

LEVELS OF ACCULTURATION IN NORTHEASTERN NEW SPAIN; SAN ESTEBAN TESTAMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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The last two decades have witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of works examining the Indian world of central Mexico in the colonial period, examinations based on analysis of Indian-language documents and presenting, for the first time, an unabashedly Indian perspective on the experiences of the indigenous world as it came into contact with, and was penetrated by, the Spanish. Much of the focus has been on the first century of contact, when that contact was most keenly felt by the indigenous community as it underwent challenges to its cultural integrity posed by the hispanic presence and confronted the tremendous demographic impact of European diseases. The collaborative effort of Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart,¹ the contributions of Frances Berdan, alone and in conjunction with both Arthur J. O. Anderson and Lockhart,² Lockhart's individual work on central Mexican Indians,³ Susan M. Kellogg's examination of kin-

¹ Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976; Karttunen and Lockhart, eds., *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*, Los Angeles, UCLA Latin American Center Publications, Nahuatl Studies Series Number 2, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987; "Textos en Nahuatl del siglo XVIII: un documento de Amecameca, 1746", in *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl*, vol. 13, 1978, p. 153-175.

² Frances F. Berdan, *The Aztecs of Central Mexico: An Imperial Society*, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1982; with Arthur J. O. Anderson and James Lockhart, eds., *Beyond the Codices: The Nahua View of Colonial Mexico*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1976; *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala (1545-1627)*, Salt Lake City, UT, University of Utah Press, 1986.

³ "Views of Corporate Self and History in Some Valley of Mexico Towns: Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, New York, Academic Press, 1982, p. 367-393; "Y la Ana lloró: cesión de un sitio para casa, San Miguel Tocuilan, 1583", in *Tlalocan*,

ship and inheritance in sixteenth-century Tenochtitlan,⁴ S. L. Cline's studies of colonial Culhuacan,⁵ and J. Jorge Klor de Alva's work on the religious aspects of contact,⁶ all help to enrich and define the canon for other scholars. One of the most important themes linking the work of these various scholars is that of cultural persistence and in some cases resistance, in the face of Spanish presence in the world of the Indian. Responding to the earlier view which held that the contact period saw only the violent beginning of the inexorable slide toward cultural extinction and oblivion, these more recent studies have postulated a new, more complex, and more dynamic response on the part of the members of the indigenous world. While one cannot deny the great impact of the Spanish on the Indian world, not least the dramatic demographic decline due to disease, and the toll taken on community life, nonetheless the work of these scholars establishes that the Indian community in central Mexico withstood these challenges to a remarkable degree, and survived with numerous elements of its culture intact far beyond the contact period.

But what of the regions some distance from the center, where population density, within both the hispanic and indigenous worlds, was far less, and both cultures presumably far less firmly rooted? What were the experiences of the Indian communities in these far-flung regions to the north of the indigenous heartland? An examination of the Indian town of San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala, adjacent to the Spanish community of Saltillo, in the northeastern region of present-day Coahuila, provides some indication of the nature of that encounter over a period of a century and one-half.

vol. viii, 1980, p. 21-33; "Some Nahua Concepts in Post-Conquest Guise", *History of European Ideas*, vol. 6, n° 4, 1985, p. 465-482.

⁴ Susan M. Kellogg, "Aztec Inheritance in Sixteenth-Century Mexico City: Colonial Patterns, Pre-hispanic Influences", in *Ethnohistory*, 33: 3, Summer, 1986, p. 313-330; "Kinship and Social Organization in Early Colonial Tenochtitlan", in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, supplementary volume, *Ethnohistory*, Ronald Spores, ed., Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, p. 103-121.

⁵ S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town*, Albuquerque, NM, University of New Mexico Press, 1986; and with Miguel León-Portilla, eds., *The Testaments of Culhuacan*, Los Angeles, UCLA Latin American Center Publications, Special Studies volume 2, Nahuatl Series Number 1, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984.

⁶ "Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity", in Collier, Rosaldo, and Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, p. 345-363; with H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber, eds., *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico*, Albany, N. Y., Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, Studies on Culture and Society, volume 2, The University at Albany, State University of New York, 1988.

Unlike the Nahuatl-speaking communities of central Mexico, San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala existed in a region nearly devoid of other settlements of Nahuatl speakers. The northeast had historically been home to nomadic groups, but the erection of hispanic settlements in the late sixteenth century created a need for the pacification of the hostile populations. The creation of colonies of Tlaxcalans throughout the northeast as models of sedentary agriculturalists for the nomadic groups seemed the answer. The *capitulaciones* published in Mexico City in March, 1591, provided for the privileges which colonizing groups were to enjoy, in particular a guarantee of separation from Spaniards both in residence and in government; under these terms San Esteban was established in that same year on land ceded from the hispanic community of Saltillo, which had been founded some fourteen years earlier.⁷

The existence of the several Tlaxcalan colonies in the north did little to pacify the nomadic populations, and many of the communities declined or disappeared completely. But San Esteban survived and grew. Some of its residents on occasion chose to move on to newer settlements further north and west of the Saltillo region, so that in time San Esteban came to play a role similar to that earlier played by Tlaxcala itself as the source of new colonists;⁸ nonetheless, the draw exerted by the outlying colonies did not inhibit the slow but steady growth of the Indian town. By 1792 San Esteban contained some 484 households, with a total population of 2,009.⁹ And at least through 1779, San Esteban, maintaining its municipal independence, kept a Nahuatl-speaking notary who recorded the testaments of the residents of that community in the indigenous language. Those testaments, spanning the years 1611-1779, provide the documentary basis of this study.

⁷ Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Tejas en la época colonial*, México, Editorial Porrúa, 1978, p. 123-136.

⁸ See Alessio Robles, p. 283, 370, 389, 401.

⁹ This total is yielded by a hand count of all residents listed in the manuscript census for San Esteban proper. It should be noted that none of the residents in this particular section of the census was assigned any specific ethnic label; the census taker(s) apparently assumed all who resided in San Esteban were Indian. While such generalized assumptions are often risky, the fact that all San Esteban residents possessed distinctly Indian names, i.e. Christian names or saints' names as surnames, suggests that such an assumption is probably safe. A hand count of the manuscript census for Saltillo proper and its surrounding haciendas and ranchos, excluding San Esteban, yields 514 individuals designated by the term *indio*; such greater precision in labelling would be necessary in areas where ethnic diversity was greater. Archivo Municipal de Saltillo (hereafter cited as AMS), Carpeta 43, 1791, *padrón*.

The collection of Nahuatl wills from San Esteban offers an unusual opportunity to examine elements of acculturation to the hispanic world over an extended period. From the relatively "pure" Nahuatl of the earliest seventeenth-century testaments, by the 1770's, the last decade from which indigenous wills survive, one sees a Nahuatl so full of Spanish elements that one may assume that the testators were fully familiar with the Spanish language. The changes within the testaments over time suggest changes in the community of San Esteban itself, changes having to do with its increasing exposure to, and integration into, the hispanic world.

The testaments have survived housed in the municipal archive of Saltillo, where they are bound interspersed with Spanish-language testaments spanning the years 1617-1779. Fifty-two seventeenth-century Nahuatl wills have survived, the earliest dated 1611 (misfiled by date in the Spanish bundles, as so many are; whoever in later years organized the testaments for binding was apparently unfamiliar with Nahuatl and unable to comprehend the dates on the various Indian-language documents). For the purposes of this study, I have examined twenty-five of those fifty-two, these chosen on the basis of the physical quality of the documents themselves (i. e. how well-preserved), and, following on that point, the ease of transcribing a particular document.¹⁰ An additional fourteen testaments dating from the period 1748-1779 have also been examined for this study. Of the twenty-five seventeenth-century testaments examined, thirteen are produced by women. Curiously, while the terms of the establishment of the community provided that all Tlaxcalan colonists would be considered as *caballeros* and *hidalgos*, entitled to the use of the title *don*, only two of the earlier testators bear that title (don Pedro Clemente, d. 1685, and don Juan Diego, d. 1687); none of the women in the seventeenth-century sample was called *doña*. Three of the eighteenth-century male testators surveyed bore the title (don Andrés Pascual, d. 1772, don Félix Martín Ramos, d. 1776, and don Cristóbal Ramos, d. 1748); two of the female testators were labelled as *doñas* (*doña* María Rosa, d. 1775, and *doña* Antonia María, d. 1774). It is worth noting

¹⁰ The Nahuatl materials in the Saltillo municipal archives are in far worse condition than their Spanish counterparts, to a great extent, it appears, because those charged in later years with the responsibility of organizing the materials had no knowledge of Nahuatl, and therefore no understanding of, or respect for, the materials they handled. One sees, for example, far too frequently Nahuatl documents used as covers for bundles of Spanish language materials; in other instances they are placed more carelessly in the bundles than are Spanish materials, with consequent greater damage to the documents.

that, while the use of the titles don and doña generally suggests higher status within the community, even when, as by the eighteenth century, the terms were somewhat devalued, the estates of the San Esteban residents who bore these titles were, in the main, rather modest, comparable in size and apparent wealth to estates of nontitled residents of the town. The greater number of testators who bore these titles in the eighteenth century sample probably reflects the looser application of the terms in that era.¹¹

What follows here is a general examination of these thirty-nine testaments, drawing out common characteristics of testaments from three specific periods (early seventeenth century to 1627; later seventeenth century, 1670 through the 1690's; and mid-eighteenth century), and commentary on what those characteristics reflect of San Esteban society at specific points in its development. Additionally, I have included transcriptions and translations of three testaments (Justina Xochicuetzin, 1627, Diego Sánchez, 1682, and don Félix Martín Ramos, 1776) to allow the reader to observe more directly the content and language use of the wills; while not all the elements treated in the more general discussion are to be found in these sample texts, they are sufficiently representative of the genre at particular stages in its development to be useful to the reader.

The format of the San Esteban testaments derives from sixteenth-century central Mexican models.¹² As do Spanish wills, each of the Nahuatl testaments begins with some variation of the standard phrase invoking the Trinity, then identifies the person making the will by name and residence testator (including both town and neighborhood). A phrase follows which asserts the testator's soundness of mind; then the body is consigned to the earth (*auh in notlac yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua yntlalli yehua ca ytech oquiz ochihualoc*, in the 1683 will

¹¹ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708; will of don Pedro Clemente, 1685; carpeta 2, 1709-1726, will of don Juan Diego, 1687; carpeta 8, 1761-1763, will of don Cristóbal Ramos, 1748; carpeta 10, 1772-1777, will of doña María Rosa, 1775; carpeta 13, 1789-1799, wills of don Andrés Pascual, 1772, don Félix Martín Ramos, 1776; carpeta 14, 1800-1807, will of doña Antonia María, 1774. The infrequency of the title in the seventeenth century may have to do with a generally stricter application of these honorific titles in that period. Dones are found in San Esteban in this period; many of the politically active members of the community—the governors, alcaldes, regidores, and alguaciles mayores who appear regularly among the witnesses of the testaments—are often so labelled. And by the 1770's a substantial number of the testators are called don or doña.

¹² For examples of central Mexican testaments the reader should consult Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, eds., *Beyond the Codices*, *passim* and the recent work of S. L. Cline and Miguel León-Portilla, eds., *The Testaments of Culhuacan*, *passim*.

of Elena Francisca).¹³ The care of the soul is then taken up, often with detailed provision made for burial and the saying of masses. There follows a section treating bequests to specific charities; in San Esteban these charities are firmly established by the early seventeenth century and survive through the 1770's.¹⁴

Following this formulaic beginning, the testators proceed to the substantive portion of their wills. Here one sees most clearly the details of the lives of San Esteban residents where they treat their possessions, name their heirs; itemize their debts. This section is indeed the core of the testaments, reflecting most clearly the more personal aspects of the lives of the members of this community. It is "flesh on the skeleton" in many respects, allowing us (and most certainly them) to differentiate one from another on the basis of individual characteristics. After this most personal section, the wills then revert to formula with the naming of executors, the identification of witnesses, and the dating and signing of the document. These conventions are essentially those of the hispanic model, to which Nahuatl speakers adapted so readily early in the post-contact era, and preserved with little deviation throughout the colonial period.¹⁵ What concerns us now are the elements of the substantive sections of the wills, and what they suggest about the nature of the community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The three earliest wills, dated 1611, 1621, and 1627 respectively, are, not surprisingly, truest to the indigenous language. Indeed, two of the three testators are called by Nahuatl names (Bonaventura Xuchitlanemi, d. 1621, and Justina Xochicuetzin, d. 1627); the third is named in a fashion typical of Indians in the colonial world, taking two Christian names rather than adopting a more standard Spanish surname. These wills are not untouched by Spanish; each contains certain standard loanwords typical of central Mexican testaments of the same period.¹⁶ From the earliest Nahuatl testaments Nahuatl

¹³ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 2, 1709-1726, will of Elena Francisca, 1683.

¹⁴ The charities in question are the Casa Santa de Jerusalem yhuau redención de los cautivos, and the cofradías of Nuestra Señora del Rosario and Animas.

¹⁵ Cline and León-Portilla suggest that from at least the 1540's central Mexican Indians had adopted the practice of written wills. See Cline and León-Portilla, *The Testaments of Culhuacan*, p. 4.

¹⁶ Indeed, one would expect that the language of these early seventeenth-century testaments should reflect quite closely the language of Tlaxcala in the same period, reflecting the same linguistic changes that Tlaxcalan Nahuatl had experienced, since the community of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala had been so recently created by residents of Tlaxcala proper.

speakers made use of certain Spanish testamentary language that could be rendered in no other way. Spanish religious terms (Dios, Espiritu Santo, Santa Yglesia, missa, Santissimo Sacramento, anima, porgatorio, vigilia, rendered here as they appear in the documents themselves) are found in all the earliest San Esteban testaments, as they were common elements in central Mexican wills in the sixteenth century. So too do nouns commonly associated with testaments find their way into the early San Esteban wills —memoria, testigos, testamento, firma, escribano, all appearing in the documents with the appropriate possessive prefix attached, as in notestigos, "my witnesses".¹⁷ San Esteban testaments include certain other Spanish loan words as well, most of which Karttunen and Lockhart have located in central Mexican Nahuatl from at least the late sixteenth century.¹⁸ These are predictable loans, representing household items, tools, and livestock from the Spanish world which were early adopted into the indigenous world. Candles, chests, certain kinds of cloth, implements such as hoes, hatchets, and lathés, livestock such as sheep and mules, and poultry such as chickens were among those items that early San Esteban residents counted among their possessions and described, in Spanish, in their testaments. But generally the loans in this early period are few. By far the greatest number of possessions listed in the three earliest wills are rendered in Nahuatl, and were items existing in pre-contact society: totolin, or turkeys; metlatl, a metate or grinding stone; comalli, a griddle; pitzome, or pigs; cueytl, a skirt. Land is tlalli, and in some cases the term cuemiltl, furrowed land, appears.¹⁹ The early residents of San Esteban were still firmly based within their traditional context, with only selected elements of the Spanish world allowed to intrude.

A close examination of the will of Justina Xochicuetzin (1627) illustrates many of these characteristics of early testaments. On one level the will illuminates the general circumstances of Justina's life. We learn that she was an unmarried woman of unspecified age residing in the neighborhood of Santa María Purificación of San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala. Whether she had ever been married or simply bore children out of wedlock cannot be determined pre-

¹⁷ The wills included in Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, and in Cline and León-Portilla provide numerous fine examples for comparison.

¹⁸ Karttunen and Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years*, *passim*.

¹⁹ See AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708, will of Justina Xochicuetzin, 1627; carpeta 2, 1709-1726, will of María Jacoba, 1611; will of Bonaventura Xuchitlanemi, 1621.

cisely; while she mentions two children specifically identified as legitimate, missing from her testament is any reference to a spouse, either living or deceased, while nearly all other wills surveyed do make such mention. She appears not to have been particularly well-off in a material sense; her estate includes no real property and she owns only some few household goods and livestock.

On another level, that of language, her will reveals much about the larger community and its relation to the surrounding Spanish world. The standard intrusions of Spanish religious and testamentary language are there, an essential part of the formula followed by Nahuatl testators of both the center and the periphery. Certain Spanish nouns are found as well; Justina's possessions include a small chest with a key (*centetl caja tepitzin quipia llave*) bequeathed to the steward (*mayordomo*) of one of the local *cofradías*, or charities. She also mentions five chickens (*macuilli pollo*), a large blanket (*fresada*), a saddle (*ce silla*), which she holds in hock for someone, and serge and woolen cloth measured in Spanish units (*varas* of *sayal* and *pano*). These loan words are entirely in keeping with what studies of central Mexican testaments have led us to expect; these are items of the hispanic world absorbed into the world of the Indian fairly soon after contact. In the main the language of the will, and the goods included in her estate, suggest that Justina remains firmly a part of the Indian context. Most of the household items are rendered in Nahuatl and are part of daily Indian life—a *metlatl*, or metate, *metlapilli*, a rolling pin, *tepozcomitl*, an iron pot, *tochomitl*, a rabbit skin, *otlachi-quihuitl*, a reed basket, *huexolotl*, a tom turkey. What few items of clothing she mentions are of indigenous origin, and are described in Nahuatl—*tilmatl*, a piece of cloth, *huipilli*, a blouse; she refers at one point to a white huipil made in the Tonallan style, *ce huipilli yztac tonaltecaoyotl*, and a green Mexica-style skirt, *ce cueitl mexicayotl xoxouqui*.

A primitive Spanish verbal intrusion of sorts also appears in Justina's testament, in the phrase *yn testigosme oquifirmati yn Francisco Marcos can no testigo*, "of the witnesses Francisco Marcos also signed", with *oquifirmati* based on the Spanish noun *firma*, "signature". As Karttunen and Lockhart have noted, sixteenth-century Nahuatl speakers had no convention for incorporating verbs. Only in the late seventeenth century does one see the practice of inserting the suffix *-oa* to the Spanish infinitive; the earlier practice was to add the derivational suffix *-tia* to a noun. Hence the *oquifirmati*,

the preterite third person singular form of *firmatia* (*firma*, signature, plus *-tia*) in Justina Xochicuetzin's will.²⁰

Justina Xochicuetzin's will, brief though it is, tells us much about early seventeenth-century San Esteban. It clearly was not an insular society; Spanish goods had found their way into the daily life of San Esteban residents, and Spanish nouns followed closely in their wake. But the traditional prevailed as well; Justina was clearly a Tlaxcalan woman operating in a Tlaxcalan context, which itself was admittedly now part of a larger hispanic context. Nonetheless, the intrusions of the outside are limited to basic items; of the two worlds which find their way into her testament, the traditional is by far the stronger.

The earliest wills provide good points of comparison for the wills of the later seventeenth century, and certainly for those of the late eighteenth century. Both in terms of material context and in language, the wills reflect the increasing penetration of the Indian world by the Spanish. Regarding language, while the earlier documents contained Spanish loans representing in the main introduced items or concepts which had no equivalent in Nahuatl (religious terms, testamentary language, objects of the Spanish world that became part of Indian life early on), by the late seventeenth century the wills reveal more numerous noun loans of items which *could* have been rendered in the original Nahuatl but for which testators have chosen the Spanish equivalent (*mortaja*, a shroud, in Nahuatl *quimilli*; *tiempo*, time, in Nahuatl *cahuiltl*; *corral*, a fenced-in area, in Nahuatl *tepancalli*, in one late seventeenth-century testament).²¹ Further, in this middle period we can locate the earliest intrusion of Spanish words identifying family relationships (*hermano*, or brother, appears first in the San Esteban materials in 1674; *compadre*, or godfather, in 1683).²² By the 1680's the more linguistically sophisticated practice of incorporating Spanish verbs into Nahuatl by the addition of the *-oa* ending to the Spanish infinitive begins to appear in the San Esteban documents. In the will of María Elena (d. 1688) is the phrase *yhua Lazaro se peso ynin quicobrarosque noalbaseas*, "and as for Lázaro my albaseas will collect this one peso", with the Spanish verb *cobrar*, to collect, conjugated in this fashion.²³ Other late seventeenth-century testaments demonstrate

²⁰ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 1, 1607-1708, will of Justina Xochicuetzin, 1627.

²¹ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 2, 1709-1726, will of Francisco Andrés, 1695.

²² AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 2, 1709-1726, wills of María Magdalena, 1674, Elena Francisca, 1683.

²³ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708, will of María Elena, 1688.

this as well, though it should be noted that there was no wholesale adoption of this standard for verb incorporation. Even in the will referred to above, the notary reverts to the older practice of adding *-tia* to the noun to give the sense of the verbal (*auh ynic neltocos noypa timofirmatia*, "with this belief we sign in front of me").²⁴

Indeed, while the language of these later seventeenth-century documents reveals a greater intrusion of Spanish elements, these intrusions occurred slowly and haltingly, and in the case of nouns in particular, they represented borrowed items. One should note as well that these intrusions occur in an order generally following that which Karttunen and Lockhart discerned in central Mexico, with a time lag of sorts. This time lag, and the slowness in the rate of intrusion, may be attributed to the less intense contact between the northeast and the center (although parish records for San Esteban suggest continued migration from Tlaxcala to San Esteban throughout the seventeenth century), and the relatively less intense contact between indigenous and hispanic worlds in the northeast. The Nahuatl of the late seventeenth century in San Esteban, at least that revealed in the testaments, is not so very much different from that found there in the first few decades of the century. Few things that were of indigenous origin or that were shared between the two worlds were renamed.

The contention of a steady but slow adoption of Spanish elements by the Indian world is illustrated by the 1682 testament of Diego Sánchez. On first reading one is struck by the similarities in language use between this will and Justina Xochicuetzin's a half-century earlier.²⁵ The same noun loans appear—testamentary language, religious terms, borrowed objects—all which were amply attested in wills of the earlier period. It is in the material realm that the Sánchez will distinguishes itself from the earlier example. The richness of detail in Sánchez' testament offers a far more revealing window into late seventeenth-century San Esteban life than allowed us by Justina Xochicuetzin's testament. This is likely no more than a question of relative wealth—it may have no greater significance than simply to reveal the different perspectives on the community offered by the differential distribution of wealth among its members. Nonetheless, it makes for interesting, and revealing, reading.

In this material sense, Diego Sánchez appears to lead a far more comfortable existence than Justina. While it is difficult to establish

²⁴ See the discussion of verb incorporation in Karttunen and Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years*, p. 29-30.

²⁵ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708, will of Diego Sánchez, 1682.

his occupation on the basis of what is included in his estate, we do know that he has been married twice, that one child has died, that three children survive from his first marriage, and four from his second. He is a property holder, owning a house and three separate pieces of land of unspecified size. His concern for his family is expressed in his instructions that one of those pieces of land, apparently away from San Esteban proper, is where his wife should raise their children. Diego Sánchez' treatment of his landed property in his will is quite typical of the treatment found generally in San Esteban wills of the seventeenth century. Only one of the twenty-five wills surveyed from that century measured land in areal terms,²⁶ and while it was not uncommon for testators to mention whose land theirs bordered on (as Diego Sánchez does in the case of the piece he sets aside to pay his obligatory bequest), the traditional manner found in central Mexican Nahuatl wills of describing land relative to the cardinal directions east and west (*tonatiuh yquicayampa itziticac*, on the east, facing where the sun comes up, or *tonatiuh ycalaquiyampa itziticac*, on the west, facing where the sun goes down) is absent from this sampling of northern Mexican wills from this period. The lack of elaboration in descriptions of landholding suggests that a sufficient supply of land existed for the community, and that, unlike the situation prevailing throughout much of central Mexico, external pressure or demand was not significant.

In the area of obligatory bequests Diego Sánchez' testament stands as a fairly typical example of seventeenth-century practices in San Esteban, practices which differs in some respects from central Mexican communities whose wills have been examined elsewhere. The distinction lies in the manner in which local residents provided for the payment of these bequests. The practice of setting aside sums for the giving of alms or of fulfilling charitable obligations was well established by the time the San Esteban testaments began to be generated; in central Mexico, testators frequently made provisions for the sale of certain items to yield cash for their donations.²⁷ But most seventeenth-century San Esteban wills actually specify that the goods themselves—in Diego Sánchez' case, chickens, in other cases *almudes* of wheat, *fanegas* of corn or chile, turkeys, and the like—be given to the charitable organization. These donations might well reflect the economic activities of the testator arranging payment with whatever provided a

²⁶ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 2, 1709-1726, will of Francisca, 1676.

²⁷ See the collection of wills presented in Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, and Cline and León-Portilla, for examples of this practice.

living. Or it might simply be that every family maintained such items as part of the household economy, and therefore had them readily available to disburse to the charities in question when death intervened. The practice of payment in kind suggests a lack of involvement in a money economy. Whatever the reason, this practice distinguishes seventeenth-century San Esteban testaments from those of the center.

Fourteen eighteenth-century testaments dating from the years 1748-1779 have been examined for the purposes of this study.²⁸ This eighteenth-century sample is in many respects quite similar to the seventeenth-century collection. The general conventions remain the same—the format of the testaments, for example—and many of the tendencies noted in the earlier sample have simply become more pronounced. But two trends in particular stand out to differentiate these wills from those of an earlier period: the remarkable intrusion of Spanish into the wills and, somewhat paradoxically, the reversion to certain Nahuatl usage more characteristic of an earlier phase of central Mexican Nahuatl testaments.

One is struck immediately by the profusion of loan words in these later documents—nouns, verbs, particles, idioms. In virtually every section of these wills Spanish intrudes, replacing the Nahuatl equivalents, from the initial invocation of the Trinity, where six of the fourteen opt for the Spanish *padre* and *hijo* in place of the Nahuatl *tetahtzin* and *ypiltzin*, to the dating of the documents, where Spanish number words have in many instances replaced the Nahuatl. The substantive sections of the wills in particular, where possessions are itemized and distributed, reflect a strong familiarity with the Spanish language.

One finds in many instances in these core sections of the testaments passages which are nearly completely Spanish, with Nahuatl used only as linkages, enumerators, or possessors (e.g. *se junta de bueyes yca yapero*, a yoke of oxen with their equipment; *se sacabroca de zapateros*, a [pair of] shoemaker's pincers).²⁹ Descriptions of dwellings are most frequently cast in Spanish as well; consider the *calshintli* owned by don Andrés Pascual (d. 1772), which contained a *sala yca ome aposentos se yca marco sin puerta yhuan oc ce yca puerta de ce mano yhuan sahan yca marco yhan puerta de sala yca ychapa yhuan*

²⁸ No Nahuatl wills dated after 1779 were found in Saltillo's municipal archive, although José Cuello remarks that Nahuatl wills were being drawn up as late as 1793. See Cuello, *Saltillo in the Seventeenth Century*, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1981, p. 385, n. 19.

²⁹ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 13, 1789-1799, will of don Andrés Pascual, 1772; 9, 1764-1771, will of Juan Pedro Ramos, 1771.

yllave yhuan yaladauon yhuan yca cosina... (a hall with its two rooms, one with its door frame without a door and the other with a single door and its entryway with its doorcase and hallway door with its metal plate and key and knocker and with its kitchen...³⁰) The passage is nearly completely Spanish, and the preponderance of such Spanish passages in all the testaments which include descriptions of houses suggests that the equivalent Nahuatl terminology had fallen into disuse by the latter eighteenth century.

As Spanish seems to have become ubiquitous in descriptions of houses, so too does it appear in descriptions of real property. All those testators who own land discuss their holdings in terms which reflect a substantial intrusion of Spanish. The will of Francisco de los Santos speaks of *se tlali alahuerta ca mochi planteado* (an orchard all planted); Tomasa Candelaria notes that don Domingo García *onech-tlaocoli caxtoli baras de tlali yca frutales ompa mani ranchos ca [y]techuic nohermanita Maria* (García left me fifteen varas of land with its fruit trees on the rancho next to [that of] my sister María).³¹ By the late eighteenth century the Nahuatl speakers of San Esteban also made use of the standard Spanish practice of measuring land by the amount of seed sown; Matiana de la Cruz refers in her 1774 will to *ome almun tlaoli tlatocli* (two almudes of corn planted) and *se carga de trigo de sembradura* (a load of seed wheat).³² The numerous instances of such phrases suggest a generalized acceptance of Spanish forms.

Curiously, eighteenth-century San Esteban residents tend far more frequently than their seventeenth-century counterparts to opt for the more traditional manner of describing the location of specific pieces of property relative to cardinal directions east and west expressed formulaically (*tonatiuh yquicayampa itziticac*, *tonatiuh ycalaquiyampa itziticac*; see above, page 20). Francisco de los Santos, for example, leaves an orchard next to one *pertenencia don Marcos Hernandez yc para canpic quisa tonate yhuan para canpic calaqui tonate ytech don Joaquín Ramos* (an orchard next to one belonging to don Marcos Hernández toward the east, and toward the west next to one belonging to don Joaquín Ramos).³³ Similarly, Nicolás Asencio in 1764 left

³⁰ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 13, 1789-1799, will of don Andrés Pascual, 1772.

³¹ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 13, 1789-1799, will of Tomasa Candelaria, 1774.

³² AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 12, 1787-1789, will of Matiana de la Cruz, 1774.

³³ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 12, 1787-1789, will of Francisco de los Santos, 1771.

ytalo alaguerta de barrios xochihcualcuahme yhuan qui pia de patlaguac siento y dos varas para yc sur desde ytechcuic don Gregorio Antonio catca yhuan para yc norte asta ytechcuic ytlal Bisente V^a para canpic quisa tonati ahsi ytech yalag^{ta} don Francisco Rogelio yhuan para canpic calaqui tonate asta ytech ytlal don Joaquín de los Santos (an orchard with various fruit trees; it measures 102 varas wide; on the south it goes as far as the property of the late don Gregorio Antonio, on the north as far as the land of Vicente Ventura, on the east as far as the orchard of don Francisco Rogelio, and on the west as far as the land of don Joaquín de los Santos). Note that these two examples, while revealing a reliance on older conventions, exhibit at the same time a solid intrusion of Spanish particles. The Spanish *para* is present in its meaning “toward” (*para yc sur*); elsewhere one sees it used in its meanings “for” (*mochinin para yehuatl conetzin*, all of it for my child, in the 1765 will of Mariana Valverde) and “in order that” (*nicahua para monamacas*, I leave it in order that it will be sold, in Francisco de los Santos’ 1771 testament).³⁴ *Hasta* appears in its meaning “as far as” (*asta ytech ytlal don Joaquín de los Santos*, as far as the land of don Joaquín de los Santos), in Nicolás Asencio’s testament. The more specific locational references in eighteenth-century testaments suggest that San Esteban residents were more aware of potential challenges to their holdings; but why those testators would opt for the traditional Nahuatl phrasing instead of the equally detailed Spanish at the same time that other Spanish elements intrude so noticeably into the testaments can only for the moment be remarked upon. In other descriptions of property, specifically of houses, the local residents do opt for the Spanish, with a seeming obsession for detail. While in seventeenth-century testaments one rarely saw references to measurements of land or houses, by the mid-eighteenth century the detail in such areas is remarkable. And perhaps it was because San Esteban testators had no tradition of recording such information in the indigenous language that they opted for Spanish phrasing. Houses, and parts of houses, are described by the number of beams (*morillos*) they possess (*tze calsintli qui pia matlactli yhuan ome morillos*), doors by their width as measured in hands (*ypuerta de dos manos*, a double door).³⁵

³⁴ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 9, 1764-1771, will of Nicolás Asencio, 1764; 8, 1761-1763, will of Mariana Valverde, 1765; 12, 1787-1789, will of Francisco de los Santos, 1771.

³⁵ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 10, 1772-1777, will of doña María Rosa, 1775; 14, 1800-1807, will of doña Antonia María, 1774.

The testament of don Felix Martín Ramos exhibits many of the characteristics of eighteenth-century testaments noted above. While the will tells us nothing specific about Ramos' occupation, he does own a house and some land suitable for the cultivation of corn. He is married, the father of four children, three of whom are alive as he writes his will. Ramos is as concerned as any San Esteban resident about the fate of his soul, as he sets out the arrangement for payment of his obligatory bequests (note he bequeaths goods, not money, for the payment, the practice typical of an earlier period); he also arranges additional masses beyond his funeral mass for the sake of his soul, unlike most other testators of the period. Ramos seems far more familiar with Spanish than earlier testators; his testament is full of Spanish nouns and particles, and two verbs appear (*sobrar*, to exceed or be left over, and *componer*, to comprise, both formed by adding the ending *-oa* to the Spanish infinitive). Evident as well is the detail in location and measurement noted above, from his traditional way of defining west (where the sun enters, goes down) to land measurement exact to the quarter vara, and land described in terms of how much seed may be sown. Houses are measured by numbers of beams, doors are described by size. In every way his will seems in keeping with the mid-eighteenth century testamentary norm for San Esteban.³⁶

What do the changes over time in the San Esteban wills suggest to us about the state of affairs in that community by the later eighteenth century? First, the increased complexity in the testaments and the greater attention to detail, specifically where it relates to landed possessions, suggests a growing awareness on the part of San Esteban residents of their place in relation to others; and while an examination of the names of adjoining landowners indicates that the testators' land is bounded by the land of other Indian proprietors, the population of the community had increased over time (the census figures for 1793, as noted above, reveal over 2 000 residents, from the original 250 or so colonists),³⁷ with no increase in the land allotted to the community. Pressure had to be greater on the individual landowner operating within the original boundaries of the indigenous community itself. And pressure was brought to bear as well by residents of the hispanic community of Saltillo, as contemporary ob-

³⁶ AMS, Inventarios y testamentos, carpeta 13, 1789,1799, will of don Felix Martín Ramos, 1776.

³⁷ Alessio Robles notes that 245 colonists left Tizatlan barrio in 1591 destined for the settlement of San Esteban. No other figures are provided. Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Tejas en la época colonial*, p. 125.

server fray Juan Agustín de Morfi noted in 1777.³⁸ In short, San Esteban residents were well aware of the spatial confines of the community, and the far greater care they took by the mid-eighteenth century to specify the limits of their own holdings was in all likelihood a response to this phenomenon.

The language of the testaments reflects the increasing awareness of the surrounding hispanic world. The tradition of recording wills in Nahuatl appears to die by the late 1770's in San Esteban, despite the fact that the community continued to maintain its separate existence until the late 1820's. And the permeation of those last testaments by Spanish elements suggests that in many respects the community was on the verge of becoming part of the larger hispanic whole. The overwhelming presence of Spanish elements in the documents may indicate widespread bilingualism within the Indian community; as their language had been permeated by elements of the hispanic world, so too had their community been permeated. Yet there were elements of persistence —retention of certain Nahuatl phrases in the wills, for example, and an ethnic coherence reflected in the census of 1792— which suggest that the people of San Esteban straddled both the Indian and the hispanic worlds, adopting those elements from each which seemed best suited to their particular circumstances. The San Esteban testaments, in presenting a view of the Indian world through Indian eyes, at once provide a statement of Indian adaptability and persistence in the larger Spanish context.

³⁸ See Alessio Robles, p. 398-400, for excerpts from Morfi's report.

TEXT 1

TEXT 1

WILL OF JUSTINA XOCHICUETZIN, 1627

(From AMS, Inventarios y Testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708)

Yn ica ynitocatzin Dios tetatzin yhuan dios tepiltzin yhuan dios espu santo nicpehualtia in notestamento.

Ma quimatican in ixquichtin quitazque ynin amatl ca in nehuatl in notoca Justina xochicuetzin in nican nochan San estevan Tlaxcallan itechtzinco nipohui yn yehuatzin Sancta Maria purificacion nicchihua notestamento macoyhui mococohua in nonacayo yece in noyollo in nocializ in notlalnamiquliz in notlacaquia aquen ca can pactica auh nicchixtica in miquiztli yn ayac huel yxpapa yehua yn ayac huel quitlalcahuiya ic nictlalia notestamento in ca tlatzacan notlanequiliz ynic mochipa mopiaz inic ayac quitlacoaz ca yehuatl in yz catqui ye nicpehualtia huel achto yehuatl in nanima imactzinco nocontlalia yn totecuyo dios ca oquimochihuili yhuan nicnotlatlauhtilia inic nechmotlaocoliliz nechmopopolhuiliz in notlatlacol ma nechmohuiquiliz in ixpantzinco in ilhuicatl ytec yn iquac nanima oquitlalcahui nonacayo yhuan nicnotlatlauhtilia yn cemicac ychpochtli Sancta Ma^a ynic nopan motlatoltiz in ixpantzinco in itlacoconetzin yn iquac nomiquiztepan noyehuatzin in san pedro in san pablo yhuan in san francisco inic nopan motlatoltizque in ixpantzinco dios auh in nonacayo itech nicpohua in tlalli ca ytech oquiz ca tlalli ca coquitl yhuan nicnequi can ce tilmatli ynic moquimiloz inic motocaz in campa nimotlaliaya can oncan motocaz in nonacayo yhuan nicnequi in ipampa nanima in ipalehuiloca ynic amo ompa huecahuaz porgatorio ce vigilia yhuan ce tetl missa ic motocaz nonacayo auh intlacamo huelitiz iquac ma quin imoztlayoc au (sic) nictlalia macuilli pesos tomines ypampa ce tetl missa yhua ce vigilia tlapac oniquito auh in oc no macuilli pesos tomines ma yca ome missa nechmotlaocoliliz totlacotatzin yhuan nicpia ce huipilli yztac tonaltecayotl yhuan ce cueitl mexicayotl xoxouqui (sic) yhuan ce canpech yehuatl nechhuiquilia nicolas itemiloztin quitlatlanizque in quimocuitlahuizque inin notestamento ma no yca ome

In the name of God the father, God the son, and God the holy spirit I begin my testament.

May all know who see this document that I, named Justina Xochicuetzin, whose home is here in San Esteban Tlaxcala, belonging to [the barrio of] Santa Maria purificacion, make my testament. Although my body is sick, yet there is nothing wrong with my soul, will, memory, and understanding, but they are sound.

I am awaiting death, which no one can flee or evade, wherefore I am issuing my testament and last will so that it will always be observed and no one will violate it; here it is, what I am now beginning.

First of all, I place my soul in the hands of our lord God, for he created it, and I pray him to grant me the favor of forgiving me my sins. Let him take me into his home to God's house in the heavens when my soul has abandoned my body; and I pray the eternal virgin Saint Mary to speak on my behalf before her precious child when I am at the verge of death. Also (I ask) San Pedro, San Pablo and San Francisco to speak on my behalf before God. And as for my body I assign it to the earth, for it came from it and is earth and clay, and I wish only a cloth with which it will be shrouded so to be buried. My body is to be buried in the same place where I place myself (sit in church?). And I wish for the aid of my soul, so that it not be for a long time in purgatory, a vigil and a mass when my body is buried, and if it is not possible then, then the next day.

And I provide five pesos for the mass and vigil that I mentioned above.

And for another five pesos in cash, let our precious father (the priest) grant me two masses.

And I have a white huipil in the Tonallan style and a green

missa nechmotlaocoliliz intotlacotatzin yhuan chiquace candela tlatlaz ipa tonpa auh ipa altar ma quimotlaliliz yntotlacotatzin.

Auh in itech nicpohtih (sic) santissimo sacramento centetl caja tepitzin quipia llavi quimacazque mayordomo.

Auh in totlaconantzin imayordomo quimacazque macuilli pollo.

Auh ini nocal ome yhuan in tlalli ypan mani nicmaca Ana Joana yhuan ce metlatl yhuan metlapilli nicmaca in teoyotica notelpoch francisco cantor yhuan ce fresada nican tlachihualli yhuan nicpia ce tepozcomitl tepitzin nicmaca nochpoch Joana delgado catca ynamic ca teoyotica nochpoch yhuan ca onechmocuitlahui yhuan ce torno nicmaca Maria Jacoba ynamic Bartolomeu Hernandez.

Auh in nechhuiquilia yehuantin Ana icihauu Diego sebastian ce canpech no yhuan nechhuiquilia diego ramirez ce huexotl yhuan nechhuiquilia bernardino garcia ome peso yhuan nechhuiquilia Joan Miguel yei bara sayal yhuan nechhuiquilia Maria Jacoba inamic Nicolas martin ce huexotl yhuan nechhuiquilia Joan de Menchaca chiquacen bara sayal ipatihu cecen bara cecen peso yc otimononotzque yhua ce tilmatl yztac ica matlac tomin otimononotzque auh in yehuatzin don antonio nechhuiquilia ce huexotl onicmacac yei bara sayal nican tlachihualli auh yn ome bara pano onicmacac ya huel huecauh nictlapopolhuiya amo quixtlahuaz yhuan nechhuiquilia bartolomeu hernandez chiquace peso yhuan nicmaca dona ynes ome costal yhuan ce pesotica tochomitl yhuan ce otlatl chiquihuitl yhuan ce cacaxicalli huey yhuan tlapopochhuiloni yhuan nicmaca noxhuitzin Joana garcia ce peso tochomitl yhuan ce cacaxicalli chichiltic yhuan ce otlachiquihuitl yhuan nicpia ce silla prenda ye omocauh oquicauhtehuac Joan fanfanron [?] ypampa onicmacac ce huipilli yhuan ce cacaxicalli huey yehuatl oquitlatlan intla huallaz quixtlahuaz conanaz inon silla yntlacamo monamacaz auh in quexquich in tlapac onicteneu in nechhuiquilia quitlatlanizque in quimocuitlahuizque inin notlatlalil notestamento quitazque in capa monequiz au no nichuiquilia Ana Joana ce campech moxtlahuaz yhuan ce huipilli onicchiuh nicmaca maria yxpopoyotzintli ranchiria [?] yane [?].

Auh iz catqui niquinteneuhtih in quimocuitlahuizque in notestamento ic ce ytoca fran^{co} marcos inic omentin yn quipalehuiz itoca antonio ramirez yehuatlan niquintlatlauhtitih ma ypaltzinco yn dios quichihuazque ma quitequipanozque inic mochi neltiz inin notzonquizatlanequiliz in izqui tlamantli nictlalitih in itech [?] in notestamento auh intla yciuhca mochihuaz inic niquinnotlatlauhtilia yehuatlan in totecuiyo dios quinmotlaxtlahuiliz inic no yuh inpan mochihuaz in iquac miquizque auh in onicchiuh nican altepetl ypan san esteban

Mexica-style skirt and a campeche (skirt?) which Nicolas Temilotzin owes me. Those who will take care of this testament will request it from him.

Let our precious father also grant me two masses for (these things).

And six candles will be burned on the tomb and on the altar; may our precious father put them in place.

And I assign to the [cofradia of] Santissimo Sacramento one small chest with its key; they will give it to the mayordomo.

And they will give to the mayordomo of [the cofradia of] our Precious Mother five chickens.

And my two houses and the land on which they lie I give to Ana Juana.

And a metate and rolling pin I give to my legitimate son Francisco Cantor and a large blanket made here.

And I have a small iron pot which I give to the husband of my late daughter Juana Delgado; she was my legitimate daughter and she took care of me.

And I give a lathe to Maria Jacoba, wife of Bartolome Hernandez.

And Ana, the wife of Diego Sebastian, owes me a Campeche (skirt?) and also Diego Ramirez owes me a tom turkey, and Bernardino Garcia owes me two pesos, and Jose Miguel owes me three varas of serge, and Maria Jacoba, the wife of Nicolas Martin, owes me a tom turkey, and Juan de Menchaca owes me six varas of serge worth one peso per vara as we have agreed, and one white cloak for which we have agreed on ten tomines. And don Antonio owes me a tom turkey; I gave him three varas of serge made here. And as to the two varas of woolen cloth I gave him, it was a very long time ago; I forgive it to him; he does not have to repay it. And Bartolome Hernandez owes me six pesos.

And I give Dona Ines two sacks and rabbit skin worth a peso and a heavy reed basket and a big straw container [cacaxicalli] and an incenser. And I give my grandchild Juana Garcia [rabbit fur, cloth] worth a peso and a red [straw container] and a heavy reed basket. And I have a saddle left in hock; Juan Fanfarron left it behind because I gave him a huipil and a big straw container; he asked for them. If he comes back he is to pay for them and take back his saddle; if not, it will be sold.

And as to all I have mentioned above that is owed to me, those who will take care of this my testament that I have ordered are to ask for it; they will see where it is necessary. And I also owe Ana

tlaxcalla imixpan testigosme in huel ipanpa onotzaloque inic ce tlatl
itoca nicolas martin inic omet¹ sebastian hernadez inic yeintin fran^{co}
marcos inic nahuintin antonio ramirez auh in nehuatl notoca domingo
de ramos scriuano oniquicuilo onechtlatlauhti yn cocoxcatzintli imtoca
Justina Xochicuetzin in tlacpac omoteneuh axca ypan caxtolli yhuan
ome tonalli mani metztli henero 1627 anos.

Jhustina Juchiuetzin
testico Nicolas mrn testico
testico

Sabastia hernadez

fran^{co} de sⁿ

marcos
testico antonio ramirez
yn testigosme oquifirmati yn fran^{co} marcoz can no testigo ihuan
niquito niquixmati yn Justina xochicuetzin in quichiuh
testamento nixpan.

Domingo de ramos scrivano

Juana a Campeche (skirt?); it is to be paid. And a huipil I made I give to Maria the blind person (who lives?) in the rancheria (the shacks).

And here I name those who will take care of my testament; the first is named Francisco Marcos; the second, who will help him, is names Antonio Ramirez. I ask them to do it for God's sake; may they work so that all this my last will will be realized each item I am ordering in my testament.

And if what I ask of them is quickly done our lord God will pay them so that the same will be done with them when they die.

And I made this here in the town of San Esteban Tlaxcala in the presence of witnesses who they were called for that very reason. The first one is named Nicolas Martin, the second Sebastian Hernandez, the third Francisco Marcos, the fourth Antonio Ramirez. And I the notary, named Domingo de Ramos, wrote it as the above mentioned sick person Justina Xochicuetzin asked me, today on the seventeenth day of the month of January, 1627.

Justina Xochicuetzin.

Witness: Nicolas Martin.

Witness: Sebastian Hernandez.

Witness: Francisco de San Marcos.

Witness: Antonio Ramirez.

Of the witnesses (only) Francisco Marcos, likewise a witness, signed; and I say that I am acquainted with Justina Xochicuetzin, who made her testament in my presence.

Domingo de Ramos.
Notary

TEXT 2

WILL OF DIEGO SANCHEZ, 1682

(From AMS, Inventarios y Testamentos, carpeta 1, 1617-1708)

Yca yn itocatzin Dios tetatzin Dios tepiltzin Dios espiritu Sancto.

Ma mochintin quimatican yn aqui que quitazque yn in amatl yn nehhuatl notoca Diego Sanchez nican nochan San esteuan yancuic tlaxcalan ytech nipouhtica yn tlaxilacalli San Buenabentura macihui mococotica yn nonacayo Auh yn notlamachiliz yn notlaazicacaquiliz yn notlalnamiquiliz aquen ca ca zan huel pactica ycatzinco yn Dios yehhica ynaxcan niquihtohua ca huel nicnozenneltoquitiya yn zan ce huel nelli Dios yn toteotzin totlahtohcatzin yn ixquich yhelitzin (sic) Dios tetahtzin Dios ypiltzin Dios Espiritu Sancto yhua nicnoneltoquitiya yn yxquich quimoneltoquitiya tonantzin Santa yglesia Catolica Romana Auh ca yehhuatl yn in tlaneltoquiliztli yp (sic) nimomiquiliznequi yehhica yn axcan cenca nicmotlatlauhtiliya yn totlazomahuiznantzin Santa Maria In mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli yn ic nopanpa quimotlatlauhtiliz yn itlazomahuizconetzin totecuiyo Jesu Christo yn ic nehpopolhuiliz yn ixquich notlatlacol auh quimohuiquiliz yn nanima yn itlahtocachantzinco y[lhui]cac yehhica yn axcan nicchihua nictecpana notestamento yn za tlatzacan notlanequiliz ca yehuatl yn in — yn axcan huel achtopa ymactzinco nicnocahuilia yn nanima yn notecuiyo Jesu Christo yehhica ca huel yehhuatzin oquimochihuili oquimomaquixtili yca yn itlazesotzin miquiliztica ytech yn Santa Cruz auh yn notlac yn nonacayo ytech nicpohua in tlalli yehhica ca itech oquiz yc ochihualoc —

No nitlanahuatiya yn iquac Dios quimonequiltiz nimomiquiliz yn notlalnacayo ompa motocaz yteopanchantzinco Santo San fr^{co} —

No niquitohua ypalehuiloca noanima monamacaz ze Reja yancuic yhuan ce tlalli cuentlalli ompa mani alaguna ycuentechuic Nicolas Basquez yhua ce caballo manzo monamacaz yhua ze cojinillo —

yhua niquitohua nictlalia limosna Casa Santa de Jerusalem ce pollo yhua inahuac cofrandia Santissimo no nictlalia limosna — ce pollo yna-

In the name of God the father, God the son, and God the Holy Spirit, may all know who see this document that my name is Diego Sanchez, and my home is here in San Esteban New Tlaxcala; I belong to the barrio of San Buenaventura.

Although my body is sick, nothing is wrong with my intelligence, understanding, and memory, but they are sound through God, wherefore now I say that I believe completely in the one very true God, our God and lord, the allpowerful God the father, God his son, and God the Holy Spirit, and I believe all that our mother the Holy Roman Catholic Church believes. And in this faith I wish to die, wherefore now I very much implore our precious revered Mother Saint Mary, forever truly virgin, that on my behalf she ask her precious revered child our Lord Jesus Christ to forgive me all my sins and take my soul to his lordly home [in heaven], wherefore now I make and order my testament and last will, which is the following.

Now first of all I leave my soul in the hands of our lord Jesus Christ, since he himself made it and redeemed it through his precious blood through his death on the holy Cross. And my body I assign to the earth, since from it it came and of it it was made.

Also I order that when God wishes that I die that my earthly body will be buried in the church of Saint San Francisco.

I also declare that for the benefit of my soul a new ploughshare will be sold and a piece of cultivated land at the lake next to the field of Nicolas Vasquez, and a tame horse will be sold, and a little cushion.

I also declare that I make a donation to the Holy House of Jerusalem of one chicken, and to the cofradia of the Most Holy Sacrament I also make a donation of one chicken, and to (the cofradia of) our precious honored mother of the Rosary I also make a

huactzinco totlazomahuiznantzin del Rosario no nictlalia ce pollo ynahuac Redencion de los Cauhtibos ce almud trigo —

No niquitohua nehhuiquilia Diego Phelipe nahui pesos —

No niquitohua nechhuiquilia Pazqual martin chucuacen tomin yhua Pedro cano nehhuiquilia nahi tomin —

No niquitohua nichuiquilia nicolas de agirre ome pesos yhua ome tomin —

No niquitohua nichuiquilia Dn melchor cazarez ce peso yhua nahui —

yhua niquitohua nichuiquilia ce quixtiano ytoaca medina media fanega trigo — yhua niquitohua nichuiquilia Matias de San miguel ze carga trigo — yhua niquitohua mochi ynin notehuiquililiz ytla Dios quimonequiltiz mopixcaz tlaoltzintli oncan quizaz yc moxtlahuaz —

No niquitohua niquinpia yeintin nopilhua ytech yn achtopa nozihuatzin octaca ytoaca fransisca — ome zihuatzintzintin yhua ze oquichitli ze itoca catalina oc ze itoca asensia oc ze itoca Domingo —

No niquitohua niquinpia nahuintin nopilhua catepan nozihuatzin ytoaca elena de la cruz dios otechynmomaquili ce itoca Juan oc ze itoca Josep oc ze ytoaca elena oc ce itoca antona yhua niquitohua nicpia nochan nocal conanazque nopilhua yn achtopa oniquinteneuh tlahco Auh yn oc tlaco conanazque yn mahuintin nopilhua zatepan oniquinteneuh zano yoqui ytlallo ynin calli no monepantlatequiz yc tlapachuic ytechhuic solar conanazque yn achtopa [no?]pilhua auh ynic tlatzintlahuic conanazque zatepan nopilhuan — no niquitohua nipia zec cuentlalli ompa izquiztla niquinmaca mochi ynin chicome nopilhua yn achtopa yhua zatepan quimoneneuhcahuizque —

Yn oc ze tlalli ompa mani acomolco nicmaca nozihuatzin elena de *** oncan quinhuapahuaz topilhua —

No niquitohua oc ze nopiltzin ytoaca maria ye dios oquimohuiquili [onic]macac ome tlalli ze ompa mani tlatzintla ycuentenco ysabel teresa — [oc ze] ompa mani ycuentenco lasaro —

No niquitohua nicpia se silla yca freno espuelas nicmaca nopiltzin Domingo —

No niquitohua nicpia se metlatl ze caso comalli yhua ze torno yhua ome asadon yhua ze acha yhua ce candado mochi nicmaca nozihuatzin yca quinpalehuiz nopilhua —

No niquitohua nicpia ome burras ce nicmaca nopiltzin Domingo oc ze monamacaz ypalehuiloca yez noanima —

Ynic huel neltiz mazicachihuaz ynin notestamento yn ixquich ypan onicteneuh nicmotlatlauhtilia fransisco de la corona yhua Sebastian fransisco ypapa Dios ypa motlatoltizque niquimixquetza yc yehuatzin

donation of one chicken, and to the Redemption of Captives one almod of wheat.

I also declare that Diego Felipe owes me four pesos.

I also declare that Pascual Martin owes me six reales, and Pedro Cano owes me four reales.

I also declare that I owe Nicolas de Aguirre two pesos two tomines.

I also declare that I owe don Melchor Cazarez one peso four (reales?).

I also declare that I owe to a Spaniard named Medina a half fanega of wheat — and I declare that I owe Matias de San Miguel a load of wheat — and I declare that as to all these debts of mine, if God should wish (allow) the corn to be harvested, the means to pay them back will come from there.

I also declare that I have three children from my first wife, whose name was Francisca, two female and one male, one named Catalina, another named Ascencia, another named Domingo.

I also declare that I have four children with my second wife named Elena de la Cruz that God gave to us, one named Juan, another named Josef, another named Elena, another named Antonia.

I also declare that I have a house which is my home; My children whom I first mentioned will take half, and my four children whom I mentioned later will take the other half, likewise, this house will be divided in the middle, my first children will take the part toward the top of the lot, and my later children will take the lower part.

I also declare that I have a field in Izquitzla (?); I give it to all these seven children of mine, the first and the later; they will share it equally.

And another piece of land in Acomolco I give to my wife Elena de la Cruz; there she will raise our children.

I also declare that to another child of mine named Maria, whom God took [I gave], two pieces of land, one there below at the edge of the field of Maria Isabel (and another), next to the field of Lazaro.

I also declare that I have a saddle with is bridle and spurs; I give it to my child Domingo.

I also declare that I have a metate, a [cazo?], a griddle, and a lathe, and two hoes and an axe, and a latch; I give it all to my wife to help my children with.

I also declare that I have two female burros; one I give to my child Domingo; the other will be sold for the benefit of my soul.

tzin noalbaseas yomextin ypapa Dios quimocuitlahuizque ynin in onic-
teneuh onictepan notlatlatil omochiuh nican ypa altepetl San esteuan
yancuic tlaxcalan yc ome tonalli mani metztli agosto xihuitl 1682 a^s
ymixpa yey testigos omochiuh ynin notestamento —

ytlatlatlauhtilitica cocoxqui onictlalili ytoca yfirma nehhuatl es-
criuano nictlalia ytoca cocoxqui Diego Sanchez —

ttes^o Diego Ramos.

ttes^o Juan Grabiél.

tes^o fr^{co} marcos.

ymixpatzinco omochiuh ze alcalde D Juan Diego yhua yey Regi-
dores yhua alhuasil mayor Diego cazerés Sabastian fr^{co} nicolas Ramos
D fr^{co} de la corona Rejidores.

Noyxpan nehhuatl

Diego Raphael

escrivano.

So that everything I have said in this my testament will be realized and completely done, I request Francisco de la Corona and Sebastian Francisco for God's sake to see after it; I elect them both as my executors. For God's sake, they are to take care of these arrangements I have declared and ordered. Done here in the town of San Esteban New Tlaxcala on the second day of the month of August 1682; before three witnesses this my testament was made.

At the request of the sick person I set down his name and rubric. I the notary set down the name of the sick person, Diego Sanchez.

Witness: Diego Ramos.

Witness: Juan Gabriel.

Witness: Francisco Marcos.

It was done before the alcalde don Juan Diego and three regidores and the alguacil mayor Diego Cacerez, and Sebastian Francisco, Nicolas Ramos, and don Francisco de la Corona, regidores.

Before me,
Diego Rafael, notary.

TEXT 3

WILL OF DON FELIX MARTIN RAMOS, 1776

(From AMS, Inventarios y Testamentos, carpeta 13, 1789-1799)

Yca ythocatzin Ssma trinidad D^s P^o D^s hijo y D^s espiritu Santo Amen.

Ma mochintin quimatican yn aquiq^e quitasque ynin noamatlacuilol memoria ypan pohui notestam^{to} yn nehuatl notoca Dn felis Martin Ramos nican nochan ypan ynin Altepetyl San Estevⁿ yancuic tlaxⁿ Saltillo yteh nicpohua Barrio de la Limpia Consepccion Auh masoyhui yn mococotica yn nonacayo Auh nomacuilitlamachilis ca huel pactica yca ygraciatzin tt^o Dios yhuan tonantzin S^{ta} yglecia Catholica Romana ca no yxquich nicneltoca yhuan ynin tlaneltoquilstli ypan nimomiquilisnequi ca yehuatl ynin huel ahto ymactzinco nicnocaहुilia noanima yn tt^o D^s ca neli ytlachihualtzin yhuan miquilistica oquimomaquixtili yteh S^{ta} cruz Auh notlalnacayo yteh nicpohua yntlali ca yteh ochihualoc —

No niquitoa ycuac D^s quimonequiltis nomiquilis nictlatlani tocos notlalnacayo yteopanchantzinco tt^o D^s S^{to} Sⁿ fran yc ixpantzinco Altar totlazomahuisnantzin de la Consepccion canpic yes lugar noquimilica mochihuas de istac tilmatzintli ye mochua (sic) noconetzitizhuan nehmacasq^e noentierro yesqui yca cruz tepitzin huel yoqui notlanequilis yhuan p^a ydros noteopixcatzin nicahua se burrito pardo monamacas p^a motlaxtlahuas.

No niquitoa motlaxtlahus nolimosnas mandas forsosas casa S^{ta} de Jerusalem redencion de los cautivos a dos reales las cofradias ssmo yhuan totlatzomahuisnantzin del Rosario Animas sesen tomin de yehuatl D^s quimotemaquuilis yc nicahua se capote usado p^a yteh quisas yhuan de yehuatl mosobraros yesqui p^a ypalehuiloca noanimatzin —

No niquitoa q^ename yehuatzin tt^o D^s onehmomaquili yca ytehuioztzin nonamictzin ytoca Mathiana Fran^a yhuan durante S^{to} matrimonio Dios otehmomaquili nahui topilhuan yehuatl huey tlatcatl ytoca Xptobal

In the name of the Holy Trinity God the father God the son and God the Holy Spirit, Amen.

May all know who see this document my testament that my name is don Felix Martin Ramos, my home is here in the town of San Esteban New Tlaxcala Saltillo, I belong to the barrio of the Limpia Concepcion. Although my body is ill, my five senses are very healthy, through the grace of our lord God and I believe in all that our mother the Holy Roman Catholic Church believes and I wish to die in this belief. For this is it [my will].

The very first thing, I leave my soul in the hands of our lord God, for it is truly his creation and through his death he redeemed it on the Holy Cross. As for my earthly body, I assign it to the earth for from it it was made.

I also declare that when God should wish my death I ask that my earthly body will be buried in the church of our lord God Saint San Francisco in front of the altar of our precious revered virgin of the conception wherever there will be a place. My shroud will be a white shawl already made by my children; they will give it to me. My funeral will be a low mass. This is very much my wish; and for the fees of my priest I leave a gray burro; it will be sold to pay for them. I also declare that 2 reales will be paid for an obligatory bequest to [the cofradia of] the Holy House of Jerusalem and the redemption of the captives, and a real each to the cofradias of the Most Holy Sacramento and our precious mother of the Rosary and Souls; it will be given to God, for this I leave a used coat, it will come from it, and what is left over will go for the sake of my soul.

I also declare as to in what manner our lord God gave me my legitimate wife named Matiana Francisca, and during our holy marriage God gave us four children very much grown, named Cristobal Feli-

Felisiano yhuan Juana Andrea, Ant° Nicolas, yhuan Josepha de Jesus ye Dios oquimohuquili.

No niqutoa ynin caltzin canpa nimotlatolchialiticate yehuatzin tt° D° moconponeroa de beinte morilos axcan nosoatzin Da Mathiana fran^a nicahuilia ypan ynin caltzin macuili morillos p^a tlacpac yca mochi tepantli yhuan marco puerta de dos manos yca ychapa yhuan llave hoc sequi noconetzitzihuan niquincahuilia sa no yoqui momacuili morillos yca mochi tepantli noyhuan tlali alahuerta moconponeroa de quinse baras y uno q^{ta} yc patlahuac yca mochi en corralado de tepantli axcan sa no yoqui ninemactia nosoatzin de inin tlaltzintli seis baras yhuan se quarta p^a canpic calaqui tonati ytehhuic Dn Jquin Ramos yhuan lo demas yehuatl mocahua de inin tlali huel nicmotlatlatilia p^a yehuatzin quinyecxexelhuis noconetzitzihua por iguales partes — noyguan nicahuilia nosoatzin Da Mathiana fran^a se burrito se caso yhuan metlal se pares cardas yhua quatro b^a de tlali ompa ma tlacpac ychancalalatzin catca ytehhuic Dn Jquin Ramos p^a tlaltzintlan.

No niqutoa nicahuilia noconetzin Xptov¹ Felisiano se tlali de 10 B^a ompa mani quilhuia chihuagua calaqui dos almudes yhuan se rasado de tlaoli tlatoctli ytehhuic Dn Andres Pascual catca para tlaltzintlan.

No niqutoa noconetzin Ant° Nicolas nicnemactia se tlal yehualtzintli nican mani ychan Andres Ramos catca p^a canpic quisa tonati ye ca mojonado.

No niqutoa cosinita yehuatl ca nican canpa ticmotlatolchialia quipi dose morillos ynin quimoyecxexelhuisq° entre nosoatzin yhuan nopilhuan parejos.

No niqutoa nitehuiqui se missa resada ynahuactzinco totlasomahuisnantzin de Guadalupe oc se ynahuactzinco Ntra S^a de la ————— oc se ynahuactzinco Ntra S^a de Billa seca ynahuactzinco Senor de la Capilla nitehuiquia se missa resada yhuan se missa cantada, tla D^a nehquixtis ypan ytlaltipactzinco ye mocagua noconesisihua p^a quichihuasque D^a quinmotlaxtlahuilis —

No niqutoa Ju Joseph de Aguirre nicuiquia quatro pesos mochantia nican Alavilla.

No niqutoa acmo aquin nicuiquia acmo aquin nehuiquia yhuan tla aquin nesis Juramentotica nicuiquia panpatzinco D^a motlaxtlahuas.

Auh neltis masicachihuas yn yxquih onictepancatlali ypan ynin noamatzin za tlazaca notlanequilis niquinmotlatlautilia noalbaseas mochihuasq° huel ahtopa nosoatzin Da Mathiana Fran^a yhuan noconetzin Xptoval Felisiano ca huel niquinmotlatlautilia mochihuasque ypanpatzinco Dios yhuan ymixpantzinco ome tt^a nican chaneque ypan ynin

ciano and Juana Andrea, Antonio Nicolas, and Josefa de Jesus, God already took her.

I also declare this house, where I am awaiting God, is composed of 20 beams. Now [to] my wife dona Matiana Francisca I leave in this house five beams toward the top through [with?] all the wall and doorway, a double door with its lock and key, another I leave to my children, also five beams through [with?] all the wall. Also orchard land composed of fifteen and a quarter varas wide, all surrounded by a wall. Now also I give a portion of this land to my wife, six and one-quarter varas toward the west next to that of don Joaquin Ramos and the rest of this land remaining I very much pray that my children will divide it among themselves in equal parts. Also I leave to my wife dona Matiana Francisca a little burro, a case and metate, a pair of cards [for wool], and four varas of land there at the top in the house of catca (the late?) next to that of don Joaquin Ramos toward the bottom.

I also declare that I leave my son Cristobal Feliciano land measuring varas he says it is there in Chihuahua; two almudes and a of corn is sown next to the land of the late don Andres Pascual toward the bottom.

I also declare that I give to my son Antonio Nicolas land it is here in the home of the late Andres Ramos toward the east it is already marked (mojoniado — mojon = landmark, pile, heap?).

I also declare [that there is] a little kitchen here where we await, it has 12 beams; this my wife and my children will divide equally.

I also declare that I [owe?] [tehuiqui] a recited mass near (for?) our precious revered mother of Guadalupe, another near (for?) Our Lady of Villaseca, near (for?) the Lord of the Chapel, I owe a recited mass and a sung mass, let God take it from me on the land [out of the land?], it has already been left to my children for them to do, God will pay them.

I also declare that I owe Juan Josef de Aguirre 4 pesos, he lives here in the villa.

I also declare I owe no one, no one owes me, and let it be that whoever will appear under oath [and say] that I owe him, because of God he will be paid.

Let everything I have arranged here in this document, my final will, be verified; I ask my albaceas that they will do it, first my wife dona Matiana Francisca and my son Cristobal Feliciano I very much pray of them that they will make this because of God and in front of two witnesses who live here in this town of San Esteban. And now

altepetl Sn Estevⁿ yhuan axcan veinte y siete de mayo de mill setecientos setenta y seis a^s Auh nehuatl Ant^o Basilio p^r ocupacion de S^{or} escriv^o Dn Jph B^o nictemaca melahualistli q^ename oquimochihuili cocoxcatzintli yamatzin yca yentero juicio yhuan panpa acmo quimpialia chichahualis ypan ymatzin yca ytlatlautilitzin nictlalilia ytocatzin yhuan yfirma.

Felis Martin Ramos
Anto Basilio

Yca ytlatlautilis tt^s
Dn Bernardino de Sena
yhuan Dn Ju Estevⁿ Maldonado
Ant^o Basilio

y p^r tt^o
Ant^o Basilio

Joseph Mrn B^o
esso pp^{co} de Cauo

the 27 of May 1776 I Antonio Basilio by occupation of senior notary, don Josef Ventura I issue this document honestly as to how the sick person made his document (it was) through full judgement and for this reason no longer does he have strength, by his hand through his prayers I place his name and his sign Felix Martin Ramos.

Antonio Basilio

Through his request witnesses

don Bernardino de Sena and don Juan Esteban Maldonado
Antonio Basilio

and for the witnesses

Antonio Basilio
Josef Martin Ventura
escribano publico de cabildo.

