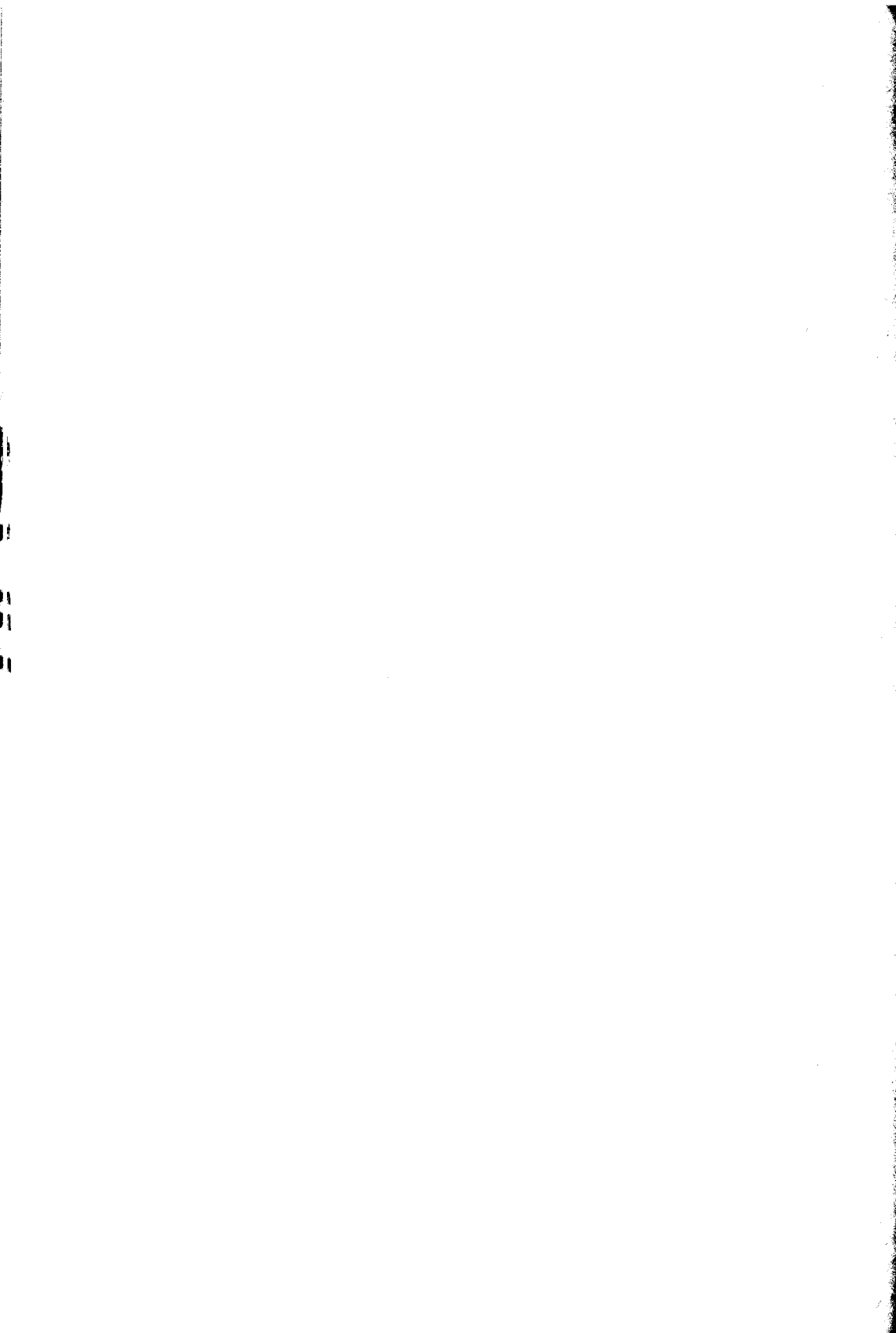


GUÍAS DE MANUSCRITOS EN NÁHUATL
CONSERVADOS EN

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY (PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND)

THE BENSON LATIN AMERICAN (TEXAS, AUSTIN)

JOHN FREDERICK SCHWALLER



NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
(PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND)

The John Carter Brown Library, of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, is one of the leading centers for the study of the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the New World. The collection of printed materials now includes over 56,000 books, plus other items dealing with the early history of the Americas. The library also holds some important manuscripts dealing with the same topic, as well as maps, plans, and prints. The collection took form in 1846 when John Carter Brown began it. He passed it to his son, John Nicholas Brown, who eventually left it to the University, along with an endowment. The structure which houses the library was built in the early twentieth century according to instructions given by John Nicholas Brown.

The collection of the John Carter Brown Library, as noted, deals with the exploration, discovery, and settlement of the New World. The chronological range of the collection runs from the fifteenth century until approximately 1830. While the bulk of the collection dates from after 1700, nearly a fifth comes from earlier periods. The collection of printed works is indeed impressive, especially for Nahuatl imprints. Nearly every work known for certain to have been published in the seventeenth century in Nahuatl is held by the library, with some five exceptions. Coverage for the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, while not as comprehensive, still is impressive. It is easily the most comprehensive collection of colonial Nahuatl imprints in the US.

The manuscript collections of Nahuatl material of the John Carter Brown, while important, are not as comprehensive as the collection of imprints.¹ Additionally, the library holds several pieces which, while not in Nahuatl, are of interest to scholars of the field. The famous Tovar

¹ Many of the most important pieces were included in an exhibition in the library, and detailed in Julie Greer Johnson, *The Book in the Americas: The Role*

manuscript and Tovar Calendar are held by the John Carter Brown. There are also copies of Olmo's *Huehuetlatolli*, Chimalphin's *Historia de la conquista*, and Ruiz de Alarcón's *Tratado*. The Olmos and Ruiz de Alarcón were copies made for José Fernando Ramírez. In addition to these, there are three famous Testerman catechisms held by the Library.²

Several of the pieces (see the Codices Ind. 7, 16, and 23) were acquired at the sale of the library of Dr. Nicolás León, 1896. The Catalogue for the sale is entitled: *Biblioteca Mexicana. Catálogo para la venta de la porción más escogida de la biblioteca del Dr. Nicolás León, Ex-Director del Museo Michoacano y reorganizador del Museo Oaxaqueño. Sección 1ª Filología mexicana. Impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI y libros ejemplares únicos conocidos* (México, Imprenta de "El Tiempo", Cerca de Sto. Domingo, 4, 1896). He offered the best price on Mexican imprints, and promised the second section soon. "Je me charge de procurer a le plus bon marche, des livres anciens au modernes publiés a Mexico." Dr. León, a native of Michoacan, was a practicing physician who became interested in the pre-Columbian past of his country. Economic conditions forced him to leave his native Morelia for Oaxaca, and later in 1892 for Mexico City. Finally in 1900, President Porfirio Díaz named him to the Mexico Bibliographic Institute, from which he went on to the National Museum of Mexico. The sale of rare books and manuscripts clearly helped to augment his income. Other pieces in the collection of the John Carter Brown were acquired from the Phillips collection, the famous English baronet who began the practice of collecting old manuscripts, and who eventually held several thousand, including some in Nahuatl.³

Perhaps the most fascinating of the Nahuatl manuscripts held in the John Carter Brown Library is the one entitled "The Dogmas of the Church and the Gospels and Epistles in Aztec", attributed to Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Dr. Louise Burkhart has studied all of the available Sahagún manuscripts and has concluded that this piece is not one of the friar's works. A more complete discussion of this can be found

of Books and Printing in the Development of Culture and Society in Colonial Latin America. Catalogue of an Exhibition (Providence: The John Carter Brown Library, 1988, especially p. 5-48.

² *Handbook of Middle America Indians*, vol 15, p. 456-57.

³ Damian van den Eynde, "Calendar of Spanish Documents in the John Carter Brown Library", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 16 ('36), 564-607: Codices Sp. 4, 5, and 6 which have no Nahuatl.

in the catalogue. Here I would like to study what the manuscript does include.

Dr. Burkhart in her analysis found that the piece actually pertained to the religious sodality dedicated to the rosary, the *cofradía del rosario*. The last section, esp. ff. 108v-115v lists indulgences and special licenses granted to the *cofradía* by popes and prelates, seemingly copied from a source printed by Pedro Ocharte in 1572: "Mayuch mochiua/Con licencia en casa de Pedro Ocharte MDLXXII ano [?]ia dorido [tradocido] por el reverendo padre fray alonso de molina y visto por el R. p. fray andres de moguer presentado / tli yhuan ynque ni haulmohuicaz haulmotemohuiz yn too auh inquac. . ."

Burkhart in her analysis concludes that this refers to an as yet unknown publication from the Ocharte press. Ocharte did not print between 1571 and 1574 due to the fact that he was variously under indictment or imprisoned by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The papers of his trial have been published by both José Toribio Medina and Francisco Fernández del Castillo.⁴ Ocharte was imprisoned in February, 1572, and absolved in 1574, after having undergone judicial torture. He became a target of the Inquisition because of the activities of an artisan who worked in his shop, Juan Ortiz, an artist who specialized in drawing religious images, an *imaginer*. That a piece dealing with the indulgences granted to the sodality of the rosary came out of the Ocharte shop in 1572 seems quite possible given what is known through the Inquisition records, and the other activities of the shop.

Between 1568 and 1571 Ocharte published several pieces for various religious socialities, including the rules and constitution of the *Cofradía de los Juramentos* in 1567 as well as one summary of indulgences for the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento* in 1568. In 1571, Ocharte printed an engraved image, *estampa*, of the Virgen of the Rosary, drawn by Ortiz. (See Plate I) It was this very image which caused both men's problems with the Holy Office. The *estampa* by Ortiz ran into trouble with the Inquisition because of verses printed on it:

Estas cuentas son sin cuenta
en valor e ificacia
el pecador que os reza
jamás le faltara gracia.

⁴ Medina, *La imprenta en México*, Santiago de Chile, 1912, vol. 1, 401-438; Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros del siglo XVI*, México, Archivo General de la Nación, 1914, p. 85-141.

These beads are without number
 [or fifty, as this is a play on words]
 in value and efficacy
 [to] the sinner who prays them,
 he will never lack grace.

The board of censors of the Holy Office found that the verse consisted of two principles: one in the first two lines, the other in the last two. The first principle was simply erroneous and not in accord with what was usually taught by the Church. As to the second half, the experts found it to be heretical, depending upon what exactly it meant to say. If it implied that by simply praying the Rosary one could enter into a state of grace, it would be heretical. There are two preconditions to that state, one is true contrition the other is the specific aid of God.⁵ If on the other hand it meant that by praying the rosary God would be disposed to allow the person to enter into grace, then it was not heretical.

During the questioning, the Inquisitors paid much attention to the exact meaning of the verses. Ortiz, of course, was not able to keep up with the theological gymnastics of the Inquisitor, Pedro Moya de Contreras, in the process. When asked about the efficacy of praying the rosary, Ortiz said he understood that there were several indulgences which went along with praying the rosary. Asked how he knew this, he replied that he had seen a papal bull in the Dominican church and because he was working on the publication of a rosary in Ocharte's shop.⁶ He also stated that Fr. Bartolomé de Ledesma had seen the verse and found it appropriate.

Three of the 29 charges brought up against him had to do with the image. Neither the Rosario "estampa" nor a summary of indulgences was included among books confiscated by the Inquisition in 1573-74, although a "Doctrina" by Zumárraga and the Molina *Vocabulario* of 1571 were. Nevertheless, further documents certify that a summary of indulgences was published along with the image. In a letter to his wife, Maria de Sanzoric, Ocharte wrote that among other things to do during his imprisonment, his employees were to print "los suma-

⁵ "Para que nunca al pecador le falte gracia, son menester dos cosas, la una es que se ponga en gracia, lo cual se hace por la contición, en orden al sacramento de la penitencia, y para conservarse en ella, es menester auxilio particular de Dios." Fernández del Castillo, *Libros*, p. 172.

⁶ "Que por una bula que ha visto en Sacto Domingo y por un Rosario que se estaba imprimiendo en casa de Pedro Ocharte." *Ibid.* p. 179.

rios de nuestra Sra. del Rosario en lengua mexicana", which was physically on the press.⁷ Ocharte also testified to the Inquisitors that during the previous Lent he had taken three hundred copies of the image of the Virgen of the Rosary, along with the summaries of indulgences to the monastery of Santo Domingo in nearby Azcapotzalco.⁸

All of this leads one to the conclusion that Ocharte did in fact publish a summary of papal indulgences granted to the Cofradía del Rosario. It was published in 1572, and written in Nahuatl. Unfortunately no copies of the work have survived. Neither García Icazbalceta nor Medina include such a work in their bibliographies of Mexican imprints. Medina does note that the work probably did exist.⁹ There were two similar works which have survived. One appeared in 1576, the Domingo de Salazar edition of Jerónimo Taix's *Instrucción, modo de rezar, y milagros con indulgencias del Rosario*, published by Pedro Balli. Later, in the early seventeenth century there appeared Alonso de Molina's *Rosario o Psalterio*, published by López Dávalos in 1605. Medina implies that this is the second edition of the work, leaving the possibility that the first edition was the "lost" edition of 1572.¹⁰ García Icazbalceta suggests that the Salazar — Taix work was first published in 1559 and again in 1574, making it a likely candidate for the "lost" 1572 work.¹¹ The section of the reputed Sahagún manuscript, then, is undoubtedly a transcription of the work published in 1572, and probably the only copy, manuscript or otherwise, of that work.

Two more important pieces in the John Carter Brown collection came from the pen of Fr. Agustín de Vetancurt. Vetancurt is well known for his four volume history of the development of the church and Spanish society in New Spain, the *Teatro mexicano*. But in addition to this, he was a talented scholar of Nahuatl. A native of Mexico City, he entered the Franciscan order in Puebla, but spent most of his adult life back in Mexico City in the parish of San José de los naturales. He is also well known for his *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana* (México: Rodríguez Lupercio, 1673). To him is attributed a series of prayers to be said during the re-enactment of the stations of the cross, also in Nahuatl, *Luz para saber andar las Estaciones de la Via Sacra*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁹ Medina, *Imprenta en México*, vol. 1, 397-98.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, item 225.

¹¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954, p. 278-79, 490

His collection of sermons is an important contribution to the genre by one who was a noted master of Nahuatl.

The first two pieces listed are included in the following catalogue because of their great importance. The first, while it does contain some text, is a Techialoyan manuscript, and thus has already been catalogued in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. The second, the Tovar manuscripts, do not contain any significant text in Nahuatl, but are very important primary sources for the study of Aztec culture. In the catalogue which follows the material in boldface is taken directly from the John Carter Brown card catalogue entries.

Codex

Ind. 1 Coyoacan Codex — Pictorial Codex in the Nahuatl
Language

[Mexico, c. 1700 to before 1743]
13 l.

This manuscript, acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in 1942, pertains to the group of seventeenth— and eighteenth-century documents call Techialoyan codices. This particular example comes from the village of Tetelpan, and was to help defend village territory in a land dispute. The piece is written on native amate paper, and includes paintings and glosses in Nahuatl. The Techialoyan manuscripts as a whole were often forgeries intended to lend historical precedent to a later land claim. In the case of this piece, the hand writing and painting are clearly from the later colonial period.¹²

The manuscript is included in the census of Techialoyan manuscripts by Donald Robertson in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 14, p. 269-70, *item* 713. According to that reference, the piece came from the collection of Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, via, J. Luis Bello of Puebla, to John Wise, Ltd. of New York, to Henry Dexter Sharpe, of Providence, who gave the manuscript to the John Carter Brown in 1941.

Codex

Ind. 2 Tovar, Juan de
Historia de la benida de los yndios...

[México c. 1580s]

[81 leaves, plus 32 leaves of paintings]

¹² See: Johnson, *The Book in the Americas*. p. 36, *item* 25, figs. 43 and 35.

The Tovar manuscript has been the source of significant investigation in the past few decades. The manuscript held by the John Carter Brown consists of two rather distinct parts. The first being an historical narrative of the Aztecs, the second being the pictorial manuscript of the 18-month ritual calendar. The other manuscript copy of the historical work is held in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico. These works are discussed in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 14, 223-24. Studies of the pieces held at the John Carter Brown include George Kubler and Charles Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1951) and Jacques Lafaye, *Manuscrit Tovar: Origines et croyances des Indiens du Mexique* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlag, 1972).

Codex

Ind. 7 [Sahagun, Bernardino de] d .1590

[The Dogmas of the Church and the Gospels and Epistles in Aztec.]

[Mexico, second half of the 16th century]

125 leaves, 15 cm, in case 15.5 cm 8o.

Accession 06395, 1896?

11 × 15 cm

This piece came from the important collection of Nicolas León, in about 1896.¹³

The original library cataloguing notes indicate the following organization:

1. 1-31v Dogmas of the Catholic Church and catechistical expositions including sections on sin and atonement.
2. 31v-48v On the sacraments of Holy Communion in six chapters.
3. 49-78v Exposition of the significance of various major Christian festivals, especially the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin, etc.
4. 78v A rough drawing, 2 page, pen and ink, apparently of the Resurrection.
5. 79-104 Forms in Tarascan [sic] of the offices of the Church, including Vespers and Compline, with many prayers adoring Jesus Christ or invoking the Virgin.
6. 104v-125 Further devotions in Tarascan [sic], undifferentiated with

¹³ Nicolás León, *Biblioteca mexicana* (1896), p. 25, núm. 156. "156. Sahagún [fr Bernardino]. Doctrina, Evangelios y Epístolas en Náhuatl. Ms. autógrafa de Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. 16º, grueso fragmento; un poco sucio. Siglo XVI."

apparently historical exposition running from 1520 [l. 112] to 1569 [l. 113].

Physically the manuscript is 11 × 15 cm and bound in vellum. The manuscript has separated from the binding, which does not seem to correspond to this manuscript. The vellum is 1.3 cm too small for the paper, while the ribs in the manuscript do not align with the holes in the binding. The binding was intended to hold two ribs, yet the manuscript has three. The spine is marked: "Manuscrito autógrafo del P. Sahagún." The piece is fragmentary and probably mis-bound. The original page numbers run: 3, 4, 7, 8, 5, 6, 15, 16-22, 95, 96, then chaos. There are new leaf markings in pencil. The work is completely in Nahuatl, except for brief passages in Latin, and a few Spanish words in headings: e.c. "Exemplo" f. 75v. Some pages damaged, eg. ff. 37, 68-69. Major sections begin with illuminated capitals in red or blue ink.

The work begins incomplete:

"-co moyetzticatca inic quimmouiquiliz yn ichantzincó, inic cemicac umpa quicnopilhuizque initetlamachtiaia yt[lo in nelli necuiltonolli, in nelli papaquiliztli, inaictlamiz, inaic tzunquizaz, maimmochioa.

Initlatlauhtiliztli noitechpoui y sancta ma[ria?] cencacualli.

The last section, esp. ff. 108v-115v lists indulgences and special licenses granted to the *cofradía* by popes and prelates, perhaps copied from a source printed by Pedro Ocharte in 1572. For a fuller treatment, see the introductory essay of this guide.

The library holds a rather detailed analysis of this manuscript made by Dr. Louise Burkhart in the spring of 1988. Burkhart has studied all of the known Sahagún manuscripts in the United States and concluded that this example is not part of the *corpus* of Sahagún materials. She notes that the piece contains neither Sahagún's signature nor any examples of his handwriting. Further she concludes it cannot be attributed to any of his famous school, since the level of Latin scholarship is far less developed than that achieved by his Indian students. Moreover, the claim that the second half of the text contained Tarascan material is likewise incorrect. The whole piece is Nahuatl, with some passages in Latin.

Burkhart further notes that the contents of the manuscript indicate that it was a devotional manual having to do with the religious sodality of the confraternity of the Rosary, *cofradía del rosario*. The manus-

cript contains prayers, and readings, including some Biblical translations, dealing with the Virgin Mary and Christ. Beyond this there is a concentration of interest on matters dealing with apparitions of the Virgin and the other world. Thus, taken as a whole, Burkhart feels that it indicates a work written by and for high class Indians and probably not directly under the supervision of a priest or cleric.

Codex Guzman, Pantaleon, fl. 1704

Ind. 15 Libro yntitulado Compendio de nombres en lengua Cakchiquel. . .
[Zacapula?, Guatemala], 20 October 1704
187 leaves, incl. 9 blank
14.5 × 20 cm

The work has a modern binding, with E. G. Squier imprinted at the base, and inside the ex libris of John Carter Brown-Harold Brown. On p. 189 there is a comparison of Nahuatl phrases, with Spanish translations, and their equivalent in Cakchiquel. Only three examples are given, then the text reverts to Cakchiquel and Spanish.

Codex Santos y Salazar, Manuel de los, d. 1715

Ind. 16 Colloquio yn quenin oquimaxili yn tlazomahuiz quauhnepano-
lli Sancta Cruz intlacemicnopilhuiani S[anta] Elena. Oquimo
tecpanicuilhuili B[achille]r D[on] Manuel de los Sanctos y
Salazar Cura Beneficiado y cahinco [ycatzinco] su Magestad
Vic[ar]jio y Juez Ecclesiastico ypan Altepetl Sancta Cruz Cosca
quauhatlauticpac yllo tilanal Ciudad Tlaxcalan.
[Tlaxcala?], 31 May 1714
15 leaves: numb. 1. 22 cm 40
16 × 22 cm

A devotional drama on the story of the pilgrimage of St. Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine, to the Holy Land in quest of the True Cross, and her son's conversion to Christianity by means of his celebrated dream. Other characters include St. Sylvester, the Emperor Maxentius, Licinius, Macarius a bishop and numerous friends and servants; it was intended to be plentifully accompanied by music. The author was at one time cura of San Lorenzo Quauhpiatzla; a work of his in Aztec was printed in 1811 or 1812: Tetlaocolilizpa Le huiliz Tliynic. . . (cf. Ugarte, 394); both sides of his family were Tlaxcalan nobility and several times governors of the city-state.

06491, 1896

This piece also came from the Nicolas León collection, *item* 158 in the sales catalogue. It is written completely in Nahuatl. The stage directions are underlined in red. Several pages are damaged with small loss of text. Repairs have been made, including adding lost text. The concluding inscription indicates that the piece was finished on the feast of Corpus Christi, 31 May 1714, at mid day. Other characters than those outlined above, include demons and Jews. Curiously the Emperor sits down on a *silla*, "Motlallia ypan ce silla", and not on an *icpalli*.

Beristain refers to him as "Salazar (Manuel Santos) natural de la ciudad de Tlaxcala y descendiente de las primeras y más ilustres familias de aquella noble y antigua republica." He indicates that he was curate of Coscaautlicpa. He goes on to describe this piece: "Escribió también 'Coloquio en lengua Mexicana de la Invención de la Santa Cruz por Santa Elena, escrito en el año 1714, con una pequeña pieza dramática en la misma lengua.' Existe MS en 4, en la biblioteca de la Universidad de México. En el coloquio después de hablar Constantino, hijo de Santa Elena, canta la música así:

Intlahtocayotl melahuac
Caye ynel tocatzin
In Teotl Toteyocorcatzin
Tlahtoani cemanahuac.¹⁴

Codex Vetancurt, Agustin de
Ind. 18 Nexcuitil Machiotl quimoteittitilia yn tonantzin Santa yglesia ytechpa tlatohua. CetlaTlacohuani Aic chipa hualiztica. omoyolcuiti Ocentelchihualoc Mictlan. Oquimatecpanilli Padre fray Agustin de Betancurt San francisco te [?] yenoPiltzin; San Joseph Mexico motlapielia.
Mexico, 7 May 1749
30 leaves, incl. 4 blank, 21.5 cm 4o.
15 × 21

A devotional, or miracle play in Aztec (Nahuatl). The principle character is a Don Rafael, by whose name the play was, apparently, sometimes called; other three characters include Don Juan, Don Francisco, Diego, three Demons and two Angels.

The present Ms. was self-declaredly copied in 1749 by Tomas Baldes (or, Valdes) from a Ms. version that was presumably a transcript of the original, made by Domingo Antonio in 1718. 06490, before 1900.

¹⁴ José M. Beristáin y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana septentrional*, 4 vols., 2nd ed Fortino Hipólito Vera, ed., Amecameca, Tipografía del "Colegio Católico", 1883. vol. 3, p. 91-92.

Title page continues: "Nehuatl nican niclaltepanilica ynic cacimatis yhuan ynemaquixtiloca llies yn itlacnihualtzi in totecuio Dios ytozan Maxsimimiano Jose Juarez. Facing the last page is the further note: "ynin teamox tlanonotsali; din no tlaso Ach coltsitsinhua; Axcan nehuatl o ni con tecochi; no tocan Jose Masximiano Juarez."

Located at the end of the last page of text, one finds the inscription referred to in the entry description: "Oy a 7 de Mayo de 1749 a[ños] de traslado este papel que con el titulo D[o]n Rafael; de mano y forma de Thomas Baldes original a 8 de Julio de 1718 a[no]s se traslado azoban D[o]n Domingo Ant[oni]o."

The title page and final inscription might not be of a piece with the rest. The title at the beginning of the work reads the same as on the title page but continues, after Padre fray Agustin de Betangort: "tlapitzaloz hualquizazque don Juan y don Rafael", clearly the first stage direction.

The characters include Don Juan, Don Rafael, three demons, two angels, Don Francisco, Agustin, a teopixque [priest?], a condemned one. Curiously everyone seems to be entering and leaving the scene playing flutes: "Tlapitzaloz calaquiz teopixqui zan ni cel", "Tlapitzaloz hualquizaz lo Angel...", "Tlapitzaloz calaquizque mochintin quitzalan huizque Don Francisco, Angels, oncan mocahuaz yn demonio zan y cel huel calaquiz yniclatoz."

The work carries no indication of provenance nor does not have any markings suggesting that it belonged to Nicolás León.

Codex Vetancurt Agustin de, 1620-1700

- Ind. 23 De contemptu omnium vanitatum huius mundi [the treatise ascribed to the pseudo-St. Bernardus]
 [Mexico, late 17th cen.]
 296 leaves, 1-53, 53-152, 154-165 1, 20 cm, 4o.
 In Aztec (Nahuatl, or Mexican) with quotations in Latin and annotations in Spanish.
 05382, before 1900
 bound with

Codex Vetancurt, Agustin de, 1620-1700

- Ind. 23 [Sermones Mexicanos, de las Dominicas de Adviento, i Epifania... a series of sermons in Aztec composed with one for each Sunday of the whole Church calendar.]
 [Mexico, 17th cen.]
 131 leaves

Entirely in Aztec (Nahuatl) save for occasional quotations in Latin.

A series of sermons of approximately equal length, for each Sunday of the year in the order of the Church calendar, and for other major festivals: 62 in all.

05383, before 1900

14.5 × 19.5 cm

The piece was acquired from Leon, catalog number 148. Bound in vellum with "De Contentus Mundi" on the spine. Other writing is too faint to make out.

Both pieces bear the autograph of Vetancurt, f. 165 and 295v. The final page bears the following after Vetancurt's signature: "Ynin teo-mostli ytlato [?] nonantzin cibapili dona francisca de Mendoza p[?] nico." In a different hand than the rest. The two pieces are in two different scribal hands. Both are "gothic", the first a bit freer, the second more like type.

In the *Contempu mundi* the text is in Nahuatl, written in black ink. The headings are in Latin in red ink and there are also scriptural quotations in the text in Latin, also in red ink. Later marginalia are principally in Spanish although some are clearly corrections or additions to the text in Nahuatl. In the second half of the work, the Latin text is also in black ink, introduced by a capital C in red ink. The lettering is somewhat larger than the surrounding text. Headings in Latin are still in red ink. When the pages were cut following the binding, some small parts of the marginalia and headings were lost.

The piece begins: "Inin amoxtli yuh quimmateocuitlayo inicenca qualli ynictleyo, inicmauizco amozan quenin tetechnonequi ul yehuatl ycnemiliztoco tote[cuy]o Jesucristu oncan mitouaniquenin huel telchiualoz tlalticpaccayotl."

The work consists of two books. The first is divided into 25 chapters, the second has 12.

It is curious that such a work, although religious, somewhat scholarly and not for a popular audience, might be translated into Nahuatl. What was the intended audience?

In the collection of sermons, the entire piece is in the same hand and style and only uses black ink. There are no intrusions of text and very limited marginalia.

The work begins: "Oncan pehua yntemachtli yntlachialoni ynic velmozcalizque teotlatoltica ynixquichtin yntlaxcalteca yvan ynquimati ynin tlatol: Oncan ycuiliuhoc ynreceyaca ynilhuitzin yndios ynitoca

domingo ynitlatollo ynitemachtillo ynipan mitoua yacachto onpeua ynt[otecui]o ynilhuitzin ynitoca unica prima de adviento y quitoznequi ynivlaliz into[tecui]o yn Jesu Christo ynveloncan mitoz tleica cmc tlamiz."

There is space at the beginning of each sermon for an illuminated capital, but only the last few have them, beginning on f. 230, and irregularly thereafter.

In his section on Vetancurt, spelled Betancur, Beristain lists: "MS. Sermones en Lengua Mexicana", among others. There is no reference to the De Contemptu.¹⁵

Codex Franciscans — Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México

Ind. 43 Los Difuntos

2-size Huejotzingo, Mexico, 1619-1640

Temp 64 leaves; 32 cm

22 × 32 cm supplements are 16 × 22

Some leaves damaged with loss of text.

A burial register of the native Indian population of Huejotzingo from 1619-1640; a four leaf supplement, covering the period 1582-1585 and adding more names for the period 1632-1633, is laid in. The registers appear to be written in Nahuatl.

RPJCB

32907

The work is bound in Vellum with brown leather reinforcements over ribs. Also accompanying the piece are two supplements: a one leaf supplement covering 14 Oct. 1582- 2 Mar. 1583, and a three leaf supplement for 20 July 1632- 28 July 1633. The main register runs from 3 Jan. 1619- 3 Dec. 1640. The piece ends with an inscription dated 9 June 1641, to the effect that the very Rev. P. Fr. Lucas Benitez provincial of the province of the Santo Evangelio examined the registry and found it to conform with the then current legal dispositions, until 11 Jan. 1641, at which point the parish fell to the secular clergy, "que desde entonces corre por cuenta de los clerigos por el despojo que hizieron de las doctrinas."

The entries are all in Nahuatl. Occasionally the registries were inspected by the visitador of the province to see that they were accurately kept, cf. f. 26, 10 Mar. 1626.

¹⁵ Beristáin y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, vol. 1, p. 168-9.

The records indicate a terrific infant mortality. On any given page as many as half the entries will be for children, usually referred to merely by first name, then "piltzin" and then whoever's child they were, and what village they came from. For example, from the first to the tenth of January 1624, 12 children died, as compared to only one adult (f. 23).

Many entries for women list just the given name, then "castilla xochitl", Spanish flower:

Mad[dale]na castilla xo[chi]tl micqui ytech catla callaquilli y cocalpollique poui almoyahuaca auh y testico ytocha fran[cis]co de la Pana. f. 21v.

Fran[cis]ca castilla xo[chi]tl micqui ytechca tlacallaquilli ynamic Juan perez poui atenco. f. 17.

Codex [Baustita, Juan] ed.

Sp. 75 Huehuetlatolli

Ruiz de Alarcon, Hernando

Tratado de las supersticiones de los naturales de esta Nueva España.

20-24 November, 1847

15 × 21

The examples of these works listed here were copied by J. F. Ramirez in 1847. The "Huehuetlatolli" came from an incomplete printed edition, while the "Tratado" circulated in manuscript. Neither piece contains any Nahuatl here, as they were translated into Spanish when copied. The original pieces which Ramirez copied were in the possession of D. Juan Rodriguez Puebla. They are bound with the third volume of Bernardino de Sahagún's, *Historia General* (México: Alejandro Valdés, 1830). I include them because of the curiosity value.

NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE BENSON LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

The Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas Libraries has exemplary holdings of materials in the Aztec language, Nahuatl.¹ In addition to an important group of Nahuatl manuscripts, it also holds some of the gems of early printing in the language. Thus, in the main, it is an important collection for individuals interested in Nahuatl. The Benson Collection, insofar as Nahuatl materials are concerned, comes from the two noted Mexican bibliophiles and historians, Joaquín García Icazbalceta and Genaro García. Both of these men acquired extensive collections of books and manuscripts and were noted historians and bibliophiles of the late nineteenth century.

Although Genaro García was the younger scholar, his collection was acquired by the University of Texas first, in 1934, Genaro García was trained in the law, but preferred the life of the historian and book collector. Active in politics, he served in the Mexican Congress, but gained his fame through scholarly endeavors. For a time he was the Director of the Mexican National Museum of Anthropology and History, which he reformed radically. His efforts laid the groundwork which has led to the universal fame which that institution now enjoys. In the scholarly realm he is noted for his massive publication of documents relating to the history of Mexico, which reached 43 volumes in two series.² He also was responsible for the first modern version of the history of the conquest of Mexico written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

¹ The essential guide to the collection is Carlos E. Castañeda and Jack A. Dabbs, *A Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the University of Texas Library*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939.

² Genaro García, *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México*, 36 vols., México, Viuda de Bouret, 1905-11, and *Documentos históricos mexicanos*, 7 vols., México, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1910-12.

In addition to these aspects of his career, he was also an avid collector of books and manuscripts, essential to his scholarly endeavors. This important collection contains some 25,000 printed items and over 300,000 pages of manuscript, detailing the history of Mexico from Aztec times until the 1920s. Many very important Nahuatl manuscripts can be found in this collection.

The other important collection which contributed to the Nahuatl holdings of the University of Texas was that of Joaquín García Icazbalceta.³ This collection was purchased in 1937 from his son, Luis García Pimentel. García Icazbalceta was without peer in the scholarly world of Mexico in the late nineteenth century. Although a landlord and member of the Porfirian oligarchy, his personal philosophy reflected a more enlightened perspective, and he was universally admired. García Icazbalceta was a native of Mexico City. Early in his career he became interested in the biographies of the great men and women in Mexican history, and began to publish these in periodicals. An adherent of the Positivist philosophy in history, he dedicated many years to the publication of documents from Mexican history.⁴ He also took a great interest in the sixteenth century, writing the standard biography of Mexico's first bishop, Fray Juan de Zumárraga.⁵

As with so many other intellectuals of his age, García Icazbalceta was an avid collector of rare books and manuscripts. Many of the manuscripts were subsequently edited and published in the efforts mentioned above. He catalogued the books, ultimately producing the standard bibliography for sixteenth century printing in Mexico.⁶ Many of these early imprints were in his private collection. Thus when the University of Texas acquired his collection, they also acquired a large number of Mexican incunables and precious historical manuscripts. Printing in sixteenth-century Mexico included an extraordinary number of works in Nahuatl, principally didactic Christian pieces aimed at the missionary effort among the Mexican Indians. Thus the University of Texas now

³ For a general study of García Icazbalceta's contribution to the study of Mesoamerican Indians see, Howard F. Cline, "Selected Nineteenth-Century Mexican Writers of México, 5 vols., México, Andrade y Morales, 1886-92.", *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 13, p. 383-86, 407.

⁴ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, 2 vols., México, 1858-66, and *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, 5 vols., México, Andrade y Morales, 1886-92.

⁵ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, 4 vols., 2nd ed., México, Editorial Porrúa, 1947.

⁶ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, 2nd ed., México, Fondo de Cultura, 1954.

holds many important early imprints in Nahuatl. The manuscripts in the collection amounted to over 50,000 pages, of which some 18,000 date from the sixteenth century.

In general there are five types of works which one can expect in Nahuatl manuscripts: ethnographic, gramatical and linguistic, spiritual and devotional guides, vital statistics and records, and official documents and notarial records. Nearly all Nahuatl manuscripts can be placed into one of these types, and the Benson Latin American Collection has examples of nearly all.

The ethnographic materials are perhaps the most exciting of the various types because they offer a direct look into Aztec culture. Nevertheless, because they are written in European characters, they clearly date from the colonial period. They reflect the pre-Columbian culture as remembered by the natives after the arrival of the Spanish. Many of these pieces were written in the sixteenth century to back up the claims made by the Indians of that era on the basis that whatever practice or privilege that they claimed had been enjoyed by them since time immemorial. Important examples of this type of document are the "Romances de los señores de la Nueva España" held by the Benson Collection.⁷

The number of ethnographic pieces held in the United States is quite limited. One group of manuscripts which in general do not include material in Nahuatl, but which do shed light on the Aztec culture following the conquest are the *Relaciones geográficas* of 1579-85.⁸ The largest collection of these is also held by the Benson Collection, as part of the Joaquín García Icazbalceta papers. A total of 167 relaciones have been identified. Of that total 41 texts with 35 maps are housed at the University of Texas, the largest repository after the Archivo General de las Indias, in Seville. The *relaciones* are replies to official questionnaires which sought information on fifty different items. Included in the questions were several which requested details about pre-Columbian beliefs, rituals, land holdings and other ethnographic information. As noted, few of these replies include material in Nahuatl. One which does is the famous reply of Juan Baustista Pomar for Texcoco, which includes the "Romances" noted above.

The second type of documentation usually found in Nahuatl are

⁷ See below for a fuller discussion of this important manuscript.

⁸ See articles by Howard F. Cline, Donald Robertson, and H. R. Harvey, *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 12, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1972, 183-395.

grammars, dictionaries, glossaries, and other grammatical and linguistic materials. The Benson Collection contains two pieces of this type both dating from the eighteenth century, one entitled "Metodo facil y breve para aprender el ydioma mexicano," the other a glossary entitled "Diccionario selecto mexicano".

The third category of Nahuatl manuscripts, and perhaps representing the most pieces, comprises devotional and spiritual works. In this category are sermonaries, lectionaries, confessional guides, and pieces written to direct private prayer and spiritual exercises. Although one might conclude that these works would be the least likely of all to provide information on pre-Columbian society and belief, in actual fact, recent scholarship is disproving that assumption.⁹ Several manuscripts of this type are held in the Benson Collection, including several sermonaries, such as the "Sermones mexicanos" and "Teotlatol nemachtiloni" of the sixteenth century and the "Cuadernos en lengua indigena" of the seventeenth.

Another common type of document written in Nahuatl held in United States repositories is that of vital statistics. The norm in the sixteenth century among priests serving in Nahuatl speaking villages was to record births, marriages and deaths in the Indian language. Many of these parish registries were somehow lost to their original villages and eventually reached libraries. Nevertheless, the quantity which remains in the rural parishes is impressive. None of these, however, has been acquired by the Benson Collection.

The last category, and certainly the most diverse, is of official documents, notarial records, law suits and petitions. One clear truth about Aztecs under Spanish rule was that they eagerly sought the benefits of Spanish jurisprudence. This is seen in the thousands of lawsuits raised by natives and their communities in the courts of colonial Mexico. At the end of the sixteenth century a special judicial system was created just to deal with suits involving Indians.¹⁰ Beyond this, the benefits of literacy were greatly appreciated by the Indians. Soon notaries became common in Indian villages. Their town councils conducted business in the presence of scribes who recorded the deliberations. But what is so very interesting is that all of these records, judicial, notarial and public,

⁹ For a fine recent study of Nahua beliefs using Christian didactic works as a point of departure, see, Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico*, Tucson, AZ, University of Arizona Press, 1989.

¹⁰ Woodrow Borah, *Justice by Insurance*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983.

were kept in Nahuatl. Thus, many of these materials can now be found in United States repositories. The Benson Collection, as will be seen, holds part of an account book from the municipal council of the Indian community of Mexico City, Tenochtitlan.

In recent years a great deal of interest has been given to this last category of documentation. It was launched and promoted by James Lockhart and others who sought to go beyond the codices and open up colonial Nahuatl materials to historians.¹¹ Subsequent to his efforts there have been major studies of collections of wills and testaments, land ownership, and municipal council records, all from Nahuatl sources.¹²

The Nahuatl manuscript holdings of the Benson Latin American Collection include several pieces of tremendous importance. Perhaps the most important of all is the piece entitled the "Romances de los señores de la Nueva España." This is a collection of Aztec poetry, copied in about 1582 and included as part of the *Relación geográfica* for the city of Texcoco by Juan Bautista Pomar. Along with the "Cantares mexicanos", "held in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico, this is one of the few surviving examples of pre-Columbian poetry, *in xochitl in cuicatil*. Within recent years there has been a tremendous growth of interest in these works.

Ángel María Garibay originated the modern study of Nahuatl poetry in two important works, his three volume *Poesía Náhuatl*, where he presented the cream of Aztec poetry, in the original Nahuatl and Spanish glosses, and his *Historia de la literatura Nahuatl*,¹³ a general study of Azteca letters in two volumes. The first volume of his collection of poetry contains the "Romances", the second and third the "Cantares". His study of Nahuatl literature, however, focuses attention principally on the "Cantares" manuscript. Nevertheless, continuing scholarship has demonstrated the close connection between the "Romances" and the "Cantares". The general structure of the works and the similarities between them has been studied admirably by James Lockhart and Frances Karttunen.¹⁴ Furthermore, Miguel León-Portilla, a student of Garibay

¹¹ Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices*, Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press, 1976.

¹² As an example of this research see: S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhucan: Social History of an Aztec Town, 1580-1600*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

¹³ Ángel María Garibay, *Poesía Náhuatl*, 3 vols., México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964-68, and *Historia de la Literatura Náhuatl*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., México, Editorial Porrúa, 1971.

¹⁴ Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, "La estructura de la poesía náhuatl vista por sus variantes, *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 1980, vol. 14, p. 15-64.

and noted expert in Nahuatl studies in Mexico has further expanded our knowledge of Nahuatl poetry in his books on Aztec poets, and articles on the nature of Nahuatl poetry and poetics.¹⁵ Moreover, John Bierhorst has recently completed a transcription, translation, and controversial analysis of the "Cantares."¹⁶ The "Romances" manuscript, thus is basic to the continuing study of Aztec poetry.

The "Romances" manuscript is described in great detail in the first volume of Garibay's collection of Nahuatl poetry. He notes in his study of the 42 leaves of the manuscript, that leaf 33 has been missing since before the piece was acquired by Texas. Garibay identified a total of 60 poems, which function as parts of a much larger poetic scheme. This larger scheme consists of four sections. Within the whole are groups of poems from Chalco, Tezcoco, and Huexotzingo, plus some parts which contain mixed poems from all three. The bulk of the poems, 38 of the total, come from Tezcoco, but one must also remember that the compilation was made in Tezcoco and submitted to the Spanish crown as part of an official report.

The content of the "Romances" is of crucial importance in studying the Aztec past. The poems do not describe the religious thought of the Aztecs but rather give glimpses into the history, social structure, and political world prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The pieces are very complex, insofar as in addition to standard poetic text there is also metrical or rhythmic notation, either embedded in the poetic line, or following it. This has historically made the transcription and deciphering of the poetic text very complicated. Similarly, the orthography is very difficult. It looks as if the scribe were pressed for time. Lastly the physical qualities of the quill and paper have left a very unclear text with which to deal. To give an example of these difficulties let us consider the transcription and gloss of one passage, first by Garibay, then by Karttunen and Lockhart. The passage chosen is the second stanza of poem 45 in Garibay's structural analysis, ff. 26v-27r. For Karttunen and Lockhart the stanza is the fourth physical stanza, second thematic, of the poem of Quaquauhtzin, *principal* of Tepexpan.

Garibay: ¹⁷

¹⁵ Among others see: Miguel León-Portilla, *Filosofía Náhuatl*, 3rd. ed., México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966; *Trece poetas del mundo azteca*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1967.

¹⁶ John Bierhorst, *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1985.

¹⁷ Garibay, *Poesía Náhuatl*, vol. 1, p. 70.

Cuel zan xon ahuiyacan
 ma ya hual moquetza
 a inyollo in cocohua
 in o ya hual acic
 on ya moquetza Aya
 in cuicanitl Ayyohuiya.

Por breve tiempo gozad:
 preséntense aquí
 aquellos que tienen doliente
 el corazón
 Ya llegó,
 Ya está presente el cantor.

Karttunen and Lockhart: ¹⁸ (Rhythmic material is in boldface)

cuelca xonahuiyacan in ma ya hualmoq~ca a yyolo nicicicihua ca nique-
 hua cuicatl i oyahualacic a oyamq~caco ya y~ cuicanitl a yyo huia

Ahora gozad; que se pare aquí él cuyo corazón haya yo agraviado.
 Elevo el canto; ya llegó, ya se paró el cantor.

Clearly the presence of the rhythmic material at the end of lines and stanzas indicates something about the piece, but the embedded material complicates the analysis far more. In this instance, the difference between the two glosses is minor, but the potential for different readings is clearly inherent. This, among other considerations, makes both the "Romances" and the "Cantares" of tremendous importance in Nahuatl studies.

Two further manuscripts in the Benson Collection are of great importance to scholars of Nahuatl and the Aztec past. These are both listed as codices in the existing catalogue. One, called the "Anales de Tecamachalco," has been published. The other consists of treasury accounts of the Indian town council of Mexico City. Together they show important aspects of Indian life before and after the conquest.

The "Anales de Tecamachalco" is forty leaves long, and narrates the important events of that community from approximately 1399 until 1590. The piece uses a combination of Aztec and European dates. Before 1519 only Aztec dates appear, while afterward both systems are used. The first date is 10 rabbit, which a later hand, in pencil, has identified as 1399. The information given for the earliest periods is very fragmentary. This limited coverage ends in the 1540s. From that point until the end of the piece the quantity of historical detail increases notably. Of particular interest are the accounts of annual election to the municipal council, the arrival of local magistrates, and the tenures of viceroys. In spite of some clear limitations, it stands as an impressive document.

¹⁸ Karttunen and Lockhart, "La estructura", p. 46-47.

The second manuscript, as noted, is part of an account book for the Indian community of Mexico City. The Spaniards in many ways developed a political system under which the native communities were largely self-governing, within limits placed by the Spanish. This self-governance is reflected in the native town councils of many important cities, of which Mexico City-Tenochtitlan was the premier. The records included in this manuscript consist of pay orders to various municipal officials. There are also petitions to the Royal Audiencia, and other very interesting documents. One leaf contains the glyph of Tenochtitlan on what seems to be a salary list for 1564, paid March 11, 1567.

The Benson Latin American Collection also holds three sets or fragments of sets of sermons. The largest of these dates from the sixteenth century and carries the title of "Teotlatol nemachtiloni ipan in nahuacopa." While most collections of sermons follow the Bible readings assigned for Sundays and major feasts through the year, these sermons deal with doctrinal questions. The work also contains didactic material on parochial administration and what could be dialogues wherein the Devil appears as a protagonist.

The seventeenth-century collection of sermons is catalogued as "Cuadernos en lengua indigena." Nevertheless, the piece is a collection of fragments of at least three sermons on lessons from the Gospels of John and Matthew. It also contains a fragment of one sermon in Spanish, which might have been a draft for later translation into Nahuatl.

The third sermonary dates from the eighteenth century. Again this is a fragmentary work, with bits and pieces of various sermons. They deal not only with Biblical lessons, but also some sermons on the sacraments of extreme unction and ordination. Internal evidence links these pieces with Lic. don Rafael Sandoval, professor of language at the Jesuit College of Tepozotlan.

On manuscript entitled "Sermones mexicanos" in actual fact is a collection of translations of Gospel readings for the year. The collection is not complete, lacking whole seasons, such as Lent and Holy Week. Yet from after Easter until Advent, the longest part of the Church year, the coverage is nearly complete. Although the piece seems to date from the sixteenth century, there are later additions and corrections, in some cases heavy, which could date from significantly later periods.

Other manuscripts in the collection include an eighteenth century grammar of Nahuatl and a dictionary, also dating from the eighteenth century. These pieces, while of some interest, are not as unique as others in the collection.

Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Benson Latin American Collection
of the University of Texas Library

- G2 [555] Códice Indígena. 1399-1590. 40ff. 21.5 × 16.
[Anales de Tecamachalco] Published: Antonio Peñafiel, *Co-
lección de documentos para la historia mexicana*, vol. 5
(1902).

This piece is a chronicle from Tecamachalco, near Tepeaca. It covers the dates indicated by the entry. Initially the author uses only Aztec year names, thus beginning in 10 *tochtli*; a later hand, in pencil, has added the equivalent Christian dates. The text itself does not include Christian dates until 1519: "1 acatl xiuitl. ypan yn uallahque yn españoles nican no enasspañia yndiotlalpan ypan 19 aureu 1519 años." The use of "Yndiotlalpan" is extremely curious.

The structure of the work basically follows the important political and religious events of the period, such as, the arrival and death of prelates, viceroys, and the selection of Indian town officers.

- G42 [561] Códice Indígena. 1564-1565.
23ff. 32 × 22.
At least four sheets are smaller.

This account book, reminiscent of the *Codex Sierra*, uses principally the money glyph, but some others do appear, especially f. 7, the place glyph for Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

The documents pertain to the Indian town council of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. They are libranzas for salaries and costs incurred by the council members. The place glyph stands at the beginning of what seems to be the annual salary allocation. There is also a petition, in Spanish, from the council to the Royal Audiencia requesting permission to spend community funds on the medical expenses and maintenance of the Indian governor, don Luis de Santa María.

- G234 [608] Cortes Coronel y Casasola, Juan Nicolas. Estaciones o
Via Cruzis en el Idioma Mexicano... 1783. 13 pp.
21.5 × 15.

According to the full title of the work this devotional guide was written in 1756 while Cortes Coronel was the curate of Zongolica. At the time this version was copied he had become curate of Chiautla de

la Sal. The prayers are those associated with the stations of the cross, with the respective preparatory and concluding acts. One curious aspect of the Nahuatl of this piece is the author's use of /th/ for /t/: "Ntheotzine" rather than "Noteotzine."

The manuscript was first owned by Josef Vicente Cortez.

JGI 976 Declaración y exposición de la doctrina Christiana: en lengua espanola y mexicana: echa por los religiosos de la Orden de Sancto Domingo. 1548 [1775] 167ff.
20 × 15.

This is a manuscript copy dating from 1775 of a work published in Mexico in 1548.

The work is written in dual columns with the Spanish on the left, Nahuatl on the right. The manuscript has some minor binding problems, in that the "Table of Contents" unfortunately has the "Prologue" placed in the middle of it. The actual order should be Prologue then Table.

The actual "doctrina" is not a catechistic work, but rather takes the form of 40 sermons on important theological issues. The coverage of each sermon is dictated by the importance of the material. The first article of divinity (that there is one true God) is covered by sermons 2 and 3. Sermon 4 covers the second through fourth article (that The Father is God, Jesus is God, and the Holy Spirit is God), while sermons 5-8 are all dedicated to the exposition of the fifth article (the belief in a single Triune God). As a result, having delivered all of the 40 sermons, the entire exposition of Christian doctrine would have been complete.

The copy has some corrections where half pages have been cut out and glued back.

At the end of the work there are 17ff. in a different hand, entitled "Pláticas y Admoniciones sobre los Siete Sacramentos." This added piece contains no Nahuatl.

JGI 979 Metodo facil y breve para aprender el Ydioma mexicano. 14ff. [18th cen.] 15 × 10.

This small work is a very brief exposition of the language. It begins with pronunciation and orthography, pronouns and possessives, and reverentials. It then covers adjectives, particles, and verb conjugation. The piece seems to have been written by someone using a monogram containing the following letters: CALPD.

G59 [980] Romances de los señores de la nueva españa.
42ff. 22 × 16. 1582

This is one of the two most famous collections of Nahuatl poetry, the complement to the "Cantares mexicanos," held by the Biblioteca Nacional de México. The manuscript here is bound along with Juan Bautista Pomar's reply to the *Relación geográfica* questionnaire, describing Tezcoco, dated 9 March 1582. The two pieces were clearly written by the same scribe and are very much one piece. The "Romances" were copied from another source, since one can see where the scribe went back and made corrections. The handwriting is not as clear as one would wish. This, and the corrections, leads one to believe that the scribe was under time pressure to copy the work.

JGI 981 Sermones Mexicanos [sic.]
70ff. 20.5 × 14.5.
[16th cen.]

This work is entitled "Evangelios en lengua mexicana y latina de todo el año," translations of the Gospel readings for the year, not a collection of sermons, as implied by the title. It is written in a two-column format with the original Vulgate selection on the right and the Nahuatl translation on the left.

According to the table of contents some Sundays are not included in the translations, such as the third through fifth Sundays after Epiphany, at least half of Lent and Holy Week, and a few high feast days. Nevertheless, the largest period of the Church year, following Easter on until Advent, is covered completely.

The translations were subject to later revisions, in some cases heavy. For example the selection from Matthew 17, for the Feast of the Transfiguration has been heavily revised, ff. 18-19. In other instances marginal additions have been made in a slightly different, but seemingly contemporary, hand.

JGI 982 Sermones Mexicanos.
37ff. 21.5 × 15.
[18th cen.]

This is, as the name indicates, a small collection of Nahuatl sermons. The first section is paginated 229-256, and entitled "De las yndulgencias, jubileos, y de la agua bendita." Following that come sermons on the sacraments of Extreme Unction and Ordination.

The second section has no introductory material but starts right off with a sermon on the Old Testament story of King Acab, Jezebel, and others. The next sermon was written, in part, on a half-clean piece of paper which had been addressed to Lic. don Rafael Sandoval, language professor at the Jesuit College of Tepozotlan, perhaps the author of the sermons. This next sermon was obviously still in the polishing stages as evidenced by numerous corrections. It had as its purpose the promotion of missions.

The collection holds two more sermons: one on the Trinity and the Virgin, also heavily revised; the last, a clean copy, concerning the Crucifixion.

JGI 984 Teotlatol Nemachtiloni ipan in Nahuacopa.
169ff. 19.5 × 14.5.
[16th cen.]

This work is incomplete. It begins in the Third Book on leaf 92.

The manuscript is a doctrinal work presenting the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. The first part, which corresponds to the Third Book, as noted, discusses the teachings of God and the Church. It ends on f. 166v. Then follows 30 admonitions based on St. Jerome, to f. 204v. After that comes the declaration of the sacraments of the Church. A marginal note indicates that this section on the sacraments should have immediately followed Book Three. The section on the sacraments concludes on f. 227v. The final and last section deals with the ecclesiastical virtue of Mercy. This section consists of paragraphs, numbered in the margins, which focus on a whole range of problems of parochial administration. Curiously in this section the Devil appears as one of the characters in teaching the doctrine of the Church. The name, perhaps of the author, at the end has been written over.

JGI 985 Vocabulario Mexicano.
150pp. 15.5 × 11.
1788

Internal evidence indicates that the title of this manuscript should be "Diccionario selecto mexicano." The piece was written by someone in the parish of San Lucas Evangelista Iztapalapa, in April, 1788. It consists of two parts. The first part of 62 unnumbered pages glosses Spanish verbs into Nahuatl. The second part contains 88 numbered pages and gives Nahuatl glosses for Spanish nouns. In both parts ample

room was left at the end of each letter's entry for placing additional words and glosses. The Spanish words are in general alphabetical order within each letter heading, but not absolutely.

EOG F11 Cuadernos en lengua indígena.
30ff. 22 × 16.
[17th cen.]

There are three pieces in this holding. All the physical evidence indicates that they at one time were bound together, and have consecutively numbered leaves in a hand later than that of the text. The manuscripts seem to be sermons on specific Gospel readings. The first piece begins with a sermon on John 19, but is followed by three or four fragments. The second piece could contain three sermons, possibly on Matthew 11. The last piece begins with a Spanish draft of a sermon on the crucifixion, followed by two Nahuatl sermons on texts from John 6, in different ink from the Spanish.

