Tepahtihquetl pan ce pilaltepetzin / A Village Healer

Sabina Cruz de la Cruz, *Instituto de Docencia e Investigacion Etnologica de Zacatecas*

Translated by Rebecca Dufendach, Getty Research Institute

Abstract. Sabina Cruz de la Cruz presents an auto-ethnohistory, an account written in her native language of Nahuatl based on her community experiences with illness and curing in the Huasteca region of Veracruz, Mexico. She documents her work with two curanderos to improve her poor health. The article is an invaluable record of contemporary, indigenous healing dialogue and traditions, some of which have similarities with colonial-era practices. It is an example of a collaboration between an ethnohistorian and an indigenous scholar writing her own history, and such collaborations will strengthen the field of ethnohistory.

Keywords. Mexico, auto-ethnohistory, Nahuatl, Nahua, health, salud, illness, enfermedad

Introduction from Translator

In her explanation of Ethnohistory, Pauline T. Strong (2015: 194) laments that indigenous peoples have not often had the privilege to write their own histories and explains that studies in the field will be strongest "when indigenous and non-indigenous scholars are collaborating side by side." The following essay is one such collaboration, centered on the writings of a Nahua scholar and how she analyzes her own health and healing.

It is a Nahuatl-language account written by Sabina Cruz de la Cruz about her experiences of poor health and healing practices with two healers, or *curanderos*. It is unique as an "auto-ethnohistory" because she writes in her native language of Nahuatl about her experiences in a Nahuatl-speaking community. An auto-ethnohistory is defined by the participation

of an indigenous person in the telling of their own history and experiences in their native language. Cruz was born in Tecomate, Veracruz, Mexico, and she consulted with a *curandera* from Tecomate and a *curandero* from nearby Tiocuayo, Veracruz. Cruz shares methods of healing far from any hospital setting, methods relied on by many people in urban and rural settings. The essay explains what modern health professionals are beginning to accept by acknowledging social determinants of health: that the definitions and cures for illness are always contextual (US Department of Health and Human Services 2010: sec. 1). Cruz's experiences of illness are directly related to her relations with her parents and broader community.

Unlike the other essays in this special issue, which are written largely by outsiders attempting to understand Mesoamerican healing practices, here is a view from a member of the community. Cruz's interpretations of illness are related to her social and cultural context. As a native speaker, she writes in the language in which the ceremonies were performed, so her record of dialogue is invaluable. Despite being discouraged from speaking in Nahuatl when she was young, Cruz continues to produce scholarship in her native language (Valenzuela 2017). Although the essay is based entirely on her work with two healers, Cruz chose to write it in the third person, perhaps following storytelling traditions to make a parable out of her experiences. Her participation in the healing ceremonies along with her membership in the Huasteca Veracruzana community provide a valuable window into healing practices.

Her essay reveals that contemporary Nahua healing practices are best understood through her multi-layered view. As a scholar, woman, and member of her community, Cruz has unrivaled understanding into how modern healers diagnose and treat illness. As the article reveals, her success in her academic pursuits changes her standing in her community. She shows that her duties as a daughter, such as sending money home, influence the position of her parents. Although best understood as a contemporary account of illness and treatment, Cruz's essay does present some remarkable continuities with colonial practices.

The essay explores the methods and materials used in traditional healing, some of which have changed since the colonial period but some of which have not. Some changes since the sixteenth century surely include the use of soda cans. However, even a critic of ethnographic upstreaming must acknowledge that beverages have and will continue to play an important part of Mesoamerican healing ceremonies (see Knowlton and Dzidz Yam, this issue). Some continuities include the manner of divination. For example, both healers initiated their work by reading kernels of corn and practiced the elimination of objects from the human body. The sixteenth-century

encyclopedic work on Nahua culture known as the *Florentine Codex* describes a similar procedure where the activities of healers included casting grains of corn and the removal of foreign objects from the body (Sahagún: [1575–79] 1979: vol. 1, bk. 1, fols. 3v, 36v–37). The essay also describes the sweeping with herb bundles for cleansing, blood sacrifice, and the importance of abstaining from bathing, each practice with some similarities to rituals documented during the colonial period (bk. 2, fols. 123v; 121v–123; 124). There is much more evidence for analysis in this important autoethnohistory.

Readers interested in additional research should look to Alan R. Sandstrom's book on a modern Nahuatl-speaking community titled *Corn Is Our Blood* (1991), the collection *Mesoamerican Healers* edited by Sandstrom and Huber (2001), a chapter by Elizabeth Hill Boone (2005), and articles by James Dow (1986, 1984). These preliminary observations on Cruz's essay deserve further examination in the future by scholars who will become more accustomed to auto-ethnohistories as indispensable sources for study. Such collaborations, between ethnohistorians and indigenous scholars writing their own histories, will strengthen the field of ethnohistory.

A note on the translation: I have tried to follow the original Nahuatl text as faithfully as possible, however I made certain changes to better communicate the intent of the text according to my conversations with Cruz. Many of these instances are marked with parentheses but others are matters of word choice. In our efforts to translate an auto-ethnohistory, I have not asked Cruz to change her text in any significant way and continue to respect her choice to write in the third person.

Tepahtihquetl pan ce pilaltepetzin

Ce tepahtihquetl, tlachixquetl tlen pan ce pilaltepetzin oncah nelhuahcauhquiya, quipiya miac xihuitl. Tlen tototatahhuan inintlaixmatiliz huan tlen huahcapameh itztoyah pan ni tlalli. Tototatahhuan tlahuel tlaneltocah pan ce tepahtihquetl tlen nouhquiya quimati cualli itequiuh huan tlen quichihua itequiuh xitlahuac. Itztoqueh tlen cualli huan xitlahuac quichichuah inintequiuh huan tlen axcanah cualli inintequih, tiquihtozceh queuhquinon pampa cequin macehualmeh itztoqueh tlen quinpalehuiah ica tequitl pampa tecocoliah.

Naman nicmanextia ce tlamanextili tlen ce ichpocatl, nicpohuaz ce tlamantli ica tlen quipanoc ni macehualli tlen pilaltepetzin tlen Chicontepec,

tiquihtozceh axtlen quichihua, zan nemi, quichihua itequiuh, ni cihuatl ya momachtihtoc huan cualli yohui ica itequiuh, inemiliz. Nouhquiya ni ichpocatl ohuih panoc para quichihuaz zo itztoz campa itztoc. Quen quiihtoah pan ni tonemiliz nochi ohuih, zan quena tlan ticnequih tielizceh ce acahya pan tonemiliz monequi ticcencuilizceh timomachtiah.

Tiquihtozceh itztoqueh macehualmeh tlen tecocoliah huan quichihuah zo quitemoah ce tepahtihquetl tlen axcualli itequiuh quichihua. Ni ichpocatl quizqui pan ipilaltepeuh huahcauhquiya, ya yahqui pan ce altepetl ica miac mahmauhtli, peuhqui momachtia meuhcatzan ohuihtic, noque momachtiyaya nouhquiya tequitiyaya, tequitiyaya pan calli, campa quinamacah tlacualli zo ceyoc tequitl, queuhquinon quipiyaya ce quentzin tlaxtlahuilli huan axcanah monequiyaya quitlahtlaniz tomin inintatahhuan. Queuhquinon ya tequitiyaya, tomintzin ica mopalehuihtiyohuiyaya huan nouhquiya queuhquinon quemman mociauhcahuayaya pan caltlamachtihcan yohuiyaya campa itztoqueh itatahhuan ica tomin tlen ya. Yolpaqui ya huan itatahhuan pampa moittayayah, nopayoh ininhuanitztoz ce mahtlactli tonatiuh. Nochi yolpactoqueh.

Zan quena tlen tecocolianih axcanah tlamih. Axcanah huelih cualli quiittah tlan ichpocatl huan itatahhuan paquih huan axcanah mocualaniah. Ni ichpocatl quipiya macuilli iicnihuan huan queuhquinon nochimeh tlen quiztoquehya pan ipilaltepeuh, momachtiah huan tequitih, queuhquinon axcanah quitlahtlaniyayah tomin inintatah. Huan queuhquinon ichpocatl tequitiyaya huan momachtiyaya, quemman quitlamih itlamachtiliz motequicuic zampampa axcanah tlen momachtihqui, zan quena quimachilia cualli tequitl huan tlen ya quinequiyaya tlahuel huan quiamati.

Queuhquinon quicencuilihqui tequiti huan tequiti, quinpalehuihtiuh itatahhuan ica ce tlaxtlahuilli. Miac zo axmiac quinmacayaya tomin. Teipan nouhquiya pan pilaltepetzin nopa ichpocatl itatah ayocacah quinequiyayah quipalehuizceh yon axacah quinequiyayah quimacazceh tequitl. Ya quiilliyayah, quenque quinequi tequitiz huan ya quipiya tomin, huan pampa iconehuan nochi itztoqueh huahca huan momachtihtoqueh. Ni tlacatl mocuezoyaya huan motlahtlaniliyaya quenque queuhnopa quiilliah, ya axcanah mopatlatoc, ya quincencuilia quen nochipa itztoc. Huan axcanah motlepanitta. Yolic, yolic zampa peuhqueh quimacah tequitl, zo peuhquiya huanya mopalehuia cequinoqueh. Zan quena nouhquiya quimati quena quicocoliah, moxicoah pampa ya ayoccanah tlaihyohuia tlahuel.

Miac macehualmeh axtlen hueliz zan quiittah tlen pano pan ce pilaltepetzin pampa zan nochi moixmatih, nochi quimatih huan quiittah tlen ceyoc macehualli inemiliz. Teipan nopayoh pehuaya quiillamiquih, zaniloah ica nopa macehualli inemiliz. Meuhcatzan axcanah quiixmatih cualli.

Tlacotontli

Naman nicnequi nimechpohuiliz ica ce ichpocatl tlen quichihuiltoqueh tlen axcanah cualli huan quitemohqui cualtlalhuiliztli ica inemiliz huanya ce tepahtihquetl tlen ipilaltepeuh.

Achtohui ni cihuatl yahqui huanya ce tepahtihquetl tlen itatah quiixmati huan quineltoca tlen quichihua, yahqui para ma quitlatemoli, tiquihtozceh ce tlen quichihua xitlahuac itequiuh. Ichpocatl ahci tepahtihquetl ichan huan nopa tepahtihquetl pehua monemilia ica tlen quitehuiz: ce pilhuapaltzin quentzin hueyi, cintlancochtli tlapohualli hueliz ce mahtlactli huan nahui zo caxtolli huan eyi. Quitequihuia popochcomitl, copalli huan nopa ichpocatl, ya quihuica ce pilcantelahtzin huan tomin tlen mahtlactli tlen ica quichihuilizceh nopa tlatemoliztli. Ni ichpocatl nouhquiya quena tlaneltoca ica ni tlanextilli huan yeca ya nouhquiya quitemohua queniuhqui cualli itztoz.

Tepahtihquetl pehua motiochihua campa itlaixpan, tlaihitoa huan campa quipiya nopa huapalli huan cintli, nouhquiya tlahtlani queniuhqui itocah ichpocatl, queniuhqui itzonquizca, huan canin nemi pampa queuhquinon tlahtlani ica totiotzin. Nelnelliya motemaca huan quichihua cualli itequiuh nopa tepahtihquetl. Motiochihua, tlatocaxtia campa itztoc ichpocatl, pampa azta ne nemi itonal, quiahhuia pilcintzin pan imah huan quipanoltia iixco popochcomitl tlen quipiya tlicolli huan teipan quiihtzeloa pan nopa huapalli, huan quitlachilia canin huan queniuhqui huetzih pilcintzitzin. Teipan ya quinillihqui tlen quiitta, queniuhqui itztoc. Quimahcahuaz zampa nopa pilcintzitzin nopa pampa quinequi quiittaz tlan nelnelliya neci quen tlen achtohui, huacca quena quiillia nochi, Tepahtihquetl quiihtoa: "nican neci mitzcocoliah, moxicoah cequinoqueh pampa ta axtlen mitzpoloa, ticpiya tequitl, ticpiya ce cualli tequitl, axcanah tiquincahua motatahhuan inincelti, eli tiquinpalehuia ica ce quentzin tlaxtlahuilli, cualli tiitztoc, ahachica tihuallauh tiquinpaxaloa motatahhuan. Huan cequin axquinequih quiittazceh pampa inihhuantin axcanah queuhquinon itztoqueh zo axcanah huallohuih ininconehuan quinhualpaxaloah ahachica. Ni yeca quichihuah tlen axcualli, quinequih ximoquetza quentzin, nouhquiya quinequih xiohuihti."

Quen pehua momachilia ichpocatl. Ya axcanah itztoc pan ipilaltepeuh huanya itatahhuan, ya nemi pan ceyoc altepetl, quipiya miac xihuitl quiahuac. Huacca quemman huahca itztoc ni cihuatl pehua quicocoa itzontecon, pehua axcanah hueli cualli cochi, temiqui fieroh, axmayana, axyolpaqui. Quemman yohui huanya itatahhuan huacca quinyolmelahuah queniuhqui itztoz zo momachilia. Itatah quiillia monequi motlatemoliz huan ma quichihuilican ce tequitl, ma quicotona tepahtihquetl tlen quipano.

Ichpocatl huan itatah zan quicaquih tlen quinillia tepahtihquetl, tlami tequiti ya, huacca quinillia tlen monequi ma mochihua, zo mocotonaz ni tlen axcualli tequititoqueh. Ya quinillia monequi ma mochihua ce tlacotontli. Huan tlen monequi, quiillia: tlaochpantli (chicome tlamantli xihuitl Santa maria, apazoxihuitl, tepecocah, cocah, talachia, pizteh huan chalchocotl), ce veladorah tlen tonantzin, ce tlen San Judas Tadeo, cantelah, ceboh, huinoh, tzopelatl ce macuilli zo chicuace tlen cuecuetzitzin. Huan tlen nochipa monequi quipixtozceh pan calli huan motequihuia: popochcomitl, copalli, motlalia xochimantli, huan cequinoc tlamantli tlen yohui tlaixpan. Mocahuah, quitlaliah tlen tonatiuh mochihuaz ni tlacotontli huan tlen cahuitl. Quemman mochihua ni tequitl tlen tlacotontli quitlalia ce tonatiuh tlen miercoles, Viernes, sabado zo domingo, ni tonatiuh pampa quiillia chicahuac tonatiuh huan axcanah tlen ica quipehualtia tlen chicueyi tonatiuh.

Tepahtihquetl yohui ichan ichpocatl, nopayoh ya monequi nochi eltozza tlen quiillihqui quemman quitlatemolihqui, quemman ahci tepahtihquetl ya monemilia ica tlatehtectli, quihuica miac ixnezcayotl tlen amatl canactzin (china), nopa tlatehtectli quichihua ica miac piltotiotzitzin tlen iixxayac huan itlacayo quipiya, pampa inihhuantin yoltoqueh: quen iteco tlen atl, ehecatl, tonantzin, totatah, tlitl, tlalli huan cequinoqueh. Nochi nopayoh quinmanextia ica amatl huan nouhquiya pampa quemman tequitiya, ya pehua quintocaxtia nochimeh huan queuhquinon quimacah chicahualiztli pan itequiuh.

Nouhquiya quinemiliah atl, tlen campa quitequihuiah: cuaxilotl icuayo, nehpalli, quitehtequi ciltic huan quiamaneloa queuhquinon quicahuah ma elto pampa ni motequihuia quemman nochi tlamiya quichihua itequiuh, ica tlaahatequia tlaixpan huan campa tlitl. Quemmantzin ica mixxamiah. Tepahtihquetl tlahtlaniz tlicolli tlen ica tlapopochhuiz tlaixpan.

Quen Pehua Tequiti

Ni tepahtihquetl axcanah mociauhcahua, monemiltiaz, pehua motiochihua tlaixpan, quincamahuia totiotzitzin, quintlahtlania manoh pampa ya tequitiz, quichihuaz ni tequitl, quinequi ma quipalehuican, ma quihuanitztocan, axcanah ma quicahuacan icelti, ma cualli quiza itequiuh tlen quichihuaz ica ni inincihuaconeuh, tlapopochhuia cualli.

Teipan quinotza anque ichpocatl tlen quipahtiz pampa quiochpanaz ica tlaochpantli, cantelah huan nouhquiya ica ce tecciztli, nopa quiahcocui tlaixpan pampa quitequihuiz pan mero tlacotontli. Quemman quiochpana pehua camati ica totiotzitzin huan nouhquiya quitequilia achi huinoh nopa tlaochpantli huan quemman nelnelliya quimachilia cihuatl quena quipiya tlen axcualli ya pehua cochmiqui, zotlahuia.

Queuhquinon quemman tlami quiochpana cihuatl, tepahtihquetl zampa pehua motiochihua tlaixpan huan quimaca nopa cantelah cihuatl ma quitlati huan ma quitlalli tlaixpan. Teipan tepahtihquetl zampa motiochihua zampampa naman motlahtlania ica ce piyo tlen ica quiochpanaz zampa ichpocatl. Quinotza ichpocatl, mocehuia pan ce cuaciyah pehua ica quiochpana cihuatl huan queuhquinon zampa pehua camati ica totiotzitzin.

Tepahtihquetl quemman motiochihua quiihtoa: "Tonanan, totatah nican tiitztoqueh moixtenno, nican moconehuan axcanah mitzilcahuah huan naman nican ticnequih timitzilizceh moxochiconeuh ma quicahuacan ya axtlen quichihua, ya zan quinequi cualli itztoz, tequitiz yehyectzin zan ta ticmati itztoqueh tlen cualanih, tecocolianih. Ni moxochiconeuh axtlen quichihua, xicquixtilican nochi tlen quipechia . . . " Quemman tlamiya, ichpocatl quiahhuia piyo tlen ica quiochpanqueh.

Teipan tepahtihquetl quimictia piyo ica ce tiheraz, quicomichoa pan iquechcuayo huan tlen quiza eztli quiihtzeloa pan amatl tlatehtectli tlen quizoa tlalchi tlen tlaixpan. Piyo tlen quimictia quimaca tenanan zo ichpocatl pampa monequi ma quihuihuitla, ma quitetehtequi pampa quimoloniz huan mocualtlaliz. Nouhquiya quemman motehtequi ni piyo axcanah nelmociloa, monequi eliz inacayo achi huehhueyi huan mocualtlalia zan caltoh (campa quihuica xonacatl, alahhuenoh huan chilli chichiltic tlamoltilli).

Noque mocualtlalia piyo. Tepahtihquetl quichihua tlacotontli tlen ichpocatl para ma quiza tlen quipiya. Motlalia nechca tlahcocalli, tlachixtoc ica caltenno. Nopayoh motlahtlalia nochi tlen quitequihuiz: Tlatehtectli tlen totiotzitzin, ni quitlalia chihueyi totiotzitzin ica miac ixnezcayotl amatl, ce cantelah, ce cebo, popochcomitl, tlalli tlen millah, huinoh, tlaochpantli quitecpana, tecciztli tlen ica quipohpohqui quen achtohui xoxohuic, ce tecciztli iuccitoc . . . huan cequinoc amatlatehtectli tlen tiquihtozceh tlen zaniloah, tlen tecocoliah, tlen quinilliz ma mocehuican axtlen ma quichihuacanyoc pampa ichpocatl ya axtlen quichihua.

Tepahtihquetl pehua motiochihua nopayoh, motlahtlania ica totiotzitztin para ni ichpocatl ma quimanahuican, ma axtlen quipano campa nemi, xicmacacan ce cualli ohtli, ce cualli tequitl, ce cualli cochiliztli . . . queuhquinon huan quitequiltiyahqui huinoh nopa amatlatehtectli. Nopa tecciztli tlen xoxohuic quipitzinihqui huan quitecqui tlalchi huan nopayoh nouhquiya quiitta tlen quiza iixxayac. Huan quihtoaya tlan quena mitzcocoliah zo tlan tlahuel mitzcocoliah. Huan tecciztli tlen iuccitoc ya quitlapana huan quitema nouhquiya tlalchi, pan amatlatehtectli huan pan tlalli tlen millah.

Quemman tlamiya tlacamahuia huanya totiotzitzin, pehua quicui nahui amatl tlen totiotzitzin huan ica nopa tlaochpantli huan quitlahcocotona, ome zo eyi hueltah quichihua queuhquinon, huan zampa quicui tlen polihui

huan nouhquiya quichihua queuhquinon huan quiahhuia. Huan zampa quicui ceyoc nahui amatlatehtectli nouhquiya quintlahcocotona, ya axtlami motiochihua, quicencuilia quichihua itequiuh.

Tepahtihquetl ya quiihtoz quezqui polatoh tlacualli ica nochi huan quezqui yohui pan tlaixpan huan quezqui tlalchi. "Ma motlali ome polatoh tlacualli ica tlaxcalli huahcapan huan nahui tlalchi." Nouhquiya motlalia tzopelatl chicuace, ome huahcapan huan nahui echcapan, tazah cafen cencah ome huahcapan huan nahui tlalchi, ica pantzin nouhquiya cehcen pan ce tazah.

Nouhquiya tlahtlalia pan tlitl ica inacaztlan, nopayoh tlahtlaliah nouhquiya quitlaliah ce xochimantli, quitlatia ce cantelah, ce polatoh tlacualli ica tlaxcalli, ce tazah cafen huan ce pantzin. Nopayoh nouhquiya motiochihua tepahtihquetl. Queuhquinon eltoz ce tlatoctzin, noque tiquihtozceh tlacuah totiotzitzin. Teipan tepahtihquetl quiihtoz ma motlamaca tlalli. Monequi ma motlali tlacualli, tlaxcalli huan pantzin pan tlalli. Nouhquiya monequi motecaz achi tzopelatl huan cafen. Queuhuinon teipan quemman tlamiya mochihua, quiihtoa: "naman monequi ma titlacuaca zancehco tlan eltocca inmopapa. Xiccuican tlen motlalihqui, tlacualli xicpihuican." Tlen chaneh pehua quipihpihuiya tlacualli tlen motlalih tlaixpan pampa axcanah mihmiyac moteca huan monequi yainon mocuaz, quicuih tzopelatl. Monechcahuiah nochi pan ce mezah huan tlacuah.

Tepahtihquetl quemman tlacuah zan quiihtoa: "nochi cualli quizqui ne niccotonquiya tlen axcualli eltoya, quichiuhtoyah, zan monequi ximochiyacan ce nahui tonatiuh. Ni tlacehuiz. Ayoccanah zanilozceh, axtlen quichihuazceh." "Quena nezqui tlen quichiuhtoyah axcualli, quinequih ma mocehui ichpocatl, axcanah ma quipiya tequitl, nochi tlen axcanah quipalehuiz para quizaz."

Ni ce tequitl tlen mochihua tlen ica quipalehuia macehualli ma tlacehui, axtlen ma quipano tlan quimachilia axcualli itztoc, quence quicotona itequiuh tlen quichihuiltoqueh axcualli. Zan quena tlan quichihua ni tequitl monequi quicencuiliz xihxihuitl, axcanah ma quicahuilli pampa queuhquinon nouhquiya totiotzitzin quipalehuizceh quence axcanah quinilcahuah. Huan nouhquiya pampa tlen tecocoliah axcanah mociauhcahuah, inihhuantin quicencuiliah quichihuah tlen axcualli. Yeca ni tlacotontli monequi nouhquiya miac tlatlepanittaliztli huan miac tlaneltoquiliztli. Queuhquinon mopalehuiah cequin macehualmeh tlen pilaltepetzitzin.

Tlaquihquixtiliztli

Nican nimechpohuiliz ceyoc tequitl tlen quichihua ce tepahtihquetl. Ni itocah Tlaquihquixtiliztli pampa quiquixtia miac tlamantli tlen ticpiya pan ce tlacayoliztli tlen macehualli. Ticmachiliz axtiyolpaqui, titlacayohuahcuallo,

zan ticochmiqui, motequiuh tlen ticchihua yolic, mitzcocoz motzontecon chicahuac. Axcanah quipannextia quezqui xihuitl quipiya macehualli, nochimeh hueliz quinpanahci.

Ni tepahtihquetl quichihua tlen achtohui ce tlatemoliztli ica macehualli tlen queuhquinon momachilia. Campa quitequihuia cantelah, amatlatehtectli tlen chicueyi zo nahui totiotzitzin iixxayac, ceboh, popochcomitl, iyatl, huinoh, tlalli, tecciztli xoxohuic huan ce iuccitoc, huan tlaochpantli: quihuica chicome tlamantli xihuitl (Santa maria, apazoxihuitl, tepecocah, cocah, talachia, pizteh huan chalchocotl), quiilpia cehcen tlamantli huan eli chicome tlatzquintli.

Quen achtohui tepahtihquetl ya pehua motiochihua pan tlaixpamitl ica tlen tequitl quichihuaz huanya nopa ichpocatl huan ma quipalehuican, ma quihuanitztocan, ya nouhquiya motlahtlania ma cualli quiza itequiuh. Nican quichihua ce tlatemoliztli tlen itlacayo, ¿tlen quipiya pan itlacayo?, xicnexti tlen quipiya, ¿canin eltoc?

Tepahtihquetl achtohui quichihua ce tlatemoliztli pan ce huapalli zancualli ica cintli ce quezqui itlancoch, ce cantelah huan tomin tlen mahtlactli pezoh, nopayoh pehua motlahtlania ica totiotzitzin nouhquiya, quiihtoa ma neci tlen quipechia ni inmoconeuh. Nopayoh motiochihua, quimapixtoc cintlancochtli, quitocaxtia macehualli tlen quipahtia, quemman tlamizza huacca quiitzeloa nopa cintli pan huapalli huan nopayoh quiitta tlen quipiya macehualli pan itlacayo huan zampa quimahcahuaz cintli para zampa quiittaz zo motemachiz tlen quiitta pan macehualli itlacayo.

Ica ome hueltah quena quiillizza ichpocatl huanya itatahhuan tlen quiittac. Quiihtoa: "Quena, quena tlapihpiya ne ya, huan quipiya miac tlamantli tlen axcualli." Tepahtihquetl iuhcatzan quiitta tlen quipiya ya axcanah teyolmelahua nelneliya tlen quiitta, axcanah quiihtoa pampa hueliz motemahmatia ichpocatl zo nouhquiya inintatahhuan. Zan quena quinillia tlen monequi quihuicazceh para moquixtiliz tlen quipiya ichpocatl. Quitlaliah tonatiuh quemman yazceh zampa ica nochi tlamantli tlen monequi, para ica tequitiz huan quiquixtiz pan itlacayo ichpocatl tlen quipiya. Monequi iyatl, huinoh, ahoh nochi ni tlamantli achi mihmiyac.

Yohuih ininchan monemiliah ica tlamantli tlen monequi para quitlaquihquixtilizceh ichpocatl, pan ni yahualli tiquihtozceh ni ichpocatl huan itatahhuan axhuelih cochih, zan quimahttoqueh, quinehnehuiliah tlen quipiyaz ininconeuh.

Toniliz zo huiptlatiliz yohuih zampa ichan tepahtihquetl ica nochi tlamantli tlen monequi, zampa tepahtihquetl quicui tlen quihuicah, quicualtlalia quen monequi, quemman eltocca pehua motiochihua, quincamahuia totiotzitzin, pampa ya tequitiz. Ichpocatl motlaquixtilia huan mocehuia

pan ce cuaciyah. Tepahtihquetl quiochpanaz ica tlaochpantli huan cantelah. Motiochihtiuh axcanah moquetza. Teipan quitlatia cantelah tlaixpan. Ichpocatl mocehuiz pan ce cuaciyah, huan ya pehua motiochihua, tlaihihtohti nochi ica macehualli tlen quipahtia, nican pehuaya quiochpana para quitlaquihquixtiliz ica nopa tlachihchihualli pahtli (huinoh, ahoh, xihuitl Santa Maria, Iyatl). Yainon quicualtlalia pan ce tecomitl zan tlen zancualli.

Quitoxomiltiuh pan itlacayo cihuatl pehua pan itzontecon, yahtiuh icampan, pan iahcol, iyolihcan, ielchititlan, pan iihti, pan imetz, pan itlancuah, pan iicxi huan quitlaltiuh tecomitl campa quitzacuiltiuh tlen quiza pan itlacayo, queuhquinon tlami quiochpana. Cihuatl motlaquentia, zan quena ya momachilia xoxocoxtoc, zotlahuia axcanah nelhueli motlaquentia icelti, huan nouhquiya monequi quipalehuizceh pampa cuaixpoyahui huan cececui, monequi nelcualli mopiquiz pampa quiochpanqueh ica huinoh huan axcanah cualli tlan quiahciz ehecatl, hueliz mococoz maz. Yeca monequi momocuitlahuiz.

Tepahtihquetl quiihtoa: "Eltocca, nitlanquiya, nican eltoc tlen quizqui tlan inquinequih inquiittazceh. Zan ya quena axcanah cualli ma quiitta zo tlan momachilia cualli, quipiya huerzah, nican eltoc." Huanquinon quiittah zan itatahhuan huan axcanah quiilihqueh ininconeuh huacza tlen quizqui. Teipan tepahtihquetl quiinillia tlen ma quichihuacan quemman ahcizceh pan ininchan. Tepahtihquetl: "Nopa cantelah tlen motlati achtohui monequi motlatiz ce quentzin quemman inahcizceh huan queuhquinon motlatiz nahui tonatiuh mohmoztlah huan nouhquiya ni inmocihuapil axcanah monequi maltiz nahui tonatiuh, axcanah ma panquiza, axcanah ma tenamiqui, zan calihtic ma itzto. Nouhquiya axcanah xiquillican namantzin tlen quizqui pan itlacayo, pampa motemahmatiz." Queuhquinon mochihua pampa queuhquinon cualli quizaz tequitl tlen ticchiuhqueh.

Quemman ahcih ininchan quichihuah tlen quinillihqui tepahtihquetl huan ichpocatl moteca campa cochi huan cualli mopiqui. Queuhquinon cualli cochi huan ihza tonilia, ica yahuatzinco huan nocca yahyamaniya nochi itlacayo. Axtlen quichihua zan queuhquinon yolic quipanotiz ayoctlen quimachiliz. Nouhquiya quimachiliz itlacayo acazotic pampa tlen quipixtoya quence quipechtoya huan yainon quichihuayaya ma zan zotlahuia, ma cochmiqui, ma axmayana. Pano tonatiuh huan ahci tlen nahui tonatiuh, ni ichpocatl maltia ica ce xihuitl tlen itocah tamalxihuitl, mocualtlalia ni xihuitl zan ica atl. Achtohui ni xihuitl motzatzayatza ciltic huan teipan moaquechia pan ce cobetah hueyi, nopayoh monequi eltoz quentzin huahcahuaz zo tlan mocualtlalia ica yahuatzinco hueliz ica tlahcotona zo tiotlac huelizza maltia ichpocatl, cualli motehtequilia pan nochi itlacayo huan pan itzontecon.

Nouhquiya teipan quemman maltiyaya huacca quena quilliah tlen quizqui pan itlacayo:

- Tomin: Ni tomin eliyaya huehhueyi huan quence huahcapatomin, nouhquiya quipiyaya hueliz miac xihuitl eltoya pan itlacayo, neciyaya yayahuic.
- Cantelah: Eltoya ome cantelahcotoctli nezqui quence yancuic nocca hueliz yancuic quichihuiltoqueh tequitl tlen axcualli huan yeca queuhquinon nezqui.
- Omitl: Ome omitl cuecuetzitzin nouhquiya hueliz ayicanah tlahuel huahcahua neciyaya nocca chipahuac.
- Amatlatehtectli: Ni amatl quizqui hazta yayahuic hueliz huahcauhquiya eltoc pan itlacayo.
- Tetl: Quizqui ome tetl zan tlen zancualli hueyi, yayahuic huan yehyectzin petlanih huan alaxtique.

Nochi ni tlamantli tlen quizqui pan ichpocatl itlacayo tlan axquemman tiquitta zo axticcactoc temahmati, huan nouhquiya ica ni tequitl monequi timomocuitlahuiz tlahuel, nouhquiya axcanah hueliz tiyaz mocelti para timochihuiliz ni tequitl, monequi ma mitzmocuitlahuican.

Ichpocatl quiihtoa: "Quena nimotemahmatihqui tlahuel pampa axquemman niquitztoya zo nechchihuiltoyah queuhquinon, nimochoquilihqui nouhquiya, huan nimotlahtlaniyaya quenque zo queniuhqui itztoqueh tlen techcocoliah tlahuel, ce zo ome yahualli na axcualli nicochqui, pampa zanya nicmahttoya, tlen nechquixltihqueh pan notlacayo." Itatahhuan quiyolchicauhqueh, quiilliyayah axcanah ximocuezo, axcanah xichoca, monequi timoyolchicahuiliz huan ticcencuiliz moohuiuh, ica motequiuh, queuhquinon miac tlamantli tlen cualli quiilliyayah ininconeuh.

Ica ni tlamantli nouhquiya timotlahtlaniz quenque zo queniuhqui ni tlamantli tlen quizqui eltoya pan itlacayo macehualli huan axcanah neci, miac quiihtoah zan totiotzin quiitta huan quimati quenque pano ni tlamantli huan nouhquiya zan quimatih tlen tecocoliah, tlen moxicoah. Pan ni tlaltepactli tiehelihuih tiitztoqueh.

Ni ome tequitl huahcauhquiya mochihua, quichiuhtihualtoqueh tlen tototatahhuan huan tlen maz huahcauhquiya tetahtzitzin, inihhuantin tlahuel mopahtiyayah huan inihhuantin quinnextiltehtoqueh tlen naman totatahhuan huan naman tohhuantin technextiliah pampa tecocolianih nochipa itztoqueh, axcanah tlamih. Ica ni tlacotontli huan tlaquihquixtiliztli ce momocuitlahuia ica miac tlamantli achtohui quena, tlen mitzcocoliah nouhquiya ica ce cocoliztli tlen mitzpano pan motlacayo, ce ehecatl, tlan titzonteconcuahcuallo. Tlan ticnequi ma cualli tiyaz pan moohuiuh, motequiuh, nochi campa tinemi axtlen ma mitzpano.

Zan monequi nelnelliya tictlaliz zo ticchihuaz ica moyollo pampa queuhquinon quena cualli quizaz tlen ta ticnequi ticchihuaz huan cualli tiitztoz, ticchihuaz tlen quiihtoz tepahtihquetl. Ni tequitl hueliz mocecuilia teipan axcanah quemman polihuiz pampa quena zampa quinnextiltiyohuih tlen mozcaltihtiyohuih

A Village Healer

A healer, a powerful person in a village, has existed for a long time, for many years. Our grandparent's knowledge, the knowledge of our ancestors, is in this land. Our grandparents truly trusted in the healer, in a healer who knows how to do good or straight work. There are those good ones who make their work straight and those who do not do good work. We say this because some indigenous people, or *macehualmeh*, perpetuate bad works because they have hate.

Now I will show an example of a young woman, I will tell about a thing that happened to this indigenous person, *macehualli*, from the village of Chicontepec. We say that she has not done anything (bad), she only lives (in peace), does her work. This woman has studied and does well in her work and life. It was difficult for this woman to be where she is (it was not easy). As they say, in our lives everything is difficult, only if we want to be somebody in life is it necessary to study.

We say that there are people who have hate and find a healer who does bad works. The young woman left her village a long time ago. She went to the city with much fear, and she began to study although it was difficult. While she studied she also worked in a house where they sold food or worked in other little jobs. Therefore, she had a little money, so it was not necessary to ask her parents for money. In this way, she worked and helped with the money. When she had breaks from school she went to visit her parents with her own money. She made herself and her parents happy because she went and was with them for ten days. Everyone was happy.

It was only that those who had hate did not stop. They could not stand to see the young woman and her parents happy and that they did not fight (amongst themselves). The woman had five brothers and sisters and all of them had left the village. They studied, worked, and did not ask for money from their parents. The woman worked and studied, and when she finished her studies she found work. The work was not in the field she studied, but she felt good about the work, she wanted it and liked it.

In this way she worked while helping her parents, sometimes she gave them a lot and sometimes she gave them a little money. Though afterwards, no one in the village wanted to give the father of the woman any work. They said, why do you want to work when you already have money, and because all your children are living far away and have studied. The man was saddened and asked why they would say such things. He had not changed; he had stayed the same. He was not arrogant. Little by little, they began to give him work and he began to help them again. Only in this way did he know that they had hate, that they envied him because he did not suffer as much as they did.

Many people cannot stand to see the good life of another person. It is because they do not have it (such a good life) and because everyone knows each other (in the village). Much later, people began to watch and talk about a person's life even though they do not know them well.

The Cutting of the Bad

Now I want to tell about a woman to whom they had done things that were not good, and she looked for the cure for her life with the healer of her village.

First, this woman went to see a healer known to her father and he believed in what the healer did. The healer was one who did correct or straight work. She went for the healer to perform a search (on her). When the young woman arrived at the house of the healer, he began to prepare all that he was going to use: a large board and fourteen or eighteen kernels of corn. He utilized the incense burner, the incense copal. The young woman brought a candle and a ten-piece coin. All of which they would use to perform the search (on her). The young woman also believes in the custom and because of this belief she was in search of well-being.

The healer began to pray at the altar, he prayed where they had the board and the corn (below the altar). He asked the name of the young woman, her last name and where she lived, because in this way he could implore the gods. The truth is that the healer always did good work. He prayed and identified the home (outside the village) of the young woman because that is where her soul walked. He blew on the corn in his hand and passed it above the incense burner of copal and then threw the corn on the board and read how the kernels fell. The healer told them what he saw, how it was. He threw the corn kernels again because he wanted to see if it was true what he saw first, then he told her everything. The healer said, "Here I see that they hate you, some have jealousy because you lack for nothing, you have work, you have good work, you do not abandon your parents,

you always help them with a little money, it is good, you regularly visit your parents. There are some who do not want to see you (happy) because they do not have what you have, or their children do not visit so reliably. Because of this they do bad, they want to slow you down, they also want you to struggle."

The young woman felt bad symptoms. She was not in the village with her parents. She had lived for many years outside the village. Therefore, when she was outside the village, she began to feel headaches, she began to sleep poorly, had ugly dreams, she didn't feel hunger, she was not happy. When she went to be with her parents, she informed them how she was or how she was feeling. Her father told her that she needed to have a search and a ritual work performed, that the healer would cut or break what was happening (to the woman).

The young woman and her father only listened to what the healer said, when he finished working, then he told them what was needed in order to cut the bad that had been done. He told them it was necessary to perform a ceremony of cutting called *tlacotontli*. He told them that the following items were needed: a bunch of herbs (for the sweeping) (seven types of herbs, leaf of Saint Mary, a type of herb similar to ezpazote, small anona fruits, anona fruit, *talachia*, capulin, and guayaba), a candle of la Virgen and one of Saint Judas Tadeo, a candle, a candle made of fat called *cebo*, alcohol, and five or six small cans of soda. The things the healer always needed and always had at home to use were: the incense burner, the incense copal, various vases, some for the altar. They agreed on a day and the hour to perform the cutting ceremony called *tlacotontli*. The ceremony is on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, or Sundays because they are strong days and they are not the first days of the week.

The healer went to the house of the woman. There, they already had all the necessary items from when they performed the search. When the healer arrived, he prepared the paper cuttings. He had many colors of tissue paper (papel de China). With the paper cuttings he made many gods, their faces and bodies. They are alive: like the god of water, wind, of la Virgen, of our father Jesus Christ, fire, the earth, and others. All of these can appear in the paper cuttings and because he (the healer) was already working, he began to name all of them. In this way he gave force to the work.

Then they prepared the water. They used the banana plant, the nopal, and pitaya. They cut them into small pieces and they stirred with water. Then they left it because it would be used when they were done with the work. They put the water on the altar close to the fire. Sometimes they washed their faces. These three items, the banana plant, the nopal, and the pitaya, are used because they are foamy and cold. They indicate calm and

they make it slippery when there are problems. The healer asked for the coals with which he would pass copal smoke (at the altar).

How the Work Began

The healer did not rest, he continued preparing. He began to pray at the altar, he spoke with the gods, he asked for permission because he was going to work. He needed them to help him, to be with him, to not leave him alone, for his work with their daughter to come out well. He passed the copal smoke.

Afterward he called to the woman, the woman who he would cure. He was going to perform a cleansing with the bunch of herbs, the candle, and the egg. These he had kept on the altar because he would use them during the ceremony of the cutting of the bad called *tlacotontli*. When the cleansing began, he spoke with the gods and he poured a bit of the alcohol over the bunches of herbs. When the woman truly felt that she had something bad, she began to feel sleepy, she felt weak.

The healer finished the cleansing of the woman in this way. He prayed at the altar and he gave the candle to the woman so that she would light it and put it on the altar. Afterward the healer prayed with the chicken, with it he would perform another cleansing on the woman. He called to the woman that she would sit in a chair and he began to perform the cleansing. Again, he began to communicate with the gods.

As he prayed the healer said, "Our mother, our father, here we are in front of you, here your children do not forget you. Now we want that your daughter asks you that she should be left alone. Nothing (bad) should be done to her, she only wants to be healthy and work well. It is only that you know that there are those who become angry, those who have hate. This, your daughter, has not done anything, she only wants to be well. Remove from her everything that weighs her down . . . " When he was done, he breathed on the chicken, the same chicken with which he had completed the cleansing.

Afterward the healer killed the chicken with scissors. He pierced the neck and with the blood he bathed the paper cuttings that he kept at the foot of the altar. Then he gave the dead chicken to the mother or the daughter because they would need to pluck the feathers and cut it, boil it, and prepare it. When they cut the chicken, they did not make small pieces, they would need bigger pieces of meat to prepare in broth (of onions, mint, and crushed red chile).

While they prepared the chicken, the healer continued with the ceremony of the cutting of the bad called *tlacotontli* with the woman to find out

what ailed her. He positioned himself in the middle of the house, looking toward the outside. There he put all that he would use: the paper cuttings of the gods, eight gods of many colors, the candle, the candle of fat, the copal incense burner, some earth or dirt from the cornfield, alcohol, the bunches of the herbs, the raw egg used to complete the first cleansing, a cooked egg, and other paper cuttings referring to those that talk and those that have hate. Those that will say what they feel but are unable to do anything because the woman had done nothing wrong.

The healer began to pray there (at the place of the offerings), in his prayers he asked the gods that they protect the woman. He prayed that nothing would happen where she walked, that they bring a good path, good work, and good sleep. He splattered the alcohol on the cuttings. He broke the raw egg onto the ground and there appeared the face of the bad. He said that "Yes they hate you and it is a lot of hate they feel for you." Then he broke the cooked egg onto the ground, onto the cuttings and the dirt from the cornfield.

When he finished praying to the gods, he began to take four of the cuttings and broke the bunches of herbs at the middle. Two or three times he did in this way, and he blew on them. Again he took the other four cuttings and broke them, he did not finish praying, he continued with his work.

The healer would decide on the number of plates, how many went to the altar and how many went to the earth. He said, "Put two plates of food with tortillas above and four below." He also put six sodas, two above and four below, and cups of coffee the same, two above and four below, accompanied with bread.

They also placed offerings on the side of the fire. There they put the offering of a vase, they lit a candle, and also placed a plate of food with tortilla, a cup of coffee with bread. The healer prayed there as well. There the offerings stayed for a while; we say that the gods eat. Afterward the healer would say give food to the earth. It was necessary to put tortillas and bread on the earth. It was also necessary to pour out a bit of the soda and the coffee. When he was done doing this, he said: "Now it is necessary that we eat together if the tortillas are ready. Take what was given as offering, the food, and add a little more." The female head of the household began to add more food. She put it on the altar because she had not served a lot and they would need to eat. She took the soda. Everyone came to the table and ate.

The healer, as he ate, said, "Everything came out well during the cutting of the bad ceremony that we have done, it is now only necessary that we wait four days. It will calm down. Do not speak, do not do anything. I saw well that they (those with hate) had done bad, they want to slow down

the woman, to make it so she does not have work. All the things that will not help her come out on top."

They (the healers) do this work to help calm the people, that nothing happens to them. But if one does this work, it is necessary to continue it every year. Do not leave it because the gods will help you, they will not forget you. Also, the hate does not rest, they (those with hate) will continue to do bad. Because of this the ceremony of cutting the bad called *tlacotontli* deserves much respect and much faith. In this way it helps some people in the villages.

Cleansing

Here I will explain another type of work that a healer performs. It is called a cleansing because it takes many things out of the body of a person. You will feel as though you are not happy, you will have body aches, fatigue, you do your work slowly, and you have headaches. It does not matter the age of the person. This could happen to anyone.

The woman healer first completed a search with the person who felt this way. In it, she used a candle, paper cuttings with four or eight faces of the gods, a white candle, a copal incense burner, a cigarette, alcohol, dirt, one raw and one cooked egg, and bunches of herbs. The bunches of herbs contained seven different types of herbs: seven types of herbs, leaf of Saint Mary, a type of herb similiar ezpazote, small anona fruits, anona fruit, *talachia*, capulin, and guayaba. The healer tied up each type of herb making seven bundles.

First, the healer began to pray at the altar. She prayed on the type of work to be done with the woman, that they (the gods) help her, that they accompany her. The healer also asked that the work turn out well. Here she made the search of the body, asking "What did she have in her body? Show what you have. Where is it?"

The healer made a search on a medium board with corn, a few kernels, a candle, and a coin piece of ten pesos. She began to ask the gods to see what worried the woman. She prayed, she had in her hand the kernels of corn, she named the person she was going to cure, when she finished, she dropped the kernels on the board. There she saw what the person had in her body. She threw the kernels once again to confirm what she saw in the body of the person.

At the second turn the healer told the woman and her parents what she saw. She said "Yes, yes, this woman has something, and she has many things that are not good." Although the healer saw what the woman had, she did not tell the truth of what she saw. The healer did not say it because it could

frighten the woman and her parents. She only told them it was necessary to take out what the woman had (in her body). They agreed on a day when they would go again with all the necessary items. They would go to work and take out the things in the woman's body. They needed these things in good portions: a cigarette, alcohol, and garlic.

The woman and her parents prepared all the necessary things to rid the woman of the affliction. During that night the woman and her parents did not sleep well. They were thinking and analyzing their daughter's affliction. The following day, or the third day, they went again to the house of the healer with all of the necessary items. The healer took what they brought and prepared them as needed. When she was ready she began to pray. She spoke with the gods because she was going to work. The woman removed all her clothing and sat in a chair. The healer swept her with the bunches of herbs and the candle. The healer continued to pray and did not stop praying. Then she lit the candle on the altar.

The woman sat in the seat and the healer began to pray. She spoke to the person she was going to cure. She swept in order to remove the afflictions with the medicinal remedies (alcohol, garlic, leaf of Saint Mary, cigarette). These she prepared in a medium gourd cup. She went scrubbing the body of the woman (with the prepared medicine). She began with her head, then the cheeks, the shoulders, the chest, the ribs, the stomach, the legs, the knees, and the feet. She would put into the container the extra (of the prepared medicine) that fell off the body. In this way she finished sweeping her. The woman dressed, she felt weak and nauseous. She could not dress herself well alone. She needed help because she felt sick and was cold. She needed to cover herself well because they had swept her with alcohol. It was not good to be in the blowing wind because the woman could become sicker. Due to this they needed to be careful. The healer said, "Now it is done, I am done, here is what came out, if you would like to see. If she is not well enough, she should not look, but if she feels well, here it is." Then her parents saw but they did not tell their daughter immediately what had come out.

Afterward, the healer told them what to do once they arrived at the house. The healer said, "Light this candle, the one the woman had lit first, when you arrive at the house, and light it for four consecutive days. Do not bathe your daughter for four days. She cannot go out and she should not receive visitors, she should only be inside. Also do not tell her now what came out because she will become frightened." They did this because they wanted the work to come out well.

When they arrived at home, they did what the healer had asked. The woman lay down in her room and covered herself well. She slept well and

woke up the next morning and she still felt without energy throughout her body. She did not do anything. Little by little she passed the days without feeling anything. She felt her body was light and crushed. Because of this she felt weak, sleepy, and without hunger. The four days passed, and the woman bathed in a bath of water made with the leaf called the leaf of the tamale. First, they broke the leaf up into small pieces and then soaked them in a large bucket for a good while. If it was prepared in the morning or perhaps by midday or afternoon, the woman would be able to bathe. She poured it over her whole body and head.

After bathing then they told her what came out of her body:

- Pieces of money: the money pieces were large, and they seemed to be from an older time. It also seemed like they had been in her body a long time because they were black.
- Candle: there were pieces of candle that seemed newer. The pieces must have been from bad works done recently.
- Bones: two small bones that also appeared newer because they were still white.
- Paper cuttings: the paper cuttings were black so perhaps they had been in her body a long time.
- Rocks: two rocks came out that were fairly large. They were black, pretty, shiny, and smooth.

All of these things came out of the woman's body. If you have never seen it or heard of it (the things that come out of the body), it can scare you. During this kind of work, it is also necessary that you take care, you cannot go alone, you need someone to take care of you.

The woman explained, "Yes, I was very scared because I had never seen nor had anything done like this, I also cried. I asked myself why and how it was that they hated me so much. One or two nights I could not sleep. I could only think of what had been taken out of my body." Her parents gave her strength and told her not to be sad. They told her not to cry, to be strong and continue on her path, with her work, they said many things like this to their daughter.

About this ceremony you may ask how is it that these things came out of the body that a person cannot see? Many say that only god sees and knows why these things happen. Only god knows those who have hate, those who have envy. In this world we are different.

These two ceremonies were performed a long time ago. Our grandparents and the oldest people performed the ceremonies and they taught them to our parents today. Now they teach them to us because there are always those who have hate, they do not stop. With the cutting and the cleansing of the body ceremonies one can protect oneself from many things. First, the hate is a disease that passes into your body, like an air, like a very strong headache. If you want to do well in your path, in your work, everywhere you live, nothing bad will happen.

The truth is that one must do it (the ceremonies) with your heart and in this way, things turn out well. If you do what the healer says you will be well and the things you want to do will be good. This type of work will always continue. It (knowledge of the ceremonies) will not be lost because they will teach it again and it will grow.

It is necessary that we do not forget this custom, that we do it every year. Perhaps when the new year begins, at the end of the year, or when one can. It is necessary that we do not forget this type of work. In this way the gods will not forgets us, we have them present and they have us.

References

- Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2005. "In Tlamatinime: The Wise Men and Women of Aztec Mexico." In *Painted Books and Indigenous Knowledge in Mesoamerica*, Pub. 69, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 9–25. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.
- Dow, James. 1984. "Symbols, Soul, and Magical Healing among the Otomí Indians." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 10, no. 1: 3-21.
- Dow, James. 1986. "Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing: A Theoretical Synthesis." *American Anthropologist* 88, no. 1: 56–69.
- Huber, Brad R., and Alan R. Sandstrom. 2001. Mesoamerican Healers. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Polanco, Edward Anthony. 2018 "'I Am Just a *Ticitl*': Decolonizing Central Mexican Nahua Female Healers, 1535–1635." *Ethnohistory* 65, no. 3: 441–63.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de. (1575–79) 1979. El Códice Florentino de Bernardino de Sahagún. 3 vols. Mexico City: Secretaría de Gobernación.
- Sandstrom, Alan R. 1991. Corn Is Our Blood: Culture and Ethnic Identity in a Contemporary Aztec Indian Village. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Strong, Pauline T. 2015. "Ethnohistory." In vol. 8 of *International Encyclopedia of* the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2nd ed., edited by James D. Wright, 192–97. New York: Elsevier.
- US Department of Health and Human Services. 2010. Healthy People 2020: An Opportunity to Address the Societal Determinants of Health in the United States. Secretary's Advisory Committee on National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives for 2020, July 26.
- Valenzuela, Liliana. 2017. "As Nahuatl Wanes in Mexico, UT Instructor Tries to Keep Language Alive." *Austin American-Statesman*, June 15. www.statesman.com/news/20170615/as-nahuatl-wanes-in-mexico-ut-instructor-tries-to-keep-language-alive.