Introduction

In 1528, the wife of a Spanish conquistador swept and swept and swept in her Mexico City mansion. Nothing exciting there. But she was naked and it was midnight and she said strange things, maybe prayed to a Mesoamerican god. Another Spanish woman denounced her to the vicar of the Inquisition resident in Mexico City. There is no specific language in this fragment of the first witchcraft investigation in Mexico about Nahua ritual or cosmology but everyone agreed that she learned the behavior from Nahua women. By 1570, two women – one a Spanish Canarian and the other a Seville-born mulata – were casting spells, using the hallucinogenic cactus *peyote*, and *patles* (Nahuatl for remedy, potion, or herbal medicine) in Zacatecas and Guanajuato. The Nahuatl words peyote and patle had entered their linguistic-cultural consciousness and became loanwords in written Spanish.[1]

These two cases frame the trajectory of this book – from the 1520s to 1571. The five decades after the Spanish arrival in central Mexico reveal a rapid process of acculturation. Traditional ethnohistory has studied Native responses to Spanish colonialism. This book does the opposite by telling the stories of non-Native women who adopted cultural forms, language, healing knowledge (*tiçiyotl* in Nahuatl, *curanderismo* in Spanish), and magic of the predominant Native cultures in which they lived. Acculturation was rapid but documentary evidence for Mesoamerican cultural influence on non-Native peoples evolved from vague intimations in the 1520s, to explicit linguistic discussions by the 1560s.

[1] The 1528 case: AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 27 [12], f. 128. The case against the Canarian: AGN, Inq., vol. 39, exp. 2, and against the mulata in 1569–70 in Sombrerete: AGN, Inq., vol. 39, exp. 4.

These three women also represent the ethnic complexity of post-contact Mexico among the non-Native population. The woman accused in 1528 was Catalina de Vergara, a Spaniard married to a conquistador. The Canarian was Catalina de Peraza, an illegitimate daughter of the Count of Gomera. The mulata was Bárbola de Zamora, born in Seville to a Spanish man and a dark-skinned woman of uncertain ethnicity, possibly Maghrebi (Moroccan/Algerian/Tunisian). This book also tells the stories of Senegambian slaves, Muslims or Muslim converts to Catholicism, Basques, and Andalucians. Some are Castilian but not of high status. In this period, the one high-status woman credibly accused of sorcery in Mexico, doña María de Anuncibay, was Basque.

These accused witches share certain traits. They were usually from regions of geographic or cultural-linguistic frontiers, like Andalucía, the Canaries, or the Basque region. Many were of mixed or vaguely "exoticized" looks – darker-skinned Andalucians who, like Canarian women, were viewed as unusually oversexed. Many were "Moriscas" – former Muslims or Maghrebi women from North Africa or of vague mixed ethnicities. Some were mulatas (of mixed African and Spanish ethnicity) of uncertain backgrounds. Even the clearly Catholic Spanish women accused of sorcery tended to come from lower social registers.

This book employs inquisitional investigation into sorcery, witchcraft, and magic-medicine as its central analytical device and archival evidence base. Surprisingly few witchcraft cases exist for Mexico before 1571. Other such cases investigated men and are the focus of a book to follow this study. This book is the first in a series of studies about acculturation of non-Native peoples to Mesoamerican culture, language, cosmology, and magic. The Xolotl Rite and Other Episodes in Mexican Cultural History book series offers microhistorical snapshots of how Spanish, mestizo, mulato, Maghrebi, Senegambian, Morisco and other non-Native peoples began to adopt elements of Mexican Native culture. The second book, *The Xolotl Rite, or How Spanish and Mestizo Men Became Nahuatlized in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, trains sights on men, in balance with this book about women.

Contrary to popular or even scholarly belief, there were no witch crazes in Mexico. There were not even that many actual trials of women accused of sorcery or of being witches. But there are a lot of investigations. Inquisitional and ecclesiastical investigations into women who practiced sorcery are rich in cultural detail. Those investigations reveal suggestive and even lurid detail about the form that popular magic took in Mexico in the first decades after contact. I am not interested in acting

like a police detective or priest in determining guilt or innocence, truth or falsehood, in these cases. Rather, I scrutinize the details for what they reveal about collective ideas about sorcery and magic. Those ideas, in turn, tell us a great deal about how, when, and why non-Native women adopted Native customs, rites, and plant materials. By "non-Native," I mean women who were not ethnically Native. I avoid using the catch-all term "Spanish" even for the women born in Spain. Many women who migrated to Mexico from Spain were not ethnically Spanish per se. There were, of course, Spanish as well as Basque and Canarian women who were ethnic Europeans. Many women described as Morisca probably had mixed Spanish and Arab ethnicity. Other women had Maghrebi, mixed Spanish-African, or Spanish-Maghrebi backgrounds. And there were sub-Saharan African women, almost certainly from Senegambia in the period under study, who arrived in Mexico against their will as slaves.

This first book of the *Xolotl Rite* series focuses on women. Non-Native men and women adopted different elements of Mesoamerican culture. Men were more likely to venerate specific Mesoamerican gods, like Xolotl, and to engage in priest-like behaviors. Spanish and mestizo men were also more likely to engage with the shape-shifting sorcerer called *nahualli*. Non-Native women, on the other hand, were more likely to engage in plant medicine, love magic, and divination using corn kernels. Women were also the first non-Natives to use the hallucinogenic cactus peyote. Iberian women continued to employ Iberian forms of magic, like the ceremonial use of salt or vaginal bathwater mixed in food as love magic, and to act as healers and midwives. Iberian ideas about sorcery as linked to *alcahuatería* (pimping or procuring) flourished in Mexico, as did the belief in the evil eye (*mal de ojo*) and the unique role of midwives in curing it. But these Iberian forms of folk medicine (*curanderismo*) and sorcery (*hechicería*) mutated and integrated Mesoamerican materials and ritual forms. Eventually, these women began to resemble a Nahua healing specialist, *tiçitl*.

Women created extensive and complex social networks that straddled ethnic and class boundaries in sixteenth-century Mexico. Iberian and mixed-race women in Mexico operated as healers and sorceresses in a cosmopolitan world inhabited by majority Nahuas. Sorcery proliferated in multiethnic networks and non-Native women of both high and low status employed sorcery or hired sorceresses.

This book asks how non-Native women adapted to and adopted Native customs, rites, ceremonies, magic, and divination in Mexico in the first five decades after contact. Iberian and African women represented a small minority of all migrants – settler-colonists and slaves – in Mexico.

Ethnically, these women lived in a world dominated by Native peoples – Nahuas, Zapotecs, Pames, Zacatecos, Purépuchas. They lived in a world where the language of the household, *tianguis* (marketplace), and the street was Nahuatl in central Mexico and Zapotec in Oaxaca. While nominally Catholic – though some migrant women were certainly Muslim – these women occupied an everyday world where Mesoamerican religion, ritual, cosmology, and iconography were present.

The vast majority of ethnohistorical scholarship has examined how Native peoples resisted, and responded and adapted to Spanish imperial rule in Mexico (and Latin America). Consequently, we have a rich and complex body of work that informs our understanding of the process of Native political adaptation and cultural-linguistic resilience in the face of demographic disaster and colonial rule. This book reverses that analytical gaze by asking how non-Natives responded to their majority Native cultural environment.

Why is this book only about the period before 1571? The date may seem arbitrary. But in November 1571, the first inquisitor general, Pedro Moya de Contreras, took the reins of the first centralized Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico. A similar Inquisition was formed in Lima. These new Inquisitions asserted centralized control over all investigations into heresy, Judaizing, sorcery, bigamy, and other crimes against the Catholic Church. Prior to this centralized Inquisition in Mexico, a multiplicity of authorities operated local inquisitions under the auspices of the bishop or run, sometimes illegally, by friar-missionaries. This new, centralized inquisitional authority also included a more extensive apparatus of functionaries. In practical terms, this new Inquisition investigated more crimes and accusations.

The second reason for a 1571 cut-off date is methodological. I am trying to unravel very early processes of acculturation. I have tried to begin this analysis as close to the 1521 collapse of Mexica Tenochtitlan as possible. The source base becomes increasingly scarcer the closer one approximates 1521. But there are sources for this period, even if few historians have fully appreciated their value. Accordingly, this book tries to untangle the very earliest examples of cultural adaptation to the Native Mesoamerican world. Working with a paucity of documentation is a perennial challenge of microhistory but, as this book will show, there are enough extant sources for us to trace the earliest forms of cultural exchange between Nahua and Iberian and (North) African women.

The activities of these various inquisitions in Mexico before 1571 provide a wealth of cultural details about women and their practices of magic

and folk medicine. This book analyzes the records of these investigations as a series of case studies about acculturation. The book does not pretend to offer a complete portrait of all women in New Spain. Instead, it offers an entry point into a little understood period of Mexican cultural history.

ACCULTURATION AND ETHNOHISTORY

Some readers will be surprised to hear me discuss Native as the dominant culture. I do not suggest that Spanish imperialism or colonization were not real. Of course, Spaniards became the dominant political entity, but at the local level, even, Natives retained considerable autonomy.[2] Rather, I suggest that on a basic level, Native culture dominated everyday life. For example, in 1539, inquisitor Zumárraga condemned a Nahua woman known only as Ana de Xochimilco for sorcery.[3] She was a monolingual Nahuatl speaker and lived as a servant in the house of an apparently wealthy Spanish woman, Elvira de Herrera. Herrera explained, in detail, the forms of medicine that Ana performed in her household. Herrera was the only Spanish woman present for these medical procedures and none of the others present spoke Spanish. In the domestic space of a Spanish woman, Nahuatl was the spoken language.

At the local level outside of cities like Mexico, Puebla, and Valladolid, and towns like Oaxaca, Xalapa, or Toluca, the everyday culture and language was predominantly Native. Yet even in cities and towns, one was more likely to find tortillas than European bread, *octli* (or *pulque*, the alcoholic drink from fermented agave cactus liquid) than Spanish wine, stews using tomates/tomatoes and chile than *caldo gallego* (Spanish vegetable stew).

Language is an indicator of acculturation. When we think about the Spanish language in Mexico, Nahuatl-origin vocabulary stands out.[4] My interest here is in the development of the Spanish language as it reflects the cultural adaptation of cultural behaviors and concepts that Spaniards

[2] For example, Sarah L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600: The Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Robert Haskett, *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), and *Visions of Paradise: Primordial Titles and Mesoamerican History in Cuernavaca* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).

[3] [Edmundo O'Gorman], "Proceso del Santo Oficio contra una india," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 12 (1941): 209–14.

[4] For an excellent guide to Nahuatl-origin use in Mexican Spanish, see Carlos Montemayor, ed., *Diccionario del Náhuatl en el Español de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007).

decided were best left in the Nahuatl language. Such linguistic change symbolizes the broader changes in non-Native women's use of magic and sorcery. José Moreno de Alba categorizes Nahuatlism into two categories. The diachronic refer to words derived from Mexico but in common use outside of the region where they developed. Among the diachronic Nahuatlisms, we count chocolate, tomate/tomato, and chile. The synchronic Nahuatlisms are those which do not extend beyond the region where they developed. Among the synchronic, we can count *escuincle* (annoying kid), *apapachar* (caress, hug), *tlapalería* (hardware store), or *epazote* (common herb).[5]

One of the earliest Nahuatl words to find itself in everyday Spanish parlance in Mexico was *tianguis*, an outdoor market, a word still in common use in Mexico. The Nahuatl word *tianquiztli* evolved to become tianguis in Spanish.[6] The Mexico City Spanish *cabildo* (city council) began using the word tianguis in April 1524 without explanation or translation. Such use continued in inquisitional trials led by Zumárraga in 1536–40 and continued unabated in viceregal documentation for decades thereafter.[7]

Spanish words of Nahuatl origin have frequently undergone orthographic changes. Such changes are synecdoche for the broader cultural changes which I examine in this book. Consider words like *molcajete*, chocolate, or escuincl and Xoloitzcuintle. There are multiple such words in everyday use that underwent such changes. Molcajete is a grinding bowl made of volcanic rock with three short legs. People have been using the molcajete for centuries to grind chile and avocado, or anything that one can mash from which to make a sauce or thick chile. The original Nahuatl word for this is *mulcaxitl*, or bowl. Like many such Nahuatl words, the pronunciation was difficult for native Spanish speakers and so

[5] Pilar Máynez, "En torno al concepto y uso de 'mexicanismos,'" *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 41 (2010): 217–30, and "Los nahuatlismos en el español de México desde la óptica de Ángel María Garibay," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 23 (1993): 117–26; Victoriano Salado Álvarez, *Minucias del lenguaje* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Departamento de Bibliotecas, 1957); José Moreno de Alba, "Mexicanismos," in *Minucias del lenguaje* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000).

[6] Tianquiztli derives from *tiamiqui*, to do business or trade, and the nominalizing suffix *-iztli*, thus meaning "place of business or commerce," see: https://nahuatl.wired-humanities.org/content/tiamiqui and https://nahuatl.wired-humanities.org/content/tianquiztli (accessed March 25, 2023).

[7] Tianguis appears as a word in Spanish documents in the Mexico City cabildo actas (formal decrees) on April 15, 1524 in ACCM, lib. 1, f. 3r. It appears in orders by Viceroy Mendoza as early as May 1543: AGN, Mercedes, vol. 2, exp. 211, f. 83v. For some Inquisition notary use of tianguis in 1538, see *Procesos de indios idólatras y hechiceros*, ed. Luis González Obregón (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1912), 53–78, as well as in several trials by Zumárraga – for example, AGN, Inq., vol. 38, exp. 9.

the word morphed into something more amenable, thus rendering molcajete.[8] Today there are words for individuals such as escuincle, derived from *itzcuintli* (dog) and Xoloitzcuintle (also dog, but with associations with divinity and with the god Xolotl), or *chilpayate*, both of which mean an annoying, bratty kid.[9] Or one thinks of phrases that would be impossible without their Nahuatl cultural reference: *se petatió*, or, they bit the dust – literally to lay down on their *petate* (Spanish for straw mat, from the Nahuatl *petlatl*) – for the last time.

Other such words are Spanish neologisms. One famous product of Mesoamerican origin is chocolate. Yet the word itself may very well be a Spanish neologism – one of the early examples of acculturation. The Nahuas used the word *cacahuatl* (*cacao* and *atl*, water) to refer to the drink we know as chocolate. But the word chocolate may be a post-contact word. Its use may potentially be ascribed to royal physician Francisco Hernández, who proposed the neologism *chocolatl*, which derives from *xococ*, bitter, and *atl*, water, producing *xococ-atl*, or *xocoatl*, or chocolate.[10] Xocoatl originally referred to a corn-based drink, whereas *cacauatl* (*cacaoatl, cacahuatl*) was the standard Nahuatl word for "chocolate."[11]

Language use, loanwords, and quotidian Spanish with Nahuatl admixtures point to the vocalization of cultural mixture. Such linguistic syncretism acts as a synecdoche for this book's broader concerns. James Lockhart proposed a three-phase process of Nahuatl language change after contact; the three-phase process stood in for cultural change broadly speaking.[12] This book takes a cue from that analytical device to suggest that Nahuatl loanword adoption in the Spanish lexicon mimics the obverse process. For example, we can understand the cultural and linguistic processes of the period between 1521 and 1571 as belonging to phases one and two of Iberian acculturation to Mesoamerican language and custom – preliminary but with clear evidence for the process and of Nahuatl loanwords. Persistence of Spanish words for Nahuatl concepts falls within phase one. Here one sees use of terms like "pan

[8] Molina, VM, 61v.
[9] Pilar Máynez Vidal, "Chamaco, chilpayate y escuincle en el habla familiar de México," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 31 (2009): 423–31.
[10] Ascensión Hernández Triviño, "Chocolate: Historia de un nahuatlismo," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 46 (2013): 37–87.
[11] Molina, VC, 19v and Molina, VM, 160v.
[12] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

de la tierra" or "bread from these lands [Mexico]" as a stand-in for *tlaxcalli*, the Nahuatl word for *tortilla*. Adoption of singular Spanish loanwords characterized Lockhart's phase two of Nahuatl and Nahua acculturation under Spanish rule. Likewise, in this book's discussion, adoption of Nahuatl loanwords in the Spanish lexicon mimics phase two. John Schwaller has observed similar patterns in Christianization and the missionary programs in Mexico, with the initial, first phase of Christianization occurring between the 1520s and the 1570s.[13]

This book examines the first two phases of Iberian acculturation to Mesoamerica. As with Lockhart's Nahuatl phase two, the Spanish language of Mexico adopted Nahuatl loanwords, beginning much earlier, in the 1520s, than the Nahuatl phase two. Such loanwords are Nahuatl words that appear in Spanish documentation intended for Spanish readers. These loanwords appear without translation or explanation. The first such loanword appears to be cacao, in Cortés' letters to the Crown, published beginning in 1522. The next such loanword was tianguis, which appears in Spanish documentation in 1524. Other (sometimes) Castilianized loanwords like *petaca* (crate) (1537), *mitote* (ritual festival) (1557), *jícara* (gourd vessel) (1562), peyote (1566), *picietl* (tobacco) (1568), *patle* (cure, medicine, potion) (1569), and *metate* (grinding stone) (1570) became part of the Spanish lexicon in this early period.[14]

This phase of acculturation applies to magic, sorcery, medicine, and ritual as well. For example, Iberian women maintained their connections to Iberian forms of religion and spellcasting. Iberian forms like Catholic prayers and orations to the saints continued. Traditional spellcasting methods like throwing salt and using cilantro continued in Mexico. Belief in the evil eye (mal de ojo) was present among Iberian women in Mexico. But Mesoamerican plant materials started to appear. At first, in the 1520s and 1530s, only words like powders (polvos) and roots (raíces) describe these materials. By the 1560s, some such material is named – peyote and

[13] John F. Schwaller, "Conversion, Engagement, and Extirpation: Three Phases of the Evangelization of New Spain, 1524–1650," in *Conversion to Christianity from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall, Oliver Nicholson, Jr., and Marguerite Ragnow (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, University of Minnesota, 2009), 259–92.

[14] "Petaquilla": AGN, Inq., vol. 38, exp. 2, f. 52. Mitote: ACCM 6A/345A/634A: 1557/junio/4. Jícara: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, Caja A-3, exp. 10. Peyote: AGN, Inq., vol. 5, exp. 16 [14]. Piciete: José Miguel Romero de Solís, ed., *Archivo de la Villa de Colima de la Nueva España. Siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 1998–2005), 1: 217. Pahtli: AGN, Inq., vol. 116, exp. 2. Metate: AGN, Inq., vol. 39, exp. 4, f. 335.

picietl, for example. Methodology acculturated. Iberian women quickly adopted corn hurling as a form of divination (*tlaolchayahualiztli*), as early as the 1530s. Nahua ideas about sweeping as a bulwark against cosmic chaos influenced Iberian women as early as 1528.

This early period thus experienced the incorporation of Mesoamerican ritual in Iberian, mestiza, and mulata cultural practice. Mesoamerican materials also found their way into this non-Native world. But the language used to describe this process was probably immediate on the ground. Its registration in documentation took time. But not that much time. Within five decades, multiple Nahuatl words had clearly entered the Mexican variation of the Spanish language. Such a process also suggests that an epistemological change occurred, whereby criolla, Morisca, mestiza, and mulata women began to understand their world as linguistically and ethnically plural and variable.

MEXICO-TENOCHTITLAN

Tenochtitlan fell to the Spanish invaders on August 13, 1521, the Catholic festival day for San Hipólito. Catholic ritual immediately became part of public culture in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The celebration of the Spanish victory and Mexica defeat of August 13 absorbed, or vice versa, the saint day of San Hipólito. The African conquistador Juan Garrido, a member of Cortés' invasion force, founded a hermitage church around 1522 on the spot where a later and much larger church and monastery were founded for the saint.[15] It is uncertain when the celebration for San Hipólito began, but on July 31, 1528, the Mexico City council (*cabildo*) ordered it celebrated that year.[16] The cabildo mandated this Catholic feast day, along with those of Saints John and Santiago and Our Lady of August (either Our Lady of the Angels on August 2 or the Assumption of August 15). The cabildo ordered these saints days to be celebrated

[15] The cabildo noted the hermitage church as a landmark in 1524: ACCM, lib. 1, fs. 1–2. For a discussion of Garrido's biography, including his foundation of the hermitage church, see Matthew Restall, "Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America," *Americas* 57 (2000): 171–205; Ricardo E. Alegría, *Juan Garrido, el Conquistador Negro en las Antillas, Florida, México y California, c. 1503–1540* (San Juan: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y El Caribe, 1990); Peter Gerhard, "A Black Conquistador in Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978): 451–9.

[16] ACCM, 1A/340A/629A. Fecha: 1528/julio/31: "Orden de que las fiestas de San Juan y Santiago, San Hipólito, y Nuestra Señora de Agosto, se hagan con gran solemnidad. Que se corran toros, se jueguen cañas, y que los que tengan bestias las cabalguen so pena de 10 pesos de oro."

with great fanfare, bullfights, and staged games. Moreover, the cabildo required anyone who owned a horse to ride it through the city streets under pain of a substantial fine of 10 pesos.

The celebration of August 13, San Hipólito, was not cheap. In the first record of its celebration in 1528, the cabildo tabulated at least 50 pesos in costs – a substantial outlay. The city spent some 40 pesos on the battle standard (*pendón*) – presumably in its fabrication and in the associated costs of its parading.[17] The city also paid for professional trumpeters for the event.[18] For the 1529 celebration, the city paid a confectioner 30 pesos for the breakfast served for the day's festivities.[19]

San Hipólito became an important part of Spanish public culture of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Indeed, the August 13 ceremony for the saint "became indissolubly associated with the identity of Mexico City."[20] The cabildo asserted its right to name the standard-bearer (*alférez*) who would carry the battle standard in the San Hipólito procession in 1529.[21] Such an assertion rejected claims by the king to make this appointment. Accordingly, the celebration on August 13 became a part of conquistador mentality as central to civic life.[22] In the 1560s, the Spanish cleric Fray Bernardino Álvarez Herrera founded a monastery and church named for San Hipólito in the center of the city, on or near the location of the hermitage church founded by Garrido.[23] One can imagine the impact such a building had in the middle of a city that had been a Mesoamerican architectural marvel prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (Figures I.1 and I.2).[24]

Despite Spanish political domination, Tenochtitlan remained a non-European city for most of the sixteenth century. Tenochtitlan and

[17] ACCM, 1A/340A/629A. Fecha: 1528/agosto/14.
[18] ACCM, 1A/340A/629A. Fecha: 1528/agosto/21.
[19] ACCM, 2A/341A/630A. Fecha: 1529/agosto/27. For a discussion of the August 13 celebration in the context of sixteenth-century spectacles celebrating the Spanish triumph over the Mexica, see Alberto Pérez-Amador Adam, "*La conquista de México por Carlos V*, una obra anónima virreinal descubierta," *Liber: Arte y Cultura Grupo Salinas* 2 (2018): 88–97.
[20] Antonio Rubial García, *El paraíso de los elegidos. Una lectura de la historia cultural de la Nueva España (1521–1804)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010), 65.
[21] ACCM, 2A/341A/630A. Fecha: 1529/agosto/27.
[22] Peggy K. Liss, *Mexico under Spain, 1521–1556: Society and the Origins of Nationality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 111.
[23] For his biography, see Juan Díaz de Arce, *Libro de la vida del próximo evangélico exemplificado en la vida del Venerable Bernardino Álvarez, español, patriarca de la orden de la caridad* …, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Juan Ruiz, 1651–2).
[24] Tenochtitlan survived as a Native city in material and concrete ways in the new viceregal Mexico City; see Barbara Mundy, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).

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