

Howard F. Cline

MISSING AND VARIANT PROLOGUES
AND DEDICATIONS IN SAHAGUN'S
HISTORIA GENERAL: TEXTS
AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Sahaguntine studies have long been handicapped by availability only of inaccurate publication or by unpublished texts of the magisterial *Historia General (Universal)* missing from such publications. Neither the Spanish text of the Florentine Codex, nor of the slightly variant Tolosano manuscript has been published directly in full. Defective hand copies of the Tolosano, basis of nearly all publications of the Spanish text, not only contain errors made by copyists, editors, and printers, but they are apparently incomplete.¹

We shall not discuss at length the miscellaneous texts which we reproduce here. The purpose is to place them into the scholarly literature. Hopefully the future will witness adequate publication of the two main manuscripts. Of these, the Spanish of the Florentine Codex is more urgent. Considerable unpublished independent research by Charles Dibble and the writer now rather firmly establishes the Tolosa manuscript as a later, but nearly contemporary copy (1580-1588?) of the Florentine Codex. Some of the materials below relate to that circumstance.

The transcriptions have been made personally from a microfilm of the Florentine Codex. To serve the same audience to whom Anderson and Dibble address in their massive translation of the Florentine Codex from Nahuatl into English,² the writer has also translated the appended texts into English, with the exception of

¹ Various editions of the *Historia General* are listed in Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, *Historiadores de América. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590)* (México, 1952) p. 183-188, from 1829 through 1950. Since then only the version edited by Ángel M. Garibay has appeared, 4 v., México, 1956; for discussion of it see Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, "De nuevo Sahagún", *Historia Mexicana*, 6:615-619 (abr.-jun., 1957).

² A. J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, trans., *General History of the things of New Spain. Florentine Codex, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations.* (Santa Fe, 1950-). University of New Mexico, School of American Research, *Mono-graph*, 14 (11 parts published of 13).

the Dedicatory Letter preceding Book VI, whose Latin was translated by J. Benedict Warren.

1. *Book II, Prologue*

This much quoted basic statement by Sahagún on how he developed the *Historia* and about its administrative tribulations is apparently essentially the same in the Florentine Codex and in the Tolosano Spanish copy. It is included here because all previously published Spanish versions are to some degree suspect, taken as they are from late hand copies.

Fanny Bandelier in 1932 published an English translation, placing it as the sole Prologue to her incomplete (Books I-IV only) publication of the *History*. She took as her Spanish text the highly defective Bustamante 1829 publication. She thus repeats all its many errors, and compounds them by a clumsy and sometimes erroneous rendition of the Spanish into English.³

2. *Book IX, Prologue*

In this important treatment, Sahagún outlined in specific detail what each Book contained, but more important, he specified which Books formed the four volumes into which he had divided the final version of the *Historia*. The "editor" who compiled the Tolosa manuscript from the Sequera (Florentine) necessarily omitted the latter particulars, as he was preparing a single volume, not four. This Florentine text differs in important respects from all published ones in editions of the *Historia*.

Writing in French from Moscow for an Italian journal, the Mexican Francisco del Paso y Troncoso transcribed the Prologue in modernized Spanish for an 1896 publication. There he also demonstrated that vestiges of the original four volume manuscript described by Sahagún remain in the Florentine Codex, which at some point was bound

³ Bernardino de Sahagún, *A history of ancient Mexico, 1547-1577, translated by Fanny Bandelier from the Spanish version of Carlos María de Bustamante* [Nashville, Tenn.], 1932. Fisk University Social Science Series, pp. 21-24.

into the present three.⁴ From the Prologue, we learn that the original four volumes were constituted as follows (Table 1).

3. Book XI, Prologue

This text does not appear in the Tolosano manuscript, hence has not previously appeared in print. Like most other such Prologues, it precedes the table of contents (*Sumario*) without a folio number. The existence of this Prologue was noted by Ballesteros *et al.* in their comparative listing of chapter headings in the Madrid codices and in the Florentine Codex. Their data reveal that Paragraphs 10, 11, and 12 of Book XI, cap. 7, are also omitted in the Tolosa manuscript.⁵

As evident from Table 1, this Prologue initiated volume 4. It justified inclusion of "cosas mas baxas" on practical and linguistic grounds. Knowledge of words for fauna, flora, and minerals would provide, Sahagún said, the preacher with familiar examples and an understandable vocabulary fitted to his native congregation, and he would not be misled into thinking that "teutl" (god) always represented idolatry when Mexicans used it. Sahagún here said it was a general term that meant an extreme of either good or bad qualities, not necessarily the deification of an object.

4. Book XII, Al lector

Neither the Florentine Codex nor the Tolosano manuscript has a Prologue for Book XII. Both contain a brief preliminary note "To the Reader." When in 1585 Sahagún drastically revised the conquest narrative, he then added a long Prologue. The manuscript containing it is lost, and all that remains is the suspect version that Bustamante

⁴ F. del Paso y Troncoso, "Etudes sur le codex Mexicain du P. Sahagun conservé à la Bibliothèque Mediceo-Laurenziana de Florence," *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi* (Firenze), 7:171-174 (1896); the Prologue to Book IX is on p. 172-173.

⁵ *Códices Matritenses de la Historia General de las cosas de la Nueva España de Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, trabajo realizado por el Seminario de Estudios Americanistas, bajo la dirección de Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois* (2 v., Madrid, 1964), 1:244, 248.

TABLE 1
Sahagun's *General History*: Volumes, Divisions, and Books

<i>Vol.</i>	<i>General Division</i>	<i>Books</i>	<i>Title</i>
1	Historia Moral	I	Libro primero, en que se trata de los dioses: que adorauan los naturales desta tierra que es la nueua españa
		II	Segundo libro, que trata del calendario, fiestas y cerimonjas, sacrificios y solenidades: que estos naturales, desta nueua españa hazian a honrra de sus dioses
		III	Libro tercero en que se trata de los lugares donde yuan las animas de los defuntos y de la[s] esequias que los hazian y de las historias de algunos dioses
		IV	Comiença el libro quarto, de la astrologia Judiciaria, o arte adiuynatoria Yndiana
		V	Qujnto libro que trata de los agujeros y pronosticos que estos naturales tomanuan de algunas aues, anjmales y sauandixas para adiuynar las cosas futuras
2	Historia Moral	VI	Libro sexto de la Rhetorica y philosophia moral, y Theologia de la gente mexicana donde ay cosas muy curiosas tocantes a los primores de su lengua y cosas muy delicadas tocantes a las virtudes morales
3	Historia Natural	VII	Libro septimo que trata de la astrologia y philosophia natural que alcançaron estos naturales desta nueua españa
		VIII	Libro octavo de los reyes y señores, y de la manera que tenjan en sus electiones y en el goujerno de sus reynos
		IX	Libro nono de los mercaderes, officiales de oro y piedras preciosas, y pluma rica
		X	Libro decimo de los vicios y virtudes desta gente indiana y de los mjembros de todo el cuerpo interiores y exteriores y de las enfermedades y medicinas contrarias y de las nationes que a esta tierra an venjdo a poblar
4	[Historia Natural] Cosas mas baxas	XI	Libro vndecimo que es bosque, jardin, vergel de lengua mexicana
		XII	El dozeno libro tracta de como los españoles conquistaron a la ciudad de Mexico

published in 1840 from an unknown and now missing copy.⁶ Various recent editors of the *Historia General* have included it, although they generally reproduce for their publication the earlier Tolosano version of the Book, which itself is an edited text, omitting various things found in the Florentine Codex, and changing others.⁷

5. Book VI, Dedicatory Letter

This unfoliated text precedes the table of contents of Book VI, and is in Latin. It was first published by Bandini in 1793, from whom García Icazbalceta copied it in 1886.⁸ It appears in the Tolosano manuscript, but of publications from it, only the Kingsborough edition includes this text, and it is there garbled.⁹

For record it can be noted that a similar Dedicatory Letter to Sequera covering Sahagún's transmittal of Books I-V, first of the four volumes, is missing in the Florentine Codex. Hence its contents are known only through the Tolosano copy, possible an "edited" one as in the case of Book IX, Prologue.

6. Final Comment

Purposely the General Prologue (preceding Book I) and its accompanying note "To the Reader" have been excluded from treatment here. They warrant special, and distinct consideration. At the moment there is some question about corroborating a date in figures (1579?) in the Prologue, which has important implications for fixing the date of completion of the Sequera Codex. When this matter is clarified, analysis of this and perhaps other Prologues and introductory materials is merited.

⁶ Carlos M. de Bustamante, *La aparición de nra. Señora de Guadalupe de México... fundándose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún; o sea: historia original de este escritor, que altera la publicada en 1829 en el equivocado concepto de ser la única y original de dicho autor* (México, 1840).

⁷ Both Saignes in 1946, and Garibay in 1956, preceded the Tolosa text with the 1585 Prologue, without clearly indicating that it preceded a distinct (and quite different) later revision by Sahagún.

⁸ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía del siglo xvi...* (México, 1886, 2nd ed., México, 1954), p. 358.

⁹ Edward King, Lord Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico* (9 v., London, 1830, [v. 1-7 omits Kingsborough's name]-1848), 5:348. "Tribus" is twice substituted for "fratribus," hence makes the text meaningless.

APPENDIX A. TRANSLATIONS

1. BOOK II. FLORENTINE CODEX, SPANISH

As best they can, all writers try to authenticate their writings, some with trustworthy witnesses, others by writers who previously have written and whose statements are considered correct, others from Sacred Scripture. All these foundations have been lacking to me as authority for what is in these twelve Books. I can find no other basis to qualify them except to place here an account of the procedure I followed to ascertain the truth of all that I have written in these Books.

As I have mentioned in other Prologues to this work (as holy obedience requires), I was commanded by my chief prelate to write in the Mexican language that which seemed to me useful for the indoctrination, development, and maintenance of the christianization of these natives of this New Spain, to aid workers and ministers who indoctrinate them. After I had received this command, I made, in the Spanish language, a schedule or memorandum of all the topics which had to be treated: That was what was written in the twelve Books, the commentary (*postilla*) and the songs.

The initial cutting of the material was done in Tepepulco, which is in the province of Acolhuacan, or Tezcucu. It was done in this way: In the mentioned town I had the leaders brought together, with the lord of the town, who was named don Diego de Mendoza, an aged man of great worth and ability, very knowledgeable concerning things related to religion, government, war, and even idolatry. Once they were gathered, I asked them to assign me some competent and experienced persons with whom I could talk and who would know how to provide correct answers to what I might ask of them. They replied that they would discuss the proposal, and would answer the following day, and so they bid me goodbye. The next day the lord came with his leaders. After a solemn parley, such as then they were accustomed to hold, they assigned to me ten or a dozen old principal men; they told me I could communicate with them and that they would provide correct answers to what was asked of them. There were also there up to four [native] Latins to whom only a few years previously I had taught [Latin] grammar in the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatilulco.

With these principal men and the Latin grammarians (also leaders), I talked for many days, close to two years, following the order of the schedule that I had made. They gave me in picture (that was the writing they anciently used) all that we discussed. The grammarians interpreted them in their language, writing the explanations at the bottom of the picture. Even now I have these originals. In addition, I dictated the commentary and the songs. The [native] Latins wrote them down in the same town of Tepepulco.

When Father Fray Francisco Toral (the one who gave me this task) had completed his term in the [Franciscan] Chapter, they moved me from Tepepulco. Bringing all my writings, I went to live in Santiago del Tlatelulco,

where (after bringing together the leaders) I proposed to them the matter of my writings, and asked of them that they assign me some skilled principal men, with whom I would review and discuss the writings I brought from Tepepulco.

The [town] governor and his councilmen assign me some eight or ten leaders selected from among all, very able in their language and in their antiquities. With them and with four or five of the graduates of the Colegio (all trilingual) for the space of over a year, shut up in the Colegio, all that I had brought written from Tepepulco was amended, verified, and augmented. All was then rewritten anew, in a poor hand because it was written in great haste. In this scrutiny or re-examination, of all the graduates the one who worked most was Martín Jacobita, who at the time was the rector of the Colegio, a citizen from Tlatilulco (of the Santa Ana ward).

Having in Tlatilulco done what I have said, I went to live in [the Franciscan convent] of San Francisco de México [Mexico City], with all my writings. For a space of three years, I passed and repassed all my writings through my sole hands. Again I revised them. I divided them into Books, and each Book into chapters, and some Books by chapters and paragraphs. After this, when Fray Miguel Navarro was Provincial, and Father Fray Diego de Mendoza was Guardian of the Convent of Mexico, under their favor all twelve Books were cleanly copied in good handwriting. The commentary was revised and fair-copied, as were the songs. A grammar of the Mexican language, with a vocabulary as appendix was also made. The Mexicans changed and added many things to the twelve Books when they were recopying them.

In this wise the first sieve through which my works were strained was the people of Tepepulco; the second, those of Tlatilulco; the third those of México. In all these scrutinies were involved the collegiate grammarians. Chief and wisest was Antonio Valeriano, citizen from Azcaputzalco; another, only a little lesser than he, was Alonso Vegerano, a citizen from Cuauhtitlan. Another was Martín Jacobita, whom I mentioned above; another, Pedro de San Buenaventura, citizen from Cuauhtitlan. All were expert in three languages: Latin, Spanish, and Indian. The scribes who made final copies of all the works are Diego de Grado, citizen from Tlatilulco (ward of Concepcion), Bonifacio Maximiliano, citizen from Tlatilulco (ward of Sanct Martin), and Matheo Severino, citizen from Xochimilco (from the Ullac section).

After the writings were cleanly copied, with aid from the fathers named above (on which a substantial amount of farthings was spent), their author requested the Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Ribera, that three or four religious in the Provincial Chapter which was nearby look them over, so that they might say how they appeared to them.

They saw them and gave a report on them to the council of the same Chapter, stating how they appeared to them. They said in the council that they were writings of much esteem, and in order to complete them they should be supported. To some of the councilmen, it appeared to be contrary to [vows of] poverty to expend monies on writing those works. Thus they ordered that the author dismiss his scribes and that he alone should write in his own hand that which he might want in them. He, as he was more than seventy years old, and because of trembling of his hand, was able to write nothing,

nor could he succeed in getting dispensation from this command. The writings remained more than five years without anything being done on them.

During this time, in the following Chapter meeting elected as Custodian of the General Chapter was Father Fray Miguel Navarro, and as Provincial, Father Fray Alonso de Escalona. In this period, the author made a summary [table of contents] of all the Books, and of all the chapters of each Book, and the Prologues, where briefly is stated what is contained in the Books. Father Fray Miguel Navarro (and his companion, Father Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta) took this summary to Spain. Thus in Spain it was known what was written concerning the matters of this land. In the meantime, the Father Provincial took away all the Books from the mentioned author, and dispersed them throughout the Province, where they were seen by many religious and approved by them as very precious and beneficial.

After a few years, Father Fray Miguel Navarro returned to the General Chapter as Commissary of these parts. On threat of censure, and at the petition of the author, he again had the mentioned Books recovered. After the recovery, around a year (a little more or less), they came into the author's possession.

In this time nothing was done on them, nor was there any one who would support completion of their translation into Romance, until Father Commissary General Fray Rodrigo de Sequera came to these parts and saw them. He was much pleased with them, and ordered the author to translate them into Romance [Spanish]. He made available all that was necessary to write them anew, the Mexican language in one column, Romance in the other, in order to send them to Spain, because the very Illustrious Señor don Juan de Ovando, President of the Council of the Indies requested them. He had notice of these Books by reason of the summary that the mentioned Father Fray Miguel Navarro took to Spain, as was stated above.

All the above is said for the purpose of having it understood that this work has been examined and purified by many people, over many years. It has gone through many travails and misfortunes until it has been put in the state it now is.

2. BOOK IX, PROLOGUE

The arrangement which has been maintained in this *History* is that initially in the first Books are treated the gods and their feasts, their sacrifices, and their temples, and all that is related to their service. These matters are written in the first five Books. Of them the final was Book v, which treats of divinatory art, and also discusses supernatural things. All these five Books were placed in one volume.

Book vi, which forms a volume by itself, treats of the rhetoric and moral philosophy which these natives achieved. Placed there are many forms of very elegant and very moral prayers. They may be called very theological even though they touch on their [pagan] gods and their ceremonies. In this same Book is treated the estimation in which rhetoricians and orators were held.

After this, natural matters are treated, and this in Book vii. Then [are treated] lords, kings, governors, and principal persons; then the merchants

who, after the lords, captains, and powerful men, are the most esteemed in the republic. They are treated in Book viii, and after them, the craftsmen of feathers, gold, and precious stones. These are treated in Book ix. The characteristics, conditions, and behavior of all craftsmen and persons appears in Book x, where also are treated the parts of the body, diseases, and the medicines against them, together with the differences and diversity of the earlier generations of people who inhabit this land. These four Books constitute this, the third volume.

The fourth volume deals with the lowest matters. These are the animals, birds, plants, and trees, which constitute Book xi. Book xii treats of the wars when this land was conquered, as a horrible thing, enemy of human nature. All these Books constitute the fourth, and final volume.

3. BOOK XI, PROLOGUE

It is not so that the least noble jewel of evangelical preaching is its base in things of Nature. Many times one can, with benefit give examples and comparisons that are more familiar to the listeners and through commonly used language. With such intent this Book was made, at great cost and hard work, a treasury. In it is written in the Mexican language the properties and exterior forms, as well as internal, so far as could be learned of the better known and commonly used animals, birds, fish, trees and flowers which there are in all this land. In it there is a great body of terms in the mentioned language, very correct, and very common, very pleasing material.

It would be opportune at this time, to give them to understand the value of the creatures, so that not attributed to them is [false] worth, because any creature whatsoever they see to be good or bad. They call it "teutl," which means "god," in such wise that they call the sun "teutl," because of its beauty, or at least because of its frightening disposition and fierceness. From this it can be inferred that this word "teutl" can be taken for a good quality or for a bad one. This is much better recognized when it is compounded in this name, "teupilzintli," "very pretty child," "teuhpiltontli," "very terrible or bad boy." Many other terms are compounded in this same way, from the meaning of which one can conjecture that this term "teutl" means a "thing extremely good or bad."

Thus this present volume can be held to be, or esteemed, as a treasury of names and terms of this Mexican language, and a storehouse, very rich concerning the things that there are in this land.

4. BOOK XII, TO THE READER

Although many have written of the conquest of this New Spain in Spanish following the account of those who conquered it, I wanted to write it in the Mexican language, not so much to draw out truths from the account of the very Indians who were found in the conquest but more to put down the language of war and of the arms which the natives use in it, in order

that from thence one can extract vocabulary and ways of stating, proper for speaking about this topic in the Mexican language.

It may be added to this that those who were conquered knew and provided an account of many things which transpired among them during the war, which things were not known to those who conquered them. For these reasons it seems to me that it has not been a superfluous task to have written this history, which was written at a time when those engaged in the same conquest were alive. They gave this account, principal persons and of good judgment. It is certain that what they said is considered to be entirely true.

5. BOOK VI, DEDICATORY LETTER

To the most irreproachable Father Fray Rodrigo de Sequera, Commissary General of all the lands of the Western World, with the exception only of Perú: Fray Bernardino de Sahagún wishes you twofold happiness.*

Here, very respectable Father, you have a work worthy of the royal regard, which has been brought together by means of the most bitter and long-lasting struggle, the Sixth Book of which is this [one]. There are six others after this, which altogether fill out the twelve-fold number, grouped in four volumes. This sixth, the greatest of all, both in size and in force, rejoices with great jubilation [*lit*: jumping, dancing] that it has found such a father for itself and its brethren, indeed by no means doubting that under your auspices it has arrived at supreme felicity [*alt*: fruitfulness] together with its brethren. Goodbye, and may your actions be most prosperous everywhere. This I vehemently desire.

* Translated by J. Benedict Warren (July 23, 1969).

APPENDIX B. PALEOGRAPHIC TEXTS

1. BOOK II, PROLOGUE (Florentine Codex, Spanish)

fol. 1 Segundo libro, que trata del calendario, fiestas, y cerimomjas,

[later, 34] sacrificios, y solenjdades: que estos naturales desta nueva españa hazian a honrra de sus dioses. Ponese al cabo deste libro, por via de apendiz: los edificios, officios y serujcios y officiales que auja en el templo mexicano.//

fol. 1v.

Prologo

Todos los escriptores trabaxan de autorizar, sus escripturas, lo mejor que pueden: vnos con testigos fide dignos: otros con otros escriptores, que ante dellos an escripto, los testimonjos de los quales son aujdos por ciertos: otros con testimonjo, de la sagrada escriptura: a mj an faltado todos estos fundamentos para autorizar, lo que en estos doze libros, tengo escripto: y no hallo otro fundamento, para autorizarlo: sino poner aqui, la relación, de la diligencia que hize: para saber la verdad, de todo lo que en estos libros he escripto. Como en otros prologos desta obra he dicho: a mj fue mandado por sancta obediencia, de mj prelado mayor que escriujese en lengua mexicana, lo que me pareciese, ser vtil: para la doctrina, cultura y manutención, de la crjstianidad, destos naturales, desta nueva españa: y para ayuda de los obreros, y ministros, que los doctrinan: recebido este mandamiento, hize en lengua castellana, vna mjnuta o memoria de todas las materias de que auja de tratar: que fue lo que esta escripto en los doze libros: y la postilla, y canticos: lo qual se puso de prima tigura, en el pueblo de tepulco, que es de la proujncia de acolhuacã, o tezcucu: hizose desta manera. En el dicho pueblo hize juntar, todos los principales, con el señor del pueblo, que se llamaua don diego de mendoça, hombre anciano, de gran marco, y habilidad, muy experimentado, en todas las cosas curiales belicas y politicas, y aun ydolatricas. Aujendo los juntado, propuseles lo que pretendia hazer: y pediles me diesen personas habiles y experimentados, con qujen pudiese platicar y me supiesen dar razon, de lo que les preguntase: ellos me respondieron que se hablarian, cerca de lo propuesto, y que otro dia me responderian: y ansi se despidieron de mj. Otro dia vinieron el señor, con los principales: y hecho vn muy solenne parlamento, como ellos entonces le vsauan hazer: señalaronme, hasta diez o doze principales ancianos, y dixeronme, que con aquellos podia comunjar y que ellos me darian razon, de todo lo que les preguntar. Estauan tambien alli hasta quatro latinos: a los quales yo pocos años antes auja enseñado la gramatica, en el colegio de santa cruz en el tlamilulco. Con estos principales, y gramaticos también principales, platique

muchos dias, cerca de dos años, siguyendo la orden de la mñuta, que yo tenja hecha: todas las cosas que conferimos, me las dieron por pinturas, que aquella era la escriptura, que ellos antiguamente vsauan: y los gramaticos las declararon en su lengua, escrijendo la declaration, al pie de la pintura: tengo aun agora estos originales. Tambien en este tiempo dicte la postilla y los cantares: escrijeronlos los latinos, en el mjsmo pueblo de tepepulco. Quando al capitulo donde cumplio su hebdomada, el padre fray francisco toral, el qual me inpuso esta carga: me mudaron de tepepulco, lleuando todas mjs escrituras, fuy a morar a santiago del tlattelulco: donde juntando los principales, los propuse el negocio de mjs escrituras, y los demande me señalasen algunos principales habiles, con qujen examjnase y platicase las escripturas que de tepepulco traya escriptas. El gouernador con los alcaldes me señalaron, hasta ocho, o diez principales, escogidos entre todos muy habiles en su lengua, y en las cosas de sus antiguallas: con los quales, y con quatro o cinco colegiales, todos trilingues; por espacio de vn año, y algo más encerrados en el colegio: se senmendo, declaro y añadio, todo lo que de tepepulco truxe escripto: y todo se torno a escriujr de nueuo, de ruyn letra porque se escriuio cō mucha priesa: en este escrutinjo o examen el q. mas trabaxo de todos los colegiales, fue martjn jacobita, que entonce era rector del colegio, vezino de tlatilulco, del barrio de sanctana. Aujendo hecho lo dicho, en el tlatilulco vine a morar, a sanct francisco, de mexico, con todas mjs escripturas: donde por espacio de tres años, pase y repase a mjs solas [manos] todas mjs escripturas: y las torne a enmendar: y diujdilas por libros, en doze libros, y cada libro por capitulos: y algunos libros por capitulos y paragraphos. Despues desto, siendo prouincial fray Miguel nauarro: y guardian del conuento de mexico, el padre fray diego de mendoça, con su fabor se sacaron en blanco, de buena letra, todos los doze libros: y se enmendo y saco en blanco la postilla, y los cantares: y se hizo vn arte de la lengua mexicana con vn vocabulario apendiz: y los mexicanos enmendaron y añadieron muchas cosas, a los doze libros quando se yua sacando en blanco. De manera que el primer cedaço por donde mjs obras cirnjeron// fueron los de tepepulco: el segundo, los de tlatilulco: el tercero, los de mexico: y en todos estos escrutinjos vuo gramaticos colegiales. El principal y mas sabio fue antonjo valeriano, vezino de azcaputzalco: otro poco menos, que este fue alonso vegerano, vezino de de quauhtitlan: otro fue martin Jacobita, de que arribe hize mencion: otro pedro de san buenauentura, vezino de quauhtitlan: todos espertos en tres lenguas, latina, española y indiana. Los escribanos, que sacaron de buena letra todas las obras son: diego de grado, vezino de tlatilulco, del barrio de la conception. Bonifacio maximiliano, vezino del tlatilulco, del barrio de sanct martin. Matheo seuerino, vezino de suchimjlco, de la parte de vllac. Desde las escripturas estuuieron sacadas en blanco, con el fauor de los padres arriba nombrados: en que se gastaron hartos tomjnes con los escriujentes, el autor dellas demandando al padre comissario fray fran-

cisco de ribera que se viesen, de tres o quatro religiosos paraque aquellos dixessen, lo que les parecia dellas, en el capitulo prouincial que estaua propinquo: los quales las vieron y dieron relación dellas al definitorio, en el mismo capitulo: diziendo lo que les parecia, y dixerón en el definitorio, que eran escrituras de mucha estima y que deujan ser fauorecidas: paraque se acabasen. Algunos de los definidores les pareció que era contra la pobreza gastar dineros en escriuirsse aquellas escrituras: y así mandaron al autor, que despidiese a los escriuanos: y que el solo escriuiesse de su mano, lo que quisiesse en ellas. El qual, como era maior de setenta años, y por temblor de la mano no puede escriuir nada, nj se pudo alcançar dispensación deste mandamiento: estuujeronse las escrituras sin hazer nada en ellas mas de cinco años. En este tiempo, en el capitulo siguiente fue elegido por custos custodum, para el capítulo general: el padre fray miguel nauarro, y por prouincial el padre fray alonso descalonga. En este tiempo, el autor hizo vn sumario de todos los libros, y de todos los capítulos de cada libro, y los prologos, donde en breuedad se dezía todo lo que contenja en los libros. Este sumario lleuo a españa el padre fray miguel nauarro, y su compañero el padre fray hieronymo de mendieta: y así se supo en españa, lo que estaua escrito acerca de las cosas desta tierra. En este medio tiempo el padre prouincial tomo todos los libros al dicho autor y se esparzieron se por toda la prouincia, donde fueron vistos de muchos religiosos, y aprouados por muy preciosos y prouechosos. Después de algunos años boluyendo de capitulo general, el padre fray miguel nauarro: el qual vino por comjssario destas partes, en censuras, torno a recoger los dichos libros: a petición del autor, y desdeque estujeron recogidos, day a vn año poco mas o menos, vinjeron a poder del autor. En este tiempo ninguna cosa se hizo en ellos: nj vuo qujen fauoriessse para acabarse de traduzir en romance: hasta que el padre comjssario general fray Rodrigo de sequera: vino a estas partes y los vio, y se contento mucho dellos: y mando al autor que los traduzesse en romance: y proueyo de todo lo necessario, paraque se escriuiesen de nuevo. La lengua mexicana en vna coluna y el romance en la otra, para los embiar a españa porque los procuro el Illustrissimo señor don Juan de ouando, presidente del consejo de indias: porque tenja noticia destes libros: por razon del sumario que el dicho padre fray Miguel nauarro auja lleuado a españa, como arriba se dixo. Todo lo sobre dicho haze el proposito de que se entienda que esta obra a sido examjnada y apurada por muchos, y en muchos años, y se an passado muchos trabajos y desgracias hasta ponerla en el estado que agora esta.

fin del prologo.// [later hand = 36]

2. BOOK IX, PROLOGUE (Florentine Codex, Spanish)

La orden que se a tenjdo en esta historia es que primeramente en los primeros libros se trato de los dioses, y de sus fiestas, y de sus sacrificios, y

de sus templos, y de todo lo concerniente a su serujcio, y de esto se escrijeron los primeros cinco libros: y dellos el postero: fue el libro qujnto, que trata de la arte adiujnatoria, que también habla de las cosas sobre-naturales: todos estos cinco libros se pusieron en vn volumen. El sexto libro que haze volumen por si trata de la rhetorica y philosophia moral que estos naturales alcançaron, y donde se pone muchas maneras de oraciones muy elegantes y muy morales, y aun las que tocan a sus dioses y a sus cerimonjas se pueden dezir muy theologales: en este mjsmo libro se trata de la estimaciõ en que se tenjan rhetoricos y oradores. Después de esto se trata de las cosas naturales; y esto en el septimo libro: y luego de los señores, reyes, y gouernadores, y principales personas: y luego de los mercaderes, que después de los señores, capitanes y hombres fuertes son los mas tenjdos en la republica: de los quales se trata en el octavo libro, y tras ellos los oficiales de pluma, y de oro, y de piedras preciosas: destos se trata en el noveno libro, y las calidades, condiciones, y maneras de todos los oficiales, y personas, se trata en el libro decimo, donde tambien se trata de los mjembros corporales y de las enfermedades, y medicinas contrarias: y tambien de las diferencias y diuersidades, de generaciones de gêtes que en esta tierra auitan, y de sus condiciones: estos quatro libros constituyê el tercero volumen, que es este. El quarto volumen se trata de las cosas más baxas que son los anjmales, aues, yeruas y arboles, que constituye el vndecimo libro. En el libro duodécimo se trata de las guerras quando esta tierra fue conquistada, como de cosa horrible y enemjga de la naturaleza humana: todos estos libros constituyen el quarto, y postrero volumen.

3. BOOK XI, PROLOGUE

fol. 151 Libro vndecimo que es Bosque, jardin, vergel de lengua mexicana [t.p.]

[fol. 151v]

Prologo

No cierto es, la menos noble joia: de la predicaciõ evangelica [es?]* cimjento de las cosas naturales: para poner exemplos, i comparaciones [sic]: quanto mas familiares a los oientes i por palabras, i language mas vsadas, entrellos, dichas: tanto seran muchas uezes que se pudieron i prouechosas. A este proposito se hizo, ia tesoro: en harta costa, i trabaxo este libro en que estan escriptos en lengua mexicana: Las propriiedades i maneras exteriores, i interiores que se pudieran alcançar: de los anjmales, aues, i peces: arboles, i ieruas, [i flores?]* mas conocidos i vsados, que ai en toda esta tierra: donde ai gran copia de vocablos [en el]* dho language: mui proprio, i mui comun: i materia mui gustosa. Sera tambien esta uez oportuna, para dar los a entender, el ualor de las criaturas para que no las atribuir [vna dig]*njdad: porque a qualquiera criatura, que via ser imjnente en bien o en mal, la llaman Teutl qujere dezir dios de manera que al sol le llaman teutl por ser lindeza: al me[nos?]* por su espantable disposition [sic] i braueza. Donde se infiere que este nombre [teutl?]* se toma en buena i en mala parte. I mucha mas se conoce esto quando esta en compo[ner co]*mo

* [—?], not visible because word bound in right margin.

Transcribed from microfilm, July 18, 1969, by Howard F. Cline.

en este nombre, teupiltzintli, njño muj lindo: teuhpiltontli, muchacho muj ter[rible?] * o malo. Otros muchos vocablos, se conponer desta mjsma manera: de la significación [de los?] * quales se puede conjeturar: que este vocablo teutl qujere dezir: cosa estrema de [bien?] * o en mal. Ansi que el presente volumen se podra tener, o estimar como un tesoro de los [nombres?] * i vocablos desta lengua mexicana i vna recamara, muj rica de las cosas que ai en esta [tierra?].

4. BOOK XII, AL LECTOR

Aunque muchos an escrito en romance la conquista desta nueva españa, segun la relacion de los que la conquistaron: quisela yo escribir en lengua mexicana no tanto por sacar algunas verdades de los mismos jndios que se hallaron en la conquista quanto por poner el lenguaje de las cosas de la guerra, y de las armas que en ella vsan los naturales para que de alli se puedan sacar vocablos y maneras de dezir proprias para hablar en la lengua mexicana cerca desta materia allegase también a esto los que fueron conquistados supieron y dieron relación de muchas cosas que pasaron entre ellos durante la guerra: las quales ignoraron los que los conquistaron por las quales razones me parece que no a sido trabaxo superfluo el auer escrito esta historia, la qual se escriuio en tiempo que eran viuos los que se hallaron en la mysma conquista: y ellos dieron esta relación personas principales y de buen juizio y que tiene por cierto, que dixeron toda verdad.

5. BOOK VI, DEDICATORY LETTER (Florentine Codex)

Integerrimo Patri Fratri Roderico de sequera, generali comissario omnium occidentalis orbis terrarum, vno dempto Peru Frater Bernardinus de sahum vtrâq. felicitatem optat.

Habes hic admodum obseruanda pater, opus regio conspectu dignum: quod quidem acerrimo, ac diutino Marte comparatum est: cujus sextus liber hic est: sunt et alij sex post hunc qui omnes duodenarium numerum complent. In quatuor voluminibus congesti. Hic sextus omnium maior cum corpore tum vi: grandi tripudio iubilat: te sibi ac fratribus suis, tantum inuenisse patrem: ut pote nullatenus dubitans, tuis auspicijs ad summam felicitatem vna cum fratribus peruenisse: vale, et ubique prosperrime, vehementer affecto.

