

GUÍAS DE MANUSCRITOS EN NAHUATL
CONSERVADOS EN

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY (CHICAGO)

THE LATIN AMERICAN LIBRARY OF
TULANE UNIVERSITY

THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY (CHICAGO)

The collection of Nahuatl manuscripts held by the Newberry Library, in Chicago, while not being the largest of its kind in the United States, certainly contains some of the most important individual works. All of the pieces are part of the Edward E. Ayer collection and were acquired before 1911. Many of these pieces have long been recognized as truly exceptional works, while others have only recently been identified. As a whole, the Ayer collection of books and manuscripts is one of the finest dealing with the North American Indian and colonial Latin America, Mexico in particular.

Edward E. Ayer was a tycoon of the late nineteenth century who made his fortune supplying ties to the growing railway companies. Early in his life he discovered the fascinating history of cultural contact between the native peoples of North America and the European colonizers. This interest dictated the course of his acquisitions. The collection, when incorporated in the library, numbered about 14 000 volumes of books and manuscripts. The endowment established at that time has allowed for the subsequent purchase of an additional 65 000 volumes; 6 000 more volumes were added by Mr. Ayer following the formal donation in 1911. The bulk of the Nahuatl manuscripts entered the Ayer collections before 1900, and the provenance of many is simply unknown.

The Newberry Library, itself, is incorporated in the state of Illinois as a free public library. It is open to all interested users, although the patrons of the library have historically been scholars. The materials are freely available within the library, and many are available on microfilm, thus facilitating their use.

The Nahuatl materials can be classified into several distinct types. One is Christian didactic works cast in the native language. Another is Spanish legal records written in Nahuatl. Grammatical or linguistic works, such as the various "Artes de la lengua mexicana" or "Vocabularios" constitute a third type. The Ayer collection is particularly strong in early imprints of this type, but holds only one manuscript. A fourth type, native pictorial manuscripts, is well

represented, but has already been catalogued in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*.¹

While it is difficult to rate the Nahuatl manuscripts against one another, certain items have achieved a great reputation by virtue of their content or author. Included among these must be the three pieces known to have been written by Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, plus two others which are either his works or attributable to the Indian students working as his assistants. Another important piece consists of fragments of a devotional work written either by the Jesuit Father Horacio Carochoi or by one of his school under his tutelage. The last two are collections of papers concerning the Indian communities of Cuitlahuac and Santiago Tlatelolco. A complete, annotated guide to all the manuscripts follows this essay.

Because of Sahagún's standing among scholars of the Aztec world, his manuscripts must rank among the prizes of the collection. Within Sahagún's conception of his overall *obra*, the well-known *Historia general* and *Florentine Codex*, were to be merely one part of the general undertaking. Matching them in importance were his linguistic and doctrinal efforts. Representative of the former was a tri-lingual dictionary of Nahuatl, Spanish and Latin, and an "Arte de la lengua". The *Postilla* was to be his contribution in the missionary realm.²

For Sahagún there were three basic necessities for the missionary in the field. First was a knowledge of the language, as represented by his dictionary and grammar. Second was a thorough understanding of the pre-conquest culture and religious system, as presented in the *Historia general*, in order to better fight continuing idolatry. Last was an exposition of the Christian doctrine using vocabulary and concepts the natives could understand, as embodied in the *Postilla*. Within this century the culmination of two of these endeavors have finally reached print. Notably in the various editions of the *Historia general*, and definitive studies of the *Florentine Codex*.³

¹ John B. Glass, "A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts", *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 16 vols. (Austin, 1964-75), vol. 14, 3-80.

² For discussions of Sahagún's didactic intent see: Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún* (México, 1952); Munro Edmonson, *Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1974); Luis Nicolau d'Olwer and Howard F. Cline, "Bernardino de Sahagún", *HMAI*, vol. 13, 186-239.

³ The standard editions of each are: Ángel María Garibay, ed., *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, 4 vols. (México, 1956); and Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, 13 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1960-1982).

In the late nineteenth century, Bernardo Biondelli published the tri-lingual Aztec, Spanish, and Latin dictionary, and the Biblical selections of the canonical year cast in Nahuatl, a lectionary.⁴ Nevertheless, the sermons and other didactic, moral philosophic works remain unprinted, and are largely unknown at the present. These form the core of the Sahagún manuscripts of the Newberry Library.

Specifically four manuscripts in the Ayer collection come from Sahagún's *Postilla*. These are the sermons, the "Exercicios quotidianos", the "Veynte y seis addiciones", and the Appendix. One other manuscript, a series of admonitions, remains in very fragmentary condition, although it is undoubtedly a continuation of the Appendix. These four pieces, and one fragment, are catalogued under three entries, Ayer Ms. 1484-6. All are unquestionably by Sahagún, since two bear the friar's autograph, another an inscription attributing authorship to him, while the last piece and fragment are in the same hand as other known Sahagún works.

Before dealing with an analysis of these works a few comments on their provenance are in order. The first known holder of the manuscripts was the noted Mexican collector and bibliophile José Fernando Ramírez. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century he acquired these, and other, manuscripts from the Franciscan monastery library of Mexico City. At one point he offered his collection of books and manuscripts to the Mexican nation to form the basis of a National Library, on the condition that he be appointed as curator-librarian with a government salary. When this offer was rejected, and political conditions proved dangerous, he fled to Europe, in 1851, selling his house in Durango and many books, retaining some 20 boxes of other material.⁵ He continued to collect, and upon his death in 1871 part of his collection returned to Mexico to Alfredo Chavero, who purchased it from the Ramírez estate. Chavero was an equally famous historian and collector. In his piece on Sahagún, Chavero described these, and other Sahagún manuscripts in some detail.⁶ From Chavero many of the works passed to Manuel Fernández del Castillo, yet another historian and bibliophile, on the condition that they not be sold abroad. Nevertheless, most of the collection went on the auction block in London,

⁴ Bernardo Biondelli, *Evangelium epistolarium et lectionarium Aztecum sive Mexicanum* (Mediolani, 1858) and *Glossarium Azteco-Latinum et Latino-Aztecum* (Mediolani, 1869).

⁵ Howard F. Cline, "Selected Nineteenth-Century Mexican Writers on Ethnohistory", *HMAI*, vol. 13, p. 375.

⁶ Alfredo Chavero, *Sahagún* (México, 1877).

in 1880, contrary to the earlier stipulation. Most of the pieces from this collection which would end up in Ayer's possession were purchased at the auction as part of a block speculative acquisition by Bernard Quaritch, a London rare book dealer. In 1886, Quaritch offered these, and other pieces, for sale at fixed prices. At that time they passed into the Ayer collection, along with several other pieces, as will be seen later.

The center piece of the Sahagún manuscripts is the *sermonario*. The exact title is "Siguense unos sermones de dominicas y de santos. . ." The work has Sahagún's signature at the beginning, following an explanatory paragraph in Spanish, and another at the end of the series of Sunday sermons. As noted in the title, there are two parts to the work, around of regular Sunday sermons, plus a collection of sermons for important saints' days. Neither of the parts is complete in the manuscript. The large (24 cm. x 39.5 cm.) pages are made of maguey paper. The text is in a copyist's hand, probably an Indian student of Sahagún, while there are holograph comments, additions, and explanations in the margins by Sahagún. According to the introductory paragraph Sahagún began the sermons in 1540, but it was not until 1563 that he revised and corrected them.

The sermons begin with the first Sunday of Advent, the beginning of the canonical year, and should run to the 28th Sunday after Pentecost. But the regular dominical sermonary is incomplete, ending one of the sermons for the 19th Sunday after Pentecost and picking up again with the last sermon of the last Sunday before Advent. For each Sunday there are four pieces. The first of these selections is probably common to all, consisting of a general exposition on the readings of the day. The subsequent three selections were probably meant to be rotated on a three year cycle. Thus, every year the parishioners would hear the same introductory section with a varying second half in accordance with some rotating cycle. It might also merely present four variant sermons on each theme. Either insures that certain basic philosophical points were constantly imparted, with some variation from year to year to avoid repetition. Each selection begins with a one-line quote in Latin from the Gospel reading for the day. The "Santoral" or annual cycle of sermons for saints' days is also fragmentary. It begins with the feast of Saint Andrew and ends during the third sermon for the feast of Saint John, a total of only seven leaves.

The work is still in the original soft leather binding with traces of lettering on the cover. This collection of sermons is essential in

understanding Sahagún's didactic principles. He was committed to the spreading of the Gospel in a form and manner which would be understandable and intelligible to the Aztecs. Thus the sermons are a careful interweaving of Aztec moral philosophy and belief with Catholic dogma and belief. In spite of the friar's clear affinity for the Aztecs to whom he ministered and dedicated his life, he felt them to be less capable than Spaniards to embrace the Gospel, and always prone to apostasy. These two notions form the essential justifications for his work. The sermons were written "a la medida de la capacidad de los indios".

The second piece of this group, which might have occupied the first place in the organization of the *Postilla*, is the "Exercicios quotidianos". The primacy of these exercises within the *Postilla* can be shown by the opening line: "Comienç^a un exercicio en lengua mexicana..." All of the other components of the work begin with "siguense". Still unknown to us is the placement of Sahagún's Bible translations published by Biondelli. Logically they would have preceded the sermonary, following the exercises. The exercises are not entirely of Sahagún's own creation. In the introductory paragraph he states: "Este exercicio hallé entre los yndios". He goes on to comment that he neither knew who the author was, nor how it came to the Indians. Seeing the errors within the exposition he set about rewriting it, and, in effect, composed the piece anew. It is dated 1574. Specifically the work consists of Biblical readings and meditations for each day of the week. There is an introductory section of three leaves. Each day, then, has from four to twelve leaves devoted to it. Although the piece is predominantly written in Nahuatl, the opening line of each Bible selection is given in Latin, as usual. There is a limited use of Spanish, specifically in the section dealing with the Eucharist. In this part, Sahagún quotes the Latin liturgy, gives a Spanish gloss, and then explains the ceremony and significance in Nahuatl. This, more than any other section, clearly demonstrates the tri-lingual nature of his early work in the language, as will be discussed more fully later.

Following the exercises, lectionary, and sermons, come the "Addiciones" to the *Postilla*. Within the Ayer collection there are two copies of the additions. One complete, the other a fragment. The complete version bears "sissors and paste" corrections to create a nearly totally Nahuatl work. The incomplete version maintains vestiges of Spanish in the chapter headings. This work is entitled "Siguense veynte y seis addiciones desta Postilla" and carries Saha-

gún's signature. According to the prologue it was concluded in 1579 after many years of polishing. Specifically the additions is an exposition of the three theological virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity. Chapters 1-3 deal with faith; Chapter 4 with hope, Chapters 5-9 with charity. The subsequent chapters deal with more specific topics following this scheme: Chapter 10, charity towards one's neighbor (*prójimo*); Chapters 11-13, self-charity; Chapters 14-17, neighborly love; Chapters 18-20, the order of love; Chapters 21-24, love of one's enemies; Chapter 25, the pains of hell; Chapter 26, the glory of heaven; and Chapter 27, death and judgement.

In the prologue to the "Adiciones," Sahagún states his belief that these chapters/contain all the necessary moral philosophy for the good Christian. Secondly their simple presentation will explain the theological virtues, plus the heavenly and infernal expectations. The friar believes that these selections could also be beneficial to the missionary providing additional subjects for sermons, without having to search endlessly through doctrinal works. The parishioners would likewise benefit by receiving more doctrine, by developing a yearning for truth, and by gaining satisfaction at understanding what was preached to them.

The last piece which can conclusively be included within the *Postilla* is the "Apéndice". This work is a general condemnation of pre-Columbian religious beliefs, and especially a treatise on the role of the devil in pre-conquest life. While it is not signed, or otherwise explicitly attributed to Sahagún, it is clearly a part of the *Postilla*. On leaves 4 and 4 verso are the headings "De la Postilla". Furthermore the work is written in the hand of one of Sahagún's scribes, Alonso Vegerano.⁷

The piece is the conclusion of a larger series of admonitions, *teno-notzaliztli*, a fragment of which is included with it. According to Chavero, Sahagún wrote a "Tratado de siete colaciones muy Doctrinales y Morales", a thorough condemnation of pre-Columbian ritual. The fragment which accompanies the appendix contains parts of the fifth and seventh admonitions and all of the sixth. The appendix and the admonitions are certainly just fragments of a single piece.⁸ Dibble has compared these with sections of the *Florentine Codex* and found that the sixth admonition corresponds to Chapter 22 of Book 6, while the seventh corresponds to Chapter 40 of the same

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84; Nicolau d'Olwer, *Sahagún*, p. 108.

⁸ Nicolau d'Olwer supports the notion that the "colaciones" was a part of the Appendix. Furthermore, the text is continuous.

book.⁹ This is the book dealing with Moral Rhetoric, or the famous *Huehuetlatolli*. But there is an important difference. In the appendix, Sahagún changed the declarations from the second person singular to the third person, and in the revision discredited the former rhetoric. Viewed this way, the appendix takes on tremendous importance within the overall *obra* of Sahagún. One must envision the beginning of the total work as the *Historia General-Florentine Codex*, followed by the *Postilla*, as outlined ending with the appendix, which rejects the moral, philosophical basis of the *Florentine Codex* in favor of the Christian system.

There are, however, some disquieting aspects about the appendix. Dibble argues that Sahagún avoided the term "Tonantzin" especially in referring to the Virgen Mary, "...not Tonantzin, but *dios ynantzin*; this satanic invention appears in the order to palliate idolatry..."¹⁰ This is all the more clear since Tonantzin was a popular name for a pre-Columbian goddess. Nevertheless, in the appendix, Sahagún refers to the Mother Catholic Church as "tonantzin santa yglesia romana". Likewise, in the sermons he does refer to Mary as *Tonantzin*.

Sahagún is clearly accepted as the author of the manuscripts discussed above. Nevertheless, there are other manuscripts in the Ayer collection which do not enjoy this certainty. Two pieces in particular were acquired from Ramírez, via Chavero, Fernández del Castillo, Quaritch, and Ayer, which have only been generally identified. One of these is a selection of *Bible* readings in Nahuatl. The manuscript, Number 1467 in the Ayer collection, was initially attributed to Fr. Alonso de Molina, but at some point either Ayer or a curator noted, "There is no evidence that Molina translated this." Many authorities credit Molina with having translated the dominical *Bible* selections into Nahuatl, no copy of which is known to exist. Likewise, as we know, Sahagún also translated these selections, available in a modern publication by Biondelli. The Ayer manuscript under consideration here differs significantly from the Biondelli piece. The actual translations differ as does the organization. As with various sermonaries, Ms. 1467 follows the canonical year, beginning with Advent, passing through the 28th Sunday after Pentecost, and followed by various important Saints' days. Furthermore, the manuscript contains more selections for the important

⁹ Charles E. Dibble, "The Nahuatlization of Christianity", in Edmonson, *Sixteenth-Century*, pp. 225-33. ,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

feasts of the year, including not only the Sunday readings but daily passages for such holidays as Holy Week. Ascencion, Pentecost, etc. On the other hand, Sahagún's known lectionary begins with special holidays, such as the daily readings for Lent, Holy Week, etc., then the normal calendrical series beginning with the First Sunday of Advent, continuing by Sundays, followed by the major Saints' days.¹¹ Thus, the organization of the two works is somewhat different. Furthermore, the actual translation of the Biblical passages differs between the Biondelli text and the Ayer manuscript. (See Chart) Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Ayer lectionary is in fact a Sahagún manuscript.

Romans 13

Biondelli

Noteiccahuane, yeanquimomachítia, cayeimman yequalcan inti-taque, intoquetzazque. Auh inaxcan cacenca yeizca intomaquixtiloca, inamoyuh yehuecauh iniquac canoc titlaneltocaya.

Ayer Ms. 1467

Noteyccauane, yeanquimomachtin, cayeimman ye qualcan inticazque, intitoquetcazq̃. Auh ynaxcan cacenca yeizuitz intomaquixtilloca, yn amo yuh titomatia, yeoquiz in youalli: otlatuic.

The strongest evidence in favor of such an attribution is the testimony of other scholars. Luis Nicolau d'Olwer and Chavero consider this to be an early version of Sahagún's *Epistola et Evangelium* which was published by Biondelli.¹² The history of the manuscript tends to bear this out.

The exact history of Ayer manuscript 1467 is unknown. Very few of the pieces in the Ayer collection have well established provenances. The only thing known for certain about the lectionary is that Ayer purchased it before his general gift to the library, and that he purchased it in the belief that it was a Molina translation of the lectionary. It possibly came from the Ramírez collection. Ramírez and Chavero both describe a work very much like this one. That

¹¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta: *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI* (México, 1954), pp. 287-91, 486.

¹² Chavero, *Sahagún*, p. 30; Nicolau d'Olwer and Cline, "Sahagún", p. 204.

manuscript was sold along with so many others in the London sale of 1880 and Quaritch purchased it. The work never appeared in a subsequent Quaritch catalogue, implying that he sold it privately. Ayer, if he did keep records of his purchases, did not provide the Newberry with acquisition records of his gifts. One major flaw mars this possible line of accession. The manuscript described in detail by Ramírez, Chavero, and the 1880 sale catalogue reputedly had 74 leaves. The manuscript in the Ayer collection has just over 274 leaves. Other than that the descriptions are exact: a manuscript in "quarto menor" written in red and black ink; the initial Biblical citations in red, the Nahuatl translations in black, with ornate initials even the title, within reasonable limits, is exactly the same. The best possible explanation is that for some reason the three sources copied from one another and never bothered to change the glaring mistake. In fact, it is difficult to imagine the possibility of an entire lectionary being written in 74 leaves of *quarto menor*. It would require a very small hand.

The Ayer lectionary has some inscriptions on one of the initial leaves, beyond Ayer's own disgruntled phrase: "I purchased this as a Molina manuscript. Edward E. Ayer." The work was owned at one point by Phelipe de Baldes who, nearing his death, gave it to Adán Inquaci, an Indian. The inscription is touching, in that Baldes hoped that as God spoke through Adam to later generations so Adán Inquaci would receive God's word not only for his line but for all believers. This, however, does not preclude that this is the manuscript which Ramírez took from the convent library of San Francisco in Mexico.

While the piece is neither signed, dated, nor carries any other ostensible notice of authorship, there are some marginal notes. Many are of a rounded "gothic" hand similar to other scribal hands of the sixteenth century. Nahuatl manuscripts, with an eye to publication, tended to be written in an "italic" hand, as was Latin. In most instances this "italic" hand did not differ from what later scholars called "gothic". But one set of marginalia in the Ayer lectionary is quite unique, lacking the roundness of the others, and are quite linear and squared. Upon close examination, they can be seen to be identical with Sahagún's own hand in the period up to about 1563, before a palsy caused a subsequent deterioration. There is further evidence supporting this argument. The manuscript is written in a style in which all instances of the letter "i" are written as "i". A distinctive feature of Sahagún's hand is that many "i"s are written

as "j" in specific environments. The marginalia considered here, on f. 130, commenting on the passage from John 20 reads: "auh incacotlein tiqujlpiz injcantlalticpac." The use of the "j" in "tiquilpiz inican tlalticpac" is a distinctive Sahagún trait. Thus, the weight of the evidence tends to push this manuscript under the authorship of Sahagún. The differences with the Biondelli *Evangelium*, however, lead one to believe that this was an early, unrevised and unrefined, attempt at translation of the lectionary.

A companion piece to the Ayer lectionary is a dictionary of Nahuatl, Latin, and Spanish, or so it seems to be at first glance. The manuscript, entitled *Dictionarium ex bismensi in latinum sermonem, interprete Aelio Antonio Nebrissensi . . .*, is attributed a date of 1590. As the title indicates it is taken from the universally famous, in the sixteenth century, Latin-Spanish dictionary of Elio Antonio Nebrija, published in Salamanca in 1492. This work, and Nebrija's other studies of Spanish, set the basis for grammatical studies of the language up until modern times. Upon closer examination, the *Dictionarium* is an exact manuscript copy of the Spanish-Latin dictionary. For many of the entries a Nahuatl gloss is included in red ink. The piece came to the Ayer collection from Ramírez in the manner already described. Both Chavero and Nicolau d'Olwer believe this to be a Sahagún work.¹³ Both describe the work exactly, including the two pages of later notes in front. Furthermore, Chavero believes that among the several hands participating in the marginalia is Sahagún's, "una de estas letras, en la primera página es de Sahagún." He furthermore attributes the copy to one of the friar's scribes, Martín Jacobita. Nicolau d'Olwer interprets Chavero's authentication as suggesting an actual signature on the first page, but in fact there is none. More precisely, none of the marginalia on the first page seem to be Sahagún's at all. Nevertheless, further on in the work there are several instances of a hand like Sahagún's. One other difficulty restrains the full attribution of the *Dictionarium* to Sahagún. Again, Biondelli did acquire an authentic Sahagún dictionary, published in 1869 as the *Glossarium Azteco-Latinum et Latino-Aztecum*. The organization of that work does not exactly reflect Nebrija, but sets out on a different course. Unlike the Ayer manuscript it is simply bilingual. No Spanish glosses are included. Indeed, many of the entries differ markedly between the two pieces. The Ayer piece lists only the reflexive "Quedarse. maneo.

¹³ *Ibid.*

es — remaneo.es . . . ninocaua” The Biondelli gives the following: “Maneo.es, v. *mani*. Praet. *omanca*, — *chantya* (nino). Praet. *onino-chanti* —.” Thus the two take a single concept and interpret it in quite distinct fashions.

Much evidence, however, does support attributing this work to Sahagún. Ramírez states that this piece was acquired from the library of the Franciscan monastery of Mexico City. Furthermore the work was described in the early seventeenth century, by Torquemada, who ascribed it to Sahagún, a near contemporary, and it was described later by Vetancurt, who concurred. The unbroken line of ownership and attribution thus must weigh heavily in Sahagún’s favor. The differences with the published Biondelli version are not sufficient to discredit the work. The format is similar to other Sahagún works, such as the *Epistola* seen above, in which he also used red and black ink, a favorite procedure of the time, and of pre-Columbian times as well. The two works are also of similar size and on similar paper.

It is known that one of Sahagún’s first assignments in Mexico was as a teacher of Latin at the famous College of Tlatelolco. The college was founded by the Franciscans for the purpose of educating the sons of the Aztec nobility in Christianity and European culture. Sahagún’s impetus for much of his later work came from this experience. He was doubtless well familiar with the works of Nebrija, and in teaching Latin probably had his students copy that author’s works into their own copybooks, a medieval tradition which withstood the introduction of the printing press. Since printed books at this time were limited and prohibitively expensive, and Nebrija was not published in Mexico, the copybook offered a good alternative. The student could then assimilate the material all that faster. Interested, as he was, in the Nahuatl language, it is equally reasonable to assume that he and his students, as a further didactic exercise, set about ascribing Nahuatl glosses for the entries in the Nebrija dictionary. This is in fact what the *Dictionarium* is. Thus the Ayer manuscript is a very early attempt on Sahagún’s part to create a tri-lingual dictionary, probably dating from before 1540. The Biondelli *Glossarium* is yet another step along this path, leaving the Spanish aspect aside. Finally, most authors, based on Sahagún’s own comments, believe that he did finally perfect a tri-lingual dictionary, the manuscript of which is still unknown.

Taken as a whole, the Newberry collection of Sahaguniana is rich indeed. It contains formative early attempts at two important

works, the Lectionary and Tri-lingual dictionary, plus later revised copies of critical doctrinal works, the Exercises, Sermonary, and Additions and Appendix of the *Postilla*. If these are joined to the collection of printed material, the overall holdings of known and reputed Sahagún works is nearly complete.

Another Nahuatl manuscript in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, has a similarly unclear authorship. In both the Ramírez and Quaritch sale catalogues it was given the title of "Camino del Cielo", the same as the famous work of Fr. Martín de León. Yet even in the Ramírez catalogue is the note "After a most diligent comparison with the printed book of Father León, which has that title, we have been unable to discover any relation between the one and the other."¹⁴ The work seems to consist of two parts: one a *confesionario*, the other a collection of sermons. Specifically the confessional focuses on the Ten Commandments. Since the Ayer manuscript is fragmentary only the first, and third through sixth commandments are included. The remaining pieces, disordered in their present state, are sermons and fragments, along with other commentary on Biblical texts. The work is too incomplete and disorganized to allow for further evaluation without significant research.

Clearly the title was given in a moment of fancy since indeed there is little in common between León's book and the manuscript, save the use of the grave accent. This in itself is an important feature, since few writers dealing with Nahuatl used diacritics of any sort; Olmos, Sahagún, and Molina did not. In fact it is the use of a complicated system of diacritics which facilitates the attribution of this manuscript. The key clue is given on the back of one of the fragments, part "B. 10", in the current arrangement. It reads: "al Pe Oracio Carochi." Carochi, a Jesuit, was famous in the mid-seventeenth century for his *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana* (Mexico, 1645). In that work he outlined his use of diacritics. The accute accent (´) denotes a short vowel, the macron (-) denotes a long vowel, the grave accent (`) is the saltillo, or glottal stop, while the circumflex (^) denotes a glottal stop in phrase-final position. In general, short vowels were marked by him for contrast only. The combination of the inscription and the use of the diacritics certainly links the manuscript in question firmly with Carochi. Not all of the fragments are fully analyzed. The inscription does not read "by Father Carochi", but "to Father Carochi". This would indicate that if Carochi wrote

¹⁴ José Fernando Ramírez, *Bibliotheca americana* (London, 1880), item num. 510.

it, he did so without diacritics, handing it to some other collaborator before final revision. The reverse is equally possible. A student or collaborator of Carochi might have written the piece and then handed it to the master for the inclusion of diacritics. At one point the marginalia indicate a discussion over the placement of the glottal stop. It reads, "Don Fernando pone saltillo en teòcal, no se porque y dudo que se deva poner". In the text one sees "Teòcalmalque in Mexicâ".

Writers studying Carochi have attributed several works to him. Beristain credited him with a "Sermones en lengua mexicana" which was held in the library of the Colegio de San Gregorio, along with a "Confesionario, doctrina y sermones..."¹⁵ Lecina the bibliographer of the Jesuits, likewise indicated that Carochi wrote doctrinal works in addition to his grammatical endeavors. Lecina went so far as to describe the work in question: "Camino del cielo, en mexicano . . . en 4^{to}. 34 pp. mas 190 hojas. Tal vez del P. Carochi".¹⁶ A noted biographer of the colonial Mexican Jesuits discredited this attribution, however, suggesting that Carochi only owned the work.¹⁷ It is possible that a Carochi student composed the collection. One famous student, Don Bartolomé Alva, curate of the village of Chiapa de Mota translated three classical Spanish plays into Nahuatl, dedicating his labor to Carochi. Beristain also saw this work in the library of the Colegio de San Gregorio.

Given all of this it is clear that the "Camino del cielo" can easily be attributed to Carochi's school, and quite possibly to the master himself. The Don Fernando referred to above could be Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, Don Bartolomé de Alva's brother. The crucial points in this determination are the diacritics and the inscription.

Carochi was born in Florence around 1579. His early training was in Italy, entering the Jesuits in 1601. Four years later he was sent to Mexico, where he pursued a very successful career in the Jesuit colleges, including service as rector of the colleges in Tepotzotlan, the Colegio Máximo and Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, both in Mexico. It was in Tepotzotlan that he learned both Nahuatl

¹⁵ José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-americana Septentrional*, 5 vols. (México, 1947), vol. 2, pp. 50-1.

¹⁶ Mariano Lecina, *Biblioteca de escritores de la Compañía de Jesús...* (Madrid, 1925).

¹⁷ Francisco Zambrano. *Diccionario Bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (México, 1961-73), vol. 4, 653-69.

and Otomi, while serving in parochial duties attached to the college. It is only fitting that he died there in 1662.

Another manuscript held in the Ayer collection seems to have been prepared for publication, a Nahuatl grammar written in the eighteenth century. A Jesuit, Juan Francisco Iragorri (1728-1783), wrote the work. Rather than being a narrative exposition on the structure of the Aztec language, Iragorri composed a rather extended vocabulary. Particals and words are listed according to grammatical function and glossed in Spanish. In addition to the grammatical section, Iragorri borrowed heavily from Carochi, and another earlier Nahuatl scholar Antonio Vázquez Gastelu, including whole sections of phrases taken from their works. The phrases are written in parallel columns.

The history of the manuscript is clear, except for a brief period before its acquisition by Ayer. Ayer purchased it from the Mexico City bookdealer W. W. Blake in 1899. Beristain described the work while it still resided in the University of Mexico Library, and gave it the title "Vocabularios y Diálogos mexicanos".¹⁸ The current title is "Vocabulario y notas gramaticales". The whereabouts of the work between the early nineteenth century, and its sale by Blake are a mystery.

Iragorri was a native son of the Society of Jesus in Mexico, born in the Sierra de Pinos, in the diocese of Guadalajara, in 1728. He entered the order in 1751, studying at the novitiate monastery in Tepotzotlan. He was ordained in 1758, and shortly thereafter moved to Mexico City. His most important teaching position was as professor at the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Puebla. For one six-month period he was the tutor of the children of the viceroy the Marqués de Cruillas. He took his final vows as a Jesuit in 1765, just two years before the order was expelled from the Spanish empire. With the expulsion, Iragorri left his homeland for Italy. In Bologna he served as the *procurador* for the expelled Jesuits. In 1776 he moved to Rome, and died in 1783 at Castel Madama, near Rome. This grammar was, then, probably composed before 1767.¹⁹

The Ayer collection of Nahuatl manuscripts also contains several sets of legal instruments originally written in that language, rather than Spanish. In the original catalogue of the Ayer collection two were given the title of "Deeds of Property". A third carried the title given it in the Ramírez sale, "Manuscritos en Mexicano". In

¹⁸ Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca*, vol. 3, p. 57.

¹⁹ Zambrano, *Diccionario*, vol. 15, pp. 775-6.

spite of the title "Deeds of Property", only one of the two sets of manuscripts actually deals with titles to property. That group has titles, wills, petitions, and plans dealing with property in Teocaltitlan, a barrio of Mexico, and San Pedro de Calimaya, in the Toluca Valley. The Teocaltitlan property belonged to Juan de la Cruz and his wife María de los Angeles, both Indians. Included among the seventeen leaves of documents pertaining to their house lot, from 1678-1748, is a pictorial representation of the house and lot, with measurements and legends in Nahuatl. Some of the other pieces of the set are badly waterstained. It contains the wills of both Juan and María.

The remaining ten leaves all deal with parcels of land in various barrios of San Pedro de Calimaya. The documents date from the middle decades of the eighteenth century, 1738-1781, and seem to have no internal relationship other than location. This part consists of five separate items, all in Nahuatl, two of which have official Spanish translations. Of the five documents three are wills, and the other two, petitions and claims. All of the participants seem to be Indians, coming from the villages of Tiopantongo, Tlamilapan, and Paxiotla. The properties about which the pieces are written are all house lots, with one possible exception.

Far more interesting, and extensive, is the mis-labeled collection of so-called property deeds. In actual fact this group of 84 documents, 158 pages, is an entire range of records for the community of Cuitlahuac, in the southern part of the modern Federal District, for the period 1571-1679. The earliest document is a collection of "cartas de pago", payment receipts, drawn up by the Indian government of Cuitlahuac to prove its payment of tribute. Cuitlahuac perhaps, first fell under the jurisdiction of Cortés. Sometime in the late 1530's or early 1540's it was granted in encomienda to Juan de Cuevas, the "escribano mayor de minas", or secretary in the royal treasury office. In spite of the New Laws, Cuevas was able to keep his encomienda while still serving as an important royal functionary. The fiction was that the encomienda was attached to the office and not the man, although that was also illegal. This argument, not with standing, upon his death, sometime before 1568, the encomienda passed to his son, Alonso de Cuevas.²⁰ The records considered here are of tribute remittances to the son, Alonso, from 1573-1579. The payment,

²⁰ Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 103.

made regularly three times a year, was 115 pesos 5 tomines, or an annual rate of 346 pesos 7 tomines. This part of the collection is very reminiscent of the *Codex Sierra*, in that the tribute payment is represented in pictographs as well as the written, Nahuatl, account. Furthermore, entries after April, 1576, also contain a pictograph of the quarter-moon. On the last two leaves of this section are miscellaneous entries with corresponding pictographs, including one which is probably a portrait of Cuevas.

The second group of manuscripts in this set is written totally in Spanish and deals with community accounts for Cuitlahuac and its subsidiary communities for the period 1634-81. Included are accounts of expenses incurred in religious festivities, and accounts of costs of litigation over land and limits. The third group consists of tribute accounts paid to the encomendero from 1633-1637, including tithe payments for 1633-1634. Lastly is another set of tithe accounts for the village for 1623-1635. Three sets of documents completes the set. One deals with lawsuits over property against Xochimilco, and is totally in Spanish. Another is a group of miscellaneous documents, of which three single leaves are in Nahuatl. The last group are three property deeds in Spanish dealing with Chimalcoyoc. Thus, while the only significant Nahuatl content of the set is the initial account, because of its unique quality, and the wealth of supporting material in the rest of the set, the Cuitlahuac group is a truly valuable set of documents relating to a single Indian community.

The Ayer collection contains one additional group of assorted Nahuatl manuscripts. This assortment is entitled "Manuscritos en Mexicano", and contains pieces from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. This group was acquired by Ayer from Quaritch, from the auction of Ramírez' collection. Thus, we know that these pieces were at one time owned by Fernández del Castillo, or Chavero, or Ramírez himself. This is an important consideration, since the first three pieces in the collection were copied by hand in 1855-56.

The group contains three miracle plays written in Nahuatl earlier in the colonial period, translated into Spanish by the noted nineteenth-century *nahuatlato* Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia. The first of these is "Las almas y las albaceas" copied from an original which Chimalpopoca Galicia felt was from the seventeenth century. The copy and translation date from July 1855. The second piece, "Del nacimiento de Isaac, del sacrificio que Abraham su Padre quiso por mandado de Dios hacer", was written in 1678, according to details

supplied by Chimalpopoca Galicia. The first copy of the manuscript was made by Bernabé Vázquez in February, 1760. That copy passed to Chimalpopoca Galicia, "sobrino nieto" of Vázquez, who in turn translated it into Spanish in June, 1856. The story of Abraham and Issac was very popular because of parallels seen between the sacrifice of Isaac and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The third play, "Coloquio sobre el modo con que Santa Elena halló la Santa Cruz", according to internal evidence was commissioned by the cura beneficiado Br. D. Manuel de Santo y Salazar, of the village of Santa Cruz Cozacauhatlauhticpac, a barrio of Tlaxcala, 31 May 1714. Although the copy and translation are neither dated nor signed, it is reasonable to assume that both were made by Chimalpopoca Galicia at about the same time as the other two plays, since they are written in identical hands on identical paper. All of these plays have been translated into English by John H. Cornyn. His papers, including additional copies of these works are held in the Library of Congress. He acquired copies of the plays from Chimalpopoca Galicia. He translated other Nahuatl works into English, including, "In pochteca", "The merchants".

The rest of the group of "Manuscritos en Mexicano" is divided into five sections, according to the place of origin of the manuscript, including two sections for the Mexico City neighborhood of Santa María la Redonda, and one miscellaneous. Some of the most interesting of these pieces come from Tlatelolco. The Tlatelolco papers contain six contracts, various wills, and some documents from auctions pertaining to pieces of property acquired by Pasqual Hernández, a Spaniard and blacksmith. This series runs from 1581, the date of the first will, to 1599, the date of the purchase at auction of a house by Hernández.

Two marriage registers kept by the Franciscan friars of Santiago Tlatelolco complement these papers. Although in two pieces, the register is continuous from 1631 to 1633, with a possible gap in 1632. As was common, many parochial registers of vital statistics were kept in Nahuatl. As will be seen later, many examples of this type of document reached U. S. repositories. Many more are available on microfilm, thanks to the genealogical interest of the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints.

The set of papers from Santa María la Redonda, in Mexico City, are mostly wills, written in Nahuatl, dating from 1657-1742. Several of the pieces, however, are written in Spanish. They all relate to donations and bequests made to the church and its religious sodali-

ties, *cofradías*, specifically Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. To this day the association of La Candelaria with the Santa María la Redonda barrio is still intimate. In addition one can include two other documents with those from Santa María la Redonda. These are Nahuatl pieces written by the then curate of the parish, Fr. Francisco Antonio de la Rosa y Figueroa, one dated 1739. The most important piece is an explanation of Christian doctrine in Nahuatl, based on the method of Juan Martínez de la Parra, and on the official Mexican catechism written by the well known Jesuit Gerónimo de Ripalda.

Father Rosa Figueroa was described by Beristain. In that work his name appears as Antonio Rosa López Figueroa.²¹ Nevertheless, the other details of his life correspond. According to that biography, the Franciscan was born in New Spain, taking his early training at San Cosme, "estramuros de México", where he became the "maestro de novicios". His teaching specialties were Latin and rhetoric. His longest parochial assignment was at Huaquechula, where he soon became known as a Nahuatl scholar. Following that he was assigned to the Mexico City parish of Santa María la Redonda, also a Nahuatl speaking region, as we have seen. After eighteen years there, he retired to live in the home monastery of the province, San Francisco de Mexico, where he still taught. In these later years he served as a consultant to both the Holy Office of the Inquisition and to the archiepiscopal court of Mexico. He catalogued some of the more important works held by the mother monastery during his administration as archivist and librarian.

Another area represented in this collection is the Valley of Puebla. Both Cholula and Tehuacan are represented by examples. From Cholula comes a baptismal register from 1624-25 for the Convento de San Andrés. From Tehuacan comes an interesting pair of documents from the 1670s. One is a power of attorney from the Indian government of the village to the provincial authorities of the Franciscans, individuals at court in Spain, and others. The power of attorney is clarified by a fragment of the petition they sent along in which they outlined their request to stay under the administrative control of the Franciscans, rather than the parish being secularized. The parish had been secularized in 1641, but the Franciscans had retained some parochial functions. Nearly thirty years later the natives, and the order, were still fighting to have the parish back.

²¹ Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca*, vol. 4, pp. 258-9.

The last set of papers in the "Manuscritos en Mexicano" group are miscellaneous. Included in these are two more Nahuatl wills, several petitions and protests, mostly dealing with ecclesiastical matters. One of the most interesting is a petition drawn up by the Indian leaders of Texcoco. The intent of the petition, never finished, was to have various grievances put into a letter to the King. The Indians would take advantage of the fact that two leading Franciscans, Fr. Gerónimo de Mendieta and Fr. Miguel de Navarro, were travelling from Mexico to court, in 1570. The petition, drafted in Texcoco, was supposed to be signed by the Indian leaders of Mexico City, Tacuba, Tlaxcala, and Huexotzingo, certainly the leading native communities of the time. The document, insofar as the petition was drafted in Texcoco, probably recognizes the reputation of the high degree of oratorical elegance practiced by Nahuatl speakers of that city. Nevertheless, the petition was not drafted in time for the departing Franciscans to carry it. In fact, one of the friars noted that upon their return, it was still incomplete, having been handed over to another famous Franciscan, Fr. Alonso de Molina. The Ayer collection has two copies: one, fragmentary in a clear sixteenth-century hand; the other, a copy and translation of the fragment made by Chimalpopoca Galicia in the nineteenth century.

The Ayer collection of the Newberry contains two more important Nahuatl documents. Both of these are vital statistics registers kept by parish clergy in Nahuatl. Both of them are burial records. One is far more tragic than the other, since it lists the children who died in the village of San Francisco Otlazapan (Otlazpa) between 1611-1615. The village was administered by the Franciscans, as part of the larger province of Tula, Otlazapa being located near Tepexi del Río. The entries are spare, giving only the names of the parents, the child, and the date, probably of burial. The other register comes from Tepexi itself, covering, it seems, all deaths, or more properly burials, between 1605-1643. The record is interesting in that on some twenty-six of the leaves little glyphs accompany each entry showing the sex of the person listed. The register was acquired by Ayer in 1899, possibly in a sale from Willison Blake in Mexico.

The preceding has been a descriptive analysis of some of the more interesting pieces of Nahuatl manuscript in the Newberry Library. As one can see from the accompanying guide, the list is far longer. While the total number of pieces is relatively limited, the over-all quality and importance of the collection cannot be discounted. In

wealth of Sahagún material, the Newberry is surely one of the richest in the United States. Moreover, these pieces have, thus far, not been consistently or thoroughly analyzed. Far more research needs to be done in Sahagún bibliography, and analysis of these, and his other works to reconstruct the total *obra* of the Franciscan. Likewise the Carochi piece has been totally unknown by scholars in the field. It offers an excellent insight into the Italian Jesuit's methodology since, as noted, not all of the piece received his final diacritical markings. Those parts which have been marked must be studied in depth to see how they relate to other well-known Carochi manuscripts. In this context the materials held at the Bancroft Library play an important role, since that repository houses the known "Huehuetlatolli" manuscript by Carochi, and the Golden Age plays translated into Nahuatl by his student D. Bartolomé de Alva.

The more general Nahuatl manuscripts of wills, petitions, and land records, form integral pieces of a growing *corpus* of such documents. Taken as a whole, they clearly show the vitality of the language in the face of increasing Hispanization. If they are studied closely within the context of their era and place of origin, these documents can give us new and rewarding insights into both Aztec and Spanish societies. Several young investigators are doing just this. Likewise, the grammatical and Christian didactic works probably show as much about Spanish perceptions of Aztec culture as they do of Spanish interest in transmitting their own culture. Thus, as some scholars have recently begun to acknowledge, various *sermoneiros* and *doctrinas cristianas* can be important tools for revealing the enigmatic colonial Aztec.

NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS

Ayer Ms. 1467

Incipiūt Epte et Evāgelia, que in diebus dominicis anni totius circum legūt. Traducta in linguā Mexicanā . . .

16th cen. 553 pp. 10 x 14.5 cm. Translation attributed to Alonso de Molina.

In spite of the original catalogue entry for this piece, it is unlikely that it was translated by Molina, and in fact is probably an early Sahagún translation of the Lectionary.

Written in red and black ink: Latin (red) introductions to selections in Nahuatl (black).

Ayer Ms. 1468

[*Burial record*] 1611-1615. 1612-1615 entries are signed by Fr. Miguel de Cuenca and Fr. Alonso de Paz.

18 pp. 20.5 cm. Register of children of San Francisco Ontlazapan.

Example of entry: 14 June 1611, "Cencillia yntatzin bar^{me} tlachinotl yn natzin Antonia xoco anguitla poliui."

Ayer Ms. 1470

Camino del cielo [binder's title].

These mss. comprise 21 items in three series, a total of 195 leaves, 20 cm., all in Nahuatl written in different hands. Pertains to the circle of Horacio Carochi. [Late 16th or early 17th cen.]

A) Confesionario — Questions and answers by priest and penitent. 5 mss dealing with the First to the Sixth Commandments, etc.

1. 3 ff. "1^r Mandam^{to}."

2. 17 ff. [2nd and] "3, Mand^o, 4, 5, 6."

Questions divided between those for men and those for women, especially for the Third Commandment.

3. 1 ff.

4. 2 ff.

5. 7 ff. [pp. 31-44]

B) 11 ms. Explanations of Scriptural passages, in Nahuatl, with titles (Biblical chapter headings) in Latin.

6. 3 ff. "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui ipsu audite."

7. 10 ff. [Pages numbered 1-22, Latin text missing; pp. 7-8 missing; p. 9 catechistic form resumes.] "Yn ye izquipa timoyolcui^{tia}, in ye ic tinemi, cuix omochtiquito, cuix omoch tictexpatli?"

8. 3 ff. [Contains some Latin text in the middle of a Nahuatl gloss] "Jacob geniut Joseph virum Marie. Math 1 cap."

9. 4 ff. [One page blank] "... no est bonum hominem esse solum, quimitalhui in tlacatl tote^o ynic quimo chihuili in achtopa..."

10. 12 ff. [On verso of last leaf: "Al p^e Oracio Carochi."] "Vani aũt sunt omnes homines, in quibus ñ subest^{scia} Dei. Sa p^e cap 13.

11. 8 ff. "Caro mea vere ē ciu et sanguis meu, vere ē postris est[~]. Joannis 60."

12. 8 ff. "Mathei 17 / Assumpsit iesus Petrum jacobrim et Ioannem ett^a."

13. 10 ff. "Clamidem coccinam circum dederunrei, et plutes coronam despinis posuerunt super caput eius, et arundinem in dextera lius. Math 27."

14. 8 ff. "Oracion del huerto / Factus in agonia prolixius orabat: . . . Lucas 22 q v."

15. 10 ff. "Gratiam fiderustoris tui ne obliuis caris, deditenim pro te animam sua."

16. 3 ff. "Achi huel con nenehuilia huel mopotia . . ."

C) Miscellaneous. 5 mss. in Nahuatl.

17. 3 ff. "Yehuatl in inteo tlanetoquiliz tezcatl, inon ce ceiacā mota momati yntlentic neltocazque yn huel . . ."

18. 3 ff. "Initolocacxtolli onpueytla manipan ynitechpa ma tlactla tecpantli yn mitohua y popololoca tlalitlacolli."

19. 2 ff. [Numbered 27-29] "Huel cenca nitlamahuiza yhuā namechno-tētzaquia ī amēhuantin nicasamocha N^a Ep^a . . ."

20. 13 ff. "Nican motecpana ynquenin moneltocaz, yn matlactetl on nahui Articulos . . ."

21. 70 ff. [Made up of 18 numbered signatures; the last is incomplete] "Nican ompēhua ynquēnin domingotica tēcaquītīloz yn teō tlātōlli metēhua doctrina cristiana . . ."

Ayer Ms. 1476

Deeds of Property, 1571-1679

Documents pertaining to several pueblos of the Provincia de Chalco in Aztec and Spanish.

84 documents. 158 pp. Various sizes, many mutilated. Each leaf in a plastic sleeve; bound in two volumes. 21 x 22 cm., approx.

A) Cuitlahuac. "Cartas de pago" concerning payment of tribute, 1573-1578 [1579]

10 ff. Written in Nahuatl, from a mixed codex containing pictographs and a Nahuatl text in Latin characters.

B) — E) Written in Spanish.

F) Cuitlahuac, D. F. Miscellaneous documents: appointment of an *alguacil*; "amparos de justicia"; license to open irrigation canals, etc. . . . 1551-1777.

11 ff.; 8 written in Spanish; 3 in Nahuatl.

G) In Spanish.

Ayer Ms. 1477

Deeds of Property, 1678-1751.

Documents pertaining to deeds of land in Metepec of San Pedro de Calimaya.

19 documents. 40 pp. 21 x 31 cm approx.

A) Teocaltitlan, parcialidad de San Juan, D. F.

1. Plan of a house in Teocaltitlan.

One pictorial leaf with Indian measurements and legends in Nahuatl.

2. Land titles, wills, etc., 1678-1748.

16 ff. Written in Nahuatl and Spanish.

B) Calimaya, San Pedro de; Metepec, Estado de Mexico. Testaments and petitions.

1. Testament of Felix de Santiago, an Indian; Tiopantongo de San Pedro de Calimaya, 5 April 1738. 1 f. written in Nahuatl.

2. Testament of Pascuala de la Cruz, an Indian. Tlamimilapan de San Pedro de Calimaya, 19 May 1739. 2 ff. written in Nahuatl.

3. Petition of Juan de Dios, an Indian. Paxiotitla, San Pedro de Calimaya, October 1748. 1 f. written in Nahuatl.

4. Testament of Martina Maria, an Indian, wife of Juan de Dios. San Pedro de Calimaya, 3 May 1751.

5. Spanish translations of 3 & 4, dated 21 November 1772.

6. Petition of Antonio de Santiago and his wife, Andrea Antonia, Indians, Tlamimilapa, San Pedro Calimaya, 6 May 1781. 2 ff. written in Nahuatl.

Ayer Ms. 1478

Dictionarium ex bismensi [sic] in latinum sermonem, interprete Aelio Antonio Nebrissenci Lege foeliciter . . . [1590]

314 pp. [158 ff.] 20 cm. Attributed to B. Sahagún.

The Spanish terms are translated into Latin, and Nahuatl renderings have been added in red ink. This manuscript corresponds to the second (Spanish-Latin) part of Nebrija's famous dictionary.

Ayer Ms. 1480

Iragorri, Juan Francisco (1728-1783)

[*Vocabulario y notas grammaticales*]

82 pp [59 ff.] 21 cm. Original binding.

Ayer Ms. 1481

[*Manuscritos en Mexicano*], 1580-1847

A volume containing 14 manuscripts . . . 409 pp. 21 x 32 cm.

A) Nahuatl Language. Plays.

1. Anonymous. "Las Almas y las Albaceas."

Copy in Nahuatl and translations into Spanish in parallel columns by Lic. Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia. July 1855. Chimalpopoca Galicia states that in 1855 he had in his possession the original which he thought was of the 17th century. 48 pp.

2. Anonymous. "Del Nacimiento de Isaac, del Sacrificio que Abraham su Padre Quiso por Mandado de Dios Hacer."

Copy in Nahuatl and Spanish, parallel columns, by Chimalpopoca Galicia. He states that his copy was made in 1760 by Bernabé Vázquez. 36 pp.

3. Anonymous. "Coloquio sobre el modo con que Santa Elena halló la Santa Cruz."

Copy of the Nahuatl original and translation into Spanish, parallel columns [by Chimalpopoca Galicia]. Original dated 31 May 1714. 23 ff.

B) Ciudad de México.

1. Santiago Tlatelolco.

a. 6 January 1581

Testament, written in Nahuatl, of Elena Angelina, an Indian. 2 ff.

b. 14 April 1589.

Carta de venta and *escritura*, written in Nahuatl, of purchase of property by Pasqual Hernández, Spaniard. 1 f.

c. 1 August-26 September 1596.

Documents pertaining to the purchase of property by Pasqual Hernández, Spaniard: *Permiso para vender, remate, pregones, carta de venta, carta de posesión*. Written in Nahuatl. 6 ff.

d. 2-30 August 1599.

Documents pertaining to the purchase of property by Pasqual Hernández, Spaniard: *Permiso para vender, pregones, remate, carta de venta, carta de posesión*. Written in Nahuatl. 8 ff.

e. 1631-1632.

[*Registro de matrimonios*] kept by Fr. Juan Bautista de la Barrera. Written in Nahuatl. 4 ff.

f. 1632-1633.

[*Registro de matrimonios*] kept by Fr. Juan Bautista de la Barrera. Written in Nahuatl. 23 ff.

g. 13 February 1645.

Carta de Posesión, by Josepa Nicolasa, seller, for Francisco Eugenio, buyer. 10 ff.

2. San Juan; 6 February-16 May 1589.

Documents pertaining to the sale of a house to Pasqual Hernández, Spaniard. 10 numbered ff. In Spanish.

3. Santa María la Redonda.

a. 17 June 1657.

Testament of Gerónima Verónica, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

b. 4 March 1659.

Testament of D. Matias Xuárez, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

c. 14 May 1669.

Documents pertaining to property given for masses for the souls of Francisco Miguel and María Juana, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

d. 8 March 1675.

Testament of Juan de la Cruz, written in Nahuatl. 1½ ff.

e. 15 July 1677.

Testament of Michaela Angelina, written in Nahuatl. 3 ff.

f. 4 December 1683.

Testament of Diega Nicolasa, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

g. 10 March 1688.

Carta de posesión of a house bought by Pasqual Nicolás and Magdalena María, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

h. 10 March 1688.

Sale contract for property to Pasqual Nicolás and Magdalena María, written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

i. 10 February 1693.

Donation by Isabel María, written in Spanish. 2 ff.

k. 21 January 1721.

Testament of Rosa Gertrudis, written in Nahuatl. 2 ff.

l. 10 November 1742.

Copies of testaments of Don Juan de Santiago and Melchora de Santiago, Indians, in Nahuatl, including translations into Spanish. 10 ff.

m. Draft of testament of María de S. Nicolás, written in Nahuatl, with translation into Spanish. 3 ff.

C) Cholula, Puebla.

1. [*Registro de Bautizos*] Entries for 1624-1625 from the baptismal register at the convento de San Andrés. 17 ff.

2. Declarations of property ownership by the Convento de San Andrés, written in Nahuatl. 1 f. [Pertains to Santiago Xicotencia].

D) Tehuacan, Puebla.

1. *Carta de poder*, written in Nahuatl. 2 ff.

2. *Carta de poder*, written in Nahuatl. 2 ff.

3. Petition to the king by town officials (Indians) that Franciscan friars continue their work in Cuixtlaxcoapan, written in Nahuatl, 2 ff. [Probably a *borrador*].

E) Rosa y Figueroa, Fr. Francisco Antonio de la, O. F. M., cura of the parish of Santa María la Redonda.

1. "Explicación de la doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana." 28 April 1739. Written in Spanish with translations into Nahuatl. 23 ff.

2. Fragment of the "Primera Plática Proemial." After 23 December 1744. Written in Spanish. 3 ff.

F) Miscellaneous manuscripts.

1. Document containing extracts from a papal bull concerning jubilees and indulgences granted to Jesuit missions. Written in Nahuatl. 2 ff.

2. *Carta suplicatoria* from the Indians of San Francisco de Totocamihuacan. Written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

3. Protest by Indian nobles against conditions in Mexico written at the suggestion of Fr. Miguel Navarro and Fr. Gerónimo de Mendieta, 1570-72. Written in Nahuatl. Incomplete. Preceded by an autograph note in Spanish [by Mendieta?]. [Texcoco, 1570-72]. 2 ff.

4. Petition from the Indians of the villages of San Andrés, San Juan Aquiyauac, San Felipe Xolloc, Santiago Xicotenco. Written in Nahuatl with a note in Spanish at the end. 14 June 1620. 1 f.

5. Testament of Ana Melchora. Barrio de Tecpalcaltitlan, Capilla de San José. 12 May 1642. Written in Nahuatl. 1 f.

6. Protest against the Franciscans by the Indians of San Buenaventura Tezonyocan, Santa María Asunción, San Antonio Tetzuco. Written in Nahuatl. 26 June 1662. 2 ff.

7. Juana Micaela, Barrio de Santa Cruz.

a. Testament. Written in Nahuatl. 14 April 1685. 1 f.

b. Document relating to the above. Written in Nahuatl. 22 July 1688. 1 f.

c. Document relating to the above. Written in Nahuatl. 12 May 1689. 1 f.

8. Certificate signed by Indian officials of the village of Santa María Atlitxco. Written in Nahuatl. 2 December 1669. 1 f.

Ayer Ms. 1484

Sahagún, Bernardino de

Comienza un Exercicio en lengua mexicana sacado del Sancto Evang^o y distribuido por todos los días del a semana contiene meditaciones deuotas muy prouechosas para qualquier xp^oiano que se quiere llegar a dios.

[1574] 86 pp. [43 ff.] 15 x 21 cm.

Ayer Ms. 1485

Sahagún, Bernardino de

Siguense unos sermones de dominicas y de sanctos... no traduzidos de sermonario alguno sino cõpuestas nuevamente a la medida de la capacidad de los indios...

1540-1563. 202 pp. [97 ff.] 24 x 39.5 cm.

Ayer Ms. 1486

Sahagún, Bernardino de

Tratado... siguense veynte y seis addiciones Desta Postilla... [Decla-

racion breve de las tres virtudes theologales] 3 items written in Nahuatl. 21.5 x 30 cm.

A) "Nican unpeoa, ynnemachtiliztlatolli: uncan momelaoa ynetlamantli nemalonj: injtoca virtudes theologales..." 16 ff.

B) "Siguense veynte y seis addiciones desta Postilla..." 13 ff. [An incomplete version of A.]

C) "...yenci camotlapololtique..." 11 ff.

D) Apendiz. 4 ff.

Ayer Ms. 1491

Tepexic. Libro, donde se asientan los que se mueren en este pueblo de Tepexic desde marzo, de 1605, en adelante...

1605-1643. 190 pp [103 ff.] 15 x 20.5 cm.

NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LATIN AMERICAN LIBRARY OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

The collection of Nahuatl manuscripts held in the Latin American Library of Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, is one of the largest in the United States. It has a representative of nearly every type of manuscript commonly found written in Nahuatl. This depth means that the library offers the investigator a unique opportunity to study the language in all of its many and varied contexts. Beyond this, it holds several unique and very important items, which make it an important center for the study of Nahuatl.

The Latin American Library at Tulane has gone through several incarnations before its current status. Initially the collection formed part of the Department of Middle American Research, endowed by Samuel Zemurray, President of the Cuyamel Fruit Company. With his financial backing, Tulane offered to create the research department and have William E. Gates as its head.¹ The purchase of Gates's private collection of Meso American materials and the endowment for the on-going work of the department was guaranteed by Mr. Zemurray. Between 1924 (when Gates had originally put his collection up for auction) and 1926, there were extensive negotiations between Gates and representatives of Tulane. The collection was moved to New Orleans, and Gates installed as director. Yet in the ensuing months there was a serious falling out. Gates became intransigent in his dealings with the University, and in the end the arrangement fell apart. Gates was paid for his collection, but relieved of his post as director of the research department.²

The Gates Collection deals with the wide range of Middle American Indian cultures, and with the history of the region. Gates had spent the early part of his career acquiring all the materials he could on Middle American languages and linguistics, focusing on the

¹ William E. Gates, *A Gage of Honor: The Development and Disruption of the Department of Middle American Research of Tulane University at New Orleans* (N. P., 1926).

² Howard F. Cline, "Gates Working Papers", *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Working Papers.

Mayan languages, but also including Nahuatl. Several of these manuscripts were purchased from the mammoth Phillipps collection. At its acquisition, Tulane believed itself to be the sole recipient of the collection. Later the realization came that Gates had parcelled off several parts of his collection to other institutions. Original pieces from the Gates collection are housed in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, the Robert Garrett Collection of Princeton University, and other places. Along with his manuscripts, Gates had made a very successful career at selling photographic copies of many documents. Many libraries hold various numbers of the Gates Photographic copies, the bulk of them are at Tulane and Brigham Young Universities.

While the Gates collection remained the heart of the new Middle American Research Library, the Department continued to grow, under Mr. Zemurray's largesse, ultimately becoming the Middle American Research Institute (MARI), a center of investigations well known to scholars in the field. Nevertheless, the tremendous growth in the field of Latin American Studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s demanded that MARI keep apace. No longer could the original benefactor provide all the assistance necessary, and the Institute sought and received grants from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations to continue book acquisitions. The continued growth in publications ultimately demanded that the library be separated from MARI and incorporated into the Tulane University Library system, which was accomplished in 1962. At the same time the University established a Center for Latin American Studies which has increasingly provided for the development of the library collection.

Since 1962 grants from the Federal government and private foundations have provided important funding for the continued growth of the Library. The Library has also grown far beyond its original limits, while still maintaining an important collection for Meso-America. The manuscript collections, nevertheless, more nearly reflect the original Meso-American orientation.

Within the Latin American Library there are six discrete collections which hold Nahuatl material. Leading this group are two which constituted part of the original Gates Collection. A portion of those materials were catalogued and shelved as rare books, although in reality they are manuscripts. The other part of the Gates manuscripts remained catalogued as such and can be found in the special manus-

cripts catalogue, as separate from the general card catalogue. One of the largest parts of the general manuscript collection is the impressive Viceregal and Ecclesiastical Mexican Collection. This collection includes some 3 000 *expedientes* from the 16th to the 19th century. These papers include some pieces in Nahuatl. As the general manuscript collection was being organized, catalogued, and sorted, some pieces were pulled out to create a small Indian language collection.

Beyond these collections there are three others which contain some Nahuatl materials, but whose contents fall beyond the scope of this study. These collections all hold pieces which date from the late 19th and early 20th century. The Nicolás León Collection contains many items which pertained to León, including Mexican materials, official documents, copies of León's own studies, photographs, maps, drawings, and personal papers. One of the more curious pieces is a multi-lingual dictionary of Spanish, Otomí, Pame, Nahuatl, and Tona, written on the backs of envelopes, which were in turn glued to stubs and then sewn together as booklet. Many of the envelopes were addressed to Canon Vicente de Paula Andrade, known for his own interest in Mexican ephemera.

Another very interesting collection which holds more modern Nahuatl pieces is the Rudolph R. Schuller Collection. This collection, about 2,000 items from Schuller's career, including books, modern manuscripts, notes, and maps relating to linguistics with an emphasis on Mexico and Central America, but holding some South American items as well. Specifically of interest to the student of Nahuatl are several sets of field notes and studies dealing with Nahuatl and other Uto-Aztecan languages.

The last manuscript collection to be considered here is the Fernando Horcasitas Collection. The most recent acquisition to the library, this collection focuses on the modern Nahuatl language and people, containing personal and business papers of Horcasitas. Also included are published works, drafts of works, research notes, field notes, texts of Nahuatl plays and stories, and more. Of great interest are Horcasitas's notes and collection of texts ready for the writing of the second volume of his *Teatro Nahuatl*.³ While the collection does not contain all of Horcasitas's private papers, what it does hold is of tremendous importance. As is known, many of the plays of which he held copies were otherwise lost to scholars.

³ Fernando Horcasitas, *Teatro Náhuatl* (México, 1978).

Three published works can provide the scholar with a look at the Nahuatl collection. First among these is the sale catalogue published at the time Tulane acquired most of Gates's collection.⁴ It suffers from many flaws, the seller's hyperbole among them. In the 1930s the Library Director Arthur E. Gropp made a detailed catalogue of the manuscript collection of the time, which serves to expand on the Gates catalogue.⁵ Lastly, in recent years Michele Nathan compiled an annotated bibliography of the Nahuatl sources in the library.⁶ Her work contains the many important printed works from across the centuries which are not included in this guide. Although all three of these works have served their purpose well, they are none of them exhaustive. Many important materials have remained out of catalogues and unknown. Partially this was due to Gates's legacy and partially due to the fact that the Library had a very large collection and inadequate number of staff to properly catalogue it. This last problem has been resolved, thanks to a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and thus many of these pieces are at last being made known.

While the importance of the Nahuatl manuscripts at the Latin American Library of Tulane University lies in its size and diversity, there are several manuscripts which warrant an individual description. As with most collections, the unique works come from the pens of some of the masters of Nahuatl. The Tulane collection has pieces by Fray Alonso de Molina and Fray Andrés de Olmos, two of the leading figures of Nahuatl in the sixteenth century. By Olmos, the library holds a manuscript copy of his "Gramática y vocabulario de la lengua mexicana." This is one of five or six contemporary manuscripts of Olmos's time. The best known of these are held, in addition to Tulane, by the Library of Congress, the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

In his introduction to the first publication of this work, in 1875, the French Nahuatl scholar Rémi Siméon reported that there were at least four copies of the manuscript, and that he had two in his possession, upon which his edition was based.⁷ Gates had two copies

⁴ William E. Gates, *The Gates Collection* (New York, 1924).

⁵ Arthur E. Gropp, "Manuscripts in the Department of Middle American Research", *Publications*, Tulane University, Department of Middle American Research, 5 (1933), 217-97.

⁶ Michel Nathan, *Nahuatl Sources in the Tulane University Latin American Library: An Annotated Bibliography* (New Orleans, N. D.).

⁷ Andrés de Olmos, *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine*, trans. Rémi Siméon (Paris, 1875).

of the manuscript. The more complete of the two went to Tulane. The other copy consisted of only five leaves from the beginning of the work. The copy of the manuscript held by Tulane is extremely important because it contains not only Olmos's treatise on Nahuatl grammar, but his dictionary as well. Conversely, it is missing the famous "Huehuetlatolli" which has made this work so famous. Gates acquired his copy from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Embossing on the flyleaves indicates that prior to Phillipps, the manuscript was owned by Basilio Pérez Gallardo of Mexico. Phillipps purchased the piece at auction in London in 1869 from the so-called Fischer, or Andrade, collection. The work is incomplete, lacking several introductory leaves and at least one leaf of text. This is based upon a comparison of the work with the printed edition edited by Siméon. The work is lovely to look at, written, as was common, in a Gothic hand in red and black inks. There is some worming, later marginalia, and some minor water staining, but on the whole a fine copy.

Of interest in this particular manuscript is Olmos's "Vocabulario". This section is introduced in the following manner: "Y acaba aqui porque adelante esta son todos los verbos o casi todos los que ay en la lengua tambien si los quieren sacar son provechosos et vales." The dictionary contains both Nahuatl to Spanish and Spanish to Nahuatl. The existence of this piece is of great importance since it means that we have at least one copy of a dictionary from all of the major Nahuatl scholars of the sixteenth century.

The second important piece in the Tulane collection is a set of ordinances written by Fr. Alonso de Molina for use by religious sodalities, *cofradías*, attached to church hospitals. It is entitled: "Ordenanças para prouechar los cofrarias allos que an de servir en estas ospitalles", and dates from 1552. The importance of this piece is indicated by the fact that in addition to being one of the more famous students of Nahuatl, Molina's "Ordenanças" became the standard in the sixteenth century. Dr. Miguel León-Portilla, in studying this manuscript, noted that he knew of at least two other copies in Mexico, one held at the Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología, and the other at the Biblioteca Pública of Guadalajara, Jalisco. In addition to these, another copy is held by the Bancroft Library. The dates of the two copies held in the U. S. differ slightly. The Tulane copy is dated September 15, 1552, while the Bancroft copy is dated September 18, 1552. Dr. León-Portilla

discusses this work in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the Molina dictionary.⁸

The Tulane copy of the Molina "Ordenanças" has also suffered at the hand of the salesman's hyperbole. In his catalogue, Gates represented the piece as being in the friar's very own hand, "Original AUTOGRAPH Manuscript". Nevertheless, in the few years after its acquisition by Tulane, the manuscript was inspected by Benjamin Lee Whorf (1930). He recognized the authenticity of the piece, yet expressed doubts about whether it was copied by Molina.⁹ At this point, there is no evidence that it is a Molina holograph, and seems to be a copyist's hand.

The major drawback of the Tulane copy of this piece is that it is incomplete. Although integral at the beginning it is missing text between ff. 13-14, which corresponds to part of chapter 15, all of chapter 16, and part of chapter 17. Likewise, between ff. 15-16 it is quite likely that part of chapter 19 is missing. The piece ends abruptly in the middle of chapter 24. Comparison of the document with the copy held at the Bancroft Library indicates that probably the last leaf of the Tulane copy is missing, since the complete version also has 24 chapters. The manuscript is in brittle condition and some edges have been badly damaged with loss of text. It also suffers from water stains.

The third manuscript of some importance has a bit of mystery surrounding it. Gates in his catalogue, described it as being a Migration Map of the Aztecs, referring to the various "mapas" or "tiras de peregrinación". The piece consists of three leaves of *amate* paper. One is written on both sides, two have one blank side. All the pages are decorated with pictograms, but one in particular is covered with drawing, and very little text. Because the figures on this page carried markings and labels, such as "Quāuhtemoctzin Tlacatecuhtli", it seemed to be a genealogical discussion. This identification was corroborated by Von Hagen. Nevertheless, Silvia Rendón has indentified the piece as actually containing evidence for a land dispute, which harked back to the days of the Triple Alliance.¹⁰

The document probably dates from the latter part of the sixteenth century. As Rendon has shown, it was part of a larger *expediente*

⁸ Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, prol. by Miguel León-Portilla (México, 1970), xxviii-xxix.

⁹ Gropp, "Manuscripts", 274.

¹⁰ Silvia Rendón, "Ordenanza del Señor Cuauhtémoc", *Publications*, Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, 2 (1952), 15-42.

probably filed with Spanish royal officials in pursuit of a law suit. Nevertheless, in her research, she did not find any such cases housed in the Mexican National Archives to which it might have pertained. The manuscript is a very important and useful one in the study of the continuation of pre-Columbian land tenure law into the colonial period. Within limits, the Spanish courts recognized the Indians' existing claim to the land. Thus in such legal disputes over the land, one can find the vestiges of the older system.

The discussion above shows a bit of the major pieces in the collections. Nevertheless, as noted, one of the strengths of the holdings of the Tulane Latin American Library is the great diversity and large number of discrete manuscripts. In the listing which follows first I will give the reference information provided by the Library catalogues. Following that I will include my own observations on the piece.

Rare Araoz, Fr. [*sic*] Francisco Javier
497.2013 *Vocabulario Mexicano* (10 Feb., 1778)
A552 173 ff. 20 x 14.5 cm
LAL (Bound with: Para administrar el viatico en mexicano,
 4 f.)

Gates (1924) 777
Phillipps 21299

Has the following inscription:

"Se acavo este vocabulario a 10 de febrero del ano de el Senor de 1778. Al usso de le Br. Francisco Xavier de Araoz y paso al del Br. Jph. Anto. Gaviola."

Gates (1924) indicates that Phillipps acquired the manuscript from Fischer, and that it had been incorrectly attributed to the sixteenth century.

This is a Spanish to Nahuatl dictionary. Not all Spanish entries have Nahuatl equivalents. Some entries were placed by another hand, probably Gaviola (cf. p. 13). It is also quite possible that Araoz was not the compiler but merely the owner. In its format it is similar to other "Vocabularios" from many periods in which a Spanish word list, often taken from Nebrija, is then given Nahuatl equivalents.

Gates *Aztec Family Manuscript*. c. 1590 [9 July, 1590]
Box 1 6 ff. 17 x 28 cm (amate paper)
Folder 21

Gates (1924) 758-A

Papers relating to Don Gazipari de Buena Bentura, including his last will and testament. He and his wife, Dona María Melchora were resi-

dents of Santiago Tlatelolco in Mexico City. In his will he granted property in Atenaxomolco to his son Migeli Montez.

The remaining documents, in the same hand, appear to be a copy of an instrument dated 5 May, 1537, which is probably the original concession of title

Rare [*Aztec Grammar and Doctrina*] [18th century]
497.2017 38 ff + 1 leaf, folded 10 x 15.2 cm.
A997
LAL

Gates (1924) 782

The piece begins with an index: "Índice a las cosas contenidas en este tomito." The index is in a different hand from the remainder of the work, but clearly contemporary.

The grammatical treatise begins immediately after the index, running to p. 53.

On p. 55 the Doctrina begins: "Para signarse. Ipampa in Imachio + in Cruz." It contains the various principles of the faith, including the Pater Noster, Ave María, Credo, and more.

A new section begins on p. 70, in a smaller hand: "—Doctrina pequeña— Dispuesta por el P. Bartolome Castañón de la Compañía de Jesús." This latter work was first published in the mid-seventeenth century and in second edition by 1744.

Rare *Compendio de Doctrina Cristiana en idioma mejicano . . .*
497.2001 68 ff. 10.5 x 14.5 [19th century]
C737d
LAL

Gates (1924) 796

Verso of the title page has a quote from Ecclesiastes, 24:44. The Dedication opens: "Dios mio: Bien sabe V. Magestad Smma." Beyond these opening pages the rest of the work is in Nahuatl.

Capítulo 1: Sobre los misterios de nuestra Santa Fe

Capítulo 2: Sobre la oracion Dominical o Padre Nuestro

Capítulo 3: Sobre los mandamientos de Dios y de su Yglesia

Capítulo 4: Sobre los Santos Sacramentos

Rare *Dominica paçio de ramus pehuas*
497.2011 116 pp [16th century?]
D6712a
LAL

The original of the manuscript has been lost from the Tulane collection. It is included here because the Library does have a photogra-

phic copy of the piece. The work is a passion play intended for use on Palm Sunday.

Gropp's notes indicate that it was written in red and black inks.

On p. 31 there is an illustration of Caiphaz the High Priest: "Caybas Pontifises Sacerdotes."

Rare	<i>Fragments of Doctrina Cristiana en lengua Mexicana</i>		
497.2011	30 ff.	15.5 x 21.5	[17th century]
F811o			
LAL			

Pepper Collection

Various fragments all of the same hand. Some parts have text on both sides, some are blank on the verso. Heavy pencil (?) lining for text. Several of the versos have extraneous text, e. g., 12v and 13v mention Sr. D. José Andrés, Sr. D. Antonio Gregorio, the pueblos of Coyotepec, Ixquantulan, barrio Tlalpanatlaco, and Jose María Beristain.

There are two basic sections. The first is the presentation of the bases of the faith, the second a catechistic exposition.

The piece is probably misbound. Logically f. 6 should go at the beginning since it deals with the Salve and Credo.

Furthermore, f. 5 is numbered 17 and 18, while f. 7 carries 19 and 20. This is further complicated by the fact that f. 6 is reversed with the Credo beginning on the verso and ending on the recto. Quite possibly f. 1 should follow f. 6 since it seems to include part of the Salve: "ahuiaya catzintli; çohuapille Santa María; ma topan ximotlatoltzino in Dios."

Rare	Gamboa, Andrés de		
497.2017	<i>Bocabulario de los Nombres y Bervos Pretencyentes</i>		
G192	<i>a el Ydioma Mexycano</i> (1769)		
LAL	60 ff.	15 x 21 cm	

Original vellum binding. On the leaf after the title page there is a coat of arms consisting of two lunettes under a coronet.

The first page is missing the upper quarter, possibly a dedication. The text begins: "Ay como es fortuna el dar, quando se da con fortuna?" He goes on to indicate that the work was intended as a recompense to the recipient. It carries his signature and is dated 3 September, 1769.

Following this introductory material is a prologue in which he discusses the structure of the language, the absence of declension, and what he perceived to be a paucity of articles and prepositions.

Included in the work are useful phrases, such as what a foreman might use with a laborer:

"Para parar en el palo, o sobre la piedra los pies, diremos: Ynic moquitazo ytechí inquahuilt [*sic*]; noso ypan telt [*sic*] in Ycxichuan." Curiously throughout he alternates the use of the singular absolutive ending -tl with -lt. It is clearly just an oversight. He uses the verb "machítia" as the frame for presenting verb conjugations.

The last section is a dictionary, in which he continues his curious confusion of -tl and -lt.

VEMC *Grant of privilege of coat of arms.* [17th century?]
Leg. 24 6 ff. (1 blank) 21.5 x 31 cm.
exp. 3

This is a Nahuatl presentation of a *real cédula* dated 6 January, 1534, conceding the privileges of a coat of arms and lands to the caciques of S. Nicolás and S. Pedro for their participation in the conquest in support of the Spanish. While the introductory and concluding material is in Nahuatl, the text of the decree is in Spanish. The Nahuatl sections form a rough paraphrase of the Spanish.

The nobles include: Don Miguel Nezahualquiltzintli and Don Pedro Tenocatzin of San Nicolás and Don Tomás Popocateuhtli and Don Juan Chimalpopocatzin of San Pedro. The lands granted neighbor Calpan and Otumba.

The document was copied in Huexocingo.

VEMA *The Governor and natives of San Juan Tenanco Tepopola,*
Leg. 64 *in the province of Chalco, petition for the return of*
exp. 30 *land which belonged to them by royal decree.*
34 ff. 21.5 x 31 cm. 1550-1610

The manuscript includes a painted map of the disputed territory. There are basically two parts to the document. The first is an exposition in Spanish of events up to 1532. In that year the elders of the community gathered to record their history and traditions and to select new leaders, a situation brought on by the pressure of widespread pestilence. To clearly demonstrate their claim to the land, with notary and witness they formally visited the limits of their territory declaring their authority and calling for anyone holding to the contrary to step forward. The second section is the original of all of the above in Nahuatl.

It is an excellent example of the coming together of the native oral and pictorial tradition with the new testimonial legal procedure.

- Rare *Libro de matrimonios y casamientos del pueblo de*
 A972 *Chiautla San Andres*
 (929.3) 194 ff. 28 x 42.5 cm. (1585-1678)
 L697
 LAL Original binding. Cover title: "Matri/Monios"

This parish marriage record contains entries in Nahuatl up until 1669, after which they appear in Spanish.

The introductory material appears as follows:

"Libro de matrimonios y casamientos del pueblo de Chiautla de San Andres: 1585 annos: e començose en viente y uno de agosto; siendo guar-dian deste convento el padre fray Fran[cis]co de Reynoso."

- VEMC *Litigation documents between Indians of San Gaspar and*
 Leg. 69 *Metepec with different priests on Church obligations.*
 exp. 1 63 ff. 21.5 x 31 cm. 1749-1774

There is only one small bit of Nahuatl in this document, a bit of marginalia on the inside fly leaf introduced by the following: "Catecismo breve en lengua mexicana con el Acto de Contricion," with nine lines of Nahuatl.

- Rare Manuscript, 18th century.
 497.2017 *Aztec Grammar containing a treatise on the nouns*
 A997az *and pronouns.*
 LAL 9 ff. 16 x 21 cm. [18th century]

Gates (1924) 780

Written in two or three hands, this piece has alterations and corrections throughout. The pages show no sign of having been sewn or bound. In all probability this includes fragments from two pieces. One is a Nahuatl grammar, the other a Latin treatise on the existence and essence of God.

- Rare Manuscript in Nahuatl, written on maguey paper [sic].
 PM4068 *A record of money given every Sunday to a list of people.*
 .M3
 LAL 2 ff. 20 x 47 cm. [16th or 17th century]

This long, narrow, document written on *amate*, carries the title "Memollia." Both leaves are in deteriorating condition. It is clearly a payment record of some sort with Nahuatl text and pictograms of money, pieces of eight. The surface and absorbency of the fibre makes the piece extremely difficult to read.

Rare *Metodo facil y breve para aprender el Ydioma Mexicano.*
 497.2017 25 ff. 14 x 19.5 cm. [18th century]
 M593
 LAL

Gates (1924) 781
 Phillipps 21292

The Tulane collection contains two variants of this work: this manuscript and the one which follows. This work lacks some of the minor additions to the actual grammar of the subsequent piece, but does contain several vocabulary sections at the end, including a "Vocabulario — Fuente de Verbos Mexicanos," a similar dictionary of nouns, with a concluding section on numbers.

In the middle is an interesting prayer: "Yo Pecador — Nehuatl nitlacoani ninoyomelahua ic ninoyocuitia ixpantzinco cemhuelitini Dios."

Rare *Modo facil y breve para aprender el Idioma Mexicano*
 497.2011 12 ff. 10 x 14.5 cm [19th century?]
 M692
 LAL

Gates (1924) 790
 Phillipps 23207

This is a variant copy of the preceding piece. It contains several minor additions in the body of the text, including a larger section on the formation of the progressive as a special "Mexicanismo".

It bears the inscription: "Quaderno de Juan Fran[cis]co Regis Calzado."

Rare Molina, Alonso de
 497.2011 *Ordenançaz para prouuechar los cofrarias allos que an de*
 M722 *servir enestas ospitallos.*
 LAL 23 ff. 15 x 21 cm 15 September, 1552

Gates (1924) 759a

This piece was discussed more fully in the introduction to this catalogue. The title page has the monograms of Christ and Mary: IHS and MA. Gropp identified the latter as Molina's own monogram, which while literally correct, is lamentably probably not the case.

In his study of the piece, León-Portilla has concluded that it was in fact probably written nearer 1545, and that several copies were then

made. Changes were adopted and this resulted in the copies held here and at the Bancroft, both from 1552. This chronology would make this one of Molina's first written attempts in the language, along with the *Doctrina breve* printed in 1545.

MS. Coll. 49 Nahuatl. *Land Documents from Tulancingo*.
(6) 27 ff. 21.5 x 31 cm. 1569-1660

Doc. 1. A declaration, in Spanish, by Don Andrés de Tapia Carvajal that all of the lands sold from the estate of Don Diego Alexandrino, deceased, pertain to Diego de Peredo Suárez, dated 22 June, 1607.

Doc. 2. The last will and testament, in Nahuatl, of Don Miguel Alexandrino, Indian governor of Tulancingo, dated in Mexico, 27 May, 1577.

Doc. 3. A Spanish translation of Doc. 2, dated 1659.

Doc. 4. Nahuatl original and Spanish translation of a payment receipt stating that Don Pedro de Mendoza received three and one half pesos from Don Diego Alexandrino. No date for the receipt, translated in 1659.

Doc. 5. The last will and testament, in Nahuatl, of Andrés Tohcuiltcatl, resident of the San Juan Bautista section of Tepanecapan, dated in Tulancingo, 8 July, 1572.

Doc. 6. Spanish translation of Doc. 5, from 1660.

Doc. 7. A sales contract, in Nahuatl, in which Julián de San Francisco sold a garden to Don Miguel Alexandrino, dated 10 February, 1569.

Doc. 8. Spanish translation of Doc. 7, from 1660.

Doc. 9. An obligation, in Spanish, that Diego de Peredo Suárez pay Pedro de Ontiveros, guardian of Diego, son of Juan Cevada, 140 pesos, owed on the purchase of some land, dated 14 June, 1612.

Doc. 10. Nahuatl original and Spanish translation of the sales contract for a small garden in Sayula from Agata de Santa Ana and her sons to Diego Suárez Peredo for 15 pesos, dated 8 January, 1603, and translated in 1659.

Doc. 11. Nahuatl original and Spanish translation of a sales contract for a piece of land in Tepetitlan, from Joseph de Santiago to Don Diego Alexandrino for seven pesos, dated 10 April, 1584, and translated in 1659.

Doc. 12. Rental contract, in Spanish, from Don Diego Alexandrino allowing Juan Cevada use of a piece of land in Tulancingo for two years at thirty pesos per year, dated 25 October, 1594.

MS Coll. 49 Nahuatl. *Last will and Testament.*

(1) 2 ff. 21.5 x 31 cm 5 January, 1663

The last will and testament of Francisca de los Ángeles, made in 1663 and copied in 1743 on stamped paper from 1740. Francisca was a resident of San Luis Chalco Tlalmanalco.

Rare Olmos, Andrés de

497.2017 *Gramatica y vocabulario de la lengua mexicana.*

O51 288 ff. 11 x 15.5 cm 1547

LAL

Gates (1924) 760

Phillipps 21355

This piece was more fully described above, in the introductory section.

Gates *Ordenanza del Senor Cuautemoc. A chronicle of the*
Box 10 *Aztec empire.*

Folder A 3 ff. 29 x 37 cm [16th century]
oversize

Gates (1924) 758

This piece has been discussed above and an excellent study of it has been written by Silvia Rendón. The work consists of three leaves of *amate*. Rendón has shown that this is a historical account of the granting of lands, forests, etc. from the rulers and community of Tlatelolco to the increasingly powerful Mexica of Tenochtitlan, Mexico. This is a part of a larger work, the rest of which is seemingly lost.

Rare Palma, Miguel Trinidad

407.2017 *Ejercicios de Idioma Azteca...*

P171 70 ff. 17 x 22.5 cm 19th century

LAL

Gates (1924) 787

Palma was a professor at the Teacher's Normal School of Puebla when he composed this work. Either the copyist or a student who took down Palma's lessons was Felipe Iranco, who was earlier credited with this

work. Because of pencil corrections throughout one is led to believe the Iranco was a student and that these are his copy books. Likewise they might merely indicate that this is a work in progress. Some sections which lack Spanish, as if in lessons, tend to support the copy book theory.

The work is divided into four sections:

- I. Phrases in Spanish and Nahuatl.
- II. Word lists in Spanish and Nahuatl.
- III. Grammar, dealing with orthography, pronunciation, nouns verbs, adverbs, and numbers [possibly missing a page].
- IV. "Vocabulario". A Spanish to Nahuatl dictionary.

Rare Pasion en Lengua Mexicana.
497.2011 72ff 10.5 x 15.5 cm. [16th century?]

P282

LAL

Gates (1924) 763

Phillipps 21401

The first five leaves are damaged in the upper right with some loss of text. There are two physical parts to the piece, divided at f. 40. They are seemingly of two different hands in two different formats. The first section is incomplete at beginning and end, while the second section seems to be missing an opening leaf, but complete at the end.

Textually the work contains three basic stories:

- I. The birth and life of St. John the Baptist.
- II. The Passion of Christ.
- III. Stories from the Acts of the Apostles.

In his preliminary survey of the work, Benjamin L. Whorf wrote: "A paraphrase of certain parts of the gospels in Nahuatl of very ancient type, similar to that of Sahagún and the very early historical annals." 28 January, 1930.

Rare Ramírez, José Fernando
497.2017 *Silabario mexicano.*
R173 17 ff. 11 x 16 cm. 1856

LAL

Gates (1924) 794

Ramírez systematically listed all of the possible syllables possible in Nahuatl. It contains three sets of papers of varying size. Some are written on scraps of paper or the backs of envelopes.

The wrapper is a note to Ramírez from the Colegio de Abogados calling for a meeting at 6 PM, Monday, 21 July, 1856, to discuss a proposed law.

Rare Reyna, Manuel Joseph de [sic].
 497.2011 *Este Bocabulario lo hizo y cordino de su original...*
 R459 38 ff. 9.5 x 14.5 1770
 LAL

Gates (1924) 776
 Phillipps 21425 and 23208

The actual author of this work was Bachiller Don Carlos Celedonio Velázquez de Cárdenas y León. In all likelihood Reyna was the copyist. Indeed the decoration of the work is a triumph, using red, black and green inks. Likewise the book is not a "Vocabulario", dictionary, but rather a "Doctrina Cristiana" and "Confessionario".

Velázquez was a graduate of the Royal and Pontifical Seminary of Mexico, serving as Vice-Rector of that institution, and as Professor of Advanced Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Humane Letters. He also served as curate of Otumba.

Rare [Sermones en lengua mexicana].
 497.2011 42 ff. 15.5 x 21.5 cm. [18th century]
 S486
 LAL

Gates (1924) 792
 Phillipps 21347

This work is a collection of related fragments in about five different hands, or styles of one hand.

Section 1. Begins with a passage in Latin from Zacharias 13. It consists of at least five parts, with additions, corrections, partially blank leaves, and Latin marginalia.

Section 2. Opening invocation: "Jesus ma. Joseph S. Michael cum sibus Angelis Virgenes Apostoli cum sibus..." Still has corrections and marginalia.

Section 3. Opening line in Latin from Matthew 19. The second sermon of this section begins with a Latin line from Matthew 22.

Section 4. Probably has parts of two sermons with citations from Psalms 47 and 32. While the orthography might utilize a system of diacritics, the hand is very difficult to read.

Section 5. "Platica De la institución del SSmo. Sacram[en]to de su real presencia en ambas especies". Written in a much easier hand than Section 4.

VEMC *Quexa del Comun de Naturales del pueblo de San Juan*
Leg. 68 *Atlistaca contra el cura de aquel partido*
exp. 9 1795-97

This long file contains two small pieces in Nahuatl: two half page petitions from the Indian governor, Don Pedro Santiago to the Subdelegado of Chilapan, written in 1796.

Gates Vocabulario Mexicano - Castellano
Box 8 12 ff. 11 x 16 cm. [19th century]
Folder 83

Gates (1924) 798

The piece is incomplete, going from A to Cuetuetzoa. It could be either unfinished or missing the remainder.

NAHUATL MANUSCRIPTS HELD BY THE BANCROFT
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The Bancroft Library is part of the legacy left to scholars by Hubert Howe Bancroft. His career in books was formed by the California goldrush, where he came with a consignment of books to sell for an Eastern dealer. In his success, he expanded his operations until they came to include not just the sale of books, but nearly everything having to do with books, from paper, to presses, a bindery, and a staff of researchers, clerks, and scholars who wrote the sections of his mammoth histories dealing with all aspects of North America. An important part of this incredibly complex literary empire, which he called his "literary industry", was the acquisition of rare books and manuscripts dealing with North America, from the Arctic to Panama. In his passion for collecting, Bancroft amassed one of the finest libraries of its kind. A significant part of this collection is its holdings in Nahuatl, both manuscript and in print.

The bulk of Bancroft's Nahuatl manuscripts came from the sale by Manuel Fernández del Castillo of the collection begun by José Fernando Ramírez, which had then been held by Alfredo Chavero.¹ The Newberry Library, of Chicago, also acquired many of its prize Nahuatl manuscripts from the same auction, through the intermediary bookdealer Bernard Quaritch. At the 1880 auction in London at Puttick's, Bancroft was represented by Henry Stevens, noted scholar and acquirer of books. Stevens, in that auction, was also purchasing for the British Museum Library, and had collected many items of Americana for the Smithsonian. The third major participant in the Ramírez auction was Count Heredia. Among these three, Stevens, Quaritch, and Heredia, the collection was divided.²

The creation of the Ramírez collection was described in the earlier

¹ For a good, if self-serving, description of the acquisition of the Bancroft collection see Hubert Howe Bancroft's *Literary Industries*, vol. 39 of his *Works* (San Francisco, 1890).

² José Fernando Ramírez, *Bibliotheca mexicana* (London, 1880). The Bancroft holds a companion piece to this which lists each of the items along with the name of the purchaser and the price.

catalogue of the Newberry Library.³ Beyond those details, there are other salient features of which one should be aware. Ramírez, while collecting for himself, and in an attempt to create a permanent post for himself, was also working with the Mexican Empire of Maximilian von Hapsburg. When that monarchical adventure came to an end Ramírez was in a difficult situation, ultimately leading to the diaspora of his collection abroad. This situation, forced by the French intervention, also brought about the ultimate auction of yet more "Mexicana" on the London auction block. While Ramírez was collecting so was José María Andrade, a noted bibliophile and political conservative.⁴ He collected for himself, and with an eye to creating an Imperial Library for Maximilian. When the empire crumbled, and Maximilian was executed, Andrade was imprisoned for complicity with the monarchy. He was ultimately released and successfully smuggled his collection, some two hundred crates on burro back, out of the country, with the help of the priest Agustín Fischer.

Probably as a result of Fischer's contacts in Europe, the Andrade collection was put up for auction in 1869 in two distinct lots, part in Leipzig, part slightly later in London with Puttick. The London consignment is often called the Fischer collection, due to the Austrian-Mexican priest's assistance. While the Leipzig group contained most of the valuable books and imprints, the manuscripts were sold in London. The jewels of that sale were the bull of erection of the Bishopric of Mexico (1536) and the papers and decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585). These last two, along with other books and manuscripts passed to Bancroft. In fact the Andrade lots provided him with some 6,000 volumes of books and manuscripts, in one year.⁵ Eleven years later, in 1880, Bancroft rounded out his Mexican collection with the Ramírez sale.

While the rare book and manuscript collection benefitted from the Andrade sales, the Nahuatl pieces, by an large, came from the Ramírez collection. Included in this number are works by Molina and Olmos, and a very large collection of materials copied by Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia. Chimalpopoca Galicia was the noted "nahuatlato" of the intellectual circles of Mexico at the middle of

³ John F. Schwaller, "A Guide to the Nahuatl Holdings of the Newberry Library", *Vid. supra*.

⁴ Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 185-97.

⁵ José María Andrade, *Catalogue de la Riche Bibliothèque* (Leipzig and Paris, 1869); Puttick and Simpson, *Bibliotheca mejicana* (London, 1869).

the 19th century. He and Ramírez developed a friendly relationship in which the latter would find old documents in Nahuatl and the former would copy, often translating them into Spanish. The Bancroft Library has fifteen different pieces by Chimalpopoca. Thirteen of these are in a single box, catalogued under his name. The other two include a version of Motolinia's story of the Tlaxcalan noble children martyred for the Christian faith, translated into Nahuatl by Juan Bautista, and printed. The original manuscript and the very rare imprint were found by Ramírez in the National Museum, and he ordered Chimalpopoca Galicia to copy the piece. Likewise, Ramírez and Chimalpopoca Galicia corroborated on the piece ascribed to Lucas Mateo the "Catecismo Hispano-Mexicano."

Two of the important Bancroft manuscripts can also be found in the Latin American Library of Tulane University. The Bancroft holds a complete version of Alonso de Molina's "Ordinanças para proverchar los cofradías". The Tulane copy lacks the conclusion. Likewise the two carry different dates: the Bancroft's copy is dated September 18, 1552, the Tulane copy September 15, 1552. This could be just a copyists error. The Bancroft copy was catalogued under the date 3 September. What has happened is that "caxtolli ypan yei" has been incorrectly read as either "caxtolli" or "yei".

The Molina hospital *cofradía* ordinances is a very complex work. Miguel León-Portilla has suggested that Molina wrote the work before 1545, making it one of his earliest efforts.⁶ The 1552 date carried by the two copies in the U. S. is the date the Franciscans formally adopted it for use in their establishments. Josefina Muriel in her work on hospitals in New Spain consulted a copy of the ordinances in a bi-lingual edition made by Carlos Martínez Marín who was preparing it for publication.⁷

Both the Tulane and Bancroft copies are the same size, have similar hands, and are currently in fragile condition. The Bancroft copy, by virtue of being complete, is nearly twice as long. Additional copies are held in Guadalajara, Jalisco, and the Library of the National Anthropology Museum.

The Bancroft and Tulane also both hold copies of Andrés de Olmos "Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana..." There are more significant differences between the two manuscripts. In this instance

⁶ Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y Castellana*, prol. by Miguel León-Portilla (México, 1970), xxviii-xxix.

⁷ Josefina Muriel, *Los Hospitales de la Nueva España* (México, 1956-60), vol. I, 81-6.

the Bancroft copy is missing more leaves at the beginning than Tulane's. The Bancroft copy starts in Capítulo 5, or on page 24 for the printed Rémi Siméon edition.⁸ The rest of the work is largely complete. The actual grammar ends on page 131 of the manuscript, after the discussion of orthography. Again, the Bancroft copy is slightly less complete than the Tulane, with regard to the grammar. Nevertheless, following the grammar, the Bancroft copy has two additional sections, one a declaration of the Ten Commandments in Nahuatl, the other spiritual preparation for receiving the sacrament, both dated 1563. At the end the Bancroft copy does have what seems to be a complete "Huehuetlatolli". On the other hand the Tulane has the "Vocabulario" which none other includes. Of the various manuscript copies of the Olmos "Arte" Garibay felt that the Library of Congress version was the text upon which Siméon based his printed version.⁹

The large number of Olmos items, and the number of different versions of the "Arte" need further research. At this point it would be possible to go back to the various texts to form a definitive work. Likewise the various "Huehuetlatolli" need to be compared. His other works, the "Vocabulario" and devotional pieces also can provide vital information about early colonial Nahuatl and missionary activity. There is still no modern definitive study of Olmos.

One of the true jewels of the Bancroft Nahuatl collection is the "Huehuetlatolli" which was traditionally ascribed to Juan Bautista. Several years ago Garibay worked with the piece, calling it "Huehuetlatolli, Documento A".¹⁰ It is now clearly recognized as the work of Horacio Carocho, the famous seventeenth century Jesuit Nahuatl scholar. The work is written according to the system of diacritics which he elaborated to mark long vowel length, short vowel length, and the glottal stop, both within a word and in phrase final position. Frances Karttunen has used this manuscript, along with Carocho's "Arte", and two modern Nahuatl studies as the basis for her *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*.¹¹ Beyond this, there is much work still to be done on the "Huehuetlatolli" as a literary form, a field of study which León-Portilla has long championed.

⁸ Andrés de Olmos, *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine*, trans. and ed. Rémi Siméon (Paris, 1875).

⁹ Ángel María Garibay, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (México, 1953-5), vol. I, 404.

¹⁰ Ángel María Garibay, "Huehuetlatolli, Documento A", *Tlalocan*, 1 (1943), 31-53, 81-107.

¹¹ Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Austin, 1983).

The last manuscript to be considered here falls within the school of Carochi. A student and colleague of his, Bartolomé de Alba worked on several bi-lingual projects. One of these written in the same system of diacritics is held at the Newberry Library. At one point in his career, Alba set to translating three Golden Age Spanish theatrical pieces, and an *entremés*, into Nahuatl. This collection of works was initially thought to consist of only works by Calderón de la Barca or Lope de Vega. Now we know that in addition to these two authors there is a work by Antonio Mira de Amescua. These three plays and one *entremés* have been discussed in two places. Garibay in his history of Nahuatl literature devoted several pages to their analysis, including the observation that the *entremés* was a satire on judicial and clerical abuses.¹² The first of the three plays, Calderón de la Barca's "Comedia del Gran Teatro del Mundo" has been analyzed and compared against the original by William A. Hunter.¹³ In addition to his reputation as a Nahuatl scholar, Bernardo de Alba, is well known through the works of his brother Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl.

Although not a Nahuatl document as such, one further piece in the collection bears description. As will be seen in the catalogue, some of the materials held by the Bancroft were collected by the French intellectual Alfonse Louise Pinart. One of the more curious of these is a copy of several Testerian catechisms. Pinart copied them by hand into a small notebook, in 1881. The famous Mexican bibliophile, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, owned the original documents, and Pinart wished to have copies for his own study. The García Icazbalceta collection ultimately passed to the University of Texas Library. But by that time the three Testerian catechisms claimed by García Icazbalceta had disappeared. In the census of Testerian catechisms, John Glass merely listed the documents as presumed lost.¹⁴ Yet the description of the three catechisms held by García Icazbalceta corresponds exactly to three of the four pieces copied by Pinart. Thus the copies made by Pinart, held by the Bancroft, are now the only copies of the Testेरians originally held by García Icazbalceta.

In the following catalogue, I have maintained the original catalo-

¹² Garibay, *Historia*, II, 339-69.

¹³ William A. Hunter, "The Calderonian *Auto Sacramental* 'El Gran Teatro del Mundo'", *Publications*, Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, vol. 27, 105-201.

¹⁴ John B. Glass, "A Census of Middle American Testerian Manuscripts", *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 14, p. 292.

guing and descriptions as found in the catalogue to the collection. Some corrections have been made to the entries, but on a very minimal level. The catalogue descriptions follow the main entry and are found in quotation. They have been taken from George P. Hammond, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library*, vol. 2 (Berkeley, 1972). Following that I have made observations on the piece and author. The Ramírez catalogue number is also included where possible.

M-M 430 Acatlán, México
 [*Registro de entierros*]
 122 pp. 15 x 21 cm 1632-1714

"Incomplete (at beginning and end); errors or omissions in original foliation.

Burial register (in Spanish and Nahuatl) for the parish of Acatlán. With a note on inspection by Archbishop Fransisco Manso y Zuñiga (signed, April 25, 1663, in Tulancingo by Alonso de Carvajal, notary). Entries by Francisco Garco [*sic.*] de la Cruz, Mateo Camacho, Hernando López, Diego Fajardo, and other officiating friars (mainly Augustinians)."

The pueblo referred to here is north of the valley of Mexico, not far from the Pachuca mining district, in the northern reaches of what was the zone of Texcocan authority in the late pre-Columbian period.

The manuscript is badly waterstained, especially on the edges. Several leaves, at beginning and end, are torn. On the edge are remnants of the original binding with leather reinforcement.

M-M 429 Acatlán, México
 [*Registros de matrimonios y de bautismos*]
 192 pp. 21.5 x 31.5-32.5 1569-1621

"Baptismal and marriage records kept in Acatlán and vicinity. With an introductory statement for the first marriage register, dated 1569 and signed Fray Tomás de Santa Caterina; a 1588 count of marriages signed by Ignacio de Barrientos (p. 173); and the signatures of officiating ministers.

"Entries prior to 1595 are written for the most part in Nahuatl; later entries in Spanish."

This register is a companion of the previous one. It also comes from Acatlán near Tulancingo. This is corroborated by the listings in the register which indicate that the region was administered by the Augustinians.

These are fragments of a disbound registry of marriages and baptisms. There are three sections: marriage register, 1569-1593; baptism, 1579-1606; mixed marriage and baptism, 1607-1621.

The registry was begun to comply with decrees of the Council of Trent. Notes indicate that the priests can allow dispensation to marry any day of the year, whether a feast day or not, thanks to a papal bull of Pius IV, dated August 12, 1562. This bull, and the decrees of Trent, were proclaimed in Acatlán on January 15, 1565. Thirty days following that, clandestine marriages were invalid.

M-M 458 [Bautista, Juan]
 [*Discursos en Mexicano*]
 26 pp. 15.5 x 22 [17th century]

Ramírez 521

"A collection of speeches and conversations in Nahuatl, with headings in Spanish, presenting social formulas and moral precepts. The speakers include a woman on her way to market, a bridal party, various officials, two young nobles, and others of their household. Described in the Ramírez Catalogue as probably fragments from the Huehuetla (h) tolli published in 1600, and now largely lost, by the Franciscan, Juan Bautista. Also known as 'Huehuetlatolli, Documento A'."

This important work has been described earlier.

M-M 457 Bible. Selections.
 Sacras Lectiones.
 318 pp. 14 x 18.3 February 21, 1596

Ramírez 529

"Scriptural passages selected for reading on weekdays, Sundays, and feast days; translated into Nahuatl, with Latin headings and citations. It is preceded by a Church calendar and related material in Nahuatl and Latin."

Modern binding. Pages have been trimmed and marbled on the edge. Written in a square "gothic" hand in red and black inks.

Consists of four sections:

I. "Inipan calendario tonalpoualli yn tlapaltian ycuiliuhlica quinez-cayotia ynilhuitl ympieiloni." 8 ff.

A Church calendar giving solar and lunar counts plus astrological movements; calculation of Easter uses 1541 as a base.

II. "Incipiunt Epistole et evangeli a feria quarta cinerum." 57 ff.

The selections from the Gospels and epistles include the Lenten season, from Ash Wednesday to Holy Week. This is followed by readings for the Pentacostal Vigil, the Vigil of the Nativity of Christ, and the Vigil of the Nativity of John the Baptist. The last part is incomplete, stopping part way through the epistle reading of the Baptist, without any Gospel reading.

III. "Dñica 1a. adventis. Incipiunt Epistole et evangelia Dominicalibus officiis cō gruētiās per an nitotius discursus leguuntur traductam in lingua Mexicana." 46 ff.

This section is the Sunday Lectionary which runs from the First Sunday of Advent through the Church year to the 24th Sunday After Pentecost.

IV. "Incipiuntur evangelia que per añ totius fractum leguuntur indiebus festis." 46 ff.

These are the readings for the special Church feast days, beginning with the Nativity, St. Stephen Protomartyr, St. John the Apostle, the Innocents, the Circumcision, etc., ending with various special services such as marriage and burial.

Concludings lines: "Axcan miercoles a xxi días del mes de febrero de 1596 años otlán y micuillon a Sancto Evangelio."

Some inscriptions indicate that the book was held by the Monastery of Santo Domingo: "Este libro pertese a la casa de novisios de Santo Domingo."

M-M 462 Calderón de la Barca, Pedro and others.

Three Comedies.

142 pp.

16 x 22

17th century

Ramírez 515

"Nahuatl translations or adaptations of Three Spanish plays:

1. Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) *Comedia del gran teatro del mundo* . . . 30 p. N. p., n. d. Translated by Bartolomé de Alba and dedicated to Father Jacome Basilio (mistakenly ascribed to Lope de Vega in the Ramírez catalogue).
2. Antonio Mira de Amescua (fl. 1600) *Comedia famosa . . . del animal propheta y dichosa patricida* . . . 78 p. Np. Translated by Bartolomé de Alba (mistakenly ascribed in the heading and in the Ramírez catalogue to Lope de Vega).
3. Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1562-1635) *Comedia . . . intitulada la madre de la mejor* . . . 30 p. N. p., n. d. Anonymous translation, dedicated to the Jesuit, Horacio Carocho.

As noted in the introduction, there is an "entremés" between the first and second work.

- M-M 474 Chimalpopocatl Galicia, Faustino, comp. (fl. 1840's-1850's)
Nahuatl, Otomi, and Other Manuscripts.
 13 folders varying sizes.

"Manuscripts either translated or transcribed by Chimalpopocatl".

1. Santos y Salazar, Manuel de los
Coloquio de la invención de la Santa Cruz por la virtuosa Sta. Elena.
 26 pp. 16 x 21.5 cm. 1859

"A play dealing with the legend of the discovery of the True Cross by Saint Helena; arranged by Santos y Salazar in Spanish, a Tlaxcalan priest, and here combined with a translation into Nahuatl made by Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia. With the signatures of the translator under the dates June 1 and May 27, 1859."

Mostly in Spanish, with occasional passages rendered in Nahuatl: "Constantino: O! reino cuanto me turbas (tinechacomana)."

Santos y Salazar was Vicario of Santa Cruz Cozcaquauh Altalauhticpac of Tlaxcala.

The original work was finished May 31, 1714.

The copy has a seal embossed on several pages: "Carrillo Benefield y Orozco."

2. *El evangelio según San Mateo puesto en el idioma náhuatl conforme a la traducción del Rmo. Padre Phelipe Icio de S. Miguel, por el Lic. Faustino Chimalpopoca.*
 116 pp. 16.5 x 23.5 1866

A Nahuatl rendering of the Gospel according to Matthew, translated by Chimalpopoca Galicia.

It has an embossed national seal of Mexico, with the legend: "Imperio Mexicano".

3. *El evangelio según San Marcos puesto en el idioma náhuatl.*
 47 pp. 16.5 x 23.5

Work begins: "Yancuic iyec tenonotzatzin in Jesu Christo Quename oquimoicuilhui in San Marcos."

It is written on the same paper and in the same format as 2) above, but is incomplete, ending with 11:1. It is probably a working draft and not a final copy since it does contain several corrections and additions.

4. *Catecismo histórico que contiene en resumen la historia santa*, por Claudio Fleury presbítero prior y ahora puesto en el idioma mexicano por Faustino Chimalpopoca.
39 pp. 22 x 17

The work begins with the following notice: "Algunos niños y jóvenes estudiosos del pueblo de Santa María, la Asunción de la Milpalta, están aprendiendo en idioma mexicano en un establecimiento particular del pueblo, el resumen de la historia santa y la Doctrina cristiana de Claudio Fleury . . . me determine inmedia[ta]menta a hacer la versión en el mismo idioma nahuatl los diálogos del resumen."

Milpa Alta, of course, is well known as a center of Nahuatl studies. Curiously enough, it is possible that Luz Jiménez' mother might have attended one of the catechism classes referred to by Chimalpopoca.

This seems to be a complete copy of the first section, containing 29 lessons. It is written in purple ink in two columns, in Spanish and Nahuatl. It is embossed with the Mexican national seal with the legend: "Republica Mexicana".

5. *Lógica en el idioma mexicano por Chimalpopoca / Elementa Logica Jo Gottl. Hein. versa in idiomate Nahuatl ad usum indorum (vulgo dicto) de Tenochtitlan a Faustino Jov. Chimalpopoca . . .*
58 pp. 17 x 22 1876

This piece is cast totally in Nahuatl, with some words in Spanish or Latin for clarification. It comprises a total of 256 paragraphs.

Curiously Chimalpopoca Galicia uses both the term "mexicano" and "Nahuatl" for the language.

6. *Borradores para la Virgen Sma.* por el Lic. Faustino Chimalpopocatzin Galicia.
3 ff. 21 x 32 August 10, 1855

Trilingual verses in praise of the Virgin: Latin, Nahuatl, and Spanish.

7. [Copias de artículos 8 y 9 de *El Centaro de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Sociedad Católica de México); capítulos sacados del libro del Ecclesiástico; y información de la bebida atolle y el árbol Granados traducidos en la lengua Nahuatl.]
8 pp. 22.5 x 33 cm 1869

Internally dated September 15, 1869. All of the pieces seem to be complete, but the significance of them and their relationship to one another is not clear.

8. *El catequista en el pueblo de Sta. Maria la Milpalta por Nomenclamiento del Illmo. Señor Arzobispo de Mexico Dor. D. Anto. Pelagio Labastida, Lic. Chimalpopoca.*

16 pp. 17 x 21.5 cm.

Admonitions to the people pronounced by Archbishop Labastida and translated into Nahuatl by Chimalpopoca. Has an embossed Mexican seal with the legend: "Republica Mexicana."

9. *Apuntes por Faustino J. Chimalpopoca.*

8 pp. 17 x 21.5 cm.

There are three sections to this selection:

- A) "Profesia del sabio Quilaztli natural de Xochimilco, sobre la llegada de Hernan Cortes al territorio mexicano." A conversation between Moteuzoma and Quilaztli, in Spanish.
- B) A comparison of various Latin, Greek, and Nahuatl words. A list of the Greek Alphabet, in Greek and corresponding Latin characters, and with Latin sound values, in Italian.
- C) Latin and Greek exposition on Indian writing.

10. [Manuscript written in Nahuatl language, in the handwriting of Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca.]

8 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 cm 1863-64

A narrative which begins, June, 1863, in the National Assembly, calling on the Indians to accept the monarchy. It continues through May 22, 1864, in the form of a chronicle, ending incomplete on 23 May, 1864.

11. [Forward written for "Esta Coleccion de Muchos Dialectos Indigenos"?] by Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia.

5 ff. 23 x 33.5

An invocation to the Virgin following the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, as an opening for his collection of works. Three variants in Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin.

12. Copia simple de una gramática de la lengua Otomí.

13. [Misc. notes on Aztec Kings, religious drawings, and genealogical information on the Mendoza family.]

4 pieces varying sizes

One piece is a Testerian drawing with three frames, depicting the Trinity. Some bits of vocabulary. The Aztec succession. The genealogy of the Mendoza family, caciques of Tula, completed on September 10, 1866.

M-M 461 Cofradía de Santa María de la Soledad.
Ordinances. Oaxaca, Mexico.
26 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 December 23, 1619

Ramírez 530

"A compilation of rules, written in Nahuatl and signed by Diego Marcos, apparently containing regulations for the government of the cofradía and its hospital, situated near San Miguel Coatlan."

The *cofradía* was based in the Hospital of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción of San Miguel Coyotlan. Since the text of the ordinances does not specifically refer to any religious order, the mention of the bishop and of his provisor would indicate that the village was under the doctrinal control of the secular clergy. There is no indication, however, that it was in Oaxaca.

70/41 López, Francisco
m *Documents concerning Title of Property.*
374 pp. 20.5 x 31.5 cm 1563-1728

"Collection of documents (originals and contemporary copies) relating to the title of the Haciendas of Hueyapam, Rocaferro, and Isclaguacan, near Tulancingo."

The bulk of the piece consists of documents in Spanish, there are, however, several sales contracts and receipts in Nahuatl: ff. 28-30, 130.

M-M 466 *Manuscripts relating to linguistics studies, chiefly in Nahuatl*
54 pp. 15-15.5 x 20.5-21.5 [1793?-1844?]

Ramírez 517

1. "Letters in Spanish [and some limited Nahuatl], apparently for social and business usage, possibly compiled for Indian students of Spanish. Written in Coyotepec (Cuauhtitlan) and Mexico City, from 1793-1814." 14 pp.

It seems to be incomplete at the end. The earliest date is 1779. There is limited use of Nahuatl usually as a minor gloss: "carnal deleite — in Nacayopapaquilizotl".

2. "A Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary with a concluding note signed by Martín José, possibly the compiler, on August 12, 1812." 26 pp.

In the same hand as 1), it is a collection of phrases, many of which are examples of *difrasismo*: "Hambre-in yhuicpa in apizmiquilistli." The phrases might have been used in conjunction with the earlier form letters: "llevas en tu falda-ximohuiquili mocuixanco; llevaba en su capa-oquicuxanoticatca." It carries the following conclusion: "Juan de la Cruz, muy Sr. mio... se concluye en este Bocabulario para qe. se estingue en qualquier cosa en algunas personas y lo firme Martín José."

3. "A manuscript written in alternating Nahuatl and Spanish phrases, dealing with the Mexican calendar and the early Mexican tribes; evidently an exercise in translation." 5 pp.
4. "Definitions of a few Nahuatl terms." 2 pp.

This and 3) are written in the same hand, different from 1) and 2). Seems to date from the early 19th century. Clearly a work in progress, the Nahuatl text includes some Spanish, usually written in pencil.

5. "Bibliography of works on various Indian languages, ranging in date from 1555 to 1844." 2 pp.

Probably a list of books owned by someone or a specialized catalogue since it includes size and other descriptive elements.

6. "A Nahuatl-Spanish vocabulary." 2 pp.

Titled "Codex Lingue Mexicana", it probably dates from the late 18th century.

M-M 465 Mateo, Lucas
Catecismo Hispano-Mexicano...
 48 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 cm August 19, 1714

Ramírez 513

"A catechism of Christian doctrine for the instruction of children and young people, with Spanish and Nahuatl texts in parallel columns. Transcribed by Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia."

The conclusion of the work is as follows: "En 19 de Agosto de 1714 acabe de escribir este papel... y pongo aqui mi nombre y mi firma yo Don Lucas Mateo." This could imply that Mateo was not the author

but the copyist of the original work. He is not mentioned in Beristain de Souza, and his name suggests that he might be part of the Indian nobility.

The work opens with four pages of introductory material, including the translation into Nahuatl of a poem which stresses to children the importance of making the sign of the cross. The actual "Doctrina" begins on page 5. It also contains prayers for various occasions. It seems that the original document, from which Chimalpopoca Galicia copied was damaged with some loss of text.

M-M 139 *Metodo facil y breve para aprender el ydioma mexicano.*
18 pp. 15 x 21.5 cm [late 17th-early 18th cen.]

Ramírez 535

"A primer for Spanish students of the Aztec language in Mexico, explaining pronunciation, parts of speech, conjugation of verbs, and other fundamental points."

As usual the author of this grammar uses the verb "tlazotla" as the example for conjugation. He then discusses compound verbs with -to, -co, -huetzi, and the various progressive tenses. The work ends with reverentials and passives.

M-M 452 *Missions, Mexico.*
Register of Baptisms
48 pp. 15 x 21.5 July, 1597-December, 1610

Ramírez 508

"A baptismal register written in Nahuatl, with the signatures of officiating missionaries, apparently incomplete at beginning and end.

"Signatures include those of Sebastian de Aguilar... and Juan de Vargas."

This piece comes from the region of Apa and Tepeapulco, probably from the village of San Francisco Tlalanapan, a sub-*cabecera* under Tepeapulco. This town, and region, was administered by the Franciscans, and indeed all of the priests whose signatures are conserved were friars. The catalogue entry, above, lists twelve friars, which reflects only a small part of the total in the register.

On p. 21 there is the following introduction: "1599. En tiempo que aqui fue G[ua]r[dia]n el Pe. Frai Juan de Vargas se baptizaron los siguientes: Jullio 15..."

- M-M 455 Molina, Alonso de
*Ordinanças para proverchar los cofradias allos que an de
 servir en estas Ospitalles*
 54 pp. 15 x 21.5 September 3, 1552

Ramírez 538

"A set of rules in Nahuatl drawn up by the Franciscan, Molina, for the guidance of members of brotherhoods serving certain hospitals."

Molina's Nahuatl inscription reads: "nican motenehua Axcan ya caxtollí ypan tonalli ypan meztli setiembre. Auh in xihuitl ycmotlacatilli yntotaçotemaquixticatzin Jesu Christo de 1552 annos." Thus the date should correctly read September 18, not 3. Other than the date, this copy seems to be the same as the incomplete copy held at Tulane University. For further information see the introduction to this catalogue.

- M-M 456 Motolinía, Toribio de, d. 1568
*La vida, y muerte, de tres niños de Tlaxcala que murieron
 por la confession de la fee ... traducida al Mexicano ...*
 67 pp. 15.5 x 20.5 cm. [19th cen. copy]

Ramírez 536

"The story of the Tlaxcalan child martyrs, Cristobal, Antonio, and Juan, as written in Spanish by the missionary Motolinía in the 16th century, and translated into Nahuatl by the Franciscan Juan Bautista in 1601. This copy, in Nahuatl, was made from the original Bautista ms. in 1859 by Chimalpopocatl Galicia, at the request of J. F. Ramírez, and under his supervision."

This work was published in 1601 in Mexico under Juan Bautista's name, by the house of Dávalos. The original manuscript from which both the printed edition and this one were taken is housed in the Library of the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, as part of the Boturini collection. Ramírez reports that after identifying the manuscript and checking it with a Spanish copy in the National Archive, he entrusted it to Chimalpopoca Galicia for copying. The work is complete in 11 chapters.

Following the Nahuatl version there are three pages containing a summary in Spanish and the beginning of a synopsis of chapter 1-8, also in Spanish.

García Icazbalceta, in his *Bibliografía mexicana* gives a brief history of the work (pp. 471-2). Most sources indicate that the printed version of this work is extremely rare.

- M-M 454 Olmos, Andrés de (ca. 1491-1571).
Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana . . .
 182 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 [1547?-1563?]

Ramírez 604

"A collection of copies, including an incomplete Spanish grammar of the Nahuatl languages (1547?); a Nahuatl treatise (1563?) on the Ten Commandments, designed for Indian neophytes and containing a Spanish prologue which refers to the author's earlier work on the subject; a Nahuatl treatise and dialogue (1563) on preparation for the Sacrament of the Eucharist, also with a prologue mentioning an earlier similar work; a monologue in Nahuatl, representing Spiritual advice from an Indian father to his son; and two pages in Spanish containing a cosmographical chart with Spanish explanations."

This important collection of materials by Olmos is discussed further in the introduction.

- . . M-M 467 *Ordenaçion*
 48 pp. 15 x 21 cm. [June, 1629?]

"An incomplete document in Nahuatl, apparently an ordinance on the administration, primarily judicial, of Mexico City and neighboring regions, based upon a decree issued by Philip I in 1500. An appended notation, dated June, 1629, bears several signatures, evidently of Indian municipal officials."

This piece deals with regulation of municipal government in Mexico and its juridical proceedings, mentioning the *alcalde mayor*, *corregidor*, *alcalde ordinario*. The decree of D. Felipe and Da. Juana deals with the taking of testimony. It is probably a copy of an earlier decree which was later re-issued to the *audiencia* of Mexico.

It is incomplete and in fragile condition. There is some loss of text due to excessive wear on the lower right corner.

- M-M 460 *Ordenanças de su magestad*
 10 pp. and 10 pp. blank 16 x 20.5 [16th century]

Ramírez 539

"A digest, in Nahuatl, of Spanish laws for the government of the Indies. Issued in the reign of Philip II."

The document is decorated with intricate initials in red, black and silver. The ordinance dates from the early reign of Philip II, since he

still mentions his mother. While on the surface it seems to be complete, there is no date near the end, even though the last paragraph begins: "Oca yzquitlamantli," in conclusion.

There is some marginalia in Spanish, which along with the text in Nahuatl, indicate that the decree deals with the extirpation of old religious customs among the Indians and the importance of Church attendance.

- M-MM 484 Pinart, Alfonse Louise (1852-1911) comp.
Linguistic Material pertaining to the Indians of Mexico.
 Nahuatl Manuscript.
 3 pp. 10:5 x 15.5 [17th century?]

"Unidentified Ms. in Nahuatl; ascribed by Dr. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno as early 17th cen."

Removed from the field notebook of Alphonse Pinart. It is a declaration by the Indian governor and *alcaldes*, of an unstated town concerning the travel of Francisco de la Cruz, perhaps one of their members.

- M-M 93 Ramírez, José Fernando
Documentos Historicos sobre Durango.
 626 pp. Ms. and printed 20.5 x 31 1560-1847

"A collection of 31 items (originals, copies, summaries and translations) relating chiefly to the religious and civil history of Durango and other portions of the Provincias Internas, from 1553 to the early nineteenth century; compiled under the personal direction of Ramírez, a native of Durango.

"...[I]ncluding two Mss. by Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia on Aztec participation in the 1563 expedition into New Vizcaya and distribution of duties among the Indians of Nombre de Dios..."

This description of the foundation of Nombre de Dios has been published, edited, and translated with an accompanying explanation and documentation by Robert H. Barlow and George T. Smisor, *Nombre de Dios, Durango: Two Documents in Nahuatl Concerning its Foundation* (Sacramento, 1943). The Spanish translation was done by Chimalpopocatl, the translation to English, from Nahuatl, by Smisor.

The manuscript carries the following final inscription: "Aqui para el manuscrito antiguo que he traducido graciosam[en]te p[o]r encargo especial del Señor Licdo. Dn. Juan Rodriguez Puebla. Mexico 31 de 1845. Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia."

- M-M 100 Rosa Figueroa, Francisco Antonio de la
*Tesoro catequístico Yndiano. Espejo de Doctrina cristiana
 y política para la instruccion de los Yndios en el idioma
 castellano y mexicano . . .*
 602 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 cm. [1744-1770]

Ramírez 317

"Spanish text and Indian translation of a catechism and manual of religious instruction for Indians, prepared by the Franciscan friar and Inquisition familiar, Rosa Figueroa, and based in part upon the short catechism of the Jesuit, Bartolomé Castaño; with introductory material in Spanish for both language versions.

"Begun in December, 1744, in the settlement of Ixpetaltzinco of the Federal District; corrected and expanded in 1770."

The general content of this work fits one ascribed to him by Beristain: "un tomo en 4o muy grueso, intitulado: Tesoro Indiano dogmático, moral, ascético y político: o Diálogos entre un Párroco y un Indio," in two columns, Spanish and Nahuatl.

This piece is not bi-columnar, but does have contents similar to those described. In the introduction to this work, Rosa Figueroa tells how he incorporated all of his manuscripts and books into the collection of the Franciscan monastery of Mexico. The present work was prepared for publication in 1744, but was not published. It was considered by him to be a companion piece to his *Florilegio de Artes del Ydioma*.

It is a complicated work, covering much more than just pure questions of doctrine and moral theology. It contains prayers, descriptions of rituals and ceremonies, and the dialogue referred to by Beristain.

- M-M 463 *Sagradas escrituras en latino-Mexicano*
 78 pp. 14.5 x 19.5 [17th century?]

Ramírez 507

"Selected passages from the Old and New Testaments. Latin texts followed by translations into Nahuatl, with marginal citations."

The work is incomplete at beginning and end, with no noticeable gaps internally. It contains a wide variety of short selections from scripture in Latin followed by Nahuatl. The passages jump from one section of the *Bible* to another seemingly at random. The Nahuatl glosses always begin with "quitoznequi" a rough equivalent of the Spanish "quiere decir", it wants to say. In the latter parts of the manuscript this is abbreviated to "q. n." The last three pages lack Biblical citations, and consist of very short words or phrases from the liturgy: "Miserere q. n. nechtlaoctia."

- M-M 453 *Santa María La Redonda. Mexico*
Record of land distribution.
 5 pp. 15.5 x 21.5 cm. [18th century]

Ramírez 508 (part)

"A record in Nahuatl of lands distributed among the Indians of the *doctrina* of Santa María la Redonda, which apparently included the ward of Teocaltitlan in Mexico City. A *doctrina* was an Indian village consecrated to the Christian religion."

This work probably pertains to other documents from the *barrio* of Santa María la Redonda, which was administered for eighteen years by Fr. Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa. In addition to this piece, and the other by Rosa Figueroa in the Bancroft, several are held by the Newberry Library of Chicago.

This particular work is a memorial of a distribution of land made around the turn of the eighteenth century, some fifty years before the writing of the manuscript. In the Spanish conclusion to the work, the author indicates that the memorial has been written in an attempt to clarify land titles, since the region described had grown in population in the ensuing fifty years.

- M-M 464 *Santoral en Mexicano.*
 498 pp. 11 x 15.5 cm. [17th century?]

Ramírez 542

"A collection in Nahuatl containing biographies of saints and miscellaneous items of a religious nature. Also Included are Indian proverbs and metaphors, with Spanish translations, several Aesop's fables, and other tales."

The following are notes typewritten by María Teresa Miranda: [the manuscript begins on f. 197]

- ff. 197-244 Santoral
- ff. 245-251 oraciones diversas
- ff. 253-260 publicación de la bula
- ff. 261-266 pláticas diversas
- ff. 270-289 pláticas y oraciones diversas
- ff. 290-295 explicación de la misa y ornamentos que se usan
- ff. 296-303 oraciones
- ff. 307-345 ejemplos diversos sobre los santos
- ff. 347-412 más ejemplos tomados de vidas de santos
- ff. 413-417 algunos refranes de la lengua mexicana con traducción al español

- ff. 418-420 metáforas muy elegantes de esta lengua mexicana, con traducción al español
- ff. 421-426 algunas fábulas de Esopo
- ff. 427-46 cuentos diversos en mexicano

Clearly this is the second half of a larger collection. Although written in different hands throughout, it seems to be a single piece. In binding and trimming the pages there has been some minor loss of text. It is overwhelmingly written in Nahuatl, except for the last few bi-lingual selections. In brief it is a collection of popular or folk literature in the Western tradition cast in Nahuatl, complimented by a very short section on native folk traditions, which are translated into Spanish.

- M-M 459 *Sermones en Mexicano.*
 1224 pp. 10.2 x 14.5 [16th century?]

Ramírez 543

"A collection of sermons designed to include one or more for each Sunday of the year, incomplete. It is written in Nahuatl, with Latin headings and citations."

The Latin phrases are written in red ink, the text in black. The red ink is water soluble, and had run and faded in the past. The collections begins, as usual, with the First Sunday of Advent, but ends incomplete with the third sermon of Proper 22.

It carries the following title: "In nomine domini incipiunt sermões dominicales per totum anni circuituz in lingua mexicana."

- M-M 231 Soria, Francisco de
Ystoria y Fundacion de la Ciudad de Tlaxcala y sus quatro caveseras sacada por Francisco de Soria de lengua castellana a esta Mexicana . . .
 96 pp. 16 x 22 cm. [19th century copy]

Ramírez 810

"A Nahuatl translation, Mexico 1718, of a treatise in Spanish on the founding and history of the city of Tlaxcala. Authorship of the original variously ascribed to an early Christian cacique, to Juan de Torquemada, and to Diego Muñoz Camargo. This translation was copied by José Magdaleno Rosales from a 12 folio Ms. in the Archivo General del Imperio [sic., Archivo General de las Indias?]. Beristain, *Bibliotheca Hispano Americana Septentrional*, vol. III, p. 134, refers to a very simi-

lar work written originally in Nahuatl and translated into Spanish by Francisco de Loaysa. For a more detailed bibliographical discussion see Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 257-258."

- 73/91 *A Spanish-Aztec Dictionary with a few notes on semantics.*
 m
 Photocopy 232 pp. [13 x 20 cm?] [17-18th cen.]

"Interesting manuscript of an early anonymous Aztec dictionary. The author says he disagrees on several points as to the connotation of certain Aztec words with Alonso de Molina . . ."

The manuscript was offered for sale with Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, on November 14, 1972, Sale 3436, *item* 351. The Bancroft received a photocopy of the piece, but does not know the current place of ownership.

The piece carries the following inscription: "This manuscript was taken from the archives in the Palace of the City of Mexico by the guerrillas and recaptured by the undersigned in the city when offered for sale in the Portillo. City of Mexico 5th May 1848 J. Foster Marshall. Capt. Compy. E. P. Regt."

- 84/116 *Titulos Mercedes, escrituras y demas Documentos que per-*
 m *tencen a las Haz[ienda]s nombradas antiguamente*
 Yoyocotlan y Tlayoc y reducidas hoy a una que se nombra
 Sta. Theresa y Nrtra. Sra. de Guadalupe sita en Juris-
 diccion de la villa de Coyoacan que es propia de Dn.
 Juan Jose de Otieza.
 1956 pp. 21.5 x 31 cm. 1556-1784

"Bound in 18th century vellum. Some leaves a little stained, but none seriously. Some very minor worming to the inner margins of about 75 leaves. Partially loose in binding.

"This volume documents the growth of a family's landholdings in the region of Coyoacan, Mexico, during the 16th century, the family's vicissitudes during the early 17th century, its encumbering the land with mortgages in the middle of that century, and the subsequent problems of inheritance and consolidation in the 18th century.

"While the vast bulk of the material is in Spanish, there are approximately seventy or eighty documents in Nahuatl and two Indian-style maps on European paper. The material in Nahuatl is virtually all land sales, but there is one lengthy document relating to debts. The Nahuatl documents are all originals, signed by the Indians involved."

(From William H. Allen, Bookseller, Catalogue 262, Latin America, by David M. Szewczyk and Lawrie H. Merz, Spring, 1984, pp. 10-11).

This newly acquired piece contains the documents pertaining to the haciendas of D. Juan José Otieza in Coyoacan. Scattered throughout the collection are various sales contracts and receipts in Nahuatl, dealing with land transfer from Indians to Spaniards in the consolidation of the estate. It also contains two maps of the territory encompassed by the hacienda, f. 281 from the sixteenth century, and f. 868 from the eighteenth.

71/20 Tlaltizapan, Morelos.
 Libro de casamientos y entierros...
 66 pp. 21.5 x 31 cm. 1660-1673

"Register of marriages and deaths for the town of Tlaltizapan, signed by various parish priests."

The town of Tlaltizapan is located southeast of Cuernavaca, and south of Yautepec in the modern state of Morelos. In the period covered by this manuscript it was ecclesiastically administered by Dominicans from Yautepec, after 1591.

The document was bound in *amate* paper. The register consists of two sections. Pages 1-42 contain marriages, 44-65 burials. In addition all entries before December 13, 1663 are in Nahuatl.

The opening inscription in Spanish: "Libro de casamientos y entierros del pueblo de Tlaltizapan y sus barrios, desde el año de 1660 se comenso a 15 dias del mes de enero, siendo Provincial N. Muy Rdo. O. Mo. fray Diego de Arellano y vicario el Rdo. Pe. Fray Jhoan de Pastrana."

The Nahuatl inscription: "Libro nican San Miguel Tlaltizapan omcan mi cuilohua ynix quichtin momamictia yhuan ynix quichtin momiquilia huehueytlaca yhuan pipiltzintzintin nican motecpana. Axcan nipan metztli Ennero de 1660 Años."

The entries began to be written in 1663 when the religious order commanded that only the parish priest write entries in the vital statistics registers. This implies that before that date Indian scribes had been writing the entries.

M-M 1733 Tlaxcala.
 Legal Documents
 126 folders in 9 boxes 21.5 x 31 cm 1568-1770

"Miscellaneous legal papers, mostly signed originals dealing with both civil and criminal cases, arranged in chronological order. The collection consists mainly of records from Tlaxcalan administrative tribunals, with

some documents from the Real Audiencia de Mexico, and its criminal court, from the Santa Hermandad, and from the tribunal of the Santa Cruzada. Includes records of criminal, land, and inheritances cases in Tlaxcala and its environs; enlistment provisions; and one genealogical records. Many cases involve the treatment of the Indians."

The bulk of these materials come from the period 1600-45, only the first box, and the last three items of the last box date from before or after. Most items are in Spanish. Possibly small amounts of Nahuatl scattered within files. An example is three receipts from 1616 in folder num. 38, box 3.

