



**IN CITLALMACHIYOTL
THE STAR SIGN:**

A COLONIAL NAHUA DRAMA
OF THE THREE KINGS

**In Citlalmachiyotl
The Star Sign**



Matzaiani in ilvicatl, tentlapani in tlalli: Inin tlatolli: itechpa mitovaia: in tlein cenca maviztic muchioaia, in itechpa in aic cenca muchioa: in iuhqui iquac celilo totecuiio inacaiotzin: iuh mitoa. In axcan cenca tlamaviçolli in muchioa; matzaiani in ilvicatl, tentlapani in tlalli: macaiac vetzcatia, macaiac maviltitia: ma muchi tlacatl mauhcaie, mauhcaica, viviocatie, viviocatica in iixpantzincó teoutl, tlatóani.

Matzayani in ilhuicatl, tentlapani in tlalli: Inin tlahtolli itechpa mihtoaya in tlein cencah mahuíztic mochihuaya, in itechpa in aic cencah mochihua, in iuhqui ihquac celilo totecuiyo in inacayotzin. Iuh mihtoa, In axcan cencah tlamahuizolli in mochihua; matzayani in ilhuicatl, tentlapani in tlalli. Macayac huetzcatiah macayac mahuiltitiah: ma mochi tlacatl mauhcaye, mauhcaica, huihuiyocatiye, huihuiyocatica in ixpantzincó teotl, tlahtoani.

The sky opens, the earth breaks at the edge. These words used to be said about something that happened that was very marvelous, about what rarely happened, such as when the body of our lord is received. So it is said: “Now a great wonder is happening. The sky opens, the earth breaks at the edge. Let no one go laughing; let no go behaving frivolously. Let every person be afraid, stand afraid, be trembling, stand trembling before the deity, the ruler.”

From the catalog of figures of speech in the *Florentine Codex*, Book 6, Chapter 43 (volume 2, fol. 215r of original text)

In Citlalmachiyotl

The Star Sign:

A Colonial Nahua Drama
of the Three Kings



Faculty of "Artes Liberales"

University of Warsaw

2017

In Citlalmachiyotl. The Star Sign: A Colonial Nahua Drama of the Three Kings

Introductory study: Louise M. Burkhart

Paleography: Louise M. Burkhart & Barry D. Sell

Standardized transcription: Louise M. Burkhart, Abelardo de la Cruz & John Sullivan

Editors: Justyna Olko & John Sullivan

© Faculty of “Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw & Authors

ISBN: 978-83-63636-68-5

First edition. Warsaw 2017.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ERC grant agreement n° 312795.

Cover design: © Pola Białkowska

Typesetting: © Raster Studio, Norbert Bogajczyk

Printer: Zakład Graficzny, University of Warsaw



Editors' preface

“The Star Sign” is an exquisite example of colonial Nahua literature, one of the pearls of the erudite vein of native writing created as a result of the dialogue between the indigenous and European traditions. It has been transcribed, translated and provided with a rich study by Louise Burkhart, whose expertise and insightful interpretations have transformed our knowledge of colonial Nahua religiosity and Nahua theater over the last three decades. This Epiphany play attests to the vivid and constant reinterpretation of Christianity from the perspective of indigenous cultural traditions and concepts, as well as to the essential role of theatrical performances for native audiences. Despite the late date, its language is elegant and traditional, probably the result of a conscious attempt to retain and continually renew the high speech of the ancestors, of the sophisticated Nahua culture, the survival of which was becoming more and more threatened in the increasingly Hispanicized late colonial world.

The present edition of the colonial Epiphany play initiates our series of publications of colonial Nahua literature in standardized orthography, which is, so far, a novel enterprise. Thus, in addition to the faithful transcription of the original manuscript(s), this book includes the full transcription (in fact, a reconstruction) in the modern standardized ACK orthography developed by J. Richard Andrews, R. Joe Campbell and Frances Karttunen.

The vast corpus of colonial texts written in Nahuatl is not readily available to scholars, students and readers today. More importantly, it is even less accessible to the indigenous scholars, students and readers whose ancestors created it. This is due, in part, to the sparsity of published works from the corpus. But even those books and articles that include older Nahuatl texts transcribe them and offer them to readers in the plethora of their original, unstandardized orthographies. If a degree in engineering is not needed to drive a car, a degree in philology should not be needed to read a Nahuatl text. Our goal is to publish and distribute the older and modern corpus of Nahuatl writing in the ACK orthography, and encourage indigenous and non-indigenous scholars, students and readers to consume it, study it and contribute to its growth.

List of contents

1. Introductory study Louise M. Burkhart	1
2. <i>In Citlalmachiyotl</i> . Paleography of the colonial text Louise M. Burkhart & Barry D. Sell	17
3. <i>In Citlalmachiyotl</i> . Standardized transcription Louise M. Burkhart, Abelardo de la Cruz & John Sullivan	47
4. <i>The Star Sign</i> . English translation Louise M. Burkhart	71
5. References	95

Introductory study

Louise M. Burkhart

On Sunday, March 14, 1717, a man named Carlos de San Juan finished writing out a new copy of an Epiphany drama in Nahuatl. One local nobleman commissioned the work; another provided Carlos de San Juan with an older text to copy. He was paid six *tomines*, or one-*real* coins,¹ for his work, as was the keeper of the original text, one don Ildefonso Diego. We know this because of the note Carlos appended to his text, which also places him in a *tlaxilacalli*, or neighborhood division, called Santa Cruz Tianquiztenco. A fragmentary note preceding the play text mentions Metepec, along with the year 1524.² Metepec, located near the city of Toluca in what is now the modern Mexican state of México, was home to speakers of Mazahua, Nahuatl, and Otomi. Carlos was probably a notary, or literate town official in charge of creating written documents. The text he copied in 1717 resides today in Mexico's Museo Nacional de Antropología, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Archivo Histórico, Colección Antigua, vol. 872). The history and content of this Epiphany drama serve very well to illustrate the literary and performance genre of colonial Nahuatl theater, which I will discuss in general terms before focusing on this specific play.

Nahuatl Theater

Colonial Nahuatl theater was a hybrid genre that took European Christian narratives and teachings and staged them as public performances with indigenous actors, to some extent substituting for the elaborate ritual performances that accompanied the pre-Columbian calendrical festivals. Drawn from medieval European traditions, the scripts retold stories from the Bible, apocryphal gospels, and legends of the saints, or presented moral tales about ordinary people doing good or bad deeds and being rewarded

¹ A real is one-eighth of a peso; see discussion in Lockhart 1992:178–179.

² A Metepec tlaxilacalli called Santa Cruz Tianquiztenco is documented in colonial Nahuatl wills (Rojas Rabiela et al. 1999–2004, vol. 5:262).

by God or punished by demons. These morality plays were often performing during Lent and promoted participation in the sacrament of penitence. Other dramas were performed at Corpus Christi or to correspond with the staged events: Passion plays during Holy Week, Epiphany plays like the one from Metepec on or near January 6.

The Metepec play numbers among a little more than 30 known colonial play scripts, plus some fragmentary texts, dating from the second half of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. Surely more still lie in archives in Mexico or elsewhere, waiting to be identified. Recently, Benjamin Leeming found two previously unnoticed plays within a Nahuatl manuscript at the Hispanic Society of New York. These were composed in the sixteenth century by a Nahuatl man named Fabián de Aquino, who goes so far as to place pre-Columbian deities on stage as play characters (Leeming 2017). Other plays, including those that supported a number of early performances mentioned in historical sources, are lost.

With the earliest documented performance occurring in 1533,³ only twelve years after the Mexica capital fell to Hernando Cortés and his indigenous allies, Nahuatl theater is an early method by which indigenous people adapted Christianity to suit their preference for public, communal, performative styles of worship, as well as formal speech-making. While Christian churchmen, especially Franciscan friars but others as well, fostered this new tradition and authored or co-authored plays, we would be mistaken to see drama as simply a tool of evangelization, a way to impose Christianity on a colonized population by presenting it in an appealing form. Nor was it simply an accommodation by the early evangelizers to what they condescendingly judged as indigenous people's spiritual shallowness, manifested in an attraction to show over substance, songs over sermons. It is useful here to apply James Lockhart's concept of Double Mistaken Identity, referring to "a partially unwitting truce...in which each side of the cultural exchange seemed satisfied that its own interpretation of a given cultural phenomenon was the prevailing, if not exclusive one" (1992:22). By this rubric, approving colonizers could see play-acting indigenous people dutifully expressing and propagating Christian devotion. And when they disapproved and sought to alter or suppress the performances, they could see a band of drunken revelers wreaking havoc upon the Church's solemn rites. Nahuas, meanwhile, drew other meanings from the performances.

The full range of colonial Nahuas' interpretations of their theatrical tradition cannot be recovered. However, we can see that it was an empowering practice in the way that it took the Christian messages away from priests and pulpits and put them into the

³ This is the date the Nahuatl historian Chimalpahin gave for this performance of the Final Judgment, said to have amazed the spectators (Sahagún 1950–1982:vol. 8:8; Horcasitas 1974:562).

mouths of Nahuas. Only in rare circumstances could a Nahua man become a Roman Catholic priest, but on stage he could be a priest, an emperor, a saint, even Jesus Christ himself. Women, who faced even larger barriers to public religious authority, and were barred from acting early on, were performing the Virgin Mary and other female roles by the end of the 1600s.⁴ Playing these roles controverted the hierarchical structure of colonial society, which sought to confine indigenous people to a subservient status.

In pre-Columbian practices of ritual impersonation, the impersonator, or *teixiptlah*, was invested with the presence and identity of the sacred personage being represented (see especially Bassett 2015). To the extent that this idea persisted into the colonial era—and there is some evidence that it did—actors were doing something more than donning costumes and reciting lines. They were embodying the characters in sacred dramas, bringing them to temporary life. By enacting these plays in their own sacred centers—churches and church patios—they were also aligning their *altepetl*⁵ with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, heaven, hell, and other loci, effectively anchoring the imported religion in local space. These were strong statements of appropriation and control.

Plays were a communal effort, sometimes involving dozens of actors, with scripts as long as 100 pages. Since most people could not read, those who were literate—typically the local church officials such as the *fiscal*,⁶ choirmaster, notary, and doctrine teacher—must have helped the others to learn their lines. We have no way of knowing to what extent the written scripts were followed verbatim; actors who improvised their lines might move the performance further away from formal Christian teachings. But the written script, and those who could read it, at the very least provided guidelines as well as an imprimatur of authority.

Along with the actors, many other people were involved in the preparations and performances, expanding the communal nature of the enterprise. Inga Clendinnen (1990) has argued that the process of preparing all of the materials necessary for a ritual, along with the performance itself, was an important dimension of both pre-Columbian and colonial Nahua religiosity, and we can apply that idea here. Some people made costumes for the actors to wear, everything from angels' wings to devils' horns. Others provided objects the actors needed to perform their parts: tools, weapons, furniture, dishes. For example, one play calls for this very replete table at which Jesus and the apostles will eat the Last Supper:

⁴ A 1698 document from Tlatelolco mentions women's participation in the local Passion plays, along with priests' objection to this "indecent" behavior. Archivo General de la Nación, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 990, exp. 10. I am grateful to Jonathan Truitt for sharing his transcription of this file.

⁵ The largest indigenous socio-political unit to survive under colonial rule, the *altepetl* was a self-governing, land-holding unit consisting of one or more settlements and associated territory.

⁶ Principal official under the Roman Catholic priest, in charge of the day-to-day operation of the church, including finances and doctrinal instruction (see Lockhart 1992:210–218).

A table will be set out with tablecloths, a salt cellar, pewter tankards, vases, four candleholders with candles. Flowers will be shaken. Tortillas will be set down, and a flask of wine, plantains, oranges, melons, watermelon, lettuce, radishes, mamey, table knives, and silver plates, on which will be lain one pure tortilla and twelve small hosts.⁷

Stages had to be set up, and sometimes other structures, such as gardens, hills, buildings, or platforms that represented heaven, purgatory, or *mictlan*.⁸ Stage hands lowered angels from above the stage on ropes or platforms, or set up ladders where people could climb to heaven. Church choirs sang liturgical chants in Latin. Musicians played drums, flutes, and trumpets. Horses or donkeys might be needed for actors to ride—such as the horses the Three Kings ride in “The Star Sign.” Someone might have to ring the church bell at a certain time, or set off fireworks. Someone might have to moo like a cow, baa like a sheep, or crow like a rooster. Dances or mock battles might be performed. And everyone would need something to eat and drink to sustain all this effort.

Issues of prestige and profit should be considered as well. Sponsoring a play could boost the status of a religious confraternity or other groups and individuals, as well as the *altepetl* as a whole. Good actors surely were admired for their work, and there may have been class stratification in the assignment of parts. Interviewed in 1770 as part of an Inquisition investigation, four nobles of Huejotzingo indicated that they had held an apparent monopoly on some roles in a now-defunct Passion play tradition: Jesus, Mary, Saint Peter, and Mary Magdalene. Meanwhile, a non-noble man played the villainous Judas for some years. After this man, Bernabé Bustamante, drank himself to death, no one would play Judas and the performances ceased.⁹ People thought that God had punished poor Bernabé as if he really were Judas—an example of actors taking on something of the identity of the personage they played. And as for profit, thousands of visitors might attend a performance, boosting the revenues of local vendors and making donations to the church (Leyva 2001:19–20). Scripts themselves could be bought and sold in the marketplace (Mosquera 2005).

All extant colonial scripts are handwritten documents. That no such texts issued from the colony’s busy printing presses is itself a telling aspect of the tradition. More

⁷ *Motlaliz mesa ica manteles, salero, pichel, vaso, nabui candeleros ica candela, motzhezteloz xochitl, motlaliz tlaxcalli ibuan ce flasco vino, platanos, naranjas, melon, sandia, lechuga, rabanos, mamey, cuchillo de mesa, ibuan plato de plata ica hualmantiaz ce tlaxcalli chipahuac ibuan matlactlomome forma. La Passion de Nro Señor Jesu christo*, Berendt-Brinton Collection., University of Pennsylvania Museum Library, 10r–10v; orthography altered to ACK system. All translations from Nahuatl and Spanish sources are my own.

⁸ The Nahuatl term for the place of the dead, adopted to refer to hell.

⁹ Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición, vol. 1072, leg. 5, f. 236v–240r (transcription provided by Daniel Mosquera); Leyva 2001:19–20.

than a hundred works in Nahuatl were published during the colonial period (Sell 1993), but no plays. To be published, a Nahuatl imprint had to pass review by official censors. Doctrinal handbooks, sermon collections, confession manuals, and other Christian texts, even one book of songs later banned by the Inquisition,¹⁰ successfully passed into print. Hundreds of other works circulated only in manuscript form, and these uncensored works could diverge from official Church teachings in minor or major ways.¹¹ It appears that any Nahuatl plays presented for publication did not survive the review process. Possibly the entire genre was seen as too expressive of indigenous culture, too different from official Spanish Christianity, or too divorced from direct priestly control.

Nearly all published religious works in Nahuatl have named authors—Roman Catholic churchmen, none of them of indigenous ancestry, though these men frequently worked in collaboration with native speakers of Nahuatl and sometimes gave them credit by name. Anonymity prevails among the theatrical scripts, and the farther removed a text is from formal religious authority, the more likely it is to be anonymous as well as untitled. However, we can name a few authors. The above-mentioned Fabián de Aquino, who Leeming (2017) posits was a Nahua church official, probably a *fiscal*, is a rare exception as a named author who was not a priest (as opposed to a copyist of an earlier text; Carlos de San Juan is not the only man to inscribe his name on the script he produced). But priest-playwrights include men of Nahua heritage: the Tlaxcalan nobleman don Manuel de los Santos y Salazar, and don Bartolomé de Alva, a man of mixed Nahua and Spanish ancestry descended on his mother's side from the ruling lineage of Tetzcoco, who was also the younger brother of the historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. The Mexican-born priests fray Agustín de Vetancurt and Joseph Pérez de la Fuente are also credited as playwrights.¹² The Franciscan friar Juan Bautista Viseo wrote in the prologue to his 1606 book of sermons that he and his long-time collaborator Agustín de la Fuente, a Nahua teacher from Tlatelolco, had three volumes of plays ready to publish (de la Fuente being his principal collaborator among a number of Nahua scholars and teachers he names in his text). While these books never appeared and the manuscripts are unknown, some of the plays could be the original sources for anonymous later scripts that do survive.

While the absence of mass production limited the number of available texts, it also fostered a kind of literary underground in which texts could pass from community to

¹⁰ The *Psalmody christiana*, produced by fray Bernardino de Sahagún in collaboration with Nahua scholars and published in 1583 (Sahagún 1993).

¹¹ Mark Christiansen (2013) provides a useful model for designating native-language religious texts according to how closely they adhere to standard doctrinal formulations.

¹² Alva's works appear in Sell et al. 2008, Santos y Salazar's and Vetancurt's plays in Sell and Burkhart 2009, de la Fuente's in Sell et al. 2006.

community, being recopied and, in the process, altered at will. The surviving Passion plays attest to a lively tradition in which different components of the story—the Last Supper scene, Judas’s soliloquy, and so forth—circulated independently, with individual scripts cobbled together from various component parts.¹³ As I discuss below, the Metepec play furnishes a prime example of how colonial scripts traveled through space and time.

The fact that handwritten texts could be copied and updated at will highlights a fascinating aspect of the tradition: how conservatively the scripts were actually treated. Just as acting may have retained something of the deity-impersonation tradition, written scripts retained something of the authority of the old oratory, words of the elders passed on and repeated. All extant scripts are written in what Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart designated Stage 2 Nahuatl, typifying documents produced from approximately 1540 through approximately 1650 (Karttunen and Lockhart 1976; see also Lockhart 1992). During this time Spanish nouns were easily borrowed, and inflected as if they were Nahuatl words, but verbs and other parts of speech were not. Nahuas of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who recopied old plays or composed new ones deliberately continued to write them in what was becoming an increasingly archaic style, with its limited incorporation of the colonizers’ tongue.¹⁴ People must have expected actors on stage to speak in this old-fashioned manner. Apart from a couple of plays with stage directions in Spanish,¹⁵ stage directions also retain Stage 2 Nahuatl but are somewhat less conservative in that they sometimes use Spanish loanwords where the spoken parts retain a Nahuatl term.

While Nahua playwrights and copyists clung to tradition, the prevailing attitudes of colonial religious authorities shifted. From the beginning, colonial discourses readily vacillated between, on one hand, a paternalistic view of indigenous people as children whose cleverness might be a source of wonder and, on the other, a view of indigenous people as recalcitrant idolaters and devil-worshippers who posed a constant threat to religious orthodoxy. However, that latter attitude pervades later-colonial documentation on Nahuatl theater, which records efforts to control and suppress certain theatrical traditions and to examine and sometimes confiscate plays.¹⁶ Documents from the turn of the eighteenth century support a crackdown on Passion plays, and this attitude

¹³ I discuss this Passion play tradition to some extent in Burkhart 2009 and it is the topic of my ongoing research.

¹⁴ See especially Sell 2009 on the language used in Nahuatl plays.

¹⁵ The Guadalupan dramas published in Volume Two of *Nahuatl Theater* (Sell et al. 2006).

¹⁶ I draw on documents in the previously cited Archivo General de la Nación file Bienes Nacionales, vol. 990, exp. 10, which date to 1698–1704 (transcription provided by Jonathan Truitt); Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición, vol. 1072, leg. 5 (transcription provided by Daniel Mosquera); and the very useful collection edited by Maya Ramos Smith et al. (1998).

grew even stronger later in that century, with repeated edicts placing restrictions on indigenous religious performances. While the repetition of these complaints suggests an ongoing lack of compliance, the surveillance had some effect: scripts submitted for required reviews could be confiscated, and some practices were abandoned. While Passion plays—the focus of a 1768–1770 Inquisition investigation—drew much of the attention, other performances were singled out as well, including Epiphany celebrations. Supporting the prohibition of “representaciones de los Reyes Magos,” Archbishop Francisco Antonio Lorenzana complained, in 1769, of “the irreverent acts that are carried out, and the profanation of vestments and sacred ornaments,” as well as the excessive cost of the fireworks (Ramos Smith et al. 1998:262–263).

As Juan Leyva observes (2001:25–26), this heightened level of disapproval reflects the broader atmosphere of the Enlightenment, New Spain’s rationalizing Bourbon reforms, and the ongoing secularization of indigenous parishes—the replacement of Mendicant friars with diocesan clergy less likely to speak indigenous languages or have any tolerance for indigenous forms of devotion. The specific objections range from a patronizing concern that the economically disadvantaged indigenous people were expending too much of their scarce resources to finance the celebrations, to umbrage over drunkenness and other forms of license that were particularly offensive during Lent and Holy Week, to a judgment that the plays promoted idolatry and superstition. It was indecent for women to act, for scenes to be staged inside the church building, for church vestments to be borrowed as costume elements, and for the flagellation and crucifixion of Christ to be play-acted. Not surprisingly, actors playing Christ caused particular discomfort: performances of the Last Supper and accompanying liturgical chants mimicked the Mass. Furthermore—and here again we see an identification of the actor with the sacred personage—people treated their stage Jesuses as if they were real, kissing them and offering them incense. They would keep the bread the actors blessed (in those controversial Last Supper scenes) as a sacred relic. The red liquid used to represent Christ’s blood, released in the scene where he was lanced on the Cross, would be wiped up with cloths to be used later in curing practices.¹⁷

The 1768–1770 Inquisition case file includes four confiscated Passion play scripts written in Spanish, reportedly created by non-indigenous people who wanted to revive the enjoyable tradition in places where the Nahuatl performances had been suppressed.¹⁸ A fragment of a 1745 Nahuatl play about the Destruction of Jerusalem carries documentation that it was submitted in compliance with Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas’s 1757 anti-theater edict.¹⁹ It is likely that other plays now in Mexican

¹⁷ These details are from Archivo General de la Nación file Bienes Nacionales, vol. 990, exp. 10.

¹⁸ Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición, vol. 1072, leg. 5, 195r.

¹⁹ Documents in the Tulane University Latin American Library; see Burkhart 2009:20)

and United States repositories, possibly including “The Star Sign,” were also taken from indigenous communities during the eighteenth-century crackdowns. By this and other means, plays found their way to collectors and libraries, and eventually the attention of outsiders shifted from surveillance and suppression to scholarly curiosity and literary appreciation.

The nineteenth-century Nahua scholar Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, who worked with Mexican collector and historian José Ramírez, recopied some colonial plays and translated them into Spanish, but his work was not published. The first person to publish any Nahuatl plays was another Mexican historian, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, in a series of small books printed between 1899 and 1907. He changed the orthography to his own system and included translations into Spanish. John Cornyn and Byron McAfee made the first translations into English; one of their works was published in 1944 and others, unaccompanied by the Nahuatl, appeared later, in Marilyn Ekdahl Ravicz’s 1970 book. The largest collections of published Nahuatl plays are found in the two volumes prepared by Fernando Horcasitas (1974, 2004; the second issued after his death), with translations into Spanish, and the four volumes published by Barry D. Sell, myself, and other collaborators, with translations into English (2004–2009).²⁰ To this corpus we can add the “Holy Wednesday” drama to which I devoted an earlier work (Burkhart 1996), the two plays translated and analyzed in Leeming’s dissertation (2017) and four unpublished Nahuatl Passion plays that I am currently working on, to be published in coming years.²¹

No plays have previously been printed in the ACK (Anderson–Campbell–Karttunen) standardized orthography. By presenting “The Star Sign” in this format, we hope to make this literary and performance tradition more directly accessible to contemporary Nahuatl-speakers and to students of Nahuatl who find the highly variable orthography of colonial manuscripts a challenge to interpret. I turn now to a more focused discussion of this Epiphany drama.

In Citlalmachiyotl: “The Star Sign”

In 1902 Francisco del Paso y Troncoso published a play he titled “La comedia de los Reyes,” based on a document in the Chicago Public Library. This was his second Epiphany play; he had published another, held in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, in 1900, giving it the name “La adoración de los Reyes.”

²⁰ English translations of six of these plays, with commentary, also appear in Burkhart 2011.

²¹ Raul Macuil Martínez (2016) recently published fragments of two other Passion plays preserved in a local archive in Mexico.

This second play remains in that repository, but the Chicago Public Library no longer holds the “Comedia” text. According to Paso y Troncoso (1902:76–77), the now-missing text stated that it was composed for fray Juan Bautista at Tlatelolco—site of the Franciscan college for Nahuas and locus of much collaborative Franciscan-Nahua textual production—in 1707. He took this date as an error for 1607, although it is possible that the manuscript was a 1707 copy of one written approximately a century earlier. We can assume that the unnamed author or authors were Nahua scholars who worked with fray Juan Bautista at the college, Agustín de la Fuente and/or colleagues of his. As I mentioned above, fray Juan Bautista claimed to have prepared three volumes of plays for publication in the early seventeenth century, and it is very plausible that this was one of those texts, whether the Chicago version dated to that time or was a later copy.

Fernando Horcasitas converted Paso y Troncoso’s ideosyncratic orthography into a more conventional colonial style and included “La comedia de los Reyes” in his 1974 collection (281–327). Barry Sell and I published the Clements Library play in Volume 1 of *Nahuatl Theater* (as “The Three Kings”; Sell and Burkhart 2004:118–145) but did not plan to include the “Comedia” as there was no access to a colonial version (as I confirmed with the Chicago Public Library). However, Stafford Poole’s search for Guadalupan plays for Volume 2 of *Nahuatl Theater* turned up a previously unattested Epiphany play at the Biblioteca Nacional de la Antropología e Historia in Mexico City. This turned out to be a cognate of the lost play from Tlatelolco, but firmly connected to the community of Metepec and bearing the dates 1717 and 1724, as noted above. We were thrilled to be able to publish this text in Volume 4 of *Nahuatl Theater* (Sell and Burkhart 2009:74–125). To distinguish it from the lost “Comedia” and the Clements Library Epiphany play, we gave the Metepec drama its own name, “The Star Sign.” This choice reflects the important role that the Star of Bethlehem, repeatedly called *in citlalmachiyotl*, or “the star sign,” plays in the text, which begins in an empire far from Bethlehem where this prophesied heavenly sign is anxiously awaited.

Preparing the play for publication posed a considerable challenge. Although, fortunately, a two-folio segment missing from the Tlatelolco manuscript survives in the Metepec version, the later manuscript had suffered some damage. Wear and tear had destroyed much of the outer edges of the pages, eliminating the ends of many lines and leaving dark stains. Stage directions, written in a red ink, had faded in many places to the point of illegibility. However, comparing the Metepec and Tlatelolco texts, I found the dialogue to be so closely cognate that I could confidently reconstruct most of the missing text of the speeches. I placed the reconstructed text in brackets and matched it to the orthography employed by Carlos de San Juan. As the stage directions in the Metepec manuscript diverged considerably from those in the Tlatelolco script, they

remained riddled with lacunae where the red ink was too badly faded or was lost in the destroyed edges.

Two very important points about “The Star Sign” follow from the preceding comments. First, what we present in this volume is something of a hybrid, with many small gaps in the Metepec script filled in by borrowings from its Tlatelolcan predecessor. All text that is reconstructed or guessed at is marked by brackets, and occasional choices to add or substitute phrases from the Tlatelolco text for the purpose of clarity are bracketed and explained in footnotes. Hence, readers can determine exactly what the Metepec text contains. While the damage is lamentable, it is by no means unusual for colonial texts to be marred or incomplete, and we can also take the damage as evidence that people in Metepec put the script to heavy use as an anchor for actual performances.

Second, this pair of cognate scripts from different communities and different times is, along with the multiple and partially cognate Passion plays, the strongest evidence for the transmission of plays from place to place and their survival over long periods of time—the “literary underground” to which I referred above. Also, in tracking the play from Tlatelolco to Metepec, we see it moving from a Franciscan center of formal education and collaboration between friars and indigenous scholars out to a provincial town where its preservation lay in the hands of local officials. And we see that, after reaching Metepec, it was recopied at least once, when Carlos de San Juan copied the “original” that was in the possession of “maestro” don Ildefonso Diego, at the request of don Juan Miguel, a former governor. “Maestro” here is likely a shortening of “maestro de capilla” or chapelmaster, the church official who would likely be in charge of directing the play. We can only speculate as to whether the older copy was wearing out and needed to be replaced before the following year’s performance, or an additional copy was desired to help people rehearse.

Back at Tlatelolco, the Nahuatl scholars had an extensive library at hand (Mathes 1985) and could consult with fray Juan Bautista and other friars regarding Spanish Epiphany traditions. Whether the man or men who wrote this play modeled it on an available Spanish drama or narrative, or assembled the script based on other available materials, suggestions from the friars, and their own creativity, I cannot say, but I have not identified a Spanish source. Epiphany plays do have a long history in Europe, however, and the earliest surviving Spanish play happens to be a twelfth-century Epiphany drama from Toledo (Torroja Menéndez and Rivas Palá 1977:77; Shergold 1967:5–6).

The basic source for the story of the Three Kings is Matthew 2:1–12. Wise men come to Jerusalem from the East, asking, “Where is he who has been born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him.” King Herod, the Jewish ruler of Judea under Roman colonial authority, consults the

Jewish priests and scribes. They tell him of a prophecy that Christ would be born in Bethlehem (a reference to Micah 5:2). Herod sends the three visitors to Bethlehem, asking that they then return to him. The star leads the wise men to a house, where they see Mary, Joseph, and the baby Jesus. They give Jesus gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. In a dream they are warned not to return to Jerusalem, and take a different route to their own land. In Matthew 2:13–16, an angel advises Joseph to flee to Egypt with Mary and Jesus, while Herod, afraid that Jesus threatens his position as “King of the Jews,” commands that all male children under two years old be killed, in Bethlehem and nearby areas.

Translated as “wise men” in the King James Bible, the term Magi is a better designation for these men (from Latin *magus*, Greek μάγος). The Magi were the (Zoroastrian) priestly caste of the ancient Medes; despite dynastic changes this caste was still playing an important role in the Persian Empire at the time of Christ.²² Hence they are best understood as having traveled from Persia, or what at that time was the Parthian Empire, vaguely alluded to in “The Star Sign” with its unnamed “Emperor King.”

While Matthew’s Magi are unnumbered and unnamed, by the third century their number was generally set at three, because of the three gifts mentioned, and by the ninth century Latin sources were naming them Gaspar or Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar (Schiller 1971, vol. 1:95–96). The idea that they were kings derives from Isaiah’s prophecy that “nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising” (Isaiah 60:4) and reference in Psalms 72:10 to kings bringing gifts to the king. Beginning in the tenth century the Magi were typically depicted as kings, and designated as the “Three Kings” from the twelfth century on (Schiller 1971, vol. 1:95–96). Another medieval tradition associated the kings with the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa; the assignments of kings to continents varied somewhat; either Balthasar or Melchior could be depicted as the Moorish or African king.²³ Images of the Magi available in New Spain would have shown one of the kings as an African man, as does the sixteenth-century Indo-Christian mural in the church at Culhuacan.²⁴ In “The Star Sign,” Mary’s speeches to the Three Kings hint at this tradition, as she foresees a future of travail for Melchior’s descendants. The play’s use of “older brother” and “younger brother” is consistent with the tradition that Caspar was the eldest of the trio.

The January 6 Feast of Epiphany dates back to the third century in the Eastern Church as a celebration of Christ’s birth and baptism and the visit of the Magi.

²² “Magi.” *Catholic Encyclopedia*. www.newadvent.org/cathen/09527a.htm (consulted 27 July 2017).

²³ “Africans in Medieval and Renaissance Art: The Three Kings,” Victoria and Albert Museum. www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/africans-in-medieval-and-renaissance-art-three-kings/ (consulted 27 July 2017); Schiller 1971: vol. 1:96.

²⁴ See image at colonialmexico.blogspot.com (consulted 27 July 2017).

In the fourth century the nativity was set at December 25, and at the end of that century Epiphany was adopted by the Western Church. In the West the Magi were seen as the first heathens to recognize Christ as the savior, while the shepherds who also came to adore him represented the Jews (Schiller 1971, vol. 1:95).

This long association of the Magi with heathen or pagan kings can help us understand the significance they had in the Christian evangelization of Mexico. They provide a model of gentile rulers from remote realms acknowledging the ascendancy of Christ. The indigenous nobles who accepted baptism, allowed friars into their communities, and supported church construction were seen as following in the footsteps of these wise, ancestral figures. The Magi followed prophecies and a celestial sign, consistent with Mesoamerican concepts and, more specifically, the catalogs of signs and omens that became associated with the coming of the Spaniards.

But if we look for “Double Mistaken Identity,” we can see how an embrace of the Magi contains an element of anti-Spanish or anti-colonial counter-narrative. No one comes to conquer or proselytize to these Kings; they find their own way to Christ, guided by the star and their own prophecies. This is very consistent with how later-colonial Nahuas wrote of their own history. An early and enthusiastic embrace of Christianity appears as a common motif in the *títulos primordiales*, a text genre that emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century as Nahua communities recovered from the depopulation of the early colonial era and their leaders redoubled their efforts to maintain and reclaim land and privileges. Conquest-era leaders who accepted Christianity and formed alliances with Spaniards appear in these histories as foundational figures for community identity. So predisposed were they to accept the new faith that, as Robert Haskett writes of Cuernavaca’s leaders, it was as if “the arrival of the Franciscans merely awakened their latent Catholic selves” (Haskett 2010:247).²⁵ Colonial Nahua historical chronicles of other genres as well, such as year count annals, absorb the Spanish invasion and its attendant epidemics and other upheavals into the record in a matter-of-fact manner, not as the dawn of a new era (see especially Wood 2003). While these perspectives may seem to gloss over the traumas of the transition to colonial rule, they uphold a sense of historical continuity and legitimacy for the colonial *altepetl*. In effect, Nahuas denied the importance of the conquest, painting themselves not as victims or survivors but as civilized communities following the ways of their ancestors—Christianity being something those ancestors took on with ease.

“The Star Sign” presents the three *tlahtoqueb*—plural of *tlahtoani*, the Nahua term for rulers or, in the colonial period, high-level office-holders—as if they were conquest-era Nahua elites, like the ancestors in the *títulos* and other histories. They

²⁵ On the *títulos* genre see also Lockhart 1992, Haskett 2005, Wood 2003, Sousa and Terraciano 2003.

speak in a very devout, respectful, polite, and humble manner that resembles the formal oratory in Nahuatl collected in the sixteenth century by the Franciscans fray Andrés de Olmos and fray Bernardino de Sahagún.²⁶ Especially when they speak to Jesus and Mary, they echo the language recorded by Sahagún, for example when they address the infant Christ as “you jewel, you quetzal feather” and describe the burdens of rulership he will later face as “the carrying frame, the instrument of bearing, which is heavy, which cannot be lifted, which is unbearable.”

These rulers contrast with King Herod. He is angry, impatient, and cruel. When he shows respect it is a false respect, as he wants to deceive and manipulate the Three Kings. He treats his vassals badly, while Three Kings are respectful to their subordinates who travel with them. And finally Herod, trying to kill Jesus, orders the massacre of all the little children in the land. He is a precise model of an evil ruler, and the horrible mass murder he mandates could remind people of the sufferings inflicted by the Spaniards. As I suggested in an earlier work (Burkhart 2008), at times Herod can resemble the choleric Cortés, at others the Emperor Moteuczoma, whom later Nahuas characterized as a fearful, angry, and failed ruler. Both figures are foils for a proper Nahua *tlahtoani*, an image embodied so effectively by “The Star Sign”’s Magi.

These dual readings of the Magi, as model Christian converts and autonomous ancestral leaders, may help us to interpret some sixteenth-century accounts of Nahua devotion to these figures. Fray Toribio de Benavente, the Franciscan chronicler who took the Nahuatl name Motolinia (“he is poor”), wrote, in 1540 or 1541, that the Nahuas were particularly devoted to the festival of the Three Kings “because it seems to them their own festival” (Motolinia 1979:55). He goes on to describe the performance tradition that Nahuas had already developed at that time, in which we can see a few resemblances to “The Star Sign”:

Many times on this day they present the play of the offering of the Kings to the Child Jesus, and they bring the star from very far away. . . . And in the church they have Our Lady with her precious Child in the manger, before which they offer wax, and their incense, and doves, and quail, and other birds that they seek for that day, and always up to the present their devotion to this day continues to grow.

One of the contemplative texts in the *Exercicio quotidiano*, a Nahuatl text revised in 1574 under Sahagún’s direction and copied by the Nahua historian Chimalpahin, is devoted to the Three Kings. It summarizes the story, describing how they waited for the new star in their home in Persia. But repeatedly it links the Magi to the Nahuas,

²⁶ See Bautista 1606; Sahagún 1950–1982, Book 6.

for example in this passage (Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin 1997, vol. 2:148–149; my translation):

Therefore I am now very grateful to you, you our deity, you our ruler, for you did not despise us sinners, us gentiles. For as soon as your beloved child was born, you summoned our grandfathers, the three rulers, who became our forebears, our progenitors, through belief, us idolaters. On our behalf they went to take faith in you and the knowing of your beloved child.²⁷

Another early account of a Three Kings performance comes from the Franciscan friar Antonio de Ciudad Real, who describes a festival he saw in Tlajomulco, Jalisco, in the 1580s (Ciudad Real 1976, vol. 2:99–101). More detailed than Motolinia's account, his description reveals more continuities between the sixteenth century and the performance tradition inscribed in "The Star Sign." Here is the scene set for the Kings' arrival:

at one side of the patio they had constructed...an arbor, where Herod was seated in a chair with a large retinue, representing much gravity and majesty. From the top of one of the hills near the town, the kings came descending on horseback.... The kings brought along an Indian on foot with a standard, and he came in front, and behind them came another, more than eighty years old, with a basket on his back, with the gifts and offerings that they were to make to the Child.

Meanwhile, a dance of angels and a dance of shepherds are performed. Then the kings arrive:

The kings reached the entrance to the patio guided by a star that the Indians had made of tinsel and they ran it by means of two ropes that reached from the hill to the church tower, and they had made some tall little towers of wood here and there, from which they guided the star so that it ran along the cords. When the kings arrived at the entrance to the patio, they placed and hid the star in one of the little towers, and then they sent their message to Herod in order to come in, and after some requests and responses they dismounted and entered the patio, in

²⁷ *Ic axcan cenca timitztotlaçocamachitia in titoteoub in titotlahotatzin como titechmotelchibuili in titlatlacoanime in tigentilesme ca niman ybquac in motlacatiltzino motlaçopiltzin tiquinmonochilitzino ynic quimiximachilizque motlaçopiltzin in yehuantin tocoltzitzinbuan yn eyntin tlahoque yn toyancuiyobuan yn toyacapanyohuā omochiuhque tlanetoquiliztica in titlateotocanime otechmocuililito in moneltocotatzin yhuanm yn iximachocatzin motlaçopiltzin* (Chimalpahin's orthography).

front of Herod. Their question made, Herod called the wise men, who brought a large book, and at the king's request one of them looked for the prophecy, and it being found and related to Herod, he got so angry with them that he wanted to put his hands on him.

Herod throws the book on the floor and forces several of the sages, one at a time, to kneel and locate the prophecy in the book. Finally, since they all agree, he tells the kings where to go, and they leave. Herod keeps beating the book and the table with his hand. Meanwhile, the star is removed from the tower and the kings follow it to the church. There each one kneels and offers his gift to the Christ child, making a brief oration in Nahuatl. Then an angel, on one of the towers, tells them to return to their country by a different road. The kings leave the patio and the festival ends. The friar estimates that over five thousand people attended the performance.

Similarly to the Tlajomulco production, the Clements Library Epiphany play ("The Three Kings" or "La adoración de los Reyes") begins with the arrival of the Magi in Jerusalem and ends with the angel's directive to flee from Herod. "The Star Sign" traces a longer trajectory, from the court of the Emperor King (presumably Persian but Nahuas could read this as a pre-Columbian empire) through the Massacre of the Innocents and a report of the Holy Family's escape to Egypt. "The Three Kings" has only eleven speaking parts (and a silent Virgin Mary who might be just a statue in the church), and requires only two sets: Herod's court and Bethlehem, the latter represented by the church building. "The Star Sign" has twenty-four speaking parts and additional settings: the Emperor's court, the mountaintop where the star is sighted, and Nazareth (though the church served as both Bethlehem and Nazareth). The script supports a longer and more elaborate production, involving more of the community.

The addition of the Massacre of the Innocents might invoke associations with abuses suffered under colonial rule, but it also increases the anti-Semitic tenor of the play. The Jewish soldiers do not merely carry out Herod's order; they bubble over with glee as they anticipate their murder of small children. Entrenched European Christian prejudices against Jewish people, seen as the killers of Christ, found their way into Nahua performance traditions, as we see here but much more so in Passion plays, which stage that killing. Apart from this massacre scene, it is mainly Herod who acts the part of a Jewish villain; the priests he consults are open to the idea that their messianic prophecy has been fulfilled and do not conspire against Jesus.

In "The Star Sign" we see traces of the Bible, early and medieval Christian legend, medieval theater, the Franciscan evangelization of Mexico, the performative nature of Nahua religion, and Nahuas' appropriation of Christian discourses for religious and political legitimation. We see archaic, formal Nahuatl, replete with honorific speech,

parallel constructions, and metaphors, not just preserved in an archive but scripted for dozens of eighteenth-century actors to proclaim aloud to their entire community and any number of visitors. We see an exuberant, festive religious practice developed and perpetuated by colonized people through their own initiative and means. And we see a controversial practice that provoked the disapproval and even disgust of colonial authorities who sought to exert their control over the colonized population by rejecting and policing indigenous forms of Christianity.

Keeping all these dimensions in mind, let us travel now to that unnamed empire and watch for the star sign on the mountaintop.

In Citlalmachiyotl. Paleography of the colonial text¹

Louise M. Burkhart

Barry D. Sell

[5r] hualquisas rein enperador quihualy[a]cana[sque Capitan]² Renyes yhuan omentin
basallos niman mo[tlalis yn i]pan yn itlatucaycpalpan tlapitzalos nima[n quinno?]tzaas
ynic yasque tlapietihui yn huei tepe[ticpac]

— Reyn emperador —

υ tla xihualmohuicacan yn annotecyohua[n yn annoma]huisyohuan Ca ye
yuhqui ca yn anmoyol[lo, ca ye anquima]uhticate yn iuh quitotehuac yn iuh
quiten[euhtehuac a]machCol Catca yn profeta Balan ynic neçis [centetl]
sitlalmachiotl ynic ticmatisque yn ca y[?] yn Ca yomotlacatili yn Cm̃hc
yn mote[maquixtilis] ma niman ximohuican^{can} ma xim[otlachiecan yn
huey tepe]tl yn icpac aso san nen Otlaox ot[lacauhqui yn iyolotzin?] dios
tetatzin aso oquihualmi[huali yn isitla]lmachiotzin ma senca huel y[xquich
amotlapaltzin] xicchihuacan yn tinocapitan yhu[an yn amehuantin]

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

υ Ca ye cualitzin tlatatle tlatuhuan[nie macamo mitzmo]tequipachilhui ma
tihuian ma titla[chieti yn onpa ti]techmihualia yn huey tepeticpa[c aso san
nen oquihual]mihuali yn dios yn isitlalmac[hiotzin auh yn amehuan]titzintzin

¹ Nahuatl paleography and English translation are revised versions of material originally published in *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 4: Nahuatl Christianity in Performance*, edited by Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, copyright © 2009 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

² Text in brackets is reconstructed, mostly based on the earlier manuscript published by Paso y Troncoso (1902). Uncertain reconstructions are indicated with question marks, as is unknown text. The earlier manuscript is very consistent with the Metepec one in regard to dialogue, but there are larger discrepancies in the stage directions, some of which thus remain incomplete.

notlasoycniuhztzintzihuane [ma ticnelti?]ti yn itlatucatlanahuatiltzin [yn
totlatocatzin Rey en]perador yn iuh ohuanquin[elti? yn itlana]huatiltzin —

— yc se B[asallo] —

v Ma yuhqui mochihua yn itla[sotlanequilitzin notlasoycniuh]tzintzihuane ma
ticnelti[liti in tlatocatlanahua]tili yn iuh otinahuatilo[que aso tolhuiltis
tomace]hualtis yn isit[laltzin Dios. ynic tiquitasque] [5v]

[— yc ome] Basallo —

[y?] [Ca ye cualitzin ma ye c]uel[e] ma tunpehuaca oquic CualCan [ca
hueca yn Tititl, no y]nic tictotemachilitihui yn itlay[hualtzin dio]s tetatzin
notlasotiachcauhtzintzihuane
[Niman ca]laquis Reyn Cappⁿ yhuan Basallos yasque [tlapitzalos tlapiye]tias
y tepeticpac yn Canpa ye quisas yn [? nima]n ohuasique niman
motlanCuaquetzaas[que yhuan tlatlatlah]tisque

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

[y?] [ma ximopaqu]iltitie totecuyoe diose tetazinne y nica [?] yn otonasico
y nican tepeticpac otechmoC[nelili i]xquix yhuelitzin yn dios tetatzin
notla[sotecauhtziti]huane ynic ^atle ma ytla Cana topan omo[chiuh ma]
yc tictoyectenehuilicā yn itla[sotocatzin?] [y?]huan ma yc tipapaquican yn
tim[ochintin ma titoyol?]lalicā —

[— yc] ome Basallo —

[y?] [ca huel melahuac] yn ticmotenehuilia notlasoycniuhztzin [ca oquimonequil]tic
ynic otechmaxitiliCo yn ixquich [ihuelitzin dio]s tetatzin ma senca yc
tictoyectene[hui]lintin yn toteyocoxcatzin dios —

[—] yc se Basallo —

[y?] [ma titotlancuaquetza]ca ma tictotlatlatlauhtilican yn di[os tetatzin
ynic cualtic]a yectica yn otechalmohuiqui[li auh m]a san no yuhqui
quimonequil[tis te]chmocuepilis yn ompa oti?]hui yn ixpantzinco
yn totla[tocauh Reyn enperador?] ma noso tepitzin titosehuican
[hueca t]ihualtutocatiaque — [?] [6r] yn pupuchtli yn onpa tep[eticpac?] [?]
[y]nic motlanCuaquetzasque [?] yn sitlalin mononotzasque yn [?]hui Reyn —

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

v̄ yhyo totecuyoe diose otitechmocnelilitzinno [yn otitechmo]palehuilitzinno
yn ye ynman in ynpan yn mo[yohualtzin auh] ca nican catqui yc
nitlamana tepitzin popuc[htli yn ica] yn ipanpa yn ic otihualtitlanoque
ma^{camo} xite[chmocahuili] yhyo dios tetatzinne yn canpa ye nesis yn
[mositlalmachi]otzin

— yc se Basallo —

v̄ Ma yuhqui quimonequilitzinno yn ixqui[ch ihuelitzin] yn dios tetatzin
macamo techmocahui[li ynic amo tle ma i]tla y nican topan mochihuas ma oc
tic[totemachilica yn] dios tetatzin —
Niman hualmonextis yn sitlalin

— yc ome Basallo —

v̄ yhyo toteCuiyoe diose tle ye nican ^{ton}pan mochi[hua cuix yehuatl] ynin yn
yanCuic ysitlalmachiotzin yn dios ^{te}ta[tzin ca huel cen] ca tlasotlanqui ynic
tlanextia yn itonameyo Ca [huel quinpa] nahuia yn ixquixtin yn sisitlaltin —

— Cappⁿ Renyes —

v̄ Ca huel nelitzin Ca melahuac ca yehuatl [ynic otihualtitla]noque Cuix amo
anquimottilia yni[n aic nesi yn i]tech yn ilhuicatl ynic senca tlasotlanq[ui ynic
mahuisauh]qui ma niman tihuian yn ixpantzi[ncō yn huey tlatohuani] Reyn
enperador yn iuhqui tictol[huilique?]
Niman hualquisas Rey en[perador] [6v]
[? ?]s oncan ypan asiquihui yn [?]ue[?] —

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

[v̄?] [Ma ximopaquiltitie] tlatatle tlatuhuanie ynic otitechmihua[li ca huel
cualli y]nic otiquisato ynic titlapieto yn tepeticpac [tlatatle tlatoh]uanie yn
titotlatucatzin —

— Reyn enperador —

[v̄?] [Tla xihualm]ohuiCaCan yn annotiacahuan yn annopilo[huan tla
xine]chnonotzacā auh quen ohuantlachieto quē [oanquisato ma] huel
melahuacayotica xinechylhui [can xinechno]notzacā yn amo san
ystlacatilistlatoli [nicaquiz]

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

[v?] [Ma xicmomachi]lti tlacatle tlatuhuanie ca yn icuac o[tonacito yn] itech yn oñpa yn otitechmihuali [ca niman titotl]anCuaquetzque Ca otictotlatlatlah[tilique yn dios] tetatzin Niman achitonca oncā [otitocehuique] auh satapan yn ohualnes yn sitla[lin yn huel ce]nca tlasotlanqui yn ayc yuhqui otic[motili]tzinno yn ilhuicatitech ynic senca tlanex[tia] yn nohuian Cm̃hc yn itonamenyo —

— Reyn enperador —

[v?] [asocamo aso] san amistlacati yn aquitohua yn anechchil[huia yn nica ni]xpan maca^{mo} san ystlacatlatoli xinexca[quiztilican] huel melahuacayotica xinechylhuiCā [xinechnonotzac]an yn annomahuisyohuan —

— yc se Basallo —

[v?] [Ca ye nelli melahuac] ca neltilistli yn timitztolhuilia [tlacatle tlatohuanie] Ca huel tixtelolotica yn otiquita[que yn iuh ticmocaqui]ltitzinnohua ac timitztomachil[tia yn titotlato]catzin C[a amo hue]litis timitztos[7r] tlachahuilisque —

— yc ome Basallo —

y tlatatle tlatohuanie ac timitztomachiltia yn titotlatoCatzin Ca huel neli melahuac yn mochi yn ticmocaquiltia yn totlatol Ca otocnopiltic Ca otomasehualtic ynic otiquiuhaque yn isitlalmachiotzin yn dios tetatzin yn itlasopiltzin ynic quimonescayotilia —

— Reyn enperador —

y Ca tel ye cualitzin otechmocnelilitzinno yn dios teta[tzin] yn ye huecauh yn otocontemachitinenca auh [yn axcan] ma senca yc tictoyectenehuilican yn dios [yhuan] ma conmomachiltica ma conmocaquiltic[a] yeuantintintzintzin yeyntin tlatoque ma [xiquinnotzacan ma] nican hualmohuicacan ma huel hualmototo[quiltican y]nic quimocaquiltiquihui yn tlatoli

— yc se Basallo —

y Ca tel ye cualitzin tlacatle tlatuhuan[ie ma tiquintono]chiliti yn yehuatzin yeyntin tl[atoque ma conmo]caquiltican yn motlatocatlatoltzin tl[acatle tlatuhua]nie —

v Niman quinzotzatihui yn Reyestin tlatz[otzonalo? hual]quisasque motlalisque
yn ipan Cana³ yn [?] yasque Reyn enperador —

— 2 Basallo —

v Ma ximopaquiltitiecán yn anmehuatztintzin yn a[n]meyxtintztintzin
yn antlatoque ma senca yc xim[o]yolalitzinnocan⁴ yn yancuic yn
isitlalmachiotz[in] yn dios tetatzin ye yxquich cahuitl yn
anquimot[e]molitinenca yn çenca mahuisauhqui ynic tlane[xtia] yn
itonamenyo y nohuian Cm̃hc yn antlatoque

— San gaspar —

v yn iuhqui ontzin Ca senca otocnopiltic otomasehualtic Ca tel ye [cua]litzin
ma niman tihuian ma tictouhiliti yn çenca hue[y] [7v] tlatohuani yn çenca in
mahuistililoni yn Reyn enperador ma ximochichiuhztinnocan ma tihuian yn
ompa yn tinotzalon ma niman ysiuhca tihuian —

— San Baltesar —

v Ca ye cualitzin ma niman tihuian ma ticneltilitin y yn itlanahuatiltzin yn
tlatuani Sⁿ Reyn yn ipanpa ynic tinotzalo —

— Sⁿ melchor —

[v?] [Ma ye cue]le ma niman ysiuhca tihuian notlasotiach[cauhtzitz]huanne
ynic ohualmotlatitlanni yn huei [tlatohuani] ynic otinotzanloco yn
itechcopantzinCo [yn dios itlasopiltzin yni]c ones yn isitlaltzin —
[Niman yazqu]e yn Renyestin Ompa anoso yex[pa ?]sque tlapachco tlapitzalos
san te[?] imixpan yn Reyn enperador [quin]nahuatis ynic quimotlapalhuitihui
[yn tlasopil]tzintli yhuan ynic yasque yn capitan [Reyes yhuan] yn Basallos —

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

[v?] Ca yohualmohuiCaque yn tiquinmonochilia tlaca[tle] tlatuhuanie
ynmexytin tlatoque ca niman ysiuh[ca] yn ohualmohuicaque yn otiquintanilito
tlatuhua[nic] —

³ Paso y Troncoso version (1902:88): “Escalaño.”

⁴ Paso y Troncoso version (1902:88) includes “ka ye ó-neç” here.

— Sⁿ gaspar —

[v?] ma ximopaquiltititlacatle tlatuhuanie Cuix nel[ti]listli yn titechmonochilia
Ca otihualaque otic[ne]ltilinco yn motlatocatlatoltzin tlacatle tlatu[8r]huannie
— Reyn enperad[or —]

v ma nican anmohuicatzte yn anmehuantintzintzin yn antlatoque yn anrenyestin
ma xicmomachiltican Ca ynnaxcan Ca ye ones yn isitlaltzin yn dios
tetatzin yn yancuic yn isitlalmachiotzin ca ye yuhqui quimitalhuitia yuhqui
quimotenehuilitia ynnanmachcoltzin yn Balan profeta yn omoetzicatca
ca quimitalhuitia yn icuac yn nesis yn huei sitlalin ca ye ticmatische yn ca
yohualmohuicac yn Cm̃hc yn motemaquixtilis [yn ca ye o]motlaCatili #
auh ynin ma niman nechichihua]lo ma xicomotemolitin xicomotlapalhui[ti
yn Cm̃hc] yn tlasoteopiltzintli yn canpa ye omo[tlacatilitzinno yn i]pan
yn altepetl ma ximotlatlanitih[uian yhuan san] yehuatl xicomouhtilitihuian
yn sitla[li yn canpa] ye hualnesis sannonpa ximohuica[tihuian tla
xi]hualmohuicacan yn tehuatl yn tin[ocapitan yhuan] ynnanmehuantintzintzin
[in annoVasallos⁵]. ma xiquinmo[huiquilican xi]quinmoyacanilican yn
imeixtintzintzin [tlatoque yn can]pan yn mohuicasque yn quimotemolitih[ui ?]
tley n canpa yn omotlacatilitzinno auh no [xitlatlapalo]Can ynic
anechcaquistiliquihui anechylhuiq[uihui] ammpaltzinco nicaquis ma huel
yxquich hanmotla[pa]l xicomochihuilitihuian —

— Sⁿ gaspar —

v ma mosenquiscayecteneuhtzinno yn itlasomahuistoCa[tzin] yn dios tetatzin
ynic ones yn isitlalmachiotzin yn ya[n]cuic tlamahuisoli yn iuh quimitalhuitia
yn iuh q[ui]motenehuilitia yn tachcoco^ltzin yn omoetzicatca [yn] Balan
profeta ca oneltic ca omochiuh yn itlatoltz[in] yn iuhqui yn oquimiCuilhuitia
yn ipan yn teoha[8v]moxtlaCuiloli — Sⁿ Baltasar —

v ca senca otocnopiltic otomasehualtic ynic ones yn isitlalmachiotzin y Cm̃hc
yn motemaquixtilis yn dios yn itlasopiltzin ynic quinmotlanextililis yn Cm̃hc
tlatlacohuannime yn iuhqui y mixtecomac yn tlayohuayan y nemi —

— Sⁿ melchior —

v Notlasotiachcauhtzintzinhuane ma huel tictosenquiscayec[tenehui]lica yn
tt^o dios quenmach huel tocnopil tomasehual [tolhuil?] ynic topan tomatian
yn ones yn itlasosiltaltzin [yn dios teta]tzin Auh ye yxquich cauhtl yn
oquimotema[chiliaya y]n Profetas yn patriarcas yn amo yno yn[macehual

⁵ Paso y Troncoso version (1902:89) includes “in-an no-Basallos.”

omochiuh au]h ynnaxcan tla xoconmuhtilican ynic sen[ca tlasotlan]qui ynic
 tlanextia yn nohuian ch̃c yn i[sitlalmachiotzin] auh ynnaxcan ma ysiuhca
 ma ticcui[tihui totlatlapa]lohuayan ca tel ye yc otitlatecaque [ixquich
 oticchi]uhque —

[Calaquizque] quicuitihui yn intlatlapaloo yn [?]e ye oncan mopixtimani yn
 caBallos [ce quihuica]s estandarte yhuan sitlalin tlayaca [teix]pa polihuitiuh yn
 sitlalin yn tecpan yn i[chan?] erodes calaquis emperador —

— gaspar nenemisque —

[v?] [omoc]hiuh ototlahueliltic ca nican opolihuico yn sitlalin auh [ynin]
 ma oc nican titlatlanican yn ichantzincó yn huey tlatohua[ni] erodes ynic
 techmolhuilis yn canpan yn omotlacatili [yn cm]h̃c yn tlatuhuani moetztes
 —

— Sⁿ melchor —

[v?] [Ca] huel melahuac yn ticmotenehuilia notlasotiachcauh[tzinn]e yhuan Ca
 huel quimomachiltitica Ca yaltepepan^{tzincó} [9r]

— Sⁿ Baltasar —

v Ca tel ye cualitzin notlasotiachcauhtzinne m[a oc nican] titlatlanican ynic
 ticmatisque yn canpa ye y[n tiyasque] auh yn tehuatzin auh yn tehuatzin⁶
 melchortzin[ne ?] acame yn ipan tasitihui yn caltenco ma nima[n xi]tlatlanilis
 Cuix oncan moetztica yn tlatuāni [erodes]

Niman contzotzonnas yn capitán Re[yes hualquisas] Cappⁿ Judio
 quinhualhuicas na[huin judios] oncan quin^{nó}notzas tlatzotzonnalos
 [quintlatlaniz mel]chor — Sⁿ melchor —

v Nopiltzintzinne tla nanmechnotlatlanili C[uix oncan] moetztica yn yehuatzin
 yn huei tlatuhuanni er[odes ma] xitechmolhuilican anmopaltzincó Ca hu[el
 otihualici]uhtiaque ynic otihualaque —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

v Ohanquimihyohuiltique yn antlatoque [ca oncan moetzti]Ca yn tlatuhuani aso
 ytla yn ipanpa anquim[otemolia ma] nicnolhuili tlennic anquimotemolia huel
 y[uh nicmati] Ca huel anmotequipanchotzinnotihuitzen

⁶ auh yn tehuatzin auh yn tehuatzin: probably accidental repetition.

— San gaspar —

y telpochtlen Canniman amo tehuatl timitzylhuisqu[e]timitz[?] yn tlennyc
otihualaque Ca huel yehuantzin tictolhuilisque yn tohueynetequipachol —

— Cappⁿ Judio⁷ —

y Ca ye cualitzin ma niman tictolhuilitin yn yehuantz[in] yn tohueytlatocatzin
yn Reyn erodes Ynic oanhualmohuicatiaque ynic anquimotennmolina yn
anmehuannintzintzin yn antlatoque —

— Cappⁿ Judio⁸ —

y ma oc nican xinechmochielican yn antlatoque ma [oc] tictolhuiliti yn
anmotlatoltzin —

— Sⁿ Baltesar — [9v]

[y?] [Ca ye cuali?]tzin telpochtle ma oc nican tanmechtochi[elican ma?]
xicmolhuiliti yn tlatuani Ynic tictotemo[lia] —

[hualquisas e]rodes Connamiquiquihui yn yocappⁿ Judio quihual[yacanasque]
yn Judios tlatzotzonnalos mopitzas Clarin yntla o[motlali yn ipan?] yn
itlatocaycpal ytlán momanatihui ynín tla[?] —

— Cappⁿ Jodio —

[y?] [tlacatle tlatuhu]anie Aquique yn ohualaque tlatoque Ca [yeintin ca yc]
ninomati Ca hueca tlaca tlacatle tlatuhuanie Ca [huel yuh nesti]huitze Ca huel
huey in innetequipachol ynic O[hualaque?]

— erodes —

[y?] [Auh aquique o]n tlen quinequi tla xiquintlatlanican Canpa cha[neque can]
pa yn ohualaque tla xiquinnotzaCan ma [nican?] hualhuian niquintlatlanis
tlennic ohuala[que tlennic yn in?]netequipachol ynic nentlamauhtihuitze

— Cappⁿ Judio — Ca ye cualitzin —

— Cappⁿ Jodio quinnnotzatiuh —

[y?] [anmih]yocahualtia anmosiamiquiltia yn antlato[que ca] conmocaquilti
yn anmihyotzin yn anmotlatol[tzi]n yn yehuantzin yn tlatohuani Eroles

⁷ I Judío in Paso y Troncoso (1902:91).

⁸ 2 Judío in Paso y Troncoso (1902:91). It seems preferable to assign this and the preceding speech to different speakers.

conmihtalhui xiquintlatlanican Canpa yn ohualaque canyn i ychan ma
xiquintlatlanilican —

— Sⁿ gaspar —

v̄ telpochtle ma xitechmolhuuilin yn yehuantzin yn huei tlatuhuani Ca onpa yn
otihualaque yn ipan yn huey altep^etl yn oRiente yn iquisayanpan yn tonatiuh

— Cappⁿ Judio —

[v̄?] [Ca] ye qualitzin ma yuhqui nicnolhuili yn tohuey[tlato]catzin erodes
— [10r]

yas quilhuitiuh Erodes Capitan Jodio —

v̄ tlacatle tlatuhuanine Ca oniquitlatlani Ca qu[itohua ca on]pa yn otihualaque
ynnoriente yn iquisa[yanpa yn] tonatiuh —

— Erodes —

v̄ yn iuhqui on Ca ye Cuanli ma hualhuian n[ican xiquinnotza]can Ca nican
niquintlatlanis —

— yc yey Jodio —

v̄ ma nican anmohuicatzte Ca anmechmo[nochilia yn] huey tlatohuani Erodes —
yc nahui Jodi[o —]

[v̄?] anmosiamiquiltia yn antlatoque Ca huel ys[iuhca yn] anmechmonochilia
Ca huel moCualanaltia [?]tzin yn totlatocatzin y reyn erodes ynic nica[n
oanhual]mohuicaque — — Sⁿ Baltesar —

v̄ Ca ^{tel} ye qualitzin ma tihuian ma tictouh[tiliti] y tlatohuanni ma
tictocaquistililiti [ma tictix]pantililitin y tlen tonetequipac[hol ynic ti]hualaque
— yc 5 Judio —

v̄ auh aquin yn anquimotemolihuitze y nican [?] yn oanhualmohuicaque yn
antlatoque ma x[itech]molhuilican ynic no tanmechtolhuilisque yn [aso]
ticmatin yn ac yehuatl yn anquimotemolihuitze — Sⁿ melchor —

v̄ telpochtle Camo san aca yn tictotemolihuitze ca huel yehuatzin yn Cm̃c
yn tlatuhuani y techmomaquixtilis yhuan motemaquixtilis yn Cm̃c
ynic ticoneltoquitsique yn ca neli ca yxquich yn ihuelitzin yn quin
omotlacatilitzinno —

v̄ yas quilhuitiuh Cappⁿ Jodio yn erodes — [10v]

— Cappⁿ Jodio —

[v?] [tlacatle] tlathuanie yn iuhqui yn onimitznol[huili yn iuh] quitohua
quilmach onpa ychan yn orien[te yn iquisay]anpan yn tonatiuh yhuan
quilmach [quitemotih]uitze aquin quin otlacat quilmach Cm̃hc [tlathuani yes]
yn iuh quitohuan tlacatle tlathuanie

— Erodes —

[v?] [Auh aquin] ynon quin otlacat yn Cm̃hc tla^{tl}athuani [yes auh] Cuix amo
quimatin yn Ca nehuatl yn [nica?]n Cm̃hc yn nitlathuani ynna^{Yac} aquin
[niuqui?] ye^{ne}huatl yn ayac aquin y nechnene[huilia y]n ipan i huey altepetl
yn Jerosalen [yn nican noc]onpictica —

— Cappⁿ Jodio —

[v?] [Ca huel melahuac yn tic]motenehuilia tlacatle tlathuanie Ca ni[man ayac
a]quin yn mitzmonenehuililis ma tiquin[notzacan] —
[yaz]que yn ixpan yn erodes y Reyestin tlatzontzonnalos mopitzaas Clarin —

— yc chicuasen Jodio —

v ma nican anmohuicatzte yn antlatoque ma nican yxpantzinco
xihualmohuicancan yn yehuantzin y huei tlathuani erodes ma
xicmolhuiliquin yn anmonetequipachol —

— Sⁿ gaspar —

v ma ximopaquilitie tlacatle tlathuannie yn timehuiltitica Ca nican
mopantzinco otonquinsanco yn ipan yn moaltepetzin yn aso ticmomachiltia yn
canpa yn omotlacatili yn Cm̃hc yn tla[llr]tathuanni yn itlasomahuispiltzin yn
dios tetatzin ynic ones yn isitlalmachiotzin —

— Erodes —

v yscatquin oanquimihyohuiltinque yn antl[atoque] aquin yn anquimotemolia
quenin aqui[n quin otlacat]ma huel melahuac xinechmolhui[lican ynic]
oanhualmohuicaque y nican y nixp[an yn] anmotlatlanitihuitze y nican yn
ipanpa [anmo?]tlamauhtihuitze ynnanmosiamiquil[tia ma] niccui ma nicaqui
yn anmihyotzin yn an[motlatol]tzin yn anmahuistilinlonni yn anRe[yestin] yn
antlatoque — — Sⁿ Baltasar —

[v?] tlacatlentlathuannie ma xicomomachiltitzinno Ca [yehuatzin] yn
tictotemolia yn Cm̃hc yn tlathuanni Canin y[n omotlacati]litzinno Ca
otictotlapalhuiCo Ca otictoteotitzin[noco auh ca o]techalyancantia çentetl

huey sitlalin Ca ym[achio ca ynesca] Ca ynic omotlacautilitzino Auh ca san nican y[n otoconpoloco] ynic tlatlanilistli yn toconchihua yn mixpa[ntzinco tlaca]tlen tlatuhuanie — Erodes —

v Camo nicmati yn aquin yn aquinmotemolia yn a[nlato]que Ca tel ye qualitzin ma oc nitlatlani ma oc ximosehuitzinnoca[n] achitzinca ma oc ximocalaquican ma niman axcan quinn[otz]tihuetzinti y teopixcatlatoque ynic yehuantin techylhuisque techmelahuilisque —

— San melchior —

v Ca tel ye qualitzin tlatcatle tlatohuanie ma oc nican tenpitzin mopaltzinco titosehuican ac timitztomachiltitzinnoa tlatcatle tlatuhuanie —

v Calaquisque yn Reyestin tlatzotzonnalos mop[i]tzaas clarin tlanahuatis ynic quinnotzatihui y[n] tlamatinime yn teopixque —

— Erodes — [11v]

tla xihualmohuicacan yn annotiacahuan tla xiquinhualmonochilitihuetzintin yn tlamatinime yn teopixcatlatoque ma quihualhuicacan yn inteamox Ca n[ican n]iquintlatlanis yn aquin ynnotlalat yn aso neli yn [Cmhc tlato]huanni Cuix ypan ca Cuix ypan ycuilitica [yn teoa]moxtli ma nican quihualhuicacan nix[pan ynic] nicaquis quipohuaquihui xiquinmilhui[lican ca nican] moetzicate yn tlatoque yn quinmochielia

— Cappⁿ Judio —

[v?] [Ca ye qu]alitzin tlatcatle tlatohuanie ma tihui[an ma] tiquinnotzatin yn yehuatn yn teopixCa[tlatoqu]e yn tlamatinime ynic siuhca nican [hualas]que ynic quihualhuicasque ynteohua[mox y]nic quitemoqihui y tlamahuisolin [yn omochi?]uh ynic ones yn sitlalin —

[niman yas]que quinnotzatihui yn teopixqui [?]ilcasque yn teoamoxtli hualquisas[que ?] yn teopixque ypan onasiquihui yn Capi[ta]n Judio tlatzotzonnalos mopitzas Clarin —

— 2 Judio —

Ma ximopaquiltitiecán yn anteopixcatlatoque Ca nican anmohuictzinco otihualtitlanoque —

— 1 teopixqui —

ac tehuatl y nican yn otihuala tlen ticnequi yhuā yn otiquinhualhuicac ma
xitechylhuican ma ticaquicaquin can y tlen anmonetitlanis ynic onanhualaque
y nican tochan —

— 6 Judio —

Ca ynic nican yn tihualtitlanoque ma xicmomachiltican Ca nican catqui yn
tonetitlanis Ca amechmonochilia [12r] yn huey tlatohuani erodes —

— 1 Judio —

Ma xicmomachiltican Ca quimitalhuia yn yehuatzin yn huey tlatohuani
erodes ma huel xitotocancan ma xiquinhualnotztihuetziti yn tlamatinime
ma quihualhuican Can yn tehuamoxtli ca nican niquitlatlanis y tleyn
nonetequipachol — Cappⁿ Judio —

Ma huel ysica tihuian ma ximisihuiltican ca huel ysic[a] yn otihualtitlanoque ma
xoconmoCuilican yn teamoxtli — 2 teopixqui —

Ca tel ye cualitzin ma tictouhtili[ti] yn huey tlatohuani erodes aso
^onca ytla yn in[etequi]pacholtzin ma timochintin tihuian yn titeo[pixcahuan] y
tlatohuani Eroses — 3 teopixqui —

ma tihuian timochintin ma toconCuicuican yn tote[ohuamox] seme ynic
tiquiuhtasque y tleyn titlatlanilosque [yn tle quimo]tequipachilhuia yn
totlatocatzin Eroses —

— 4 teopixqui —

ma tihuian ca nican toconpixticate yn quimotlatl[anilia yn] tlatohuani erodes yn
tehuamoxtlacuuloli ma tichuicacan

Niman yasque yn ixpan yn erodes tlatzotzonnalos —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

tlacatle tlatohuanie ca yohualmohuicaque yn tiquinmonochilia yn huehueyntin
yn teopixcatlatoque ca oticneltilito yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin tlatohuanie —

— Eroses —

tla xihualhuian ynnanmehuatin yn antlamatin[ime] yn anteopixque quen
aquimati yhuan quen anquiu[hta] [yn ipan?] tehuamoxtli canpa ye
ycuiliuhtica canpa ye mac[hiyoti?]ca Cuix ye nelylistli yn aquin omotlacatili
y Cm̃hc y[n tla]tohuani yn intlatouhCauh yes yn Judiosme canpa y[n chielo]
yese nehuatl y niquitohua ca san nosel y Cm̃hc y nitla[tohuani] auh ynin yn

tlacatis quen anquithua quennaquimati ca ye[huatl] ynic onamehnotzato ynic
oamehanato yn anoteopixcahuan [12v]

— 1 teopixquin —

tlacatle tlatohuanie Ca ye qualitzin. ma oc tictemocan yn ipan tehuamoxтли ca
oncan nesis yn ac yehuatl yn omotlacatili yn iqui yn ticmotenehuilia tlacatle
tlatohuanie —

Motlalisque ypan mesa Conmamanasque yn inteohuanmox seseyacan
tlapuhuasque tlatzotzonnallos mopitzas clarin

— 4 teopixqui —

ma huel yxquich anmotlapaltzin ximochihuilian ma huel sesenyacan
xicmuhtilitihuian yn teamoxтли ynic huel ysica nesis ynic titlatlanilo
— 1 teopixqui —

[Tla xi]hualmohuicacan ma xicomotemolican yn ipan yn [tehuamo]xtlacuilonli
ma tiquiuhacan Canpa yn iCuili[uhtica in q]uimotequipachilhuia yn
tlatohuani erodes

— 2 teopixqui —

[y?] [Ca ynon tic]motenehuilia Ca yehuatl yn ye huecauh yn [tictemachi]tinemi
ma tictemocan yn ipan yn ixquich [tehuam]oxtlaCuiloli yn onca
tlilpachiuhtoc yn i[cuiliuh]toc — 3 teopixqui —

[y?] [q]uen ticmuhtilia yn teamoxтли y nican niqiuhta ca ye neli melahuac
yn omotlacatili yn C^emanahuac yn motenmaquixtilis yn huey tlatohuani
m^oetztes —

— 4 teopixqui —

y tla xicmuhtili notlasotiachcauhtzinne yn iuh quintoehua nican ca ye neli
melahuac ynic nesis çen^{te}tl huey si[tla]lin machiotl yn inesca yn mochihuas
yn octacatl ma[chiot]l ynic motlacatilis yn Cm^hc piltzintli ynic
quimo[tlapal]huitihui yn Reyestin yeyntin tlatoque —

— 1 teopixqui —

[y?] [Ma con]momachilti yn huey tlatohuanni yn ca yones yn canin yn
o[motla]catili yn tlasopiltzintli ynic ones yn inesca yn isitlaltzin y[n]
tlasotlanqui — 2 teopixqui — [13r]

Notlasotiachcauhtzinne Ca no yuhqui niqiuhta nican ynpan yn teamoxt^{li} yn
ca yehuatzin yn quimotlacatililis yn ichpochtli yn maria ynichpochtzin yn itoca

ana yhuan Juanchin ytetzinco yn motlacatilis yn Cm̃h̃ yn motemaquixtilis
 yhuicpa y tlhueliloc —
 Niman quitlatzinnisque yn mesa tlatzotzonnallos yasque quinonotzatihui yn
 erodes

— 1 teopixqui —

tlacatle tlatohuanie ma xicmomachiltiCa yotiquiuhaque Ca nican yn icuilitica
 ca neli melahuac y[n omotla] catili yn Cm̃h̃ tlatohuani yn ca onpa yn
 motlaca[tili yn] ipan yn altepetl nasarete yn ixtlahuacan n[epantla y]n Belen
 yn iuh quitotehuaque yn ye hueca[uh pro]fetas yn eremias yn moyesen y
 aBraJan y [dabit?⁹ yn iuh]qui yn ticmocaquititzinnoa tlatatle tlatoh[uanie]

— Eroses —

Ma yhui Ca ye quali ca yc noyolo pachihui ma xinechylh[uilican] Canpa
 yn omotlacatili yn tlatohuani yn ipa yn altepetl ma ximohuicatihuan
 auh yn anmehuantin cuix neli melahuac yn oanquiuhaque yn ipan yn
 tehuamoxtli —

— 2 teopixqui —

tlacatle tlatuhuanie ca yotoconmocaquilti ynic otitechonmonochili auh ynin
 ma oc achitzin timitz[to]tlalcahuilican tlatatle tlatuhuanie ca ye [tiyahui] yn
 timoteopixcatzitzinhuan —

— 3 teopixqui —

Ca huel neli melahuac Ca oncan ycuilihtuc ca oncan tliipa[chiuh]toc yn ipan
 yn amoxtlacuiloli tlatuhuanie —

— 4 teopixqui —

ca mochi melahuac neltlilistli yn timitztolh[uilia] tlatatlen tlatuhuanie Ca
 oticonneltilico yn motlatucatl[anahuatil][13v]tzin yn timoteopixcahuan ynic
 tictemoque yn tlen omitzmotequipachilhuiaya yn titohueytlatocatzin Reyn
 erodes —

yasque yn teopixque tlatzotzonnallos mocahuas yn erodes mopitzas clarin —

⁹ Paso y Troncoso here has “in Davit, i Çalomo”; only one of these names would fit in the missing space.

— Erodes —

Ma xiquinmonochilican yn yehuantintzintzin yn yeyntin tlatoque ma nican hualmohuicacan ynic quinmocaquiltiquihui yn notlatol yn iuhqui yn oniccac yn tlatoli — Cappⁿ Judio —

Ca tel ye qualitzin tlatcatle tlatuhuanie ma tiquintonochili^{ti} yn yeintin tlatoque yn renyestin —

[hua]lquisasque y reyestin tlatzotzonnallos mopitzas cla[rin] — 1 Judio —

[y?] [Tla xi]hualmohuicacan yn anmehuan^{tin}tzintzin yn antla[toque ca] anmechmonochilia yn yehuatzin yn hue[y tlatohua]ni erodes ca yones yn tlatoli —

— 2 Judio —

[y?] [ma amocx]itzin xiconmanilican yn antlatoque [yn anreye]stin ma tictuhtiliti yn tlatohuani [erode]s ca huel ysiuhca yn anmechmonochilia [ma] techahuatin anmopanpantzinco yn atlatoque —

— Sⁿ Baltesar —

v Ca ye yc onpa tiatihui ynic tictouhtilisque yn tlatohuani erodes ca ye tihuecahua nica

Niman yasque yn Reyestin yn ixpan yn erodes mopitzas clarin — 5 Judio —
[v Ca ye] hualmohuicaque yn tiquinmonochilia yn ye[ynti]n tlatoque tlatcatle tlatuhuanie —

— Erodes —

[v Tla xi]hualmohuicacan yn antlatoque Ca senca na[mech]notlatlatlauhtilia tla xinechmolhuilican [ye quec]hquich cahuitl yn oanquimouhtilique yn i[sitla]lmachiotzin y Cmhc tlatuhuani yn quinnomo[14r]tlatcatili — Sⁿ gaspar —

Tlatcatle tlatuhuanie ca ye yc matlacylhuitl onmey yn otiquihuataque yn isitlalmachiotzin yn dios yn itlasopiltzin tlatuhuanie —

— Erodes —

Ca ye qualitzin ximohuicatihuian onpa ximotlamelahualtitihiuan yn ipa yn altepetl y nazaret yn ipan ixtlahuatl yn Belen yn itech pohui yn huey altepetl Judea Ca onpa yn omotlatatilin yn anquimotemolia auh ytla oanquimuhtilique ytla Ohuanquimotlapalhuito yn tlatuhuani yn tlasopiltzintli ma anmopaltzinco nica[quis] ynic no nehuatl nias nicnotlapalhuitiu[h ca]nel tlatuhuani yn ohualmohuicac nien[otlapal]huitiuh nicnoteotitiuh yn onpa yn can[pa omo]tlatatilitzinno yn tlatuhuani —

— Sⁿ Baltesar —

Ca tel ye qualitzin tlatcatle tlatuhuanie m[a ompa titlame]lahuacan yn Belen ynic onpa tictuhtiliti[hui yn Cm̄hc] yn motlatocatis — Sⁿ melchior —

Tlatcatle tlatohuannie ma yuhqui ticneltiliti yn montlatocatlanahuatiltzin tlatcatle tlatohuanie ma nican tiquisasque yn iCuac yn titoCuepasque ynic pachihuis yn moyolotzin quen tiquisatihuin —

Niman yasque calaquisque yn Judiostin oncan moCahuasque yn Reyestin niman yasque yn Reyestin oc çepha hualmonextis yn sitlalin yasque tlatlap[alo]tihui tlatzotzonnalos yhuan mopitzas clarin Capp Reyes Basallos tlayacanasque oncan monotza[s]que — Sⁿ gaspar — [14v]

Otlacauhqui yn iyolotzin yn dios tetatzin ynic ocseuhpa ones yn isitlalmachiotzin y dios ma ocseuhpa tictoCatihuian tla xicmuhtilican ynic senca tlasotlanqui yn isitlaltzin yn ixquich yn ihuelitzin yn dios

— Sⁿ Baltesar —

Otechmocnelili yn tt⁰ Dios ynic ocsepa otechmomaQuili yn inescayotzin yn toteyacancatzin ma tictoCatihuian notlasotiachcauhtzinne yn isitlalmachiotzin Dios —

— Sⁿ melchor —

[ma i]uhqui yn itlasotlanequiltzin yn Dios tetatzin notlaso[tiachcauh] tzintzinhuanne ma yxquich anmotlapaltzin ma [tictocati]huian — Cappⁿ Reyes —

[ma o]c tictoyectenehuilican yn Dios yxquich yue[litzin ynic o]csepa oquimonextili yn isitlalmachiotzin [ma qui]monequiltis ynic acmo ocseuhpa ticplotihui

— 1 Basallo —

ma yuhqui quimonequiltitzinnos yn Dios ynic Cualtica yni yectica tasitihui yn Belen yn iuhqui yn otihuilonque — — 2 Basallo —

Ca senca tlasotlanqui ca senca mahuistic yn topan mochihua ynic ocseuhpa yn ones yn isitlaltzin yn Dios tetatzin ma tiatihuan yn antlatoque —

[y?]nin tlatoli oncan tlamis yn icaltenpan yn erodes yn [?]yaque yn Reyestin nima hualquisas yn erodes [qu]ihualyacanasque yn cappⁿ Judio hualmohuipantiasque çenca Cualanis ynic tlatos tlatzotzonnalos mopitzas Clarin — tlatos erodes — [15r]

Ca yn axca Ca çenca tonehua chichinaca y nix noyolo yn itehcopa yn aquin yn otlacat aso neli yn intlatocauh yes yn Judiosme auh Cuix amo nehuatl

yn niCm̃hc y nitlatohuanni auh yn axcan tla xihualhuian yn amehuantin
 yhuan yn tehuatl yn tinocappⁿ quen anquitohua tiacahuanne yn senca yn
 achichicahuaque y niman axcan ximoyochichihuacan yn anmochintin Ca yn
 axcan ca mochihuas yn yanCuic tlatoli quilmach Cm̃hc tlatohuani yes yn quin
 otlatcat auh yn axcan ca niquitohuan Ca nicmictis notlanequilstica mochihuas
 auh yn ax[can] ma xictemoti yn onpa yn Belen yn itech pohu[i yn] huey
 altepetl nazaret —

— Cappⁿ Judio

Ca ye cualitzin tlatatle tlatuhuanie ma tihui[an ma tic]neltilitin
 yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin ma [tiquin?]Caquistiliti yn
 moyaoquiscatzintzinhua[n] [ca cen?]Ca chichicahuaque yn tlapaltique —
 yas yn cappⁿ quinnotzantiuh yn Judios tlatzotzonnalos mopitzas Clarin —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

tla xihualmohuicacan yn ayotiacahuan tla xicomachiltican Ca yuhqui
 yn onilhuiloc onicaquitililoc yn itechcopa yn aquin yn otlatcat quilmach
 Cm̃h[c] tlatohuani yes yhuan yntlatucauh yes yn Ju[di]osme Çenca tequalani
 tetequipacho ynin tlatoli O queni anquiuhua tla xinechnanquiliCan yn iuhqui Y
 na^{na}anmechcaquistilia yn tlatolin — [15v]

— 2 Judio —

Ca ynon titechmocaquistililia macamo mitzmotequipachhui Ca
 tocon^{chi}xixticate yn ihiyotzin yn itlatoltzin yn totlatocatzin Erodes —

— 3 Judio —

Ca ynon Y titechmocaquistililia macamo mitzmotequipachilhui Ca senca yc
 tipapaqui yn ticaqui ynon tlatoli y nican ticate yn timochintin ma tihuian ma
 ticneltilitin tocnihuanne yn tlatocatlanahuatili —

— 4 Judio —

C[a] y^on ontonmocaquiltique yn iyotzin yn itlatoltzin yn tla[tuhu]anni erodes ma
 tihuian ma ticneltilitin yn itlan[ahua]tiltzin — yn Judios yasque —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

[tlatatle] tlatuhuanie Ca yohualmohuicaque yn tiquin[monochi]lia yn
 moyaoquiscatzintzinhuian tlatohuanie

[nima]n oncan tlatzontequis erodes yhuan quinno[tzatiuh] yn escribano quitlalis yn sentensia tlatzotzonalos mopitzas clarin —

— erodes —

Tla xihualhuian huel nanmechtlacuauhnauantia ynic mochintin anquinmimictisque yn pipiltotontin ayas ma se aca anquiCahuasque ynic mochintin mimiquisque yn moquequetza yn mohuilana yn manel huel oc tetepitzin tla xihualauh yn tehuatl yn tieS^{no} niman axcan oncan on xictlali yn notlatocaCatlanahuatil yn insentensia yn Judea tlaca y[n]ic quicaquisque yn intlatzontequililoca ynic mochintin mimictilosque yn inpilhuan y nehuatl y nitlanahuatia Reyn erodes — [16r]

— [Escrib]ano —

Ca ye qualitzin tlatcatle tlatohuannie ma nictlalin yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin yn iuhqui yn tinechmonahuatilia tlatcatle tlatuhuanie —

— quitlalis eS^{no} çentensia yntla oquitlali satepan quicaquicaquistilis y niman quinmacas yn cappⁿ ynic quihuicasque tlatzotzonnalos mopitzas clarin — Sentensia eS^{no} —

y nican yn ipan yn huey altepetl yn Jerosalen ynic nitlanahuati yhuan noqualanalistica niquinmixnahuanti yn Judea tlaca ynic onpa niquintitlani y n[o]yotiachuan ynic mochintin quinmimictisque yn inpilhuan yn moquequetza yn mohuilana [yn] manel quin otlacat yhuan yn aquin yn inp[an tla]tos no tehuan mictilos ynin ca huel nelti[s mochi]huas y notlatocatlanahuatil y nican nic[tzontequi] yn teuctlatoloyan yn Jerosalen ynic mo[chintin] yn mimiquisque yn pipiltotontin ynic no [tehuan] yn oncan yn miqis yn quin otlacat yn Cm̃hc y tlatohuanni yes yhuan yn aso neli temaquixtis yⁿ huel yca ypanpa yn motlalia yni tetlatzontequililistlatoli y nehuatl yn Reyn erodes y nican yn Jerosalen ynic ayac aquin yn quipanhuis y notetlatzontequinlilistlatol ynic mochicauhtias y nocappⁿ yhuan yn ocsequintin y notiachuan ynic niquinmaca yn nohuelitilistlatol ynic ayac aquin quixnamiquis quixitinis yn noçentensia y nican yn ipan y huey altepetl yn Jerosalen yn omicuillo yn miquistetlatzontequilistli — [16v]

— eS^{no} —

Tlacatlen tlatohuanie Ca yonictlali yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin ma ximocaquiltitzinno ma nicpuhua yn çentensia —

— quipohuas —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

Ca ynon yn ticaqui ynon tlatolin Ca senca yc titoyolalia yn tlatocatlanahuatili
— 4 Judio —

Cah yoti^{Con}caque yn itlatocatlanahuatiltzin yn huey tlantuhuaní erodes ma
niman titoyaochichihuancan yn timochintin — 5 Judio —

[ma oc] tihuian ma oc ticalaquican ynic titoyaochin[chiuh]tihui yhuan yn
ocsenquintin yn tiquinno[tzati]n —

[?] [mochin]tin Calaquisque tlatzotzonnalos tlatō[sque yn?] Reyestin yn oncan y
tiopanCaltenCo [?] — Sⁿ Baltesar —

[tla xo]conmuhtilican ca ye ytech tonnasitihui ynonpa ca yn sitlalin — Sⁿ
melchior —

Ca huel nelitzin Ca melahuac yuhqui ma san xacaltzintli yn itech nestica yn
sitlalin tla nel xoconmouhtilican — Sⁿ gaspar —

notlasoteyhcauhtzitzinhuane Ca nechca moetztica yn senquiscaquali
ychpuhtzintlin san quimonapalhui tzinnotica yn itlaçomahuisçenteconetzin
ma niman seçenyacan titlatlapalosque titontlanCuaquetzasque ynic
tictomaquilisque yn totlatlapalohuayan yn tiseçenme — Sⁿ Baltezar —

ma yuhqui mochihuas yn motlanequilitzin notla[17r][so]tiachcauhtzin[ne] — Sⁿ
melchior —

ma yacachtopa tehuatzin timotlatlapalhuis ypanpa ca titotiachcauhtzin ynic
satepan yn titlantlapalosque —

Niman onasisque onmotlanquaquetzas yⁿ Sⁿ gaspar quitos yn orasion
— Sⁿ Gaspar —

Oticmiyohuilti otimosiahuilti yn titlasopiltzintli yn tichalchihuilti y nican yn
ixtlahuacan nepantla yn otimotlacatilitzinno yn xacaltzinco yn ticoscatl yn
tiquetzalin yn amo san taca yn Cm̃hc yn titlatuhuaní Ca nican nictenamiqui
yn momatzin yn mocxitzin auh ca omochiuh yn inlatoltzin yn machcolhuan
yn profetas yn oquimachtopa[ita]lhuitehuaque ynic timotlacatilitzinno[s yn]
nican yn ixtlahuacan nepantlan yn secu[istli yn i]chuayan yn cuacuahueque
yn caballo[sme y?][n in]tlaquayan yn eecatli yn imoquetzayan y[n onca]
otimotlalticpacquixtico yn tintlanex yn timocouh yn timochiuhzinnos
Cm̃hc tlaca ca ye nechca pantlantihui yn tlatoque yn profetas yn daBit
yn aBraJan yn moysen yn eremias yn [i]sac Ca oconcauhtehuaque Ca
oconquetztehuaque yn Cacaxtli yn tlama^{ma}li yn etic yn ayehualistli yn amo
yxnamiquilistli quennoc hualamati yn inmiuhcanpa yn itepotzco auh yn in
tlatatlen tlatuhuanie ma ximotlacotili ma ximotequitili auh yn axcan tlen

nimitznomaquiltis Ca nimotlachihualtzin auh ca nican catqui tepitzin Costic [17v] teoCuitlatl yhuan ystac teocuitlatl Auh yese ca motlasopatiuhtzin mochihuas yn iquac yn titechmomaquixtilis auh Ca san ye yxquich ynic nictlapalohuan yn momatzin yn mocxitzin tlasoteopiltzintle # sihuapile ychpuhtzintzintle otimosihuiltitzinno y nican yn otimotlacachihuiltzinno y nican yn ixtlahuacan nepantla yn mam^asa ynnintlacuayan yn seCustli yn iehuayan yn tiçemicac tichpuhtzintli y nican yn oticmotlacatililitzinno yn senca yn chipahuacatzintli yn tlasoteopiltzintli ma yxquich yn motlapaltzin ma ximocuitlahuitzinno tlasosihuapile —

— motlatoltis noestra señora —

Otlaox yn moyolotzin Gaspartzin ynic ohuanquimotlapalhuico yn notlasoconetzin ca neli ca melahuac yn Cm̃hc yn [mot]latocatilis yn ca yoquitotehuaque yn profetas y[n patri]arcas ynic motlacatilitzinnos yn innocouh y[n intla]nex yn mochiuhtzinnos yn Cm̃hc yn tlatlacohua[nime y]n iuh quimotenehuilitiuh yn profeta dan[bit yn] ca nican yxtlahuacan nepantla yn motlacatili[tzinno]s auh ca oncan yn molhui yn momasehual yn mi[tzmo]nemactilitzinnoa yn notlaso^{sen}teconetzin Camo ticsiahuilishuis yn motech monequis yhuan yn mopilhuā yesque yn iuhqui yn tichuenchihua yn ticmomaquilia yn costic yn istac tecuitlatl Ca mitzmotlacuepcayotililis yn notlasoconetzin Gaspartzin —

— Sⁿ Baltesar —

tlacatle tlatuhuanie totecuyoe tlasotle chalchihuite maquistlen quetzalistle y nican yn otihualmohuicac y nican yn mitzualmihuali yn motlasotatzin dios tetatzin yn tloque nahuaque yn ipalnemohualonni yn intlatecpan yn in machocolhuan yn profetas yhuan yn quin is mohuicatihui yn danBit yn aBraJan yn achitzinca yn oconmotlanehui[18r]que yn atl yn tepetl y[n yuh]qui yn aoc yxe yn aoc yolo yn atl y tepetl yn Jerusalem auh nican yn omitzonmocahuililitehuanque yn cacaxtli yn mamaloni ynnetic yn ayehualistli ynnamo yxnamiquilistli yn tonehuistli yn chichinaquilistli mopantzinc mochihuas auh ynin tlacatle tlatuhuanie ma xinechmotlapopolhuili ca nimotlachihualtzin tle nimitznomaquilis Ca nican catqui tepitzin tlasopaatl ynic motetzinco monequis yn iquac mitzmotequilisque yn ÇenquisCatepetlcalco yhuan yn istac Canahuac tilmatin ynic mitzmotlapachihuililisque yn mosenquisCanqualnacayotzin auh ynin tlacatle tlatuhuanie ma ximotlacotili ma ximotequitili tote^{co}chiyoe auh ca san ye yxquich ynic ~~n~~ nictlapalohua yn momatzin yn mocx[i]tzin yn

popoloni yn tzatzaqui y notlatol tlacatle tlatu[hua]nie — # ychpochtle dios
 ytlasomahuisnantzi[ne yc]nohuacatzintle mosenquiscatetlaocolilianie [? ca?]
 atley tlacoli motetzinco ones Ca timosenquixti[ca inic ti?]chipahuacatzintli
 Ca motetzinco senquistoc yn G[rasia] otitechmosepanyncelili yn titlalticpac
 titl[aca ? y]n ilhuicac yn tiescalera yn timochiuhztinnos ma yxqu[i]ch
 y motlapaltzin senquiscaychpouhtzintle ma xiconmoCuitlahuitzinno yn
 tlasopiltzintli — Noestra señora —

Oticmocnelilitzinno y notlasoçenteconetzin Baltesartzin ynic
 oanmechhualmohuiquili yn itlasotatzin yn Santissima trinidad y nican yn
 ixtlahuacan nepantla yn oc nicnotlacatilitzinno yn uhqui mehlahuac
 yn oconmocahuilitehuaque yn cacaxtli yn mamaloni [yn] Cm̄hc tlatlacoli
 yn etic yn ayehualistli yn amo yxna[mi]quilstli yn ca ye yehuatzin
 quimo^{ma}malis yn intlatlaco[lpa]lehuiloca yn cm̄hc tlatlacohuane auh
 tin[moto]linia ma yxquich motlapal xicchihua yn qu[emania] [18v] tipaquis
 yn quemania timoto[lin]is yhuan yn motehcopa yn quisasque Yolisque
 yn tlacatisque yn mopilhuan yn yesque yese ca mochipa ticmonochilis
 ticmotlatlauhtilis yn oticmotlapalhuitzinno y notlaçoçenteconenetzin ma
 yxquich motlapal xicchihua Baltesartzin — Sⁿ melchior —

NoteOtzin^{ne} notlatocatzinne oticmiyohuiltitzinno oticmosiahuiltitzinno
 tlasoteopiltzintle y ninCan yn otimotlalticpacquixtico y nican yn
 ixtlahuacan nepantla yn seCuistli yn iehuayan yn tichalchihuitl ynnamo
 san taca yn tiCm̄hc titlatuhuan y iuhquin yn oquimitalhuitehuaque yn
 machcocolhuan yn profetas yn huel y^ehuatzin dios yn oquimocamatlapolhui
 yni oqui[mo]tenehuilitiaque yn timotlacatilitzinno yn camo [san iztla]catlatoli
 yn o^{qui}mitalhuitehuaque Ca oneltic ca [omoc]hiuh auh ynin Ca
 nictenamiqui yn momatzin [yn moc]xitzin yntla^{Camo} yuhqui y
 niquitohua ma xinech[motlapo]polhuilitzinno yn popoloni yn tzatzaqui
 ynin [nitlato]hua tlacatle tlatohuane ynic mitzincoc mocpactzinco
 nitlachie y nimotlachihualtzin tlen ic nimitznotlapalhuis Ca nican Catqui
 tepitzin ynsienso yn popotzintli yn inesca mochihuas yn tlalticpac
 yn motlamaquixtiltztintzin huan yesque ynic mochipa momostlaye
 ynic mitzmotlatlauhtilis ynic mitzmotlahuenmanililisque yn
 motlasoyxpantzinco auh ynin ma oc achitzinca toconmotlatequipanilhuililis
 yn motlastatzin dios auh ca san ye yxquich ynic nictenamiqui yn momatzin
 yn mocxitzin tlacatle tlatuhuane tlaso[teo]piltzintle — tlasosihuapile
 ychpochtle yeno[hu]acatzintle motetlaocolilianie oticmosiahuiltitzin[no]
 [yn] nican yxtlahuacan nepantla yn mamasa yn cuacua[hue]que yntlaquayan
 yn oncan yn oticmotlacatili[19r]litzinno yn çenquiscachipahuacatzintli

yn motlasoçenteconnetzin yn ilhuicac yolotli ma ticmoxiuhecahuilitzinno
 yn motlasoconetzin tlasosihuapile ychpuhtzintle ca san ye yxquich ynic
 nictlapalohua yn momatzin yn mocxitzin tlasosihuapile — Noestra señora

otiquiyohui otisiauh melchiortzinne¹⁰ ynic oanhualmohuicaque ynic
 ticmoteotitzinnoco yn huel neli melalahuac yn ilhuicac yolotzintli ynic
 nican omotlacatilitzinno y xacaltzinco y çecuistli yn iehuayan yn atle yn
 itlatzacuilo yn ixtlahuanepantla yn oncan nicnonapalhuitzinnoti Ca yn
 tlasoteopiltzintli timotolinia auh yese ayc timoçehuis yn tlatequipanolistica
 yhuan yn mopilhuan yesq[ue] ma yxquich motlapal xicchihua yn tlalticpac
 melchor[tzin]

— Cappⁿ Reyes —

hiyo totecuyoe diose Ca nican mixpantzinco otonquis[aco yn
 ti]motlachihualtzintzinhuan yn mixtzinco mocpactz[inco oton]tlachieco
 y nican yomitzhualmihuali yn motlasta[tzin dios?]

— 1 Basallo —

noteCoyoe diose ma xinechmotlapopolhuilitzinno [yn nimo]tlachihualtzin
 ynnatle ma ytla otiquialhuicaque ynic otic[te]namiquico yn momatzin
 yn mocxitzin tlatatle tlatohuan[ie] tt⁰e y nicannixtlahuanepantla yn
 omitzhualmihua[li] yn motlaçotatzin dios — 2 Basallo —

tlatatle tlatuhuanie yn dios tetatzin yn titlasopiltzin y nican yn çecuistli yn
 iehuayan yn omitzmotlacatilitzinno yn motlasomahuisnantzin y nican yn
 mamasa yn intlacuayan yn atle yn itlatzaCuilo yn eecatl yn imoquetzayan yn
 oncan yn mitzmonapalhuitica yn motlasomahuisnatzin santa maria —
 Nimannoncan tlatos yn agełquinnotzas [yn] Reyestin ynic acmo onpa yasque
 yn onpa y[n o]hualaque — [19v]

— Sⁿ mhygełarcangel —

ma xicomomachiltican yn anmehuantintzintzin yn anmeytintzintzin
 yn anReyestin Ca onechalmihuali yn dios tetatzin ynic acmo onpa
 annohuiCasque yn onpa yn oanhualmohuicaque ynic ocsen otlí yn
 anquimotoquilisque Ca çenca qualanni y huey tlahueliloc yn erodes
 ynic amo ysiuhca yn anmocueptzinnoa yn iuhqui yolo pachihuis yn
 canpa yn omotlacatilitzinno y Cm̃hc yn tlatuhuaní yn itlasopiltzin yn

¹⁰ melchiortzinne: nonstandard use of the masculine vocative by a female speaker.

toçentechiuhecatzin Ca huel qualani yn ipanpatzinco ca otlanahuatin Ca
 oquichiuh ynic quimopopolhuis ynic quimo[tla]tlatilis ca ye ys huitze yn
 ititlanhuan ynic [quin]popolosque yn ixquichtin yn pipiltzin[tzint]in yn
 tocayotilosque ynoçentes y nican yn i[pan a]ltepetl y nasaret ca san ye
 yxquich yn anquimo[ca]quiltia yn iyotzin yn itlatoltzin yn dios tetatzin
 Can acmo huecauh yn anmaxiltisque yn onpa yn anhualmohuiCaque ma
 ximohuicatihuan yn antlatonque — Sⁿ Gaspar —

v Catca otonmasehualtic otocnopiltic yn iyotzin ynnitlatoltzin yn dios tetatzin
 ma yuhqui mochihua yn itlanequilitzin ynic aocmo onpa tiasque yn onpa
 ynnotihualaque ynic oc çe otlitictocasque ynic amo ymac tihuetzitihui yn
 tlahueliloc yn erodes —

— Sⁿ Baltesar —

[v?] [m]a yc ticoçenquiscayectenehuilican yn tlasote[op]iltzintli ynic oticaque
 ynic otihuiloque yn i[tla]tolztzin yn dios tetatzin ma y^uhqui ticchihuacā
 [ticne]ltitilican yn itlatoltzin notlasotiachcauh^{tzine} [20r]

— [Sⁿ] melchior —

ma yuhqui mochihua yn itlanequilitzin yn dios tetatzin

notlaçotiachcauhtzintzinhuane ynic amo onpa tiasque ma se otlitictocacan —
 Niman yasque yn Reyestin tlayacanasque yn Cppⁿ Reyes tlatzotzonnallos nima
 tlatzontequis yn erodes ynic yasque yn Judios ynic tenmictisque — Erodes —
 Tla xihualhuian yn anmehuatin yn annotiacaua yn anchichicahuaque ma
 huel yxquich anmotlapal xicchiuacan Ca nican ca yn insentensia yn
 inmiquistlatzontequililoca yntla ohuanmasito yn ipan yn altepetl yn Judea
 nini[? an]quinpohuilisque ynic mochintin mimiqu[is]que yn ipilhuan yn
 aquin quin otlacat [ynic] no tehuan oncan miquis yn aso neli yn Cm[hc
 yn?] totlatocauh yes ma huel yxquich anmotla[pa]l anquichihuasque yn
 tinoyaocappⁿ yhua[n y]n amehhuantin yn anyaoquisque —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

tlacatle tlatuhuannie Ca yuhqui mochihuas yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin ca
 mochintin tiquinpopolosque yn moquequetzan yn mohuilana yn aquin yn inpa
 tlatos Ca no tehuan ticpopolosque ticlatlatisque tlatatlen tlatuhuannie —

— 1 Judio —

macamo mitzmotequipachilhui ca onnelis mochihuas yn
 motlatocatlanahuatiltzin tlatuhuannie — 2 Judio —

Ca yoticoncauhque yn motlatocatlanahuatiltzin Ca ye nimannaxcan
tonpehuasque macanmo mitzmotequipachilhui Ca ticchihuatiū̄ [20v] Ca
ticneltitihui yn miyotzin yn motlatoltzin — 3 Judio —

Tlacatle tlatuhuanie ma ximocalaquitzinno ma oc tepitzin ximosehuitzinno
Ca ye nimā axcan tonpehuasque yn timoyaotiacauhtzintzinhuacan Ca
tontononotzasque yn quenin huel ticChihuatihui yn totequih —
Calaquis Erodes tlatzotzonnalos

— 4 Judio —

tiacahuanne quenin in huel ticchihuasque yn itlatocatlanahuatiltzin yn tlatuhuanie

Ca huel tepac ynic otinahuatiloque yniC titemictitihui — 5 Judio —

Ca huel tepac ynic otinahuatiloque nic tite[mic]titihui Canpa nel yasque

Ca yeuhpa [tom]ac huetzintzque Ca pi¹tontlin Ca yepa y[pan] tasitihui

ynic ninoyolalia Cuix huel [con]matque yn aso quitlatisque yn aso
quichololtisque yn amo san quenin y nipanpaqui y niquilnamiqui ynic
tiyaotitihui yn quinnequi y nix y noyolo ma san ye Cuele nontemictitihuetzin

nontepopolotihuetzin tocninhuanne ma san niman tonpehuacan Oquic

CualCan ma huel tonpactihuian Cuix sannitla ynic tititlano — 6 Judio —

Ca yn mache nehuatl Ca huel onelten ynic niqualani yn itechcopa yn aqui quin

otlatcat yn aso neli totlatuCauih yes Ca yehuatl on ynic niqualani ma san ye

cuele noconnita yn quename yn aso neli notlatocauh yes ma tlatzotzonnalos ma

tichuicacan yn tetlatzontequililistlatolin yn oquimotlali[21r][li] yn totlatocauh

yn [Re]y erodes —

Niman yasque mohuipanasque onasisque yn tinopan quiahuac oncan

mosehuisque yn cappⁿ satepanpan yasque yn tiopan ynic temimictitihui —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

Ca niquitohua tocninhuanne yn anyaoquisque y nicanyn ixtlahuacan ma onnican

titosehuican tepitzin ma çenyohual yn tinenemisque ynic tlathuinahuac ynic huel

cualcan yn ipan yn tonasitihui yn innahuac ynpipiltotontin y nazaret tlaca —

— 1 Judio —

Ca ynon yn ticmotenehuilia ca çenca quali mochiuas ca huel cualcan yni

y tonnasitihui yn oc yohuatzincon ynic amo yn inecmachpan yn ticalaquitihui

Ca oc C[o]cochticaten yn Judea tlaca —

Niman quinnotzas yn cappⁿ nic yasque tiopan

— tlatos Cappⁿ Judio —

Ca ye yman tocnihuanne ma tonpehuacan ma xi[mo]nenemiltican Ca ye tonnasitihui ma huel ximoyaochichihuacan yn ayaoiahuan —

— 2 Judio —

Ca san nican tocon^{Chi}xixticate yn miyotzin yn motlantoltzin ȳ titoya^ocappⁿ ma niman tihuian tonpehuacan yn anyaoquisque —

niman calaquisque yn tiopan onpa tlanahuatis yn Cappⁿ ynic mopohuas yn çentensia —

Cappⁿ Judio — — yn axcan Ca ye otonnasico yn inpan altepetl y nican yn otlacat yn iuh quimitohua Ca dios ypiltzin quimopanaualia yn tohueytlatocatzin yn Reyn erodes quilmach Cm̄hc tlatu[21v]huanni auh yn totlatocauh acmo çenmanahuac tlatuhuaní yes — 1 Judio —

Ca ynon y ticmotenehuilia Ca huel yehuatl ynic tonnehuan chichinaca yn iyolotzin yn totlatocatzin yn Reyn erodes yⁿⁱcan yn ipanpan yn otechhualmotitlani ynic tictemosque y nican yn ipan yn altepetl ynic ticmictisque ynic ticpopolosquen —

— 2 Judio —

Ca yn nehuatl yn iCuac y nicaqui yn amo san quenin Y niCualani ma Ye Cuele nicontlahuelquixti Yn iCualintzin yn isomaltzin yn totlatocantzin yn Eroles Yn itechCopan yn aso neli notlatocauh yes yn quin otlaCat —

— 5 Judio —

Ca Ynon yn ticmitalhuia Yn iquac Y nicaqui yno tlatoli Yn quinequi y noyolo ma niman [iuh?]qui nicpopolo nictlatlati Yn iuhqui quen[m]anian yn Cana tonYaotin tontepololoa

— 4 Judio —

tla ximocaquiltican yn ipanpa yn titlatoa quenin Yn amo teCualanni teYoltequipancho yn aca yn otiquinnamique yn eyntin tlatoque ynnaso neli yn oquitlapaloco oquimoteotiCo Ca yn tehuantin Ca Çenca Yc tiqualanni yc titlahuelcui yn aquin on Yn otlacat yn aso neli yn intlatocauh yes yn tinJudiostin —

— 5 Judio —

Ca ynon ticmotenehuiliaso quitohua Yn sequintin y nican Yn techcaquin aso no ticlapaloco aso no tictoteotico Camo huelitis Ca ticpopolosque

Ca tictlatlatisque yntla mach hueyYas quenmachuey tlatonhuani yes ynic
 mohuecapanos tla xicmouhtilica yn iquac yn ompa yn ohualquisque yn eyntin
 [22r] tlatoque yn iu[hqui o]quimocaquistililique yn Reyn erodes — 6 Judio —
 Ca huel neli melahuac Yn anquitohuan nocniuhztintzintzinhuane tla
 xicmouhtilican yn iCuac Yn quimotla^{tl}anilia yn totlatocauh Reyn Erodes
 quinmolhuilique quilmech çentetl yacuic sitlalin ynnoquinhualyacantia ynic
 oquimoteotico Ca yntla niquiuhuas Y nehuatl yn aquin piltontli yn is Ca Y
 nomachete Ca ye nicpopolos Ca ye nicCoCotonas Ca nictetextilisquia ytech
 quisasquia y noqualan Y notlahuel —

— 2 Judio —

ma quin anmononotzasque ma oc ticneltlicā yn itlatocatlanahuatiltzin yn
 totlatocatzi[n] yn Reyn Erodes Ynic titepopolosque titetl[a]tlatisque Ca mache
 onitlahuelCuic yn ica y nocualannilis — 4 Judio —

ma ysiuhca quisa Yn miyotzin yn motlatoltzin y[n ti]toyaocappⁿ ynic
 ticchihuasque yn totequiuh ynic [o]tihualtitlanoque Yhuan ma mopoa yn
 itlanahuatiltzin yn tlatohuanni Erodes Yn quinmopachiluia yn huey altepetl Yn
 Jerosalen —

— Cappⁿ Judio —

Yn axcan xitzatziti xictecaquistili yn iamantlaCuiloltzin yn tohueytlatocatzin
 yn Reyn Erodes Yn inmixon yn masehualtin yniC neltis Yn tleyn
 motlanahuatilia

yn omopouh yn sentensia nima quinhui^uitequisque yn pipiltotontin niman
 hualquisasque quipanahuiquihui yn tlalchiuhqui quitlatlatlanisque yn aso
 oquimopan[22v]nahuilic yn ichpochtli

— y Capitan Judio —

y Tla xihualauh yn titlalchiuhqui tlan timitztlatlanica Cuix amo otiquinmiuhtac
 yhuan Cuix amo omitzpanahuique se sihuatl yhuan se toquichti yhuan
 quihuica ynConeuh quiyacana quilmech ypa Yetiuh se asna ma mopaltzinco
 xitechihui yn cāpa Ynic ohuitzi^aque —

— y 1 LaBradador —

y Tlatuhuannie Ca ynon Yn timotlatlannia Ca melahuac yn ticmotenehuilia Ca
 nican Yn omoquixtique yhuan quimonapalhuitiuh Yn itlasoconetzin Ca sencan
 mahuisticatzintli Ca huel yuhqui yn çen[p]alahuitl yn itlasonacayotzin yhuan

huel Yuhqui Yn tonamenyotl yn itetzinCo nestiuh yhuan quimoyaCanilitiuh se
 telpochtli huel mototoquiltitiuh ynic mohuica tlatohuannie — v 1 Judio —
 v telpochtle ma huel melahuac xitechylhui Cuix otiquinnotz Cuix noso
 omitznotzque tlen omitzYlhuique Yn iCuac yn omitzpanahuique yhuan Canpa
 yn huel ohuitztianque ynic oyaque y xitechilhui —

— 2 laBradador —

v tlatuhuannie Camo namechnostlacahuilis Ca melahuac yn tlen y
 nanmechnolhuinlis Ca yn iCuac yn onechmopanahuilinquen Ca sannonpa
 ynic omotztilitiaque [23r] ynic omote[mohui]que yn Jord[an ato]yac Ca acmo
 oniquinnouhtili y[n ompa satepan?] Omohuicaquen —

— 2 Judio —

Yn iuhqui yn timitztlatlania ma huel cuali xitechmelahuili ynic toYolo pachihuis
 Ca yehuatl y tictemotihuitze Ynic nican yn mopan yn otiquisaCo Yn
 titlalchiuhqui —

— 1 LaBradador —

anmotolinia anmiyocahuan yn antlatoque ynnantitlantin Ca huel melahuac y
 niquitoa Ca yn iquac yn onechmopanahuilique Ca ye nictepehuan Yn trigo auh
 yn axcan Ca ye nictequi ynic anmoYolotzin Opachiuhuis yn amo nistlacatin yn
 antlatoque yn tley nanmechnolhuilia —

— mixiCuilos Cappⁿ Judio —

tley nican titechilhuia Yn san tlapic nican ye titechhueCahua aso
 tiYoloCoCoxqui yn atle melahuac Yn titechylhuia ma huel Cuali yn motlatol
 xitechylhui Ynic titoyolalisque yhuannamo xitechqualanni Ca yntla nicnequis
 Ca nican timitzpopolosque yn timochintin y niCan timani xicahuacan yn
 yolopolihui ma tihuian

— 5 Judio —

Ca melahuac yn quimitalhuia yn toyaocapitan Ca yntla ticnequisque
 Ca nican timitzpopolosque Cuix amo tiquiuhua y nican tichuica yn
 intetlatzontequililitzin yn tohueytlatocatzin Reyn Erodes quimopielia yn huey
 altepetl yn Jerosalen — Cappⁿ Judio —
 tla xitlato yn axcan tla xitech[nan]quili tlen ti[23v][quitos] ma ticaquican yn
 motlatol —

— [1?] LaBradador —

[tlaca]tle tlatuhuannie ma xinechmotlapopolhuilican Ca melahuac yn
onamechnolhuili Ca nican onechmopanahuilique yn axcan yn nican nictequi y
trigo yn anechmopanahuinliCo Yn anyaoquisque yn anyaotiakahuan —

— 4 Judio —

ma san ye tihuan tlatohuannie Ca ye ylhuse Ye tihueCa Yn tleyn oncan yn
amechmolhuilia yn istlacinipol Yn yolopolih ma titotoCaCan aso san ne
Cana huel otiquinmasitihui yn inpanpan yn tinentlamauhtinemi yn piltontli
ynic ticpopolosque —

— 5 Judio —

Yhuannaso techhualmochielitica yn toueytlatocatzin Yn Reyn erodes ma
tictonanhuailiti Ynic amo huel tomac ohuetz yn aso neli dios ipiltzin —
Nima Yasque mochintin Ynic quinahuatitihui yn tlatohuani erodes
hualquisas montlalis yn itlatocaycpalpan tlatzotzonnallos yntla ohuasique
yn Judios —

— Erodes —

Tle yc Yn amo paqui y nix y noyolo quen oquisato y noyaotiakahuan ytechcopa
ynic oniquintitlan Yn aquin yn otlacat Yn aso neli Cmhc tlatuhuanie yes Ca ye
huitze ma oc niquinchie —

— Onasisque Yn Judios — [24r]

————— [1 Judio?] —

timehuiltitica tlatatle tlatuhuan[nie ca ye oti]hualaque yn
timoyaotiacahtzitz[inhuan ynic?] ticmomachiltis ynic otitechmoti[tlani?] [?]
[tla]tohuannie — Cappⁿ Judio —

ma ximopaquiltitit tlatatle tlatuhuannie Yn titotlatocatzin Reyn Erodes —

— Erodes —

ma xihualhuian Ynnannotiakahuan q̄[n]ynnoanquisato ma xinechylhuican
tla xinechCaquistilican Ynnanmoquichtilis yn anmotiacahtilis Yn
annoyaotinaCahuan — Cappⁿ Judio —

TlaCatle tlatuhuanie ma xicmomachiltitzinnocan Ca oticneltitilo Yn
motlatocatlanahuantiltzin Ca mochintin o[ti]quinpopoloque yn pipiltotontin
ynniuhqui yn otiquinmotlatzontequinlilin yese ayac otiquiuhaque yn inpanpa

ynic otiaque Ca oquichololti yn inantzin Ynic amo huel tomac ohuetz Ca nican cate Yn moyotiacauhtzintzin huan ma yehuantin mitz molhuili Can tlacatle tlatuhuanie

— 1 Judio —

Ca melahuac Yn ticmocaquiltitzinnoa Tlacatle tlatuhuanie Ca oquichololti yn inantzin macamo ximotequipachotzinno catel yxquich totlapal ticchiuasque ynic tomac huetziz yn aquin quin otlaCat yn aso neli Cmhc tlatuhuanie yes — [24v]

— 3 Jud[io] —

[y?] [ma?] xicomachiltitzinno tlacatle tlatu[huanie] Ca ce tlacatl oticpanahuiCo tlalchiuhqui [?]ia oquipanahuiCo quilmach quin ye quintepehua yn trigo Auh ye quitequi yn ipan yn otinquisaco yuhqui melahuac Yn tiqitua Yn ticmocaquiltitzinhua Yn titutlatuCatzin quilmach sannonpa Ynic oyaque Yn atuyac Yn Jordad̄ auh nimannonpa otiaque amo huel oticnextique tlacatle tlatuhuanie —

— Erodes —

Yuhqui on Ca huel yehuatl Ynic tonehua chichinaca Yn nix noYolo yn quenami Yn quin otlaCat yn no Cuel Çentlamantli nicCaquilia Yn oquichihuh yhuannaso neli yn totlatuCaauh yes ma Yxquich yn anmotlapal xicchi huanCan Ynic amo huel techpanahuis yn ipan yn huey altepetl Ca tel nitlanahuatis yn yehuantzitzin yn tlatoque. Yn romanos ynneBrerus yn Engriegos yhuan yn ixquichtin yn teopixCatlantoque Yn anas yn caYfas yhuan Yehuantzin Yn Enperador Çesar auh yn nanmehuantin anmotolinia ma ximohuicatihuan

[25r]

#

Axcan OmosenCauh Ynin oriGinal yn ipan tonatiuh domingo a 14 de marso Yhuan Ypan x[i]huatl de 1717 a⁰s nicmachiotia nehuatl n[^o]toCa Carlos de san Juan niCan notlaxil[a]Calpan Sⁿta Cruz tianquistenco Yhuan Ca huel yehuatzin tlatuhuanie go^{or} pasado Dⁿ Juan migł san no itlaxilacalpantziCo santan Cruz tianquistenco YtencopatzinCo Ynic omoCopin Auh yn itech omonCopin Ca oquinmonextilin Yehuantzin tlatuhuanie maEstro Dⁿ Yllepunsio diego Auh Ca nehuatl onicCopin notocarillos de san Juan Auh Ynic oniccopin

onechmotlaocolilique chiCuasen tomin Auh ynic oquimonextili yehuantzin Dⁿ
 llepunsio diego ynin orinGinal oquimomaquili yehuatzin Dⁿ Juan migł go^{or}
 pasado chicuasen tomin yehuatzin oquimoCuili Dⁿ Lonrenso Ramos Auh ynic
 omo[25v][?] omochiuh apuntador antonio [?] telpochtzin Dⁿ Juan migłAuh
 [? i]xquich omomachioti ytlasoYxpan[tzinco?] motehuanpahuiliani yn tt^o Jesus
 xpo ma Yn mochihuan —

finis & operis losen

[*rúbrica*]

In Citlalmachiyotl.

Standardized transcription

Louise M. Burkhart
Abelardo de la Cruz
John Sullivan

[5r] *Hualquizaz Rey Emperador. Quihualyacanzqueh Capitán Reyes ihuan omentin vasallos. Niman motlaliz in ipan in itlahtohcaicpalpan. Tlapitzaloz. Niman quinnotzaz inic yazqueh tlapiyatihuih in huei tepeticpac.*

REY EMPERADOR: Tla xihualmohuicacan in annotecuiyohuan in annomahuizyohuan. Ca ye iuhqui cah in amoyollo, ca ye anquimatticateh in iuh quihtohtehuac, in iuh quiteneuhtehuac, amachcol catcah in profetah Balán, inic neciz centetl citlalmachiyotl inic ticmatizqueh in ca ye omotlacatilih in cemanahuac in motemaquixtiliz. Ma niman ximohuicacan. Ma ximotlachiyacan in huei tepetl in icpac. ¿Ahzo zan nen otlaox otlacauhqui in iyollotzin Dios tetahtzin? Ahzo oquihualmihualih in icitlalmachiyotzin. Ma cencah huel ixquich amotlahpaltzin xicchihuacan in tinocapitán ihuan in amehhuantin.

CAPITÁN REYES: Ca ye cualtzin, tlatle, tlahtoanie. Macamo mitzmotequipachilhuih. Ma tihuan, ma titlachiyatih in ompa titechmihualia in huei tepeticpac. ¿Ahzo zan nen oquihualmihualih in Dios in icitlalmachiyotzin? Auh in amehhuantiztintin notlazohicnitzitzinhuane, ma ticneltilitih in itlahtocatlanahuatiltzin in totlahtohcatzin Rey Emperador, in iuh oanquineltilihqueh in itlanahuatiltzin.

IC CE VASALLOH: Ma iuhqui mochihua in itlazohtlanequiliztzin, notlazohicnitzitzinhuane. Ma ticneltilitih in tlahtocatlanahuatilli in iuh otinahuatiloqueh. Ahzo tolhuiltiz tomahcehualtiz in icitlaltzin Dios inic tiquittazqueh. [5v]

IC OME VASALLOH: Ca ye cualtzin. ¡Ma ye cueleh! Ma tonpehuacan oquic cualcan, ca huehca in Tititl, no inic tictotemachilitihuih in itlaihuatzin Dios tetahtzin, notlazohtiahcauhztitzinhuane.

Niman calaquiz Rey Capitán ihuan Vasallos yazqueh. Tlapitzaloz. Tlapixtiyazqueh in tepeticpac in campa ye quizaz [in citlalin]. Niman oahciqueh. Niman motlancuaquetzazqueh ihuan tlatlatlauhtizqueh.

CAPITÁN REYES: Ma ximopaquiltihtiye, totecuiyoe Dios tetahtzine. In nican in otonahcicoh in nican tepeticpac. Otechmocnelilih ixquich ihuelitzin in Dios tetahtzin, notlazohtecatztzinhuane. Inic ahtleh mah itlah canah topan omochiuh, ma ic tictoyectenehuilican in itla[zohtocatzin, i]huan ma ic tipahpaquican in timochintin ma titoyollalican.

IC OME VASALLOH: Ca huel melahuac in ticmotenehuilia, notlazohicnitzine. Ca oquimonequiltih inic otechmahxitilico in ixquich ihuelitzin Dios tetahtzin. Ma cencah ic tictoyectenehuilitih in toteyocoxcatzin, Dios.

IC CE VASALLOH: Ma titotlancuaquetzacan. Ma tictotlatlatlauhtilican in Dios tetahtzin inic cualtica yectica in otechhualmohuiquilih. Auh ma zan no iuhqui quimonequiltiz techmocuepiliz in ompa otihuih in xipantzinco in totlahtohcauh Rey Emperador. Ma nozo tepitzin titocehuican. Huehca tihualtotocatiyahqueh. [6r]

[Quitlalizqueh?] in popochtli in ompa tepeticpac [?] inic motlancuaquetzazqueh.

[Quichiyazqueh?] in citlalin. Monohnotzazqueh. [?] Reyes.

CAPITÁN REYES: ¡Yoh! ¡Totecuiyoe, Diose, otitechmocnelilihtzinoh in otitechmopalehuilihtzinoh! In ye imman in ipan in moyohualtzin. Auh ca nican catqui ic nitlamana: tepitzin popochtli. In ica in ipampa in ic otihualtitlanoqueh, macamo xitechmocahuilih. ¡Yoh! Dios tetahtzine, ¿in campa ye neciz in mocitlalmachiyotzin?

IC CE VASALLOH: Ma iuhqui quimonequiltihtzino in ixquich ihuelitzin in Dios tetahtzin macamo techmocahuilih, inic ahmo tleh ma itlah in nican topan mochihuaz. Ma oc tictotemachilican in Dios tetahtzin.

Niman hualmonextiz in citlalin.

IC OME VASALLO: ¡Yoh! Totecuiyoe, Diose, ¿tleh ye nican topan mochihua? ¿Cuix yehhuatl inin in yancuic icitlalmachiyotzin in Dios tetahtzin? Ca huel cencah tlazohtlanqui. Inic flanextia in itonameyo, ca huel quimpanahua in ixquichtin in cicitlaltin.

CAPITÁN REYES: ¡Ca huel neltzin! ¡Ca melahuac! Ca yehhuatl inic otihualtitlanoqueh. ¿Cuix ahmo anquimottilih inin aic neci in itech in ilhuicatl inic cencah tlazohtlanqui inic mahuizauhqui? Ma niman tihuan in xipantzinco in huei tlahtoani, Rey Emperador, in iuhqui tictol[huilihqueh].

Niman hualquizaz Rey Emperador. [6v] Oncan ipan abciquihuih in [Capitán Reyes ihuan in Vasallos?]

CAPITÁN REYES: ¡Ma ximopaquiltihtiye, tlacatle, tlahtoanie! Inic otitechmihualih ca huel cualli inic otiquizatoh inic titlapiyatoh in tepeticpac, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, in titotlahtoatcatzin.

REY EMPERADOR: Tla xihualmohuicacan, in annotiahcahuan, in annopillohuan. Tla xinechnohnotzacan. ¿Auh quen oantlachiyatoh? ¿Quen oanquizatoh? Ma huel melahuacayotica xinechilhuican xinechnohnotzacan. In ahmo zan iztlacatilztahtolli niccaquiz.

CAPITÁN REYES: Ma xicmomachilti, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca in ihcuac otonahcotoh in itech in ompa in otitechmihualih, ca niman otitotlancuaquetzqueh, ca otictotlatlatlauhtilihqueh in Dios tetahtzin. Niman achihtonca oncan otitocehuihqueh. Auh zatepan in ohualnez in citlalin, in huel cencah tlazohtlanqui. In aic iuhqui oticmottilihtzinoh in ilhuicatitech, inic cencah tlanextia in nohuiyan cemanahuac in itonameyo.

REY EMPERADOR: Ahzo ca ahmo. Ahzo zan amiztlacatih in anquihtoah, in anechilhuiah in nican nixpan. Macamo zan iztlacatlahtolli xinechaquiztilican. Huel melahuacayotica xinechilhuican xinechnohnotzacan, in annomahuizyohuan.

IC CE VASALLOH: Ca ye nelli melahuac. Ca neltiliztli in timitztolhuiliah, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ca huel tixtelolohtica in otiquittaqueh in iuh ticmocaquiltihtzinoa. Ac timitztomachiltiah in titotlahtoatcatzin. Ca ahmo huelitiz timitztoztlacahuilizqueh. [7r]

IC OME VASALLOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ac timitztomachiltiah in titotlahtoatcatzin. Ca huel nelli melahuac in mochi in ticmocaquiltia in totlahtol. Ca otocnopiltic, ca otomahcehualtic, inic otiquittaqueh in icitlalmachiyotzin in Dios tetahtzin, in itlazohpiltzin inic quimonezcayotilia.

REY EMPERADOR: ¡Ca tel ye cualtzin! Otechmocnelilihtzinoh in Dios tetahtzin. In ye huehcauh in otocontemachihtinencah. Auh in axcan, ma cencah ic tictoyectenehuilican in Dios. Ihuan ma conmomachiltican, ma conmocaquiltican yehhuantzitzintin eyintin tlahtoahqueh. Ma xiquinnotzacan, ma nican hualmohuicacan. Ma huel hualmototoquiltican inic quimocaquiltiquihuih in tlahtolli.

IC CE VASALLOH: Ca tel ye cualtzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ma tiqintonochilitih in yehhuantin eyintin tlahtoahqueh. Ma conmocaquiltican in motlahtoatcatlahtoltzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

Niman quinnotzatihuiah in Reyestin. Tlatzohbtzonaloz. Hualquizazqueh motlalizqueh in ipan escaño. Yazqueh in Rey Emperador [ihuan Capitán Reyes?].

IC OME VASALLOH: Ma ximopaquiltihtiye in amehhuantzitzintin in ameixtitzintin in antlahtoahqueh. Ma cencah ic ximoyollalihtzinocan, [ca ye

onez¹] in yancuic in icitlalmachiyotzin in Dios tetahtzin ye ixquich cahuitl in anquimotemolihtinencah, in cencah mahuizauhqui inic tlanextia in itonameyo in nohuiyan cemanahuac, in antlahtohqueh.

SAN GASPAR: ;In iuhqui ontzin ca cencah otonopiltic otomahcehualtic! ;Ca tel ye cualtzin! Ma niman tihuian, ma tictottilitih in cencah huei [7v] tlahtoani in cencah in mahuiztiloni in Rey Emperador. Ma ximochihchiuhtzinocan. Ma tihuian in ompa in tinotzaloh. Ma niman ihciuhca tihuian.

SAN BALTASAR: Ca ye cualtzin. Ma niman tihuian, ma ticneltilitih in itlanahuatiltzin in tlahtoani Rey in ipampa inic tinotzaloh.

SAN MELCHOR: ;Ma ye cueleh! Ma niman ihciuhca tihuian, notlazohtiachcauhtzitzinhuane, inic ohualmotlatitlanih in huei tlahtoani inic otinotzalocoh in itechcopatzinco in Dios itlazohpiltzin inic onez in icitlaltzin.

Niman yazqueh in Reyestin. Ompa abnozo expa [tlayahualo?]zqueh tlapechco.

Tlapitzaloz. Zan [?] imixpan in Rey Emperador. Quinnahuatiz inic

quimotlahpalhuitihuh in tlazohpiltzintli ihuan inic yazqueh in Capitán Reyes ihuan in Vasallos.

CAPITÁN REYES: Ca ye ohualmohuicaqueh, in tiquimmonochilia, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, in eyixtin tlahtohqueh. Ca niman ihciuhca in ohualmohuicaqueh in otiquintanilitoh, tlahtoanie.

SAN GASPAR: Ma ximopaquiltihtiye, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. ;Cuix neltiliztli in tinechmonochilia? Ca otihuallaqueh, oticneltilicoh in motlahtohcatlahtoltzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. [8r]

REY EMPERADOR: Ma nican ammohuicatzeh, in amehhuantzitzintin in antlahtohqueh, in anreyestin. Ma xicmomachiltican ca in axcan ca ye onez in icitlaltzin in Dios tetahtzin, in yancuic in icitlalmachiyotzin, ca ye iuhqui quimihtalhuihtiyah, iuhqui quimotenehuilihtiyah in amachcoltzin in Balán profetah in omoyetzticatcah. Ca quimihtalhuihtiyah in ihcuac in neciz in huei citlalin ca ic ticmatizqueh in ca ye ohualmohuicac in cemanahuac in motemaquixtiliz in ca ye omotlacialih. Auh inin, ma niman nechihchihualo. Ma xicmotemolitih, xicmotlahpalhuitih in cemanahuac in tlazohteopiltzintli in campa ye omotlacialihtzinoh in ipan in altepetl. Ma ximotlahtlanihitihuian, ihuan zan yehhuatl xicmottilihtihuian in citlalin. In campa ye hualneciz, zan ompa ximohuicatihuan. Tla xihualmohuicacan in tehuatl in tinocapitan, ihuan in amehhuantzitzintin [in annovasallos²]. Ma xiquimmohuiquilican xiquimmoyacanilican in eixtitzintin tlahtohqueh in campa in mohuicazqueh.

¹ In Paso y Troncoso (1902:88).

² In Paso y Troncoso (1902:89).

In quimotemolitiuh in campā in omotlacatilihtzinoh. Auh no xictlahpalocan inic anechcaquiztiliquihuih, anechilhuiquihuih, amopaltzinco niccaquiz. ¡Ma huel ixquich amotlahpal xicmochihuilitiuhian!

SAN GASPAS: Ma mocenquizcayecteneuhtzino in itlazohmahuiztocatzin in Dios tetahtzin, inic onez in icitlalmachiyotzin, in yancuic tlamahuizolli, in iuh quimihtalhuihtiyah, in iuh quimotenehuilihtiyah in tachcocoltzin in omoyetzticatcah in Balán profetah. Ca oneltic, ca omochiuh in itlahtoltzin, in iuhqui in oquimihcuilhuihtiyah in ipan in teamoxtlahcuilolli. [8v]

SAN BALTASAR: Ca cencah otocnopiltic, otomahcehualtic, inic onez in icitlalmachiyotzin in cemanahuac in motemaquixtiliz in Dios in itlazohpiltzin, inic quimmotlanextiliz in cemanahuac tlahtlacoanimeh, in iuhqui in mixtecomac in tlayohuayan in nemih.

SAN MELCHOR: Notlazohtiahcauhztiztinhuane, ma huel tictocenquizcayectenehuilican in totecuiyo Dios. ¡Quemmach huel tocnopil, tomahcehual, [tolhuil?] inic topan, tomatiyā in onez in itlazohcitlaltzin in Dios tetahtzin! Auh ye ixquich cahuitl in oquimotemachiliyah in profetas in patriarcas, in ahmo in immahcehual omochiuh. Auh in axcan, tla xoconmottilican inic cencah tlazohtlanqui inic tlanextia in nohuiyan cemanahuac in icitlalmachiyotzin. Auh in axcan, ma ihciuhca ma ticcuitihuih in totlatlahpaloaya. Ca tel ye ic otillatecaqueh. [Ixquich oticchi?]uhqueh.

Calaquizqueh. Quicuitihuih in itlatlahpaloaya in [?] ye oncan mopixtimanih in caballos. Ce quihuicaz estandarte ihuan citlalin tlayaca. Teixpan polihuitiuh in citlalin in tecpan in ichan Herodes. Calaquiz Emperador. Nebnemizqueh.

SAN GASPAS: ¡Omochiuh ototlahueliltic! ¡Ca nican opolihuico in citlalin! Auh inin, ma oc nican titlahatlanican in ichantzinco in huei tlahtoani Herodes inic techmolhuiliz in campā in omotlacatilih in cemanahuac in tlahtoani moyetztiyez.

SAN MELCHOR: Ca huel melahuac in ticmotenehuilia, notlazohtiahcauhztine. Ihuan ca huel quimomachiltihticah, ca ialtepepantzinco. [9r]

SAN BALTASAR: Ca tel ye cualtzin, notlazohtiahcauhztine. Ma oc nican titlahatlanican inic ticmatizqueh in campā ye in tiyazqueh. Auh in tehhuatzin, Melchortzine, [?] acahme in inpan tahcitiuh in caltenco? Ma niman xitlahatlaniliz cuix oncan moyetzticah in tlahtoani, Herodes.

Niman contzohzonaz in Capitán Reyes. Hualquizaz Capitán Judíoh, quinhualhuicaz nahuintin Judíos. Oncan quinnobnotzaz. Tlatzohztionaloz. Quintlahatlaniz Melchor.

SAN MELCHOR: Nopiltzintzinhuane, tla namechnotlahatlanili, ¿cuix oncan moyetzticah in yehhuatzin in huei tlahtoani Herodes? Ma xitechmolhuilican amopaltzinco. Ca huel otihualihciuhitiahqueh inic otihualahqueh.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Oanquimihiyohuiltihqueh, yn antlahtohqueh. Ca oncan moyetzticah in tlahtoani. ¿Ahzo itlah in ipampa anquimotemoliah? Ma nicnolhuilih tlein ic anquimotemoliah. Huel iuh nicmati ca huel ammotequipachohtzinohtihuitzeh.

SAN GASPAR: Telpochtle, ca niman ahmo tehhuatl timitzilhuizqueh in tlein ic otihuallahqueh. Ca huel yehhuatzin tictolhuilizqueh in tohueinetequipachol.

[IC CE JUDÍOH]: Ca ye cualtzin. Ma niman tictolhuilitih in yehhuatzin in tohueitlahtohcatzin, in Rey Herodes inic oanhualmohuicaticyahqueh, inic anquimotemoliah, in amehhuantzitzintin in antlahtohqueh.

[IC OME JUDÍOH³]: Ma oc nican xinechmochiyalican in antlahtohqueh. Ma oc tictolhuilitih in amotlahtoltzin.

SAN BALTASAR [9v]: Ca ye cualtzin, telpochtle. Ma oc nican tamechtochiyalican. Ma xicmolhuilitih in tlahtoani inic tictotemoliah.

Hualquizaz Herodes. Connamiquiquiuh in yaocapitán Judíoh, quihualyacanzqueh in Judíos. Tlatzobtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín. Intla o[motlalih in ipan?] in itlahtohcaicpal, itlan momanatihuih in itla[cobhuan?].

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, aqui queh in ohuallahqueh tlahtohqueh? Ca eyintin. Ca ic ninomati ca huehca tlah, tlah, tlah, tlahtoanie. Ca huel iuh neztiuitzeh ca huel huei in innetequipachol inic o[huallahqueh?].

HERODES: ¿Auh aqui queh on? ¿Tlein quinequih? Tla xiquintlahtlanican campa chanehqueh, campa in ohuallahqueh. Tla xiquinnohnotzacan, ma nican hualhuian. Niquintlahtlaniz tlein ic ohuallahqueh, tlein ic in innetequipachol inic nentlamattihuitzeh.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca ye cualtzin. (*Capitán Judíoh quinnotzatiuh.*)

Ammihiyocahualtiah, ammociammiquiltiah, in antlahtohqueh. Ca conmoqaquiltih in amihiyotzin in amotlahtoltzin in yehhuatzin in tlahtoani Herodes. Conmihtalhuih, xiquintlahtlanican, ¿campa in ohuallahqueh? ¿canin in inchan? Ma xiquintlahtlanican.

SAN GASPAR: Telpochtle, ma xitechmolhuililih in yehhuatzin in huei tlahtoani, ca ompa in otihuallahqueh in ipan in huei altepetl in oriente, in iquizayampa in tonatiuh.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca ye cualtzin. Ma iuhqui nicnolhuilih in tohueitlahtohcatzin Herodes. [10r] (*Yaz. Quilhuitiuh Herodes Capitán Judíoh.*) Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca oniquintlahtlanih. Ca quihtoah, “ca ompa in otihuallahqueh in oriente, in iquizayampa in tonatiuh.”

³ In the Metepec text this and the preceding speech are made by Capitán Judíoh. The text from Tlatelolco gives them to 1 Judíoh and 2 Judíoh. We do this here as it makes more sense to have two different speakers.

HERODES: In iuhqui on. Ca ye cualli. Ma hualhuian. Nican xiquinnotzacan. Ca nican niquintlahtlaniz.

IC EYI JUDÍOH: ¡Ma nican ammohuicatzeh! Ca amechmonochilia in huei tlahtoani Herodes.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Ammociammiquiltiah in antlahtohqueh. Ca huel ihciuhca in amechmonochilia. Ca huel mocualanaltia in totlahtohcatzin, in Rey Herodes, inic nican [ixpan?] oanhualmohuicaqueh.

SAN BALTASAR: Ca tel ye cualtzin. Ma tihuian. Ma tictottilitih in tlahtoani. Ma tictocaquiztilitih, ma tictixpantilitih in tlein tonetequipachol, inic tihuallahqueh.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: ¿Auh aquin in anquimotemolihtihuitzeh, in nican in oanhualmohuicaqueh, in antlahtohqueh? Ma xitechmolhuilican, inic no tamechtolhuilizqueh in ahzo ticmatih in ac yehhuatl in anquimotemolihtihuitzeh.

SAN MELCHOR: Telpochtle, ca ahmo zan acah in tictotemolihtihuitzeh. Ca huel yehhuatzin in cemanahuac in tlahtoani, in techmomaquixtiliz ihuan motemaquixtiliz in cemanahuac, inic tictoneltoquitizqueh in ca nelli ca ixquich in ihuelitzin. In quin omotlacatilihtzinoh.

Yaz. Quilbuitiuh Capitán Judíoh in Herodes. [10v]

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, in iuhqui in onimitznolhuilih, in iuh quihtoah: quilmach ompa ichan in oriente, in iquizayampa in tonatiuh, ihuan quilmach quitemohtihuitzeh aquin quin otlacat. Quilmach cemanahuac tlahtoani yez, in iuh quihtoah, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

HERODES: ¿Auh aquin inon quin otlacat, in cemanahuac tlahtoani yez? ¿Auh cuix ahmo quimatih in ca nehhuatl in cemanahuac in nitlahtoani? In ayac aquin [niuhqui?] in nehhuatl. In ayac aquin yn nechnehnehuilia in ipan huei altepetl in Jerusalén, in nican noconpicticah.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca huel melahuac in ticmotenehuilia, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ca niman ayac aquin in mitzmonehnehuililiz. Ma tiquinnotzacan.

Yazqueh in ixpan in Herodes in Reyestín. Tlatzohztzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.

IC CHICUACE JUDÍOH: Ma nican ammohuicatzeh in antlahtohqueh. Ma nican ixpantzinco xihualmohuicacan in yehhuatzin in huei tlahtoani, Herodes. Ma xicmolhuilican in amonetequipachol.

SAN GASPASAR: Ma ximopaquiltihtiye tlacatle, tlahtoanie, in timehuiltihticah. Ca nican mopantzinco otonquizacoh in ipan in maltepetzin. In ahzo ticmomachiltia in campa in omotlacatilih in cemanahuac in tlahtoani, [11r] in itlazohmahuizpiltzin in Dios tetahtzin, inic onez in icitlalmachiyotzin.

HERODES: Izcatqui oanquimihiyohuiltiqueh, yn antlahtohqueh. ¿Aquin in anquimotemoliah? ¿Quenin aquin quin otlacat? Ma huel melahuac

xinechmolhuilican inic oanhualmohuicaqueh in nican in nixpan in ammotlahtlanihitihuitzeh, in nican in ipampa ammotlamachtihitihuitzeh. In ammociammiquiltiah. Ma niccui, ma niccaqui in amihiyotzin, in amotlahtoltzin, in ammahuiztililonih, in anReyestín, in antlahtohqueh.

SAN BALTASAR: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma xicmomachiltihztino, ca yehhuatzin in tictotemoliah in cemanahuac in tlahtoani. ¿Canin omotlacatilihtzinoh? Ca otictotlahpalhuicoh, ca otictoteotihztinocoh. Auh ca otechhualyacatiah centetl huei citlalin, ca imachiyo, ca inezca, ca inic omotlacatilihtzinoh. Auh ca zan nican in otoconpolocoh, inic tlahtlaniliztli in toconchihuah in mixpantzinco, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

HERODES: Ca ahmo nicmati in aquin in anquimotemoliah in antlahtohqueh. Ca tel ye cualtzin. Ma oc nitlahtlani. Ma oc ximocehuihtzinocan achitzinca. Ma oc ximocalaquican. Ma niman axcan quinnotztihuetziti in teopixcatlahtohqueh, inic yehhuantin techilhuizqueh, techmelahuilizqueh.

SAN MELCHOR: Ca tel ye cualtzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ma oc nican tepitzin mopaltzinco titocehuican. Ac timitztomachiltihztino, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

Calaquizqueh in Reyestín. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín. Tlanahuatiz inic quinnotzatihuih in tlamatinimeh, in teopixqueh.

HERODES [11v]: Tla xihualmohuican, in annotiahcahuan. Tla

xiquinhualmonochilihtihuetziti in tlamatinimeh, in teopixcatlahtohqueh. Ma quihualhuicacan in inteomox. Ca nican niquntlahtlaniz in aquin in otlatcat. In ahzo nelli in cemanahuac tlahtoani. Cuix ipan cah, cuix ipan ihcuiliuhticah in teomoxtli? Ma nican quihualhuicacan nixpan inic niccaquiz quipohuaquihuih. Xiquimmilhuilican ca nican moyetztcateh in tlahtohqueh in quimmochiyaliah.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca ye cualtzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ma tihuan, ma tiquinnotzatih in yehhuantin in teopixcatlahtohqueh, in tlamatinimeh, inic ihciuhca nican huallazqueh, inic quihualhuicazqueh inteomox, inic quitemoquihuih in tlamahuizolli [in omochi?]uh, inic onez in citlalin.

Niman yazqueh, quinnotzatihuih in teopixqueh. [?]ilcazqueh in teomoxtli.

Hualquizazqueh in teopixqueh. Ipan onahciquihuih in Capitán Judíoh.

Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ma ximopaquiltihyecan, in anteopixcatlahtohqueh. Ca nican amohuictzinco otihualtitlanoqueh.

IC CE TEOPIXQUI: ¿Ac tehhuatl in nican otihualah? ¿Tlein ticnequi, ihuan in otiquinhualhuicac? Ma xitechilhuican, ma ticcaquican in tlein amonetitlaniz inic oanhualahqueh in nican tochan.

- IC CHICUACE JUDÍOH: Ca inic nican in tihualtitlanoqueh, ma xicmomachiltican. Ca nican catqui in tonetitlaniz. Ca amechmonochilia [12r] in huei tlahtoani Herodes.
- IC CE JUDÍOH: Ma xicmomachiltican ca quimihtalhuia in yehhuatzin in huei tlahtoani Herodes, “ma huel xitotocacan, ma xiquinhualnotztiuhetzitih in tlamatinimeh. Ma quihualhuicacan in teamoxтли. Ca nican niquintlahtlaniz in tlein nonetequipachol.”
- CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ma huel ihciuhca tihuiian. Ma ximihcihuiltican, ca huel ihciuhca in otihtlanoqueh. Ma xoconmocuilican in teamoxтли.
- IC OME TEOPIXQUI: Ca tel ye cualtzin. Ma tihuiian. Ma tictotilitih in huei tlahtoani, Herodes. Ahzo oncan itlah in inetequipachol. Ma timochintin tihuiian, in titeopixcahuan in tlahtoani, Herodes.
- IC EYI TEOPIXQUI: Ma tihuiian timochintin. Ma toconcuilhucian in toteamox cemeh inic tiquittazqueh in tlein titlahtlanilozqueh, in tleh quimotequipachilhuia in totlahtohcatzin, Herodes.
- IC NAHUI TEOPIXQUI: Ma tihuiian. Ca nican toconpixticateh in quimotlahtlanilia in tlahtoani, Herodes, in teamoxtlahcuilolli. Ma tichuicacan. *Niman yazqueh in ixpan in Herodes. Tlatzohztzonaloz.*
- CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca ohuahmohuicaqueh in tiqimmonochilia in huehhueintin in teopixcatlahtohqueh. Ca oticneltitoh in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin, tlahtoanie.
- HERODES: Tla xihualhuian, in amehhuantin in antlamatinimeh, in anteopixqueh. ¿Quen anquimatih ihuan quen anquittah in ipan teamoxтли? ¿Campa ye ihcuiliuhticah? ¿Campa ye mac[hiyotihti?]cah? ¿Cuix ye neltiliztli in aquin omotlacatilih in cemanahuac in tlahtoani, in intlahtohcauh yez in Judiosmeh? ¿Campa in chiyalo? Yeceh nehhuatl in niquihtoa ca zan nocel in cemanahuac in nitlahtoani. Auh inin, in tlatatiz, ¿quen anquihtoah, quen anquimatih? Ca yehhuatl inic onamechnotzatoh, inic oamechanatoh, yn annoteopixcahuan. [12v]
- IC CE TEOPIXQUI: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca ye cualtzin. Ma oc tictemocan in ipan teamoxтли ca oncan neciz in ac yehhuatl in omotlacatilih, in iuhqui in ticmotenehuilia, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. *Motlalizqueh. Ipan mesah conmahmanazqueh in intoamox. Cecenyacah tlapohuazqueh. Tlatzohztzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.*
- IC NAHUI TEOPIXQUI: Ma huel ixquich amotlahpaltzin ximochihuilican. Ma huel cecenyacah xicmottilihtihuiian in teamoxтли inic huel ihciuhca neciz inic titlahtlaniloh.

- IC CE TEOPIXQUI: Tla xihualmohuicacan. Ma xicmotemolican in ipan in teamoxtlahcuillo. Ma tiquittacan campa in ihcuiliuhticah in quimotequipachilhuia in tlahtoani Herodes.
- IC OME TEOPIXQUI: Ca inon ticmotenehuilia, ca yehhuatl in ye huehcauh in tictemachihtinemih. Ma tictemocan in ipan in ixquich teamoxtlahcuillo. In oncan tllipachiuhtoc, in ihcuiliuhtoc.
- IC EYI TEOPIXQUI: ¿Quen ticmottilah in teamoxtli? In nican niquitta ca ye nelli melahuac in omotlacatilih in cemanahuac in motemaquixtiliz, in huei tlahtoani moyetztiyez.
- IC NAHUI TEOPIXQUI: Tla xicmottili, notlazohtiachcauhtzine, in iuh quihtoanican ca ye nelli melahuac inic neciz centetl huei citlalin machiyotl. In inezca mochihuaz, in octacatl machiyotl inic motlacatiliz in cemanahuac piltzintli, inic quimotlahpalhuitihuih in Reyestin, eyintin tlahtoqqueh.
- IC CE TEOPIXQUI: Ma conmomachilti in huei tlahtoani in ca onez in canin in omotlacatilih in tlazohpiltzintli, inic onez in inezca, in icitlaltzin, in tlazohtlanqui.
- IC OME TEOPIXQUI: [13r] Notlazohtiachcauhtzine, ca no iuhqui niquitta nican ipan in teamoxtli in ca yehhuatzin in quimotlacatiliz in ichpochtli in María, imichpochtzin in intoca Ana ihuan Joaquín. Itechtzinco in motlacatiliz in cemanahuac in motemaquixtiliz ihuicpa in tlahueliloc.
- Niman quitlatzinizqueh in mesab. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Yazqueh. Quinohnotzatihuih in Herodes.*
- IC CE TEOPIXQUI: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma xicmomachilti ca ye otiquitqueh. Ca nican in ihcuiliuhticah ca nelli melahuac in omotlacatilih in cemanahuac tlahtoani. In ca ompa in motlacatilih in ipan in altepetl Nazaret, in ixtlahuacan nepantlah in Belén, in iuh quihtohtehuaqueh in ye huehcauh profetas in Jeremías, in Moisés, in Abraham, [in David?], in iuhqui in ticmocaquitihtzino, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.
- HERODES: Ma ihui. Ca ye cualli. Ca ic noyollo pachihui. Ma xinechilhuican, ¿campa in omotlacatilih in tlahtoani in ipan in altepetl? Ma ximohuicatihuan. Auh in amehhuantin, ¿cuix nelli melahuac in oanquittaqueh in ipan in teamoxtli?
- IC OME TEOPIXQUI: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca ye otoconmocaquiltih inic otitechonmonochilih. Auh inin, ma oc achitzin timitztotlalcahuilican, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ca ye tiyahuih in timoteopixcatzitzinhuian.
- IC EYI TEOPIXQUI: Ca huel nelli melahuac. Ca oncan ihcuiliuhtoc, ca oncan tllipachiuhtoc in ipan in amoxtlahcuillo, tlahtoanie.

IC NAHUI TEOPIXQUI: Ca mochi melahuac neltiliztli in timitztolhuiliah, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie. Ca oticonnelticoh in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin [13v] in timoteopixcahuan, inic tictemoqueh in tlein omitzmotequipachilhuiaya in titohueitlahtohcatzin, Rey Herodes.

Yazqueh in teopixqueh. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mocahuaz in Herodes. Mopitzaz clarín.

HERODES: Ma xiquimmonochilican in yehhuantzitzintin in eyintin tlahtohqueh. Ma nican hualmohuicacan inic quimocaquiltiquihuih in notlahtol in iuhqui in oniccac in tlahtolli.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca tel ye cualtzin, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie. Ma tiqintonochilitih in eyintin tlahtohqueh, in reyestín.

Hualquiazqueh in reyestín. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Tla xihualmohuicacan in amehhuantzitzintin, in antlahtohqueh. Ca amechmonochilia in yehhuatzin in huei tlahtoani Herodes. Ca ye onez in tlahtolli.

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ma amocxitzin xiconmanilican in antlahtohqueh in anreyestín. Ma tictottilitih in tlahtoani, Herodes. Ca huel ihciuhca in amechmonochilia. Ma techahhuatin amopampatzinco in antlahtohqueh.

SAN BALTASAR: Ca ye ic ompa tiyatihuiah inic tictottilizqueh in tlahtoani, Herodes, ca ye tihuehcahuah nican.

Niman yazqueh in Reyestín in ixpan in Herodes. Mopitzaz clarín.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ca ye hualmohuicaqueh in tiquinnochilia, in eyintin tlahtohqueh, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie.

HERODES: Tla xihualmohuicacan, in antlahtohqueh. Ca cencah namechnotlatlatlauhtilia, tla xinechmolhuilican, ¿ye quexquich cahuitl in oanquimottilihqueh in icitlalmachiyotzin in cemanahuac tlahtoani in quin omotlacatilih? [14r]

SAN GASPASAR: Tlatcatle, tlahtoanie, ca ye ic mahtlaquilhuitl omeyi in otiquittaqueh in icitlalmachiyotzin in Dios in itlazohpiltzin, tlahtoanie.

HERODES: Ca ye cualtzin. Ximohuicatihuan, ompa ximotlamelahuahaltihthiuan in ipan in altepetl in Nazaret, in ipan ixtlahuatl in Belén, in itech pohui in huei altepetl Judea. Ca ompa in omotlacatilih in anquimotemoliah. Auh intla oanquimittilihqueh, intla oanquimotlahpalhuitoh in tlahtoani, in tlazohpiltzintli, ma amopaltzinco niccaquiz inic no nehhuatl niyaz, nicnotlahpalhuitiuh, canel tlahtoani in ohualmohuicac. Nicnotlahpalhuitiuh, nicnoteotituih in ompa in campa omotlacatilihtzinoh in tlahtoani.

SAN BALTASAR: Ca tel ye cualtzin, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie. Ma ompa titlamelahuacan in Belén inic ompa tictottilitihuih in cemanahuac in motlahtohcatiliz.

SAN MELCHOR: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma iuhqui ticneltlican in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin. Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma nican tiquizazqueh. In ihcuac in titocuepazqueh, inic pachihuiz in moyollotzin quen tiquizatihuiz. *Niman yazqueh calaquizqueh in Judiostin. Oncan mocahuazqueh in Reyestin. Niman yazqueh in Reyestin. Occeppa hualmonextiz in citlalin. Yazqueh, tlahlahpalotihuiz. Tlatzohtzonaloz ihuan mopitzaz clarín. Capitan Reyes [ihuan] Vasallos tlayacanazqueh. Oncan monotzazqueh.*

SAN GASPAR: [14v] ¡Otlacauhqui in iyollotzin in Dios tetahtzin inic occeppa onez in icitlalmachiyotzin in Dios! Ma occeppa tictocatihuian. Tla xicmottlican inic cencah tlatzohtlanqui in icitlaltzin in ixquich ihuelitzin in Dios.

SAN BALTASAR: Otechmocnelilih in totecuiyo Dios, inic occeppa otechmomaquilih in inezcayotzin, in toteyacancatzin. Ma tictocatihuian, notlazohtlachcauhtzine, in icitlalmachiyotzin Dios.

SAN MELCHOR: Ma iuhqui in itlazohtlanequiliztzin in Dios tetahtzin, notlazohtlachcauhtzitzinhuane. ¡Ma ixquich amotlahpaltzin! Ma tictocatihuian.

CAPITÁN REYES: Ma oc tictoyectenehuilican in Dios ixquich ihuelitzin, inic occeppa oquimonextilih in icitlalmachiyotzin. Ma quimonequiltiz inic aocmo oc ceppa ticpolotihuiz.

IC CE VASALLOH: Ma iuhqui quimonequiltihtzinoz in Dios inic cualtica inic yectica tahcitihuiz in Belén, in iuhqui in otihuiloqueh.

IC OME VASALLOH: Ca cencah tlatzohtlanqui, ca cencah mahuiztic in topan mochihua, inic occeppa in onez in icitlaltzin in Dios tetahtzin. Ma tiyahtihuian, in antlahtohqueh.

Inin tlah tolli oncan tlamiz in icaltempan in Herodes. In yazqueh in Reyestin, niman hualquiaz in Herodes. Quihualyacanazqueh in Capitán Judíoh [ihuan occequintin Judiosmeh]. Hualmohuipantiyazqueh. Cencah cualaniz inic tlah toz. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín. Tlah toz Herodes. [15r]

HERODES: Ca in axcan ca cencah tonehua chichinaca in nix in noyollo in itechcopa in aquin in otlacat. Ahzo nelli in intlahtohcauh yez in Judiosmeh. ¿Auh cuix ahmo nehhuatl in in cemanahuac in nitlah toani? Auh in axcan, tla xihualhuian in amehhuantin, ihuan in tehhuatl in tinocapitán. ¿Quen anquihtoah, tiahcahuane? In cencah in anchichicahuaqueh. In niman axcan ximoyaochihchihuacan in ammochintin. Ca in axcan ca mochihuaz in yancuic tlah tolli. Quilmach cemanahuac tlah toani yez in quin otlacat. ¡Auh in axcan ca niquihtoah ca nicmictiz! Notlanequiliztica mochihuaz. Auh in axcan, ma xictemotih in ompa in Belén, in itech pohui in huei altepetl Nazaret.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca ye cualtzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ma tihuian, ma ticneltilitih in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin. Ma tiquincaquiztilitih in moyaoquizcatzitzinahuan. Ca cencah chichicahuaqueh, in tlahpaltiqueh.

Yaz in Capitán. Quinnotzatiuh in Judíos. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tla xihualmohuicacan in anyaotiahcahuan. Tla xicmomachiltican ca iuhqui in onilhuiloc, onicaquitiloc in itechcopa in aquin in otlacat quilmach cemanahuac tlahtoani yez ihuan intlahtocauh yez in Judiosmeh. Cencah tecualanilh tetequipachoh inin tlahtolli. ¿O quenin anquittah? Tla xinechnanquilican in iuhqui in namechcaquiztilia in tlahtolli. [15v]

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ca inon titechmocaquiztililia macamo mitzmotequipachilhui. Ca toconchixticateh in ihiyotzin, in itlahtoltzin, in totlahtohcatzin, Herodes.

IC EYI JUDÍOH: Ca inon titechmocaquiztililia, macamo mitzmotequipachilhui. Ca cencah ic tipahpaquih in ticcaquih inon tlahtolli. In nican ticateh in timochintin, ma tihuian, ma ticneltilican, tocnihuane, in tlahtohcatlanahuatilli.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Ca inon otontocaquiltihqueh in ihiyotzin, in itlahtoltzin, in tlahtoani Herodes. Ma tihuian, ma ticneltilitih itlanahuatiltzin.

In Judíos yazqueh.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca ye ohuالمohuicahqueh in tiqimmonochilia in moyaoquizcatzitzinahuan, tlahtoanie.

Niman oncan tlatzontequiz Herodes, ihuan quinnotzatiuh in Escribanoh. Quitlaliz in sentenciah. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín.

HERODES: Tla xihualhuian. Huel namechtlacauhnhuati inic mochintin anquimmictizqueh in pipiltotontin. Ayac, mah ce acah, anquicahuaqueh, inic mochintin mihmiquizqueh: in moquehquetzah, in mohuilanah, in manel huel oc tehtepitzin. Tla xihuallauh in tehhuatl in tiescribanoh. Niman axcan oncan on xictlali in notlahtohcatlanahuatil, in insentenciah in Judea tlacah, inic quicaquizqueh in intlatzontequililoca inic mochintin mihmictilozqueh in inpilhuan. In nehhuatl in nitlanahuatia Rey Herodes. [16r]

ESCRIBANO: Ca ye cualtzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie. Ma nictlali in motlahtocatlanahuatiltzin, in iuhqui in tinechmonahuatilia, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

Quitlaliz Escribanoh sentenciah. Intla oquitlalib, zatepan quicaquiztiliz. In niman quimacaz in Capitán inic quihuicazqueh. Tlatzohtzonaloz. Mopitzaz clarín. Sentenciah [quibcuiloz] Escribano.

[HERODES⁴]: Nican in ipan in huei altepetl in Jerusalén inic nitlanahuatih ihuan nocualaniztica niqumixnahuatih in Judea tlacah, inic ompa niquintitlani

⁴ Probably Herod would speak these lines while Escribano writes.

in noyaotiahcahuan inic mochintin quimmictizqueh in inpilhuan: in moquehquetzah, in mohuilanah, in manel quin otlatcat. Ihuan in aquin in inpan tlahtoz no tehuan mictiloz. Inin ca huel neltiz mochihuaz in notlahtohatlanahuatil. In nican nictzontequi in teuctlahtoloyan in Jerusalén, inic mochintin in mihmiquizqueh in pipiltotontin, inic no tehuan in oncan in miquiz in quin otlatcat, in cemanahuac in tlahtoani yez ihuan in ahzo nelli temaquixtiz. In huel ica ipampa in motlalia inin tetlatzontequiliztlahtolli. In nehhuatl in Rey Herodes in nican in Jerusalén, inic ayac aquin in quipanahuiz in notetlatzontequiliztlahtol, inic mochicauhtiyaz in nocapitán ihuan in ocequintin in notiahcahuan, inic niquimmaca in nohueliliztlahtol, inic ayac aquin quixnamiquiz quixitiniz in nosentenciah. In nican in ipan in huei altepetl in Jerusalén in omihcuiloh in miquiztetlatzontequiliztli. [16v]

ESCRIBANO: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca ye onictlalih in motlahtohatlanahuatiltzin. Ma xicmocaquiltihtzino. Ma nicpohua in sentenciah.

Quipohuaz.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca inon in ticcaquih, inon tlahtolli, ca cencah ic titoyollaliah in tlahtohatlanahuatilli.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Ca ye otoconcacqueh in itlahtohatlanahuatiltzin in huei tlahtoani, Herodes. Ma niman titoyaochihchihuacan in timochintin.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ma oc tihuian. Ma oc ticalaquican inic titoyaochihchihuihuah, ihuan in ocequintin in tiquinnotzatih.

Mochintin calaquizqueh. Tlatzohetzonaloz. Tlahtozqueh in Reyestín in oncan in teopancaltenco.

SAN BALTASAR: ¡Tla xoconmottilican! Ca ye itech tonahcitiuhuih in ompa cah in citlalin.

SAN MELCHOR: ¡Ca huel neltzin! ¡Ca melahuac! Iuhquinmah zan xahcaltzintli in itech neztica in citlalin. ¡Tla nel xoconmottilican!

SAN GASPAR: Notlazohteicauhtiztinhuan, ca nechca moyetzticah in cenquizcacualli ichpochtzintli. Zan quimonapalhuitzinohticah in itlahzohmahuizcenteconetzin. Ma niman cecenyacah titlatlahpalozqueh. Titotlancuaquetazqueh inic tictomaquilizqueh in totlatlahpaloya, in ticehcemeh.

SAN BALTASAR: Ma iuhqui mochihuaz in motlanequiliztzin, [17r] notlazohtiachcauhtzine.

SAN MELCHOR: Ma yacachtopa timotlahlapalhuiz ipampa ca titotiachcauhtzin, inic zatepan in titlahlapalozqueh.

Niman onahcizqueh. Onmotlancuaquetzaz in San Gaspar. Quihtoz in oración.

SAN GASPAR: Oticmihiyohuiltih otimociahuiltih in titlazohpiltzintli in tichalchihuilt. In nican in ixtlahuacan nepantlah in otimotlacatilihtzinoh in xahcaltzinco, in ticozcatl in tiquetzalli. In ahmo zan tacah. ¡In cemanahuac titlahtoani! Ca nican nictennamiqui in momatzin in mocxitzin. Auh ca omochiuh in intlahtoltzin in machcolhuan in profetas. In oquimachtopaihtalhuihtehuaqueh inic timotlacatilihtzinoz in nican in ixtlahuacan nepantlah, in ceuiztli in iehuayan, in cuacuahuehqueh in caballosmeh in intlacuayan, in ehecatl in imoquetzayan. In oncan otimotlalticpacquixtico. In tintlanex, in timocouh, in timochiuhtzinoz cemanahuac tlach. Ca ye nechca patlantihuih in tlahtohqueh in profetas: in David, in Abraham, in Moisés, in Jeremías, in Isaac. Ca oconcauhtehuaqueh ca oconquetztehuaqueh in cacaxtli in tlamamalli, in etic in ayehualiztli in ahmo ixnamiquiliztli. ¿Quen oc huallamatih in imicampa in intepotzco? Auh inin, tlatle, tlahtoanie, ma ximotlacohtilih ma ximotequitilih. Auh in axcan, ¿tlein nimitznomaquiliz? Ca nimotlachihualtzin. Auh ca nican catqui tepitzin coztic [17v] teocuitlatl ihuan iztac teocuitlatl. Auh yeceh ca motlazohpatiuhtzin mochiuaz in ihcuac titechmomaquixtiliz. Auh ca zan ye ixquich inic nictlahpaloa in momatzin in mocxitzin, tlazohteopiltzine. Cihuapile, ichpochtzintle, otimociahuiltihtzinoh, in nican in otimotlacachihuiltihztzinoh, in nican in ixtlahuacan nepantlah, in mamazah in intlacuayan, in ceuiztli in iehuayan, in ticemihcac tichpochtzintli. In nican in otimotlacatilihtzinoh in cencah in chipahuacatzintli in tlazohteopiltzintli. ¡Ma ixquich in motlahpaltzin! ¡Ma xicmocuitlahuihtzino, tlazohehuapile!

Motlaholtiz nuestra señora.

NUESTRA SEÑORAH: Otlaox in moyollotzin, Gaspartzin, inic oanquimotlahpalhuicoh in notlazohconetzin. Ca nelli ca melahuac in cemanahuac in motlahtohcataliz. In ca ye oquihtohtehuaqueh in profetas in patriarcas inic motlacatilihtzinoz in imocouh, in intlanex, in mochiuhtzinoz in cemanahuac in tlahtlacoanimeh. In iuh quimotenehuiltiuh in profetah David, in ca nican ixtlahuacan nepantlah in motlacatilihtzinoz. Auh ca oncan in molhuil in momahcehual in mitzmonemactilihtzinoah in notlazohcenteconetzin ca ahmo ticmociahuiliz in motech monequiz ihuan in mopilhuan yezqueh, in iuhqui in tichuenchihua, in ticmomaquilia, in coztic in iztac teocuitlatl. Ca mitzmotlacuepcayotiliz in notlazohconetzin, Gaspartzin.

SAN BALTASAR: Tlatle, tlahtoanie, totecuiyoe, tlazohtle, chalchihuite, maquiztle quetzalitztle, in nican in otihualmohuicac. In nican mitzhualmihualih in motlazohtahtzin Dios tetahtzin, in tloqueh nahuaqueh, in ipalnemoani, in intlatecpan in machcohcolhuan in profetas. Ihuan in quin iz mohuicatihuih in

David in Abraham. In achitzinca in oconmotlanehuiqueh [18r] in atl in tepetl in iuhqui in aoc ixeh in aoc iyollo in atl in tepetl in Jerusalén. Auh nican in omitzonmocahuililihtehuaqueh in cacaxtli, in mamaloni, in etic, in ayehualiztli, in ahmo ixnamiquiliztli. In tonehuiztli in chichinaquiliztli mopantzinco mochihuaz. Auh inin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma xinechmotlapopolhuilih, ca nimotlachihualtzin. ¿Tleh nimitznomaquiliz? Ca nican catqui tepitzin tlazohpahatl inic motechtzinco monequiz in ihcuac mitzmotequilizqueh in cenquizcatepetlacialco ihuan in iztac canahuac tilmahztin inic mitzmotlapachilhuililizqueh in mocenquizcacualnacayotzin. Auh inin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma ximotlacohtilih, ma ximotequitilih, totecuiyoe. Auh ca zan ixquich inic nictlahpaloa in momatzin in mocxitzin. In popoloni in tzatzacui in notlahtol, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

Ichpochtle, Dios itlazohmahuiznantzine, icnohuahcatzintle, mocenquizatetlaocolilanie, ca ahtle tlahtlacolli motechtzinco onez. Ca timocenquizti[ca inic ti]chipahuacatzintli. Ca motechtzinco cenquiztoc in graciah. Otitechmocepanicnelilih in titlalticpac titlalah. In ilhuicac in tiescalerah in timochiuhztinoh. ¡Ma ixquich in motlahpaltzin, cenquizcaichpochtzintle! ¡Ma xiconmocuitlahuihtzinoh in tlazohpiltzintli!

NUUESTRA SEÑORAH: Oticmocnelilihtzinoh in notlazohcenteconetzin, Baltasartzin, inic oamechhualmohuiquilih in itlazohtahtzin in Santísima Trinidad in nican in ixtlahuacan nepantlah in oc nicnotlacatilihtzinoh. In iuhqui melahuac in oconmocahuililihtehuaqueh in cacaxtli, in mamaloni, in cemanahuac tlahtlacolli, in etic, in ayehualiztli, in ahmo ixnamiquiliztli. In ca yehuatzin quimomamaliz in intlahtlacolpalehuiloca in cemanahuac tlahtlacoanimeh. Auh timotolinia, ¡ma ixquich motlahpal xicchihua! In quemmaniyan [18v] tipaquiz, in quemmaniyan timotoliniz. Ihuan in motechcopa in quizazqueh, yolizqueh, in tlatatizqueh in mopilhuan in yezqueh. Yecch ca mochipa ticmonochiliz ticmotlatlauhtiliz in oticmotlahpalhuihtzinoco, in notlazohcenteconetzin. ¡Ma ixquich motlahpal xicchihua, Baltasartzin!

SAN MELCHOR: Noteotzine, notlahtohtatzine, oticmihiyohuiltihtzinoh oticmociahuiltihtzinoh tlazohteopiltzintle. In nican in otimotalticpacquixtico, in nican in ixtlahuacan nepantlah in cequiztli in iehuayan. In tichalchihuitl, in ahmo zan tacah. In ticemanahuac titlahtoani, in iuhquin in oquimihtalhuihtehuaqueh in machcocholhuan in profetas. In huel yehhuatzin Dios in oquimmocamatlapolhuilh inic oquimotenehuilhihtiyahqueh in timotlacatilihtzinoh. In ca ahmo zan iztlacatlahtolli in oquimitalhuihtehuaqueh. ¡Ca oneltic, ca omochiuh! Auh inin, ca nictennamiqui in momatzin in mocxitzin. Intlacamo iuhqui in niquihto, ma xinechmotlapopolhuilhihtzinoh

in popoloni in tzatzacui inin nitlahtoa, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, inic mixtzinco mocpactzinco nitlachiya, in nimotlachihualtzin. ¿Tlen ic nimitznotlahpalhuiz? Ca nican catqui tepitzin inciensos in popochtztintli, in inezca mochihuaz in tlalticpac in motlamaquixtiltzitzinhuan yezqueh inic mochipa momoztlaeh inic mitzmotlatlauhtilizqueh in mitzmotlahuenmanilizqueh in motlazohipantzinco. Auh inin, ma oc achitzinca toconmotlatequipanilhuliliz in motlazohtahtzin, Dios. Auh ca zan ye ixquich inic nictennamiqui in momatzin in mocxitzin, tlacatle, tlahtoanie, tlazohteopiltzintle.

Tlazohcihuapile, ichpochtle, icnohuacatzintle, motetlaocoliliane, oticmociahuiltihtzinoh in nican ixtlahuacan nepantlah, in mamazah in cuacuahuehqueh intlacuayan, in oncan in oticmotlacatilihiltzinoh [19r] in cenquizcachipahuacatzintli, in motlazohteconetzin, in ilhuicac yollohtli. Ma ticmochicahuilihtzino in motlazohtconetzin, tlazohcihuapile, ichpochtzintle. Ca zan ye ixquich inic nictlahpaloa in momatzin in mocxitzin, tlazohcihuapile.

NUESTRA SEÑORAH: Otiquihyohuieh oticiauh, Melchortzine, inic oanhualmohuicaqueh, inic ticmoteotihltzinoco in huel nelli melahuac in ilhuicac yollotzintli, inic nican omotlacatilihiltzinoh in xacaltzinco in ceuczitli in iehuayan, in ahtleh in itlatzacuillo, in ixtlahuanepantlah, in oncan niconapalhuihtzinotichah in tlazohteopiltzintli. Timotolinia, auh yeceh aic timocheuiz in tlatequipanoliztica, ihuan in mopilhuan yezqueh [zan cemihcac motolinizqueh⁵]. ¡Ma ixquich motlahpal xicchihua in tlalticpac, Melchortzin.

CAPITÁN REYES: Iyoh totecuiyoe, Diose, ca nican mixpantzinco otonquizacoh in timotlachihualtzitzinhuan. In mixtzinco mocpactzinco otontlachiyacoh. In nican ye omitzhualmihualih in motlazohtah[tzin Dios?].

IC CE VASALLOH: Notecuiyoe, Diose, ma xinechmotlapopolhuilihtzino in nimotlachihualtzin. In ahtleh ma itlah otichualhuicaqueh inic otictennamiquicoh in momatzin in mocxitzin. Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, totecuiyoe, in nican ixtlahuanepantlah in omitzhualmihualih in motlazohtahtzin Dios.

IC OME VASALLOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, in Dios tetahtzin in titlazohpiltzin, in nican in ceuczitli in iehuayan in omitzmotlacatilihiltzinoh in motlazohtmahuiznantzin, in nican in mamazah in intlacuayan, in ahtleh in itlatzacuillo, in ehecatl in imoquetzayan, in oncan in mitzmonapalhuihticah in motlazohtmahuiznantzin, Santa Mariah.

Niman oncan tlahtoz in angel. Quinnobnotzaz in Reyestin inic aocmo ompa yazqueh in ompa in obuallahqueh. [19v]

⁵ In Tlatelolco version (Paso y Troncoso 1902:102).

SAN MIGUEL ARCANGEL: Ma xicmomachiltican in amehhuantintzitzin in ameixtintzitzin in anReyestin, ca onechalmihualih in Dios tetahtzin inic aocmo ompa ammohuicazqueh in ompa in oanhualmohuicaqueh, inic occe ohtli in anquimotoquilizqueh. Ca cencah cualani in huei tlahueliloc, in Herodes, inic ahmo ihciuhca in ammocueptzinoah in iuhqui iyollo pachihuiz in campa in omotlacatilihtzinoh in cemanahuac in tlahtoani, in itlazohpiltzin in tocentechiuhcatzin. Ca huel cualani in ipampatzinco ca otlanahuatih ca oquichiuh inic quimopopolhuiz, inic quimotlatlatiliz. Ca ye iz huitzeh in ititlanhuan inic quinpopolozqueh in ixquichtin in pipiltzitzintin, in tocayotilozqueh “inocentes,” in nican in ipan altepetl in Nazaret. Ca zan ye ixquich in anquimocaquiltia in ihiyotzin in itlahtoltzin in Dios tetahtzin. Ca ahmo huehcauh in ammahxiltizqueh in ompa in anhualmohuicaqueh. Ma ximohuicatihuan in antlahtohqueh.

SAN GASPAR: ;Catca otonmahcehualtic otonopiltic in ihiyotzin in itlahtoltzin in Dios tetahtzin! Ma iuhqui mochihua in itlanequiliztzin, inic aocmo ompa tiyazqueh in ompa in otihuallahqueh, inic occe ohtli tictocazqueh, inic ahmo imac tihuetzitiuh in tlahueliloc, in Herodes.

SAN BALTASAR: Ma ic tictocenquizcayectenehuilican in tlazohteopiltzintli inic oticcaqueh, inic otillhuiloqueh, in itlahtoltzin in Dios tetahtzin. Ma iuhqui ticchihuacan ticneltilican in itlahtoltzin, notlazohtiachcauhtzine. [20r]

SAN MELCHOR: Ma iuhqui mochihua in itlanequiliztzin in Dios tetahtzin, notlazohtiachcauhtzitzinhuane, inic ahmo ompa tiyazqueh. Ma occe ohtli tictocacan.

Niman yazqueh in Reyestin. Tlayacanazqueh in Capitan Reyes [ihuan in Vasallos?].

Tlatzohtzonaloz. Niman tlatzontequiz in Herodes inic yazqueh in Judíos inic temictizqueh.

HERODES: Tla xihualhuian in amehhuantin in annotiahcahuan in anchichicahuaqueh. ;Ma huel ixquich amotlahpal xicchihuacan! Ca nican cah in insentenciah in immiquiztlatzontequililoca. Intla oamahcitol in ipan in altepetl in Judea, niman anquinpohuilizqueh inic mochintin mihmiquizqueh in inpilhuan, in aquin quin otlacat, inic no tehuan oncan miquiz in ahzo nelli in cemanahuac in totlahtocauh yez. Ma huel ixquich amotlahpal anquichihuazqueh in tinoyaocapitan ihuan in amehhuantin in anyaoquizqueh.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ca iuhqui mochihuaz in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin. Ca mochintin tiquinpopolozqueh: in moquehquetzah in mohuilanah. In aquin in impan tlahtoz ca no tehuan ticpopolozqueh ticlatlatizqueh, tlacatle, tlahtoanie.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Macamo mitzmotequipachilhui. Ca onneltiz mochihuaz in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin, tlahtoanie.

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ca ye oticoncacqueh in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin.

Ca ye niman axcan tonpehuazqueh. Macamo mitzmotequipachilhui, ca ticchihuatihuih, [20v] ca ticneltititihuih in mihiyotzin, in motlahtoltzin.

IC EYI JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahtoanie, ma ximocalaquihztino, ma oc tepitzin ximocehuihtzino. Ca ye niman axcan tonpehuazqueh in timoyaoiahcauhtzitzinhuan. Ca tontonohnotzazqueh in quenin huel ticchihuatihuih in totequiuh.

Calaquiz Erodes. Tlatzobtzonaloz.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Tiahcahuane, ¿quenin in huel ticchihuazqueh in itlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin in tlahtoani? Ca huel tepac inic otinahuatiloqueh inic titemictitihuih.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ca huel tepac inic otinahuatiloqueh inic titemictitihuih. ¿Campa nel yazqueh? Ca yeppa tomac huetziz ca piltontli. Ca yeppa ipan tahcitihiuh inic ninoyollalia. ¿Cuix huel conmatqueh? ¿In ahzo quitlatizqueh in ahzo quichololtizqueh? In ahmo zan quenin in nipahpaqui in niquilnamiqui inic tiyaotitihuih. In quinnequi in nix in noyollo ma zan ye cueleh nontemictihtihuetzi nontepolohtihuetzi. Tocnihuane, ma zan niman tonpehuacan, oquic cualcan. Ma huel tonpahpactihuihan. ¿Cuix zan itlah inic tititlanoh?

IC CHICUACE JUDÍOH: Ca in macheh nehhuatl ca huel onelten inic nicualani in itechcopa in aquin quin otlacat in ahzo nelli totlahtocauh yez. Ca yehhuatl on inic nicualani. Ma zan ye cueleh noconnitta in quenami in ahzo nelli notlahtocauh yez. Ma tlatzohzonalo. Ma tichuicacan in tetlatzontequiliztlahtolli in oquimotlalilih [21r] in totlatohcauh in Rey Herodes.

Niman yazqueh. Mohuipánazqueh onahcizqueh in teopan quiahuac. Oncan mocehuizqueh [ihuan] in Capitán. Zatepan yazqueh in teopan inic temihmictitihuih.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca niquihto, tocnihuane, in anyaoquizqueh, nican in ixtlahuacan ma oc nican titocehuican tepitzin. Ma cenyohual in tinehmemizqueh inic tlathuinahuac inic huel cualcan in ipan in tonahcitihiuh in innahuac inipiltotontin in Nazaret tlahcah.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Ca inon in ticmotenehuilia ca cencah cualli. Mochihuaz. Ca huel cualcan inin in tonnahcitihiuh, in oc yohuatzinco, inic ahmo innemachpan in ticalaquitihuih, ca oc cohcohticateh in Judea tlahcah.

Niman quinnotzaz in capitán inic yazqueh teopan.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ca ye imman, tocnihuane. Ma tonpehuacan. Ma ximonehnemiltican. Ca ye tonahcitihiuh. Ma huel ximoyaochihchihuacan, in anyaoiahcahuan.

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ca zan nican toconchixticateh in mihiyotzin in motlahtoltzin in titoyaocapitan. Ma niman tihuihan tonpehuacan, in anyaoquizqueh.

Niman calaquizqueh in teopan, ompa tlanahuatiz in Capitán inic mopobuaz in sentenciah.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Axcan ca ye otonahcicoh in ipan altepetl in nican in otlacat in iuhqui mihtoa ca Dios ipiltzin quimopanahuilia in tohueitlahtohcatzin in Rey Herodes. Quilmach cemanahuac tlahtoani. [21v]. Auh in totlahtocauh aocmo cemanahuac tlahtoani yez.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Ca inon in ticmotenehuilia ca huel yehhuatl inic tonehua chichinaca in iyollotzin in totlahtocatzin in Rey Herodes. In nican in ipampa in otechhualmotitlanih inic tictemozqueh in nican in ipan in altepetl inic ticmictizqueh, inic ticpopolozqueh.

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ca in nehhuatl in ihcuac in niccaqui in ahmo zan quenin in nicualani. Ma ye cueleh nocontlahuelquixti in icualantzin in izomaltzin in totlahtohcatzin, in Herodes, in itechcopa in ahzo nelli notlahtocauh yez, in quin otlacat.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ca inon in ticmihtalhuia in ihcuac in niccaqui inon tlahtolli in quinequi in noyollo, ma niman iuhqui nicpopolo nictlatlati in iuhqui quemmanian in canah tonyaotih tontepoloh.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Tla xicmocaquiltican in ipampa in titlahtoah. ¿Quenin in ahmo tecualanih teyoltequipachoh in acah? In otiqinnamicqueh in eyintin tlahtohqueh in ahzo nelli in oquitlahpalocoh oquimoteoticoh. Ca in tehuantin ca cencah ic ticalanih ic titlahuelcuic in aquin on in otlacat in ahzo nelli in totlahtocauh yez in tijudiostin.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ca inon ticmotenehuilia ahzo quihtoah in cequintin in nican in techcaquih ahzo no tictlahpalocoh ahzo no tictoteoticoh. ¡Ca ahmo huelitiz! ¡Ca ticpopolozqueh! ¡Ca tictlatlatizqueh! Intla mach huei yez quemmach huei tlahtoani yez inic mohuecapanoz. Tla xicmottilican in ihcuac in ompa in ohualquizqueh in eyintin [22r] tlahtohqueh in iuhqui oquimocaquiztililihqueh in Rey Herodes.

IC CHICUACE JUDÍOH: Ca huel nelli melahuac in anquihtoa, nocnitztzinhuane. Tla xicmottilican in ihcuac in quimotlahatlanilia in totlahtohcauh, Rey Herodes, quimolhuilihqueh quilmach centetl yancuic citlalin in oquinhualyacantiyah inic oquimoteoticoh. Ca intla niquittaz in nehhuatl in aquin piltontli in iz cah in nomacheteh, ca ic nicpopoloz ca ic niccocotonaz. ¡Ca nictetextilizquia! ¡Itech quizazquia in nocualan in notlahuel!

IC OME JUDÍOH: Ma quin ammonohnotzazqueh. Ma oc ticneltilican in itlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin in totlahtohcatzin, in Rey Herodes, inic titepopolozqueh titetlatlatizqueh. ¡Ca macheh onitlahuelcuic in ica yn nocualaniliz!

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Ma ihciuhca quiza in mihiyotzin in motlahtoltzin, yn titoyaocapitan, inic ticchihuazqueh in totequiuh inic otihualtitlanoqueh. Ihuan ma mopohua in itlanahuatiltzin in tlahtoani, Herodes, in quimopachilhuia in huei altepetl in Jerusalén.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: In axcan xitzahtziti xitecaquiztilih in iamatlahcuiloltzin in tohueitlahtohcatzin in Rey Herodes in imixpan in macehualtin inic neltiz in tlein motlanahuatilia.

In omopouh in sentenciab niman quinhuibhuitequizqueh in pipiltotontin. Niman hualquizazqueh quipanahuiquibuh in tlalchiuhqui. Quitlahatlanizqueh in abzo oquimopanahuilib [22v] in ichpochtli.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tla xihuallauh in titlalchiuhqui, tla timitztlahtlanican ¿Cuix ahmo otiquimittac ihuan cuix ahmo omitzpanahuihqueh ce cihuatl iconauh quihuica, ihuan ce toquichtin quiyacana? Quilmach ipan yetiuh ce asnah. Ma mopaltzinco xitechilhui in campa inic ohuitztiahqueh.

IC CE LABRADOR: Tlatoanie, ca inon in timotlahtlania, ca melahuac in ticmotenehuilia. Ca nican in omoquixtihqueh ihuan quimonapalhuihtih in itlazohconetzin. ¿Ca cencah mahuizticatzintli! Ca huel iuhqui in cepayahuitl in itlazohnacayotzin ihuan huel iuhqui in tonameyotl in itechtzinco neztiuh. Ihuan quimmoyacanilihtih ce telpochtli. Huel mototoquiltihuih inic mohuica, tlahtoanie.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Telpochtli, ma huel melahuac xitechilhui. ¿Cuix otiquinnotz? ¿Cuix nozo omitznotzqueh? ¿Tlen omitzilhuiqueh in ihcuac in omitzpanahuihqueh? ¿Ihuan campa in huel ohuitztianqueh inic oyahqueh? ¿Xitechilhui!

IC OME LABRADOR: Tlahtoanie, ca ahmo namechnoztlacahuiliz. Ca melahuac in tlen in namechnolhuiliz. Ca in ihcuac in onehmopanahuilhqueh ca zan ompa inic omotztilihtiyahqueh [23r] inic omotemohuihqueh in Jordán atoyac. Ca aocmo oniquinnottilih i[n ompa zatepan] omohuicaqueh.

IC OME JUDÍOH: In iuhqui in timitztlahtlaniah ma huel cualli xitechmelahuilh, inic toyollo pachihuiz. Ca yehuatl in tictemohtihuitzeh, inic nican in mopan in otiquizacoh in titlalchiuhqui.

IC CE LABRADOR: Ammotoliniah ammihiyocahuah, in antlahtohqueh in antitlantin. Ca huel melahuac in niquihtoa. Ca in ihcuac in onehmopanahuilhqueh ca ye nitepehua in trigoh. ¿Auh in axcan ca ye nitequi! Inic amoyollotzin opachihuiz in ahmo niztlacati, in antlahtohqueh, in tlein namechnolhuilia.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH (*mixicuiloz*) ¿Tlein nican titechilhuia? In zan tlapic. Nican ye titechhuechahua. ¿Ahzo tiyollococoxqui? In ahtleh melahuac in titechilhuia.

Ma huel cualli in motlahtol xitechilhui inic titoyollalizqueh, ihuan ahmo xitechcualani. Ca intla nicnequiz ca nican timitzpopolozqueh in timochintin in nican timanilh. Xiccahuacan in yollopoliuhqui. Ma tihuian.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ca melahuac in quimihtalhuia in toyaocapitan. Ca intla ticnequizqueh, ca nican timitzpopolozqueh. ¿Cuix ahmo tiquita in nican tichuicah in itetlatzontequilililtzin in tohueitlahtohcatzin, Rey Herodes, quimopiyalia in huei altepetl in Jerusalén?

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tla xitlahto, in axcan tla xitechnanquili, ¿tlein [23v] tiquihtoz? Ma ticcaquican in motlahtol.

[IC CE?] LABRADOR: Tlacatle, tlahoanie, ma xinechmotlapopolhuilican. Ca melahuac in onamechnolhuililh. Ca nican onechmopanahuililhqueh, in axcan in nican nictequi in trigoh, in annechmopanahuilicoh, in anyaoquizqueh, in anyaotiahcahuan.

IC NAHUI JUDÍOH: Ma zan ye tihuian, tlahoanie. Ca ye ilhuiceh ye tihuehcahuah in tlein oncan in amechmolhuilia in iztlacatinipol in yollopoliuh. Ma titotocacan. Ahzo zan nen canah huel otiquimmahcitiuh in inpampa in tinentlamattinemih in piltontli inic ticpopolozqueh.

IC MACUILLI JUDÍOH: Ihuan ahzo techhualmochiyalihticah in tohueitlahtohcatzin, in Rey Herodes. Ma tictonahualtitiuh inic ahmo huel tomac ohuetz in ahzo nelli Dios ipiltzin.

Niman yazqueh mochintin inic quinahuatitibuih in tlahoani Herodes. Hualquiaz, motlaliz in itlahtohcaicpalpan. Tlatzohtzonaloxtla oahciqueh in Judíos.

HERODES: ¿Tleic in ahmo paqui in nix in noyollo? ¿Quen oquizatoh in noyaotiahcahuan itechcopa inic oniquintitlan, in aquin in otlacat in ahzo nelli cemihcac tlahoani yez? Ca ye huitzeh. Ma oc niqinchia.

Onahcizqueh in Judíos [24r]

[IC CE JUDÍOH?]: Timehuilticah tlacatle, tlahoanie. Ca ye otihualahqueh in timoyaotiahcauhtzitzinhuian inic ticmomachiltiz inic otitechmotitlan, tlahoanie.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Ma ximopaquiltihtiye, tlacatle, tlahoanie, in titotlahtohcatzin, Rey Herodes.

HERODES: Ma xihualhuian in annotiahcahuan. ¿Quen in oanquizatoh? Ma xinechilhuan. Tla xinechcaquiztilican in amoquichtiliz in amotiahcauhtiliz, in annoyaotiahcahuan.

CAPITÁN JUDÍOH: Tlacatle, tlahoanie, ma xicmomachiltitizino ca oticneltitoh in motlahtohcatlanahuatiltzin. Ca mochintin otiquinpopolohqueh in pipiltotontin in iuhqui in otiquimmotlatzontequililh. Yecch ayac otiquitahqueh in ipampa inic otiyahqueh. Ca oquichololtilh in inantzin, inic

ahmo huel tomac ohuetz. Ca nican cateh in moyaotiahcauhtzitzinhuan. Ma yehhuantin mitzmolhuilican, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie.

IC CE JUDÍOH: Ca melahuac in ticmocaquiltihtzinoa, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie. Ca oquichololtih in inantzin. Macamo ximotequipachohtzino, ca tel ixquich totlahpal ticchihuazqueh inic tomac huetziz in aquin quin otlacat in ahzo nelli cemanahuac tlahtoani yez. [24v]

IC EYI JUDÍOH: Ma xicmomachiltihtzino, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie, ca ce tlatcatl oticpanahuicoh tlalchiuhqui. Quilmach quin ye quitepehua in trigoh. Auh ye quitequi in ipan in oticquizacoh. Iuhqui melahuac in tiquihtoah in ticmocaquiltihtzinoa in titotlahtohcatzin. Quilmach zan ompa inic oyahqueh in atoyac in Jordán. Auh niman ompa otiyahqueh. Ahmo huel oticnextiqueh, tlatcatle, tlahtoanie.

HERODES: Iuhqui on. Ca huel yehhuatl inic tonehua chichinaca in nix noyollo in quenamih in quin otlacat in no cuel centlamantli niccaquilia in oquichiuh, ihuan ahzo nelli in totlahtoacauh yez. ¡Ma ixquich in amotlahpal xicchihuacan inic ahmo huel techpanahuiz in ipan in huei altepetl! Ca tel nitlanahuatiz in yehhuantzitzintin intlahtohcahuan in Romanos, in Hebreos, in Griegos, ihuan in ixquichtin in teopixcatlahtohqueh, in Anas in Caifas, ihuan yehhuatzin in Emperador Cesar. Auh in amehhuantin ammotoliniah, ma ximohuicatihuian.

[25r]

Axcan omocencauh inin original in ipan tonatiuh domingo a 14 de marzo ihuan ipan xihuitl de 1717 años. Nicmachiyotia nehhuatl notoca Carlos de San Juan. Nican notlaxilacalpan Santa Cruz Tianquitzenco ihuan ca huel yehhuatzin tlahtoani gobernador pasado Don Juan Miguel zan no itlaxilacalpantzinco Santa Cruz Tianquitzenco itencopantzinco inic omocopin. Auh in itech omocopin ca oquimonextilih yehhuatzin tlahtoani maestro Don Ildefonso Diego. Auh ca nehhuatl oniccopin notoca Carlos de San Juan. Auh inic oniccopin onechmotlaocoliliqueh chicuacen tomin. Auh inic oquimonextilih yehhuantzin Don Ildefonso Diego inin original oquimomaquilih yehhuatzin Don Juan Miguel gobernador pasado chicuacen tomin. Yehhuatzin oquimocuilih Don Lorenzo Ramos. Auh inic [?][25v] omochiuh apuntador Antonio [?] itelpochtzin Don Juan Miguel. Auh [?] ixquich omomachiyotih itlazohixpantzinco motehuapahuiliani in totecuyo Jesus cristo. Ma in mochihua.

The Star Sign. Translation¹

Louise M. Burkhart

Emperor King will come forth,² preceded by Kings' Captain and two vassals. Then he will sit on his throne. Wind instruments will be played. Then he will summon[?] them to go keep watch on top of the big mountain.

EMPEROR KING: Please come, you lords and honored ones of mine. You are already well aware, you already know how your great-grandfather, the prophet Balaam, left it said, left it told, how a star sign would appear by which we would know that he who will save the people of the world has been born.³ Go right away. Keep watch on top of the big mountain. Will it just be in vain that God the father has shown pity and generosity? Perhaps he has sent the star sign. Exert all your effort, you my captain, and you others.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Very well, O master, O ruler. Don't worry. Let us go, let us go to keep watch where you are sending us, on top of the big mountain. Will it just be in vain that God has sent his star sign? And you, O my beloved friends, go and carry out the royal commands of our ruler the emperor king, like you have carried out his commands.

FIRST VASSAL: May it be done according to his precious will, O my beloved friends. Let's go and carry out the royal commands, as we have been commanded. Perhaps we will merit and be so fortunate that we will see God's star. [5v]

¹ This English translation is a revised version of the translation previously published in Sell and Burkhart 2009.

² Or "go out hither"; this is the standard verb used in Nahuatl theater for when actors come onto the stage. When actors exit the stage, typically either *yaub* 'to go' (translated here as "go off" or *calaqui* 'to enter (a building)' (translated here as "go in") is used.

³ A reference to Balaam's prophecy "a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel," Numbers 24:17.

SECOND VASSAL: Very well. Let's go! Let's get started while it is still a good time, late in Tititl,⁴ for us to go and wait for God the father's message, O my beloved elder brothers.

Then Kings' Captain will go in and Vassals will go off. Wind instruments will be played. They will go to keep watch on top of the mountain where [the star] is about to appear. Once they have arrived there, then they will kneel down and pray.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Be joyful, O our lord, O God the father. We have arrived here on top of the mountain. All-powerful God the father has favored us, O my beloved younger brothers. As nothing bad has happened to us anywhere, let us praise his precious [name?] and let us all rejoice and be comforted.

SECOND VASSAL: What you say is correct, O my beloved friend. It was the will of all-powerful God the father that he has caused us to arrive. Let us thus greatly praise our creator, God.

FIRST VASSAL: Let us kneel. Let us pray to God the father, who has brought us here safe and sound.⁵ And may it likewise be his will to return us to where we came from, when we go before our ruler, the emperor king. Maybe we should rest a little bit. We have journeyed a long way. [6r]

[They will burn?] incense there on the mountaintop. [?] They will kneel. [They will wait for?] the star. They will talk to each other. [?] King.⁶

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Oh! O our lord, O God, you have favored us, you have helped us! Now it is the right time, in your night. And here is what I lay as an offering: a little incense. Since we have been sent, do not abandon us. Oh! O God the father, where will your star sign appear?

FIRST VASSAL: May it be the will of the all-powerful God the father that he not abandon us, that nothing bad happens to us here. Let us put our trust in God the father.

Then the star will appear.

SECOND VASSAL: Oh! O our lord, O God, what is happening to us? Is this God the father's new star sign? It is very fine indeed. Its beams shine more brightly than all the stars.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: It's true! That's right! This is what we were sent here for. Don't you see that nothing so very fine and wondrous has ever appeared in the sky? Let's go right away before the great ruler, the emperor king, like we said.

⁴ One of the twenty-day months of the Aztec calendar, used here as an equivalent for December. This term is from Paso y Troncoso (1902, 86); it is likely that the missing passage in the later text from Metepec had *diciembre* instead.

⁵ Or, "in a good way, in a proper way."

⁶ Stage directions here in Paso y Troncoso: "Wind instruments will be played. They will sit down for a little while, then they will kneel. Kings' Captain will pray and burn incense" (1902:86).

Then Emperor King will come forth. [6v] Then [Kings' Captain and Vassals?] will go to approach him.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Be joyful, O master, O ruler! It is good that we went out and went to keep watch on top of the mountain, as you sent us to do, O master, O ruler, you who are our ruler.

EMPEROR KING: Please come here, you who are my brave soldiers, you who are my noblemen. Please advise me, how did you go to keep watch? How did you make out? Speak to me and address me very honestly. I will not listen to false words.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Know, O master, O ruler, that when we arrived where you sent us, we knelt and prayed to God the father right away. Then we rested there for a little while. And afterwards the star appeared, very fine indeed. You have never seen anything like it in the sky, the way its beams shine brightly over all the world.

EMPEROR KING: Perhaps not. Perhaps you're just lying in what you're saying, what you're telling me here. Do not declare false words to me. Speak to me and address me very honestly, you who are my honored ones.

FIRST VASSAL: It is true and correct. We are telling you the truth, O master, O ruler. We saw it with our own eyes just as you're hearing it. We know that you are our ruler. It's not possible that we would deceive you. [7r]

SECOND VASSAL: O master, O ruler, we know that you are our ruler. All our words that you are hearing are true and correct. We are favored and fortunate to have seen God the father's star sign, which stands for his beloved child.

EMPEROR KING: That is good! God the father has shown us favor. We've been waiting for it for a long time. And now, let us praise God very much for it. And let the three rulers know it and hear about it. Summon them. Let them come here. Let them travel here quickly so that they come to hear the words.

FIRST VASSAL: Very well, O master, O ruler. Let us go and summon the three rulers. Let them hear your royal words, O master, O ruler.

Then they will go and summon the kings. Drums will be beaten. They will come forth and sit on a bench. Emperor King [and Kings' Captain?] will go off.

SECOND VASSAL: Be joyful, you three rulers. Take great comfort because God the father's new star sign [has now appeared,⁷] which you have been going around seeking all this time,. It is very wondrous, the way its beams shine over all the world, you rulers.

SAINT CASPAR: With that we are very fortunate and favored! That is good! Let us go right away, let us go and see the very great [7v] ruler, the very honorable

⁷ The Tlatelolco play includes "ka ye ó-neç" here (Paso y Troncoso 1902:88).

emperor king. Get ready. Let's go there where we are summoned. Let's go quickly.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Very well. Let's go right away. Let us go and carry out the command of the ruler, the king, since we are summoned.

SAINT MELCHIOR: Let's go! Let us go quickly, O my beloved older brothers, as the great ruler has sent for us to be summoned in regard to God's beloved child's star that has appeared.

Then the kings will go off. Two or three times they will [circle around?] on the stage. Wind instruments will be played. Just [?] before them Emperor King. He will order them to go and greet the beloved little child and that Kings' Captain and Vassals will also go off.)

KINGS' CAPTAIN: They whom you summon, the three rulers, have come, O master, O ruler. They came quickly, as soon as we went to get them, O ruler. SAINT CASPAR: Be joyful, O master, O ruler. Is it true that you are summoning us? We have come, we have come to carry out your royal command, O master, O ruler. [8r]

EMPEROR KING: Come here, you rulers, you kings. Know that God the father's new star has now appeared, like your deceased great-grandfather the prophet Balaam said, like he declared. He said that when a big star appeared we would thereby know that he who is to save the people of the world has come, that he has been born. And so, let preparations be made right away. Go and look for him. Go and greet the beloved sacred child of the world in whatever altepetl⁸ he has been born in. Make inquiries, and just follow the star itself. Go wherever it can be seen. Please come here, you my captain, and you [my vassals⁹]. Accompany and guide the three rulers wherever they go. They are going to search for wherever it is that he has been born. And you too are to greet him, so that you can come and inform me, you can come and tell me, I will hear about it from you. Exert all your effort!

SAINT CASPAR: May the precious and revered name of God the father be exultantly praised, for his star sign, a new miracle, has appeared, as our deceased great-grandfather the prophet Balaam said and declared. His words have come true, it has happened, as he wrote it in the sacred book. [8v]

SAINT BALTHASAR: We are fortunate and favored, for the star sign of God's beloved child, who will save the people of the world, has appeared to shed light on the sinners in the world, who live as if in gloom and darkness.

⁸ The largest indigenous sociopolitical unit to survive under Spanish rule, the altepetl was a self-governing, land-holding unit comprised of one or more settlements and associated territory.

⁹ Paso y Troncoso's text (1902:89) specifies "an no-**Basallos**": you my vassals.

SAINT MELCHIOR: O my beloved older brothers, let us most exultantly praise our lord God! What good fortune, favor, [and merit?] we have, that God the father's precious star has appeared to us, in our time! And the prophets and patriarchs were hoping for it all this time but did not obtain it. And now, do look at how very finely his star sign shines over all the world. And now, let us quickly go and get our gifts.¹⁰ After all, we have already prepared our provisions. [We have done everything?]

They will go in. They will go to get their gifts [?] where the horses are being kept. Someone will carry a banner and the star will go in front. The star will go and vanish at the palace, Herod's home. Emperor will go in. They will walk around..

SAINT CASPAR: O how wretched I am! The star has gone and vanished here! So, let's inquire here at the home of the great ruler Herod, so that he may tell us where he who is to be the ruler of the world has been born.

SAINT MELCHIOR: What you say is quite correct, O my beloved older brother. And he must know, for it's in his altepetl. [9r]

SAINT BALTHASAR: Very well, O my beloved older brother. Let's inquire here so we'll know where to go. And you, O Melchior, [?] won't you go up to whoever they are at the entrance? Ask if the ruler, Herod, is there.

Then Kings' Captain will go and knock. Jewish Captain will come forth, bringing along four Jews. At that point he will converse with them. Drums will be beaten. Melchior will question them.

SAINT MELCHIOR: O my noblemen, please let me ask you, is the great ruler Herod there? Tell us, if you please. We have come in a great hurry.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: You have endured fatigue,¹¹ you rulers. The ruler is in. Is there some reason why you are looking for him? Let me tell him what you're looking for. It certainly seems to me that you come very troubled.

SAINT CASPAR: O young man, we cannot tell you why we have come. It is to him that we must tell our great problem.

[FIRST JEW]: Very well. Let us go tell our great ruler, King Herod, right away that you've come and are looking for him, you rulers.

[SECOND JEW¹²]: Wait here a little while, you rulers. Let us go and tell him your message.

¹⁰ Or "our instruments of greeting."

¹¹ Formulaic expression of welcome.

¹² The Metepec text assigns this and the preceding speech to Jewish Captain. In the Tlatelolco version (Paso y Troncoso 1902:91) these speeches are assigned to First Jew and Second Jew; I follow this here as it makes more sense to have two different speakers.

SAINT BALTHASAR: [9v] Very well, O young man. Let us wait for you here for a bit. Go and tell the ruler that we're looking for him.

Herod will come forth. Jewish War Captain will go to meet him, preceded by the Jews. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played. When [he has seated himself on?] his throne, [his servants?] go to stand below it.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, who are the rulers who have come? There are three of them. I think that they are foreigners, O master, O ruler. It's obvious that they have some great problem, about which [they have come?].

HEROD: But who are they? What do they want? Please ask them where their home is, where they came from. Please tell them to come here. I will ask them why they have come and what their problem is, about which they come in a troubled state.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Very well. (*Jewish Captain will go to call them.*) You have endured fatigue, you are weary,¹³ you rulers. The ruler himself, Herod, has heard your breath, your words. He said, "Ask them, where did they come from? Where is their home? Question them."

SAINT CASPAR: O young man, tell the great ruler on our behalf that we came from the great atepetl in the east, toward where the sun rises.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Very well. Let me tell that to our great ruler, Herod. [10r] (*Jewish Captain will go off. He will go to tell Herod.*) O master, O ruler, I asked them. They say that they came from the east, toward where the sun rises.

HEROD: So that's it. Very well. Let them come. Summon them here. I'll question them here.

THIRD JEW: Come here! The great ruler, Herod, is summoning you.

FOURTH JEW: You are weary, you rulers. Our ruler, King Herod, is calling for you in a big hurry. He is very angry that you have come here [before him?].

SAINT BALTHASAR: Very well. Let us go, let's go see the ruler. Let us go inform him and declare to him what our problem is, about which we have come.

FIFTH JEW: And who are you coming to look for, that you have come here, you rulers? Tell us, so that we can tell you if we know the person whom you come in search of.

SAINT MELCHIOR: O young man, we do not come in search of just anyone. It is the ruler of the world, who will save us and save the people of the world, so that we will believe that he is truly all-powerful. He has just recently been born.

Jewish Captain will go off. He will go to tell Herod. [10v]

¹³ Formulaic expression of welcome, often paired with the preceding verb.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, what they say is as I told you: it's said that they say their home is in the east, toward where the sun rises, and it's said that they come in search of someone who has just recently been born. It's said he will be the ruler of the world, according to what they say, O master, O ruler.¹⁴

HEROD: And who is that, who has just been born, who's to be the ruler of the world? And don't they know that I am the ruler of the world? There is no one [like?] me. There is no one who is my equal in the great altepetl of Jerusalem, which I am in charge of here.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: What you say is true, O master, O ruler. There's no one at all who'll be your equal. Let us summon them.

The kings will go before Herod. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.

SIXTH JEW: Come here, you rulers. Come here in front of the great ruler, Herod. State your problem.

SAINT CASPAR: Be joyful, O master, O ruler, you who are seated in honor. We have come here to meet you in your altepetl. Perhaps you know where the ruler of the world has been born, [11r] the beloved and revered child of God the father, since his star sign has appeared.

HEROD: Behold, you have endured fatigue, you rulers. Whom are you looking for? Who is it who has just recently been born? Tell me honestly why you come here before me to make inquiries, what you come here wanting to know. You are weary. Let me take, let me hear your breath, your words, you honorable ones, you kings, you rulers.

SAINT BALTHASAR: O master, O ruler, know that the one we seek is the ruler of the world. Where was he born? We have come to greet him, we have come to worship him. And a big star led us here, which is his sign, his symbol, that he has been born. But we just came and lost sight of it here, so we are making inquiries in your presence, O master, O ruler.

HEROD: I don't know whom you're looking for, you rulers. Very well. Let me inquire further. Rest a little while. Go inside. Let them go and summon the high priests¹⁵ right away so that they'll tell us, they'll explain it to us.

SAINT MELCHIOR: That's fine, O master, O ruler. With your leave let us rest here a little bit. We know who you are,¹⁶ O master, O ruler.

The kings, the rulers, will go in. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played. He will command that they go and call the sages, the priests.

¹⁴ The phrase "it's said" here translates *quilmach*, referring to hearsay, while "they say" refers specifically to the three kings' own report.

¹⁵ Or "ruler priests"; bishops and popes were called by this term in colonial Nahuatl.

¹⁶ Tentative translation. That is, "we recognize your authority."

HEROD: [11v] Please come here, you who are my brave soldiers. Please go and summon the sages, the high priests here quickly. Let them bring their sacred books. I'll question them here about who has been born. Perhaps it's true that he is the ruler of the world. Is it in, is it written in the sacred books? Let them come here before me so that I will hear what they come to read. Tell them that the rulers are here waiting for them.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Very well, O master, O ruler. Let us go, let us go call the high priests, the sages, so that they will come here quickly, so that they will bring their sacred books, so that they will come and look for the miracle [that has happened?], by which the star has appeared.

Then they will go off, they will go and call the priests. They will [?] the sacred books. The priests will come forth. They will go to approach Jewish Captain. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.

SECOND JEW: Be joyful, you high priests. We have been sent here to you.

FIRST PRIEST: Who are you who's come here? What do you, and those you brought with you, want? Tell us, let us hear what your message is, for which you came here to our home.

SIXTH JEW: As to what we were sent here for, be informed. Here is our message. The great ruler, Herod, summons you. [12r]

FIRST JEW: Know that the great ruler, Herod himself, says, "Hurry, summon the sages here quickly. Let them bring the sacred books. I'll question them here about my problem."

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Let us go in a hurry. Hurry, for we were sent here in a hurry. Get the sacred books.

SECOND PRIEST: Very well. Let us go. Let us go. Let us go to see the great ruler, Herod. Perhaps he has some problem. Let's all go, we priests of the ruler, Herod.

THIRD PRIEST: Let's all go. Let's take some of our sacred books in order to see what we are to be asked about, whatever it is that's troubling our ruler, Herod.

FOURTH PRIEST: Let's go. Here we have in our keeping the sacred written books that the ruler, Herod, is asking about. Let's take them.

Then they will go before Herod. Drums will be beaten.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, the great high priests whom you are summoning have come. We went and carried out your royal command, O ruler.

HEROD: Please come here, you sages, you priests. What do you know and what do you see in the sacred books? Where is it written? Where is it [marked?]? Is it true that someone has been born who will be the ruler of the world, the ruler of the Jews? Where is he expected? But as for me, I say that I am the only ruler of the world. And as to this one who's to be born, what do you say, what do you

know? That's what I went to summon you for, what they went to get you for, you who are my priests. [12v]

FIRST PRIEST: O master, O ruler, very well. Let's search in the sacred books for where the one who's been born is to appear, like you say, O master, O ruler.

They will sit down. They will lay their sacred books out on a table. Each one will read something. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.

FOURTH PRIEST: Exert all your effort! Each of you, go looking through the sacred books so that what we are asked about may be found quickly.

FIRST PRIEST: Please come. Search in the sacred written books. Let us find where what the ruler, Herod, is worried about is written.

SECOND PRIEST: What you're talking about is what for a long time we have gone about hoping for. Search in all the sacred written books. It is inked, it is written there.

THIRD PRIEST: How do we see the sacred books? I see here that it is true and correct that the one who will save the people of the world, who will be the great ruler, has been born,.

FOURTH PRIEST: Please look, O my beloved older brother, how it says here that it is true and correct that a great star sign is to appear. It will become his symbol, the model and sign that the child of the world, whom the kings, the three rulers, come to greet, is to be born.

FIRST PRIEST: Let the great ruler know that the place has been found where the beloved child was born, whose symbol, whose fine star, has appeared.

SECOND PRIEST: [13r] O my beloved older brother, likewise I too see here in the sacred books that the maiden Mary, daughter of those named Anne and Joachim, is to give birth to him. He who will save the people of the world from the wicked one¹⁷ is to be born from her.

Then they will slap the table. Drums will be beaten. They will go off. They will go to summon Herod.

FIRST PRIEST: O master, O ruler, know that we have found it. It is written here that it is true and correct that the ruler of the world has been born. He has been born over in the altepetl of Nazareth, in the middle of the plain of Bethlehem,¹⁸ like the prophets of long ago, Jeremiah, Moses, Abraham, [and David?¹⁹] left it said, as you hear, O master, O ruler.

¹⁷ That is, the devil.

¹⁸ The Nahua author's conception of Holy Land geography is (understandably) vague. Bethlehem is ten kilometers from Jerusalem, in Judea; Nazareth is about 120 kilometers from Jerusalem, in Galilee.

¹⁹ The Tlatelolco version (Paso y Troncoso 1902:96) adds David and Solomon, but one name at most would fit in the missing space in the Metepec play.

HEROD: So be it. Very well. I am satisfied. Tell me, where is the altepetl in which the ruler was born? Get going. And as for you all, is what you saw in the sacred books true and correct?

SECOND PRIEST: O master, O ruler, you have heard what you summoned us about. And so, let us leave you for a little while, O master, O ruler. We, your priests, are going now.

THIRD PRIEST: It is quite true and correct. It lies written there, it lies inked there, in the written books, O ruler.

FOURTH PRIEST: Everything we are telling you is the honest truth, O master, O ruler. We have carried out your royal command, [13v] we who are your priests, since we looked for that which was worrying you who are our great ruler, King Herod.

The priests will go off. Drums will be beaten. Herod will remain. Trumpets will be played.

HEROD: Summon the three rulers. Let them come here so that they will come to hear my words, just as I heard the words.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Very well, O master, O ruler. Let's go and summon the three rulers, the kings.

The kings will come forth. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.

FIRST JEW: Please come, you rulers. The great ruler, Herod, is summoning you. The words have been found.

SECOND JEW: Take to your feet, you rulers, you kings. Let's go and see the ruler, Herod. He is summoning you in a hurry. Don't let them scold us because of you, you rulers.

SAINT BALTHASAR: We were about to go there to see the ruler, Herod, for we've been here a long time.

Then the kings will go before Herod. Trumpets will be played.

FIFTH JEW: The three rulers, whom you are summoning, have come, O master, O ruler.

HEROD: Please come here, you rulers. I beg of you, please tell me, how long ago was it that you saw the star sign of the ruler of the world who has just recently been born? [14r]

SAINT CASPAR: O master, O ruler, it is now the thirteenth day since we saw the star sign of God's beloved child, O ruler.

HEROD: That's good. Go, go directly to the altepetl of Nazareth, in the plain of Bethlehem, which pertains to the great altepetl of Judea. That's where the one you're seeking was born. And when you've seen him, when you've gone and greeted the ruler, the beloved child, let me hear about it from you so that I too

may go, may go and greet him, since he is the ruler who has come. I will go to greet him, I will go to worship him there where the ruler was born.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Very well, O master, O ruler. Let us go directly to Bethlehem so that we will go to see him there, he who will be the ruler of the world.

SAINT MELCHIOR: ²⁰O master, O ruler, let us thus carry out your royal command. O master, O ruler, would that we may leave here. Then we will return, so that you will be satisfied as to how we are going to come out.

Then the Jews will go off, they will go in. The kings will remain there. Then the kings will go off. The star will appear again. They will go off, they will go to make greetings. Drums will be beaten and trumpets will be played. Kings' Captain and Vassals will lead the way. At that point they will talk with one another.

SAINT CASPAR: [14v] God the father has been generous, for God's star sign has appeared once more! Let's go and follow it again. Please look at how very fine all-powerful God's star is.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Our lord God has shown us favor, for he has again give us his symbol, our guide. Let's go and follow God's star sign, O my beloved older brother!

SAINT MELCHIOR: May it be God the father's precious will, O my beloved older brothers! Exert all your effort! Let's go and follow it.

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Let us praise all-powerful God, for his star sign has appeared once more. May it be his will that we not lose sight of it again.

FIRST VASSAL: May it be God's will that we reach Bethlehem safe and sound,²¹ like we were told.

SECOND VASSAL: What is happening to us is very fine and very wondrous, how God the father's star has appeared once again. Let's go, you rulers.

This speech will end there in Herod's entryway. The kings will go off, then Herod will come forth. Jewish Captain [and other Jews] will precede him. They will come in a line. He will speak in a very angry way. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played. Herod will speak. [15r]

HEROD: Now my face and heart ache and burn because of the one who has been born. Perhaps it is true that he is to be the ruler of the Jews But aren't I the ruler of the world? And now, please go, you all, and you, my captain. What do you say, O brave soldiers? You are very strong. All of you, prepare for war right away. A new word is to be made now. They say he who was recently born will be the ruler of the world. But now I say that I will kill him! By my will it shall be

²⁰ The Tlatelolco manuscript published by Paso y Troncoso was missing two folios, beginning at this point (1902:98).

²¹ Or "in a good way, in a proper way."

done. And now, go look for him over in Bethlehem, which pertains to the great altepetl of Nazareth.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Very well, O master, O ruler. Let's go. Let's go carry out your royal commands. Let's go inform your warriors. They are very strong and rugged. *Captain will go off. He will go to summon the Jews. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.*

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Please come here, you war captains. Please take note as to what I was told and informed about the one who was born who they say will be the ruler of the world and will be the ruler of the Jews. These words are very infuriating and worrisome. How do you see it? Please answer me, just as I inform you of the words. [15v]

SECOND JEW: Don't let what you're informing us about trouble you. We are awaiting the breath, the words, of our ruler, Herod.

THIRD JEW: Don't let what you're informing us about trouble you. We are delighted that we are hearing those words. All of us who are here, let us go, let us carry out the royal commands, O our friends.

FOURTH JEW: We've heard the breath, the words, of the ruler, Herod. Let us go, let us go carry out his commands.

The Jews go off.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, your brave soldiers whom you are summoning have come, O ruler.

Then at that point Herod will pass judgment, and he goes to call Notary. He will put down the sentence. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played.

HEROD: Please come here. I firmly command you to kill all the babies. You're not to leave a single one, so that all of them will die: the toddlers, the ones who are crawling, even the ones who are still very small. Please come here, you, notary.

Put my royal command down there immediately, the sentence of the people of Judea, so that they will hear the judgment passed upon them by which all their children will be killed. It is I, King Herod, who give the order. [16r]

NOTARY:²² Very well, O master, O ruler. Let me put down your royal command, as you command me, O master, O ruler.

Notary will put down the sentence. When he has put it down, then he will announce it. Then he will give it to Captain so that they will take it along. Drums will be beaten. Trumpets will be played. Notary [will write] the sentence:

²² Tlatelolco manuscript resumes here after two missing folios.

[HEROD:²³] Here in the great altepetl of Jerusalem I issue commands and in my anger I condemn the people of Judea, such that I send my war captains there to kill all their children: the toddlers, the ones who are crawling, even the newborns. And anyone who speaks up for them will be killed with the others. This royal command of mine will be carried out and executed. I issue the sentence here in the court of Jerusalem, so that all of the babies will die, so that the one who was recently born who is to be the ruler of the world and perhaps is truly to save people will die there along with the others. That is precisely why this statement of judgment is being put down. I, King Herod, here in Jerusalem, so that no one will violate my statement of judgment, so that my captain and my other brave soldiers will be empowered, hereby grant them my authorization, so that no one will dispute or undo my sentence. The death sentence was written here in the great altepetl of Jerusalem. [16v]

NOTARY: O master, O ruler, I have put down your royal command. Listen to it.

Let me read the sentence.

He will read it.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Those words that we're hearing, the royal command, are a great comfort to us.

FOURTH JEW: We've heard the royal command of the great ruler, Herod. Let's all prepare for war right away.

FIFTH JEW: Let us go. Let us go inside in order to go and prepare for war, and let's go and call the others.

All will go in. Drums will be beaten. The kings will speak at the entrance to the church.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Please look! We've reached where the star is.

SAINT MELCHIOR: It's true! That's right! It seems it's just a little shack over which the star is visible. Indeed, do look!

SAINT CASPAR: O my beloved younger brothers, there's a supremely good maiden over there. She is just holding her beloved and revered only child in her arms. Let us each make a greeting right away. We'll kneel to give him our gifts, one by one.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Let it be as you wish, [17r] O my beloved older brother.

SAINT MELCHIOR: You should give your greeting first, because you are our older brother, so we'll give our greetings afterwards.

Then they will approach. Saint Caspar will kneel. He will say an oration.

²³ Presumably Herod is to speak these words aloud while Notary pretends to write them down, but the script does not make this clear.

SAINT CASPAR: You have endured fatigue, you have become weary, you beloved child, you jade. You have been born here in the middle of the plain, in a little shack, you jewel, you quetzal feather. You are not just anyone. You are the ruler of the world! Here I kiss your hands and your feet. And the words of your great-grandfathers the prophets have come true. They foretold that you would be born here in the middle of the plain, where the cold rises, where the cattle and horses²⁴ eat, where the winds rise up. That is where you have come onto the earth. You will become the light, the torch, of the people of the world. The rulers and prophets flew off long ago: David, Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, Isaac. They left behind, they set aside the carrying frame, the instrument of bearing, which is heavy, which cannot be lifted, which is unbearable. What more are they going to know of what is behind them, in back of them?²⁵ And so, O master, O ruler, serve and work. And now, what am I to give you? For I am your creation. But here is a little bit of gold [17v] and silver. And it will become your precious payment when you save us. And that is all with which I greet your hands and your feet, O beloved sacred child.

O noblewoman, O maiden, you have attained it through your labor, that you have given birth here, here in the middle of the plain, where the deer eat, where the cold arises, you who are forever a maiden. Here you have given birth to the very pure and precious sacred child. Exert all your effort! Take care of him, O beloved noblewoman!

Our Lady will speak.

OUR LADY: You have been generous, O Caspar, in that you all have come to greet my beloved child. It is true and correct that he will be the ruler of the world. The prophets and patriarchs left it said that he who will become the torch, the light, of the sinners of the world would be born. Like the prophet David went to declare, he was to be born here in the middle of the plain. And the your reward and good fortune that my beloved only child grants you is that you will have no difficulty obtaining what you and your future children need,

²⁴ The Tlatelolco manuscript (Paso y Troncoso 1902:99) here has “deer” (*Mamaça*) rather than “horses.” The word for deer, *mazatl*, was extended to apply to Old World ungulates, especially earlier in the colonial period; Christ’s birthplace is described as “where the deer eat” in several sixteenth-century texts and below in this text.

²⁵ From the reference to great-grandfathers up to here, Caspar’s speech is very similar to his namesake’s speech at the same point in the other Epiphany drama (Sell and Burkhart 2004:136-37), which in turn is drawn almost verbatim from the *Florentine Codex* speech for the installation of a new ruler (Sahagún 1950-1982, vol. 6:47). Old Testament figures replace former rulers; the references to carrying are metaphors for the burdens of rulership. As the other play quotes this speech more closely and at greater length, it is likely that the textual tradition represented by the Tlatelolco and Metepec plays draws upon that one, rather than vice versa.

given that you offer him, you give him, gold and silver. My beloved child will repay you, O Caspar.

SAINT BALTHASAR: O master, O ruler, O our lord, O precious one, O jade, O bracelet, O emerald, you have come here. Your beloved father, God the father, He of the Near, He of the Nigh, He by Whom All Live, has sent you here, as was put in order²⁶ by your great-grandfathers, the prophets. And a little while ago David and Abraham went away. For a moment they mistook [18r] the water, the hill, for something else.²⁷ The water, the hill, Jerusalem, no long has eyes, no longer has a heart.²⁸ But they left to you here the carrying frame, the instrument of bearing, which is heavy, which cannot be lifted, which is unbearable. Pain and agony will befall you. And so, O master, O ruler, forgive me, for I am your creation. What am I to give you? Here is a little bit of a precious potion that you will need when they lay you in the supreme sepulcher and a fine white mantle with which they will cover your supremely good body. And so, O master, O ruler, serve and work, O our lord. And that is all with which I greet your hands and your feet. My words stutter and stammer, O master, O ruler.

O maiden, O beloved and revered mother of God, O humane one, O utterly compassionate one, no sins appeared on you. You are perfectly pure. Grace lies gathered together with you. You have shown favor to all of us people of earth. You will become the stairway to heaven. Exert all your effort, O supreme maiden! Take care of the beloved child!

OUR LADY: You have shown favor to my beloved only child, O Balthasar, in that his beloved father, the most holy Trinity, brought you all here in the middle of the plain, where I have given birth to him. Likewise it is correct that they left him the carrying frame, the instrument of bearing, the sins of the world, which are heavy, which cannot be lifted, which are unbearable. It is he who will bear on his back that which will relieve the sins of the sinners in the world. And you, poor thing, exert all your effort! Sometimes [18v] you will be happy and sometimes you will be afflicted. And your future children will issue from you,

²⁶ Or “their orderly arrangement”: this probably alludes to the *Ordo Prophetarum* (Order of the Prophets), an Advent liturgical reading enumerating the different prophets’ texts considered to predict the birth of Christ.

²⁷ Beginning here, Balthasar too speaks in the style of old-time orations to new rulers, which neither he nor Melchior does in the other Epiphany play. In her response, the Virgin will identify the formulaic burden of rulership with the human sins that Christ will bear. The notion that David and Abraham made a mistake is a formulaic deprecation: the addressee is the true ruler; his predecessors were here only fleetingly and without full legitimacy. “The water, the hill” is a more formal way of referring to the alpeptl, separating the word’s two component terms.

²⁸ That is, it is lacking its ruler.

come to life, and be born. But you will always call to and pray to him whom you have come to greet, my beloved only child. Exert all your effort, O Balthasar! SAINT MELCHIOR: O my deity, O my ruler, you have endured fatigue, you have become weary, O beloved and sacred child. You have come onto the earth here in the middle of the plain, where the cold arises. You jade, you are not just anyone. You are the ruler of the world, just as your great-grandfathers the prophets left it said. God himself opened their mouths so that they declared that he would be born. It is not just lies that they left spoken. It has come true, it has happened! And so, I kiss your hands and your feet. If I do not speak in this way,²⁹ forgive me for this stuttering and stammering speech of mine, O master, O ruler, with which I pay you honor,³⁰ I who am your creation. How am I to greet you? Here is a little bit of frankincense,³¹ a little incense, which will become the symbol of how those who will be your saved ones on earth will pray to you and lay out offerings for you always, every day, in your beloved presence.³² And so, you shall work for a little while for your beloved father, God. And that is all with which I kiss your hands and your feet, O master, O ruler, O beloved and sacred child.

O beloved noblewoman, O maiden, O humane one, O compassionate one, you have attained through your labor that here in the middle of the plain, where the deer and the cattle eat, you have given birth to [19r] the supremely pure one, your beloved only child, the heart of heaven. Sustain your beloved child, O beloved noblewoman, O maiden. That is all with which I greet your hands and your feet, O beloved noblewoman.

OUR LADY: You have endured it, you have become weary, O Melchior, as you all have come, as you came to worship him who really and truly is the heart of heaven, as he was born here in a shack where the cold arises, with no door, in the middle of the plain, where I am holding in my arms the beloved and sacred child. And you, poor thing, will never rest from your labors, and your future children [will always be poor and work³³]. Exert all your effort on earth, O Melchior!

²⁹ The “not” (*camo*) was added later, and the phrase may make more sense without it, unless Melchior is comparing his speech with the eloquence of the prophets. This statement is not in the Tlatelolco version.

³⁰ Tentative translation; the negation of this phrase refers to treating someone shamelessly (Molina 1992: 7v; Siméon 1977:566).

³¹ The Spanish loanword *ynsienso* (for “incienso”) is used here, followed by a Nahuatl term.

³² The interpretation of the three gifts given here corresponds to one of several that the thirteenth-century friar Jacobus de Voragine lists: the gold is tribute, relating to Christ’s royal power; the frankincense represents sacrifice, relating to Christ’s divine majesty; and the myrrh (here “precious potion”) represents burial of the dead, relating to Christ’s mortality as a human (Voragine 1993, vol. 1:14).

³³ This phrase is in the Tlatelolco version (Paso y Troncoso 1902:102); some description of the children

KINGS' CAPTAIN: Oh! O our lord, O God, we, your creations, have come here before you. We have come to pay honor to you. Your beloved father, [God?], has sent you here.

FIRST VASSAL: O my lord, O God, forgive me, I who am your creation. We have not brought anything at all with which to come and kiss your hands and your feet. O master, O ruler, O our lord, your beloved father, God, has sent you here in the middle of the plain.

SECOND VASSAL: O master, O ruler, you who are God the father's beloved child, here where the cold arises your beloved and revered mother has given birth to you, here where the deer eat, where there is no door, where the wind rises up, where your beloved and revered mother, Saint Mary, is holding you in her arms.

Then at that point an angel will speak. He will advise the kings not to go back to where they came from. [19v]

SAINT MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL:³⁴ Know, you three kings, that God the father has sent me so that you do not go back to the place you come from, so that you follow a different road. The great wicked one, Herod, is very angry because you have not returned quickly to satisfy him as to where the ruler of the world, the beloved child of the creator we share, has been born. He is very angry and has therefore issued commands and resolved to destroy him, to kill him. His messengers are already on their way here to destroy all the children here in the altepetl of Nazareth, who will be called "Innocents." That is all that you are hearing of the breath and words of God the father. It will not take long for you to reach the place you came from. Get going, you rulers.

SAINT CASPAR: We are fortunate and favored by the breath, the words of God the father! Let his will be done, so that we do not go back where we came from, so that we follow a different road, so that we do not go and fall into the hands of the wicked one, Herod.

SAINT BALTHASAR: Let's exultantly praise the beloved and sacred child, as we have heard, as we have been told, the words of God the father. Let's act accordingly and carry out his words, O my beloved older brother. [20r]

seems called for here. According to a tradition dating at least to the ninth century, Melchior represents Africa, while Caspar and Balthasar represent, respectively, Europe and Asia. Melchior's descendants will be poor and work hard because, being Africans, they suffer the so-called curse of Ham and the Atlantic slave trade lies in their future. Caspar's European descendants will prosper, while Balthasar's will have intermediate fortune.

³⁴ The Tlatelolco play does not name the angel, but usually it is Gabriel who acts as God's envoy (in Matthew the Magi's warning comes in a dream). The identification of the angel as Michael was surely added as the play was passed along among Nahuas, who were familiar with this warrior angel from other Christian texts and imagery.

SAINT MELCHIOR: Let it be done according to the will of God the father,
 O my beloved older brothers, so that we do not go there. Let's follow a different
 road.

*Then the kings will go off. Kings' Captain [and Vassals?] will lead the way. Drums will
 be beaten. Then Herod will pass judgment so that the Jews will go to kill people.*

HEROD: Please come here, you who are my brave soldiers, you mighty ones.

Exert all your effort! Here is their sentence, their judgment of death. When you
 have reached the altepetl of Judea, right away you are to tell them that all their
 children will die, anyone who was born just recently, so that there among the
 others he who perhaps is truly to be our ruler of the world will also die. I hope
 you will exert all your effort, you my war captain and you warriors.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, your royal command will be carried out
 in this way. We'll destroy them all: the toddlers, the ones who are crawling.
 Anyone who speaks up for them we'll destroy and kill along with the others,
 O master, O ruler.

FIRST JEW: Don't worry. Your royal command will be carried out and put into
 effect, O ruler.

SECOND JEW: We've heard your royal command. We'll begin right away. Don't
 worry, for we are going to carry out, [20v] we are going to put into effect your
 breath, your words.

THIRD JEW: O master, O ruler, go inside, rest for a little while. We, your war
 captains, will go get started right away. We'll consult with each other as to how
 we're going to perform our task.

Herod will go in. Drums will be beaten.

FOURTH JEW: O brave soldiers, how can we carry out the ruler's royal
 command? It is quite delightful that we were ordered to go and kill people

FIFTH JEW: It is quite delightful that we were ordered to go and kill people.
 Where in the world will they go? The baby will fall³⁵ into our hands no matter
 what. I'm sure that we'll find him no matter what. Have they been able to find
 out? Will they hide him or flee with him? I am overjoyed to think that we are
 going to war. My face and my heart want to just rush off to kill and destroy
 people.³⁶ O my friends, let's get started right away, while it is still an opportune
 time. Let's go happily. Aren't we sent to do something?

SIXTH JEW: I got especially overwhelmed with rage about this one who was
 recently born who perhaps is to be our true ruler. That's what I'm angry about.

³⁵ This verb is plural in the Metepec manuscript but singular in the Tlatelolco text (Paso y Troncoso 1902:104).

³⁶ Tentative translation.

Let me just go see what he is like, who perhaps is our true future ruler. Let the drums be beaten. Let's take the statement of judgment [21r] that our ruler, King Herod, put down.

Then they will go off. They will go in a line. They will arrive at the church door. They will rest there, [along with] Captain. Afterwards they will go into the church to kill people.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: I say, O my friends, you warriors, let's rest for a little while here in the plain. We should travel by night so that we'll arrive near the Nazareth people's babies toward daybreak, at an opportune time.

FIRST JEW: What you're saying is very good. It will be done. We'll arrive at an opportune time, while it's still dark, so that the people of Judea don't know that we're going in, for they are still sleeping.

Then Captain will summon them to go into the church. He will speak.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: It's time, O my friends. Let's get started. Get moving. We're about to arrive. Prepare for battle, you warriors.

SECOND JEW: We're just waiting here for your breath, your words, you who are our captain. Let's go and get started right away, you warriors.

Then they will go inside the church, where [Jewish] Captain will order that the sentence be read.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Now we have arrived here in the altepetl where he whom they say is God's child, who surpasses our great ruler, King Herod, has been born. They say he is the ruler of the world [21v] and our ruler. He won't be ruler of the world.

FIRST JEW: What you're talking about is why the heart of our ruler, King Herod, is burning and aching. That's why he sent us to look for him here in the altepetl, to kill him, to destroy him.

SECOND JEW: As for me, when I hear it I get more than a little angry. Let me indeed appease the anger and fury of our ruler, Herod, concerning the one who perhaps is truly to be my ruler, who was just recently born.

FIFTH JEW: When I hear those words that you're saying, my heart wants me to destroy and kill him, like whenever and wherever we go to war and destroy people.

FOURTH JEW: Let's listen to why we're talking. Wouldn't it make anyone angry and regretful? Perhaps it's true that the three rulers we met came to greet him and worship him. As for us, we are very angry and wrathful about the one who's been born, who perhaps is truly to be the ruler of us Jews.

FIFTH JEW: What you're saying is that some people who hear us here might say that maybe we too came to greet him, that maybe we too came to worship him. It's impossible! We will destroy him! We will kill him! If he grows up,

it's possible that he will be the great ruler, that he will be exalted. Please consider how when the three rulers came there, [22r] that is what they told King Herod.

SIXTH JEW: What you all are saying is true and correct, O my friends. Please consider how when our ruler, King Herod, questioned them, it's said that they said that some new star came leading them here as they came to worship him. If I myself see any baby, here is my machete,³⁷ with which I'll destroy him, with which I'll slice him up! I'd cut him to pieces! I'd take out my anger and fury on him!

SECOND JEW: Let's hold our discussion later. Let's carry out the royal command of our ruler, King Herod, that we destroy people, that we kill people. I have become so very wrathful with my anger!

FOURTH JEW: May your breath, your words be issued quickly, you our war captain, so that we may perform our task that we were sent for. And let the command of the ruler, Herod, be read, he who governs the great altepetl of Jerusalem.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Now go cry out, proclaim the document of our great ruler, King Herod, in front of the macehualtin³⁸ so that what he commands may be carried out.

When the sentence has been read, then they will beat the babies. Then they will come forth and they will and come upon a farmworker. They will ask him if [22v] the maiden passed by him.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Please come here, you farmworker, please let us question you. Haven't you seen them and haven't they passed you, a woman carrying her child, and a man leading her? They say she's traveling on a donkey. On your life, tell us which way they were heading.

FIRST³⁹ WORKER: O ruler, as to what you are asking about, what you are saying is true. They passed by here and she goes carrying her beloved child in her arms.

³⁷ The Tlatelolco text here has *notepozmacuaub* (no-Tépoçmakuáuh), "my metal *macuabuitl*" or "my sword" (Paso y Troncoso 1902:105). The *macuabuitl* was the indigenous obsidian-blade-edged wooden weapon. A machete would be a more familiar implement in colonial Nahua experience.

³⁸ Nahuatl retained because of the multiple meanings of this term. *Macehualli* described the non-noble, tribute-paying mass of the indigenous population, and so "commoners" or "common people" could be used here. However, during the colonial period this word came to designate indigenous people as a general category; as James Lockhart states, "macehualli" was the general Nahuatl approximation of 'Indian' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (1992:116). The term retains this meaning today. Hence, when used in plays, the word contributes to the recentering of the dramatized events into the indigenous Mexican context in which they are being reenacted.

³⁹ The Tlatelolco text has only one worker (Paso y Troncoso 1902:106-107); singular forms of address and reference are retained in the Metepec play. Perhaps the role was split in order to provide parts for two actors.

He was very wondrous! His precious body is just like snow and it is just like sunbeams emanate from him. And a young man goes leading them. He goes traveling along very quickly as he goes, O ruler.

FIRST JEW: O young man, be sure to tell us the truth. Did you talk to them? Or did they talk to you? What did they say to you when they passed you? And which way were they going when they went by? Tell us!

SECOND WORKER: O ruler, I won't lie to you all. What I'll tell you is correct. When they passed me they were heading right over there [23r] as they descended to the Jordan River. I did not see [where?] they went [after that?].

SECOND JEW: Explain it to us exactly as we question you, so that our doubts will be resolved. He is the one we come in search of, such that we came upon you here, you farmworker.

FIRST WORKER: You poor things, you're out of breath, you rulers, you messengers. What I'm saying is quite correct. When they passed me I was sowing wheat. And now I'm already cutting it! So you can be sure that I'm not lying, you rulers, in what I'm saying to you.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: (*he will get red in the face*⁴⁰) What are you telling us here? It's just false. You're delaying us here. Are you crazy? You're not telling us anything true. Speak your words to us properly so that we will be contented, and don't you get angry with us. If we want to, all of us who are here will destroy you right here. Let's leave the madman. Let's go.

FIFTH JEW: What our war captain is saying is correct. If we want to, we'll destroy you. Don't you see that we are carrying the judgment of our great ruler, King Herod, who is in charge of the great altepetl of Jerusalem?

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Please speak, now please answer us. What [23v] will you say? Let us hear your words.

[FIRST?] WORKER: O master, O ruler, may you all forgive me. What I told you is correct. They passed by me here, here where I am now cutting wheat, where you've come upon me, you warriors, you war chiefs.

FOURTH JEW: Let's just get going already, O ruler. We're wasting even more time over what the lying wretch of a madman is telling you all there. Let's hurry up. Perhaps it is useless to try to find the ones for whose sake we are having such difficulties, in order to destroy the baby.

FIFTH JEW: And our great ruler, King Herod, might be waiting for us. Let's go and inform him that the one who might be the true God's child did not fall into our hands.

⁴⁰ Tentative translation.

Then they will all go off to go and inform the ruler, Herod. He will come forth, he will sit on his throne. Drums will be beaten when the Jews have arrived.

HEROD: Why are my face and heart discontented? How did my war chiefs make out in regard to what I sent them about, the one who was born who perhaps is to be the true ruler of the world? They're coming now. Let me wait for them.
The Jews will arrive. [24r]

[FIRST JEW?]: You are seated in honor, O master, O ruler. We your war chiefs have come to inform you about what you sent us for, O ruler.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: Be joyful, O master, O ruler, you who are our ruler, King Herod.

HEROD: Come here, you who are my brave soldiers. How did you make out? Tell me. Please declare to me your valor and your bravery, you who are my war chiefs.

JEWISH CAPTAIN: O master, O ruler, know that we went to carry out your royal command. We destroyed all the babies, just as you passed judgment on them. But we didn't find the one we went for. His mother fled with him, so he could not fall into our hands. Here are your war chiefs. Let them tell you, O master, O ruler.

FIRST JEW: What you are hearing is true, O master, O ruler. His mother fled with him. Don't worry, for we'll exert all our effort so that he will fall into our hands, the one who has been born who perhaps is to be the true ruler of the world,. [24v]

THIRD JEW: Know, O master, O ruler, that we came upon a certain farmworker. They say that he had just then been sowing wheat. But he was already cutting it when we passed him. Thus what we are saying, what you are hearing, is true, you who are our ruler. They say that they had just gone to the Jordan River. And we went there right away. We couldn't find him, O master, O ruler.

HEROD: So it's like that. My face and heart really burn and ache because the one who was recently born is like that and I hear about one thing that he has already done,⁴¹ and perhaps it is true that he is to be our ruler. Exert all your effort, so that he cannot overcome us in the great altepetl! I'll issue commands to the rulers of the Romans, the Hebrews, and the Greeks, and all the high priests, Annas and Caiaphas, and the Emperor Caesar. And as for you, poor things, get going.

⁴¹ Tentative translation. The "one thing" would be the miracle concerning the wheat.

[25r]

This original was prepared today, on the day of Sunday the 14th of March in the year 1717. I sign it. My name is Carlos de San Juan. I am from the Santa Cruz Tianquitzenco neighborhood. And the copy was made by order of the ruler⁴² the former governor don Juan Miguel, also of the Santa Cruz Tianquitzenco neighborhood. The ruler *maestro* don Ildefonso Diego, showed what it was copied from. And I'm the one who copied it. My name is Carlos de San Juan. And because I copied it, they had mercy on me with six tomines. And as don Ildefonso Diego showed this original, don Juan Miguel, the former governor, gave him six tomines. Don Lorenzo Ramos took it [or them? the tomines?]. And [25v] Antonio [?], the son of don Juan Miguel, was the prompter.⁴³ And [?] it was all signed in the precious presence of the teacher our lord Jesus Christ. May it so be done.

⁴² *Tlatoani* is used here in its colonial sense of high-ranking official, a category that includes this former governor as well as "maestro" (possibly for "maestro de capilla," or chapelmaster) don Ildefonso, mentioned just below.

⁴³ The Spanish word "apuntador" is used here. This Antonio may have served as prompter in a production of the play; another possibility, especially given that the March date is rather removed from the play's likely performance contexts of Epiphany and Corpus Christi, is that he read the play aloud while Carlos de San Juan penned his copy. No similar statement is found in any other known script.


References

- Bassett, Molly. 2015. *The Fate of Earthly Things: Aztec Gods and God-Bodies*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bautista, fray Juan. 1606. *Sermonario . . . en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Diego López Dávalos.
- Burkhart, Louise M. 1996. *Holy Wednesday: A Nahuatl Drama from Early Colonial Mexico*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 2008. "Meeting the Enemy: Moteuczoma and Cortes, Herod and the Magi." In *Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico*. Edited by Rebecca P. Brienen and Margaret A. Jackson, 11–23. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- . 2009. "Pageantry, Passion, and Punishment: Eighteenth-Century Nahuatl Community Theater." In *Nahuatl Theater Volume 4: Nahuatl Christianity in Performance*. Edited by Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, 5–50. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Burkhart, Louise M., ed. 2011. *Aztecs on Stage: Religious Theater in Colonial Mexico*. Translations by Louise M. Burkhart, Barry D. Sell, and Stafford Poole. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, Domingo de San Antón Muñón. 1997. *Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahuatl Altepetl in Central Mexico*. 2 vols. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Christiansen, Mark Z. 2013. *Nahuatl and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan*. Stanford and Berkeley: Stanford University Press and Academy of American Franciscan History.
- Ciudad Real, fray Antonio de. 1976. *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España*. Edited by Josefina García Quintana and Victor M. Castillo Farreras. 2 vols. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Clendinnen, Inga. 1990. "Ways to the Sacred: Reconstructing 'Religion' in Sixteenth-Century Mexico." *History and Anthropology* 5:105–141.

- Cornyn, John H., and Byron McAfee. 1944. "Tlacahuapahualiztli (Bringing up Children)." *Tlalocan* 1:314–351.
- Haskett, Robert. 2005. *Visions of Paradise: Primordial Titles and Mesoamerican History in Cuernavaca*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- . 2010. "Conquering the Spiritual Conquest in Cuernavaca." In *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism*. Edited by Susan Schroeder, 226–260. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press.
- Horcasitas, Fernando. 1974. *El teatro náhuatl: Épocas novohispana y moderna*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- . 2004. *Teatro náhuatl II: Selección y estudio crítico de los materiales inéditos de Fernando Horcasitas*. Edited by María Sten, Óscar Armando García, Ricardo García-Arteaga, and Alejandro Ortiz Bullé-Goyri; translations revised by Librado Silva Galeana. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Karttunen, Frances, and James Lockhart. 1976. *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*. University of California Publications in Linguistics 85. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Leeming, Benjamin H. 2017. *Aztec Antichrist: Christianity, Transculturation, and Apocalypse on Stage in Two Sixteenth-Century Nahuatl Dramas*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University at Albany, State University of New York.
- Leyva, Juan. 2001. *La Pasión de Ozumba: El teatro religioso en el siglo XVIII novohispano*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Lockhart, James. 1992. *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Macuil Martínez, Raul. 2013. "La Pasión de Atlhuetzia en lengua nauatl, siglos xvii y xviii." *Indiana* 3(1):223–249.
- Mathes, W. Michael. 1985. *The America's First Academic Library: Santa Cruz de Tlaxelolco*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation.
- Molina, Alonso de. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*. Facsimile of 1571 edition. Edited by Miguel León-Portilla. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa.
- Mosquera, Daniel. 2005. "Consecrated Transactions: Of Marketplaces, Passion Plays, and Other Nahua-Christian Devotions." *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 14:171–193.
- Motolinia, fray Toribio de Benavente. 1979. *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*. Edited by Edmundo O'Gorman. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa.
- Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del. 1900. "La adoración de los Reyes." In *Biblioteca Náuatl* vol. 1. Florence: Salvador Landi.

- , 1902. "La comedia de los Reyes." In *Biblioteca Náuatl* vol. 1. Florence: Salvador Landi.
- Ramos Smith, Maya, Tito Vasconcelos, Luis Armando Lamadrid, and Xabier Lizárraga Cruchaga, eds. 1998. *Censura y teatro novohispano (1539–1822): Ensayos y antología de documentos*. Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Centro Nacional de Investigación e Información Teatral Rodolfo Usigli, and Escenología, A.C.
- Ravicz, Marilyn Ekdahl. 1970. *Early Colonial Religious Drama in Mexico: From Tzompantli to Golgotha*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.
- Rojas Rabiela, Teresa, Elsa Leticia Rea López, and Constantino Medina Lima, eds. and trans. 1999–2004. *Vidas y bienes olvidados: Testamentos indígenas novohispanos*. 5 vols. Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.
- Sahagún, fray Bernardino de. 1950–1982. *Florentine Codex, General History of the Things of New Spain*. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. 12 vols. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research and University of Utah.
- , 1993. *Psalmody Christiana (Christian Psalmody)*. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Schiller, Gertrud. 1971. *Iconography of Christian Art*. Translated by Janet Seligman. 2 vols. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society Ltd.
- Sell, Barry D. 1993. *Friars, Nahuas, and Books: Language and Expression in Colonial Nahuatl Publications*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles.
- , 2009. "Nahuatl Theater, Nahua Theater." In *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 4: Nahua Christianity in Performance*. Edited by Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, 51–70. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sell, Barry D., and Louise Burkhart, eds. and trans. 2004. *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 1: Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- , 2009. *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 4: Nahua Christianity in Performance*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sell, Barry D., Louise M. Burkhart, and Stafford Poole, eds. and trans. 2006. *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 2: Our Lady of Guadalupe*. 2006. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sell, Barry D., Louise M. Burkhart, and Elizabeth R. Wright, eds. 2008. *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 3: Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Shergold, N. D. 1967. *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Siméon, Remi. 1977. *Diccionario de la lengua nahuatl o mexicana*. Translated by Josefina Oliva de Coll. Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno.
- Sousa, Lisa, and Kevin Terraciano. 2003. "The 'Original Conquest' of Oaxaca: Nahuatl and Mixtec Accounts of the Spanish Conquest." *Ethnohistory* 50(2):349–400.
- Torroja Menéndez, Carmen, and María Rivas Palá. 1977. *Teatro en Toledo en el siglo XV: "Auto de la Pasión" de Alonso del Campo*. Madrid: Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Anejo XXXV.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. 1993. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wood, Stephanie. 2003. *Transcending Conquest: Nahuatl Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.



In “The Star Sign” we see traces of the Bible, early and medieval Christian legend, medieval theater, the Franciscan evangelization of Mexico, the performative nature of Nahuatl religion, and Nahuatl appropriation of Christian discourses for religious and political legitimation. We see archaic, formal Nahuatl, replete with honorific speech, parallel constructions, and metaphors, not just preserved in an archive but scripted for dozens of eighteenth-century actors to proclaim aloud to their entire community and any number of visitors. We see an exuberant, festive religious practice developed and perpetuated by colonized people through their own initiative and means. And we see a controversial practice that provoked the disapproval and even disgust of colonial authorities who sought to exert their control over the colonized population by rejecting and policing indigenous forms of Christianity.

Louise M. Burkhart, *Introductory study*



ISBN 978-83-63636-68-5



9 788363 636685