

SAHAGÚN'S MANUAL DEL CHRISTIANO¹ HISTORY AND IDENTIFICATION

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The *Manual del Christiano* has been included in the bibliography of the works of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, ever since Alfredo Chavero described the manuscript.² It passed along with a number of other Sahagún manuscripts which Chavero had obtained from José Fernando Ramírez, into the library of Sr. D. Manuel Fernández del Castillo. The manuscript was later sold at auction by Messrs Puttick and Simpson³ in their London sale of 1880, where it is described as:

544 MEXICAN. The loose leaves from different Mexican MSS. of the 16th Century (*some with beautiful illuminated initials*). Four leaves signed Don Martin Enriquez and dated Mexico, 16th of February, 1578, on the last leaf. 4to. These leaves seem to be the remnants of an unknown work of the indefatigable Fr. B. DE SAHAGUN, as the last leaf contains the permission on the Viceroy given to him to print "el dicho Manual del Christiano." Whether it were ever printed or no we are unable to state, as the present is the only reference to the work mentioned, which we know of.

While most of the Sahagún manuscripts were sold to Bernard Quarich, the famous London bookseller, and then to Edward Ayer in Chicago, the *Manual del Christiano* disappeared from view after the 1880 sale.

Item No. 544 was sold to Ricardo Heredia y Livermore, conde de Benahavis, a noted nineteenth-century book collector. The Heredia library was sold at auction by the firm of E. Paul L. Huard et Guillemin of Paris in 1891,⁴ where the *Manual* was described as follows:

¹ Prof. Louise Burkhart kindly read our manuscript in its final stages and made many useful suggestions, which we gratefully acknowledge. We are responsible, however, for any imperfections and errors that may remain.

² Chavero 1877: 99-101.

³ Puttick and Simpson 1880: 74.

⁴ Heredia y Livermore 1891-94, 1: 81.

252. FRAGMENTS DE MANUSCRITS MEXICAINS. In-4 de 14ff. non reliés.

Dix feuillets proviennent de manuscrits mexicains du XVI^e siècle, avec des lettres initiales en couleur. Quatre feuillets signés par M. Martin Enriquez et datés de Mexico 16 février 1578, semblent provenir d'un ouvrage inconnu de Fr. B. de Sahagun [sic] "Manuel del Christiano" car sur le dernier feuillet on lit la permission délivrée par le vice-roi d'imprimer ledit livre.

Ces fragments proviennent de la vente Ramirez.

Who purchased item 252 at the Heredia sale is unknown, but the manuscript entered the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France soon after 1899, when Henri Omont⁵ published the last complete catalogue of the Mexican manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The last entry in the Omont catalogue is MS No. 401. Manuscript number 402 is the manuscript of the *Manual del Christiano*.

The manuscript contains twelve folios. The first folio is an unnumbered folio with the following nineteenth century inscription:

Mexican 402

Los manuscritos(?)

[five or six illegible words followed by] de los frailes
de los ultimos tiempos

10 hojas de diferentes codices Mejicanos
del Siglo xvi.

4 hojas que se suponen pertenecer
a una obra desconocida de Fr. B. de
Sahagún "Manual del Christiano".

Londres (1880) V. Ramírez £10-10.

The reverse of this folio is blank; folios 1 - 3 are fragments from a Nahuatl version of the Gospels; folio 4 is a fragment from a Nahuatl religious work in two columns; folios 5 - 7 are missing; folios 8 - 10 are additional fragments from the Nahuatl version of the Gospels; folios 11 - 13 contain a Nahuatl text on marriage; folio 14 has the end of the permission (in Spanish) to publish the *Manual del Christiano* granted by Don Martín Enríquez.

The volume is obviously made up of a number of fragments from several different works. The only stated indication that any of the items

⁵ Omont 1899.

might be by Sahagún is in the permission granted by Viceroy Enríquez to have Sahagún's *Manual del Christiano* printed. The marriage texts are the obvious choice as the fragments from the *Manual del Christiano*, Chavero⁶ and García Icazbalceta⁷ both attributed these pages to the *Manual del Christiano*.

A number of Nahuatl scholars have noted that Sahagún used a unique orthography in his Nahuatl. We may be able to attribute texts based on the orthography used. A comparison of the spellings used by Sahagún with other sixteenth-century Nahuatl writers indicates that his orthography is rather idiosyncratic⁸ (see Table I). However, it should be remembered that the orthography is particular to Sahagún, and that any scribe copying a Sahagún text may or may not have used Sahagún's orthography. For example, the copyist of the *Florentine Codex* uses Sahagún's orthography while the copyist of the main body of text of Sahagún's *Sermones* manuscript (Ayer MS 1485) does not use this orthography. The Sahagún orthography is then proof of Sahagún's authorship, or at least of one of his pupils, but a different orthography is no proof that it is not by Sahagún.

When Sahagún uses *teujutica* he is possibly showing in this instance a representation of the long /o/ or at any rate a distinctive spelling of "teōyōtica."⁹

In his use of *yoan* and *cemanaoac* Sahagún presents a different representations of syllableinitial /w/.

Sahagún has a strong tendency to drop word-final /n/ (i.e., -pilhoa(n) for -pilhuan); the other important authors of the sixteenth century tend to retain word-final /n/.

Table I shows that the Sahaguntine orthography was used throughout folios 11-13. The reference in the permit to publish Sahagún's *Manual del Christiano* and the idiosyncratic orthography indicate that folios 11-13 are Sahagún's work, while the subject certainly is what might be expected within a "Manual del Christiano." There can be little doubt that these folios were part of Sahagún's *Manual del Christiano*.

The license to print states Sahagún may proceed "*ymprimjendo todo en vn cuerpo, conforme al original que a recibido, o por partes y tratados como el dho autor quisiere.*" This indicates that the *Manual del Christiano* was composed of a number of different works. Fray

⁶ Chavero 1877: 99.

⁷ García Icazbalceta: 1886: 265.

⁸ Private communications from Dr. James Lockhart and Barry Sell.

⁹ See Carochi 1983 or Karttunen 1983 for the long vowels in this word.

TABLE I

Sahagún			Other writers			
Manual del Christiano	Psalmódia Christiana	Sermones 1540/48*	1548 Doctrina	1565 Doctrina	1569 Confessionario	1577 Sermonario
teujutica	teuiutica	---	teoyotica	teoyotica	teoyotica	teoyotica
yoan	yoan	yoan, yvan	yuan	yhuan	yhuan	yuan
cemanaoac	cemanaoac	cemanaoac	cemanahuac	cemanahuac	---	cemanahuac
iehica	iehica	iehica	yehica	yehica	yehica	yehica
-pilhoa(n)	-pilhoa(n)	-pilhoa	pilhuan(e)	-pilhuan	-pilhuan	-pilhuan
iehoatl	iehoatl	iehuatl, ichoatl	[various, none exactly like Sahagún]	yehuatl	yehuatl, yeuatl	yehuatl

* Sermões 1540/48 - Ayer MS 1485 (only marginalia which are in Sahagún's hand).

1548 *Doctrina* - Anonymous (O.P.)

1565 *Doctrinal* - Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación (O.P.)

1569 *Confessionario* - Fr. Alonso de Molina (O.F.M.)

1577 *Sermonario* - Fr. Juan de la Anunciación (O.S.A.)

Juan de Torquemada in the *Monarquía Indiana* gives a list of Sahagún's works, most of which are lost.¹⁰ The following religious titles are given:

1. Declaracion Parafrastica y el Simbolo de Quicumque vult.
2. Declaracion del mismo Simbolo, por manera de Dialogo.
3. Platica para despues de el Bautismo de los Niños.
4. La Vida, y Canonización de S. Bernardino.
5. Lumbre Espiritual.
6. Leche Espiritual.
7. Bordon Espiritual.
8. Espejo Espiritual.
9. Espiritual, y Manjar Solido.
10. Escalera Espiritual.
11. Regla de los Casados.
12. Fruta Espiritual.
13. Impedimento de el Matrimonio.
14. Los Mandamientos de los Casados.
15. Doctrina para los Medicos.
16. Tratado de siete Colaciones, mui Doctrinales, y Morales.

Since the known text is about marriage, it has been assumed that the *Manual del Christiano* dealt with matrimonial material exclusively. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno¹¹ suggests that the three works on marriage, the "Regla de los Casados", "Los Mandamientos de los Casados", and the "Impedimento de el Matrimonio", were part of the *Manual del Christiano*. We can argue that not only the three items on marriage were part of the *Manual del Christiano* but that in fact most of the titles in the list would comfortably fall within a volume titled *Manual del Christiano*. Certainly numbers 2, 5-14 and 16 should be included as likely titles which were individual treatises making up the larger work for which authorization for publication was granted.

From the fragment of text available some determination may be made whether Sahagún merely translated some European original or composed the text himself. Dr. Stafford Poole, C. M., kindly read the text in the hope of spotting some European source and wrote the following:

¹⁰ Torquemada 1969, 3: 488.

¹¹ Jiménez Moreno 1938: 21.

It is possible that Sahagún borrowed his material from some European source, but I am inclined to doubt it. The language, tone, and emphasis appear to me to be entirely different from that of any standard theological work of the sixteenth century. It lacks the dry, scholastic approach and seems to be more kin to the speeches that Mexica elders used to give. The treatment of marriage is also more pastoral and sympathetic than is usually found in tracts of the times. Though there is the usual, obligatory nod to the superiority of celibacy, in general he seems to be presenting an attractive picture of what marriage should be. Most manuals of that time would have emphasized the dangers in marital relations, specified the times when they could or could not be used, and would more strongly have emphasized a sense of sin. I think that his variance from the standard treatment makes Sahagún somewhat unique.

The pastoral, sympathetic style which predominates in the text is very typical of the known religious works from the pen of Sahagún. They show Sahagún as a sympathetic and caring priest, whose Franciscan philosophy was in touch with the people to whom he ministered.

Commentary

On the basis of the foregoing history and analysis of these fragments, as well as because they were known, described, and identified by such authorities as García Icazbalceta, Chavero, Ramírez, Jiménez Moreno, and others, and because, while the text is untitled, unsigned, and undated, the last folio, part of Viceroy Enríquez's license to published, both names the author and provides the title of the work, we can surely enough assume that in these fragments we have what remains of the *Manual del Christiano*.¹² In a schedule of Sahagún's most important known evangelical literary activities¹³ it fits as follows:

1540 – *Sermonario y Santoral* written

1548 – Both extant copies of *Sermonario* made.

¹² Nicolau d'Olwer 1952: 107; Quiñones Keber 1988: 345; Jiménez Moreno 1938: 20-21, n. 46.

¹³ Based on data in Nicolau d'Olwer 1952, Nicolau d'Olwer and Cline 1973, Ballesteros 1973 and Quiñones-Keber 1988. The list is meant as a guide, and is neither complete nor completely consistent; for instance, undatable works and some lost manuscripts are omitted while the *Postilla*, about which no one can be certain, is nevertheless included. Revisions were made by Wayne Ruwet and Bary Sell.

- 1559-61 – *Psalmodia Christiana* dictated:
text of the *Postilla* dictated
- 1563 – *Sermonario y Santoral* revised [supervised by Sahagún]
(1548a MS)
- 1564 – *Colloquios* produced
- 1569 – *Psalmodia* revised
- 1574 – *Exercicio Quotidiano* produced
- 1578 – *Manual del Christiano* (date of
viceroy's license to publish)
- 1579 – *Veintiséis Addiciones desta Postilla*
and *Apéndiz de la Postilla* written
- 1583 – *Psalmodia Christiana* published
- 1583 – *Sermonario* revised [not supervised by Sahagún]
(1548b MS)

Only four folios of the *Manual* remain; the first of these is titled *Jzcatquj yn jnnemjliz yn teujutica omonamjctique* (Here is the Way of Life of Those Joined in Holy Matrimony); and of the rest we have the following:

<p>Jnjc ce cap.^o vncan mjtoa yn quenjn cenca qualli cēca tlaçotli cenca iecteneoalonj yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli: auh ynjn ca sacra- mento.</p>	<p>First Chapter. Here it is told in what ways holy matrimony is very good, very precious, very praise- worthy; and this [holy matrimony] is a Sacrament.</p>
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Thirteen reasons are given - its having been instituted by God in the beginning, its association with Adam and Eve, Noah, and the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph, its being a Sacrament, and so on, and the chapter, which is incomplete, breaks off at the beginning of a homily on the virtues of chastity, continence, and virginity that might, judging by the way it starts, have shown some resemblance to the latter part of the Fifth Admonition in Sahagún's *Apéndiz de la Postilla*.

The heading and first part of the fifth chapter are lost, but probably most of the text survives.

The obligations of the married man are its subject-matter. He is to love his wife's soul more than her body; he is to instruct her in the

knowledge and application of Christian principles and to guide her; he is to provide sustenance and shelter for her and their children; he is never to abandon her, and so on.

Jnjc. 6. cap.^o vncã mjtoa, yn jzqujtlamantli yn jnnaoatil muchiuhlica yn ciua: yn ipāpa jnne-mamjctiliz.

Sixth Chapter. Here are told all the obligations that are the concerns of women because of their marriage.

The married woman is to love her husband's soul more than his body, to see to his physical needs and comfort, to remain chaste, to respect her husband, to satisfy his sexuality, to manage their children and property well and efficiently, and so on. This chapter is complete.

Jnic. 7. cap.^o vncã mjtoa, yn tleyñ ynaoatil yn teujutica omonamictiq, yn jnpampa yn jnpilhoa ynjc vel qujnoapaoazque, ynjc vel qujmjzcalizque.

Seventh Chapter. Here is told what are the obligations of those joined in holy matrimony because of their children, so that they may rear them well, so that they may bring them up well.

After a few lines most of this chapter is lost; it breaks off after mention of the acceptable sexual behavior of married women and of pregnancy.

Perhaps most of the viceroy's license to publish survives. The first part is lost.

So that all that remains of the *Manual* are these four chapters (three of which are incomplete) and probably the greater part of the license to publish. There is not enough left to justify speculation as to how long the original was nor whether the total subject-matter may have been the same as that of any of the short works that Torquemada refers to in Book xx, Chapter 46, of his *Monarquía indiana*; possibly the *Reglas de los Casados*, the *Impedimento del matrimonio*, or *Los Mandamientos de los Casados*,¹⁴ for instance? Since the viceroy's license to print permits publication of the work either as an entire volume (*ymprimjendo todo en vn cuerpo*) or in parts (*o por partes y tratados como el dho autor qujsiere*), almost any of the titles listed by Torquemada could indeed have served as components of the *Manual* divided

¹⁴ Jiménez Moreno 1938: 20-21; Nicolau d'Olwer 1952: 107.

into parts or treatises,¹⁵ though one would need much more than these four chapters in order to support an opinion on the matter.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the *Manual* may be compared with Sahagún's sermons on marriage. An earlier one (headed *dominica 2a. post epiphaniam*),¹⁶ on marriage as a Sacrament and its *nenamictiliztli*... *cenca qualli cenca vei ca Sacramento* (holy wed-consequent inviolability, contains little that refers directly to our remnant of the *Manual*, though like it begins by saying that *Jn teoyotica nenamictiliztli*... *cenca qualli cenca vei ca Sacramento* (holy wed-lock... is very good, very great; it is a Sacrament). A later sermon (*Post quartam dominicam feria 6^o*),¹⁷ however, contains much that parallels the discussions in the *Manual*. Though it appears unlikely that Sahagún used the sermon in composing the *Manual*, it is worth while to compare them.

That the *Manual's* two chapters on the obligations of husband and wife are much better organized than the two sections of the sermon devoted to the same subject is not surprising. The sermon was composed almost forty years before the *Manual* was written and was to be heard by newly and no doubt incompletely indoctrinated men and women; the *Manual* was obviously written to be studied, probably by men. So in the *Manual* each chapter develops and somewhat expands eight obligations that emphasize spiritual over physical love, knowledge of Christian principles, chastity, mutual respect, economic support of the family and household management, constancy, and acceptable sexual behavior.

The sermon is built about the same obligations, but whereas the *Manual* addresses first the men and then the women, separately, as if they were in different rooms,¹⁸ the sermon addresses first the men and then the women, together, as a mixed congregation. If it is less impressive as a literary item, it was probably more effective for the listeners; it is more colloquial, more intimate. For example, while in the *Manual* the

¹⁵ Except, probably, the *Tratado de Siete Colaciones*, considering that Sahagún (in his *Veintiséis Addiciones desta Postilla*) refers to the *Apéndiz de la Postilla* as "*un tratado que contiene siete collaciones*."

¹⁶ Sahagún 1548a: fol 19r. Barry Sell and Wayne Ruwet (University of California, Los Angeles), to whom thanks are due, provided copies of the first 15 of these sermons.

¹⁷ Sahagún 1548b: fols. 84r-86v. Barry Sell and Wayne Ruwet provided a copy of this sermon.

¹⁸ "The separate treatment of men and women might also imply that the text was intended for use in sex-segregated catechism classes and/or confession (including examination before marriage)." Louise Burkhart, personal communication, January 11, 1993.

man "is to seek what his wife needs, for it is the man's obligation to be responsible for the work by which he is to produce what his wife and his children need" (*yn oquichtli qujtemuliz yn itech monequi yn jcioauh ca ynaoatil yn oqujchili yn qujmocujtlaujz y ilatequjpanoliztli ynic qujnextiz yn jtech monequi yn jcioauh yn jpilhoa*),¹⁹ in the sermon the man is told: "it became your obligation to seek for your wife what she needs, and you are to support your children. You are to produce corn, beans, chía, chilli" (*monavatil omochiuh in tictemoliz mocivauh itech monequi yvan in mopilhuan tiquintlaiecoltiz ticnextiz in centli in etl in chian in chili*).²⁰

Another point of interest in comparing these two writings is the greater tolerance and flexibility of the *Manual's* admonitions as compared with those of the sermon, qualities perhaps best noted in matters pertaining to male dominance and female submissiveness. Both are always taken for granted, but the harshness of the one source contrasts with the understanding evident in the other. The following passages illustrate this point. The first is an extract from the sermon:

motech monequi in toquichtli tic-tlaçotlaz in ianima monamic vela-
q̃uh motech monequi tictlatzacuil-
tiz tictoliniz intlacamo vel quichiva
in amo quicaqui in iaña itech mo-
nequi, auh in tevatl ticivatl in
ianima monamic tictlaçotlaz tic-
malhuiz intla ticmati tlatlacoa amo
monavatil ynic ticavaz tictoliniz,
çan monequi iviã iocoxca ticno-
tzaz tetlaçotlaliztica ivan ipampa
tictlatlauhtiliz in dios inic quimo-
tlaoculiz, yn ticivatl ỹtla ticava tic-
nāquilia in monamic cenca titla-
tlacoa iuhquin mictlan covatl te-
mamauhti. . .

[Y]ou the man, must love your
wife's soul; most especially you
must punish her, afflict her, if she
does not do or heed what her soul
needs. And you, the woman, must
love your husband's soul; you are
to treat it well. If you know that
he sins, it is not your obligation to
scold him or afflict him. It is ne-
cessary only to speak to him cal-
mly, quietly, lovingly. And you
must therefore beseech God to have
mercy on him. If you, the wo-
man, scold him, if you answer him,
you sin greatly. Your deed, like a
snake from hell, is frightening. . .²¹

¹⁹ Sahagún 1578: fol. 12v.

²⁰ Sahagún 1548b: fol. 85r.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 85v-86r.

The *Manual* approaches matters like these somewhat differently:

yn oquijchtli monequj qujzcaliz yn jciuah; qujcaoltiz yn aqualli, qujnonotzaz ynic amo iuh qujchiaoaz yn amo chioalonj yn jiolitla-colocatzi dios. Auh yntlacamo muzcaliznequj, tenonotzaliztica caoaz, atl, cecec, tzitzicatzli qujtoctiz: auh yntlacamo ic mozcaliznequj qujtlatzacujltiz, tel çan tlaixiecoz. . . auh yntla ytla tlatlaculli ypan caoaznequj, amo teixpan qujchiaoaz amo teixpan caoaz yn anogo qujpinauhtiz. . .

[I]t is necessary that the man instruct his wife; he is to prevent what is bad; he is to tell her not to do what is illicit, what is offensive to God. And if she does not wish to be instructed, he is to reprimand her verbally - to strengthen her with cold water, with nettles. And if she does not wish thus to be instructed, he is to punish her, though only in moderation. . . And if he should wish to reprimand her about something sinful, he is not to do so before others; he is not to scold nor shame her before others. . .²²

ynjc vel qujtlaçotlaz yn janjma yn joqujchhuj, monequj cenca ypampa qujmotlatlauhtiliz yn tote° Dios, ynjc qujmomaqujliz yn iGrätzi, ynjc vel nemjz ynjc vel qujpiez yn jtenaoatiltzi dios: auh yntla ytla tlatlaculli qujmachilia yn ynamjc, qujnonotzaz qujtlacaoaltiz ynjc qujcaoaz. . . cenca monequj amo qujqualancanotzaz, amo qujqualancanqujliz yn jquac caoaz: çan acoujc qujttaz. . . monequj yn ciuatl qujtlacamatiz yn jnamjc: qujchiaoaz yn tlein ic qujnaoatiz yn qualli. Auh yntla ytla aqualli yc qujnaoatiz amo monequj qujtlacamatiz.

[I]n order [for the woman] to love her husband's soul well, it is therefore necessary that she urgently importune our Lord God that He bestow His grace upon him, so that he may live well, so that he may keep God's commandments. And if she knows of some sin of her husband, she is to admonish him, she is to forbid it, so that he will cease. . . [I]t is very necessary that she not address him angrily, not look at him angrily, not answer him angrily; she will just look up to him. . . [I]t is necessary that the woman obey her spouse; she should do what he demands that is good. But if he should demand something evil, it is not necessary that she obey him.²³

²² Sahagún 1578: fol. 12r.

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 13r.

Admonitions as to sexual behavior, pregnancy, and childbirth are similar in both sources, but here too the tone is less uncompromising in the *Manual*. Contrast these statements; the first is from the sermon, the second is from the *Manual*:

in civatl ca itequiuh ynetoliniliz in
iquac otztli in icuac tlacachiva cen-
ca motolinia tlaihiyovia nētlamati
ipampa in toquichtli monavatil
inic titlatequipanoz.

[As for] the woman, it is her work,
it is her affliction when she is preg-
nant; when she bears a child she
is much afflicted; she suffers; she is
uncomfortable. Therefore, as to the
man, it is your obligation to work.²⁴

yn jquac mococoa yn cioatl anoço
ie vtztli, yn joqujchhuj monequj
ypan tlatoz ynjc paleujloz yn
ciuatzintli, ynjc amo tlatequjpano-
liztica mococolizcujtiz: auh yn
jquac omjxiuh yn ciuatzintli mone-
quj malhujloz ynjc amo tlatequjpa-
noliztica mocaxanjz. Jn ichoanti
oqujchti, yn qualli ÿiollo, cenca
qujnmalhuja qujnmocujtlauija yn
jnnamjchoa yn jquac vtztli, anoço
yquac mjxiuhuj.

[W]hen the woman is sick or is al-
ready pregnant, it is necessary that
her husband defend her, so that the
little woman may be helped, so
that she may not become sick
through working. And when the
little woman has given birth, it is
necessary that she be well treated
so that she may not have a relapse
because of working. Those men
who are good of heart treat their
spouses very well, take good care
of them when they are pregnant or
give birth.²⁵

Two explanations of the difference between these documents have been mentioned above. 1) The *Manual* was addressed to a literate, select audience; the sermon was meant for a miscellaneous congregation. 2) The sermon was written in 1540 or thereabouts, about ten years after Sahagún arrive in New Spain,²⁶ the *Manual* was written

²⁴ Sahagún 1548b: fol. 85v.

²⁵ Sahagún 1578: fol. 13v.

²⁶ Sahagún states that he wrote the sermons in 1540 and revised them in 1563; the Ayer MS is dated 1548. "I have found that regardless of when a text might have been composed, people put in the date that they copied or printed it. Both the Ayer and the Biblioteca Nacional MSS have the date of 1548. In the latter case, someone with a hand different from that of the original scribes went through it and changed it in 1583, making a minor 'correction' here as he did throughout the MS. The Ayer copy was done under Sahagún's direct supervision on cheaper *amate* paper but by an excellent scribe who evidently had the time necessary to do careful work (undoubtedly one of Sahagún's own students or graduates) while the BNM copy was done on more expensive paper, attempted to be fancy, and has the hands

in or about 1578, nearly forty years later, long enough for Sahagún to have become better acquainted with the social arrangements of the Indian population and better equipped to appreciate the fact that though Nahua society was as always male-dominated, the position of women was not what a newly-arrived Spaniard might expect. It has been noted by Lockhart, for instance, that "[i]n both Spanish and indigenous cultures during the postconquest centuries, women were subordinated in some ways, able to assert themselves in others. The overall picture in the two spheres was quite similar, but the details varied considerably", and as illustration he quotes a statement by a magistrate, Gonzalo Gómez Cervantes, which ends by saying: "so that these people are submissive to the will of the women"²⁷ (a judgment not to be taken too literally). A Nahua point of view is suggested in one of the *huehuetlatolli* compiled by Fray Andrés de Olmos, perhaps at about the time that Sahagún was writing his sermons, and published at the turn of the century by Fray Juan Baptista, in which a mother admonishes a daughter; the following is Olmos's somewhat paraphrased Spanish version of the Nahuatl:

Quando te casares, y tus padres te dieren marido, no le seas desatada, mas en mandándote hazer algo, óyelo y obedece, y hazlo con alegría, no le enojés, ni le bueluas el rostro, y si en algo te es penoso: No te acuerdes allí de ello. Ni lo tengas en poco, mas antes le honra mucho, puesto que viua de tu hazienda, pónlo en tu regaço y falda con amor, y no le seas fiera, como Águila o Tigre. Ni hagas mal lo que te manda, porque harás peccado contra los Dioses, y castigarte ha tu marido. Con todo esto le di en qué te da pena mansamente. No le afrentes delante de otros, porque a ti te afrentaras en ello, y te echaras en vergüenza.

...Si tu Marido fuere simple, o bobo, auísale cómo a de viuir, y ten buen cuydado entonces de el mantenimiento, y de lo necessario a toda su casa...²⁸

Conclusion

From the small fragment of the *Manual* that has survived, it is impossible to draw many conclusions. Like the sermons, it was one of

of many scribes who evidently had to do a rush job" (personal communication, Barry Sell, October 8, 1992). The first 30 folios of the BNM MS were apparently copied (without revisions) from the 1540 *borrador* (*ibid*, July 9, 16, 23, 1992).

²⁷ Lockhart 1991: 68-9.

²⁸ Baptista 1988: fols 90r-90v of the facsimile. Librado Silva Galeana's excellent translation of the Nahuatl is on pp. 321-23.

the means of indoctrinating and converting a population totally different from any that these pioneer friars had hitherto dealt with. Of his population, León-Portilla has written:

Hubo ciertamente conversiones, pero también muchos se quedaron sin rumbo, *nepantla*. Sólo menguado triunfo de los sacerdotes y sabios nativos fue hacer posible el ocultamiento y la preservación parcial de lo propio bajo la apariencia de los nuevos ritos y creencias que el corazón rechazaba como incomprensibles.²⁹

That Sahagún sensed that he was exhorting congregations many of whose members were still *nepantla*-in between, still not clearly one or the other-is evident in many of the sermons as well in many parts of such works as his *Veintiséis Addiciones desta Postilla* and his *Apéndiz de la postilla*. Whether the same could be said of the *Manual del Christiano* cannot be argued, since most of it is lost. Circumstances indicate, however, that the almost forty-year interval between the writing of the sermons and the writing of the *Manual* had modified Sahagún's reactions to native mores. Not that he was compromising. For instance, the few cases in such a work as his *Psalmodia Christiana* that in the use of certain figures of speech might appear to suggest the possibility of compromising or giving way are in fact well attested or accepted in the Gospels, liturgy, and hymnology which Sahagún and his colleagues were using and teaching. Nor do they seem ever to have been trapped into debating or arguing, for they were dealing not with questions but with answers.³⁰ As Lockhart has put it in a discussion of the *Colloquios*, "the friars, rather than emphasizing persuasive arts, immediately undertake detailed instruction on the basic tenets of Christianity".³¹ In the regards Sahagún was like his colleagues and his superiors; but writings like the *Manual* show how he was also, as has been noted, the "sympathetic and caring priest, whose Franciscan philosophy was in touch with the people to whom he ministered".

²⁹ León-Portilla 1974: 33.

³⁰ Prof. Burkhart, however, finds "a lot of ambiguity and double meanings in Nahuatl devotional texts, with the friars *unintentionally* 'compromising or giving way' quite a bit. I agree . . . that their reluctance to debate reflects the security of their position as providers of answers, but that does not preclude their answers' being incorporated somewhat differently by Nahuas, and even intentionally recast by their 'assistants'. These are, of course matters of interpretation." Personal communication, January 11, 1993.

³¹ Lockhart 1992: 206.

MANUAL DEL CHRISTIANO

Text and Translation

[11r] Jzcatquj yn jnnemjliz yn teujutica omonamjctique.

Jnjc ce cap.^o vncan mjtoa yn quenjn cenca qualli cēca tlaçotli cenca iecteneoalonj yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli: auh ynjn ca sacramento.

Miec tlamantli ynjc neci, yn quenjn cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli. Jnjc centlamantli ynjc neci, yn ca cenca tlaçotli ca iehoatl yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli vel iehoatzi totecujó dios oqujmo-peoaltli oqujmotlalili yn vmpa Parayso terrenal, yn jquac oqujmonamjctili yn achto tota, yn achto tona yn Adam yoan Eua. Jnjc vntlamantli ynjc neci, ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca cenca qualcan yn omuchiuh, ca vmpa yn jiectlal-pantzinco yn totecujó dios Parayso Terrenal. Jnjc etlamantli, ynjc neci, ca cēca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca yehoatl: njman yquac omuchiuh yn jquac tzentic cemañoac. Ynjc nauhtlamantli ynjc neci cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca yehoatl ca yn jquac omuchiuh aiatle tlatlaculli. Jnjc macujllamantli ynjc neci ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca yn jquac oapachiuhque cemañoac tlaca, ca çan iehoantī omomaqujxtique ÿ monamjctiḡ yn Noe, yoan yn jcioauh: yoan eyntin ypilhoā, yoan yncioaon. Jnjc chiquacentlamantli, ynjc neci ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli: ca yehoa-

Here is the way of living of those joined in holy wedlock.

First Chapter. Here it is told in what ways holy wedlock is very good, very precious, very praise-worthy, for this [holy wedlock] is a sacrament.

For many reasons it is evident how very good holy wedlock is. The first reason it is evident that this holy wedlock is very precious is that our Lord God Himself began it; He established it there in the Earthly Paradise when He married our first father and our first mother, Adam and Eve. The second reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is this: it was in a very good place that it occurred, there in our Lord God's good place, the Earthly Paradise. The third reason that it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the very time it occurred was when the world had its beginning. The fourth reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is this: when it occurred sin did not exist. The fifth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: when the people of the world were drowned, the only ones who were saved were married, Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives. The sixth reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is that the mother of God, Saint Mary, was married; she was married to Saint Joseph. The seventh reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very

tzi yn jnantzi Dios, Sancta Maria omonamjctitzino: oqujmonamjcti yn sant Joseph. Jnyc chicūtla-mantli ynyc neci ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli ca iehoatl: ca iehoatzi totecujō Jesu xpō, yn jquac talticpac monemitiaia: vmpa moujcaac yn nenamjctiloyā yn atl, vino qujmocuepili. Jnyc chicuetlamantli ynyc neci yn ca cēca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca ÿ monamjctia ynpan [11v] muchioa yn Bendicion yn jquac ynepantla Misa: vel xypantzinco in sanctissimo sacramento. Jnyc chicunauhtlamantli ynyc neci, yn ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca yn jnpilhoā yn teujutica omonamjctique, tlateuchioalpi-piltzitzinti muchioa: aulh yn jquac omonamjctique, no ypilhoā yn sancta yglesia muchioa ilhujcac pouhque. Jnyc matlactlamātli ynyc neci yn ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli yn ca sacramento ca yoampo yu chicuntetl sacramentos. Jnic matlactlamantli vce ynyc neci ca cenca qualli yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca ypampa sacramento yn jquac qujnepanoa yn jnnacaio, yn teujutica omonamjctique amo tlatlacoa. Ynyc matlactlamantli vmume ynyc neci ca cenca qualli ÿ teujutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ynyc muchioa yn jcnjuhiutl yn oaiul-caiutl: yoan yc veyia yn tetlaço-tlaliztli. Jnyc matlactlamātli vmey ynyc neci ca cenca qualli yn teu-

good is this: our Lord Jesus Christ, when he lived on earth, went there to the marriage place; he changed water into wine. The eighth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the benediction is accorded those who marry in the middle of the Mass in the very presence of the most holy Sacrament. The ninth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the children of those joined in holy wedlock become blessed children, and when [the parents] have been married, [their children] also become children of the holy Church; they are dedicated to Heaven. The tenth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is that it is a Sacrament; it is one of the Seven Sacraments. The eleventh reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: because it is a Sacrament those who are joined in holy wedlock, when they unite their bodies [in coition], do not sin. The twelfth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: thus are generated sociability, blood relationship, and thus one's love of others increases. The thirteenth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: since those joined in holy wedlock are as one, since they live together, their children are very well brought up and educated. But although holy wedlock is very good, many sorts of misery befall those joined in holy wed-

jutica nenamjctiliztli, ca iehoatl: ca ynjc cencate ynjc cennemj, yn teujutica omonamjctique, ca cenca vel izcaltilo yoã izcalilo yn jnpilhoa. Auh maciuj yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli yn cenca qualli ca mjec tlamantli netolinjliztli ynpan muchioa 'yn teujutica monamjctia: ypampa yn nepializtli yn jchpuchnemjliztli ÿ telpuchpieliztli oc cenca qualli oc cenca tlapanauja: ca yn teujutica nenamjctiliztli iuhqujnma qujneneujlia yn amuchitl yn ciuatl vel mopia yn jquac omjc yn joquichhuj, auh yn oqujchtli yn vel mopia yn jquac omjc yn jcioauh iuhqujnma iztac teucujtlatl ytech moneneujlia. Auh yn jchpuchnemjliztli yn necēpializtli: iuhqujnma cuztic teucujtlatl qujneneujlia [yn nepi]aliztli. . .

[Chapter I breaks off here.]

[12r]. . . tlazque yn jnnamjchoa, yn juh qujtlaçotla yn jnnacaio. Yn oqujchtli monequj quijtlaçotlaz yn jnacaio yn jcioauh, yoan yn janjma oc cēca iehoatl qujtlaçotlaz yn janima yn jcioauh yn amo iuh qujtlaçotla yn jnacaio. Yn juh qujtlaçotla yn jnacaio yn oqujchtli: çan no iuh qujtlaçotlaz yn jnacaio yn jnamjc yn jcioauh yn çan teujutica. Auh yn oqujchtli ca ynaoatil yn teujutica qujtlaçotlaz yn janjma: çã no ynaoatil yn teujutica qujtlaçotlaz yn janjma yn jnamjc. Ynjc vntlamantli yn jnaoatil yn oqujchtli, ca iehoatl: ca monequj

lock. Therefore chastity, a virgin's way of life, the maintenance of male virginity, are especially good, surpassingly [good]. For holy wedlock is like and comparable to tin; the woman who can abstain when her husband has died and the man who can abstain when his wife has died are like and comparable to silver. But a life of virginity, of complete chastity, is like and comparable to gold. Chastity. . .

[Chapter V]

. . .are to [love] their spouses. As the man loves his body, [so] must he love his wife's body and her soul. The man is to love his wife's soul more than he loves her body. As the man loves his body, so likewise he is to love his wife's body, only spiritually. And it is the man's obligation to love his soul spiritually; so likewise it is his obligation to love his wife's soul spiritually. The man's second obligation is this: he must teach his wife what is good, what is proper, the word of God, and he is to incline her toward a good way of life and to

qujmachtiz yn jnamjc yn qualli iectli, yn teutlatolli, yoan qujcujtlauijltiz yn qualnemjliztli, yoan qujcaoaltiz: yn amo qualli yn amo iectli. Ca qujmjtalhuja yn San Pablo. Si mulieres aliquid volunt discere, domj viros suo interrogent. q. n. Jn ichoanti ciua yntla ytla qujmatiznequj, cali qujntlatlanizque yn imoqujchoa. Auh yn ciuatl yntlacamo vel qujtlatlanjz yn jnamjc: monequj ichoatl yn oqujchtli qujtlatlanjz yn jcioauh yni qujlhujz. Nopltzitzine? njccauhtzine. cujx ticmati yn Credo. Pñ. nñ. Aue Maria. Salue regina. Cujx ticmati yn neltocnj, yn jtenaoatiltzi dios: auh yntla qujmachtiz, çan juja, çan tetlaçotlaliztica, no yoan qujlhujz. Niccauhtzine? quenjn ticmo-caqujtia yn teutlatolli, yoan yn jtenaoatiltzi dios, cujx ticmelaoacaquj? Yn tleyn qujnequjz moiollotzi ynjc tinechtlatlanjz ca njmjtzilhujz? yntla njcmati: auh yntlacamo njcmati njctlatlanjz ÿ teupixquj çatepan njmjtznolhujliz. Jnjc etlamantli, yn oqujchtli monequj qujzcaliz yn jciauuh: qujcaoaltiz yn aqualli, qujnonotzaz ynjc amo iuh qujchiaoaz yn amo chioalonj yn jiotlacolocatzi dios. Auh yntlacamo muzcaliznequj, tenonotzaliztica caoaz, atl, cecec, tzitzicaztli qujtoctiz: auh yntlacamo ic mozcaliznequj qujtlatzacujltiz, tel çan tlaixieiecoz. Jnjc nauhtlamãtli, yn oqujchtli qujmaujztiliz yn jnamjc yn jcioauh qujpaccanotzaz amo qujpapacaz amo teixpan qujpi-

make her cease [doing] what is evil, what is not proper. For Saint Paul says: Si mulieres aliquid volunt discere, domi viros suos interrogent. This means: If women wish to know something, in their homes they are to ask their husbands. And if the woman cannot question her husband, he, the man, must question his wife; he is to say: My child, my younger sister, do you know the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Salve Regina? Do you know the Articles of Faith, the commandments of God? And if he is to instruct her, it is to be only gently, only lovingly. Likewise he is to say: My companion, how do you understand the word of God and the commandments of God? Do you understand them properly? What does your heart wish to ask me that I may tell you, if I know it? And if I do not know it, I shall ask a clergyman; then I shall tell you. Third, the man must instruct his wife; he is to make her cease [doing] what is bad; he is to tell her that she is not to do what is illicit, what is offensive to God. And if she does not wish to be instructed, he is to reprimand her verbally, he is to correct her. And if she does not wish thus to be instructed, he is to punish her, though he is to act moderately. Fourth, the man is to respect his spouse, his wife. He is to speak pleasantly to her; he is not to insult her; he is not to shame

nauhtiz: auh yntla ytla tlatlaculli ypan caoaznequj, amo teixpan qujchioaz amo teixpan caoaz yn anoço qujpinauhtiz çanjoca. Jnyc macujllamãtli yn oqujchtli monequj qujiacanaz yn j[12v]cioauh qujmachtiz yn tleyn qujchioaz, auh yn tleyn amo monequj qujchioaz qujcaoaltiz. Jnyc chiquacentlaman-tli, yn oq'chtli qujtemuliz yn jtech monequj yn icioauh: ca ynaoatil yn oqujchtli yn qujmocujtlauij, ÿ tlatequjpanoliztli ynyc qujnextiz yn jtech monequj yn jcioauh, yoan yn jpilhoa yoan ytequjuh yn qujncaltiz yn jpilhoa. Jnyc chicuntlamantli, yn oqujchtli aic qujtlalcaujz yn jcioauh: monequj cennemjzq̃, cencochizque, centla-quazque, ceniez yn jntlatquj. Auh yn oqujchtli yntla canapa iaz, qujlhuiz yn jcioauh, yoan qujtenehujliz yn quezqujhujtiz yquin oallaz: auh yn campa aciznequi, çan monequj amo cenca vecaoaz, ÿtla etetl metztli vmpa nemjz cenca vecaoaz: ca amo qujmonequjltia yn tonantzi sancta yglesia yn vecauh-tica qujtlalcahuiz yn oqujchtli yn jnamjc yn manel ypampa netlaie-cultiliztli. Jnic chicuetlamantli yn oqujchtli, monequj qujtlacamatiz yn jcioauh, yn jtechpa yn nenepan-liztli, iehica ca ynaoatil ynyc qujtlacamatiz, ca yoan ynaoatil, yn aiac oc ce ciuatl ytech aciz. Yn aqujn çan qujxcahuja ycioauh yn jxqujch cauajtli nemj, cenca qujnmocneliliz yn dios, ca uey nepializ-tli, vey tlamaceoaliztli.

her before others. And if he should wish to reprimand her about something sinful, he is not to do so before others, he is not to reprimand her before others nor to shame her; [he is to do this] only in private. Fifth, the man must guide his wife; he is to teach her what she should do, and he is to make her cease [doing] what she must not do. Sixth, the man is to seek what his wife needs, for it is the man's obligation to be responsible for the work by which he is to produce what his wife and his children need, and it is his task to provide shelter for his children. Seventh, the man is never to abandon his wife. They must live together, sleep together, eat together; their possessions are to be [owned] jointly. And if the man is to go somewhere, he is to speak to his wife and tell her that he is to spend several days [away], when he will return, and where he intends to arrive. Only he must not be [away] very long; if he should live there for three months, he would be [away] for a very long time; our mother the holy Church does not wish that a man abandon his wife for a long period of time, even because of gaining a livelihood. Eighth, the man must obey his wife regarding coition, because it is his obligation thus to obey her, and it is also his obligation to go to no other woman. God will greatly favor him who has no other [woman] than

his wife all the time that he may live; it is a great abstinence, a great merit.

Jnjc 6. Cap.^o vncā mjtōa, yn jzqujtlamantli yn jnnaoatil muchi-
uhtica yn ciua: yn ipāpa yn jnne-
namjctiliz.

Chicuetlamātlī monequj quj-
chioazq̃ yn ciua: yn jpampa yn
teujutica nenamjctiliztli: ca iuh-
qujnma teujutica ynnētol omu-
chiuh, yn jquac oronamjctiḡ. Jnjc
cētlamantli yn ciuatl teujutica omo-
namjcti, monequj cēca qujtlaçot-
laz yn joqujchhuj ca ynaoatil yne-
tol. Auh ynic vel qujtlaçotlaz yn
jnamjc, monequj achto qujtlaçotlaz
yn janjma yn joqujchhuj: catepā
yn jnacaio quj[13r]tlaçotlaz. Auh
ynjc vel qujtlaçotlaz yn janjma yn
joqujchhuj, monequj cenca ypam-
pa qujmotlatlauhtiliz yn tote^o Dios
ynjc qujmomaqujliz yn jGrātzi,
ynjc vel nemjz ynjc vel qujpīez yn
jtenaoatiltzi dios: auh yntla ytlā
tlatlaculli qujmachilia yn jnamjc,
qujnonotztaz qujtlacaoaltiz ynjc
qujcaoz. Auh ynjc vel qujtlaçot-
laz yn jnacaio qujchiujliz yn atl
tlaqualli: oc cenca yquac ḡ mo-
cocoa, cenca qujmocujtlauijz yn
jpampa yn atl tlaqualli yoā yn
patli: yoan qujchiujliz yn jcamisa,
yn jçaraueles: auh yn jquac mo-
cocoa qujcujtlauijltiz ynjc iciuhca
moiolmelaoaz mocenciaoz. Jnjc
vntlamātlī monequj yn ciuatl cen-
ca mopiaz cenca momalhujz: iehi-

Sixth Chapter. Here are told all
the obligations that are the con-
cerns of women because of their
marriage.

The women must do eight things
on account of holy wedlock, for
such was their sacred vow made
when they were married. First, the
woman married in holy wedlock
must much love her husband; it is
her obligation, her vow. And in
order to love her spouse well, first
she must love her husband's soul;
then she is to love his body. And
in order to love her husband's soul
well, she must therefore urgently
importune our Lord God that He
bestow His grace upon him, so
that he may live well, so that
he may keep God's commandments
well. And if she knows of some
sin of her husband, she is to ad-
monish him, she is to make him
stop it, so that he will cease. And
in order to love his body well,
she is to prepare his drink and his
food for him. Especially when he
is sick she is to be very careful
because of the food, drink, and
medicine. And she is to make his
shirts and his breeches for him;
and when he is sick she is to urge
him to make his confession promp-
tly, to prepare himself. And second,
a woman must carefully keep her-

ca ynaoatil yn çan qujxcaujz yn jnamjc: yoan ynjc aiac oqujchtli queleujz. Auh ytla aca tlatoanj anoço pilli anoço Castiltecatl: anoço teupixquj, cenca qujcujtlauijtiz ynjc qujchiaoaz ÿ tlatlaculli, njman amo qujtlacamatz (yntlanel ypampa qujmjtiz, yn vel ymac mjqujz). Jnyc etlamantli monequj in iehoatl qujmacaciz qujxtiliz yn joqujchhuj: amo iuhqujnma yiaouh ypan qujmatiz: ca iuhqujnma teujutica ytecujo: yc cenca monequj amo qujqualancanotzaz, amo qujqualancanqujliz yn jquac caoaz: çan acoujc qujttaz. Jnyc nauhtlamantli monequj yn ciuatl qujtlacamatz yn jnamjc: qujchiaoaz yn tlein ic qujnaoatiz yn qualli. Auh yntla ytla aqualli yc qujnaoatiz amo monequj qujtlacamatz. Jnyc macujllamantli monequj yn iehoatl ciuatl, qujtlacamatz yn jnamjc, yn jtechpa yn nenepanoliztli (yn jquac pactica yn atle cuculiztli). Jnyc chiquacentlamantli monequj ÿ iehoatl ciuatl, cenca qujmaujztiliz yn jnamjc; yn jquac qujnotza, anoço yn jquac qujnonotza: iectli tlatolli qujlhuja, tetlaçotlaliztlatolli ynjc qujnanqujliz amo tle tepinauhti tlatolli ycamacpa qujçaz. Jnyc chicuntlamantli monequj ÿ ciuatl aic qujtlalcaujz yn jnamjc: cennemjzque, cenco-chizque, centlaquazque, cēiez yn jntlatquj, çan cētetl iez [13v] yn jniollo. Auh yn ciuatl yntla qujttaznequj yn jnantzi, yn jtatzi, ano-

self [chaste] and take great care of her honor; because it is her obligation to have only one spouse; and to covet no [other] man. And if some ruler or nobleman or Spaniard or clergyman should strenuously urge her to commit a sin, she is by no means to obey him (even if he should kill her because of it, [even] if she should die at his very hands). Third, she must revere and respect her husband. She should not regard him as her foe; but as if he were her spiritual lord. Hence when he reprimands her she certainly must not speak to him angrily, not look at him angrily, not answer him angrily; she is only to look up at him. Fourth, the woman must obey her spouse; she should do what he demands that is good. But if he should demand something evil, she need not obey him. Fifth, this woman must obey her spouse as to coition (when she is content, when there is no sickness). Sixth, this woman must greatly respect her spouse; when he calls to her or when he converses with her with fitting words, she is to answer him with loving words; no offensive words at all are to issue from her mouth. Seventh, the woman must never abandon her spouse. They are to live together, they are to sleep together, they are to eat together. Their possessions are to be [owned] jointly. Their hearts are to be as one. And if the woman should wish to visit her mo-

ço qujnmatiznequj yn joaiulque qujnaoatiz yn joqujchhuj, anoço qujujcaz yn vmpa iaznequjz, njman amo moiocuxtiaz yn cāpa iaz. Jnjc chicuetlamantli monequj yn ciuatl, qujchiaoaz yn jtequjuh ynjc qujio-laliz yn jnamjc: ca yn ciuatl yte-qujuh yn qujchiaoaz yn atl tlaqua-lli, yoan hiqujtiz, tzaoaz, tlachpanaz, njman amo monequj tlatziujz, yoan monequj qujmižcaliz qujnmocujtlauijz yn jpilhoa: yoan qujpiaz yn jxq'ch cali onoc yn qujnextia yoqujchhuj amo monequj çan jliujz tlapopoloz, monequj qujmatiz yn jnamjc yn tleyn qujtemacaz yn manel yoaiulq̃ qujnmacaz. Auh yn jquac mococoa yn cioatl anoço ie vtztli, yn joqujchhuj monequi ypan tlatoz ynjc paleujloz yn ciuat-zintli, jnjc amo tlatequjpanoliztica mococolizcujtiz: auh yn jquac omjxiuh yn ciuatztintli monequj malhujloz ynjc amo tlatequjpanoliztica mocaxanjz. Jn iehoanti oqujchti, yn qualli ñiollo, cenca qujnmalhuja qujnmocujtlauijz yn jnnamjchoa yn jquac vtzti, anoço yquac mjxiuhuj.

Jnjc. 7. Cap.° vncã mjtóa, yn tleyn ynaoatil yn teujutica omonamjctiñ, yn jnpampa yn jnpilhoa ynjc vel qujnoapaoazque, ynjc vel qujmižcalizque.

Jn iehoatl yn nenamjctiliztli, ca oc cenca ie ypampa muchioa yn

ther of her father, or should wish to know her relatives, she is to ask her husband's permission or take him where she wishes to go. She is by no means to go where she is to go impulsively. Eighth, the woman must do her work in order to give comfort to her spouse. For the woman's work is to make food and drink, and weave, spin, sweep. She must certainly not be lazy. And she must bring up and take care of her children and guard everything that lies in the house that her husband provides. She must not just thoughtlessly be wasteful. Her spouse must know what she gives to others, even if she gives to her relatives. And when the woman is sick or is already pregnant, her husband must favor her, so that the little woman may be helped, so that she may not become sick through working. And when the little woman has given birth, she must be well treated so that she may not have a relapse because of working. Those men who are good of heart treat their spouses very well, take good care of them when they are pregnant or give birth.

Seventh Chapter. Here are told what are the obligations of those joined in holy wedlock because of their children, so that they may bring them up well, so that they may educate them well.

This marriage is contracted es-

nepilhoatiliztli. Ypampa y, yn oquj-
chtli yn ciuatl ÿ teujutica omo-
namjctique, cenca monequj quin-
mocujtlauijzque yn jnpilhoa: vel
achto iehoatl yn ciuatl, monequj
momalhujz, yn jquac muchioa ne-
nepanoliztli: ynjc amo ytlacaujz,
ynjc amo vetziz yn tlacaxinachtli.
Auh yn jquac ie vtztli, monequi yn
jxq'ch yn tecoco tetolinj, amo
qujchioaz vel mopiez, yn jxqujch
caujtl vtztitiez ynic amo motlau-
linjliz: auh yntla motlaolinjliz
yntla qujtlaçaz yn piltzintli, yn
jpampa. . .

[Here the text breaks off.]

pecially because of procreation.
Because of this the man and wo-
man joined in holy wedlock must
take great care of their children.
First of all the woman must take
care of herself when coition takes
place so that it not fail, so that
the semen does not fall out. And
when she is already pregnant, she
must do nothing hurtful of afflict-
ing. She is to guard herself well
all the time she may be pregnant,
in order not to have an accidental
miscarriage; but if she should have
a miscarriage, if she should eject
the child because. . .

[Fragment of license to print]

[14r]. . . para que libremente pueda hazer ymprimjr el dho *Manual del chistiano*, a qualquiera ympresor a qujen enseñalara y fue-re su voluntad lo haga por tpo de diez años primeros sigujentes ymprimjendolo todo en vn cuerpo, conforme al original que a recibido, o por partes y tratados como el dho autor qujsiere y dentro de dho tpo otro njnguno ympresor nj persona particular lo ymprjma, nj haga ymprimjr sin permission del dho fray Bernardino de Sahagun, so pena de qujnientos pesos de oro, para la camara y fisco de su magestad y de perder los moldes y aparejos de la enprenta y perdidos los libros que se hallaren auer ymprimjdo sin la dicha licencia y cumpliendo esto mando que en ello por njngunas Justicias y otras personas no se le pōga Embargo ni ympedimjento alguno: fecho en Mex^{co} a deziseys de Hebrero. de mjll y qujnientos y setenta y ocho años.

Don Martin EnRiquez.

. . . so that he may freely have the said *Manual del Christiano* printed by whatever printer he may designate and may wish to do it, over a period of the next ten years, printing it all in one volume according to the original that he has received or in parts or treatises, as the said author may wish. And in the said period of time no other printer or private person may print it or have it printed without the permission of the said Fray Bernardino de Sahagún under penalty of [paying] five hundred pesos in gold to His Majesty's exchequer and treasury and losing the printing forms and equipment and losing the books found to have been printed without said license. And in executing this I order that no judge or other person may lay an embargo or other impediment on him. Done in Mexico on the sixteenth of February, 1578.

Don Martín Enríquez.

Don Martin EnRique fe.

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