh oncan mopepenasque: cofradiasme: yn quenen mochihuas oyes ce Actor: yhuan mayordomos yhuan ome depotados yhuan bitor yhuan monitor quitosneque freoste: yhua Cihuatipixque: capitana: Auh no yhuan quihuasque lision¹¹ (10) ytetzinco pohue: totlaçonantzin Sulidad Auh san huel yehuanten cofradias: yn itechtzinco pohuiccate: totlaçonantzin Sa[n]ta maria motenehua Sulidad: yzcatque quichihuasque: yn cualtin christianosme: cofradiasme—

¹⁰ In anticipation of the next page: *mol*.

¹¹ In anticipation of the next page: *ytetzin*.

Yzcatque ynic matlactlamantle: yhuan yeyz [*sic*] yn amonahuatil: oncan mopias. ceceya: ome llabe yes yn canpa mopias: ynnitlayohuilistzin¹² totlaçonantzin santa maria de la Sulidad: quipias mayordomo se llabe yhuan se llabe quipias freoste: Auh oncan mopias huentzintle: limosna: yehuatl monichicohua: yn ipan cecenxiuhtica: yhuan centetl libro oncan yes ynic oncan micuilos yn ixquich ytlatquitzin totlaçonantzin Santa maria: yhuan no oncan moycuilos yn quexquech poliuhtiaz yn ipan cexiuhtica yhuan mofirmatisqui freyostes yhuan mayordomos yn quipia LLabe ynic huel miLahuac neltis yn quename: quichihuas tlamacehualistle yzcatque yn quichihuasqui yn cualtin cristianosme cofradiasme—

Izcatqui ynic matlactlamantle yhuan nahui yn amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme: Anmohuicasque: ynahuactzinco Reberantissimo obispo: Anconanasque licencia ynic huil anquichihuasque: Limosna: yn canpa quenequis yn amoyolo yn ancofradiasme: amo san ylihuis anmacosque: anmofirmatisque: ynic huel milahuac neltes yn amotequeuh: yzcatque yn anquichihuasque: yn ancualtin yn ancofradiasme—

Izcatqui ynic caxtollamantle: yn amohueynahuatil yn ancofradiasme yn yehuanten yn cocoxcatzitzintin¹³ (11) aço oquichtli anoço cihuatl mococohua yasqui depotadosme quitatihui yhuan quimatisque: yn aço huel tlanahui huel amonahuatil yn ancofradiasme: niman anquimochiltisqui [*sic*] tiopixque: ypanpa quiyolcuitis: yn cocoxqui ynic amo san nenquisas yn ianima ca nele huel quimotlaçotilia yn tt⁰ dios yn toanima: yzcatque ynic huil anquimocuetlahuisqui santa cofradia nican quisas ynic huil anquitlaocolisque: yn cocoxque yn tlen ytech monequis: yn ixquech cahuetl yc patis Auh tlacamo [*sic*] payna patis no yxquich cahuitl yn quipacayyohuisqui anquimocuitlahuisque: Auh yntla omomiquili oncan quiSaS yc moquimilos yhuan candelas mochi oncan quisas ynic motocas yntla motolinia yntlacamo tlan [*sic*] quipimopielia ynic antlacnopilhuisque yn onpa yn ilhuicatletic yzcatque yn quichihuasque yn cualton [*sic*] christianosme cofradiasme

Yzcatque: ynic caxtollamantle yhuan ce yn amohueynahuatil yn ancofradiasme: yntla ce huel motolinia aço oquichtle: noço [*sic*] Cihuatl omomiqueli niman niman [*sic*] manichicosqui: [*sic*] mo^{chin}tin yrmanos cofradias quihualhuicasque candelas: ynic quitocasque: micatzintle yhuan quichihuelisqui omi misas Resadas tlaxtlahuas Santa cofradia Auh yntlacamo momiquilis ma quen mostlatica mochihuas misa yxpan CruSifiSus: yehica ca ypalehuiloca toanima: Auh yntla aca cenca motoliniani yntlacamo Cofradia ycnotlacatl yntlacamo pahtica ynahuactzinco Sulidad huel amonahuatil manel amo pohuis santa cofradia

¹² ynnitlayohuilistzin: read *yn itlayohuilistzin*.

¹³ In anticipation of the next page: *aça*.

AnquipaLehuizque: micatzintle ynic anquimatisqui amo mochihuas ymisa yntlacamo cofradia Auh yn yehuantin¹⁴ (12) cofradiasme ca yehuantin ynpan mochihuas misa yzcatque yn quichihuasque yn cualtin christianosme cofradiasme—

Izcatque ynic caxtollamantle: yhuan ome yn amohueynahuatil yn ancofradiasme: yn ixquechtin yrmanos ayc polihuis^{que} cemicac: anquimocuitlahuisque: anquipiasque santa cofradia: yhuan mochipa cecenmitztle: antlahuimanasque: yn amixquichtin yrmanos yhuan mochipa cecenmetztle yca mochihuas yn inpanpa yn ixquichtin yoltinime yhuan yn inpanpa ye omomiquilique: yn cualtin cofradiasme catca yhuan y[n]pa[n]pa tlahuinmanalos yc mocohuas candeLas de sera ynic huel antlacnopilhuizque: yn onpa yn ilhuicac yn ancofradiasme— ca amo san ninpolihuis yn amotlatiquipanalis Auh yzcatque: yn icuac mopohuasniqui: ordinansas: ayac aca tlatotias: ayac aca huiscaties yeheca: ca amo camanali amo ahuile: san huel yhuiantzin amo centlalisqui amochintin yn amitlaçohuan tt^o su [sic] x^o yhuan totlaçonantzin santa maria: amo aqui mocahuaz ca mochintin: oncan mocentlaltiesqui: yzcatqui yn quichihuasqui yn cualtin cofradiasme—

Izcatque ynic caxtollamantle yhuan yeyz [sic] namonahuatil [sic] yn ancofradiasme: yn ipan domingo de rramos a[n]tlahuinmanasqui 2 ts^o cecenyaca: anCofradias ypanpa yca mochihuas prosiSion ypan Juebe santo yhuan yca mocohuas coLaSion yntech puis penitents yhuan tiopixqui yeheca¹⁵ (13) ca topalihucahuan techmopalihuilia cecenxiuhtica yhuan no cecenxiuhtica Anhualasque ynahuac señor obispo anoço probisor anquichihuasque Cuenta yn que^xquich one [sic] ce limosmo [sic] ypan ce xihuitl yhuan quexquich opolihui yn canpa opolihui ynic milahuac anquichihuasqui yxpantzinco Cihuapili Santa maria: yhuan quimatisqui yn quixquich oncati cofradias yhuan quixquech ye omomiquilique: Ah [sic] yxpantzinco anquimochihuilisque cuenta Santa cofradia yzcatqui yn quichihuasque yn cualtin cofradiasme

Yzcatque ynic caxtollamantle: yhuan nahui 4 yn amohuiynahuatil yn ancofradiasme: huil anquintlaocolisqui yn motolinicatzitzintin: yxpopyocatzitzintin huilantzitzintin: y^cxicoltiqui macoltiqui yn amo huel motiquipanohluiya ca huel amihuantin ancofradiasme anquimocuitlahuisqui anquintlaçotlasque: yeheca ca xyiptlahuan totemaquixticatzin JeSu x^o Auh yn totlaçonantzin santa maria ce[n]ca quinmotlasotiliaya motolinicatzitzintin quinmomaquiliaya yn itech moniqui yhuan quinmoyolaliliaya: yn tlaocoxtineme yhuan quinmotlapalhuiliaya: yn cocoxcatzitzintin yhuan quinmomachtiliaya yn

¹⁴ In anticipation of the next page: *cofra*.

¹⁵ In anticipation of the next page: *ca ta*.

moyolpolotinemeÑ

yzcatqui yn anquichihuasque yn ancofradiasme macamo tlheltequetl ypan anqui^{ma}tisqui ca nile ya yuh amonitoltiqui ynahuaetzinco Cihuapili santa maria: yn iuh yn axcan yn itlayhiohuilspan totemaquixticatzin Jesu X⁰¹⁶ (14) yn icuac ye yman ya quimocelilisnequi yn ipasiontzin Auh niman oquinmocentlalili yn ixquichten ytlaçopilhuan yn santos apoStolos Auh niman oquinmoyolalilitzino nitlaçotlalistica oquimolhuili yn axcan notlaçopilhuane ca ya yman ye nitlatzontiquililos ma yciuhcan quimochihuili yn quini milla yn ce notlamachtil Auh cenca yc omotequipachoqui yn i^xquichten: Santosme Auh niman quinmoxipaquili yn ixquichtin ytlamachtilhuan ma cehue yn intio yn intemachticauh amo yc omohuiypohua San omotipitono Auh yn amihuantin yn anCofradiasme ayac mopuhtinimis San huel amotipitonasque yzcatqui yn quichihuasqui yn cualten cofradiasme

yzcatqui yntla aca oquichtle anoso Cihuatl anoço tilpochtle: anoço ychpochtle yn itech potica Santa cofradia yn amo quitlacamati yn tlanahuatili yn ipan yexpan san oc nonotzaListica: quinonotzasqui Auh yntlacamo tlaçaquiz yc nauhpa sa niman micahuitecos: yca matlacte mecatl ynic amo yohqui momachtisqui cofradiasme: yhuan ayac quichihuas timictiani tlatlacoli nican Santa cofradia ayac ahuilnimis: ayac tipanahuis Auh yntla aca quinpanahuia yn oc cequintin cofradias quintlapoLoLtia sa niman quixtilos tilchihuaLos acmo canpa celilos ypanpa amo quinpasaLotinimis¹⁷ yn qualtin christianosme cofradiasme— (15)

yzCatqui ynic cenpohualtlamantle: yn amohuiynahuatil yn ancofradiasme: huel amimatisqui ynic cuali yectica anquitequimopanilhuisque:¹⁸ totlaçomahuiznantzin cihuapili santa maria: yn tihuatl yn tetlayacantica: yn ipan Santa cofradia huel timimatcanimis: ynic amo amotlan caLaquis yehuatl titlapaçoLohuani ynic amo anquimoyolitlcalhuisqui totlaçomahuisnantzin yhuan yn itlaçona[n]tzin Jesu x⁰ ynic amo amechmotilchuihilis Auh yntla aca nican temac ⁰huetzi yca tlatlacoli ca no tiyxpan tlatzacueltilos Auh yntla ychtaca oytaloc ca no ychtaca tlatzontequililos nonotzalos micahuitecos ynic amo cepha yuhqui quichihuas yhuan momacas pena

yzcatque: yn huel animaticanimsqui amo nemis ce oquichtle: anoço Cihuatl tetentlapiquitinimis titlapololitiⁿⁱmis: yeheca ca amo quimocelilia: totlaçomahuiznantzin yn tetlapaçolohuani yn tetlapoLoLtiani yeheca ca amo ahuii ychantzinco totlaçonantzin ca huel

¹⁶ In anticipation of the next page: *yn icuac*.

¹⁷ Note the Spanish loan verb *pasar* with the Nahuatl verbalizing suffix *-oa*.

¹⁸ *anquitequimopanilhuisque*: read *anquimotequipanilhuisque*.

cenchipahualistica: ynic animisqui ayac tliltic catzahuac anquichihuasqui nican Santa cofradia huel ximimatican ca nele huel amismotlatocatlalis [*sic*] totlaçonantzin yn icuac amomiquilisque [*sic*] ca amo ninpolihuis amotlamacehualis yntla huel milahuac anquimopielisque amotitlaçotlalis amochipahualis o quimach huel yehuantin quimaxcatisqui yn cualtin Christianosme yn onpa yn ilhuicac cemicac papaquilistletitlan¹⁹ O notlaçopilhuane ca nele yntla huel ancaxiltisque amotlamacehualis ca ompa amitzmoxtlahuilis [*sic*] totlaçonantzin yn onpa yn itlatocachantzinco yn ilhuicac yxpantzinco yn itlaçomahuizconetzin tt⁰ Jesu x⁰ amitzmomaquilisque²⁰ [*sic*] (16) yn icualtilistzin yn igraciatzin yn amopapaquilisque yn amonitlamachtilisque yn ayec tzonquisas yn ayec tlamis cemicac nitlamachtiloyan papaquilistitlan: Auh ca ye neli ya tlatocatiticati yn achto totahhuan yn tocolhuan yn ixquichtin Santosme yhuan Santasme ca tocnihuan ca nican tlalticpac omonimitique Ca tlalticpac tlaca micatca [*sic*] Auh ca ypanpa cualnimilistica chipahualistica omonimitique: tlamacehualistica nisahua ynic OquinmotlatoCatlali: totecuo dios yhuan totlaçona[n]tzin Auh ca san no yohqui amopan quimochihuilis totlaçonantzin yntla huel amocenyolacopa ynic amonimitisque nican Santa cofradia: O notlaçopilhuane macamo xiceyahuican ma huel yca mochi yn amoyolo xicmotlatlauhtilican tlaçocihuapili ynic amichmopalihuilis amopanpa quimotlatlauhtilisque: yn itlaçomahuisconetzin ynic amechmomaquilisque yn itlaçomahuisgraciatzin ynic amo amechlapoLoLtisque yn tetlapoLoLtiანი yn tlatlacaticolotl [*sic*] yzcatqui yn anquimomachitisque yn ancualtin yn ancofradiasme macamo San nenpolihuis yn amotlamacehualis ca ya anquimocaquitique yno motiniqua ca huel cenca quinmotlaçotilia totlaçonantzin yn cualtin Christianosme ca nu yuhqui topan mochihuas yn icuac titomiquilisque: ca no ompa techmoxtlahuilis totlaçomahuisnantzin yntla anquimopielisque yn itinahuatiltzin totlaçomahuisnantzin Auh yntla aquin cofradia quipanahua yn amotlanahuatil y[n] tihuatl tepreoste huel monahuatil tiquincentlalis tequinyolalis yca titlaCotlalistica [*sic*] ynic amo quitlacos²¹ (17) Santa Cofradia ynic amotetlapoLoLtisque Auh yntla ce cofradia motlapoloLtitineme. yn tihuatl titlayacantica ypan Santa Cofradia tic⁰Lalis yca cuali tlatoli Auh yntlacamo moyolnonotzasnequi niman mochintin Cofradiasme mocentlalisque yn oncan Santa Cofradia yn ipan icentlalilo [*sic*] yn oncan mononotzasque yn cualtin Cofradiasme yn quiniqua yes yn yehuatl yn motlapololtitineme Auh niman micahuitecos yca cenpohuale mecatl yhuan quistlahuas ce libra candellas de sera nican monequis yxpantzinco nueStra Señora de la Sulidad yhuan momacas pena yca nahui metztle totocos ynic amo yasque quichihuasque yn oc cequinten cofradiasme: yzcatqui yn anquimochihuilisque yn ancofradiasme ca yuh motlanahuatilia tt⁰ x⁰ yhuan tlaçocihuapili Santa maria: moteniqua nuestra

¹⁹ papaquilistletitlan: read *papaquilistitlan* (see p. 16).

²⁰ In anticipation of the next page: *yn iCual*.

²¹ In anticipation of the next page: *Santa*.

señora de la Sulidad yn itlayohuilstzin ytlayocoyalistzin yn icuac Omomiquiltzino: totlaçotemaquixticatzin Jesu x⁰ — ynic otechmomaquixtili yn tetlalticpac titlaca Auh ye quinin cenca totech moniqui titlaocoyasqui timotiquipachosqui [*sic*]^{ca} ypanpa totlatlacol Omotlayohuiltitzino tlaçocihuapili Santa maria yhuan yn itlaçoconitzin topanpa omomiquiltzino: ca yc titochicahuasqui tictotlayecoltisqui yn itocatzin dios titatzin dios tipiltzin dios spirito Santo nican ytzonquisca yn motenihua ordinanSas ytech ca huilitilistle yn huel ynnahuatil mochintin cofradiasme qui²² (18)mocaquiltisqui ynic cualnimisqui yxpantzin^{co} totlaçomahuisnantzin Cihuapili Santa maria

Amen JeSus

v 23 del mes deceimbre 1619 años nihuatl onicyancuili yni amatl notoca diego marcos diego luis mayordomo cacat [*sic*] Sulidad yehuatl oquichihua

[pp. 19-25 are blank]

(26) Nican nictlalla [*sic*] yfirma diego yz ypan cienpohualle yhua ypan ypan [*sic*] y [practice doodles]

²² In anticipation of the next page: *mocaquis*.

TRANSLATION OF SAN MIGUEL COYOTLAN, 1619

YEAR OF 1619

JESUS

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, just one [but] truly indeed three Persons. But truly indeed God the Ruler exists and rules there in heaven, eternal place of riches and happiness. In the name of the perfectly good virgin Saint Mary, beloved mother of God, along with the saints who are residents of heaven. They are eternally enjoying themselves in the presence of the Lady Saint Mary of the [Immaculate] Conception. But behold! Here we had gathered together, all of us who are members of the *cofradía*, and here we have set down our signatures [to affirm] that we gathered together in the hospital, home of Our Lady of the [Immaculate] Conception in the *altepetl* of San Miguel Coyotlan, and [to affirm] how we received the holy *cofradía* of [Our Lady of] Solitude. And all of us willingly erect and receive the holy *cofradía* as it was given to us [by] our great ruler the Lord Bishop. This is how: he has the authority. We will guard the ordinances. No one will do damage to [or] transgress against them. But if some member of the *cofradía* belonging to our beloved mother the Lady Saint Mary will transgress against them he will be very greatly punished. The men who are members of the *cofradía* will gather together in a chapter meeting and then his sins will be declared there, [how] he wronged the name of the Lady Saint Mary. He who does not truly believe in Saint Mary of Solitude will appear there. And there will be a big fine and he will be punished so that the good members of the *cofradía* will not do likewise.

Here is the very obligation of the members of the *cofradía*: they will never leave [but] always be [present], and they will not withdraw to where there is no hospital called Our Lady of Solitude, nor to another place although it be a convento [or] where there is a place of divine ritual. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the third obligation of all of you who are members of the *cofradía*: anger will not be with you when it is the [feast day] of the suffering of our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ and our beloved mother the Lady Saint Mary of Solitude; that is how you will live before the Lady Saint Mary. And when a procession occurs all will come out along with the women. All will go carrying the [symbol?/banner?] of the suffering and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Always it will be thus. No one will

despise the Lady Saint Mary. For he who just wants to despise penance —this one is regarded just [like] a devil, and he who will be confused with our Lady Saint Mary (who is called Our Lady of Solitude) right away will fall into mortal sin. It is on account of her sadness and weeping that you will live calmly and peacefully in the home of the Lady Saint Mary. So that the devil will not enter in among you, no one will aggrandize himself; all of you who are members of the *cofradía* will just live quietly and peacefully. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the fourth obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: you will have candles in your hands, you will go lighting the way for our beloved Savior Jesus [Christ]. You will go following Him so that you will obtain what He desires there in heaven, because it is not a frivolous [matter but] a very frightening one [I speak of here.] But behold! Those who want to belong to [the *cofradía* of] our beloved mother of Solitude will from the first consult on it. Perhaps it is with all his heart that he wants blessedness before the Lady Saint Mary. He will not deceive himself, it will not [leave] a bad taste in his mouth, but very willingly he will do his penance. And if he really desires with all his heart [to join] the holy *cofradía* he will set down alms of one peso in order to be a member of the *cofradía*. And if a woman, she will set down an offering of six tomines; and if a small child, he will set down an offering of four tomines in order to be a member of the *cofradía*. Such is the obligation of you who are good members of the *cofradía*.

Here is your fifth obligation: the [feast day of the] suffering of our Lord Christ is the [major?] occasion of the holy *cofradía* of our beloved mother of Solitude. It is when the feast day is celebrated of the Nativity of Saint Mary on the eighth day of September. But if it is not possible to celebrate the feast day on the day it falls [then] the feast day of our beloved mother will be celebrated on Sunday. It will not be carried out [just any]where but right there in the holy hospital; a Mass[es?] will be performed, for in such a manner it is going to be done from year to year. All the members of the *cofradía* will be there on the feast day of our beloved mother if [they] are not sick or perhaps have gone somewhere faraway. But if someone just considers it an idle matter and has no regard for the holy *cofradía* he will pay four tomines; it will need [to be done] in the presence of Our Lady of Solitude. When Mass is performed all the members of the *cofradía* will have burning candles in their hands. [The *cofradía*] will celebrate the feast day of our beloved mother by means of a procession. Here is what you who are good members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the sixth obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: on precious Holy Lent (called Passion Sunday of Saint Lazarus) all the members of the *cofradía* will gather together in the place of assembly

there in the holy hospital. With mutual love and esteem they will consult among themselves and they will do what is necessary concerning the members of the *cofradía*. Then a sermon will be given so that the brothers, members of the *cofradía*, will take heart. And if other brothers, members of the *cofradía*, go about confronting and hating each other, there they will placate each other. But if they are not well-instructed and have no regard for the orders of our beloved mother, right then those who go about wishing ill of each other will be made to understand so that they do not completely offend our beloved mother and so that they will not do harm to the holy *cofradía*. But as to you, “tivotor” and “monitor”: look well that things are not spoiled amongst you in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ and the high-born Lady the eternal virgin, because she does not want to see those who go about wishing ill of each other, for she greatly despises those who go about haughty and proud here in the holy hospital. Here is how you will be very prudent so that the devil will not get next to you. Here is the example [to be followed] of you who are members of the *cofradía*.

Here is the seventh obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: every year on Palm Sunday all the members of the *cofradía* will gather together. And those who will be the rector and deputy and majordomos will gather together there where it is the place of the divine word and be put into office. Those who will go carrying [the banner?] with the sign of the suffering of our Lord Christ who were put into office in the *cofradía* will be calm, for they asked for a great many indulgences. There those who were given orders will be awaited. But if those who were given orders do not want to carry [the banners with?] the sign of our Lord Christ, [t]he[y] will pay for one pound of wax candles. It will need [to be done] here in the presence of Our Lady of Solitude. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the eighth obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: when it is Holy Thursday you are greatly obligated [to see to it that] the Most Holy Sacrament is locked up there in the hospital; you will not stay there, and here in the holy hospital a [commemorative] wooden structure will not be made. On Holy Thursday each year a [commemorative] wooden structure will only be made over there in the church; thus you will do it. But as to how you will move it from one place to another on the following day, Holy Friday: you will place it there in the holy church. And all the good members of the *cofradía* will gather together, confess and receive the body of our Lord Christ when it is Holy Thursday. It is your great obligation to have candles burning in your hands when the Most Holy Sacrament is going around in pro-

cession. When it is Holy Friday all will be prepared sometime with procession[s] for in such a way our Lord God will hear us. He who does not do such will pay a fine of four tomines. It will be necessary [to do it] here in the presence of our beloved mother Our Lady of Solitude for we are all obligated to weep before the high-born Lady because she suffered great affliction, sadness and weeping when she saw her beloved honored child Jesus had already died on the cross. The Lady Saint Mary fainted dead away because she loves her beloved child Jesus. But behold! You who are good members of the *cofradía* are greatly obligated to follow the high-born Lady Saint Mary through penance, fasting and pain. Here is what you who are good members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the ninth obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: each year on Holy Friday those who are brothers, members of the *cofradía*, well know [that] when the [metal] clock with a bell rings the members of the *cofradía* will have readied themselves to wait here in the hospital; it is because all will leave in order to go around in a procession when the metal clock with a bell rings two [times?/o'clock?].²³ First a sermon will be given so all the members of the *cofradía* will take heart. No one will go putting himself to sleep and no one will go showing his face; all will hide their faces with the hoods. And the tunics and the scapularies will all be black and all of the scapularies will have an insignia, sign of our Lord Christ. And the women are greatly obligated to clothe themselves in black blankets. And they will greatly prepare themselves: they will have no other thoughts but rather you will calmly and peacefully follow our beloved mother and our Lord Christ with humbleness, prayer and tears, because it is [all] on account of her sorrowful fainting and weeping when her beloved honored child Jesus Christ died. It was when it was Holy Friday that she went to take Him out of Jerusalem there; she came to seek Him on the holy cross. With weeping she carried Him in her arms and then with sadness all the male and female saints followed the Lady Saint Mary, along with all the angels who went leading Our Lady of Solitude. All the angels went carrying the [symbol of the?] suffering of our beloved honored Savior Jesus Christ. Here is what all the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the tenth obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: how is it through her sadness that [the *cofradía*?] is honorably called Our Lady of Solitude? It is because of her tormented weeping. She right away put on a black blanket and all the male and female saints changed the blankets they were wearing to black. You who are good will

²³ See Molina 1977, 132r: "Tlapoalteputzli. reloj de hierro con campana."

do it in the presence of our beloved honored mother Saint Mary. You will remember the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ with a quiet and peaceful life. No one will go about haughty and arrogant; [as for] all the members of the *cofradía* who go following our beloved mother Saint Mary, none will go about knowing sin. Absolutely none of the *priostes*, *majordomos* and deputies will be haughty and arrogant. But if [one of them] goes about haughty and arrogant he needs to be punished and he will pay [a fine of] four *tomines* and they will take him in the procession of the holy *cofradía* because he will take counsel with himself, humble himself and do penance. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the eleventh great obligation of the members of the *cofradía*: the women will not carry tunics; they will only carry scapularies that will be black, and the short mantillas with which they cover their heads will all be black. Thus will personally appear our beloved mother of Solitude. And all will go preparing themselves to line up to follow [the standard of the *cofradía* of?] our beloved mother, and they will go lighting the way with a candle for our Lord Jesus Christ. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is the twelfth great obligation of you who are members of the *cofradía*: each year the members of the *cofradía* will gather together in the place of assembly here in the hospital and hold a chapter meeting. There the members of the *cofradía* will be chosen. As to how it will be done: there will be one "actor" and a "monitor" (that is to say, a "prioste"), and a woman in charge of people, [i.e.,] a female captain.²⁴ And also they will give a lesson pertaining to our beloved mother of Solitude. [The audience?] will be those who personally belong to [the *cofradía* of] our beloved mother Saint Mary, called "[of] Solitude." Here is what the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía* will do.

Here is your thirteenth obligation: each one of two keys will be guarded there where the [banner is kept?] of the suffering of our beloved mother Saint Mary of Solitude; the *majordomo* will have one key and the *prioste* will have one key. [Also] will be guarded there the offerings and alms gathered [during] each year. And there will be a book there so that there will be written [down] all the property of our beloved mother Saint Mary. And also there will be written [down in the book] how much was spent during one year, and the *priostes* and *majordomos* who have the keys will put their signatures [in the book]

²⁴ Cihuatipixque: capitana: since orthographically *i* and *e* are often interchangeable and the Spanish loanword does not bear a Nahuatl pluralizing suffix, I interpret this as singular rather than plural.

so that the way they did their penance [i.e., carried out their cofradía responsibilities] will be very truly realized. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the fourteenth obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: you will go to the Most Reverend Bishop and get a license from him so that you can engage in the taking of alms wher[ever] your hearts desire. [The license] will not be thoughtlessly given to you; [rather,] you will sign so that your duties will be very honestly carried out. Here is what you who are good members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the fifteenth great obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: the deputies will go to see and find out about the sick, whether it is a man or a woman who is sick; perhaps he is terminally ill. The very obligation of you who are members of the cofradía is then to summon the priest because he will confess the sick person so his soul will not be uselessly spent. For truly our Lord God greatly loves our souls. Behold, so that you can take care of the holy cofradía. Here it will come out so that you will have mercy on the sick with what he will need until he has recovered his health. But if he does not recover his health, you will also take care of him while he suffers. But if he died he will come out clothed [in burial shrouds?] and if he is poor all the candles will come out there when he is buried. If not, they will guard them so that you will obtain what you deserve there in heaven. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the sixteenth great obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: if a really poor person has died, whether a man or a woman, then let all the brothers, members of the cofradía, gather together. They will bring candles when they bury the dead person and they will have two Low Masses performed for him; the holy cofradía will pay. But if he will not die, let a Mass be performed the following day in front of the crucifix because it is to help our souls. But if it is someone who is very poor who is not a member of the cofradía, [for example] an orphan, you [still] have a great obligation even though he does not belong [to] the holy cofradía. If he is not a member of the cofradía you will aid the deceased when you find out his Mass will not be performed. And those who are members of the cofradía will [without fail?] have Mass[es?] said for them. Here is what the good Christians who are members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the seventeenth great obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: all the brothers will never perish; you will always take care of and guard the holy cofradía, and always each month all of you brothers will make offerings, and always each month it will be done sometime on account of all the living and on account of all the de-

ceased good members of the cofradía who have died. And on account of them offerings will be made with wax candles that will be bought so that you who are members of the cofradía will obtain what you desire there in heaven —for your work will not be uselessly spent. But behold! When the ordinances are about to be read no one will speak, no one will laugh, because it is not a joke, not a frivolous thing. All of you who are the beloved of our Lord Jesus Christ and our beloved mother Saint Mary will gather together calmly and peacefully; no one will be left out, all will gather together there. Here is what the good members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the eighteenth obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: on Palm Sunday each one of you who are members of the cofradía will make an offering of two tomines because with it a procession will be made on Holy Thursday and with it sweet meats will be bought which will belong to the penitents along with the priests because they are our benefactors and help us each year. And also each year you will come to the Lord Bishop or the provisor to give an accounting of how many alms there were in one year and how much was spent and where it was spent so that you perform [your cofradía duties] honestly before the Lady Saint Mary. And they will find out how many cofradía members are [still] living and how many have already died. You will give an accounting to him of [the finances of] the holy cofradía. Here is what the good members of the cofradía will do.

Here is the nineteenth great obligation of you who are members of the cofradía: you will be very merciful to those who are poor, the blind and crippled, the lame of feet and hand who cannot work for themselves, for you cofradía members will personally take care of them and love and esteem them because they are [in] the image of our Savior Jesus Christ. Our beloved mother Saint Mary greatly loves the poor; she gave them what they needed and she consoled those who go about in sadness and she greeted the sick and she taught those who went about confused and bewildered.

Here is what you who are members of the cofradía will do. Do not regard [cofradía tasks] as foul tribute duty for truly you have already made a vow to the Lady Saint Mary. As now in the time of the suffering of our Savior Jesus Christ and when He was about to receive His passion, He then consoled them with love of self, saying to them: O my beloved children, now it is high time for me to be judged! May He quickly do it like [?] to my disciple. All the saints were greatly worried. But then He washed the feet of all His disciples; [?] their teacher. He did not hold Himself in high regard but belittled Himself. And none of you who are members of the cofradía will go about haughty and arro-

gant but will greatly belittle yourselves.

Behold! If some man or a woman, or perhaps a young man or a young woman, who belongs to the holy confraternity does not want to follow the rules they [i.e., the officers and/or members of the *cofradía*] will still just caution and correct him with admonitions on the matter three times. But if he will not listen and understand the fourth time then right away he will be given ten lashes with a whip so that the members of the *cofradía* will not learn such [bad behavior] and no one [else] will commit mortal sins here in the holy confraternity; no one will play and waste time, no one will surpass others. But if someone surpasses the other members of the *cofradía* he confuses them; right away he will be kicked out and despised, no longer accepted anywhere, because he will not go around surpassing the good Christians who are members of the *cofradía*.²⁵

Here is the twentieth great obligation of you who are *cofradía* members: you will be very prudent so that you will serve well and properly our beloved mother the Lady Saint Mary. You who lead people in the holy *cofradía* will live very prudently so that an entrapper of people will not enter in among you and so that you will not offend our beloved mother and the beloved mother of Jesus Christ so that she will not despise you. But if someone here through sin falls into people's hands he will be publicly punished; but if he was secretly seen [in sin] he will also be secretly judged, corrected and whipped so that he will not do likewise another time, and he will be given a fine.

Behold! You will live prudently. A man or woman will not go about giving false testimony about people [or] confusing people because our beloved honored mother will not receive an entrapper [or] confounder of people, and because the home of our beloved mother is not a frivolous thing. For you will live with complete purity, not committing black and dirty [sins] here in the holy *cofradía*. Be very prudent, for our beloved mother will truly indeed place you in a high position when you die for your penance will not be spent in vain if you very genuinely have loving charity and purity. O how fortunate will be the good Christians who appropriate [blessedness?] to themselves over there in heaven, eternally among happiness and pleasure! O my beloved children, if you can truly complete your penance our beloved mother will repay you over there in her royal home in heaven in the presence of her beloved honored child our Lord Jesus Christ! He will give you His goodness and grace [which] will be your never-ending happiness and riches, in the eternal place of riches and joys, of happi-

²⁵ Tentative translation. Nahuatl *panahuia* "to surpass" at times can be defined as "transgress against" and perhaps has that meaning as well in this passage.

ness and pleasure. For truly our first fathers and grandfathers, all the male and female saints, already rule, for they are our friends. They lived here on earth and were people of the earth. And because they lived with goodness, purity, penance and fasting is why our Lord God and our beloved mother had mercy on them. Our beloved mother will do the same for you if really with all your heart that is how you live here in the holy cofradía. O my beloved children, do not get weary! With all your heart implore the high-born Lady so that she will help you, praying to her beloved honored child on your account so that He will give you His precious honored grace so that the confounder of people, the devil, will not confuse you. Here is what you who are good members of the cofradía will know: let your penance not be uselessly spent for you have already heard what it is called; our beloved mother very much loves those who are good Christians. The same will happen to us when we die, for our beloved honored mother will also repay us there if you have kept the laws of our beloved honored mother. But if some member of the cofradía transgresses your regulations, you who are the prioste are greatly obligated to gather them together and console them with loving charity so that he will not damage the holy cofradía and not confuse people. But if a member of the cofradía goes about confused and erring, you who lead in the holy cofradía will console him with good words. But if he does not want to consult then all the members of the cofradía will gather together there in the holy cofradía in the place of assembly. There the good members of the cofradía will take counsel among themselves as to what to do concerning he who is going about confused and erring. Then he will be whipped with 20 lashes and he will pay for one pound of wax candles; it needs [to be done] here in the presence of Our Lady of Solitude, and he will be given a fine along with four months of [suspended membership?] so that the other members of the cofradía will not go do things for him. Here is what you who are members of the cofradía will do, for such orders our Lord Christ and the high-born Lady Saint Mary called Our Lady of Solitude. It was through her suffering and sadness when our beloved Savior Jesus Christ died that we people of the earth were saved. But how very much we need to be sad and anxious. Because of our sins the high-born Lady Saint Mary suffered and her beloved child died on our account. Thus we will strengthen ourselves with serving Him who is called God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. Here is the end of what are called ordinances, in which are the authority and the very obligations of all members of the cofradía. They will hear it so that they will live properly before our beloved honored mother the Lady Saint Mary.

Amen, Jesus.

The twenty third of the month of December, year 1619, I whose name

is Diego Marcos restored [made a clean copy of?] this document; Diego Luis, past majordomo of the [cofradía of Our Lady of] Solitude [first?/originally?] did it.

Here I set down the signature of Diego, here on the twenty and and [sic] [X day of the month of X?] in the [year X?]