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Carpenter, Victoria ORCID logoORCID:  
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Among the young gods worshipped by the Aztecs are Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, whose birth is analogous to that of Christ, and Tlaloc, the god of rain, 'niño y viejo simultáneamente, deidad de mayor antigüedad'.<sup>78</sup> The references to Huitzilopochtli<sup>79</sup> and Tlaloc,<sup>80</sup> in the context of the shooting present the event as an example of religious or mythological fusion.

The ultimate example of this fusion is the image of 'Dador de la vida', which combines the reference to the Holy Trinity with Aztec beliefs. The quotations 'Esto es lo que ha hecho el Dador de la Vida'<sup>81</sup> and 'Esto ha hecho el Dador en Tlatelolco'<sup>82</sup> suggest a common source, 'Cantares Mexicanos'.<sup>83</sup> A similar line appears in the section 'Se ha perdido el pueblo mexicana',<sup>84</sup> a particularly poignant title considering its use in the 1968 Tlatelolco poetry:

Llorad, amigos míos, tened entendido que con estos hechos hemos perdido la nación mexicana. ¡El agua se ha acedado, se acedó la comida! Esto es lo que ha hecho el Dador de la vida en Tlatelolco.<sup>85</sup>

The nature of 'el Dador de la Vida' merits further examination. While it may be considered a Christian metaphor for God, in Mexican culture it is a reference to the all-powerful creator introduced by Nezahualcōyotl, a Texcocan chief and artist (1403–73). Nezahualcōyotl was the first indigenous chief who forbade the practice of human sacrifice in his tribe, stating that the single deity – el Dador de la vida, or the

77 'Most frequent and constant is the devotion to Christ, the child God, the young God, especially as a victim saviour [...] The fervour of the Child God cult could be explained [...] as a legacy of prehispanic religions' (Paz 1950: 75).

78 'a child and an old man at the same time, the oldest deity' (Paz, 75).

79 Becerra, 80.

80 Simpson, 59.

81 Pacheco, 89.

82 'This is what the Giver of Life has done', 'The Giver in Tlatelolco has done this' (Bañuelos, 62).

83 'Mexican Songs', approx. 1523.

84 'The Mexica people have lost themselves.'

85 'Weep, my friends, understand that with these deeds we have lost the Mexican nation. The water has turned bitter, the food soured! This is what the Giver of Life has done in Tlatelolco' (*Cantares Mexicanos*, chapter 15).

Giver of life – was responsible for giving and taking human life.<sup>86</sup> Considering that Nezahualcōyotl's beliefs were not influenced by Christianity, Aztec cultural context prevails, although a metaphoric discord of Christianity and pagan beliefs as a corollary to the armed conflict between the Spaniards and the Aztecs also defines the 1968 event.

Some poems go further in the analysis of the shooting as the product of cultural influences, drawing explicit historical parallels between the 1968 shooting and the 1521 battle between Hernán Cortés' and Moctezuma's armies at Tlatelolco. The works used in these instances are Nahuatl documents and codices in Spanish, in particular Códice Florentino.

The structure of José Emilio Pacheco's 'Lectura de los "Cantares mexicanos": manuscrito de Tlatelolco' and the use of historical accounts of the battle of Tlatelolco are similar to Marcela Del-Río's 'Tlatelolco (Canon a tres voces)',<sup>87</sup> where the text of Códice Florentino, Book XII is combined with the eyewitness account of the shooting. Hence, the narrators in both works consider the 1968 massacre to be similar to the battles between Cortés' troops and the native tribes during the Spanish conquest. This interpretation of events differs from the widely accepted view of Octavio Paz, who likens the shooting to the Aztec practice of human sacrifice.<sup>88</sup>

Pacheco's poem uses quotations from the Nahuatl texts about the battle of Tlatelolco in 1521, hinting at the similarity between the two events. By breaking the narrative with a reference to the present events, the narrator suggests that history repeats itself:

Los mexicanos estaban muy temerosos.  
Miedo y vergüenza los dominaban.

Y todo esto pasó con nosotros<sup>89</sup>

86 See, for example, Conrad 1984; Taube 1993.

87 'Tlatelolco (Canon for Three Voices)' (Del-Río 1985: 262–83).

88 See Paz 1985.

89 'The Mexicans were very fearful / Fear and shame overcame them. / And all this happened to us' (Pacheco, 88).