

SAHAGÚN'S "DOCTRINAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA"

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"The prologue 'To the Prudent Reader' with which Sahagún preceded the text of the *Coloquios* shows us that the plan of the work was vast", Nicolau D'Olwer writes;¹ "it was to be part of a sort of doctrinal encyclopaedia..." The plan was to follow his *Coloquios y doctrina christiana*, which he was arranging and compiling in 1564, with, in order, a catechism or *doctrina*, a chronicle of evangelism in New Spain, and "an explanation or commentary (*una declaración o postilla*) of all the epistles and gospels in the scriptural texts for all the Sundays (*dominicas*) of the year... very suitable in language and subject matter to the abilities of the Indians..."² The compilation of the chronicle was abandoned even as its place in the scheme was announced, since Motolinía had already written one. The commentary or *Postilla* was planned to be a major work so large as to need a volume to itself, and for various reasons consideration of it has become so complicated as to be a stumbling-block for the bibliographer.³ Whether it is what is sometimes known as the Beltrami Codex that Biondelli published in 1858,⁴ the *Sermionario* and *Santoral* written in 1540 and corrected and expanded in 1563,⁵ or a different and now lost collection of *Epistolas y Evange-*

¹ Luis Nicolau D'Olwer: "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún", *Historiadores de América*, ix, México, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1952, p. 61.

² Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: "Colloquios y doctrina christiana", in Walter Lehmann, tr. and ed.: "Sterbende Götter und Christliche Heilsbotschaft", in Gerdt Kutscher, ed.: *Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen*, iii, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1949, p. 52-53.

³ Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su obra*, México, Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938, p. 16.

⁴ Ed. Bernardinus Biondelli: *Evangeliarium, epistolarium et lectionarium aztecum sive mexicanum, ex antiquo codice mexicano nuper reperto depromptum*, Milán, 1858.

⁵ *Ayer MS 1485*, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

lios dominicales,⁶ there still exist what appear to be the complete text of the twenty-six *Additiones* to the *Postilla* (1568? 1577?) with an incomplete copy of the same in whose title appears the statement that it is the *declaraci3 breue de las tres virtudes theologales*; and a part of the *Apendiz* (1579), which originally contained seven *tenenotzaliztli* or admonitions, of which only the fifth (incomplete), sixth, and seventh remain.⁷

These Nahuatl writings of Sahagún were a part of the body of devotional works that such missionaries as Sahagún, Olmos, Molina, Mendieta, and probably most of the regular clergy then in New Spain considered essential for the effective conversion of recently or still pagan populations then and for a long time to come speaking their native languages. During the two decades between 1560 and 1580 Sahagún succeeded in writing or compiling a great deal of such material before the ecclesiastical and crown policies that had at first encouraged such activities in the end stifled them. While it had still seemed possible that strict application of these policies of suppression might be mitigated in New Spain, the *Cantares* (published in 1583 as the *Psalmodia*), the *Coloquios* and *Doctrina*, the *Sermonario*, and the *Postilla* with its *Additiones* and *Apendiz* were completed, as well as the *Ejercicio cotidiano*, to mention works that today exist complete or in part and can be assigned dates with some certainty. Sahagún's colleagues appear to have encouraged him consistently in these efforts, if the *Informe de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio al Visitador Lic. Juan de Ovando*, published as the *Códice franciscano*,⁸ is an indication. This report, written, García Icazbalceta thinks, by Mendieta, names both Frs. Alonso de Molina and Bernardino de Sahagún as the best *nahuatlato*s:

⁶ Luis Nicolau D'Olwer and Howard F. Cline: "Sahagún and His Works", in Howard F. Cline and John B. Glass, eds.: "Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources", Part Two, in vol. 13 of Robert Wauchope, gen. ed.: *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1973, p. 204-205; Charles E. Dibble and Norma B. Mikkelsen: "La olografía de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún", *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 1971, ix, p. 232; Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino*, p. 16, 18.

⁷ These make up *Ayer MS 1486*, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. I am indebted to Mr. Wayne Ruwet of the College Library, University of California, Los Angeles, for a copy of this MS. — See also Nicolau D'Olwer and Cline: "Sahagún", p. 205, and Jiménez Moreno, *Fray Bernardino*, p. 16-17.

⁸ Ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, México. Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941, p. x-xi, 61. My free translation.

...they are the ones who can translate anything into the Mexican language and can write in it, as they have done for many years and do today without tiring. It would be a great service to God, to His Majesty, and to the natives if the Viceroy were ordered and the Prelates of the Order were advised that while these two monks are still alive (for both are now old) they be accorded all the assistance and favor possible to devote themselves to writing in the aforesaid Mexican language, for to do so will greatly enlighten those who in the future are to undertake to preach and to administer the Sacraments to the natives of New Spain; for I realize that none will understand the secrets and qualities of the aforesaid language as well as these two, who have achieved it from the natural speech of the old natives, which the younger ones are already beginning to corrupt.

Sahagún's evaluation of his own efforts appears in his prologue to Book x of the *General History of the Things of New Spain*:

Although preaching is considered to be evangelical and apostolic, it must appear very clear that the preaching of Catholic preachers should be of vices and virtues, encouraging the one and discouraging the other. And the most constant should be the urging upon [people] of the theological virtues and dissuading them from the vices at variance with them. (And of this there is much material in the first six Books of the [*General*] *History* and in the *Postilla* dealing with the epistles and the gospels for all the Sundays of the year which I prepared...).⁹

For these works it can be said that Sahagún developed his own literary style. Dibble and Mikkelsen, in their studies,¹⁰ are impressed by differences that they attribute, in the *Sermonario* and *Santoral*, to the absence of most of the parallel structures and figures of speech usual in the later *Huehuetlatolli* and in Book vi of the *General History*, and, in the *Postilla*, as due to Sahagún's "maintaining a degree of independence between the *History* and his 'Doctrina.' The limited use of Nahuatl literary style in the 'Postilla' is consistent with views he expresses elsewhere" concerning the need

⁹ Index and preliminary volume of the *Florentine Codex*, in press; translation by Charles E. Dibble.

¹⁰ Dibble and Mikkelsen: "La olografía", p. 232; Charles E. Dibble: "The Nahuatlization of Christianity", in Munro S. Edmonson, ed.: *Sixteenth-century México: the Work of Sahagún*, Albuquerque, University of New México Press, 1974, p. 230-232.

to avoid names and terms recalling the paganism to be extirpated. "Perhaps", Dibble continues, "he equated many of the metaphors with the *cantares* at the end of Book 2, which he recorded but failed to translate..."

It certainly was not that Sahagún (or he and his alumni of the Royal College of Santa Cruz) were unequal to the task of reproducing the literary forms of preconquest Aztec masters. If the occasion demanded the old florid style, if rhapsodizing was called for, it was forthcoming, as it occasionally was in the *Psalmodia*. Some examples follow.

The canticle to be sung *In die sancti Bernardini* begins thus:

Ma ticmauigoca in quetzalueuētl	Let us praise the quetzal-cypress
in tizinitzcanpuchotl in quimoxo-	The trogon-ceiba tree that God
altilia in totecuio Dios	our Lord made bud
in ichoatl in sant Francisco	He who is Saint Francis
Nouian cernanaoac motececoalhui-	All over the world their cover
lia immalacaio	
imecauhio in isquich ipilhoa sanc-	Their shadow protects all chil-
ta iglesia...	dren of the holy Church... ¹¹

In die Penthecostes is celebrated with a canticle that begins thus:

Ma oalmoquetza ma oncaoani in	Let our golden upright drum be
toteocuitlaueueuh	set erect. Let it be famed
ma ic onauialo	Let there be joy with it
ma ontlagomilini in tochalchiuh-	Let our two-toned drum of jade
teponaz	reverberate in precious sound
ma netotilo	Let there be dancing
ma onnetlamachtilo...	Let there be gladness... ¹²

For the *Dominica in Septuagesima* a song of lamentation or *tlacolcuicatl* opens the canticle:

Tla xiccaquica	Hear this
in antepilhoa	You who are children
in anchristianome	You who are Christians

¹¹ Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Psalmodia Christiana y sermonario de los santos del año, en lengua mexicana*, México, Pedro Ocharte, 1583, fol. 89 v.

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 92 v.

onteuxihaoachpixaui onquetzal-	The weeping of our holy mother
maquitzetzeliui in ichoquiz in	Church rains gently down in
itlaocul in tonantzi sancta igle-	precious turquoise drops
sia	Her pity rains down like wrist
	bands emplumed with fine plu-
	mes
no yoã xicchocaca	You must weep for her too
ma icnotlamati in amoiollo	Let your hearts become sad
In qualti iecti tepilhaa in iquac	When parents weep tears
choca tlaocua innaoa intaoa	When pity they show
ca no yoan icnoia in iillo...	The hearts of good children as
	well show their ruth... ¹³

An the celebration *In die stigmatum beati Francisci* begins thus:

Vel ontlauiastoc in nepapan su-	The various flowers lie truly
chitl	gleaming
centlalmotecatoc in closuchitl	Magnolias lie all spread about
	the ground
in cacaoasuchitl	With lezarza flowers
in mecasuchitl	With vanilla flowers
Alleluia	Aleluya
In cacaoasuchitl	Lexarza flowers
in tlapalizquisuchitl òtlatlatzcati-	Bourreria flowers are sparkling
mani oncuecuepuntoc	Each one lies bursting open
Alleluia alleluia...	Aleluya aleluya... ¹⁴

But such examples are rare. For most of the *Psalmodia* the literary style, as Garibay has pointed out, makes it evident that it is Sahagún, not an Indian, who speaks.¹⁵ As for the twenty-six additions to the *Postilla*, Dibble's study of them establishes that their language has "no indication that he incorporated the richness of metaphor contained in Book 6" of the *General History*, which he may have recently been translating into Spain;¹⁶ "rather, it compares

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 32 v.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 172 v.

¹⁵ Angel M. Garibay K.: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, México, Editorial Porrúa, 1954, vol. II, p. 100.

¹⁶ Dibble: "Nahuatlization", p. 230. The *Postilla*, according to Sahagún's own statement in the Prologue to Book II of the *General History*, was begun when he first presented his *minuta* or *memoria* to informants in Tepepulco, presumably in 1558. It was reorganized in 1576-1578. If the *Addiciones*, however, were written in 1579, as may be inferred from internal evidence, Sahagún's memory

in this regard to the 1540 manuscript... In fact, he yielded less to the Nahuatl literary style than did Olmos in the Christian sermons of the Huehuetlatolli..."

It is true that the style of composition in the *Additiones* to the *Postilla*, compared with that of the examples just given and with native poetry, is stark. Such parallel constructions as are to be found are formulae rather than ornaments — *moteupoa in njs in noiollo* (my face, my heart are afflicted); *qualli iectli* and *in aqualli in aiectli* (good, righteous and their opposites); *cenca ic tipapaquiz, timoiollaliz, timotlamachtiz* (you will greatly rejoice, you will be consoled, you will delight), and others of similar pattern. In the *Ejercicio cotidiano*, which may not have been intended as a part of Sahagún's doctrinal encyclopaedia but was written (or rather, rewritten) in the same epoch (1574) and is therefore mentioned with those writings, there is a little further relaxation of Sahagún's literary austerity and of his stricter scruples. God is referred to as *totecuiyo ipalnemohuani* (our Lord through Whom there is life) as well as *teotl dios*. The holy Virgin is addressed with a pretty figure of speech: *huel titlaçochalchihiuitl titeoxihuitl* (you are indeed as precious jade, as fine turquoise). And in connection with the descent of the Holy Ghost we are given a description reminiscent of a figure of speech (*machiotlatolli*) in Chapter 43 of Book vi — *omatzayan in ilhuicatl* (the heavens split open). But for the most part the parallelism formulae are used as in the *Additiones*.

In content, these manuscripts are quite different. The *Ejercicio cotidiano*,¹⁷ with, after an untitled prologue, seven sections each with its scriptural quotation and its translation and commentary, its meditations, prayers, and exhortations, revolves about the life of Christ, the qualities and sorrows of the Holy Virgin and St. Joseph, the importance of the Three Kings and of St. John the Baptist, the nature of God and the Trinity, the place of the church and its commandments, and the like, and emphasizes the last supper, the Passover, and communion though not the crucifixion itself. It would be interesting to compare it with similar devotional works current in Europe in late medieval or early renaissance times. As it is in

of the contents of Book vi, translated into Spanish in 1577, could have been fresh. But they may have been written in 1568, as Nicolau D'Olwer and Cline, with a query, suggest, Nicolau D'Olwer and Cline, "Sahagún", p. 204-205.

¹⁷ *Ayer MS 1484*, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. I am indebted to Dr. Charles E. Dibble, OAA, for a copy of this MS.

the manuscript, it is in beautifully correct and legibly written Nahuatl, and what Sahagún says of it (in Spanish) at its close suggests that he must have felt some pride in its production:

I found this exercise among the Indians. I do not know who produced it nor who gave it to him. It had many errors and incongruities. But in truth it may be said that it was rewritten rather than that it was corrected. In this year of 1574. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.

Both the twenty-six additions to the *Postilla* and the *Apendiz* are more complicated works, although in both literary style and content the *Additiones* can be compared with the *Ejercicio*. Both of these works promote what Sahagún considers most important in the passage already quoted from Book x of the *General History*: they urge the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity), and attack "the vices at variance with them", as the subtitle of the *Additiones* indicates — *declaraciō breue de las tres virtudes theologales*.

A prologue and twenty-five subsequent chapters make up the twenty-six "additions", and the instructions and exhortations, with occasional, very brief biblical quotations and their translations, present quite detailed explanations of what is meant by each of the theological virtues and end with powerful descriptions of Hell, Heaven, and death and the Last Judgment. It is notable that the translations of holy writ usually incorporate so much explanatory comment that they often cannot be taken as true translations. The rendition of the following example, "*Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, etc.*" is fairly typical:

quitoznequj. In tinopiltzin yn otimoquatequj, yn noujc otimonetolti: in ie tinomaceoal, in ie tinopiltzin: yzca in motequiuh, in monaoatil in ticmonemjiztiz: yn jxqujch cahujtl tinemjz. Cenca motech monequj, yn ticmotlaçotiliz in moteouh yn motlatocatzin, much ica moiollo...

Thas is, you who are My son, who have been baptized, who were promised to Me, who already are My vassal, who already are My son, here is your task, your obligation that you are to adopt as a way of life all the time that you are to live. It is very necessary for you that you love your deity, your Lord, with all your heart...¹⁸

¹⁸ *Ayer MS 1486*. The quotation is from Chapter 5 of the *Additiones*; there is no foliation.

Some real complications are in the *Apendiz* of seven "admonitions", of which, as has been noted, the first four and the beginning of the fifth are lacking. The sixth and seventh of these admonitions were written with Book VI of the *General History* in mind, as is stated in the heading introducing the seventh:

Nican vmpeoa ynic chicontlamantli tenonotzaliztli ynic yehuatzin tonantzin sancta yglesia Romana quinmononochilia y nican nueva España tlaca, yn itechpa ie uecauh tlamantiliztli ynic quinnetoltiaia inpilhuan ynic vmpa calaquizque yn i calmecac, anogco vncan in telpochcalli, yn iuh ycuiliuhtoc yn ipan yc umpohualli Capitulo ynic chiquacentel amoxtli, yn itechpa tlatoa in Rethorica, yoã philosophia, yhuan theologia in quipiaia nican nueva España tlaca...

Here begins the seventh admonition by which the holy Roman Church admonishes the natives of New Spain concerning the ancient customs when they promised that their children would enter the *calmecac* or there into the *telpochcalli*, as it lies written in the fortieth chapter of the Sixth Book, which tells of the rhetoric, and the philosophy, and the theology which the natives of New Spain guarded...¹⁹

The sixth admonition makes use of the twenty-second chapter, without its being so noted in the heading of the section, which merely states:

...Itech omocuic in tenonotzaliztli, injc iehoanti veuetque quinnotzaia intelpuchhoa, in jpampa in teixpa nematcanemjiztli.

...It has been taken from the admonitions with which the old men admonished their older boys for the purpose of [their] living prudently in the presence of others.²⁰

For the purpose to which Sahagún put these extracts from Book VI, he followed advice given in the chapter heading of Chapter 19 of that book, which reads: "This discourse especially should be memorized, if it is to be used for instruction, for it is a very good discourse; but that which is not necessary is to be changed. It is especially useful

¹⁹ *Ibid.* (*Apendiz*).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

for the older boys, for the older girls."²¹ One notes, however, the remark, referring to the *Apendiz*, that these works are exclusively for the use of priests and preachers.²² Chapter 22 is quoted consecutively, almost completely, with a few brief omissions (some of which are obviously due to hasty copying), and with some additions suitable to the instruction of young Christians. Chapter 40 is also quoted consecutively and almost completely. Omissions are fewer; there are numerous errors and one or two substitutions as in Chapter 22. The second person plural replaces the singular number of Book vi.

So in this admonition he writes:

...ca ypampa y namechilhuia y,
huel muchi intlatol in vehuetque
ca in quallito, ca in tlaiequi qui-
nelohuani yn amo quallj, namech-
melahuilizquia...

...for this reason I tell you this,
that [in] indeed all the dis-
courses of the old men that were
well said, that were righteous,
they were wont to mingle what
was evil, which I would explain
to you...²³

And in his seventh admonition he prefaces its long attack upon *calmecac* and *telpochcalli* as inventions of Lucifer with the following statement:

...ypampa ...yn amelahuiloz-
que²⁴ yhuā annemachtiloque,
namechpohuiliznequi yn ixquich
y nicmati yn oncā muchihuaya
ynic vncā calaquia in calmecac
in telpuchcalli ca onechilhuite-
huaque in vevetque yn oncā omo-
huapauhque yn oncā onenque in
much vncā oquittaue auh ca yn

...because ...you are to be in-
formed and warned, I wish to
narrate to you all that I know
that was done there when they
entered the *calmecac* [or] the
telpochcalli. The old men who
had been taught there, who had
lived there, as they departed told
me all that they had seen there.

²¹ Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy", *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, Book vi, Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, trs. and eds., Santa Fe, The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1969, p. 99.

²² Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois: *Vida y obra de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, León, Institución "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún", CSIC, 1973, p. 79; *Ayer MS 1486* (note at end of Prologue).

²³ *Ayer MS, 1486*.

²⁴ Read *ann-*.

iquac omoquatequique in ye And when they were baptized,
 otechztinco²⁵ pachihque. to.^o when they approached our Lord
 dios, oncah pohuilique y namech- God, then they narrated what I
 pohuiliznequi ynic amo amotla- wish to narrate to you, so that
 pololtitinemizque²⁶ yn itechpa yn you may not live in forgetfulness
 itlamanitiliz catca yn ipā in cal- of what their customs were in the
 mecac yhuan in telpochcallj. *calmecac* and in the *telpochcalli*.²⁷

At the end of this passage on *calmecac* and *telpochcalli* he repeats: "I wish to tell you, concerning their customs, what was good, what was evil, in what they did" (*namechnolhuiliznequi in quenami ynltamanitiliz in tlein quallj in tlein aquallj in quichihuaya*).²⁸

What survives of the fifth admonition contains no overt reference to Book vi of the *General History*, but the weeping, penances, and vigils of small children, admiration of prehispanic priests for their chaste lives, and belief in the Tlalocs and their work, found in Chapter 20, are denounced. So are beliefs in the blessed state of small children dying young (if unbaptized), in their "Tree of our Sustenance" (*tonacaquahuil*), and in the blessed state of the "good in heart" after death (if unbaptized), as described in Chapter 21. It seems quite likely that the missing first through fourth admonitions must also have contained ideas taken from Book vi.

As to other subject matter in this *Apendiz*: to continue with the fifth admonition, the rest of that section develops a long discussion extolling chastity and virginity and denouncing the sensual (especially sexual) pleasures. The seventh, after the attack upon the ancient *calmecac* and *telpochcalli* as inventions of Lucifer (that is, Tezcatlipoca), for the purpose of denying happiness to children (for Tezcatlipoca's pleasure) and training them to honor the devil, denounces the dances (*netotiliztli*) for the same reason, and then the sort of ritual sadness (*tlavcuyaliztli yn choquiztli yn elçiqiviliztli*) cultivated and praised by pre-conquest Aztecs (in contrast with spiritual sadness, *tevyutica tlavcuyaliztli*, as preached by St. Paul). Likewise evil, excessive joy (*amo qualli* or *tpc papaquiliztli*) is similarly contrasted with spiritual joy (*teviutica papaquiliztli*). The sixth admonition, as has been noted, is largely composed of the warnings against sloth;

²⁵ Read *itech-* or *oitech-*.

²⁶ Read *ammo-*.

²⁷ *Ayer MS 1486*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

unbecoming deportment; bad habits of speech; undue familiarity with strangers, one's superiors, and women; gossip and loose talk; procrastination; unbecoming dress; and unbecoming, unpleasant eating habits and unduly trusting and indiscriminating acceptance of hospitality, familiar to us in Chapter 22 of the *General History*. These are sometimes interrupted by brief instructions on Christian prayer and exhortations to chastity and continence.

We have considered the sections of the *Apendiz* out of their numerical order because the sixth ends with a discussion so uniquely different as to merit quoting at length. The admonitions against unbecoming behavior in public break off with this statement:

yn ipampa ye amotlā cate in castilteca quezquj camatzintli na- mechcaquitiz: ynic amo yntech antlapoltizque.	Because there are Castilians among you, I shall inform you in a few words how not to lose good judgment among them. ²⁹
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The passage in the manuscript has lines drawn through it as if someone had decided not to use it, but since the text is there and is no more illegible than the rest of the manuscript, and since it follows immediately after the undeleted text just given, it may well have been used, even though it seems, perhaps, somewhat uncharacteristic of Sahagún.

The text, which draws his sixth admonition to a close, follows.

Tla xicmocaquiticā yn anotla- çopilhuā ³⁰ ca yn yehuātin in cas- tilteca in Españoles ³¹ yn innacayo yn iyeliz quinenehuilia in castilla miztli ca chicahuac ca temamauh- ti ca tequani yn ixq'chtin yolque cenca quimacaci, auh yn ame- huantin yn amoyeliz yn amona- cayo yuhquima tochtli ynacaio yyeliz intla yehuatl in tochtli yc mochichihuaznequiz in tlein qui- qua, auh y miztli ahuel quimo-	Listen, you who are my beloved children. In body [and] in nat- ure the Castilians, the Spaniards resemble Castilian mountain lions. They are strong, terrifying, man- eating. All animals fear them. But you in your nature, in your bodies, are as rabbits' bodies [and] natures are. If the rabbit wishes to array itself in the way [the mountain lion does, it will need (?)] what [the mountain lion]
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²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Read *anmo*.

³¹ The tilde is omitted in the MS.

nacayotiz ca çan xihuitl yn quiqua, auh y miztli quiqua ca tenacayo auh intla yehuatl yn tochtli ytila nemiznequi y mimizti ca quiquazque, ça no amiuhque yn amehuantin, yntla amiuhque yc amochichihuazque³² yn iuh mochichihua yn Españoles intla iuh annemizque yn iuh nenemi in Españoles yntla noce yuh antlatotznequi yn iuh tlatohua, çan mochi tevetzquiti ynic nequi auh macihuj yn amoyeliz yhuā yn iyeliz yn Españoles³³ nonoqua quiztica y in yehuatl in xpianone-miliztli quicetilia yn amanima yca in español ynic xpiano yhcaconetl mochihua, auh in yndios ynic xpiano çan no yhcaconetl muchihua yc mocetilia yn amanima, auh ca motlaçotli³⁴ motlacamati yehica ca neneuhque ca ym otlamanixti yhcacocone ca motlaçotla motlacamati in qualli xpiano ydio quitlaçotla in qualli xpiano castiltecatl auh ynin tetlaçotlaliztli yc techmonahuatilia yn dios ynic titocentalizque auh in yehuatl indio yn amo ytech ca in xpianoyotl, yuhqui tochtli yxpampa yehua yn Español in Español in amo qualli xpiano, çan iuhqui miztli ca quimacaci momauhtia yxpā moqualocamati yn indio: ca in yehuatl in xpianoyotl techcetilia in ticemanahuac titlahca ca

eats. But it cannot become a mountain lion in body, for it only eats herbs and the mountain lion eats men's flesh. And if the rabbit wishes to live like mountain lions, [the mountain lion] will eat [the rabbit]. You are also like that if you will array yourselves as Spaniards are arrayed. If you will live as Spaniards live, or if you wish to speak as they speak, it all makes them laugh, as they wish. But although your nature and Spaniards' nature go their separate ways, a Christian life makes your souls one with the Spaniard. As a Christian he becomes a lamb; and the Indian as a Christian also becomes a lamb. Thus your souls become as one. And they love each other, they are happy; because both resemble lambs they love each other, they are happy. The good Indian Christian loves the good Spanish Christian, and by this love God commands us to come together. The Indian, if Christianity is not in him, is like the rabbit; he flees from the Spaniard. The Spaniard who is not a good Christian is just like the mountain lion. The Indian fears him, is terrified before him, thinks he is to be eaten. Christianity unifies us people of the world whose natures go many

³² Read *anmo*.

³³ The tilde is omitted in the MS.

³⁴ Read *motlaçotla*; probably the verb is to be regarded as reciprocal in meaning rather than just reflexive.

in toye[liz]³⁵ cenca miyecan [different] ways.
quiztican.

Yn onamechilhuj yn anotlaço-
pilhūā³⁶ ypampa oniquito ynic
amo cenca anquimocuitlahuizque
yn innechichihual in castiltecā,
amo no yn t̄tlaqual, amo no
ymauh, amo no anquitlahecal-
huizque yn iuh t̄tlohua, amo no
anquitlayehcalhuizque yn iuh
nemi ca çan yēhuatl oc cenca
amotech moneq yn ipan oamech-
huapauhque yn amocolhuā in iuh
tlacpac omihto yn itechpa in
xp̄ianonemiliztli ma xiquintlayeye-
calhuia yn qualtin xp̄ianome y
yecnemiliceque y huel quimone-
miliztia yn itenahuatiltz̄ dios yn
amo tlahuana yn amo ychtequi
yn amo teca mocacayahuā. G. Yn
itechpa yn amonechichihual yn
oniquito ca amomocamixatizque,
amoça[ra]uellastizque amosom-
brerotizque, amoçapatotzizque³⁷
ynin ca amo quimatehuaque in
huehuetque, ynin amechvelnextia
yn ixpantzinco d. yhua yn imix-
pan talticpac tlahca, çan ye ix-
quich y notlatol y itechpa ine-
matcanemiliz yn amonacayo.

This I have said to you who
are my beloved children because
I have said that you are not to
concern yourselves much about
the array of Spaniards, nor their
food, nor their drink; nor are you
to imitate the way they speak,
nor are you to imitate the way
they live. Only this is especially
necessary for you: what your
grandfathers trained you in, as
is said above. As to the Christian
life, imitate the good Christians,
those of righteous life who live
according to God's command-
ments, who do not get drunk,
who do not steal, who do not
mock one. As to your array, as
I have said, you are to wear
shirts, you are to wear knee pants
(zaragüelles), you are to wear
hats, you are to wear shoes. The
things that the old men did not
know of as they departed are the
things that ornament you before
God and before the people of
the world. This is all my dis-
course about prudence as to your
bodies:

The texts we have dwelt upon in greater detail, those of the
Apendiz, may well be those of greatest interest in this sampling of

³⁵ Lacuna in the MS; missing letters are restored in brackets.

³⁶ Read *anno*.

³⁷ This is a puzzling passage. In view of the passage on how to wear capes and sandals taken from Book VI and the admonition not to imitate Spaniards, should it be read *amo anmocasimatizque*, etc. (you are not to wear shirts, etc.)? Or is the first *amo* meant for *anno* (*anmocasimatizque*, etc. —You are to wear

Sahagún's doctrinal encyclopaedia. From Mendieta³⁸ and even more so from Sahagún himself,³⁹ we know of the importance he placed upon the Royal College of Santa Cruz and the indoctrination and education of the youths sent there. The twenty-six additions to the *Postilla* and the *Ejercicio cotidiano* are obviously written for the indoctrination of adults (although occasionally reference is made to adolescents, even young ones). But the instruction in the *Apendiz* is all of a type suited to young people (mostly boys) of an age suitable for admission as students in the Royal College of Santa Cruz. Of the subject matter taught, even as late as the 1570s, we know something, for the general curriculum is well known. As for other details we are not fully informed, aside from such data as Sahagún gives and such generalizations as the remark made in the *Códice franciscano*⁴⁰ that "besides Latin... they learn the Castilian language and much good behavior and good habits". From the summaries of the subject matter in the sections of the *Apendiz* that still survive, and from the passage quoted above, it is hard to avoid theorizing that they were meant to orient or guide the young Aztec students, and to have been developed in the Royal College for that purpose.

shirts), and is the statement thus positive, not negative?— *Zaragüelles* seems to be the proper reading; the word is not entirely legible.

³⁸ Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta: *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, México, Editorial Porrúa, 1980, p. 414-418.

³⁹ Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: "Author's Account Worthy of Being Noted", index and preliminary volume of the *Florentine Codex*, in press.

⁴⁰ *Códice franciscano*, p. 63-64.