

"HE COULD HAVE MADE MARVELS IN THIS LANGUAGE"
A NAHUATL SERMON BY FATHER JUAN DE TOVAR, S.J.

BARRY D. SELL AND LARISSA TAYLOR
DEDICATED TO CHARLES E. DIBBLE

The following commentary on a little-known Nahuatl text of the early seventeenth century is divided into two parts, each reflecting the differing backgrounds and interests of the authors. The first part places the piece in the context of the Nahuatl corpus associated with the church and was done by Sell. The second touches on the very important question of its European antecedents and contemporary counterparts and was written by Taylor. The document itself can be found in full transcription and English translation at the end of this essay.¹

A. THE MEXICAN CONTEXT

The Dominican *nahuatlato* (expert in Nahuatl; translator) fray Martín de León in the prologue to his sermonary of 1614 listed those whom he considered the more accomplished authors of indigenous-language publications. Among this distinguished company were a number of *nahuatlatos*. They included the Franciscans fray Alonso de Molina and fray Juan Bautista, and the Augustinians fray Juan de la Anunciación and fray Juan Mijangos. León says about the Jesuits:

Everyday things of diverse languages come out of the great Society of JESUS and they could do much with this on account of having marvelous subjects, for if Father Juan de Tovar (rector of the College of Indians of Saint Gregory) would have applied himself [to writing

¹ Note that all abbreviations in the Nahuatl, Latin and Spanish have been resolved. Transcription and translation of the Spanish and Nahuatl are the responsibility of Barry D. Sell. Normalization of Latin spellings and translations of same courtesy of Stafford Poole, C.M., to whom I extend my sincere gratitude for his generous help.

books] he could have made marvels in this language, although he is very well occupied [instead] in teaching virtue, science and music of all instruments to his Indians.²

Several decades later Father Horacio Carochi, the greatest colonial grammarian of Nahuatl who rarely praised anyone, would laud Tovar as being “eminent in this language.”³

Perhaps the greatest compliment paid to Tovar’s abilities was made more than a century after his death in circa 1623. In the mid-eighteenth century Father Ignacio de Paredes evaluated more than 200 years of alphabetical Nahuatl texts. He mentions by name only seven outstanding experts, among them Tovar, in the last published Nahuatl sermonary of the colonial period:

In the language [of this book] I have tried to use the purest, most appropriate and most genuine words, [the same] that the most eminent and classical authors of the discipline used: as are the Bautistas, the Molinas, the Mijangos’s, the Leones, Anunciación, the Carochis and Tovares, with others [who were] native [speakers] of the language, who left us their books (whether printed or manuscript) that conserve in their propriety and elegance this fecund and extremely elegant language. And I have left out on purpose other words that are [currently] used in some places on account of being in reality barbarous and never found in these most celebrated masters of the language.⁴

Tovar’s facility in Nahuatl also is well attested by his role as an expert examiner of Nahuatl manuscripts destined for the press. Except for Maestro (and then Doctor) Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa

² “De la gran Compañía de IESVS, salen cada día cosas de diuersas lenguas, y desta pudieran hazer mucho por tener sujetos maruillosos. Que si el Padre Ioan de Tobar Rector del Colegio de los Indios de San Gregorio, se viera aplicado, pudiera auer hecho marauillas en esta lengua, aunque està muy bien ocupado enseñando à sus indios virtud, ciencia, y musica de todos instrumentos” (León 1614, preliminary leaf, unnumbered).

³ Carochi 1645, 75v. Note that the only other nahuatlato that he mentions by name in the body of his grammar are his fellow Jesuit, Father Antonio del Rincón (whose faults he generously excuses, e.g., see 58r and 81r-v), and the Franciscan lexicographer fray Alonso de Molina (about whom he makes slighting remarks, e.g., on 3r). Notwithstanding a decided favoritism towards Jesuits, Carochi’s estimate of Tovar was merited.

⁴ “En el Idioma he procurado usar de las voces mas puras, proprias, y genuinas, que usaron los mas eminentes, y classicos Autores de la facultad: como son los Baptistas, los Molinas, los Mijangos, los Leones, Anunciacion, los Carochis, y Thobares, con otros naturales en el Idioma, que nos dejaron sus Libros, ô impressos, ô manuscritos; que conservan en su propiedad, y elegancia este fecundo, y elegantissimo Idioma. Y de proposito he omitido otras voces, que se usan en algunos lugares; por ser en la realidad barbaras, y que jamas se hallan en estos celeberrimos Maèstros del Idioma” (Paredes 1759b, “Razon de la obra al lector”, preliminary leaf, unnumbered).

he reviewed more high-quality texts than any other official censor of the colonial period. His seal of approval appears in Molina's revised grammar of 1576 and his *Doctrina cristiana* of 1578, Bautista's collection of pre-Hispanic high oratory of 1600 and his sermonary of 1606, León's eclectic *Camino del cielo* of 1611 and Mijangos' sermonary of 1624.

Tovar is perhaps best known today for being a prestigious early recruit to the Society of Jesus (they first arrived in Mexico in 1572) and for various writings about Nahuas. Modern scholars are almost totally unaware that an extant Nahuatl text by him was widely available to his colonial contemporaries.⁵ When the nahuatlato Mijangos published his sermonary in 1624 he included a sermon by Tovar on the Most Holy Sacrament "because I wanted to know how I might properly speak about the [external] appearances of [consecrated] bread and wine."⁶

One of the most unusual features of the sermon is Father Tovar's direct reference to his own parish. "Here", he proclaims at the beginning of his speech, "in San Sebastián Atzaqualco", the very "tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin."⁷ I have examined all the published and some of the manuscript colonial Nahuatl sermonaries and (unintentional omissions aside) have yet to come across another such specific reference to an individual Nahuatl congregation.⁸ This was due in large part to the pronounced tendency of authors to make their sermons acceptable in many different Nahuatl *altepetl* (cit[y]/ies, realm[s]). On any given Sunday or feast day, however, many clerics surely added the names of the *tlaxilacallis* (barrios, districts, wards [i.e., chief colonial subdivisions of an *altepetl*]) in which they preached and of their patron saints. At the very least Tovar did so, and Mijangos undoubtedly intended the readers of his sermonary to understand that where Tovar mentioned his specific parish they were to substitute the terms appropriate to their own circumstances.

⁵ I leave out of consideration the translations from Spanish into Nahuatl made by Tovar for Archbishop Moya de Contreras which supposedly were published under the title *El catecismo y diálogos* (circa 1573). At present I am aware of no existing copy of this work so it cannot be compared to the text under discussion here.

⁶ Appendix 1, this article, lines 1-3; hereafter referred to as "Lines [fill in the number]."

⁷ Lines 9-11; edited for purposes of presentation.

⁸ Such references also are equally rare in the general run of colonial Nahuatl imprints. One of the very few (and only a partial one at that) is in a model testament: the parish of Santa María Asunción [of an unnamed *tlaxilacalli*] of the *altepetl* of Tetzoco (Molina 1984 [1569], 61r).

More common in the sermon genre are broader references like Tovar's mentions of Mexico City and his direct address to "you Mexica."⁹ The Mexica Tenochca were the Nahuas native to Mexico Tenochtitlan (later colonial Mexico City) who had run the Aztec tribute empire; it was to this Nahua grouping that "Montezuma" belonged. Occasionally such general allusions were left in published collections of Nahuatl sermons, betraying where the official center of Nahuatl scholarship, preaching and printing (like so much else in colonial life) was located or at least where the authors were mentally placing their censored versions of correct preachable material. Anunciación in his sermonary of 1577 first directs himself to "yn nican Mexico in annahuatlaca" (you Nahua peoples here in Mexico [City]) and later to "yn nican anchaneque, yn anMexicotlaca" (you local residents, you [Nahua?/Indian?] peoples of Mexico [City]).¹⁰ León in his sermonary of 1614 addresses himself to "in anMexica, in antenochca in nepapan antlaca" (you Mexica, you Tenochca, and you various [other] peoples/you various Mexica and Tenochca peoples).¹¹

Mijangos would go them one better in his sermonary of 1624. He does not specifically mention one Nahua group in any particular sermon; rather, he dedicates his whole book to the natives of Mexico City! Following the expected "Aduertencias al Lector" for Spanish speakers he has a five-page prologue in Nahuatl directed to his Nahua readers: "BEHOLD THE BOOK BELONGING TO and that will be read [by] the Mexica, the Tenochca and all those who speak Nahuatl, who pronounce the language of the Mexica and make their homes everywhere here on the earth of our Lord God."¹² He then begins his remarks by proclaiming "Tlaçotlacaē in anMexica" (O dear people, you Mexica/O you esteemed Mexica peoples). He ends with "Onitlacuilo, nican Mexico Tenochtitlan in nehuatl, yn amoteopixcauh. Fr. Iuan de Mijangos" (I, your priest fray Juan de Mijangos, did the writing here in Mexico Tenochtitlan [i.e., the place of the Mexica Tenochca]).¹³

⁹ Lines 35-38.

¹⁰ Anunciación 1577, 59r and 64r, respectively. Note that he closes one sermon with "yn nican Mexico" (here in Mexico [City]) [*ibid.*, 178v].

¹¹ León 1614, 49r. Note again local references such as "nicān Mexico" (here in Mexico [City]) and "Mexicatālan" (in the land of the Mexica) [*ibid.*, 57r and 99v, respectively].

¹² "IZCATQVI IN AMATZINTLI INTEZINCO [sic] POHVI, quimopohuilizque in Mexica, in tenochca yhuan in ixquichtin in nahualahtohua, in quimotenquixtilia in Mexicatlahtolli, in nohuampa modachantilitoque nican ytlaticpactzinco toTecuioy Dios" (Mijangos 1624, preliminary leaf, unnumbered).

¹³ *Ibid.*, preliminary leaves, unnumbered.

Tovar's adaptation to local circumstances went far beyond including the name of his parish. He relied heavily on the devices of the traditional Nahuatl oratory known as *huehuetlahtolli*, somewhat literally meaning "the old word" but more properly understood as "speeches/admonitions of the elders" or "ancient discourse." The translators and editors of the most extensive collection of such harangues, Book Six of the *Florentine Codex*, sum up its principal features as being "extreme formality, floridness, ceremoniousness, effectiveness in command of figures of speech and recourse to parallelism, balance and repetitions."¹⁴ This also accurately describes the Nahuatl of Tovar's text, although his syntax is considerably more complex at times than that found in other sermon collections. In addition Tovar has more of a propensity than most other clerics to use Nahuatl's inherent ability to construct complex nominal compounds, a tendency that did not go unnoticed by the greatest colonial grammarian of Nahuatl.¹⁵ When nahuatlatoes like Tovar properly created and used compounds the Nahuatl was considered "smoother and more sonorous."¹⁶

Tovar was not afraid to borrow from other Nahuatl genres besides the *huehuetlahtolli* per se. In one passage San Juan "scatters down celestially precious words" and "declares precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams"; elsewhere "fine words drizzle and scatter down as if they were radiant dew and painted gold pendants."¹⁷ This is very far from standard clerical Nahuatl. Even in the *Bancroft Dialogues* (lessons in polite upper-class metaphorical Nahuatl) there is talk of tears sprinkling and scattering down but not of words.¹⁸ Tovar's stylized passages are far more reminiscent of song/poetry, although not the heavily Christianized original compositions found in fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmódia cristiana* (1583; 1993). The nearest parallels seem to be with material in the *Cantares Mexicanos*, the most extensive extant collection of seemingly pre-Hispanic-style Nahuatl song/poetry. There the items most often being scattered down, for example, are flowerlike or flowers, sometimes in the company of songs.¹⁹ The leap from "songs" to "words" scattering down is not too difficult to imagine, and Tovar

¹⁴ Sahagún 1969, 1, note 1.

¹⁵ Carochi 1645, 75v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* See also similar remarks in Rincón 1595, 50v.

¹⁷ Lines 40-43 and 81-85, respectively. The citations are considerably edited for purposes of presentation.

¹⁸ Karttunen and Lockhart 1987, 130-133.

¹⁹ For one example see Bierhorst 1985, 208-209.

may well have seen the *Cantares* or similar material, but there is only enough evidence to suggest that Tovar was borrowing from the genre and not necessarily from this particular source.

For all of Tovar's expert and generous use of many of Nahuatl's expressive resources the actual content of the sermon is relatively disconnected from Nahua life, seemingly defeating the need clerics felt to adapt Christian teachings to Nahua sensibilities. Perhaps this was due in part to the nature of the genre itself where the same doctrinal points were relentlessly emphasized and repeated (perhaps to the point of boring regularity) as well as to the unceasing pressure put on all colonial nahuatlato to stick to the safest authorities and examples available, i.e., stock biblical ones. The very technical nature of the issue being addressed surely added mightily to the abstractness of his presentation. An earlier piece by Anunciación on the very same Latin *thema* (text), on the other hand, yields a very different impression.

For the feast day of the Most Holy Sacrament the Augustinian nahuatlato based his sermon on John 6:56-57: "*MY BODY IS TRULY food and my blood is truly drink. He who eats my body and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.*"²⁰ Here is one of Anunciación's explanations of the difference between consecrated and unconsecrated bread:

O MY BELOVED CHILDREN, you already know how it happens here on earth, for in the homes of the nobles and rulers the tortillas that are eaten are of two types. The first type of food is known as fine ground and pure, necessary for the rulers and lords, called pure tortillas. But the second type of tortilla is just full of ashes, not very good, not very pure, nor is it very finely ground; it is called tribute tortilla, crumbly, necessary for the palace messengers and for the lowly household dependents of the rulers. Likewise it spiritually happens, for the tortillas our Lord GOD gives His children and His creatures are of two types. The first one is things of this earth, regarded as tribute tortillas, crumbly, spiritually not very delicious, not very strengthening, not very satisfying nor very consoling. It is necessary for those who desire the things of the earth who do not recognize the food of Heaven as being tasty and sweet. But the second one is called spiritual food, is very pure, very well prepared, very delicious and fragrant, very redeeming, very strengthening in a spiritual manner, and it makes people live healthi-

²⁰ "CARO MEA, VERE est cibus: et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui manducal meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo. Ioannis capite 6(:56-57)" (Anunciación 1577, 84r). Normalization of Latin spellings and translation courtesy of Stafford Poole, C.M.

ly; it strengthens, raises, and consoles people's spirits and people's souls. This food is the precious body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.²¹

Here is a much more transparent example of Nahuatlization and shows how closely clerics could draw abstract doctrine and concrete example together in a (seemingly) effective analogy. It should be noted that the same term is used by Tovar for "bread" and by Anunciación for "tortilla." Nahuatl *tlaxcalli* meant "maize tortilla" and early in the colonial period added the sense "[Spanish-style] bread," the exact translation depending on context.

While the term may be the same in both sermons the manner in which the two priests tied it to their parishioners' life experiences differed drastically. This was not a matter of expertise in the language but perhaps in part a matter of presentation (and see Taylor's comments below). Anunciación took a more general approach to his subject and so had more flexibility in how he presented it to his audience; Tovar (apparently under Mijangos' prodding) set a far narrower task for himself and found himself accordingly limited in his means of expressing himself.

Whatever its limitations Tovar's sermon continued to be read years after his death. Echoes of the effective analogy he made between the presence of Jesus Christ in each of the consecrated wafers and that of an image in each piece of a shattered mirror²² can be found in Don Bartolomé de Alva's *Confesionario* of 1634:

Even though this heavenly bread is in very many parts our Savior Jesus Christ is completely present and whole everywhere in each one of them, perfectly complete everywhere in each host. It is like a clear and beautiful mirror: If it is quite shattered and broken up into a great

²¹ "NOTLAÇOPILHVA ne ca ye anquimati yn iuh mochiua nican talticpac, ca yn inchan in pipiltin in tlatoque, ca occan quiztica in tlaxcalli in qualo. Ynic centlamantli tlaqualli cuechtic, yuan chipauac mihmati, vel yehuantin intech monequi in tlatoque in pipilti, motocayotia chipauac tlaxcalli. Auh ynic ontlamantli tlaxcalli ynic occan quiztica, çan nexyo amo cenca qualli, amo cenca chipauac, amo no cenca cuechtic, motocayotia tequitlaxcalli, papayan: yehuantin intech monequi in tecpan motitidani yn intlan nemi tlatoque. Çan no yuh teoyotica mochiua, ca ontlamanquiztica yn tlaxcalli yn quimmomaquilia totecuiyo DIOS, yn ipilhuan yn itlachiualhuan. Ynic centlamantli yehuat in taltipaccayotl [sic] yn ipam pohui tequitlaxcalli papayan, in amo teoyotica cenca velic, amo cenca techicauh, amo cenca teyolpachiuiti, amo no cenca teyollali. Yehuan intech monequi in taltipaccayoleuianime, in amo ye quitzopelicamati yn ilhuicac tlaqualli. Auh ynic ontlamantli moteneua teoyotica tlaqualli, ca cenca chipauac vellacencavalli, cenca vel ic auyac, vellaçotlaqualli, vel nemaquixtiloni, cenca techicauh teoyotica, tepaccanemitia: quichicaua quiuapahua, yuan quiyolalia in teyolia in teanima. Ynin tlaqualli, yehuat yn itlaçonacayotzin totecuiyo IESV CHRISTO "(*ibid.*, 85r).

²² Lines 160-169.

many parts the sun can be seen in many places. But the sun is undisturbed, not broken [or] divided anywhere but very whole in roundness, in beauty, in being full of radiance and sunbeams, in esteem, for it is just the mirror that is broken, shattered, divided up and separated. Likewise such is our beloved Savior Jesus Christ in Heaven and in the Most Holy Sacrament. Even though the host is in many parts and divided up—some are large, some are small—yet He does not divide up, is not diminished, is undisturbed, is not small in one part and large in another, for He is everywhere with all His power, honor, rulership and divinity as He is in Heaven.²³

It is only fitting that Alva, a mestizo cleric descended from high Nahua nobility and an acknowledged master of Nahuatl himself, should borrow from his illustrious Jesuit predecessor.

B. THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

It is useful to examine the eucharistic sermon by Father Juan de Tovar within the context of the medieval and early modern European preaching tradition, and most particularly the recent statements and publications issued by the Council of Trent. This Nahuatl sermon, published posthumously in a sermonary of 1624, is striking for its experimental characteristics, yet this is precisely what one would expect to find in post-Tridentine Catholic sermons to non-traditional audiences. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Catholics in Europe had changed their homiletic style dramatically, abandoning the scholastic method of centuries past in response to both Renaissance and Reformation thought. In accordance with the newly enunciated Tridentine preaching goals, Father Tovar was faced with the challenge of teaching a group of Native Americans whose spiritual beliefs were sometimes far different from those of most European women and men. The sermon bears the imprint of all these factors.

The subject of the sermon, an explanation of the operation and effects of the eucharistic sacrifice, falls clearly within the sphere of early Tridentine spirituality. Although medieval preachers regularly explained the meaning of the mass as part of their sermons, the eucharistic sermon *sui generis* came into its own in the first half of the sixteenth century in response to Protestant attacks on the mass. As

²³ Alva 1634, 43v-44v (Nahuatl side); considerably edited for reasons of presentation. From the critical edition being prepared by Barry Sell and John Schwaller.

the doctrine was reaffirmed by the decrees of the Council of Trent over the next several decades, devotion to the Eucharist increased both in organized activities of the church (such as Corpus Christi processions) and in confraternities dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. If eucharistic piety was only one of many expressions of pre-Reformation devotional practice, it became the centerpiece and fullest expression of preaching and piety in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Jesuits, Capuchins, and other newly founded and re-dedicated orders whose mission was proselytization not only among wavering or ignorant Christians but also among non-Christian peoples, had the unique opportunity to inculcate eucharistic beliefs and respect as the core of the Catholic religion in regions that could idealistically and hopefully be viewed as the new Jerusalem.

The structure of Tovar's sermon fits nicely into post-Reformation Catholic homiletics. In response to repeated attacks by humanists and Protestants alike about the elaborate scholastic structure of division and subdivision and the artificial mnemonic devices, Catholic preachers by the mid-sixteenth century had adopted a freer style that allowed more in-depth explication of Biblical texts and church practices. "Extraneous" discussions of contemporary social behaviors and practices, however much they are useful to scholars studying medieval sermons, now gave way to more strictly Biblical texts that were used to educate listeners in virtue and vice and the Catholic tradition. Father Tovar's sermon is not significantly different in form from those one would have found preached in Western Europe at the same time.

The theme, taken from John 6:56, leads directly into a discussion of how the food of the Eucharist provides Christ's people with spiritual nourishment. Tovar's explication of how that food is provided and how the people must learn to digest it parallels neatly the 1546 *Decretum secundum publicatum in eadem quinta session super lectione et praedicatione* issued by Trent. Bishops and preachers were instructed "to preach the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ... to feed the people committed to them... by teaching them those things that are necessary for all to know."²⁴ Other Tridentine works specified how this should be done to avoid the pitfalls that had faced late medieval and early Reformation Catholic preachers. The *Canones Verbi Dei* of Cristoforo de Padua insisted on "teaching the faith by proclamation and authority, confirming this with Scripture, substantiating it

²⁴ McGinness 1995, 30.

from tradition, and... asserting the right to do so on the basis of the apostolic succession, the decrees of the councils, and the writings of the Fathers."²⁵ The Jesuits were among the first and most successful to implement the new directives on preaching in their sermons. A treatise by the Jesuit Francisco de Borja urges his colleagues to keep their preaching "center[ed] on the specific doctrine contested by Protestants."²⁶ More than in sermons of recent times, Counter-Reformation homiletic tracts and decrees insisted on the importance of rhetoric. As McGinness points out, "all preaching, even that concerned most with imparting knowledge of Catholic truth, ultimately seeks to move or bend the will... Persuasion occurred therefore as one was taught, moved, and delighted."²⁷

A close reading of Tovar's sermon shows the degree to which he had made Tridentine principles an effective part of his preaching. It is simple and brief,²⁸ proceeds from the theme of John 6:56, and substantiates the argument with scriptural texts and the writings of Saint Augustine. Most importantly, Tovar speaks to the people in front of him by adapting the message in a manner that would make the vitally important eucharistic doctrine more comprehensible to them. Medieval preachers had fully realized the importance of this, arguing, like Tovar, that one had to give people nourishment according to their ability to digest.²⁹ But this was given new meaning in the Counter-Reformation, as groups like the Jesuits concentrated much of their missionary work on groups that had recently or never experienced the Word.³⁰

Tovar achieves his objective of finding the proper level of sacred eloquence by speaking in language and metaphors that his listeners could easily grasp. If his language is not as earthy as that of Anunciación, who compares the consecrated and unconsecrated bread to tortillas, he nevertheless speaks in images that would resonate with the women and men before him. He does this most obviously by using the metaphor of the eagle, and starting with its specific relation to these people: "It was proclaimed everywhere—O our beloved children!—for here in Atzaqualco, the distinct place of San Sebastián, the royal eagle gave insignia to our altepetl of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁸ In contrast to late medieval sermons that were usually one hour long, and sometimes longer, the Counter-Reformation sermon was usually no more than twenty minutes long. Brevity was considered one of the signs of a preacher's skill (McGinness 1995, 70-71).

²⁹ Taylor 1992, 56-60.

³⁰ Delumeau 1977, Ch. 4.

Mexico because it is the place of the very tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin.”³¹ A little further into the sermon, he again personalizes the eagle imagery: “You Mexica, you owners of the eagle-insignia, already have heard and known how in Mexico, the place of the royal eagle, the two marvelous eagles San Juan and San Agustín came to a stop so that they could show what they manifest to us, set down before us, our true daily nourishment and the eternal heavenly life-sustaining sustenance.”³² Tovar later develops the eagle imagery by having them confront the sun and having the mother eagle teach her young to fly.³³ This type of imagery is specific to the group of people Tovar is addressing; it would have meant little in a sermon delivered to the people of Spain or Italy.

Other metaphors reflect daily life. Tovar uses language that more easily conveys his meaning—as when he speaks of a coating of paint, breaking a mirror, and an infant hanging at its mother’s breast.³⁴ This was precisely the sort of thing late medieval preachers did when speaking to largely illiterate audiences.³⁵ It allowed the preacher to convey difficult theological points in a simple and effective manner. In a similar manner, Tovar explains doctrinal points that late medieval preachers had struggled with—the appearance of bread even after the miracle of transubstantiation, and how Christ is not broken up and in many places even though there are many hosts which are consumed by the faithful.³⁶

This sermon is in many ways an exemplar of Counter-Reformation ideals, especially as adapted for presentation to newly Christianized peoples or those who had not had the Word preached to them regularly. It is brief and to the point, and concerned with teaching one very essential element of the faith. It does so with personalization and metaphors of everyday day. The sermon also delights. The language and imagery is positive and uplifting. In lines 18-22, Tovar exclaims about “[t]hese celestial words, so very great, very high, very elevated, and of great stature.” Later he asks San Juan to “scatter down celestially precious words, let him declare the precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams.”³⁷ The

³¹ Lines 9-11.

³² Lines 35-38.

³³ Lines 177-180 and 187-189, respectively.

³⁴ Lines 77, 164-167, and 126-128, respectively.

³⁵ Néve 1924, “Introduction”; Martin 1988, Ch. 11.

³⁶ Lines 70-74; and 140-146 and 164-167, respectively.

³⁷ Lines 40-43.

purpose is both rhetorical and anagogical, as the preacher spins out phrases that are beautiful in themselves and which take the listener to a higher spiritual plane; again, it is all done with imagery appropriate to the audience. In short, Tovar has learned and implemented the principles enunciated at Trent and afterwards.

TOVAR 1624 - TRANSCRIPTION

1 (212) ESTE SERMÓN PREDICO EL SApientissimo Padre Ioan de
Tobar, á intercession mia,
2 con desseo de saber yo como diria bien accidentes de Pan, y Vi-
no, y por el mismo caso lo hize
3 imprimir entre estos mios, por que todos se aprouechen del, y
de su doctrina.

4 (213) IZCATQVI TEMACHTILLI, YC TEMACHTILOZ IN IHQuac tlaçoil-
huiquixtililo
5 itlaçomahuiznacayotzin totlaçoTemaquixticatzin toTecuiyo Iesu
Christo, yehuatl yc motemachtili
6 totlaçomahuiztatzin huey teotlàtolmatilice Padre Ioan de Touar,
San Gregorio motlapielia, yc
7 motemachtili Mexico San Sebastian.

8 *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus, vere est potus. Ioannes
capitulo 6.*

9 NOhuiyan machizti (totlaçopilhuane) ca in tlahtocaquauhtli in
oqnimotlahuizti³⁸ [sic] in tauh, in
10 totepeuh Mexico, nican atzaqualco San Sebastian, iyoca, iyeyan,
ipampa ca yehuatl in huel
11 itlâxilacaltian, yhuan ipilchan in Motecuhçomatzin auh inic iih-
cayan in Mexico quauhtli.
12 Oninoquetzaco, ca no yè onechilnamicti, yhuan onechittiti in
ohtli, yc namechohtlatoctiz itechpa
13 iiximachoca, yhuan ineltococa inin tlacempanahuicamahuisa-
cramento axcan
14 anquimolhuichihuililia, ipampa ca nican niccaqui in icaquitzica
in inahuatil in itozquitzin in
15 Ilhuicac huey tlaçoquauhtli San Ioantzin. quimotenehuilia in
no quimihtalhui, quimotenquixtili

38 Due to contemporary typesetting practices *n* for *u* is an understandable —and fre-
quent— error in this sermon; hereafter noted only with “[sic]”.

- 16 inomàtzinco in totlaçoTemaxticatzin³⁹ itechpa inin teotlatlaço-
tlalizSacramento, ca quimihtalhui
- 17 in nonacayotzin, ca huel nelli qualoni, auh in neçotzin ca huel
nelly, yhualoni. *Caro mea vere est*
- 18 *cibus [etc.]* Inin ilhuicacayotlahtolli, inic cenca huey huel huèca-
pan, huel panhuetzqui, huel
- 19 panquizqui, (*Panhuetzqui panquizqui. Encumbrado.*) niman, áhuel
cacicamati in
- 20 totlalticpaclacatlamatiliz, yehica ca huel techonnequi acà oc ce
tlaçoquauhtli
- 21 Ilhuicacayotlamatilice techyacanaz, teoyotica techtlachialtiz, te-
chixtomaz, techizcaliz,
- 22 techiximachtiz in imelahuaca in icaquiztica inin tlamahuiçollà-
tolli, auh ca ayac oc ce huel
- 23 quimochihuiliz inin tequitl, in yuhqui yehuatzin San Augustin-
tzin, nican motlachantililitica, ca
- 24 ipampa ca inic ilhuicacayotlamatini, yhuan tlateoihtohuani, ca
huel inequixiltzin in San Ioantzin,
- 25 inic no teoyotica tlàtoacaquauhtli, otocayottiloc, in axcan inic ni-
quitta iz moquetzinohuà, (214) in
- 26 omentin ilhuicacayome, mahuizquaquauhtin, itloc inahuac, in
Mexico tlahuizquauhtli,
- 27 niqulnamiqui, niqiztimotlalia, ca topan neltia in oquimihtal-
hui in totlaçoTemaquixticatzin.
- 28 *Vbi fuerit corpus illic congregabuntur, et aquilæ. Luce capitulo 17.* In
campa yez in
- 29 notlaçonacayotzin no oncan mocentlalizque in quaquauhtin ax-
can quihnal motepotztoquilique
- 30 [sic] in tlaçomahuizquauhtli San Ioantzin, yhuan in San Augus-
tin, inic in Mexico tlatocaquauhtli
- 31 yhuan in ipilhuan quimiximachtilizque inin ilhuicamahuiz-
quauhtlaqualli in itechpatzinco
- 32 nelhuayotica in tlàtocacihuapilli, tomahuizcennantzin, ma ye-
huatzin topan motlatolti, inic huel
- 33 ticanazque, tictoyolotizque in imahuiztlahtoltzin in itlaçocone-
tzin, ma tictonepechtequilican
- 34 tictotlàpalhuican in itetlauhtilocatzin Aue Maria.
- 35 YE oanquicacque, ye oanquimatque in anMexica in anquauhtla-
huiceque, in quenin ihcayan in

³⁹ *totlaçoTemaxticatzin*: read *totlaçoTemaquixticatzin*.

- 36 Mexico tlahtocaquauhtli omoquetzinocò in omentin tlamahui-
colquaquauhtin San Ioantzin, yhuan
- 37 San Augustin, inic techmottilizque in catlehual techmonexti-
lilizque, tixpan quimotlalizque in
- 38 nelli, toyolca tonenca, yhuan in cemicac ilhuicayolihuani ne-
mohualoni, auh ipampa in, in
- 39 quexquich axcan nocontenehuaz intentzinco noconcuítiaz ni-
cantiaz, çan moch
- 40 inneoncahuillàoltzin yez, auh ma yehuatzin onmopehualti in
ilhuicacayotlamatilice San Ioantzin
- 41 ma quihualmochayahuili in ilhuicacayoepyolloihiyotl, ma qui-
motenquixtili in teoxiuhtlahtolli in
- 42 moch teotonameyocuecuyoca, in huel quimihtalhui, huel ica-
macpatzinco oquiz in
- 43 toTemaquixticatzin, itechpa iximachoca inin mahuizSacramen-
to teotlatlaçotlalizquauhtlaqualli.
- 44 Quimihtalhuia in cemihcac neltiliztlahtoltzin toTemaquixtica-
tzin. Axcan nocontenehua. In
- 45 nonacayotzin, ca huel nelli qualoni, auh in nezçotzin itech ca,
huel nelli ihualoni. *Caro mea vere*
- 46 *est cibus [etc.]* Niman hualmotlananquililia in San Augustin, qui-
mihtalhuiya. Ca yehuatl in huel
- 47 nelli tochicahuaca, tohuapahuaca, neltiliztica, huel teyolitia, te-
nemitia. In axcan canel ye
- 48 otictomacehunique (215) in nelli tlamatiliztonameyotl mote-
neuhtzinoa San Augustin. ipampa ca
- 49 teoyotica huel motetlanextililia motetlahuililia, huel motetlaixi-
machtilia, ma
- 50 techmoyolpachihuilti, quenin inacayotzin totlaçotTemaquixti-
catzin, motenehua in totlattaya
- 51 totlachixca, çan moch tlaxcalnezçayotl itech conitta. Motlanan-
quililia in lateoihtohuani, auh
- 52 quimihtalhuiya. *Hoc quando caperet caro quod dixit panem carnem.*
Augustinus tractatus 26.
- 53 *Super Ioannes. Vocatur caro quod non capit caro, et ideo magis non ca-
pit caro quia.* Iquin huel
- 54 conmatiz conixaxiliz in talticpac tlatatl, in nacayoque, in çan
paninezçayotica tlaiximatih, in ca
- 55 huel inacayotzin toTemaquixticatzin intlaxcal neci, quitoznequi
monacayotenehua, in ahmo
- 56 quixàxiliá in nacayòque, ye ilhuice inic motquitica, itech moyol-
tzotzonà motlepapalohuia, in

- 57 monacayotonehua, auh tlaxcalnezcayo, ipampa ca ahmo tlatic-
 pac tlamatilztica itto, iximacho,
 58 inin tlamahuiçollaqualli, canel ilhuicacayò, inic Ilhuicatlamati-
 liztica ixàxililo. Auh yehuatl in in
 59 teotlaneltoquiliztli motenehua, yehuatl in çan iò huel quiteitti-
 tia, quiteiximachtia inin
 60 tlaneltoquiliztlamahuiçolli, auh ipampa in, Xihuallauh tlanelto-
 quiliztica, xihualàci, auh huel
 61 xoconcui xoconana in axcan nimitzonilhuia. Inin Ilhuicac tla-
 qualli, cemihcac yolcatlaxcaltzintli,
 62 ca teohiyotica mochihua. In ihquac in ayamo ipan mihtohua in
 iteotlahtoltzin toTecuiyo Iesu
 63 Christo, ca çan oc huel tlaxcalli, ca çan oc yuhqui, ca çan no
 mixcahuitica, yece in ihquac in o
 64 ipan mihto motenquixti in itlahtoltzin toTecuiyo, aocmo tlaxca-
 lli motenehua, çan ye neltiliztica
 65 inacayotzin toTemaquixticatzin, toçayotilo, inic huel anquica-
 quizque inin tlamahuiçolli
 66 (totlaçopilhuane) monequi anquimatizque. Ca nauhtlamantli
 itech ca in tlaxcalli, yehuatl in
 67 iztaca, yhuan in iáhuyaca, yhuan in ihuelica, no yhuan itilahu-
 ca. in inauhtlamanixti, ahmo ye
 68 in toyolca, in toneuhca, can⁴⁰ yehuatl in tlaxcalyeliztli iihüc ca.
 Inin nauhtlamantli in itech ca in
 69 yolilizihiyotl, quiyolitia in tonacayo, toyolca, tonenca motene-
 hua auh yehuatl in inacayotzin
 70 toTemaquixticatzin, mocuepa in ihquac imahuiztlahtoltzin ipan
 mihtohua in tlaxcalli, ahmo ye in
 71 iztaca, ahnoce iyahuiaca, ahnoço (216) ihuelica ahnoço itila-
 huaca in tlaxcalli inacayotzin
 72 toTecuiyo mocuepa, ipampa ca mochi in ca çan ipanìcacayo,
 ipaninezcayo in tlaxcalli, çan
 73 yehuatl in tlaxcalli iyeliz, in tlaxcalyeliztli motenehua, ipan mo-
 cuepa in itlaçonacayotzin
 74 totlaçoTemaquixticatzin, ca in tlaxcalli moyelizcahua in ihquac
 ipan mihtohua iteotlahtoltzin,
 75 auh oncan maquitzinohua in itlaçonacayotzin, auh in oc cequi
 in tlaxcalpanicacayotl,
 76 paninezcayotl, ca çan ipan pohui in tlapachiuhcayotl, yc motla-
 pachotzinohua in

⁴⁰ *can*: read *çan*.

- 77 toTemaquixticatzin, yuhquinma quimotocitzinohua quimocal-
titzinohua inequimiloltzin
- 78 quimochihuilia in itlaçonacayotzin, o ca yehuatl in in cenca
huey tlatlaçotlalmazmahuiznezçayotl
- 79 totechpa topampa quimochihuili in çan iceltzin totetlaçotlaca-
tzin, cenca otechmocnelili, cenca
- 80 otlacauhqui in iyollotzin, inic huel yehuatzin, huel inohmatzin-
co techmomacatzino itech inin
- 81 cemihcaccayolcatlaqualtzintli, cenca yolihuani tlaxcaltzintli.
Auh inic huel anquimatizque in
- 82 quenin cenca mahuiztlaçotli, huel xiccaquican, xinacaçocan,
xicnacaztemacan in axcan ye
- 83 quimihtalhuia, quimotenquixtilia in tlamahuiçolquauhtli Ilhui-
cacyotlamatiliztica, in mâca çan
- 84 tlanexahuachtli, má⁴¹ çan tlapalteocuitlapepeyoctli imihiyotzin
intlahtoltzin hualtzetzelihui,
- 85 hualmotepehua. Tlein quimihtalhuiya San Ioan itechpatzinco
in tlaxcalnezçayotitlan. itech inin
- 86 mahuizSacramento techmonemactitzino, quimihtalhuia, ca ni-
can moetzinotica in
- 87 cemihcaccayolilizTeohiyotl, in yeppa moetztica in ayatley on-
can, in çan oc yuhqui, oc
- 88 cactimani cemihcaccayopan teohiyoyelice. *In principio erat Ver-
bum, et Verbum erat apud*
- 89 *Deum. Ioannes 1.* Yehuatzin in yolilizameyalli, in yolilizyocoyani,
in cemihcac teyolitiani,
- 90 tenemitiani. Auh tlein yc motlananquililia in San Augustin, qui-
mihtalhuia. *Ecce cibus*
- 91 *sempiternus. Psalmum 33. Sed manducant Angeli manducant superne
virtutes manducant*
- 92 *Cælestes spiritus, et manducant et saginantur, et integrum manet quod
eos satiat et letificat.*
- 93 *Quis autem homo posset ad illum cibum. [...] Oportebat ergo ut mensa
illa lactesceret, et ad*
- 94 *parbulos perueniret. Vnde autem sit cibus, lac vnde omnibus [pro:
cibus] in lac conuertitur nisi*
- 95 *per carnem trijciatur nam mater hoc facit quod manducat mater hoc
manducat infans sed quia*
- 96 *minus idoneus est infans qui pane vescatur [ideo] ipsum panem mater
incarnet et per*

⁴¹ má: read mâca.

- 97 *humilitatem mamilæ et lactis succo [pro: succum], de ipso pane*
pascit infantem. Ca ye yuhqui,
 98 ca yehuatl in cemihcacayotl, nencayotl, in çan cenca, in mo-
 cenyetztica. Yece ca intech pouhqui,
 99 intech ihtauhqui, innemac, intonal in Angelome, in Ilhuica-
 cayoihiyome, in Ilhuicac tlaca, yehuatl
 in intlaqual in teyolitia, in yolca, inchiçahuaca,⁴² inhuapahua-
 ca, innenca, in pah(217)paquiliz,
 101 innetlamachtiliz, innecuiltonoliz, imahahuializin mochtin
 Angelome. Auh inic intlaqualtzin
 mochiuhtoc ca ahmo xexeliuhtica, ca ahmo nononquaquiz-
 tica, çan ye huel mocemitquitica,
 mocemâcítica in iyelitzin, inic quinmoyolpachihuiltilia, ni-
 man quimihtalhuia, In tlamatiliztezcatl
 San Augustin, motlahtlania. Inin intlaqualtzin, in yolca, in-
 nencia in Ilhuicac tiacahuan, in huel
 yollotlahpaltique, ellaquactique, tenchicahuaque, iquin que-
 nin huel no itlaqual omochiuh in
 tlatlicpac tlatl, inic ahtle ihueli, ipan ahci in chichilconetl,
 çan no yehuatzin motlananquililia,
 quimihtalhuia. Omonec inic ilhuicac tachcahuan intlaqual
 mochichihualayocuepaz, inic intech
 ahciquiuh in yolca, inneuhca yez in tlatlicpac tlaca, in yuhqui
 coconetotontin, conechichiltin neci
 intlan in Ilhuicac tlaca, itech ihuapahuaca in tonacayo, qui-
 monezcayotilia, quimomachiotilia in
 ihuapahuaca iyolia in toyolia in tanima. Auh inic huel ancâci-
 camatizque. xiquitztimotlalicán in
 1 quenin totlaqual, inic yoli, nemi tonacayo timochtín titlaca,
 tocennemac, yece çan yehuantin in
 tenchicahuaque, ye huellaqua, quicamacui, quiquaquâ quito-
 lohuá, in imihtic ontemo, onâci. yc
 quiyolitia, quihuapahua in innacayo. Ic maché conetzintli in
 coçolco ca, ca àhuel concamacui, ca
 114 niman ahuel quiqua, ipampa ca ahmo tenchicahuac, ayamo
 tlane, ayamo tlanquiça, tlanixhua.
 115 Intlanel ixpan xocontlali, xocontecpana in ixquich yectlaqua-
 lli, çan moch nentiz, ahmo itech
 116 ahciz, canel ayamo huel tlaqua. Auh ipampa in in ixquich
 ihuelitzin Dios oquimohuelitiltli in

⁴² *inchiçahuaca*: read *inchiçahuaca*.

- tonan, inic in tlaqualli àhuel quiqua in piltzintli in yehuatl
 quiquaz, auh itech
 mochichihualayocuepaz, auh imemeyallotitech hualmoyaca-
 tiz. Auh in yuhqui tlaqualli àhuel
 119 quiqua in piltzintli. In ye itech inan chichihualayoquiz, aoc-
 mo ohui, imemeyallotitech
 120 concamacui contolohua, iyolca ihuapahuaca mochihua, In
 mochi in yca inin látolli
 121 quimonezcayotilia in San Augustin quimihtalhua. Campa
 huallauh? quenin mochihua, inic in
 122 tlaqualli ipan chihualloyotl⁴³ mo(218)cuepa, inin ca yehuatl
 yc mochihua inic in tlaqua
 123 inacayotitech maquia in tlaqualli, auh oncan chichihualayo-
 quiça yehuatl in tenan, iyoca
 124 conchihua in, ipampa ca in tlaqualli quiqua çan no ye ihua-
 pahuaca iconetzin, mochihua, yece inic
 125 aya huellaqua in conetontli, in tlaqualli àhuel quiqua, yehuatl
 conqua in inan, auh itech maquia
 126 quimonacayotia, auh oncan mochichihualayocuepa in tla-
 qualli, niman ichichihualtitech,
 127 imemeyallotitech hualmopilohua, auh yuhqui ica in tlaqualli
 omochichihualayocuep, in tenan
 128 quichichitia quihuapahua in iconauh. Ica inin machiotl mo-
 chipa tiquitta, quimonezcayotilia in
 huey ilhuicacayotlamatini San Augustin, in topampa quimo-
 chihuili totlaçoTemaquixticatzin,
 130 itech inin mahuiztlacelilizSacramento. Ca in yuhqui tlaqualli
 àhuel quiqua in piltzintli, yehuatl
 131 conqua in inan, auh inacayotitech mochichihualcuepa, chi-
 chihualayoquiça, yc huel concamacui
 132 in conetontli, in ahuel tlaqua, in ye yuh omitto. Yuhquion in
 tohueytetlaçotlacatzin Iesu Christo,
 133 oquimocuili in tonocayo,⁴⁴ in yuh quimihtalhua in ilhuicac
 tlamatiliztezcatl San Ioan. In
 134 cemihcaccateoyelizihiyotl Dios itlaçoPiltzin, omonacayotitzi-
 no, auh itech in itlaçonacayotzin
 135 oquimocentlalili in incennencatlaqualtzin, inyolca inhuapa-
 huaca in ilhuicac chaneque, auh oncan
 136 oquimoyamanili, yuhquinmà quinmopahuili, quimochichi-
 hualayocuepili, inic itech inacayotzin

⁴³ *chihualloyotl*: read *chichihualloyotl*.

⁴⁴ *tonocayo*: read *tonacayo*.

- 137 in tehuantin ahle tohueli, in yuhqui ticonepipiltin, ticoçol-
me, ye huel ticcamacui tohuapahuaca
- 138 mochihua in quimoqualtia, in ahle inehneuhca, inic ochica-
huaque ellaquauhtique,
- 139 yollotlahpaltique Angelome, yehica huel monelihtohua. In
Angelome intlaqual, ye no quiqua in
- 140 tlalticpac tlaca. Auh in quenin ye achto omihto, ca niman
ahmo moxelohua, ahmo
- 141 mononquaquixtitzinohua in toTecuiyo inic qnimocelilia
[sic], quimoqualtia in ilhnicacayome
[sic]. ça ye huel mocemitquitica, mocemàcìtica in iteoyeli-
tzin, çan no yuhqui inic itech inin
- 143 tlamahuiçolSacramento tlaceliliztli techmoceliltìlia, yhuan
techmoqualtilia (219) in
itlaçonacayotzin, ca niman ahmo techmoxexelhuilia, ahmo
quimononquaquixtilia, ipampa ca
- 145 in quezquican inin Sacramentotitech imahuiznacayotzin
techmoqualtililia no izquican
mocemitquitzinotica, huel mocenyetztica yca inin neixcuitilli,
Achi anquicaquizque inin
- 147 tlamahuiçolli. Ye onamechmelahuili in quenin ihiyotzin itlah-
toltzin in toTecuiyo, yc mochihua
- 148 inin Ilhuicac tlaqualli auh ipampa in itech in totlahtol in tihi-
yo, nicmachiotlaliz in quenin yc
techmomacatzinohua, ye anquitta anmochtìn in quenin na-
mechnonotztica, namechmachtìhtica.
auh inin notlahtol nictenquixtìuh, in amixquichtin iz ancate
mochi ceceyaca anquicaqui,
- 151 anquinacaztema, ahmo anquixexeliuhcacaqui, in huehuein-
tin tlaca, in ye huey coyahuac innacaz,
in pipiltotontin, in ahmo huey in oc tepiton intlacaquia, in-
nacaz, mochtin
- 153 quinèneuhcacenacaztema, quicemàcìcacaqui in axcan noco-
nihtotìuh, nocontenquixtìtìuh, çan no
- 154 yuhqui in techmomacatzinohua toTemaquixticatzin, itech
inin mahuiçSacramento, intlanel ahmo
- 155 tlapohualtin in quimocelilia, ahmo nonquaquiça, ahmo ni-
man moxexelohua, in itlaçonacayotzin,
- 156 çan huel ye cecenyan⁴⁵ mocemacìtica, mocenyetztica inic
techmomacatzinohua, intlanel huey,

⁴⁵ *cecenyan*: here and below, read *ceceyaca*

- intlanel tepitzin, intlanel çan tlapactzintli nohuian mocemit-
quitzinotica, ceceyacan
quicamâcítica⁴⁶ itech inin Ilhuicac tlaXCaltzintli in yuhqui in
mochi notlahtol, in huehue tlatatl
coyahuac inacaz, auh in piltontli çan tepiton ahmo nacazco-
yahuac, mochintin cecenyaca
quicemâcicacaqui, ahmo moxeliuhcacaqui in yuh ye omihto.
Auh intla ye mieccan
- 161 quitlatlapanacan quixexelocan inin Ilhuicacayotlaxcalli, ni-
man ahmo yc xexelihui in
- 162 itlaçonacayotzin totlaçoTemaquixtican, ca çan ixquich in
tlaXCalnezcayotl panineci motlatlapana,
- 163 moxêxeloHua, ahmo yenuatzin⁴⁷ in toTecuiyo in yuh tezcati-
tech neci, in ihquac timotezcahuia
- 164 in ompa tommotta, ca oncan maquia monezcayotia, hualneci
in mixiptla. Auh intlanel xictlapana
- 165 in tezcatl, in manel mieccan tezcatlapactli (220) itech yetiuh
in mixtelolo, auh oc ceccan in
- 166 moyac, ahnoço in moten, ça ce ahmo xexelihui in mixiptla,
ça yehuatl in tezcatl xêxelihui, auh
- 167 itech centel tezcatlapactli ompa cenyetiuh in mixiptla. yuh-
qui inin Angelotlaxcalli, intla huel
- 168 mieccan quitlâtlapanacan, çan cecenyaca itech in tlaXCalla-
pactli cecenyetiuh itlaçonacayotzin
toTecuiyo Iesu Christo. Auh in yuhqui in timochintin tech-
mocennemactitzinohua, cecenyaca
techmocennemactitzinohua, cecenyaca techmocentlauhtili-
tzinohua. Ye oanquicacque,
oanquimahuiçoque in tohueytleocoliloca, tohueyicneliloca
itech inin tlamahuiçoSacramento,
tinemactiloque in cenneltococa chichahuacaneltococa, ixima-
choca ixâxililo, yehica itzonco in
notlahtol, nocontenehua in itlahtoltzin Dios. Xihuallauh tla-
neltoquiliztica, xihualaci.
Ynhquinma [sic] quinmoxochilia in ipilhuantzitzin, inic qui-
moyehecalhuiz in
intlaneltoquiliztlachializ, in yuh in quauhtli quinyehecohua
in ipilhuan, ipampa ca in ihquac

⁴⁶ *quicamâcítica*: read *quicamâcuitica*.

⁴⁷ *yenuatzin*: in accordance with Mijangos' general orthographic practices, read *yehuatzin*.

- 176 oquintlapan, cecenyan quimiztinapalohua, quimixnamictia
in tonatiuh, ihuicpa
- 177 quinmelauhcatlachieltia. Auh in quàquauhtepitoton, inic
ixtlahpaltic, ixchichahuac, huel
quixnamiqui in tonatiuh, ahmo ixmimiqui, inin huel
quimocuitia, iquauhtapàcolco, concuepa
quitlaçotla, auh in quauhtepiton ixçoçotlahua ixmihmiqui,
ahuel quixnamiqui in tonatiuh, tlalpan
quihualmayahui, tlalli yc quihuitequi, quitelchihua. Huel yuh
in teoyotica quimochihuilia in
- 181 tlahtocaquauhtli San Augustin, ipampa ca quimoyehecalhuia
in totlaneltoquiliztlachiaaliz [sic],
auh in aquin itech quimotilia in chichahuacateotlaneltoquiliztli,
yc itto iximacho inin
- 183 tlanetoquilizSacramento huel quimocuititzinnohua
itloctzinco inahuactzinco quimotlalilia, auh
in aquin tlanetoquilizixihtlacauiqui çan ixpoliuhcatlaneltoaca,
tlani quimotlaxilia, iycxiltantzinco
- 185 quimomayahuilia, auh yehuatl in quinezçayotia itech ixiptla-
tzin, inic iycxiltantzinco
- 186 mayauhtoque, huetztoque, in tzotzocatlaneltocanime, yolpo-
liuhcatlaneltocanime Hereges
motenehua. Auh in quenin in quauhtli in ye imonec(221)yan
patlanizque in ipilhuan oquipèpen,
yehuatl quinyolehua, imixpan achto patlani, tlapapatlatzà in
ye motlahpalohua patlanizque, in ye
quitocaznequih in innan, çan no ye intlan patlantuih, yuh-
quinma qnimellaquauhtuih [sic],
huehuèca quintepotzmamátiuh inic ahmo momauhtizque,
auh huel ahco huecapan quimàxitia,
huel mixtitlan quimaquia. *Sicut aquila prouocans ad volandum
pulos suos, et super eos volitans
expandit alas suas et assumpsit eos atque portauit in humeris suis.
Deuteronomii capitulo 32.*
çan no yuhquin inin mahuiztlahtocaquauhtli, quinmopale-
huilia in ipilhuantzitzin, inic huel
itechpatzinco mihtohua. In quenin in quauhtli quipalehuia
in iconeuh inic patlani, inic ahco
- 195 quihuica, çan no yuh in San Augustintzin, quinmopalehuilia
in ipilhuantzitzin, Ilhuicacpa
quinmohuiquilitiuh, yca imahuiztlahtoltzin quinmoyacanili-
tiuh yca imahuiztlahtoltzin

- 197 quinmoyolehuilitiuh, itepotzinco, icuexantzinco quinmotlali-
litiuh, ixquichica quinmâxitia in
- 198 ompa aocmo nequimiloliztica netlapacholiztica techmottiti-
tzinohua in totlaçoTemaquixticatzin,
- 199 in iceltzin neltitica⁴⁸ totetlaçotlacatzin, in nican tlalticpac
huey tlatlaçotlaliznezçayotl
- 200 techmomaquilia itech inin tlatlaçotlalizSacramento, yc tech-
motenehuililia techmottitilia, ca
- 201 çatepan tictomâçehuitzinozque in ompa itecentlamachtiayan-
tzinco gloria. Amen.

⁴⁸ *neltitica*: read *neltitiztica*.

TOVAR 1624 - TRANSLATION

- 1-3 The most sagacious Father Juan de Tovar preached this sermon at my intercession because I wanted to know how I might properly speak about the [external] appearances of [consecrated] bread and wine. And for the same reason I had it printed among these [sermons] of mine so that everyone could take advantage of them and their [good] doctrine.
- 4-7 Here is a sermon with which people will be instructed when the dear feast day of the beloved esteemed body of our beloved Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, is celebrated. With it people were instructed [by] our beloved esteemed father, Father Juan de Tovar, who is very learned in the word of God and looks after things in the [Colegio de] San Gregorio; thus he instructed people in the Mexico [City tlaxilacalli/district of] San Sebastián.
- 8-8 *My body is truly food and my blood is truly drink. John 6:56.*
- 9-11 It was proclaimed everywhere —O our beloved children!— for here in [the tlaxilacalli/city district of] Atzaqualco, the distinct place of San Sebastián, the royal eagle gave insignia to our altepetl of Mexico [City] because it is the place of the very tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin. And because it is the place of the eagle of Mexico [City] I came to a halt, for it also reminded me and showed me the road along which I will conduct you regarding the recognition of and belief in this surpassingly esteemed Sacrament.
- 13-15 Today you celebrate its feast day, wherefore here I hear the explanation of the law and voice of the great precious eagle of Heaven San Juan. He expresses what our beloved Savior Himself also said and declared concerning this divinely beloved Sacrament, for He said: My body is indeed food, and My blood truly indeed is drink.
- 17-18 *My body is truly food [etc.].*
- 18-22 These celestial words, so very great, very high, very elevated, and of great stature, can in no way be completely

- understood [by] our earthly understanding because it is very necessary that some other precious eagle who is celestially wise will lead us, will spiritually make us see, will open our eyes, will teach us, will make us recognize the correct interpretation and explanation of these marvelous words.
- 22-25 And no one else can perform this task like San Agustín who makes his home here because he is so celestially wise and speaks divinely about things, for it is the very justification of San Juan who also is called a spiritual royal eagle.
- 25-26 Today I see that the two celestial beings, esteemed eagles, pause here, close to and near the eagles of the insignia of Mexico [City].
- 27-29 I reflect on and ponder it, for upon us is verified what our beloved Savior said: *Wherever the body will be, there the eagles will be gathered together. Luke 17:37.* Where My precious body is, there also eagles will gather.
- 29-32 Today they [i.e., the eagles] pursued the beloved esteemed eagle San Juan and San Agustín so that the royal eagle of Mexico [City] and her children will recognize—concerning its basis—this heavenly esteemed food of eagles .
- 32-33 May the queen, the esteemed mother of us all, intercede for us so that we can grasp and memorize⁴⁹ the admirable words of her beloved child.
- 33-34 Let us bow deeply and reverently to her, let us greet her [with] her invocation, the Ave Maria.
- 35-38 You Mexica, you owners of the eagle-insignia, already have heard and known how in Mexico, the place of the royal eagle, the two marvelous eagles San Juan and San Agustín came to a stop so that they could show what they manifest to us, set down before us our true daily nourishment and the eternal heavenly life-sustaining sustenance.
- 38-40 Because of this, all I now [go on to] declare I will take and seize from their lips; it will all be the words they bestowed.
- 40-43 Let San Juan, wise in celestial things, begin; let him scatter down celestially precious words, let him declare the precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams, [that] He Himself said, [that] emerged right from the mouth of our Savior concerning the recognition of this esteemed Sacrament, the divine eagle-food of love.

⁴⁹ *tictoyolotizque*: see the following gloss by don Antonio Valeriano in Bautista 1606, 79: "aoc huel quimoyollotia (no lo puede tomar de memoria)." See also this passage on p. 281: "Tle yca in timonacaztzatzalilia, tle yca in ahmo ticomoyollotia, tle yca in ahmo mihtic tictlalia teutahtolli."

Our Savior said the eternal words of truth I say today: My body truly indeed is food, and My blood in it truly indeed is drink. *My body is truly food [etc.].*

46-47 San Agustín then answers; he says: It is truly indeed our daily nourishment, truly life-giving, life-maintaining.

Now since we already have enjoyed the true sun beam of knowledge called San Agustín—because he spiritually illuminates people, lights the way for people, can make things known to people—let him satisfy our doubts: how is it [that] what is called our vision, our sense of sight, [that] all it sees in the body of our beloved Savior just has the appearance of bread?

He who speaks divinely about things responds and says: *When would flesh [in the sense of the worldly person] grasp this: What he called bread is flesh? Augustine, 26th Treatise on John. That is called flesh which flesh does not grasp and therefore flesh does not grasp further because [...].*⁵⁰ When can the earthly persons,⁵¹ possessors of bodies and knowledgeable [about] just outwardly appearances, know and completely comprehend that what appears to be their bread is the very body of our Savior?

55-58 It means: It is called flesh what the possessors of bodies do not completely comprehend, what is so especially completely entire; they doubt and consume themselves like moths in a flame in what is called flesh, and because of [its] bread-like-appearance this marvelous food cannot be understood and recognized with earthly knowledge since it is celestial, so that it is completely comprehended [only] with heavenly knowledge.

58-60 And only this, called divine faith, can show and make people recognize this miracle of faith.

And because of this, come, arrive by means of faith, and really grasp what I say to you today.

61-62 This heavenly food, this bread of eternal life, is made with the words of God.

62-65 Before the divine words of our Lord Jesus Christ are said

⁵⁰ "The elipsis indicates that the quotation was not completed in the marginal note.... This is from Saint Augustine, *Tractatus in Ioannem* 26 [26th Treatise on John] in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 35:1612. Augustine's style is often cryptic and difficult to follow" (Stafford Poole, C.M., personal communication).

⁵¹ in *tlalticpac tlacatl*: although in the third person singular, the plural seems logically called for here, and grammatically the following *nacayoque* and *tlaximatih* are inflected for the third person plural.

over it, it is still just bread, still just so, likewise a distinct thing, but when over it is said and declared the words of our Lord it is no longer called bread, but with truth it is called the body of our Savior.

- 65-67 So that you can understand this miracle—O our beloved children!—you will need to know that there are four things in the bread: its whiteness, and its fragrance, and its good taste, and also its thickness.
- 67-68 These four things are not our daily sustenance, rather it is the essence of the bread that is in it.
- 68-70 These four things in it are the breath of life that gives life to our body, called our daily sustenance, and it becomes the body of our Savior when His esteemed words are said over it.
- 70-74 It is not the whiteness or fragrance or good taste or thickness of the bread that becomes the body of our Lord, because all of this is just the outward and external appearance of the bread; just the essence of the bread, what is called the bread-essence, changes into the precious body of our beloved Savior, for the essence of the bread remains when His divine words are said over it.
And there He dresses Himself in His precious body, and the other outward appearances of the bread, the external aspects, are equivalent to⁵² a coating of paint with which our Savior covers Himself.
It is as though He buries Himself in it, makes His home in it, makes it the burial garb of His precious body.
Now then, this is⁵³ a very great sign, loving and esteemed, that our only Loving One did regarding us, on our account; we thank Him very much for His great generosity, that He Himself, He in person gave Himself to us in this food of eternal life, this very life-sustaining bread.
- 81-85 And so that you can know that it is a very esteemed precious thing, listen well, use your ears, fill your ears with what they say and declare today [with] celestial knowledge of the marvelous eagle; as if they were radiant dew, painted gold pendants, their fine words drizzle and scatter down.
- 85-86 What does San Juan say about the appearance of bread in this esteemed Sacrament?

⁵² This fortuitous phrasing is borrowed from Paredes 1759, 270: "ipan pohui, ipan momati; (equivale)."

⁵³ Molina 1977, 74v: "O ca yehuat y. mirad pues, que esto es. s. lo que yo dezia. &c."

He made Himself a gift to us, he says, for here He is, the divine word of eternal life; before Him there is nothing there, it is still just as it was [at creation], still silent; since eternity⁵⁴ [He] is the owner of the essence of the divine word.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. John 1:1.

He is the fountain of life, the Creator of life, eternally life-giving and life-maintaining.

90-97 And what does San Agustín respond with? He says: *Behold the everlasting food. [Commentary] on Psalm 33. But the angels eat, the powers above eat, the heavenly spirits eat, and eating, they are nourished [or: sated] and rejoice. Any man can avail himself of this food. ... It is appropriate, therefore, that that table give milk and that it come to the little ones. How, then, does food become milk? How is food converted into milk unless it is passed through flesh? Because the mother does this. What the mother eats, the infant eats, but because the infant is less suited to eating bread [therefore] the mother turns this bread into her very self and through the lowliness of the breast and the strength of the milk she feeds the infant with this bread.*⁵⁵

It is so, for it is eternity and sustenance; He is very complete and whole.

98-101 But it belongs and is assigned to the angels, the celestial beings like breaths,⁵⁶ the people of Heaven, it is their gift and hard-earned property; it is their life-giving food, their daily sustenance and nourishment, their joy, their good fortune, their riches, the pleasures of all angels.

101-103 And as to their food: It is not divided up, not distinct, its essence is extremely complete and pure.

103-103 Thus he satisfies their doubts.

103-105 Then the mirror of knowledge San Agustín says, questioning: This food of theirs, the daily sustenance of the valiant of Heaven, the very stronghearted, the vigorous, the strong-voiced—

105-106 When and how could it also become the food of an earthly person that is powerless, reaching a suckling child?

⁵⁴ *cemihcaccayopan*: see Paredes 1759, 29: "ca cemihcaccayopan, (desde la eternidad) yê ommoyetzicâ."

⁵⁵ "This is taken from Saint Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum 33* (Commentary on Psalm 33), Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 36:303" (Stafford Poole, C.M., personal communication).

⁵⁶ *Ihuicacayohiyome*: see Paredes 1759, 28 and 96 for somewhat similar terms.

- 106-109 Likewise he answers, saying: It was necessary that the food of heavenly elder brothers turn into breast milk so that what will be the daily sustenance of earthly people will reach them, like the people of Heaven appear among the little infants and suckling children in the nourishment of our bodies.
- 109-110 He signifies and means by this the nourishment of our spirits and our souls.
- 110-113 And so that you can completely understand it, ponder how our food—with which the bodies of all of us people come to life and live—is a gift that all of us have, but only those whose mouths are strong enjoy its taste, take it with their mouths, eat it, swallow it, and digest it, thus giving life to and animating their bodies.
- 113-116 Thus an especially small child who is in the cradle, weak-mouthed, toothless, whose teeth have not yet come out and grown: Though you set and arrange all [manner of] good food before him, it will all just be in vain, it will not reach him, since he cannot yet eat.
- 116-118 And because of this almighty God provided our mother with the ability to eat the food that the child cannot eat, and it will turn into breast milk in her and it will come out in her milk.
- 118-120 And as the child cannot eat the food it comes out as breast milk in his mother, it is no longer difficult [to eat], he takes it with his mouth and swallows it in her milk and it becomes his sustenance and nourishment.
- 120-121 San Agustín signifies all of this with these words.
- 121-121 He says: Where does it come from?
- 121-122 How does it happen that food changes into breast milk?
- 122-124 This is how it happens: So that he eats the food enters into her body and there it comes out as the breast milk of someone's particular mother who makes it, because the food she eats also becomes the nourishment of her child.
- 124-126 But because the little infant cannot yet eat, the food he cannot eat his mother eats, and it enters her, she makes it part of her body, and there the food turns into breast milk.
- 126-128 Then he hangs at her breast, at her milk, and thus with the food changed into breast milk a mother suckles and rears her infant.

- 128-130 The great celestially-wise San Agustín signifies with this example we always see what our beloved Savior did for us in this esteemed Sacrament of communion.
- 130-132 For as the child cannot eat the food the mother eats it, and in her body it changes into breast milk, comes out as breast milk, so that the little child who cannot eat can take it with his mouth, as has already been said.
- 132-136 In that way our great Loving One Jesus Christ took on our [earthly] body, as the heavenly mirror of knowledge, San Juan, says: God's beloved Child, the eternally divine essence of breath, was incarnated, and in His precious body He gathered together this, the sustenance-food of everyone, the nourishment of the residents of Heaven, and there He softened it.
- 36-139 It was as if He made the mothers chew the food for their children; He turned it into breast milk so that in His body we who are powerless and like small children in cradles can take with our mouths our sustenance, what He provides for eating that is without equal, with which the angels are so powerful, vigorous and stronghearted.
- 139-140 Wherefore it can truly be said: The people of the earth also eat the food of the angels.
- 140-142 And as has already been said, our Lord absolutely does not divide up into portions, He is not in distinct parts when the celestial beings receive and eat Him; His divine essence is just completely whole and pure.
- 142-146 In similar fashion, so that in this marvelous Sacrament He makes us receive communion and He makes us eat His precious body, He in no way divides Himself up for us, He is not in distinct parts, for in as many places as His esteemed body is in this Sacrament He gives to us to eat, also in as many places He is perfectly whole and entirely complete.
- 146-147 You will understand this miracle a little with this example.
- 147-149 I already have declared to you how this heavenly food is made with the fine words of our Lord, wherefore in our fine words I will signify how He thus gives Himself to us.
- 149-153 All of you already see how I inform and teach you, and these words of mine I declare to all of you who are here, all and each one of you will hear them, fill your ears with them, not understanding them in distinct ways —the

adults whose ears are already big and wide, and the little children who are small and whose understanding and ears are still tiny— all will fill their ears with them in equal [measure], will completely understand what I am saying and declaring today.

- 153-156 In like fashion our Savior gives Himself to us in this esteemed Sacrament; even though those who receive Him are countless His precious body is not distinct, absolutely not divided up, but each one is completely pure, entirely whole when He gives Himself to us.
- 156-160 Though it be big [or] small, though it be just a piece [of consecrated bread], everywhere each one takes Him with his mouth in this heavenly bread He is perfectly complete, like all my words: The adult with wide ears and the little child who is small with narrow ears, all and each one will understand it completely, not understanding it in separate [ways] as has already been said.
- 160-163 And if they already have repeatedly broken up and divided the precious body of our beloved Savior, all that outwardly appears to be broken up and divided is the appearance of bread, not our Lord.
- 163-164 It is as it appears in a mirror when you look at yourself, see yourself there, for there your image enters in and makes its appearance.
- 164-167 And though you break the mirror, even though in many places of the fragments are your eyes and in others your nose or your lips, your image is not divided up, rather it is the mirror that is divided up, and in one fragment of the mirror can [even] be your entire image!
- 167-169 Such is this angelic bread: If they repeatedly break it up into very many places, right in each one of the pieces of bread is the precious body of our Lord Jesus Christ.
- 169-170 And thus He fully bestows Himself to all of us, to each of us He completely makes a gift of Himself, He entirely favors all of us with Himself.
- 170-173 You already have heard and marveled at the great mercy and favor done to us in this marvelous Sacrament, the complete and firm belief in it bestowed on us, the recognition of it, its complete understanding, because at the beginning of my speech I expressed the words of God: Come with faith, arrive.
- 174-177 It is as if He makes His children burst in bloom so that

- He will test their vision with regard to the faith as the eagle tests her children, because after she has hatched them she carries them in her talons, makes them confront the sun, directs their sight towards it.
- 177-180 And as for the eaglets, so that they can boldly and courageously confront the sun, not be blinded by the sun—this she well confesses—she returns him to her aerie, she loves him, but the eaglet who is faint of eye, dazzled by the sun, it hurls him down to earth, strikes him against the ground, despises him.
- 180-183 Just so, in a spiritual manner, does the royal eagle San Agustín, because he tests our vision with regard to the faith and he who sees in it a firm faith in God; thus is seen and known this Sacrament of faith he confesses to Him and places with Him.
- 183-187 And he whose eyes are damaged with regard to the faith, who just confusedly believes, He will cast into the abyss and hurl at His feet; his image signifies that those who are miserably poor in the faith, foolishly confused in the faith, called heretics, will be dashed down and lie fallen at His feet.
- 187-189 And as to how the children of the eagle that she selected will fly at the required time: She encourages them [by] first flying in front of them; [then] they vigorously beat their wings⁵⁷ and dare to fly [because] they want to follow their mother.
- 189-191 Likewise she flies among them as though encouraging them, carrying them on her back for a long distance so

⁵⁷ *tlapapatlatzà*: tentative translation. Contextually and grammatically this would appear to be the transitive frequentive of *patlani* “to fly” with the prefixal nonspecific object marker *tlá* incorporated. It is inflected for the present indicative, third person plural (the grave accent, along with the acute accent and the letter *h*, is one of the three ways the glottal stop is marked in this sermon and others in Mijangos 1624). Carochi 1645, 73r-v is seemingly clear on the possible derivation of the verb as used by Tovar:

AY otros frequentatiuos, que acaban en *ca*, y en *tza*, formanse de verbos neutros en *ni*, mudando el *ni*, en *ca*, y en *tza*, y doblando la primera sillaba, que es breue. El frequentatiuo en *ca*, es neutro, y el en *tza*, actiuo... El frequentatiuo en *ca*, pide multitud de cosas, que hazen ruido, ò grandexa, y vehemencia del, ò multitud de pedaços de la cosa quebrada. Esto mesmo denota el actiuo en *tza*, pero se dize del que haze el tal ruido, andando con aquellas cosas, ò quebrandolas.

The following entry from Karttunen 1983, 188, also is helpful: “*PAPATLATZ(A) vrefl* for something to beat its wings.”

All of this is seemingly contradicted by the following passage from Carochi's list of frequentives: “*Patlani*, volar, *Pápátlaca*, reboletear el aue, temblar el coraçon, &c. El actiuo en *tza*, no se vsa” (1645, 75r). However, notwithstanding Carochi's indication, there seems to be no other logical solution to the interpretation of this verb.

- that they will not be frightened; she makes them reach upward very high, she makes them enter right among the clouds.
- 191-192 *Like the eagle encouraging its young to fly and hovering over them spreads its wings, so He lifted them [i.e., the people of Israel] up and carried them on His shoulders. Deuteronomy 32:11.*
- 193-195 Likewise in the same fashion this esteemed royal eagle helps his children so that concerning what is said—how the eagle helps her child to fly so that it can accompany her upward—San Agustín also helps his children.
- 195-199 He goes accompanying them to Heaven with his esteemed words, he goes leading them with his esteemed words, he goes encouraging them, placing them in protective fashion on his back and in his lapfolds until he makes them reach where our beloved Savior, in truth our only Loving One, shows Himself to us without burial clothes [or] covering.
- 199-201 Here on earth He gives us a great token of love in this loving Sacrament, thus declaring and showing Himself to us, for afterwards we will enjoy Him there in His place where everyone is eternally enriched and made happy, [i.e.,] glory. Amen.

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