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**Nahuatl Holdings of the Benson Latin American
Collection of the University of Texas at Austin**

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Nahuatl Holdings of the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin

The Benson Latin American Collection of the General Libraries of the University of Texas has exemplary holdings of materials in the Aztec language, Nahuatl. In addition to an important group of Nahuatl manuscripts, it also holds some of the gems of early printing in the language. Thus, it is an important collection for individuals interested in Nahuatl. Before describing the collection in detail, it would be best to take an overview of the means whereby Nahuatl manuscripts came to U.S. repositories and also to discuss the types of materials one can normally find in these collections.

In looking at the important Nahuatl collections in the United States, such as in the Newberry Library, the Bancroft Library or the Tulane University Latin American Library, in addition to the Benson Collection, one immediately notices that the formation of the collections generally dates from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the case of the Bancroft Library, the famous historian Hubert Howe Bancroft created his collection as a compliment to his literary industry before 1890. The Newberry Library holds the Ayer collection, given by the railroad magnate Edward E. Ayer and acquired in general before 1911. The Tulane library owes its founding to the collecting habits of William E. Gates, and was formed before 1924. The Benson Collection, insofar as Nahuatl materials are concerned, comes from two noted Mexican bibliophiles and historians, Joaquín García Icazbalceta and Genaro García, both of whom collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of this group three were collectors themselves: Gates, García Icazbalceta, and García. The other two, Bancroft and Ayer, purchased their collections from dealers.

The manuscripts that were purchased from dealers, and in general a huge quantity of Nahuatl materials held in the United States, come from two important collections formed in Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century but subsequently sold abroad: the Ramírez and Andrade collections. The stories of these manuscripts exemplify the exciting and romantic world of rare books and manuscripts. The earlier of the two is that of José María Andrade.

Andrade was a leading conservative in the tumultuous period in Mexican history prior to 1867. As a youth his studies were interrupted by the economic needs of his family. He eventually turned to the business world, specifically dealing in rare books and manuscripts. He set up shop in downtown Mexico City and created a religious bookstore of both rare and modern works. His politics favored the conservatives, as a result of which he was forced to leave Mexico twice: first in 1860, following the triumph of the Liberals led by Benito Juárez, and then again in 1867, with the fall of the French-imposed Emperor Maximilian.

In the mid-1860s, Andrade set about putting together an Imperial Library for Maximilian. He devoted much time and effort to the project, financed by the ill-fated monarch. With the fall of the empire, Andrade was arrested by the Liberals for complicity with a foreign power. He escaped imprisonment and fled Mexico, taking the newly created library with him. With some two hundred crates on burro back, and aided by an Austrian-Mexican priest, Agustín Fischer, Andrade smuggled the books and manuscripts out of the country and sailed for Europe. There in 1869 he placed the collection with the auction house of Puttick and Simpson, in Leipzig and London.

First in Leipzig, and later in London, the Andrade materials were sold, often under the name of Fischer, who had helped in their exportation from Mexico. The rare books and other printed materials in general were sold in a Leipzig auction. The manuscripts and remaining imprints went on the block in London. Some of the most important pieces were eventually acquired by Bancroft and now reside in the library that bears his name. Many other pieces were purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps.

In the nineteenth century Phillipps was dismayed to discover that thousands of ancient parchments were being destroyed annually and that thousands of old manuscripts were constantly lost, sold to papermakers. To stop this tremendous loss, he single-handedly set out to create an antiquarian market for old manuscripts and codices. Buying every piece he could, he eventually created both a market and a sensibility about these old papers and parchments. Fortunately for Aztec scholars, his acquisitive tendencies did not stop at the shores of England, but extended worldwide. Thus many Nahuatl manuscripts currently held in the United States at one time formed part of the massive Phillipps collection. Specifically several held at the Tulane Latin American Library went from Andrade to Phillipps in the Puttick auctions.

The next great set of Nahuatl materials was acquired by another Mexican bibliophile, José Fernando Ramírez. Ramírez was trained as a lawyer and was an active advocate of public instruction in the mid-nineteenth century. His politics favored a moderate course, and he served in various offices under both Liberal and Conservative governments. As an outgrowth of his interest in education, he also collected important historical manuscripts and rare books, with an eye to the creation of public libraries and archives. Part of his private collection became the State Library of his home state of Durango. Later he became the director of the National Museum of Mexico and worked actively as a historian.

During the 1850s Ramírez collected thousands of pieces with the intention of creating a National Library. He offered this rich collection to the nation on the condition that he be employed as director-curator for the rest of his life. Unfortunately, the offer was refused. Later he became involved in the imperial government of Emperor Maximilian, serving at one time as secretary of foreign affairs. Upon the fall of the monarchy, he, as with so many others, was forced to flee Mexico, taking his important collection with him.

Ramírez died in 1871 in Bonn. Before his death the bulk of his library was sold to another Mexican collector, Alfredo Chavero, on the condition that it be repatriated and never sold outside of Mexico. Chavero was a noted historian and author of theatrical works. He, too, collected manuscripts and rare books. The Ramírez collection greatly expanded his holdings. Nevertheless, Chavero eventually sold the collection to yet another Mexican bibliophile, Manuel Fernández del Castillo, again with the proviso that it not be sold abroad. Unfortunately for Mexico, Fernández del Castillo ignored the previous owners' wishes and, at the urging of Father Agustín Fischer, who was so instrumental in the sale of the Andrade collection, sent the collection to Europe. Thus, the Ramírez collection also went on the auction block, in London with Puttick in 1880.

At the sale, the bulk of the collection went to four buyers. One was the London book dealer Bernard Quaritch, who held the pieces for a short period and then resold them to various private collectors. One of these collectors was Edward E. Ayer, the American rail magnate who was forming a collection dealing with the American Indians. In this manner the Newberry Library acquired many of its Nahuatl pieces. Another active buyer at the Ramírez auction was Henry Stevens, noted scholar and acquirer of books and manuscripts. In the auction he represented several other buyers, including the British Museum and the Smithsonian, having been collecting "Americana" for the latter. Stevens was also buying for Bancroft. It was at this sale that Bancroft purchased a great number of his Nahuatl manuscripts. Among the pieces still held at the Bancroft Library is Stevens's copy of the sale catalogue where the price and buyer of each item is noted. The last major collector to participate in an important way in the Ramírez auction was the Spanish Count Heredia.

While the history of the diaspora of the Ramírez and Chavero collections is fascinating in its own right, the acquisition methods of these two noted figures is

equally interesting. Both were well-respected intellectuals in Mexico in the turbulent period from 1857 to 1867. Both sided with the conservative forces in the key period of the French intervention and empire. Both maintained close ties to the Catholic hierarchy and the religious orders. Many of the manuscripts that Ramírez eventually owned came from the library of the oldest monastery in Mexico City, the Franciscans'. From the looks of it, he was given almost free access to these materials, and kept those he wished. It is not known if he ever arranged to pay the order for the papers. Ramírez acknowledged that he acquired several of the more famous manuscripts in this manner, specifically a trilingual dictionary (Spanish, Latin, and Nahuatl) attributed to Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún and currently held by the Newberry.

As early as the first decade of the seventeenth century the famous Franciscan chronicler Fr. Juan de Torquemada described the trilingual dictionary, having seen it in the Franciscan monastery library. It was similarly reported by later authors, until Ramírez acquired it. Last, Chavero in his noted work on Sahagún, remarked on the piece that he had purchased from Ramírez. Thus the chain of ownership is nearly unbroken.

The Benson Collection at the University of Texas is the current repository for two collections created after the Andrade and Ramírez acquisitions, namely, the Genaro García and Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Both of these men were noted historians and bibliophiles of the late nineteenth century, with Genaro García active until his death in 1920. Although Genaro García was the younger scholar, his collection was acquired by the University of Texas first, in 1934.

Genaro García was trained in the law, but preferred the life of the historian and book collector. Active in politics, he served in the Mexican Congress, but gained his fame through scholarly endeavors. For a time he was the director of the Mexican National Museum of Anthropology and History, which he reformed radically. His efforts laid the groundwork that led to the universal fame which that institution now enjoys. In the scholarly realm he is noted for his publication of documents relating to the history of Mexico, forty three volumes in two series. He also was responsible for the first modern version of the history of the conquest of Mexico, written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo. He was also an avid collector of books and manuscripts, essential to his scholarly endeavors. This important collection contains some 25,000 printed items and over 300,000 pages of manuscript, detailing the history of Mexico from Aztec times until the 1920s. Many very important Nahuatl manuscripts can be found in this collection.

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

As with so many other intellectuals of his age, García Icazbalceta was an avid collector of rare books and manuscripts. Many of the manuscripts were subsequently edited and published in the efforts mentioned above. He catalogued the books, ultimately producing the standard bibliography for sixteenth-century printing in Mexico. Many of these early imprints were in his private collection. Thus when the

University of Texas acquired his collection, it also acquired a large number of Mexican incunables and precious historical manuscripts. As will be described later, printing in sixteenth-century Mexico included an extraordinary number of works in Nahuatl, principally didactic Christian pieces aimed at the missionary effort among the Mexican Indians. Thus the University of Texas now holds many important early imprints in Nahuatl. The manuscripts in the collection amounted to over 50,000 pages, of which some 18,000 date from the sixteenth century.

The last major collector of Mexican materials who contributed notably to the holdings in Nahuatl in the United States was William E. Gates. Gates was a scholar and entrepreneur whose interest focused principally on the Maya. He founded a professional association called the Maya Society to foster Maya studies. He traveled extensively throughout Mexico and Central America buying manuscripts related to the Indian cultures. In 1924 he proposed to sell most of these at public auction. This was postponed, and for the next two years he entered into negotiations with Tulane University. The deal that they finally struck provided that Gates would donate his papers to a newly created Department of Middle American Research, which Gates would head as director. Shortly after moving himself and his papers to New Orleans, there was a serious falling out between Gates and the university, the end result of which was Gates's departure. Nevertheless, the sale of the papers to Tulane was not hindered by the acrimony.

Tulane believed that it had possession of the whole collection, but Gates had retained many manuscripts and also kept photographic copies of many documents that he had sold previously. In later years, he sold these remaining manuscripts to several libraries and also continued to market the photographic reproductions. These latter items are now held principally by Brigham Young University, although Tulane has an important lot, as does the Library of Congress. The remaining manuscripts, nearly all Mayan, are held by the Library of Congress and the Robert Garrett Collection of Princeton University. Of the original Nahuatl materials, Tulane seems to hold nearly all.

In addition to these major collections, which have entered into United States libraries, dozens of more limited collections and purchases have also added to the national holdings in Nahuatl. Each major library has its few manuscripts from these smaller collections. Thus the history of each and every Nahuatl manuscript is filled with complexity and more than just a bit of mystery and intrigue.

The second theme of importance with regard to Nahuatl manuscripts is the various types that one can expect. In general there are five types: ethnographic, grammatical and linguistic, spiritual and devotional guides, vital statistics and records, and official documents and notarial records. Nearly all Nahuatl manuscripts can be placed into one of these types.

The ethnographic materials are perhaps the most exciting because they offer a direct look into Aztec culture. Nevertheless, because they are written in European characters, they clearly date from the colonial period. Thus they reflect the pre-Columbian culture as remembered by the natives after the arrival of the Spanish. Many of these pieces were written in the sixteenth century to back up the claims made by the Indians of that era that whatever practice or privilege that they claimed had been enjoyed by them since time immemorial. Important examples of this type of document are the "Romances de los señores de la Nueva España," held by the Benson Collection, and the "Ordenanza del Señor Cuauhtemoc," held at Tulane. The "Romances" will be discussed more fully later in the description of the Benson Nahuatl holdings.

The number of ethnographic pieces held in the United States is quite limited. One group of manuscripts that in general do not include material in Nahuatl, but that do shed light on the Aztec culture following the conquest are the *relaciones geográficas* of

1579-85. The largest collection of these is also held by the Benson Collection, as part of the Joaquín García Icazbalceta papers. A total of 167 *relaciones* have been identified. Of that total, 41 texts with 35 maps are housed at the University of Texas, the largest repository after the Archivo General de las Indias in Seville. The *relaciones* are replies to official questionnaires that sought information on fifty different items. Included in the questions were several that requested details about pre-Columbian beliefs, rituals, land holdings, and other ethnographic information. As noted, few of these replies include material in Nahuatl. One that does is the famous reply of Juan Bautista Pomar for Texcoco, which includes the "Romances" noted above.

The second type of documentation usually found in Nahuatl are grammars, dictionaries, glossaries, and other grammatical and linguistic materials. The Benson Collection contains two pieces of this type, both dating from the eighteenth century, one entitled "Metodo facil y breve para aprender el ydioma mexicano," the other a glossary entitled "Diccionario selecto mexicano." Several of the most important grammars and dictionaries are held in the United States. One example is the "Gramatica y vocabulario de la lengua mexicana," by Fr. Andrés de Olmos, copies of which are held by the Library of Congress, the Tulane Latin American Library, and the Bancroft.

Various copies of the Olmos work also have an added section at the end called a "Huehuetlatolli," or formal speeches cast in the old manner. The copy of Olmos held at the Bancroft contains a complete Huehuetlatolli. But of even greater interest is the Huehuetlatolli held there that is attributed to Juan Bautista, but undoubtedly composed by someone in the circle of the Jesuit Fr. Horacio Carochi, as evidenced by the use of Carochi's system of diacritics. It is through forms and formulas such as those in the Huehuetlatolli that works that were composed to teach the language actually serve to provide ethnographic material as well. Recent scholarship has shown that the formulas used by this genre date from the pre-Columbian era. The third category of Nahuatl manuscripts, and perhaps representing the most pieces, comprises devotional and spiritual works. In this category are sermonaries, lectionaries, confessional guides, and pieces written to direct private prayer and spiritual exercises. Although one might conclude that these works would be the least likely of all to provide information on pre-Columbian society and belief, in actual fact, recent scholarship is disproving that assumption.

A fine example of the ethnographic content in Christian didactic pieces is the work of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Sahagún, a Franciscan friar, is best known for his twelve-volume work written in Nahuatl, which details nearly all important aspects of Aztec life, known as the Florentine Codex. In this he demonstrated tremendous sensitivity to pre-Columbian beliefs and the nature of society, often being called the father of modern ethnography. Yet the purpose of this study was not to promote the Aztec social and religious system, but to extirpate it. Sahagún felt that only when Catholic priests understood the enemy in detail could they root out the last vestiges of heathen superstition.

In addition to this encyclopedic work, Sahagún also wrote dictionaries of Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin, sometimes bilingual, and in one instance trilingual. He wrote, as did many others, his own grammar of Nahuatl. Finally, he envisioned the creation of a devotional work equal in magnitude to his study of pre-Columbian life. This mammoth undertaking would include a lectionary with Nahuatl translations of the readings used in the church year, a sermonary including sermons for all Sundays and holidays cast in Nahuatl, and several additional pieces that tentatively included a statement of Christian doctrine and catechism or colloquy, a general condemnation of pre-Columbian beliefs, a series of daily spiritual exercises, and a chronicle of the missionary endeavors of the first friars. Sahagún completed most of these but they were never organized into a single work. Most of the pieces of this devotional work

are currently held by the Newberry Library. Scholars have recently begun to study them to extract more information on Aztec times by extrapolating from them the thing against which Sahagún wrote. This type of study need not be limited to Sahagún, for all of the early friars were in direct contact with the vestiges of Aztec society and would have written their devotional works in a similar vein.

Another common type of document written in Nahuatl and held in United States repositories is vital statistics. The norm in the sixteenth century among priests serving in Nahuatl-speaking villages was to record births, marriages, and deaths in the Indian language. Many of these parish registries were somehow lost to their original villages and eventually reached libraries. Nevertheless, the quantity that remains in the rural parishes is impressive. The Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon) has undertaken an admirable project of microfilming these parish archives and bringing these materials within the reach of scholars in the United States.

The last category, and certainly the most diverse, is official documents, notarial records, lawsuits and petitions. One clear truth about Aztecs under Spanish rule was that they eagerly sought the benefits of Spanish jurisprudence. This is seen in the thousands of lawsuits raised by natives and their communities in the courts of colonial Mexico. At the end of the sixteenth century a special judicial system was created just to deal with suits involving Indians. Beyond this, the benefits of literacy were greatly appreciated by the Indians. Soon notaries became common in Indian villages. Their town councils conducted their business in the presence of scribes who recorded the deliberations. But what is so very interesting is that all of these records—judicial, notarial, and public—were kept in Nahuatl. Thus, many of these materials can now be found in U. S. repositories. In the Newberry Library, for example, is a fine collection of deeds and other property records dealing with Chalco, Metepec, Tlatelolco, and Santa María la Redonda. Tulane holds a small set of property records for Tulancingo, while the Bancroft has more papers from Santa María la Redonda. The Benson Collection, as will be seen, holds part of an account book from the municipal council of the Indian community of Mexico City, Tenochtitlán.

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

In spite of the richness of the manuscript materials in Nahuatl held in the United States, they only represent one part of the overall materials available for study in the languages. As noted earlier, soon after the conquest, priests recognized the importance of evangelization in the native languages. The devotional guides were written in response to this need. Yet to make these materials available quickly to the hundreds of missionaries in the field, it was necessary to print them. Thus in a matter of years one sees the establishment of a printing press in colonial Mexico, and the beginnings of that art in the New World. In fact, the first book printed in the Americas was printed in Nahuatl, the *Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana*, published in 1539 in Mexico. Unfortunately, although scholars are convinced that the work was published, no copies have ever been found.

The publication of materials in Nahuatl in the colonial period in Mexico was rich indeed. Of the thousands of items published in Mexico up until 1840, some 156 were published in Nahuatl. The largest group of these appeared in the sixteenth century, with production declining after that. There are several reasons for this trend. Clearly the need to train priests, and others, in Nahuatl was most extreme in the first century after the conquest, when the church confronted millions of new converts with limited

numbers of missionaries, all of whom lacked a knowledge of the language. As time passed the church benefited from Spaniards born and raised in Mexico who grew up speaking Nahuatl. The need for materials in the native language changed. Also, as time passed, more Indians adopted Spanish as a second language. Last, the overall publication of books, pamphlets, broadsides, and the rest, responded to demands in the Spanish community. As the Spanish community grew, more materials were published to meet the demand. One final consideration deals with quality. Many of the items published in Nahuatl in the sixteenth century were of such recognizable quality that subsequent generations simply could not improve upon them. Thus it is not surprising to find that one of the first dictionaries published, Molina's *Vocabulario de la lengua castellana mexicana* (1571), remains the standard even today, and only recently have more dictionaries appeared. Likewise, many of the early works went through numerous reprintings over time. Another dictionary, by Pedro Arenas, went through no less than seven printings between the sixteenth century and 1831. Many of the important Nahuatl imprints are held by U.S. repositories, in general, and the Benson Collection of the University of Texas, in particular. The guide to the specifics at the Benson Collection follows this essay. As noted earlier, although the first work known to have been printed in the New World was written in Nahuatl, no copies of it exist. The earliest Nahuatl imprint for which copies exist is entitled *Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana*, printed around 1547. The only known copy is defective, lacking an original title page, which has been reproduced by hand, and several other leaves. It is currently held by the Huntington Library. In his listing, García Icazbalceta places it as the fourteenth work published in Mexico.

Fr. Alonso de Molina's *Doctrina cristiana breve*, published in 1546, traditionally is accepted as the tenth work printed in the New World, but unfortunately no copies exist. In 1548 there appeared another *doctrina cristiana*, produced by the friars of the Dominican order, and listed as fifteenth, and again the only copy is housed at the Huntington. The second edition of the Dominican *doctrina* appeared in 1550, ranking as the nineteenth work. A copy of this is held by the Benson Collection. In fact, the work proved so popular that in 1550 three different impressions were made.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, a total of twenty-seven books were printed in Nahuatl, or with sizable portions in Nahuatl. Of that total, the Benson Collection holds over half, sixteen. As noted in several instances, although we are certain a specific work was published, no copies have come down to the present. Keeping this in mind, the total number of works available shrinks to less than twenty five.

Of the production of printed material in Nahuatl in sixteenth-century Mexico, several names stand out. By far the most important of all was Fr. Alonso de Molina. Best known for developing the dictionary that is still in use, he published a total of nine works, including four confessionaries, two brief and two extended. He published two versions of his famous dictionary. The first, in 1555, was only Spanish to Nahuatl. The later edition, 1571, included both Spanish to Nahuatl and Nahuatl to Spanish. He also published a *doctrina cristiana*, as seen earlier, in two editions, 1546 and 1578, a sermonary in 1575, a grammar in 1576, and a catechism in 1577.

Molina's production far outstripped the closest contender, Fr. Juan de la Anunciación, an Augustinian friar. Between 1575 and 1577, he published four works. In 1575 he produced a statement of doctrine and a sermonary for the celebration of the Bull of the Holy Crusade. In 1577 he published a sermonary for the whole year, which included a catechism. Thus although the sermons and catechism were two distinct works, they appeared in one volume.

Other important authors of sixteenth-century works published in Nahuatl include Andrés de Olmos and Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. The manuscript copies of

their works were discussed in the first section of this essay. The list of Nahuatl authors in the century after the conquest includes the famous Flemish Franciscan lay brother, Fr. Pedro de Gante. Fr. Juan Bautista, a Franciscan who worked late in the century and who was a colleague of Sahagún, published two works in the sixteenth century and many more in the seventeenth. In short, the universe of Nahuatl authors in the sixteenth century who saw their works in print was limited, but of exceptionally high quality.

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

Angel María Garibay originated the modern study of Nahuatl poetry in two important works, his three-volume *Poesía Nahuatl*, where he presented the cream of Aztec poetry, in the original Nahuatl and Spanish glosses, and his *Historia de la literatura Nahuatl*, a general study of Aztec letters in two volumes. The first volume of his collection of poetry contains the "Romances," the second and third the "Cantares." The study of literature, however, focuses attention principally on the "Cantares" manuscript. Nevertheless, continuing scholarship has demonstrated the close connection between the two. The general structure of the works and the similarities between them have been studied admirably by James Lockhart and Frances Karttunen. Furthermore, Miguel León-Portilla, a student of Garibay and current *hueytlatoani* of Nahuatl studies in Mexico, has further expanded our knowledge of Nahuatl poetry in his books on Aztec poets and articles on the nature of Nahuatl poetry and poetics. The "Romances" manuscript, thus, is basic to the continuing study of Aztec poetry.

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

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

Garibay:

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

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

Karttunen and Lockhart (rhythmic material is in boldface):

cuelca xonahuiyacan in ma **ya hualmoca a yyolo nicicicihua** ca niquehua cuicatl
i **o**yaahualacic **a o**yamoqcaco **ya** y cuicanitl **a yyo huia**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nahuatl Manuscripts in the Benson Latin American Collection

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

A chronicle from Tecamachalco, near Tepeaca. Covers the dates indicated by the entry. Initially uses only Aztec year names, thus beginning in 10 tochtli; a later hand, in pencil, has added the Christian equivalent. Text itself does not use Christian dates until 1519: "1 acatl xiuitl. ypan yn uallahque yn espanoles nican no enasspania yndiotlalpan ypan 19 aureu 1519 anos." Use of "Yndiotlalpan" is extremely curious.

Basically follows the important political and religious events of the period, arrival and death of prelates, viceroys, and the selection of Indian town officers.

G42 [561] Codice Indígena. 1564-1565. 23ff. 32 X 22

At least four sheets are smaller.

An account book reminiscent of the Codex Sierra. Uses principally the money glyph, but some others do appear, especially f. 7, the place glyph for Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The documents pertain to the Indian town council of Mexico-Tenochtitlán. They are *libranzas* for salaries and costs incurred by the council members. The place glyph heads what seems to be the annual salary allocation. There is also a petition, in Spanish, from the council to the Royal Audiencia requesting permission to spend community funds on the medical expenses and maintenance of the Indian governor, don Luis de Santa María.

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

According to the full title of the work, this devotional guide was written in 1756 while Cortes Coronel was the curate of Zongolica. At the time this version was copied, he had become curate of Chiautla de la Sal. The prayers are those associated with the stations of the cross, with the proper preparatory and concluding acts. One curious aspect of the Nahuatl of this piece is the author's use of /th/ for /t/: "Notheotzine" rather than "Noteotzine."

The manuscript was first owned by Josef Vicente Cortez.

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

A manuscript copy dating from 1775 of a work published in Mexico in 1548. The work is written in dual columns with the Spanish on the left, Nahuatl on the right. The manuscript has some minor binding problems, in that the "Table of Contents" unfortunately has the "Prologue" placed in the middle of it. The actual order should be Prologue then Table of Contents.

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

The copy has some corrections where half pages have been cut out and glued back. At the end of the work there are 17ff in a different hand, entitled "Pláticas y Admoniciones sobre los Siete Sacramentos." This added piece contains no Nahuatl.

JGI 979 Método fácil y breve para aprender el Ydioma mexicano. 14ff. [18th cen.] 15 X 10

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

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

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

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

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

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

The translations were subject to later revisions, in some cases heavy. For example, the selection from Matthew 17, for the Feast of the Transfiguration, has been

heavily revised, ff.18-19. In other instances marginal additions have been made in a slightly different, but contemporary, hand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Internal evidence indicates that the title of this manuscript should be "Diccionario selecto mexicano." The piece was written by someone in the parish of San Lucas Evangelista Iztapalapa, in April 1788. It consists of two parts. The first part of 62 unnumbered pages glosses Spanish verbs into Nahuatl. The second part contains 88 numbered pages and gives Nahuatl glosses for Spanish nouns. In both parts ample room was left at the end of each letter's entry for placing additional words and glosses. The Spanish words are in general alphabetical order within each letter heading, but not absolutely.

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

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

Important Rare Nahuatl Imprints Held by the Benson Latin American Collection*

Ic 18 *Doctrina cristiana en lengua española y mexicana*. Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1550.

This is the second edition of this well-known work. The first edition appeared in 1548. Some scholars questioned whether this actually was a new edition or merely a reprint of the older one. The typeface and structure of the pages, however, are quite different, thus supporting the new edition theory. The second edition concludes with the same colophon as the first, merely changing the date of publication. Yet as scholars studied the colophon they noted that there existed copies of this second edition with two different dates of publication: February 12, 1550, and April 17, 1550. To complicate matters even further, the two copies dated February 12 had minor internal differences and some noticeable differences in their cover pages. Because of these, and other, differences, scholars have decided that the copy held by the Benson Collection dates after the copy held by the John Carter Brown Library, although both of them date from February 12.

The style of the work is a common one among early Nahuatl imprints of this type. The Christian doctrine is outlined in two columns per page, one written in Spanish, the other in Nahuatl. Since the Spanish column was normally shorter than the Nahuatl the blank space was filled with various ornaments, such as stars.

Ic 19 Gante, Fr. Pedro de. *Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1553. Medina 20.

Unlike the previous work, this piece was written totally in Nahuatl. It is a complete statement of Christian doctrine for use in missionary work. This particular work is in fact the second edition of an earlier work first published in about 1547. The earlier work was published anonymously, but comparison with the Gante catechism leaves little doubt as to their common authorship. None of the known copies of the work is complete.

Fray Pedro de Gante was certainly one of the more interesting figures to have participated in the spiritual conquest of Mexico. As his name indicates, he was a Fleming, from near Ghent. A lay brother in the Franciscan order, he took a very active role in the early missionary activity. Most curious, however, is the close relation he seems to have maintained with the emperor and king of Spain, Charles V.

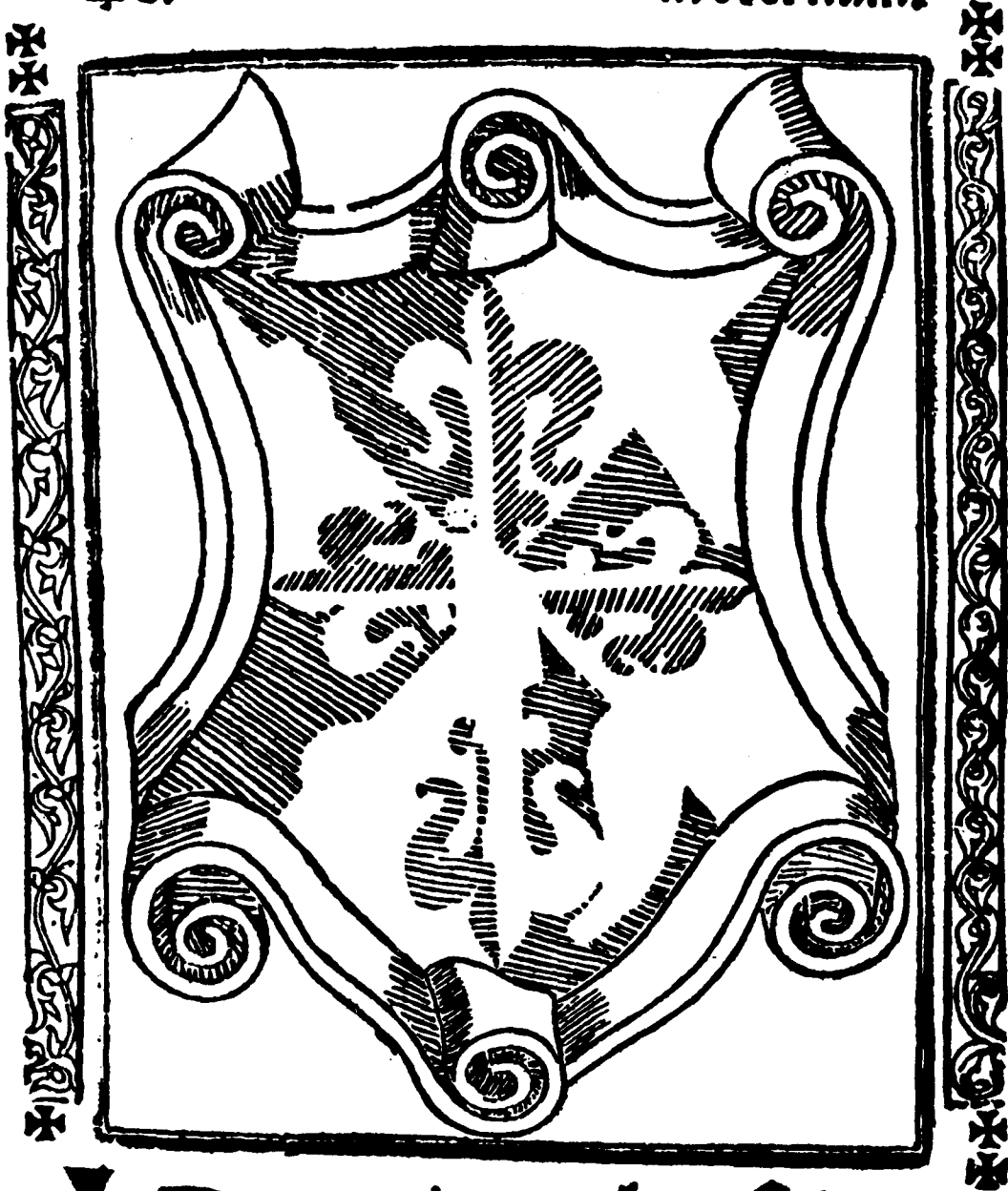
Gante was one of three Flemings who went to Mexico immediately after the conquest of the Aztecs. He was already on hand to welcome the first formal missionaries, twelve Franciscans who came under the leadership of Fr. Martín de Valencia.

Ic 23 Molina, Fr. Alonso de. *Aquí comienza un vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana*. Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1555. Medina 20.

This is the first of several works composed and published by this famous Franciscan linguist. While Molina became justly famed for his Nahuatl-Spanish, Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary, published in 1571, the work considered here is the first step along that path. The material contained in this earlier work passed almost completely into that expanded version. The title page of the work is done in red and

*The sixteenth-century imprints will be identified by the García Icazbalceta catalogue (first edition) number, while those from the seventeenth will carry the Medina number. The title page of the work contains the symbol of the Dominican Order, a cross made of fleur-de-lis, and is printed in red and black. As with so many other works of this period introductory pages often were printed in these two colors, and on occasion initials in the text were printed in red.

¶ Veritas domini manet in eternum.



✠ Doctrina christiana
 en lēgua Española y Mexicana: hecha por
 los religiosos de la orden de sctō Domingo.
 Agora nueuamēte corregida y enmēdada, Año. 1550

Doctrina de 1550 [February] (Cover)

Con preuilegio Imperial.

¶ Gloria y alabança de nro redemptor Jhesu
 Xpo y de su benita madre / aqui se acaba la declaraciõ dela do-
 ctrina xpiana en lēgua Española y Mexicana: y vna coluna cor-
 respõde a otra: sentēcia por sentēcia: d grãde vtilidad y puecho
 pa la salud dlas aias: y en especial pa los naturales dsta tierra/
 pa q seã fundados y robozados en las cosas de nra sctã fe catõ-
 lica: y animados pa la guarda delos mādamiētos diuinos: y pa
 q todos sepan los grãdes dones y riquezas q nro clementissimo
 redemptor quiso comunicar mediãte sus sctõs sacramētos con el
 exercicio delas obras de mia: assi corporales como spūales: todo
 lo q se cõtiene en los qrenta sermonicos aq cõtētidos. La saca-
 da la lēgua ē tāta claridad como aq parece: assi porq mejor se ve
 todo a entēder a estos naturales / como tãbiē porq mejor
 lo tomē de coro los q lo qsierē tomar. Fue impssa ē esta
 muy leal ciudad d merico ē casa d juã pablos por mā-
 dado d l reuerēdissimo señoz dõ fra y Juã çumarra-
 ga primer Obpo de Mexico. Y porq en la con-
 gregaciõ q los señozes obpos tuierõ se or-
 deno q se hiziesse dos doctrinas: vna bre-
 ue y otra larga: y la breue es la q el año
 de. M^o. D^o. LV. se imprimio. Manda
 su señozia reperendissima q la otra
 grande puede ser esta: pa decla-
 racion dela otra pequena.

✠ ✠
 Al cabo se de imprimir a ✠
 xij. dias del mes de ✠ ✠ ✠
 hebrero. Año d ✠ ✠ ✠
 M^o. D^o. l. años. ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠
 ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠
 ✠ ✠ ✠

La q̄l ha sido agora nueuamente corregida y emēdada.
¶ Soli deo honor & gloria in secula seculorū. Amen.

black inks, as were so many books published in this period, with a drawing of St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

Ic 60 Molina, Fr. Alonso de. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*. Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1571. Medina 65.

Of all the books published in sixteenth-century Mexico, this one is by far the most important for students of Nahuatl. Molina did such a complete job in compiling his dictionary that it remains the standard today. With the notable flaw of ignoring vowel length and other important linguistic markers, the work is the most complete view that we have of Nahuatl, especially as it was used in the sixteenth century. This edition has been reprinted numerous times, including several modern facsimile editions.

The work is in reality two dictionaries. The first is a Spanish to Nahuatl dictionary, on some 122 leaves; the second, and longer, 162 leaves, is a Nahuatl to Spanish work. The first section begins with the normal licences from the viceroy and archbishop, followed by twelve warnings to the reader. Following the first section there is a long comparison of Spanish and Aztec number systems. The Nahuatl to Spanish section is introduced by ten warnings to the user. In his own words, Molina heavily revised the Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary for the second edition. He includes some 4,000 more words than in the first. The second edition is printed on a larger page than the first. The first has 36 lines per page in the dictionary, while the second edition has 56. Thus the 248 leaves of the first edition, plus the added words, become 122 in the second edition.

Again according to Molina himself, he embarked on the project in an attempt to analyze the Aztec language in accord with the system perfected by Antonio Nebrija in his famous grammar and dictionary of Castilian. At no point does Molina claim that his word lists are exhaustive. In fact, he refers to the language as "an inexhaustible mine of words and manners of speaking."

Ic 66 Anunciación, Fray Juan de la. *Doctrina christiana muy cumplida*. Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1571. Medina 69.

There were two authors of devotional works who used the Anunciation as their religious name. Fray Domingo de la Anunciación was a Dominican friar who compiled a statement of the Christian doctrine in Spanish and Nahuatl, published in 1565. The author of the work under consideration here was a member of the Augustinian order and author of a total of three works, this one, the following, and a collection of sermons published in 1577 (see Ic. 73). Fray Juan was the subprior of the Augustinian monastery of Mexico City.

The *doctrina cristiana* written by Fray Juan consists of six preliminary leaves and a total of 287 pages of text. The text of the *doctrina*, as with so many others, is written in two columns, Nahuatl on the left, Spanish on the right. The typeface used for each differs, with the Nahuatl in squared type, the Spanish in rounded, italiclike type.

Ic 67 Anunciación, Fray Juan de la. *Sermones para publicar y despedir la Bulla de la Santa Cruzada*. Mexico City: Antonio Spinosa, 1575. Medina 70.

The Bull of the Holy Crusade was an indulgence sold for the benefit of the Spanish monarchy. All the faithful were expected to purchase a copy. It would provide spiritual benefits to the purchaser and monetary benefits to the crown. The price varied with the income of the purchaser, such that the poor paid less for the same benefits. The sermons contained in this work were composed to encourage the sales of the bull. The book is very small, only 11 leaves, plus the title page. According to the graphic

Doctrina christiana. Fo. 1.
 A b c d e f g h i k l m n o
 p q r s t u v x y z z z z z z z

Comiēça la doctrina christiana en lengua Mexicana.



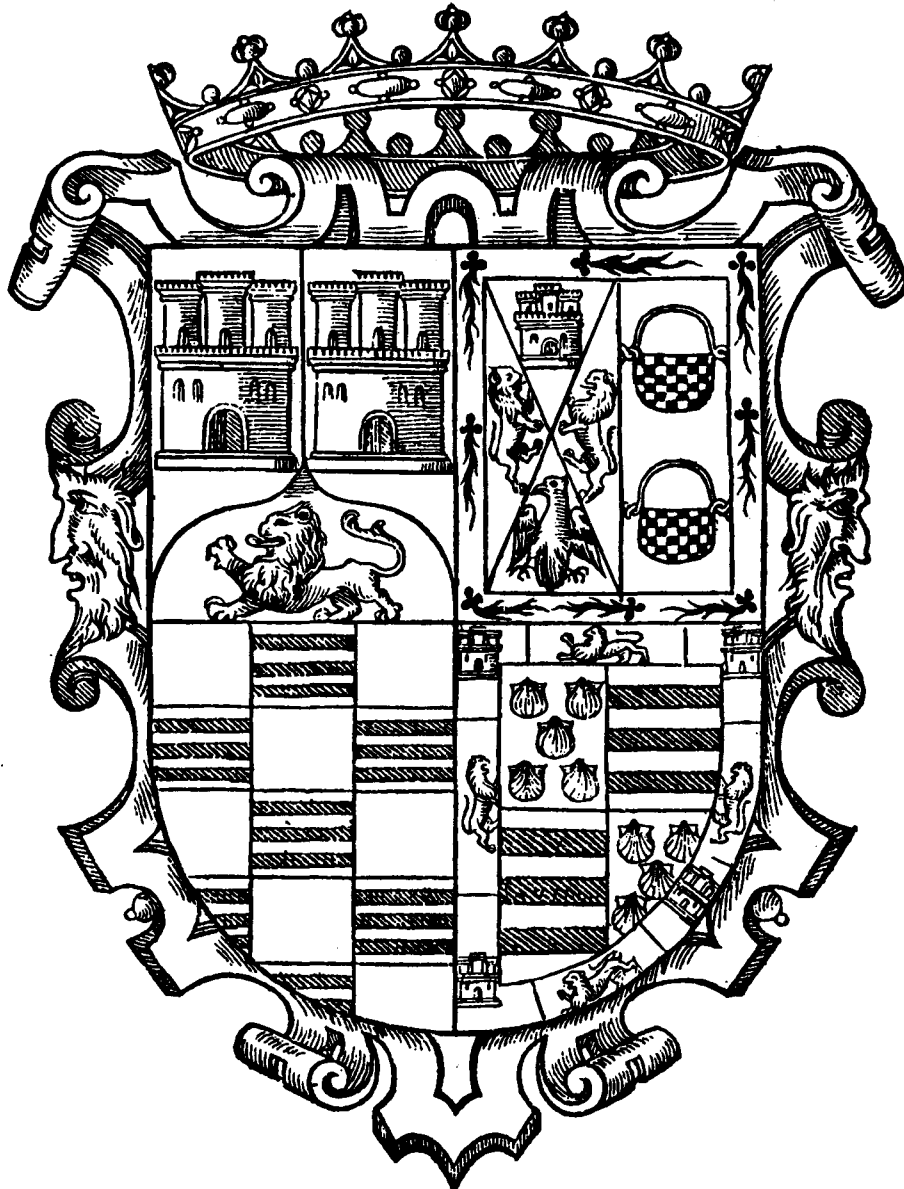
Nican ompehua in doctrina xpiana merito tlatolli tiquito hua in nemachitiliz in xpianome cēca moneq̄ inirq̄ch tlatatl: qui mō machitizque ynic huel yxtlamatisq̄. Y ni huic pa yxpianoyotl: ca ye- huatl ycbuel quimachimacbilizq̄ yn rote- cuiyo. Dios in in teouh in tlatocatzin yn Jeshu xpo. Camochi y pā motenehua yn inque xq̄ch intech monequi in xpianome yn quime locasq̄ in quipiesque. Y huā in quitelcbihuasq̄ in amo qualli. Y huā yn quenin q̄ motlatlaubtilizq̄ yn tote cuiyo Dios: in quenin quica quizque idmissa in

A honrra y yloziade nuestro seño Jeshu xpo y de su bēdita madre: aqui se acaba la presente doctrina xpiana en lēgua Mexicana. La q̄l fue recopilada por el. r̄. p. fray J̄ Pedro de Ḡa te de la ozdē de sant fr̄a cisco. Fue impressa en casa de Juā pablos impressor de libros. Año. de. 1553.

VOCABVLARIO

EN LENGVA CASTELLANA Y MEXICANA, COM-
pueſto por el muy Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonſo de Molina, dela
Orden del bienauenturado nueſtro Padre ſant Francisco.

DIRIGIDO AL MVY EXCELENTE SENOR
Don Martin Enriquez, Viſorrey deſta nueua Eſpaña.



EN MEXICO,
En Casa de Antonio de Spinosa.

1571.

Molina, Vocabulario Mexicano. 1571 (First cover)

VOCABVLARIO
 EN LENGVA MEXICANA Y CASTELLANA, COM-
 puesto por el muy Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonso de Molina, dela
 Orden del bienauenturado nuestro Padre sant Francisco.

DIRIGIDO AL MVY EXCELENTE SENOR
 Don Martin Enriquez, Vifotrey desta nueua España.



¶ Indorum nimia te fecit prole parentem.
 Qui genuit moriens, quos pater alme foues.

Confixus viuis, langues: cum mente reuoluis.
 Vulnere, cum spectas, stigmata carne geris.

EN MEXICO,
 En Casa de Antonio de Spinosa.

1571

introductory paragraph, Anunciación composed the sermon at the behest of don Pedro Moya de Contreras. The work is published in dual columns of Spanish and Nahuatl.

Ic 69 Molina, Fray Alonso de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1576. Medina 74.

This is the second edition of this work, first published in 1571. The two editions are not exactly alike. The first edition contains two parts, of 82 leaves and 35 leaves, while the second edition is in a single piece of 112 leaves.

Molina noted in the introduction to his landmark dictionary that he wished to continue to study the Aztec language using the system developed by Nebrija. This work is the grammar of Nahuatl that resulted from that study.

Ic 70 Vargas, Fray Melchor de. *Doctrina christiana muy útil y necessaria en castellano, mexicano, y otomi*. Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1576. Medina 76.

The example of this work held by the Benson Latin American Collection is incomplete. The organization of the materials on the page is quite interesting. On the left-hand page one finds the Nahuatl printed in gothic letters. On the right-hand page there are two columns: the one on the left is the Spanish text in italics, on the right the Otomí text in gothic. The work is profusely illustrated with woodcuts.

Vargas's translation of the doctrine into Otomí is one of the more interesting of sixteenth-century works. More research needs to be done to discover which of the various *doctrinas cristianas* was used as the basis of this work. The introductory material indicates that Vargas was the prior of the Augustinian monastery of Actopan, and that the work had been ordered by the archbishop of Mexico, don Pedro Moya de Contreras.

Ic 73 Anunciación, Fray Juan de la. *Sermonario en lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Antonio Ricardo, 1577. Medina 78.

In addition to the collection of sermons that gives this work its primary title, the piece also contains a catechism in Nahuatl. The sermonary is some 230 leaves long, while the catechism occupies 35 leaves.

The sermonary contains two parts, the first provides two sermons for each Sunday of the year, one longer than the other. The second section contains sermons for the important feast days and special saints' days. The sermons are completely cast in Nahuatl. Anunciación explained the motivation behind his writing of this work as a desire to "exile forever from among the missionaries the bundles of scribbled sermons of such varied doctrine, so undistilled and confused."

The catechism is organized in the usual dual-column format of the *doctrinas*. In this instance, the Spanish column is wider and uses a much heavier typeface.

Ic 75 Molina, Fray Alonso de. *Confessionario breve en lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1577. Medina 79

This is the second edition of this work. The first appeared in 1565, published by Antonio Espinosa. The two editions differ only in their title page. The first edition shows the Franciscan crest of the Five Wounds of Christ, while the second has a most curious engraving. It consists of Christ the Saviour as printer, turning the turn-bolt of the press, while blood flows copiously from his wounds and is collected by two angels holding chalices under the press. Unfortunately, the Texas edition lacks this engraving.

As is normal, the work is printed in parallel columns of Spanish and Nahuatl.

DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA
NA MUY CUMPLIDA, DONDE SE CON-
 tiene la exposicion de todo lo necessario para Do-
 ctinar a los Yndios, y administrar les los San-
 ctos Sacramentos. Compuesta en lengua
 Castellana y Mexicana por el muy Re-
 uerendo padre Fray Iuan de la Anun-
 ciacion Religioso de la orden
 del glorioso Doctordela Y-
 glesia sant Augustin.

*Dirigida al muy Excelente Principe don Martin Enrriquez Visorrey
 gouernador y capitan general en esta nueva España y presiden-
 te del Audiencia real que en ella reside.*



En Mexico en casa de Pedro Balli.

1575.

Doctrina de Fr. Juan de la Anunciación. 1575 (Cover)

INSTRUCTION
Y ARTE PARA
CON FACILIDAD RE-
 zar el officio diuino, conforme a las re-
 glas y orden del Breuiario, que nuestro
 muy sanctissimo Padre P^{IO}. V.
 ordeno, segun la intencion
 del Sancto Concilio
 Tridentino.

RECOPILADA POR EL
Padre Fray Alonso de Medrano; predi-
tador y lector de Artes, en el monasterio
de la madre de Dios de Tordelaguna, de la
orden de los frayles Menores de la
Prouincia de Castilla, y nue-
uamente por el mesmo
auctor corre-
gida.

CON LICENCIA:
 En Mexico, en casa de Pedro Balli:
 Año de 1579.

Ic 76 Molina, Fray Alonso de. *Confessionario mayor*. Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1578. Medina 86.

As with the piece before this, this is a second edition of an earlier confessionary. The first edition, printed in 1569, has a title page with an engraving of the Crucifixion. The second edition title page consists of an ornamental border of architectural figures, showing Adam on one side, and Eve on the other, while on the lower level seraphs and sirens hold the Franciscan crest of the Five Wounds.

The work has a dual column layout, like the *doctrinas*, that proceeds step by step through the confession. At the end there is a four-leaf index to facilitate the use of the work as a tool for the parish priest.

The first edition was licensed by the royal *audiencia* and granted Father Molina exclusive rights for a period of only four years. The printer of the first edition, Antonio de Espinosa, died in 1576, and Molina must have sought a new publisher. Nevertheless, it seems that prior to the publication of the second editions of these works, the new printer and Molina suffered a falling out. Molina sought and received a viceregal revocation of the printer's license to produce the work. Ultimately, Molina and Pedro Balli resolved the problems, and the viceroy issued another license, good for ten years. The license covered the republication of both the *confessionario breve* and *mayor*, the *Arte de la lengua*, the *Vocabulario*, and others. Of these, however, only the *Vocabulario* was not republished under the license.

Ic 88 Gaona, Fray Juan de. *Colloquios de la paz y tranquilidad christiana en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1582. Medina 94.

Fray Juan de Gaona arrived in Mexico sometime before 1540. In Spain he had enjoyed a reputation for his education and scholarship. In Mexico he set about learning the Aztec language and pursued a career of missionary activity and quiet scholarship. This piece is the result of that life. It was not published in his lifetime, as he died in 1560. Rather, the work was edited and augmented by yet another Franciscan, Fray Miguel de Zárate. The work was highly praised by contemporaries.

The particular copy held by the Benson Latin American Collection is curious. In addition to the Nahuatl text, it is accompanied, page by page, with a manuscript translation of the work into a dialect of Otomí. The handwriting is so fine that it seems to be printed.

Ic 92 Sahagún, Fray Bernardino de. *Psalmodia christiana y sermonario de los sanctos del año*. Mexico City: Pedro Ocharte, 1583. Medina 98.

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún is by far the best known of the sixteenth-century Nahuatl scholars (followed closely by Fray Alonso de Molina). Sahagún is best known, however, not for the *Psalmodia christiana*, but rather for his mammoth *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, which is known as the *Florentine Codex* in the Nahuatl version. The *Historia general/Florentine Codex* is an encyclopedic view of Aztec life before the conquest. Sahagún wrote it in an attempt to provide other missionaries with enough knowledge about the old ways to allow them to better extirpate idolatry. He also envisioned the creation of a much larger doctrinal work that would include sermons and Bible readings translated into Nahuatl, a *doctrina* and an *Arte*, plus other miscellaneous works. While he wrote most of the pieces to his magnum opus, the *Psalmodia* was the only one to be published in his lifetime.

The work consists of two parts. The first is a *doctrina cristiana* written in the form of psalms, or songs. In this way Sahagún hoped that the rote memorization of the Christian doctrine might be made easier. The second part contains the songs of the saints. It is divided up chronologically and lists the songs according to the saints' feast

SERMONARIO
EN LENGVA
 MEXICANA, DONDE SE CON-
 TIENE (POR EL ORDEN DEL MISSAL
 NUEVO ROMANO,) DOS SERMONES
*en todas las Dominicas y Festividades principales de todo el año:
 y otro en las Fiestas de los Santos, con sus vidas, y Comunes.*
 CON UN CATHECISMO EN LENGVA MEXICANA
 y Española, con el Calendario. Compuesto por el venerendo padre
 Fray Juan de la Annunciacion, Subprior del monaste-
 rio de sant Augustin de Mexico.

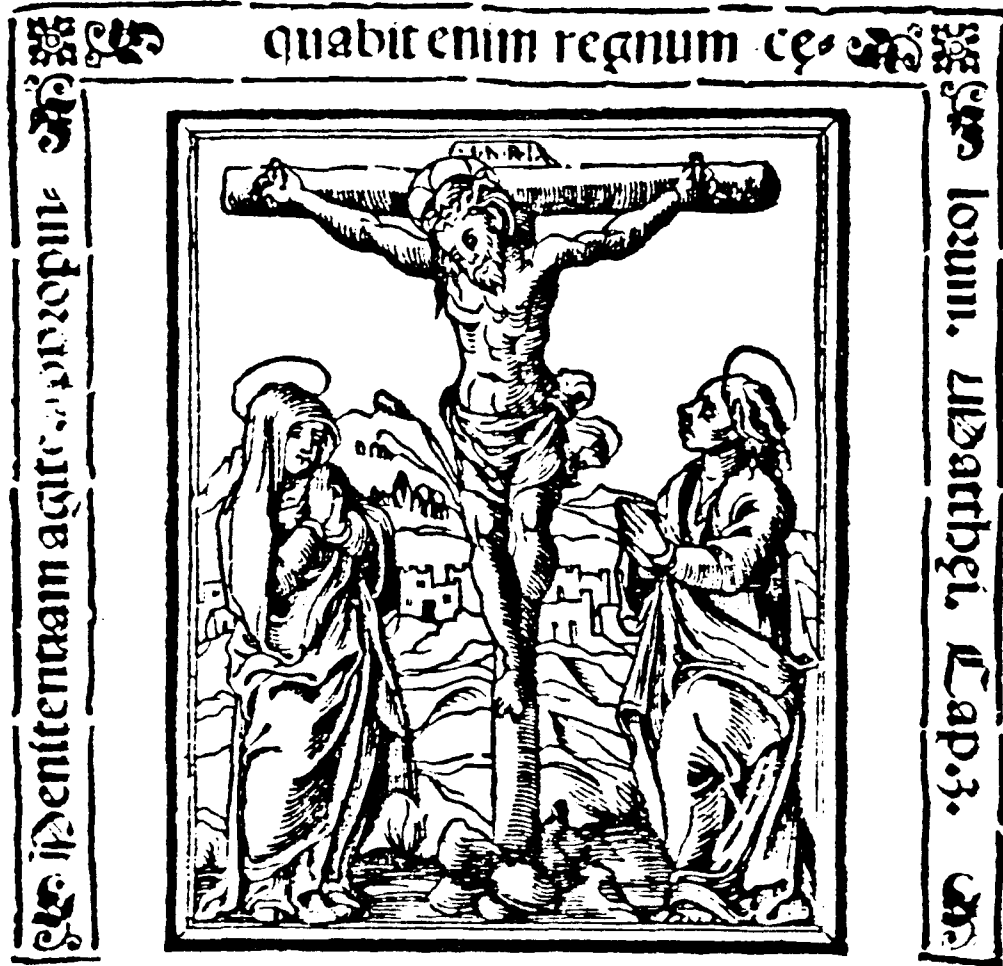


DIRIGIDO AL MUY REVERENDO PADRE MAE-
 stro fray Alonso de la vera cruz, Prouincial de la orden de los
 Hermitaños de sant Augustin, en esta nueva España.

EN MEXICO, por Antonio Ricardo. M. D. LXXVII.
Esta assado en papel en pesos.

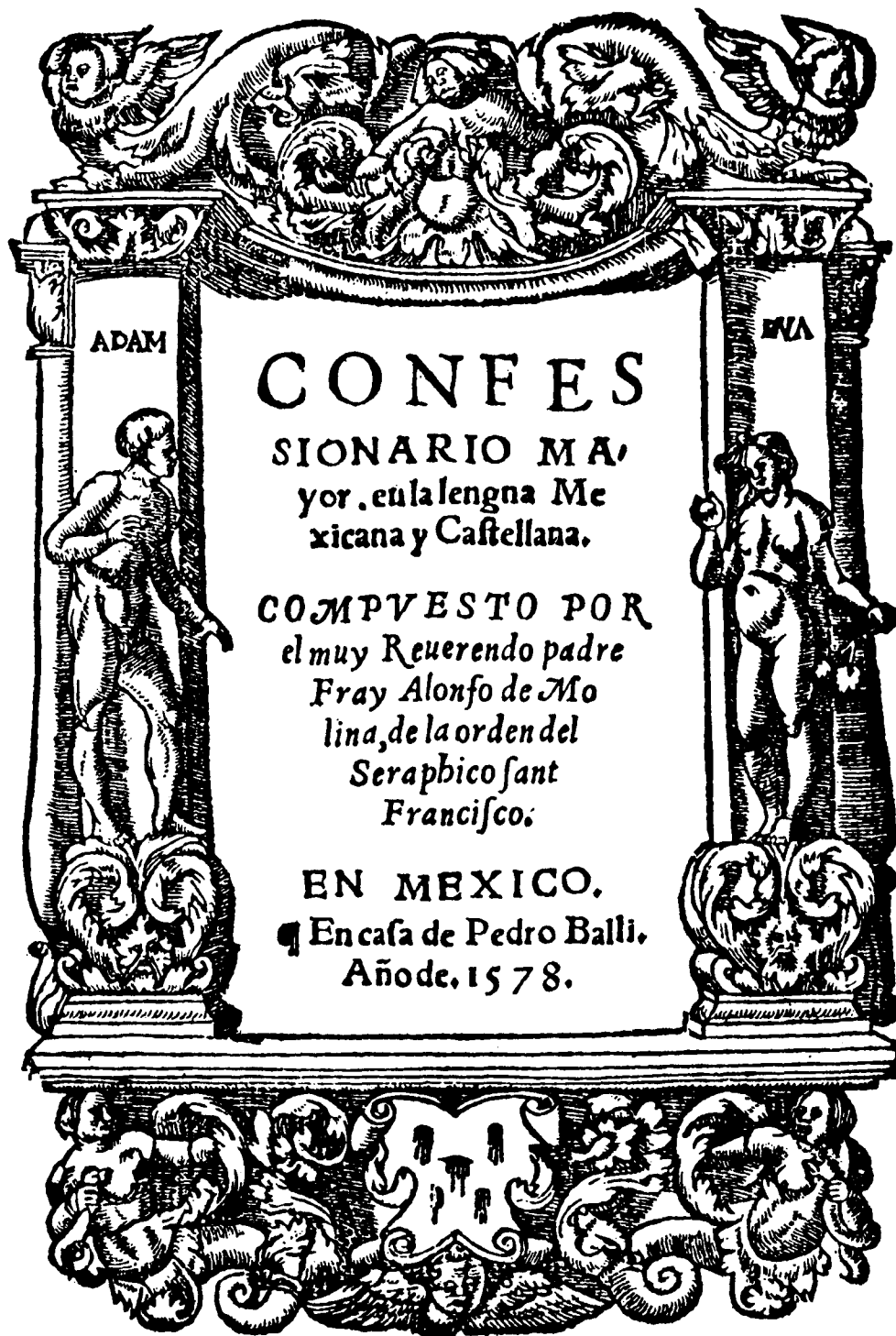
Sermonario de Fr. Juan de la Anunciación. 1577 (Cover)

Confessionario
 voz, en la lengua Mexicana y Castellana:
 Compuesto por el muy Reverendo padre Fray A.
 lonso de Molina, de la orden del Seraphico
 padre Sant Francisco :.



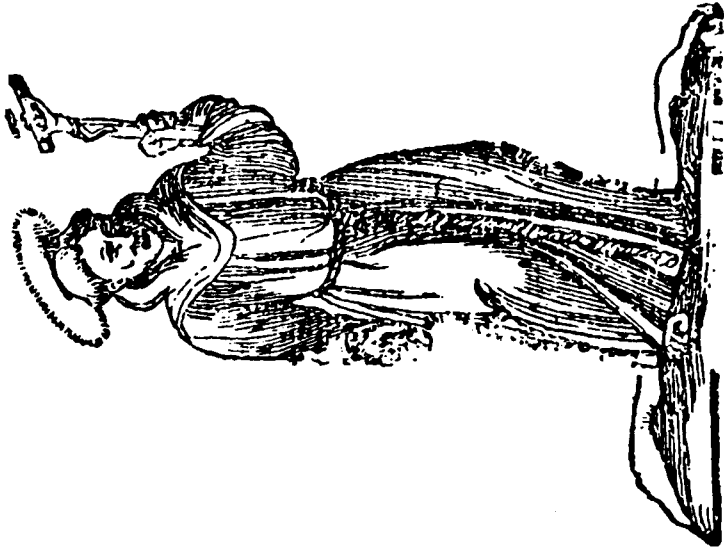
En Mexico
 En casa de Antonio de Espinosa Impressor,
 1569. Años,

Molina, Confesionario Mexicano. 1569 (Cover)



Molina, Confesionario Mexicano. 1578 (Cover)

COLLOQUIOS DE
 la paz, y tranquilidad Chri-
 stiana, en lengua
 Mexicana.



CON LICENCIA, Y

Privilegio.

En Mexico, en casa de Pedro Ocharte.
 M.D. LXXXII.

A HONRA, Y GLORIA

de nro señor Jesu Christo, y de su be-
 dita madre: a cabaróse de impri-
 mir estos Colloquios, con licencia
 y privilegio: en Mexico, en
 casa de Pedro Ocharte,
 a xxvij de Octubre,
 de M.D. LXXXII.
 Años .i.

FRATER ANTONIVS, A

Cruce, Mimbritanus,

Ad opus,

Aurea lux modij, parua tótecta sub vmbra

Exiit in médium, lumine clara ferēs.

Noctuagi curus aurora relinqt hybernos

Consurgens spatij: turbida nubis abit.

Euomit effcētū bassis hucusq; profundi

Fluctibus immersum, ratercūte chao.

Alligeramq; sua portās in culmine palmā

Cādelabri excelsū, se locat ipsa manu.

Luminat & nitidis populi præcordia nri

Fœlicis radiis, igniferisq; Poli.

Præbet iter vitæ, referatq; limina pādīt

Dæmonis &: rabit conterit, atq; caput

days. In January, for instance, there are the feasts of the Circumcision, Epiphany, and Saint Sebastian, followed in February by the Purification, Saint Matthew, and Septuagésima Sunday. The number of songs varies in accordance with the importance of the feast. The work also contains many engravings illustrating the lives of the saints and church holidays.

Sahagún explained the purpose of this work in the introduction. He noted that in ancient times the Aztecs gathered in the forecourts of their temples to sing and dance to their gods. Following the conquest one of the major problems confronted by the missionaries was making the Indians stop singing these idolatrous songs. Sahagún composed these Christian songs to substitute for the old ones.

Ic 109 Rincón, Padre Antonio del. *Arte mexicana*. Mexico: Pedro Balli, 1595. Medina 135.

Rincón's *Arte* constitutes the Society of Jesus's first contribution to the field of Aztec studies. The Society came to occupy an important position in these studies later in the colonial period. Likewise, this Nahuatl grammar remained a standard in Mexico until recent times. The closest competition came in 1645, when Fr. Horacio Carocho published his grammar. In all likelihood, Carocho studied Nahuatl under Rincón. What is most interesting about Rincón, however, is that he was a mestizo, native of Texcoco, and according to the traditional sources a descendent of the famous poet-kings of that city. The work is 78 leaves long, and is accompanied by a brief vocabulary of 36 pages.

Ic 114 Bautista, Fray Juan. *Confessionario en lengua mexicana y castellana*. Mexico: Melchior Ocharte, 1599. Medina 152.

The author of this work was a Creole, born of Spanish parents in Mexico. He learned Nahuatl as a child and later entered the Franciscan order. His exact identity is clouded in mystery. Adding a bit to the confusion is the fact that in the same year, another work was published in Nahuatl by Fray Elias de San Juan Bautista, a Carmelite.

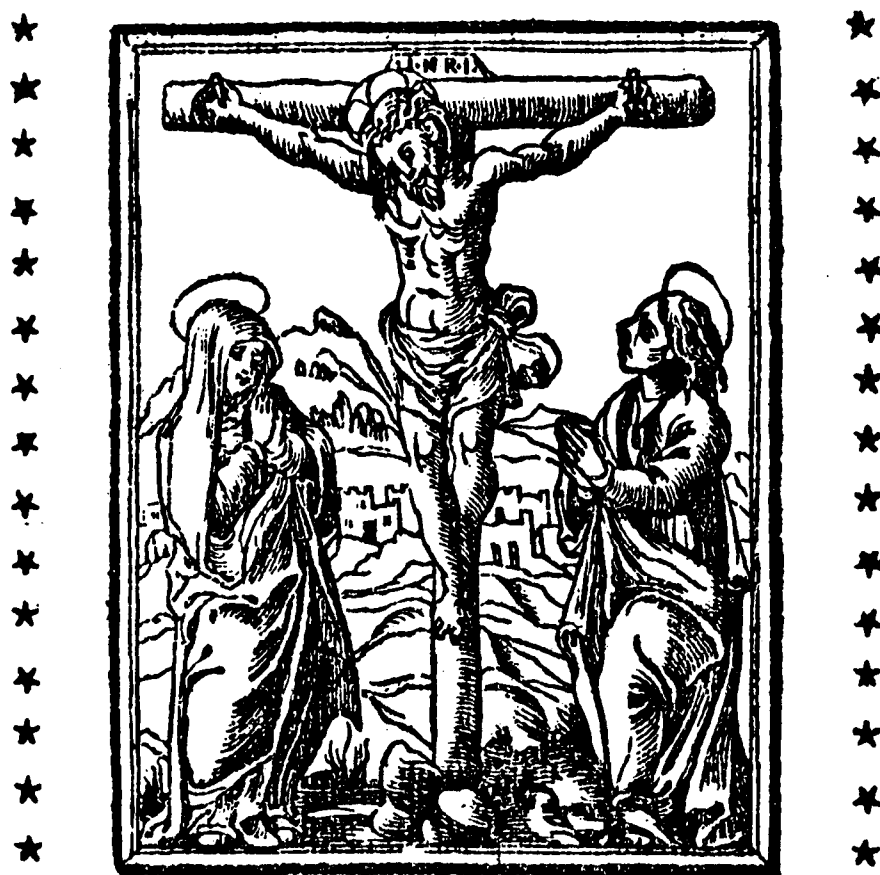
The *confessionario* of Juan Bautista consists of several parts. After the introductory material, the first section is a *tlahtolpepechtli*, or fundamentals, written completely in Nahuatl. Following that comes the true *confessionario*, written in dual columns, Nahuatl on the left, Spanish on the right. On leaf 68 a shorter confessionary begins, using the same format and lasting only six leaves. This ends with the shortest confessionary, a single leaf. Following these come readings and meditations, which the faithful should use before confession, during Lent, and at other times in the year. Last, there are a table of contents and errata. This is surely one of the most complete confessionaries in existence.

Ic 115 Bautista, Fray Juan. *Advertencias para los confesores de los Naturales*. Mexico: Melchior Ocharte, 1600. 2 vols. Medina 163.

Taken in conjunction with his confessionary, seen above, this two-volume piece easily places Fray Juan Bautista in the forefront of moral theologians dealing with the natives of Mexico. These two volumes encompass some 547 leaves, which combined with the 114 of the *confessionario* makes 661 in all. In fact, the friar considered the two works to be but pieces of a single work.

The *Advertencias* contains only limited material in Nahuatl. The text alternates from Spanish to Latin to Nahuatl as the situation requires. The second volume is almost totally cast in Spanish and Latin, listing and describing the various indulgences granted to the Franciscan order and their privileges in America.

PSALMODIA
CHRISTIANA, Y SERMONA-
rio de los Sanctos del Año, en lengua Mexicana:
cópuesta por el muy. R. Padre Fray Bernardino
de Sahagun, de la orden de sant Francisco.
Ordenada en cantares ò Psalmos: paraque canten los
Indios en los areytos, que hazen en las Iglesias.

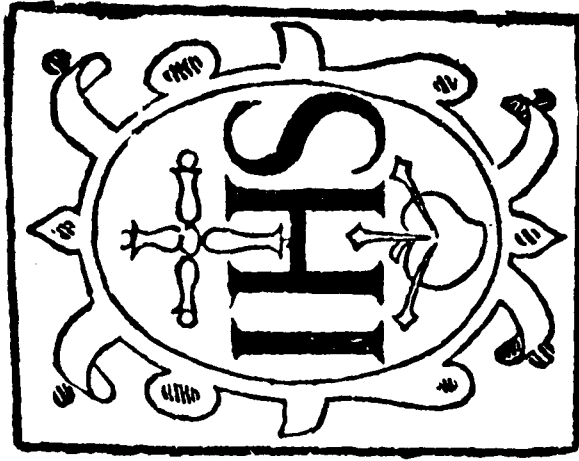


EN MEXICO.
Con licencia, en casa de Pedro Ocharte.
M. D. LXX XIII. Años.

Sahagún, Psalmodia cristiana. 1583 (Cover)

ARTE
MEXICANA
 COMPUESTA POR EL
 PADRE ANTONIO
 DEL RINCÓN DE LA
 compañía de Iesus.

Dirigido al Ilustrísimo y reuerendísimo
 S. don Diego Romano Obispo de Tlaxcal-
 lan, y del consejo de su Magestad. &c.

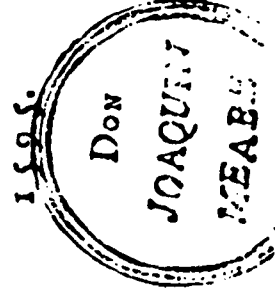


En Mexico en casa de Pedro. Balli. 1595.

xixitica. ni. desbaratar se algo.
 Xochimecat, sartal de rosas.
 xochio, cosa que tiene en sí rosas.
 xochiot, flor o enjundia.
 xochiti, conuertirse en flor.
 xochitl, flor o rosa.
 xochitlahcat, hombre que viue entre
 flores.
 xochitla, lugar abundante de flores.
 xonacatl, cebolla.
 xoxouia, ni, y se ponien do verde algo.

LAVS DEO.

EN MEXICO.
 En casa de Pedro Balli ..



Rincón, Arte mexicana. 1595 (Cover and colophon)

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Medina 224 Medina, Fray Francisco de. *La vida y milagros del glorioso S. Nicolas de Tolentino... traducida en lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Diego López Dávalos, 1605

This work, translated by a Franciscan, tells of the life of a famous Augustinian saint. The original piece was written by Fray Ambrosio de Sena, based on the documentation presented for the canonization of the saint, later cast in Latin by Dr. Scipion Iardinio. García Icazbalceta knew of no complete versions of this work. His own copy, the one held by the Benson Collection, lacks several of the introductory leaves and ends abruptly with leaf 80. Nevertheless, the complete work has four preliminary leaves, 81 leaves of text, and four leaves at the end.

Medina 227 Bautista, Fray Juan. *Sermonario en lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Diego López Dávalos, 1606.

According to internal evidence, this was the first of two planned volumes of Nahuatl sermons from the pen of Juan Bautista. Nevertheless, no copy the other volume has ever been found. This collection of sermons, however, ranks as one of the monuments to Nahuatl-Christian literary production. The work is very long, 709 leaves, written totally in Nahuatl. Bautista clearly conceived of this collection as a resource aid to parish priests and provided several indices, including a summary of each sermon and of the major points covered by the sermons. Thus, taking his works as a whole, Fr. Juan Bautista made a major contribution to missionary efforts among Nahuatl speakers.

Medina 238 Mijangos, Fray Juan de. *Espejo divino en lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Diego López Dávalos, 1607.

The title *Espejo divino* was well beloved by scholars of the seventeenth century and later. Many anonymous Nahuatl manuscripts carry this title, in clear imitation of this book. The original, under consideration here, is an extensive dialogue, 552 leaves, between a father and son who are discussing moral theology and Christian virtues. Except for the preliminary leaves, the piece is cast totally in Nahuatl. The introductory material indicates that Agustín de la Fuente, a native from the neighborhood of Santiago Tlatelolco, corrected the Nahuatl of the work. Scholars have also concluded that Fuente was an editorial assistant to the other great sermon writer, Fr. Juan Bautista.

Mijangos was a native of colonial Mexico, born in the provincial capital of Oaxaca, and a member of the Augustinian order.

This work completes the handbook for parochial administration begun by León in his *Camino del cielo*. In the introduction to this collection of sermons, León notes that he had completed two other volumes, and they were prepared for the press. As with the Bautista sermonary, these never found their way into print. Nevertheless, this collection has sermons for all the Sundays and major feasts of the year. It was León's intent to write short sermons in clear and understandable terms. León also indicated that the sermons were written prior to the *Camino del cielo* but that he received help to publish the other.

The sermonary has 330 leaves. The sermons are written completely in Nahuatl, and there are two for each feast and Sunday. In the introductory material León also lists other important works written in Nahuatl that served him in the preparation of this and his other books.

Medina 370 Mijangos, Fray Juan de. *Primera parte del sermonario dominical y santoral en lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Diego de Ribera, 1624.

This particular collection has sermons for the part of the church year that runs from Lent through all of Pentecost, that is, until early December. It also has some sermons for Holy Week and Easter and for the Blessed Sacrament and Holy Spirit. The work is 564 leaves long and has indices and a section on the elegant and metaphorical turns of phrase in Nahuatl. In many ways, it serves as a companion piece for his *Espejo divino*. As with other multivolume sermonaries, no further volumes were published.

Medina 594 Carochi, Padre Horacio. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Juan Ruiz, 1645.

This is without doubt one of the most important Nahuatl grammars ever published. Unlike nearly every other colonial authority on Nahuatl, Carochi recognized the presence of long and short vowels and the glottal stop and ascribed diacritical markings to them. Because of this he has proved to be of great importance in historical linguistic analysis of colonial Nahuatl.

Carochi, a Florentine, studied Nahuatl under the other Jesuit master, Antonio del Rincón. He spent most of his life in Mexico at the Jesuit College of Tepozotlán, where he was master of Nahuatl. He also became the rector of the Jesuit College of Saints Peter and Paul.

The work contains 132 leaves and systematically analyzes the structure and grammar of Nahuatl. Perhaps because it was more complicated than other grammars, which ignored the nuances of the language, it did not receive as widespread a reception.

Medina 1103 Vetancurt, Fray Agustín de. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico City: Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1673.

Vetancurt is also well known for his large chronicle of Mexico, the *Teatro mexicano*, in which he discusses both religious and political history along with geography.

The grammar considered here differs greatly from that of Carochi, in that Vetancurt offers a simple, short (only 49 leaves), and straightforward tool for learning the difficult language. Likewise, he insisted that his work, which also contained guidelines on the administration of the sacraments, offered the parish priest all the necessary information. The book was offered to the true beginners in the language.

*** CONFESIONARIO *
EN LENGVA MEXI-
CANA Y CASTE
LLANA.**

¶ **Con muchas aduertencias muy necessarias
para los Confessores.**

¶ *Compuesto por el Padre Fray Ioan Baptista
de la orden del Seraphico Padre Sanct Francisco,
lector de Theologia en esta prouincia del san-
cto Euangelio, y guardian del conuento de Sanc-
tiago Tlatilulco.*

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:*

*** CON PRIVILEGIO.***
¶ **En Santiago Tlatilulco, Por Melchior
Ocharte. Año de. 1599.**

ta. fol. 150. pa. 2. lin. 3. Lustani. fol. 264
 pa. 2. lin. 25. quis trina. fol. 295. pag. 1.
 lin. 4. vtique. *?*

¶ Con estas emiendas se deuen corregir algu-
 nos cuerpos desta obra: que en otros se corri-
 gieron en el molde: y con ellas está conforme
 a su original.

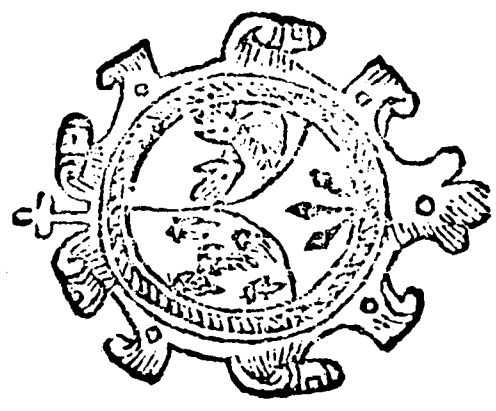
Fray Pedro de Aragon, Predicador.

*? * *? * * * *?

Excebat Ludouicus Ocharte Figueroa,
 Mexici, in Regio Collegio sancte
 Crucis, sancti Iacobi de Tlati-
 lulco. Anno Domini
 1601.

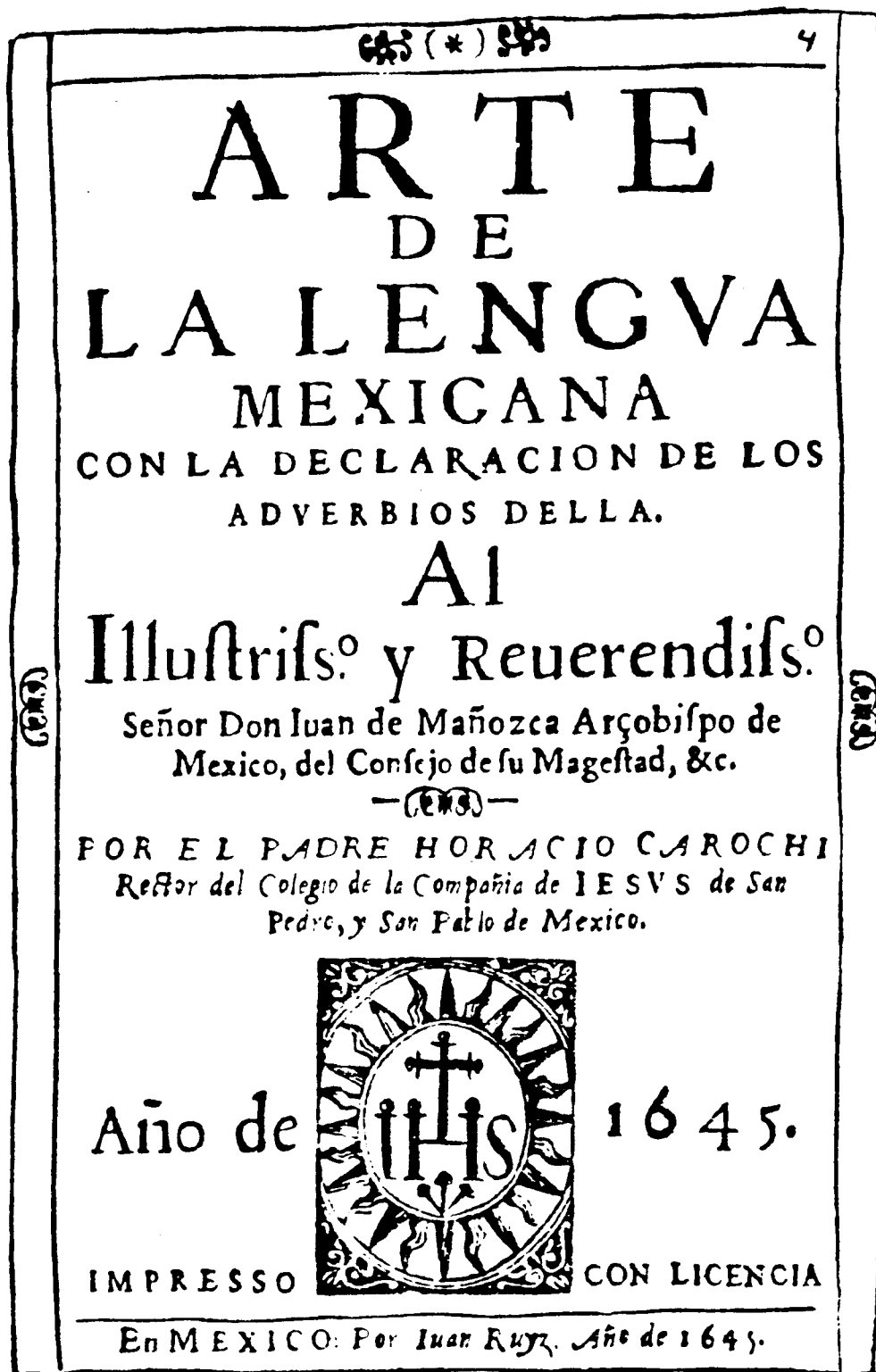
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ADVERTENCIAS.
PARA LOS CONFESORES
 de los Naturales.
COMPVESTAS POR EL PADRE
 Fray Ioan Baptista, de la Orden del Seraphico
 Padre San Francisco, Lector de Theologia, y
 Guardian del Conuento de Sanliago Tlati-
 lulco: de la Prouincia del Sancto
 Euangelio.
 Primera parte.



Con Priuilegio.
 En Mexico, En el Conuento de San tiago
 Tlatilulco, Por M. Ocharte. año 1600.

Fr. Juan Bautista, Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales. 1600-1601
 (First cover and colophon)



Carochi, Arte de la lengua mexicana. 1645 (Cover)