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**Models of Christian Identity
in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century
Nahuatl Catechetical Literature**

**A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by
Jennifer Rebecca Ottman**

Dissertation Director: Carlos Eire

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Abstract
Models of Christian Identity
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Jennifer Rebecca Ottman
2003

This study analyses the treatment of the dynamic of Christian conversion, the narrative of salvation history, the relationship of individual and group identity, and the sacraments of baptism and confession in five Nahuatl-language catechetical works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the 1548 *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, an anonymous collective work of the Dominican order; the 1553 *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana* by the Franciscan Pedro de Gante; the 1607 *Espejo divino en lengua mexicana* by the Augustinian Juan de Mijangos; the 1611 *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana* by the Dominican Martín de León; and the various surviving fragments associated with the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún's *Colloquios y doctrina christiana*, prepared for the press several times between the 1560s and the 1580s but never published. As well as bearing witness to the existence in early colonial Mexico of a striking multiplicity of viewpoints with regard to the nature of the change represented by religious conversion, the character of the relationships between God and the individual and between the individual and the community, the role of the Church as authority and as mediator, and the place of the New World in the economy of salvation, these texts shed new light on the fundamental assumptions at play in the much-debated questions of the Indians' 'capacity', their surviving 'idolatry', and more generally, the significance of a Christian Indian's 'Indianness' for his Christianity. While Dominican rationalism and legalism led León toward a 'dumbed-down' Christianity for perennial beginners, developing tendencies already present in the anonymous catechism of 1548, Sahagún took refuge from the dangerous attractions of the Nahua past in an exaltation of authority as source of truth unleavened by Dominican confidence in the independent perceptibility of natural order. Mijangos, by contrast, was able to integrate a positive evaluation of Nahua culture into an

understanding of the Christian dispensation as progressively unfolding across historical time, and Gante subsumed both historical development and Nahua cultural identity into one all-absorbing narrative of Fall and Redemption.

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INTRODUCTION

In the city of Tepexi *de la Seda*, on *dies y seys dias* of the month *de agosto de mil y seyscientos y beynte y un años*, before don Miguel de San Agustín, *alcalde ordinario por su magestad* in this city, and before me, Baltasar de San Miguel Cortés, *escrivano de cavildo*, and [before] the *testigos* [who] will be written here, appeared doña Ana de Santa Bárbara, noble lady in this city. Her father was don Martín de la Cruz y [her mother was] doña Isabel de Guzmán; they have already died. Her spouse was don Toribio de Esquivel. [They were] all nobles here in the city.

And she said that her flesh is indeed sick with an illness, as our lord Dios wishes, but her memory is indeed sufficient, by which she confesses the faith of Dios the Father, Dios the Child, Dios the *Espiritu Santo*, three *personas* but together one god, one Dios ...¹

On August 13, 1521, the feast of St Hippolytus, Hernán Cortés, his small band of Spaniards, and his much larger force of native allies completed their conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the capital city of the Aztec empire; almost exactly one hundred years later, in a provincial town, a notary began to take down a will with the words quoted above. Though written in the Latin alphabet and heavy with legal and religious terms borrowed from Spanish, the language is Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs and of many of their subjects, neighbors, and enemies in central Mexico, and all of the individuals mentioned

¹“Ypan altepetlt Tepexi de la Seda yc mopoia dies y seys dias ypan meztli de agosto de mil y seyscientos y beynte y un años yxpan don Miguel de San Augustin alcalde ordinario por su magestad ypan ynin altepetl auh nixpan Baltasar de San Miguel Cortes escrivano de cavildo yhuan yehuantin testigos nican micuilozque onecic doña Ana de Santa Barbola tecuchcihuatl ypan ynin altepetl ytatzin ocacca don Martin de la Cruz y doña Ysavel de Guzman ye omomiquilique ynamic ocacca don Toribio de Esquivel mochtin pipiltin nican ypan altepetl.

“Auh quito ca yehuatl huel mococotia ytlacayo yca cocoliztli yn quenin totecuyo Dios quimonequiltia auh yn itlalnamiquiliz ca huel acitica yc quimocuitia yn itlaneltoquiliztzin Dios Tetatzin Dios Tepiltzin Dios Espiritu Santo yey personas auh cemi ce teotl ce Dios ...” Vidas y bienes olvidados: Testamentos indígenas novohispanos, vol. 3, Testamentos en náhuatl y castellano del siglo XVII, ed. Teresa Rojas Rabiela, Elsa Leticia Rea López, and Constantino Medina Lima (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social; Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, 2000), no. 8, 104-25, at 105.

here, despite their Spanish names and titles, are Indians. Like most Nahuatl wills, Doña Ana's last testament conforms only loosely to Spanish legal forms; also like most Nahuatl wills, however, it opens with a Christian profession of faith and with instructions for Christian burial, masses, and pious donations. Perhaps more than usually devout, or perhaps suffering pangs of conscience about the methods by which she has acquired and preserved her extensive wealth, to judge by the equally notable extent of the offerings she wishes made for her soul, Doña Ana also admonished her grandchildren to divide their inheritance peacefully and fairly, "with Christianness,"² invoked the Christian God's blessing on them,³ and named a local Dominican friar as one of her executors.⁴

True faith? Social conformity? The promptings, additions, or revisions of the notary? Some combination of these? In a formulaic public document, and one which has come down to us (again like most Nahuatl wills) only because it was later introduced as evidence in a property dispute heard in a Spanish colonial court, who can say for certain, in any one particular case? What can be said without question, however, is that in the century following the Spanish Conquest, the visible expression of Nahua society's relations with the divine underwent a dramatic change. However personally indifferent or even hostile to Christianity he (or she) may have been, the early seventeenth-century Nahua, baptized soon after birth, bore throughout his life the Spanish-language saint's name given him at baptism, until he was laid to rest in a Christian church or churchyard, quite likely after dictating a will invoking the Trinity and requesting masses for his soul. That will, and any other legal documents he may have had drawn up, were dated according to the day, month, and year of the Christian calendar, and though he could and did divide up his property

²"[C]ristianoyoti[c]ja." *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 8, 104-25, at 115.

³*Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 8, 104-25, at 119.

⁴*Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 8, 104-25, at 123.

among his heirs according to local custom, and not according to the Spanish laws he might at some point have heard a friar explain, the legitimacy of his spouse and children was defined with reference to Christian marriage. His wife and daughters probably dressed much as their foremothers did, but he and his sons almost certainly exchanged their forefathers' loincloth for some form of shirt and trousers. He was familiar with Christian imagery, created according to Western European canons of representation, and with the existence of alphabetic writing, even if he could not read himself; if he paid any attention at all to Christian preaching, he was also undoubtedly familiar with the claim that the word of the Christian God, 'Dios', is contained in the books of the priests, recorded in this writing. If he lived near enough to a convent or regularly-staffed church, demands for attendance at religious services, fasting, and penance interrupted his daily routine in accordance with the Christian seven-day week and the annual cycle of the Christian liturgical year, and rather more gradually, he also found the dates of markets and of tax collection shifting from the old calendar, with its 'months' of twenty days and its 'weeks' of five, to the new. What effect Christian confession may have had on his sense of individuality or consciousness of sin is open to debate, but unless he lived a particularly rootless life, chances are that he indeed went through the rite a few times, if not necessarily with the annual frequency canon law prescribes. If he was part of a village community, he contributed through his taxes and labor services to the maintenance of the local Christian clergy and of the local Christian church, and to the magnificence of the village's celebration of the great Church feasts and of its own patron saint's day, and however reluctantly he may have paid his share of the costs, the festival was highly unlikely to have found him sulking at home.

But did all this make him (or her) a Christian (or a Catholic)? Observers at the time disagreed, and so have historians. Whether for the preacher trying to evaluate the sincerity of his converts, the convert - sincere or insincere - trying to defend himself against accusations of apostasy, or the historian seeking to pass judgment on either or both, the

discrete tangibility of the saint's name and the will preamble, Sunday mass attendance and Lenten fasting, is both their attraction and their trap. Susceptible to counting and recording, capable of proof by living witnesses or archival documents, their very claim to be the visible, 'legible' markers and shapers of that inner state known to God alone is also their threat to be no more than show, the façade which deliberately or inadvertently masks a very different reality. More importantly, however, and entirely independently of the possibility of hypocrisy, misunderstanding, mixed motives, and all the other ills that flesh is heir to, even a sign accepted as significant - that is, as signifying *something* - is not thereby 'understood': rather, this is only the beginning of the investigation. Attendance at Catholic mass, for example, may be taken to 'mean' the assertion of a Catholic identity whether the attendance takes place in post-Conquest Mexico or in post-Reformation Geneva, in England under Mary Tudor or in England under her sister Elizabeth, but only in the most restrictive and least interesting sense can it be said to 'mean' the same thing in each of these cases. The inquisitorially-minded pope Paul IV and the 'spiritual' cardinal Giovanni Morone, whom Paul imprisoned on charges of heresy (and who went on, under Paul's successor, to play a key role in the conclusion of the council of Trent), both went to mass, one assumes, as did, eventually, Henry IV of France, whether or not he ever actually said that Paris was worth that price; so too did countless other inquisitors, inquisitorial victims, and politicians performing their public duty, along with mystics, visionaries, scholastic theologians, Erasmian humanists, Franciscans, Jesuits, Carmelites, and people chiefly interested in inspecting their neighbors' new clothes.

What is more, it would be at best an oversimplification to suppose that the theological or spiritual significance of attendance at mass was very much more fixed than its social or identificatory one. The mass could be considered as an act of sacrifice and an act of thanksgiving, an act of worship and an act of communion, a time for instruction and a time for contemplation - and no theologian would have denied that it was in varying

degrees all of these - but emphasize one component over another, and two people attending even the same service may have very different experiences indeed. Individual temperament will play a role, as will the particular characteristics of the liturgy itself (the presence or absence of music or a sermon, for example), but so will previous instruction, from preachers and parents alike. When the Reformers and those who hearkened to their preaching began to denounce the liturgy they had all grown up attending, after all, it was not the liturgy which had changed, but their perception of it, and as any zealous clergyman, Catholic or Protestant, learned quickly enough, even those who agreed with their minister about the value of the services he offered might have very different ideas about their proper conduct.

Yet though the pastoral as well as dogmatic divergences among those who left the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century have always been impossible to miss, at least as roughly codified in the denominations which followed in their wake, and the gap between 'local' or 'popular' and 'official' or 'clerical' religion has become a scholarly commonplace in recent years, the possibility of variety in the pastoral teaching conducted under the banner of Rome, as distinct from the intellectual heights of the scholastic revival and the contemplations of the mystics, is rarely considered outside the French *querelle* of Jansenists and Jesuits. To stay with the example of the mass a little further, it does not take much visiting of churches, even today, to realize that there are more than differences in aesthetic taste being expressed when the gaze of the worshipper toward the altar is dominated by a crucifix or by a tabernacle, by a many-paneled retable or by one vast canvas, by bloody torments or by fluffy clouds and cherubs, but while recent research in the archives of ecclesiastical and secular authorities has enriched the traditional hierarchical picture of Catholicism by revealing the active and independent relationship of local communities to shifting official standards, the possibility of a variety of theological - as distinct from social and ecclesiological - understandings at play has generally been as little

explored as the sermons and catechisms that might shed light on them.⁵

In the case of Doña Ana and her Dominican executor it might at first be supposed that the range of possibilities falling within the realm of clerical instruction, at least, would be simpler to define than those of their contemporary European counterparts, even if the question of the reception and adaptation of that instruction by its intended audience may be an even greater puzzle. The Catholic missionary clergy who followed in Cortés's wake, predominantly Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars for the first half century, preached their faith, in a foreign tongue, to a people utterly unfamiliar with it, and whom many of them soon began to see as 'simple' - sometimes the simplicity of angels, sometimes that of idiots, sometimes both - and others found devilishly cunning. If there was ever both an opportunity and a need for distilling the faith to its essentials, in other words, this would seem to be it. Yet for all that it would be easy enough to draw up a lengthy catalogue of friars and bishops who urged the compilation of a common catechism and sermon collection and complained about the deleterious effects of linguistic and ritual variation, all such projects for uniformity went nowhere. In the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century catechetical and devotional literature written in Nahuatl, printed and manuscript, the essentials of dogma may have been retained, but the emphases were no less varied than those to be found in the Old World, even as they offer a window on questions of cultural contact and the evaluation of cultural difference rarely addressed so directly in a

⁵Two interesting, erudite, but ultimately unsatisfying studies of that laboratory of early modern religious change, England, are exceptions which prove the rule in the rather puzzling unity of the visions which they draw from their variegated sources, Eamon Duffy's detailed and loving portrait of pre-Reformation parish religion in The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992) and Ian Green's similarly lengthy survey of printed catechisms in The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530 - 1740 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). If the reader of Duffy's study is left perplexed by the tolerance of most of his 'traditional' believers for the religious upheavals brought about by and under the aegis of the Tudor monarchs, Green's emphasis on the commonalities of basic catechesis across the Protestant spectrum raises similar questions for the events of the following century.

strictly European context.⁶

Too colonial to attract the interest of many scholars of either prehispanic or contemporary Nahua language and culture, too clerical to appear a promising source to those historians of the colony who explore Nahuatl archival documentation, and simply inaccessible to most specialists in other fields without the time and opportunity to learn a rather obscure non-Indo-European language, however, this too is a literature which has yet to be thoroughly examined on its own terms. Certainly the best-studied, relatively speaking, as well as the most extensive body of indigenous-language Christian texts to survive from Spain's American empire, it has long been occasionally mined for ethnographic information on prehispanic beliefs and customs, and more recently analyzed for traces of the linguistic and social transformations of a developing colonial society and for the continuing influence of prehispanic conceptions on the sometimes-imperfect translation of the friars' message, but the specifics of that message have generally been of secondary interest at best, when not merely assumed. Yet as this study demonstrates, these works bear witness to the existence of a striking multiplicity of viewpoints with regard to the nature of the change represented by religious conversion, the character of the relationship between God and the individual and between the individual and the community, the role of the Church as authority and as mediator, and the place of the New

⁶The most obvious parallel, and one which the Mexican friars themselves draw, is to the Spanish 'internal mission' to the moriscos, but I know of no study addressing questions similar to mine in this context. Louis Cardaillac, Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640), with a Preface by Fernand Braudel, trans. Mercedes García Arenal, Sección de obras de historia (Madrid, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979), discusses theological apologetics, especially those written from the Islamic side, as well as less elevated polemical manifestations, but the emphasis throughout is on confrontation, while Antonio Garrido Aranda's comparison between Granada and Mexico, Moriscos e indios: Precedentes hispánicos de la evangelización en México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Serie antropológica, no. 32 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980), focuses on institutional history. The best overall introduction to the moriscos, the debate over their conversion and assimilation or lack thereof, and the circumstances surrounding their expulsion from the peninsula remains Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría, Biblioteca de la Revista de Occidente, Sección de ciencias históricas, no. 36 (Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente, 1978).

World in the unfolding narrative of salvation history. At the same time, the choices of style, emphasis, and approach made by the friars when dealing with these issues shed new light on the fundamental assumptions at play in the much-debated questions of the Indians' 'capacity', their surviving 'idolatry', and more generally, the significance of a Christian Indian's 'Indianness' for his Christianity. Incapable of reduction to one program of conversion or confessionalization, these texts reveal the diversity of religious options available on both sides of the Atlantic, while also suggesting an unexpected complexity to the relationship between religious doctrine and openness to cultural difference in the early modern period.

* * *

From the larger body of Christian religious literature written in Nahuatl in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries I have selected five works (or closely related groups of works) to form the center of my analysis, two of Franciscan authorship, two of Dominican, and one of Augustinian.⁷ All save one were printed in Mexico City, and the last was prepared for the press though never printed, offering some guarantee of their authorship, date, and acceptability to the religious and secular authorities which licensed printing,⁸ and all are (among other things) catechisms making some claim to provide a

⁷For contents and bibliographical details see Appendix I.

⁸On the Mexican press, see Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI: Catálogo razonado de libros impresos en México de 1539 a 1600: Con biografías de autores y otras ilustraciones, precedido de una noticia acerca de la introducción de la imprenta en México, new ed., ed. Agustín Millares Carlo, Biblioteca americana, Serie de literatura moderna, Historia y biografía (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954); Vicente de P. Andrade, Ensayo bibliográfico mexicano del siglo XVII, 2d ed. (Mexico City: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1899); José Toribio Medina, La imprenta en México (1539 - 1821), vol. 2 (Santiago de Chile: En casa del autor, 1907); and Francisco González de Cossío, La imprenta en México (1553 - 1820): 510 adiciones a la obra de José Toribio Medina en homenaje al primer centenario de su nacimiento (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional de México, 1952). On Nahuatl imprints specifically, see Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, Tepuztlahcuilolli: Impresos en náhuatl: Historia y bibliografía, 2 vols., Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Serie de cultura náhuatl, Monografías, no. 22 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988), and Barry D. Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books: Language and Expression in Colonial Nahuatl Publications"

complete account of that which the Christian Nahua must know, believe, and do, rather than more thematic but less comprehensive works such as sermon collections, confessional manuals, saints' lives, and other devotional treatises.⁹ Within this framework, however, differences in a few basic assumptions about the nature and demands of Christian conversion result in very different overall programs.

Chapter One offers a review of the literature and Chapter Two provides some historical context on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mexican Church, the mendicant orders in Mexico, and (to the extent known) the authors of these catechisms. Chapter Three then turns to these catechisms themselves and their models of Christian conversion, focusing on the initial dynamic of call and response. Chapter Four examines the presentation of the 'biography' of God and the narrative of Christian salvation history, as a set of timeless truths or as part of a historical narrative, an eternal economy of salvation or one in which the life and death of Christ takes on key significance. Chapter Five discusses the relationship of individual to group in the formation of a Christian identity, as a member of the Church, an institution which may be perceived as occupying various places along the spectrum which runs from hierarchy to community, and as a member of the possibly suspect group of Nahuas or 'Indians'. Chapter Six looks at the approach to the two sacraments most closely linked with the process of conversion, baptism and confession: the former the symbol and effective sign of conversion from unbeliever to Christian and the latter that of the sinning believer's conversion from a state of sin to a state of grace. Finally, the conclusion returns to some of the questions raised above.

(Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1993).

⁹I use 'catechism' in this study as an equivalent to early modern Spanish *doctrinachristiana*, to indicate any thematically-comprehensive handbook of basic instruction, not only one in question-and-answer form.

In the bilingual *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana* of 1548,¹⁰ an anonymous collective work of the Dominican friars, revising and expanding a Spanish-language text published in 1544,¹¹ God appears predominantly as Creator and Judge, dispenser of rewards and punishments to His human creatures according to each one's works. The Christian owes Him thanksgiving for His benefits and obedience to His commands, but may expect due recompense in turn, in an implicitly contractual relationship in which the ability of the individual to obey is never seriously questioned and in which the need for mediation between God and man is little in evidence, whether that of Christ, of Mary, or of the saints; while the Church must be obeyed and the sacraments received, the individual is not so much joining a community as he is heeding the inscrutable divine command which has so ordered it. At the same time, in comparison with the later Dominican Martín de León's 1611 *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana*,¹² itself in part a

¹⁰Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana: Hecha por los religiosos de la orden de sancto Domingo (Mexico City: En casa de Juan Pablos, por mandado de Juan Çumarraga, 1548), facsimile reprint of the incomplete copy in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid in Doctrina cristiana en lengua española y mexicana por los religiosos de la orden de santo Domingo, Colección de incunables americanos, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1944), and the leaves missing or damaged in this copy supplied from the complete copy in the Huntington Library in Miguel Ángel Medina, OP, Doctrina cristiana para instrucción de los indios: Redactada por fr. Pedro de Córdoba, O.P. y otros religiosos doctos de la misma orden: Impresa en México, 1544 y 1548, Historiadores dominicos pro Quinto Centenario de la evangelización de América, Los dominicos y América, no. 2, Junta episcopal para el Quinto Centenario (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1987), 261-79 and 417-25.

¹¹Doctrina christiana para instruccion e informacion de los indios: Por manera de hystoria: Compuesta por el muy reuerendo padre fray Pedro de Cordoua: De buena memoria: Primero fundador de la orden de los Predicadores en las yslands del mar Oceano: Y por otros religiosos doctos de la misma orden (Mexico City: En casa de Juan Cromberger, por mandado de Juan Çumarraga y a su costa, 1544); facsimile reprint in Medina, Doctrina, 137-96. Although the primacy of Córdoba's authorship is debatable, the short-title citation for this work will be Córdoba, Doctrina, in the interest of ease in distinguishing among the multiple works titled Do(c)trina c(h)ristiana cited in this study.

¹²Martín de León, OP, Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana, con todos los requisitos necesarios para conseguir este fin, con todo lo que vn christiano deue creer, saber, y obrar, desde el punto que tiene vso de razon, hasta que muere (Mexico City: En la emprenta de Diego Lopez Daulos, a costa de Diego Perez de los Rios, 1611).

revision and expansion of his brethren's earlier work,¹³ the Dominicans of 1548 are both more optimistic about their converts' capacity for salvation, to judge by their marked preference for promises of heaven over threats of hell, and less interested in presenting anything more than a digest of the intellectual content of the faith, judged sufficient for simple folk to accept on the authority of their betters. León, though no less given to *ex cathedra* pronouncements, insists on a notably higher level of doctrinal knowledge even as he increases his predecessors' already-present tendency toward legalism and scrupulousness in the administration of the sacraments, conditioning the bargain of salvation still more heavily on the human contribution.

In the Franciscan Pedro de Gante's *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana* of 1553,¹⁴ on the other hand, the emphasis is on God's mercy, expressed in the Incarnation and the Passion, to which the sinner is encouraged to fly in trust and wonder each time he falls, on a pilgrimage through life in which he is surrounded and accompanied by the nameless multitudes of his fellow Christians, living and dead, for whom and to whom he prays and who pray for him. The Augustinian Juan de Mijangos's *Espejo divino en lengua mexicana* of 1607¹⁵ is similarly psychological in orientation, and similarly populated with saintly exemplars for the Christian's imitation, but for Mijangos the Christian's progress is a much more linear one, from a conversion of life rooted in the fear of death and judgement through a gradual and cumulative exercise in virtue to final perseverance, just as both his

¹³See Appendix II for the argument for León's use of the earlier work.

¹⁴Pedro de Gante, OFM, *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: En casa de Juan Pablos, 1553); facsimile reprint, *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana (Edición facsimilar de la de 1553)*, with an Introduction by Ernesto de la Torre Villar (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, 1981).

¹⁵Juan de Mijangos, OSA, *Espejo divino en lengua mexicana, en que pveden verse los padres, y tomar documento para acertar a doctrinar bien a sus hijos, y aficionarlos a las virtudes* (Mexico City: En la imprenta de Diego Lopez Daulos, 1607).

saints and the two participants of his fictional dialogue are much more individualized and historically rooted than Gante's abstract categories of holy men and women and the anonymous interrogant and respondent of his question-and-answer section. The 1564 *Coloquios de doctrina christiana* of the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún,¹⁶ finally, are thoroughly this-worldly in orientation, casting the Conquest as the liberation of the Indians from the Egyptian slavery in which the devil has held them, and urging their submission to the victors' God, the Lord of Hosts and the giver of the law. Most inclined of these authors to emphasize the mediation of the divine revelation through the Church as that revelation's earthly guardian, Sahagún is also the most conflicted with regard to the Indians' capacity for salvation: where Gante and Mijangos ignore the subject of surviving 'idolatry', and the Dominicans treat it as a question of ignorance or stupidity, for Sahagún it is one of malicious betrayal, the treasonous breaking of a pledged allegiance.

Writing in Nahuatl, all these friars were at least by implication committed to something other than a *tabularasa* approach to prehispanic culture, if only on pragmatic grounds. Where Dominican rationalism and legalism made defenders of the Indians' rights out of two of St Dominic's most famous sixteenth-century sons, Bartolomé de las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria, however, in Mexico it contributed to a tendency toward a 'dumbed-down' Christianity for perennial beginners. Realizing that the religious practices of their neophytes did not quite conform to what they had in mind, the Dominicans responded with the isolation and formalization of rules, and when these failed to catch the imagination of their flocks, identified the latter as 'slow learners' rather than give up their

¹⁶Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Coloquios y doctrina cristiana: Con que los doce frailes de san Francisco, enviados por el papa Adriano VI y por el emperador Carlos V, convirtieron a los indios de la Nueva España: En lengua mexicana y española: Los diálogos de 1524, dispuestos por fray Bernardino de Sahagún y sus colaboradores Antonio Valeriano de Azcapotzalco, Alonso Vegerano de Cuauhtitlán, Martín Jacobita y Andrés Leonardo de Tlatelolco, y otros cuatro ancianos muy entendidos en todas sus antigüedades*, facsimile ed., ed. and trans. Miguel León-Portilla, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facsímiles de lingüística y filosofía nahuas, no. 4 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Fundación de Investigaciones Sociales, 1986).

faith in instruction - and rather than resort to either physical or spiritual threats. Hellfire and, at least in the early years, physical punishment were Franciscan specialties, the reverse side of their message of repentance and redemption. Threatening divine wrath and offering divine mercy, this message may well have rung more true in the disordered circumstances of post-Conquest Mexico than the Dominicans' call to give thanks to the Creator of a rightly-ordered world, but it also required the conviction of preceding sin - what is not recognized as sin cannot be repented for, though it may be regretted for other reasons - not merely the resolve to improve on preceding ignorance which the Dominicans could accept. For Gante, universal human frailties provided grounds enough for contrition, without delving into prehispanic memories, but for Sahagún the sin which the Nahuas had to purge in their conversion gradually became the collective guilt of their idolatrous past, as yet, he feared, unrepented. Immersed in the study of Nahuatl language and culture in the best traditions of the humble sons of St Francis, he took refuge from its dangerous attractions in an exaltation of authority as source of truth unleavened by Dominican confidence in the independent perceptibility of natural order, and if he had few doubts of Indian capacity, neither was he prepared to allow it as an extenuating circumstance. Rather than the well-known Franciscan ethnographer, it is the lesser-known Augustinian Mijangos, for whom the Christian life is neither a matter for intellectual instruction nor a drama of fall and redemption, but rather a pilgrim's progress of gradual character formation through the practice of virtue and the avoidance of vice, who offers the most positive evaluation of the Indians' prehispanic past. Not only more generous than Sahagún in his location of the boundary between religion and the merely 'cultural', but also prepared to admit the coexistence of elements of true religion alongside errors as yet unemended, Mijangos had a gradualist view of the Christianization of society, no less than that of the individual, as well as an obvious respect for the traditional Nahuatl rhetoric which he took pains to employ. Duly filled with Christian content - and Mijangos was, not coincidentally, a regular

practitioner of allegorical and tropological exegesis in his dealings with Scripture - the 'cultural' elements of the Nahua past were for this follower of the classically-educated St Augustine the good, severe old ways praised by any moralist, apparently as worthy of preservation as those of the European classical and Old Testament heritages.

LINGUISTIC NOTES

All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Where a work was originally published in the sixteenth or seventeenth century in bilingual form (Nahuatl and Spanish), the Spanish text of quotations is provided in the notes for comparison, but the English translation is from the Nahuatl unless otherwise noted. Where I have used editions of Nahuatl texts with modern translations into Western European languages, the translations, again, are mine, but significant differences between my translations and those of the editor are discussed in the notes. Where I have used editions with manuscript facsimiles and transcriptions, I have compared the transcription with the facsimile and have followed my reading of the facsimile in case of divergence, without attempting to note those divergences here: this applies particularly to the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas editions of Sahagún's *Coloquios* and of his *Adiciones, Apéndice a la Postilla y Ejercicio cotidiano*, in which editions such divergences are alarmingly numerous. Word divisions in the transcribed quotations are also mine, not necessarily those of the source, and abbreviations have been expanded.

The reader should also be aware of one impossible-to-translate characteristic of classical Nahuatl, the fact that inanimate nouns are not pluralized. The use of singular or plural in the English translation is a judgement by the translator, and in the context of this study 'word(s)' (including 'divine word(s)') are particularly ambiguous. I have capitalized names and pronouns referring to the Christian deity in accordance with modern English practice and have used the archaic second-person-singular in prayers, but I have not otherwise attempted to translate Nahuatl reverential forms.

'Spaniard' is used to refer to individuals of Spanish heritage without regard to the side of the Atlantic on which they may have been born; if distinction is needed, the terms used are 'creole' and 'peninsular'. 'Mexican' friars, unless otherwise specified, are so called because they were active in Mexico, not necessarily because they were born there.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIANS

“The Friars Minor put unction before learning; the Friars Preacher, learning before unction.” So said Bonaventure, the thirteenth-century Franciscan scholar, mystic, administrator, and saint, who was as responsible as anyone for his order’s successful transition from a charismatic band to an durable institution - to the extent that this ever-splintering family can be said to have successfully become an institution - and who was no enemy of Dominic’s followers. So, too, if ‘learning’ is replaced by ‘observance’,¹ might be summarized much modern scholarship on these two orders in Mexico, without, however, Bonaventure’s irenicism.

Quarreling over Francis’s legacy since his own day, and probably not coincidentally, the mendicant order with the greatest modern commitment to historical scholarship, the Franciscans have also attracted the most attention from outside historians. The most numerous order present in sixteenth-century Mexico and the order with the most extensive surviving sources, as well as the first to establish themselves after the Conquest, the reformed friars of what became the province of the Holy Gospel have been studied most often in recent decades with the aim of confirming or refuting their adherence to one or several of three intellectual and spiritual currents: Erasmianism, millenarianism, and utopianism. In the first two cases, the original focus, often later forgotten, was on a

¹The Mexican Dominicans produced several respectable theologians, including Tomás de Mercado, Bartolomé de Ledesma, and Pedro de Pravia, known more for their practical manuals and casuistry than for speculative or metaphysical heights, but the academic star of sixteenth-century Mexico was the Augustinian Alonso de la Vera Cruz, and the intellectual figure most renowned today is the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún.

particular, though prominent friar, respectively the Franciscan first bishop and archbishop of Mexico City, Juan de Zumárraga, and the Franciscan province's late-sixteenth-century chronicler, Jerónimo de Mendieta. Zumárraga, technically not a member of the province but closely associated with its early years, was undeniably a reader of Erasmus's works, found in his library and used in the compilation of the Spanish-language catechisms and devotional works he published in Mexico City,² along with the writings of other reform-minded contemporaries such as Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, later accused of crypto-Lutheranism,³ and of less controversial late-medieval luminaries such as Jean Gerson,

²See Juan de Zumárraga, OFM, Doctrina breue muy prouechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a la fe catholica y a nuestra cristiandad en estilo llano para comun inteligencia (Mexico City: En casa de Juan Cromberger, por mandado de Juan Çumarraga y a su costa, 1543; facsimile reprint, The Doctrina breue in Fac-Simile: Published in the City of Tenochtitlan, Mexico, June, 1544, by Right Rev. Juan Zumárraga, First Bishop of Mexico, ed. Thomas F. Meehan, United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series, no. 10, Historical Records and Studies, New York: United States Historical Society, 1928; the date on the title page is 1543, while the date in the colophon is 14 June 1544), g vj r - i iij v and k vj r - l iij r; Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera para gente sin erudicion y letras: En que se contiene el catecismo o informacion para indios con todo lo principal y necessario que el christiano deue saber y obrar (Mexico City: Por mandado de Juan Çumarraga, 1546; facsimile reprint in Luis Resines, Catecismos americanos del siglo XVI, Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1992, 427-625), suplemento, n vij r - n vij v; and Marcel Bataillon, "El «Enchiridion» y la «Paraclesis» en Méjico," in Desiderius Erasmus, El Enquiridion o Manual del caballero cristiano: Y la Paraclesis o Exhortación al estudio de las letras divinas (Traducciones españolas del siglo XVI), ed. Dámaso Alonso, with a Prologue by Marcel Bataillon, Anejos de la Revista de filología española, no. 16 (Madrid: S. Aguirre, 1932), app. 3, 525-34.

³On Ponce de la Fuente, better known as 'el doctor Constantino', and his *Suma de doctrina christiana en que se contiene todo lo principal y necessario que el hombre christiano deue saber y obrar* of 1543, of which Zumárraga's 1546 *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera para gente sin erudicion y letras: En que se contiene el catecismo o informacion para indios con todo lo principal y necessario que el christiano deue saber y obrar* is essentially an anonymous reprint, adapted to straight exposition from its original dialogue form, see Marcel Bataillon, Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi, 2d ed., rev. and exp., trans. Antonio Alatorre, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), 522-29, 535-40, and 825-28, and José-Ramón Guerrero, Catecismos españoles del siglo XVI: La obra catequética del dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Colección de estudios del Instituto Superior de Pastoral, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, no. 1 (Madrid: Instituto Superior de Pastoral, 1969). In 1549 the leader of a group of Franciscans destined for Peru, Diego de Vera, requested fifty copies of the *Suma* from the crown, considering it appropriate for Indian catechesis, and it was also in use or desired by Jesuits in both Brazil and Asia a few years later, as well as heavily excerpted by the peninsular Dominican author Luis de Granada: Hermengildo Zamora, OFM, "Contenido franciscano de los libros registro del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla hasta 1550," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVI): La Rábida, 21 - 26 de septiembre de 1987 (Madrid: Editorial

Denis the Carthusian, and Alonso de Madrigal el Tostado.⁴ Where Marcel Bataillon, the enormously influential scholar of Spanish Erasmianism, and José Almoína, who edited Zumárraga's *Regla cristiana breve* with an extensive apparatus of notes and parallel texts emphasizing the Erasmian set of influences, saw this as a positive characterization,⁵ however, the most significant recent attempts to look closely at Zumárraga's writings have been inspired by the desire to free him from Erasmus's heterodox taint, including Ildelfonso Adeva Martín and Carmen J. Alejos Grau's return to the hunt for the sources of the *Regla*, preparatory to a new edition,⁶ and Fernando Gil's analysis of the *Doctrina breve*, the *Regla*, and the 1546 *Doctrinacristiana* with its *Suplemento*, in which the predominant note in the bishop's catechesis is identified as a sacramental one, meeting the needs of an Indian flock

Deimos, 1988), 1-83, at 79, no. 562; Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 827; and Guerrero, 330-35 and 338-39.

⁴The standard biography of Zumárraga remains Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga: Primer obispo y arzobispo de México*, ed. Rafael Aguayo Spencer and Antonio Castro Leal, 2d ed., Colección de escritores mexicanos, nos. 41-44 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1988), particularly useful for its documentary apparatus, though any new treatment must take into account the extensive and erudite biographical section in Fernando Gil, *Primeras «doctrinas» del Nuevo Mundo: Estudio histórico-teológico de las obras de fray Juan de Zumárraga (†1548)*, Publicaciones de la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina "Santa María de los Buenos Aires" (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Facultad de Teología de la UCA, 1993), partly covered also in Gil, "Las juntas eclesíásticas durante el episcopado de fray Juan de Zumárraga (1528 - 1548): Algunas precisiones históricas," in *Evangelización y teología en América (Siglo XVI): X Simposio internacional de teología de la universidad de Navarra*, ed. Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, Primitivo Tineo, Antón M. Pazos, Miguel Lluch-Baixaulli, and María Pilar Ferrer, Facultad de Teología, Universidad de Navarra (Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 1990), 497-521. On Zumárraga's library, see also W. Michael Mathes, *The America's [sic] First Academic Library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (Sacramento, Calif.: California State Library Foundation, 1985), and the studies of the sources of the *Regla* cited below.

⁵Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 819-28; Juan de Zumárraga, OFM, *Regla cristiana breve*, ed. José Almoína (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1951).

⁶See Ildelfonso Adeva Martín, "Fray Juan de Zumárraga: *Regla cristiana breve*," *Hispania sacra* 47, no. 95 (January - June 1995): 109-17; idem, "Observaciones al supuesto erasmismo de fray Juan de Zumárraga: Edición crítica de la *Memoria y aparejo de la buena muerte*," in *Evangelización y teología*, ed. Saranyana et al., 811-86; Ildelfonso Adeva Martín and Carmen J. Alejos Grau, "Fuentes de inspiración de la *Regla cristiana breve* de fr. Juan de Zumárraga, OFM," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 85 (1992): 77-98; and Carmen J. Alejos Grau, "Estudio sobre las fuentes de la «Regla cristiana breve» de fray Juan de Zumárraga (1547)," in *Evangelización y teología*, ed. Saranyana et al., 887-910.

presumed by Gil to be more attuned to ritual display than to theological discourse.⁷

The theory of a millenarian strain among the sixteenth-century Mexican Franciscans derives its prominence from John Leddy Phelan's *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, a study of the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* of Jerónimo de Mendieta (1525 - 1604).⁸ In contrast to the rational, legalistic spirit of Bartolomé de las Casas, who casts Columbus as the tragic hero of a history in Roman mode, and to the non-apocalyptic providentialism of Bernardino de Sahagún, proponent of the theory of the westward migration of the Church, for Mendieta, according to Phelan, inspired by medieval Franciscan mysticism, the conquest of Mexico by Cortés was a messianic event heralding the imminence of the Last Days. Recapitulating the history of the universal Church in the compressed timeframe of the hastening End, the Mexican Church thus passes in Mendieta's telling from a primitive golden age characterized by apostolic poverty, in the period between the arrival of the Franciscan Twelve in 1524 and the death of viceroy Luis de Velasco the Elder in 1564, to a new Babylonian Captivity, a time of troubles which when Mendieta was completing his work in the depths of demographic crisis of 1595-96 seemed to him to be that of the Apocalypse.

This brand of fundamentally orthodox, Augustinian millenarianism, despite Phelan's title, has in fact rather little to do with the 'millennial kingdom' strictly speaking, the thousand-year reign of Christ which precedes the final defeat of Satan and the Last Judgment according to Revelation 20, but it has become entangled in scholarship on Mexico with the heterodox and this-worldly utopia-building proposed by Georges Baudot as the objective of the Franciscans of Mendieta's golden age. Seeking to explain the

⁷Gil, *Primeras «doctrinas»*. For Gil's treatment of Zumárraga's Erasmian passages, see in particular 320-26, 349-50, 375-84, 545, and 555-56.

⁸John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2d ed., rev. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970).

ethnographic activities of the first generation of Franciscans, Baudot argues in *Utopie et histoire au Mexique* that Andrés de Olmos, Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, Martín de la Coruña, Francisco de las Navas, and their peers were so interested in recording the Indians' prehispanic history, beliefs, and customs because they were seeking to establish an Indian Christian utopia, in which a purified Indian society, ruled by the friars and sheltered from any baleful Hispanicizing influences, would inaugurate Joachim de Fiore's Age of the Spirit.⁹ Bernardino de Sahagún, by contrast, the most famous Franciscan ethnographer of them all, but witness like Mendieta to darker days, would become "the technician of a slightly peculiar Inquisition," the collector and purveyor of the information needed to root out idolatrous survivals, though never entirely renouncing a certain millenarian hope.¹⁰

In this case also, other scholars have been quick to reaffirm the friars' orthodoxy against the perceived or actual heretical charge of the 'millennial' label. As in Edwin Edward Sylvest, Jr.'s, study of the writings of Motolinía, Mendieta, Sahagún, the canonist Juan Focher, and the rhetorician Diego Valadés, *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain, Province of the Holy Gospel*,¹¹ and in Ana de Zaballa Beascochea's examination of Sahagún's *Coloquios, Transculturación y misión en Nueva*

⁹Georges Baudot, *Utopie et histoire au Mexique: Les premiers chroniqueurs de la civilisation mexicaine (1520 - 1569)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1977). More recently, in Baudot, "Vanidad y ambición en el *Tratado de los pecados mortales* en lengua náhuatl de fray Andrés de Olmos," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 20 (1990): 39-63, at 61-63, and Baudot, "Prefacio," in Andrés de Olmos, OFM, *Tratado sobre los siete pecados mortales*, facsimile ed., ed. and trans. Georges Baudot, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facsímiles de lingüística y filología nahuas, no. 8 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), vii-xvii, at xv-xvi, Baudot has emphasized cultural assimilation as one of Olmos's aims, at least, without making clear just how this fits (if it does) into the earlier framework, based primarily on the friars' non-pastoral writings.

¹⁰"[L]e technicien d'une Inquisition un peu spéciale." Baudot, *Utopie et histoire*, 470.

¹¹Edwin Edward Sylvest, Jr., *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain, Province of the Holy Gospel*, Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Monograph Series, vol. 11 (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975).

España,¹² this has most often translated into an emphasis on the Mexican Franciscans' allegiance to the papacy, an emphasis to which the militantly Romanist ecclesiology of the *Coloquios* particularly lends itself. Alain Milhou's nuanced examination of the meaning and significance of millenarianism in sixteenth-century Spain and its links to the New World enterprise,¹³ on the other hand, offer an example of the fruits to be reaped from the reinsertion of all the various alleged heterodoxies of the Mexican friars into the vital and diverse mainstream of early-sixteenth-century Spanish Catholicism,¹⁴ though the 'Erasmian' polemic so far lacks a Mexican counterpart to Lu Ann Homza's finely drawn and convincing recent argument for considering scholasticism and humanism in sixteenth-century Spain as sets of intellectual techniques on which individuals could draw in various and shifting combinations, rather than as ideological camps divided around Erasmus's polarizing figure.¹⁵ Joaquín Montes Bardo's lyrical, almost contemplative survey of surviving sixteenth-century Franciscan church and convent art in central Mexico, *Arte y espiritualidad franciscana en la Nueva España*, confirms the importance of themes related to the apostolic Church and to the Last Days, but does not engage in the detailed analysis

¹²Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, Transculturación y misión en Nueva España: Estudio histórico-doctrinal del libro de los "Coloquios" de Bernardino de Sahagún, with a Presentation by Josep Ignasi Saranyana, Publicaciones de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Navarra, Colección teológica, no. 65 (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1990).

¹³For specifically Mexican relevance, see especially Alain Milhou, "El concepto de 'destrucción' en el evangelismo milenario franciscano," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo, 297-315.

¹⁴Melquiades Andrés Martín, "En torno a las últimas interpretaciones de la primitiva acción evangelizadora franciscana en México," in Evangelización y teología, ed. Saranyana et al., 1345-70, makes this case with particular eloquence.

¹⁵Lu Ann Homza, Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 118th Series, no. 1 (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

which might shed new light on these preoccupations.¹⁶

Arriving in Mexico two years after the Franciscan Twelve, almost wiped out by sickness and other difficulties in adjustment in their first year, and historiographically overshadowed by the giant figures of Las Casas and Vitoria, the Mexican Dominicans have also played historiographical second fiddle to these Franciscan polemics. The classifications developed in the Franciscan context have provided the interpretive lenses through which the Dominicans are viewed, but the chief dispute in this case is not about the motivation for and nature of the friars' commitment to the evangelization of the Indians, but rather about the degree to which they were committed to that task at all. According to Daniel Ulloa H.'s *Los predicadores divididos*, the only full-scale modern study of the religious atmosphere of the sixteenth-century Mexican Dominican province of Santiago, the success of the strict-observance, or in Ulloa's terminology 'ultra-reformed', wing of the order in Mexico meant not the furtherance of the missionary effort but rather its destruction, focusing less on evangelical poverty after the Franciscan fashion than on the regulations of convent and cloister, with the accompanying limitations on the geographical dispersion and extra-conventual activities of the friars.¹⁷ Whether or not the founder of the Mexican province, Domingo de Betanzos, ever said that the Indians were incapable of salvation has been contested ever since he allegedly said it - an assertion to be distinguished from his only slightly less scandalous but theologically more defensible and hence less often denied

¹⁶Joaquín Montes Bardo, *Arte y espiritualidad franciscana en la Nueva España: Siglo XVI (Iconología en la provincia del Santo Evangelio)*, Colección Martínez de Mazas, Serie Estudios (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1998).

¹⁷Daniel Ulloa H., *Los predicadores divididos (Los dominicos en Nueva España, siglo XVI)*, Centro de estudios históricos, n.s., no. 24 (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1977). María Teresa Pita Moreda's *Los predicadores novohispanos del siglo XVI*, *Historiadores dominicos pro Quinto centenario de la evangelización de América, Los dominicos y América*, no. 9, Comisión episcopal española para el Vº Centenario (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1992), explicitly intended as a complement rather than a successor to Ulloa's study, focuses on the order's social and economic relations with the exterior world and its territorial organization.

prophecy that they were all going to die out in short order¹⁸ - but what seems relatively indisputable is that the reaction to the decimation of the Indian population by the bulk of his brethren in central Mexico, unlike that by the Dominicans of Central America and Peru, had more in common with this fatalism than with the juridical fury of Betanzos's fellow veteran of the Spanish Caribbean, Bartolomé de las Casas.¹⁹

The Augustinians, on the other hand, neither blessed nor cursed with famous founders, have been studied primarily from a socio-economic perspective, or as they were described by a Spaniard resident in Mexico in 1577, boasting to his relatives in the

¹⁸For the most significant recent contributions to the debate on Betanzos, in addition to Ulloa's work, see for the prosecution Carlos Sempat Assadourian, "Hacia la Sublimis Deus: Las discordias entre los dominicos indios y el enfrentamiento del franciscano padre Tastera con el padre Betanzos," Historia mexicana 47, no. 187 (January - March 1998): 465-536, and for the defense Pedro Fernández Rodríguez, OP, Los dominicos en el contexto de la primera evangelización de México, Monumenta histórica iberoamericana de la orden de Predicadores, ed. José Barrado Barquilla, OP, vol. 3 (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1994), a highly erudite apologia on all counts, but one which fails to prove its case in my judgement. Other important works on the subject include Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," Harvard Theological Review 30, no. 2 (April 1937): 65-102 (accusatory); Lino Gómez Canedo, OFM, "¿Hombres o bestias? (Nuevo examen crítico de un viejo tópico)," Estudios de historia novohispana 1 (1966): 29-51 (apologetic); Adolfo Robles Sierra, OP, "Una aproximación a Domingo de Betanzos: A propósito de su carta de 1540," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo: Salamanca, 28 de marzo - 1 de abril de 1989, ed. José Barrado, OP, Historiadores dominicos pro Quinto centenario de la evangelización de América, Los dominicos y América, no. 6 (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1990), 227-58 (apologetic); and not least the late-sixteenth-century chronicler Agustín Dávila Padilla, OP, Historia de la fundación y discvrsio de la provincia, de Santiago de Mexico de la orden de Predicadores: Por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueva España, 2d ed. (Brussels: En casa de Ivan de Meerbeque, 1625; facsimile reprint, with a Prologue by Agustín Millares Carlo, Colección de grandes crónicas mexicanas, ed. Manuel Septién y Septién, no. 1, Mexico City: Editorial Academia Literaria, 1955), lib. 1, cap. intro. - cap. 33, 1-103 (apologetic): a full reading of this last chronicle goes far on its own to demonstrate the value of Ulloa H.'s concept of 'ultra-reform' as key to the history of the province.

¹⁹For Las Casas's own activity and most immediate influence in Mexico, see Helen-Rand Parish and Harold E. Weidman, Las Casas en México: Historia y obra desconocidas, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), and Isacio Pérez Fernández, OP, Fray Toribio Motolinía, O.F.M., frente a fray Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P.: Estudio y edición crítica de la carta de Motolinía al emperador (Tlaxcala, a 2 de enero de 1555), Historiadores dominicos pro Quinto centenario de la evangelización de América, Los dominicos y América, no. 5 (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1989), though neither can be recommended without reserve, the former being as melodramatic and careless of details as its subject ever was and the latter scarcely less tendentious than the notorious letter the charges of which it seeks to disprove.

peninsula about the family connections of his new bride, as “those who in this land are capable of much and command much.”²⁰ For the period under study here, the chief and almost the only work is Antonio Rubial García’s study of *El convento agustino y la sociedad novohispana (1533 - 1630)*, emphasizing the criollization and the urbanization of an order which by the later sixteenth century had no live missions and, in Rubial García’s view, only a fading missionary spirit.²¹ The two-volume *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México* of Alipio Ruiz Zavala, though a mine of information, is more accurately characterized as a collection of notes and documents than as a history.²²

Among those who have studied the missionary methods of the three orders in conjunction, the Augustinians are known for the splendor of their churches and their liturgy, and for their encouragement of Indian participation in the sacraments, but the overall picture drawn by these authors tends to be less one of differentiation than one of the Church’s unity in diversity, a predominantly sunny portrait of the successful conversion of reasonably sincere Indians to a reasonably orthodox Catholic Christianity, in which questions of power, violence, or resistance are left to the periphery of the investigation, and in which condescending or openly negative evaluations by the friars of their Indian flocks may be either quietly deplored as the blindness of a benighted age or else taken at face

²⁰ “[L]os que en esta tierra pueden mucho y mandan mucho.” *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias 1540 - 1616*, ed. Enrique Otte, with Guadalupe Albi, with a Prologue by Ramón Carande y Thovar, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), no. 226, 204.

²¹ Antonio Rubial García, *El convento agustino y la sociedad novohispana (1533 - 1630)*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie Historia novohispana, no. 34 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989).

²² Alipio Ruiz Zavala, OSA, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México*, Biblioteca Porrúa, nos. 80-81 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1984). It must be added that the usefulness of this work as a source of information would have been greatly increased by the inclusion of an index.

value,²³ but in neither case allowed to seriously darken the presentation. Originating in the early modern chronicles of the mendicant orders and still drawing heavily on their accounts, this approach has its most important modern proponent in Robert Ricard, whose *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, first published in 1933, remains fundamental to the field.²⁴ For Ricard, examining the activities of the three mendicant orders in the first half-century after the Conquest, before the arrival of the Jesuits and the growth of the secular clergy, the picture is of practical men of action, carrying out a relatively painless conversion - significantly marred only by the failure to establish a native clergy - through a set of missionary methods ranging from the organization of edifying dramatic productions to the offering of instruction in European handicrafts, and with the aim of the foundation and stabilization of the Church as a community of this world. From a post-Vatican-II Catholic perspective, Jakob Baumgartner in the first volume of his *Mission und Liturgie*, an extensive examination of the liturgical activity of the missionaries in the period before 1585, similarly finds the Mexican friars to have been, for their time, quite open to adaptation to the indigenous context,²⁵ and Dionisio Borobio has more recently painted an

²³This is not a subject to be pursued here, but suffice it to say that I am not referring only to older works which might be viewed as suffering the effects of their own 'benighted age': the naturalness with which the presumed 'childlike' qualities (with or without the actual use of that term) of Latin American Indians are adduced in even some extremely recent works in this field would probably shock many English-speaking social historians of the continent.

²⁴Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain 1523 - 1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

²⁵Jakob Baumgartner, SMB, *Mission und Liturgie in Mexiko*, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft / Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire, Supplementa*, vol. 18-19 (Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1971-72), 1: 4, 102-6. His evaluation of the Mexican *Manuale sacramentorum* of 1560, an archdiocesan production and the focus of the second volume, is considerably less positive: see 2: 287-92.

The Mexican sacramental manuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Mexican liturgical practice more generally, have received much less scholarly attention than they deserve. For one other study, covering similar ground to Baumgartner and reaching similar conclusions on a more restricted theme, but in a language more accessible to many scholars of Mexican topics than Baumgartner's German,

equally rosy picture of the vital interaction of the teaching of the doctrine with the administration of the sacraments.²⁶

Where doctrine as such is concerned, the examination of catechetical texts from the Spanish Indies has become in the last two decades a vibrant branch of scholarship in Spanish-language theology faculties, stimulated no doubt by the commemoration of the Columbian Quincentenary, but also by the publication project of the Argentine Juan Guillermo Durán, making widely available the Spanish-language texts of a selection of catechisms and confessional manuals from all of Latin America.²⁷ Often taking the council of Trent as their reference point - unlike either Ricard or the sixteenth-century chroniclers - these writers generally see in the Christianity transmitted to the New World the deliberate orthodoxy to be expected from a select group of clergy of the highest caliber, and interpret the lack of visible upheaval following the formal adoption of the Tridentine decrees as an indication of the overseas Church's success in already living up to Tridentine standards.²⁸

see Jaime Lara, "'Precious Green Jade Water': A Sixteenth-Century Adult Catechumenate in the New World," Worship 71, no. 5 (September 1997): 415-28.

²⁶Dionisio Borobio, "Sacramentos en la evangelización de América," Revista española de teología 52, no. 2 (April - June 1992): 155-87; no. 3 (July - September 1992): 269-314.

²⁷Juan Guillermo Durán, Monumenta catechetica hispanoamericana (Siglos XVI - XVIII), vols. 1-2, Siglo XVI, Publicaciones de la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina "Santa María de los Buenos Aires," Teología, Estudios y documentos, no. 6 and 9 (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Facultad de Teología de la UCA, 1984-90). While the project is undoubtedly laudable, the editions themselves are for my purposes as frustrating as they are useful, as they include only modernized Spanish texts, omitting the indigenous-language halves of bilingual texts (as well as, obviously, monolingual indigenous-language texts).

A reasonably thorough and up-to-date bibliographical survey of sixteenth-century Spanish American catechisms, not including confessional manuals or other religious works, is to be found in Resines, Catecismos, 45-253, but the seventeenth century lacks comparable reference material.

²⁸In addition to the works cited individually below and to the previously-mentioned works of Ildelfonso Adeva Martín, Carmen J. Alejos Grau, Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, and Fernando Gil, see Josep Ignasi Saranyana, Teología profética americana: Diez estudios sobre la evangelización fundante, Facultad de Teología, Universidad de Navarra, Colección teológica, no. 77 (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1991); Josep Ignasi Saranyana, Carmen José Alejos Grau, Luis Martínez Ferrer, Ana de Zaballa, and María Luisa Antonaya, Historia de la teología latinoamericana: Primera parte: Siglos XVI y XVII: Edición preliminar (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunote, 1996); and Evangelización y teología, ed. Saranyana et al.

Discussing the Dominican Pedro de Córdoba's catechism of 1544 and its adaptation of 1548, both published in Mexico, for example, Josep-Ignasi Saranyana describes the two works as "a synthesis of the Catholic faith, very meritorious for being anterior to Trent," among other reasons, and makes a point of separating their orthodox eschatology from any this-worldly millenarianism.²⁹ With regard to the sacrament of penance, a key locus of many of the arguments about the success or failure of the friars' evangelization, then and since, Carmen J. Alejos Grau sees in the ongoing use and reuse of the Mexican Franciscan Alonso de Molina's confessional manuals of the 1560s a witness to the unproblematic administration of the sacrament among the Indians, troubled neither by the need for a new reform to meet the standards of Trent nor by significant revivals of prehispanic practices,³⁰ while the chief dynamic present in Luis Martínez Ferrer's twin studies of of the sacrament in the legislation of the Third Mexican Council of 1585 and in earlier prescription and

I have not seen the full dissertation from which Antonio Soto Guerrero, La "Iglesia" en los catechismos mexicanos del siglo XVI editados en México, Excerpta ex dissertatione ad doctoratum in Facultate Theologiae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Theologiae, 1993), is drawn, but this excerpt appears to take the immobility of tradition to an extreme surpassing anything out of Navarre, treating the various catechisms on which it draws as a common pool from which to delineate the various elements of a joint (and entirely orthodox) ecclesiology.

²⁹Josep Ignasi Saranyana, "Principales tesis teológicas de la 'Doctrina cristiana' de fray Pedro de Córdoba, OP," in Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo: Sevilla: 21-25 de abril de 1987 (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1988), 323-34, especially 331-34, quoted at 334: "una síntesis de la fe católica, muy meritoria por ser anterior a Trento." María-Graciela Crespo Ponce, Estudio histórico-teológico de la «Doctrina cristiana para instrucción e información de los indios por manera de historia», de fray Pedro de Córdoba, O.P. (†1521), with a Prologue by Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, Facultad de Teología, Universidad de Navarra, Colección teológica, no. 58 (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1988), by one of Saranyana's students, provides a more detailed explication along the same lines of the two versions' theological statements and of the structural differences between them. For a treatment with less emphasis on theology and more on Córdoba's life and on the bibliographic details of the two versions, see Medina, Doctrina cristiana, which also includes a facsimile reproduction of the version of 1544 and of the leaves missing in the standard facsimile edition of the version of 1548, as well as a modernized transcription of the Spanish text of both versions; the annotations to this transcription should be used with caution.

³⁰Carmen J. Alejos Grau, "Análisis doctrinal del "Confessionario" de fray Joan Baptista (1555 - 1607/1613)," in Actas del III Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVII): La Rábida, 18 - 23 de septiembre de 1989, (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991), 473-91.

practice is that of the legislative accumulation of precedents itself, as the particularity of the Mexican Church fades behind the normalizing rhetoric of an administrative regulation which Martínez Ferrer generally takes at face value.³¹

Many scholars who have approached the subject of the evangelization of the Indians from the Indian side, on the other hand, have tended to emphasize the incompleteness or superficiality of religious change, in generally unwitting agreement with a number of recent studies of the preaching of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reformed and counter-reformed Catholicism to the population of Western Europe.³² Whether in the prototypically Tridentine Milan of the Borromeos³³ or in the remote Galician diocese of Ourense,³⁴ in Catalonia³⁵ or in Speyer,³⁶ Tridentine reform viewed through episcopal

³¹Luis Martínez Ferrer, Directorio para confesores y penitentes: La pastoral de la penitencia en el Tercer Concilio Mexicano (1585), with a Prologue by Josep Ignasi Saranyana (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunat, 1996); idem, La penitencia en la primera evangelización de México (1523 - 1585), *Bibliotheca mexicana*, no. 10 (Mexico City: Universidad Pontificia de México, 1998).

³²The exception is Amos Megged's study of the negotiated and contested interactions between the Maya and their predominantly Dominican Catholic clergy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chiapas, Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico, *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, vol. 2 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996), in which Megged's consciousness of the parallels between the disciplinary measures and devotional practices of the reforming and counter-reforming European Church and those of the Church overseas offers an important corrective to the occasional tendency of scholarship on Latin America to view every clerical initiative in this regard as directed peculiarly against the colonially-subjected Indians, despite his exaggerated view of the homogeneity of 'Tridentine' Catholicism itself.

³³Wietse de Boer, The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman, vol. 84 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2001).

³⁴Allyson M. Poska, Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain, *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, vol. 5 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998).

³⁵Henry Kamen, The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

³⁶Marc R. Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560 - 1720 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

visitation records is a process of negotiation, concession, and sometimes outright failure, one in which clerical reform does not necessarily translate into the reform of traditional local religion, and in which it may be precisely the vitality of those local traditions which account for the Church's survival over the long term.³⁷ Similarly, in James Lockhart's study of the evolution of colonial Nahua society by way of the evolution of its language as recorded in Nahuatl archival documents, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, the crucial factor in cultural change was neither Spanish effort nor Indian resistance, but rather sheer accumulated time of contact, smoothed by a process of "Double Mistaken Identity," the ability of both Nahuas and Spaniards to muddle along with very little understanding of the finer points of each other's systems of thought.³⁸ Even in the area of religion, in his view, it was for both Indians and friars less a question of "conversion," in the sense of dramatic change, than of instructing the vanquished in the rites and attributes of the victors' god, his power already demonstrated by the success of their arms.³⁹ Louise M. Burkhart, too, in *The Slippery Earth*, examining the presentation of Christian concepts of sin and morality in Nahuatl religious texts of mendicant composition, printed and manuscript, from the 1530s to the 1570s, and comparing this presentation with the language and concepts employed in prehispanic moral teaching, emphasizes the ambiguous results of the friars' efforts at

³⁷Protestant visitation records paint a similar picture: for an introduction to the literature, see Geoffrey Parker, "Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation," *Past and Present*, no. 136 (August 1992): 43-82.

³⁸James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 442-46.

Unlike the maneuvers of ambiguity and evasion with which Tagalogs meet the processes of translation and conversion in Vicente L. Rafael's examination of Tagalog-language religious literature, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, paperback ed. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), Lockhart's vision of mutual misunderstanding is based on a sense of the rooted strength of a social world, not on Rafael's apparent sense of epistemological impossibility.

³⁹Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 203.

translation, in which the employment of Nahuatl terminology and Nahuatl rhetorical style were both the only way to make their message comprehensible and attractive to Nahuas, and the path by which the old metaphysical and cosmological concepts, more oriented to a dialectic of order and disorder than to the Christian opposition of good and evil, were retained within the framework of the new faith. While the public ritual of the old gods was replaced by the public ritual of the new, the moral content of the friars' teaching was in this evaluation less a mechanism for altering the Nahua worldview than one for its fundamental preservation: the missionaries were brought to accept in their Indian parishioners a Christianity which was, in Burkhart's analysis, "hardly orthodox," while "the Nahuas, on the whole, were able to become just Christian enough to get by," in a tacit compromise which gave both groups good reason to wish the rest of Spanish society kept at a safe distance.⁴⁰ Fernando Cervantes, in his study of the Indian response to the concept of the devil, returns to the concept of "spiritual conquest" against which Lockhart and Burkhart are reacting with an explicit defense of the Indians' Christianity, but does so with a definition of Christianity which damns with faint praise.⁴¹ Not only is Cervantes concerned to defend the Indians against the Bourbon reformers, contrasting "the official culture that looked back to the Tridentine exaltation of the secular clergy ... and forward to a simple form of piety which favoured good works," with the religion of the Indians and the friars, "the traditional culture ... which looked back to the medieval ideals of corporate and liturgical piety and forward to a millenarian kingdom where the Indians would rule

⁴⁰Louise M. Burkhart, The Slippery Earth: Nahua - Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 184.

⁴¹Fernando Cervantes, "Christianity and the Indians in Early Modern Mexico: The Native Response to the Devil," Historical Research 66, no. 160 (June 1993): 177-96; or for a lightly retouched version, Fernando Cervantes, "The Indian Response," chap. in Fernando Cervantes, The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 40-73.

their own destiny,” in order to assert the equal claim to “Christianity” of the latter;⁴² he also makes a point of objecting to what he characterizes as the scholarly conviction that the assimilation of Christian friars and ascetics to indigenous shamans and healers should be seen as indicating “the limitations of the missionary enterprise or even ... the non-Christian character of pre-Tridentine religion,” an objection which, despite the parallels he is able to draw to early medieval Europe, rather raises the question than resolves it.⁴³

For friars and Indians alike, these scholars suggest, demonstrations of the more visible manifestations of Catholic practice formed the counterpart to the preservation of Indian corporate identity and to a more or less conscious reluctance to delve deeper into the realm of religious conceptions and beliefs - whether out of naiveté, the conviction that this is the due order of things, or in a Faustian bargain is another question.⁴⁴ The most psychologically nuanced portrait of the friars’ side of this relationship with which I am familiar, however, comes not from central Mexico but from Mayan Yucatan, in Inga Clendinnen’s account of the 1562 collapse of the Franciscan mission in Yucatan into an

⁴²Cervantes, “Christianity,” 195-96.

⁴³Ibid., 190-92 - although one of the works to which he is objecting here, it might be noted, Serge Gruzinski and Jean-Michel Sallmann’s “Une source d’ethnohistoire: Les vies de «vénérables» dans l’Italie méridionale et le Mexique baroques,” Mélanges de l’École française de Rome: Moyen âge, temps modernes 88, no. 2 (1976): 789-822, sees shamanistic traits among both Discalced Franciscans in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century New Spain and their contemporaries in the Neapolitan Congregation of the Pii Operari, a “new order” founded early in the seventeenth century. In Cervantes’s revised version, interestingly, “the non-Christian character of pre-Tridentine religion” becomes “the non-Christian character of Spanish American Catholicism.” Cervantes, The Devil, 62.

⁴⁴See also S. L. Cline, Colonial Culhuacan, 1580 - 1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), who makes clear the Nahuas’ conformity with contemporary standards of visible piety, as witnessed by the surviving cache of Nahuatl wills which is at the center of her study, but explicitly declines to speculate on their beliefs; and Richard C. Trexler, “We Think, They Act: Clerical Readings of Missionary Theatre in 16th Century Mexico,” in Trexler, Church and Community 1200 - 1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain, *Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi*, no. 168 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1987), 575-613, who argues that it was precisely visible behavior, not belief or understanding, which was the friars’ target.

inquisitorial reign of terror unchecked by any Dominican legalism.⁴⁵ Themselves formed in a common way of life, the Franciscans saw in the exterior expressions of piety they taught to their self-assigned charges both channels for the interior action of divine grace and gradual, cumulative building blocks for a Christian identity which they marked, in both senses of the word, in much the same way as the equally visible observances of habit, ritual, and rule marked a particular subset of Christians as Franciscan friars. The collective nature of conversion under this conception thus made the discovery of continued or renewed group 'idolatry' particularly horrifying, Clendinnen argues, as it made a mockery of the social foundation on which the Christian edifice had been understood to be being built, even as the Yucatec Mayas' own conception of the world, indissolubly intertwined with the unforgiving natural realities of their peninsula, was essentially impervious to Franciscan efforts at change.⁴⁶

At the same time, and without necessarily denying this incompleteness of communication, other scholars have seen the significance of early modern evangelization, whether in Europe or the Indies, not nearly so much in any specifically religious content as

⁴⁵Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517 - 1570, Cambridge Latin American Studies, ed. Simon Collier, no. 61 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Under the leadership of their superior, Diego de Landa, the friars reacted to a chance discovery of continuing 'idolatry' with a classic witchhunt, in which, in the course of some three months, several thousand Maya were interrogated under torture - not to mention those who 'confessed' before actually being put to the question - and the 'confessions' escalated from the possession of ever-increasing numbers of 'idols' to accounts of human sacrifice and crucifixion. Only the arrival of the first bishop - also a Franciscan, but shocked by the methods of his brethren - put a stop to the bloodshed.

⁴⁶The treatment of the Maya in *Ambivalent Conquests* is much less sophisticated than that of the Franciscans, tending to an ahistorical ethnography, but see also Inga Clendinnen, "Landscape and World View: The Survival of Yucatec Maya Culture under Spanish Conquest," Comparative Studies in Society and History 22, no. 3 (July 1980): 374-93, and for comparable conclusions, Nancy M. Farriss, Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); idem, "Remembering the Future, Anticipating the Past: History, Time, and Cosmology among the Maya of Yucatan," Comparative Studies in Society and History 29, no. 3 (July 1987): 566-93; and Matthew Restall, The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550 - 1850 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), this last being an attempt to do for Mayan-language sources what Lockhart did for Nahuatl ones.

in the imposition of modern techniques of internal and external discipline and control, and these authors, while rarely if ever taking a positive moral view of the Church's activities in this regard,⁴⁷ are far more ready to affirm that institution's success. Continental rather than Anglophone in orientation, rooted in Foucault and in the work of Jean Delumeau,⁴⁸ and particularly popular of late in Italy,⁴⁹ though questioned in some of the best recent work on the subject,⁵⁰ this strand of thought has been most prominently represented in scholarship on Mexico by Serge Gruzinski, whose *La colonisation de l'imaginaire* is framed as a plea for the revalorization of other categories of experience and analysis than those of the

⁴⁷The exception which proves the rule with its more positive tone is Louis Châtellier's study of the Jesuit Marian congregations, chiefly in France and Germany, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, trans. Jean Birrell, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1989), not coincidentally devoted as much to the (re)construction of groups as to the (de)construction of individuals.

⁴⁸Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, trans. Jeremy Moiser, with an Introduction by John Bossy (London: Burns & Oates; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977); and his more recent volumes on sin, fear, guilt, and confession, *La peur en Occident, XIV^e - XVIII^e siècles: Un cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); *Le péché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident, XIII^e - XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1983); and *L'aveu et le pardon: Les difficultés de la confession XIII^e - XVIII^e siècle*, *Nouvelles études historiques* (s.l.: Fayard, 1990).

⁴⁹See for example *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Paolo Prodi, with Carla Penuti (Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1994); Oscar Di Simplicio, *Peccato, penitenza, perdono: Siena 1575 - 1800: La formazione della coscienza nell'Italia moderna* (Milan: F. Angeli, 1994); and Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1996). While there are links between this school and the (predominantly German) proponents of a 'confessionalization' model - easily explored through the collection *Il concilio di Trento e il moderno*, ed. Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard, *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-germanico*, no. 45, Istituto Trentino di Cultura, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Storico Italo-germanico in Trento (Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1996) - the latter is distinguished by two characteristics which make it of limited relevance to early colonial Mexico (though the linguistic barrier may also play a role in its non-appearance in scholarship on the subject): the leading role ascribed to the developing territorial state and the significance of Catholic-Protestant (and Lutheran-Calvinist), 'confessional' divisions. In the Spanish Indies neither the Catholic Church nor the Spanish Crown had any real rivals but each other, and that battle was in essence already decided when Ferdinand and Isabella obtained the royal patronage over the newly-conquered kingdom of Granada.

⁵⁰W. David Myers, *"Poor, Sinning Folk": Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996); Homza, 161-67.

Western hegemony.⁵¹ Alphabetic literacy and the bureaucratic state combine in this telling with the regulations and classifications of the Church to unravel indigenous forms of memory, community, and ways of relating to the world, in favor of a - colonially incomplete - transition to the deracinated existence of the modern Western individual, but where the Church is concerned, the most significant arm, as in Europe, is usually the practice of auricular confession, molding the penitent's self-consciousness into that of a culpable individual⁵² - even if the repeated complaints of colonial Mexican confessional manuals may indicate a more successful Indian resistance to this molding than Gruzinski's work would generally suggest.⁵³

⁵¹Serge Gruzinski, La colonisation de l'imaginaire: Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol XVI^e - XVIII^e siècle, NRF, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1988); and on the category of "religion" see also Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, De l'idolâtrie: Une archéologie des sciences religieuses (Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1988). According to Bernand and Gruzinski, the modern Western European view of "religion" and "the religious," which they trace from Aristotle and Aquinas to the modern academy by way of Las Casas, and which they propose to replace as a subject of academic inquiry by the broader fields of the body, the image, modes of communication, and forms of time and space, sees religion as forming as a distinct and distinguishable component of society, with certain identifiable institutional structures and doctrinal teachings susceptible of replacement by other, parallel institutions and doctrines independent of the "secular" world surrounding them. "Idolatri" (*idolâtrie*), by contrast, is used by the two scholars, as it is by Gruzinski in *La colonisation*, less often in its etymological sense than as a counterpoint to "religion," referring to an order of things which is not divided into sacred and profane and which is assumed to be that of the New World natives.

⁵²Serge Gruzinski, "Individualization and Acculturation: Confession among the Nahuas of Mexico from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," in Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 95-115; J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquisition and the Rise of Penitential Discipline," in Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz, UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 3-22; idem, "Raconter des vies: L'autobiographie confessionnelle et la reconstruction de l'être nahua," trans. Sylvie Pedron, Archives de sciences sociales des religions 37, no. 77 (January - March 1992): 111-24; idem, "'Telling Lives': Confessional Autobiography and the Reconstruction of the Nahua Self," in Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Birmingham, England: University of Birmingham, University Press, 1999), 136-62.

⁵³Óscar Martiarena, Culpabilidad y resistencia: Ensayo sobre la confesión en los indios de la Nueva España, Colección Historia cultural (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, Departamento de Historia, 1999).

While the intellectuals of early modern Europe and America struggled to integrate the experience of the New World into their conceptions of the nature of man and of religious experience, and to construct an acceptable past out of America's pre-Conquest antiquities,⁵⁴ the cultural construction of Mexican creole identity has also been the subject of several interesting recent works which have highlighted religion as a unifying, rather than atomizing, force, at least as far as the Spanish and *ladino* segments of the population were concerned.⁵⁵ For María Alba Pastor, a set of rather generalized 'Counter-Reformation values', characterized in terms of female chastity, a Baroque aesthetic of knowledge, and corporate organization, formed one of the key foundations of the mature

⁵⁴See respectively Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, paperback ed., rev. and exp., Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies, ed. P. E. Russell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Sabine G. MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); and D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492 - 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), though these are intertwined issues.

While problematic in its comparison of the efforts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean chroniclers to deal with the pagan past with those of the Christian writers of late antiquity, MacCormack's analysis of the influence of classical and patristic epistemology on European and European-influenced perceptions of Andean religious experience, and her recognition of the deep significance attached to this subject by the writers of both Spanish and indigenous heritage who debated it so passionately, are much to be preferred to Fernando Cervantes's oversimplified presentation of perceptions of the demonic in Mexico in *The Devil in the New World*. Further consideration of this subject must now take into account Stuart Clark's massive and finely nuanced study of the intellectual high tradition of European demonology, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), usefully supplemented on the subject of nominalism by Francis Oakley, "The Absolute and Ordained Power of God in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Theology," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (July 1998): 437-61, and idem, "The Absolute and Ordained Power of God and King in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Philosophy, Science, Politics, and Law," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 4 (October 1998): 669-90; and for the Spanish tradition in particular, at the level of popular instruction, Homza, 161-67 and 176-209, all of which call into question several of Cervantes's assumptions.

⁵⁵*Ladino*, originally referring to the language of the Sephardim, was used in the Spanish Indies for Spanish-speaking, relatively acculturated non-Spaniards, whether Indians, blacks, or mixed-race. It implies not only linguistic competence, but also the ability to get along in Spanish society.

colonial society of the seventeenth century⁵⁶ - even if other studies have found that in the colony's urban centers, the norms of Christian marriage were honored as much in the breach as in the observance⁵⁷ - but other authors have found more specific roles for the valorization of a specifically Mexican Catholicism and of a pagan Mexican past. The former comes to the fore in Antonio Rubial García's examination of the causes of five unsuccessful Mexican candidates for canonization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;⁵⁸ the latter is Solange Alberro's focus in her recent study of the development of Mexican creole consciousness, a process in which she sees a tacit but quite conscious willingness of the early Franciscans to permit elements of syncretism in the construction of their utopian *república de indios*, a willingness shared by the Augustinians and to a markedly lesser extent by the Dominicans, as laying the foundation for the more dynamic *mestizaje*, both symbolic and biological, later fostered by the Jesuits and the secular clergy.⁵⁹

Specific studies of the doctrinal message preached by this variegated spectrum of

⁵⁶María Alba Pastor, Crisis y recomposición social: Nueva España en el tránsito del siglo XVI al XVII, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

⁵⁷Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Familia y orden colonial (Mexico City: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1998).

⁵⁸Antonio Rubial García, La santidad controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999).

⁵⁹Solange Alberro, El águila y la cruz: Orígenes religiosos de la conciencia criolla: México, siglos XVI - XVII, Sección de obras de historia, Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas, Serie Ensayos, ed. Alicia Hernández Chávez (Mexico City: Colegio de México; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999). Alberro's earlier Del gachupín al criollo: O de cómo los españoles de México dejaron de serlo, *Jornadas*, no. 122 (Mexico City: Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1992), to which this work is in part a companion, explored the environmental and cultural factors which gradually separated the Spaniards of Mexico and of Spain from one another in fact, as distinguished from the development of a sense of separation.

clergy, however, as opposed to variations in their style or charism, are rare - though perhaps less rare for Mexican material than for European. While restricted to Spanish-language texts, and hence drawing for the later period disproportionately on confessional manuals, generally published in bilingual form for the use of priests with limited language skills, Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, in a pair of works examining the treatment of Indian drunkenness within the larger context of questions about Indian capacity, sees a shift occurring already in the lifetime of Zumárraga from the humanist, Erasmian, and universal spirit of the bishop's publications to the simplified Christianity, aimed at obedience and control rather than understanding, found in later works for an indigenous audience.⁶⁰ For Nahuatl-language religious writings, however, the dominant scholar is Louise M. Burkhart, whose *The Slippery Earth* has already been discussed and whose chief interest has been the incorporation of Nahua concepts into Christian religious writings.⁶¹ At the same time, surveying Marian content in Nahuatl texts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in her most recent work, Burkhart is impressed by the degree to which the full range of European liturgy, legend, and devotion is to be found in Nahuatl,⁶² in marked contrast to the conclusions drawn by Susanne Klaus in a study undermined both by its very small range of material and by the author's visibly shaky command of the Nahuatl language. Analyzing a small group of Nahuatl sermons for Advent and Christmas, Klaus characterizes the Christianity preached by the sixteenth-century Franciscans as

⁶⁰Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, *El fraile, el indio y el pulque: Evangelización y embriaguez en la Nueva España (1523 - 1548)*, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991); idem, *Del amor al temor. Borrachez, catequesis y control en la Nueva España (1555 - 1771)*, Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994).

⁶¹In addition to *The Slippery Earth*, see the various articles cited elsewhere in this dissertation.

⁶²Louise M. Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe: The Virgin Mary in Early Colonial Nahuatl Literature*, IMS Monograph, no. 13 (Albany, N.Y.: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, distributed by University of Texas Press, 2001), 149.

“uprooted”: abstract, drained of emotion, removed from its European cultural support, and lacking any comparable connections to indigenous life.⁶³ While the Franciscans succeeded in getting their message across on a purely linguistic level, in this analysis, they failed to transmit a living faith which the Nahuas could have truly grasped, in almost a perfect reversal of the world portrayed in Burkhart’s works, where the accurate comprehension of the friars’ message may be in doubt but the potential living significance of the texts in question is never denied.

Barry David Sell’s examination of colonial Nahuatl ecclesiastical publications in his dissertation, “Friars, Nahuas, and Books,” focuses on linguistic trends rather than content, identifying the period before 1650 as that of greatest linguistic and stylistic innovation, of acknowledged collaboration between ecclesiastics and Nahuas, and of a reasonably close correspondence between the Nahuatl of printed works and that of contemporary speech, and placing the high point of interest and importance, in terms of sheer concentration of exceptional works, in the years immediately to either side of the turn of the seventeenth

⁶³Klaus’s sample is made up of nine very brief sermons by Sahagún, one average-length sermon by Juan Bautista (average-length by general standards, relatively short by those of Bautista’s long-winded collection), and for purposes of comparison, two moderately brief manuscript Spanish sermons by the peninsular Franciscan Felipe Diez, only one of which, it might also be noted (though Klaus does not), appears to be directed to a lay audience, while the other addresses Diez’s fellow friars. Susanne Klaus, Uprooted Christianity: The Preaching of the Christian Doctrine in Mexico Based on Franciscan Sermons of the 16th Century Written in Nahuatl, Bonner amerikanistische Studien, no. 33 (Markt Schwaben, Germany: Verlag Anton Saurwein, 1999); a briefer treatment, without the comparison to Diez, also appears in Klaus, “... the Philistines, the Chichimecs, Those Who Do Not Believe ...”: Language Use in Colonial Nahuatl Sermons by Bernardino de Sahagún and Juan Bautista,” in La lengua de la cristianización en Latinoamérica: Catequización e instrucción en lenguas amerindias / The Language of Christianisation in Latin America: Catechisation and Instruction in Amerindian Languages, ed. Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Lindsey Crickmay, Bonner amerikanistische Studien, vol. 32, Centre for Indigenous American Studies and Exchange, St. Andrews, Occasional Papers, no. 29 (Markt Schwaben, Germany: Verlag Anton Saurwein, 1999), 205-22.

Outside the immediate sphere of this study, Danièle Dehouve sees a somewhat similar process of symbolic impoverishment at work in the translation and adaptation of five traditional European *exempla* on the punishments of hell in eighteenth-century Jesuit sermons in Nahuatl: Danièle Dehouve, Rudingero el borracho y otros exempla medievales en el México virreinal (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social; Universidad Iberoamericana; Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2000), especially 30-31.

century. Though he sees significant parallels between this periodization and that of Nahuatl language-contact phenomena developed by James Lockhart and Frances Karttunen from the documentary record, and perhaps also that of Pedro Borges Morán's study of the number of clergy sent from the peninsula to Spanish America, his explanation for why this should be the case is limited to a kind of spirit of the age reflected in a broader clustering of noteworthy publications around the turn of the seventeenth century, in the indigenous languages of the Philippines and Peru, in the Spain of Lope de Vega and Cervantes, and in the England of Shakespeare.⁶⁴

A few attempts have been made to use other sources to obtain a closer view of both the content and the style of the friars' evangelization, but much of this work is highly speculative at best, such as the anthropologist Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán's interpretation of the early Franciscans' assignment of patron saints to towns and villages in the region of Zongolica, in the modern state of Veracruz.⁶⁵ As well as attempting to match up each particular saint with the veneration of a particular member of the traditional pantheon in each location, by way of frequently less than plausible etymological and symbolic interpretations of the native placenames, Aguirre Beltrán sees in the choice of apostolic saints not only an identification with the primitive Church as the age of evangelization or of religious purity, but an identification of the Indians under Spanish oppression with the early Christians under Roman oppression, and a desire to inculcate the same values of

⁶⁴Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 297-301; similar comments on this international golden age can also be found in Sell, "'All the Way to Guatemala': Sahagún's Sermonario of 1548," in Chipping Away on Earth: Studies in Prehispanic and Colonial Mexico in Honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, ed. Eloise Quiñones Keber, with Susan Schroeder and Frederic Hicks (Lancaster, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 1994), 37-44, at 39-40.

⁶⁵Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Zongolica: Encuentro de dioses y santos patronos, 2d ed., *Obra antropológica*, vol. 14, Sección de obras de antropología (Mexico City: Universidad Veracruzana; Instituto Nacional Indigenista; Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), especially 92-94 and 184-85.

patient suffering and martyrdom in response, a set of motives, asserted without attempt at documentary support, of which the first is commonly accepted and the third is at least plausible, but the second is difficult to reconcile with what else is known of Franciscan attitudes toward Spanish settlement.⁶⁶ Mickey Abel-Turby's attempt to use the depiction of warfare in the murals of the Augustinian church at Ixmiquilpan and that in a relief of Santiago Matamoros from the Franciscan church at Tlatelolco as the foundation for a broader argument about the two orders' philosophy of conversion, on the other hand, postulating an Augustinian approach of affirmation through communal ritual, in an egalitarian political context, and a Franciscan one of individual incorporation into the hierarchies of church and state, is worthy of further development both for its thesis and for its incorporation of artistic evidence, but is far too tenuously supported for acceptance as it stands.⁶⁷

Without the exotic attraction of the Indian material, and giving off an impression of voluminous sameness in their masses of scarcely-catalogued and endlessly repetitive titles, late-medieval and early-modern Catholic catechisms and sermons from Western Europe have generally been among the dustiest holdings of their rare-book and manuscript depositories. Though sermons and handbooks of rhetoric for preachers have been much

⁶⁶For a more mainstream approach to this Mexican branch of *Ortsnamenforschung*, see Francisco Morales, OFM, "Santoral franciscano en los barrios indígenas de la Ciudad de México," Estudios de cultura náhuatl 24 (1994): 351-85.

⁶⁷Mickey Abel-Turby, "The New World Augustinians and Franciscans in Philosophical Opposition: The Visual Statement," Colonial Latin American Review 5, no. 1 (June 1996): 7-23. On the iconography of the Ixmiquilpan murals, the more recent interpretation of Eleanor Wake, "Sacred Books and Sacred Songs from Former Days: Sourcing the Mural Paintings at San Miguel Arcángel Ixmiquilpan," Estudios de cultura náhuatl 31 (2000): 95-121, is considerably more convincing than Abel-Turby's, but Wake's interpretation only strengthens the argument for viewing the murals as the representation or enactment of the assimilation of a community, as opposed to an individual, into the framework of Christian history.

studied in recent years from a rhetorical perspective,⁶⁸ as well as used as sources for the prosopography and social role of the preacher,⁶⁹ some of the most thorough analysis of fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century Catholic sermons to date has been devoted to the distinctly atypical milieu of the papal court.⁷⁰ Practically alone, Anne T. Thayer's intriguing new *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* has sought both to identify variations in doctrinal content and to link them to significant variations in the religious experience of ordinary people, arguing for a correlation between the emphases of penitential preaching in regionally popular late-medieval sermon collections and regional variations in the attraction of Luther's teaching.⁷¹

⁶⁸Hilary Dansey Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age: A Study of Some Preachers of the Reign of Philip III*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Peter Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory 1598 - 1650: A Study in Themes and Styles, with a Descriptive Catalogue of Printed Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983); Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et «res literaria» de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Bibliothèque de l'évolution de l'humanité (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); and see also Genoveffa Palumbo's analysis of the rhetoric of images in several Jesuit illustrated catechisms from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, *Speculum peccatorum: Frammenti di storia nello specchio delle immagini tra Cinque e Seicento*, with a Preface by Carlo de Frede, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filosofia e Politica, Istituto Universitario Orientale, no. 8 (Naples: Dipartimento di Filosofia e Politica dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale; Liguori Editore, 1990).

⁶⁹Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁷⁰John W. O'Malley, SI, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450 - 1521*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, no. 3 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979); Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).

⁷¹Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Hampshire, England, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY

When the Franciscan 'Twelve Apostles' disembarked at Veracruz in May 1524, armed with papal and imperial privileges and the authorization for a new custody of the order,¹ they found the hierarchy of the Church represented by two or three secular priests, two Mercedarians, three Flemish and two Spanish Franciscans,² and a few images of

¹The original plan was for thirteen (representing the Apostolic College plus Christ), but several last-minute changes and substitutions left the group with twelve: Martín de Valencia, Francisco de Soto, Martín de la Coruña, Juan Juárez, Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Toribio de Benavente (later called Motolinía), García de Cisneros, Luis de Fuensalida, Juan de Ribas, Francisco Jiménez, Andrés de Córdoba, and Juan de Palos. Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, OFM, Historia de los indios de la Nueva España, ed. Georges Baudot, Clásicos Castalia, ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente, no. 144 (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1985), tratado 1, cap. 1, 115-16; tratado 3, cap. 2, 289 and 293-94; Motolinía, Memoriales (Libro de oro, MS JGI 31), ed. Nancy Joe Dyer, Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios, Biblioteca novohispana, ed. Luis Astey V. and Beatriz Mariscal Hay, no. 3 (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1996), no. 2, 133; Alonso de Zorita, Relación de la Nueva España: Relación de algunas de las muchas cosas notables que hay en la Nueva España y de su conquista y pacificación y de la conversión de los naturales de ella, ed. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, Wiebke Ahrndt, and José Mariano Leyva, Cien de México (Mexico City: Conaculta, 1999), pt. 4, cap. 2, 638-39, and cap. 3, 661; Sahagún, Coloquios, cathalago de los doze frayles, 43 and 78; Jerónimo de Mendieta, OFM, Historia eclesiástica indiana, with Notices of the Author and the Work by Joaquín García Icazbalceta and a Preliminary Study by Antonio Rubial García, Cien de México (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1997), lib. 3, cap. 4-11, 1: 318-49; Juan de Torquemada, OFM, Los veinte i vn libros rituales i monarchia indiana, con el origen y guerras, de los indios oc[c]identales, de sus poblaciones, descubrimiento, conquista, conuersion, y otras cosas maravillosas de la mesma tierra, 2d ed. (Madrid: En la oficina y a costa de Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723; facsimile reprint, Monarquía indiana, with an Introduction by Miguel León-Portilla, Biblioteca Porrúa, nos. 41-43, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1969), lib. 15, cap. 2-9, 3: 4-18; Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 9, 30. For the papacy, see America pontificia primi saeculi evangelizationis 1493 - 1592: Documenta pontificia ex registris et minutis praesertim in Archivo Secreto Vaticano existentibus, ed. Josef Metzler, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, no. 27, Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e documenti, no. 3 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), no. 28, 160-63, and no. 30, 166-69.

²The Flemings, who came from Europe in 1523 as missionaries with imperial licence and are almost always referred to by their Hispanized names, were Juan de Tecto (Dekkers), Juan de Aora (Auwera), and Pedro de Gante ('of Ghent'). The others came from the islands and probably served primarily as chaplains to the Spaniards: the Franciscans Pedro Melgarejo and Diego Altamirano and the Mercedarians

Christ and the Virgin, urged by Cortés on his indigenous allies,³ amid a population of millions. How the scenes they saw on their long walk - reformed Franciscans that they were, they insisted on walking - up from the coast and through the mountains to half-ruined, scarce-rebuilt Mexico-Tenochtitlan compared to those they had imagined in Spain went unrecorded, but their welcome to the city was all they could have desired: the Conqueror Hernán Cortés received them on bended knee, demonstrating to the Indian lords assembled for the occasion, beyond what any words could have done, the deference he expected them to show to this strange new variety of Spaniard, with their ragged clothes and rejection of horses, arms, women, gold, and creature comforts.⁴ After a few weeks of rest, prayer, and consultation, and a reproach to the Flemings for the continued existence of public idolatry a year after the latter's arrival, the now seventeen Franciscans optimistically divided themselves up among Mexico City, Texcoco, Tlaxcala, and Huexotzinco.⁵

Two years later they welcomed twelve Dominicans, seven from the peninsula and five from the islands, only to assist at the funerals of five of this less-fortunate group within the year, and see another four off on a return voyage to Spain - on account of sickness, according to the chroniclers, though conflicts with Cortés may also have had

Juan de las Varillas and Bartolomé de Olmedo, this last one of Cortés's chaplains and usually to be found trying to restrain his patron's evangelical zeal.

³Cf. Motolinía, Historia, tratado 1, cap. 3, 130. For an interesting discussion of the Spaniards' recognition of the local priests as qualified religious specialists in this regard, see Richard C. Trexler, "Aztec Priests for Christian Altars: The Theory and Practice of Reverence in New Spain," in idem, Church and Community, 469-92.

⁴Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 12, 1: 353-55 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 10, 3: 21-23); Diego Muñoz Camargo, Historia de Tlaxcala (Ms. 210 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París), ed. Luis Reyes García, with Javier Lira Toledo, Colección Historia, Serie Historia de Tlaxcala, no. 5 (Tlaxcala: Gobierno del Estado de Tlaxcala; Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social; and Tlaxcala: Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala, 1998), 233-34; and though he does not recount this episode, cf. also Motolinía, Historia, tratado 3, cap. 3, 297. According to Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. intro., 4, Cortés greeted the first Dominicans in the same way.

⁵Motolinía, Historia, tratado 2, cap. 1, 218; tratado 3, cap. 1, 273; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 14, 1: 359-61; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 17, 2: 308; Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 12, 3: 25-28; lib. 20, cap. 18, 3: 425.

something to do with it.⁶ A second expedition arrived from Spain in 1528, and a third from the islands in 1531, but the result was less the incorporation of much-needed reinforcements than the creation of new factions, divided over methods of evangelization, relations with the political authorities, and the independence or dependence of the Mexican mission with regard to the Caribbean province of the Holy Cross. When the Dominican bishop of Tlaxcala, Julián Garcés,⁷ and the serving Dominican superior, Vicente de Santa María, backed the First Audiencia against the majority of the Franciscans and the new bishop-elect of Mexico City, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga,⁸ things merely went from bad to worse. Both loyal to their patron Cortés and (one hopes) sincerely outraged by the

⁶The leader of the expedition, Tomás Ortíz, previously active in the islands and Tierra Firme, recruited in the peninsula Vicente de Santa Ana, Diego de Sotomayor, Pedro de Santa María, Justo de Santo Domingo, Pedro Zambrano, Gonzalo Lucero, and Bartolomé de Calzadilla, and in the islands Domingo de Betanzos, Diego Ramírez, Alonso de las Vírgenes, and Vicente de las Casas. Santa Ana, Sotomayor, Santa María, Santo Domingo, and Calzadilla died, and Ortíz, Zambrano, Ramírez, and Las Vírgenes returned to Spain, leaving Domingo de Betanzos as superior to the deacon Gonzalo Lucero and the newly professed Vicente de las Casas. For this and what follows, see Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. intro., 1-4; cap. 8-9, 28-32; cap. 15, 48-51; cap. 17-20, 53-61; and lib. 2, cap. 75, 602; and compare Ulloa H., 85-140; Fernández Rodríguez, 94-160; and Bernardino Minaya, OP, "Primera súplica al emperador Carlos Quinto," in Parish and Weidman, app. 3, 269. Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 1, 2: 19-20, has a somewhat garbled list of the expeditions, and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 17, 3: 40-41, only adds to the confusion.

⁷The wandering *ecclesia Carolensis*, established in 1519 for the newly-discovered region of 'Yucatán', "tantae magnitudinis, ut adhuc incertum sit, an Insula aut Terra continens sit," followed the success of Cortés's arms to Tenochtitlan and then to Tlaxcala before finally settling at Puebla de los Ángeles, the Spanish city founded in Tlaxcala's district. Garcés, the first bishop, arrived in Mexico in 1528 and died in 1542, at the age of ninety-five; he is now best known for his Latin letter to Paul III in defense of the Indians' capacity, but has left little trace as an evangelizer - perhaps not surprisingly, given his age - and seems to have had little taste for residence in thoroughly indigenous Tlaxcala. *America pontificia primi saeculi*, no. 24, 140-44, quoted at 142; no. 33, 174-76; and no. 116, 494-501; Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 42-43, 126-49.

⁸Papal-imperial relations being at a low point after the Sack of Rome, the diocese of Mexico City was not officially established and Zumárraga provided to it until 1530, but he was nominated by the emperor in 1527 and arrived in Mexico as bishop-elect in 1528 (where his enemies did not fail to cast up to him his lack of proper papers). He was consecrated in 1533, in the peninsula, and died in 1548, not long after receiving the news that his see had been elevated to archepiscopal and metropolitan status. *America pontificia primi saeculi*, no. 39-40, 197-210; no. 55, 244-45; no. 126, 523-26; no. 137, 568-70; no. 140, 572-73; and no. 148, 592-93; García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan*, doc. 20-25, 3: 50-67; doc. 52-54, 3: 271-76.

Audiencia's misgovernment and exploitation, as well as by their violation of ecclesiastical sanctuary, the Franciscans cast themselves as protectors of the Indians in a drama of ecclesiastical rebuke which escalated from pulpit denunciations, to excommunications, to interdict, the consumption of the reserved Sacrament, and the abandonment of their convent, in the face of a general Spanish indifference which the friars still remembered with bitterness long afterward;⁹ the Audiencia's counter-charge, that they wanted to *alzarse con la tierra*, to 'make off with the land' in rebellion, they never quite shook off.¹⁰ The arrival of the Second Audiencia in 1531 and the return in triumph in 1534 of both Zumárraga, summoned to court to answer the First Audiencia's accusations against him, and his Dominican friend and confessor Domingo de Betanzos, bearing the documents establishing the Mexican Dominican province's independence¹¹ and leading a delegation of new recruits chosen by himself, together with the departure of many of the Caribbean Dominicans back whence they came, must have done much to restore conventual harmony, even if the echoes of Betanzos's negative report to the crown on Indian capacity had yet to quite die away,¹² but the first seven Augustinians, who waded into this sea of still-simmering

⁹See García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan*, 1: 37-114, and doc. 1-8, 2: 165-256; doc. 11-16, 2: 262-99; and doc. 19, 3: 9-49; app. doc. 1, 4: 99-102; doc. 3-4, 4: 105-7; *Cartas de Indias*, Ministerio de Fomento (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1877; facsimile reprint, Biblioteca de autores españoles, vols. 264-66, Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1974), no. 9, 56-61; and for the chronicle tradition, Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 10, 264-65; tratado 3, cap. 3-4, 299-303; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 50, 1: 477-80; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 27, 2: 337-38; Torquemada, lib. 5, cap. 6-9, 1: 599-604; lib. 20, cap. 30, 3: 448-49; and see also Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 51, 1: 481-84; and Torquemada, lib. 5, cap. 3, 1: 593, and lib. 15, cap. 22, 57-58, on a different, earlier confrontation between Gonzalo de Salazar, an enemy of Cortés in power during his absence in the Higueras, and Martín de Valencia.

¹⁰Cf. Georges Baudot, "La 'conspiración' franciscana contra la Primera Audiencia de México," trans. Víctor Velarde G., in Baudot, *La pugna franciscana por México*, Los noventa, no. 36 (Mexico City: Alianza Editorial Mexicana; Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990), 37-57.

¹¹See *America pontificia primi saeculi*, no. 56, 246-49.

¹²On the report, see above, 23-24; for the scandal produced in Mexico, see in addition to the works cited there *Epistolario de Nueva España 1505 - 1818*, ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, vol. 3, 1533 - 1539, Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, Segunda serie, no. 3 (Mexico City: Antigua Librería

resentments in 1533, could count themselves lucky to have missed the experience.¹³

Whether from fear of retaliation, indifference, or compassion for these ‘afflicted ones’ - the *motolinia* which the first Franciscans heard murmured wherever they went, and which, though Toribio de Benavente adopted it as a new surname upon being told it meant ‘poor’,¹⁴ can also mean ‘afflicted in mind’, that is, ‘mentally ill’¹⁵ - the Indians were from the beginning tolerant enough of the friars’ presence: they would find martyrdom only among the northern nomads, not in central Mexico’s settled lands. Finding a receptive

Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1939), no. 134, 79; no. 136, 90; no. 137, 93-96; no. 141, 119; Cartas de Indias, no. 10, 62-66; Parish and Weidman, app. 4, 270-71; app. 7, 276-77; and Alonso de la Vera Cruz, OSA, Defense of the Indians: Their Rights: I: Latin Text and English Translation, ed. and trans. Ernest J. Burrus, SI, vol. 2 of The Writings of Alonso de la Vera Cruz, Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, vol. 4 (Rome, Italy, and St. Louis, Mo.: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1968), q. 10, conc. 8, 372-75; and for a defense of Betanzos, Antonio Osorio de San Román, OSA, Consuelo de penitentes, o Mesa franca de espirituales manjares, 2d ed., corr. (Seville: En la imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Iuan de Leon, a costa de Antonio Sagete, 1585), pt. 2, tratado 4, svmma de la vida del bendito padre fray Domingo de Betanzos, fol. 469v-470r.

¹³The seven were Francisco de la Cruz (called *elpadre venerable*), Agustín de Coruña, Jerónimo de San Esteban, Juan de San Román, Juan de Oseguera, Alonso de Borja, and Jorge de Ávila. Juan de Grijalva, OSA, Crónica de la orden de n. p. s. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España: En cuatro edades desde el año de 1533 hasta el de 1592, Biblioteca Porrúa, no. 85 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), lib. 1, cap. 1-6, 15-34; cf. Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 2, 2: 23, and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 26, 3: 69-70.

¹⁴Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 12, 1: 353; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 22, 2: 323; Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 10, 3: 21; lib. 20, cap. 25, 3: 439. Technically, *motolinia* is a verb: ‘he/she/it is afflicted’ (without final glottal stop) or ‘they are afflicted’ (with final glottal stop).

¹⁵Cf. the Tlaxcalan historian Diego Muñoz Camargo’s description of the Indians’ reaction to the friars’ first attempts to ‘preach’, standing in the market and pointing at the sky and the ground for lack of any other way to communicate: “[D]ecían los señores y caciques: ¿qué han estos pobres miserables? mirad si tienen hambre, y si han menester algo, dadles de comer. Otros decían, estos hombres deben de ser enfermos o están locos, dejadlos vocear a los miserables, que tomádoles ha su mal de locura, que deben de estar locos. Dejadlos estar, pasen su enfermedad como pudieren: no les hagáis mal, que al cabo estos y los demás han de morir de esta enfermedad de locura. Y mirad si habéis notado cómo a medio día y a media noche, y al cuarto del alba, cuando todos se regocijan, éstos dan voces y lloran; sin ninguna duda es mal grande el que deben de tener, porque son hombres sin sentido, pues no buscan placer ni contento, sino tristeza y soledad.” Muñoz Camargo, 172-73.

Cf. also the early seventeenth-century Nahua historian Chimalpahin’s anecdote of a Nahua lord in the 1530s who disparaged the ragged Franciscans in favor of the more presentable Dominicans: Domingo Chimalpahin, Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan, ed. and trans. Rafael Tena, Cien de México (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), séptima relación, 2: 194-97.

audience for their message, however, was at first an equally vain endeavor, as even the rosy narrative of the chronicles makes clear: on the one hand, the friars had to learn the language, ‘the theology which St Augustine did not know’ as Juan de Tecto called it when explaining what the three Flemings *had* been doing before the arrival of the Twelve;¹⁶ and on the other, they had to gain the attention of their putative congregants. Children, more particularly boys, became both Rosetta stone and opening wedge, in the form of Alonso de Molina, the young son of a Spanish widow who was growing up bilingual among Nahua playmates, and in the form of the Nahua noble boys, as much hostages as students, whom the friars soon began to collect in convent boarding schools.¹⁷ ‘Borrowed’ by the Franciscans from his mother as a kind of oblate, and taking the habit himself when he came of age, Molina became his elders’ teacher and, as an adult, his order’s acknowledged linguistic expert and the compiler of a Nahuatl-Spanish dictionary which has yet to be surpassed.¹⁸ Some of the Nahua youths, for their part, picked up the language of their new *padres*, and even more took up their cause with children’s zeal, acting as preachers, as destroyers of idols, and as spies or tattle-tales.¹⁹

¹⁶“Aprendemos la teología que de todo punto ignoró S. Agustín.” Mendieta, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 17, 2: 308; similarly in Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 18, 3: 425.

¹⁷The pairing is Mendieta’s: Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 16, 1: 366 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 14, 3: 32-33).

¹⁸See Código franciscano: Siglo XVI, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, vol. 2 (Mexico City: Imprenta de Francisco Díaz de León, 1889), 33 and 68-69; “Informe biográfico y lingüístico del p. Jerónimo de Mendieta, OFM, sobre los 238 franciscanos pertenecientes a la provincia del Santo Evangelio, de Méjico,” in Manuel de Castro y Castro, OFM, “Lenguas indígenas americanas transmitidas por los franciscanos del siglo XVI,” in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo, app. 1, 557-68, at 558, no. 8; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 44, 2: 238-39; and lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 48, 2: 406 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 19, cap. 33, 3: 387; and lib. 20, cap. 59, 3: 520-21); Juan Bautista, OFM, “Prólogo [al Sermonario],” in García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, 474-78, at 476-77; and Chimalpahin, Las ocho relaciones, séptima relación, 2: 252-53.

¹⁹See Motolinía, Historia, tratado 1, cap. 2, 124-25; tratado 2, cap. 7, 250; tratado 3, cap. 14-15, 359-72; Motolinía, Memoriales, no. 44, 285; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 7-8, 681-91; cap. 12, 720; cap. 17, 758; cap. 20-21, 782-90; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 17, 1: 367-68; cap. 19-20, 1: 372-76; cap. 21, 1: 378-79; cap.

While the Jesuits marked their successful establishment in Mexico City with a massive relic festival,²⁰ the friars seem to have found little appeal in the veneration of either imported European relics or local saints. The Franciscan founder Martín de Valencia (†1534) did acquire both a hagiographical tradition²¹ and a local cult still present among the Indians of Amecameca, where he spent the last period of his life, at the beginning of the

23-27, 1: 384-97; cap. 32, 1: 412-13; lib. 4, cap. 23, 2: 117; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 7, 2: 277; cap. 15, 2: 302; cap. 30, 2: 347-48; cap. 38, 2: 372-73 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 15, 3: 33-35; cap. 18-19, 3: 43-49; cap. 20, 3: 50-51; cap. 23-24, 3: 61-65; cap. 30-35, 3: 82-101; lib. 16, cap. 1, 3: 141; lib. 17, cap. 12, 3: 239; lib. 20, cap. 7, 3: 404; cap. 16, 3: 421; cap. 33, 3: 456; cap. 43, 3: 481); Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, ed. Juan Carlos Temprano, *Crónicas de América*, no. 23-24, *Historia* (Madrid: Dastín, 2001), lib. 10, cap. 27, par. 4-6, 820-22; Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 22-23, 66-74; *Cartas de Indias*, no. 8, 52; no. 9, 56; and for evidence of opposition by some friars (especially, one suspects, non-Franciscans) to preaching by the youths, see Parish and Weidman, app. 17, 323 and 325; and app. 18, 327. On the instruction carried out by the girls who were for a time collected under the supervision of *beatas* sent from Spain, see Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 15, 372-73 (similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 56, 357-58; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 22, 794-95; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 52, 1: 485-86; and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 40, 3: 108-9).

Muñoz Camargo has a variant version of the child-martyr stories, most notable for its retrospective Christianization of what in the usual account is the polygamous and generally unbaptized household of young Cristóbal's father: Muñoz Camargo, 237-41.

²⁰See García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 97(84), 301-7.

²¹For Valencia's life as viewed by two others of the Twelve, see the lengthy and markedly 'spiritual' account by Francisco Jiménez, OFM, "Vita fratris Martini de Valencia," in Antonio Rubial García, *La hermana pobreza: El franciscanismo: De la edad media a la evangelización novohispana*, Colección Seminarios (Mexico City: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 221-61, and the briefer and (relatively) more sober account by Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 2, 278-93. A slightly different tradition from either of these, derived from a 1585 memorial on the history of the province for the minister-general and diverging most notably in the chronology of Valencia's missionary vocation, is found in Osorio de San Román, pt. 2, tratado 4, fol. 442v-449r, in Juan Bautista Moles, OFM, *Memorial de la provincia de San Gabriel, de la orden de los frailes Menores de Observancia* (Madrid: Por Pedro Madrigal, 1592; facsimile reprint, *Memorial de la provincia de san Gabriel*, ed. Hermenegildo Zamora Jambriña, OFM, Publicaciones de Archivo ibero-americano, Colección Crónicas franciscanas de España, ed. Juan Meseguer Fernández, OFM, vol. 25, Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1984), cap. 12-17, fol. 47r-61v, and in Juan de Marieta, OP, *Tercera parte, de la historia eclesiastica de España, que trata de la vida de san Diego de Alcalá, y de san Antonio de Padua de la orden de san Francisco, y otros santos naturales de España de la mesma orden; Qvarta parte, de la historia eclesiastica de España, que trata de algunos santos de las ordenes de san Benito, san Agustín y cartuxos: Santas virgines, concilios y doctores de España* (Cuenca: En casa de Pedro del Valle, a costa de Christiano Bernabe, 1596), lib. 17, cap. 11-14, fol. 45r-47v, though Mendieta, one of the authors of the memorial, follows Jiménez in his *Historia eclesiásticaindiana*, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 1-12, 2: 262-94, with some additional details from oral tradition. Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 1-13, 3: 392-416, chiefly copies Mendieta, but adds yet another episode or two, as well as his own edifying reflections.

nineteenth century, outlasting both the disappearance of his body after 1567 and the apparent lack of any long-term effort by the order to promote his institutional canonization,²² and there is some hint of an attempt, which fails to take, to create a cult around the body of the Nahuatl child-martyr Cristóbal,²³ but aside from Valencia, more of a mystic than a missionary, none of the early friars appears to have acquired lasting saintly renown beyond his own order's histories. By the end of the colonial period Peru could count three canonized saints, the Dominican tertiary Rose of Lima (†1617, can. 1671), Toribio de Mogrovejo, archbishop of Lima (†1606, can. 1726), and the Franciscan missionary Francisco Solano (†1610, also can. 1726), as well as the 'future saint' Martín de Porres, a Dominican lay brother (†1639, can. 1962), while at least twenty residents of the Iberian peninsula were raised to the altars in the same period,²⁴ but Mexico's only

²²For the sixteenth century, see Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 2, 293; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 3, 664-65; Mendieta, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 12-14, 2: 293-98, and cap. 16, 2: 303-6; Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 13-15, 3: 415-19, and cap. 17, 3: 422-24; Marcos de Lisboa, OFM, *Tercera parte de las chronicas de la orden de los frayles Menores del seraphico padre sant Francisco: Cuenta de la reformation y obseruancia de la mesma orden, y su aumento, la qual començo poco antes del año de mil y quatrocientos, y crescio hasta el de mil y quinientos y veynte: Nueuamente ordenada y sacada de los libros y memoriales de la orden* (Salamanca: En casa de Alexandro de Canoua, 1570), lib. 9, cap. 9, fol. 234r-234v; Moles, cap. 18, fol. 61v-64r; and Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, séptima relación, 2: 254-57; and for the early nineteenth century, see William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 248 and 257-58.

For a good example of the increasing divergence in this period between the criteria for a successful local cult and those for official recognition, see Sara T. Nalle's account of the sixteenth-century career of the high-medieval Cuencan bishop Julián, "A Saint for All Seasons: The Cult of San Julián," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, Hispanic Issues, vol. 7 (Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minneapolis Press, 1992), 25-50.

²³See Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 14, 368; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 7, 685-86; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 26, 1: 393; Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 32, 3: 91-94; and Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 23, 74.

²⁴By my own count, including formal canonizations and other forms of recognition: in 1588 Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan lay brother who preached to the natives of the Canaries as well as practising other virtues more expected of his state (†1463); in 1600 the Catalan Dominican missionary and canonist Ramón Peñafort (†1275); in 1622 Isidore the Farmer (†1130), Francis Xavier (†1552), Ignatius Loyola (†1556), and Teresa of Ávila (†1582); in 1625 Isabel of Portugal, queen and eventual Franciscan tertiary (†1336); in 1628 the Mercedarian founder Pedro Nolasco (†1258); in 1658 the Augustinian archbishop of Valencia Tomás de Villanueva (†1555); in 1669 the Franciscan reformer Pedro de Alcántara (†1562); in 1670 the Mercedarian bishop and martyr Pedro Pascual (†1300); in 1671 the Jesuit Francisco Borja (†1572),

canonized saint before the year 2000, the creole Discalced Franciscan Felipe de Jesús (†1597), beatified in 1627 and canonized in 1862, won his halo as a martyr in Japan,²⁵ and his only companion in official beatification before Mexican independence, Sebastián de Aparicio (†1600), beatified in 1790, was a hermit who became a Franciscan lay brother late in life.²⁶ Candidates for a cult were not lacking, but even here, the mendicant pioneers of the sixteenth century were not among them;²⁷ as in image-rich, relic-poor southern Spain, it was images and titular advocations which formed the basis for early substitution cults,

the Dominican preacher in Nueva Granada (modern Columbia) and Valencia Luis Bertrán (†1581), and Ferdinand III, king of Castile and León and conqueror of Córdoba and Seville (†1252); in 1690 the Augustinian Juan de Sahagún (†1479), the Franciscan lay brother Pascual Baylón (†1592), and John of God (†1590), the founder of the hospital order which bears his name; in 1726 John of the Cross (†1591); in 1746 the Franciscan reformer Pedro Regalado (†1456); and finally in 1767 the Piarist founder José de Calasanz (†1648). See Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in idem, The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48-62, especially the chronological listing in the appendix, 60-62; Rubial García, La santidad controvertida, 65-69 and 86; and for Pedro Pascual, Andrade, no. 646, 407, and no. 1130, 710, and Bibliotheca sanctorum, s.v. "Pietro Pascasio," by Vincenzo Ignelzi. Burke identifies Juan de Sahagún as a Benedictine, but although it is true that Sahagún was the site of a significant Benedictine monastery, see Jerónimo Román, OSA, Primera parte de la historia de la orden de los frayles Hermitaños de sant Augustin obispo hypponense, y doctor de la sancta Yglesia: Contiene esta primera parte la vida de s. Augustin, y la de todos sus discipulos, y otros varones sanctos que florecieron en la primitiua religion, con otras cosas necesarias, que antiguamente vso y guardo esta sancta orden: Va junto con este volumen el Defensorio de la antiguedad desta sagrada religion y al cabo vna copiosa table de las obras que el glorioso padre sant Augustin escriuio (Alcalá de Henares: En casa de Andres de Angulo, 1572), lib. 4, fol. 194r-210r.

²⁵The Discalced Franciscans established convents in Mexico beginning in 1580 as way stations for their mission in the Philippines, forming the province of San Diego in 1599 (hence their popular name of *dieguinos*), but they were institutionally independent from the Observant province of the Holy Gospel and were not engaged in Indian evangelization in Mexico.

²⁶The Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada, whose Monarquía indiana is often cited in this study, also wrote an account of Aparicio's life and miracles, published in Mexico in 1602: see Andrade, no. 4, 2-3.

²⁷Antonio Rubial García, in La santidad controvertida and in "Los santos milagrosos y malogrados de la Nueva España," in Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano, 2d ed., corr., ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Condumex; Universidad Iberoamericana, 1997), 51-87, which overlaps only partially with the longer work, has conducted an extensive exploration of New Spain's unsuccessful candidates for sainthood, as representations of social types (the hermit, the martyr in Japan, the nun, the bishop, and the frontier missionary) and as loci for local and regional patriotism.

the hesitations of Sahagún and some of his fellow Franciscans notwithstanding,²⁸ as they do of the Mexican cult of the saints today.

To judge by Motolinía's descriptions of early Franciscan preaching, the sons of St Francis would seem to have had a special predilection for fire and brimstone. At first, at least, there does appear to be an attempt at striking a balance between fear and hope, as the friars attempt to explain to an uninterested audience, on the one hand, "who was the true and universal Lord, creator of heaven and earth and of all creatures, and how this God with His infinite wisdom ruled and governed it and gave it all its being, and how on account of His great goodness He wishes all to be saved," and on the other, "who was that one whom they served, and the office which he had, which was to carry off to perpetual condemnation of terrible pains all those who believed and trusted in him."²⁹ In Mendieta's later account

²⁸See Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Calendario mexicano, latino y castellano: Al lector," in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, 380-82, at 381 (and similarly in León, fol. 96r-96v), and the *Información que el arzobispo de México d. fray Alonso de Montúfar mandó practicar con motivo de un sermón que en la fiesta de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora (8 de setiembre de 1556) predicó en la capilla de s. José de Naturales del convento de s. Francisco de Méjico, su provincial fray Francisco de Bustamante acerca de la devoción y culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Madrid: Imprenta de "La Guirnalda", 1888). On the *Información*, Edmundo O'Gorman's discussion in *Destierro de sombras: Luz en el origen de la imagen y culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Tepeyac*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie Historia novohispana, no. 36 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986) is of unavoidable consultation, but must be used with caution, particularly with regard to the speculative extremes of the Machiavellian maneuvers he ascribes to Montúfar and to his interpretation of the *Nican mopohua*, based on a problematic attribution of the work to Antonio Valeriano; for a good summary of the problems with all the Nahuatl narrative sources for the apparition, including the *Nican mopohua* and this attribution, see Stafford Poole, CM, "Nahuatl Accounts of Our Lady of Guadalupe," in *Chipping Away on Earth*, ed. Quiñones Keber, 203-22, and for a textual and linguistic discussion of the *Nican mopohua* and its related texts, see the introduction to *The Story of Guadalupe: Luis Laso de la Vega's Huei tlamahuiçoltica of 1649*, ed. and trans. Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, CM, and James Lockhart, Nahuatl Studies Series, ed. James Lockhart, no. 5, UCLA Latin American Studies, vol. 84 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; [Los Angeles]: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998).

²⁹"Declaraban los frailes a los indios quién era el verdadero y universal Señor, creador del cielo y de la tierra, y de todas las criaturas, y cómo este Dios con su infinita sabiduría lo regía y gobernaba y daba todo el ser que tenía, y cómo por su gran bondad quiere que todos se salven. Asimismo los desengañaban y decían quién era aquél a quien servían, y el oficio que tenía, que era llevar a perpetua condenación de penas terribles a todos los que en él creían y se confiaban. Y con esto les decía cada uno de los frailes, lo más y mejor que entendía que convenía para la salvación de los indios; pero a ellos les era gran fastidio oír la palabra de Dios, y no querían entender en otra cosa sino en darse a vicios y pecados, dándose a sacrificios y

of the instruction given to the first convent pupils, too, heaven and hell are treated with relative balance, and the Second Person of the Trinity takes an unusually prominent role, albeit not so much on His own account as by way of explaining the friars' cultic practices:

The first thing which they began to teach them in the schools was what at the beginning is taught to the children of Christians: to wit, the *Per signum crucis* and the sign of the cross [*signarse y santiguarse*], to pray the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, *Salva regina* - all this in Latin, as the religious did not know their language, nor had interpreters who could translate it. The rest that they could they gave them to understand by signs, like the mute, such as to say that there was one God alone and not many like those which their fathers adored; that those were evil and enemies who deceived men; that there was a heaven there above, a place of glory and blessedness, where our God and Creator was, and where they who here in the world confessed Him and served Him would go to enjoy His riches and favors [*regalos*]. And that there was a hell, a place of fire and of infinite pains and incredible torments, and the residence of those whom their fathers held as gods, where those who in this age adored and obeyed them would go, and they themselves in payment for their services would torment them. That that image which they saw of a crucified man was an image of our God, not in so far as God, Who cannot be painted because He is pure spirit, but rather in so far as a man, which He wished to become to redeem the men who would believe and obey Him, and to free them from the pains of hell and give them glory forever, dying for them on a cross. And that the image of a woman which they saw there was a figure of the Mother of God, called Mary, from whom He wished to take our humanity; and how He wished such a mother of His to be honored and revered, and that we should hold her as our advocate and intermediary in order to obtain from God what was fitting for us. Together with this they taught them to read and write, and above all, their doctrine was more by deeds than by words.³⁰

fiestas, comiendo y bebiendo y embeodándose en ellas, y dando de comer a los ídolos de su propia sangre, la cual sacaban de sus propias orejas, lengua y brazos, y de otras partes del cuerpo, como adelante diré.”
Motolinía, *Historia*, trat. 1, cap. 2, 125 (similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 12, 720).

³⁰“Lo primero que en las escuelas les comenzaron a enseñar fue lo que al principio se enseña a los hijos de los cristianos: conviene a saber, el signarse y santiguarse, rezar el *Pater noster*, *Ave María*, *Credo*, *Salve Regina*, todo esto en latín (por no saber los religiosos su lengua ni tener intérpretes que lo volviesen en ella): lo demás que podían, por señas (como mudos) se lo daban a entender, como decir que había un solo Dios y no muchos como los que sus padres adoraban que aquellos eran malos y enemigos que engañaban a los hombres; que había cielo allá en lo alto, lugar de gloria y bienaventuranza, donde nuestro Dios y Creador estaba, y adonde iban a gozar de sus riquezas y regalos los que acá en el mundo le confesaban y servían. Y que había infierno, lugar de fuego y de infinitas penas y tormentos increíbles, y morada de aquellos que sus padres tenían por dioses, donde iban los que en este siglo los adoraban y obedecían, y ellos mismos en pago de sus servicios los atormentaban. Que aquella imagen que veían de hombre crucificado, era imagen de nuestro Dios, no en cuanto Dios que no se puede pintar porque es puro espíritu, sino en cuanto hombre que se quiso hacer por redimir a los hombres que le creyesen y obedeciesen, y librarlos de las penas del infierno y darles gloria para siempre, muriendo por ellos en una cruz. Y que la imagen de mujer que allí veían era figura de la Madre de Dios, llamada María de quien quiso tomar nuestra humanidad: y como tal Madre suya

Once the combination of the friars' increased linguistic ability and the forcible relegation of traditional cultic practices to clandestinity has increased the size and attentiveness of the audience, however, it is fear which, according to Motolinía, seems to be the deciding factor in the first conversions (though Mendieta, when not copying his predecessor, has a tendency to advance arguments from natural reason when presenting or speculating on the reasons for the acceptance of the friars' doctrine by the Indians).³¹

According to the earlier writer, unlike Mendieta an eyewitness and participant:

the first thing which it was necessary to say to them, was to give them to understand who God is, One, Almighty, without beginning or end, creator of all things, Whose knowledge has no end, supreme goodness, Who created all things visible and invisible, and conserves them and gives them being, and beyond this what most seemed to them fitting to say to them then. And then, together with this, it was necessary to also give them to understand who St Mary was, because until then they only named Mary or St Mary, and saying this name thought that they named God, and all the images that they saw they called St Mary. This having been declared, and the immortality of the soul, it was given them to understand who was the demon in whom they believed, and how he had deceived them [*los traía engañados*], and the wickednesses which he has in himself, and the care which he places in laboring so that no soul may be saved, upon hearing which there were many who took such fright and fear that they trembled to hear what the friars said to them, and some ragged poor persons, of whom there are plenty in this land, began to come to baptism and to seek the kingdom of God, demanding it with tears and sighs and much importunation.³²

quería que fuese honrada y reverenciada, y que la tuviésemos por nuestra abogada y medianera para alcanzar de Dios lo que nos conviniese. Juntamente con esto les enseñaban a leer y escribir: y sobre todo, su doctrina era más de obra que por palabra." Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 15, 1: 363-64; and similarly in Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 13, 3: 30.

³¹Mendieta, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 38, 2: 373, and cap. 40, 2: 378-79; repeated by Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 43, 3: 481, and cap. 45, 3: 486.

³²"Ya que los predicadores se comenzaban a soltar algo en la lengua y predicaban sin libro, y como ya los indios no llamaban ni servían a los ídolos si no era lejos o escondidamente, venían muchos de ellos los domingos y fiestas a oír la palabra de Dios; y lo primero que fue menester decirles, fue darles a entender quién es Dios, uno, todopoderoso, sin principio ni fin, criador de todas las cosas, cuyo saber no tiene fin, suma bondad, el cual crió todas las cosas visibles y invisibles, y las conserva y da ser, y tras esto lo que más les pareció que convenía decirlos por entonces; y luego, junto con esto, fue menester darles también a entender quién era Santa María, porque hasta entonces solamente nombraban María o Santa María, y diciendo este nombre pensaban que nombraban a Dios, y a todas las imágenes que veían llamaban Santa María. Ya esto declarado, y la inmortalidad del ánima, dábaseles a entender quién era el demonio en quien

The precise means by which this fear is evoked are left to the imagination in this case, but even a century later, the Nahua historian Chimalpahin's annals recall the impression made by a dramatic presentation of the Last Judgement in Tlatelolco in 1533,³³ perhaps the same or similar to that said by Mendieta to have been written by Olmos and staged in Mexico City in the presence of Zumárraga and of the viceroy Mendoza, "with which he opened wide the eyes of all the Indians and Spaniards, that they might give themselves to virtue and leave off evil living, and of many erring women, that they might be converted to God, moved by fear and compunction,"³⁴ and in which the heavenly destination of the saved is the object of far less attention than the punishment meted out to those who leave repentance too late, from fiery lashes to the "fiery butterflies" and "fiery snakes" which replace the earrings and necklaces of the 'erring woman' who is the chief protagonist.³⁵ Motolinía

ellos creían, y cómo los traía engañados; y las maldades que en sí tiene, y el cuidado que pone en trabajar que ninguna ánima se salve. Lo cual oyendo, hubo muchos que tomaron tanto espanto y temor, que temblaban de oír lo que los frailes les decían, y algunos pobres desarrapados, de los cuales hay hartos en esta tierra, comenzaron a venir al bautismo y a buscar el reino de Dios, demandándole con lágrimas y suspiros y mucha importunación." Motolinía, *Historia*, trat. 1, cap. 4, 133-34; for the name 'Santa María' as the first and perhaps only religious message transmitted by the conquerors to their new allies and subjects, cf. Diego de Landa, OFM, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán: Con un apéndice en el cual se publican varios documentos importantes y cartas del autor*, with an Introduction by Ángel M^a Garibay K., 13th ed., Biblioteca Porrúa, no. 13 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1986), cap. 4, 10.

³³Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, séptima relación, 2: 186-87. Early in the "Séptima relación" the present year is given as 1629 (*ibid.*, 20-21).

³⁴"[C]on que abrió mucho los ojos a todos los indios y españoles para darse a la virtud y dejar el mal vivir, y a muchas mujeres erradas, para movidas de temor y compungidas, convertirse a Dios." Mendieta, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 34, 2: 361; and similarly in Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 39, 3: 472.

³⁵The text survives in a copy of 1678, without author's name attached, but the style suggests an earlier date, and the focus on the 'erring woman', described specifically as having rejected the sacrament of marriage, seems to guarantee the identification, though doubtless with some amount of later modification. See Fernando Horcasitas, *El teatro náhuatl: Épocas novohispana y moderna: Primera parte*, with a Prologue by Miguel León-Portilla, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de cultura náhuatl, Monografías, no. 17 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1974), 561-67, with the Nahuatl original and a Spanish translation at 568-93; there is also an English translation, by John J. Cornyn and Byron McAfee, in Marilyn Ekdahl Ravicz, *Early Colonial Religious Drama in Mexico: From Tzompantli to Golgotha* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), 143-56.

himself not only mentions two converts who have had terrifying visions of hell,³⁶ suggesting at the least an emotionally-charged familiarity with the subject among the friars' Indian flock,³⁷ but also describes in some detail a similarly edifying scene staged as part of the celebrations of the feast of Corpus Christi in Tlaxcala in 1539, a drama in which St Francis, preaching to the townspeople after taming the wolf of Gubbio, calls on the demons to carry off to hell assorted sinners who interrupt his sermon, after which the hell-mouth scenery (from which the actors have escaped by a hidden door) is set alight, to the accompaniment of their cries and wails, "which caused much horror and fright even to those who knew that no one was burnt."³⁸

While not quite as extreme as the practice of Motolinía's fellow Franciscan active in Michoacán, Luis Caldera, who is said to have burnt small animals alive in order to demonstrate the pains of hell,³⁹ these appeals to fear contrast with the approach of the Dominican catechisms of 1544 and 1548, where the initial description of hell, though vivid enough, is sandwiched between two equally sensory descriptions of heaven, and where the *ex professo* treatment of hell later on is more concerned with the correct differentiation of the two limbos, purgatory, and hell proper than with lengthy descriptions of torments,⁴⁰

³⁶Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 6, 244-45; and also in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 38, 265-66; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 16, 752-53; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 27, 2: 135-36; and Torquemada, lib. 17, cap. 17, 3: 248-49.

³⁷Cf. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 52-57, on depictions of hell and its regions in several Nahuatl missionary texts.

³⁸"Lo cual ponía mucha grima y espanto aun a los que sabían que nadie se quemaba." Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 15, 214-15, quoted at 215.

³⁹Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest*, 104.

⁴⁰*Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 30, fol. cxix v - cxxij v; Córdoba, *Doctrina*, d j r - d j v. The explicit threat of hell is occasionally also brandished in the condemnation of sins the friars find particularly monstrous, such as the sin 'against nature' (where the Flood and the destruction of the Cities of the Plain are also brought in to witness God's disgust) and the eating of human flesh, with

and with the similar, relatively balanced approach to the *novissimi* suggested by other evidence of Dominican practice, more or less in line with the instructions Domingo de Betanzos is said to have given to the friars sent out among the Indians after his election as provincial in 1535:

to teach them in one manner, grounding them very well in the basics [*apoyandolos muy bien en los principios*] of our faith, and giving them to understand how there was one God alone, maker of all creation, so that they might forget the imaginings of paganism and relics of their idolatry, and that this God was triune in persons, and the Second (who was the Son), had given His life on the Cross for men, and that those who took advantage of His Gospel would enjoy eternal benefits, and those who did not put it into practice, would be tormented forever in hell ... so that not only should they recite them from memory [*por el hilo de la memoria*], but rather should have them fixed in the will, loving so good a God, Who having created them, had redeemed them, and would judge them.⁴¹

Gonzalo Luzero, for example, with Betanzos one of the three founding members of the province, is reported to have traveled with a set of painted canvases, one each showing heaven and hell, both with Indians included among their inhabitants, and a third, displayed between the other two, showing two boats upon the ocean of life, one headed for heaven and containing Indians engaged in various pious practices, and the other containing Indians engaged in various sinful activities and headed for hell. Exhibiting these pictures to attract interest and then explaining them himself, having already established the sovereignty of the One Creator with the help of an astronomical sphere displaying His Creation, he left his audience, according to the chronicler, “with so much eagerness for glory as abhorrence for

an appropriate specification of punishment to fit the crime, but again, the subject is not dwelt upon: *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 19, fol. lxxxv v - lxxxvj r, and sermon 28, fol. cxvj r; Córdoba, *Doctrina*, c iij r and c viij v.

⁴¹“A toda esta variedad de naciones mandaua el santo Prouincial, que enseñassen nuestros frayles de vna manera: apoyandolos muy bien en los principios de nuestra Fe, y dandoles à entender, como auia vn solo Dios hazedor de todo lo criado, para que oluidassen las imaginaciones de la gentilidad, y reliquias de su idolatria: y que este Dios era trino en personas, y la segunda (que fue el Hijo) auia dado la vida en Cruz por los hombres: y que los que de su Euangelio se aprouechassen, gozarian bienes eternos, y los que no le obrassen, serian atormentados para siempre en el infierno. ... para que no solamente las recitassen por el hilo de la memoria, sino que las tuuiesen assentadas en la voluntad amando à vn Dios tan bueno, que auendolos criado, los auia redemido, y los auia de juzgar.” Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 21, 65.

hell,” thus laying a firm foundation, very much in the spirit of the catechisms of 1544 and 1548, on which to preach in a series of further sermons the path by which heaven is obtained, faith in Christ and observance of the commandments, backed by an awareness of God’s ever-watchful eye.⁴² Admittedly, it may or may not have been the sons of St Dominic who inspired the anonymous author, far too shaky in his grasp of sacred history to be a friar or writing under direct clerical supervision, of a sixteenth-century Nahuatl account of the conversion of St Paul to make the saint’s conversion experience a visit to heaven and hell, after which he destroys his idols and believes - just as the text’s ‘we’ have done - but precisely the misapplication of the heaven-hell pairing testifies both to its use and to its potential effectiveness.⁴³

The Augustinian Antonio de Roa’s practice in the Sierras de Molango of impressing on the Indians the horrors of sin by exemplifying both the Passion and the torments of hell in his own flesh,⁴⁴ on the other hand, though in its extreme form a manifestation of his individual heroic sanctity (as judged by the chroniclers of the order), fits into a broader pattern of what might be called ‘shamanic’ activities by the Augustinians, or at least into a significantly greater interest in such activities by Augustinian chroniclers than by those of

⁴² “[C]on tantas ganas de la gloria, como aborrecimiento del infierno.” *Ibid.*, cap. 81, 256-58, quoted at 258. Luzero preached both among the Nahuas and in the Mixteca, and Dávila Padilla does not specify one or the other here.

⁴³ “La conversión de san Pablo,” in *Horcasitas*, 449-54. Though Paul refers in 2 Corinthians 12: 2-4 to a man, traditionally considered to be himself, taken up in a vision ‘to the third heaven’, his experience on the road to Damascus is the appearance of the risen Christ (Acts 9: 3-7 and 1 Corinthians 15: 8).

⁴⁴ Osorio de San Román, pt. 2, tratado 4, *svmma de la vida del benditissimo padre fray Antonio de Roa*, fol. 432v-433r and 435r; the same account in Marieta, pt. 4, lib. 18, cap. 21, fol. 71r-71v, and cap. 22, fol. 72r; and a somewhat different one in Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 2, cap. 21, 221-22, and cap. 23, 229-30.

the other two orders.⁴⁵ Early in his career in the Sierras de Molango Roa not only promised rain when needed,⁴⁶ for example, an activity in which he had good company in other orders as well as his own, but also engaged in a public contest with the demon resident in the chief 'idol' of the area, forcing him to speak and to reveal his deceits.⁴⁷ No less dramatically, and even more clearly manifesting a model of supernatural power more oriented to the cursing of the barren fig tree (Matthew 21: 18-19; Mark 11: 12-14) than to the Beatitudes, Agustín de Coruña, praying to heaven for help upon realizing that the Indians of a town in the region of Tlapa given the patronage of St Augustine were celebrating the feastday with the songs and dances of their old gods, rather than with the ones he had composed for them, had his prayers answered with the instantaneous death of the 'cacique' who was leading the dance.⁴⁸

When the Augustinian chronicler Grijalva offers a description of the friars' early preaching, however, his emphasis is on the force of truth, counterposed to both barbarous unreason and the sophistry of the devils, with whom in Grijalva's chronicle the unconverted inhabitants of New Spain commonly converse. Writing several generations after the event, unlike Motolinía, Grijalva shares with Motolinía a portrayal of the common people as much more receptive than their betters to the first preaching of the Augustinians in Chilapa, but Motolinía's seeking of the kingdom of God or of salvation is little in evidence.

⁴⁵For the use of the term 'shamanic' in this context, see above, 32. Though questionable in some of its connotations, it provides a useful shorthand identification for a certain, recognizable type of ascetic and wonderworker familiar in both Christian and non-Christian traditions.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, lib. 1, cap. 23, 92.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, cap. 22, 90.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, cap. 14, 61.

The principals, as until then they were in communication with the demon and spoke to him familiarly, not only did not want to hear that new doctrine, but rather reprehended it, and insulted the plebians because they approached [the friars]; they tagged them as inconstant, light-minded [*fácil*], and novelty-seeking people, since they so easily [*fácilmente*] wanted to leave the cult and adoration of their gods, revered by their fathers and elders [*mayores*] for so many centuries. They laughed at their ignorance, since they gave credit to so many ravings, as they called the doctrines which were new to them: a marvellous thing, that believing these poor Indians in their gods so blindly [*a ciegas*] that they had no more motive for it than the example of their elders [*mayores*], and being so credulous [*fáciles*] in believing their omens and their own dreams, here reason grew bold in such manner that they accused the plebians of being light-minded [*fáciles*] and the doctrine of being false, those who had [reason] in no thing of nature asking the reason of such high things. The servants of Our Lord continued with their sermons, and the Indians heard them, even seeing themselves disdained by their betters [*mayores*], a thing on which the crowd often stumbles [*en que topa mucho el vulgo*], and these poor ones more than other people, because they have resistance in nothing. But here they followed after the doctrine drawn by the force of truth, which naturally has a seat in our spirits [*ánimos*], even before knowing its beauty, and even for truths so superior as those of the faith: they do not have proportion to nature, [yet] still they find a seat in the capacity of the most barbarous and most uncultured of men.⁴⁹

When the notables do begin to come round, what attracts them is not any particular doctrinal message, but the friars' personal virtue and the fact that the demons have ceased to speak since the friars began saying mass in the region, a silence which, again according to the chronicler, the Indians interpret as a sign of respect.⁵⁰

⁴⁹“[L]os principales como hasta allí comunicaban al demonio, y le hablasen familiarmente, no sólo no querían oír aquella nueva doctrina, sino que reprehendían, y baldonaban a los plebeyos porque se les llegaban: notábanlos de gente inconstante, fácil y novelera, pues tan fácilmente querían dejar el culto, y adoración de sus dioses, reverenciados de sus padres y mayores, por tantos siglos, reíanse de su ignorancia pues daban crédito a tantos desvaríos, que así llamaban a las doctrinas, que para ellos eran nuevas: cosa maravillosa, que creyendo estos pobres indios en sus dioses tan a ciegas, que para ello no tenían más motivo que el ejemplo de sus mayores, y siendo tan fáciles en creer sus agüeros, y sus propios sueños, aquí se envalentaba la razón de manera, que a los plebeyos acusaban de fáciles y a la doctrina de falsa, pidiendo razón de cosas tan altas los que no la tenían en cosa ninguna de la naturaleza. Proseguían los siervos de Nuestro Señor, con sus sermones, y oíanlos los indios aun viéndose despreciados de sus mayores, cosa en que topa mucho el vulgo, y estos pobres más que otra gente, porque en nada tienen resistencia. Pero aquí íbanse tras la doctrina llevados de la fuerza de la verdad, que naturalmente tiene asiento en nuestros ánimos, aún antes de conocer su hermosura, y aun para verdades tan superiores como las de la fe, no tienen proporción la naturaleza, todavía hallan asiento en la capacidad de los más bárbaros, y más incultos de los hombres.” Ibid., cap. 8, 40.

⁵⁰Ibid., 42.

Whatever the range of themes of initial catechesis may have been, however, it was not the initial approach to proselytization but the overall extent of prebaptismal catechesis and baptismal ceremonies which became points of explicit conflict. Even if these baptisms were somewhat more individual and voluntary than the mass dunking of the newly-converted king's subjects in the nearest convenient river practised by some missionaries to Northern and Eastern Europe, they still represented a major strain on the still-tiny clerical personnel of the colony, and the resulting controversy once more pitted the Franciscans, defenders of the minimalist position on both counts, against all comers, now including a relatively unified bishops' bench starting to develop a sense of its own prerogatives.⁵¹ Even the papal decision of 1537, in the bull *Altitudo divini consilii* - less well known today than its companion encyclical *Sublimis Deus*, but of greater practical importance at the time⁵² - did not really resolve the problem, ultimately defanged only when it was rendered moot by the end of the flood of adult baptismal candidates.

The year before *Sublimis Deus*'s proclamation of the Indians' essential humanity and capacity for salvation, on the other hand, the Franciscans, with the viceroy and the bishop, also inaugurated colonial Mexico's most striking experiment in Indian education,

⁵¹Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 3-4, 227-36; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 14, 734-41; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 32, 1: 412; cap. 36-39, 1: 424-38; Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 1, 3: 139-40; cap. 7-12, 3: 152-66; Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 10, 49-50; cap. 25-26, 100-103; Parish and Weidman, 24-27; app. 2, 263-65; app. 10, 295-97; app. 16-18, 319-28; Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, OFM, *Epistolario (1526 - 1555)*, facsimile ed., collected and transcribed by Javier O. Aragón, ed. Lino Gómez Canedo, OFM (Mexico City: Penta, 1986), no. 13, 162 and 272; García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan*, 1: 134-42; doc. 32, 3: 110-11; doc. 37, 3: 152-54, 160-65; app. doc. 12, 4: 144-46; Juan Bautista, OFM, *Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales* (Mexico City: En el conuento de Santiago Tlatilulco, por M. Ocharte, 1600), pt. 2, indvltá, s.v. Baptizare, no. 51, fol. 229r-230r.

⁵²For a detailed description of the circumstances surrounding these decrees, see Parish and Weidman, 15-21 and 38-45; app. 5-7, 272-77; and the texts at app. 12-15, 303-15; the text of *Altitudo divini consilii* can also be found in Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 9, 3: 157-58, and *America pontificia primi saeculi*, no. 83, 361-64. A preamble beginning *Sublimis Deus* was added to the text beginning *Veritas ipsa* at the last minute, and though the longer version is the official one, it seems to have been *Veritas ipsa* which circulated in the Indies: see Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 30, 91-92; Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 25, 3: 198; and *America pontificia primi saeculi*, no. 84, 364-66.

the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, on the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1536.⁵³ Teaching Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, and at least some Scripture and theology to the most promising graduates of the convent schools, in a quasi-monastic regimen, it seems to have been intended at first as a nursery for vocations, but after an early experience or two with candidates who *tendunt ad nuptias potius quam ad continentiam*, as Zumárraga put it, switching from Spanish to Latin to hint at scandal,⁵⁴ a reassertion of the traditional Franciscan distaste for institutional administration combined with generalized Spanish hostility and, no doubt, the friars' own prejudices to set the college on the road to decline. Sahagún, one of the early instructors, did what he could to revive it after 1569, when it returned to Franciscan administration after having been turned over to an indigenous rector and councillors in 1547, but by the early seventeenth century it was little more than a primary school for the district.

Valued collaborators of Sahagún, of the prolific Franciscan author of the turn of the seventeenth century Juan Bautista, and of the early-seventeenth-century Augustinian Juan de Mijangos, the *colegiales trilingües* of Santa Cruz, fluent in Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin,

⁵³See García Icazbalceta, Don fray Juan, 1: 286-301; and doc. no. 32, 3: 105-6 and 116-21; no. 33, 3: 129-36; no. 39, 3: 204; no. 64, 4: 73 and 76; app. no. 9, 4: 121; no. 10, 4: 127; and no. 16, 4: 167; Cartas de Indias, no. 35, 169-73; Epistolario de Nueva España, ed. Paso y Troncoso, no. 141, 3: 118; Motolinía, Historia, tratado 3, cap. 7, 319; cap. 12, 355-56; idem, Memoriales, no. 47, 300; no. 53, 342-43; Zorita, pt. 1, cap. 12, 228; cap. 23, 290-91; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 14-15, 2: 76-82; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 23, 2: 326-27; cap. 41, 2: 381; cap. 49, 2: 413; Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 43, 3: 113-15; lib. 17, cap. 3, 3: 214; lib. 20, cap. 26, 3: 442; cap. 46, 3: 487; cap. 60, 2: 525; Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499 - 1590), Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, no. 40, Publicaciones, no. 142, Historiadores de América, no. 9 (Mexico City: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1952), 30-37, 82-86, and 125-28; Códice franciscano, 70-73; Códice Mendieta: Documentos franciscanos: Siglos XVI y XVII, Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, vols. 4-5 (Mexico City: Imprenta de Francisco Díaz de León, 1892), no. 33, 1: 176-81; "Códice de Tlatelolco," *ibid.*, 2: 241-71; Juan Bautista, OFM, "Prólogo [al Sermonario]," in García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, 474-78, at 474-76; Sahagún, Historia general, lib. 2, prólogo, 108-9, and lib. 10, cap. 27, par. 6-9, 822-26.

⁵⁴Juan de Zumárraga, OFM, "Carta de don fray Juan de Zumárraga al emperador (México, 17 de abril de 1540)," in García Icazbalceta, Don fray Juan, doc. no. 39, 3: 187-206, at 204.

also found rank and position in the government of their home communities, as did their fellow graduates of the local convent schools. Yet neither fully part of the Spanish world nor fully part of the indigenous one from which they had been separated during their formative years, but within which they claimed authority by right of inheritance,⁵⁵ they were betwixt and between. Some were unquestionably deep believers in the new faith, but it is hardly to be wondered at, to a modern eye, if some also found temptation or inspiration in those researches into the prehispanic past which Sahagún, Bautista, Mijangos, and some of their fellows themselves encouraged. For Sahagún, especially, whose life was so entwined with Santa Cruz and who worked day in and day out for years on end with the Nahua *colegiales*, not only as a teacher but in the preparation of his great *Historia general*, it is in this context that his works must be seen, with their disconcerting combination of obvious dedication to the study of the prehispanic past and violent rejection of any hint of surviving idolatry, seeing demonic conspiracies in every shadow. Arriving in Mexico around the age of thirty in 1529, when the surviving courts of the native lords still offered a show of past glories, and watching both that world and the idealism of his early brethren fade and die over six decades until his death in 1590,⁵⁶ he himself took on the

⁵⁵Richard C. Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes: Christianization by Children in 16th Century New Spain," in idem, *Church and Community*, 549-73, makes an interesting psychological argument for deep-seated resentment of the fathers who seemingly abandoned them as children to the friars' care, even as the friars' new demands of monogamy threatened both the sons' familial status and that of their mothers, polygamous wives and concubines.

⁵⁶The standard biography remains Nicolau d'Olwer. See also García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 105(92), 327-76; Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, "Las primeras biografías de Bernardino de Sahagún," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 22 (1992): 235-52; *Cartas de Indias*, no. 21, 121-22; Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, séptima relación, 2: 264-65; "Informe biográfico y lingüístico del p. Jerónimo de Mendieta, OFM, sobre los 238 franciscanos pertenecientes a la provincia del Santo Evangelio, de Méjico," in Castro y Castro, app. 1, 557-68, at 558, no. 9; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 15, 2: 79 and 82; cap. 44, 2: 238; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 41, 2: 380-82; *Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzcoco*, Publicaciones de la Comisión reorganizadora del Archivo General y Público de la Nación, no. 1, Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico City: Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, 1910; facsimile reprint, *Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzcoco don Carlos Ometochtzin (Chichimecatecotl): Edición facsimilar de la de 1910*, Biblioteca enciclopédica del estado de México, ed. Mario Colín, no. 91, Mexico City: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1980), no. 1, 1-3; no. 26, 55-61; and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 43, 3:

psychological ambiguity of his Nahuatl peers and colleagues, all too well able to feel the attraction of what another part of his conscience told him could only be the devil's work.⁵⁷

Pedro de Gante, on the other hand, devoted his life to elementary education and training in arts and crafts, not in heavily indigenous Tlatelolco, site of the last resistance to Cortés as it had been a center of opposition to the Aztec emperors before, but at San José de los Naturales in Tenochtitlan, the other half of the old capital's dual polity, where the Spaniards were in the process of tearing down what remained of the Aztec ceremonial center to replace it with their own. One of the three Flemings who arrived in 1523, Gante, like Sahagún, never returned to Europe in the remainder of a long life, dying in 1572 at over ninety years of age; unlike the prickly and controversial Sahagún, frequently at the mercy of policy shifts in the order and perhaps not innocent of its infighting himself,⁵⁸ Gante, an illegitimate kinsman of Charles V, appears to have charted his path with little effective obstacle or interference from anyone, refusing the miter of Mexico City and all urgings and dispensations to be ordained to the priesthood while wielding sufficient influence among both Spaniards and Indians to provoke from archbishop Alonso de Montúfar the outburst that the real archbishop was this lay brother of St Francis.⁵⁹ Of no

114-15; lib. 19, cap. 33, 3: 387; lib. 20, cap. 46, 3: 486-88.

⁵⁷So, too, it might be noted, it was the member of the Franciscan mission in Yucatán most interested (as far as is known) in Mayan antiquities, Diego de Landa, who led the bloody reaction that magnified a chance discovery of 'idols' into a vast conspiracy.

⁵⁸For the clearest example of Sahagún's direct protagonism - still a very obscure affair - see Georges Baudot, "Los últimos años de fray Bernardino de Sahagún o la esperanza inaplazable: Documentos inéditos," in Baudot, *La pugna franciscana*, 243-65, especially 243-56, and cf. Nicolau d'Oliver, 126-30.

⁵⁹On Gante and his reputation, see *Cantares mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*, ed. and trans. John Bierhorst (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), no. 61, *pilcuicatl ahnoço piltoncuicatl*, 286-97 (but on Bierhorst's translation and interpretation, see Miguel León-Portilla, "¿Una nueva interpretación de los cantares mexicanos? La obra de John Bierhorst," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 18 (1986): 385-400, and James Lockhart, "Care, Ingenuity, and Irresponsibility: The Bierhorst Edition of the *Cantares mexicanos*," in idem, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology*, Nahuatl Studies Series, ed. James Lockhart, no. 3, UCLA Latin American Studies, vol. 76 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles,

great intellectual ambitions, but full of an affective and liturgically-oriented piety which would have been at home in the late Burgundian court, Gante's *Doctrina* seems to be addressed to the ideal average student of the friars' elementary schools: literate, no doubt a good householder and upstanding citizen, with enough piety and enough leisure to keep up some of the devotions learned in his youth, but oblivious to either positive or negative survivals or recuperations of the pagan past.

While Zumárraga avoided the business of diocesan administration whenever possible, and often seems to express the policy opinions of the last person who had his ear, Montúfar, another superannuated Dominican like Garcés but one with a much stronger personality, brought a firmer hand to what was now the archdiocese of Mexico City, raised

1991), 141-57). Cartas de Indias, no. 8, 51-53, and no. 18, 92-102. Chimalpahin, Las ocho relaciones, séptima relación, 2: 240-41. Códice franciscano, 197-98 and 220-34. Códice Mendieta, no. 33, 1: 177. Descripción del arzobispado de México hecha en 1570 y otros documentos (Mexico City: José Joaquín Terrazas e Hijos, 1897), 65, 227, and 287. García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 20(19), 90-104. Idem, Don fray Juan, doc. 17, 2: 300-308, and doc. 58, 3: 295-329, at 322 and 325-28. Garibay K., 2: 331. "Informe biográfico y lingüístico del p. Jerónimo de Mendieta, OFM, sobre los 238 franciscanos pertenecientes a la provincia del Santo Evangelio, de Méjico," in Castro y Castro, app. 1, 557-68, at 566, no. 182. Miguel León-Portilla, Los franciscanos vistos por el hombre náhuatl: Testimonios indígenas del siglo XVI, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de cultura náhuatl, Monografías, no. 21 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985), 58-59. Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 4, 1: 319; cap. 56, 1: 503; lib. 4, cap. 13-15, 2: 70-78; cap. 44, 2: 237; lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 18, 2: 310-13; cap. 30, 2: 348. Andrés de Moguer, OP, "Carta de fray Andrés de Moguer al consejo de Indias quejándose de los religiosos de la orden de San Francisco," in Diego Roperio Regidor, "El p. Andrés de Moguer, OP., evangelizador en México," in Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo, 231-53, no. 2, 247-48, at 248, and in Cartas de Indias, no. 22, 123-24, at 124. Alonso de Montúfar, OP, "Au roi Philippe II (Mexico, 20 juin 1558)," in Robert Ricard, "Quatre lettres de fr. Alonso de Montúfar, second archevêque de Mexico," in idem, Études et documents pour l'histoire missionnaire de l'Espagne et du Portugal, Collection de la Section scientifique de l'Aucam, no. 1 (Louvain: A.U.C.A.M.; E. Desbarax; Paris: J. M. Peigues, successeur de A. Giraudon, [1930]), 66-118, no. 2, 92-102, at 94-96, and, "Au roi Philippe II (Mexico, 30 avril 1562)," *ibidem*, no. 4, 112-15. Francisco Morales, OFM, "Los franciscanos y el primer arte para la lengua náhuatl: Un nuevo testimonio," Estudios de cultura náhuatl 23 (1993): 53-81, at 78. Motolinía, Historia, tratado 3, cap. 1, 276-77. Muñoz Camargo, 172. Torquemada, lib. 2, cap. 88, 1: 229; lib. 5, cap. 21, 1: 638-40; lib. 15, cap. 2, 3: 5; cap. 43, 3: 113; lib. 17, cap. 2-3, 3: 211-14; lib. 19, cap. 33, 3: 386; lib. 20, cap. 19-20, 3: 426-32; cap. 33, 3: 456. Diego Valadés, OFM, Rhetorica christiana ad concionandi, et orandi vsvm accommodata, vtrivsqve facvltais exemplis svo loco insertis, qvae qvidem, ex Indorvm maxime deprompta svnt historiis vnde praeter doctrinam, svmmam qvoqve delectatio comparabitvr (Perugia: Apud Petrumiacobum Petrutium, 1579; facsimile reprint, Retórica cristiana, trans. Tarsicio Herrera Zapién, with an Introduction by Esteban J. Palomera, a Notice by Alfonso Castro Pallares, and a Preamble by Tarsicio Herrera Zapién, Biblioteca americana, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), pt. 4, cap. 23, 207, [210], and 222. Zulaica Gárate, 63-66.

to that rank just before Zumárraga's death. Born and raised in Granada, and recommended to the king by the marquises of Mondéjar, the most important lords and quasi-hereditary captains-general of that kingdom, Montúfar had the conqueror's impatience with the friars, while lacking that familiarity with the conquered which the cultured Mendoza clan had turned to their advantage under the Catholic Monarchs and the emperor. At least in the strange land to which he was sent at an advanced age, perhaps already suffering from the mental deterioration that would leave affairs for all practical purposes in the hands of his vicar and Dominican companion, Bartolomé de Ledesma, after 1560, the elderly archbishop had little tolerance for any divergence from the episcopal model he knew from the peninsula: if Zumárraga was Charles V's bishop, Montúfar, despite his age, was Philip II's. Practically his first act was the summoning of the First Mexican Council of 1555, and by the time it met he was already deep in conflict with the friars about the tithe. Strictly speaking, the issue was whether tithes should be collected from the Indians on all that they raised, as with the Spaniards, or only on products of European origin, the *tres cosas* of wheat, cattle, and silk, as had previously been the custom; the real question, however, was whether the Indian parishes, or *doctrinas* as they were called to distinguish them from parishes for the Spanish-speaking, would be transferred to a growing secular clergy, supported by the tithe, or remain in the hands of the mendicants, who certainly did not rely only on perfectly voluntary alms from their congregations, but who claimed to be able to live more cheaply than their secular counterparts, and who undoubtedly did have a point in assuming that the portion of Indian community funds which currently went for their upkeep would not find its way back to the average poor taxpayer if the tithe was added to it.⁶⁰ The

⁶⁰Technically, Indians paid 'tribute' (*tributo*), not 'tax' (*pecho*), but the general mechanism would have been familiar to many early modern peasants. Each household owed the same fixed contribution, with widows and other single adults counting as half-households, but the unit of collection was actually the village or town, expected to produce a global sum based on the number of households it was supposed to contain according to the official (not necessarily recent or accurate) count. The actual method of raising the money, often including communal fields and herds instead of or in addition to various kinds of direct levies,

mendicants accused the seculars of greed, ignorance, and lust, characterizing them as either peninsulars without knowledge of the local language, come to make a fortune and go home, or undisciplined creole youths, brought up 'at the breast of Indian nurses' and trailing hordes of hungry relatives and friends; the seculars accused the mendicants of equal ignorance of both languages and doctrine, and of trying to monopolize huge tracts with scarcely a fraction of the necessary personnel. The Indians, it goes without saying, cut no handsome figure in either side's polemics: according to the friars, they were too 'new in the faith' to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the tithe and the mendicants' traditional insistence on the disinterestedness of their preaching, as well as too naive and too meek not to be so many sheep for the fleecing of unscrupulous tithe-collectors; according to the diocesan clergy, they were scarcely baptized, let alone properly instructed or supervised, seeing a visiting friar once every few weeks, months, or years.⁶¹

The Council of Trent's affirmation of the episcopate set off a brief new flurry of activity in defense of the mendicants' missionary privileges, more successful than their ongoing, losing battle over parish financing, but most historians have followed Ricard in placing the end of the friars' 'golden age' in 1571-72, with the arrival of the Jesuits, the

was up to the local officials, who were also personally responsible for making up shortfalls. Friars are frequently to be found intervening on behalf of local officials in trouble for tribute arrears and appealing for recounts of villages assessed at numbers of households which their shrunken populations can no longer support; they are also frequently accused by their enemies of exercising undue influence on the disbursement of those funds collected for community use over and above the tribute owed to king or encomendero.

⁶¹On the tithe, see Georges Baudot, "La institución del diezmo para los indígenas de México: Notas y documentos," trans. Víctor Velarde G, in Baudot, *La pugna franciscana*, 59-124; *Cartas de Indias*, no. 25, 132-34, and no. 27-30, 138-51; *Códice Mendieta*, no. 1, 1: 1-18; *Descripción del arzobispado*, appendix, 421-48 and 450; Motolinía, *Epistolario*, no. 8-9, 121-41 and 239-59; no. 12, 151-56 and 265-68; and no. 14, 179-88 and 283-87; "Carta de fr. Francisco de Bustamante," *ibid.*, app. 1, 189-200 and 289-304; Ricard, "Quatre lettres"; and for a broader view of the archbishop's character, see also Dávila Padilla, *lib. 2*, cap. 47, 510-12, and *Información*.

establishment of the Inquisition,⁶² and the promotion of the first head of that tribunal,

⁶²The Indians, as neophytes, were exempted from the Inquisition's jurisdiction, though they remained subject to that of the episcopal ordinary: see Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain: A Study in Jurisdictional Confusion," *Americas* 22, no. 2 (October 1965): 138-66; idem, *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "New Spain's Inquisition for Indians from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Cultural Encounters*, ed. Perry and Cruz, 23-36; idem, "La inquisición para indios en la Nueva España (siglos XVI a XIX)," in *Evangelización y teología*, ed. Saranyana et al., 1471-84; Robert E. Greenleaf, "Historiography of the Mexican Inquisition: Evolution of Interpretations and Methodologies," in *Cultural Encounters*, ed. Perry and Cruz, 248-76; Jorge E. Traslosheros, "El tribunal eclesiástico y los indios en el arzobispado de México, hasta 1630," *Historia mexicana* 51, no. 203 (January - March 2002): 485-516; and *Procesos de indios idolatras y hechiceros*, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, ed. Luis González Obregón, no. 3, Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico City: Tip. Guerrero Hnos., 1912); and on the most notorious case of prosecution of an Indian for apostasy, the 1539 execution of the convent-educated don Carlos Ometochtzin, a Texcocan noble, see *Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzco*; García Icazbalceta, *Don fray Juan*, 1: 201-8, and app., no. 18-19, 4: 170-73; Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, séptima relación, 2: 198-99; and Juan Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias (Noticias históricas de la Nueva España)*, ed. Teresa Silva Tena, Cien de México (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1990), cap. 42, 237-39. News of the affair won Zumárraga a sharp reprimand from the crown, and whether out of compassion for the 'neophytes' or political calculation of the possible consequences of executing members of the local nobility, it was that reprimand, not the prosecution, which set the tone for royal policy in this area henceforth. (A close reading of the 'proceso', incidentally, gives some support to Carlos's contention in his own defense that some of the most damning charges against him were fabricated by his enemies in a local succession dispute, though it is also clear that he was no model of Christian monogamy in his personal life.)

The Inquisition's best-known intervention into Indian evangelization was its investigation, in 1576 and after, into the circulation of vernacular translations of Scripture: the local tribunal seems to have been sympathetic to the friars' plea that translations of the mass pericopes, at a minimum, were indispensable for preaching, but the Suprema was less prepared to compromise, and it is unclear what finally came of the matter. Several Nahuatl Epistle-and-Evangel manuscripts survive, and as late as the 1590s the Carthusian Esteban de Salazar, formerly an Augustinian in Mexico, had no qualms about recommending to a peninsular lay audience the reading of "algun libro de los que andan de Epistolas, y Euangelios," as preparation for mass: Salazar, *Segvnda parte de los discvrsos y doctrina christiana, en que se declaran los diez mandamientos de la ley de Dios: Con vna breue preparacion, para la celebracion del sacrosancto mysterio de la missa, la qual principalmente conuiene a los religiosos, y dexadas algunas cosas, que van señaladas a la margen con vna estrella, puede servir a todos los fieles christianos para la sancta communion* (Salamanca: En casa de Juan Fernandez, 1597), discourse 4, cap. 1, § 3, 151. For the Inquisition affair, see *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, ed. Francisco Fernández del Castillo, 2d ed., Sección de obras de historia (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), no. 3.29, 36-37; no. 7, 81-85; no. 12, 249-50; no. 15.1, 319; app. 15, 488, 489, and 490; app. 26, 514; app. 28, 516; and app. 30, 518; Georges Baudot, "Fray Rodrigo Sequera, abogado del diablo para una historia prohibida," trans. Víctor Valverde G., in Baudot, *La pugna franciscana*, 203-42, at 211-15 and app. 2, 240-42; Nicolau d'Olwer, 103-7; and Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 44, 2: 239 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 19, cap. 33, 3: 387); and it might also be noted that an owner of Mijangos's published sermon collection would have found a full retelling of the day's Gospel at the opening of each sermon, following the Ave Maria.

The Inquisition as an institution goes practically unmentioned in the Nahuatl pastoral texts I have seen, with Olmos's witchcraft manual as the exception which proves the rule: Andrés de Olmos, OFM, *Tratado de hechicerias y sortilegios*, ed. and trans. Georges Baudot, *Études mésoaméricaines*, ser. 2, no. 1

Pedro Moya de Contreras, to archbishop of Mexico City, becoming the first member of the secular clergy to hold that post.⁶³ Previously maestrescuela and episcopal provisor in the Canaries, among other posts in the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, Moya de Contreras ended his days as president of the Council of the Indies, contributing to another lengthy vacancy of the Mexican see after providing its first examples of those staples of divide-and-rule Spanish colonial administration, the archbishop-visitor and the archbishop-interim viceroy, but his most lasting achievement was the Third Mexican Council of 1585, the last for two centuries, and theoretically binding, since the decrees of the Fourth Council never received papal approval, until the late nineteenth century.⁶⁴

From the perspective of Indian evangelization, the most striking thing about this council is how little it in fact addresses an Indian Church. 'Progressive' on questions of Indian labor and the Chichimec wars, the council fathers also puzzled Rome with their strictures against an indigenous clergy, but most of the pastoral canons and documents, with their reading lists and examination schedules for the better education of parish priests and confessors, could have come from any European diocese.⁶⁵ The project of a uniform catechism to be translated into all the appropriate languages, on the agenda of every

(Mexico City: Mission Archéologique et Ethnologique Française au Mexique, 1979), exortación al indiano lector, 36-38.

⁶³On Moya de Contreras see Stafford Poole, CM, Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain: 1571 - 1591 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1987).

⁶⁴The Second Mexican Council met in 1565 to receive the decrees of Trent. For a summary of the Mexican councils before 1900, with attention to the roles played by the bureaucracies of Madrid and Rome, see Willi Henkel, Die Konzilien in Lateinamerika: Teil I: Mexiko 1555 - 1897, with an Introduction by Horst Pietschmann, Konziliengeschichte, ed. Walter Brandmüller, Reihe A, Darstellungen (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1984). On the Third Council in particular, see also Poole, Pedro Moya de Contreras, 127-201; Martínez Ferrer, Directorio; and Bernabé Navarro, "La Iglesia y los indios en el Tercer Concilio Mexicano (1585): Ensayo crítico," in idem, Filosofía y cultura novohispanas, ed. Mauricio Beuchot, Instituto de Investigaciones Filosóficas, Colección Historia de la filosofía (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 115-67.

⁶⁵Some, of course, did, in the grand tradition of conciliar and synodal copying.

episcopal gathering since Zumárraga's day, was canvassed once more, but unlike the Third Council of Lima a few years earlier, whose trilingual (Spanish - Quechua - Aymara) graded catechism and sermon collection would dominate the field for the remainder of the colonial period, the Mexican council's project went nowhere once again.⁶⁶

If the impact of the council on Indian evangelization was more symbolic than real, however, the regularization and routinization which it represented were more than diocesan wishful thinking. Increasingly dominated by New World professions and within that category by creoles,⁶⁷ and without fresh mission fields among the settled peoples of central Mexico, those friars who did not strike out for the northern frontier kept up the fight against episcopal supervision of the friars in the *doctrinas* and against their transfer to the diocesan clergy, but for all the occasional drama of this oft-repeated dance, as the three provincials, temporarily united against the common foe, would counter some particularly egregious move by bishop or crown with the threat to abandon the *doctrinas* entirely,⁶⁸ this constant, low-level war of attrition was no longer accompanied by any serious discussion

⁶⁶A brief catechism in questions and answers, drawing on the corresponding Liman texts, was drawn up in Latin by the Jesuit Juan de la Plaza, and made it as far as Rome, but it was never printed, and if anything else was ever written, it is lost. The brief catechism can be found in Juan de la Plaza, SI, "Doctrina christiana mexicana," facsimile ed., ed. Luis Resines, in Resines, *Catecismos*, 627-723.

⁶⁷See for the Augustinians Rubial García, *El convento*, 14 and 24, and cf. the Dominican discriminatory measures mentioned by Pita Moreda, 58 and n. 68, and the different but still wary approach taken by the general chapter, as collected in *Provisiones pro bono regimine provinciarvm Indiarvm Occidentalivm ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum factae in capitulis generalibus, & de mandato r^{mi} p. f. Seraphini Sicci papiensis eiusdem ordinis generalis magistri simul collectae, & in prouincijs Hispaniarum publicatae, atque ad easdem Indiarum prouincias transmissae anno 1619: Cum praecepto vt omnes, tam superiores, quam caeteri eius curae subiecti, ad quos huiusmodi prouisiones pertinent, eas executioni mandent sub paenis & censuris in eisdem contentis* (Seville: Excudebat Franciscus de Lira, 1619), fol. 2r, and reprinted in Mexico in *Acta capitvli generalis: Vlyssiponae in conventv, S. Dominici ordinis Praedicatorum celebrati: In festo s. Pentecostes 3. Iuni j anno Domini M.DC.XVIII: Sub r^{mo} patre fratre Seraphino Sicco papiense, sacrae theologiae professore, magistro generali totius ordinis Praedicatorum* (Mexico City: Apud bachalaurum Ioannem de Alcaçar, 1619), fol. 12r-12v.

⁶⁸See Assadourian, 520-22, and for other examples *Cartas de Indias*, no. 28-29, 141-46 (also in Ruiz Zavala, 1: 159-62), and Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 4, cap. 10, 388-95.

of pastoral methods that can now be traced, whether between orders and bishops or within or among them. The Dominicans and Augustinians gave up their earlier sole reliance on alms, Indian contributions, and crown support in favor of the acquisition of endowed property, bowing to reality in the form of an Indian population approaching its nadir,⁶⁹ and the Franciscans, who clung to their ideal of poverty, may well have preserved it at the price of their famously close relationship with the Indian poor,⁷⁰ asked to support an increasing number of friars as their own resources dwindled.⁷¹ Two, three, or at most four friars continued to staff most houses in Indian areas, but in the Spanish cities the convents were swelling beyond all proportion, with novices, students, and the elderly, but also with friars whose chief occupation was the conventual round⁷² and whose energy found an outlet in faction-fighting between creoles and peninsulares and among various creole bands. The

⁶⁹See *Cartas de Indias*, no. 31, 152-55; Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 5, 17; cap. 10, 35-36; cap. 36, 109; cap. 46, 155-56; cap. 78, 250; and Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 4, 26-27; lib. 3, cap. 39, 355-56; and lib. 4, cap. 19, 429.

⁷⁰See León-Portilla, *Los franciscanos vistos*.

⁷¹See Rik Hoekstra, *Two Worlds Merging: The Transformation of Society in the Valley of Puebla, 1570 - 1640*, CEDLA Latin America Studies, no. 69 (Amsterdam: Centrum voor Studie en Documentatie van Latijns Amerika, 1993), 162-71, who sees in this an explanation for the absence of significant Indian opposition to bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's 1640 secularization of the mendicant (mainly Franciscan) *doctrinas* in the diocese of Puebla, a considerably more successful enterprise than the bishop's better-known confrontation with the Jesuits.

⁷²For the increasing perception even among the Franciscans of the Indian mission as an obstacle to rigorous observance, see Mendieta, lib. 5, pt. 1, cap. 24, 2: 329; cap. 32, 2: 353-54; cap. 42, 2: 385; cap. 43, 2: 387; cap. 52, 2: 422; cap. 54, 2: 433 and 435 (similarly in Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 27, 3: 443; cap. 37, 3: 467; cap. 47, 3: 490; cap. 48, 3: 491-92; cap. 64, 3: 535; cap. 66, 3: 544 and 546); and *Códice Mendieta*, no. 55, 1: 234-43. The Dominicans, as discussed above, 23-24, suffer from this conflict from the beginning, and for the Augustinians, see Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 3, 23; cap. 9, 43-44; and cap. 10, 47-48; lib. 3, cap. 11, 266; and lib. 4, cap. 22, 438; and cf. also Grijalva, *Historia del glorioso san Guillermo duque de Aquitania, conde de Pictaunia, frayle de los Ermitaños de nuestro p. s. Augustin* (Mexico City: En la emprenta del bachiller Iuan de Alcaçar, 1620), lib. 3, cap. 14, fol. 139r, where Grijalva fears the relaxing effects of the Mexican climate, as well as of the idle lifestyle of the Spanish colony. Of the founder Juan Bautista de Moya, on the other hand, whom he considers a saint, Grijalva notes that he was so "ceremoniático" in liturgical matters that "lo juzgaban algunos más por enfermedad, que por devoción": Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 3, cap. 16, 279.

possibility of Indian entrants into the orders, viewed with discreet encouragement by an early figure like Motolinía, was ever more firmly closed off.⁷³

Young men at the time of Gante's death, León and Mijangos, the former probably and the latter certainly creole,⁷⁴ were both highly conscious of their audience's pagan

⁷³Compare Motolinía, Memoriales, no. 45, 292-93, and no. 55, 354 (more briefly in Motolinía, Historia, tratado 2, cap. 9, 259-60, and tratado 3, cap. 16, 379, and similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 17, 760-61); Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 22-23, 2: 112-20; and lib. 5, pt. 2, cap. 3, 2: 473-74; and Torquemada, lib. 17, cap. 11-13, 3: 236-41; and lib. 21, cap. 3, 3: 611; and see Códice franciscano, 146; Sahagún, Historia general, lib. 10, cap. 27, par. 2, 816-19; and Bautista, Advertencias, pt. 1, tabla, s.v. *Dispensar y dispensacion, C 3 r*. For an introduction to the canon-law side of the debate, see Juan Zapata y Sandoval, OSA, De iustitia distributiva & acceptatione personarum ei opposita: Disceptatio: Pro Noui Indiarum Orbis rerum moderatoribus, summisque, & regalibus consiliarijs, elaborata (Valladolid: Excudebat Christophorus Lasso Vaca, 1609), pt. 2, c. 11, 244-56 (though Zapata y Sandoval's aim is actually to demonstrate the fitness of creoles for high ecclesiastical office in the Indies, for which this is a *quanto magis* argument). On the related but separate question of Indian ordination, cf. Códice franciscano, 110.

On 13 August 1612, on the recommendation of the Franciscan province of Nueva Galicia, in the Mexican north, Paul V granted a dispensation for the entrance into the order as a lay brother of one Martín, an Indian, described as a neophyte, and for some years already a *donado*, indicating both that Indian *donados* may have been more common - at least in remote Nueva Galicia - than might otherwise be supposed, and as the exception that proves the rule, that the bar was sufficiently firm to require papal dispensation: America pontificia III: Documenti pontifici nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano riguardanti l'evangelizzazione dell'America: 1592 - 1644, ed. Josef Metzler, with Giuseppina Roselli, *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani*, no. 38, Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, *Atti e documenti*, no. 5 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995), no. 551, 345.

⁷⁴The early-eighteenth-century Dominican bibliographers Quetif and Echard consider León to be a native of the Spanish city of the same name and a son of the province of Spain, but Beristáin de Souza, writing a century later but with better sources of information at his disposal, identifies him a creole and gives his date of profession in the Mexican Dominican province of Santiago as 28 October 1574. In the *Camino del cielo* León refers to his thirty years of experience in Indian ministry, which if taken literally in conjunction with a 1574 profession would suggest either profession in his late teens, followed by the requisite years of study before reaching the age required for ordination, or the discounting of time spent in other tasks, perhaps including the preparation of his works for the press. In 1603-4 he was vicar of San Agustín Palpan, in the district of Coyoacán, and in the *Camino del cielo*, again, he describes himself as formerly in the service of the Dominican archbishop García Guerra (1608-12), though it is a layman and descendant of conquerors, Diego Pérez de los Ríos, who is paying the costs of publication, "por solo servir à Dios, y ayudar à estos pobres, y por hazerme a mi amistad." He was certainly still alive in 1614, when he published a Nahuatl sermon collection of 330 folios in quarto, the *Primera parte del sermonario del tiempo de todo el año, duplicado, en lengua mexicana*, and may have died in or before 1617, the year of publication of the oldest demonstrable edition, almost certainly not the first, of his other surviving work, a brief sacramental manual, 54 folios in octavo, appearing under the title of *Manval: Breve forma de administrar los santos sacramentos á los yndios: Agora nueuamente corregido, y añadidas algunas cosas*. See Jacobus Quetif, OP, and Jacobus Echard, OP, Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1499 - 1639 A. D., Burt Franklin Bibliographical and Reference Series, no. 16 (New York: Burt Franklin, s.a.), 406; José Mariano Beristáin de Souza, Biblioteca hispanoamericana

ancestors in their Nahuatl writings and of the role of the Nahuatl language itself, reaping the fruit of several generations of missionary labor and perhaps also of some degree of creole bilingualism, Mijangos's statement that Nahuatl is not his native tongue and his topical deprecation of his language skills, on the grounds that he was born in Antequera de Oaxaca "where little of the Mexican language is spoken, [and that] ill-spoken and

septentrional: O Catálogo y noticias de los literatos que o nacidos o educados, o florecientes en la América Septentrional Española, han dado a luz algún escrito, o lo han dejado preparado para la prensa: 1521 - 1825, 3d ed., rev. and exp. (Mexico City: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1947), no. 1675, 3: 120; León, fol. 102r, 165r, and 166v; González de Cossío, 21; Andrade, no. 58, 98-99, and no. 68, 105-6; and Medina, La imprenta, no. 281, 2: 63-64; no. 282, 2: 64; and no. 304, 2: 75-76.

Born in Antequera de Oaxaca, Mijangos professed in 1583 and was still alive to be listed in a catalogue of the province in 1630. In 1608 he served as interim minister at San Sebastián Atzaqualco, one of the indigenous parishes of Mexico City, between the resignation of the parish by the Carmelites and the formal institution of a vicar by the Augustinian chapter. He received the degree of master from the order in 1622, a title which he uses in his 1624 *Primera parte del sermonario dominical, y sanctoral, en lengua mexicana*, but is not recorded in any of the prominent administrative roles occupied by his blood brother and fellow Augustinian Vicente, who professed in 1585 and who appears as defensor and as prior of San Agustín in Mexico City in the 1610s and 1620s. The address of the Nahuatl-language prologue of the *Primeraparte* to "the Mexica, the Tenocha, and all who speak Nahuatl" ("in Mexica in tenocha yhuan in ixquichtin in nahuatlahtohua") suggests an orientation to Mexico City and its immediate environs. See Ruiz Zavala, 1: 226-35, especially 229, no. 283, and 2: 25, 35, and 556; Mijangos, Espejo, prologo, * 7 r - * 7 v; Juan de Mijangos, OSA, Primera parte del sermonario dominical, y sanctoral, en lengua mexicana: Contiene las dominicas, que ay desde la Septuagesima, hasta la vltima de Penthecostes, platica para los que comulgan el Iueues Sancto, y sermon de Passion, Pasqua de Resurreccion, y del Espiritu Santo, con tres sermones del Sanctissimo Sacramento (Mexico City: En la imprenta del licenciado Iuan de Alcaçar, 1624), title page, and izcatqvi in amatzintli, ¶¶ 3 v; Domingo Chimalpahin, "Das Tagebuch (Diario) Chimalpahin's (1589 - 1615)," ed. Günter Zimmermann, in Domingo Chimalpahin, Die Relationen Chimalpahin's zur Geschichte México's, pt. 2, Das Jahrhundert nach der Conquista (1522 - 1615), ed. Günter Zimmermann, Universität Hamburg, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, vol. 69, Reihe B, Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen, vol. 39 (Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1965), 37-146, at 65.

It may have been during Mijangos's interim service at San Sebastián that Juan de Tovar preached there the sermon included in Mijangos's Primera parte, 212-221, but since Corpus Christi, the feast for which the sermon was written, falls after the chapter meeting, it is at least as likely that it was on another occasion, possibly a later formal assignment of Mijangos to the parish. The Carmelites left on 4 February, and the Augustinian chapter, which appointed Agustín de San Pablo as vicar, met on 26 April 1608 (Ruiz Zavala, 2: 19). On the Carmelites' foray into the Indian pastorate at San Sebastián, see Dionisio Victoria Moreno, OCD, Los carmelitas descalzos y la conquista espiritual de México 1585 - 1612, Biblioteca Porrúa, no. 3 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1966).

Vicente, who also received a papal appointment as supernumerary master in 1620 (América pontificia III, no. 761, 445), does not appear in the 1628 and 1630 catalogues, suggesting that he died before then.

corrupt,”⁷⁵ notwithstanding. If they shared these qualities with Sahagún, however, they inherited none of his anguish. Even for León, ever on the watch for idolatry, the enemy was not so much Satanic malice as it was stupidity, and the remedy not so much inquisition as instruction, a far cry, for all his grim tone, from the fire and sword of the idolatry extirpation campaigns which scourged seventeenth-century Peru and which Mexico was generally spared.⁷⁶ The previous instruction may have been faulty, and not least on linguistic grounds, as suggested implicitly by León’s rewriting of the catechism of 1548 and more explicitly by his commitment to the cause of Trinitarian clarity, but that the correct dogma could be taught, and taught in Nahuatl, he does not appear to doubt - if he could just get it through his parishioners’ thick heads.

The aesthetic attraction of Nahua language and culture was Mijangos’s province, divorced from any visible concern about its idolatrous resonances, and if León and his predecessors of 1548 can be fairly placed in a tradition of Dominican rationalism, Mijangos’s writings can perhaps be seen as textual counterparts to the profuse ornamentation, half-indigenous, half-European, of the Mexican Augustinians’ convents and churches. With present ‘idolatrous’ survivals left invisible and the pagan past rendered

⁷⁵ “[D]onde se habla poca lengua Mexicana mal hablada y corrupta.” Mijangos, *Espejo*, prologo, * 7 r - * 7 v, quoted at * 7 v.

⁷⁶ On the ‘extirpation of idolatry’ in Peru, led predominantly by the secular clergy, see the excellent study by Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640 - 1750* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). Similar preoccupations can indeed be found in seventeenth-century Mexico - the relevant manuals of superstitions were collected in *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 6 (1898-1900) - and individuals were prosecuted for magical practices and non-Christian or syncretic healing rites, but the snowball never got rolling for a major witch-hunt dynamic. Several factors undoubtedly contributed to the difference, but one which should not be overlooked is that, plausibly if not demonstrably, the central Mexican indigenous population may well have been in fact more ‘Christianized’ (withholding judgment on whether or not this is equivalent to ‘Christian’) than its Andean counterpart: on the one hand, the evangelizing effort took hold later and less well in the viceroyalty of Peru, delayed by the civil wars of the conquerors and perennially challenged by Andean geography; and on the other, prehispanic Andean beliefs strike at least this non-expert reader as offering fewer conceptual parallels than Nahua ones for the Church’s traditional repertoire of cultic substitutions.

as harmless as that of Greece and Rome, in a language as deliberately classicizing as humanist Latin, Mijangos and his *colegial* collaborator Agustín de la Fuente arguably came as close as anyone to successfully bridging the gap between pagan past and Christian past.⁷⁷

* * *

A century after the Conquest, it might be argued, neither Indian idolatry nor Indian rebellion were real threats to Spanish political control in central Mexico, where rebellion, when it did come, would be sparked by a priest carrying the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, not by a descendant of the Inca or the Mayan Christ: so the friars were free to write with less existential urgency. Certainly Spanish-speaking Mexico of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries has managed to adopt the prestigious heritage of pyramids and codices without so far undertaking nearly so wholehearted an adoption of the still-Nahuatl-speaking descendants of their makers. The state of the Indians' souls, however, *was* a matter of existential urgency from the friars' perspective, no less in 1623 than in 1523 and no less, one has to assume, for Mijangos or Gante than for Sahagún or León - but that does not mean that their diagnoses of and prescriptions for those souls were either identical or predictable according to any simple periodization.

⁷⁷What is missing from Mijangos's writings to complete this process is the addition of episodes from preconquest Nahuatl history to his fund of edifying examples, which though overwhelmingly biblical, with a secondary hagiographic component, does include some classical material. As Barry D. Sell and Larissa Taylor, "He Could Have Made Marvels in This Language': A Nahuatl Sermon by Father Juan de Tovar, S.J.," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 26 (1996): 211-44, at 213-14, point out, however, when discussing the exception which proves the rule, the highly localized Corpus Christi sermon by the Jesuit Juan de Tovar which Mijangos includes in his own collection, printed sermon collections and devotional works were intended to reach the widest possible audience, while the Nahuatl historiographical tradition is intensely local, the tradition of one town, clan, or tribe: Tovar's praise of the Mexica eagle, to use the same example, would probably not go over well in a sermon preached in Mexico-Tenochtitlan's hereditary enemy Tlaxcala.

CHAPTER THREE

CALL

Implicitly or explicitly, the opening act of conversion is almost by definition a drama of call and response: something confronts the unconverted individual with the choice of conversion, and some manifestation of assent is demanded of him. Jonah recognized the hand of God in his troubles, and carried out His command to preach a day of wrath for Nineveh; the Ninevites recognized God's word in Jonah's, and did penance. Augustine the rhetorician found resolution for his internal conflict in the instruction to put on Christ; Francis the literalist finalized his public break with his father by stripping off his clothes. Moved by sermons, visions, dreams, interior inspirations, or sensible misfortunes, suddenly or over many years, to consider the truths of the faith or the state of his soul, someone asks for baptism, confesses his sins, enters a religious order, goes on crusade, is reconciled with his enemies, makes restitution of ill-gotten gains, or reforms his life in any of a myriad possible ways, in the hope of attaining heaven or avoiding hell, obtaining divine favor or making return for favor received, being of service to the world or fleeing from its contagion, not to mention courting temporal promotion or dodging temporal punishment, fitting in with his neighbors or declaring his rejection of them.

At least over the long term, arguments for political utility in sixteenth-century Mexico came down indisputably on the side of the Spaniards' God, whatever personal tensions may have existed between early converts and their more hostile family members and friends, and leaving aside the question of how well this God and His saints compared to the members of the old pantheon when it came to providing good weather, fertility, and

health: according to the chroniclers, New Spain had never seen such good weather and bounteous crops as it had since the arrival of Christianity, but even the most optimistic of them could not deny the waves of epidemic disease that cut across this supposed flourishing, nor entirely hide the obvious deductions made by some of the victims of disease and disaster, rewriting them as the devil's false threats. The friars planted the cross in the old holy places and built churches on the sites of the old temples, with the same logic that had seen Roman and pre-Roman shrines in the Iberian peninsula replaced by churches, then by mosques, then by churches once again, and no less than the secular authorities, the great majority of them conflated Christian faith with obedience to the Spanish crown with an ease and thoroughness which stuns the modern observer, their readiness to chastise the crown for its failure to keep its side of the bargain by providing good government notwithstanding. Whatever their position on the utility of armed force in guaranteeing a hearing to the preachers of the faith, however, and whatever they may have said in practice, only Sahagún among the authors studied here found the argument from Conquest worth recording as a model for catechesis and preaching.

For Sahagún, rather than a relationship between God and the individual, it is the covenant between God and the community which is most prominent, forged on much the same terms as those of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. Like the prophets who repeated the words of the Lord to erring kings and princes, warning them of punishment and urging them to repentance, the Franciscan Twelve of Sahagún's *Coloquios* carry to the nobles and priests of Mexico City and its environs a message which they have been sent by God and His vicar to announce, warning their hearers of the divine wrath which has already brought the Conquest upon them and which will go on to destroy them utterly if they do not take heed, and instructing them in how to avoid this fate. The old gods have already demonstrated their powerlessness to defend their worshippers, but just as the Lord of Hosts led the Israelites out of Egypt and gave them the Law, so too will He bless the

Indians, with blessings which seem to be left deliberately ambiguous between those of this world and those of the next, if they will follow His commandments.

Recognition, gratitude, and obedience are the primary requirements for the human response to God here, and these are also the components most in evidence, more so than love or repentance, in the Dominican catechisms, which also share with the *Coloquios* an explicit presentation of the friars as come to teach a doctrine of which the Indians have previously been ignorant. Where Sahagún threatens earthly punishment, however, the Dominicans offer the rewards of heaven, followed as a distant second by the pains of hell, and dispensed by a God Who is not so much King as Creator. Revelation, not the natural knowledge offered by creation is the only route to this God, as León makes explicit and as Sahagún would agree, but for all that the old gods are undoubtedly demonic, the guilt which attaches to their worship is treated in these catechisms, and more especially in León's, less as deliberate perversion than as failure to recognize the proper relative statuses of creature and Creator, giving the honor due only to God to some part of His creation, as one of the traditional definitions of idolatry has it. The Dominicans of 1548, addressing an audience only recently removed, if at all, from the practice of the old rites, contrast the bloody sacrifices demanded by the old gods to the new God's lighter and unbloody requirements, while León concentrates on a less emotional and more intellectual appeal to the order of God's Creation, but in both cases the emphasis is on thanksgiving.

Mijangos, by contrast, while uninterested in threats of divine wrath in this life, finds hope of heaven less powerful as an initial motivation for conversion than fear of death, followed by its consequent fears of judgement and of hell. Heaven, the fourth of the *novissimi*, naturally comes in for mention, but it is remembrance of death, that awareness of life's transience which distinguishes humans from animals, which lays the foundation for all that follows, not least a description of the physical process of dissolution fully the equal of anything in the European *memento mori* tradition. Once these meditations have

duly led Mijangos's convert to the appropriate resolve to reform his life, he moves on from such grisly topics to instruction in the virtues, with relatively little attention to the backward glance of repentance, but unlike the situation in the Dominican texts, where conversion, if finally properly done, seems to be an end in itself, the convert here remains a pilgrim on the road to heaven, gradually advancing in virtue. Ongoing though the process is, on the other hand, and not without effort - chiefly, it would appear, that of the individual, while grace, closely linked to the divine word, intervenes primarily as illumination and inspiration - it is framed as an unambiguous ascent, spiralling round, perhaps, but hiding no snares which cannot be overcome: once he begins the journey, and so long as he perseveres, the traveller on this road need have little fear that he will not reach his heavenly home.

In none of these cases is it quite clear that conversion represents any kind of ontological change, though Mijangos perhaps come closest with his progress from the darkness of the fear of death to the light of conversion of life. In Gante, however, despite or because of the fact that he is the only author for whom conversion is not an essentially one-time event, it is the ontological difference made in human existence by the Redemption which comes to the fore. Fall and Redemption are the doctrines he identifies as most fundamental, and confession is the first subject he treats, not from the perspective of obligation but from that of a welcome remedy for the human being's inevitable fall into sin, allowing the sinner to reclaim the divine mercy however frequently he has need of it. Heaven and hell, reward and punishment, are inevitably present in the background, but the affective emphasis is on the experience of the Christian in this life, who sins over and over again, indeed with a desperate regularity foreign to any of the other texts studied here, but who yet knows 'that his Redeemer lives' (Job 19: 25). Like Mijangos's reader, Gante's is expected to draw fruit for his own soul from his contemplation of divine matters, not simply express his thanksgiving, but in comparison to Mijangos's quite specific advice for the promotion of specific virtues and the avoidance of their specific contrary vices, Gante

leaves the reader with a more diffuse and emotionally-oriented sense of growing in the love of God (with the corollary of wishing not to offend Him) and in trust in His mercy.

* * *

In the tradition of the Letter to the Hebrews's much-quoted definition of the essential content of faith as belief in God *quia est, et inquirentibus se remunerator sit* (Hebrews 11: 6), the foundation of Christian instruction for the Dominicans of 1548 is the knowledge of the true God in His capacity as master of heaven and hell, Who has deigned to reveal to His human creatures the way in which they may obtain His promised rewards. "For this reason our great Lord Dios made us, in order that by our faith we people should know Him," the Dominicans inform their readers or listeners at the beginning of the first sermon, invoking the authoritative Latin testimony of "the beloved of Dios, *sant* Augustine, a great teacher and a great expert in the divine word": "*Fecit deus hominem vt sumum bonum intelligeret, etc.*," which means, 'Dios has made every person in order that they [sic] might know that which is entirely good,' which is Dios."¹ This unknown, entirely good lord - only later identified as God or a god² - has preserved the *padres* on their dangerous voyage from far across the sea, they go on to explain, joining now the opening

¹"[C]a ypampa otechmochiuili in toueytlatocauh in Dios ynic totlaneltoquiliztica tictiximachilizque in titlaca. Ca quimitalhuia yn itlaço yn dios sant Augustin uey temachtiani iuan uey teutlatolmatini. *Fecit deus hominem vt sumum bonum intelligeret. etc. q. n.* Ca oquimochiuili yn dios yn yxquich tlacatl ynic uel quimiximachilizque y cenquizca qualli: ca ieuatl yn dios."

In Spanish, "[P]orque para esto nos hizo y crio nuestro gran rey y señor dios: conuiene a saber: para que nosotros los hombres le conozcamos con nuestra fe. Porque dize el amado de dios sant aug. grandissimo letrado y predicador. *Fecit deus hominem: vt sumum bonum intelligeret. etc.* Que quiere dezir: que hizo dios a todos los hombres para que conociessen al sumo bien / que es el mismo Dios."

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 1, fol. x v - xj r.

²In the formulation of the first article of the divinity, "ca ça ce uel nelli Dios mochiueli: auh ca amo miequintin teteu ça uel ce nelli Dios" ("there is just one indeed true Dios, almighty; there are not many gods, just indeed one true Dios"), or more clearly at the introduction of the Trinity, "[c]a yieuhatcin nelli Dios yn icel teutl in nican namechnomachtilia yuan namechtenquixtilia / ca yeyintin personasme totlatolpan tiquintocayotia" ("this true Dios, the only god, about whom I teach you here and whom I proclaim to you, we name three *personas* in our words"). Ibid., sermon 2, fol. xv v - xvj r, and sermon 4, fol. xxj v.

of the *Dotrina* of 1544, “in order that we should tell to you a very great, a very admirable word, and a marvel, which He has told and revealed to us,” and “in order that we should give to you the wealth of our great Lord Dios which He has given to us ... called *sancta fe catholica*, the faith of the Christians; for on account of this faith you will be given very great happiness, very great pleasure and prosperity, there in the palace of Dios, in heaven,” a wealth and joy, previously unknown to the Indians, which surpass all earthly riches, “whether precious metal or jade, emeralds, the precious stones which there are in the whole world.”³ It is for this reason that the audience is urged to heed the friars’ words, to attain these riches, which Dios will give to those who become His children, and for this reason that they must know what thereby becomes the main subject of this first portion of the friars’ teaching, “that Dios made two places,” one in the sky, of pleasure, and one inside the earth, of torment (and in which, the friars do not neglect to point out, all of the Indians’ ancestors are to be found).⁴

³ “[Y]nic tamechtolhuilizque y cenca uey y cenca mauiztic tlatolli: yuan yn tlamauicollli yn otechmolhuilitcino: iuan otechmonextilili: ... No yuan ynic tamechtomaquitizque yn inecuiltonoliz yn toueytlatocauh in dios yn otechmomaquili: ... ca yeuatl ytoca sancta fe catholica: yn intlaneltoquiliz yn christianome: ca yn ypampa y yeuatl yn tlaneltoquiliztli amacozque cenca uey papaquiliztli y cenca uey ahauializtli iuan yn netlamachtilliztli: in ompa yn itecpanchancinco yn dios yn ilhuicac. ... ca auic tle yhuqui in anquimauiçozque yn yxquich nican tlaticpac necuiltonolli: yn aço teucuitatl anoço yn chalchiuitl yn quetçalyztli yn tlaçotetl in nouian cemanauac onoc.”

In Spanish, “[P]ara que nosotros os digamos palabras muy grandes y de gran excelencia y de gran admiracion y marauilla que nos ha dicho y descubierto a nosotros: ... Y tambien para que os demos de las grandes riquezas de nuestro gran dios: y señor que a nosotros ha dado: ... las quales son la sancta fe catholica: que es la fe de los christianos: porque por aquesta sancta fe os ha de ser dado grandissimo gozo y alegria / descanso y gloria alla en la casa real de nuestro dios en el cielo. ... las preciareys y estimareys en mas que otra ninguna cosa de quantas ay en esta vida por muy preciosa que sea y de grande estima: agora sea oro / o plata / o piedras preciosas / o esmeraldas / o otras piedras de gran estima que ay por todo el mundo.”

Ibid., sermon 1, fol. xj r - xj v. Cf. Córdoba, *Dotrina*, a j v.

⁴ “[C]a occan yn oquimochiuli yn dios.” In Spanish, “[Q]ue hizo dios dos lugares.” *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 1, fol. xj v - xiiij v, quoted at fol. xij r. Cf. Córdoba, *Dotrina*, a j v - a ij r.

There is an interesting parallel between this choice of starting-point for the exposition of the Christian doctrine and the importance of the remembrance of heaven and hell in the Dominican tradition of artificial memory discussed by Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 57-61, 94-95, 108-11, 115-16, and 122.

It is only after these two alternative human fates have been explained that love of God is brought directly into the discussion, with the belated completion of the quotation from Augustine, and in a form which seems to make God's love for us dependent on our love for Him. As well as being grateful to Dios for sending the friars to enlighten them in their error,⁵ as the preacher of the second sermon begins by urging his audience, "it is necessary that you know, my beloved ones," he goes on to explain, "that our great Lord Dios has made all the people in the world, and has made you and made us, in order that we might know Him, and having known Him, love Him. For thus says *sant* Augustine, the beloved of Dios, as has been said: '*Fecit deus hominem vt sumum bonum intelligeret: intelligendo amaret, etc.*,' which means, 'Dios has made every person in order that they [sic] should know Him, and having known Him, love Him,' and they having loved Him, He also, our great Lord, may love us⁶ and make us His friends here on earth, and when we die, take our *animas* there to His lordly dwelling, in heaven."⁷ Building on the description

⁵Perhaps suggesting a particular currency of this idea among the Dominicans, the late sixteenth-century Dominican chronicler Agustín Dávila Padilla includes in his description of the piety of the future child-martyr Cristóbal the detail that "[a]gradecia siempre à Dios el auer traydo frayles de tan remotas tierras, para que gozara el de su santa Fè y baptismo," one of a number of details very much in Dávila Padilla's characteristic style and not found in the *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* of Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, a member of the founding Franciscan expedition to Mexico and Dávila Padilla's source, nor in other authors who draw on Motolinía's lost larger chronicle: Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 23, 70; Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 14, 363; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 7, 682; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 25, 1: 388; and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 30, 3: 83.

⁶Logically the sense should be that God will love us who have loved Him, with *otiquitotlaçotilique* in place of *oquimotlaçotilique*, but the person responsible for the Nahuatl version here appears to have taken the preceding use of the third-person-plural one clause too far, likely working from the first-person-plural text of the 1544 version, which does not cite Augustine directly - "para que le conozcamos: y conociendole le amemos: y amandole nosotros a el / el tambien nos tenga por amigos" - or something close to it, while trying to incorporate the formal quotation. The 1548 Spanish version uses a present participle of ambiguous subject to bridge the confusion: "para que le conociessen: y despues que le vuiessen conocido le amassen / y amandole assimismo el mismo gran rey y señor nuestro nos amasse a nosotros."

⁷"[M]onequi anquimatizque notlaçoane / ca oquimmochiuiili yn toueytlatocauh yn dios yn ixquichtin cemanauac tlaca: yuan oamechmochiuiili yuan otechmochiuiili ynic uel tictiximachilizque: auh yn otictiximachilizque: tictitlaçotilizque. Ca yuh quimitalhuya sant Augustin yn itlaço yn dios yn yuhqui

in the previous sermon with further praise of the palaces of heaven, the Dominicans then drive the point home twice more, providing the link between this introduction and the matter of the catechism proper by way of cementing the link between obedience and reward: first, in general, “all those who are rightly Christians will be there [in heaven] forever, and you also will be there, if you indeed become the servants of the great Lord Dios; and in order that you may become His beloved ones, two things are very necessary to you: first, you will indeed believe everything which the other beloved ones of Dios, those who are indeed Christians, believe, and second, you will indeed keep everything which they keep,” which things the sermons will declare;⁸ and yet again, as the immediate prelude to the introduction of the first article of the divinity, “in order that Dios may love you and take your *animas* there to his lordly dwelling in heaven, and in order that He may take your

omito. *Fecit deus hominem vt sumum bonum intelligeret: intelligendo amaret.* etc. q. n. Ca oquimochiuili in dios yn ixquich tlacatl: ynic quimiximachilizque: auh yn oquimiximachilique quimotlaçotilizque: auh yn oquimotlaçotilique: no yeuhatcin yn toueytlatocauh techmotlaçotiliz: yuan techmoc[n]iuhitiz nican tlalticpac. Auh ynicoac titomiquilizque quimouiquiliz in tanima yn ompa in itlatocachantcinco yn ilhuicac.”

“[A]ueys de saber mis amados que nuest[r]o gran Rey y señor Dios hizo a todos los hombres del vniuerso mundo: y a vosotros y a nosotros nos hizo para que le conozcamos / y conociendole nosotros a el le amemos. Ca assi lo dize el muy amado de dios sant augustin: como arriba esta dicho. *Facit deus hominem vt summum bonum inteligeret: intelligendo amaret.* etc. Hizo dios a todos los hombres para que le conociessen: y despues que le vuiessen conocido le amassen / y amandole assimismo el mismo gran rey y señor nuestro nos amasse a nosotros y nos tuuiesse por amigos en este mundo. Y despues que nosotros murieremos lleue las nuestras animas alla [a] su casa real al cielo.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xiiij v - xiiij v, quoted at fol. xiiij r - xiiij v. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, a ij r - a ij v.

⁸ “[C]a cemicac ompa yezque yn ixquichtin yn yectin christianome: no yn ameuantin: ca no ompa ayezque: yntla uel amitetlayeculticauan ayezque yn uey tlatoni yn dios. Auh ca ynyc uel amitlaçoan ayezque / ca ontlamantli cenca amotech monequi. Ynic centlamantlih uel anquineltoçazque ym yxquich quineltoça yn occequintin yn ytlaçoan in dios y uel christianome: auh ynic ontlamantli: uel anquipiaçque / yn ixquich quipia yeuantin.”

In Spanish, “[A]lli en aquella casa han de estar todos los buenos christianos: y assimismo vosotros estareys alla si fuered[e]s sieruos y amigos de aqueste gran rey y señor dios nuestro. Y para que podays ser sus amigos dos cosas aueys de guardar. La primera es que aueys de creer firmemente todo aquello que creen los otros amigo[s] de Dios y fieles Christianos. La segunda cosa es que aueys de guardar todo lo que ellos guardan.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xv r. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, a ij v, where the formulation is somewhat different: “si quisierdes ser amigos deste gran dios, la qual amistad alcançareys del si creyerdes en el y os baptizardes y tomaredes christianos: y supierdes aquellas cosas que los christianos han de saber y creer: y guardarlas.”

flesh there when you are resurrected, in order that you may obtain His wealth, His riches, His entire happiness, it is very necessary for you first to know [*anquimiximachilizque* - to know a person, *conocer*] Dios, and to know [*anquimatizque* - to know a fact, *saber*] who is the true Dios, and how He is indeed the true Dios,” for which it is necessary to know and believe the fourteen articles of faith.⁹ Even in the brief catechism of the 1548 doctrine, a set of ten questions aimed mainly at eliciting the unadorned recital of the standard catechetical lists (the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, and so forth), one question of the ten is assigned to the reward which Dios will give for believing these articles and keeping these commandments, with the answer of the eternal joy of heaven.¹⁰

Rigorous and legalistic as the 1548 version, in particular, can be with regard to the requirements of Christian sacramental practice (as will be discussed in Chapter Six), this rigor itself can best be understood as another reflection of an overarching tendency to envision the relationship between God and man as one of absolutes, heaven and hell, salvation and damnation, and bridged from God’s side alone, not man’s, a God Whose extensively-described Creation, though not directly a path to Him by means of natural knowledge, is nonetheless a standing manifestation of His glory as well as a standing

⁹ “[C]a ynic uel amechmotlaçotiliz yn dios yuan ynic uel quimouiquiliz in amanima in ompa yn itlatocachantcinco yn ilhuicac: yuan ynic uel ompa quimouiquiliz yn amonacayo ynicoac amozcalizque: ynic uel anquicnopilhuizque yn inecuiltonol yn inetlamachtil yn icenpapaquiliz: ca cenca amotech monequi yn acachto anquimiximachilizque yn dios: yuan anquimatizque aqui yeuhatcin nelli dios: yuan quenin uel nelli dios.”

In Spanish, “[P]ara que dios os ame y quiera mucho: y para que el lleue las vuestras animas alla a la su casa real al cielo: y assimismo para que el lleue vuestros cuerpos despues que ayays resuscitado para que gozeys de las sus riquezas y de los sus eternos gozos / es os muy necessario que primeramente conozcays a dios: y que sepays quien es el verdadero dios / y como es verdadero dios.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xv v. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, a ij v.

¹⁰Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, doctrina breue, fol. vij v - viij r.

rebuke to the idolatrous confusion of creature with Creator.¹¹ When not insisting on the contrition required for receipt of the sacraments, as a result, the Dominicans' more usual concern is with feelings of thanksgiving, contrasted as strongly as possible with the bloody sacrifices of the past, and with little visible interest in the disciplines and penitences which in the Franciscan chronicles often appear as the hallmarks of Indian devotion,¹² nor in the self-abasement and meditation on the Passion often linked with the recollection of God's gifts in contemporary devotional literature, including Zumárraga's 1547 devotional manual for Spaniards, the *Regla christiana breue*.¹³ The praise of virginity in the 1548 doctrine, it is true, gives rise by way of the mention of the saints who died to preserve their chastity to a discussion of the martyrs in general and to an exhortation to the Indians to demonstrate the same firmness should they be persecuted for the faith, remembering and imitating to a better end "how your relatives took strength from from the other elders and how they took

¹¹The disproportionate extension of the treatment of the fifth article of the divinity, God as Creator, is predominantly devoted to narrating the falls of Lucifer and Adam, but both versions also devote a special supplementary section to the work of the Six Days, supplemented with various considerations of natural and moral philosophy: *ibid.*, sermons 4-9, fol. xxij v - lij r, and sermons 36-37, fol. cxxxviii r - cxlvj r; Córdoba, *Doctrina*, a v r - b ij v and d iiii r - d v j r.

¹²Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 13, 184-85; cap. 15, 197-98; tratado 2, cap. 5, 240-41 and 243; and cap. 10, 266; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 28, 237-38; no. 34, 255; no. 36, 259-60; and no. 43, 281; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 12, 725; cap. 16, 748 and 751; cap. 17, 757; and cap. 19, 775; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 44, 1: 453-54; cap. 49, 1: 473-74; lib. 4, cap. 18, 2: 95; and cap. 20, 2: 104-5; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 19, 3: 182-83; cap. 26, 3: 200; lib. 17, cap. 6, 3: 223; and cap. 8, 3: 229; and cf. also Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 4, fol. 5v-6r.

On the other hand, the pious Indians in the Dominican Gonzalo Luzero's paintings, visual aids for preaching, are disciplining themselves as well as praying and saying the rosary. Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 81, 257.

According to William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 185-86, flagellant confraternities, on whose activities some of the Indian devotions described by Motolinía are clearly modeled, were a fairly new phenomenon in Castile and Andalusia in the 1520s and 1530s, and were at first associated with the Franciscans.

¹³See Gil, *Primeras «doctrinas»*, 534-40, and Zumárraga, *Regla*, tripartito, pt. 2, 374-77. More in the spirit of the Dominicans' prescriptions is the *Regla's* morning thanksgiving: *ibid.*, doc. 1, 23-34.

example from them, who just suffered in vain, just sinfully, on account of the devil,”¹⁴ but far more typical is the contrast between the bloody sacrifices demanded by the old gods and the ‘easy yoke’ of the Christian deity, who “on account of everything which He has given you does not ask you to render yourselves in payment [scil., by blood sacrifice], or to kill your slaves and your captives before Him, or cut open the chests of your children, or bleed them; nor does He wish that you bleed yourselves, cut your ears, or shed your blood, as you used to do long ago and as your fathers, your ancestors did,” but only “that you indeed love Him with all your heart, and honor Him, for He is indeed true Dios: just He alone is worthy to be loved, is indeed worthy to be honored, and you will hold no other as god.”¹⁵ Instead of for sacrifices, the “house” or “*yglesia*” of this ‘Dios’ will serve to pray for forgiveness of sins, but also, and with greater emphasis, for a thanksgiving addressed not so much to the divine Redeemer, or for that matter to the divine Judge, as to the divine (and

14“[I]n quenin yntech mochicauaia yuan in quenin intech mixcuitiaia yn amouanyolque in occequintin ueuetque in çan nen tlaihiouiaya / çan tlatlacultica / ypampa in tlacateculutl.”

In Spanish, “[E]n que manera vuestros parientes tomauan fuerças y exemplo en los otros sus antepassados y en los viejos / los quales padecian en vano y con pecado por amor del maldito demonio.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 31, fol. cxxxv v.

15“[I]n ipampa yxquich oamechmomaquili ca amo amechtlania ynic amoxtlauazque: anoço in anquimictizque in amotlacauhan yuan in amomalhuan yn ixpantcinco: anoço ynic anquimeltequizque in amopilhuan: anoço anquimiçozque: amo no quimonequiltia ameuantin amiçozque amonacaztequizque: anoço anquixixtizque ameço / yn iuh ye uecauh anquich[i]uaya yuan yn iuh quichiuaya in amotauan in amoculhuan. Çan yxquich quimonequiltia in amotechpa y uel anquimotlaçotilizque yca mochi amoi[o]llo: iuan anquimauiztilizque: ca uel nelli Dios ca çan icel tlaçotlalani / y uel mauiztililoni: auh amo ac occe anquimoteotizque.”

In Spanish, “Por todas estas cosas que os ha dado no os pide ni quiere de vosotros que os ofrezcays en sacrificio al demonio: ni que mateys vuestros esclauos ni los que tomastes en las guerras en su presencia: ni que sacrifiqueys a vuestros hijos por los pechos: ni por otra parte: ni tampoco quiere que vosotros os sacrifiqueys ni os corteys las orejas / ni derrameys vuestra sangre: assi como antiguamente lo haziades: y como lo hazian los vuestros padres y aguelos. Mas solamente quiere de vosotros que le ameys de todo vuestro coraçon y voluntad: y que le reuerencieys: pues que es verdadero dios: y solo digno de ser amado y reuerenciado: y que no adoreys a otr[o] por Dios.”

Ibid., sermon 3, fol. xviiij v; cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, a iij v.

See also the various other condemnations of the old gods and their rites at Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 3, fol. xx r - xx v, sermon 8, fol. xxxix v - xl v, and sermon 18, fol. lxxx v - lxxxj v; and Córdoba, Doctrina, a iij r, b ij r, and c ij r.

One) Creator:

so that you will assemble there, and so that you will pray to Him there to entirely take away all your sins, and so that you will ask Him to take you there to His lordly dwelling, in heaven. And also there in the *yglesia* you will indeed give thanks to Him, you will indeed be grateful to Him, on account of all the right, the good which He has given you and on account of everything which He is always continually giving you. For indeed He created you, and gives you everything which is necessary for you, and He commands the sun, the moon, the stars, to give light to you, and commands the clouds to give you rain, and commands the earth to continually give you fruit.¹⁶

On Sundays and feast days, likewise, the Dominicans instruct their flock, they will devote themselves in place of servile works to spiritual occupations, described as “remember[ing] all the mercies of Dios by which He has greatly had mercy on you here on earth, so that you will be able to serve Him and so that you will be able on this account to bless His name,” and “be[ing] grateful to Him on account of everything which He has given to you, so that you be not ungrateful on account of the favors and mercies which you have

¹⁶ “[Y]nic onca amocentlalizque / yuan ynic onca anquimotlatlauhtilizque ynic amechmocenpopolhuiliz yn ixquich in amotlatlacul: yuan ynic anquitlanilizque in ompa amechmouiquili in itlatocachantcinco in ilhuicac. Auh yuan oncan yglesia uel anquimoc[n]elilmachitizque uel anquimotlaçocamachitizque ypampa yn ixquich y iectli in qualli in oamechmomaquili iuan ipampa yn ixquich mochipa amechmomaquilitinemi. Ca uel yeuatl amechyocux / yuan amechmomaquilia yn ixquich in amotech monequi: auh yeuhatcin quimonauatilia in tonatiuh in metztl in cicitaltin ynic amechtlanextilizque: auh in mixtli quimonauatilia inic amechmacaz in quiauitl / yuan in tlalli quimonauatilia ynic amechmacatinemiz in tlaaqilotl.”

In Spanish, “[P]ara que alli os junteys / y para que alli le rogueys y hagays oracion / para que el os perdone todos vuestros pecados: y para que alli le pidays que tenga por bien de os llevar alla a la su casa real al cielo. Y assi mismo alli en la yglesia le aueys de r[e]graciar y hazer muchas alabaças por todas las mercedes y gracias que os ha hecho / y por todos los beneficios que cada dia os anda haziendo. Porque el es el que os crio / y el que os da todo quanto aueys menester / y el manda al sol y a la luna / y a las estrellas que os den claridad / y a las nuues manda que os den las lluuias: y el manda a la tierra / que os de siempre los frutos que en ella se hazen.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 9, fol. xlj v - xlij r. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, b ij v.

Motolinía describes the building of churches as the visible manifestation which marks the shift in the population of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, around five years after the arrival of the Twelve, from grudging attendance at the friars’ liturgy and instruction to the growth of a spirit of devotion: Motolinía, Historia, tratado 2, cap. 1, 218-19; and similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 13, 727.

received, the very many things with which He has had mercy on you,”¹⁷ without mention of more penitential topics of reflection. Even at the very opening of their instruction, having just established the contrast between hell and heaven and, in general terms, the criteria of faith in the Christian God and obedience to His commandments for determining one’s assignment to one or the other, the response urged is not fear but gratitude toward the ‘Dios’ who has sent the friars “in order that we enlighten you about your blindness and your confusion, in which you have lived for all the time up to now, because you have not known your Creator, indeed true Dios, and have not served Him; you have just always continually been in a state of confusion.”¹⁸

* * *

Where this confusion of the unbaptized or newly baptized audience assumed by the Dominicans of 1548 is the confusion of the honestly (if not necessarily invincibly) ignorant, however, the accent shifts from an invitation to thanksgiving toward an insistent demarcation of the creature/Creator boundary when León reworks the 1548 catechism for

17“[A]nquilnamiquizque yn ixquich in itetlaoculiliz in dios: ynic cenca oamechmotlaoculili in nican tlaticpac ynic uel anquimotlaiecutilizque yuan ynic uel ypampa anquimoiecteneuilizque yn itocatcin. ... [A]nquimotlaçocamachitizque ipampa in yxquich yn oamechmomaquilicino: inic amo amicnopillaueiloque ayezque: ipampa in amocneliloca: iuan amotlaoculiloca in cenca miec tlamantli oamechmotlaoculili.”

In Spanish, “[O]s aueys de acordar de todos los beneficios de dios que con vosotros ha hecho en este mundo: para que le siruays muy bien y para que por ellos alabeys su sancto nombre. ... a le regraciar por todos los bienes y mercedes que os ha dado: por que no seays ingratos y desagradescidos por los beneficios a vosotros hechos: y tantas y tan grandes mercedes y tan innumerables que os ha hecho.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 18, fol. lxxxij r. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, c ij v.

18“[Y]nyc tamechtlachieltizque: ytechpa yn amixpopoyotiliz yuan yn amonetlapololtiliz in ipan anemia ye yxquich cauitl. Yehica amo anquimixmachiliaya in amoteyocuxcauh uel nelli dios: yuan amo anquimotlaiecutiliaya / çan mochipa amotlapololtilinca.”

In Spanish, “[P]ara que os alumbremos de la ceguedad y errores tan grandes / en que aueys estado tantos tiempos ha hasta aora. Pues no conociades a vuestro verdadero criador y señor Dios: ni tampoco le seruiades ni obedeciades: mas siempre andauades desatinados y sin juyzio / y turbados.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xiiij r. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, a ij r.

an Indian flock several generations removed from the Conquest yet still, in his view, insufficiently Christianized. More explicitly than the Dominicans of 1548, León rejects natural knowledge as a path toward knowledge of the divine, in favor of what he calls “this scriptural faith [*amoxtlaneltoquiliztli*],”¹⁹ to be believed on the authority of the One Who has revealed it no less than one would believe the words of “some great royal lord, to be honored, to be obeyed, like that one, through divinity a priestly lord, *santo padre*, or that one, *rey don Philip*, or some other honored person.”²⁰ Creation is not a path to the recognition of the Creator, but rather an obstacle to which faith is opposed: “everything which our spirit, our *anima* understands it grasps from earthly creatures; it takes its beginning from earthliness,”²¹ but God the Creator entirely surpasses His Creation, without any parallel by which He may be known, while even the created world is in large part beyond human comprehension.²² “If we are not able to understand all that already has been spoken of, what is just finite, passing away, there its beginning, its commencement, what just has an end, what just grows old, how on the contrary, by so much the more, will we know the possessor of knowledge, indeed that one, the possessor of property, the

¹⁹ “[I]n amoxtlaneltoquiliztli.” León, fol. 3v.

Amoxtlaneltoquiliztli, most literally ‘faith of the/a book’, is a regularly-derived compound from *amoxtli*, ‘book’, and *tlaneltoquiliztli*, ‘faith’, where the first element modifies the second. The catechism as a book is the other way around, *tlaneltoquilizamoxtli*, ‘book of (the) faith’, as on fol. 1r.

²⁰ “[A]ca huey tlàtocapillatoani, mahuitzililoni, tlacamachoni, in yuhqui yehuatzin teoyotica teopixcatlàtohuani S. Padre, ànoce yehuatzin Rey Don Felipe, ànoce aca occe mahuitzic tlacatl.” Ibid., fol. 3v.

²¹ “[I]n yxquich cacicamatti in toyollia in tanima ca Tlalticpac tlachihualtitech, concui, tlalticpacayotitech ontzinti.” Ibid., fol. 4r.

²² Ibid., fol. 4r-4v.

possessor of belongings, the possessor of creation?”²³ On the contrary, while Paul and Christ Himself testify to the heavenly origins of faith in Him, “those who by earthly knowledge wished, dared to comprehend, to know that which just by divine faith is known, is recognized, indeed have been placed in the place of suffering, have gone down into the shadows, since they knew creatures as gods.”²⁴

Though *moros*, *judios*, *hereges*, and *lutheranos* also appear in the catalogue of idolaters and misbelievers,²⁵ what is at issue here and elsewhere in the volume is not philosophical speculation but the Indians’ traditional beliefs, or rather their survivals, now cast in a form in which, while the charge of intellectual hubris seems out of place, a shadow of some old debate with the Conquest-era lords of Texcoco, the category division between creature and Creator comes very much to the fore.²⁶ While the old blood sacrifices and temple gods mentioned in 1548, Huitzilopochtli and the rest, are now, at least for the most part, things of the ancestors,²⁷ except perhaps as camouflaged under the

²³ “[I]ntlacamo huel tiquimacicaitta, in ye mochi in omoteneuh, in çan tlanqui polihuini, onca itzintica ypeuhca, y çan tzonquizqui, y çan yeçolihuini, auh in mache huel yehuatzin in axcahua, in tlatquihua, in tlachihualecatzintli, quenin oc ye tictiximachilizque.” Ibid., fol. 4v.

²⁴ “[C]a in aqui que tlalticpaclamatiliztica, oquinecque, omotlápaloque, inic quixaxilizque, quimiximachilizque, y çan teotlaneltoquiliztica momatti, miximatti, huel omotlayohuayantlalique, mixtecomac omaquique, ynic oquinteomatque, in tlachihualtin.” Ibid., fol. 5r.

²⁵Ibid., fol. 8v, 56v, and 81r.

²⁶Cf. Pagden, 85-89, on category mistakes as an explanation for cannibalism and other unsavory eating habits in Francisco de Vitoria (for which see Francisco de Vitoria, OP, “Relectio de temperantia,” in Vitoria, *Obras de Francisco de Vitoria: Relecciones teológicas*, ed. Teófilo Urdániz, OP, Biblioteca de autores cristianos, Sección II: Teología y canones, no. 198 (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1960), 1004-69, especially 1026-27, and idem, “De indis recenter inventis relectio prior,” *ibidem*, 641-726, at 724).

²⁷León, fol. 5v, 12r, 23v-24v, 56r, 69v, 77v, and 112r-112v; compare, e.g., to Alonso de Molina, OFM, “Confesionario breve en lengua mexicana y castellana,” partial ed., Spanish only, in Durán, *Monumenta*, 1: 405-27, at 413, and Molina, *Confesionario mayor, en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City: En casa de Antonio de Espinosa, 1569; facsimile reprint, *Confesionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (1569), with an Introduction by Roberto Moreno, Instituto de Investigaciones

celebration of Christian feastdays,²⁸ in their place León misses no opportunity to castigate those beliefs and practices “which have clung to you regarding idolatrous deeds, which now have been bequeathed to you,”²⁹ including various kinds of weather, hunting, agricultural, divinatory, and protective prayers and rites,³⁰ the kind of magical or semi-magical practices catalogued some years later by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón,³¹ but above all, to judge by the insistence of León’s repetition, the belief in omens drawn from, among other things, dreams, various animals, especially certain kinds of owls and lizards, and

Filológicas, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facsímiles de lingüística y filología nahuas, no. 3, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), fol. 20r-21r, as aware as León of those practices with which he is mainly concerned but also clearly much closer to the days of the open practice of the old rites.

The performance of traditional marriage rites, with or without a Christian ceremony, might be a more significant issue in practice, but here León is uncharacteristically parsimonious with details: see León, fol. 73v, and compare to *Doctrina cristiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 27, fol. cx v. The Franciscan Juan Bautista’s approach to the subject at the turn of the seventeenth century, it might be noted, is primarily concerned with sex by the not-yet-Christianly-married couple, rather than with idolatry, though Bautista generally seems to be more sparing in his use of the ‘idolatry’ label than León, while Molina mentions both potential problems, but gives premarital sex the pride of place: Juan Bautista, OFM, *Confessionario en lengua mexicana y castellana: Con muchas advertencias muy necesarias para los confesores* (Santiago Tlatelolco: Por Melchior Ocharte, 1599), fol. [67]v-68r; Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 98v; and cf. also Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 5, fol. 7r-9r, on hearing the confessions of the engaged couple.

²⁸León, fol. 95r-100v. This passage is taken from Sahagún (see below, 200, n. 77), not original to León, but Sahagún was not the only one to express concern over the same phenomenon: compare the Dominican student of Nahuatl antiquities Diego Durán, writing ca. 1580, who is prepared in theory to distinguish between idolatrous and non-idolatrous survivals even in the ritual realm, but who often appears to have difficulty in quite reconciling himself to a positive interpretation of any particular example: Diego Durán, OP, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme*, with a Preliminary Study by Rosa Camelo and José Rubén Romero, Cien de México (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1995), tratado 2, cap. 14, 2: 147; cap. 15, 2: 154; cap. 16, 2: 156; cap. 19, 2: 180-81; cap. 20, 2: 183-86; and cap. 21, 2: 202; and tratado 3, cap. 3, 2: 242-43; segundo mes, 2: 249; sexto mes, 2: 261-62; noveno mes, 2: 268-69; and undécimo mes, 2: 274-75.

²⁹“[I]n oamotech çaliuhca, in yhuical [sic] tlateotoquiliztlachihualli, in axcan oamotech cahuico.” León, fol. 8v.

³⁰Ibid., fol. 9r, 56v-57r, and 111v-112v.

³¹Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, “Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que oy viuen entre los indios naturales desta Nueva España: Escrito en Mexico: Año 1629,” *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 6 (1898-1900): 123-223.

perhaps most pressing of all, the hearth fire.³² No less than in ‘idolatry’ strictly speaking, the honor paid to these creatures is honor paid to the devil, in León’s opinion and as he does not hesitate to point out when raising the subject; rather than on devil-worship as such or on the demonic pact, however, the focus of the Dominican’s arguments is on the misunderstanding of the true order of the world which these beliefs reflect. The old gods, on an assumed euhemerist theory in which the devil is again noticeable for his absence, “are just only some people, already all dead, suffering in hell,” who “when they still lived on earth, were sick, were tired, wept, were disturbed on account of people,” and of whom León insists, in an ironic and doubtless unintentional echo of the crowd’s challenge to Christ on the cross, that “nothing is reckoned on that by which they help people. They were not able to help themselves by their own power: how will they help those who seek help from them? Truly it is all a vain thing, a joke, a jest; nothing is reckoned on it.”³³

The owl, by contrast, seemingly wiser than the Indians who place their hope in what cannot help them, is not bearing a message to them when it cries, as they think, but calling out for aid to the Creator Who sustains it: “your children who lie in the cradle, when one

³²León, fol. 5r-5v, 8v-9r, 24r, 56v-57r, 103v, 111v-112r, and 125r; and cf. also fol. 100v, in the conclusion to the Spanish-language discussion of the old ritual calendar: “Si alguna cosa à quedado mas araygada en los coraçones de los Indios y Indias es esto del fuego, y su veneracion, y sacar fuego nueuo y conseruallo vn año en lugares ò cultos, y esto que passamos por ello como gatos sobre ascuas en las confesiones, que dixo el fuego y que lloro el fuego, y otras cosas destas, carguen la mano per uiscera Iesu Christi en reprehenderselo y darles à entender su engaño y ceguera para que assi se desarraygue, en confesiones y sermones combatamos todos esta fortaleza del Demonio, y aduertase el Baptismo del fuego en donde les ponen los sobrenombres que llaman yahuiltoca, quando nacen y que las paridas, y parteras no tengan al fuego por padre ò madre ni autor de la naturaleza, y por eso dizen que al nacer de todos y al morir assiste el fuego à todos para su conseruacion y aumento, redarguilles esto y abominarselo, con las razones que para ello se pone en el discurso deste Confesionario como cosa que tanto ymporta al seruicio de Nuestro Señor y à la saluacion destes pobres.”

³³“[C]equintin ça çan tlacame, ye omoch mîmicque, Mictlan tlayhiyohuia ... icuac oc nemi tlalticpac, mococoaya, ciahuia, chocaya, mamanaya tepampa, ic tepalehuia, àtle ipan pouhqui, àmo huel monòmapalehuiaya, quenin quinpalehuizque, in intech mopalehuilania? ca nel moch ahuilli, camanalli, çaçanilli, àtle ipan pouhqui.” Ibid., fol. 12r. Cf. Matthew 27: 39-43, Mark 15: 29-32, and Luke 23: 35-39.

cries, as if he sadly says something, what does he want? He is hungry, he wants to nurse, he cries for his mother, she will give him to nurse: just also in this way the bird, the owl, is hungry. It does not hope in anyone on earth, who will feed it, give it to drink; only Dios alone, since it cries for Him, will give it things. It does not speak to you, hope in you.”³⁴

By the same token, what the Indians need to recognize in the Christian God is the sole and omnipotent source of all the goods of this world as well as the next, from Whom, and from no one and nothing else, they must be asked, and to Whom thanks must be given, with a thanksgiving which, though partly inherited from the 1548 catechism, has acquired a new tone of intellectual obligation, overlaying the older text’s desire for emotional response. Explicitly contrasted to the service of the old gods under the fifth article of the divinity and again under the first commandment, in direct reliance on the text of 1548,³⁵ and still figuring on their own account among the Christian’s Sunday duties, albeit no longer with the absolute predominance they held in 1548,³⁶ this recognition and thanksgiving have also expanded their realm to the function of memory, the first of the three faculties of the soul, and hence to a key role in the process of salvation, reminding the soul of all the spiritual and material benefits which God has given it, “so that always it will

³⁴“[C]a in amopilhuan in coçoltica onoque, in ìcuac choca, yuhquim ma taocoxca tlàtoa, tlein quinequi? teocihui chichiznequi, quichoquilia in inantzin, quichichitiz, çan no yuhqui, in tototl, in tecolotl, teocihui, ayac quitemachia tlalticpac, quitlacualtiz, catlitiz, çaniyo iceltzin in Dios, inic yèhuatzin quimochoquililia, quimotlamaquiliz, ca amo tehuatl mitznotza, mitztemachia.” León, fol. 57r.

³⁵Ibid., fol. 24r-25r and 56r-57r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 8-9, fol. [xl] v - [xlij] r; and sermon 18, fol. lxxx v - lxxxij r.

³⁶León, fol. 59r and 84r; cf. Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 18-19, fol. lxxxij v - lxxxiiij v. León has expanded the notably selective list of obligations under the third commandment given here in the 1548 catechism to something much closer to the standard, adding recitation of the rosary (a sign of later date) and the catechism, meditation on the Passion, and repentance for sins to rest from servile work, spiritual occupation, thanksgiving, and hearing mass and sermon, but thanksgiving continues to hold an unusually significant place, particularly in comparison to the glancing reference to repentance for sins.

bless Him, repay to Him His deeds of favor, so that He will save it.”³⁷ Perhaps most tellingly for what it supersedes, however, for León this recognition and thanksgiving are the primary function of grace before meals, a ritual long urged by the friars but generally explained in terms of the apotropaic function of the sign of cross, as a blessing and an exorcism.³⁸ For León, on the other hand, though this protective aspect does come in for mention in a secondary position,³⁹ the distinction which comes to the fore is not that between blessed and unblessed, divine and demonic, but that between knowledge and ignorance, recognition and blindness:

Already you know, as has been said to you above, that it is Dios Who gives you your supper, your dinner, causes to rise up every various edible thing, drinkable thing, which you eat, which you drink, our sustenance, corn, chile, tomatoes, whatever various edible things there are which you eat. Therefore indeed it is necessary for you to be grateful, to feel gratitude, so that you will bless Dios for all the favors you receive. Therefore when at the time of eating, at the time of drinking, already the food which you are about to eat is placed before you, you will not then take your food at once, as idolaters do, who do not know from where the food comes which they will eat. Rather, first it is necessary that you bless your food as good Christians do.⁴⁰

³⁷“[Y]nic mochipa quimoyectenehuiliz, quimocuepcayotiliz, yn iteicneliliztlachihualtzin, ynic quimomaquixtilitzinoz.” León, fol. 90v. Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 104v-105r, assigns the same function of thanksgiving to the memory, but focuses on spiritual benefits, without mention of temporal ones.

³⁸Although Bautista, *Confessionario*, *confessionario mayor*, fol. 56v, in an optional question under the sin of gluttony, compares the person who eats without first giving thanks to a dog.

³⁹León, fol. 93r.

The discussion of the *Per signum crucis* does focus on the expulsion of the devil, though with a less traditional emphasis on his invisibility, making these invisible arms of the Cross and the name of Jesus the only appropriate or effective ones to be used against him: León, fol. 85r-86r.

⁴⁰“Ye anquimomachiltia yn yuh tlacpac oamilhuiloque, ca i yèhuatzin Dios ca amechmomaquilia in amocochca in amoneuhca, quimozcaltia in ixquich nepapan in qualoni, in yhualoni, in anquicua, in anqui, in tonacayotl tlaolli, in chilli, tomatl, yn çaço ixquich nepapan cualoni, in anquimocualtia. Yèhica huel amotech monequi anquitlaçcamatizque anquicnelilmattizque, ic anquimoyectenehuilizque in Dios yn ipan in ixquich in amocneliloca, yèhica in icuac amotlacuayan, amatlian, in ye amixpan tlalilo in tlacualli, in ye anquicuzque, àmo niman anquicuitihuetzizque, in amotlacual, in yuh quichihua in tlateotocanime, in àmo quimatti, in campa hualéhua in tlacualtintli, in quicuzque, auh ca achtopa monequi anquiteochihuazque in amotlacual in yuh quimochihuilia in cualtin Christianome.” *Ibid.*, fol. 92v-93r.

In the recognition of the true source of the food to be eaten, the lens through which León approaches the subject seems once again to be an operative definition of idolatry and its converse, correct worship of the true God, in which the devil is less significant than a proper understanding of the divinely-centered natural order.⁴¹

* * *

Despite the need for revelation in order to grasp this order, León and the Dominicans of 1548 alike generally take their own status and credibility for granted, once having asserted it, but for Sahagún the question of the friars' teaching authority is a central issue. In the Spanish-language prologue to the *Coloquios*, it is the establishment of this authority which is presented as the cornerstone and justification both of the 'historical' event narrated and of this retelling of it, in comparison to which the particular doctrine so authorized seems to be of relatively minor importance. For the postulated audience of 1524, this authority springs in the first instance, Sahagún has no qualms about admitting, from the fact of military conquest: Cortés gathered the *principales* of Mexico City and the surrounding area and, through his explicitly mentioned but unnamed interpreter, explained to them "what persons were those [the Twelve] and from whom they had been sent and for what, and the respect and obedience which they were to have toward them," an explanation which "went farther toward reaching [*hizo más camino a*] the hearts of the hearers, to give credit to what those apostolic preachers would say to them, than if they saw them raise the

⁴¹So too drunkenness, though associated with sins against the First Commandment in an address to precede confession (*ibid.*, fol. 103v), is not condemned because of connections to the old rites but as a form of gluttonous immoderation and as a violation of divine commandment, as illustrated by the punishment inflicted on the whole human race because of Adam and Eve's one act of excessive eating in the Garden of Eden (*ibid.*, fol. 90r and 91v-92r). In the Spanish-language advice to confessors also, where he might be more frank about an idolatrous connection, León's approach to combating the use of Indian drunkenness as an excuse for the denial of communion is to focus on the illogic of doing so when neither high-ranking Indians, more frequent drinkers than the commoners, nor foreigners who drink "*hasta caer*" are barred, a question of decorum and perhaps one of proper respect for the rational capacities of one's own soul (see Durán, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 22, 2: 208-9, and Plaza, 660 and 695), but not one of infidelity: León, fol. 121v-122r.

dead.”⁴² Having thus assured the attentiveness of their audience, however, the Twelve establish four ‘foundations’ (*fundamentos*) of their own, in Sahagún’s analysis, in which, the lack of visible miracles notwithstanding, “the mode of proceeding which they had gives to understand that these apostolic preachers were governed by the Holy Spirit.”⁴³ First, the Indians are to learn that the friars are not acting on their own but sent by higher authority “to convert them to God,” that this authority is “of supreme authority, wisdom, and sanctity, and that it was immediate to the Almighty God and His Vicar, the which foundation not only the Apostles but the Redeemer Himself took to found their doctrine (as is very clearly seen in many parts of the New Testament), He affirming to have been sent from His Father, and they from their Teacher.”⁴⁴ Second, that neither the friars nor the one who sent them were seeking temporal gain, but only the salvation of the Indians’ souls.⁴⁵ Third, “that the doctrine which they were to teach them was not human doctrine, nor composed or invented by human wit [*ingenio*], but rather come from heaven, given by the Almighty Lord Who dwells in the heavens (which [doctrine] is called Sacred

⁴² “[Q]ué personas eran aquellas y de quién avían sido embiadas y a qué, y el respecto y obediencia que los avían de tener. ... hizo más camino a los coraçones de los oyentes, para dar crédito a lo que aquellos apostólicos predicadores los dixesen, que si los vieran resucitar muertos.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, prologue, 39 and 73.

⁴³ “El modo de proceder que tuvieron da a entender estos apostólicos predicadores ser regidos por el Espíritu Sancto.” *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ “[A] los convertir a Dios ... de suprema autoridad, sabiduría y sanctidad, y que era inmediato al Todopoderoso Dios y su Vicario; el qual fundamento no solo tomaron los apóstoles, pero el mismo Redemptor para fundar su doctrina (según se vee muy claramente en muchas partes del nuevo Testamento), él afirmando aver sido embiado de su padre, y ellos de su maestro.” *Ibid.*, 39 and 73-74.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 39 and 74. Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Psalmodia christiana (Christian Psalmody)*, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), in *die beati Marci, euangelistae*, psalm 4, 126-27, where Mark, previously a merchant, is praised for seeking no price for sharing his new wealth, the Gospel.

Scripture).⁴⁶ And fourth, “that in the world there is a kingdom, which is called kingdom of heaven, which is ruled and governed by the Omnipotent Lord Who is in the heavens and by the monarch, His Vicar, who dwells on earth, whose seat and dwelling is in the great city of Rome, which is called Holy Catholic Church.”⁴⁷ From these foundations, then, “in great manner efficacious to persuade to the Holy Catholic Faith people alien to all knowledge of divine matters and in great part vitiated [*lisiada*] in the knowledge of human matters,” the friars “go on in due order [*ordenadamente*] to give them news of the errors in which they were, and of what it was fitting for them to believe in order to leave them, and of what it was fitting for them to do in order to remedy their perdition and save their souls from eternal punishment and win the promises of eternal life (which Our Lord gives in heaven to those who serve Him here in the world),” for which purpose “they authorize all their doctrine with the testimonies of Sacred Scripture or with the authority of Holy Mother Church, and this with a plain and clear style, well measured and proportioned to the capacity of the hearers, as will appear in the process of the work which follows.”⁴⁸

In accordance with this program, the Twelve’s first discourse is devoted to an account of their voyage, the pope who sent them, the existence and origin of Scripture,

⁴⁶ “[Q]ue la doctrina que les avían de enseñar no era doctrina humana ni por ingenio humano compuesta ni inventada, sino venida del cielo, dada del Todopoderoso Señor que habita en los cielos (la qual se llama Sagrada Escripura).” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, prologue, 39 and 74.

⁴⁷ The antecedent of the last ‘which’ of the translation is equally ambiguous in the original. “[Q]ue en el mundo ay un reyno, que se llama reyno de los cielos, el cual es regido y gouernado por el omnipotente Señor que está en los cielos y por el Monarcha su vicario que habita en las tierras, cuya silla y habitación es en la gran ciudad de Roma, que se llama Sancta yglesia cathólica.” *Ibid.*, 40 and 74.

⁴⁸ “En gran manera ... eficaces ... para persuadir a la sancta fe cathólica a gente agena de todo conocimiento de las cosas diuinas y en gran parte lisiada en el conocimiento de las cosas humanas. ... proceden ... ordenadamente a darles noticias de los errores en que estauan, y de lo que les conuenía creer para salir dellos, y de lo que les conuenía hazer para remediar su perdición y saluar sus ánimas de la pena eterna y ganar los prometimientos de la vida eterna (que nuestro Señor da en el cielo a los que le siruen acá en el mundo); autorizan toda su doctrina con los testimonios de la Sagrada Escripura o con lauthoridad de la Sancta madre yglesia, y esto con estilo llano y claro, bien medido y proporcionado a la capacidad de los oyentes, según parecerá en el proceso de la obra que se sigue.” *Ibid.*

monotheism, and the kingdom of heaven and the Church, yet all placed in a framework in which a certain amount of conceptual confusion seems to be as much deliberate aim as unavoidable accompaniment of this novel preaching. Read through that lens of familiar Catholic dogma which Sahagún has just been at such pains to set up in the Spanish prologue, where God is in His heaven, the pope is in Rome wielding the power of the keys, and salvation is a question of the fate of the soul after death, it is clear what the friars' Nahuatl discourse is intended to convey, but read without these assumptions, though the message is no less clear, its register is rather different. Like the Dominicans, the Twelve in Sahagún's account do not doubt that their message, contained in the "divine word," is one the Indians have never heard before,⁴⁹ but where the Dominicans, turning quickly to the rewards and punishments of the afterlife, emphasize the literally super-natural character of the God they introduce, the Franciscans' appeal tends rather to confuse the boundaries between the divine and human spheres as much as possible. Referred to not only as *Sancto Padre* but as *Papa*, a word homonymic with a Nahuatl term associated with the prehispanic priesthood and hence rarely adopted in a Christian context,⁵⁰ the pope is both himself a

⁴⁹Ibid., cap. 3, para. B-C, 48-49, 82, and 116-18.

⁵⁰The exact referent of the Nahuatl term is a subject of some dispute. According to Motolinía it is a Spanish misapplication of the Nahuatl term for the ritually untended hair of the sacrificial priests, extended to the priests themselves, while for Durán, intriguingly, it is a name of the culture hero (and for Durán, St Thomas-figure) Topiltzin, 'Our Child', he who went off to the east and might perhaps return from there (better known as Quetzalcoatl, though for Durán Quetzalcoatl is a distinct person, a sorcerer paired with Tezcatlipoca as an enemy of Topiltzin). Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 7, 153-54; also in slightly longer form in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 14, 194, and Zorita, pt. 1, cap. 9, 205; and Durán, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 1, 17-24. The Tlaxcalan historian Diego Muñoz Camargo, a first-generation mestizo who identified with his father's heritage and wrote in Spanish, agrees with Motolinía in deriving the term from the priests' hair, but appears to indicate that the synecdoche was prehispanic: Muñoz Camargo, 158. For the Spanish borrowing of the Nahuatl term see Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, with a Prologue by Carlos Pereyra, Colección Austral, Historia, no. 266 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1955), cap. 3, 41: "diez indios que traían las ropas de mantas de algodón largas, que les daban hasta los pies, y eran blancas, y los cabellos muy grandes, llenos de sangre revuelta con ellos, que no se pueden desparcir ni aun peinar si no se cortan; los cuales indios eran sacerdotes de ídolos, que en la Nueva España comúnmente se llamaban papas, y ansí los nombraré de aquí adelante."

messenger, sent by the one who is “truly just alone God, Lord,” in order to “make Him known through the divine word to all people on earth, in the whole world, so that they will be able to know Him, so that they will be able to revere Him, and so that they will be able to serve Him, that one, God, Lord,”⁵¹ and a lord whose rulership, like that of his divine master, is distinctly ambiguous in nature, much as his Spanish-language concern “for the health of your souls” becomes in Nahuatl a more general concern “on your account,” and his Spanish “spiritual jurisdiction” becomes a less technical but probably broader status as a “lord through divinity” or “in a divine way,” the friars’ standard but less than accurate substitute for the untranslatable category of the ‘spiritual’.⁵² The deity in question, whose

⁵¹“In iehoatzin sancto padre. ca no tlanavatilli, qujmonavatili, qujmotequjtli in nelli çan iceltzin teut tlatoanj. inic qujmjxtlamachtiliz teutlatoltica in ixqujchtin tlalticpac, noujan cemanaoac tlaca: inic uel qujmjxmachilizque, inic vel qujmjmacaxilizque, ioan inic vel qujmotlaiecoltilizque in iehoatzin teutl tlatoanj.”

In Spanish, “Este gran Señor Sancto Padre también es mandado; mandóle y encargóle el solo verdadero Dios que informase a todos cuantos ay en el mundo en su sancta fe, dándoles a conocer quién él es, para, que, conociéndole, le siruan y se saluen.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 2, para. B, 46-47, 81, and 110.

León-Portilla, *ibid.*, 111, lin. 182-92, takes the pope as the one doing the sending or commanding: “Él, el sancto Padre, también dispone, ordena, se afana, para que el verdadero, el sólo único Dios, Señor, así sea dado a conocer, con la palabra divina, en todas partes de la tierra, por todas partes, a los hombres del mundo, para que puedan conocerle, para que puedan venerarle, y así puedan servirle, a él, Dios, Señor.” This is problematic on several counts: first, ‘tlanavatilli’, translated as ‘dispone’, is a patient noun, signifying the person to which things are ordered, not a verb. Second, ‘qujmonavatili’ and ‘qujmotequjtli’, translated as ‘ordena, se afana’, which are indeed verbs, are in the past tense, not in the present, and have singular definite object prefixes, indicating that a specified someone or something is being ordered or put to work - and if the pope is taken as the subject, the only ‘someone’ remaining in the text to fulfill the role of object is the One True God. If the object is to be taken as the various ‘somethings’ understood by the following purpose clause, then 1) the object prefix should be indefinite, not definite (*tla-* rather than *qui-*); and 2) the clause identifying God (‘in nelli çan iceltzin teut tlatoanj’) should come somewhere after ‘inic’ (introducing the purpose clause), not before it. Third, ‘qujmjxtlamachtiliz’, translated as ‘sea dado a conocer’, is active, not passive, again with a singular subject and a singular definite object, and again, one of these must be the pope and the other God. Finally, on a less important point, while it is possible, though unusual, to read ‘cemanaoac’ (‘in the world’) as modifying ‘tlaca’ (‘people’, León-Portilla’s ‘los hombres’), ‘ixqujchtin’, an animate plural (‘all, every’), cannot modify ‘tlalticpac’ (‘on earth’).

⁵²In Nahuatl, “We are just messengers, we have just been sent here to your home, to your water, your mountain [= your city]: we came to send out the breath, the word of him who is through divinity a great lord of the whole world, the earth, whose name is *Sancto Padre Papa*, for he is in anguish on your account.” (“Ca çan titilanti çan otioalivaloque yn nçan amochantzinco, in amauh, in amotepeuh ipan: tiqaliqujtiaque yhiiotzin ylatoltzin in novian cemanavac, tlalticpac vey tlatoanj teiotica in itocatzin Sancto Pe. Papa, ca amocatzinco monentlamachitia.”)

name is Jesus Christ, “as god is everywhere, indeed sees everything, indeed knows everything, there is nothing like to Him in being very marvelous; and as man He is there in heaven, in His lordly dwelling, and here on earth His lordship extends, not since [only] a few centuries [lit., 400-year periods]; and now His lordship has reached you, you have become favored, you have become deserving.”⁵³ In language indistinguishable from that which might be used of an earthly ruler, this God “here on earth set up His lordship, placed His mat, His seat,” called “heavenly lordship” and “*sancta yglesia catholica*,”⁵⁴ and the former name, it is ‘explained’, begging the question of the significance of heaven, not to mention that of this string of foreign words representing the ‘Holy Catholic Church’, is applied “because no one will enter heaven if he is not counted as part of this *sancta yglesia*.”⁵⁵ Both this entrance into heaven and a treasure described with the language of earthly riches, furthermore, are controlled by the pope as Christ’s ‘image’, a term which in

In Spanish, “[N]o somos más que mensajeros embiados a esta tierra; traemos os una gran embaxada de aquel gran Señor que tiene iurisdicion espiritual sobre todos quantos viuen en el mundo, el qual se llama Santo Padre, el qual está congoxada y cuidadoso por la salud de vuestras almas.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 1, para. A, 44-45, 79, and 102.

Teoyotica, from *teo-*, ‘god’, the essentializing suffix *-yo-*, the ligature *-ti-*, and the postposition *-ca*, ‘with, through, by means of’, indicates supernatural power or numinousness, but conveys neither the legal nor the ontological implications of the European pairings of spiritual / temporal, spiritual / profane, and spiritual / corporal.

⁵³“Inic teutl novian moietztica, vel ixqujch qujmottilia vel ixqujch qujmomachitia, atle iuhquj inic cenca maviztic: auh inic oqujchtlj vmpa moietztica in ilhuicatl itic in jtlatocachantzinco. Auh in njcan tlalticpac oncah in itlatocaiotzin, amo qujn quezquj tzonxivitl: auh in axcan amopa oacico in jtlatocaiotzin, oamocnopiltic oamomacevaltic.”

In Spanish, “Este verdadero Dios está en todo lugar, todas las cosas vee y todas las cosas sabe, es sumamente marauilloso, y en quanto hombre está en el cielo, que es su palacio real y acá en la tierra tiene también su reyno, el qual començó desde el principio del mundo y quiere os encorporar en él agora, de lo qual os abéis de tener por bienaventurados.” *Ibid.*, cap. 4, para. E, 50-51, 83-84, and 128.

⁵⁴“[I]n njcan tlalticpac qujmotlalili ytlatocaiotzin, ipetlatzin, icpaltzin qujmotequjli: auh in iehoatl in, ytoca ilhuicac tlatacaiotl ioan ytoca Sancta yglesia catholica.”

In Spanish, “[T]iene un reyno acá en el mundo, que se llama reyno de los cielos, y por otro nombre yglesia cathólica.” *Ibid.*, cap. 5, para. intro., 50-51, 85, and 130.

⁵⁵“[C]a njman aiac ilhujcac calaquiz intlacamo itech poviz inhin Sancta yglesia.”

In Spanish, “[P]orque ninguno yrá al cielo a reynar si no se subjectare a este reyno acá en el mundo.” *Ibid.*

Nahuatl suggests a ritual avatar, or in human affairs a personal substitution, not the legal delegation of ‘vicar’:⁵⁶

There, in his lordly dwelling, very many kinds of riches, of wealth are guarded, the chest, the storage basket of that which is heavenly; it belongs to the Possessor of Nearness, the Possessor of Closeness, indeed a precious thing, something closed up, and indeed it is guarded, this lordship of Him Through Whom One Lives, which is called *sancta yglesia catholica*. He guards it, holds it close, the great priest, the *sancto padre*; he is carrying the key [*tlatlapolonj*]⁵⁷ with which it is opened. Just indeed he alone opens it, there is no one else, if not at his command. He also guards that by which heaven is entered: [no one enters] if he, the *sancto padre*, does not open it for him, or someone who is his envoy. For indeed he is the image [*ixiptlatzin*] of Him Through Whom One Lives, our Lord, our God, Jesus Christ.⁵⁸

⁵⁶To the extent that a viceroy represents the person of the monarch, and is not simply his minister like any other royal official, the viceroy is the king’s ‘image’ in this sense, but a comparison might also be made to the relation between Christian religious images (for which the friars adopted the same word) and their archetypes in popular veneration.

⁵⁷Prehispanic Nahua houses lacking hinged doors and worked iron, this term would not have conjured up in the minds of an immediately post-Conquest audience quite the same image as could have been understood by the 1560s, but it is a regularly-derived instrumental noun, ‘that by which something is opened, uncovered’. Cf. Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 69-70 and 265-66, and Alonso de Molina, OFM, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana; Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City: En casa de Antonio de Spinosa, 1571; reprint, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana: Edición facsímil*, 3d ed., with a Preliminary Study by Miguel León-Portilla, Biblioteca Porrúa, no. 44, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1992), s.v. “Llaue para abrir,” pt. 1, fol. 79v, and “Tlatlapoloni,” pt. 2, fol. 139r.

⁵⁸ “[I]n oncan hin ytlacachantzinco cenca mjec tlamantli in necuiltonollj in netlamachtillj mopie in ilhujcacioltl ytoptzin ypetlacaltzin ypan povi in tloque navaque. Vellaçotli tzaccaio, auh vel pielu, inhin itlatocaiotzin ypalnemoanj in moteneua Sancta yglesia catholica, iehoatzin quimopielia quimopachilhuja in vey teupixquj in Sancto p^e iehoatzin qujmotqujlitica in tlatlapolonj inic motlapoa, çan vel iceltzin qujmotlapolhuja, aiac occe aca, intlacamo jtencopatiz, no iehoatzin quimopielia inic calacoa ilhujcac, intlacamo iehoatl sancto padre qujtlapolhuiz, anoço aca ytlanavaltzin: ca vel ixiptlatzin in ipalnemoanj in totecuiyo in toteuuh in Jesu christo.”

In Spanish, “En este reyno que Jesucristo tiene en el mundo ay diversas maneras de riquezas celestiales, es como una casa de riquezas celestiales que Dios tiene acá en el mundo, muy guardada y cerrada. Este reyno de Dios, que se llama Sancta yglesia, es regido por el gran Sacerdote, que es el Sancto Padre; este gran Señor tiene la ll[a]ve destas riquezas, él abre y aquellos a quien él da su poder pueden también abrir y ninguno otro; él mismo tiene las llaves del cielo y ninguno puede entrar allá si él no le abriere o alguno que tuuiere su poder, porque él solo sobre la tierra es vicario de Dios nuestro Señor Jesucristo.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 5, para. A, 50-51, 85, and 130.

The first portion of the Nahuatl is grammatically somewhat obscure and without great correspondence to its Spanish accompaniment, and León-Portilla’s translation, *ibid.*, 131, lin. 589-611, divides the clauses differently than I have done: “[A]llí en su casa real hay muy diferentes formas de bienes, riquezas; se guarda lo celestial, en su cofre, su petaca, lo que pertenece al Dueño del cerca y del junto.

Placed in an immediate post-Conquest context, where Cortés - if not a god himself, clearly favored by the gods - has just knelt before these ragged, mad-seeming 'messengers' from across the sea, this can only be interpreted as a bid for allegiance to a yet higher authority, offering in exchange for submission both spiritual and political power in this world, the ability to cross into the otherworld of the sky and return again; if Marina-Malinche, perhaps to be imagined here as the friars' translator, may have seen herself and been seen by others as the 'image' of Cortés, as has been argued, the one who spoke in the place of someone

Cosas preciosas, protegidas, bien custodiadas. Todo lo que es del señorío del Dador de la vida, la que se llama Sancta Iglesia Católica, él la custodia, la gobierna, el gran sacerdote, sancto padre, él lleva consigo la llave, con la cual se abre, sólo él lo concede, ningún otro, si no es por encargo de él. También él vigila como se entra en el cielo. (Ninguno podrá) si el sancto padre no lo concede, o alguien por su mandato, porque él representa al Dador de la vida, a Señor Nuestro, Dios nuestro, Jesucristo." Taken alone, 'mopie' ('se guarda') could be understood to take as its subject either the preceding or the following noun phrase, the 'formas de bienes, riquezas' or 'lo celestial', but the only locative available as a place in which they or it are guarded is the 'casa real' ('ytlatocachantzincó'), not the 'cofre' and 'petaca', which though possessed by 'lo celestial' ('in ilhujcacaioitl ytoptzin ypetlacaltzin') do not carry any locative postposition which would correspond to León-Portilla's 'en'. Further, León-Portilla's 'hay' is supplied, and while the predicative 'to be' is not used in the present tense in Nahuatl, it is used for the sense of location or existence, and hence should appear here if that is the intention. Whatever the subject of 'ypan povi' ('pertenece') - I take it to be the 'cofre' and 'petaca', since the fact that they are already possessed by 'lo celestial' makes them incapable of taking another direct possessor and hence would motivate the use of this construction, but a case could also be made for all these riches taken collectively - there is no 'lo que' which could be an immediate subject of 'se guarda'. The manuscript punctuation does begin a new sentence at 'Cosas preciosas' ('Vellaçotli'), but in translating 'auh vel pielo' as '[cosas] bien custodiadas' León-Portilla not only turns a passive verb ('pielo') into a noun, but fails to take note of a linguistic sign much more reliable than sixteenth-century punctuation, 'auh', generally translated as 'but' or 'and', depending on the strength of the adversative sense, but regularly indicating a new point and the opening word of its clause. Finally, 'todo lo que es de' is an embroidery on the simple demonstrative 'ihin' or 'this' (as the original Spanish has it: 'este reyno de Dios').

In the second half of the passage the grammar is less problematic, but I see the vocabulary regarding the image of the 'key' as more concrete than León-Portilla's text would suggest. 'Quimopachilhuja', which I translate as 'he holds it close' and León-Portilla as 'la gobierna', with the object in both cases being the Church, can be reasonably interpreted either way: the root meaning of the verb involves pressure from above, and its applications range from a hen sitting on her eggs to government, by way of the physical gesture of bowing down (Molina, *Vocabulario*, s.v. "Pachilhuia.nitetla", "Pachoa.nino", "Pachoa.nite", "Pachoa.nitla", and "Pachoa.notech nic", pt. 2, fol. 78v-79r). 'Qujmotlapolhuja' and 'qujtlapolhuiz,' however, which León-Portilla translates with forms of 'conceder', are the reverential and applicative, respectively, of *-tlapoa*, 'to open, uncover', just used in underived form in 'motlapoa' ('se abre') and 'tlatlapolonj' ('llave', literally 'that by which something is opened').

powerful beyond the normal run of men,⁵⁹ the resonance is only so much the stronger.

Not only do this God and His high priest exercise His divine lordship on both sides of the boundary between heaven and earth, furthermore, but His displeasure is manifested in equally political, this-worldly form.⁶⁰ For all that the Indians have admittedly not heard His word before, the Spanish Conquest, the friars make clear, is His punishment for what the Spanish text refers to as their 'sins' and the Nahuatl as their 'offenses' against God, the things by which they have insulted, injured, or grieved Him,⁶¹ and it is for this reason that

⁵⁹This is one of a number of interesting suggestions made by Frances Karttunen, "Rethinking Malinche," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, ed. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 291-312.

⁶⁰Louise M. Burkhart, "Doctrinal Aspects of Sahagún's *Colloquios*," in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico*, ed. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber, *Studies on Culture and Society*, ed. Richard M. Leventhal and J. Jorge Klor de Alva, vol. 2 (Albany, N.Y.: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, State University of New York, distributed by University of Texas Press, 1988), 65-82, at 71, links this threat of destruction rather than hellfire with prehispanic cosmology, in which the destruction of the world is a constant threat but punishment after death is of no concern, but while recognition of traditional disinterest in the afterlife might indeed have led Sahagún in 1564 to downplay this aspect of the Christian universe in judging what the friars of 1524 'should have said', the destruction which is emphasized instead has in my view less to do with the cosmological destruction of the Nahua 'five suns' (or for that matter Noah's Flood) than with the wars and pestilences dispensed as targeted punishment by the wrathful Lord of Hosts.

⁶¹In Nahuatl, "Indeed our hearts have been satisfied [i.e. we have come to know without doubt], indeed with our eyes we have seen it, someone has not just told us how you do not know, you do not revere, you do not honor Him, the true God, Lord: you do very many things each night, each day, with which you offend Him, with which you live in His wrath, His anger: He is being very much grieved on your account. Because of this He has sent those who have come ahead, His vassals, the *españoles*, who have conquered you, who have afflicted you, who have brought you pains, anguish, so that you have been punished, so that you have paid for what is not a small thing, the offense of Him which you had continually done." ("Vel otoiollo pachiuuh, vel tixtelolo ica otiqujttaque, amo çan aca otechilhuj in quenjn amo anqujmjmachilia, amo anqujmjmacaxilia amo anqujmomaviztililia in iehoatzin nelli teutl tlatoanj: ca cenca mjectlamantlj in ceioval in cemjlhujtl anqujchioa, inic anqujmoioli tlacalhuja, inic itlaueltzin yqualantzin ipan annemj: cenca amotechcopa amoioli tlacotzinotica [sic: read moioli tlacotzinotica]. Ipampa hin oqujnvalmjvali in ovaliacattiaque in imacevaltztivan in españoles, in oamechpeuhque, in oamechtolinque, in cococ teupouhquj oamechittique ynic oantlatzacujtiloque inic oanqujtzacque in amo çan quexqujch in jiolitlacolocatzin in oanqujchiuhtinenca.")

In Spanish, "Sabido tenemos y entendido, amados amigos, no por oydas sino por lo que con nuestros propios ojos emos visto que no conocéis al solo verdadero Dios por quien todos vivimos, ni le teméis, ni acatáis, mas antes cada día y cada noche le ofendéis en muchas cosas y por esto auéis yncurrido en su yra y desgracia y está en gran manera enojado contra vosotros; por esta causa embió delante a sus siervos y vasallos los españoles, para que os castigasen y afligiesen por vuestros innumerables pecados en que

His papal intermediary has sent the friars, out of compassion and charity, “in order that we teach you how you will be able to placate Him Through Whom One Lives, so that He will not entirely destroy you.”⁶² Otherwise, they warn in response to the first set of Indian objections, this Dios Who has already begun to destroy them - in Spanish “for your great sins” but in Nahuatl this time as a simple fact without explanation - will make an end of them once and for all,⁶³ a threat backed up in the final surviving chapter by a recounting of

estáis.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 2, para. C, 46-47, 81, and 110-12.

It is unclear to me why León-Portilla, *ibid.*, 113, lin. 230, translates “inic oanqujtzacque,” rendered by me as “so that you have paid for,” as “para que terminarais.” ‘Oanqujtzacque’ is past perfect, not future, and *tzaqua.nitla*, defined by Molina as “atapar o cerrar algo, o lastar y pagar la pena puesta por la ley” (Molina, *Vocabulario*, pt. 2, fol. 151v), though generally in the semantic field of finishing or completion, fits the context perfectly well in the specific meaning given.

Where I emend “amoiolitlacotzinotica” to “moiolitlacotzinotica,” translating as “He is being very much grieved,” León-Portilla, 113, lin. 222, attempts to read the text as written, but his “los quebrantamientos [pecados] en vuestro corazón” does not work: the injury done to your hearts by someone else would be “amoiolitlacolocatzin,” and the injury which you do to someone else’s heart would be “amoteiolitlacoalitzin,” but the injuries which your hearts are doing require a different construction, and this is in any case a verb, not a noun, as witnessed unambiguously by the verbal reverential suffix *-tzino* (compounding as *-tzino-*).

⁶² “[I]nic tamechmachtizque in quenjn vel anqujmoiolcevilizque yn ipalnemoanj in[ic] amo amechcempopuloz.”

In Spanish, “[P]ara que os instruyamos en cómo aplaquéis al sólo verdadero Dios porque no os destruya del todo.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 2, para. D, 46-47, 81, and 112.

The Spanish text’s qualification that “almost all” of the other peoples of the earth have already received this message drops away in the Nahuatl: “But the other people on earth, thus they have been taught, thus they have heard the divine word.” (“Auh in occeqjntin tlalticpac, tlaca ca ic omachtiloque yc oqujcacque in teotlatolli.”) In Spanish, “Los demás habitantes del mundo casi todos están ya predicados, ya an oydo las palabras de Dios.” *Ibid.*, 46-47, 81, and 110.

Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, trans. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, Monographs of the School of American Research, no. 14 (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research; University of Utah, 1950-82), lib. 1, appendix, 2: 36, para. G, and Sahagún, *Historia general*, lib. 1, appendix, 97, para. G, where idolatry and God’s resulting wrath are blamed for both the Conquest and all other preceding and following wars and afflictions, and Durán, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 13, 2: 139, advocating the preaching of “el menosprecio destas cossas y abominacion dellas y no curiosidades que ni los yndios las entienden ni aun ellos se entienden dexando de predicar que hay un berdadero dios y señor vniuersal de lo criado y como oluiden las ydolatrias y ritos antiguos y persuadilles que la caussa de ynbiar Dios sobre ellos hanbres y pestilencias es por el enojo que contra ellos justissimamente tiene si no le siruen sin mezcla de supesticiones y de ydolatrias como su magestad quiere ser seruido y es lo que tienen mas necesario.”

⁶³In Nahuatl, “Dios, who has begun your destruction, will complete it; you will be entirely lost.” (“[I]n dios in oqujmopevaltili in amopopoloa, qujmotzonquixtiliz ancempoliizque.”)

In Spanish, “[N]uestro Señor Dios que os [ha] comenzado a destruir por vuestros grandes pecados,

the first few episodes of post-Creation salvation history, the Fall, Cain and Abel, Noah, and the tower of Babel, emphasizing in each case on the one hand, the role of the demons, the Indians' gods, in fomenting evil among men, and on the other, the divine wrath and punishment which are the apparently inevitable consequences of such offenses against God.⁶⁴ Expanded and developed with further scriptural examples and direct application to the Indians' current situation, moreover, it is this same evidence of this-worldly power and this-worldly salvation, to judge by the surviving table of contents, which convinces the Nahua priests and lords, as the friars respond to "the altercation which there was between the principals and the satraps of the idols, occasion taken from what was said ... that their gods were not powerful to free them from the hands of the Spaniards," with discussions of the name of Jesus,⁶⁵ "when His kingdom began here in the world, which is the Holy Catholic Church," the certainty of the rewards and punishments which are to be expected from His divine justice, "through examples of Sacred Scripture how our lord God always favors those who believe in Him and frees them from the hands of their enemies," and as

os acabará." Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 8, para. B, 58-59, 90, and 160.

⁶⁴Ibid., cap. 14, 66-68 and 196-205. For a comparison of this version of these episodes with those in Sahagún's other works, often less concerned with the devil and more interested in moral instruction, see Burkhart, "Doctrinal Aspects," 73-81. In the works I have examined, other than the *Coloquios*, there seems to be a particular association between this kind of divine punishment and the sins of the flesh: Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Sermon 1: Dominica prima aduentus domini," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 280-84, at 283-84 (the Flood and the Cities of the Plain, along with the opportunity to repent and be spared with the Ninevites); and Sahagún, "Apéndice a la Postilla o las siete colaciones," in Sahagún, *Adiciones, Apéndice a la Postilla y Ejercicio cotidiano*, facsimile ed., ed. and trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson, with a Prologue by Miguel León-Portilla, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facsímiles de lingüística y filología nahuas, no. 6 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993), xcvcxxviii and 89-143, at 5th collation, cii-ciii and 98-101 (the Flood, the Cities of the Plain, and the execution of twenty-four thousand Israelites for concubinage with the daughters of idolaters (Numbers 25: 1-9); Anderson translates sixteen thousand rather than twenty-four thousand, reading *oxiquipilli* and understanding *onxiquipilli*, but the initial letter of the word, as it appears in the facsimile, could be read as *e*, for *exiquipilli*, 'twenty-four thousand', as easily as *o*, and if I have correctly identified the scriptural reference, based on the description of the punishment as the hanging of the leaders of the people, twenty-four thousand is what is wanted).

⁶⁵Either the power of the Holy Name against demons or its gloss as 'savior' may be meant, or both.

the “declaration” of these examples and the clinching argument which immediately precedes the Indians’ decision to renounce their old gods and commit themselves to the service of the new one, hence setting the stage for their further instruction in the remainder of the work, “that their gods could not free them from the hands of the Spaniards because they were servants of the true God Almighty and He helped them.”⁶⁶

Turning from their vanquished gods to the salvation offered by the God of the victors, a salvation the standard translation of which into Nahuatl is quite literally ‘to free from the hands (of one’s enemies)’, the Indians become the successors of the Israelites of the Exodus, brought out from the Egypt of idolatry and bound in return to the Lord’s covenant. For the Franciscan chroniclers Motolinía and Mendieta, too, Egypt is a familiar image for pagan Mexico,⁶⁷ but however strong (or weak) a typology may be read into these turns of chroniclers’ rhetoric, in the context of the *Coloquios* what is at stake is not typological identification but direct application, as in the *Psalmodia* the observance by the Israelites of the anniversary of their liberation from the hands of the Egyptians is held up as

⁶⁶ “[L]a altercación que vuo entre los principales y los sátrapas de los ydolos tomada ocasion de lo que se dixo ... que sus dioses no fueron poderosos para los librar de las manos de los españoles.

“... cuándo començó su reyno acá en el mundo, que es la Sancta yglesia cathólica.

“... ”

“... por exemplos de la Sagrada Escritura cómo nuestro Señor Dios siempre fauorece a sus creyentes y los libra de las manos de sus enemigos.

“... declaración del capítulo pasado ... que sus dioses no pudieron librarlos de las manos de los españoles, porque eran siervos del verdadero Dios Todopoderoso y los ayudó.”

Sahagún, *Coloquios*, suma de los capítulos, 41 and 76.

⁶⁷ See Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 1, 116-24, and tratado 3, cap. 9, 333 (and similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 3, 137-46, and no. 50, 319); Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 2, 134; no. 45, 291; Motolinía’s lost work quoted in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 21, 787; and Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 1, 1: 304-8, who goes a step further to identify Cortés as the new Moses; and cf. also Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 3, 296; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 5, 152; and Motolinía’s lost work quoted in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 13, 727, for the identification of Mexico with Canaan, the home of idolaters which becomes the Promised Land.

For the symbolism of Egypt, the biblical land of slavery and idolatry which becomes a land of Christian saints, cf. Francisco Arias, SI, *Parte segvnda del libro de la imitacion de Christo nuestro señor. En la qual se trata de la naturaleza y exercicio de las virtudes, y de los exemplos que Christo nuestro señor nos dio en particular de cada vna dellas, para que los imitemos* (Seville: En casa de Iuan de Leon, 1599), tratado 3, cap. 4, 13[3]-3[4].

a model for the Nahuatl celebration of the feast of St Hippolytus, the anniversary of the day on which the city of Mexico fell to Cortés's conquering army - or as the *Psalmodia* describes the event, "We were the slaves of the devils, and they, the rulers, the lords were guarding, were loving the devils, but Dios sent His warriors, by whom were conquered the devils and those who loved them."⁶⁸ Having expressed their pleasure at the Indians' decision, the friars not only immediately go on to reinforce it through the narration of further scriptural examples of the Lord's favor toward those who believe in Him, but also (again, judging by the surviving table of contents), devote particular attention to "the thanks which the Hebrews gave to our lord God for having freed them from the power of Pharaoh" before introducing its complement in the law given on Sinai, itself backed up by further examples of the punishments inflicted by God on those who believe in Him but fail to keep this law.⁶⁹

As the Israelites required instruction in the law, so too do the Indians, but in the Nahuatl text, which tends to diverge from the Spanish on this point,⁷⁰ this instruction is not at all clearly linked to any more radical change, beginning with the title which opens the

⁶⁸"Tintlacaoa ticatca in tlatlacateculu, auh in iehoanti in teteputi, in tlatoque, quinpisticatca, quintlaçotlaticatca in tlatlacateculu: auh in Dios quinoalmioali in iiaquizcaoa, ic pealoque in tlatlacateculu, yoan in intellaçotlacaoa."

Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die sancti Hipoliti, psalm 1-2, 242-45, quoted at psalm 2, 242-43. Due to the calendrical coincidence, this Roman martyr became the first patron saint of Spanish Mexico City, and his feast day was celebrated accordingly.

⁶⁹"[L]as gracias que hizieron los hebreos a nuestro Señor Dios por los aver librado del poder del Pharaón." Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 42 and 76-77, quoted at 42 and 76.

⁷⁰It is my assumption that the Nahuatl, based on a Spanish text (if not necessarily the exact Spanish text of the surviving version) in most plausible theories of this work's composition, represents Sahagún's sense of what the Spanish 'means', irrespective of its literal translation. That the Nahuatl and Spanish texts of the *Coloquios* are not in fact in direct correspondence (unlike, for example, the texts of the 1548 catechism) has long been recognized, and has been used to argue for the autonomy of the Nahuatl text as a composition of Sahagún's Nahuatl assistants, but the surviving version is a fair copy fitted out for the press, not a working draft, and if Sahagún had wished to eliminate the divergences - of which he must be presumed to have been aware - he could have done so.

colloquies proper, where the Spanish speaks of the doctrine with which the Indians were 'converted' and the Nahuatl only of the doctrine which they were 'taught.'⁷¹ Instruction in doctrine and practice are what is requested in both languages when Charles V asks the pope to send missionaries,⁷² but when the pope responds, the papal delegates are in Spanish to "preach the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ to the said infidel Indians, in order that by means of [the faith] they might be saved," but in Nahuatl to "teach them the word of our lord Dios, in order that they know Him, and in order that they be able to be saved,"⁷³ and much the same substitution also appears in the description of the pope's own mission, replacing 'the faith' as the subject of instruction by the 'divine word' and, through that word,

⁷¹In Nahuatl, "Here begins the teaching word, named *Doctrinachristiana*, which the people of here, New Spain, were taught, which the twelve *Sanct Francisco padres* taught to them, whom the lord through divinity of the world, the *Sancto padre papa Adriano sexto*, indeed first sent." ("Nican vmpeva yn temachtiliztlatolli yn jtoca Doctrina christiana yn omachtiloque njcan yancujc españa tlaca in oquinmachtique in matlactin omome Sanct francisco Padreme in vel iancujcan qujnvalmjuali in cemanavac teuyotica tlatoanj yn Sancto padre papa Adriano sexto.")

In Spanish, "Aquí comienza la doctrina christiana con que fueron conuertidos los indios desta Nueva España por los doze frayles de San Francisco que primeramente los predicaron embiados por el papa Adriano sexto." Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 44-45, 79, and 100.

⁷²In Nahuatl, "That you dispatch, you designate teachers, who will teach them the word of Dios, who will show them Christian life, for they are idolaters, *gentiles*, they live holding the *diablos* as gods." ("[T]nic tiqjnmonavatiliz, tiqjnm[o]poaliz temachtianj, in qujnmachtizque Dios itlatoltzin, in qujmititizque christianonemjiztli, ca tlatoecanjme, gentiles Diablome qujnmoteotitinemj.")

In Spanish, "[Q]ue mandeis embiar predicadores, que los prediquen la palabra de Dios, y los instruyan en la religión christiana - porque todos son ydólatras gentiles." *Ibid.*, cap. 1, para. C, 44-45, 79, and 104.

⁷³In Nahuatl, "[I]n qujnmachtizque totecujó Dios ytlatoltzin, inic qujmximachilizque. yoan inic vel momaqujxtizque."

In Spanish, "[Q]ue predicassen la fe de nuestro Señor Jesucristo a los dichos yndios infieles, para que mediante ella se saluasen." *Ibid.*, para. D, 44-45, 79, and 104.

León-Portilla's translation, *ibid.*, 105, lin. 95-98, "para ir a enseñarles la preciosa palabra del Señor Nuestro, Dios, para que así los instruyan, y así puedan salvarse," is mistaken in its rendering of 'qujmximachilizque' (mistranscribed as 'qujmximachilizque,' but clear in the facsimile) by 'los instruyan': *-iximachilia* is the reverential of *-iximati*, 'to know (a person)', and the logical reading of *quim-* here is as the third-person-singular object prefix *qui-* plus the reverential prefix *m(o)-*, not as the third-person-plural object prefix *quin-* (*quim-* before a vowel). (On a less significant point, it might also be noted that León-Portilla's 'ir a', though corresponding to a common Nahuatl construction, is not in the text here.)

acquaintance with its Speaker.⁷⁴ Likewise, where the friars explain to the Indians, according to the Spanish text, that the God Who has already given them life and goods, despite their ignorance of Him, will give them yet greater favors “if with all your heart you are converted to Him, if you take Him as God and Lord,” the Nahuatl suggests a resolution to seek no further, more than a radical change in direction: “if indeed with all your heart you will be satisfied regarding Him, if indeed you will hold Him as God, hold Him as Lord.”⁷⁵

* * *

Though no more greatly concerned with hellfire than the Dominican doctrines, Gante’s manual for Christian living presents a significantly more dynamic vision of the relationship between God and the individual, based on the pairing of penitence and mercy. Joined through the Passion as through the Nahuatl concept of *tlamaceualiztli*, both penance and merit,⁷⁶ this pairing runs throughout the volume, beginning directly with the catechism’s opening lines. After the brief affirmative response to the opening question, “Are you a Christian?,” and a relatively lengthy one to its companion, “How is it that you a

⁷⁴In Nahuatl, “This one, the *sanctopadre*, is also one dispatched; He Who is truly just alone God, Lord, dispatched him, charged him, to make Him known through the divine word to all people on earth, in the whole world, so that they will be able to know Him, so that they will be able to revere Him, and so that they will be able to serve Him, that one, God, Lord.” (“In iehoatzin sancto padre. ca no tlanavatilli, qujmonavatili, qujmotequjtli in nelli çan iceltzin teut tlatoanj. inic qujmjxtlamachtiliz teutlatoltica in ixqujchtin talticpac, noujan cemanaoac tlaca: inic uel qujmixjmachilizque, inic vel qujmjmacaxilizque, ioan inic vel qujmotlaiecoltilizque in iehoatzin teutl tlatoanj.”)

In Spanish, “Este gran Señor Sancto Padre también es mandado; mandóle y encargóle el solo verdadero Dios que informase a todos cuantos ay en el mundo en su sancta fe, dándoles a conocer quién él es, para, que, conociéndole, le siruan y se saluen.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 2, para. B, 46-47, 81, and 110.

León-Portilla’s translation makes the pope the one doing the sending, but the divergence does not affect the point at issue here; see above, 99, n. 51, for a discussion.

⁷⁵In Nahuatl, “[I]ntla uel amoceniollocopa ytechtzinco ampachivizque, intla uel anqujmoteutizque, anqujmotlatocatizque.”

In Spanish, “[S]i de todo vuestro corazón os convirtierdes a él, si le toma[r]des por Dios y Señor.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 4, para. D, 50-51, 83, and 126.

⁷⁶See Burkhardt, *The Slippery Earth*, 141-50.

Christian?,” mentioning baptism, Trinitarian belief, and the faith of the Church,⁷⁷ the statement that the Christian who wishes to be saved must know three things, what to believe, how to live (according to the commandments of God and the Church), and how not to live (according to the seven deadly sins), then inspires the immediate practical question of how to avoid falling into sin, the answer to which - prayer and God’s grace, and the sacrament of penance to rise up again after a fall - thus becomes, outside the initial profession of faith, the first subject of instruction, temporarily overriding the very scheme of *credenda, facienda, and vitanda* outlined moments before.⁷⁸ “What the Christian will first know,” too - though it appears some way into the catechism - is not the mystery of reward and punishment, but that of the Fall and the Redemption, with a sense of differentiation between fallen and graced nature in this life quite reminiscent of the Spanish-language *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera* printed in Mexico in 1545-46 and based on the *Suma* of the Seville doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, but little in evidence in either the Dominican doctrines or Sahagún, where conversion is an alteration in knowledge and behavior, but not visibly in being:

[Q]. What is it that the Christian will first know, hear?

[A]. This is what the Christian will first know, hear: he is not yet born into the *gracia* of our Lord Dios. They have just been born into exile, condemnation, by which we were condemned to never see our Lord Dios, by which we were forever and ever sentenced to death, suffering, misery.

And this sentence, exile, Adam and Eve left to us, since they sinned, the devil deceived them, so that we, their children, are punished for their sin: as they lost the *gracia* of our Lord, just so it was lost for us also, so that we became scorned, their children, we were condemned to eternal suffering.

[Q]. How were we saved from all suffering?

[A]. Through the mercy of our Lord Dios, by which He had mercy on earthly people. He sent His only beloved Child, true God: as His Father is God, just so His Child also is God: His divinity is just one. And that one, His Child, came to become flesh on earth, through the *Spiritu Sancto*,

⁷⁷Gante, fol. 1v-2r, and cf. the “Doctrina tepiton,” *ibid.*, fol. 69v-70r.

⁷⁸Gante, fol. 2r-3r, and cf. the “Doctrina tepiton,” *ibid.*, fol. 70r-70v.

inside *sancta* Mary, He came to become indeed true man, as we are, we people. He, Jesus Christ, true god and man, came to teach us the road to heaven. And on our account He died on the *cruz* ☩.

And He laid His death, His pitiful torment, His precious blood, as an offering before His beloved Father, in order to placate Him, so that again He gave us His *gracia*, all people were forgiven, the people of the world again were given His love, His mercy.

And this forgiveness, this mercy, we were given in *baptismo*, that is baptism; there indeed our sins were taken away, and we were given the *gracia* of our Lord Dios; as water cleans, purifies, the flesh which we see, just so also baptism, though the *passion* of our Lord Jesus Christ, indeed there purifies the *anima*, for it is the source of life. So I believe.⁷⁹

⁷⁹“No. ca tlehuatl yn achto quimatiz quicaquiz yn christiano.

“Nic. Ca yehuatl achtopa quimatiz quicaquiz yn christiano: ayamo ypan tlacati yn igracia in totēcuiyo dios: çan ipan otlacatque yn tetotoquilliztli yn tecemixnahuatiliztli ynic ticemixnahuatilloque yn ayc tiquittazque yn totēcuiyo Dios / ynic mochipa cemicac tiztontequililoque yn miquiztli in tlayhiyohuiliztli yn netoliniliztli.

“Auh inin tetlatzotequiliztli yn tetotoquiliztli techcahuilitiaque in Adan yhuan eua. Ynic otlatlaçoque oquimiztlacahui in tlacotecolotl. Ynic tehuantín yn timpilhuan in yndatlaçol tizacuilitlo yn quenin yhuantín yn igracia yn totēcuiyo oquipoloque çan no yuh tehuantín otipolhuililoque ynic titlatelchihualti timpilhuan titochihueque ypan titlatzontequililoque y cemicac tlayhiyohuiliztli.

“No. Quenin timaquixtiloque yn ixquich ypan tlayhiyohuiliztli.

“Nic. Ca yca yn itetlaocoliliztizin yn totēcuiyo dios ynic quinmotlaocolitili yn tlatciyac tlaca. Quihualmihualtizin in icel ytaçoçopiltzin in nelli teotl yn iuh teotl yn itatzin çan no yuh teotl yn ipiltzin: ca çan ce in iteoyotzin. Auh y yehuatl in ipiltzin in tlatciyac monacayotiztinoco yn ica spiritu sancto ytictzinco yn sancta maria huel nelli oquichtli mochihuaco: in tiuhque titlaca y yehuatzin Jesu christo yn nelli teotl yhuan oquichtli techmomaçtilico in ilhuicac otlí. Auh topampa momiquili in itech cruz ☩.

“Auh in imiquiztin yn iycnotlayhiyohuiliztizin in itlaçoçotzin yixpantzinco quimohuenmanilli yn itlaçoçotzin ynic quimoyolcehuilizin. Inic occepa techmomaçtilico yn igracia yn ixquich tlatatlapopolhuililoque in cemanahuac tlaca occeppa macoque in itetlaçoçotliztizin in itetlaocoliliztizin.

“Auh yn in tetlapopolhuiliztli in tetlaocoliliztli ca ypan timacoque in baptismo y yehuatl in nequaatequiliztli ca huel ompa toco[n]popoloc in tlatlacolli: ihuan timacoque in igracia in totēcuiyo dios: in yuhqui atl in quipaca in quichipahua in tenacayo in tiquitta çan no yuhqui in tequaatequiliztli in ica ipassion in totēcuiyo Jesu christo huel ompa quichipahua in teaniman ca yoliliznelhuayotl ca yuh nitlaneltoça.” Gante, fol. 6r-7r, and cf. the “Doctrina tepiton,” *ibid.*, fol. [71]v-72v.

Cf. *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera*, cap. 5, b j v - b ij v: “Aqui en este principio bien auria hartas cosas que dezir y declarar: mas quedarse han para quando el niño y el indio ayan entendido lo que adelante se dize y trata. Quando el niño es ya de edad crecida y tiene discrecion: no es possible que alguna vez no passe por su fantasia lo que el es / y que assiente en su coraçon como es hombre christiano: alce el entendimiento entonces y entienda que estas dos cosas / hombre y christiano comprehenden y declaran todo el ser que tiene: y le dan a conocer a el mismo. Porque por parte de ser hombre conoce que es criatura de Dios / y hechura de sus manos: mas vee que es engendrado y nacido en pecado: y fuera de su amor y gracia: y desterrado del reyno para que el crio a nuestros primeros padres. Y conoce que es nacido con muy malas inclinaciones: sin amor y temor de Dios: vassallo y esclauo del pecado. Por parte de ser christiano conoce que es salido de todas estas miserias: y que tiene vn nueuo ser spiritual de ser hijo de Dios: de estar en amor y gracia suya: si el por su culpa no lo quiere perder. Este nueuo ser alcançamos por Jesu christo / vnigenito hijo de Dios que nos redimio: y dio su sangre por nosotros: y nos saco de la subjecion y captiuero del pecado: y nos alcanço fauor para que podamos vencerlo / y sobrepajar todas sus fuerças: y hazer lo contrario de lo que el quiere: y conforme a lo que Dios nos manda. Reconcilionos con su padre para que nos perdone

Clearly associated with divine favor and forgiveness, if not directly defined here,⁸⁰ this *gracia* is also linked not only with baptism but also with Christ's reconciling death, described as an 'offering' in language current in both the prehispanic and the Christian dispensations. Though the technical terminology of prehispanic blood sacrifice is absent, its connotations of 'rendering payment' require little or no adaptation to this satisfaction theology; by the same token, the marvel of the new faith is the same as that which (in Christian eyes) abolished the sacrifices of Israel's Old Law, Christ's one sacrifice for all.

With the same dynamic, the Passion office moves in the prayers for each hour from the recognition of sin to the expectation of mercy, as the praying Christian makes an offering for his own sins of Christ's suffering and the Virgin's sorrows,⁸¹ or at greater length, the Christian examining his conscience each day is advised first to confess his wickedness with a prayer of abasement, and then to commend himself to Christ's mercy, greater than any sin. First:

O our Lord, Jesus Christ, Through Whom One Lives, in Thy sight I confess all my wickedness, by which I have offended Thee: for indeed truly I who am a miserable person, who am poor, who sin, who am a wretch, very many times I have offended Thee, and in many places and in many things is my wickedness. *Oracion.* O, alas, our Lord Jesus Christ, it has happened, alas for me: everything good, right, is that which Thou hast given me, since Thou lovest me, but I, ungrateful, do not recognize it. O our Lord Jesus Christ, my beloved God, I have afflicted Thee: it would be good were I not to exist, so that I might not offend Thee, Who art my

nuestras culpas: y nos reciba por sus hijos: y nos torne a assentar en sus libros por erederos de los bienes que perdimos por la culpa que eredamos de nuestros primeros padres. Por manera que de aqui se podra sacar la diferencia que ay del hombre que es christiano al que no lo es. Porque el hombre que no es christiano quedase en este pecado: y en la condenacion en que nacio sujeto y vassallo al demonio: desterrado de la erencia del reyno de Dios en este mundo y en el otro. Y esto es porque fue la voluntad de Dios / que ninguno entrasse en su gracia / ni alcançasse perdon de su pecado y destierro / sino por medio de su hijo: al qual el infiel no conosce / ni cree / ni rescibe su beneficio."

⁸⁰It is only in the parallel passage in the "Doctrina tepiton" that a pair of Nahuatl synonyms are finally provided for the Spanish word, glossing it as 'mercy, pity' (*in itetlaocoliliztzin yn iteycnoyttalitzin yn igracia yn totecuiyo*: fol. 72v).

⁸¹Gante, fol. 132r-144r.

beloved maker, my beloved savior. O, alas, our Lord Jesus Christ, it is on account of me, wretch that I am, that Thou suffered on the *Cruz*: for this reason, o our Lord, it has happened, alas for me. However much they are burnt in hell [who are there], it is not all their sin, and for my part, very surpassing is my sin, by which I have offended Thee.⁸²

Then:

O our Lord Jesus Christ, my beloved savior, although I am a very great sinner, very great is my wickedness, still greater, very surpassing is Thy mercy, for nothing is its mate. For this reason I leave myself entirely to Thee, for in this way I am consoled, that Thou hast given me my repentance [*nonetequipachol*], for in this way Thou wilt take away my sins. For many times I hear that Thou dost not scorn sinners, that Thou just mercy on them. And I hear that [when] one who resides on earth, a sinner, converts his life, the *angelos* rejoice greatly in Thy dwelling [cf. Luke 15: 10]. And I know that the sinners on whom Thou hast had mercy serve Thee still more now than in all in which they served Thee in the past.⁸³ When will I do likewise? O our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hast had mercy on me, still more will I serve Thee. For Thou said that on account of sinners Thou came down to earth [cf. Matthew 9: 13], and I am a sinner: it is not my merit, it is not my desert that I become Thy child, but through Thy power say to me Thy word so that my spirit, my *anima* may be cured, may live in Thy regard [cf. Matthew 8: 8, Luke 7: 7]. O our lord Dios, thus I pray to Thee: may not just in vain Thy suffering [= Passion] be applied to me, may I merit a little of Thy precious blood so that my spirit, my *anima* may be purified. O our Lord Jesus Christ, if not for Thy merciful goodness how many times already would I have gone to hell, *infierno*? Very much I pray to Thee. Thy heart has seen fit that Thou hast had mercy on me, that Thou hast saved me. And I ask Thee to give me Thy *gracia*, so that I will always do what Thou wishest. So may it be done [= Amen], through Thy name, Jesus.⁸⁴

⁸²“[T]otecuiyoe, Jesu christoe ypalnemohuanie mixpantzinco nicnocuitia yn ixquich notlahuelilocayo ynic onimitznotlatlactalhuili: ca huel nelli nicnotlactal in ninotolinia nitlatlacoehua nipol ca cenca miecpa in onimitznoyollitlactalhui: yhuan mieccan yhuan mieclamantitica in notlahuelilocayo. *Oracion*. Yyoyahue totecuiyoe, Jesu christoe omochiuh onotlaeliltic: ca yxquich qualli yectli yn otinechmomaquilitzino ynic tinechmotlaçotilia. Auh in nehuatl in nicnopillahueliloc / amo yhu nicmati. Totecuiyoe Jesu christoe / notlaçoteohue / onimitznoteopohuili: qualli yezquia macamo niemi inic amo nimitznoyollitlactalhuizquia yn tehuatzin in tinotlaçotechiuhcatzin yn tinotlaçotemaquixticatzin. Yyoyahue totecuiyoe Jesu christoe ca nehuapol nopampa yn timotlayhiyohuiltzino yn itech Cruz. Yehica totecuiyoe omochiuh onotlahueliltic: quexquich yn mictlan tlatla in amo yxquich inlatlacol. Auh in nehuatl ca cenca tlapanahuia yn notlatlacol, ynic onimitznoyollitlactalhuitzino.” Ibid., fol. 87v-88r.

⁸³Perhaps an error for ‘serve Thee still more now than in all in which they offended Thee in the past.’ Bautista’s version omits the second half of the clause.

⁸⁴“Totecuiyoe, Jesu christoe notlaçotemaquixticatzine macihui yn cenca nihueytlatlahuani yn cenca huey notlahuelilocayo ca occenca huey cenca tlapanahuia yn motetlaocolililtzin / ca atle ynamic: yehica motechtzinco ninocencahua ca yc ninoyollalia yn otinechmomaquili yn nonetequipachol ca yc tinechmopolhuiliz in notlatlacol / ca miyecpa niccaqui yn tlatlahuani ca amo tiquimotelchihuilia ca

Sorrow for sin, itself the gift of grace, here becomes not so much a test of the possibility of forgiveness as the road to it, a title to the divine mercy to which the humble, like the centurion or like the publican of the parable (Luke 18: 9-14), has greater claim than the proud, in an immediate relationship to the Savior whose words are repeated, presumably familiar from preaching, and whose dealings with others are raised as an example. Much as the appropriate response to an image of Christ is linked to the recognition of the gravity of sin, in the light of the Incarnation as reparation, as “there indeed you will become alert, you will say within yourself, ‘How very great is the offense done to our Lord Jesus Christ, our sin, for He came to give satisfaction for it Himself, as His portrayal, His image as man, is before me,’ and this, ‘May I no longer offend Him,’”⁸⁵ so too in Gante’s explanation of the observation of Sundays and feast days, the longer catechism’s respondent states, omitting neither thanksgiving nor repentance in the light of the personal relationship to the divine vouchsafed by creation in the image and likeness of the Creator, that “I will just pray to our Lord, because He has made my spirit, my *anima*, in His image, and I will honor Him, because of everything He has given me, and I will be reconciled to

çan tiquimotlaocolilia. Yhuan niccaqui yn talticpac monemitia yn tlatlacoahuani yn monemilizcuepa yn angelome ca cenca papaqui yn mochantzinco. Yhuan nicmati yn tlatlacoahuani yn otiquinmotlaocolili occenca tlapanahuia: yn ye yc mitzmotlayecoltilia yn amo yxquich yc mitzmotlayecoltiliaya y yenachca. Iquin iuh nicchihuaz. Totecuiyoe, Jesu christoe, yn otinechmotlaocolili: occenca tlapanahuia ynic nimitznotlayecoltiliz. Ca ticmitalhuitzino in impampa in tlatlacoahuani tihualmotemohuitzino yn talticpac. Auh ca nehuatl in nitlatlacoahuani: ca amo nomacehual como nolhuil in nimopiltzin niez ma mopaltzinco xicmitalhui in motlatoltzin inic patiz ynic yolliz in noyollia naniman in mohuicpatzinco. Totecuiyoe diose yc nimitznotlatlauhtilia macamo çan nen nopan nopan [sic] quiçaz yn motlayhiyohuiliztzin ma achitzin nicnomacehuiz in motlaçoyezçotzin inic chipahuaz in noyollia naniman. Totecuiyoe Jesu christoe yntlacamo yehuatl in motetlaocolilizqualtiliztzin ye quexquich cahuitl niyani yn mictlan yn infierno. Cenca nimitznotlatlauhtiliztzinohua / otlaçotic in moyollotzin yn otinechmotlaocoliliztino in otinechmomaquixtiliztino. Yhuan nimitznitlanililia ma xinechmomaquili yn mograciatzin ynic mochipa nicchihuaz yn tleyn ticmonequiltia. Ma yuh mochihua ica yn motocatzin Jesus.” Ibid., fol. 88r-89r.

A similar text is found in Bautista, Confessionario, neyolmelahvaloni, cap. 3, fol. 6r-7r.

⁸⁵ “[H]uel oncan timocui tihuetziz mitic tiquitoz quenin cenca huey hyyolitlacolocatzin in totecuiyoe Jesu christo: in totlatlacol ca ynomatzinco quimotzacuilico yn iuh nixpan ycuihuatica yn iyxiplatzin ynic oquichtli. Auh inin macaocmo nicnoyolitlacalhuiz.” Gante, fol. 14r.

Him for all my sins, and I will busy myself with right living, with heavenliness.”⁸⁶

Convicted of sin rather than of ignorance, Gante’s convert like that of the Dominicans looks with hope toward heaven; where in the Dominicans’ catechism the road to that destination is laid out in accordance with the divine order, however, in Gante’s volume the emphasis is on its paving with Christ’s mercy.

With over fifty small and medium-sized woodcuts in 162 octavo folios, moreover, the volume is itself a ground for the practice of its own teaching on the purpose of religious images, presented not for veneration, whether of Christ or of the saints, but for the conversion of life,⁸⁷ by means of a meditation which does not remain in the act of thanksgiving but rather moves from the celestial object contemplated back to the contemplating soul, identifying its faults in the light of the divine Goodness or urging it to imitation of the saints’ heroic virtues. Placed with notable care, often marking the beginning of a section, and including such abstractions as the seven deadly sins, in the form of a seven-headed monster being confronted by a figure with upraised sword and cross-marked shield (fol. 44v), and the five senses, in the form of five standing figures, each gesturing toward a different sense organ (fol. 63r), these illustrations may even go beyond the functions of the sculpted or painted images of church or shrine to serve an additional purpose as memory cues, in the tradition both of the European ‘art of memory’ and of the prehispanic codices, ‘read’ through a recitation linked to the painted image.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ “[Ç]an nicnotlatlauhtiliz in totecuiyo. Yehica in oquimixiptlaotitzino yn noyollia naniman. Yhuan nicnomahuicalhuiz, in ipampa yn ixquich nechmomaquilia. Yhuan nicnoyolcehuiliz yn ixquich ypampa notlatlacol. Yhuan nicnocuitlahuiz y yecnemiliztli yn ilhuicacayotl.” Ibid., fol. 38v.

⁸⁷Ibid., fol. 14r.

⁸⁸For the relation among memory, images, the act of reading, and the physical layout of books in the European tradition, see Mary J. Carruthers, The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, ed. Alastair Minnis, no. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). I cannot offer direct evidence for this tradition in the New World catechisms, but the ‘rhetorical’ art of memory (on which see Yates) was demonstrably alive and well, treated by the Mexican

Especially if combined with the elaborate weekly program of mental prayer, examination of conscience, and catechetical review prescribed at the end of the volume, this is a doctrine for absorption and reflection, in both senses of the terms.⁸⁹

* * *

For Mijangos, for whom it is the word of God which is to be laid up in memory's

Franciscan Diego Valadés in his *Rhetorica christiana*, pt. 2, cap. 24-29, 87-124, and linked by him to the Mexican friars' practice of using visual aids in their preaching (ibid., cap. 27, 95). Also suggestive are the inclusion of small woodcuts in the introductory brief catechism, intended for memorization, of the *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, fol. iv r - x r (though in this case they also serve an obvious practical purpose in keeping the Spanish and Nahuatl columns aligned), and the inclusion in the Augustinian Juan de la Cruz's 1571 *Doctrina christiana en la lengua guasteca con la lengua castellana*, possibly the champion of the Mexican press in its profusion of woodcuts of all types, of nine mnemonic-hand images applied to the memorization of the contents of the catechism. (On this volume, see García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 69(61), 248-51, and Luis Resines, *La catequesis en España: Historia y textos*, Biblioteca de autores cristianos, Serie maior, vol. 56 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1997), 299-300, n. 350. The nine hand images are reproduced in Colleen Erbacher, "The Old and the New World: Incorporating American Indian Forms of Discourse and Modes of Communication into Colonial Missionary Texts," *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 135-65, at figs. 4a-4b, 5a-5b, 7, 8a-8b, and 9a-9b, at 144-47 and 151-55, though her interpretation does not address traditions of memory, but rather views these images as an attempt at cross-cultural communication in which a European system of communication privileging the letter both is joined to and subsumes an indigenous system of communication privileging the body: ibid., 150.)

⁸⁹Gante, fol 161r-162v. The program prescribes for Monday meditation on sin, examination of conscience on the Ten Commandments, and prayer to Mary and the angels; for Tuesday death, the seven sacraments and five precepts of the Church, and Mary and the patriarchs and prophets; for Wednesday hell, the seven deadly sins and their contrary virtues, and Mary and the apostles and evangelists; for Thursday the Last Judgement, the fourteen works of mercy, and Mary and the martyrs; for Friday the Passion, the five senses, the three powers of the soul, and the three enemies of the soul, and the confessors (Mary is omitted, doubtless unintentionally); for Saturday the Solitude of Mary, the three theological and four cardinal virtues and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and Mary and the virgins; and for Sunday heaven, the eight Beatitudes, and Mary and all the saints.

Motolinía reports the practice of similar devotions and lists a set of meditation topics quite close to those of Gante's admittedly more elaborate program: "Muchos destos naturales tienen sus deuo[c]iones hordinarias, pero lo que más es, cada día tienen su tiempo señalado para vna vez o dos al día darse a la oración mental, y tienen rrepartidos sus exercicios para cada día. Vn día piensan sus pecados y trabajan de thener yntenso dolor por ellos, otro día meditan la muerte, otro el juyzio ansí particular como general, otro las penas del purgatorio y del ynfierno, otro la passión del Señor, y en otro la rresurrección y la gloria del parayso, etc. Ansimesmo exerçitan en contemplar la vida de nuestro rredemptor Jesucristo, por sus pasiones y misterios." Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 45, 291, and similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 17, 760. The *Exercicio quotidiano* 'found among the Indians' and corrected by Sahagún, an extended literary composition stylistically at the opposite pole from Gante's unadorned list, is very different in theme, but also testifies to the apparent existence of an audience for such works; it or something like it could also possibly be the referent of Motolinía's "la vida de nuestro rredemptor Jesucristo, por sus pasiones y misterios."

treasury,⁹⁰ the inner psychology of the soul has a similar importance, but contrary to what might be expected, it is Mijangos, for whom it is the conversion of the sinner which is in question, not that of the infidel, who assigns the greatest role to fear of judgement out of the authors under consideration. In the *Espeio*'s fictional frame narrative, it is in fact the fear of judgement produced by the reading of Scripture which sets the stage for the entire development by providing the motivation for the father's instruction of his son. "Ay, my dear youth," Agustín tells Juan, having opened the volume by calling him to attention with a scolding in which the Old Testament figure of Tobit is held up as a role model alongside Juan's present-day peers,⁹¹

this is what very much concerns me, disturbs me, very much causes me to die of fright, chills me, wears down my spirit, as if I already want to give up my breath, my earthly life already wants to come to an end, especially when I read in the divine book how our Lord Dios punished the priestly lord Eli, and very much caused him to suffer, because he did not prevent, did not punish, did not open the eyes of his children on account of their scandalous sins which they were committing there in the church, by which they entirely trespassed against the admirable word of Dios, taking by fraud, stealing the offerings which the offerers offered there at the church [cf. 1 Samuel 2: 12-36]. So I take counsel, my precious quetzal feather, I say in my heart, 'Perhaps just also so it will happen to me, perhaps there will fall upon me the wrath, the anger of the entirely wrathful Dios? Perhaps He will punish me, because I do not prevent you, but support with labor, support with effort your wicked life?'⁹²

⁹⁰Cf. Carruthers, 41.

⁹¹Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 1, 4. The book of Tobit, the plot of which Agustín will ultimately recount at length in cap. 39, 535-48, is something of a favorite of Agustín's, and it is perhaps worth noting that there exists a manuscript Nahuatl translation of the book, and that its themes of the sanctification of marriage and the proper burial of the dead, wrapped in a colorful tale of angels, demons, and marvels, might have made it particularly attractive to the early missionaries. For other references in the *Espeio*, see cap. 16, 201, and cap. 34, 476, and for the translation, Biblioteca Nacional de México, ms. 1478, fol. 81-126, see Roberto Moreno, "Guía de las obras en lenguas indígenas existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional," *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Mexico City), 2d ser., 17, no. 1-2 (January - June 1966): 21-210, at no. 15, 52.

⁹²"Iyo (notelputzinè) yehuatl in cenca nechtequipachohua, nechçahuiya, cenca nechmauhcamictia, nechcecepohua, nechcucuechmictia, in mahca çan ye nihiyocahuaznequi, ye ontlamiznequi noTlalticpacnemiliz: ilhuice in ihquac teamoxpan nicpohua in quenin oquimotlatzacuilti toTecuiyo Dios in TeopixcaTlatohuani Hely, auh cenca oquimotlaihiyohuilti: yehica ca ahmo oquintlacahualti, ahmo oquintlatzacuilti, ahmo quimixtlapo in ipilhuan in ipampa in intetzauhtlatlacol in vmpa Teopan

The form which this prevention takes, occupying nearly two hundred pages before Juan definitively resolves to reform his life at the end of chapter fifteen, is in essence an extended *memento mori*, beginning with the horror of sin and its punishment and continuing with a tour of the Four Last Things, death, judgement, hell, and heaven, in that order and with the emphasis firmly on the salutary effects which the remembrance of death and the fear of judgement are to produce.⁹³ In his father's diagnosis, at least, it is failure to remember death, to remember "how earthworms will gnaw, will put an end to your mud, your flesh, which now very much you pamper, hold dear, how they will shred to pieces, grind to pieces, turn to dust your bones, and how through your death just alone will be left your spirit, your *anima*, until it will again take up its earthly flesh, when it will be resurrected, ... how just through your death will be left the fright of your spirit, by which it will see with fear the admirable punisher, your judge, and its trembling, its shaking when it will be given audience in the audience hall of the Lord God Dios," which explains Juan's lack of devotion. Conversely, it is the devout meditation on this subject which is the foundation of Christianity: "Indeed by this it appears that you are not a Christian, that the memory of death does not indeed enrich you, just annoys you, anguishes you, saddens you. By this it appears that you do not want to be prevented from sin, that you do not want to scorn earthliness, and you do not want to abhorr wicked living, you do not want to taste

oquichihuaya, inic oquicenpanahuique imahuitlahtoltzin Dios, inic quixpachohuaya in quichtequia in huentzintli, in vmpa Teopan quihuemmanaya in tlahuenchiuhque: yuh nitlanemilia (notlaçoquetzalè) noyolloihtic niquihtohua, aço çan no yuh nopan muchihuaz, aço nopan huetziz in itlahueltzin, in iqualantzin cenquizca tlhuelecatzintli Dios? aço nechmotlatzacuiltiz, in ipampa ca ahmo nimitztlacahualtia, yece niquihyohuia, nicciahui, in motlahuelilocanemiliz?" Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 1, 6. 'The offerings which the offerers offered' (in *huentzintli*, in ... *quihuemmanaya in tlahuenchiuhque*) is not quite so inelegant in Nahuatl, but the triple repetition of the same root is original, not the translator's lack of creativity, though there is somewhat more variation in the use than can easily be expressed in English. 'Offering', the noun, is the base form, compounded in 'offerer' with a common verb for doing or making and in 'offer' with one indicating more specifically the physical action of presenting an offering, laying it out or down on or before the altar.

⁹³For the sin-preventing effects of the remembrance of death, see also Mijangos, *Primera parte*, sermon for Ash Wednesday, 57-58.

as good, you do not want to be attracted to, you do not want to love death.”⁹⁴ Practiced by the pagans of classical antiquity in ways that could put many Christians to shame,⁹⁵ the remembrance of death is indeed in some sense that which makes human beings civilized, the restraint which reins in their animal passions, in a metaphor in which the boundary-wandering deer of the Nahua symbolic universe seems to blend with the ungoverned stallion of the European one, an animal which the Nahua first called a deer:

Know, my beloved child, that all earthly people are compared to deer, very much follow them in manner of life, because the deer no longer remembers one thing, no longer desires it, just wants everything, fancies food, grass, just has care of everything which is his belly. Just food is what is in the house of his heart, and if he is tied up, very much thus he is restless, until he is untied, and the one who has been loosed is off like a leaping spark, a spattering liquid, to where he remembers where there is deer food. Just also likewise for a sinner there is no longer one thing which he remembers, no longer he desires it, no longer he wants it, just this he fancies, remembers: deer food, meaning a vicious life, foul happiness, drunkenness, concubinage, and everything which is the sweetness, the fragrance, the embroidery of his mud, his earth [= his body]. But in the manner that deer are bridled so that they will not eat, and hobbled so that they will not leap away, betake themselves to the meadow, go away, just also in the same way it is necessary for earthly people, ill-doers to be tied up with the frightful head-stall which is death, meaning the remembrance of death, the last things, so that they will not live viciously, so that they will not continually sin, so that they will not pursue inhuman life, the various wickednesses.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ “[H]uel yc neci ca ahmo tiChristiano, ca ahmo mitzhuellamachtia in miqiztli iilnamicoca: çan mitzyoltonehua, mitzyolpatzmictia, mitztlacoltia: yc neci ca ahmo timotlacahualtiznequi itechpa in tlahtlacolli, ca ahmo tictelchihuaznequi in Tlalticpacayotl, yhuan ahmo tictlatzilhuiznequi in tlahuelilocanemiliztli, ahmo tichuelmatiznequi, ahmo ticnacazittaznequi, ahmo ticflaçotlazinequi in miqiztli ... in quenin tlalocuilme quitotopotzazque, quitlamizque in moçoquio, monacayo, in axcan cenca ticmalhuiya, ticflaçomati, in quènin quitextilizque, quicuechozque, quiteuhtilizque in momiyo, auh in quenin momiquiztica, çan iyo mocahuaz in moyolia manima, ixquich ica oceppa concuiz itlalnacayo, in ihquac nezcaliloz ... quenin çan momiquiztica mocahuaz inemautiliz in moyolia, inic quimauhcaittaz in mahuitzetlatzacuiltiani, in motelatizontequililiani, auh in ihuihuiyoquiliz, ipapatlaquiliz: in ihquac itecuhtlahtohuayantzinc Teotl Tlahtohuani Dios tecuhtlahtoliloz.” Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 6, 66.

⁹⁵Ibid., 64-65; and see also sermo in feria quarta Cinerum, 221-22.

⁹⁶“Xicmati (notlaçopiltzè) ca mochtin in Tlalticpac tlaca, intech monenehuiliah in mamaça, cenca quinnemiliztocah: yehica, ca in maçatl, aocle centlamantli quilnamiqui, aocle quelehuiya, çan ixquich quinequi, quimicoltia in tlaqualli, in çacatl, çan ixquich quimocuitlahuiya in icuitlaxcol, çan yehuatl in tlaqualli, in iyollocaltitlan ca: auh intla ilpitiçac, cenca yc momohcuihuia, ixquich ica tomalo: auh in

If the brevity and uncertainty of human life provide the first impetus for the consideration of the state of one's soul, however, conversion entails a change of heart which goes beyond fear to the charity worked by grace, the instrument of which is for Mijangos the Word. When describing the working of his conversion by his father's instruction, Juan combines the prehispanic image of adornment with precious stones with the scriptural image of the light which shines in the darkness, to express in both cases something which is not an external restraint or covering but a new presence within.⁹⁷ In

omoton, yuhquin onchitoni, ontzicuini in campa tlalnamiqwi, in canin cà in maçatlaqualli. Çan no yuhquin tlahtlacohuani, aocle centlamantli in quilnamiqwi, aoclen conelehuiya, aoclen quinequi, çan yehuatl in quimicoltia, quilnamiqwi in maçatlaqualli: quihtoznequi, in ahuilnemiliztli, tlayelpaquiliztli, tlakuanaliztli, nemecatiliztli: auh in ixquich itzopelica, iahuiyaca, icoconetiliz, in içoquoio, in itlallo: auh in quenin tenilpiloh in mamaça, inic ahmo tlaquazque, yhuan mailpiloh, inic ahmo ontzicuinizque, motlalozque çacatla onyazque: çan no yuhqui monequi ilpilozque in Tlalticpac tlaca, in tlapilchihuanih: in ica in mauhcatemecayo in miqiztli. q.n. ilnamicoca in miqiztli, in tzonquiçaliztli, inic ahmo ahuilnemizque, inic ahmo tlahtlacotinemizque, inic ahmo quiteputztocazque in ahtlacanemiliztli, in nepapan tlahuellilocayotl." Ibid., cap. 6, 62-63; cf. Isaiah 40: 6 and 1 Peter 1: 24.

On the symbolism of the deer in traditional Nahuatl thought, see Louise M. Burkhart, "Moral Deviance in Sixteenth-Century Nahuatl and Christian Thought: The Rabbit and the Deer," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 12, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 107-39.

By Mijangos's time the usual way of referring to horses is with Spanish loanwords, as Mijangos himself does elsewhere (e.g., *Espeio*, cap. 16, 203), but the deliberate archaism is perfectly in keeping with the *Espeio*'s elevated tone; for the linguistic evolution see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 270-72.

⁹⁷The same combination of images appears in the highly rhetorical Nahuatl-language prologue of the *Primeraparte*. Christ instructs His disciples, in a rewriting of the Marcan Great Commission (Mark 16: 15), to "go everywhere, go out among people, teach people, everywhere go to open the bundle, the reed chest, go to strew about, go to scatter about the jades, the turquoises, the well-chosen things, well-seized things, which are entirely laid out, entirely shut up there; go to tie, go to hang on people's ears that which is divinely an ear-ornament [*nacochtili*], that which perhaps they will grasp from you, one lip, one oral word regarding the breath, the word of My dear Father Dios. Illumine the earthly people divinely, through the divine word, so that they will not live in shadows, in darkness: may the creatures of My dear Father Dios, the *animas*, take care not to stumble vainly, with sin, not to be cast down, may they take care not to fall vainly into His place of torment, His place of affliction, hell, the fiery cave. Satisfy them, give them, go to set in their hands the divine illumination, the divine light, so that the radiance, that is the divine word, will be spread out on all sides." ("[X]ihuan nohuiampa tepan ximoquixtiti, ximotemachtiliti, nohuiampa xocontlahpoti in toptli in petlaacalli, xoconcecmmanati xoconchayahuati in chalchihuitl in teoxihuitl in huellapepentli, huellapepetlahualli, in oncan cemmantoc centzacuhtoc, tenacazpan xoconilpiti xocompiloti in teoyotica nacochtili, yn aço yn amotech canazque cententli cencamatlahtolli ytechpa yhiyotzin ylahtoltzin notlaçottatzin Dios. Xiquintlahuiliti teoyotica, teotlahtoltica yn talticpac tlaca ynic ahmo mixtecomac tlayohuayan nemizque, ma nen tlahtlacoltica motepotlamitin, motepexihuitin ytlayocoyaltzitzihuan notlaçottatzin Dios in animasme, ma nen ytechichinatantzinco, yetonehuayantzinco in micltlan tleoztoc huetztin, xiquinyoliuhtlamachtiti, xiquinhualmomaquiliti immac xoconquechiliti in teotlahuilli yn teotlanextli, ynic nalquitzimomanaz yn tlanexilotl. q.n. yn teotlahtolli." Mijangos, *Primera parte*, izcatqvi

eminently traditional tone, he begins, “My beloved admirable father, you have benefited me, your precious heart has granted it, very much am I grateful to you that you adorn me with necklaces, adorn me with bracelets; as if around my hands, around my neck you place, bind the admirable precious necklace of the Lord God Dios, you place into, deposit in my ears, in the house of my heart the breath, the admirable word of Dios,”⁹⁸ shifting further on to the language of Isaiah and of the disciples at Emmaus: “when you had not yet raised me up, when you had not yet so instructed me, in my sins I was just continually blind, continually confused, as if I was living in darkness, in shadows: but now you have raised me up, opened my eyes, with admirable words you have fortified me. Now already from your mouth, from your lips I have heard, I have caught everything which you have said to me regarding sin, death, judgement, and the sufferings of hell; very much already you have caused me to die of fright, and thus you have frightened me, thus light has shone on me, dawn has broken upon me, my eyes, my heart have opened, the admirable light, the divine righteousness of the Lord God Dios has been spread out before me, that it is as if my heart, o my lord, burns, is aflame with divine love.”⁹⁹ Having passed through a metaphorical death in this guided meditation on actual death and its consequences, he is

in amatzintli, ¶¶ 3 v - ¶¶ 4 r.)

⁹⁸“(N)otlaçomahuizttatzine) otinechmocnelilitzino, otlacauhqui in motlaçoyollotzin, cenca nimitznotlaçocamachitia inic tinechmocozcatalia, tinechmomacuextilia in ma yuhqui nomac, noquechtlan tinechmotlalilia, tinechmolpililia in imahuiztlaçocozcatzin in Teotl Tlahtohuani Dios, nonacazco, noyollocaltitlan tinechonmotlalililia, tinechommopialtilia in ihiyotzin, imahuiztlahtoltzin Dios.” Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 15, 192.

⁹⁹“[C]a in ayamo tinechmozcaltilitzinohuaya, in ayamo yuh tinechmixtlamachtilitzinohuaya: çan notlahtlacoltica nixpopoyottitinenca, ninotlapololtitinenca, in màca çan tlayohuayan mixtecomac ninemia: auh in axcan ca otinechmozcalili, otinechmixtlapolhui, mahuiztlahtoltica otinechmohuapahuili: in axcan ca ye mocamacpatzinco motentzinco onocconcac, onocomma, in izquitlamantli otinechmolhuilitzino in itechpa in tlahtlacolli, in miquiztli, in tetlatzontequililiztli, yhuan in Mictlan tlahiyohuiliztli, cenca ye otinechmomauhcamictili, yhuan yc otinechmiçahuili, yc nopan otlanez, nopan otlahuizcaltic, otlapouh in nix noyollo, nopan ohualmoman in imahuiztlanetzin, iteoyectilitzin Teotl Tlahtohuani Dios: ca in noyollo (notecuiyoe) in màca çan tlatla xotla ica in teotetlaçotlaliliztli.” Ibid., 192-93; cf. Isaiah 9: 2 and Luke 24: 31-32. ‘My lord’ is one of Juan’s normal forms of address for his father: the ambiguity between the earthly lord and the heavenly one is the same in Nahuatl as in English, but the former is meant here.

raised to new life in an experience which is as close as the Nahuatl catechetical literature comes to that of Paul on the road to Damascus.¹⁰⁰

Like Paul, Juan has a race yet to run, and further instruction awaiting him, but where the impression left by Gante's manual is of a cyclically permanent round of

¹⁰⁰The same conception seems to be reflected in the presentation of the beneficial effects of spiritual reading in Mijangos's 1624 sermon collection, where the description of that reading's content bears a notable resemblance to the *Espeio* in the prominent place accorded to the Last Things, as well as to the virtues and vices discussed in the *Espeio*'s second half. Commenting on the story of the man who asks Jesus what he must do to attain eternal life and is asked in turn what is written in the Scripture (Luke 10: 25-28) - Mijangos calls him a *teotlahmatini*, one "knowledgable in the divine word" and has him asked what is written in the *teotlahtolli*, the "divine word," where in the Vulgate he is a *legisperitus* who is asked what is written *in lege* - Mijangos explains: "Here indeed it appears how the Christian who would be saved, if he is able, will read, so that he will indeed accurately know the divine word, the divine disposition, the divine annals, and so that he will indeed come to know in what manner he will live, what he will do so that he will entirely serve our Lord Dios, and so that he will indeed know what is not to be done, the offense of Dios, he will prevent himself from it, restrain himself. For the one who reads books there in the divine writings accurately sees the good appearance, the entire purity of the various things which make one good [= the virtues], and the appearance which is not good of the various vicious manners of life, those which are entirely to be scomed. There he reads how we all will die, will be lost, and that having died we will all render account to our Lord Dios, that in judgement we will be asked how we have lived on earth, and we will be judged with wrath, with pain we will be punished if we have not lived as people, if we have transgressed the word of Dios. There also he reads that entirely great, not able to be spoken of, is the heavenliness, the eternal happiness which our Lord Dios will bestow on the good, the right, who have lived according to His establishment, His disposition. There he reads how entirely frightful, entirely causing suffering, entirely afflicting is the suffering of hell; finally he reads there many things which are to be taken as a manner of life, which are divinely fortifying, instructive words, by which on earth he will follow the road in a divine way." ("Nican huel neci in quenin in Christiano in momaquixtillani (intla huelitiz) amapohuaz, inic huel cáxicamâtiz in teotlahtolli, in teotlatecpantli, in teoxiuhthacuilolli, auh inic huel conmâtiz tlein commonemiliztiz, tlein quichihuaz inic quicenzquizcatlaecoltiz in toTecuio Dios, auh inic huel quimâtiz tlein ahchihualoni iyollitlacolocatzin in Dios itechpa motlacahualtiz meelleltiz. Ca in aquin amoxpohua oncan teotlahcuilolpan qui[c]ácicaita yqualnaxiliz icenzquizcachipahualiz, in nepapan qualthuan, yhuan yahqualnaxiliz in nepapan ahuilnemiliztli in cenquizca telchihualoni, oncan quipohua in quenin timochtín timiquizque tipolihuizque, auh ca in otimicque mochtin tictlapohuilizque in toTecuio Dios, ca tlatzontecoyan titlahlanilozque in quenin otitlaticpacnenque, auh titlatzontequililozque tlahuellotica, tecococayotica titlatzacuutilozque intlacahmo otitlacanenque intla otictotlahtolpanahuilique in Dios. No oncan quipohua ca cenquizca huey ahmo tenehualoni in il[hui]cacayotl in cemihcac pahpaquiliztli quinmonemactiliz in toTecuio Dios in qualtin, yectin, in oquinemiliztique in itlatlaltzin, itlatecpantzin. Oncan quipohua in quenin cenquizca temahmauhti cenquizca tetlahiyohuilti, techichinatz, in Mictlan tlaihyohuiliztli: ça cè micc tlamanli oncan quipohua in nemiliztiloni in teotlatociloni teixtlamachtiloni tlahtolli, ic tlatlaticpac teoyotica ohtlatocaz." Mijangos, *Primera parte*, sermon for the Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, 391.)

An early sixteenth-century Nahuatl lectionary from a Franciscan milieu and associated with Sahagún calls the man a *tlamatini* but asks what is written in the *teotlatolli*. *Evangelium epistolarium et lectionarium aztecum sive mexicanum ex antiquo codice mexicano nuper reperto depromptum*, ed. and trans. Bernardino Biondelli (Milan: Typis Jos. Bernardoni q.^m Johannis, 1858), 343.

devotions and observances, daily, weekly, or in the annual or semi-annual recurrence of confession, with its preceding inevitable sins, in Mijangos the dominant image in the second half of the volume is of a journey, one in which the struggle for progress in virtue is accompanied by the struggle against each contrary vice, but still ultimately as forward-looking as any 'pilgrim's progress'. As the traveler needs light, a road, and provisions, Agustín explains, so the traveler to heaven needs the three theological virtues, the light of faith, the road of hope, and the nourishment of charity,¹⁰¹ and those who fail to take advantage of the opportunity of the preached word to hear how to get to heaven show their foolishness when one considers the care someone will take to get good directions to go to a desired location on earth.¹⁰² As travelers watch where they walk so as not to stumble and fall, so the Christian traveler through life must look about with prudence so as not to stumble with sin or the snares of the devil,¹⁰³ while truth-telling is a foundational step in the ladder or staircase which one ascends to heaven,¹⁰⁴ and to cross the ocean of the world to that safe harbor, faith must be accompanied by works,¹⁰⁵ the boat's burden must be kept light by temperance,¹⁰⁶ and the divine captain's orders must be obeyed with all diligence.¹⁰⁷

The necessary accompaniment of faith by works is presented through two more

¹⁰¹Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 26, 365-66.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, cap. 23, 319.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, cap. 37, 512.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, cap. 38, 517-18.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, cap. 27, 380.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, cap. 35, 487.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, cap. 36, 494-95.

images of adornment of eminently scriptural heritage, the jewelry given to Rebecca at the well and the wedding garment of the Matthean banquet parable, but here too the adornment in question is as much an ongoing process as it is a one-time event. As Rebecca is adorned for her marriage to Isaac with earrings and bracelets, so the soul must be adorned for its marriage to Christ with the earrings of faith and the bracelets of good works, Mijangos writes, well within the bounds of standard exegesis,¹⁰⁸ more interestingly, however, the festal garment with which one must be adorned to attend the wedding feast of the king's son becomes a Nahuatl embroidered cloak not only in vocabulary but in the logic of the exegesis itself, as the plain white cloak of everyday wear, identified with faith, must be decorated with the embroidery of good works in order to be appropriate for a special occasion. "Know, my precious quetzal feather," Agustín addresses his son,

that from faith and various good deeds is made an embroidered cloak, indeed resplendent, of very good appearance, by which one's spirit, one's *anima* is rightly garbed, dressed up, adorned, covered, there in heaven. For with the cotton is compared, is signified faith, and with the various colors, the rabbit fur, with which the embroidered cloak is embroidered, are compared the various good deeds, right deeds. ... if [people's spirits] will just go naked, if they will just wear a length of cloth which does not extend to their flesh, which is just a half-length [*centlacotl*], that is to say with just faith alone, will they appear well? Will they be able to enter the wedding? Will they be able to honor the glory, the honor of our Lord Dios? Indeed not.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Ibid., cap. 27, 380-81; cf. Genesis 24: 22.

Compare, for example, Francisco de Osuna, OFM, La quarta parte del Abecedario espiritual y ley de amor: Donde se tratan muy de rayz los misterios y preguntas: Y exercicios del amor: Y la theologia que pertenesce no menos al entendimiento que a la voluntad: Harto vtil / aun para los predicadores que dessean ver en buen romance las cosas que de si son escuras (Valladolid: En casa de Sebastian Martinez, a costa de Juan de Espinosa, 1551), cap. 16, fol. lxij v - lxiii v, who having found in the gloss that the Hebrew mentions only one earring, as opposed to the Vulgate's earrings in the plural - in modern translations one nose-ring - identifies the one earring and (presumed) two bracelets with the three theological virtues with which the soul is adorned in baptism.

¹⁰⁹"Xicmati (notlaçoquetzale) ca itechpa in tlaneltoquiliztli, yhuan nepapan quallachihualiztli muchihua in tlahmachtilmati, huel cueponi, cenca qualneci, inic moyectlaquentia, moyecchichihua, mocencahua, moyecololohua in teyolia teanima, in vmpa Ilhuicac. Ca itech in ichcatl monenehuilia, momachiotia in tlaneltoquiliztli: auh itech in nepapan tlapalli, in tochomitl, inic motlahmachyotia in tlahmachtilmatli monenehuilia in nepapan quallachihualiztli, yeclachihualiztli. ... Ca intla çan petlauhtiazque, intla çan cençotl quimoquentizque, in ahmo onehuatiah in innacayo, in çan centlacotl:

Faith from an indispensable basis, in other words, but works build up the decoration which allows one to cut a fine figure before God and one's fellows, with the same double appeal to shame and (spiritual) ambition found also in one of the final images of the volume, in which the virtue of perseverance is illustrated by the comparison of virtuous living to building the house in which one will dwell in heaven. As the poorly-clothed wedding guest is put to shame, so too is the one who leaves his house half-finished, exposed to mockery by the residents of heaven as he would be exposed to the mockery of his neighbors if he began but could not complete an earthly house¹¹⁰ - with which we have in some ways come full circle from the 1548 Dominicans' call to the mansions in heaven which God gives to His servants.

* * *

Mijangos's Christian constructs his own mansion, at least in large part, while the Dominicans' convert receives it from God's hand, a gift which He deigns to grant to the one who has fulfilled the conditions He has seen fit to establish, with something of the same inscrutability with which He has now seen fit to send missionaries to explain these conditions to those who were formerly ignorant of them. In Sahagún, less interested in the natural order than the Dominicans and more interested in divine wrath, inscrutability shades into arbitrariness, but at least the question, entirely ignored by Gante, is acknowledged: if a good God has made knowledge of His revelation a condition for eternal salvation, then why have the Indians not heard this revelation until now? In the quiet of their cells some friars may speculate about apostolic preaching, the Lost Tribes of Israel, traces of pre-idolatrous natural knowledge of God, or all of the above, but the catechetical literature,

quihtoznequi, çan iyo ica in tlaneltoquiliztli, cuix qualnecizque? Cuix huel calaquizque in nenamictiloyan? Cuix huel quimahuiçozque in inetimalolitzin, in imahuiçotzin to Tecuiyo Dios? Ca niman ahmo." Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 27, 381-82.

¹¹⁰Ibid., cap. 40, 554-55; cf. Luke 14: 28-30.

nothing if not pragmatic, uniformly ignores such speculations: where then do the Indians fit into the narrative of salvation history? And conversely, to the extent that God's revelation is indeed a narrative, the saga of the Chosen People and the life of Christ, how much of this narrative do the Indians need to know? To some extent the answers to these questions, to which we now turn, grow out of the foundations discussed above, but while 'conversion' in its extended senses is a summons to the Old Christian as well as the neophyte, the special urgency of this second set of problems in the New World context introduces issues of Indian 'capacity' as yet unexplored.

CHAPTER FOUR

SALVATION HISTORY

In explaining the content of the faith, the narrative of Christian salvation history as digested into the twelve or fourteen essential articles, the catechetical authors are faced with another set of choices to be made, overlapping with and partly governed by but not identical to those discussed in the previous chapter. Placed in a certain relationship with God by virtue of the perspective from which he has approached Him in his initial vocation, the individual must also be given guidance in situating himself in the temporal coordinates of revelation and redemption, a problem only the more pressing for those whose conversion was “such a new thing in so old a world.”¹ Or at least, in most cases he must be given such guidance: Gante not only avoids the New World entirely, but also reduces the historical content of his catechism to little more than that required to get through the Apostles’ Creed, despite being the most Christological of the authors considered here. In essence, though the fall of the evil angels gets a brief mention, the facts of Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection, with their world-changing import, seem to simply overwhelm any interval between them and Creation, on the one hand, or the present, on the other, even as they swallow up any consideration of Christ’s teaching or miracles, a moral instruction and public witness both subsumed by subsequent events.

For knowledge of Christ’s public ministry the reader must turn to Mijangos, whose moral teaching is well-seasoned with Gospel parables and miracle accounts, along with

¹ “[C]osa tan nueva en tan viejo mundo.” Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 14, 186-87, describing the Tlaxcallans’ Easter offering of 1536.

examples from the Old Testament, the lives of the saints, and other sources. Agustín and Juan read devotional treatises, saints' lives, and even the Bible itself (how or in what language is never addressed), hear, transcribe, and discuss sermons, and of course are themselves discussing religious topics at great length, in a rich textual environment appropriate to the importance they place on 'the divine word', in its several senses, and in which the Old Testament, European classical antiquity, and the Indians' pagan past blend together in one overarching historical framework. All three are identifiably non-Christian and correspondingly lacking to some degree in true knowledge of God, but all have been succeeded in time by true Christianity, without Christianity thereby representing the sudden appearance of virtue where it was previously lacking; heroes from Nahua history are admittedly notable for their absence from the ranks of virtuous pagans and Old Testament saints whom Mijangos explicitly mentions, but their implicit theoretical equality is clear, no less than that of their Christian descendants.

For Sahagún, on the other hand, any sense of change over time or of historical progress in humanity's knowledge of God is negated by his insistence on the eternity and immutability of the divine commandments, unchanged since the beginning of the world and handed down through an unbroken chain of transmission in the same purity. Where a sense of historical difference exists, it is that of a typology which maps Old Testament episodes onto the lives of Christ and His apostolic and post-biblical saints, underlining the eternal unity of Christian history even as it denies recognition to any past outside that of the Israelites, and denies independent existence even to that one. The portion of the *Coloquios* which would have dealt with Christ's life is lost, but the divine portrait Sahagún draws elsewhere, whether of Christ or of the Father, is that of a king with all the trappings of an earthly ruler, the fit author of such eternal mandates but a figure difficult to imagine descending to earth in anything other than majesty and judgement, and Whose Passion, in contrast to Gante and to the usual stereotype of Franciscan piety, seems to be mentioned as

little as possible.

The direct quotation of Scripture, which Mijangos has both leisure and taste to indulge in at length and which Gante normally avoids except as it makes its way unattributed into the language of prayer, is generally restricted by both Sahagún and the Dominicans to the deployment of an arsenal of authoritative proof-texts, but even if Sahagún may well have been sympathetic to the goal represented by the Dominicans' ambitions to produce a catechetical text sufficient in itself, containing everything necessary and by implication omitting everything dangerous, the resulting approach to the life of Christ is at the opposite pole from anything found in Sahagún's works examined here. Where the 1548 authors modified their exemplar to increase the prominence of the Cross and the Blood as keys to salvation, León's preference for intellectual recognition over emotional response leads him in the opposite direction, tending to reduce the significance of the Second Person of the Trinity's human life through a greater emphasis on human activity and merit and through the union of Creation and Redemption in one undifferentiated divine power, but even in León's version the narrative of Christ's life retains from his predecessors' work a prominence which cannot be denied, if only because of its dogmatic importance. Not only the most systematic chronological account of any of the works studied here, albeit one which gives the public ministry rather short shrift, the presentation of the seven articles of the humanity in the Dominican Nahuatl texts offers a vivid chain of episodes recounted with notable attention to their dramatic possibilities, carefully developed from the occasionally terse indications of the 1544 version. In the articles of the divinity the friars of 1548 essentially throw up their hands in despair as far as the doctrine of the Trinity is concerned, replacing the 1544 text's admittedly unsatisfactory attempts with an appeal to faith and authority, even as they complicate their own case with their reluctance to use the Nahuatl term for 'god'; León, on the other hand, in keeping with his drive to regularize the doctrine and practice of Indian Christianity according to Spanish norms, in

this case makes up his predecessors' lapse in spades, to the point of devoting a special explication to the Trinitarian subtleties of the Athanasian Creed.

* * *

More than Christ, the God on whom the catechisms of 1544 and 1548 build their expectation of reward is the atemporal One Creator, Whom His servants know by the submission of the intellect to His revelation. When it comes to Trinitarian explication, indeed, not one of the strong points of either the 1548 catechism or its predecessor, the revisers of the bilingual text in effect give up and simply demand that these items of revealed truth be accepted, quite literally, on faith. The new God not only has the proper name of 'Dios', rather than 'God', in accordance with the almost universal practice of the Church in the Spanish Indies, but is not always referred to as a 'god' at all, as if the word were irretrievably contaminated by its association with the old deities.² The latter are 'not true gods',³ as the sun is 'not a god',⁴ but while Christ's divine nature is often, though not

²According to Antonio de Remesal, OP, Historia general de las Indias Occidentales y particular de la gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala, 3d ed., with a Prologue by Antonio Batres Jáuregui, Biblioteca guatemalteca de cultura popular "15 de septiembre", vol. 91-94 (Guatemala City: Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra", 1966), lib. 10, cap. 3, 1454-56, who was a stranger to the province about which he wrote, the same terminological problem in its Mayan version was the cause of sharp divisions among Dominicans and between Dominicans and Franciscans in Guatemala in the 1550s, but any comparable debate in the Nahuatl area has left no echo in the historical record; even Sahagún, who points out in the Historia general, lib. 11, prólogo, 875-76, some of the differences between the Nahuatl *teutl* and the Spanish 'dios', can occasionally be found using the former term to refer to the Christian Deity. Jesús García-Ruiz, "El misionero, las lenguas mayas y la traducción: Nominalismo, tomismo y etnolingüística en Guatemala," Archives de sciences sociales des religions 37, no. 77 (January - March 1992): 83-110, at 89-95, has attempted to identify the option for or against the use of an indigenous term with realist and nominalist positions respectively, but confuses the medieval and modern senses of 'realism' and 'nominalism'.

³Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 3, fol. xx v, and sermon 8, fol. xxxix v.

⁴Ibid., sermon 37, fol. cxlv v.

always, his nature ‘as god’ rather than ‘as dios’,⁵ the tendency whenever monotheism is the point at issue, especially in the early sermons, is to such paralogisms as the statement, formulating the first article of the divinity, that “there is just one who is indeed true Dios, almighty, and there are not many gods, just indeed one true Dios,”⁶ or the presentation of the Trinity which, though first referring to “this true Dios, who is alone god,” goes on to ‘explain’ that three “*personas*,” untranslated, are “not three gods” but together “one true Dios” and each individually “true Dios.”⁷ In 1544 the friars at least attempt an analogy to the natural world, albeit one perhaps more likely to lead to the conclusion that there are three gods than to the understanding desired, stating that just as one human nature is in many persons and one nature of being stone is in many stones, so “God which is one nature ... is in many persons: namely, in three.”⁸ The 1548 catechism, on the other hand,

⁵Ibid., sermon 11, fol. lij r and liij v; sermon 14, fol. lxiij v, lxiiiij r, and lxxv v; sermon 15, fol. lxiij r; sermon 16, fol. lxiij r - lxiij v and lxxiiiij v; and sermon 17, fol. lxxvj v.

Similarly, the articles ‘of the divinity’ can be ‘regarding Dios as god’: *ibid.*, sermon 10, fol. xlix r, and sermon 17, fol. lxxix v.

⁶“[C]a ça ce uel nelli Dios mochiueli: auh ca amo miequintin teteu ça uel ce nelli Dios.”

In Spanish, “[E]s vn solo dios verdadero todopoderoso: y no son muchos dioses mas vn solo dios verdadero.”

Ibid., sermon 2, fol. xv v - xvj r.

⁷“Ca yieuhatcin nelli Dios yn icel teutl in nican namechnomachtilia yuan namechtenquixtilia / ca yeyintin personasme totlatolpan tiqintocayotia. Ynic ce persona ytocha Dios tetatcin. Auh ynic ome persona / ytocha Dios tepiltcin. Auh ynic yey persona / ytocha Dios spiritu sancto. Auh yn imeixtin personasme: ca amo yeintin teteu / ça uel ce nelli Dios. Auh in tetatcin uel nelli Dios: yuan in tepiltcin uel nelli Dios: yuan spiritu sancto uel nelli Dios. Auh ca amo yeintin teteu: ça uel ce nelli Dios.”

In Spanish, “Que aqueste verdadero y vn solo dios que aqui os enseño y predico y declaro: son tres personas distintas: que nosotros llamamos en nuestra lengua. La vna persona se llama Dios padre. Y la segunda persona / se llama Dios hijo. Y la tercera persona / se llama dios spiritu sancto. Y aquestas tres personas no son tres Dioses / mas es vn solo Dios. Y el padre es verdadero Dios: y el hijo es verdadero Dios: y el spiritu sancto es verdadero Dios. Y no son tres dioses sino vn verdadero dios.”

Ibid., sermon 4, fol. xxj v.

⁸“E para conocer otros tres articulos de los treze que se siguen: aueys de saber que assi como el hombre es vna naturaleza y esta naturaleza esta en muchas personas: y en mi y en cada vno de vosotros y en todos los hombres: y assi muchas personas son vna naturaleza y assi mismo la naturaleza de la piedra esta en muchas piedras: y todas ellas tienen vna naturaleza que se llama piedra: y assi de todas las otras cosas se

while dropping this analogy, does not attempt to provide any other, more appropriate explanation, but by way of another natural analogy, this time of unimpeachable heritage, preaches resignation to the mystery:

So that you may be able to understand three more things to be believed [= articles of faith] [the second, third, and fourth articles of the divinity] from the thirteen which follow in order, it is necessary for you to know that our great Lord Dios, almighty, as we have said, is able to do what He wishes. For this reason, my beloved, you will know that just marvellously He does this which I wish to tell you now, a very great, a very marvelous word. Our hearts will not be able to be reached, and we will not be able to comprehend how Dios does it. For this reason I say to you that it is a very great word: you will not be able to comprehend it with your understanding.

Tell me, my beloved children, will you be able to place all the earth in your hand, or all the ocean? Impossible that it be so: just a little bit of earth, or a little bit of water, because your hand is just small, but the earth is very great, and the water is very great. But if your hand were the size of the ocean and the earth, they would be able to fit. Just also in the same way I make a comparison to your understanding: it is not large, just little. But the power of our great lord Dios is very great: for this reason we are not able to comprehend how He does His marvels, as now we tell you here.⁹

puede dezir.

“Y assi Dios que es vna naturaleza como ya es dicho esta en muchas personas: conuiene a saber: en tres.” Córdoba, Dotrina, a iij r - a iij v.

⁹“Inic uel anquimocaquitizque yn oc no etel neltoconi ytechpa yn matlactel ome: itecpantoc: monequi anquimatizque: ca yieuatl in toueitlatocauh yn dios yn ixquich iuelli in iuhqui otiquitoque: uel quimochiulia yn tleyn quimonequiltia yehica notlaçouane anquimatizque ca çan tlamauçoltica quimochiulia yieuatl in axca namechnolhuiliznequi: cenca vei cenca mahuiztizlatolli: ca amo uel toyollo maziz: yuan camo uel ticaçicamatizque yn quenin quimochiulia yn dios: yehica ca namechilhuia ca cenca uei tlatolli ca amo uel ancacamatizque yca in amouellacaquiliz.

“Tla xinechilhuica notlaçopiluane cuix uel anquiltalizque yn amomac yn ixquich yn tlalli: anoço yn ixquich uei atl: ca amo uel yu[h]: çan achiton in tlalli: anoço achiton in atl: yehica ca çan tepiton in amoma: auh ca cenca uey in tlalli yuan cenca uey in atl. Auh in amoma intla ixquich yeni uey atl yuan in tlalli: ca uel onaquizquia. Ca çan no iuhqui micnenuilia in amouellacaquiliz: ca amo uey / çan tepiton: auh in toueytlatocauh in dios in iuelitiliz ca cenca uey: yehica amo uel ticacicamati teuantin in quenin quimochiulia yn itlamauçoltcin yn iuhqui axca nican tamechtolhuilia.”

In Spanish, “Para que podays entender otros tres articulos de los treze que se siguen: conuiene que sepays: que aqueste nuestro gran rey y señor dios todopoderoso segun y como lo auemos dicho puede hazer todo quanto quiere. Y por tanto mis amados aueys de saber que haze milagrosamente lo que yo agora os quiero dezir que son palabras muy grandes y de muy gran admiracion: porque nuestros coraçones ni entendimientos ni bastan ni pueden comprehender como dios lo haze: y por tanto os digo que son palabras muy grandes y que no les podreys comprehender con vuestros entendimientos.

“Dezidme amados hijos podreys poner en vuestra mano toda la tierra o toda la mar: no sera posible: mas vn poco de tierra o de agua podreys poner: porque vuestra mano es pequeña: y la tierra y el mar es muy grande. Empero si vuestra mano fuera tan grande como la tierra o como el mar muy bien pudiera caber. Desta manera pongo comparacion al vuestro entendimiento que no es grande sino muy pequeño: y el poder del nuestro gran dios es muy grande: y por tanto nosotros no podemos comprehender

The subject, certainly, is not one which lends itself to great clarity, but however much the Dominicans' reluctance to identify 'Dios' as a 'god' may have served to underline the intended qualitative difference between this new Lord and the old deities, the carelessness with which undefined foreign words are jumbled together in asserting the nature of His Being suggests that it is not really clarity which is the primary goal at all, but simply assent, on the one hand, and differentiation from the old, on the other.

Slippery as the terminology is under the best of circumstances, furthermore, others were able to use it to considerably better effect than the Dominicans of 1548. In the profession of faith found at the beginning of Gante's catechism, for example, though the meaning of *persona* remains to be deduced, the proper name 'Dios' is kept clearly distinct from the noun 'god' which describes Him: "I believe in just one indeed true god, almighty, three *personas*, Dios the Father, and Dios the Child, and Dios Spiritu Sancto. These three *personas* are just indeed one true god, just one is His divinity, just one is His lordship, just one is His power, just one is His being. These three *personas* are not separate. He governs himself as one: so I believe."¹⁰ Perhaps even more impressive as a conceptual

como haze sus marauillas: assi como aqui os los dezimos."

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 4, fol. xxj r - xxj v. According to legend, Augustine once went for a walk along the seashore while working on his *De Trinitate*, saw a child digging in the sand, and asked him what he was doing. The child answered that he was making a hole into which to put the sea, and when chided by Augustine for the impossibility of this endeavor, responded that it was no more impossible than Augustine's attempt to encompass the mystery of the Trinity with his human understanding, upon which the saint recognized the child as an angel and duly took warning. Cf. Alonso de Villegas, Flos sanctorvm y historia general, de la vida y hechos de Iesu Christo, Dios y Señor nuestro, y de todos los santos de que reza y haze fiesta la Iglesia Catolica, conforme al Breuiario Romano, reformado por el decreto del santo concilio Tridentino: Junto con las vidas de los santos propios de España, y de otros extrauagantes: Quitadas algunas cosas apocrifas e inciertas: Y añadidas muchas figuras y autoridades de la Sagrada Escritura, traydas a proposito de las historias de los santos: Y muchas anotaciones curiosas, y consideraciones prouechosas: Colegido todo de autores graues y aprouados, rev. and exp. ed. (Toledo: Por la viuda de Iuan Rodriguez, 1591), 1: fol. 300v.

¹⁰"[N]itlaneltoça çan çe huel nelli teotl yxquichihueli yey personame yehuatzin yn dios tetatzin. Yhuan dios tepiltzin. Yhuan dios spiritu sancto. Ynin yey personame ça huel ce nelli teotl çan çe yn iteoyotzin çan çe yn itlatocayotzin çan çe yn ihuelitzin çan çe yn iyelitzin. Amo nononquaca ynin yey personame. Ca mocemitquitica yuh nitlaneltoça." Gante, fol. 1v, and cf. the "Doctrina tepiton," *ibid.*, fol. 69v. The same usage, without any of the Dominican doctrine's apparent reluctance to apply the Nahuatl

effort, too, even if of uncertain provenance, is the presentation of the Persons of the Trinity and Their divine Unity in a pictographic catechism associated at some stage in its history with the name of Bernardino de Sahagún, of unknown date and European artistic convention but probably originating in a Franciscan milieu. The idea of divinity or godhead as an abstract quality is represented by a circle containing a human face and surrounded by a sun-like halo or emanation of power, while God or Dios is represented by the same face, with a simplified halo, mounted on top of a 'body' that is a cone without visible limbs, suggesting an attempt to indicate both the personal (as distinct from immanent or animistic) nature of this God and His qualitative difference from human persons. The invocation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the sign of the cross is indicated by repetition of this figure (as in 'God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit', the Nahuatl 'Dios Tetatzin, Dios Tepiltzin, Dios Spiritu Sancto'), paired with portrayals of the Three Persons as, respectively, a Franciscan friar (a rebus for 'father'), the resurrected Christ with banner, and an impressively-drawn eagle, a system which is at least no more open than the verbal formula it represents to the charge of proposing Three Gods rather than One, and which has the virtue, generally lacking in the Nahuatl formulae, of converting the repeated term 'Dios' into something more than an empty cipher.¹¹

León in this case remedies the weakness of his predecessors with a vengeance, including both an extended Nahuatl explication of the Athanasian Creed, the classic formula of Trinitarian orthodoxy to be professed by 'who[m]ever wishes to be saved',¹² and in the

teotl to the Christian God, is also found in the ex professo catechetical treatment of the Trinity at fol. 4r-5r.

¹¹"Catecismo en imágenes y cifras, acompañadas de una interpretación en lengua española: Catecismo en pictogramas atribuido a Bernardino de Sahagún," facsimile ed., ed. Luis Resines, in Resines, *Catecismos*, 259-374, at pict. 26, 276, pict. 34, 278, and pict. 62-64, 282-83.

¹²León, fol. 40r-55r. "Quicumque vult salvus esse" is the opening phrase of the Athanasian Creed, commonly referred to in the medieval and early modern periods as the *Symbolum Quicumque vult*, and unlike the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds more familiar today, the credal text is devoted in the main not to a recapitulation of the key events of salvation history but to a series of fairly technical statements about the

front matter of the volume a Spanish declaration of the “Reasons by which to satisfy the doubt which there has been regarding this vocable, ‘divine person’, and its declaration in the Mexican language by this vocable and term, ‘teotlacatl’, with which it stands proven and ascertained to be the best [*el potissimo*] and that there is no other which might signify it so well,”¹³ signed by a dozen individuals representing all the major groups active in the evangelization of the Nahuas, probably in the late spring or summer of 1611, just as the volume was going to press.¹⁴ With an attitude roughly the reverse of that expressed by the

relations of the Three Persons of the Trinity and about the union of the divine and human natures of Christ. Since it was part of the liturgy of the hours, translating and explaining it was not a gratuitous enterprise even from a purely liturgical point of view, but the amount of labor involved in navigating its terminological deep waters for the length of fifteen folios, in a purely discretionary supplement to the treatment of the Trinity already provided under the articles of faith, suggests an above-average commitment to the intricacies of Trinitarian dogma: as León writes when listing the contents of the volume, making reference to both liturgical and dogmatic motivations, the creed is here “declarado y explicado por sus versos y parrafos, para que lo canten en prima los Domingos, y assi lo sepan todos con su canto y la declaracion deste vocablo persona y como se a de dezir.” *Ibid.*, ff. iij r.

García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 105(92), 341, has suggested that, given his use of Sahagún’s calendar, León may also have used the lost declaration of the Athanasian Creed ascribed to Sahagún by Torquemada, lib. 20, cap. 46, 3: 488.

¹³“Razones para satisfacer a la duda que en razon deste vocablo Persona diuina a auido y su declaracion, en la lengua Mexicana, con este vocablo y termino (Teotlacatl) con que queda prouado y aueriguado ser el potissimo y no auer otro que tam bien lo signifique.” León, ff. ij r - ff. iij r.

¹⁴The declaration is not dated, but Francisco Muñoz, who signs as prior at the head of the list, was named prior of San Agustín in Mexico City by the Augustinian provincial chapter which met on 23 April 1611, and Juan Bautista de Mondragón, who signs as superior, is known to have held that rank in Santo Domingo in Mexico City in 1611. The approvals and licenses of the volume are dated between May and August of 1611, all in Mexico City, and while the front matter was often the last thing printed, the colophon date is 16 December 1611. The place of the declaration is also not specified, but it is difficult to imagine that the gathering which produced the original document took place anywhere other than Mexico City, for several reasons: first, as a matter of logical plausibility, such a gathering would be expected to take place in a Spanish city with multiple large convents and opportunities for theological consultation, meaning in the Nahua area Mexico City or Puebla de los Ángeles; second, in addition to the offices of Muñoz and Mondragón, the known academic pursuits of several other signatories kept them normally resident in Mexico City over the long term; and third, the declaration concludes with a reference to “nuestros pareceres, en el original el qual queda en el Archiuo de Sancto Domingo de Mexico.”

For the identification of the twelve signatories, who do not include León and whose institutional affiliation is unspecified in the declaration as it stands, see Appendix III: two can be identified as Franciscans, two as Augustinians, four as Jesuits, and one as a Dominican. Of the remaining three, the grouping of signatures would suggest that one is a Franciscan and one an Augustinian, while the last may be either a Franciscan or a diocesan priest. (Contrary to the assumption made by David Tavárez, “Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahua Texts, 1547 -

Dominicans in 1548, the signatories propose to satisfy by this terminological intervention “the thirst of many ministers in this land to know and be able to declare and give to understand to these poor Indians a mystery *simpliciter* necessary for salvation, and to understand according to our capacity the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, and what this name ‘person’ signifies in order to give them to understand it, and not to say, like some, that if [someone] does not know it, let him trust in the Church, like one who says, ‘And let him go off to sleep,’ being able to know it as the Spaniards who have not studied know and understand it.”¹⁵ Much as León elsewhere urges Indian instruction in the manner of receiving the sacraments of confession and communion with the explicit goal of regularizing their practice with regard to a Spanish or Old Christian norm, though he himself is not a signatory of the declaration he publishes, by implication and example he rejects that version of resignation to the Indians’ alleged ‘poor capacity’ (of which,

1771,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (June 2000): 21-47, at 32 and 36, in other words, it does not seem accurate to characterize the declaration as representing a ‘Dominican’ proposal, no more than as introducing an entirely new term, as Tavárez also appears to assume: see Appendix IV for more on both points). Two of the Jesuits and the Dominican Mondragón also provided approvals for the *Camino del cielo*, and one, the Jesuit Juan de Tovar, singled out for particular recommendation León’s treatment of Trinitarian questions: León, ff iij v - ff iiij r.

Tavárez, 41 and 43, n. 25, understands *tlacatl* to mean ‘human being’ rather than ‘person’, and hence *teotlacatl* to mean ‘divine human being’ rather than ‘divine person’, contrary to the friars’ intentions, but at least as far as Christian usage is concerned this is incorrect: ‘human beings’ are universally *tlalticpac tlaca*, ‘earth people’, whether in general reflections on the human condition or as distinguished, for example, from *ilhüicac tlaca*, ‘heaven people’, i.e., angels. (It is also not entirely clear to me, although this is strictly speaking an unrelated point, that Tavárez quite understands the intended meaning of ‘person’ in a Trinitarian context, as he refers to *teotlacatl* as a “translation of the term ‘Holy Trinity’” and as a “proper name for the Trinity,” and appears to consider its use in the plural a Nahua innovation: *ibid.*, 32, 36, and 40.)

¹⁵ “[L]a sed de muchos ministros en esta tierra de saber y poder declarar y dar a entender a estos pobres indios, vn misterio simpliciter necessario para la saluacion, y entender conforme nuestra capacidad, el misterio de la Sanctissima Trinidad, y que significa este nombre persona para darselo a entender, y no dezir como alguno que si no lo supiere fiese de la Yglesia, como quien dize, y echese a dormir, pudiendolo saber como lo saben, y entienden los Españoles que no an estudiado.” León, ff iiij v.

For further information on Trinitarian terminology as a subject of debate at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Appendix IV.

incidentally, he has no doubt) which leads to the relaxation of doctrinal requirements.¹⁶

When it comes to the saving peculiarity of the Second Person of the Trinity, however, León retains the narrative framework of his immediate predecessor while reversing the 1548 version's tentative movement in the direction of a Cross-centered theology of redemption. It is the Dominican catechisms, it should first be acknowledged, León's included, which provide the most complete narrative of the life of Christ among the texts under consideration. In Gante's doctrine the Crown of Our Lord and the guide to hearing mass both call for the recollection of fairly lengthy series of specified episodes of Christ's life, and the prayer of St Gregory and the Passion office do the same for the episodes of the Passion in particular, supported in the case of the office by a full set of large-scale woodcuts including some of the finest in the volume,¹⁷ but the reader's prior knowledge of the events mentioned is assumed, with the focus on an appropriate prayerful response, not on historical narration, while the catechetical section, surprisingly brief on this subject and more concerned with the Redemption as mystery, provides little greater elaboration than is found in the articles of the Creed itself.¹⁸ The section of the *Coloquios* which would have addressed the articles does not survive, and Mijangos, not writing a work of dogmatic instruction strictly speaking, has no need for a chronological narrative, for all that the total amount of his material drawn from the Gospels undoubtedly surpasses that of all the other catechisms considered here put together: the public ministry provides doctrine and example for the *Espeio*'s moral instruction, but as a subject for contemplation

¹⁶Though he is not entirely consistent himself in his usage: see León, fol. 104v, for an occasion on which he forgets to use *teotlacatl*.

¹⁷The guide to hearing mass also contains a few illustrations from the life of Christ, but not a complete set, and of a wider variety of sizes and styles; the subjects are the Nativity, the entrance into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension.

¹⁸See fols. 5r-7v of the introductory section and the explication of the Christological articles of the Creed at fol. 25r-32v, with the "Doctrina tepiton" paralleling the introductory section at fol. [71]v-73r.

the Passion overshadows any other theme. The 1548 doctrine, on the other hand, almost tripling the amount of space devoted to the seven articles of the humanity in 1544,¹⁹ provides a detailed narrative account, often with direct scriptural reference, and made vivid with dramatic dialogue.²⁰ Where the 1544 doctrine disposes of the Nativity, for example, in a few lines devoted to Mary's virginity before, during, and after giving birth,²¹ the Dominicans in 1548, without omitting a treatment of this subject, follow it with much of Christ's early life, beginning with His birth in poverty, and including the adoration of the shepherds, the imposition of the name of Jesus on the eighth day (described as analogous to name-giving in baptism, but without mention of circumcision), the adoration of the Magi, the presentation in the temple, the baptism in the Jordan, and the fast of forty days in the desert (without mention of the temptation), before ending with the commencement of the public ministry, and placing particular emphasis on two points perhaps best calculated to encourage an emotional identification in the audience, Christ's poverty, presented as an example to the worldly and a consolation to the poor, and the special privilege of the shepherds, held up as models of spiritual wakefulness.²² The public ministry gets less attention with a non-specific catalogue of teachings and miracles, though still expanded

¹⁹Córdoba, Dotrina, b iij v - c ij r; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermons 11-17, fol. xlix v - lxxix v. The discussion of the seven articles of the divinity, by comparison, lengthier to begin with, is expanded by somewhat less than its own length again: Córdoba, Dotrina, a iij r - b iij v; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermons 2-10, fol. xv v - xlix v.

²⁰Crespo Ponce, 102-15, has drawn particular attention to the dramatic elements.

²¹Córdoba, Dotrina, b vj r.

²²Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 12, fol. liij r - lvij v. Perhaps surprisingly, the adoration of the Magi, representatives of the pagan world, receives no particular attention; Motolinía, Historia, tratado 1, cap. 13, 183, describes the Indians as considering the feast of the Epiphany "propia fiesta suya" (similarly in Motolinía, Memoriales, no. 28, 236; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 19; 2: 99; and Torquemada, lib. 17, cap. 7, 225), and for the identification of the Three Kings as the forerunners of Indian Christianity, see also Sahagún, "Exercicio quotidiano," in Sahagún, Adiciones, cxxix-ccxv and 145-203, at clvi-clxv and 164-69.

from the 1544 version and more than could be found in Gante's doctrine,²³ but the doctrinal exposition of the descent into hell, with its technicalities on the relationship among Christ's body, soul, and divinity during the period between His death and His resurrection, derived from the 1544 version,²⁴ is supplemented by a dramatic account of the emptying of the Limbo of the Patriarchs, with speeches for its occupants, for Christ, and for the perplexed and vanquished demons, along with an equally highly colored retelling of the posting of a guard outside the tomb meanwhile, meant to underline the continued presence during these events of Christ's body within, and retaining the use of reported speech found in the Gospel source (Matthew 27: 62-66).²⁵ The account of the Resurrection not only adds to the mechanics of the reunion of soul and body and the departure from the unopened tomb a specific chronology, linked to the liturgical hours, of the events taking place between Christ's death and His resurrection,²⁶ but continues with a detailed account of His post-Resurrection appearances, a non-scriptural but traditional one to His Mother, and the scriptural ones to Mary Magdalene, to the women, to the disciples in the locked room, and on the road to Emmaus.²⁷ For the Ascension, finally, the 1548 doctrine expands on the earlier version throughout, still retaining some of the same language but including greater

²³Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 13, fol. lvij v - lx r; Córdoba, Dotrina, b vj r - b vj v.

²⁴Ibid., b viij r; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 14, fol. lxiiij v - lxxv v.

²⁵Ibid., fol. lxxv v - lxxvij v. It is perhaps worth noting that the Spanish text's "aquellos perros judios" and "los malditos judios," in this last episode, correspond to Nahuatl "yeuantin tlaeliloque," "those wicked ones", and "in tlauliloque judiosme," 'the wicked *judios*', respectively (fol. lxxvij v).

²⁶Córdoba, Dotrina, c viij r - c viij v; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 15, fol. lxxvij v - lxxix r.

²⁷Ibid., fol. lxxix r - lxxxij r; cf. John 20: 11-18, Matthew 28: 1-10, Luke 24: 36-43, and Luke 24: 13-35, respectively, for the versions closest to the Dominicans' account. Missing from the catalogue are the doubts of Thomas, with the second appearance in the locked room (John 20: 24-29), and the appearance at the sea of Tiberias (John 21: 1-23).

scriptural detail in Christ's final address to His disciples, adding the post-Ascension appearance of the two angels ('Men of Galilee ...': Acts 1: 10-11), and expanding on the description of Christ's reception by the angels in Heaven through the use of appropriate scriptural references (the man of Edom (Isaiah 63: 1) and the king of glory (Psalm 23: 10)), as well as providing a moral excursus on the need to avoid sin so as to attain heaven and responding to both Spanish and Nahua concerns about the proper relationship between Christ and His Mother with a non-scriptural dialogue of farewell between the two.²⁸

The same increased attention to the person of Christ in the 1548 catechism, as compared to the version of 1544, is also reflected in the treatment of the Redemption more generally, for all that both catechisms, like Gante's as well, adopt in their presentation of the creation of humanity the tradition which declares it in the first instance a solution to the problem of filling the places in heaven left behind by the fallen angels, from a perspective which seems to respond more to questions of divine order than of divine love.²⁹ Although in the lengthy non-scriptural speech placed by both editions in the mouth of God in the

²⁸Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 16, fol. lxxij r - lxxvj r; cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, b viij v - c j r. For a discussion of both Nahua and Spanish interest in and interpretations of the relationship between Christ and His Mother, including a translation of a Nahua adaptation, from the 1580s or early 1590s, of a Spanish play devoted to a similar non-scriptural dialogue between the two, see Louise M. Burkhart, Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico, New Cultural Studies, ed. Joan DeJean, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Peter Stallybrass, and Gary Tomlinson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

One other change worthy of note, though difficult to interpret, is that the 1548 doctrine specifies that both Christ's disciples (*in ixquichtin in itlamachtluan yn itlaçouan yn oquichtin yn ciua*) whom He addressed just before the Ascension and those to whom He charged them to preach the Gospel (*in ixquichtin cemanauac tlaca in oquichtin in ciua*) included both men and women. (The presence of women among the disciples praying in the upper room between Ascension and Pentecost, though not explicitly at the Ascension itself, is in fact mentioned in Acts 1: 14, from which version this account also takes the location of the scene on the Mount of Olives (Acts 1: 12, though Bethany, the location in Luke 24: 50, is identified as on the Mount of Olives in Mark 11: 1) and the appearance of the two angels (Acts 1: 10-11), while the words ascribed to Jesus are based on Mark 16: 15-16, where He appears to the Eleven indoors at table (*recumbentibus*: Mark 16: 14).)

²⁹Córdoba, Doctrina, a v v - a v j r, a viij r, and d iiij v - d v r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 5, fol. xxv r - xxvj r, sermon 7, fol. xxxiij r - xxxiij v, sermon 36, fol. cxl v - cxlj r, and sermon 37, fol. cxlj r - cxlj v. Gante, fol. 3v; and in the "Doctrina tepiton," fol. [71]r.

garden of Eden before the Fall, it is the 1544 edition which uses the language of remedy, associated with the theory of an original faith in a mediator,³⁰ when warning Adam and Eve that, among the consequences of disobedience, “after you die, all your souls and those of all who descend from you will go down to hell and never depart from there, until I see fit to remedy them, and this will be after many years ... [and] many of your descendants will remain there in hell forever and ever, for their sins, who will never deserve, [neither] by my justice nor by my mercy, to be remedied by me,”³¹ while the 1548 edition speaks in less technical terms of the mercy by which God will ultimately remove those favored,³² the opposite emphasis comes into play once the doctrine of redemption begins to be developed on its own account, as the motive for the Incarnation. As both catechisms remind us at this point in the exposition, Adam and Eve and their descendants suffered three principal evils as a result of the Fall: the loss of divine grace and friendship, enslavement to the devil, and

³⁰Cf. Andrés Vega, OFM, Opvscvlvm de iustificatione, gratia, et meritis (Venice: Expensis haeredum Lucae Antonij Iuntae, 1546), q. 1, 29-30.

³¹ “[D]esque murierdes / todas vuestras animas y de todos los que de vosotros descendieren yran abaxo al infierno y nunca de alli saldran: hasta que yo tenga por bien de remediarlos: y esto sera despues de muchos años. ... muchos de vuestros decendientes quedaran alli en el infierno para siempre jamas por sus pecados que nunca mereceran por mi justicia ni por mi misericordia ser por mi remediados.” Córdoba, Dotrina, a viij r - a viij v.

³² “And also when you die, your spirits, your *animas*, and the *animas* of all your children to come, will go there below, to the place called *infierno*, and you will not come out from there until my heart deigns that I have mercy on you, so that I will bring you out from there, and it will be a very long time. And also very many of your children, your descendants, will remain there, *infierno*, forever and ever, on account of their sins, on whom I will never have mercy such that I will bring them out.” (“Auh iuan inicoac amiquizque in amoyolia in amanima: iuan yn imanima in yxquichtin in amopilhuan yezque: ca ompa tlani yazque ytocayuca infierno: auh ca amo yc ompa anualquiçazque yn ixquich cauhuitl tlacauaz noyollo ynic namechtlaoculiz / ynic ompa namechualquixtiz: auh ca cenca uecauhtica yez. Auh yuan ca cenca miequintin in amopilhuan in amotlacaxinachuhan ompa ualmocauhteuzque infierno: mochipa cemicac ypampa in intlalacul: in ayc niquintlaoculiz ynyc niquinualquixtiz.”)

In Spanish, “Y despues que fueredes muertos vuestras animas y las animas de todos vuestros hijos yran alla abaxo al lugar que se llama infierno: y nunca de alli saldran / hasta tanto que yo tenga por bien de hazer con vosotros misericordia y de sacaros de alla: lo qual sera despues de muchos tiempos. Y muy muchos de vuestros hijos y descendientes quedaran alla en el infierno para siempre jamas por sus pecados / que nunca jamas hare misericordia con ellos ni de alla los sacare.”

Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 7, fol. xxxiiij r.

condemnation to hell.³³ The 1548 catechism, however, takes this opportunity to mention Christ's cross and His redemptive blood, going on from the statement that "the third suffering which our first fathers and all of us their children merited is that the devils carried off their spirits, their *animas*, there to hell, *infiernos*," to inform the reader or listener that "no one was able to bring them out from there, just alone He who is alone God, Jesus Christ, has brought them out from there, when He died on the ✠ *cruz*," and to explain that

when our great Lord, Dios, Almighty, saw that all the people of the world were indeed lost through sin and that they were indeed the slaves of the devil, and that when they died he carried off the *animas* of them all there to hell, *infiernos*, from where no one brought them out, the Child of Dios wished to look with pity on them and to save them, on account of His mercy and on account of His entire goodness. He reconciled us to His beloved Father, so that we will be able to be His beloved, and so that He will love us. And our great Savior wished to save us from servitude, from the hands of the devil, in which we were his slaves, his captives. And also He saved our spirits, our *animas*, from hell, *infiernos*, so that we will not go there, and He went to save the spirits of His beloved who were waiting for Him there, and He left to us upon departing, gave to us upon departing His mercy, His salvation, His dear blood, so that we will be able to cure the sicknesses of our *animas*, and so that no one will go there to hell, *infiernos*.³⁴

³³Córdoba, *Dotrina*, b iij v - b v r; *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 11, fol. 1 r - 1 j r.

In the Franciscan pictographic catechism already mentioned the same conceptual linkage between damnation and enslavement is also made, with the idea of liberation or salvation being represented in relation to a literal depiction of the 'jaws of hell', a devouring monster within whose wide-opened jaws the trapped unfortunates are visible, while an oversized hand trapped in the mouth of the same creature indicates the captives of the sixth corporal work of mercy. "Catecismo en imágenes," pict. 33, 277-78; pict. 495, 348; and for the possible resonance of the hell-mouth imagery, cf. Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 4, 134 (similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 4, 149, and Zorita, pt. 1, cap. 9, 203).

The 1548 sermon on the seven deadly sins, though a fairly formulaic, bare-bones listing of the sins and their contrary virtues, also frames the subject in terms of a spiritual warfare in which sins are the arms with which the devil seeks to enslave us and virtues are the arms which God gives for our defense, much in keeping with the chosen text, *Omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati* (John 8:34). *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 38, fol. cxlvj r - cxlix r.

³⁴"Ynic yetlamantli tlaihiouiliztli in oquimaceuhque in achto totauan iuan tixquichtin in tiimpilhuan: ca ompa quinucaya in tlatlaccatecolu in inyolia yn imanima in mictlan infiernos: ... yuan ayac uel ompa quialquixtiaya: çann [sic] iceltcin yn icel teutl in Jesu Christo ompa oquialmoquixtilito: ynicoac ytech ✠ cruz momiquilicino.

"Auh inicoac oquimotilitcino in toueylatocauh in dios yxquichiuelli: in ixquichtin cemanauac tlaça: ca uel poliuhcaticca tlatlacultica yuan ca uel ytlacauan catca in tlatatecolutl: auh ca ynicoac miquia ca mochintin ompan quiuicaya yn imanima in mictlan infiernos: in ayac ompan quialquixtiaya: ca

The 1544 doctrine, on the other hand, while providing the basis for the 1548 text throughout, including its uneasy slippage among the Trinity and its Persons, and referring again to “remedy,” as the 1548 text does not, states more simply that “only God” could free the souls condemned to hell, and does not make any specific allusion to the means by which this is carried out, the Cross or the Blood.³⁵

León, in turn, removes these references again, replacing it with a direct reference to the sacraments (the implied subject in 1548) in which it is the necessary human disposition which is the focus of attention: “through a very great medicine” Christ wished to save us,

oquimonequilti yn ipiltcin in dios ynic qui[m]mocnoytilitcinoz yuan ynic quimmomaquixtiliz ypampa yn itetlaoculilitcin yuan ypampa yn icenquizcaqualitiliz: ca otechmoyolceuililitcino yn itlaçotatcin ynic uel titlaçoan tiezque / yuan ynic techmotlaçotilitcinoz. Auh ca oquimonequilti in toueytemaquixticauh ynic otechmomaquixtilitcino in itechpa in tlacolotl: ymacpa in tlacatecolutl ynic titlacauan: timathuan ticatca. Auh yuan quimomaquixtilitcino in toyolia in tanima mictlanpa infiernos ynic amo ompa tiazque: yuan oquinmomaquixtilito yn inyolia yn itlaçouan in ompa quimochielitcatca: yuan otechmocauililiteuac otechmomaquiliteuac yn itetlaoculiliz yn itemaquixtiliz in itlaçoyezçotcin ynic uel ticpatizque yn icocoliz in tanima: yuan ynic ayac ompa yaz mictlan infiernos.”

In Spanish, “La tercera penalidad y tormentos que nuestros primeros padres merecieron y ganaron con todos nosotros sus hijos: fue que los demonios lleuauan sus animas alla a los infiernos: ... ni nadie los podía sacar: sino solamente nuestro señor Jesu christo verdadero dios el qual fue a los sacar de alla quando murio en la cruz ✕.

“Y viendo nuestro gran rey y señor todopoderoso que todos los hombres del mundo estauan perdidos y hechos esclauos del demonio: y que a todos quantos murian lleuauan las animas dellos al infierno / y que ninguno de alla los sacaua / tuuo por bien de los mirar con ojos de misericordia el hijo de dios / y de los librar y redimir por su inefable misericordia y por su bondad infinita: porque nos quiso aplacar y amansar al su eterno padre para nos tornar a su amistad y amor. Y tuuo por bien nuestro gran redemptor y señor de nos redimir y librar de la seruidumbre y del poder del demonio que estauamos hechos sus esclauos y sus captiuos. Y quiso librar nuestras animas de las gargantas infernales / para que no fuessemos alla nosotros: y fue a librar las animas de sus amigos que estanvan [sic] alla esperandole: y tuuo por bien dexarnos su misericordia y su redempcion: esto es: su preciosa sangre / para que sanassemos de las enfermedades de las animas / y para que ninguno fuesse alla al infierno.”

Ibid., sermon 11, fol. 1 v - 1j v.

³⁵“El tercero mal fue que despues que morian lleuauan los demonios todas las animas al infierno: y nunca de alli podian salir: ni nadie las podía librar sino solo dios.

“Pues viendo Dios todopoderoso que todos los hombres estauan perdidos y esclauos del demonio: y despues de muertos eran sus animas lleuadas al infierno: y que de alli nunca podian salir: ni era nadie poderoso de librarlos sino solo Dios: quiso el hijo de dios por su gran bondad y piedad remediar a todos: y reconciliarnos y tornarnos en gracia con dios: y hazernos sus amigos: y quiso librnarnos del captiuero en que estauamos debaxo del poderio del demonio. Y quiso tambien librar nuestras animas del infierno sacando los que alla estauan: y dando remedio a los que quisiessen ser buenos: para librar sus animas de yr al infierno.” Córdoba, Dotrina, b v r.

in León's account, "through the *sacramentos* by which we all will be saved from the suffering of hell, but through baptism, through good deeds, through penance, through entire resolution [of amendment]."³⁶ Elsewhere this sacramental medicine is explicitly identified with the Precious Blood,³⁷ through which baptism works salvation,³⁸ just as it is the shedding of Christ's blood on the cross which gives the latter its apotropaic power,³⁹ and as León's elaborate model testament leaves the testator's soul to Christ Who "has saved it through His precious blood, through death on the *Santa Cruz*,"⁴⁰ but other passages suggest that what is in question is not so much the Deity's self-giving as His power, for which His Blood has become something of a formulaic reference. On the one hand, when what flows from Christ's side, completing the number of the Five Wounds and so opening the gates of heaven, is "the breath which is the strength of the *Santos Sacramentos*, by

³⁶"[I]ca cenca huey pàtli, Sacramentòtica inic timochintin timaquixtilozque in yhuicopa Mictlan tlayhiyohuiliztli: auh necuaatequiliztica, cuallachihualiztica, tlamàcehualiztica, tlacemixnahuatiliztica." León, fol. 29v-30r, quoted at 30r.

Cf. also the formulation of the sixth article of the divinity: "Dios takes away sins through the *sacramento* baptism, and through the *sacramento* confession, and the other *sacramentos* which *Santa Yglesia* keeps, through sorrow of heart, penance, and entire resolution never again once to fall into the sin which we had done." ("[C]a in Dios quimotepòpolhuilia in tlàtlacolli, ica in Sacramento necuaatequiliztli, yhuan ica in Sacramento neyolcuitiliztli, yhuan in occequi Sacramentos, in quimopielia Santa Yglesia, yca in neyoltequipacholiztli, in tlamàcehualiztli, yhuan in necemixnahuatiliztli, inic aocmo ceppa ypan tihuetzizque, in tlàtlacolli in oticchiuhca." Ibid., fol. 26v.)

³⁷Ibid., fol. 10r.

³⁸Ibid., fol. 26r.

³⁹"But since His precious blood was shed, thus the devil fears very much when he comes to see it [the *cruz*]; he arises, flees on account of its sight, and thus we sign ourselves, trace it on our faces, thus we are saved from our enemies, the devils, for truly it is through the *Cruz* that Dios conquered him, took from him his lordship." ("[A]uh inic onoquiuh in itlaçdèçotzin, cenca ic momauhtia in tlacatecolotl, in ìcuac conitta, ixpampa ehua choloa, yhuan ic titomachiotia, titixicuiloa, ic timaquixtilo in inhuicopa in toyaohuan tlacatecolo, ca nel Cruztica in oquimopanahuilitzino in Dios, oquimocuilili in itlàtocayo.") Ibid., fol. 35r.

⁴⁰"[O]quimomaquixtili, ica yn itlaçdèçotzin, miquliztica itech in Santa Cruz." Ibid., fol. [139]v.

which we are bathed, are purified, we Christians,”⁴¹ not blood (or blood and water),⁴² the literal appearance of blood has been replaced by a different, literally inappropriate representation of power; on the other hand, when the Incarnation takes place not only “through a marvel, through the *Spiritu Santo*,” but also “through the power [of Dios], that which is very pure, His precious blood,”⁴³ the literally inappropriate blood has taken on this function where it is precisely breath which would be expected.⁴⁴

Modifying the 1548 catechism’s explanation of the reasons for the Incarnation to place greater emphasis on the release of the patriarchs from Limbo, a motive the implicit logic of which points more toward the holy fathers’ merits than toward the free gift of divine mercy, León also modifies the contrast between the bloody sacrifices of the old gods and the bloodless worship of the Christian deity to allow for the shedding of blood in Christian penance,⁴⁵ even as he shifts the language used to explain God’s care for humanity in this context from friendship to lordship, referring no longer to God’s “beloved

⁴¹ “[I]n yhiyotl, in ichicahualiz S. Sacramentos, inic taltillo, tichipahualo, in tiChristianome.” Ibid., fol. 34v.

⁴²Cf. John 19: 34.

⁴³ “[T]lamahuiçoltica, Spiritu Santõtica ... ica yhuelitilitzin [of Dios], in cenca chipahuac in itlaçdeçotzin.” León, fol. 50v.

⁴⁴Cf. Genesis 2: 7 and John 20: 22.

⁴⁵ “He does not wish that your blood flow just in vain; just when it flows it will be through penance, by which you will inflict penance on your earth, your mud [= your bodies], by which your *animas* will be pure, which have become black through sin.” (“[À]mo quimonequiltia çan tlapic noquihuiz in amezço, çan in icuac noquihuiz, tlamacehualiztica yez, ic anquitlamàcehualtizque in amotlallo, in amoçoquio, ic chipahuaz in amanima, in otliluh tlàtlacoltica.”) León, fol. 13v; cf. Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 3, fol. xvij v - xix r.

ones, the good Christians,”⁴⁶ but to “we who are His creatures and His saved ones.”⁴⁷ As when “sorrow of heart” is defined in a model address to those about to confess as the wish “that you had not done one deadly sin, by which you offended Dios, because He is very worthy to be loved, worthy to be feared, worthy to be looked on with awe, worthy to be blessed, our creator, our shaper, our savior: we take from Him our every assistance, for truly we are His creatures,”⁴⁸ the divine actions of Creation and Redemption are combined in one obligation of the believer toward the One God, the recognition of His sovereignty, while the specificity of the Death of the Second Person is relatively less significant, both with regard to the activity of the Trinity as a whole and with regard to the penitential actions of regular human beings. Giving alms and contributing to the ornaments of the local church, “by which you will repay Dios for everything which He has given you, His property, by which you are prosperous on earth,”⁴⁹ fasting,⁵⁰ saying the rosary,⁵¹ and not least, praying for the souls in Purgatory,⁵² as well as shedding blood with the discipline⁵³

⁴⁶ “[I]tlaçouan in qualtin christianome,” rendered in Spanish as “los sus amigos / que son los buenos christianos.” Ibid., fol. xix r.

⁴⁷ “[T]iitlachihualtitzinhuan, yhuan tiitlamaquixtiltitzihuan.” León, fol. 13v. ‘We’ is indistinct in this passage between ‘we human beings’ and ‘we Christians.’

⁴⁸ “[N]jeyoltequipacholiztli ... in màcamo xicchiuani in centetl temictiani tlàtlacolli, yc oanquimotlatlactalhuiliani in Dios, yèhica ca cenca tlaçòtlaloni, ymacaxoni mauhcaittoni, yectenehualoni, toteyocoxcatzin, toteyocolicàtzin, totemaquixticatzin, ixquich tictohuiquililia in topalehuiloca, ca nel titlachihualtitzihuan.” Ibid., fol. 103r.

⁴⁹ “[I]nic ticmocuepcayotiliz in Dios, in ixquich yn omitzmomaquili, in itlatquitzin, yc timocuiltonoa in talticpac.” Ibid., fol. 81v; see also fol. 59v, 84v, and 140r.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. 84v and 132r-132v.

⁵¹ Ibid., fol. 113r.

⁵² Ibid., fol. 80r, 84r, and 139v-140r.

⁵³ Ibid., fol. 84v and 154r.

and gaining jubilees and indulgences,⁵⁴ the Indians are both following the divine instructions and contributing to their own salvation, in the spirit of León's reference, in the dedication of the volume to archbishop Guerra, to "these sheep who are capable of so little on their own, without the help of their ministers and books,"⁵⁵ and of the words of the viceregal license, issued by the archbishop in his capacity as interim viceroy, referring to "the said natives, who need so much help for their salvation, in light of their weakness and little capacity for things of their salvation."⁵⁶ Salvation is something which the Indians need to work to attain, in this view, whether or not they are succeeding in it, with an urgency and specificity lacking in 1548.

At the same time, however, León's catechism is still the methodological heir of the 1544 "doctrine which the fathers of the order of St Dominic named at the beginning ordered for the catechism and instruction of the Indians ... in the mode of history, so that they

⁵⁴Ibid., fol. 59v, 72r, 75r-75v, 83r, 122r, 135v, 136r, 153r, and 153v-154r.

⁵⁵"[E]stas ouejas, que tan poco pueden por si, sin el ayuda de sus Ministros y libros." Ibid., ff j v.

⁵⁶"[L]os dichos Naturales, que tanta ayuda an menester para saluarse segun su flaqueza y poca capacidad, para cosas de su saluacion." Ibid., ff ij r. In keeping with the universal practices of bureaucracy, these phrases are much more likely to reflect the language of León's request for a license than to be a new composition of the archbishop or his secretary, but in either case, they represent a reason for the publication of the volume considered appropriate by both parties.

Cf. also the anonymous sixteenth-century Nahuatl drama given by its modern editors the title of "Tlacapahualiztli" or "Bringing Up Children." Generally considered to be of Dominican authorship because of its encouragement of the rosary, its series of loosely-linked scenes includes among various other themes the intercession of the Virgin before Christ, but unlike the classic European sinner who wins a second chance through his devotion to Mary, the beneficiaries of this intercession in the play are those who do not seem to really need it, as they are already living virtuous lives, while the sinners are condemned by the Virgin and Christ alike. Like Christ's Blood, the Virgin's tears are presented as purchasing salvation, but the emphasis is on the individual's burden to do his part to take advantage of the possibility, not on its quality as a gift. "Tlacahuapahualiztli (Bringing Up Children)," ed. and trans. John H. Cornyn and Byron McAfee, *Tlalocan* 1, no. 4 (1944): 314-51, especially 320-21, 336-40, and 348-51. The prologue (at 320-21), found in one of the two surviving copies and pitched at a higher rhetorical tone than the fairly conversational dialogue (though I am not sure that is necessary to conclude with John H. Cornyn, "Introduction," *ibid.*, 314-19, at 314, that it forms a significantly later addition), appears to suggest a performance in Lent or Holy Week, possibly for Our Lady of Sorrows (the Friday before Holy Week).

might more easily comprehend, understand, or retain in memory the things of our holy faith,” as its colophon describes it.⁵⁷ However often each of the Dominican texts, in their different ways, may seem to degenerate into a set of lists or a series of regulations, the narrative portions remain nonetheless, from another perspective, the successor to the narrative of scripture in a quite direct sense, the good news of salvation manifest in history, and it is precisely this aspect of the catechism, as a quasi-scriptural repository of the fruits of revelation for this newly Chosen people, which the prologue to the 1548 edition chooses to highlight. “Since the works of the divine wisdom ought always to be remembered and commended to writing, according as we find it written in Sacred Scripture that the psalmist and most serene king David said (as is written in Psalm 101[:19]), *Scribantur hec in generatione altera: et populus qui creabitur laudabit dominum,*” the prologue opens, and since this message is no less fitting “for what touches these nations and new plants, planted in the garden of holy Church,” in recognition of “how far separated and remote they have been from the knowledge of their Creator, by Whose goodness and mercy they are now brought to be a chosen and peculiar people, so that they may know and praise their Lord and Maker,” so it is appropriate, the friars go on in what becomes a maze of Latinate clauses, “that these things which in this treatise are contained be written, not just alone for those present, but also even for those to come,” following a logic which, to this point, might be expected to lead to a narrative of the works of divine grace accomplished in the Indians’ conversion. The key point, however, turns out to be that clause, “so that they may know and praise their Lord and Maker,” not as a description of a state achieved, but as a statement of purpose, to which the commitment to writing and the press of this volume

⁵⁷ “[L]a presente doctrina que los padres de la orden de sancto Domingo en principio nombrados ordenaron para el catecismo e instruccion de los indios / ... por modo de hystoria: para que mas facilmente puedan comprehender: entender o retener en la memoria las cosas de nuestra sancta fe.” Córdoba, *Doctrina*, colophon, d vj v.

Baumgartner, 1: 191, has suggested an influence of Augustine’s catechetical writings in this choice, but while this is certainly possible, there is little direct evidence for it.

will allow a temporal expansion, not in the memory which preserves the record of past wonders, but in the transmittal of knowledge which incorporates ever new generations into the union of God's people and incites them to His praise. "All those who are regenerated by the water of holy baptism," the writer continues, giving the reason for his mention of those who are to come, "are a chosen and peculiar people of our almighty God, and therefore it is very just that all know and praise Him," and so, in accordance with all this - that is to say, it appears, as a contribution to this end - the friars "resolved to make a fair copy of the present doctrine, which is a declaration of all the Christian doctrine, and is so titled since in it are briefly contained all the things necessary for our salvation and their declaration."⁵⁸ It is the catechism, in other words, not the chronicle of the conversion, which is to be handed on to the generations in writing and which will cause the people to praise its Creator, and though its Nahuatl text implicitly testifies to the progress of that conversion, it also reduces it to the linguistic translation and transmission of this summarized message, in a reification at a new remove of the appeal to a written revelation, digested and reduced to its essentials, then offered as a substitute for the original which remains in the hands of the friars, to be quoted in a foreign tongue and appealed to as a

⁵⁸“Como las obras de la diuinal sabiduria deuan siempre ser memoradas y encomendadas a escriptura segun lo hallamos escripto en la sagrada escriptura que dixo el psalmista y serenissimo rey Dauid: como se escriue en el psalmo ciento y vno. Scribantur hec in generatione altera: et populus qui creabitur laudabit dominum. Lo qual aunque sea necessario para todas las generaciones del mundo: no empero con menos razon se puede dezir ser necesario para lo que toca a estas gentes y nueuas plantas: plantadas en el jardin de la sancta yglesia. Pues vemos claramente quan apartadas y remotas han estado del conoscimiento de su criador: por cuya bondad y misericordia son ya traydas para ser pueblo escogido y peculiar para que conozcan y alaben a su señor y hazedor. Por lo qual si yo no me engaño conuiene muy bien la sobredicha sentencia del sancto propheta: y que digamos en su nombre: que estas cosas que en este tratado se contienen se escriuan no tan solamente para los presentes / mas aun tambien para los por venir: pues todos los que por el agua del sancto baptismo son regenerados son pueblo escogido y peculiar de nuestro todopoderoso Dios. Y por tanto es muy justo que todos le conozcan y alaben. De aqui es que mouidos los religiosos de la orden de nuestro glorioso padre y Patriarca sancto Domingo fundador de la orden de los Predicadores / con zelo de la honra de Dios y de la salud de las animas: acordaron de sacar en limpio la presente doctrina: la qual es declaracion de toda la doctrina christiana: y assi se intitula: pues en ella se contienen breuemente todas las cosas necessarias para nuestra saluacion y la declaracion de ellas.” Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, prologue, fol. j v.

source of authority, but not approached directly.

* * *

For Mijangos, on the other hand, the faith is handed down through a process of both written and oral transmission, the sources of which are not bound to any one canon, scriptural or catechetical. Both father and son in the *Espeio* are clearly imagined as literate and as quite well-provided with reading matter, with pride of place going to the Scriptures.⁵⁹ Consistently quoted in Nahuatl only, though the corresponding Latin appears in the margin along with the book and chapter, both Old and New Testaments are drawn on with great range and freedom.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Scriptural reading is both a direct spur to action and a dialectical incitement to further oral discussion and instruction, beginning with the initial motivation for the dialogues themselves mentioned in the previous chapter, Agustín's concern about whether he has done all he should in the proper spiritual education of his son.⁶¹ On another occasion he opens a chapter by calling Juan to come hear what he has just read in the Gospel,⁶² and Juan in turn, on a different subject, may quote a verse which he has read in the prophet Zephaniah in confirmation of his father's teaching,⁶³ or

⁵⁹See also the unusual Nahuatl prologue to Mijangos, *Primera parte*, ff 3 v - ff 1 v, urging a literate Nahua audience to make use of this book for access to the divine word.

⁶⁰Common practice for writers and preachers in Nahuatl and Spanish alike is to quote Scripture (and other Latin texts) in Latin before giving a translation, and Mijangos's choice not to do so, though not unique, is a deliberate one, which he defends in the Spanish-language front matter to the *Primera parte*, affirming both the capacity of Nahuatl to translate any portion of Scripture and the capacity and preparation of the Indians to be introduced to it: Mijangos, *Primera parte*, advertencias al lector, ff 3 r. Clearly, it does not follow from this that the Scripture is being read in Nahuatl, certainly not as far as Mijangos's own reading is concerned, and his translations can be as 'creative' as anyone else's, but in the context of the dialogues of the *Espeio* it does serve to underline the substantive accessibility of the Bible to the two speakers.

⁶¹See above, 117.

⁶²Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 21, [279].

⁶³*Ibid.*, cap. 28, 395-96.

ask him for an explanation of a verse which he has read in the Psalms.⁶⁴ Perhaps the most striking single example of this interplay, however, is the account of what occurs on one of Juan's visits to the local priest, undertaken on his father's instructions. Juan asks the unnamed priest about the torments of hell, but being too busy for conversation - doubtless a response which would have had an all-too-realistic ring for Mijangos's lay and clerical readers alike, whatever the plausibility of the consequent advice for independent reading! - the priest refers him to the Gospel of Matthew, where he is startled to read about Christ's Second Coming in judgement (Matthew 16: 27); perhaps having learnt his lesson about questioning the priest, he is thus inspired to ask the much more forthcoming Agustín for further elucidation.⁶⁵

At the same time, though not in the league of his father's recitation of whole sermons, Juan is also able to quote what he has heard from priestly lips, including at least one case in which Mijangos may indeed be borrowing from one of his Mexican colleagues,⁶⁶ and it is only exceptionally that any given text, example, or comparison is specified as either heard or read, though Agustín's postponement until the following day of the discussion of chastity requested by Juan, so that he will have time to read up on the subject, can serve as a warning not to take oral transmission as the default case.⁶⁷ Nor, on the other hand, is Scripture the only written source, even where reading is clearly at issue: even *teoamoxtli*, 'divine book', seemingly an unambiguous term for the Bible, and regularly used in introducing Scriptural references, is applied by Agustín to his source for

⁶⁴Ibid., cap. 17, 208-9.

⁶⁵Ibid., cap. 13, 165-66.

⁶⁶Ibid., cap. 36, 503-4. I have not succeeded in locating the passage elsewhere, but its use of the term *tzitzimitl* for the devil is not typical of Mijangos.

⁶⁷Ibid., cap. 32, 452-53.

an episode in the life of one of the Desert Fathers,⁶⁸ one of a respectable stock of episodes from saints' lives and traditional preachers' exempla in his store.⁶⁹ With the careful specification that (unlike the usual exemplary story) this did not really happen, he also retells the story of the boy who cried wolf from Aesop's fables,⁷⁰ and both father and son are capable of commenting on the virtues of the philosophers and pagans of classical antiquity.⁷¹ In the realm of concrete bibliography, Juan is told by his father to read about St Francis in the life of the saint,⁷² of which there is, it might be noted, a published Nahuatl translation,⁷³ and Juan himself twice mentions the non-Scriptural devotional reading he has been doing in the course of the dialogues,⁷⁴ while Agustín explains about

⁶⁸Ibid., cap. 36, 499.

⁶⁹Developed episodes from the lives of post-Biblical saints, as opposed to the more numerous briefer allusions, can be found at *ibid.*, cap. 17, 211-13 (Eleutherius); cap. 19, 247 (Anthony); cap. 19, 251 (Francis); cap. 26, 371-72 (Dominic); cap. 29, 403-5 (Elizabeth of Hungary); cap. 32, 444-45 (Martin); and cap. 35, 490 (Anthony, Paul the Hermit, and Hilarion), and exempla in the traditional mold at cap. 19, 242-43; cap. 21, 287-88; cap. 26, 373; cap. 28, 389-92; and cap. 32, 450-51, to which can be added one miracle story located in New Spain, at cap. 16, 203.

⁷⁰Ibid., cap. 38, 519-20. There are two surviving manuscript copies of a sixteenth-century Nahuatl translation of a group of Aesop's fables, but the boy who cried wolf is not among them: see Aesop in Mexico: Die Fabeln des Aesop in aztekischer Sprache / A 16th Century Aztec Version of Aesop's Fables, ed. and trans. Gerdt Kutscher, Gordon Brotherston, and Günter Vollmer, *Stimmen indianischer Völker*, vol. 3, Veröffentlichungen des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987).

⁷¹Mijangos, Espeio, cap. 6, 64-65, and cap. 28, 396; and cf. also the inserted Ash Wednesday sermon, 221-22.

⁷²Ibid., cap. 19, 250-51.

⁷³See Resines, "Introducción," 15-16, for the discovery of the only known copy.

⁷⁴Mijangos, Espeio, cap. 25, 354-55, and cap. 35, 491.

The two examples of the purity required for reception of the Eucharist which Juan claims to have read in the former case, the honor paid to the Ark of the Covenant and Christ's washing of the feet of His disciples on Holy Thursday, can in fact be found in a sermon on preparation for communion in Juan Bautista's sermon collection, prepared in manuscript long before its 1606 publication, although neither example is particularly exotic: Juan Bautista, OFM, "Do[mingo] III. del Adviento: Ser[mon] III. sobre el

one of the sermons he recounts that he made a copy of it because it so impressed him, presumably borrowing the preacher's text for the purpose.⁷⁵

Though Agustín's occasional admonitions to his son about paying attention to and remembering priestly words⁷⁶ are no match for the regular warnings of Mijangos's sermon collection, supported by scriptural example, to heed and respect God's priests,⁷⁷ the importance attached by the *Espeio* to both the preached word and the written word is only the clearer for its separation from the concerns of status and social order which often set the tone for the sermon collection's treatment of those who are God's *inahuatlahtocatzitzihuan*,⁷⁸ a term which might be rendered either as "His Nahuatl-speakers" or more generally as "His interpreters," those who speak His word so as to be understood by the rest of us.⁷⁹ The arms which gave force to the army of the

mismo Evangelio," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 321-40, at 325-27. (Klaus, at 123-25 and 142, misses the point of the Ark of the Covenant example: it is not that the Ark is a reminder of the Covenant, which as Klaus correctly points out goes unmentioned in the Nahuatl name (God's 'wooden reed-chest'), that it contains the tablets of the Ten Commandments, or that the Philistines fell into sin by stealing it, but that it contains the manna, a figure of the Eucharist, and that the Philistines, already being sinners when they captured it in battle, could not safely possess it on account of their pre-existing sins.) Cf. also National Anthropological Archive, Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Museum, ms. 1669, 14 leaves of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, in Nahuatl with interspersed Latin, described as "seem[ing] to be one long sermon, probably written for the Advent season, but with a long section on the Corpus Christi": John F. Schwaller, "Small Collections of Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 25 (1995): 377-416, at 415.

⁷⁵Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 24, 337.

⁷⁶Ibid., cap. 1, 13.

⁷⁷Mijangos, *Primera parte*, sermon for Quinquagesima, 33-35; sermon for the Fourth Sunday of Lent, 120-22; sermon for the Fifth Sunday of Lent, 148-49; sermon for those who will receive communion on Holy Thursday, 150-51; sermon for the Ascension, 193-96; and sermon for the Second Sunday after Pentecost, 263-65; and cf. also the description of the preacher's office in the Nahuatl-language prologue, ¶¶ 4 v - ¶¶ 1 r.

⁷⁸Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 2, 14.

⁷⁹The person who speaks 'Nahuatl' is literally the one who speaks 'clearly' or 'with a attractive sound', and though the Spanish use of *nahuatlato* to mean 'interpreter' of any indigenous language is not necessarily an indication of indigenous usage, the prehispanic as well as colonial use of Nahuatl as a *lingua*

Maccabees,⁸⁰ and precious stones with which the soul is adorned and enriched by putting them into practice,⁸¹ God's words are also the protective covering that shields the soul from demonic attacks and from the torments of hell, as soil shields a seed from the birds or the leaves on a tree protect its fruit from ice, rain, and hail,⁸² and in preached form, the daily food of the soul⁸³ and the vocation which converts both uncaring sinners and those learned in Scripture but blind to their own errors, David, Nebuchadnezzar, Paul, and Mary Magdalene.⁸⁴

Rather than witnesses of a past distinct from that of the Indians and confirming their error, what is more, these Old and New Testament figures and their pagan counterparts alike are placed in a historical framework applied with apparent indifference to Old and New World alike, and in which virtue can be found on both sides of the chief temporal division, the coming of Christianity. As Agustín can identify himself early in the dialogue with Monica, weeping and praying for the conversion of his son as she did for the

franca suggests the possibility.

⁸⁰Ibid., cap. 23, 320.

⁸¹Ibid., 322.

⁸²Ibid., 321-22; cf. Matthew 13: 3-23, Mark 4: 2-20, and Luke 8: 4-15, and for another use of the image of leaves and fruit see Alonso de Villegas, Flos sanctorum: Qvarta y vltima parte, y discursos, o sermones, sobre los euangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de Quaresma, y de santos principales: En que se contienen exposiciones literales, dotrinas morales, documentos espirituales, auisos y exemplos prouechosos para todos estados (Madrid: En casa de Pedro Madrigal; Cuenca: En casa de Iuan Masselin, 1593), discourse 31, fol. 111r-111v, who in an anti-Protestant argument compares the ceremonies of the Church to the leaves which, unimportant in themselves, protect the fruit.

⁸³Mijangos, Espeio, cap. 23, 314.

⁸⁴Ibid., 315-16; cf. 1 Samuel 12: 1-13, Daniel 2, and Acts 9: 1-6, and for the legend according to which Mary Magdalene was converted by hearing Jesus preach, see e.g. Villegas, Flos sanctorum: Qvarta y vltima parte, discourse 127, fol. 457v-458r. For this power of the word, see also Mijangos, Primera parte, sermon for Sexagesima, 19-21, and sermon for the Third Sunday after Pentecost, 277-80.

conversion of hers, whose own name he bears,⁸⁵ so Juan later on is not only inspired to the contempt of earthly riches by the example of Peter and the Apostles, and fortifies his resolve with an Old Testament quotation from his reading, to the effect that riches will not save men on the day of judgement, but also recalls that even “many, numerous *philosophos*, although not Christians, who did not know the true Dios,” have held a similarly low opinion of worldly wealth.⁸⁶ The Egyptians and other unidentified peoples from the lore of classical antiquity put Christians to shame with their remembrance of death, and are themselves described not as idolaters but less prejudicially as “unbelievers” (*ahtlaneltocanime*), those “who did not know the Lord God Dios” or who “were not illuminated, enlightened by the admirable light of Dios, His precious shining, the faith.”⁸⁷ In the inserted Ash Wednesday sermon the pagan Philip of Macedon, another model of remembrance of death, is described as an idolater but also as living “in the long-ago life, in what is spoken of as the Old Law,”⁸⁸ blending the terminology of paganism with that of the Old Covenant, while later in the sermon the use “in the long-ago life” of sackcloth and ashes as a sign of penitence and for obtaining God’s mercy, familiar from the Old

⁸⁵Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 2, 15.

⁸⁶ “[M]iequintin ixachintin Philosophosme (maço nel ahmo Christianome) in ahmo quimiximachilique in nelli Dios.” *Ibid.*, cap. 28, 395-96, quoted at 396; cf. Zephaniah 1: 18.

⁸⁷ “[I]n ahtlaneltocanime, in ahmo quimiximachiliaya in Teutl Tlahtohuani Dios ... in Ægypto tlaca, maço nel ihui ahmo quimiximachiliayah in Teotl Tlahtohuani Dios ... ahtlaneltocanime, maço nel ahmo imahuiztlahuiltzin in Dios, in itlaçotlanetzin in tlanetoquiliztli yc otlanextililoya, otlahuililoya.” *Mijangos, Espeio*, cap. 6, 64-65. Made up of the standard word for ‘believers’ plus a standard negating prefix, like English ‘unbelievers’ or ‘infidels’, *ahtlaneltocanime* might also be translated by the latter English word, but though I think it has a stronger negative coloration, if only by dint of repeated pulpit usage, than the strictly neutral ‘non-believers’ to which it also literally corresponds, I am not sure that it has quite the charge of English ‘infidels’ with its hint of treachery (a meaning of ‘faith’ which the Nahuatl word does not share): hence ‘unbelievers’. In any case, however, both the word and the concept are clearly distinct from those for ‘idolaters’ (*tlateotocanime*, ‘believers in things as gods’).

⁸⁸ “[I]n ye huecauhnemilizpan ... in motenehua huehenuahuatilpan.” *Ibid.*, sermo in feria quarta Cinerum, 221-22, quoted at 221.

Testament, is described as an activity of “our” ancestors, where the speaker is presumably a Spanish priest but the antecedent seems to be a rather generalized ‘we’ of humanity.⁸⁹

An exemplary story in Agustín’s discourse, given without identifying names, is said to take place “long ago in the old life” (*in ye huecauh huehuenemilizpan*) but involves a priest of God and presumptively Christian religious services.⁹⁰ In Mijangos’s sermon collection, too, “the long-ago life” is used when referring to idolaters whether these are the Indians’

⁸⁹“In ye huecauhnemilizpan.” Ibid., 231; for Old Testament examples, see Judith 4: 8-17 and Jonah 3: 5-10. Sackcloth is Nahuatlized as *tilmaçolli*, roughly ‘a wretched old cloak’ or ‘wretched old clothes’. The Franciscans, and with less evidence the Augustinians, appear to have successfully introduced the custom of burial in a plain *tilmatli* or *tilmaçolli* (-çol- is a pejorative suffix) as a mark of Christian piety, which would make the reference particularly appropriate here: for the Franciscans, see Gante, fol. 158v; Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 61v; *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 1, *Testamentos en castellano del siglo XVI y en náhuatl y castellano de Ocotelulco de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Ocotelulco, no. 3, 186-87; no. 15, 216-17; no. 17, 220-21; no. 21, 232-33; no. 22, 236-37; no. 26, 254-55; no. 28, 260-61; no. 33, 278-79; no. 34, 282-83; no. 39, 300-301; and no. 43, 314-15; vol. 2, *Testamentos en náhuatl y castellano del siglo XVI*, no. 14, 144-45; no. 18, 160-61; no. 19, 164-65; no. 26, 206-7; and no. 42, 328-29; and vol. 3, no. 2, 44-45; no. 10, 132-33; no. 15, 188-89; no. 24, 258-59; no. 33, 334-35; and no. 35, 340-41; Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 85 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1976), app. 2, no. 2, 94 and 96; *Documentos sobre tierras y señorío en Cuauhtinchan*, ed. Luis Reyes García, Colección Científica, Fuentes, Historia social, no. 57 (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Centro de Investigaciones Superiores, 1978), no. 12, 110; no. 19, 139; and no. 29, 158; and Leslie S. Offutt, “Levels of Acculturation in Northeastern New Spain: San Esteban Testaments of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 22 (1992): 409-43, at no. 1, 426-27, and no. 3, 438-39; for the Augustinians, Cline, 23; and compare the Dominican León, fol. 154r. The practice also appears in several secular parishes, in areas of likely Franciscan influence: *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 7, 98-99; and no. 14, 172-73. For what may be a comparable practice in seventeenth-century Spanish Galicia, see Poska, 142.

⁹⁰Conceivably, Jewish temple or synagogue services, but the point is precisely that the Nahuatl does not distinguish between the two. The protagonist is a repentant thief who has become a priest in order to do penance for his sins, and who after some unspecified period of time is visited by an angel who tells him that he has been forgiven and reconciled to God. The priest refuses to believe the angel, saying that his sins are beyond counting, and is punished for this by muteness, but as he then laments what he has done and the fact that he will be unable to pray and sing to God, the angel comforts him and tells him that he will be able to speak “when our Lord Dios is very much blessed there in the church” (*in ihquac cenca yectenuhualoz in to Tecuiyo Dios in oncan teopan*). Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 21, 287-88. The imposition of silence is reminiscent of the punishment of the temple priest Zechariah for a similar offense (Luke 1: 20), but the overall atmosphere of the tale strikes me as Christian monastic, though I have not located a source. *Teopan* is generally used for a Christian church building, but could be applied to any comparable temple or shrine.

ancestors⁹¹ or a vaguer, unspecified group,⁹² and “the old life” for a denunciation of religious infidelity delivered by Jeremiah, in which the direct application to the sermon’s contemporary audience of the prophet’s second-person-plural address with its references to the idolatry of ‘your fathers’ further blurs the boundaries between the past of central Mexico and that of the people of Israel.⁹³

Unlike the theory of the descent of the Indians from the Ten Lost Tribes, however, not necessarily a compliment in the early modern Hispanic world of *limpieza de sangre*,⁹⁴ the end result of Mijangos’s scriptural and historical erudition is not nearly so much an identification of Nahuas and Israelites as it is the integration on equal terms of Nahuas, Israelites, and all other groups into one universal human history of Fall, error, struggle, and Redemption. In another particularly telling example from Agustín’s discussion of the remembrance of death, the devil’s old trick of convincing people to bury their dead outside

⁹¹Mijangos, Primera parte, sermon for the Fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost, 410.

⁹²From European antiquity, but in this case there are no identifying details, like the foreign place names of Egypt and Macedon, which would encourage the audience to deduce this, although the custom in question is said to be recorded “in old writings” (*huehuetlacuilolpan*). Ibid., sermon for the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost, 445.

⁹³Ibid., sermon for the Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, 481-82; cf. Jeremiah 16: 10-13.

⁹⁴A facet of the theory overlooked by Burkhart, Before Guadalupe, text 6.1, 88, who suggests, while discussing the ambiguous religious status of the Holy Family, that this speculation may have provided an additional stimulus to some Indians to make an identification between their own past and that of these non-idolatrous non- or semi-Christians. The early seventeenth-century Nahua historian Chimalpahin, for example, makes a point of calculating that the ancestors of the Nahuas (the *huehuetque chichimeca*) had arrived in Aztlan from over the ocean twenty-four years before the destruction of Jerusalem under Vespasian, making it impossible for them to be the descendants of the Jews exiled at that time: Chimalpahin, Las ocho relaciones, cuarta relación, 1: 312-13. Durán provides a particularly interesting example of this tension: in his history of the Mexica kings he has great praise for the government and *policía* of the Mexicans, despite their idolatry, gives this just praise of what he identifies as his own *patria* as a cause for his writing, and holds up the virtues of the Mexica nobles for imitation, in language which comes quite close to placing them, as well as their presumably but not explicitly Christian imitators, in the company of the saints in glory, but when he turns to arguing that the Indians are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, their characteristics become the reverse of a distinguished ancestry: idolatrous, cowardly, and stubborn. Durán, Historia, tratado 1, cap. 1, 1: 53-60; cap. 3, 1: 70; cap. 11, 1: 148-49.

the town, rather than in the centrally-located Christian churchyard, is one which he worked indistinctly on “our” ancestors and on the sainted patriarchs and prophets, up to and including the time of the Gospel, and witnessed by Scripture itself:

In the long-ago life he [the devil] seduced, tempted the old people, our fathers, our ancestors, our great-grandfathers, so that not beside, among earthly people, just far off, in a desert place, in a forest they would bury their dead, there would be made their graves, their tombs, where they would be buried, so that the dead would not be buried in the city, and so that death would not at some time be remembered, thus it would just be utterly forgotten, in the way in which when in the heart of a city a deer, a four-footed animal dies, then the citizens carry it out, throw it, toss it far off, so that it will not through its stink, its rot strike people with stink, so that the earthly people will not be continually pressed by the stink, continually closed in by the stink. ... You have never heard what Dios’s writer of divine annals, *sanct* Luke, recounts to us in the *Sancto Evangelio*, that when our Lord Jesus Christ was living here on earth He met beside, near the edge of a city a dead person, a precious youth, the only child of a widow, that indeed at the exit of the city, at the entrance He met him, who was already being taken, already being brought out, in order that in the forest, in the meadow, outside the city he would be buried? ... See how there in the forest, in the meadow, among, near the four-footed animals the dead, the chosen ones of Dios, were buried in the old custom, which was just through the will, the desire of the devil, so that no one would ponder, no one would take counsel about the last ending. In the divine book we read that the righteous servant of Dios, *sancto* Abraham, had his grave, his burial place, his tomb there in the meadow, in the forest, truly there he had gone to make it, had gone to place it, also likewise the prophet David, and the other precious heart-friends of Dios, the *patriarchas*, the *prophetas*. And regarding this he tempted, confused the earthly people, the one who very much leads people astray, the devil; he inspired them with many things, thus he led the elders astray, he caused them to hear, asked them to do many things, so that death would not be remembered.⁹⁵

⁹⁵[A]uh in ye huecauhnemilizpan, quinyolàcocuiya, quinyolehuaya in huehuetlaca, in tottahuan, in tocolhuan, in tachcocolhuan, inic ahmo intlan, intloc Tlalticpac tlaca, çan hueca, ixtlahuacan, quauhtla quintocazquia in immiccahuan, vmpa mochihuazquia in intlatatac, in immicapetlaacal in campa motocazquia: inic ahmo altepeihtic motocazquia in miccatzintin: auh inic ahmo icà molnamiquizquia in Miquiztli, ic çan tlacemilcahualozquia. In quenin in ihquac altepeyolloihtic miqui centel maçatl, manenenqui, niman quihualquixtia in altepehuaque, hueca contlaça, commayahui, inic ahmo ihiyaca, ipotonca, yc teyacahuitequiz, inic ahmo moyacapachotinemizque, moyacatzacuhtinemizque in Tlalticpac tlaca. ... Ayc otoconcac in techmopohuililia iteoxiuhlahcuilocatzin Dios Sanct Lucas, in ipan sancto Euangelio. Ca in ihquac nican Tlalticpac monemitzinohuaya to Tecuiyo Iesv Christo, oquimonamiquiltzino, itlan, inahuac in altepetenamitl, ce miccatzintli, tlaçotelputzintli, ce ycnocihuatzintli icenteconetzin, ca huel altepetl iquixohuayan calacohuayan oquimonamiquiltzino, in ye huicoya, ye quixtiloya, inic quauhtla çacatla, altepequiahuac tocozquia? ... Xiquitta quenin vmpa quauhtla, çacatla, intlan, intloc in manenenque tocayah in huehuetlamanitilizpan in miccatzintin, in itlapepenaltzizhuan Dios, in çan itlanequiliztica icializtica in Tlacatecolotl, inic ayac ipan moyolnonotzazquia, ayac ipan

As the postbiblical saints of Agustín's repertory of tales sometimes succumb temporarily to pride or doubt, like lesser mortals,⁹⁶ so too the holy figures of the Old Testament appear here as subject to the same errors as the Indians' ancestors, yet none the less holy as a result, despite their susceptibility to this particular demonic blandishment. Saints and Nahuas alike, living in the modern day, now know better; saints and Nahuas alike, by implication, could still be holy without this knowledge in the past.

* * *

Whether the *Psalmodia*'s treatment of the Spanish Conquest is read as identifying the Nahua past with the narrative of Christian redemption or as consigning it to history's dustbin,⁹⁷ on the other hand, Sahagún's distinctly interventionist God is one for Whom the notion of a progressive unfolding of revelation is of little relevance. When the law given on Mount Sinai is described in the title of one of the lost chapters of the *Coloquios* as "[the

tlanemilizquia in tlamiliztonquiçaliztli. Teoamoxpan ticpohua. Ca in iyectetlayecolticatzin Dios in Sancto Abraham, in itlatatac, in imiccatecoch, imiccapetlaacal, ca vmpa in çacatlā, quauhtla quimopielia, ca nel vmpa commochihuilica, commotlalilica. No ihui in tlaachtapaihtohuani David, yhuan in occequintin itlaçoyolynciuhtzitzihuan Dios, in Patriarchas, in Prophetas: auh in itechpa in, quinyolehuaya in Tlalticpac tlaça, quinyolācomanaya in cenca tetlapololtiani in Tlacatecolotl, miectlamantli quinyolotiaya, yc quintlapololtiaya in huehuetque, miectlamantli quinquitiaya, quinchihualania, inic ahmo molnamiquizquia in miquiztli." Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 7, 69-70; cf. Luke 7: 12 and Genesis 23: 3-10 and 25: 9-10.

⁹⁶Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 17, 211-13; cap. 29, 403-5.

⁹⁷See Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die beati Jacobi apostoli, psalm 1, 202-3, and in die sancti Hipoliti, psalm 1-2, 242-45, and the diametrically-opposed interpretations by Louise M. Burkhart, "The Amanuenses Have Appropriated the Text: Interpreting a Nahuatl Song of Santiago," in *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*, ed. Brian Swann (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 339-55, and John W. Keber, "Sahagún's *Psalmodia*: Christian Love and Domination in Sixteenth-Century Mexico," in *Chipping Away on Earth*, ed. Quiñones Keber, 45-64, at 53-54. Burkhart, "Sahagún's *Tlauculcuicatl*, a Nahuatl Lament," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 18 (1986): 181-218, at 186-87, also touches on similar issues with regard to the selection of events from Genesis in the *Psalmodia*'s 'lamentation' for Septuagesima, and not related to the *Psalmodia* but also worthy of consultation is Wake, whose interpretation of the murals of the Augustinian church at San Miguel Arcángel Ixmiquilpan is in many ways parallel to Burkhart's of the *Psalmodia*'s warrior saints.

law] which we now have,”⁹⁸ it is the historical specificity of the reference to Sinai which is noteworthy, not the continued vigor of the Ten Commandments (doubtless the only portion of the Mosaic Law actually in question), but in Sahagún’s other doctrinal writings, as for that matter in the *Coloquios*’s account of the rewards and punishments dealt out by the God of Israel, the tendency is to catalogue Old Testament saints not so much for their personal exemplary function as for their witness to an unchanging divine order stretching back not only to Moses but to the creation of the world.⁹⁹ In the *Adiciones*, where it is the two great commandments which appear as the original form of the “divine commandment,” these commandments, originating at the beginning of the world, are passed down from Adam and Eve through Noah to Abraham, Moses, and the Israelites, before being glossed by God on Mount Sinai through the Ten Commandments, which exposition Christ in turn establishes in the Sermon on the Mount and Paul explains, in Sahagún’s vague assertion, “in many places” in his letters.¹⁰⁰ Faith or the faith, where virtue and content are not distinguished from one another, is likewise passed down from parents to children from the time of Creation, beginning with Adam and Eve, through Noah, Abraham, and the Israelites until the time of Christ, after which the apostles who had witnessed His life, death, and resurrection brought it to the whole world, and the Church of Rome, headed by

⁹⁸ “[L]a [ley] que agora tenemos.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 42 and 76.

⁹⁹The Christmas sermons do return more than once to Christ’s birth in poverty and humility as an example for all Christians, and the *Exercicio quotidiano*, not necessarily a full reflection of Sahagún’s own approach and significantly more contemplative in tone than any of his other evangelical works, also approaches Christ, the Virgin, and other New Testament figures as models to imitate as well as manifestations of divine power at whom to marvel, and perhaps not coincidentally rarely misses an opportunity to request intercession.

¹⁰⁰ “[M]jeccan.” Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Las veintiséis adiciones a la Postilla,” in Sahagún, *Adiciones*, xxxi-xciii and 1-87, at cap. 5, xlvi-1 and 26-29, quoted at 1 and 28-29.

the pope, guards it now, and will do so until the end of the world.¹⁰¹ The observance of chastity began at the beginning of the world with Abel, the *Apéndice* explains, sweeping under the rug the chronological gap of millenia between this son of Adam and the next example advanced, John the Baptist,¹⁰² just as (though this is something of a commonplace) the first reason demonstrating the goodness of the sacrament of marriage in the brief surviving fragments of Sahagún's *Manual del christiano* is that it was established by God Himself in the Garden of Eden.¹⁰³ In the *Psalmodia*, where the Ten Commandments are once again made known by God Himself at Sinai,¹⁰⁴ the chief moments in the history of redemption are all said to have been determined by God before the beginning of the world: the Incarnation, the liberation of New Spain from the hands of the devils, and the coming of the greatest saints, those necessary for the preservation and progress of the Church - the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, the Latin doctors, and no less important from the Franciscan perspective, the latter-day restorers of a trembling edifice, Francis, Dominic, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰⁵ To the extent that 'development' can be seen, it is the progress of typology rather than teleology, according to which, for example, Christ's lodging with Martha is prefigured by Elisha's lodging with

¹⁰¹Ibid., cap. 3, xlii-xliv and 18-21.

¹⁰²Sahagún, "Apéndice," 5th collation, c-ci and 96-97.

¹⁰³Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Manual del christiano," ed. and trans. in Arthur J. O. Anderson and Wayne Ruwet, "Sahagún's Manual del christiano: History and Identification," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 23 (1993): 17-45, at 33.

¹⁰⁴Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, matlactetl teunaoatilli, psalm 1, 24-25.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., in die circuncisionis Domini, psalm 1, 34-35; in die sancti Thomae Aquino, psalm 1, 78-79; in festo sancti Gregorij papae, psalm 1, 82-83; in die sanctae Annae, psalm 4, 208-9; in die sanctae Marthae, psalm 1, 208-9; in die sancti Dominici, psalm 1-3 and 6, 220-23 and 224-27; in die sancti Hipoliti, psalm 1, 242-43; in die sancti Bartholomaei, psalm 1, 256-57; in die sancti Lucae euangelistae, psalm 1, 310-11; and in die sancti Ambrosij episcopi & doctoris, psalm 2, 348-51.

the Shunammite woman,¹⁰⁶ and the replacement of Judas by Matthias is manifested in the replacement of Saul by David as the consequence of Saul's failure to carry out the divine command for the slaughter of the Amalekites, interpreted as greed for possessions to match Judas's greed for the thirty pieces of silver.¹⁰⁷

A God characterized by majesty more than by suffering, and more at home on a throne than on the Cross, the Christian Lord who has such control over time also takes over wholesale the attributes of an earthly ruler. Presented in the opening discourse of the *Coloquios* as a master of wealth and power,¹⁰⁸ in the *Psalmodia* He has messengers (the archangel Gabriel), a palace and discarded plans for its construction (the Church and the Synagogue, respectively), and lords whom He assembles when important business is at hand (at the Transfiguration, described as a council of state in preparation for the Passion), but above all what He has are warriors, the apostles and a favored handful of other saints - Francis, the Franciscan Anthony of Padua, and the Spaniard Lawrence - who fight beneath His banner against the devil's hosts and are rewarded by Him accordingly, as He is Himself the greatest warrior of all.¹⁰⁹ In Sahagún's Advent and Christmas sermons, too,

¹⁰⁶Ibid., in die sanctae Marthae, psalm 1-3, 208-11.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., in die sancti Mathiae, psalm 1-3, 56-59. For further examples see also *ibid.*, in die circuncisionis Domini, psalm 1-3, 34-37; in festo sancti Ioseph, psalm 2-4, 92-97; in die sancti Bonaventurae, psalm 1-2, 192-93; in die sancti Bartholomaei, psalm 1-5, 256-63; and in die sancti Augustini, psalm 1-5, 264-69.

¹⁰⁸See above, 99-103.

¹⁰⁹Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die sancti Gabrielis archangeli, psalm 1, 88-89; in festo sancti Ioseph, psalm 1, 92-93; in die resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, pro secunda die, psalm 1, 114-15; in die sanctorum Philippi & Iacobi, psalm 1, 140-41; in die ascensionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, psalm 1, 150-51; in die Penthecostes, pro secunda die, psalm 3, 166-67; in die sancti Barnabae apostoli, psalm 1, 174-75; in die sancti Antonij de Padua, psalm 1-2, 178-81; in die beati Jacobi apostoli, psalm 1-4, 200-205; in die transfigurationis Domini, psalm 1-4, 214-17; in die sancti Laurentij, psalm 1, 230-31; in die beati Francisci, psalm 2, 298-99; and in die sancti Andreae apostoli, psalm 1-3, 338-41; and for other examples, in die ascensionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, psalm 3, 152-53, and in die assumptionis beatae Mariae virginis, psalm 1-2, 246-47.

the warning of His coming judgement puts salutary fear into sinners in the same way that fear of the officers of the law serves as a deterrent in the temporal sphere,¹¹⁰ and His wrath at being shut out from the soul by sin is analogous to the murderous wrath of an earthly lord who finds himself barred from the door of one of his subjects,¹¹¹ while an alternate sermon introduction added in 1563 begins by identifying Christ as a lord Who desires proper preparation of that which is due to Him, just as an earthly lord, directly apostrophized as a member of the audience, expects proper preparation of that which he receives.¹¹² Even when it come to His death, the *Apéndice* portrays it with a distant dignity appropriate to this lordly status and to the notably minor role played by the Passion in the *Coloquios*' surviving text,¹¹³ as the response to a *pleyto* waged by the devil in

¹¹⁰Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Sermon 1: Dominica prima aduentus domini," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 280-84, at 280-83.

¹¹¹Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Dominica .4ª. aduentus domini," ed. Barry David Sell, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Barry David Sell, in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 7, 354-64, at 357-58 and 363, or in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 295-99, at 298. Juan Bautista reuses Sahagún's sermon in his 1606 sermon collection: see Juan Bautista, OFM, "Do[mingo] IIII. del Adviento: Ser[mon] IIII. sobre el mismo Evangelio," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 321-40, at 323.

¹¹²Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Dominica .4ª. aduentus domini," ed. Barry David Sell, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Barry David Sell, in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 7, 354-64, at 355 and 360, and in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 295-99, at 295.

¹¹³Though the Nahuatl text of the explanation of the source of Scripture in the *Coloquios*, more detailed here than the Spanish, alludes to the Incarnation in distinguishing the mode of revelation used with the apostles and evangelists from that appropriate to the patriarchs and prophets (as pointed out by Zaballa Beascochea, *Transculturación*, 80-81; see Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 3, para. A, 46-49, 82, and 116-17), not until the end of the first book does the Incarnation receive direct consideration, to judge by the table of contents, and even then in a form in which, if the surviving chapter title is an accurate guide, neither the Crucifixion nor its associated New Covenant seem to be at the forefront of attention - "nuestro Señor Dios por el gran amor que tiene a los hombres, se hizo hombre en este mundo y conuersó entre los hombres" - while the second book allots only one chapter to the seven articles of the humanity (Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 42 and 77). As Francisco Morales, OFM, "La inculturación del cristianismo en un texto de Sahagún: El diálogo de los Doce," in *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su tiempo*, ed. Jesús Paniagua Pérez and María Isabel Viforcós Marinas (León: Universidad de León, Secretariado de Publicaciones; Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 2000), 661-74, at 666-67, discusses with particular clarity, the surviving text of the *Coloquios*, which makes no mention of the Holy Spirit, tends to blend the attributes of God the Father and Christ into one.

In the *Exercicio quotidiano*, too, though Sahagún takes responsibility only for the revision of this

God's court. Divine justice is drawn in the image of Spanish bureaucratic *justicia*, the colonial court system in which individual Indians and Indian communities quickly learned to sue one another (as well as the occasional Spaniard), and the death of Christ almost seems to be the clever legal manuever which undercuts the opponent's case, leading to its dismissal: "This salvation, by which our lord Dios has saved us from the hands of the *diablo*, Dios did not bring to pass at some time through His power by which He is almighty: He just brought it to pass through knowledge, through *justicia* by which He knows everything and very much loves that which is upright [*melahuac*]. Thus a *pleyto* was made, that one, the *diablo*, levied a complaint, but it fell, it was pushed away when our lord Jesus Christ died for us: He saved us from his hands."¹¹⁴

Scripture, too, is often treated as a collection of proof-texts to be abstracted and accumulated at will, the same unchanging and hence interchangeable pronouncements of an unchanging God employed by the Dominicans, in contrast to Mijangos's more dynamic approach.¹¹⁵ In Sahagún's sermon for the Sunday within the Octave of Christmas the

work and not for its conception, the themes for meditation over the course of the week run chronologically through Christ's life from the Incarnation on Monday to the institution of the Eucharist on Sunday, a truncation so unexpected as to leave one wondering whether this may not have been originally the first week of a longer, multi-week cycle.

¹¹⁴[Y]nin temaquixtiliztlj, ynic techmomaquixtili, totecuiyo dios yn imacpa in diablo amo oquimochihuili in Dios yn ica yhuelitiliztica ynic yxquich yhueli, çan vquimochiuli tlamatiliztica justiciatica, ynic yxquich quimomachitia yhuan melahuac cenca quimotlaçotilia: yc pleyto omuchiuh yn yehuatl diablo omoteixpanhui, auh ca vhuetz, ca vtopehualoc yn iquac topampa omomiquili totecuiyo iesu christo ymacpa otechmomaquixtili." Sahagún, "Apéndice," 7th collation, cxxi, 128, and 131.

Anderson translates "sabiduría" where I have "knowledge"; the word refers to that which one knows in the sense of *saber*, but it is more neutral in connotation than English 'wisdom', extending to the negative as well as the positive senses of 'cunning'. On a more grammatical point, he also transforms an adjective into a noun when rendering *melahuac* as "la derechura" (my "that which is upright").

¹¹⁵Cf. also the Mexican Inquisition's 1572 consultation on the circulation of Scriptural texts and other devotional material in indigenous languages, where Sahagún, though more liberal than the Dominican respondents Domingo de la Anunciación and Juan de la Cruz (misidentified in the editor's heading as provincial of the Franciscan province of the Holy Gospel, rather than of the Dominican province of Santiago) with regard to non-Scriptural material, joins them in recommending the restriction of any Scriptural translation to the Indians' ministers only, while Sahagún's fellow Franciscan Alonso de Molina is of the opinion "que se prohiba y vede que los indios no tengan cosa de Sagrada Escritura sin exposición,

“divine word” appears at the end of a list of the sacraments, and though not called a *sacramento*, seems otherwise indistinguishable from them in its power to ‘make right’ men’s hearts, an association repeated in the following list of Christian duties,¹¹⁶ but more characteristically it is the extrinsic guarantee of truth familiar from the ‘foundations’ of the *Coloquios*, as when “the word of Dios” which has been sent to the Indians by the king of Spain and the pope, the book of Wisdom’s discourse on the origins of idolatry, is presented in the appendix to the first book of the Florentine Codex as proof of the falsehood of the old gods,¹¹⁷ or when the sermon for the Second Sunday of Advent, warning its audience against believing the demonic falsehoods handed down from the past by the elders or predicted for the future by the diviners, replaces them with Scripture as the source of truth about past and future alike.¹¹⁸ In the *Adiciones*, the list of thirteen things which must be believed through faith begins with the statement “that every divine word which our mother *sancta yglesia* keeps, called the divine book, is all firm, consequently through nothing does it cause people to doubt, consequently nothing is just ‘what they say’ [*qujlmach*], for it is indeed truth, for it has all come forth from the mouth of our lord Dios,” followed by belief in everything which the Church believes, and only then, third in line, by belief in one God alone.¹¹⁹ Going on to define ‘divine faith’ (*teutlaneltoqujliztli*) as

empero con ella me parece que deben gozar de ella, como los otros christianos.” *Libros y libreros*, no. 7, 81-85, quoted at 82.

¹¹⁶Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Sermon 9: Dominica infra octava natiuitatis Domini,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 317-20, at 319-20.

¹¹⁷Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, lib. 1, appendix, 2: 27-46, quoted at 27; Sahagún, *Historia general*, lib. 1, appendix, 90-106, quoted at 90.

¹¹⁸Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Sermon 2: Dominica 2a aduentus domini,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 285-89.

¹¹⁹“[C]a in jxqujch in teutlatolli, yn qujmopielia in tonantzin sancta yglesia, yn jtoca teuamuxtli, muchi chicaoac, njman atle ic tetzotzon, njman atle çan qujlmach, ca uel neltiliztli, ca muchi icamacpatzinco oqujz yn totecujo Dios.” Sahagún, “Las veintiséis adiciones,” cap. 1, xxxvi and 8-9.

contrasted to ‘human faith’ (*tlacatlaneltoqujiliztli*), the same text practically identifies the divine word with the theological virtue: “everything which is the divine word indeed surpasses everything which is verified as true, everything which our eyes see and which our ears hear and which our hands touch, because it is the divine faith which has been spoken of, it has come forth from the mouth of Dios, Who cannot lie.”¹²⁰ Like the scriptural examples of reward and punishment given in the *Coloquios*, scriptural quotations often appear one after another after another in Sahagún’s writings, sometimes forming progressive steps in an argument and sometimes simply piling up evidence for one thesis, but in either case with something of the effect of an artillery barrage of unanswerable declarations,¹²¹ while in the Advent and Christmas sermons, though the first part of the sermon (after the introduction) is dedicated to an explication of the chosen Scriptural theme, prior to its application, the intention is generally to make the theme comprehensible as such, and not as a rule to provide a translation or explanation of the day’s Gospel reading as a whole. Even if provided with a certain amount of narrative context, the theme is at base a free-standing *auctoritas* like the other quotations which may be adduced in support of the argument derived from it, authoritative because it is found written in Scripture and independent of any broader narrative or discourse into which it might there be

¹²⁰ “[I]n jxqujch in teutlatolli vel qujpanauja in jxqujch neltitica, yn jxqujch in qujitta in tistelolo, yoan in qujcaquj tonacaz, yoan in qujmatoca toma: iehica ca in teutlaneltoqujiliztli in omoteneuh, ycamacpatzinco oqujz in Dios, yn amo uel moztlacatiliz.” *Ibid.*, cap. 2, xl-xli and 14-15.

¹²¹ Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Sermon 1: Dominica prima aduentus domini,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 280-84, at 284; Sahagún, “Apéndice,” 5th collation, ciii-civ and 100-103; 7th collation, cxxiv-cxxv, 136, and 139; cxxvii-cxxviii, 138, and 140-43. On the other hand, this is to some extent a subjective judgement: where I sense an attempt at intimidation, Klaus, 61-62, finds Sahagún’s practice of introducing scriptural quotations with some variation on ‘this is the divine word’ to be a way of making God directly present to the audience, as someone who is speaking to them.

incorporated.¹²²

* * *

Just as textual authorities and events from sacred history can be adduced in isolation or as parts of a larger whole, the individual member of a community of believers can be seen predominantly as an individual or predominantly as part of a community, while that community itself can be imagined along more or less hierarchical lines, and with a greater or lesser degree of free choice involved in membership. However they envisioned the position of the Christian (or Catholic) Church in time, all these authors sought to invite their Indian audience within Her gates, or to keep them there in good standing if they had already entered: but to what extent were they inviting an agglomeration of individuals, and to what extent were they inviting a community or people, and on what terms? One or two possible exceptions notwithstanding, Indian converts were barred from the priesthood and the religious orders, in law and in practice, as they were also barred from the higher ranks of colonial government: but how far, in these friars' view, did this dependence on Spanish clergy go? And overlapping with both these questions but identical to neither, how much did it matter that these converts were 'Indians'? How much of their prehispanic heritage were they expected to leave at the baptismal font or the church door, and what was the evaluation of what was retained, an acceptable set of ethnic distinctions or a mark of second-class status? To use a term drawn from a very different sixteenth-century context, if this chapter and the previous one have sought to indicate some of the variation possible within spheres that would generally be characterized as essential, the next chapter seeks to delineate the boundary beyond which the *adiaphora* lie, the 'indifferent things' which can

¹²²As befits the chronological gap which separates them, Sahagún's sermons are very different in this regard from the much longer ones of Mijangos, who retells the Gospel of the day at the opening of the body and then proceeds to comment on various aspects of that Gospel in homiletic fashion. Sahagún's sermons, or at least those in this group, follow a quite rigorous tripartite scheme, analyzed by Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, 60-61.

safely be left alone, before the last chapter returns to the undisputed requirements of salvation with an exploration of those aspects of sacramental theology most relevant to the question of conversion in its broader senses.

CHAPTER FIVE
CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

Nulla salus extra ecclesiam runs the maxim, 'no salvation outside the Church': but what is 'the Church', with its absolutizing capital letter? The church building, or more precisely the church complex with its associated patio, has a Nahuatl name in common usage - generally *teopan*, something like 'god-place', in contradistinction to *teocalli*, 'god-house', applied to a prehispanic temple¹ - but the abstract sense is always *Santa Iglesia*, a Spanish proper name like 'Dios' or 'Santa María', and like 'Santa María' often called 'our mother'. As a personified 'mother', in the European tradition as well as in Nahuatl, She instructs Her children or chastises them; as Bride of Christ, She both longs for Her heavenly rest and bears witness to it, in the 'always-already' of eschatological time; as successor to the Synagogue, the blindfolded, broken-sceptred elder sister who accompanies Her in painting and sculpture, She represents the triumphant rule of truth. 'The Church' can mean the clerical hierarchy; it can also, or simultaneously, mean the assembly of the faithful. It dispenses grace to its members, living and dead, yet it is also enriched by them, living and dead, existing not only on earth but in purgatory and in heaven. As 'one' and 'catholic' it must welcome all nations, tribes, peoples, and tongues (Revelation 7: 9); as 'Roman' it has transmitted, until very recent years, the tongue of an ancient empire and no small amount of its customs and those of the kingdoms which succeeded it, itself often nothing less than imperial in its claims.

¹With occasional exceptions: see the passages from Gante and Olmos below, 175, n. 9, and 191, n. 54.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the ecclesiological emphases chosen by the catechisms in this study have a reasonably direct correspondence to their evaluations of the threat posed by the Indians' cultural difference: the more hierarchical, hieratic, or clerical the ecclesiology, the harsher the attitude toward potential idolatry or superstition. All these works, obviously, are of clerical authorship, but for the imagined reader of Gante's *Doctrina* and Mijangos's *Espeio*, a literate and pious Indian layman, clerical supervision is something which takes place off-stage and at a distance - for the participants in Mijangos's dialogue, quite literally so. Reading these volumes on their own, and explicitly encouraged to teach others, they are not merely passive consumers of an instruction issued from above, even if they remain dependent on the Spanish clergy for the sacraments, and in keeping with this status, they will find in these volumes only scant and tactful reference to their or their ancestors' pagan past, no harangues of the kind which might be inflicted on a captive sermon audience. What they will find as an embodiment of 'the Church', on the other hand, is a universe of saints for imitation, human beings no doubt better than the reader, but still his relative peers, company which he can keep without loss of self-respect even as they provide the models the clergy do not, including a model for the same relatively horizontal transmission of the faith which these volumes themselves represent. In Gante these figures remain generalized collectivities, martyrs or virgins or prophets, while in Mijangos they are named individuals with histories and occasional foibles, in much the same way that the universal Christianity of Gante's catechism, a work which, if translated, could have been addressed almost unchanged to a European audience, becomes very specifically Nahua in Mijangos's father and son, but the commonality remains.

The Dominicans of 1548, by contrast, addressing a second-person-plural audience from the pulpit, are both explicit and sharp-tongued in their references to Indian idolatry, consistently darkening the tone set by the 1544 version, at the same time that they add to their exemplar a new discussion of excommunication and a new, hierarchical vision of the

Last Judgement, striking a distinctly more clerical note than the relatively more egalitarian 1544 text, with its narrative address to the speaker's or writer's 'brothers' and its curious omission of any reference to prelates other than the pope. León, reverting to sustained narrative from sermon form, varies between the second-person-plural of pulpit exhortation and the second-person-singular of more intimate instruction to a reader, but for all his encouragement in the latter passages of the devotional uses of household catechetical reading, his attitude toward Indian literacy is an ambiguous and predominantly negative one, as he switches between Nahuatl and Spanish with the declared intention of safeguarding certain information from Indian eyes. The front matter of the volume, all in Spanish, clearly directs the volume to the Spanish ministers of an Indian flock of whose capacity and faith León has little good to say, and who are unquestionably dependent for their salvation, in Nahuatl and Spanish alike, on the clergy's instructional and sacramental intervention.

Sahagún is less clerical in approach, if the papalism of the *Coloquios* - not exactly a day-to-day reality in distant Mexico - is left aside, but his Church, too, tends more to authority than to communion, appearing either as instructing Mother or as glorious Church Triumphant, composed of saints who, though named and detailed, are less models for human striving in time than witnesses to all that was ordained before the beginning of the world. Where he judges that some prehispanic custom can safely be purified, Sahagún is prepared to do so, but where he judges otherwise, his condemnations frequently descend from explanations of the problem to a vitriol that threatens to make the ancestors' errors into a hereditary taint, a vinegar which coexists uneasily at best with the honey-lure of the faithful Christian's promised glory: precisely because of the typological eternity of Sahagún's Church, perhaps, it has no room for compromise, and for all that the individual Nahua is less alone here before judgement than he is in the Dominicans' writings, the ethnic collective identity which Sahagún grants him is for the most part a burden he would

be well rid of, no company of helpers.

* * *

Gante addresses an Indian reader who is already fully incorporated into the Church with its communion of saints, and who is received by that communion at death. Advised, for example, to examine his conscience before confession according to “all the *doctrina christiana*, as it is on the paper,”² presumably with the book in front of him, or instructed about the different possibilities for earning the indulgences of the prayer of St Gregory for the one who can read the prayer as given and the one who cannot,³ as well as counseled to share his knowledge, as the first step in the assistance of the dying, by instructing an unbaptized sick person in the faith “as it is in the *doctrina christiana*,”⁴ the volume’s second-person-singular audience is a literate lay Christian already committed to the faith, not an unbeliever looking for first instruction, nor a preacher in search of sermon material. Most likely he is male,⁵ probably of some social standing (having acquired both literacy and the book itself, whether purchased or as a friar’s gift),⁶ and probably a pupil or former

² “[M]ochi yn doctrina christiana yn iuh ypan ca ca yn amatl.” Gante, fol. 90r.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 130r.

⁴ “[Y]n iuh ypan ca yn doctrina Christiana.” *Ibid.*, fol. 151r.

⁵ The short-lived boarding schools for noble Indian girls, operated by Spanish beatas, did not teach reading and writing (Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 56, 358; and similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 22, 795), unlike the friars’ schools for boys, but some noblewomen did learn to read and write from their male relatives, somewhat to the friars’ surprise (Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 36, 259; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 16, 751; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 44, 1: 453-44; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 19, 3: 183).

⁶ As in Europe, a boy from a more modest background who caught a friar’s eye for intelligence or musical gifts might get an education, but also as in Europe, birth into high status was a much surer road, though this may have been less true in the early years than it became later on. As far as obtaining the volume is concerned, while there was certainly a commercial trade in books imported from Europe, beginning well before 1553 - see Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*, with a New Introduction by Rolena Adorno (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 91-103 - and a pamphlet *Relacion del espantable terremoto que agora nuevamente ha acontecido en la cibdad*

pupil of the friars, as well as perhaps a server at mass or, if older, a church *fiscal* or singer, but whether he was in 1553 a mature adult with full memory of the days before the Conquest or a schoolboy baptized as an infant, he would find in this doctrine almost no

de Guatemala printed in 1541 (García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 3(3), 62, and Millares Carlo and Calvo, no. 50, 151-52) testifies to the entrepreneurial possibilities of the Mexican press, it is unclear to what extent many of these catechisms should be considered as part of a 'book trade' in the commercial sense, rather than as commissioned productions. Financial as well as political support from an author's religious order or another patron seems to have been a common prerequisite for successful publication, and León speaks of his catechism, paid for by a lay friend of his, as being 'distributed' (or in this case, not distributed) by its archiepiscopal dedicatee (León, fol. 165r, and the prologue to his 1614 sermon collection, as quoted in Medina, La imprenta, no. 281, 2: 64), while Zumárraga, if the surviving imprints are an accurate indication, would appear to have sustained the Mexican press more or less single-handedly through much of the 1540s, with some assistance from his fellow bishops, to the point that the books he donated in the year before his death to various persons and institutions of his native region of Durango included wholesale quantities of *cartillas* and of at least one of his own catechisms (Bataillon, Erasmus y España, 823; why Zumárraga thought this was a gift worth freighting across the Atlantic and most of the length and breadth of the Iberian Peninsula is another question). For *cartillas* and brief doctrines, pamphlets of four, eight, or sixteen leaves containing the rudiments of the catechism and often used as first readers, there is some evidence for free distribution to Indian end-users ("La declaración de la carta por capítulos que el arcediano de México, don Joan Negrete dio firmada de su nombre al Obispo de México, su prelado," in Gil, Primeras <doctrinas>, app. 8, 636-44, at 640; and see also Appendix III to this dissertation, under Juan de Tovar), and this would also appear to be case for the *estampas* with which Juan Bautista wanted to reinforce the message of his Confessionario (as quoted in García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 159(114), 434-35), though the case of the rosary prints and pamphlets produced by the press of Pedro Ocharte in the early 1570s and peddled to Dominican convents is less clear (Libros y libreros, no. 8.18, 99, and 8.21, 104). For longer works the evidence is even scantier, and the peninsular *taxa* appears only exceptionally in products of the Mexican press, but at least at the extreme end of the scale, it is difficult to imagine the Franciscan Maturino Gilberti's massive 1559 Dialogo de doctrina christiana, en la lengua de Mechuacan, over three hundred folios in folio of monolingual Tarascan, handsomely printed in small semi-gothic type, and apparently to be found in Indian hands before it was caught up in an epic inquisitorial process, as anything other than a semi-official item of church furnishings (see García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 34(33), 152-55, and Libros y libreros, no. 3.13-17, 14-18). In a bilingual (Spanish-Nahuatl) document dated 2 June 1585, the local authorities of Santa María Magdalena Metepec, a *sujeto* of Tulancingo, agreed to pay the Mexico City printer Pedro Ocharte the significant sum of 45 pesos for a book (Schwaller, "Small Collections," 410), but given the price, this seems likely to be a choir book, perhaps the Psalterivm, an[t]iphonarivm sanctorale, cum psalmis, & hymnis, positis in suis locis proprijs vnuscuusque, diei festi totius anni printed by Ocharte the previous year (García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 109(95), 389-90).

In the one case known to me in which there is clear evidence of the range of a catechism's owners, beyond the occasional brand or inscription in a surviving volume, Zumárraga's Spanish-language *Doctrina breue* of 1543, emended in one proposition by the Inquisition in the mid-1570s, appears in a listing of books to be collected for prohibition or emendation among the holdings of eleven Franciscan convents, one Dominican convent, five laypeople (including one schoolmaster), and one individual Franciscan friar (Libros y libreros, app. 15, 473-95; for the emendation, see also *ibid.*, no. 2, 1-3, and no. 10, 246; and for the identification of the convents, see Peter Gerhard, A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, Cambridge Latin American Studies, ed. David Joslin, Timothy King, Clifford T. Smith, and John Street, no. 14 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1972)). A sixth layman also appears as an owner of the volume at least a decade later, in or after 1584 (Libros y libreros, app. 34, 534).

reference to his or his ancestors' prehispanic beliefs or to their neophyte status, save for a few oblique allusions like the abovementioned allowance for the possibility that someone sick or dying might not be baptized, the explicit rejection of idolatry in the deathbed profession of faith, or the advice to seek a linguistically qualified confessor, justified on the scriptural grounds that "if there is one blind person, and just another blind person is the one who will lead him, will they not both fall down into the ditch [cf. Matthew 15: 14]?"⁷ The old gods themselves, even less worthy of attention, are granted little more than the passing reference in the account of the Creation to the fact that the fallen angels "were divided into three parts, so that they became the *diablos*, the devils, such that now on earth they mock people, they who are fancied to be gods,"⁸ a statement which, though in the present tense, is delivered, like the rest of the narrative of the history of salvation, by the 'I' of the longer catechism's respondent, with whom the reader is expected to identify, and who, rather than being instructed in the faith and in his errors, is professing a faith already adopted.

Not immediately dependent on the Catholic clergy for knowledge, as a result, though interacting with them in their capacity as sacramental ministers, the Nahua Christian who makes use of this volume will indeed find both content and practice of the faith to be fundamentally intertwined with membership in a Church community, but one which is less a hierarchical channel of grace or revelation than a thickly-populated universe of models, intercessors, and journey-companions, from the patriarchs to the souls in purgatory. Admittedly, the *ex professo* ecclesiology on view in the explication of the ninth article of

⁷"[I]ntla ce ixpopoyotl auh çan no yxpopoyotl yn quiyacanaz cuix amo in nehuan onhuetzizque cana tlacamolco?" Gante, fol. 89v.

⁸"[E]xcān oxelliuhque ynic omocuepque in diablosme yn tlatlacatecolo ynic axcan talticpac teca mocacayahua yn moteotlapiquia." Ibid., fol. 3r-3v. The division into three parts referred to is that of the fallen into spirits of the air, of the earth, and of under the earth (not that of the angels before the fall into good, neutral, and evil): cf. Olmos, Tratado de hechicerias, exortación al indiano lector, 32-33, for the same division.

the Creed, the Church and the communion of saints, is not one of Gante's moments of clarity, wavering between the Church as assembly and the Church personified while glancing at the corporal and architectural metaphors and tossing in the treasury of merits for good measure, with perhaps the one constant thread to be found in the Church's role as depository of the faith:

Our mother *Sancta Yglesia* is the congregation of the true Christians, the believers: this is *Sancta Yglesia*. '*Catholica*' means that she extends to people in the whole world, she gives them, she teaches them belief in our Lord Jesus Christ. And for this reason she is called His *Sancta Yglesia Catholica*: our Lord Jesus Christ is her head. And because she is our mother, the *Sancta Yglesia*, a demonstration to be believed, she verifies all the faith, the *articulos*, belief in our Lord Jesus Christ. She keeps that which is necessary for every person to believe. Whoever does not believe, consequently will not be able to be saved, because that is indeed upright which she keeps, which she tells to people; it is necessary for every person in order to be able to be saved. So do I believe, I follow our mother *Sancta Yglesia*; what she keeps, what she believes, just also that do I keep, I believe. In that it is said, *sanctorum communionem*, it means, I believe in the union of benefits of the *sanctos*, through the faith, through the *sacramentos*. Thus I believe about our mother *Sancta Yglesia*: just indeed through her is one saved, through her is one strengthened, through her is one purified. Whoever does not belong to her consequently will not be able to be purified, will not be able to be saved. This *Sancta Yglesia* is not a god; she is just the divine house, causing belief, of our Lord Dios the Father, and Dios the Child, and Dios the *Spiritu Sancto*, just one God these three *personas*. This is what *Sancta Yglesia* proclaims, teaches, reveals; she calls out to every person so that he will be saved. So do I believe, that this is our mother *Sancta Yglesia*, a demonstration to be believed, the congregation of all Christians, the true believers, and the giving of righteousness of all the *sanctos*.⁹

⁹ "[C]a yn tonantzín sancta yglesia, Y yehuatl in innecentlaliliz in nelli christianome, yn tlaneltocanime ca yehuatl in sancta yglesia. In catholica. q.n. nohuan cemanahuac tepan moyahua yn quitemaca in quitemachtia in ineltococatzin in totecuiyo Jesu christo. Auh yehica ynic mitohua ysancta yglesia catholica: ca yn totecuiyo Jesu christo ca ytzontecontzin. Auh yehica ca tonantzín yn sancta yglesia tlaneltililoni: ca yxquich quineltilia in tlaneltoquiliztli yn articulos yn ineltocatzin yn totecuiyo Jesu christo. Ca yehuatl quimopielia yn ixquich tlaatl ytech monequi, ynic quineltocaz. In aquique amo quineltocazque niman ahuel momaquixtizque. Yehica ca huel melahuac in quimopielia yn quimoteilhulia. Ysquich tlaatl ytech monequi ynic huel momaquixtiz. Yuh nitlaneltoqa, nicnotepotztoquilia in tonantzín sancta yglesia: yn tleyn quimopielia yn tleyn quimoneltoquia / çan no yehuatl nicpie / nicneltoqa. Inic mitohua sanctorum communionem. Q.n. Nicneltoqa yn innecemicneliliz in sanctome yn tlaneltoquiliztica / yn sacramentotica. Yuh nitlaneltoqa in tonantzín sancta yglesia: ca çan huel yehuatl ytech nemaquixtilo / ytech nechicaual[o], ytech nechipahualo. Yn aquique amo ytech pohui / ca niman ahuel mochipahuazque / ahuel momaquixtizque. Inin sancta yglesia amo teotl / çan itlaneltoquilizteocaltzin yn totecuiyo Dios teta[t]zin. Yhuan dios tepiltzin. Yhuan dios spiritu sancto, çan ce teotl inin ey personas ca yehuatl in

Alongside this insistence on belief as allegiance, however, there is also an unusual emphasis in this catechism on the living example of the saints, or more specifically of the various classes of ‘sanctos’ which God ‘made’, it is explained at disproportionate length in both the large and the small catechisms, in order that “we will be incited, we will take an example of right living from them, we will take a manner of life by which we will be incited, we will do what is good, so that on account of their right living our Lord will give us His *gracia* afterward, in His dwelling, their happiness, beside them in heaven.”¹⁰

Forming the culminating manifestation of God’s providence in the opening narrative of salvation history, following creation, heaven and hell,¹¹ the Trinity, and salvation through the Son, Jesus Christ, true God and true man,¹² the answers to the question “Why did our lord Dios make the *sanctos* (or the *patriarcas*, the *prophetas*, etc.)?,” provide the individual with a series of immediate guides for his conduct, preceding any exposition of the commandments and precepts with a vision of Christian living oriented to virtue more than to law, even as their nameless multitudes, distinguished only by their mostly Spanish-language group classifications, give something of the effect of the one hundred and forty-four thousand of Revelation, a host which fills the scene in manifestation of God’s glory.¹³

sancta yglesia quimoteilhuia quimotemachtilia quimoteiximachilia yxquich tlacatl quimotzatililia ynic momaqui[x]tiz. Yuh nitlaneltoaca / ca yehuatl yn tonantzin sancta yglesia tlaneltililoni yn innecentlaliliz yn ixquichtin christianome yn nelli tlane[]tocanime. Yhuan yn inyecquicneliliz yn ixquichtin sanctome.” Gante, fol. 33v-34v. The fact that the Virgin Mary (also “our mother” (*tonantzin*) in standard Nahuatl usage) is not a god is similarly found worthy of mention (fol. 7r-7v and 73r).

¹⁰ “[T]itoyolehuazque titixcuitizque yecnemiliztica intech titonemilizcuizque ynic titoyolehuazque in ticchiuazque yn quali ynic [y]pampa yn i[n]yecnemiliz techmomaquiliz yn totēcuiyo in igracia çatepan yn ichantzinco yn impapaquiliz yn intlan ylhuicatl itic.” Ibid., fol. 7v-13r, quoted at 7v, and cf. the “Doctrina tepiton,” *ibid.*, fol. 73r-78r.

¹¹Gante, fol. 3r-4r.

¹²Ibid., fol. 4r-7v.

¹³Ibid., fol. 7v-14r.

The ‘patriarcas’ serve as models of hope, the ‘profetas’ of dedication to God’s will, the ‘apostoles’ of zeal and of union in God’s service, and the ‘confessores’ of a life devoted to prayer and penitence and poverty of spirit, while the ‘evangelistas’ provide the occasion for an affirmation of the need for both faith in what they have written and works which fulfill its commandments, and the ‘martyres’ the cue for a profession by the speaker of his own willingness to die rather than give up the faith, a willingness justified by the contrast between the temporary torment of the body in this life and the eternal torment of hell. The section on virgins (male and female) contains rather generalized admonitions to chastity, but the role of the bride of Christ, interestingly, appears as that of the widow, “perhaps some woman, who had married in the *sancta yglesia*, but when her spouse has died, just on account of our Lord Jesus Christ she continually keeps herself pure: so those whose spirit is indeed this, through their *anima* they marry our dear savior Jesus Christ, on his account they refrain from foul happiness,”¹⁴ while married people, last and doubtless least but not forgotten, support one another and raise children for God’s service. Finally, the larger catechism explains, underlining both the humanity which these figures share with living Christians and their continued presence:

[Q]. Thus you have recounted for me all these kinds of *sanctos*, so that we will take a manner of life from them, we will establish ourselves on their foundation; as they lived, so we will follow them. But how will we see them? Do they still live here beside us?

[A.] On earth are kept their images, as we see. The images are the images of all the kinds of *sanctos*, of which I told you: each kind appears in the way in which they served our Lord Dios. For this reason our Lord Jesus Christ wished that their images be kept on earth, so that we will take a manner of life from them, every person, as it will be recounted in our book, our writing, so that we will learn from them. And for this reason where we see images, everywhere in churches, we will not just wonder at them, we will stop to look, we will become alert, we will say, ‘This was a person like me. But in the way that our Lord Dios strengthened him, may He also so

¹⁴ “[Y]n aço aquin cihuatzintli yn omonamictica yn ica sancta yglesia. Auh in iquac omic yn inamic ça ypampatzinco in totecuiyo Jesu christo: mochipahuacapixtinemi. Ca yuhqui yn huel yehuatzin yn inyollia yn imaniamantica quimonamictia in totlaçotemaquixticatzin Jesu Christo ypampatzinco quimocahualtia in tlaelpaquiliztli.” Ibid., fol. 12v-13r, and cf. the “Doctrina tepiton,” ibid., fol. 77v-78r.

strengthen me; may I follow in victory all those who are there.’¹⁵

So too the “*oracion* of all the *sanctos*” given as a prayer before mass, not a prayer to the saints as such but one to Christ invoking their intercession according to the classifications previously catalogued, is a prayer for all the members of the pilgrim Church, living and dead, united in charity:

O our Lord Jesus Christ, compassionate, merciful, before Thee I bow down, I humble myself, I humbly pray to Thee, on account of Thy beloved mother *sancta* Mary, always indeed true maiden, and on account of all Thy beloved ones, the dwellers in heaven, all the *angeles*, the *archangeles*, also those who are all the *patriarcas*, *prophetas*, *apostoles*, *martyres*, *confessores*, *virgines*, all the dwellers in heaven. On this account I pray to Thee: may they all pray to Thee on our account, that Thou wilt have mercy on us, that Thy *sancta yglesia* will be exalted, that is the faith, belief in Thee. And may Thou give to us peaceful, happy, righteous life. And may Thou take away our sins. And to all our leaders may Thou give the good, right ordinance. And may Thou strengthen, may Thou console the sick. And with all who have fallen into sin may Thou be reconciled, may Thou raise them up. And the wind, the water, may Thou give their softness to all Thy creation which walks the road with us. And all pilgrims who reside upon the road, upon the water, those who are Christians, may Thou guard them. And those who live in affliction, who live in sadness, comfort them, strengthen them. And the slaves, those who fall into others’ hands, who reside far away, may Thou save them so that they will come to their homes. And those who live in disputes, who live in quarrels, may Thou give them love of one another, mercy upon one another. And the Christians, the believers, may Thou give them firm belief in Thee. And those who have died, who are there in *purgatorio*, may Thou comfort them, may Thou cause them to rejoice. And thus I pray to Thee: may Thou give to us Thy *sancto angel* to guard us everywhere, so that our enemies will not afflict us. Never didst Thou commence, never didst Thou begin, always Thou art, and Thy beloved father Dios, and the *Spiritu Sancto*, eternally Thou art, just alone

¹⁵No. Yn iuh otinechpohuili y[n]in izquitlamantli in sanctome. Ynic intech titonemilizanazque yn intech tiquettzazque in quenin monemitique yuh tiquintepotztocazque. Auh quen tiquimittazque: cuix oc nican totlan monemitia

“Nic. ca tlalticpac mopia yn imixiptlahuan, yn iuh ti [sic] tiquitta in tlaxiptlayotl ca yehuatl in imixiptlahuan yn izquitlamantin yn sanctome, yn onimitztenehuili: ca cecentlamantli yc neztimani in quenin quimotlayecoltilique in totēcuiyo dios. Yehica yn to[te]cuiyo Jesu christo oquimonequilti in tlalticpac mopiaz yn imixiptla ynic yntech titonemilizanazque, yn ixquich tlacatl yuhqui ypam pohuiz, in t[a]m[o]s in totlacuilol, inic intech titomachtizque. Auh yehica in canin tiquittazque yn nohuian teopan in tlaxiptlayotl. Amo çan ticmahuiçozque, titotzimotlalizque titocuitihuetzizque tiquitozque, ynin ca tlacatl catca. Yn iuhqui nehuatl. Auh in quenin quimochicahuili yn totēcuiyo dios: ma no yuh nechmochicahuili ma yxquich ma oncan ma niquinnotepoloztoquili.” Gante, fol. 13r-13v.

Thou art God. Amen.¹⁶

One among many who strive and stumble in this life, with different weaknesses and needs but a shared prayer and a shared God, the believer is also surrounded at the hour of his death by this same community of the living and the dead, participating in or invoked by the rite for the assistance of the dying which Gante's volume provides in a rather unusual, paraliturgical form.¹⁷ If the sick person is not baptized, the person assisting him should first of all, as mentioned above, instruct him in the faith, "as it is in the *doctrina christiana*,"¹⁸ then look for a priest to administer the sacrament;¹⁹ assuming these preliminaries have been successfully dealt with, however, what follows is a rite related less

¹⁶Totecuiyoe Jesu christoe: teicnoittanie tetlaocolianie: mixpantzinco ninopechteca ninocnomati: nimitznocnotlatlauhtilia in ipampa motlaçonantzin sancta Maria mochipa huel nelli ychpochtli. Yhuan impampa yn ixquichtin motlaçohuan yn ilhuicac chaneque: yn ixquichtin angelome in archangelome. No yehuantin in ixquichtin Patriarcame: Prophetame: Apostolome: Martyreme: Confessoreme: Virgineme: yn ye ixquichtin ilhuicac chaneque. Ca ipampa in nimitznocnotlatlauhtilia: ma ixquichtin topampa mitzmotlatlauhtilizque inic titechmotlaocoliliz: inic huecapanoloz in mosanctayglesiatzin: in yehuatl tlaneltoquiliztli yn moneltococatzin. Yhuan ma xitechmomaquiliztino yn tolamatcapaccayecnemiliz. Yhuan ma xitechmopopolhuilitzino yn tolatlacol. Yhuan yn ixquichtin toteyacancahuan ma xiquinmomaquiliztino yn qualli yectli tlamaniliztli. Yhuan ma xiquinmochicahuili xiquinmoyollaliliztino yn cocoxcatzintli. Yhuan yn ixquichtin tlatlacoltica ohuetzque ma inhucpa ximoyolcehuiztino xiquinmehuatiquechilitzino. Yhuan yn ehecat / yn atl ma xicmomaquiliztino yn iyamancayeliz: yn ixquich motlachihualtzin topan olatoca. Yhuan yn ixquichtin nenencatzintli yn otl ypan yn atl ypan monemitia / yehuanti in christianome ma xiqui[n]mopieliztino. Yhuan yehuanti in motequipachotinemi yn tlaocoxtinemi / xiquinmoyollalili / xiquinmochicahuilitzino. Yhuan yn tlatlacotzintli in temac huetzi yn hueca monemitia: ma xiquinmomaquixtiliztino ynic huallazque inchantzinco. Yhuan in mococolitinemi in mahuatnemi ma xiquinmomaquiliztino in netlaçotlaliztli: in nepanotl netlaocoliliztli. Auh y yehuantin in christianome tlaneltocanime ma xiqui[n]momaquili yn mochicahuacaneltococatzin. Auh y yehuantin yn omomiquilique yn ompa cate purgatorio, ma xiquinmoyollalili xiquimmopapaquiliztino. Yhuan yc nimitznocnotlatlauhtilia ma xitechmomaquili in mosanctoangel ynic techmopieliz nohuian ynic amo techtolinizque toyaohuan. Yn tehuatzin ayc tizintic ayc tipeuh mochipa timoyetztica. Yhuan yn motlaçotatzin dios: yhuan spiritu sancto cemicac timoyetztica çan moceltzin titeotl. Amen." Ibid., fol. 103v-104v.

¹⁷Ibid., fol. 151r-158v.

¹⁸"[Y]n iuh ypan ca yn doctrina Christiana." Ibid., fol. 151r.

¹⁹If a priest cannot be found and death is approaching, "he will look for some wise person, who knows the words, perhaps a Spaniard, perhaps a person from here, in order to baptize him" ("quitemoz ce ixtlamati yn quimati tlatolli, yn aço Espanol, yn aço nican tlatatl ynic quiquaatequiz"), or finally, if this person too does not appear in time, and the dying person is at his last gasp (*cenca ye yhiyo cahua*), he will administer the sacrament himself, using the formula provided in Latin and Nahuatl. Ibid., fol. 151v.

to the meditations on the dangers of the final hour of the *ars moriendi* tradition,²⁰ than to the last rites of the sacramental manuals, but translated and adapted for use without clergy to hand.²¹ First come a series of questions to which the sick person is to respond affirming the faith and properly disposing himself toward God and neighbor, similar to the questions ‘of St Anselm’ of the last rites,²² but also including others which appear to be derived from the questions identified in Zumárraga’s *Regla cristiana breve* as preceding the Viaticum,²³ and others, affirming faith in one God alone and rejecting idolatry, seemingly added for the neophyte flock. Prayers to Christ and to the Virgin are then followed by the

²⁰As in Zumárraga, *Regla*, tripartito, pt. 3, 405-75. Adeva Martín, “Observaciones,” 827-28, 830, and 834-35, in fact finds the art of dying in the *Regla* significantly less interested in the horrors of death and demonic temptation than most of its immediate predecessors, and influenced in this by the rites of the sacramental manuals; cf. the reference to temptation in the brief mention of the subject in Zumárraga, *Dotrina breue*, b vj r.

²¹For the assistance of the dying as one of the duties of the Indian *fiscales* and *teopanlaca* (‘church people’, especially singers), see e.g. the Mexican provincial Francisco de Bustamante, who writing on 31 May 1556 to his fellow Franciscan, the royal confessor Bernardo de Fresneda, and arguing against the tithe with a sourness of temper notable even by the standards of this prickly subject, insists that, for all that the Indians “están ya tan sobre sí y tan exsentos que cada poblezuelo quiere tener misa y que vayan allá los frailes; y esto no tanto por la misa, como por eximirse de las cabeçeras principales y hazer cabeça por sí,” they are in fact perfectly well attended to by the friars who visit them when they can and train in each location someone to baptize infants in cases of necessity and to attend the dying, exhorting the latter “a arrepentirse de sus pecados y confesarse a Dios y proponer, si viven, confesarse al saçerdote,” and assisting them “con éstas y otras sanctas amonestaçiones, las cuales en los más pueblos tienen en escripto.” Francisco de Bustamante, OFM, “Carta de fr. Francisco de Bustamante, provincial de los franciscanos, a fr. Bernardo de Fresneda, también franciscano y confesor real (San Francisco de México, 31 de mayo de 1556; copia sin firmar),” in Motolinía, *Epistolario*, app. 1, 189-200 and 289-294, at 198 and 293-94.

²²*Manuale sacramentorum: 1560*, in Baumgartner, 2: 293-378, at 336-37; and retained in the post-Tridentine Mexican manual compiled by Andres Saenz de la Peña, *Manval de los santos sacramentos: Conforme al ritval de Pavlo Qvinto: Formado [p]or mandado del rever[mo]. illvstrissimo. y excellmo. señor d. Juan de Palafox, y Mendoça, obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, electo arçobispo de Mexico, gouernador de su arçobispado, del consejo de su Magestad en el Real de las Indias, [c]apellan, y limosnero mayor de la serenissima emperatriz de Alemania, virrey, gouernador, y capitan general de la Nueva España, presidente de su Real Chancilleria, y visitador general deste reyno, &c* (Mexico City: Por Francisco Robledo, 1642), fol. 80v-81v (Spanish) and 85v-86v (Nahuatl).

²³Zumárraga, *Regla*, tripartito, pt. 3, 439-40 and 453-62. The questions found for this purpose in the *Manuale* of 1560 (p. 330-31) and retained in Saenz de la Peña (fol. 67r-68r (Spanish) and 71r-73r (Nahuatl)) are entirely different, directed mainly to the articles of the faith and to the faith of the Sacrament.

standard deathbed instructions, to the effect that these prayers, the catechism, and the Passion should be read or recited by the attendants as often as necessary, and that the dying person should be able to see an image of Christ (a crucifix is not specified, and the reference is to seeing rather than holding) and have holy water at hand, with which the attendants will sprinkle him when he seems about to lose consciousness, and if available, a blessed *candela*.²⁴ Finally, the instruction to recite the litany of the saints, to all appearances in Latin since advice is given for modifying the Latin responses to apply them to the individual,²⁵ is followed without transition by the text of a different litany in Nahuatl, in which a brief version of the deathbed litany of the manuals (the *Bona mors*)²⁶ is prefaced by a series of scripturally-inspired petitions, of unidentified source, asking the Lord to save the soul of His servant as He has saved a series of biblical figures²⁷ from death, suffering, captivity, or the hands of their enemies. After a brief warning against prehispanic customs in the treatment of the dead and the recommendation of a plain white *tilmatli* (a cloak or length of cotton cloth, Spanish *manta*) as a shroud, the section ends with a brief prayer before the processional cross when carrying the body out for burial, offering to God on behalf of the dead the prayers of the living and His own Passion, thereby reaffirming that unity of living and dead which the prominent role granted to the responsorial questions and litanies has already underlined.

* * *

This corporate, non-clerical spirit can perhaps best be grasped by contrast with the

²⁴Compare *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera*, suplemento, m j v - m ij r.

²⁵That is, for example, *ora pro eo* instead of *ora pro nobis*. Gante, fol. 155v-156r.

²⁶See the *Manuale*, 334-35, and Zumárraga, *Regla*, tripartito, pt. 3, 472-74.

²⁷Enoch, Elijah, Noah, Job, Lot, Moses, Daniel, the three youths in the furnace, Susanna, David, Peter, and Paul.

one other art of dying included in the catechisms under consideration here, found in León's manual. Though the 1548 catechism fills an obvious gap, and perhaps also indicates a developing practice, in adding to the 1544 version a very definite statement of the especial virtue of the mass for the assistance of the souls in purgatory, in addition to the already-present classic penitential triad of alms, fasting, and prayer,²⁸ concern for the hour of one's death is an innovation of León's 'road to heaven',²⁹ and one which is both sacrament-oriented and devil-haunted, with a fear of Satan's final snares all the more significant for its contrast with León's relative disinterest in demonic power elsewhere.³⁰ The procedures for viaticum are explained at some length, from the perspective of the sick person and his attendants,³¹ and its recipient is to give thanks to God that he is not dying suddenly or

²⁸Córdoba, *Doctrina*, d j v; *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 30, fol. cxxj v - cxxij r. As a substitute for the potentially difficult concept of 'alms' (*limosna*), the 1548 doctrine uses the broader but well-defined item of technical Christian vocabulary 'the works of mercy' (*tetlaocoliliztlachiualli*). Motolinía refers to almsgiving as a Christian innovation in Nahuatl society, though it is unclear how broadly he is using the term in the passage in question, in the narrow sense in which it is the counterpart to mendicancy, or in the broader sense of corporal charity toward the poor: Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 5, 241, and similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 34, 255; Zorita, cap. 16, 748; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 44, 1: 454; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 19, 3: 183.

²⁹The image appears regularly in the text, not only in the title: e.g., León, fol. 8v, 10r, 23v, and 30r.

³⁰Compare also the Nahuatl drama of "The Merchant" (*In pochtecatl*), containing an internal date of 1630, in which the title character is damned for his failure to confess all his sins, having heeded the false advice of the devils who surround his sickbed rather than the good advice of his guardian angel and the priest: an English translation, by Byron McAfee, is to be found in Ravicz, 101-17. (The prologue in the surviving copy, made in 1687, identifies the reason for the merchant's condemnation as his failure to make restitution, but while the first portion of the play makes clear that he has a great many ill-gotten gains in need of restitution, it is on his failure to confess that the plot is based: if he confessed his sins, then he would be required to make restitution in order to obtain absolution, but since he never gets as far as true confession, the subject of restitution does not in fact come up.)

³¹León, fol. 134r-136v. The section is said to be "conforme la nueva orden dada por su Señoría Ilustrísima don Fray Garcia Guerra Arçobispo de Mexico, y Virrey desta nueva España como quedo mandado a todos en la visita del año de .1610. por escrito" (¶¶¶ iiij r - ¶¶¶ iiij v).

alone but with the aid of the sacraments.³² Not only is he reminded of his obligation to the integrity of confession, relatively briefly,³³ but he is given a blanket expression of repentance in which the first act of reason - a scruple shared by Sahagún, but one which is otherwise characteristically Dominican³⁴ - and defects in confession play as large a role as all other sins combined,³⁵ while the art of dying proper advises that he be read, if time permits, “the divine commandments of Dios, as above I have declared them, so that he will consider whether at some time he sinned in anything against each one, and the commandments of *Santa Yglesia*, so that he will go through the course of his life according

³²Ibid., fol. 135v-136r.

Cf. also the advice of the rules for serving God to bless Him “on account of all His favors by which He has favored you and by which daily He favors you, by which He has favored you in that He has saved you, in that He has made you a Christian, so that you have not died somewhere in idolatry, as happened to your fathers, your ancestors.” (“[I]n ipampa in ixquich yteicnelilitzin, inic omitzmocnelili, yhuan inic momoztlae mitzmocnelilia, inic omitzmocnelili, inic omitzmomaquixtili, inic tiChristiano omitzmochihuili, inic amo cana tlateotoquilizpan otimic, in yuhqui impan omochiuh in motàhuan, in mocolhuan”: *ibid.*, fol. 155v.)

³³Ibid., fol. 134v. For León’s particular interest in this subject elsewhere, see below, 238-41.

³⁴Cf. Joseph Angles, OFM, Flores theologiarvm qvaestionvm in secvndvm librum Sententiarum (Madrid: Ex officina Petri Madrigalis, expensis Blasij de Robles, 1586), flores tractatus de peccato actuali, q. 9, art. 3, 2: 392-94; Bartolomé de Medina, OP, Expositio in Primam Secundae angelici doctoris divi Thomae Aquinatis, 3d ed. (Salamanca: Excudebant Ioannes & Andreas Renaut fratres, 1588), q. 89, art. 6, 624-28, and see also q. 109, art. 3, 771-72 and 777-78, and art. 6, 793; Francisco de Ovando Mogollón de Paredes, OFM, Breviloqvivm scholasticae theologiae, in qvator libros Magistri Sententiarum (Salamanca: Apud haeredes Mathiae Gastij, 1584), in II, dist. 26, 2: 193-94; Paulus Soncinas, OP, Divinum epitoma Quaestionum in quatuor libros Sententiarum à principe thomistarum Ioanne Capreolo tholosano disputatarum: His additis, quae idem morte praeuentus perficere nequiuit, per fratrem Isidorem de Isolaniis mediolanensem, eiusdem praedicatoriae profebionis (Salamanca: Ex officina Ildefonsi à Terranoua y Neyla, 1580), in II, dist. 40, q. un., 2: fol. 128v; Gregorio de Valencia, SI, Commentariorum theologiarum: Tomus secundus: Complectens omnia Primae Secundae d. Thomae theoremata, rev. and exp. ed. (Lyons: Sumptibus Horatii Cardon, 1609), disp. 6, q. 19, punct. 3, col. 721-24; Alexio Venegas, Agonia del transito de la muerte con los auisos y consuelos que cerca della son prouechosos (Alcalá de Henares: En casa de Andres de Angulo, a costa de Diego de Sancta Cruz, 1565), primer punto, cap. 4, fol. v r; and Francisco de Vitoria, OP, “De eo ad quod tenetur homo cum primum venit ad usum rationis,” in Vitoria, 1302-75, especially pt. 3, 1365-75; and see also, on related though not identical issues, Thomas F. O’Meara, OP, “The School of Thomism at Salamanca and the Presence of Grace in the Americas,” Angelicum 71, no. 3 (1994): 321-70. For Sahagún, see below, 247.

³⁵León, fol. 134v-135v.

to them, will see whether he has forgotten anything in his confessions in which he has confessed, so that again newly he will confess.”³⁶ Cast in the traditional mold and called a “most important” component of the volume,³⁷ this art is given in bilingual form (like the instructions for viaticum but unlike the model testament) explicitly so that it can be used by both Spaniards and Indians, lest anyone be left without this vital information,³⁸ in much the same spirit as the penitent examining his conscience in preparation for his Lenten confession is advised to do so as if it were the hour of his death, with the reminder that the living know not when that hour will come.³⁹ The communicant giving thanks after receipt of the Eucharist prays for protection from the devils at the hour of death,⁴⁰ the Apostles’ Creed is especially to be recited at the hour of death,⁴¹ and the believer will make an act of faith before going to sleep not only so that “if death will come upon you, indeed thus it will

³⁶ “[Y]n iteotenahuatiltzin Dios, in yuh tlacpac onittecpan, inic motlalnamictiz àço ytla oquitlaco in quemmania in cecentel ypan, yhuan yn itlanahuatiltzin Santa Yglesia, inic ypan monemiliztepotztocaz, quittaz àço itla oquilcauh in ipan yn ineyolcuitiliz, inic omoyolcuiaya ynic occeppa yancuican moyolcuitiz.”

In Spanish, “[L]os mandamientos de Dios y los de la Santa madre Yglesia como quedan arriba puestos, para que por ellos vaya recorriendo su memoria y toda su vida y vea si en algun tiempo en algo fue contra ellos, y no lo confeso por descuydo negligencia ù oluido en las confesiones pasadas quando se confessaua para que de nueuo se confiese otra vez.”

Ibid., fol. 150v-151r.

For the shift in emphasis, compare to the corresponding instruction in Zumárraga’s art of dying: “Diganle distintamente los mandamientos, por que el secretamente piense quan mal los ha guardado, e pida a Dios perdon.” Zumárraga, *Regla*, tripartito, pt. 3, 463.

³⁷In the dedication: “vn libro que e hecho para este fin, intitulado Camino del Cielo, con todos los requisitos y preuenciones necesarias para conseguir este fin, desde que vno se conuierte de gentil, o tiene vso de razon hasta que muera, y en ello esta todo quanto vn hombre deue saber y creer, entender y obrar, para conseguir este fin, con vn arte de bien morir importantísimo, para que por el se ayuden vnos a otros en este paso.” León, ¶¶ j v.

³⁸Ibid., fol. 141r.

³⁹Ibid., fol. 94r.

⁴⁰Ibid., fol. 131v-132r.

⁴¹Ibid., fol. 88v.

be known that you are a Christian, and have died in the faith of our Lord Dios,” but with the protestation, drawn from the fear of deathbed temptation, that “if at the brink of my death I say anything else in my disturbance, now I abhor, entirely scorn all which is in opposition to that which I have now confessed.”⁴²

Though the intended users of the art of dying clearly include Spanish-speaking laity as well as clergy, in León’s volume and that of 1548 alike the audience addressed is generally one which bifurcates along a division of both language and status, into Spanish ministers and Nahua flock, joined in a Church which is also much more hierarchical and jurisdictional in character than that of Gante’s manual. Even at the level of address, where the two participants in the dialogue of Gante’s longer catechism speak to one another using different forms of a polite vocative which translates in both cases as “O my younger brother,”⁴³ and the speaker of the 1544 catechism addresses his audience as his “beloved

⁴² “[Y]ntla amopan huallaz miquliztli ca huel ic machitziz ca tiChristiano, yhuan ypan otimomiquili yn itlaneltoquilihtzin toTecuio Dios.

“... intla nomiquiztempan ytla occentlamantli nonetlapololtilizpan niqittoz, axcan niclatzilhuia niccentelchihua mochi in ixnamicoca yn axcan onicnocuiti.” Ibid., fol. 92v.

⁴³The questioner begins “Noteyccauhtzine,” abbreviated after the first occurrence to “No.,” and the respondent answers “Niccawhtzine,” abbreviated to “Nic.” Why each should address the other as “younger brother” (or “younger cousin”), rather than identifying one as older and one as younger is another question; while it is tempting to speculate on the connection to the *fratres minores*, the “younger brothers” of the first order of St Francis, it also seems quite likely that these should simply be taken as lexicalized courtesy forms. (Nahuatl kinship terminology does not have a category for “brother” without specification.) Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe*, text 4.3, 58, reads “Noteyccauhtzine” as ‘oh my younger brother’ and “Niccawhtzine” as ‘oh my elder brother’, and characterizes the speakers as a Nahua catechist and his student, but while this is logical enough, I am unsure of the precise grounds for it. The fact that the fragmentary Nahuatl doctrine in the John Carter Brown Library has two speakers who address one another as “niccauhtzine,” ‘my younger brother’, and “nopiltzine,” ‘my child’, however, where the “brother” appears to be an authority figure giving instruction to the questioning “child”, suggests that “niccauhtzine” should indeed be taken as an address from a lower-ranking individual to a higher-ranking one, whatever its literal meaning: see the page reproduced in Resines, *Catecismos*, 62. In the *Primeros memoriales*, “niccauhtzine” appears as a term of polite address between equals, but this should probably be understood as the courtesy elevation of the addressee: Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Primeros memoriales*, ed. and trans. Thelma D. Sullivan, with H. B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles E. Dibble, Eloise Quiñones Keber, and Wayne Ruwet, *Civilization of the American Indian Series*, vol. 200, pt. 2 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, in cooperation with the Patrimonio Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1997), cap. 4, par. 10-11, 294-96.

brothers,” the preacher of 1548 addresses himself instead, when not simply to his “beloved ones,” almost exclusively to his “beloved children,”⁴⁴ in one of a number of textual changes between the 1544 and 1548 versions tending to underline the hierarchical gulf between preacher and audience, as well as to suggest a darker view of humanity in general and of the Indians in particular. Where the spiritual ill to be remedied by the third spiritual work of mercy, correction of the erring, is described in 1544 as the fact that “we are inclined to evil rather than to good,” from which it follows that “we are quicker to do evil

In an exemplum translated by Juan Bautista a Dominican provincial addresses one of his brothers in the order, a ghost who has returned to ask his pardon for a past offense, as *noteyccauhtzine*, and refers to him when telling the story to other friars, *iteyccauhtzitzihuan* (the provincial’s ‘younger brothers’, in the narrator’s characterization), as *toteyccauh* (‘our younger brother’), but is addressed by the ghost as *notiachcauhtzine*, ‘my dear elder brother’. Juan Bautista, OFM, “Do[mingo] IIII. del Adviento: Ser[mon] III. sobre el mismo Evangelio,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 321-40, at 332-33. (Klaus’s ‘summary’ of this exemplum, it should be noted, at 127, is garbled from beginning to end, and does not provide a reliable guide to the plot.)

⁴⁴The 1548 doctrine uses *notlaçoteiccauane*, “my beloved younger brothers,” twice (sermon 32, fol. cxxviii r, where the Spanish has “mis amados,” and sermon 37, fol. [cxluiii] r, “mis amados hermanos”) and *notlamachtihuan*, “my disciples,” another two times (sermon 25, fol. cvj r, “los mis discipulos,” and sermon 28, fol. cxiiij v, “los mis discipulos y dotrinados”), but uses *notlaçopilhuane*, “my beloved children,” over forty times, including six times where the Spanish has some version of the pair “mis amados hijos y hermanos” (sermon 8, fol. xxxvij r; sermon 18, fol. lxxx r and fol. lxxxij v; sermon 22, fol. xc v; and sermon 38, fol. cxlvij r and cxlviii v). (Also appearing once each are the singular, *nopilte*, “my child,” and the plural, *nopilhuane*, “my children”: sermon 20, fol. lxxxix v, “hijo mio”; and sermon 23, fol. xcix v, “los mis hijos.”) *Notlaçouane*, “my beloved ones,” appears around ninety times, including twenty times, notably concentrated in the sermons on the sacraments and to the newly baptized, where the Spanish has some version of “mis amados hermanos” (sermon 11, fol. xlix v; sermon 19, fol. lxxxiiij v; sermon 20, fol. [lxxxvij] r and lxxviiij v; sermon 22, fol. xciiij v; sermon 23, fol. xcviij v and xcviij v; sermon 24, fol. ciiij r; sermon 26, fol. cvij v, cviiij v, and cx r; sermon 28, fol. cxvj r; sermon 31, fol. cxxij v; sermon 34, fol. cxxxiiij r; sermon 35, fol. cxxxv v, cxxxvj r, cxxxvij v, and cxxxviii r), and once where it has “mis amados hijos y hermanos” (sermon 29, fol. cxix v). (“Mis hermanos” also appears once in the Spanish without a corresponding Nahuatl apostrophe: sermon 30, fol. cxxj r.)

Notlaçopilhuane is also the form used by God the Father to address Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and by Christ to address both the patriarchs in limbo and, in combination with *notlamachtihuan*, the disciples at the Ascension: sermon 5-7, fol. xxviiij r - xxxiiij r; sermon 14, fol. lxvj v; and sermon 16, fol. lxxiiij r - lxxiiij v.

For the 1544 doctrine, much less given to apostrophizing its audience, see a j v, b j r, c iiij r, c viij r, and d iiij r.

Medina, *Doctrina*, 301, n. 24; 315-16, n. 48; 319, n. 55; and 362, n. 116, attempts to connect the use of ‘hijos’ or ‘amados’ in the 1548 doctrine with different hands in the redaction, but given that the different forms can appear in the same paragraph, I am unconvinced that a thorough analysis (which Medina does not provide) would bear this out even for the Spanish text, let alone when combined with the Nahuatl.

than good,” for example, in 1548 the formulation is more absolute, that “our flesh always wants to sin, does not want to do what is good, to be done,” with the result that “we always offend Dios, do not properly serve Him,”⁴⁵ shifting the ground for moral judgement away from intrinsically recognizable qualities of good or evil toward the less humanly-accessible category of divine offense, much as earlier in the same sermon, where the 1544 catechism urges the audience, under the heading of the first spiritual work, instruction of the ignorant, to share with others their knowledge of the doctrine “so that ... they may know and love God and be saved and go to heaven,” the 1548 version makes the same application “so that they will be able to know Dios and so that they will be able to be saved, if you indeed teach them how to believe and how to live properly here on earth,” dropping the reference to love of God and adding one to morality of life.⁴⁶ Similarly, the 1548 version not only regularly goes into greater detail than that of 1544 about the Indians’ condemned prehispanic practices, but is often sharper of tone when doing so, taking the opportunity to emphasize the damnation of the Indians’ deceased relatives, as when the 1548 catechism adds to a warning against eating human flesh found in both versions under the heading of the seventh corporal work of mercy, burial of the dead, an explicit reference

⁴⁵ “[Q]ue somos inclinados al mal ante que al bien. Y desto procede que antes vamos a hazer mal que no bien.” Córdoba, Dotrina, d j r.

“[C]ja yeuatl ynic mochipa tlatlacoznequi in tonacayo in amo quichiuaznequi in tleyn cualli chiuiloni. Auh ca in yeuatli ytech quiça inic tictotlatlcalhuilia in dios mochipa yn amo uel tictotlayecultilia.” In Spanish, “[Q]ue siempre tiene nuestra carne vna mala inclinacion a pecar y vna dificultad para hazer lo bueno. Y de aqui procede que ofendemos a nuestro dios siempre: y de donde no le seruimos como es justo.” Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 29, fol. cxvij r.

⁴⁶ “[P]or que sabiendo estas cosas conozcan y amen a Dios y se saluen y vayan al cielo.” Córdoba, Dotrina, c viij v.

“[Y]nic uhel quimiximachilizque in dios: yuan ynic uhel momaquixtizque yntla uel xiquinmachtican in quenin tlaneltocazque: yuan in quenin uel monemitizque nican tlaticpac.” In Spanish: “[P]ara que ellos vengan en conocimiento de dios: y tambien para que ellos se saluen / si vosotros les enseñays como han de creer: y como han de biuir loablemente aqui en esta vida.” Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 29, fol. cxvj v - cxvij r.

to the fact that this was the practice of the Indians' ancestors,⁴⁷ or increasing the rhetorical charge with language like that used about the cult of the sun in the post-baptismal discourse on creation, where the 1544 catechism speaks of the Indians' "error," but the 1548 version of their "blindness," "sin," and "furtive idolatry."⁴⁸ While the 1544 edition threatens the condemnation of baptismal candidates who "have some idols hidden away, or if you know who has them and do not tell and reveal it, and do not bring the idols which you have,"⁴⁹ a direct demand for the surrender of idols for destruction which the 1548 catechism does not make in so many words - though it doubtless remains understood - the 1548 text singles

⁴⁷Córdoba, *Dotrina*, c viij v; *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 28, fol. cxvj r.

⁴⁸"[E]rrays mucho contra Dios." Córdoba, *Dotrina*, d vj r.

"[Y]n amixpopoyotiliz / yuan in imixpopoyotiliz in amotauan in amonahuan yuan in amoculhuan anoço amociuan ... ca cenca uei tlatlaculli yc anquichiuaya ichtaca tlateotoquiliztli." In Spanish, "vuestra ceguedad y tambien la ceguedad de vuestros padres y madres y de vuestros aguelos y de vuestras aguelas y antepassados ... hezistes muy grandes pecados: que se llama ydolaria." *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 37, fol. cxlv r. The Spanish reading 'que se llama ydolaria' suggests that the Nahuatl 'ichtaca tlateotoquiliztli', 'furtive idolatry', may be a miscopying of 'in itoca tlateotoquiliztli', but 'ichtaca' also has enough logic to it to satisfy a Nahuatl reader or hearer: like English 'furtive', 'ichtaca' means in the first instance 'in the manner of a thief' and by extension 'secret, stealthy, covert', and while 'secret' does not fit the context, it would not be implausible to characterize the diversion to God's creatures of the honor due to Him alone, as idolatry is being defined in this passage, as a kind of thieving.

For sun-worship - not in fact prominent in most descriptions of the prehispanic Nahua pantheon - cf. Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "In die nativitatís Domini: In prima missa," in Georges Baudot, "Los *huehuetlatolli* en la cristianización de México: Dos sermones en lengua náhuatl de fray Bernardino de Sahagún," in Baudot, *La pugna franciscana*, 267-89, at 278-79, or in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 304-8, at 304; and also the Nahuatl drama of the sacrifice of Isaac, usually dated to the sixteenth century though surviving only in a later copy, in which Hagar and Ishmael are portrayed as sun-worshippers while Abraham, Sara, and Isaac worship the true God, a Creator and law-giver described in terms which would be very much at home in the catechism of 1548. The Nahuatl text and a Spanish translation can be found in Horcasitas, 208-29, with an English translation in Ravicz, 85-97.

⁴⁹"[T]eneys algunos ydolos ascondidos o si sabeys quien los tiene y no lo dezis y descubris: y no traeys los ydolos que teneys." Córdoba, *Dotrina*, c iiij v.

Motolinía uses as evidence of the good faith of the Indians' conversion their destruction of quantities of idols when seeking baptism: Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 1, 219 and 223; cap. 5, 237-38; and similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 31, 246; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 13, 728; cap. 14, 731; cap. 15, 744; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 33, 1: 416; cap. 34, 1: 419; cap. 42, 1: 447; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 2, 3: 143-44; cap. 4, 3: 147-48; cap. 14, 3: 173; and see also Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 8, 253-54 (similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 26, 227-28).

out for particular mention the ineligibility for baptism of one who “perhaps believes, serves, makes offerings to the *diablo*, or keeps some image of his, or knows who keeps it, which he does not reveal,”⁵⁰ making an explicit identification of the old gods with the Christian *diablo*. Just as the 1544 catechism’s requirement of “regretting your past life, because you lived without knowledge of God, and because you sinned and broke His commandments,” becomes in 1548 one that the baptizands “indeed be sad on account of their sins, since they offended our Lord Dios, since they did not properly keep His commandments,”⁵¹ replacing an acknowledgment of ignorance, however culpable, with the certainty of offense, the implication in 1548 is of a conscious choice of evil, a devil-worship far more active than the errors which might be associated with the existence of ‘vain idols’ alone, tools of the devil, indeed, but not necessarily proof of an immediate demonic pact. Though Indian readers are suggested by at least the second and perhaps also the third of the three uses listed for the work in the Spanish-language prologue of 1548, to supply, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, “the lack which these new nations have of foundations of the holy Catholic faith”; to provide a language-learning text, both for Spaniards wishing to learn Nahuatl and for Indians wishing to learn Spanish; and to allow “the persons who have towns in encomienda in which there are not religious to preach to them ... to say to them some thing that seems good to them from those which are contained

⁵⁰ “[I]n aço aca quineltoaca quitlayelcultia quitlamanilia in diablo anoço yla quipia in iixiptla anoço quimati in aca quipia: in amo quinextia.” In Spanish, “[S]i alguno cree o sirue o reuerencia o ofresce sacrificio al demonio: o tiene guardada alguna ymagen suya o sabe si alguno la tiene y no lo descubre.” Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 22, fol. xciiij r.

⁵¹ “[P]esaros de la vida passada: porque buistes sin conocimiento de Dios: y porque peccastes y quebrantastes sus mandamientos.” Córdoba, Dotrina, c. iij v.

“Yuan ca cenca intech monequi in uel tlaocoiazque in ipampa in intlatlacul ynic oquimotlatlactalhuilique in totecuio in dios inic amo uel oquipielique yn itenauatiltcin.” In Spanish, “Assi mismo tienen obligacion de dolerse mucho y pesarle de sus pecados por auer ofendido a nuestro señor dios: y por no auer guardadole sus diuinos preceptos.” Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 22, fol. xciiij r.

here in this present work (as they will see in the table which follows here at the beginning), as long as there is a person who knows how to read in order to read to them in their language what the one who has responsibility for it wishes,”⁵² the Nahuatl “people of here,”⁵³ nominally converted or not, are very clearly the recipients of a one-way transfer of Spanish Christian instruction, the ignorant and erring plural ‘you’ being instructed by the authoritative and superior ‘we’ of the preaching friars, and only rarely invited to identify with an inclusive ‘we’ of humanity.

The 1548 catechism, choosing the formulation of the articles of faith in fourteen rather than twelve, never discusses the ‘communion of saints’ as such, but does include a discussion of the Church among its miscellaneous matter, presenting it as a gloss on the Credo article ‘I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church’. Emphasizing the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit as much as the headship of Christ, it is in comparison to the passage of Gante’s catechism quoted above a model of lucidity, explicating in turn the corporal and the architectural metaphors:

As our joints, by which we are joined together, join the torso or indeed all

⁵² “[L]a falta que estas nuevas gentes tienen de fundamentos de la santa fe católica ...

“Y ten para las personas que tienen pueblos encomendados: en los cuales no ay religiosos que les prediquen ... dezilles qualquier cosa que les pareciere de las que aqui se contienen en esta presente obra: como verán por la tabla que aqui se sigue al principio: con que aya vna persona que sepa leer para que les lea en su lengua lo que quisiere el que lo tiene a cargo.” *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, prologue, fol. ij r.

Recommending the 1544 doctrine in its colophon, Zumárraga had written that “esta doctrina / por la gran religion: zelo y letras del auctor merece ser tenida en mucho: y por el estilo y manera que lleua para los indios / sera de mucho fructo / que quadrara mas a su capacidad. Y mucho mas si se traduze en lenguas de indios / pues ay tantos dellos que saben leer.” Córdoba, *Doctrina*, colophon, d vj v.

⁵³ For obvious reasons, classical Nahuatl has no term which really corresponds to ‘Indians’ or ‘Americans’ as opposed to ‘Europeans’, and to the extent that a term is unavoidable, the usual expedient is something on the lines of *nicanitlaca*, ‘the here-people’ or ‘the people of here’. The Dominicans in 1548 most commonly just refer to ‘you’, with the meaning obvious, but occasionally use *nicanitlaca* or *nicanindiatlaca*, ‘the people of here, India’, as well as describing their own journey as coming *nican yn amotlalpan*, ‘here to your land’, or *nicanindiatlalpan*, ‘here to the India land’: see *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 1, fol. x v and xj r; sermon 2, fol. xiiij r and xvj r; sermon 17, fol. lxxvij r; sermon 26, fol. cx r; and sermon 30, fol. cxx v; and cf. Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 115-16.

the flesh of each of us, and our head and our hands, our feet, indeed all of our flesh are joined everywhere by our nerves, just also in the same way when many people are assembled with one lord, there they are made one assembly, called one torso.⁵⁴ And just also in the same way all Christians are made one torso, for indeed this is the assembly of all who are indeed true Christians, called *cuervo spiritual*, that is to say, just through divinity a torso. And as our joints are joined to one another, just also in the same way it is necessary for us all to be joined by love, so that we will indeed love one another, and so that we will help one another, and so that we will act mercifully toward one another. And we all indeed are tied and joined to our foundation and our beginning, our head, that is to say, our savior Jesus Christ; for indeed we are reckoned to Him through faith, and through His commandment, just one, and His baptism, just one. And this assembly, called *yglesia*, is amassed in the whole world. And the *spiritu sancto* gives life to this *santa yglesia* which I declare to you here now, and entirely unites it and entirely governs it, for it is not just dead, indeed it lives, for the *spiritu sancto* gives it life and entirely consecrates it. ...

And also you will know, my beloved ones, that this *santa yglesia* which I declare to you here is alive, because its timbers and its stones are living. ... all of us Christians who live in the whole world are indeed the timbers, the stones, of *sancta yglesia*, for it is erected with us, just as we see that here on earth the dwelling of Dios, *yglesia*, is erected with walls and mud and stones, and is covered by wood, just all subject to destruction, for they are not alive, they are just dead, for they are not able to feel. There

⁵⁴*Tlacli*: a human body from the waist up. 'Body' in the desired sense is in fact quite difficult to express: the usual word for 'human body', appearing in such contexts as the formulas of wills ('sick in body, sound in mind', 'my soul to God, my body to the earth'), is the inalienably possessed *nonacayo*, 'my flesh', or for more abstract purposes, *tonacayo*, 'our flesh', meaning 'the flesh that is ours as human beings', and the connotation is literally of 'fleshiness' (*nacatl*, 'meat', plus the essentializing suffix *-yo-*, equivalent to English '-ness' or '-hood' (as in 'blackness', 'motherhood'), yielding *nacayotl*, possessed form *-nacayo*), not of the articulation of diverse parts into one ordered whole. Cf. Molina, *Vocabulario*, s.v. "Cuerpo humano" and "Cuerpo desde la cinta arriba," pt. 1, fol. 32v, and "Tlacli" and "Tonacayo," pt. 2, fol. 119v and 149r, and the Nahuatl wills in *Vidas y bienes*.

Compare also Olmos: "The dwelling of the *diablo* consequently is no kind of a congregation: it is just surpassing how very many *diablo*-houses [i.e., temples, lit. 'god-houses'], how many devil assemblies are counted in various places. Consequently they are not counted as one, they have not been united, not just one is their flesh, as are counted as one, are united all the houses of the true Dios, called *yglesias catholicas*. Just all the churches [*teupan*, i.e. church buildings] [which] stand everywhere, which are erected everywhere, are spoken of as one, are named as one, just indeed one *yglesia* which is everywhere, which is called *cuervo mistico* because in the same way as a person's flesh is made just one, the one who is indeed its head, Christ, stands atop it." ("[Y]n ichan Diablo niman atleyn yn necentlaliliztli. Çan tlapanahuia ynic cenca miec yn Diablo calli miec y[n] tlatacatecolonenechicoliztli yn cececi pohui. Niman amo mocempoa amo centetih amo çan ce yn inacayo yn iuh mocempoua centetia yn ixquich ycaltçin yn nelli Dios yn itoca ygletias catholicas. Yn çan ixquich teupan nohuiyan hicac yn nohuiyan moquetça mocemitoa mocentocayotia çan uel ce ygletia yn nohuiyan yn itoca cuerpo mistico yehica yuhqui yn çan ce tenacayo mochi[o]ja yn uel ytçontecotçin in Cristo yn ipan yhcac.") Olmos, *Tratado de hechicerias*, cap. 2, 57-58, adapting and translating Martín de Castañega, OFM, *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechicerias*, ed. Fabián Alejandro Campagne, Colección de libros raros, olvidados y curiosos, ed. José Emilio Burucúa (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1997), cap. 2, 39-41.

in the *yglesia* the male and female Christians [*in christianome yuan in christianame*] assemble to hear mass and *sermon*; there they receive the *sacramentos*, confession or baptism, marriage, or the other *sacramentos*. This *yglesia* is erected just with stones, with wood, and with mud, which are all just subject to destruction, which are not living, but this is the sign of that which is through divinity the assembly of all Christians; it is for this reason that they always assemble there. On this account when you say in the *credo*, '*Credo in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*,' you will understand that it means, 'I believe in the *spiritu sancto*, who entirely consecrates and makes entirely righteous the assembly of all Christians, called *sancta yglesia*, for the *spiritu sancto* entirely governs it, entirely guards it, and our savior Jesus Christ, indeed true Dios, indeed is made the head of *santa yglesia*, for He is indeed our head, and we are its joints.'⁵⁵

⁵⁵“[C]a in iuhqui toçaçaliuhian ynic tiçaçaliuhtinemi / quimoçalhuia in totlac anoço in ye mochi tonacayo in ticecenme auh yca in totlaluaiou nouian çaliuhtica in totçonteco yuan in toma in toexi ye mochi in tonacaio: ca çan no iuhqui inicoac miec tlatatl itlan mocentlaticate ce tlatouani ca oncan mochiuhtoque centlamantli necentlaliliztli itoca ce tlaçtli. Auh ca çan no iuhqui in ixquichtin christianome mochiuhtoque centlamantli tlaçtli: ca uel yeuatl in innecentlaliliz in ixquichtin in uel nelli christianome itoca cuerpo spiritual .q.n. çan teoyotica tlaçtli. Auh in [i]uhqui nepanotl çaçaliuhtica in toçaçaliuhyan: ca çan no iuhqui totech monequi in tiçaçaliuhtiezque in timochintin netlaçotlaliztica inic uel titonepanlaçotlazque: yuan inic titonepanpaleuizque: yuan inic titonepanlaoculizque. Auh ca timochintin uel itech tipilaticate iuan itech tiçaliuhticate itech in tonelhuaio yuan in topeuhca in totçontecon .q.n. yeuanti[n] yn totemaquixticauh Jesu christo: ca uel itetcinco tipouhticate tlanetloquiliztica: yuan yca i çan centlamantli ytenauatiltcin: yuan çan centel ytecoaatequiliztica. Auh yehuatl necentlaliliztli / ytoca yglesia nouian cemanauac motemilitica. Auh inin santa yglesia in nican axca namechnotenquixtililia: ca quimoyolitia yuan quimocenueltequila yuan quimocenpachilua in spiritu sancto ca amo çan mictoc: ca uel moyolititica ca quimoiolitia in spiritu sancto: yuan quimocenteochiuilia. ...

“No iuan anquimatizque notlaçouane ca in yeuatl santa yglesia in nican namechnotenquixtililia ca yoltica yehica in iquauhio yuan in iteio ca yolqui. ... ca teuantin in tixquichtin in tichristianome nouian cemanauac tinemi: ca uel teuantin tiquauhuan tytehuan in sancta yglesia ca teuantin toca moquetça: yn iuhqui nican tlaticpac tictottilia in ichantcinco in dios yglesia tepantica çoquitica / tetica moquetça: yuan quauitl ic motlapachoua: çan mochi poliuiini ca amo yolticac: çan micticac / ca amo uel mimati. Ca in oncan yglesia mocentlalia in christianome yuan in christianame: inic quicaquizque missa yuan sermon / oncan quicelia in sacramentos neyolcuutiliztli aço necuaatequiliztli: nenamictiliztli: anoço occequi sacramentos. Ca yehuatl in yglesia ca çan tetica quauhtica yuan çoquitica moquetça in çan mochi poliuiini in amo yulqui: auh ca yieuatl inezca in teuyotica in innecentlaliliz in ixquichtin christianome: ca yehica oncan mocentlalia mochipa. Ca ypampa yehuatl inicuaac anquitoua ipan in credo. *Credo in spiritum sanctum / sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*: anquimocaquitizque ca quitoznequi. Nicneltoca in spiritu sancto: in quimocenteochiuilia yuan quimocenquizcayectilia in innecentlaliliz in ixquichtin christianome / ytoca sancta yglesia / ca yeuatcin spiritu santo quimocenpachilua quimocenpialia yuan yeuatçin yn totemaquixticatçin Jesu christo uel nelli dios: ca uel ieuatçin ytçonteco mochiuhtica yn sancta yglesia ca uel totçonteco. Auh yn teuantin ca tiçaçaliuhcauan.”

In Spanish, “[A]ssi como nuestras coyunturas con que estamos ayuntados tienen nuestros cuerpos y toda nuestra carne de cada vno de nosotros / y con nuestros niervos en todo nuestro cuerpo estan ayuntados nuestros miembros / nuestra cabeça y manos y pies con todo lo demas: de esta misma manera muchas personas quando estan ayuntadas con vn señor: alli estan hechos vn ayuntamiento / que se llama vn cuerpo. Y desta manera esta hecho vn cuerpo todo el numero de los christianos: el qual es el ayuntamiento de todos los verdaderos christianos / el qual se llama cuerpo spiritual: porque spiritualmente estan ayuntados. Y assi como estan nuestros miembros vnos con otros enxeridos: assi nos conuiene que todos estemos enxeridos

As far as the real effects of membership in the Church are concerned, however, the 1548 catechism is less interested in benefits received than in legal regulation and the consequences of transgression. As well as adding to the discussion of the papacy the necessary specification that the pope is elected by “the great priests” far off in Rome, as opposed to the 1544 version’s “the Christians,”⁵⁶ the 1548 catechism adds a discussion of excommunication absent in 1544, describing it as “the sword of *sancta yglesia* by which she cuts off her limbs which are not good, which are not right, sinners, those who do not obey her,” and explaining that “the flesh of those on whom *excomunion* is placed will not be able to be buried in a blessed place after they have died, and while they live on earth no one will be able to be near them, no one will be able to greet them, no one will be able to give them anything, nor will anyone bathe in a sweatbath with them, nor will anyone bathe in water with them,” and that “when someone commits idolatry after having been baptized,

con el amor amandonos vnos a otros: y ayudandonos y socorriendonos: y haziendonos caridades vnos a otros. Y todos nosotros estamos bien atados ayuntados y enxeridos con nuestro comienço y con nuestro principio / que es nuestra cabeça el mismo redemptor nuestro Jesu christo: porque somos de su parte y exercito y numero: con vna fe y con vnos mandamientos / y con vn verdadero baptismo suyo. Y aqueste ayuntamiento se llama yglesia: la qual esta por todo el vniuerso mundo. Y a aquesta santa yglesia que aqui al presente os declaro da vida rige y gouierna y ampara el spiritu sancto / la qual no esta muerta: mas antes esta biua / porque el spiritu sancto le da vida / como dicho es: y el la bendize y sanctifica. ...

“Assi mismo aueys de saber mis amados que esta sancta yglesia que aqui os digo y declaro esta biua: porque sus maderos y piedras son biuas. ... ca nosotros todos los christianos que biuimos por todo el mundo: nosotros somos verdaderamente los maderos y las piedras de la sancta yglesia: porque con nosotros se edifica. Assi como en este mundo vemos que la casa de nuestro dios que es el templo se edifica con paredes y con barro / y con piedra / y con madera se cubre / todo muerto: porque no esta biuo sino muerto esta pues no siente. E aqui en este templo se ayuntan los christianos y las christianas: para oyr la missa y el sermon: y aqui reciben los sacramentos / assi el de la confession como el de el sancto baptismo: como el de el matrimonio: con los demas sacramentos. Esta yglesia material se edifica con piedras y palos muertos: y no con materiales biuos / esta es señal del espiritual ayuntamiento de todos los christianos: por tanto se ayuntan siempre aqui en el templo. Y por esto quando vosotros dezis en el credo. *Credo in spiritum sanctum / sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*: aueys de entender que quiere dezir. Creo en el spiritu sancto / el qual generalmente bendize y sanctifica el ayuntamiento de todos los christianos: que se llama sancta yglesia: porque el mismo spiritu santo la rige y guarda siempre: y assi mismo el nuestro redemptor Jesu christo verdadero dios: porque el es cabeça de la sancta iglesia: y nuestra cabeça / y nosotros somos sus miembros.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 32, fol. cxxvj r - cxxvij v. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, d ij r.

⁵⁶Ibid., Doctrina, d ij r - d ij v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 32, fol. cxxvij v - cxxvij r.

or gives the *diablo* something, incense [*copalli*], paper, or makes an offering to the fire, or makes a libation, or eats dirt⁵⁷ to the deceiver, the *diablo*, thus *excomunion* is on him, for our great priest, *sancto padre de Roma*, indeed sends it out onto him, and it is necessary for him first to be unbound and blessed [= absolved] from the *excomunion* in order to be able to confess.”⁵⁸ Rather than a believing community which expels from its midst and from its sacramental Communion the public sinner, the image here is of a curse sent down from on high and embodied in this foreign word, repeated over and over without translation even as its fearfulness is insisted on, here and in passages not quoted, while the ‘Sancta Yglesia’ which wields this sword seems now to be the distant pope and hierarchy, the ‘great priests’ far away, and separated by more than distance alone from their ‘neophyte’ charges.

When it comes to the believer’s ultimate fate, too, the 1548 catechism engages in a curious doubling of the narrative of the Last Judgement, with the effect of emphasizing both the preservation of worldly hierarchy and an ‘accounting’ mentality of sins, similar to

⁵⁷A ritual salutation, bowing down, touching a finger to the earth, and then raising the finger to one’s mouth: see Durán, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 15, 2: 153, and Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales*, cap. 1, par. 3A, 71.

⁵⁸ “[U]el yeuatl yn itepuzmacuauh yn sancta yglesia ynic quimotequilia yn içaçaliuhya yn amo cualtin yn amo yectin yn tlatlacouanime yn amo quimotlacamachitia. ... yn aqui que yntech motlalia yn excomunion ca amo uel motocaz yn innacayo tlateochiualpan yn oyuh micque: auh yn oquic talticpac nemi ca ayac uel intlan motlaliz ca ayac uel quintlapaloz ca ayac uel ytla quinmacaz amo no ac yntlan motemaz amo no ac yntlan maltiz. ... inicuac aca tlateotoca yn oy[u]h mocuaatequi aço ytla quimaca yn diablo copalli amatl / aço quitlamanilia in tletl anoço quitlatoyauilia / anoço quitlalqualia in teyztlacauiani diablo: ca yc ytech ca yn excomunion: ca uel itech quiualmotlaxilia in toueiteopixcauh sancto padre de Roma: yuan ca ytech monequi achtopa tomaloz: yuan teochiualoz ytechpa in excomunion ynic uel moyolcuitiz.”

In Spanish, “[A]queste es el cuchillo o espada de la sancta yglesia / con la qual corta los miembros suyos malos / que son los pecadores: los quales no le obedecen. ... aquel en quien la excomunion se pone o echa: no puede su cuerpo ser sepultado en sagrado despues de muerto / y mientras que en esta vida biue no puede nadie estar con el: ni persona alguna le puede saludar / ni nadie le puede dar cosa alguna / ni nadie se puede bañar ni lauar con el. ... quando alguna persona haze peccado de ydolaria despues de ser baptizado: o le da al demonio alguna cosa en sacrificio / encienso / o papel / o le da comida al fuego / o beuida / o come la tierra delante del demonio engañador: este tal ya esta descomulgado: porque el nuestro muy sancto padre de Roma y sumo pontifice lo excomulga desde alla: y es obligado a ser primero desatado y absuelto de la excomunion / para poderse confessar.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 32, fol. cxxviiij r - cxxxviiij v.

that which León will develop when dealing with the sacrament of confession.⁵⁹ The 1544 and 1548 versions both include under the seventh article of the divinity, God as glorifier, a description of the Last Judgement based on the account in Matthew 25: 31-46, in which the criterion which divides the saved from the condemned is the performance of the works of mercy, and both also, characteristically, attempt to improve on the Gospel version by adding faith and the keeping of the commandments to the list of distinguishing qualities, while omitting the identification of the needy with Christ entirely in the 1544 doctrine and downplaying it in the 1548 one, including the protest of the condemned ('Lord, when did we see you hungry ...?') and its response, but not the parallel protest and response of the saved.⁶⁰ Only the 1548 doctrine, on the other hand, provides under the seventh article of the humanity, the Second Coming, another account of the same event, non-scriptural, describing the due order in which the Judgement will take place, as Christ "will interrogate each one and examine them on what they have done and what they have said and what they have thought, what they have coveted and what they have neglected through laziness, while

⁵⁹See below, 238-41.

⁶⁰Córdoba, Doctrina, b iiiij r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 10, fol. xlvj v - xlvij v.

To the extent that the works of mercy as such acquire a transcendent dimension in this catechism, it is by the identification of the doer's own soul as the recipient, made in the discussion of the fifth and sixth corporal works, the care of the sick and the redemption of captives. In the former case the soul is the charitable object closest to home, in need of the remedy of confession for its sin-sickness, while in the latter a form of divine recompense according to the Golden Rule is at work, the individual's efforts for the corporal redemption of others serving to favor the cause of his soul's redemption at God's hands. *Ibid.*, sermon 28, fol. cxv r - cxv v. In comparison to the sustained applications of one or both of these approaches to all fourteen works carried out by some of their contemporaries, however, the Dominicans' ventures in this regard are here quite modest; cf. Gante's version of the latter approach, not explicitly limited to spiritual benefits alone, in Gante, fol. 59r-63r, and especially the "Doctrina tepiton," fol. 84r-85r. (A more strictly Mexican but equally conventional excursus is the this-worldly application of another corporal work, clothing the naked, to the individual's own attiring in clothes consonant with Spanish standards of modesty: Córdoba, Doctrina, c viij r - c viij v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 28, fol. cxiiij v - cxv r; Gante, fol. 59v-60r; and cf. Motolinía, Historia, tratado 2, cap. 5, 239-40 (similarly in Motolinía, Memoriales, no. 33, 251-52; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 15, 746-47; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 42, 1: 445-46; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 17, 3: 178), for an example of the adoption of Spanish attire as a testimony of particular Christian commitment.)

they lived here on earth,” beginning with the lords spiritual, “the great priests, *sanctos padres* and *cardenales* and *arçobispos* and *obispos*, and the other *padres*,” then their temporal counterparts, “the great lords, the *emperadores* and *reyes* and *marqueses* and *duques* and *condes* and the other lords, nobles, principal men, all the people from here and the people from Castile and the people from the whole world, and their spouses,” followed by “the commoners, all the people from the whole world,” each joined by his animated deeds, our sins which “will indict us; they will recognize us; they will say to us before Dios, ‘Am I not your deed? Did you not perform me? I will not be able to leave you; I will always be at your side,’” on the one hand, and on the other “all our good deeds and all our righteous thoughts, or our righteous words, or our good desires,” likewise accompanying us and speaking on our behalf.⁶¹ Not only is there no sense in this scene that ‘many who are first shall be last, and the last first’ (Matthew 19: 30), but sinfulness and grace

⁶¹ “[C]ejeiaca quinmotlatoliliz yuan quimmotlatemoliliz: in tlein oquichiuhque: yuan in tlein oquitoque / yuan in tlein oquilmamique in tlein oquimicultique yuan yn tleyn oquitlatciuzcauhque yn oc nican tlalticpac nemia: ... y ueuei teopixque / Sancto padreme / yuan Cardenalesme / yuan Arçobisposme / yuan Obisposme: yuan occequintin padreme ... in ueuei tlatoque in Emperadoresme yuan Reyesme: yuan Marquesesme: yuan Duquesme: yuan Condesme: yuan occequintin tlatoque pipiltin tetcutin / mochintin nican tlaca yuan Castillan tlaca yuan in nouian cemanauac tlaca / yuan in innamicuan: ... in maceualtin: in ixquichtin nouian cemanauac tlaca: ... ca techixcomacaz ca techiximatiz ... ca techilihuiz yxpantcino in dios. Cuix amo nimotlachiual: cuix amo tinechiuh? ca amo uel nimitzcauaz / ca mochipa motlan niez. ... yn ixquich tocuallachiualiz yuan in ixquich toiectlalnamiqiliz: anoço toiectlatol: anoço toquallaeuiliz.”

In Spanish, “[H]a de examinar e inquirir a cada vno por si: de aquello que en esta vida hizieron / y de lo que dixeron: de lo que pensaron: y de lo que cobdiciaron / y de lo que por negligencia dexaron mientra[s] en esta vida biuieron ... los grandes prelados: Sumos pontifices: y Cardenales / Arçobispos / y Obispos: y de los otros ecclesiasticos: ... los grandes señores / Emperadores / Reyes y Marqueses / Duques / Condes con todos los demas señores y principales y caualleros: todos assi los hombres de Castilla como destas tierras / como tambien los de todo el mundo / y lo mismo a sus mugeres / ... los vassallos todos quantos hombres ay en el mundo: ... nos han de conocer y ponerse nos delante y dirannos delante de dios. Por ventura yo no soy obra tuya / no me heziste tu? no te podre yo desmamparar: mas siempre estare contigo. ... todas nuestras buenas obras: y nuestros buenos pensamientos y nuestras buenas palabras y nuestros buenos desseos.”

Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 17, fol. lxxvij r - lxxvij v.

Zumárraga uses a similar phrase in a letter to his nephew, dated from Mexico on 18 August 1541, while scolding him for avarice: “ya sabeis ... que no lo habeis de llevar con vos lo que teneis y tuviéredes, sino las buenas obras con las malas os han de acompañar y nunca os desamparar para siempre.” Juan de Zumárraga, OFM, “Tres cartas familiares de fr. Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo y arzobispo de México, y contestación a otra que le dirige fr. Marcos de Niza,” ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 6, no. 4 (April 1885): 239-52, at 249.

themselves, taking to its logical conclusion the trend already begun in the prior account's shift away from the identification of Christ in neighbor toward a catalogue of conditions to fulfill, have ceased entirely to reflect a relationship between the soul and God, in favor of an accumulation of discrete and quantifiable acts of opposite tendencies, into which the individual seems to disintegrate.⁶²

In the monolingual Nahuatl text which replaces the 1548 version's bilingual sermons in his manual, León can be more varied in address, haranguing a second-person-plural audience with condemnations of idolatry or urging a literate second-person-singular householder, plausibly reading rather than hearing this counsel, to the institution of a program of catechetically-oriented evening domestic devotions. Another innovation with regard to the text of 1548, this last is a practice which León prescribes with the fervor of any Puritan, if the catechism is substituted for the Bible. In the most extended of several such descriptions:

Do not just be a worthless person, in your lying down and in your getting up: when already you have had supper, talk to your spouse and your children, the members of your household, there talk to them, cause them to consider, through some admirable word which you have heard in the *pulpito*, or whatever word of Dios, so that they will serve Him, so that they will love Him. Thus you will teach them the prosperity of heaven, which good people merit, and the suffering of hell, which wicked people suffer: thus they will live in fear on earth. And then all of you who are of one house will recite the four things [= the four prayers], all the *doctrina*, and each day if you know how to read, read one of the things to be believed [= the articles of faith], or the divine commandments of Dios, or the commandments of *Santa Yglesia*, each deed of mercy as I have laid them out above, in this book. There it will be seen, there they will know in

⁶²Parts of this reflection are inspired by W. David Myers's discussion of early modern Catholic techniques of examination of conscience as aimed at the management of human sinfulness by limiting and classifying it into a finite number of items amenable to vocal confession and to specific attack, in contrast to a Protestant conviction of inherent sinfulness and without necessarily delving deeply into one's true motives or self-knowledge (Myers, 165-84). The Dominicans in this catechism do not go into great detail on examination of conscience (though they are interested in the related topic of integrity of confession), but they do share with the pastors and writers discussed by Myers a tendency - which can only be called 'modernizing' - to the careful definition of a few 'regular channels' for the relationship between God and man, in contrast to the more variegated and less clericalized practices associated with older traditions, and in Mexico with the Franciscans.

Whom they will believe and of what kind are the commandments according to which they will live, which they will keep. If you will do so, Dios will make you in His image here on earth, and afterward He will make you entirely prosperous in His lordly dwelling there in heaven, amid the various *Santos*.⁶³

At the same time, however, Indian literacy and Indian knowledge are not for León entirely unmixed blessings, and even as he exhorts the Indians' ministers to the instruction which (he hopes) will produce a regularization of Indian devotional practice on the Spanish model, he manipulates the use of Spanish in the volume to shield certain information from Indian eyes. The information on the prehispanic ritual calendar is given only in Spanish "so that only the ministers may understand it, and not so many Indians as would understand it in their language,"⁶⁴ and the instructions for confessors, also given in Spanish alone, are liberally sprinkled with slighting references to the Indians' capacity, on the one hand, and to the errors or laziness of certain priests, on the other, neither of which sets of comments, one assumes, León is intending to address to his indigenous readership.⁶⁵ In the world of the *Camino del cielo*, several generations removed from

⁶³"Macamo çan tinentlacatl inic timotecaz yhuan inic timehuaz, in ìcuac ye otimocochcayoti, xicnotza in monamic yhuan mopilhuan in mochan tlaca, oncan xiquinnotza xiquintlalnamiçti, yca ytlalein mahuiztlàtollì, in pulpito ypan oticac, ànoço in çaço, tlein Dios ytlàoltzin inic quimotlaecoltilizque, inic quimotlaçðtilizque, ic tiquimmachtiz in Ilhuicac necentlamachtìli, in quimomàcehuiz in cualtin tlaca. Yhuan in Mictlan tlaihyohuiliztli, in quiyhiyohuia in tlhuelilocatlaca, yc mauhcanemizque in tlalticpac, auh niman amochintin in ancencaltin, anquipoazque nauhtlamantli, in mochi dotrina, yhuan in cecemilhuitl intla tamapouhqui xiquimpohuili in cecentetl neltoconi, ànoço in iteotenahuatiltzin Dios, ànoço in itenahuatiltzin Santa Yglesia, in cecentetl tetlaocoliliztlachihuali in yuh tlacpac onictepan, in ipan inin amoxtli, oncan mottaz oncan quimàtizque aquin quimoneltoquitizque, yhuan quenami in tlanahuatilli ipan nemizque quipiazque. Ca intla yuh ticchihuaz, mitzmixiplayotiliz in Dios, nican tlalticpac, auh çatepan mitzmocentlamachtiltizinoz in itlàtocachantzinco in ompa Ilhuicatl itic, intlantzinco in nepan Santome." León, fol. 156r; and see also the mention of nightly examination of conscience and household recitation of the catechism earlier in the same section, fol. 155v-156r, and related discussions elsewhere in the volume, fol. 24v, 59v, 89r, and 113v-114r.

⁶⁴"[P]or que lo entiendan solos los ministros, y no tantos Indios como lo entendieran en su lengua." Ibid., fol. 95v.

⁶⁵Ibid., fol. 101r-102r, 104r, 105v-106r, 109v-110v, and 121v-122r.

1548, everyone is baptized or passing as such,⁶⁶ bulls⁶⁷ and relics⁶⁸ have joined rosaries in the vocabulary of Indian devotion, and the variously-habited ‘flowers’ of the Mexican ecclesiastical garden include Mercedarians, Carmelites, and ‘Theatines’ (i.e., Jesuits), as well as the three long-standing mendicant orders and the secular clergy.⁶⁹ They sin against the third commandment who mock “some whom they see who see mass daily, confess weekly, receive [the Eucharist] on all four *pascuas*⁷⁰ and when it is a precious feast of the precious noblewoman [the Virgin Mary], [and] obtain the *Santo Iubileo*,”⁷¹ a series of pious practices which, however common or uncommon in practice,⁷² would qualify as exemplary in many European parishes, and even for the average parishioner, annual⁷³ and deathbed⁷⁴ confession can be taken for granted, along with at least a theoretical familiarity with the obligations of the tithe⁷⁵ and the making and executing of wills.⁷⁶ Yet León, who

⁶⁶Ibid., fol. 25v-26r.

⁶⁷Ibid., fol. 75r-75v, 83r, and 135v.

⁶⁸Ibid., fol. 57r-57v and 81v.

⁶⁹Ibid., fol. 72v-73r.

⁷⁰Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, and a New World peculiarity, Epiphany: see Molina, Confessionario mayor, fol. 27v.

⁷¹ “[I]n quimitta in cequintin, momoztlaye quitta missa, chichicoometica moyolcutia, in mochi nauhtetl Pascua, yhuan in icuac itlaçdilhuitzin in tlaçðCihuapilli, tlacelia, quicnopilhuia in Santo Iubileo.” León, fol. 59v.

⁷²Cf. other references to the mockery of the pious, *ibid.*, fol. 57r and 81r-81v.

⁷³Ibid., fol. 93v and 103v.

⁷⁴Ibid., fol. 124r-124v.

⁷⁵Ibid., fol. 60v, 75v, and 82r.

⁷⁶Ibid., fol. 82r and 136v-141r.

appears to have made direct use of one of the elderly Sahagún's more disillusioned screeds,⁷⁷ writes of the minister's obligation to "these poor Indians,"⁷⁸ and calls his catechism "the thing of which they have most need today, as many of them scarcely know the first principles [*los principios*]."⁷⁹ In dedicating the volume to the serving Mexican archbishop and viceroy, his fellow Dominican García Guerra, León describes it as containing "clear and Catholic doctrine, in detestation of the idolatry, superstitions, rites, and ceremonies which some Indians have now come out with, as Your Excellency came to know and resulted from the past visit of the year of 1610,"⁸⁰ referring once again in the

⁷⁷In the section on the prehispanic calendar, taken over almost word-for-word, though abridged and rearranged, from a Sahaguntine manuscript: see *ibid.*, fol. 95r-100v; Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Calendario mexicano, latino y castellano: Al lector," in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 105(92), 380-82; and García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, 368-69.

George Kubler and Charles Gibson at one time disputed the ascription of the "Calendario mexicano, latino y castellano" to Sahagún, ascribing it instead to León (albeit León drawing on the calendar of Sahagún's *Historia general*), but the evidence for Sahaguntine authorship is overwhelming. See George Kubler and Charles Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar: An Illustrated Mexican Manuscript ca. 1585: Reproduced with a Commentary and Handlist of Sources on the Mexican 365-Day Year*, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences*, vol. 11 (New Haven: By the Academy, 1951), 65-68, and Charles Gibson and John B. Glass, "A Census of Middle American Prose Manuscripts in the Native Historical Tradition," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed. Robert Wauchope, vol. 15, *Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources: Part Four*, ed. Howard F. Cline, Charles Gibson, and H. B. Nicholson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), 322-400, at no. 1106, 369, usefully supplemented by Baudot, "Los últimos años," and *idem*, "Fray Toribio Motolinía denunciado ante la Inquisición por fray Bernardino de Sahagún en 1572," rev. ed., *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 21 (1991): 127-32.

⁷⁸"[E]stos pobres indios." León, ffj j r and fol. 101r-101v; cf. Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 33, 103.

Sonia Corcuera de Mancera (reading the Spanish-language portions of the volume) judges that the *Camino del cielo* "es ya menos combativo o menos optimista que los [catecismos] anteriores, quiero decir que el autor advierte a sus colegas acerca de la corta capacidad de los naturales, pero no aclara que esa deficiencia puede ser remediada dando batalla contra la ignorancia," a judgement which is certainly not without foundation regarding the Indians' capacity, but which underestimates in my view León's faith in the power of instruction, at least to remedy ignorance if not to increase natural endowment, a rather different question. Corcuera de Mancera, *Del amor al temor*, 102.

⁷⁹"[L]a cosa de que mas necesidad tienen el día de oy, que muchos dellos apenas saben los principios." León, ffj j v.

⁸⁰"Doctrina catholica y clara en detestacion de la Ydolatria supersticiones ritos y ceremonias con que aora an salido algunos indios como V. Excel. supo y resultado de la visita pasada del año de .1610." *Ibid.*, ffj j v.

prologue, an appeal to the zeal of the Indians' ministers, to "the vestiges [*resabios*] of their idolatries and superstitions, founded in so much confusion of depraved conditions and drinking sprees as was found in the visit which the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord don fray García Guerra made the year of 1611."⁸¹ "Now in them the demon does not find strength," León claims, "all surrenders to him, there is no soul which is not bathed in blood of sins [cf. Revelation 7: 14], grown old in continual drinking sprees,"⁸² to which is added in some (though not, apparently, all) their "little care of praying and commending themselves to God and knowing the doctrine, that if it is not from year to year in Lent they do not remember to pray it."⁸³ Putting forth a program which seems to begin the process of evangelization again from scratch, for all that the initial image suggests the parable of the

⁸¹ "[L]os resabios de sus ydolatrias y supersticiones, fundadas en tanta confusion de condiciones [d]eprauadas y borracheras como se hallo en la visita que el Ilustrissimo y Reuerendissimo Señor don Fray Garcia Guerra, hizo el año de mil y seycientos y once." *Ibid.*, ¶¶ j r; cf. also fol. 100r-100v.

For additional references to these visits in an anti-idolatry context, see Jacinto de la Serna, "Manual de ministros de indios para el conocimiento de sus idolatrías, y extirpación de ellas," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 6 (1898-1900): 261-480, at cap. 2, § 3, 288, and § 5, 290; and cap. 3, § 1, 294.

Neither long-lived in his see nor, apparently, possessed of a particularly strong personality, Guerra is now best-known for the series of misfortunes which seemed to accompany him on ceremonial occasions, as recounted in a relation published after his death by Mateo Alemán, much more renowned to posterity as the author of the classic picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*. Landing at San Juan de Ulúa on 19 August 1608 and dying in Mexico City on 22 February 1612, Guerra spent scarcely three-and-a-half years in his see, while also serving as viceroy from June 1611 until his death, upon the promotion of his predecessor, Luis de Velasco the Younger, to the presidency of the council of the Indies. See Mateo Alemán, *Sucesos de d. frai Garcia Gera arçobispo de Mejico, á cuyo cargo estuvo el gobierno de la Nueva España*, in Andrade, no. 53, 51-96, and Alonso Franco, OP, *Segunda parte de la Historia de la provincia de Santiago de Mexico orden de Predicadores en la Nueva España: Año de 1645 en Mexico* (Mexico City: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1900), lib. 2, cap. 37-39, 332-46, heavily dependent on Alemán but with additional information on the future archbishop's earlier peninsular career. *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria: México: III*, ed. Lewis Hanke, with Celso Rodríguez, Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 275 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1977), 37, has little more to say about his service as viceroy than that "[n]ada de significación ocurrió durante su breve gobierno."

⁸² "[Y]a en ellos el demonio no halla fuerça, todo se le rinde, no ay alma que no este bañada en sangre de pecados, enuegécida en vnas continuas bor[r]acheras." León, ¶¶ j r.

⁸³ "[E]l poco cuydado de rezar y encomendarse a Dios, y saber la doctrina que si no es de año, en año, a las quaresmas no se acuerdan de rezalla." *Ibid.*, ¶¶ j r. It is common in early modern Spanish to 'pray' (*rezar*) the catechism, where in English (or in Nahuatl) one would expect to 'recite' it.

lost sheep and hence the idea of a return, he urges:

that the ministers take them up on their shoulders [cf. Luke 15: 5] and remove them with schemes, with examples, with doctrine, with amonestations, and with reprehensions from the claws of the Enemy, and that they know and understand who God is, and what we owe Him, the little that the salvation or perdition of all the world matters to Him if not on account of the great love and desire for our salvation which He has for us, His creation of the world, the heavens, the angels, man, the means which He took in order to return him to His flock after having lost original justice, the much which he loses in losing God, and the ills which he acquires losing Him, all that which faith obliges us to believe, [and] all that which she [or He?] commands us to practice in order to obtain the last end for which He created us.⁸⁴

All of this, naturally, is to be found in the present volume, the publication of which León is clearly concerned to justify, but where Mijangos can expand the protocols of the necessary Spanish-language front matter to address his sermon collection, seemingly a clerically-oriented production by definition, to a Nahuatl readership,⁸⁵ León identifies both the market for his catechism and the onus of responsibility for Nahuatl Christianity overwhelmingly with the presumptively non-Nahuatl clergy.

* * *

The *Espejo* does not contain a programmatic statement of quite the order of the sermon collection's Nahuatl prologue, but writing in dialogue form "so that [the work] may be easier to understand for the natives who may read it," as he writes in the *Espejo*'s Spanish-language prologue,⁸⁶ Mijangos indeed goes to unusual effort to make of his

⁸⁴"[Q]ue los ministros se los hechen a los hombros, y los saquen con traças, con exemplos, con doctrina, con amonestaciones, y con reprehensiones de las vñas del Enemigo, y que sepan y entiendan quien es Dios, y lo que le deuenos, lo poco que interesa de la saluacion de todo el mundo, ñ de su perdicion, si no por el grande amor que nos tiene, y deseo de nuestra sal[u]acion. El criar el mundo, los cielos, los angeles, el hombre, los medios que tomo para boluelle a su rebaño, despues de auer perdido la justicia original, lo mucho que pierde en perder a Dios, y los males que adquiere perdiendole, todo lo que nos obliga la fe a creer, todo lo que nos manda obrar, para conseguir el vltimo fin para que nos crio." Ibid., fff j r - fff j v.

⁸⁵Mijangos, *Primera parte*, ff 3 v - ff 1 v.

⁸⁶"[P]or que sea mas facil de entender à los naturales que le leyeren." Mijangos, *Espejo*, prologo,

* 7 v.

dialogues something more than a series of one-sided speeches, even if he also concludes the volume with the indispensable index of ‘preachable matters.’ The father, Agustín, gets the lion’s share of the conversation, but his son Juan - sharing his name with the priestly author who, though a ‘father’, thus joins his flock at the feet of his own spiritual father Augustine - demonstrates his own command of the canons of secular good breeding with the elaborate, traditional speeches of greeting, thanksgiving, and farewell which frame the individual sections of the discourse and mark the imagined passage of various days.⁸⁷ Old enough to be already married,⁸⁸ Juan also describes his own spiritual progress,⁸⁹ offers both questions and supplemental information based on his own independent reading,⁹⁰ and once defends himself from a reprimand after asking a question which his father thinks demonstrates that he has not been paying attention.⁹¹ Agustín, in his turn, not only contributes to the illusion of a world beyond the dialogues by variously sending his son off

⁸⁷Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe*, text 7.3, 110, connects the pair of names to the given names of Mijangos and his Nahua assistant, Agustín de la Fuente, noting that the latter, who had also worked with Sahagún and Juan Bautista, “by this time must have been rather advanced in years,” but for the average reader I think that the bishop of Hippo, mentioned on the title page as the founder of the friar’s order and present in the front matter (along with Nicholas of Tolentino) in the form of a large woodcut, must have sprung to mind well before the Nahua assistant mentioned in a note above the colophon, even if the additional identification must also have been the source of some interesting inside jokes of its own. On de la Fuente, see Juan Bautista, OFM, “Prólogo [to the *Sermonario*],” in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 179(115), 474-78, at 476.

For a discussion of Mijangos’s use of traditional rhetoric, see Sell, “Friars, Nahuas, and Books,” 187-98.

⁸⁸Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 33, 464-65.

⁸⁹Passages with particular detail are *ibid.*, cap. 15, 192-94; cap. 20, 253; and cap. 21, 288.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, cap. 13, 165-66; cap. 17, 208-9; cap. 25, 354-55; cap. 28, 395-96; cap. 35, 491; and cap. 39, 535.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, cap. 26, 374-75. His defense is that he is not asking for a repetition of what has already been said, but whether there is something else he should know.

to see the priest⁹² and responding to some of his questions by telling him to read it for himself,⁹³ but also underlines the genre distinction between dialogue and sermon by occasionally recounting at length sermons which he has heard in the past,⁹⁴ a device which also allows Mijangos to introduce some rhetorical variety into his lengthy text.

Though the local clergy thus maintain an important presence just off-stage, as it were, the immediate context is, as in Gante's manual, strictly Nahua, and coincidentally or not, Mijangos's universe is teeming like Gante's with the saints, while in the Dominican catechisms, more dogmatic in focus, they simply do not seem to come up. Where Gante's saints tend to the abstract, however, appearing in nameless classes or in the litany, Mijangos's are far more personalized, named and celebrated for particular deeds or particular virtues, even as their stories are sometimes strung together in quantities approaching those of a minor litany. Though engaging occasionally in tropological exegesis, as when he presents the victory of the unarmed shepherd David over Goliath as the victory of the virtue of patience over anger,⁹⁵ Mijangos's chief interest in the biblical and post-biblical saints who people his treatise on the virtues is as immediate models for imitation, the models which Juan requests from his father in response to this same version of David and Goliath's tale. Convinced of the importance of this virtue but finding Agustín's discourse somewhat lacking in practical advice, it would appear, he asks:

My beloved father, how will I model myself on them, measure myself against them, how will I take a model from them, if I do not know those

⁹²Ibid., cap. 1, 13; and cap. 13, 165.

⁹³Ibid., cap. 19, 251; and cap. 20, 258-59.

⁹⁴Ibid., cap. 12, 145, followed by the sermon at 146-63; cap. 18, 220, followed by the sermon at 221-35; cap. 20, 259, followed by the sermon at 260-77; cap. 22, 294, followed by the sermon at 296-312; and cap. 24, 337, followed by the sermon at 338-53.

⁹⁵Ibid., cap. 34, 473-74.

who endured in a manly way [*in tlaquichhuicatzitzintin*], the patient ones, if you do not mention to me, if you do not recount to me their precious lives, their patience? Therefore, my beloved lord, very much I pray you to mention to me some of them, and recount to me their admirable lives, so that I will know them, model myself on them, take an example, and follow their manner of living.⁹⁶

Happy to oblige and going on for the length of several pages in doing so, Agustín fulfills the request with more or less detailed accounts of Job; David persecuted by his father-in-law Saul and rebelled against by his son Absalom; Joseph persecuted by his elder brothers; the prophets, including Tobit, Jeremiah, and Isaiah; the Apostles, with particular mention of the forms of martyrdom of Andrew, Bartholomew, and Paul, plus the names of John and James; all the martyrs; and finally Mary and Christ Himself.⁹⁷ In the following chapter he combines the directly-applicable models of fasting provided by Nicholas of Myra, John the Baptist, Nicholas of Tolentino, Anthony, Paul the Hermit, and Hilarion,⁹⁸ with a

⁹⁶“(N)otlaçottatzine) quenin inttetzinco ninomachiotiz, inttetzinco ninoctacatz, quenin inttetzinco ninomachioiz? Intlacamo niqumiximati in tlaquichhuicatzitzintin, in tlapaccaihyohuicatzitzintin, intlacamo tinechmotenehuililitzinohua, intlacamo tinechmopohuililitzinohua in intlaçonemilitzin, in intlapaccaihyohuililitzin. Ipampain (notlaçotecuiyoe) cenca nimitznotlatlauhtilia inic tinechimotenehuililitzin, auh tinechmopohuililitzin in immahuiznemilitzin, inic niquinniximachiliz, inttetzinco ninomachiotiz, ninixcuitiz, auh niquinnonemiliztoquiliz.” Ibid., 474.

⁹⁷Ibid., 474-78. Though an excellent example of suffering, and prophetic in his final canticle (Tobit 13), Tobit is not generally reckoned as one of the prophets strictly speaking, and the cause of his sufferings has more to do with God’s inscrutable judgments, after the manner of Job, than with human persecution; as noted above, 117, n. 91, however, Mijangos seems to have had a particular interest in his story.

⁹⁸Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 35, 485 and 490. Paul the Hermit, it should be noted, is referred to only as ‘Paul’, and though it is clearly the Desert Father and not the Apostle whom Mijangos has in mind, a reader could very easily confuse the two. For the identifying anecdote, see Villegas, *Flos sanctorvm y historia general*, 1: fol. 81r.

The name of Nicholas became newly popular in Mexico City in the first decades of the seventeenth century, among both Indians and non-Indians, but it is an open question whether this should be interpreted to the benefit of the fourth-century bishop of Myra or to that of the thirteenth-century Augustinian of Tolentino, who was sworn by the city as advocate against earthquakes in 1611 and whose life was published in the city in Nahuatl in 1605 (by a Franciscan, no less) and in Spanish in 1615 (by an Augustinian). Juan Javier Pescador, *De bautizados a fieles difuntos: Familia y mentalidades en una parroquia urbana: Santa Catarina de México, 1568 - 1820*, Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1992), 255-56, comparing baptismal registers from 1569-83 and 1620-23 from the non-Indian parish of Santa Catarina, in the hands of the secular clergy; Morales, “Santoral franciscano,”

reinterpretation of the stories of Judith, Esther, the three youths in the furnace, and the Temptation of Christ, transferring the power of fasting from the struggle against visible enemies to that against invisible ones,⁹⁹ but more usual is the simple muster roll of saintly

380-83, comparing baptismal registers from 1585-95 and 1635-38 from the Indian parish of Santiago Tlatelolco, in Franciscan hands; Esteban García, OSA, *Crónica de la provincia agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México: Libro quinto*, Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, Archivo histórico hispano-agustiniano (Madrid: Imprenta de G. López del Horno, 1918), cap. 36, 110-12; and Andrade, no. 16, 17-18; and no. 63, 103-4; and see also the doubtful 1616 publication, ascribed to a different Augustinian, listed at no. 66, 105.

⁹⁹“Because of this goodness, rightness, fasting, abstinence from food, the very estimable Judith was strengthened in heart, very much by it she was fortified, when she beheaded, she killed Holofernes, the enemy of the Israelites, the vassals of our Lord Dios [cf. Judith 8: 6]. Through fasting, through abstinence from food that one, the precious noblewoman Esther, very worthy to be honored, very worthy to be favored, saved her city, protected it from the death to which the lord Ahasuerus had condemned it [cf. Esther 4: 15-17]. Through fasting were saved the three precious little ones there in Babylon, when they were thrown, were cast into the fiery sweat-bath [*tletemazcalco*], at the command of the very greatly wicked, the very ferocious lord Nebuchadnezzar [cf. Daniel 1: 6-16]. Through fasting, through abstinence from food the precious, admirable Child of Dios, our Lord Jesus Christ, entirely conquered the devil, when in a desert place he tested Him with very great temptation, very diligently [cf. Matthew 4: 1-12 and Luke 4: 1-13]. Just also likewise, my beloved, admirable child, fasting is very necessary for us, so that through [this] admirable rightness we will be strengthened in heart, be fortified, so that we will conquer, humble, cast down to the ground, behead, kill, conquer Holofernes, that is to say our enemy the devil, in the way in which the precious woman Judith beheaded him, cast him down to the ground, conquered him, killed him. And also we will save our spirits, our *animas*, from sin, so that they will not fall into the condemnation, the punishment of eternal death, eternal suffering, in the way in which the precious woman Esther saved her admirable city from death. And as the three admirable little ones were saved from the fiery sweat bath, the leaping flames, the curling flames, we for our part will be saved from the fiery sweat bath, that is to say hell and its curling flames, its leaping flames, which very much burn people, kill people with fire. Fasting is very necessary for us, so that as the admirable Child of our Lord Dios, Jesus Christ, conquered, cast down to the ground the tempter, the one who does ill to people, the devil, just also likewise we will entirely conquer, humble, see nothing in the one who eternally oppresses people with illusions, tests people, our entire enemy, the devil.”

“*Ipampa inin qualtiliztli yectiliztli in yehuatl neçahualiztli, tlaqualizcahualiztli, omoyolchicauh in cenca tlaçotlalonì Judith cenca yc omoyollahpaltì, in ihquac oquimoquechtequì, in oquimomictì in Olophernes, in inyaouh Israellaca, in imacehualtitzihuan to Tecuìyo Dios. Ca neçahualiztica, netlaqualizcahualtiliztica oquimomaquixtì in ialtepetzin, oquimmomanahuì itechpa in miqiztì inìc oquimotlatzontequililica tlahtohuani Asuero in yehuatzin tlaçocihuapillì Hester, in cenca mahuitziloni, in cenca malhuilonì. Neçahualiztica omomaquixtique in eintzìzin tlaçonetzìzintìn vmpa Babilonia, in ihquac tletemazcalco omayaohuaque, otlaçaloque, in itencopa in cenca huey tlahuele, in cenca cocole tlahtohuani Nabuchodonosor. Neçahualiztica, netlaqualizcahualtiliztica oquimocempanahuì in Tlacatecolotl, in imahuiztlaçoPiltzin Dios, in to Tecuìyo Iesv Christo, in ihquac quauhixtlahuacan in cenca huey teneyecoltiztica, cenca netlacuitlahuiliztica oquimonequechilitzino. Çan no ihui (notlaçomahuizpiltze) cenca totech monequi in neçahualiztli, inìc ica in mahuiyectiliztli titoyolchicahuazque, titoyollahpaltizque, inìc ticpanahuizque, tictlanitlaçazque, tictlalchitlaçazque, ticquechtequizque, ticmictizque, ticpanahuizque in Olofernes: quihtoznequi, in toyaouh Tlacatecolotl, in quenin tlaçocihuatzintì Judith oquiquechtec, oquitlalchitlaz, oquipanahuì, oquimictì. No yhuan itechpa in tlahtlacolli, ticmaquixtizque in toyolia in tanima, inìc ahmo ipan huetzìz in itlatzontequililoca,*

exemplars, often dominated by Old Testament heroes and heroines. In one particularly extended but otherwise not atypical case, Agustín opens a set of examples of prayer and of God's response to prayer by quoting David as psalmist, then lists the Israelites in the Exodus, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, David, Job, Tobit, Tobiah, Esther, Judith, the Maccabees, the three youths in the furnace, Daniel, and Susanna, followed by the blind, lepers, and crippled healed by Christ, and by present-day recipients of miracles, in particular a woman of New Spain and her children, presumptively Indians though not explicitly identified as such, whose tale he recounts.¹⁰⁰ With a more apostolic slant, Peter,

itlatzacuilitloca in cemihcac miquiztli, cemihcac tlaihyohuiliztli, in quenin oquimomaquixtli imahuizaltepetzin in tlaçocihuatzintli Hester in itechpa in miquiztli. Auh inic in màca çan in eintzitzin mahuizconetzitzintin omaquixtiloque in itechpa tletemazcalli, tlemiahuatl, decueçallotl titomaquixtizque in tehuantín, itechpa in tletemazcalli: quihtoznequi, Mictlan, yhuan itlecueçallo, itlemiahuayo, in cenca tetlatia, tetlemictia. Cenca totech monequi in neçahualiztli, inic in màca çan imahuizPiltzin to Tecuioy Dios Iesv Christo oquimopanahuili, oquimotlalchitlaxili in teneyeyecoltiani, in tequenchihuani Tlacatecolotl: çan no yuh ticcemanahuizque, ticlanitlaçazque, ahtle ipan tiquittazque in cemihcac tenahualpachotinemi, motenequechilitinemi in tocenyaouh Tlacatecolotl." Mijangos, Espeio, cap. 35, 485-86.

¹⁰⁰For the New Spanish miracle, recounted in quite formal language: "I want to tell you, I want to recount to you the marvel which the Possessor of Nearness, the Possessor of Closeness, Dios, did just now, which indeed was done in your sight. A person, a woman, was going along the road, was going to Tampico, and was taking two children of hers, on a carrying frame a four-footed animal was carrying them. It happened that the woman was going up a certain great mountain there in the region of Metztlán, and that indeed in her sight the *cauallo* fell down a cliff. So she thought that the little children, her children, and the carrying frame in which the little ones were had fallen into the ravine; it was very deep. And the mother, who saw that her children had fallen down onto the rocks, into the mountain ravine, that they had died, that they had gone tumbling down: she cried out very much with fright, she was very much afflicted, was sad. But although she was very much anguished, as if she fainted, [as if] she lost consciousness as she saw the fall, the death of her children, she asked her Lord, her Ruler, Dios, for mercy, and she prayed very much to the precious noblewoman *sancta* Mary, she hoped in them, she commended her children to them so that they would help them, she prayed to them with hope, and also with great faith, with devotion. And having gone down there where the *cauallo* arrived, where it fell, where it came to rest, and the carrying frame, she saw her red-dyed ones, her precious-blood ones [= her children]: nothing had happened to them, they were just enjoying themselves, were laughing. And these precious little ones said to their mother, 'O my mother, do not be sad, do not be anguished, do not be afflicted in vain: for a person, an admirable lord, an entirely pure person - very much his precious face was shining, was bright - and an admirable noblewoman, an entirely pure person, fair as the moon [*in màcaçan Metzli ic yectzintli*], helped us, saved us, protected us from the fall, the drop, just as if they held us in their arms, carried us on their shoulders.' The mother, hearing this, was very happy, and much more, still more surpassingly did she bless Dios." ("Nimitzilhuiznequi, nimitzpohuiliznequi in tlamahuiçolli in quin axcan oquimuchihuiliztino Tloque Nahuaque Dios, in huel tixpan omuchiuh. Ce tlatcatl cihuatzintli ohtlatocaya, Tampico mohuicaya, auh vmentin ipilhuan quinhuicaya cacaxco, centetl manenenqui quimmamaya, omuchiuh: ca in cihuatzintli in tlècotihuiya cecni huey tepepan vmpa in metztlán tlalpan, auh ca huel ixpan omotepexihui in cauallo: yuh

Paul, Mary Magdalene, and David serve on another occasion as examples of swift penitence, not putting off conversion with false confidence in God's mercy,¹⁰¹ while Agustín's repertoire of models of heroic chastity combines Old and New Testament figures with antique saints, in reverse order: Agnes, Catherine, the other virgin martyrs, Joseph the husband of Mary, Joseph the son of Jacob, Judith, and Susanna.¹⁰²

Other than the few references, more historical than dogmatic, mentioned in the

moma, ca in pipiltzintin in ipilhuan, yhuan in cacaxtli in oncan catca in coconetzintin in atlahuco ohuetzito centlani: auh in nantli in oquimittac ipilhuan in ye omotepexihuique texcalco, tepeatlahuco in ye omomiquilique, in ye mocuecuetiuh, cenca omauhcatzhtzic, cenca omotequipacho, otlaocox: auh maçonel cenca omomocihui, yuhquin oyolmic, omotlapololti inic quittaya innetepexihuiliz, inmiquiliz in ipilhuan: oquimotlaocolnonochili in iTecuiyotzin in iTlahtocatzin Dios, yhuan cenca oquimotlatlauhtli in tlaçocihuapilli Sancta Maria, intetzinco omotemachi, intetzinco oquincauh in ipilhuan, inic quimmopalehuilizque, netemachiliztica oquimotlatlauhtli, no yhuan huey tlanetoquiliztica, tlateomatiliztica. Auh in otemoc in vmpa campa àcito, in campa huetzito in cauallo, in vmpa mocehuito, yhuan cacaxtli: oquimittac in itlapallohuan, in itlaçoetzohuan, ca ahquen omuchiuhque, çan mahuiltitcatca, huetzcatcatca, auh oquilhuique inin tlaçococone in innantzin. (Nonantzine) ma timotlacolli, ma timonentlamachiti, ma nen timotequipachihuitli: ca ce tlaçat mahuitzlahtohuani, cenquizca chipahuacatzintli, cenca pepetlacaya, tlanextia in itlaçoxayacatzin, yhuan ce mahuitzlaçocihuapilli, cenquizca chipahuacatzintli; in màçan Metztlit ic yectzintli, otechmopalehuilique, otechmomaquixtilique, otechmomanahuilique itechpa in netepexihuiliztli, in netexcalhuiliztli: çan yuhquim ma otechmonapalhuilique, otechmoquechpanilhuique. In oquicac nantzintli, cenca opahpac, yhuan oc hualca, oc tlanpanhuiya inic oquimoyectenehuili Dios.") Ibid., cap. 16, 200-203, quoted at 203.

Tampico is on the Gulf coast in the modern state of Veracruz; Metztitlan is in the modern state of Hidalgo, and perhaps not coincidentally means 'place of the moon', a name generally linked to the ancient carvings which mark the mountain there, in the shape of a tao-cross and a moon. The presence of the moon alongside the cross is variously interpreted by the friars, including as a demonic attempt to hide the message of the angelically-sculpted cross (so e.g. Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 19, 77-78), but the iconographic association of the moon with Mary, as the Immaculate Conception or as the Woman of the Apocalypse, also lies close to hand, and would have been familiar to the Indians. Sumptuary laws to the contrary notwithstanding, Indians owned and used horses: for examples, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 193-96, 201, 213, and 300; *Documentos tlaxcaltecas del siglo XVI en lengua náhuatl*, ed. and trans. Thelma D. Sullivan, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Lingüística, Serie Antropológica, no. 55 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), no. 9, 318-19; Karttunen and Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years*, app. 2, no. 2, 95 and 97; and *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 1, testamentos en castellano del siglo XVI, no. 17, 151 and 153, and no. 19, 156; Ocotelulco, no. 2, 184-85; no. 10, 202-3; no. 24, 246-47; no. 38, 298-301; no. 40, 306-7; no. 43, 314-15; no. 44, 324-25; and no. 47, 334-36; vol. 2, no. 5, 86-87; no. 12, 128-29; no. 18, 160-61; no. 34, 276-77; and no. 40, 316-17; and vol. 3, no. 3, 56-57; no. 8, 110-13; no. 10, 134-35; no. 14, 178-79; no. 31, 320-21; and no. 46, 402-3.

¹⁰¹Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 21, 284.

¹⁰²Ibid., cap. 33, 457-58.

previous chapter,¹⁰³ idolatry as such scarcely comes up at all in the *Espeio*. Quoting Hebrews 11: 6 on the necessity of faith ('sine fide impossibile est placare Deo'), Agustín does charge Juan in the chapter devoted to this virtue to consider how many of "our" ancestors are now in hell "because they were not illuminated, were not enlightened through faith, ... because they were not enriched through faith," but makes no more of the subject than this brief mention, leaving the particulars of the elders' lack of faith unmentioned and remaining notably neutral on the question of their culpability for their fate,¹⁰⁴ and the only explicit discussion in the volume of idolatry as such, not placed in Agustín's mouth but found in the inserted Good Friday sermon, is a strictly spiritualized exegesis of an episode from Genesis. "When the beloved one of our Lord Dios, Jacob, was living here on earth," the preacher explains, arguing for the spiritually medicinal virtues of remembrance of the Passion and incidentally offering another implied link between the saints of the Old Testament and the Nahuas' past:

he scorned, abhorred, entirely destroyed all his gods, which he used to believe in as gods, consider as gods in [the time of] his idolatry, the things hewn of wood, the things hewn of stone, and since he entirely scorned them, he buried them, covered them with earth, at the base, the root of a gum tree [*ocotzoquahuitl*]. By this he signified to us, by this he advised us that if we want to cure our spirits, our *animas*, if we want to entirely abhor, entirely scorn our gods, those which we consider as gods, the various vicious happinesses, vicious life, the various sins which we consider as gods, which we reckon as gods, if we want to be cured from the various sicknesses by which our spirits, our *animas*, are sickened, it is very necessary for us that at the base of the gum tree, that is to say beside the *Cruz* of our Lord Jesus Christ, we bury our gods, which indeed now we consider as gods, that is to say the various wickednesses, vicious life, for from consideration of, remembrance of the death, the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ comes, flows the very precious, curing medicine, the marvelous gum resin [*ocotzotl*] by which we will entirely cure our spirits,

¹⁰³See above, 154-59.

¹⁰⁴"[Y]ehica ca ahmo tlanetoquiliztica otlanextililoque, ahmo tlahuililoque ... yehica ca ahmo tlanetoquiliztica omocuiltonoque." *Ibid.*, cap. 26, 368.

our *animas*.¹⁰⁵

Effectively transferred in botany and language to a central Mexican context, this idolatry of the heart is a matter for the first-person-plural of ‘we Christians’, part of the ongoing, life-long struggle of penitential conversion toward God to which Juan, the reader, and the sermon audience are all being invited, not the detritus of a false religion abandoned or to be abandoned.

Mijangos’s sermon collection does address the subject of the Indians’ prehispanic beliefs more concretely when faced with the need to draw an ontological distinction between the true God and other so-called gods, but even here we might as well be in a different world from that of Mijangos’s contemporary León. Having set himself and his audience a puzzle by supplementing the statement of the day’s Gospel that no man can serve two masters, God and Mammon (Matthew 6: 24), with Moses’s warning to the Israelites against serving other gods (Deuteronomy 11: 16), Mijangos solves the problem of this apparent affirmation by a holy figure of the existence of other gods with the

¹⁰⁵“In ihquac nican Tlalticpac monemititzinohuaya in itlaçotzin to Tecuiyo Dios Iacob: in ixquichtin iteohuan, in itlateotoquilizpan quinteotocaya, quinteomatia, in quauhtlaximaltin, in tetlaximaltin: oquintelchiuh, oquintlatzilhui, oquincempopolo, auh inic oquincelchiuh, oquintocac, oquintlalpacho, ce ocozoquahuil itzintlan iquahnelhuayotitlan. Yc otechmonezcayotilili, yc otechmonemachtli: ca intla ticpahtiznequih in toyolia in tanima, intla ticcentlatzilhuiznequi, ticcentelchihuaznequi in toteohuan, in tictiomati in nepapan ahuilpahpaquiliztli, in ahuilnemiliztli, in nepapan tlahtlacolli, in tictiomati, in teotl ipan ticpohua: intla tipahtiznequi in itechpa in nepapan cocoliztli, inic cocolizcui in toyolia in tanima: cenca totech monequi ocozoquahuil itzintlan: quihtoznequi, in itlan iCrutzin to Tecuiyo Iesv Christo tiquintocazque in toteohuan, in huel axcan tictiomati: quihtoznequi, in nepapan tlhuelilocayotl, in ahuilnemiliztli, ca inemililoca, iilnamicoca in imiquitzin, in itlahiyohuilitzin in to Tecuiyo Iesv Christo, itech quiçaz, itech meyaz in cenca tlaçopahthiuan pahtli, in mahuiztic ocoztotl, inic ticcempahtizque in toyolia in tanima.” Ibid., sermo de passione Domini nostri, [271]-72; cf. Genesis 35: 4. In the Vulgate the tree is a terebinth, also a resinous tree but not to my knowledge used for medicinal purposes, as the *ocotzoquahuil* was and is; on the latter, see Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 176, s.v. “Ocotzocuah(i)-tl,” and Sahagún, *Historia general*, lib. 10, cap. 28, 826-42; lib. 11, cap. 7, par. 5, no. 60, 992, and no. 67, 993; and idem, *Primeros memoriales*, cap. 4, par. 9, 282. It should also be noted that Jacob’s gods, including their wood and stone images, are treated grammatically as animate, while the sins and vices which are their metaphorical equivalents are treated as inanimate.

Cf. also Mijangos, *Espejo*, cap. 20, 256-57, where the life and Passion of Christ are the source of Christian life and virtue as the sun is the source of the light of the moon and stars and as the root of the tree is the source of its beauty and its fruit.

predictable distinction between true and false gods, and adds a rather embarrassed reference to what are ‘your’ (second-person-plural) now mercifully-long-gone ancestors:

When [Moses] held the commoners back from other gods, he said it about the false gods whom some witless earthly people very witlessly, deliriously believe in as gods, consider as gods, things hewn of stone, things hewn of wood, and things of precious metal, the images, the statues of those who pretend they are gods, the devils, those who are very scandalous, entirely frightful, entirely filthy, disgusting; in this they are very delirious. And the *Diablo*, devil, incites them, attracts them with words to idolatry, so that he will be able to drown them in the great fiery river, hell, as he caused to be delirious those who have left, who have gone, your fathers, your ancestors, back in the long-ago life, then when the divine light, the faith, and the word of Dios did not yet reach here to your dwellings: many were entirely lost through hellishness [*Mictlancaoyotica*]. But now I do not want to admonish you about it, because by the faith, the *Santo Euangelio*, and by the great mercy of the Lord Dios, all of you already believe, and already idolatry is finished, already it is lost; already you all believe in the true Dios our Lord, already you know Him, Whom your fathers, your ancestors did not know at all.¹⁰⁶

Even if none of Mijangos’s own sermons quite go to the lengths of the Corpus Christi sermon by the Jesuit Juan de Tovar included in his collection, which opens by recalling the royal antecedents of the parish Tovar is addressing and uses as a framing conceit the identification of saints John (the evangelist of the day) and Augustine (John’s explicator) with the eagle of the Mexica arms,¹⁰⁷ he also spends no energy on ethnically-directed

¹⁰⁶ “[I]n ihquac oquinmotlacahualtili in macehualtin intechpa in occequintin teteo, ca intech oquimitalhui in iztlacateo in cenca neixtomahuiliztica netlapololtiliztica qui[n]teotoca, quinteomahti in cequintin ixtotomahuaque talticpac tlaca in tetlaximaltin, quauhtlaximalti[n], yhuan teocuitlayoque imixiptlahuan in imehuilohuan in moteotlapiquia tlatlacatecolo in cenca teihçahuique cenquizca temàmauhtique, cenquizca catzahuaque tetlaeltique yc cenca motlapololtia, auh in Diablo tlatcatecolotl quinyolehua quintahtolcialtia, yhuicpa in tlateotoquiliztli inic huel quimatociz, huey tlatoyac Mictlan, in yuh oquintlapololti in oquizque, in oyàque in amottàhuan yn amocolhuan ye huecauh nemilizpan, quin ihquac in ayamo nican hualacih in amochan in teotlanextli in tlaneltoquiliztli, yhuan in itlahtoltzin Dios, ca miequintin ocepoliuhque Mictlancaoyotica. Auh in axcan ahmo itechcopa namechnonotzaznequi, in ipampa ca ye mochintin ipaltzinco in tlaneltoquiliztli in Santo Euangelio, yhuan ipaltzinco in ihueytlaacolilitzin in Tlahtohuani Dios antlanelteca. Auh ca ye otlán ye opoliuh in tlateotoquiliztli, ye anmochtin anquimoneltoquitia in nelli Dios toTlahtócatzin ye anquimiximachilia, in ahmonma oquimiximachilique in amottàhuan in amocolhuan.” Mijangos, *Primera parte*, sermon for the Fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost, 410-11.

¹⁰⁷ Juan de Tovar, SI, “Temachtilli, yc temachtiloiz in ihquac tlaçoilhuiquixtililo itlaçomahuiznacayotzin tolaçoTemaquixticatzin toTecuiyo Iesu Christo,” in Mijangos, *Primera parte*, 212-21; also transcribed with an English translation in Sell and Taylor, 223-43. The association of John the

reprehension, and keeps any doubts he may have about his audience's sincerity to himself.¹⁰⁸

* * *

For Sahagún, on the other hand, the ethnic identity of his audience often seems an unending fount of suspicion, a taint of blood with all that implies in the age of *limpieza de sangre*, even if he does not use quite those terms. If the old practices can be purified of idolatry, Sahagún is indeed quite happy to seize this opening. The sixth admonition of the *Apéndice*, most notably, is the Church's address to youths (*telpupuchi*) regarding prudent living in society, drawn explicitly from the admonitions of the elders on the same topic,¹⁰⁹ though with such modifications as the instructions in the first piece of advice, on early rising, to kneel, make the sign of the cross, recite the four prayers in Nahuatl, and pray for preservation from mortal sin in the coming day.¹¹⁰ While Sahagún does not neglect to insist, without here giving any examples, that among the good things which 'your (pl.) elders' said they mixed much that is false - as opposed, implicitly, to this selected and purified version - one of their sayings can also be compared, with positive intent, to a Latin tag of 'our elders'.¹¹¹ Similarly, a partly illegible marginal note at the opening of the Christmas Eve sermon seems to relate to a redirection of a prehispanic night vigil to the

Evangelist with an eagle is of course a European tradition of long standing, which Tovar is in part exploiting.

¹⁰⁸In the sermon for Ash Wednesday, warning against the sins of the flesh, one of the grounds given for detestation of these sins is their tendency to lead to idolatry, as proven by the inevitable example of Solomon's service to the gods of his alien wives and concubines (3 Kings 11: 4-8) and by the less common one of the seduction of the Israelites by the daughters of Midian, at the advice of the pagan prophet Balaam (Numbers 25; 31: 16), but the Indians' ancestors go unmentioned: Mijangos, *Primera parte*, sermon for Ash Wednesday, 58-60.

¹⁰⁹Sahagún, "Apéndice," 6th collation, civ-cix, cxix-cxx, and 104-15.

¹¹⁰Ibid., civ-cv and 104-5.

¹¹¹Ibid., cxx and 110-11.

benefit of the Christian liturgy,¹¹² and the sermon for the Second (Dawn) Mass of Christmas praises those who rise at night to pray and go early in the morning to mass, not oversleeping and pampering the flesh,¹¹³ practices which, *mutatis mutandis*, correspond closely to traditional Nahuatl noble values.¹¹⁴ The introduction to the sermon for the First (Midnight) Mass of Christmas refers to the possibility of sun-worship only as an abstract possibility, an error into which ‘some’ unspecified people have fallen and against which the wise parent warns his or her child,¹¹⁵ and the same sermon’s praise of Christ the life-giving sun and its emphasis on the humility and poverty of Christ’s birth can be connected with the values and rhetoric of the traditional *huehuetlatolli*.¹¹⁶

¹¹²As transcribed by Klaus (ellipses hers): “Quando este sermón se escribió la noche de la calenda Iunta ... los indios en la ... noche idigia de la calenda ... solemos de las dellos ypredica ... aprovechar ... día de la natividad este sermón.” Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Sermon 5: In vigilia natiuitatis Domini,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 300-303, at 300, marginal note. The feast of Atemoztli, falling around Christmastime and placed by Durán on the first day (or calends) of the sixteenth twenty-day month, was celebrated with an all-night vigil which Durán explicitly associates with the Indians’ current Christmas practice: Durán, *Historia*, tratado 3, sixteenth month, 2: 286, and for a similar description of the Christmas vigil of lights, see Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 13, 182 (and similarly in Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 28, 236; Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 12, 723-24; Mendieta, lib. 4, cap. 19, 2: 99; and Torquemada, lib. 17, cap. 7, 3: 225). On the other hand, the *Historia general* places the feast at the end of the month and makes the vigil more of a household affair than Durán’s general assembly: Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, lib. 2, cap. 16, 3: 29-30, and cap. 35, 3: 139-42; Sahagún, *Historia general*, lib. 2, cap. 16, 134-35, and cap. 35, 215-34; and cf. also Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales*, cap. 1, par. 2A, 65-66.

While the sermon for the Second (Dawn) Mass of Christmas praises keeping vigil for the Lord, there is no obvious connection between the practice of keeping vigil and the content of the Christmas Eve sermon, which deals with the prophecies which foretold the coming of Christ, the gratitude which the Christian owes God for His coming, and His continued presence to the Church.

¹¹³Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “Sermon 7: In die nati. Domini ad 2am missam,” in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 309-11, and see also Sahagún, “Las veintiséis adiciones,” cap. 8, lvi and 36-39, where the Christian is advised, in the spirit of the Psalmist, to wake to meditate on the law of the Lord.

¹¹⁴As noted by Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, 82. See Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, lib. 3, appendix, cap. 8, 4: 63-64; lib. 6, cap. 17, 7: 88-89; cap. 20, 7: 109; and cap. 22, 7: 121, corresponding to Sahagún, *Historia general*, 307-8, 488-89, 505, and 513.

¹¹⁵Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, “In die nativitatís Domini: In prima missa,” in Baudot, “Los *huehuetlatolli*,” 276-85, at 278-79, or in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 304-8, at 304.

¹¹⁶Baudot, “Los *huehuetlatolli*,” 286-89.

When he feels that condemnation is required, on the other hand, Sahagún minces no words. When insisting in the *Apéndice* that, contrary to the old rites, small children are not to perform works of penitence, he is not content with an argument from reason, that if unbaptized, as in the old days, the children are in the state of original sin, so that their works are unwelcome to God, and that even if baptized, they cannot do good works without the use of reason,¹¹⁷ but feels it necessary to narrate the battle of the angels and the fall of man into demonic slavery, unknown to the ‘you (pl.)’ being addressed and unknown also to the elders, “because they keep nothing of the divine word,” in order to explain the origin of the old custom of vowing children to temple service in the devil’s desire to cause people suffering.¹¹⁸ Similarly, Christ’s commandment to love one’s enemies provides the occasion in the *Adiciones* for a explicit condemnation of the Nahua elders’ teaching to hate enemies, based on the authority of “this divine word” and backed up by the threat of hellfire,¹¹⁹ and more generally, with the exception of those selected out in these seven admonitions, the blind, idolatrous ways of the ancestors are subject to general and quite harsh condemnation in the *Apéndice*’s conclusion,¹²⁰ much as the sermon for the Epiphany includes an extended condemnation of the Indians’ belief in omens, characterized as a blindness based on ignorance of the true causes of allegedly

¹¹⁷Sahagún, “Apéndice,” 5th collation, xcvi and 90-91.

¹¹⁸ “[Y]pampa ca atle quipia yn teotlatollj.” Ibid., 7th collation, cxvi and 124-25. Anderson translates with the imperfect, “guardaban,” which is logically required but not actually written.

¹¹⁹Sahagún, “Las veintiséis adiciones,” cap. 19, lxxvi-lxxviii and 66-67.

¹²⁰Sahagún, “Apéndice,” 7th collation, cxxvi, 138, and 141.

portentous events and on failure to make proper inquiries of the wise.¹²¹ Even where the preservation of some old customs is encouraged, too, it is not necessarily because of an unambiguously positive evaluation of those customs, to judge by the rather strange concluding portion of that same admonition to prudent living which elsewhere emphasizes its traditional heritage, crossed through with diagonal lines in the manuscript but still perfectly legible. In order to warn against adopting Spanish dress, food, and manners, Sahagún compares the bodies of the Indians to rabbits and those of the Spaniards to lions (*castilla miztli*, ‘Castilian mountain lions’), before whom the Indians flee with rabbits’ cowardice, even if the souls of both are made lambs by Christianity and united in mutual Christian charity.¹²²

The mouthpiece of the *Apéndice*’s admonitions,¹²³ the Church is also a personified ‘mother’ elsewhere in Sahagún’s doctrinal writings, sometimes paired with God the Father but always engaged primarily in the instruction of her children. In a direct counterpart to the *Apéndice*’s attempted purification of the traditional instruction of the elders, the *huehuetlatolli*, the introduction of each of Sahagún’s first fifteen sermons proposes an admonition of earthly parents to their children which is then made analogous to the admonition which “our mother *Santa Yglesia*” addresses to us her children in the Gospel of the day, clearly prodding Nahua parents, as Arthur J. O. Anderson has suggested, “to add to their store of domestic *huehuetlatolli* a Christian one,” but also claiming for the Church

¹²¹As quoted in Charles E. Dibble, “Sahagún’s Appendices: ‘There Is No Reason to Be Suspicious of the Ancient Practices,’” in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Klor de Alva, Nicholson, and Quiñones Keber, 107-18, at 109-10.

¹²²Sahagún, “Apéndice,” 6th collation, cviii, cx, and 112-15.

¹²³Ibid., civ and 104-5; 7th collation, cx and 116-17.

the same parental teaching authority.¹²⁴ In the *Adiciones* one of the consequences of the fact that humanity is created for the life to come in heaven is the obligation to obey ‘your

¹²⁴Arthur J. O. Anderson, “Old Word - New Word: Huehuetlatolli in Sahagún’s Sermons,” in *Current Topics in Aztec Studies: Essays in Honor of Dr. H. B. Nicholson*, ed. Alana Cordy-Collins and Douglas Sharon, San Diego Museum Papers, no. 30 (San Diego, Calif.: San Diego Museum of Man, 1993), 85-91, quoted at 88.

Baudot’s translation of that portion of the sermon for the First (Midnight) Mass of Christmas which contains the transition to the Church as instructress is garbled to the point of incomprehensibility (Baudot, “Los huehuetlatolli,” 278-79). The Nahuatl reads, “Ca yuh quimochiuilia yn tonantzin in Sancta Yglesia, yn axcan techmonochilia yn timochintin tipilhuan. Ynic tiquiximatizque tonatiuh yn itech poui taniman. Auh ynin ytech mana in Santo Evangelio yn axcan youalnepantla ypan missa mihtoua,” which I translate as “So does our mother *Sancta Yglesia*, who now speaks to all of us, her children, so that we will know the sun to which our *animas* are reckoned. And this is laid out in the *Sancto Evangelio* which is said now at midnight in the mass.” Baudot’s translation is “También así se hizo nuestra madre, la Sancta Yglesia, y ahora se bautiza a todos nuestros hijos. Para que conozcáis al sol nuestra alma nos pertenece. Así en él se ofrece el Sancto Evangelio, y ahora en mitad de la noche se dice la misa,” which I fail to understand even as Spanish, and which certainly does not correspond to the Nahuatl.

Where I read “yuh quimochiuilia” Baudot presumably reads “yuhqui mochiuilia” to obtain the passive ‘se hizo’, but *-chiuilia*, as well as being in the present tense, is the applicative or reverential of *-chiua*, ‘to do’, and takes two objects, meaning that it cannot use the reflexive (*mo-*) to form the passive. (*Yuh* and *yuhqui* are more or less synonymous adverbs meaning ‘thus, so, in this way, likewise’.) *Techmonochilia* I analyze as the first-person-plural object prefix *tech-*, the reverential object prefix *mo-*, and the verb stem *-nonochilia*, the reduplicated reverential of *-notza*, ‘to speak (to someone)’. (The reduplication (*-nonochilia* instead of *-nochilia*) may either distribute the action of the verb over each member of the plural object (i.e., ‘speaks to each one of us’), with a glottal stop in the first reduplicated syllable, or indicate that the action is performed repeatedly or intensively (i.e., ‘speaks to us over and over’ or ‘speaks to us very strongly, advises us, admonishes us’), with a long vowel in the first reduplicated syllable; either distribution or intensity would be plausible here.) Not only is this an active verb, not a passive (‘se bautiza’), but *-notza*, which is distinguished from *-itza*, ‘to say (something)’, and *-ilhuia*, ‘to say (something) (to someone),’ has no connection to baptism or naming on any level. *Tipilhuan* is ‘we who are her children’, from the first-person-plural subject prefix *ti-*, the third-person-singular possessive prefix *i-*, the noun stem *pil-*, ‘child’, and the possessed plural suffix *-huan*; ‘nuestros hijos’ would be *topilhuan*, with the first-person-plural possessive prefix *to-*. *Tiquiximatizque* is first-person-plural, not second-person-plural (‘conozcáis’), which would be *anquiximatizque*. In the phrase *-tech poui*, indicating belonging, the subject of the intransitive verb *poui*, which Baudot and I agree in identifying as ‘our soul(s)’, belongs to the object of the postposition *-tech*, which here is the third-person-singular *i-*, not the first-person-plural *to-* needed for Baudot’s ‘nos pertenece’. *Ynin* is the demonstrative ‘this’, not ‘así’. *Ytech mana* is problematic, since *-mana* is a transitive verb taking one object, and the only available object is *tech-* (reading *ytechmana*), with the meaning ‘he/she/it/they lay(s) us out’ or ‘he/she/it/they offer(s) us’ (‘offer’ is a possible specific meaning of the verb, which refers more generally to laying out or laying down broad, flat objects), but Baudot and I both understand an intransitive (normally *mani*), describing the state of being of broad, flat objects; while *Sancto Evangelio* taken in isolation is a possible subject for this verb, however, as Baudot reads, I fail to find on this reading an antecedent which makes sense for the ‘él’ of his ‘en él’ (*ytech*). Finally, *youalnepantla* is already a locative, ‘at midnight, in the middle of the night’, without reading it as the antecedent of the third-person-singular object prefix *y-* of the postposition *-pan*, ‘on, in, in the time of’.

mother' (*monantzín*) the Church,¹²⁵ while in the prologue to the *Psalmódia*, baptism entails adoption by both God and the Church, and it is “your Father Dios and your Mother *Sancta Iglesia*” alike who give the precious gifts which are the catechetical formulae.¹²⁶ Even where the *Psalmódia*, translating and adapting the texts of the breviary, offers to join the prayer and praise of the Nahuatl congregation with that of the universal Church,¹²⁷ it is the Church who speaks, while the singers and audience are called to “marvel at the song of our mother *Sancta Iglesia*,” or variations thereupon,¹²⁸ leaving her a figure in some ways as distant in her abstraction as the mysterious Roman treasury of the *Coloquios*. Most strikingly, the song of lamentation given for Septuagesima, which recounts at some length and in close dependence on the text of Genesis the stories of the Fall, of Noah’s Flood, and of the Tower of Babel,¹²⁹ then reprises and laments the corporal and spiritual losses suffered by the human race as a result of each of these events,¹³⁰ before ending with a brief

¹²⁵Sahagún, “Las veintiséis adiciones,” cap. 12, lxii and 46-47.

¹²⁶“In amotatzin Dios, yoan in amonantzín Sancta Iglesia.”

Sahagún, *Psalmódia*, prologo, psalm 1, 16-17, and for similar ideas and expressions, prologo, psalm 2, 16-19, psalm [5], 20-21, and psalm 7, 22-23; itenaotiltzi in sancta Iglesia, psalm 2, 26-27; in qualtioani, in itoca virtudes, psalm 3, 28-29; and itlacnopilhuitz in tonacaio, in itoca dotes de gloria, psalm 5, 32-33; and outside the prologue, in die resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, psalm 4, 112-13.

¹²⁷As pointed out by Keber, 48-49.

¹²⁸“Ma ticmauíçoca ... in icuicatzi in tonantzi sancta Iglesia.”

Sahagún, *Psalmódia*, in die resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, pro tertia die, psalm 1, 118-19; suchicuicatl, psalm 8, 136-37; in die sanctae crucis, psalm 4, 148-49; in die ascensionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, psalm 4, 154-55; in die Penthecostes, psalm 4, 164-65; in die sanctae Annae, psalm 2, 206-7; in die transfigurationis Domini, psalm 4, 218-19; in die assumptionis beatae Mariae virginis, psalm 6, 252-53; in die beati Francisci, psalm 9, 306-7; in die natiuitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, psalm 1-4, 362-67; and *ibid.*, pro secunda die, psalm 1, 366-67.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, dominica in Septuagesima, psalm 1-12, 62-75. For a detailed comparison of the *Psalmódia*’s account to the scriptural one, see Burkhart, “Sahagún’s *Tlauculcuicatl*,” 187-91.

¹³⁰Sahagún, *Psalmódia*, dominica in Septuagesima, psalm 12-14, 74-77.

reminder that Christ has borne our sins and destroyed them with His death,¹³¹ opens not with an invitation to share this lament as a member of affected humanity, but to share it in due subordination to the Church to whom it belongs:

May you hear, you children, you Christians: it drizzles as turquoises, it snows as quetzal feather bracelets, the weeping, the sadness of our mother *Sancta Iglesia*. Weep also likewise: may your hearts feel pity. The hearts of good, proper children also likewise take pity, when their mothers, their fathers weep, are sad.

Our mother *Sancta Iglesia* says, “The pains of death have surrounded me. For this I weep, for this I am sad, that which I remember, that I have lost, that I have had taken from me my light, my wealth.

“My enemy, my one who causes people pain, has mocked me, has deceived me.”¹³²

The words of *Santa Iglesia* here are the first portion of the introit of the day, *Circumdede runt me dolores mortis* (Psalm 17: 5), followed by an explanatory gloss, and in fact the entire set of psalms can be read as an extended gloss or trope on this lament of the Church,¹³³ but the fact that the Church is made the speaker, instead of the individual (who is, after all, the original speaker of this psalm of David), once more inserts the distance of authority and instruction between the Church and the believer.

When the membership of the believer in the Church is considered, it is the hieratic splendor of a Church eternally Triumphant which is in question, far more than the pilgrim Church Militant. Combining the traditional architectural metaphor, already seen in the

¹³¹Ibid., psalm 14, 76-77.

¹³²“Tla xiccaquica in antepilhoa, in anchristianome: onteuxiuhaoachpixau, onquetzalmaquitzetzeliui in ichoquiz in itlaocul in tonantzi sancta Iglesia: no yoan xicchocaca, ma icnotlamati in amoiollo. In qalti iecti tepilhoa, in iquac choca tlaocua innaoa intaoa, ca no yoan icnoioa in i[n]jollo.

“Quimitalhuia in tonantzi sancta Iglesia. Onechiaiaolo[c] in itecococao miquiztli, ic nichoca, ic nitlaocua, in niquilnamiqui, ca onicpolo, ca onicuililoc in notlanes, in nonecuiltonol.

“In noiaouh, in notecocolicauh, onoca mocacaiauh, onechiztlacau.”

Ibid., psalm 1, 62-63.

¹³³For this application of the text to Genesis’s narrative of human misfortunes, cf. Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 15, 202, recounting its use, sung in Latin polyphony, in a dramatization of the Fall staged in Tlaxcala in 1539.

Dominicans of 1548,¹³⁴ with the *Coloquios*'s vision of riches¹³⁵ and Sahagún's general tendency to immutable atemporality,¹³⁶ the *Psalmodia* makes a thoroughgoing typological program out of the image of the temple built of living stones, identifying it with the Dwelling of the Ark of the Covenant and with Solomon's Temple as successive forms of God's dwelling on earth.¹³⁷ Gregory the Great was prefigured in the divine appointment of Bezalel for the construction of the Ark of the Covenant and its dwelling and furnishings, with pope Pelagius in the role of his assistant Oholiab and Christ in that of Moses, commanded by God the Father to establish the Church.¹³⁸ The four evangelists are represented by the four bearers of the Ark, and the four rings into which its carrying poles are inserted represent the four Gospels,¹³⁹ while the apostles' carrying of the Gospel is prefigured in the bronze basin filled with water, resting on the backs of twelve oxen, which stood in front of Solomon's Temple.¹⁴⁰ The two bronze columns which stood in front of the Temple prefigure Peter and Paul,¹⁴¹ and the two cherubim which stood before the Ark of the Covenant are variously Francis and Dominic or Bonaventure and Thomas

¹³⁴See above, 190-92.

¹³⁵See above, 100-101.

¹³⁶See above, 159-62.

¹³⁷Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in festo sancti Ioseph, psalm 1, 92-93; in die apostolorum Petri & Pauli, psalm 2-3, 188-89; and in die sancti Ambrosij episcopi & doctoris, psalm 1, 348-49.

¹³⁸Ibid., in festo sancti Gregorij papae, psalm 1, 82-85.

¹³⁹Ibid., in die sancti Lucae euangelistae, psalm 1-2, 310-11.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., in die apostolorum Symonis & Iudae, psalm 1-2, 314-15.

¹⁴¹Ibid., in die apostolorum Petri & Pauli, psalm 3, 188-89.

Aquinas.¹⁴² For all that the retelling of a certain number of episodes from the lives of the saints is unavoidable (and rather fewer episodes are narrated than one might expect), the saints here are much less models for imitation than instruments for the revelation of God's 'marvels' (*tlamauiçolli*), to be wondered at and praised, in one of the *Psalmodia*'s most common opening formulas.¹⁴³ Pledged and foreshadowed, they are in turn pledges and witnesses of the ultimate transformation of glory promised to all the saved and so prominent in the *Psalmodia*'s opening catechism,¹⁴⁴ as the Church's embodiment of Christ's kingdom in this world also witnesses to the heavenly kingdom to come, the New Jerusalem seen by John and described at length in the 'flower song' (*suchicuatl*) for the Sundays of the Easter season.¹⁴⁵

* * *

The splendor of the *Psalmodia*'s vision cannot be denied, but what is less clear is how it is to be reached, given the suggestions elsewhere in Sahagún's writings that even several generations after the Conquest the Nahuas have yet to wash their robes clean from the taint of past idolatry (Revelation 7: 14). Baptism, a 'death with Christ' which is the ablution with the blood of the Lamb of John's vision, is supposed to remit past sins in the adult recipient, and post-baptismal confession to remove the eternal guilt, if not the temporal penalty, of post-baptismal lapses: how then does this pardon sometimes come to seem so very questionable, while other writers are able to take it for granted? One side of

¹⁴²Ibid., in die sancti Thomae Aquino, psalm 1-2, 78-81; and in die sancti Dominici, psalm 1-3 and 6, 220-23 and 224-27.

¹⁴³Burkhart, "The Amanuenses," 351-52, sees this concern with celebration rather than imitation as a continuation of the prehispanic song tradition.

¹⁴⁴Keber, 55-61.

¹⁴⁵Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, *suchicuatl*, psalm 1-11, 128-39.

the question, touched on this chapter, involves the presumed reasons for idolatrous survivals: malice, it need hardly be pointed out, requires different measures for its eradication than ignorance. At the same time, however, it is possible to imagine the workings of the sacraments themselves in varying ways, not only with regard to the quality of disposition required in the recipient, but also with regard to the degree to which the sacrament is perceived to effect a practical change in the recipient duly disposed. As a matter of theory, there is no doubt that the recipient receives grace, but as the next chapter will show, both the road to obtaining that grace and that to employing it may be considerably more difficult than at first glance they appear.

CHAPTER SIX
THE TWO PLANKS

Universally understood as the exterior sign of conversion and as the entrance to the Church, and reducible at need to a sprinkling of water and a few words, spoken in any language by anyone with the appropriate intention, but surrounded in its solemn form by a panoply of liturgy and symbolism as elaborate as anything in the Church's repertoire, the rite of baptism, perhaps more than any other sacrament, is open to a range of different interpretations, even without speculating on what the not-always-thoroughly-catechized adult baptizands of the Mexican mission's early years may have made out of what is called in Nahuatl 'the act of having water poured on one's head'.¹ The Mexican Franciscan Andrés de Olmos, former witch-hunter that he was, sets the stage for his witchcraft treatise with a paen to baptism as salvation from the devil's hands, couched in the most elaborate Nahuatl rhetoric at his command,² and Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians alike recount examples of the exorcistic efficacy of the sacrament,³ even as they prescribe the use

¹*Nequaatequiliztli*, the standard word for 'baptism'. In Tarascan, another major language of central Mexico, a term of similar meaning is used, while in Quechua, one of the two chief languages of Peru, the reference is to the imposition of a name: Cristina Monzón and Andrew Roth Seneff, "Referentes religiosos en el siglo XVI: Acuñaciones y expresiones en lengua tarasca," in *La lengua de la cristianización*, ed. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Crickmay, 169-81, at 180, and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Lindsey Crickmay, "Introducción," *ibid.*, v-xx, at xii.

²Olmos, *Tratado de hechicerias*, exortación al indiano lector, 32-35.

³Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 2, cap. 3, 226 (similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 14, 733; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 34, 1: 420; and Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 5, 3: 150); Dávila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 39, 118-20; and Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 7, 37. Zumárraga in the *Suplemento* of 1546 urges that any Indians "assi niños como adultos bien cathetizados y enseñados que mostraren señales de fe y desseo de se baptizar" should be baptized at once, without waiting for Easter or Pentecost according to the practice of the ancient

of the sign of the cross and of the name of Jesus as weapons in the ongoing battle against demonic apparitions,⁴ but the address to the newly baptized found in Molina's cartilla, extremely brief but for this reason presumably focused on the essential, looks to thanksgiving rather to struggle and to commitment for the future rather than to renunciation of the past,⁵ and the Franciscan canonist Juan Focher, in a similar address in preparation for the sacrament, emphasizes the remission of sins in Christ, Who has taken upon Himself the penalties which the catechumens would otherwise owe.⁶ In Europe, too, the Spanish

catechuminate, "porque assi muere el grande como el chico / y mas estos indios / y de improviso / y les es muy perjudicial y dañoso (aunque se saluen con la fe y desseo de se baptizar) porque mayor gracia tuvieran por razon del sacramento / y mayor gloria que corresponde a la gracia en parayso. Y vn solo grado de gloria sobrepuja a todos los bienes deste mundo: y porque el demonio halla mas fuerte impedimento en la criatura o adulto para le te[n]tar por los exorzismos: porque mas lugar se le da al demonio para tentar al no baptizado que al baptizado. E assi quanto mas temprano se baptiza la persona tanto menos impedimento se pone al spiritu sancto": Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera, suplemento, 1 viij r.

⁴Olmos, Tratadode hechicerias, cap. 1, 41-44 and 47-50, cap. 4, 91-92, and cap. 8, 119-20, with Castañega, cap. 1, 28-29; Motolinía, Historia, tratado 2, cap. 11, 268-69 (similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 19, 777-78); Dávila Padilla, lib. 2, cap. 81, 617-18. According to Grijalva, who is generally more interested in the physical erection of crosses than in the personal gesture of the sign of the cross in this regard, when baptism fails to free a former priest of the idols from poltergeist-style demonic persecution, leading to his apostasy, the Augustinian Agustín de Coruña has him and his companions dressed in "unas vestiduras de mantas blancas, y en ellas pintadas unas cruces," in what the chronicler interprets as a form of exorcistic protection, but which also sounds like a form of *sanbenito*, given that Coruña has been investigating the case in an explicitly inquisitorial role (as a holder of ordinary jurisdiction in the absence of a bishop, under the *omnimoda* privileges): Grijalva, Crónica, lib. 1, cap. 14, 62, and cf. also lib. 2, cap. 11, 174-75, for an episode with similar assumptions about the continued physical threat posed by the devil to his baptized former ministers. The highly concrete nature of these apparitions in all the chroniclers should not be overlooked, in contrast with the more internal or 'spiritualized' temptations against which tradition prescribes the same weapons, as when Zumárraga in the Dotrina breue, c iij r, prescribes the Per signum crucis, the sign of the cross, and the Creed as the remedy for temptations against the faith, or the Vita Christi Cartuxano defends the lack of miracles in the present day, in relation with the promises made to the believers in Mark 16: 17-18, with a double list of spiritual counterparts to these visible wonders in which the casting out of demons is likened to the priest's activity of "exorzizando y amonestando al pueblo y baptizando y predicando y llamando las gentes a penitencia de sus pecados" and to the practice of all believers who "destierran las tentaciones del diablo del coraçon con la fe / y con la señal de la cruz": Ludolf of Saxony, OCart, Vita Christi cartuxano, trans. Ambrosio Montesino, OFM, vol. 4 (Seville: En la imprenta de Juan Cromberger, 1543), cap. 82, fol. ccxvj r.

⁵Alonso de Molina, OFM, Doctrina christiana breue traduzida en lengua mexicana, in Códice franciscano, 34-60, at 59.

⁶As quoted in Baumgartner, 1: 157.

Franciscan Francisco de Osuna, a pioneer of Spain's Golden Age of contemplatives as well as one more member of the same order, as he meditates on the works of divine love which prepare the way through baptism for the return of that love by the baptized,⁷ draws on the older exegetical tradition which paints the newly baptized soul as the bride of Christ, still to be found in the writings of a figure as different as Antoninus of Florence, the sainted Dominican archbishop and author of encyclopedic tendencies,⁸ and invoked by the Augustinian Antonio Osorio de San Román, active in Mexico, in a set of Spanish-language meditations, along with ablution in Christ's blood and the indwelling of the Spirit,⁹ while the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, to take a selection from Zumárraga's notoriously up-to-date reading matter, resurrects the ancient symbolism of the *milites Christi*,¹⁰ and the *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera* of Zumárraga and Ponce de la Fuente, which lays particular stress on the identification of the physical ablution of baptism with spiritual purification in the blood of Christ, mentions the provision of arms against the devil as only one of various kinds of gifts given in representation of the adoption of the baptized as children of God and members of His household.¹¹

⁷Osuna, cap. 16, fol. lxiii v - lxvj r.

⁸Antoninus of Florence, OP, *Opus insigne quod Summam nuncupant, eo quod omnium rerum diuinarum humanarumque notitiam tradit: [Prima pars]* (Lyons: Apud Vincentium de Portonarijs, 1542), pt. 1, tit. 1, cap. 1, § 2, A iij v.

⁹Osorio de San Román, pt. 1, cap. 5, fol. 17v; cap. 11, fol. 41r-42r; cap. 24, fol. 82v-83v; and cap. 43, fol. 152r-152v. Though published in the peninsula, and missing the front matter in the copy consulted, the work appears to have been written in Mexico and with an audience of Mexican Spaniards in mind: see pt. 1, cap. 32, fol. 113r-113v, and pt. 2, tratado 4, fol. 419v-474v.

¹⁰Erasmus, cap. 1, 115-16; and see also Felipe de Meneses, OP, *Luz del alma cristiana*, ed. Ismael Velo Pensado, Colección "Espirituales españoles," ed. Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, Serie A, Textos, vol. 26 (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca; Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978), lib. 4, declaración de los sacramentos de la Iglesia, cap. 3, 712.

¹¹*Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera*, cap. 6, b ij v - b iij r.

Sacramental confession, the 'second plank' after baptism, according to Jerome, by which the soul drowning in its sins can come to harbor, has accumulated less symbolic richness, at least in the 'private' form in which it has developed since the early middle ages. The fact of going to confession may well be a matter for public display - and sixteenth-century Nahuas, like their European contemporaries, generally had good social reasons for wanting it that way - but the liturgical solemnity of the event is minimal. Repeatable, on the other hand, unlike baptism, and theoretically obligatory on an annual basis, it has the potential to have a much greater cumulative impact on the convert's sense of the day-to-day practice of Christian life, beginning, perhaps, with just how its necessity is understood. For Gante, most notably, while regular recourse to the divine mercy is not only indispensable but in some ways the defining characteristic of Christian life, sacramental confession plays a significantly less prominent role than might be expected. A detailed guide to confession is included in the volume, and various instructions for regular examination of conscience point in the same direction, but it is love, of God and neighbor, which is presented as leading to the remission of sins, not uncommonly in forms independent of the sacrament itself, at the same time that baptism and penance are closely linked as instruments of divine adoption, emphasizing the divine over the human contribution to these two sacraments while loosening their ties to forgiveness as such.

For the Dominicans of 1548, on the other hand, remission of sins is firmly bound to sacramental receipt, while the love of God which in Gante appears to be almost a natural outpouring is resituated as a sacramental requisite under terms which seem to make it as much a ground for scruples as a source for comfort. Contrition under a strict definition is required for absolution, according to these friars, sorrow for sins not only arising from love of God, rather than fear, but greater than that felt at sensible misfortune or the loss of loved ones, and though it is unclear whether quite the same degree of repentance is required for baptism, the arms for spiritual warfare which the latter sacrament provides in the

Dominicans' explication of it are so closely accompanied by warnings about the ongoing battle as to offer only a limited sense of security at best. León for his part is less interested in measuring the affectual intensity of contrition, but any reassurance the uncertain penitent might gain from this is likely to be taken away again by León's insistence, developing a tendency already present in his predecessors' work, on integrity of confession, the obligation to confess every mortal or possibly mortal sin of which the penitent is aware. True forgetfulness is pardonable, but culpable negligence is not, and since insufficient examination of conscience falls under the latter heading, the possibility for a vicious circle here is obvious. What is more, the characterization of a soul as in a state of grace or a state of sin seems for León to be less a description of the soul's health or illness than one of its indwelling by the divine or the demonic, as the case may be: the individual bears the responsibility for keeping his soul in the former state and not the latter, through the avoidance of sin and the due confession of sins committed, but as with the 1548 catechism's address to the newly baptized, the idea of grace as assisting the absolved sinner, strengthening him against his next fall or easing the path of virtue, is relatively little in evidence, except insofar as the absence of demonic presence can be counted as lessening the force of what would otherwise be even stronger temptations.

Put on like a garment, Sahagún's grace shares something of this extrinsic nature, but in Sahagún's writings the emphasis is on adorning oneself with this divine gift, more than on shedding its demonic counterpart. In keeping with his covenantal theology, Sahagún insists, to a degree highly unusual in Nahuatl and Spanish devotional literature alike, on the Christian's baptismal vows as the ground on which he must recognize his offenses against God; in keeping with his suspicion of anything even vaguely reminiscent of the old ways, on the other hand, his equally strong insistence that penance is satisfactory only for specific, duly repented sins (rather than being meritorious in itself) leads him to downplay the role of repentance, contrition, and penance in the Christian's life in general.

Whether before or after baptism, what is called for is rejoicing in this New Covenant which offers hope of heaven, with no more dwelling on the past than is absolutely necessary, and that to take place in discreet privacy.

Champion of the old rhetoric that he is, Mijangos for his part has no apparent difficulty whatsoever with the meritorious qualities of penance, even going out of his way, it would seem, to encourage the identification. As in Gante's work, where the penance-merit linkage also makes at least a passing appearance, it is clear here that sacramental confession is one of the things which good Christians do, because they are good Christians, but not nearly so obvious that the converse is true, that the path to being a good Christian makes its first stop at the confessional, as the Dominican catechisms would suggest; where remission of sins for Gante is predicated on a relationship with the divine, on the other hand, Mijangos's pilgrim, always turned much more to his own efforts than Gante's convert, practices penance as purification. The establishment of a relationship with God is rather for Mijangos the function of baptism, where it is God Who makes the choice, at least for Mijangos's audience baptized as infants, not the individual.

* * *

In Mijangos's most extensive discussion of baptism, in the inserted Ash Wednesday sermon of the *Espeio*, the baptized are simultaneously God's adopted children and His slaves, purchased with His blood. The cross made with ashes on the believer's forehead on this day serves as the visible mark of this ownership, variously compared to a cattle brand, by which the devil is warned off from stealing the divine property or marked as a thief if he does, to a name-and-address label attached to the clothes of small children, according to a custom practiced (Mijangos claims) in the cities of "the land of Castile,"¹² by

¹²If Mijangos's other geographical references are any indication, this should not necessarily be taken as anything more specific than 'over there in the Old World': war elephants also live "in the land of Castile" (where to my knowledge they have not been seen since Hannibal marched to Rome), and St Dominic's combustible-scripture contest with the heretics takes place "in a very great city [or city-state:

which others can guide them home if they get lost, and to the brand on the face of a slave, by which he is returned to his owner if he runs away. Where the Prodigal Son of the Gospel parable (Luke 15: 11-32) rises up of his own accord to seek a servant's place in his father's house, and is rewarded with a long-lost son's welcome, these wandering children and slaves are brought home by third parties, willingly or unwillingly, to take up penance and service:

Just also in the same way we people of earth, as if we were little children, go astray in a crowd through sin, through vicious living, through foul happiness we lose our way, we keep turning round and round, looking round in circles, becoming as if we had lost our heads [*tiyollopoliuhque*, lit. 'lost our hearts'], being faint in the head, we do not know how, where, what is the road to follow in order to return to the dwelling of, to go to our admirable, beloved father Dios. For this reason on our foreheads we are signed with, impressed with the precious sign of Dios, the *cruz*. There is written the admirable name of Jesus, there is signified His precious death, His suffering, His torment, by which He was killed on our account, was caused to suffer very much in torment, there is written our neighborhood registration, heaven. Therefore the one who meets us will see us as if we were little children who have gone astray, will recognize us as the beloved children of the Lord God Dios, who had just gotten lost; he will bring us, will go to leave us in the dwelling of our admirable, beloved father Dios, in heaven. Also likewise we are the bought ones of our Lord Dios, His purchased ones; with His precious blood, with His suffering, with His precious death He has bought us, has purchased us. We are signed with, impressed on our foreheads with the precious name of our Lord Dios; therefore if we flee from His sight, if through sin, through vicious living, through foul happiness we separate ourselves from our admirable Lord, if we run away, it will be known that our Lord is Dios, the Lord of Heaven, and we will be brought before Him through penance, through weeping, through conversion of life, so that we will serve Him, will admirably labor for Him.¹³

altepetl] named France" (Mijangos, *Espejo*, sermo de passione Domini nostri, 274, and cap. 26, 371).

¹³ “[Ç]an no yuhqui in tehuan in Tlalticpac titlaca, in màca çan ticoconetotontin, tetzalan tlahtlacoltica titixpolohua, ahuilnemiliztica, tlayelpaquiliztica titixcuepa, titocuecuetinemi, titixmalacachotinemih, in màca çan tiyollopoliuhque titochiuhünemih, tiquaihuintinemi, ahmo ticmati quenin, campa ye, catlehuatl in ohtli tocontocazque, inic titocuepazque in ichantzincó tonyazque in tomahuiztlaçottatzin Dios: ipampa in tixquac timachiotilo, titlalililo in itlaçomachiotzin Dios, in Cruz, oncan ihcuiliuhc in imahuiztocatzin Iesvs, oncan machiotitoc in itlaçomiquilitzin, in itlaihiyohuiltzin, in itonehuitzin, inic topampa omictiloc, cenca otoneuhcatlaihiyohuiltloc, oncan ihcuiliuhc in totlaxilacalcocayo, in Ilhuicatl: yehica in technamiquiz, in techittaz, in màca çan ticoconetotontin otitixpoloque, techiximatiz, ca itlaçopilhuan in Teotl Tlatohuani Dios, in çan otipoliuhca, techhuicaz, techcahuatuh in ichantzincó tomahuiztlaçottatzin Dios in Ilhuicac. No ihui in titlacohualtitzihuan toTecuiyo Dios, in titlapiotiltitzihuan itlaçozçotcatzincó, itlaihiyohuiltzicatzincó,

Like a visible brand or like earthly parentage, baptism is not a matter of choice for this audience, presumably baptized as infants, nor is it a matter of vow or covenant, but rather a claim of the divine, indelible and without appeal as all such claims must be. Bound to God with that mark of the divine seal which replaces the ancient imagery of enrollment in the militia of Christ in the formula for the signing of the catechumen of the Mexican baptismal rite,¹⁴ the Christian is subject to the moral and perhaps physical coercion of those who would return him to the right road if he strays, but for the devil he is no longer fair game: one way or another, heaven is his destination.

The purificatory function of baptism, though mentioned in Mijangos's sermon collection in connection with original sin,¹⁵ is generally transferred in the *Espeio* to penance. Mary Magdalene was purified from the blackness and filth of sin by her confession and repentance at the feet of Christ, Agustín tells his son, and many who are now saints in heaven were once great sinners, purified through confession and enriched with virtues through communion,¹⁶ while Juan himself is made to express a highly-developed understanding of the doctrines of absolution, satisfaction, and purgatory when, following his father's exposition of the virtues of penitence, he expresses his desire to do penance for the sins of his misspent youth, although he well knows that they have been

itlaçomiquilizticatzinco otechmocohuitzino, otechmopatitili, timachiotilo, tixquac titlalililo in itlaçotocatzin to Tecuiyo Dios, yehica ca intla ixpampatzinco tehuazque, intla tlahlacoltica, ahuilnemiliztica, tlaelpaquiliztica tictotalcahuilizque in tomahui Tecuiyotzin, intla ticholozque, momatiz, ca to Tecuiyotzin in Dios, in Ilhuicac Tlahtohuani, auh ixpantzinco tihuicozque: tlamahcehualiztica, choquiztica, nenemilizcuepaliztica, inic tictotlayecoltilizque, tictomahuiztlatequipanilhuilizque." Ibid., sermo in feria quarta Cinerum, 232-34, quoted at 234.

Cf. also Ibid., cap. 38, 520-21, where the story of the boy who cried wolf is said to illustrate the fact that those who belong to God or to the devil can be identified by their true or false speech, in the same way that someone's accent indicates his hometown and hence the lord to whom he owes allegiance.

¹⁴Baumgartner, 2: 132.

¹⁵Mijangos, *Primera parte*, izcatqvi in amatzintli, ff 3 v - ff 4 r.

¹⁶Mijangos, *Espeio*, cap. 24, 336-37.

taken away in confession, in order that his soul may enter heaven upon his death.¹⁷ The ambiguity always present between acts of penance as satisfaction and acts of penance as (supererogatory) merit, however, is inescapable in Nahuatl, and Mijangos makes little attempt in practice to distinguish the two: *tlamaceualiztli*, adopted by the friars for Christian penance, is literally ‘the meriting of things’, whether through the fasts and sacrifices of the old gods or through their Christian counterparts, and without any necessary connotation of accompanying ‘repentance’.¹⁸ ‘Weep for your sins’, the friars will often add in the attempt to prevent misunderstanding, but when Mijangos translates John the Baptist’s call to ‘do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand’ (Matthew 3: 2),¹⁹ the result is more of an instruction in how to merit heaven than a call to recognize one’s faults:

Do penance, beloved admirable people, because through penance you will acquire, will be given the lordship, the honor, the eternal riches of our Lord Dios, for behold, already His lordship comes. Do penance, for through penance you will be made right, so that through divinity you will be entirely enriched, through the various things which make one good, things which make one right [= the virtues], by which you will be rightly adorned, by which you will be purified. As precious metal is purified, is made right through fire, and also as fire makes right, burnishes, makes good copper [or iron: *tepuztli*] which has been eaten by water, which has rusted, and makes it appear pure, causes it to shine, just also likewise penance burnishes us, makes us good, when we have rusted through sin, if we do penance, if we fast, if we discipline ourselves, if we have mercy on people [through the works of mercy], so that we will be able to go to enter into the lordly dwelling of our Lord Dios, in heaven.²⁰

¹⁷*Ibid.*, cap. 21, 288.

¹⁸See Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 141-50.

¹⁹“Poenitentiam agite” in the Vulgate, not ‘repent’ or ‘reform your lives’ as in modern translations.

²⁰“Xitlamahcehuacan (tlaçomahuiztlacae) yehica ca tlamahcehualiztica anquixnextizque, ammacozque in itlahtocayotzin, in imahuiçotzin, in cemihcac inecuiltonoltzin to Tecuiyo Dios, ca ye iz huitz in itlahtocayotzin, xitlamahcehuacan, ca tlamàcehualiztica in ammoyectilizque, inic teoyotica ammocencuiltonozque, ica in nepapan qaltihuani, yectihuani, yc ammoyecchichiuazque, yc anchipahualozque. In quenin tletica mochipahua, moyectilia in teocuitlatl: auh no in quenin tletl quiyectilia, quipetlahua, quiqualtilia in tepuztli in oamoxquiz, in opoxcauh, auh quichipahuacanextia, quipepetlaquiltia: çan no yuhqui in tlamahcehualiztli techpetlahua, techqualtilia, in ihquac otipoxcauhca

As a glance at contemporary expositions of the second petition of the Our Father ('Thy kingdom come') makes clear, the displacement of the Baptist's eschatological urgency to the kingdom of heaven would be surprising only if it did not occur; what is striking is the lack of interest in compunction or conviction of sin as part of this purification, and the seeming lack of any divine intervention in the process.

* * *

The Dominicans of 1548, on the other hand, take the opposite tack, emphasizing that element of Christian penitence most lacking in the prehispanic tradition, at least as the friars saw it: contrition, or sorrow for sin because it is an offense against God (as opposed to regret springing from fear of punishment). When preparing for confession, the Dominicans say,

when you have gathered together all your sins, all the ones which you have committed, then you will weep very much on their account and you will be very sad on account of all your sins, because you have very much offended your creator, your savior, and your great, beloved father Dios, Who created you and made you and saved you, bought you with His precious blood, in order to bring you there to His lordly dwelling, in heaven. On this account, my beloved ones, all your sins will make you very sad and will make you weep very much, and there is no other earthly thing which will make you sad in this way, whether you have lost precious metal, or clothing, or jade, precious stones, or emeralds, or your children die, or your fathers, your mothers, or your relatives, or your flesh is sick. Nothing will make you sad, will make you weep in this way, in which your *animas*, very sick with sin, very afflicted, and dead with sin, will make you weep, will make you sad.²¹

tlahtlacoltica, intla titlamahcehua, intla titoçahua, intla titomecahuitequi, intla titetlaocolia, inic huel toncalaquizque in itlahlocachantzinco to Tecuiyo Dios in Ilhuicac." Mijangos, Espeio, cap. 21, 280; cf. Malachi 3: 2-3.

²¹"[I]nicoac oanquicentlali que yn yxquich in amotlatlacul yn ixquich yn oanquichihueque ca niman cenca ypampa anchocazque yuan cenca antlaocuyazque ypampa in ixquich yn amotlatlacul: yehica ca cenca oanquimotlatlacalhuilique / yn amoteyocuxcauh in amotemaquixticauh / yuan amoueytlaçotatcin dios yn oamechycux: yuan oamechmochiuli / yuan oamechmomaquixtili oamechmocouitcino yca yn itlaçoyeçotcin: ynic ompa amechmouiquiliz yn itlatocachantcinco yn ilhuicac. Ypampa yehuati notlaçouane cenca amechtlaocoltiz yuan cenca amechoctiz in yxquich yn amotlatlacul / auh ca amo tley yuhqui amechtlaocultiz yn occentlamantli talticpaccayotl: yn aço ytla oanquipoloque in teocuitlat[] / anoço tilmatl anoço chalchiuitl tlaçotetl aço quetçaliztli. Yn aço amopilhuan momiquilia: aço amotahuan amonauan anoço amouanyulcauan: aço amonacayo mococoua: ca amo tley yuhqui amechtlaocultiz

The technical term of contrition appears only later in the sermon and only in the Spanish text, in a review of the sacrament's five components where it glosses Nahuatl terms indicating sadness,²² nor is sorrow for the offense of God contrasted to regret arising from the fear of punishment, but the positive requirements of motive and of intensity are stated in no uncertain terms, and without visible room for the compromises of attrition with the grace of the sacrament. In preparation for confirmation, too, the 1548 text is explicit in requiring, along with the proposition of amendment and the resolve to confess and to

amechoctiz ynic amechoctiz amechtlaocoltiz yn amanima tlatlacultica cenca mococoa cenca motolinia yuan tlatlacultica omic.”

In Spanish, “[D]espues que aueys ayuntado todos vuestros pecados todos los que aueys cometido: luego aueys de llorar por ellos muy terriblemente y entristeceros mucho por todos vuestros pecados: porque aueys mucho ofendido a vuestro criador y a vuestro gran señor y redemptor [sic] / y a vuestro amoroso y gran padre dios: el qual os crio y os hizo y os redimio y saluo / y os compro con su preciosissima sangre: para os llevar alla a la su casa y real palacio al cielo: para siempre jamas. Por todo esto mis amados hermanos os han de dar mucha tristeza y lloro todos los vuestros peccados y maldades: y ninguna otra cosa de los bienes desta vida vos ha de dar desta manera tristeza: o que ayays perdido algun oro o ropas o otras piedras preciosas o esmeraldas: o si se mueren vuestros hijos / o vuestros padres o madres o vuestros parientes: o que vuestro cuerpo esta enfermo: ninguna cosa os ha de dar tanto pesar ni lloro / como los vuestros pecados y maldades os han de dar: y vuestra anima la qual con los pecados esta enferma y muy empobrecida y con los peccados esta muerta.”

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 23, fol. xcviij v - xcviij r.

Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 34, cites this passage and surrounding material as support for an argument that the friars generally did not attempt to distinguish between attrition and contrition, writing that the catechism “gives remembrance of all sins, crying for them, and the intention not to sin again as prerequisites for confession without distinguishing motives for the crying phase”: I would agree that contrition and attrition are not distinguished here in so far as the two concepts are not separately introduced and contrasted with one another, but the type of sadness demanded here nonetheless seems to me to correspond to the concept of contrition, as the friars understood it, not just to sadness more broadly understood.

Cf. also the Dominican Pedro de Feria's 1567 *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y zapoteca*, as quoted in Martínez Ferrer, *La penitencia*, 205: “[E]ste dolor [de vuestros pecados] no ha de ser por ay cualquiera, sino muy grande, y mucho mayor que el que tendríais si se os muriere el hijo, o el padre, o la madre.”

According to the Dominican chronicler Dávila Padilla, an Indian of Tepetlaoztoc miraculously resurrected in 1541 in order to make his confession explained to the astonished witnesses that “[q]uando yo enfermé, procuré confessarme con el p. f. Domingo [de la Anunciación]; y la pena de su ausencia me agrauó la enfermedad, y al fin acabe la vida, sin el dolor calificado que deuia tener por mis culpas,” suggesting that at least to the chronicler writing at the end of the century, Indian familiarity with such gradations of repentance was not implausible: Dávila Padilla, lib. 2, cap. 80, 615-16, quoted at 616.

²² “[V]uestra contricion y pesar de los pecados” glosses “in amochoquiz amotlaocualiz,” ‘your weeping, your sadness’. *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 23, fol. xcix r.

perform whatever satisfaction the confessor imposes, that “all your sins which you have committed here on earth will make you very sad, will make you weep very much, because you have offended your creator, Dios,”²³ and even for baptism the friars urge their recent converts to examine their consciences and to make amends for any lack in this regard:

you who have been baptized, remember how you received *sancto baptismo*, baptism, perhaps you did not indeed believe, and perhaps your sins did not cause you to weep, and perhaps also you were not entirely resolved regarding sin, perhaps you were just baptized in sin. By this you have very much offended our great Lord Dios. Nothing of your sins was taken away; you have just committed another very great new sin, when you were baptized in sin. And know well that it is very necessary for you that now you be sad on account of the sin you have committed, and that you tell it to the confessor when you confess your sins before him. You will speak thus: ‘My father, I have very much offended my Lord Dios, for I was baptized in sin’; you will tell him what the sin was, and all the others which you have committed in all the time since you were baptized, so that he will be able to bless [= absolve] you, so that all your sins will be taken away.²⁴

²³“Ca yn ixquich in amotlatlacull in oanquichihque nican talticpac: cenca amechtlaocultiz: cenca amechoctiz: yehica ca oanquim[o]tlatlacalhuilizque in amoteiocuxcatçin in dios.”

In Spanish, “Todos los vuestros pecados que en esta vida aueys hecho vos han de dar tristeza y lloro y mucho pesar porque aueys ofendido a vuestro señor y criador y Dios nuestro.”

Ibid., sermon 22, fol. xcvi r - xcvi v, quoted at fol. xcvi r.

²⁴“[I]n amehuantin in oanmocuaatequique ma xiquilnamiquican in quenin oanquicelique in sancto Baptismo necuaatequiliztli: aço como uel oantlaneltoaque: yuan aço como oamechchocti in amotlatlacul: yuan aço como oanmocemmixnauatique ytechpa in tlatlaculli: aço çan tlatlaculli ypan oanmocuaatequique ca cenca yc oanquimotlatlacalhuilique in toueytlatocauh in dios ca amo tle opoliuh yn amotlatlacul çan occentel cenca uey yancuic tlatlaculli oanquichihque inicuac tlatlaculli ipan anmoquaatequique. Auh uel xicmatican ca cenca amotech monequi im axcan ipampa antlaocuiatzque yn oanquichihque in tlatlaculli: yuan anquimolhuilizque in teyolmelauani ynicuac ixpan anmotlatlaculcuitizque yuh anquitozque. Notacine ca cenca onicnotlatlacalhuili in notecuio in dios ca tlatlaculli ipan oninocuaatequi: anquimolhuilizque in catleuatl in tlatlaculli: yuan in yxquich occequi oanquichih yie ixquich cauid ynicuac oanmocuaatequique: ynic uel amechnoteochiuliz ynic poliuz yn ixquich yn amotlatlacul.”

In Spanish, “[V]osotros que ya soys bautizados acordadvos como aueys recibido el santo bautismo que por ventura no creyestes: y tambien por ventura no aueys tenido dolor ni pesar de los vuestros pecados: y tambien por ventura no tuvistes firme proposito de la emienda: o quiça vos bautizastes en peccado: aueys en ello ofendido muy grauemente a nuestro gran señor y redemptor Jesu christo: y ningun pecado se os perdono de los vuestros / mas antes hezistes y cometistes otro peccado de nueuo muy grande quando vos os bautizastes en peccado. Y sabed que soys obligados a pesaros mucho de aquel pecado que hezistes y cometistes: y a dezirlo al confessor quando os confessaredes delante de el / al qual aueys de dezir de aquesta manera. Padre mio digo mi culpa que ofendi mucho a mi señor dios porque yo me baptize en pecado: y aueysle de dezir que pecado fue aquel / y todos los demas que aueys hecho desde que os bautizastes / para que el os absuelua para que todos los vuestros pecados os sean perdonados.”

Ibid., fol. xciiij v - xcvi r.

Here the reason for weeping is not specified, and though it is unclear whether this should be taken as a chance omission or as a lesser standard for prebaptismal repentance (a common, though not universal, theological opinion),²⁵ this response to the fundamental problem of determining the interior dispositions of an adult baptizand is an entirely regular one. The improperly disposed recipient of the sacrament, assuming he was not actively protesting his refusal at the moment of receipt, received the baptismal character and was obligated to the Christian life, according to the theologians' consensus, but would obtain the spiritual benefits of the sacrament only if and when he acquired the proper dispositions

²⁵For the range of theological opinion on the degree and kind of repentance required for baptism and for confession, see Joseph Angles, OFM, Flores theologiarum quaestionum in Quartum librum Sententiarum, exp. ed. (Burgos: Apud Philippum Iuntam, expensis Ioannis Boyerij, 1585), flores quaestionum sacramenti baptismi, q. 2, art. [5], difficultas 3, 62; Martín de Azpilcueta, called Navarro, Manval de confesores y penitentes, que clara y brevemente contiene, la vniversal y particlar decision de qvasi todas las dvdas, que en las confesiones suelen ocurrir de los pecados, absoluciones, restituciones, censuras, & irregularidades: Acrescentado agora por el mismo doctor con las decisiones de muchas dudas, que despues de la otra edicion le han embiado: Las vnas de las quales van insertas so esta señal * las otras en cinco comentarios de vsuras, cambios, symonia mental, defension del proximo, de hurto notable, & irregularidad (Salamanca: En casa de Andrea de Portonarijs, 1557), vol. 1, cap. 1, 15-17; Antonio de Córdoba, OFM, Opera: Libris quinqve digesta (Venice: Ex officina Iordani Ziletti; continued Toledo: In officina Ioannis de Ayala, 1569-70), lib. 1, q. 2, 1: 10-38; Vicente Fernández de Heredia, Mixtae e ivre canonico, et theologia disputationes, in sacramentorum materiam, vol. 1, De sacramentis in genere, & eis seorsum nempe baptismo, confirmatione, eucharistia, & missae sacrificio (Zaragoza: Apud Ioannem à Lanaja, & Quartanet, 1612), de sacramento baptismi repetitio, pt. 7, dubium 4, 213-15; Medina, Expositio in Primam Secundae, q. 109, art. 6, 793; Juan de Medina, In titulum De poenitentia eiusque partibus commentarij, corr. ed. (Salamanca: Excudebat Andreas à Portonarijs, 1553), vol. 1, tract. 1, q. 3, fol. 7r-7v, and q. 4, fol. 10r-12r; Luis de Molina, SI, Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione et reprobatione concordia, ed. Johannes Rabeneck, SI, Societatis Iesu selecti scriptores, Sociedad Internacional Francisco Suárez (Oña: Collegium Maximum S. I.; Madrid: Soc. Edit. «Sapientia», 1953), q. 14, ar. 13, pt. 3, disp. 46, 282-83; Domingo de Soto, OP, In quartum Sententiarum commentarij (Medina del Campo: Excudebat Franciscus à Canto, expensis Benedicti Boyerij, 1581), d. 17, q. 2, art. 4, 1: 717-25; and Andrés Vega, OFM, De iustificacione doctrina vniversa, libris XV. absolute tradita, & contra omnes omnium errores, iuxta germanam sententiam orthodoxae veritatis, & sacri concilij Tridentini, praeclare defensa (Cologne: Apud Geruinum Calenium & Haeredes Quentelios, 1572; facsimile reprint, Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1964), lib. 6, cap. 31, 109-10; lib. 13, cap. 17, 532-33; and cap. 23-26, 551-63; and for Mexican opinions relating to baptism, Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 1, 3: 139; and relating to confession, Bautista, Advertencias, pt. 1, no. 1, fol. 1r-2v; and Grijalva, Crónica, lib. 1, cap. 27, 105-7, and lib. 3, cap. 16, 281; and cf. Martiarena, 84-85.

Trent's decree on justification slightly narrows the field of acceptable possibilities where baptism is concerned (6th sess., 13 January 1547, cap. 6 and cap. 14), but only by requiring some form of actual detestation for and repentance of sins.

of belief and repentance,²⁶ and in much the same way that the deliberate or culpably negligent omission of a sin in confession was held to require the reiteration of that confession and any subsequent ones before any sins, confessed or not, could be forgiven, so the individual whose previous sins were not taken away in baptism logically had to ‘start over’, as it were, at that point.

Even so, however necessary such a warning may have appeared to the pastors of a flock of adult converts whose prebaptismal preparation had plausibly left something to be desired, the possibility of excessive scrupulousity in this regard, as in the previously-quoted demand for sorrow for sins greater than that felt at the loss of one’s closest relatives, is both obvious and unbalanced in the catechism of 1548 by much in the way of pastoral reassurance. Going out of their way in both these cases to add these requirements to the less demanding, or at least less explicit, text of the 1544 catechism, the friars also miss no opportunity to mention the need for integrity of confession whenever they treat that

²⁶Some theologians, including Maior and Soto, are prepared to separate the infusion of faith from the infusion of charity in the case of the believer baptized in mortal sin, but otherwise there is little controversy on the subject, referred to as ‘fictitious’ baptism: see Angles, *Flores ... in Quartum*, flores quaestionvm sacramenti baptismi, q. 2, art. [5], difficultas 4, 62-63; art. 6, 64; q. 4, art. 2, difficultas 1, 68; and q. 4, art. 3, 70-71; John Maior, *In Primum Sententiarum: Ex recognitione Io. Badii* (Paris: Impensis Jodoci Badij Ascensij, 1519), prol., q. 1, fol. iii r; *Manuale*, 316; Medina, *Expositio in Primam Secundae*, q. 109, art. 1, 760-63; Nicolaus de Plove, *Tractatus sacerdotalis: De ecclesiasticis sacramentis: Ac debitis eorum administrationibus: Deque censuris ecclesiasticis canonicè obseruandis: Presbyteris (maxime curam animarum gerentibus) pernecessarius: Compilatus per reuerendum Nicholaum de Ploue decretorum doctorem dignissimum: Aliud insuper subtilissimi theologi Joannis Gersonis opus tripartitum: Pluresque alij mire fecunditatis eiusdem tractatuli pro confessoribus singulares materias doctrinales necnon admonitiones saluberrimas complectentes: Hinc postremo habes dubiorum in celebratione missarum occurrentium resolutiones argutissimas* (Alcalá de Henares: In aedibus Michaelis de Eguia, 1526), fol. v r; Ovando Mogollón de Paredes, in II, dist. 32, 2: 217-18; Soncinas, in IV, d. 4, q. un., 4: fol. 8r-10v; Domingo de Soto, OP, *Ad sanctum concilium Tridentinum, de natura & gratia, libri III: Cum Apologia contra reuerendum episcopum Catharinum: Ex postrema recognitione authoris: Accesserunt ad haec eiusdem authoris liber, De tegendo & detegendo secreto: Et in causa pauperum deliberatio* (Salamanca: Ex officina Ildefonsi à Neyla, 1577), lib. 2, cap. 8, 1: 114-15; idem, *In quartvm Sententiarvm commentarii*, d. 5, q. un., art. 7, 1: 257-58; Vega, *De iustificatione*, lib. 7, cap. 28, 172; and William Vorrillon, OFM, *Quattuor librorum Sententiarum compendium* (Basel: Ex officina Adae Petri de Langendorff, 1510), lib. 4, dist. 4, fol. 343v-344v.

For the binding power of tacit consent in this context, cf. also Olmos, *Tratado de hechiceras*, exortación al indiano lector, 34-35, and cap. 10, 127-30, and for the latter passage, an analogy with the transmission from parents to children of familiarity with the devil, Castañega, cap. 10, 89-91.

sacrament,²⁷ and present even the baptism of the appropriately-prepared convert less as a victory over the forces of darkness than as one stage in an ongoing battle, offering reinforcement but not security. It is to drive out the devil that the baptizand is repeatedly signed with the cross in the baptismal rite, the Dominicans explain in their sermon to the newly baptized, and the senses are opened for God to enter into the soul and adopt it as His child and closed to the devil's entrance,²⁸ but this is only the beginning of the baptized's struggle to live on guard against the devil's renewed assaults. With the prudence symbolized by the blessed salt and with the arms of the sign of the cross, the new Christians are warned, "you must always be very strong and continually keep watch and guard yourselves, as if you live at war, so that you will be able to resist your enemies with fortitude, so that you will be able to conquer them, and so that you will be able to put them to flight."²⁹ The prebaptismal anointing on the breast with the oil of catechumens serves for strengthening in the love of God, according to the 1548 catechism, and the

²⁷Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 9, fol. xliij r - xliij v, and sermon 23, fol. xcviij v and xcix v - c r; cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, b iij r and c v r.

²⁸Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 34, fol. cxxxiiij r. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, d iij v. For the probable form of the baptismal rite in use, as prescribed by the lost 1540 *Manual de adultos*, see Baumgartner, 1: 44-52, but cf. also the longer baptismal interrogatory given in Molina's cartilla: Molina, Doctrina, 57-58.

²⁹"[C]enca anmochicauhtinemizque mochipa yuan amixtoçotinemizque yuan anmopixtinemizque in iuhqui ameuantin yaopan anemi inic uel anquinchicauacatopeuazque in amoyaouan inic uel anquimpeuazque yuan inic huel anquichololtizque."

In Spanish, "[A]ueys de andar siempre muy fuertes y aueys de andar velando: y aueys de andaros guardando assi como los que andan en batalla: para que podays varonilmente resistir a vuestros enemigos: para que los podays vencer y para que los podays hazer huyr."

Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 34, fol. cxxxiiij v. Cf. Córdoba, Doctrina, d iij v, where the words of the sign of the cross are not given.

Zumárraga in the Doctrina breue, b ij v, places similar reflections on signing with the arms of the cross under the sacrament of confirmation, rather than baptism.

One of Dávila Padilla's pious biographies, interestingly, of a secular priest and *donado* of the order who dies in 1573, includes making the sign of the cross "[q]uando salia de casa, ò se ponía a estudiar, ò entraua en el confessorario, ò sentía qualquiera mal pensamiento" as a practice worthy of note, suggesting that the Dominicans' instruction here in this regard may represent an ideal honored as much in the breach as in the observance even among their own ranks: Dávila Padilla, lib. 2, cap. 62, 559.

postbaptismal anointing of the head with chrism for strengthening in the faith and its confession,³⁰ and while the white garment symbolizes the purity of the newly cleansed soul, and the candle the light of grace and of knowledge of God in the soul which has left behind the darkness of sin,³¹ this imagery quickly becomes the opportunity for one more condemnation of prehispanic practice, as the Dominicans insist that the baptized must live in a state of physical as well as spiritual purity or cleanliness, with reference not to bathing - which the Indians did all too much of, in many friars' view - but to body painting, anointing, scarification, and sacrificial blood-letting,³² in a reprise of the 1548 version's earlier contrast between the filth of the devil's service and the purity of life, of thought, and of word required for the service of God, defined in regard to the baptismal profession of faith as the keeping of the commandments and the performance of the works of mercy.³³ With the exception of the 1548 edition's special insistence on the obedience imposed by the fourth commandment as a result of baptism's divine adoption,³⁴ the content of these duties and obligations is left unspecified, as the subject of previous instruction, but the

³⁰Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 35, fol. cxxxvj v. The 1544 version characteristically omits even these oblique references to the episcopal ministry.

³¹Córdoba, Dotrina, d iij v - d iiij r; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 35, fol. cxxxvj v - cxxxvij r.

³²The 1548 doctrine also adds to the 1544 version a warning against parents doing any of these things to their children. Córdoba, Dotrina, d iiij r; Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 35, fol. cxxxvij r - cxxxviii r.

³³Ibid., fol. cxxxv v - cxxxvj r; cf. Córdoba, Dotrina, d iij v, where only the commandments are specifically mentioned and where the contrast between filth and purity is not made at this point.

³⁴Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 35, fol. cxxxvj r - cxxxvj v; cf. Córdoba, Dotrina, d iij v. Cf. Andrés de Olmos, OFM, "Tratado de los siete pecados mortales: De peccato luxurie," ed. and trans. Georges Baudot, in Baudot, "Fray Andrés de Olmos y su Tratado de los pecados mortales en lengua náhuatl," in Baudot, La pugna franciscana, 143-71, at 160-63, who compares the sinner, who though baptized and hence a child of God is denied the inheritance of heaven, to a wicked and ungrateful child disinherited by a parent.

renunciation of the devil and all his works provides the occasion for a lengthy listing of these ‘deeds of the devil’ (*yn itlachiualiz yn tlacateculutl*) to be avoided, an avalanche of continuing temptations, idolatrous and not, which might well drive rather far from the listener’s mind his gratitude for the remission of past sins just received: idolatry, making offerings to or worshipping the devil, drunkenness,³⁵ theft, concubinage, adultery, unspecified other sins of the flesh, covetousness, violence, hatred, false witness, neglect of mass and sermon on Sundays and feast days, failure to refrain from work on Sundays and feast days, and failure to perform the works of mercy.³⁶

³⁵Drunkenness, associated with traditional religious rituals, has strong ‘idolatrous’ connotations, probably accounting for its prominent mention here. See Corcuera de Mancera, *El fraile, el indio y el pulque*, and in the chronicles, the lynching of a traditional priest representing the pulque god Ometochtli by the Franciscans’ Tlaxcallan convent pupils and the activities of the young Tlaxcallan martyr Cristóbal, who makes it his business to smash both the ‘idols’ and the jars of ‘wine’ (i.e., pulque) of his father and his father’s vassals: Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap. 14, 359-68 (similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 7, 681-85, and cap. 21, 787-90; Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 24-26, 1: 385-93; and Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 24, 3: 62-65, and cap. 30-32, 3: 82-92).

Cf. also the appearance of a drunkard among the representative sinners cast into hell by St Francis in a drama staged in Tlaxcala for Corpus Christi of 1539 (Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 15, 214-15), and the identification of the deadly sin of gluttony in Gante’s catechism as a source of violations of the first commandment, presumably in the spirit of Philippians 3: 18-19 (Gante, fol. 54r-55v).

³⁶“[C]a yn ieuatl yn tlateoquiliztli yuan yn tlamanaliztli ynic anquiltamaniliaia in diablo iuan inic anquineltoçaya in anquimoteutiaia / auh yuan in ixquich tlaualaniztli ynic antlauantinemia: yuan yxquich in ichtequiliztli: ynic amichtectinemia. Auh yuan in ixquich nemecatiliztli: yuan tetlaximaliztli: yuan occequi catçauiliztli nacayopapaquiliztli inic anquimotlalacalhuiliaia in totecuio in Dios. No yuan in ixquich tlayxeleuiliztli / netlaiculiliztli: anoço temictiliztli / tecuculiliztli / yuan tetlapiquiliztli tetch tlatlamiliztli: yuan in tlatciuiçotl inicoac anquiltatciuzcaua in temachtilli yuan in missa domingotica / yuan in ilhuitl ipan. Auh yuan intla xitlatequipanocan domingotica yuan uey ilhuitl ypan / intlacamo xicpiaca: yuan intlacamo xitlaocolican.”

In Spanish, “[S]on la ydolaria y los sacrificios y ofrendas que ofreciades al demonio: y con que le creyades y adorauades: y assi mismo todas las borracheras con que os andauades embeodando: y todos los hurtos que andauades hurta[n]do. Y tambien todos los pecados de forni[ca]cio y adulterio / con todas las demas suziedades y deleytes carnales en que ofendiades a nuestro señor Dios. Assi mismo todos los desseos y cobdicias carnales: y el matar y hazer mal y tener odio y rancor: y las mentiras y falsedades / y testimonios falsos / y la pereza quando dexays por pereza la predicacion y la missa assi los domingos como los dias de fiesta. Y tambien si trabajays estos dias de domingo y fiestas solemnes de guardar si no los guardays: y si no hazeys limosnas.”

Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 34, fol. cxxxv r. Cf. Córdoba, *Dotrina*, d iij v, where the “obras del demonio” are given in somewhat different form: “son todas las cerimonias y sacrificios que hasta aqui aueys tenido. El no guardar las fiestas. No venir a los sermones. No venir a missa: matar o querer mal / a vuestro proximo: luxuriar: codiciar mugeres: y tomar lo ageno: o cobdiciarlo:

* * *

León, on the other hand, regularly has one specific trap of the devil in mind, the temptation to omit a sin in confession, and far more than contrition, it is this which forms the dominant note of his treatment of the sacrament.³⁷ For the text of the general confession (the *Confiteor* or *Yo pecador*) he reverts from the modern form given in 1548 to the older version declaring sins “in drinking, in eating, in laughing, in pastimes, in taking recreation with people, in vain words, in deeds, [and] in thoughts,”³⁸ even as he complains about the Indians’ custom of opening their confessions with a prepared speech of self-accusation apparently inspired by this proclamation of sinfulness in the daily activities of life,³⁹ but in general sin is for León, despite what sometimes seems to be its omnipresence,

mentir: leuantar falsos testimonios.”

³⁷For the lessened emotional charge of contrition in the later work, compare León, fol. 25r-26v, 69v, and 69bis r, to *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 9, fol. [xliij] r - xliiij r; sermon 22, fol. xciiij r - xc v r; and sermon 23, fol. xcviij v - xcviij r, respectively.

³⁸“[A]tliliztica, tlacualiztica, huetzquiztica, neahuilchihualiztica, tepan aahuializtica, chicotlätolítica, tlachihualiztica, tlanamiquiliztica.” León, fol. 102r; compare *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, doctrina breve, fol. x r.

Molina, *Doctrina*, 56; Molina, “Confesionario breve,” 412; Molina, *Confesionario mayor*, fol. 19r-19v; Gante, fol. 86r-86v and 97v-98r; and *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera*, suplemento, 1 vj r, all give a form similar to León’s, while Plaza, 652, and Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language, 1634*, ed. Barry D. Sell and John Frederick Schwaller, with Lu Ann Homza (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 68-69, give the modern version.

³⁹León, fol. 109v-110v; and cf. Sáenz de la Peña, fol. 48r, who may be following León’s sacramental manual.

Compare also Melchior de Huelamo, OFM, *Discursos predicables de las ceremonias y misterios de la missa del Missal romano, reformado segun el decreto del santo concilio de Trento, por mandado de nuestro muy santo padre Pio .V. pontifice maximo*, rev. and exp. ed. (Cuenca: En casa de Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1600), discourse 18, fol. 398v-399v: “[V]eremos quan ignorantemente dizen algunos simples, que preguntandoles el confessor en que han pecado? Responder: Padre en muchas cosas, y cada día, pues en tomar el pan en la boca, y poner los pies en el suelo pecamos. Engañas te hermano porque quiero que sepas, que le es a Dios, cosa tan hedionda y enfadosa el pecado, que si por poner los pies en la tierra vueras de pecar, criara Dios aca en la tierra estrellas, a donde los pusieras, a trueque que no pecaras. Ni tampoco pecas en comer, saluo si tu comida es como la de Eua y Adan: Porque si en comer (en quanto comer) pecaras, no dixera el que en .3. dias no comio en Damasco [cf. Acts 9: 9] hablando con los de Corintho: Ora comays, ora bebays, ora hagays otra qualquiera cosa, hazed todas las cosas en el nombre del Señor [1 Corinthians 10: 31]. Y en esto veremos que lo que en la confession antigua se dezia, peque en comer en beber, &c. Era adiccion de algun sacristan de aldea, que la Iglesia Romana, madre y maestra nuestra, no dize

an eminently discrete, countable, sometimes almost material entity. The discussion of the sixth article of the divinity, the doctrinal locus for the divine forgiveness of sins, does not in fact touch on the requirement for integrity of confession,⁴⁰ but from its first appearance in an excursus at the end of the section on the Ten Commandments, an uncompromising proclamation of the damnation which awaits the one who conceals even one sin in confession,⁴¹ it becomes something of a refrain. The presentation of the sacrament of penance explains the making of the sign of the cross as the opening gesture of the rite of confession as an act of faith fortifying the penitent against this pressing danger, “so that the devil will not bring us to ruin in our confession, so that we will not omit out of shame, out of fear, any one of our sins, so that our confession will not pass in vain, such that nothing will be reckoned to it, such that afterward he will take us to hell, we will go to suffer beside them [i.e., the devils],”⁴² and the same idea is repeated, with emphasis on its apotropaic aspects, in the advice on preparing for confession which closes the catechetical section proper,⁴³ concluding a portion of the volume that has been entirely dominated by this

tal, en la confession que nos enseña.” Huelamo in fact appears to have had New World experience in Yucatán (see *ibid.*, discourse 1, fol. 13r-13v), but the context here and elsewhere in this volume is entirely Spanish.

⁴⁰León, fol. 25r-26v.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, fol. 67r-67v.

⁴²“[I]nic àmo techtlapololtiz in tlacatecolotl, in toneyolcuitilizpan, inic àmo ytla centel ticpinahuizcahuazque, ticmauhcacaahuazque, in totlàtlacol, inic àmo nenquiçaz in toneyolcuitiliz, inic àtle ypan pohuiz, ynic çatepan Mictlan techhuicaz, yn intloc titlayhiyohuitihui.” *Ibid.*, fol. 69bis v. León regularly switches between singular and plural when describing the activities of the devil or devils, apparently drawing little essential distinction between the single will of the Adversary of the human race and the swarms of malignant spirits who manifest that will, infesting this world and hell alike.

⁴³“Then sign yourselves, as you have been taught above, so that Dios will strengthen you in heart, through the precious strength of the *Santa Cruz*, so that from all sides, your mouths, your hearts, you will drive out your enemies, the people of hell, so that by nothing will they bring you to ruin, deceive you in your confession, such that you will omit out of fear some of your sins, such that they will take you to hell.” (“[N]iman ximomachiottican, yn iuh tlacpac oammachtiloque, ynic amechmoyolchicahuilihtzinoz in Dios, yca yn itlaçòchicahualitzin Santa Cruz, ynic nohuiampa amocamac, amoyollotitech,

theme, from the instructions for the examination of conscience,⁴⁴ through the insistence that the penitent not be ashamed to confess his sins,⁴⁵ to the instructions for reiterating past confessions in the case of an omission,⁴⁶ together crowding out all but the most glancing references to the emotional or affectual aspects of repentance or sorrow for sins. Contrition does make a more explicit appearance in the model discourse addressed to a group of assembled penitents, prior to the hearing of individual confessions, but here, too, it is completeness of confession which opens and closes the list of requirements, playing the chief role.⁴⁷ Also present in the instructions for the administration of the viaticum and the art of dying, as discussed in the previous chapter,⁴⁸ by the time the subject reappears for the final time in the rules for serving God included among the miscellaneous matter at the end of volume⁴⁹ the only surprise would be if it failed to be mentioned. Not only is one of the manifestations of the deadly sin of sloth insufficient examination of conscience, leading to the negligent forgetting of sins and the failure to make an 'upright' (*melahuac*) confession,⁵⁰ but it is as a safeguard against forgetting some of one's sins that both this discussion of the seven deadly sins and the volume's various other guides to confession are

anquintòtocazque in amoyaohuan in Mictlan tlaca ynic àmo ytla yc amechtlapololtizque, amechiztlacahuizque, yn ipan amoneyolcuutiliz, ynic cequi anquimauhcahuazque in amotlàtlacol, inic Mictlan amechhuicazque.") Ibid., fol. 95r.

⁴⁴Ibid., fol. 93v-94r.

⁴⁵Ibid., fol. 94r-94v.

⁴⁶Ibid., fol. 94v-95r.

⁴⁷Ibid., fol. 102v-104r.

⁴⁸See above, 183-84.

⁴⁹León, fol. 155v.

⁵⁰Ibid., fol. 84v.

presented to the Nahuatl reader:⁵¹ rather than guides for the formation of conscience or for progress in virtue, they become primarily checklists for cataloguing the inevitable lapses, focusing the penitent's effort less on contrition or proposition of amendment than on the thoroughness of the catalogue.

More than a facet of character, subject to reform, sin in fact seems to be for León something akin to an alien infestation, moving in and out of the soul, in accordance with the cycle of commission and confession, almost after the manner of a possessing demon.

⁵¹Ibid., fol. 80v, 84v, 93v-94r. Adding to the impression of a focus on exact accounting are León's recommendation of the use of corn kernels as a mnemonic accompaniment to the examination of conscience, setting out one kernel for each sin and then counting them to arrive at the correct number (fol. 93v, 107r), and the significant effort he urges confessors to invest in the determination of that number when faced with penitents who appear to pull one out of the air when asked: "[A]y algunos ministros que dizen no se les à de preguntar a estos el numero de los pecados por dezillo à poco mas ò menos lo primero que se les ofrece y se les viene à la boca y buelto luego a preguntar, dizen otro numero distinto, y que de dos inconuenientes tienen este por menor. Pero a mi me parece por la experiencia de treinta años de indios que tengo, que el indio es en esto tan pusilanime y va tan turbado a la confession que no adierte lo que dize, y que pues dize el pecado que es lo mas vergonçoso, que tambien diria el numero, si determinadamente lo supiera, ò se acordarà y assi digo que Realmente no es su intento mentir ni encubrirlo, sino que su turbacion lo causa, y assi es bien preguntarle el numero en qualquier genero de pecado mortal, preguntandole primero el pecado y en diziendo lo que cometio, le amoneste el confessor y le quite el miedo con algunos exemplos y raçones y lo que le importa el dezir verdad, y el sacrilegio que comete mintiendo, y hecho esto. Este por el primer numero que dixere, sin boluerselo a preguntar otra vez y con esto euitara confussion y no acordandose por el tiempo y la continuacion del tal pecado, podra sacar a poco mas ò menos el numero dellos" (fol. 101v-102r).

By way of comparison, Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 2, fol. 2v-4r, taking a position which will also be adopted by Sáenz de la Peña, fol. 49r, advises that "ni el confessor se deue afflixir por saber el numero cierto, ni afflixir al penitente, porque no se los dize," and finds sufficient the method of estimation by frequency and passage of time which is León's second choice, identifying the root of the difficulty as lack of intellectual capacity rather than timidity. Alva, 106-7, addressing the penitent rather than the confessor, advises the corn-kernel method specifically for sins against the sixth commandment, with the assumption that these sins are more numerous than the penitent would be prone to confess otherwise, but does not suggest that mathematical incapacity is the problem; in general, rather than the number of sins, his concern is much more the due order of confession, distinguishing mortal from venial sins and following the framework of the commandments and the other catechetical formulae (Alva, 62-63 and 134-39; and for this concern, cf. also *Doctrina christiana muy vtil, y necessaria, assi para los españoles, como para los naturales, en lengua mexicana y castellana, ordenada por mandado del ilustrissimo y reuerendissimo señor don Pedro Moya de Contreras arçobispo de Mexico, del consejo de su magestad, y con su licencia impressa* (Mexico City: En casa de Pedro Balli, 1578; facsimile reprint, Francisco de Pareja, OFM, *Doctrina cristiana muy útil y necessaria: México, 1578*, ed. Luis Resines, Acta salmanticensis, Estudio general, no. 2, Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), fol. 15r).

The mnemonic use of corn kernels or pebbles in examination of conscience was a common and long-standing piece of advice; see e.g. Valadés, pt. 4, cap. 23, 213-14.

Alongside the usual descriptions of the soul in a state of sin as black and dirty, to be washed clean by a good confession, the language which is used to explain the obligation of integral confession includes an unusual set of images emphasizing the vocal aspect of confession as an expelling of sins by mouth, from someplace within where they seem to occupy a status closer to that of possessing demons than to that of a gnawing but more diffuse and less animate stain or cancer. If someone conceals a sin in confession, according to León, “all the sins which he had vomited up, which he had told to the priest, he swallows again; they at once turn back within him.”⁵² Elsewhere he writes that “again the other sins which he had spoken, which he had said, will at once enter within him: again he will entirely carry them all,”⁵³ or speaking of multiple penitents, “again they swallow all which they had vomited, which they had recounted to the confessor.”⁵⁴ The image is reminiscent of an illustration, offered as an example of images used in Indian catechesis in Mexico, in the Franciscan Diego Valadés’s *Rhetorica christiana*, published in Perugia in 1579, in which the sins of the tongue committed by conversing Indians (clearly identifiable as such by the *mantas* they wear) are made visible in the form of snakes, scorpions, and other creeping things issuing from their mouths in streams,⁵⁵ but although a prayer and

⁵² “[I]n mochi in tlàtlacolli, in oquiçotlaca, in oquimolhuilica in teopixqui, occeppa quitoloa, itic mocueptihuetzi.” León, fol. 67r.

⁵³ “[O]cceppa yttic calactihuetziz yn occequi tlàtlacolli in oquiteneuhca, in oquittoca occeppa mochi quicemitquiz.” Ibid., fol. 103v.

⁵⁴ “[C]a occeppa mochi quitoloa in oquiçotlaca in oquimopohuililica yn teyolcuitiani.” Ibid., fol. 94v.

⁵⁵ Valadés, pt. 4, cap. 23, 216, with the explication of the image on 218. Valadés was “versatus ... inter illos [the Indians of Mexico] (laus Deo) plus minus triginta annos: & incubui praedicationibus, & confessionibus eorum plus quam viginti duos, in tribus illorum idiomatibus, Mexicano, Tarasco, & Otomi” (ibid., cap. 11, 184), and included a number of verbal and visual illustrations drawing on his experience in the Mexican missions in this manual of rhetoric for preachers; the present case is part of a lengthy discourse on the activities of the Franciscans in Mexico, offered as an example of the rhetoric of praise.

admonition given in the *Florentine Codex* and derived from a prehispanic confessional rite describe a penitent who omits something which he should confess as swallowing it and as holding it back in his mouth,⁵⁶ and Bartolomé de Alva, a mestizo secular priest writing in 1634, uses ‘swallowing’ in this context in the Spanish portion of a bilingual text while omitting it in the Nahuatl,⁵⁷ I have found no other examples of quite this reverse-action re-entrance of what has already come forth. Within the traditional imagery of confession as a medical treatment of the sin-sick soul, it is possible to find references to the vomiting forth of foul humors,⁵⁸ and fools and backsliders, in the commonly-quoted scriptural phrase, return like dogs to their own vomit again (Proverbs 26: 11; 2 Peter 2: 22), but perhaps closest in its image of sins both as discrete objects rather than as the more common ‘filth’ or ‘blackness’, and as located within the person rather than as exterior burdens, is Sahagún’s gloss on John the Baptist’s call to prepare the way of the Lord and make straight his paths (Luke 3: 4) in a 1548 sermon for the Fourth Sunday of Advent, where sin is described as blocking God’s entrance into the soul in the same way that a road is blocked

⁵⁶ “[A]ço cententli, aço cencamatl oqujlochi oqujtolo, oqujcamapacho.” (“Perhaps one lip[ful], perhaps one mouth[ful] he has caused to turn back, has swallowed, has pressed within his mouth.”)

“[A]ço ocententli tiqjlochi, aço cencamatl ticcmapacho, otictolo in mjiaca, in mopalanca in motilitica, inin mocatzaoaca, in temamauhti yn jiac, in palanquj.” (“Perhaps one lip[ful] you have caused to turn back, perhaps one mouth[ful] you have pressed within your mouth; you have swallowed your stink, your rottenness, your blackness, this your filthiness, which is frightful, which stinks, which is rotten.”)

Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, cap. 7, 29 and 31.

The corresponding Spanish text of the *Historia general* does not translate the first passage, and renders the second as “¿Por ventura has ocultado alguno o algunos de tus pecados graves, enormes, suzios y hediondos?” Sahagún, *Historia general*, lib. 6, cap. 7, 445.

⁵⁷The Spanish of the bilingual text, part of a model discourse addressed by a parish priest to assembled penitents about to make their Lenten confessions, reads “[n]i tampoco dexando de confessar pecado alguno, tragandolo para esconderlo en vuestro coraçon,” but the corresponding Nahuatl has only “[a]uh niman àmo ze ticpinahuizcahuaz nozo ticmauhcacahuaz.” (“And then not one will you omit out of shame, nor omit out of fear.”) Alva, 62-63.

⁵⁸E.g., Vega, *De iustificatione*, lib. 13, cap. 27, 563-64; Delumeau, *L’aveu*, 35 and 38; and Boer, 178-79; and cf. also Molina, *Confessionario mayor*, fol. 119r-119v, where the divine absolution is compared to the lancing of pus-filled wounds.

up by wood and stone.⁵⁹ Whether or not of prehispanic resonance, the understanding of sin which is suggested seems to be of something ontologically distinct from the sinner, yet burdening or sickening him in a distinctly material way, and with a life of its own reminiscent of the 1548 catechism's second version of Judgement Day.⁶⁰

When discussing the receipt of communion, likewise, León's focus is on concrete benefits to be gained (or lost), with an emphasis on the consequences of a fall from grace in which the notion of the sacrament as remedy for sinners threatens to be overshadowed.⁶¹ Alongside the forgiveness of "all your sins and their punishment which you would have suffered in purgatory [*techipahualoyan*], amidst the fire, *Purgatorio*," notable for both the precision of its formulation of the doctrine of a jubilee indulgence and the imprecision of its placement in context, leaving it unclear whether it applies to jubilees specifically (as it should) or to any duly devout reception of communion outside Easter,⁶² the manifestations of God's *gracia* which come to the communicant, like those of His disfavor which follow immediately upon the communicant's fall from the state of grace, are presented in terms of

⁵⁹Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Dominica .4^a. aduentus domini," ed. Barry David Sell, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Barry David Sell, in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 7, 354-64, at 356-58 and 362-63, or in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 295-99, at 297-98. Juan Bautista reuses Sahagún's sermon in his 1606 sermon collection: see Juan Bautista, OFM, "Do[mingo] III. del Adviento: Ser[mon] III. sobre el mismo Evangelio," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 321-40, at 322-23.

⁶⁰See above, 194-97.

⁶¹The passage is marked by a Spanish marginal note, "Amonestacion a los Indios que reciban el Santísimo Sacramento" (León, fol. 72r), probably to be understood, based on the content, as an "admonition to the Indians who are about to receive the Most Holy Sacrament," rather than as an admonition encouraging them to receive.

⁶²"No yhuan xicmàican, ca in ìcuac çan amoneyolehualiztica anquimocelilizque in Santissimo Sacramento, yhuan in antlamàcehua in ammoçahua, yhuan òlamahuitzililiztica ammopie, inic aocmo ceppa antlatlacoçque, in çan nemmayan, in ànoço ypan huey ilhuitl, in campa motenehua Iubileo icnopilhuilo tecencaxahualiztli, tecentlapòpolhuiliztli tlàtlacolli, in àmo xicahualoni, in àmo tlatzilhuiloni, niman oncan yc tlapihua in amotechcopa, in ytetlaçòtlalihtzin Dios in ygraciatzin, yhuan amechmocempòpolhuilia in ixquich in amotlàtlacol, yhuan in ytlatzacuilitloca in anquiyhiyohuizquia techipahualoyan, in tletitlan Purgatorio." Ibid.

a quite literal combination of the idea of Christ's indwelling with that of the human being surrounded by angels or demons, in accordance with the state of his soul:

as long as through *gracia* Dios is with you, not to be counted are the *Angelos* who there take care of you, make you their friends, give you every various admirable thought regarding the service of our Lord Dios and the salvation of your *animas*. And when Dios is within you, at the sight of you the devils rise up, flee, hide themselves in fear, do not dare to come near you. Nonetheless when you commit one mortal sin, consequently Dios separates Himself from you, and the various *Angelos* leave you in misery, in a place of shadows. But when already the devils see you, that already Dios has separated Himself from you, consequently they gather together, assemble within your *anima*, on all sides they close up, cause to be lost in blackness the memory of good deeds, so that you will not again do good deeds. And consequently Dios entirely scorns you, so that the devils will happily take you there to their dwelling, hell; in the fiery cave, next to them you will suffer eternally.⁶³

The mention of the good inspirations provided to the one in the state of grace notwithstanding, it is this warning, unsoftened by advice or encouragement on just how to avoid falling under its ban, that provides the base for the conclusion drawn: "it is indeed very necessary for you to indeed admirably guard yourselves, when you receive the precious admirable flesh of Dios, so that no longer once will you sin, you will not oppose the divine commandments of Dios."⁶⁴ If this seems to raise the question of why take the risk of receiving the Sacrament in the first place, it becomes clear elsewhere in the volume that members of León's Indian congregations have presented him with this argument, and

⁶³"[I]n ixquich ica graciatica motech moetzindíez in Dios, àmo tlapoaltin in Angelome, in oncan amechmocuitlahuíticate, in amechmocniuhíticate, in amechmomaquilíticate, in ixquich nepapan mahuiztic tlalnamiquliztli, yn ytechcopa yn itlaecoltilocatzin to Tecuiyo Dios, yhuan yn imaquixtiloca in amanima. Auh in ìcuac in amittic moetzindíca in Dios ca amixpampa ehua, cholohua, momauhcatlatia, in tlatlacatecolo, àmo motlàpaloa in amohuic àcizque, yèce in ìcuac centel temictiani tlàtlacolli anquichihua, ca niman amechmotlalcahuilia in Dios, yhuan in nepapan Angelome, icnoyopan tlayohuayan amechcahua, auh in ìcuac in ye amechitta, in tlatlacatecolo, in ca ye oamechmotlalcahuilítzino in Dios, niman monechicohua, mocentlalia, itic in amanima, nohuian quitzàtzacua, quitlilpoloa in ilnamicoca in cuallachihuali, inic àmo occeppa, ancuallachihuazque, auh ca niman amechmocentelchihuilia in Dios, inic ympàaquiliztica amechhuicazque in tlatlacatecolo, in ompa ynchan Mictlan teoztoc, intloc antlayhiyohuizque cemìccac." Ibid., fol. 72r-72v.

⁶⁴"[C]enca huel amotech monequi, huel ammomahuizpiezque, in ìcuac anquimocelilizque, yn itlaçomahuiznacayotzin Dios, inic aocmo ceppa antlàtlaçoque, àmo anquimixnamiqulizque in yteotenahuatiltzin Dios." Ibid., fol. 72v.

though in this context León is prepared in Spanish to assert the progress in virtue of Indian communicants, in Nahuatl he musters little more than the simple affirmation of the illogic of such excuses.⁶⁵

* * *

At least as insistent as the Dominicans on the necessity of a clean break with the idolatrous past, Sahagún also tends at times to the cataloguing of obligations prominent in their treatment of baptism, but in the *Adiciones* the primary spiritual relationship in question is not so much the renunciation of the devil as its obverse, the fulfillment of the positive commitment to God made in one's baptismal vows.⁶⁶ Touched on in Gante's brief

⁶⁵Not only is one of the excuses for not communicating which León seeks to combat in his bilingual guide to preparation for communion precisely that of being too great a sinner (fol. 132v-133v), but when defending the capacity of most Indians for communion in a Spanish-language address to confessors he uses this same excuse and the conception of worthiness which underlies it as proof of the Indians' reverence for the Sacrament: "le reciuen con tanto temor que persuadiendo vezes à algunos à que comulguen rehusan diziendo, à Padre soy tan grande pecador que no me atreuo à receuir à Dios en mi anima, pareciendoles que an de ser impecables reciuiendo el Santissimo Sacramento, y muchos vienen al año que preguntandoles si se an emborrachado ò cometido algun pecado graue, dizen Padre ya comulgue la Quaresma passada como auia de boluer à esso?" (fol. 121v). If communion is given to those who request it, the confessors are indeed told, then "con esto se engolosinaran à yr en demanda de la virtud, y visto el prouecho que les viene se animaran no solo à comulgar la Pascua de Resurrecion sino las demas Pascuas, y fiestas de nuestra Señora ganando los Iubileos que se conceden en fiestas particulares" (fol. 122r), but where Bautista finds room in his 102-folio octavo guide to confession for ten folios of a bilingual interrogatory for communicants, including not only the details of transsubstantiation but a full listing of the spiritual fruits of the sacrament, and devotes over a dozen additional monolingual Nahuatl folios to prayers before and after communion, in addition to a relatively brief pastoral address to those about to receive the Sacrament, with the usual attention to the mechanics of fasting, reverence, and proper ingestion (Bautista, *Confessionario*, fol. 75v-101r), León's sacramental instincts and his educational ones seem to collide in this case when addressing the Nahuas. Combat this reason for refusing the Sacrament he does, along with that of inability to perform the customary devotional fast of two or three days, another case of reverence learned too well; yet for this purpose it is little more than affirmations of the illogic of these excuses which he is able to muster, pale and brief in comparison with the force of the dichotomy between purity and impurity which at base he seems to share with his flock. Cf. also Sáenz de la Peña, fol. 61v, who may be following León's sacramental manual.

⁶⁶The prologue to the *Exercicio quotidiano* also opens, after a discursive incipit, with a call to the baptized to fulfill his vows which fits the same pattern. Sahagún, "Exercicio quotidiano," cxxxii-cxxxiii and 146-47.

description of the sacrament, notable mainly for its implicit focus on an adult baptizand,⁶⁷ this contractual aspect of baptism is emphasized in Sahagún's didactic writings to a quite unusual extent.⁶⁸ On Sundays and feast days, according to Sahagún, the Christian should reflect on God's unique power, goodness, and salvation, with the desire that all people should come to know and love Him accordingly, and should also remember "so many things as became your vows when you were baptized," with weeping and resolution of amendment for any violation; more than that, this same meditation should be the first act of reason in the child who attains its use, on pain of a mortal sin of omission.⁶⁹ Similarly, the obligation to knowledge and fulfillment of one's baptismal vows appears among the things which the soul needs to know,⁷⁰ among the consequences of the fact that humanity is created for the life to come in heaven,⁷¹ and among the responsibilities of the head of

⁶⁷Baptism "is the beginning of Christianity, it is the door of our mother Sancta Yglesia. For this reason it is necessary for every person, in order to be saved, that he just once indeed be baptized, not twice. Those who indeed with all their heart prepare themselves when they are baptized, who indeed believe in our lord Dios, consequently He forgives, as they newly enter into the Christianity which they vow to our lord Jesus Christ, as they scorn all snares, what is not good, what is not right." ("[C]a ytzimpeuhca yn christianoyotl: ca ytlatzacuil yn tonantzin sancta yglesia. Yehica yxquich tlacatl ytech monequi ynic momaquixtiz çan huel ceceppa yn nequaatequiloç amo oppa. Ca in aquiue huel in cenyollocopa mocencahua ynuicac moquaatequia, in huel quimoneltoquitia yn totecuiyo Dios: ca niman quimmotlapolhuilia ynic yancuican ipan, calaqui in christianoyotl, yn ihuicpatzinco in totecuiyo Jesu christo im monetoltia: inic quitelchihua yn ixquich netlapololiliztli yn amo qualli yn amo yectli.") Gante, fol. 57v.

⁶⁸Though implicit in the claim of Church and state to prosecute heresy and apostasy, the contractual or covenantal character of baptism is rarely the object of explicit discussion: for one exception, see Pedro Hernández, *Commentarios: En que se contiene lo que el hombre deve saber, creer, y hazer para aplazar a Dios* (Valladolid: En casa de Sebastian Martinez, 1566), lib. 7, cap. 5, fol. [cxcix] v.

⁶⁹"[I]n quezqujtlamantli monetol omuchiuh, yn jquac otimoquatequj." Sahagún, "Las veintiséis adiciones," cap. 9, lviii and 40-41.

⁷⁰Ibid., cap. 11, lxii and 44-45.

⁷¹Ibid., cap. 12, lxii and 46-47.

household with regard to his wife and children.⁷² When the Christian is instructed to limit his hours of sleep in order to occupy himself with spiritual matters, following the Psalmist's advice to meditate night and day on the law of the Lord (Psalm 1: 2), the baptismal vow is not mentioned, but even here the topics presented for consideration are the commandments, the precepts of the Church, and the seven deadly sins, the 'law' taken in its strict sense as the Christian's positive and negative (and mostly negative) obligations.⁷³

Elsewhere, however, the emphasis is on rejoicing. In the proselytizing (non- or pre-catechetical) context of the surviving portion of the *Coloquios*, faith as such is absent from the baptismal requirements found worth mentioning, and the proposed motivation is not the salvation of one's soul but the attainment of the divine kingdom and its riches, an attainment which the Nahuatl text (unlike the Spanish) makes clear applies to both earth and heaven. Though less elaborate in language than the highly rhetorical oration with which the lords of Texcoco are said to have exhorted their subjects to baptism, collected by Sahagún's Franciscan predecessor in ethnographic researches Andrés de Olmos, and in which the benefits of purification, divine favor, and the avoidance of divine punishment bear little or no clear relation to a life or a world beyond this one (the references to what are clearly meant as the Christian heaven and hell notwithstanding),⁷⁴ the priorities of the friars

⁷²Ibid., cap. 17, lxxv and 60-61.

⁷³Ibid., cap. 8, lvi and 36-39.

⁷⁴Huehuetlahtolli: Testimonios de la antigua palabra, ed. and trans. Librado Silva Galeana, with an Introductory Study by Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991), 163-70; and see also the paraphrased translation, derived from Olmos, in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 23, 799-801. Whether or not a speech like this was ever actually delivered, both Olmos and his late-sixteenth-century editor Juan Bautista presumably considered it something which could or should have been said.

Another exhortation in the same collection, probably to be understood as addressed to the youths of the convent school of Tepeyacac, is rather more explicit in linking death and judgement, and in the role ascribed to the devil, but continues to emphasize purification, here linked more to instruction than to any

of the *Coloquios* are roughly comparable. Consisting of the renunciation of the old gods, in a passage thick with the application of prehispanic deity titles to the new God, the renunciation of 'sin', glossed as that which offends this God, and purification through His water, the rite is certainly one of change of allegiance, but if it shares with the ancient catechumenate the revelation of secret knowledge, it seems here to have become divorced from penitence and grace alike, let alone any conception of dying to the world:

But you, if you wish to see, if you wish to marvel at the lordship and the wealth of Him Through Whom One Lives, which is guarded here on earth, and if you wish to go there, if you wish to enter there, into heaven, where He Through Whom One Lives, Jesus Christ, is, it is indeed very necessary for you to scorn, look with anger on, hate, and spit upon those whom you hold as gods, whom you know as gods, for truly they are not gods, they are just mockers. And also it is very necessary that you separate from, leave all the various sins, the offenses of the Possessor of Nearness, the Possessor of Closeness, in which you live, which you commit. And it is necessary that your blackness, your filthiness be washed, be purified, through the water of Him Through Whom One Lives.⁷⁵

The Christian penitent must weep for his sins because they have offended God,⁷⁶

particular sacrament, in sharp contrast to the unambiguously Christian conceptions of sin and of the afterlife found in the exhortations added by Bautista: *Huehuetlahtolli*, ed. and trans. Silva Galeana, 187-97 (the Tepeyacac exhortation) and 199-237 (Bautista's exhortations).

⁷⁵"Auh yn amehoantin intla anquittaznequj intla anqujmaviçoznequj ytlatoçaiotzin ioan in jnetlamachtiltzin ipalnemoanj, in nçan talticpac mopia: ioan intla ompa aniaznequj, intla vmpa ancalaquiznequj ilhujcac, in vmpa moietztica ypalnemoanj Jesu christo, cenca vel amotech mon[e]quj in anqujntelchivazque anqujntalalitazque, anqujncocolizque, ioan anqujnchichazque in anqujmoteotitinemj, in teteu impan anqujmmati, ca nelli amo teteu, ca çan tecamocaiava. No ioan cenca monequj a[n]qujntalcahuizque, anquincavazque in ixqujch in nepapan tlalacullj yn jiolitlacoloca in tloque navaque, yn ipan annemj in anqujchiuhtinemj. Auh monequj mopacaz muchipavaz in amotliltica in amocatzavaca ica in iatzin ypalnemoanj."

In Spanish, "Si vosotros queréis ver y admiraros deste reyno y riquezas de aquel por quien todos buimos, nuestro Señor Jesucristo, ante todas cosas os es muy necesario despreciar y aborrecer, desechar y abominar y escuper todos estos que agora tenéis por Dioses y adoráis, porque a la verdad no son Dioses sino engañadores y burladores, y también os es muy necesario que os apartéis y desechéis todos los peccados de qualquier manera que sean, porque todos ellos enojan a Jesucristo, y es también menester que os purifiquéis de todas vuestras suziedades, con el agua de Dios." Sahagún, *Coloquios*, cap. 5, para. C, 52-53, 85, and 132.

⁷⁶Sahagún, "Exercicio quotidiano," cxxxiii and 146-47; Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, "Dominica 4ª. aduentus domini," ed. Barry David Sell, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Barry David Sell, in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 7, 354-64, at 359 and 364, or in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 295-99, at 299. Juan Bautista reuses Sahagún's sermon in his 1606 sermon collection: see Juan Bautista, OFM, "Do[mingo] III. del Adviento: Ser[mon] III. sobre el mismo Evangelio," in Klaus, *Uprooted*

but in the *Apéndice*'s condemnation of the old custom of vowing children to temple service, the devil's desire that human beings be afflicted, as exemplified by the ritual sadness and affliction of the small children who were put to serve the gods in reparation for the sins of their parents (as understood by Sahagún), is contrasted with God's creation of humanity, His children, for happiness, and in particular for joyfulness in His service, asserted not only by Scriptural quotation but also by the example of St Francis's instruction to his friars to confess if they have sinned, but not to go around moping in public.⁷⁷ The penitence which God commands is not the physical affliction practiced by the elders but a spiritual act done on account of our sins and leading to the sacramental confession which is what really takes away sins,⁷⁸ a private, spiritual sadness for sins ultimately, though rather late in the argument, named as *contrition*.⁷⁹ It is by the easy yoke of the commandments that heaven is attained, as demonstrated by Scripture, not by suffering or penance,⁸⁰ as illustrated also by the devil's depressing hymns with their hidden meanings and their as-yet-imperfect replacement by the joyful, Christian songs of the Church.⁸¹

In Sahagún's collection of Christian songs intended to solve this problem, the *Psalmodia*, repentance is even less in evidence. In the Nahuatl "prologue" (labelled with the Spanish title) even the baptismal requirement of renunciation of the devil or sin is

Christianity, app. 2, 321-40, at 323-24.

⁷⁷Sahagún, "Apéndice," 7th collation, cxxi-cxxiii, 130, and 132-35.

⁷⁸Ibid., cxxiii-cxxiv, 134, and 137.

⁷⁹Ibid., cxxvi-cxxvii, 138, 140-41, and 143.

⁸⁰Ibid., cxxxiv-cxxv, 134, 136-37, and 139.

⁸¹Ibid., cxxv-cxxvi, 136, 138-39, and 141.

overlooked.⁸² Reviewing the catechism even as it sets the stage for the festal celebrations to come, the singer identifies the various catechetical formulae as different items of traditional festal adornment given in baptism, described as a rite of adoption, a divine indwelling reminiscent of the first chapter of the Gospel of John, and not least as an extrinsic if non-earthly form of ennoblement: “When it was day, it dawned, when the word of God descended upon you, you took the *sacramento*, you received the jade-green water, *baptismo*, when thus there the Lord God Dios adopted you as His children, through divinity you became the children of *Sancta Iglesia*, divinity grasped, established itself in your *animas*, Christianity became your adornment, your gift, your merit.”⁸³ Purified

⁸²On this prologue, see Louise M. Burkhart, “A Doctrine for Dancing: The Prologue to the *Psalmodia christiana*,” *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 21-33, to which this discussion is indebted.

Faith does make an indirect appearance as a baptismal requirement later in the work, when the Gospel is compared to “water through divinity, by which *animas* are washed” (“teuiutica atl ... inic maaltia in anima[s]me”: Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die apostolorum Symonis & Iudae, psalm 1, 314-15), as part of a typological identification of the twelve apostles with the twelve oxen which supported the ‘sea’ at the entrance to Solomon’s Temple (3 Kings 7: 23-26; 2 Chronicles 4: 2-5), but even here the point which Sahagún seems more concerned to make, bringing it in out of season, is the restriction of the preaching of that word to those duly commissioned for the task: “For all those who wish to be reckoned to *Sancta Iglesia*, who do not yet enter within *Sancta Iglesia*, who are called *cathecuminos*, faith is indeed first necessary. So that faith will indeed be placed in our hearts, first is necessary the hearing of the divine word, and so that the divine word will be heard, a teacher is necessary who will speak. It is not necessary that teachers put themselves forward, just it is necessary that they be placed in office, be sent: on this account our Lord placed in office the twelve *apostolos*, and sent them into the whole world to teach.” (“In isquichti in itech pouiznequi in sancta Iglesia, in aiama jitic calaqui Sancta Iglesia, vel achto itech monequi in tlaneltoquiliztli, in moteneoa Cathecuminos. In tlaneltoquiliztli, inic vel itech motlaliz in toiollo: achto monequi in icacoca teutlatolli: auh inic mocaquiz in teutlatolli, monequi temachtiani in tlatoz. In temachtiani, amo monequi moiocoiazque, çan monequi isquetzalozque, yoalozque: ipampa oquinmisquechili in totecuio in matlactli vmome Apostolosme, yoan oquinmioali in nouian cemañoac, inic temachtizque.” Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die apostolorum Symonis & Iudae, psalm 2, 314-15; cf. Romans 10: 14-15.)

⁸³“In iquac tonac, tlatuic, in iquac amopan temuc teutl itlatol, in ancanque Sacramento, in anquicelique chalchi[uh]matlalal Baptismo, iquac ic vncan amechmopiltzinti in teutl tlatoni Dios: oteuiutica amipilhoa amuchiuhque in Sancta Iglesia: oteuiutl quicuic, oitech motlali in amanima: christianoiutl in amonechichual, in amonemac, in amomaceoal omuchiuh.” Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, prologo, psalm 1, 16-17.

Anderson translates the last portion of the passage as “your souls acquired godliness (and) in them was placed Christianity, which become your adornment, a gift for you, your lot,” which is grammatically possible except insofar as all three verbs should be in the past tense (‘become’ may be a typographical error for ‘became’), but not to my mind the obvious reading. Since ‘your souls’ (*amanima*) is grammatically

through the sacrament, to be described later on as “that which is through divinity a sweatbath,”⁸⁴ the recipient is made ready to receive the “lordship, rulership through divinity” which is Christianity, a wealth which is unlike the precious things of earth, but rather is “heavenliness, a marvelous marvel [*mauiztic tlamauicōlli*] which the Lord God Jesus Himself came to give us on earth, already here” (the *Coloquio*’s geographically-obscure kingdom of heaven), or in this case the gift of what are “through divinity your shields, your arms, your adornments.”⁸⁵ As in the highly idiosyncratic version of the Hail Mary which follows, divine grace is something which clothes its recipient, literally ‘clothes

singular in Nahuatl (literally ‘your (pl.) soul’), either ‘your souls’ or ‘divinity/godliness’ (*teuiutl*) could be the subject of *quicuic*, ‘he/she/it grasped him/her/it’, with the other providing the object, but I read *quicuic* and *itech motlali* as parallel verbs with the same subject and object (direct object in the first case, postpositional object in the second), and as Anderson recognizes, the only logical relationship of ‘your souls’ to *motlali*, a reflexive or passive with meanings of placing, establishing, or sitting down, is as the postpositional object, that in which (*-tech*) the action of the verb is occurring. (The *o-* is a wandering prefix marking the past or past perfect tense, and in this passage appears to be serving mostly for adornment.) Needing a subject for *motlali*, Anderson then goes on to the next plausible noun, ‘Christianity’ (*christianoiuatl*), but in addition to overlooking the break suggested by the intervening colon - not a decisive argument, as the reader of these footnotes probably knows by now, even if the punctuation of this particular text is generally reliable - this produces a word order more appropriate to classical Latin poetry than to this non-declined language: ‘object of verb 1’ + ‘verb 1’ + ‘postpositional unit dependent on verb 2’ + ‘verb 2’ + ‘noun which is simultaneously the subject of verb 1 and the (antecedent of the) object of the postposition dependent on verb 2’ + ‘subject of verb 2’. Possibly Anderson is reluctant to give such an active role to ‘godliness’, but I would suggest that this is precisely what is intended: whether viewed as the incarnation of a non-Christian divine power or as the perfectly orthodox sacramental infusion of grace is a different question.

Less problematically, Christian technical terminology and the obviously positive tone of this passage both influence my translation of *amomaceoal* as ‘your merit’, but Anderson’s ‘your lot’ is also a reasonable choice. The underlying meaning is ‘desert, that which is deserved’, with the implication that what is deserved is not punishment but something positive (*merecermerced*, in the Spanish phrase), and one becomes deserving, in both the prehispanic and the Christian cosmos, by way of *tlamaceualiztli*, ‘the act of deserving things, i.e., penitence’. In a non-Christian context the word can also refer to earning the right to a share or ‘lot’ in the distribution of land or booty, however, and this could indeed be a plausible meaning here, in the spirit in which the biblical psalmist calls the Lord his ‘portion’.

⁸⁴ “[I]n teuiutica temazcalli.”

Ibid., *chicuntetl sacramentos*, psalm 4, 30-31.

⁸⁵ “[T]euiutica tecuiutl tlatocaiutl ...

“... in christianoiuatl ... ca ilhuicacaiutl, mauiztic tlamauicōlli: inomatcatzinco in teutl tlatoani Iesus, techmomaquilico in talticpac ie nican.

“... in teuiutica amochimal, amotlauiz, in amonechichihual.”

Ibid., prologo, psalm 1, 16-17.

making the man' in the conferral of lordly status. Translating 'blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus', the *Psalmodia* renders the idea of being 'blessed', apparently understood in the sense of 'fortunate', with the image of being arrayed in a wondrous garment: "In that thou art worthy of favor thou surpassest all women who have come to live and who will live; great is thy vestment by which our Lord Dios has adorned thee. And thy jewel, thy quetzal feather [= thy child], Who came into thy womb, into thy throat, that one, Jesus, greatly surpassing is His vestment, His adornment."⁸⁶

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Exactly how the individual's private repentance for his violations of his baptismal vows is to be balanced with the community's public celebration of its adoption into the New Covenant is never entirely clear in Sahagún, and though Gante shares with his fellow Franciscan a more dialectical approach than that offered by the Dominicans or Mijangos, his is a dynamic more clearly bounded by the individual psyche. Like the later Franciscan Juan Bautista, who combines fire-and-brimstone exempla, backed up by visual reminders, on the evil fate awaiting those who omit sins in confession or fail to repent with the proper contrition, with reassurances on the mending of attrition by the sacrament and the ease of Christ's yoke,⁸⁷ Gante devotes rather less attention to something that might be interpreted

⁸⁶"Inic titlacnopilhuiani, tiquimmopanauilia in isquichtin ciua, in onemico, auh in nemizque: vei in moneapanalitzin ic omitzmochichiuli in totecui Dios.

"Auh in mocuzcatzin, in moquetzaltzin in moxillantzinco, in motozcatlantzinco vitz in ichoatzin Iesus, tlapanauia vei in ineapanalitzin, in inechichiualtzin."

Ibid., psalm 7, 22-23.

For comparison, Gante, fol. 21r-21v and 80r, the *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, fol. v r, and Molina, *Doctrina*, 37, all render 'blessed' unproblematically with a passive form of *yectenehua*, analogous in form and meaning to *benedicere*. ('Womb, throat' is a standard pairing, incidentally, and does not imply anything about the manner of conception.)

⁸⁷Bautista, *Confessionario*, neyolmelahvaloni, cap. 2-6, fol. 4r-14r; cap. 8-11, fol. 15v-28v; cap. 15, fol. 37r-39v; and see also the prologue, part of the unpaginated preliminary matter and not found in the copy consulted, but transcribed by García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 159(114), 434-35; and Bautista,

as a strict definition of contrition than to a more general attitude of repentance, and combines it with an emphasis on the love of God considerably more developed than any of the Dominican catechisms' admonitions on the subject. *Neyoltequipacholiztli*, literally 'affliction of heart', is defined as a component of the sacrament of penance with relative emotional neutrality, as meaning that the penitent "will remember all the sins which he has committed, through his not-good thoughts, through his not-good words, his not-good deeds; thus he will be sorry for everything by which he has offended our lord Dios, he has broken his divine commandments,"⁸⁸ and though another division of the conditions for the remission of sins is rather stronger in this regard, explaining that "with all my heart I will be afflicted, my sins will cause me to weep, will cause me sadness; my heart will come to wish very much that I had not done them, that I had not offended my god, my ruler, our lord Dios," and adding under a separate heading that "I will entirely resolve that never again will I wish to sin, though I should be killed as a result of people seeking to compel me to sin,"⁸⁹ the rhetorical power devoted to this subject in the doctrine of 1548 is directed elsewhere here, into the expression of the appropriate feelings rather than their analysis, and into the effort to balance the recognition of personal sin and guilt with trust in that salvific mercy which the New Testament Redemption proclaims as the divine response to

Advertencias, pt. 1, no. 1, fol. 1r-2v, partially contradicted by *ibid.*, pt. 2, indvlt, s.v. Baptizare, no. 14, fol. 178v-180v. As noted above, 113, n. 84, the prayer expressing confidence in God's mercy found at cap. 3, fol. 6r-7r, is close to one in Gante, fol. 88r-89r, and for the exemplum recounted at cap. 5, fol. 9v-10v, cf. also Dehouve, appendix, exemplum 4, text 3, 173-77, for a story containing the same basic elements but derived from a different literary tradition, appearing in Nahuatl in a Jesuit manuscript dated 1731. Bautista's love for exempla can also be seen in Juan Bautista, OFM, "Do[mingo] III. del Adviento: Ser[mon] III. sobre el mismo Evangelio," in Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, app. 2, 321-40.

⁸⁸"Q.n. quilnamiquiz: yn ixquich itlatlacol yn oquichih: yn ica yn iaqualtlalnamiquliz yn ica yn iaqualtlatol yn iaqualtlalchihualiz yc moyoltonehuaz yn ixquich yc oquimoyollitlacalhui in totecuiyo dios: yn oquitlaco yn iteotenahuatiltzin." Gante, fol. 2v.

⁸⁹"[Y]ca mochi noyollo ninotequipachoz nechchoctiz: nechtlacoltiz yn notlatlacol: cenca connequiz in noyollo macamo nicchihuani macamo nicnoyollitlacalhuiani / yn noteouh yn notlatoca[t]zin yn totecuiyo dios.

"... ninocemixnahuatiz ynic aoquic ceppa nitlatlacoznequiz / im ma nel ipampa nimictiloz ynic nechcuitlahuiltizque yn tlatlacolli." *Ibid.*, fol. 56v-57r, and cf. the "Doctrina tepiton," *ibid.*, fol. 83r-83v.

human sin, wavering between fear and hope.

As Gante's gloss on the fifth petition of the Our Father proclaims:

O our Lord Dios Jesus Christ, our beloved savior, entirely merciful! How will I know that Thou hast become reconciled with me? Truly indeed by this I will know: if with my heart I love Thee [cf. 1 John 3: 18-20]. For this reason, for sin, Thou hast separated Thyself from me. But just also through Thy beloved prayer [i.e., the Lord's Prayer], thus Thou wilt be reconciled toward me, if with all my heart I will love Thee, and if I will love my fellows, as I love myself [cf. Luke 10: 25-28]: if we forgive one another, it is thus that Thou wilt take away my sins.⁹⁰

⁹⁰"Iyo totecuiyoe diose Jesu christoe. Totlaçotemaquixticatzine / cenquizca tetlaocolianie. Quen nicmatiz yn notechpa otimoyolcehuitzino. Ca nelli huell ic nicmatiz yntla noyollocacopa nimitznotlaçotili: Ca yehica yn tlatlacoltica otinechmotlalcahuilitzino. Auh ca çan no yca in motlaçotlatlauhtilocatzin: yc nohuicpa timoyolcehuitzinoz intla nocenyollocopa nimitznotlaçotiliz: ihuan intla niquinnotlaçotiliz in nohuanpohuan: yn iuh ninotlaçotla intla titonepantlapopolhuican ca yc tinechmopopolhuiliz yn notlatlacol." Gante, fol. 19v.

Cf. the 1570 constitutions of the Franciscan-sponsored Sacrament confraternity of Tula, in John F. Schwaller, "Constitution of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of Tula, Hidalgo, 1570," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 19 (1989): 217-44, at 233: "Indeed our Lord Dios dwells within the one in whom is divine love, called *charidad*, who loves his fellows, but our Lord Dios separates himself very far from the one in whom it is not, who does not perform acts of love." ("In aquin ytech ca in teutlatlaçotlaliztli yn itoca Charidad; ca vel yitic mochantizinoa in totecuiyo dios yn quintlaçotla yvanpoan, Auh yn aquin amo ytech ca yn in amo quichiva in tetlaçotlaliztli; ca cenca hueca quitlalcahuia in totecuiyo dios.")

Cf. also Gante's eloquent gloss on the First Commandment (according to the form of the Gospel Great Commandment): "First, I will love the one who is alone God, our Lord Dios, with all my heart: this means that just Him alone will I hold as God, will I believe in, because it is just He alone, who is our Lord Dios, who is God, who is lord, who is the One Through Whom One Lives. Just Him alone with all my heart, my *anima*, I will love: this means that all my deeds, what I do, what I say, what I think, just everything I will reckon to Him. Consequently I will just never slip into idolatry, I will just love Him with all my heart: this means that what He wants me to love, I will love, and what He wants me to scorn, I will scorn. And I will love Him with all my strength: this means that in the manner that I love Him when He causes me to live happily, just also in the same way I will love Him when sometimes He inflicts on me suffering, affliction. And further I will love Him [with] all my will: this means that I will just leave myself in His hands; what He wishes, just also that my heart will wish; just indeed I will give entirely to Him my spirit, my *anima*; just indeed I will follow Him; just indeed I will obey His divine ordinance, belief in Him. What He will order me to abandon, I will abandon, and what He will command me to do, I will do: my heart will go forth to wish it: may no one thus offend Him, though the world be lost." ("Ca ynic .j. nicnotlaçotiliz yn iceltzin teotl in totecuiyo dios yn ica mochi noyollo. q.n. çan iceltzin nicnoteotiz / nicnoneltoquitiz. Yehica ca çan iceltzin in totecuiyo dios: in teotl, in tlatohuani, yn ipalnemohuani. Ca çan iceltzin yca mochi noyollo nanimantica nicnotlaçotiliz. Q.n. In ixquich notlachihual, yn nicchihua, yn niquitohua, in niquilnam[i]qui: çan mochi ytechzinco nicnopohuiliz. çan niman ayc ninotlapololtiz yn ihuicpa yn tlateotoquiliztli, çan ica mochi noyollo nicnotlaçotiliz. Q.n. yn tleyn quimonequiltiz niclaçotlaz: ca niclaçotlaz. Auh yn tleyn quimonequiltiz nicelchihuaz: ca nicelchihuaz. Auh nicnotlaçotiliz in ica mochi nochicahuaca. Q.n. yn quenin nicnotlaçotilia yniquac nechmopaccanemilitia / çan no yuh nicnotlaçotiliz yniquac yn quemmanian notech quimotlalilia yn tlayhiyohuiliztli, in netoliniliztli. Auh çan i[e] mochi nocieliz nicnotlaçotiliz. Q.n. çan imactzinco ninocencahuaz / yn tlein quimonequiltiz / çan no yehuatl quinequiz yn noyollo / çan huel nicnocemmaquiliz yn noyollia, naniman:

The recitation of the Our Father, it should be noted, is one of the traditional paths to the remission of venial sins, like the use of holy water and the attentive hearing of mass or sermon, among other things,⁹¹ but here there seems to be a larger point at issue about the relationship between love and forgiveness, one supported by the highly idiosyncratic list of methods by which the Holy Spirit is said to forgive sins in the explication of the tenth article of the Creed, the remission of sins, in which baptism and sacramental confession are lumped together not only with marriage (which like the other sacraments remits venial sins if received with the proper dispositions, according to the usual interpretation) but with various other works of charity and forms of conversion to God, all given the title, in Spanish, of ‘sacraments’:

I believe in Dios *Spiritu Sancto*, just indeed alone God. And I believe that through His goodness, *sacramentos*, He takes away sins. First, in baptism. Second, in marriage, *matrimonio*. Third, in [the works of] mercy. Fourth, in forgiveness of others: he who forgives others, our Lord Dios forgives. Fifth, whoever abandons sin, whoever entirely resolves himself with regard to our Lord Dios. Sixth, whoever indeed with his heart loves our Lord Jesus Christ, turns himself toward Him, as Mary Magdalene did, who entirely gave her spirit, her *anima*, to our Lord Dios. The seventh way in which sins are taken away is through penance, *penitencia*, and weeping, sadness, affliction on account of sin, and that one would indeed confess uprightly [*melaahuac*] before the confessor. This is what it means that through the things which make one good [= the virtues], *sacramentos*, sins are taken away.⁹²

çan huel nicnotepotztzoquiliz / çan huel nicnotlacamachitiz yn yteotlamanitiliztzin yn ineltococatzin. Yn tley nychmocahualtiliz niccahuaz: ca niccahuaz. Auh in tley nychmocuitlahuutiliz yn nicchihuaz / ca nicchihuaz, connequiz yn noyollo / maca yc ac quimoyollitlacalhuitzinoz y ma nel polihuiz cemanahuac.”) Gante, fol. 37r-37v. The substitution of the Gospel commandment for the Old Testament one is common: in addition to the various catechisms and treatises cited in this study, see Homza, 164-65.

⁹¹See for example the lists in Gante, fol. 83v-84r, Molina, *Doctrina*, 45-46, and Plaza, 667-68 and 712.

⁹²“Niconeltoquitia yn dios spiritu sancto yn çan huell iceltzin teotl. Yhuan nitlaneltoaca yca in iqualtica sacramentos quimotepopolhuilia tlatlacolli. Inic .j. ypan nequaaatequiliztli. Inic .ij. ypan yn nenamictiliztli matrimonio. Inic .iij. ypan in tetlaocoliliztli. Inic .iiij. ypan yn tetlapopolhu[?]litzli in aquin tetlapopolhuia ca totēcuiyo Dios quimotlapopolhuilia. Ynic .v. yn aquique yn motlatlacolcahualtia yn mocemixnahuatia yn ihuicpatzinco. in totēcuiyo dios. Ynic .vj. yn aquique huel yiollocopa quimotlaçotilia in totēcuiyo Jesu christo yhuicpatzinco mocuepa. Yn iuh quichiuh yn maria magdalena in quimocemmaquili in iyollia in ianiman in totēcuiyo dios. Ynic chicontlamantli ynic polihui tlatlacolli

- though Gante certainly cannot be accused of neglecting sacramental confession, with the lengthy model confession or examination of conscience which he provides.

It is in this context, too, that ascetic penitence appears, as a sign of sorrow for sins, certainly, but also as a positive good, a meritorious act in the strict sense of the term, as in the prayer which glosses the opening phrase of the Our Father, *Pater noster qui es in celis* ('Totatzine ylhuicac timoetztica'), where the adoption of humanity by God is made explicitly Trinitarian in its manifestation, but also linked directly to both human penitence and the two planks of baptism and sacramental penance:

O our father, our lord, Dios! ... Always Thou makest us Thy children through Thy love, in that Thou lovest us, Thou never abandonest us; always Thou callest out to us, such that Thou causest us to gaze toward Thee, through baptism and through *penitencia*, the earning of merit through suffering [*tlayhiyohuiliztlamacehualiztli*], so that indeed it appears that Thou art indeed our father, as is said in the divine book, just Thou alone indeed art Dios, the ruler of the world, Who never began, Who has no origin, Who has no end. In that Thou art our father, when we did not yet exist, we were not yet anyone, indeed you saw us. ... In that Thou art our father, Thou made us in Thy image, so that we take after Thee. In that Thou art our father, Thou came to save us, through Thy suffering *passio*, and always Thou causest us to be born in Thy regard, through the *sacramento baptismo*, and *penitencia*. In that Thou art our father, through the *Spiritu Sancto* Thou endowed us, Thy children, so that we will go to Thy dwelling, heaven.⁹³

Ascetic penitence and the sacrament of penance, both meanings of Spanish *penitencia*, are shading into one another in the use of the loanword here, with 'the earning of merit through

yehuatl yn ica tlamacehualiztli yn penitencia yhuan choquiztli, tlaocoyeliztli, netequipacholiztli yn ipampa tlatlacolli. Yhuan in huel melahuac moyolcuitiani yn iyxpan teyolcuitiani. O yehuatli yn q.n. yn ica yn qualihuan sacramentos ynic polihui tlatlacolli." Gante, fol. [35]r-[35]v.

⁹³"Iyo totatzine totecuiyoe diose. ... Ca mochipa titechmopiltzintizinohua yn ica motetlaçotlali[t]zin: inic titechmotlaçotilia: yn aic titechmoxiccahuilia / ca mochipa titechmotzatzililia: inic mohuicpatzinco titechmotlachieltilia: in ica in nequaatequiliztli: yhuan ica in penitencia: in tlayhiyohuiliztlamacehualiztli: ynic huel neci in huel nelli titotatzin yn iuh mitohua yn ipan teamoxtili / in ça huel moceltzin in tiDios / yn cemanahuac titlatohuani yn ayc tizintic / yn atle mopeuhca / yn atle motzonquizcatzin: Inic titotatzin yn ayamo ticatca / yn ayamo taque ca huel titechmottiliaya. ... Inic titotatzin ca otitechmixiplayotitzino: ynic otitechmochihui: ynic timitztoquixtilia. Inic titotatzin. Ca otitechmomaquixtilico yn ica ym motlayhiyohuilizpassiotzin / yhuan mochipa mohuicpatzinco titechmotlacatilia: yn ica sacramento Baptismo, yhuan penitencia. Inic titotatzin / ca yca spiritu sancto. Otitechmonemactili yn timopilhuan ynic tiazque yn mochantzinco yn ilhuicac." Ibid., fol. 17r-17v.

suffering' seeming to draw at least as much attention as a component of the postbaptismal rebirth of the sacrament as its sacramental nature as such, much as the discussion of the sin of sloth singles out as examples of the holy life ascetic practices, identifying as guilty of this mortal sin "he who just out of sloth leaves off his merit of a good life, which our lord Dios places within him: perhaps he will live at the church, and scorn earthly riches, and abstain from much speech, and chastise his flesh through suffering. But if he just leaves off out of sloth, if rather he does what he thinks of his own will, in this way he sins."⁹⁴

At foundation, however, the thread which ties all of these elements together, and which is Gante's most distinctive contribution, is the striving toward union with the divine will through love. As the gloss on the third petition of the Our Father also cries out, to draw on this section once more, "O our father Dios! I am nothing; I am a worm, I am a clod of earth. If I will give entirely to Thee my heart, my will, as they give to Thee their heart, their will, Thy children, Thy beloved ones, the *sanctos*, who have received the gift of life in heaven, o our lord Dios!, if with my heart I so love Thee, as they love Thee, through this indeed I will do what Thou wishest."⁹⁵ Dust and ashes, mired in sin, humanity may yet call God Father, by the grace of the Incarnation, and by the same grace, both forgiveness and obedience spring now not from divine power but from love.

* * *

To judge by Motolinía's account of Indians who insist, at times over the objections of their confessors, on making a general confession including their sins committed before

⁹⁴"Ca no yehuatl in aquin çan quitlatzihuiçahua yn iqualnemiliztlamacehualiz in itic quimotallilia in totecuiyo dios in aço teopan nemiz, ihuan in quitelchihuaz: in tlalticpac necuiltonoliztli, ihuan quimocahualtiz in tequitlatlatolli, ihuan in inacayo tlaihiyohuiliztica quinonotzaz. Auh intla çan quitlatziuhcacadua intla çà ye quichihua in tlein ixcoyan quilnamiqui ca yc tlatlacoçhua." Ibid., fol. 49r-49v.

⁹⁵"Yyo totatzin[e] diose ca anitley: ca nocuilin ca nitalpol intla nimitznocenmaquiliz noyollo nocieliz / yn iuh mitzmomaquila: in inyollo in incieliz yn mopilhuan in motlaçohuan in sanctome yn ilhuicac oyolilizynceliloque. Yyo totecuiyoe diose. intla noyollocopa / iuh nimitznotlaçotili yn iuh mitzmotlaçotilia / ca yehuatl yc huel nicchihuaz yn tleyn ticmonequiltia." Ibid., fol. 18v-19r.

baptism, “some [of them] because they do not know if they received baptism with so much contrition and preparation as was necessary,”⁹⁶ scruples like the 1548 Dominicans’ on baptism do not appear to have fallen on entirely deaf ears in Mexico, nor to have been a Dominican monopoly, but what is also interesting to note is the differing scope which these different paradigms of baptism and confession allow for this kind of gradual recognition of the significance of a conversion undertaken perhaps hastily and with insufficient information. For Gante, with his cyclical drama of fall and redemption, and for Mijangos, more interested in satisfaction than in repentance, potential backsliding can be incorporated relatively easily under the heading of human frailty, without calling into question the individual’s or group’s fundamental Christian commitment; for Sahagún, on the other hand, with his emphasis on vows and allegiance, failure is only a short step at best from treason and apostasy, while for the Dominicans’ brand of legalism it becomes a question of inability, perhaps rooted in ignorance and perhaps in ‘incapacity’, that catchall term for failure to conform to a Spaniard’s expectations, but not necessarily, at least, in deliberate malice. An Indian Christian identity, even as imagined from the outside by friars intent on making sure of the ‘Christian’ portion, was inescapably both ‘Indian’ and ‘Christian’, and as the following conclusion will briefly argue, the variations seen among the catechisms under study in these last four chapters reflect a series of internally-coherent alternative visions the historical ramifications of which extend far beyond the strictly theological.

⁹⁶ “[A]lgunos porque no saben si rreçibieron el baptismo con tanta contriçión y aparejo como hera menester.” Motolinía, *Memoriales*, no. 56, 360; similarly in Zorita, pt. 4, cap. 22, 796-97.

See also Julián Garcés’s Latin letter to Paul III: “Plusculi post baptismum petunt baptizari: quibus cum Christiana religione id non licere dicatur, respondent, scimus id quidem, sed tunc non credidimus, aut verba baptizatoris non intelleximus.” *De habilitate et capacitate gentium sive indorum noui mundi nuncupati ad fidem Christi capessendam, & quam libenter suscipiant* (Rome: s.i., 1537; facsimile reprint in A. Lobato, OP, “El obispo Garcés, OP., y la bula ‘Sublimis Deus,’” in *Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo*, 739-95, at app. 1, 769-84), B ii r.

CONCLUSION

And as mercury poured out over broken metal, leaving the earth, goes along gathering up the flakes of silver and incorporating them in itself, in this manner the divine word went along gathering the elect and predestined to the Church, reproving the evil.¹

Written by a Spanish Jesuit at the end of the sixteenth century to describe the preaching of the apostles, these words offer an irresistible temptation to a historian of the preaching of Christianity in Spanish Mexico. While the central Mexican highlands occupied by Montezuma's empire were not blessed or cursed with the mountains of silver and mercury, Potosí and Huancavelica, that literally and figuratively towered over so many aspects of life in the viceroyalty of Peru, there can be few more familiar symbols of the Spanish colonial system to the modern historian than the eastward-running stream of American silver, the quintessential image of a plunder economy and a crucial building block of more than one world-systemic theory attempting to explain the rise and fall of dominant powers on the global stage to the present and beyond. For many early modern Spanish writers, on the other hand, ecclesiastics in particular but not alone, it was the westward movement of a 'world system' of a somewhat different kind which was a more important predictor of events to come, the westward migration of the Church, long exiled from Jerusalem and more recently driven out of Germany, in the train of Spanish arms across the sea. A warning to Spain as well as a source of pride, this 'spiritual conquest', as it was called then

¹"Y como el azogue derramado sobre el metal quebrantado, dexando la tierra, va recogiendo las hojitas de la plata, y encorporandolas en si, desta manera la diuina palabra yua cogiendo los electos y predestinados a la Yglesia, reprouando los malos." Pedro Sánchez, SI, Libro del reyno de Dios y del camino por do se alcança: Confirmado con exemplos y sentencias de santos: Y aora nueuamente enriquecido con quatro libros (Madrid: Por Luis Sanchez, 1599), lib. 3, cap. 9, fol. 62r.

and since, often in contention with yet still inextricably bound to the political conquest of horses and forged steel, and owing perhaps more than can ever be quite grasped to the invisible armies of European disease, was carried out by a relative handful of men (men almost without exception, not women), self-conscious and to modern eyes often disturbingly self-confident imitators of the apostles, whose rapid success in the imperial heartlands of Mexico and Peru far outstripped by any institutional measure anything seen within their own lifetimes by those unlettered fishermen of Galilee whose ability to sway the mighty of Rome formed one of the sixteenth-century preacher's stock arguments for the truth of the Faith: clearly, many of them and their chroniclers would suppose, divine predestination at work.

The fate of those souls which the Spanish missionaries believed had been providentially saved is beyond the historian's realm, and neither the end of the world nor the definitive transfer of Christianity from Europe to Latin America, both predicted sequels to the New World mission with a reputable following among sixteenth-century readers of the signs of the times, has yet occurred - though the latter possibility, *mutatis mutandis*, has been regularly canvassed for some years now in the pages of major newspapers. Slippery as the proverbial quicksilver, however, even without the reminder that the element which separates the precious metal from its ore is also a contaminating poison, the idea of 'spiritual conquest' does not require the positing of divine intervention to acquire an air of mystery upon closer inspection. What is this attractive force that draws the chosen in? What motivates an individual or group to submit to this process, or to participate in it? Conversely, what does it really mean to be 'gathered to the Church', or to 'gather' others, leaving behind earthly dross? How far does the refining process have to go before the metal is judged sufficiently pure? Is some fundamental transformation achieved, or expected, or desired, and if so, by whom? Or is purification more to the point, or perhaps the addition of something new, or some combination of the two? Or a change of allegiance

that does not necessarily entail structural change at all?

In some ways the mercury-amalgamation image comes closest to describing Sahagún's vision of the ideal progress of the spiritual conquest, out of the authors studied here. Directly linked to that military Conquest which poured across central Mexico with something of the speed and dazzle of spilled mercury, Christian conversion represents for Sahagún the shedding of all dross of past idolatry and the adoption of a new life which is already here on earth the pledge of heaven's glory, a vision of light and splendor expressed in the language of earthly wealth, silver and gold and precious stones, alongside the birds and flowers of the paradisaical garden shared by Nahua and European tradition.² Whether in the *Coloquios*'s offer of the treasure of the kingdom of heaven, the *Psalmodia*'s baptismal finery, or even the *Apéndice*'s call to make rejoicing and not penitence the tonic of Christian life and Christian hymnody, Sahagún's Gospel is - or at least should be - indeed one of Good News, a message of joy fitting alike to the heritage of Francis of Assisi and to that of the Primitive Church.

The purification which allows the convert to reach this state, on the other hand, has more in common with the refining fire foretold by the prophet Malachi, wielded by a messenger of the Lord before whose face none can stand and after whom comes the Lord's wrath (Malachi 3-4), than with the quiet sifting which the action of mercury on ore might suggest. Mendieta in comparing Cortés to Moses downplays the former's acts of violence as much as he can,³ and Motolinía, though he judges the death and destruction of the Conquest and its aftermath to be punishment for sin, considers them hindrances rather aids

²See Louise M. Burkhart, "Flowery Heaven: The Aesthetic of Paradise in Nahuatl Devotional Literature," *Res* 21 (Spring 1992): 88-109, especially the discussion of the *Psalmodia* at 91-100.

³Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 1, 1: 304-8.

to evangelization,⁴ but in the *Coloquios* it is this punishment which is the evangelizers' clinching argument, the logic of the victors' god in its baldest form. While it is simple renunciation of the sins of the past which is required, furthermore, more than repentance, in keeping with the quasi-political model at work here, the transference of allegiance from a less powerful lord to a more powerful one as a decision of hard-headed realism, as well as with the general call to rejoicing already mentioned, it is a renunciation that is absolute, thorough, and at least in expectation instant, with no room for backsliding and little or none for any hesitation or uncertainty in identifying the boundary between that which can be saved and that which must be destroyed.

Whether on the level of the community, freed now from the slavery of idolatry as the Israelites were freed from the slavery of Egypt, and having received, like Israel, the Law, or on the level of the individual, bound by his baptismal vows, the covenantal relationship between God and man which Sahagún emphasizes is a double-edged one in this context. For the saints and holy ones who fulfill their part of the bargain, God's faithfulness provides the sure foundation for their joyful foretaste in this life of their promised glory in the life to come; for those who violate the terms of the agreement - and it is presumed that the terms can be both known and fulfilled with relative ease, or at least without any of that existential anxiety which so famously afflicted the German Augustinian Martin Luther - their sins are, as it were, on their own heads. King more than Crucified, and victor even on the Cross, Sahagún's God shows His mercy in the revelation which provides the initial offer of salvation, not in His compassion for human weakness: indeed, compassion is almost too changeable and weak an emotion to sit well with His immoveable dignity. In emphasizing the immutability of the divine commandment and the divine plan, the former passed down from age to age and the latter revealed by the witness of

⁴Motolinía, *Historia*, tratado 1, cap. 1, 116-24, and more especially idem, *Memoriales*, no. 3, 137-46.

typological fulfillment, Sahagún reinforces both the friars' claim to authority as bearers of the divine revelation and the covenant's obligations, backing up the demand for obedience, based on due instruction, on the one side, and offering evidence for God's fulfillment of His word, on the other, but in doing so he also reinforces the impression that there is no room for error in this God's service, a God who is nothing if not absolute.

It is in this context that Sahagún's 'peculiar Inquisition',⁵ his effort both to systematically catalogue all realms of prehispanic culture and to sniff out every possible demonic influence it contained, should be viewed, not merely as the expected zeal of a sixteenth-century Spanish missionary friar, nor yet as the detritus of vanished plans for the foundation of an Indian kingdom of the blessed, but as part and parcel of a set of understandings about the relationship between God and humanity which, while not necessarily unique, were only one of several options available within the bounds of ecclesiastical orthodoxy to him or his contemporaries. Not ends in themselves, the earthly kingdom and earthly Church he sought to build were rather the sign and demonstration of the kingdom of heaven and the Church Triumphant, that glory which is both future and already present; but in order to achieve that aim, to fulfill the covenant and bridge the gap between earth and heaven, Indian culture had to be purified of any possible taint. Precisely because the boundaries between earth and heaven were so blurred, not only in the *Coloquios*'s equivocal lures but wherever divine power touched, the absolute became the only way to distinguish between the two, absolute faith in a defined set of rules and authorities on the one hand, and absolute rejection of their opposite numbers on the other. Anything which could not be classified into one category or the other, or which seemed to partake of elements of both, thus became a threat and a potential trap, not a path to the Christianization of the pagan but instead a pollution of the Christian, denying access to that

⁵See Baudot, *Utopie et histoire*, 470, as quoted above, 21.

pure vision which, despite or because of the increasing darkness of his view of this earthly world, he could yet paint so vividly.

Gante, by contrast, Sahagún's fellow Franciscan, offers guidance in his catechism for a Christian life in which the human fall from perfection is ever-repeated and yet repaired, through God's mercy and man's love of and trust in God. Not a contractual relationship to be entered into once for all, but an inexhaustible fountain flowing from the Cross through the sacraments, the Redemption is both historically unique, insofar as it is tied to the person of Christ, and the historical pivot into which all else is subsumed, not because it is the typological center against which all else is measured, as in Sahagún, but because of its radical difference against which all else is insignificant. Even the saints, proposed here as models for imitation and as the massed companions of the litany, are presented as generic figures, in much the same way as the volume itself addresses a 'generic' Christian who happens to speak Nahuatl: whether they should be seen as covered over by the divine mercy or simply irrelevant, such details as ethnic identity, heritage, or a possibly idolatrous past appear as unworthy of attention in comparison to the love of God, evoked through the reader's identification with the volume's anonymous first-person-singular speaker rather than through hortatory instruction. Gratitude and obedience spring from love, not the other way around, at the same time that love, very human emotion that it is, is not seen to contradict a temporary falling-away, so that the question of 'capacity' need never be raised.

Presumed to be capable of entering a binding contract, as well as the bearers of a language and culture sufficiently complex to deserve Sahagún's long lifetime of study, the Indians of Sahagún's pages rarely suffer from 'incapacity', but rather from a vicious climate, societal dislocation (understood as the decay of the rigorous old customs which had counteracted the effects of the climate and the Spaniards' failure to replace them), and certainly not least, all too much cleverness in the school of the Prince of this world, the

Father of Lies. As the Dominicans demonstrate, however, a less ambitious vision of the significance of conversion did not necessarily translate into any greater satisfaction with the results. The requirements of Church and God, an easy yoke in comparison to the bloody sacrifices of the old gods, according to the friars of 1548, have a definiteness in this account which is lacking in Sahagún's vision, the check-list accountability of the catechetical formulae untouched by metaphor: believe the fourteen articles of faith, keep the ten commandments, receive (the requisite number of) the seven sacraments, perform the fourteen works of mercy, and avoid the seven deadly sins. The old gods must be renounced, of course, along with practices of bodily adornment associated with their worship or otherwise offensive to Spanish sensibilities, and that renunciation must be publicly and concretely demonstrated by the surrender of 'idols' for destruction, but for all the Dominicans' sharpness of tongue on this subject, the aim is not to trace out every possible path of the prehispanic past's baleful influence but simply to ensure a sharp break with the necessary portions of it. That those portions can be defined and isolated, or indeed that they are essentially obvious to friars and Indians alike, once the basic premises are made clear, goes no less unquestioned than the fact that ten is the commandments' number, or the assumption that the catechetical formulae are sufficiently perfect distillations of the faith to make their explication in this volume that practical equivalent of Scripture which its prologue suggests. In keeping with the standard explanation for the 'convenience' of the articles of faith, this distillation is in fact another manifestation of God's providence, a benevolent condescension with the weakness of average human beings, incapable of following the discussions of the theologians, let alone of working out their conclusions for themselves, but needing only to accept and obey.

When León returns to his predecessors' work, however, six decades later, it becomes clear that this summary treatment has not had quite the effect desired. He adds details to the existing framework, rather than questioning the premise of self-sufficient

fullness - proclaimed in his own title - but in the multiplying specifications of León's exhortations it is clear that the disappearance of the old gods' public ritual has only revealed another layer of 'superstition' the intimate connection of which with the former, all too obvious to the friar, has not been appropriately deduced, it would appear, by his flock. Like Sahagún, both the Dominicans of 1548 and León sought to evoke in their converts gratitude and obedience, toward God and secondarily toward the friars who had come to them bearing His message from across the sea; unlike Sahagún, the Dominicans aimed not to draw together heaven and earth, this life and the next, but rather to leave no doubt about their separation and due subordination. Creator and master of earth, hell, and heaven, the God they introduced dispensed His rewards or punishments in the life to come, having ordered this life so that He might be acknowledged as the source of all its blessings, from the friars' teaching to the sun which shines on just and unjust alike: all comes from Him and is to be returned to Him. To read an omen in the fire's crackling or the owl's cry, on the other hand, León claimed, making the application that the Indians have failed to, is to ascribe to the creature the power which is the Creator's alone, and in a note which sounds yet more strongly in his work than in that of 1548, to fail to recognize the essential division which separates natural knowledge from divine revelation.

The saints in both volumes are practically absent, and even the Virgin, a visible afterthought in 1548, makes a very limited appearance (one which quite possibly does not reflect her importance in the daily practice of piety, it should be noted, given the evidence both in these volumes and elsewhere for Dominican propagation of the rosary in Mexico), but León took a further step toward the absolute separation of the divine by downplaying the independent significance of Christ's humanity. In their explication of the seven articles of the humanity the Dominican catechisms provided a more sustained 'biography' of Christ than any of the others considered here, but where the authors of 1548 modified the work of Pedro de Córdoba and his collaborators and editors to place greater emphasis on the Cross

and the Blood as instruments of salvation, León saw one, more immaterial divine Power at work in both Creation and Redemption, in much the same way that the gratitude toward God which he called for in his audience was less emotional and more intellectual than that of 1548, a recognition of the divine order rather than a more personal thanksgiving for benefits received. The primary mediator between God and man was thus a Church which the friars of 1548 had already characterized by its human hierarchy and by its power to bind and loose. Salvation came through the sacraments and the clergy, both León and his predecessors had little doubt, but where the 1548 Dominicans, less demanding than the more linguistically-skilled León on such matters of dogma as the finer points of Trinitarian theology, called their baptizands to an ongoing spiritual warfare and their penitents to a rigorous emotional contrition, León's drive for the regularization of Indian belief and practice, his preference for intellectual understanding over emotional response, and his disinterest in the historical specificity of the Passion turned his focus to the integrity of confession. Even more clearly than in 1548, the one channel of grace for León's flock was the clerically-mediated sacrament, with the requirements of which there was no room for error, even as the devils which the friars of 1548 had put under control, as it were, by identifying them with the prehispanic gods (or vice versa), multiplied in León's vision into the horde of sins which now afflict the individual, rather than the community, alone before God's judgement if not for the sacrament's aid.

That León was less interested in contrition than his predecessors may appear in this context as a necessary compensation: if greater emphasis was to be placed on the requirement of integrity, then some other requirement had to be demoted to a lesser rank, if the whole affair was not simply to appear impossible, and with it salvation, particularly in light of León's seemingly rather minimalistic view of the workings of grace. Given that integrity of confession was not only a legally indispensable requirement of the sacrament, however, unlike the more debatable contrition, but also one which the 1548 Dominicans

themselves could not be accused of neglecting, León was in fact lessening the demands on his congregation here, despite the opposite impression which the vigor of his rhetoric might produce, and despite the demands for a more explicit knowledge of the content of the faith which he makes elsewhere. In the last analysis, he was trapped by the same framework of limited and definable requirements which he inherited. Faced with the experience of unsatisfactory Indian confessions, as with that of continued Indian 'superstition', his conviction of the clarity of the divine order and the divine law, on the one hand, and the very lack of majesty of his swarming devils, on the other, made 'incapacity' and ignorance the explanations that made sense: reduced to the obviously foolish (in León's eyes) domestic customs of a conquered and dwindling people, customs some of which were quite possibly familiar from childhood to this creole, and with none of the alien splendor and terror of the temple rituals known to Sahagún and to the Dominicans' first generation, 'idolatry' as such had for León no conceivable attraction. The solution to its hold was increased instruction and a yet more careful specification of the minimum requirements, to enable them to be taught to and comprehended by such a slow-witted folk, and to enable the preacher and confessor to evaluate the success of that instruction, while contrition, notoriously difficult for either penitent or confessor to be certain of, became an expendable luxury.

If it is in some ways precisely his negative judgment of Indian capacity which allows León to retain faith in the efficacy of instruction, while Sahagún comes to the opposite position, Mijangos reshuffles the possibilities with his irenic view of the pagan past and his deep regard for the power of the word. Skilfully adapting the canons of traditional Nahuatl rhetoric to his portrayal of a Nahua father and son also possessed of a more than respectable education in alphabetic literacy and Christian doctrine, Mijangos presents a model of literate Nahua piety unscarred by the anxious purification demanded by Sahagún, yet happy with the contemplation of those torments of hell with which León - "in

order to cause terror, because it is what moves them to penitence, through material things”⁶ - supplements his predecessors’ preference for dwelling on the rewards of heaven. Fear of death is the starting point for a trajectory of conversion which for Mijangos is that of the individual, in which he follows in the footsteps of that multitude of saints and holy ones who people Mijangos’s pages with a vividness unmatched in any other of the works studied here, but in which his ethnic identity is neither something forgotten nor a cause for fear or shame. Rather, just as the presence of Sahagún’s kingdom of heaven on earth requires of its would-be denizens an equal purity, unmarred by the stains and wrinkles of life lived in human time, the gradual process of effort and striving with which Mijangos’s convert builds in his life on earth the mansion that will be his in heaven - firmly located, in this Mijangos agrees with the Dominicans, in the life to come - is matched by the historical development from idolatry to truth through which all peoples have passed, including the sainted patriarchs of the Old Testament and the virtuous pagans of classical antiquity no less than the Nahuas’ own ancestors.

Teeming as his world is with saints and books, in contrast to León’s scrupulously restricted vision, Mijangos nonetheless does share with his approximate contemporary an emphasis on human effort which distinguishes them from the earlier authors in this study. The Christian of León’s catechism is engaged in an almost Sisyphean struggle to get one step ahead of his sins before they can pull him back again, in a race in which the lash of a pulpit condemnation is a useful spur, while Mijangos’s Christian follows a road which will lead him safe to his heavenly home, if he has sufficient encouragement to stay on it, but in both cases it is human striving which is predominantly in question, not the atemporal enrobement with grace which marks Sahagún’s holy ones. For León it is more a question of a temporary divine indwelling, while for Mijangos, who shares with Sahagún the idea of

⁶“Para causar terror porque es lo que les mueve à penitencia por cosas materiales.” León, fol. 8r.

a pivotal moment of conversion, it is an illumination and inspiration by the word considerably more significant than anything comparable in León's psychology of devotion; at the same time, however, Mijangos makes explicit the identification of penance and merit which León only suggests and Sahagún rejects, while Gante subordinates it to an affective relationship with God. Fittingly both to his vision of the Christian's life as pilgrim's progress and, whether or not he knew it, to his adoption of prehispanic forms, penance is for Mijangos not merely, and often not even primarily, the fruit of repentance, nor yet an identification with Christ's Passion, but rather a form of purification in its own right and an activity directed to the future, not to the past.

On the other hand, before simply classifying this appreciation of 'works' by two early-seventeenth-century writers as an expected manifestation of the Tridentine Church's reaffirmation of works' value against her Protestant enemies, it is important to note that in some ways Mijangos's work seems closest in spirit to the early optimism of Motolinía and the founders of Santa Cruz: indeed, if a case were to be made for the dream of an Indian Christian utopia, in which a purified Indian culture was to be preserved in the absence of any broader Spanish influence than that of a handful of friars and perhaps a viceroy, the *Espejo* might well be the best place to look. Untrammelled by the clerical intervention implied by León's reliance on sacramental confession, Mijangos's two fictional protagonists, like the Nahuatl readers of the volume itself, are left to discourse on religion with only an off-stage modicum of priestly supervision, while the friar-author 'Juan' himself takes his metaphorical place at the feet of his father 'Augustine' - a direct call for an indigenous clergy it may not be, but certainly it is no stereotypical 'Counter-Reformation' scene, rather one far closer to the ideal of a 'Renaissance' dialogue than the *Coloquios* that are so often lauded as such.

* * *

The *Coloquios* give speech to the followers of the old gods, but only to convict

them of their error; the *Espejo* honors the words of a Nahuatl father, yet it is no less (and no more) an act of ventriloquism (or, more kindly, literary creation) than Sahagún's work. León details the superstitious practices of his congregation from the pulpit as the first step in eliminating them - as he says himself, "What is not said and expressed to them cannot be reprehended or warned against to them"⁷ - while Gante buries them under a new set of meditations. What then? Like the process of conversion itself, the historian's mining is a less predictable process than that which results when mercury is mixed with silver ore: dross and precious metal, messy details and gleaming patterns, do not separate so neatly. Yet in the act of historical ventriloquism which has forced these texts into dialogue within the confines of this study, I like to think some light has been shed, if only the slippery, hazardous light of quicksilver, on what the friars thought they were doing as they sought to fulfill the Gospel of Matthew's command to 'go, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit' (Matthew 28: 19), and on that process of cultural change in which, in James Lockhart's words, "[b]y the late eighteenth century, almost nothing in the entire indigenous cultural ensemble was left untouched, yet at the same time almost everything went back in some form or other to a preconquest antecedent."⁸

Neither fish nor fowl, old nor new, this mixed creation - whether testifying to the cohesion of Nahuatl culture, in the hands of a Lockhart, or to its deracination, in those of a Gruzinski - is easy to read as a sign of missionary failure: like the early medieval citizens of Arles who found protection in the shell of their Roman amphitheater, the friars and Nahuas patched up enough shelter to go on with, as it were, but neither completely tore down the

⁷"No se les puede reprehender ni auisar lo que no se les dize, y se les expresa." León, fol. 9r, marginal note.

⁸Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 5.

old structure nor transformed it into a fitting new one. Yet in Rome, too, *Roma aeterna*, still huddling at the dawn of the sixteenth century amidst ancient ruins long too large for her, more than one great church still showed the plan of the pagan temple it had been, and as the Spanish crown and its officials often found to their frustration, the friars, for the most part, saw themselves as saving souls, not as rebuilding any more of Nahua society than they considered necessary for that purpose. How much they considered necessary: that of course was the question (leaving aside that of how far they actually succeeded in attaining that goal, whatever it was), but what I hope this study has demonstrated is not only that it is a question with more than one answer, but also that they are answers arrived at within the context of that (for the friars) more fundamental issue of the salvation of souls. Naiveté, blind zeal, restless suspicion, prejudice, complacency, resignation, non-religious humanitarianism, and mutual back-scratching all no doubt had their parts to play - human nature being what it is, in the sixteenth century as in the twenty-first - but so did a set of ideals which we ignore or oversimplify at our own peril, of cheapening that human nature we strive to understand.

APPENDIX I

CATECHISMS CHOSEN FOR THIS STUDY

Dominicans of 1548, *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*

Published in 1548, the *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana: Hecha por los religiosos de la orden de sancto Domingo* is the oldest indigenous-language work of the Mexican press to survive complete to the present,¹ and was even then a work developed over many years and by many contributors. Printed like most of the Mexican press's early productions "at the command of" (*por mandado de*) the first bishop of Mexico City, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, and presented to the world under the aegis of a large title-page woodcut in which the Franciscan Five Wounds are superimposed on the shield of the

¹Strictly speaking, to survive complete to the present in its printed form, as the *Doctrina christiana breue traduzida en lengua mexicana*, a monolingual cartilla by the Franciscan Alonso de Molina printed in 1546, survives in a transcription included in the 1570 relation of the Franciscan province of the Holy Gospel to the crown, though only a few leaves of the 1546 edition and no copy of the bilingual second edition, also of 1570, are known. For the text, see *Códice franciscano*, 34-60; and for bibliographical information, García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 10(10), 71-74, no. 66(59), 243, and app. 2, no. 11, 497, and no. 41, 507; Agustín Millares Carlo and Julián Calvo, *Juan Pablos: Primer impresor que a esta tierra vino*, Documentos mexicanos, no. 1 (Mexico City: Librería de Manuel Porrúa, 1953), no. 44, 137-38; and Román Zulaica Garate, *Los franciscanos y la imprenta en México en el siglo XVI: Estudio bio-bibliográfico* (Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939), no. 26, 99-101, who transcribes an Inquisition document confirming the reality of the 1570 printing, also referred to in Alonso de Molina, OFM, *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City: En casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1571; facsimile reprint, Colección de incunables americanos, vol. 6, Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1945), pt. 2, cap. 10, 2: fol. 28v. There do exist copies of at least five much later editions, all containing the Nahuatl text only, variously corrected or revised, and all under the title of *Doctrina christiana y catecismo en lengua mexicana* (variously punctuated), printed by one family press in Mexico City in 1675, 1718, 1732, 1735, and 1744, and not to be confused with Molina's *Doctrina christiana, en lengua mexicana muy necesaria: En la qual se contienen todos los principales mysterios de nuestra sancta fee catholica* of 1578, a far more substantial work: on the latter, see García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 89(77), 286-87, and Zulaica Garate, no. 38, 121-22.

Dominican order,² it is a mid-length catechism of 156 numbered folios in quarto, in semi-gothic type, made up of a Spanish prologue and table of contents, an alphabet and syllabary, the texts of the basic prayers in Latin and Nahuatl,³ a brief Spanish-Nahuatl catechism in questions and answers, and forty brief Spanish-Nahuatl sermons, of which the first thirty-seven are an expanded and revised translation into Nahuatl, accompanied by a reverse translation back into Spanish,⁴ of the *Doctrina christiana para instruccion e informacion de los indios: Por manera de hystoria* of 1544, ascribed to Pedro de Córdoba (†1521), first Dominican superior in the Caribbean, “and other learned religious of the same order.” Presumably based on a manuscript or manuscripts circulating for decades among the Dominicans of Mexico and the Caribbean and already the work of multiple

²The more common visual indication of the bishop’s patronage was a woodcut of a bishop’s hat with its tassels, with a smaller illustrative woodcut and/or text inserted where the coat of arms would normally be, found on the title pages of Zumárraga’s own *Doctrina breue* (1543), his compiled *Doctrina cristiana: En que en suma se contiene todo lo principal y necessario que el cristiano deue saber y obrar* (s.a. (ca. 1545-46)), *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera para gente sin erudicion y letras* (1546), and *Regla christiana breue* (1547), and Pedro de Gante’s *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana*, in the incomplete edition of ca. 1547 as in that of 1553, where it was retained after the bishop’s death. The remaining book-length survivals of the press, Jean Gerson’s *Tripartito* (1544) and Pedro de Córdoba’s *Doctrina christiana* (1544), have title pages with framing adornment only, but even here the bishop is mentioned on the title page, as he is on that of the first four volumes just listed, making the approach of the doctrine of 1548, where his name does not figure on the title page, quite unusual.

³I use ‘the basic prayers’ as shorthand for the common grouping of the *Per signum crucis*, the sign of the cross, and the standard ‘four prayers’, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Hail Holy Queen. I know of no usual English name for the *Per signum crucis*, but it is the practically universal first prayer of the early modern Spanish and Nahuatl catechetical traditions: “By the sign of the cross from our enemies deliver us, O Lord our God,” accompanied by three small crosses, on the forehead, lips, and breast. It is almost always immediately followed by the sign of the cross, as in the common Spanish phrase, *signarse y santiguarse*.

⁴So in my judgement, based on a comparison of the three versions. While the Nahuatl text of 1548 was used by Burkhart in *The Slippery Earth*, the usual tendency in the remaining literature, primarily the work of scholars of a theological background and without evident familiarity with Nahuatl, is to assume the primacy of the 1548 Spanish text over its Nahuatl partner, and I know of no study specifically examining the linguistic relationship between the two.

hands,⁵ this edition was “further declared and in some things expanded” before printing by Zumárraga and his Dominican confessor and friend Domingo de Betanzos, the founder of the Mexican province of Santiago, only to be yet further revised, translated, divided into sermons, and returned to the press by what the 1548 prologue describes as the anonymous collective effort of the Mexican Dominicans,⁶ quite likely cannibalizing other already existing material along the way. Sermon 40, on the Hail Mary, reads as if it were strung together from a series of the formulas used to introduce the Hail Mary in the full-length sermons of the era, while the brief catechism, intended for memorization, is scarcely more than a formulary put into question-and-answer form, and the highly repetitive sermon 38, on the seven deadly sins, might almost be a question-and-answer sequence turned into expository prose.

Both versions follow the same order of exposition, also used in the 1548 brief catechism: that which the Christian must believe, keep (*guardar*), receive, and do, or more concretely, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the sacraments, and the works of mercy. The seventh spiritual work of mercy, prayer for the living and the dead, then provides the occasion for an excursus on the four regions of hell, followed, without obvious connection, by discussions of virginity, the Church, and the Cross, a sermon after baptism, and a further explication of creation and the arrangement of the natural world,

⁵See Medina, *Doctrina*, 52-57 and 69, who also sees influence of Córdoba’s doctrine in Peru, in the 1545 catechetical *Instrucción* of the Dominican first bishop and archbishop of Lima Jerónimo de Loaysa and in the constitutions of the first council of Lima in 1552 (*ibid.*, 69-70, and *idem*, “Métodos y medios de evangelización de los dominicos en América,” in *Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo*, 157-207, at 180).

⁶“[M]as declarada y en algunas cosas añadida”: Córdoba, *Doctrina*, colophon, d vj v. *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, prologue, fol. j v - ij r.

before ending in 1544 with a pair of brief Latin graces before and after meals⁷ and in 1548 with one sermon each on the seven deadly sins, the Our Father, and the Hail Mary, supplying some obvious lacunae of the 1544 version without significantly shifting its predominant emphasis on the articles of faith, the subject of fully half of the 1544 doctrine and only slightly less than half of the expanded 1548 version.

In perhaps a more significant shift, the doctrine also underwent between 1544 and 1548 a subtle but noticeable change in the characterization of the work by its immediate sponsors, from a beginners' catechism, seen in relation to a more advanced one, to a longer catechism, seen in relation to a shorter one, a classification not necessarily contradictory to the previous one, but without its implied promise of more in-depth instruction to come. In the colophon to the 1544 *Doctrina*, Zumárraga, while urging the friars to preach to the Indians according to "this brief and plain doctrine," more appropriate for the latter's "capacity" than certain unspecified "other sermons which are preached to them," describes the text at hand as serving "more for beginners [*incipientes*], and the other with the *Tripartito* of Juan Gerson for the advanced [*proficientes*],"⁸ thereby setting up the first in a series of identificatory puzzles for later historians, but clearly classifying Córdoba's doctrine as an elementary one: appropriately enough, given its modest length at thirty unnumbered folios in quarto, its explicit assumption of an unbaptized audience with little or

⁷Apparently page-filler, but the same graces do appear in Nahuatl at the end of Molina's cartilla, without the Our Fathers and Hail Marys appended in the 1544 text and with forty days of indulgence from bishop Zumárraga: Córdoba, *Doctrina*, d vj r, and Molina, *Doctrina*, 60.

⁸"El qual [dicho señor obispo] pide y ruega mucho a los padres religiosos que entienden en la instruccion y conuersion de los indios: ante todas cosas procuren de les predicar y hazer entender esta doctrina breue y llana: pues conocen su capacidad: y que tienen mas necessidad della que de otros sermones que se les predicán. Y esta siruira mas para incipientes / y la otra con el tripartito de Juan gerson para proficientes." Córdoba, *Doctrina*, colophon, d vj v.

no prior knowledge of Christianity,⁹ and its glaring omission of such basic topics as the four prayers, the seven deadly sins, and any allusion to the existence of bishops (as ministers of the sacrament of confirmation, for example). The colophon of the 1548 *Doctrina*, on the other hand, informs that the reader that “because in the congregation which the lord bishops held [in 1546], it was ordered that there be made two doctrines, one brief and another long, and the brief is that which was printed in the year of 1546, His Most Reverend Lordship [Zumárraga] orders that the other large one may be this one, for declaration of the other small one.”¹⁰ The acts of the bishops’ congregation do not

⁹So, e.g., “aueys de saber vn gran secreto / el qual vosotros nunca supistes ni oystes” (a j v); “el dios verdadero que os predicamos como es bueno quiere bien a los christianos y a vosotros si quisierdes ser sus amigos” (a iij r); “arrepentios mucho de vuestros peccados: y tened proposito de no peccar mas: y sabed y creed firmemente los articulos de la fe que os hemos dicho: y baptizaos y saluaros eys” (c iij v); “vosotros despues que fueredes buenos christianos” (c vj v).

Throughout the introductory section in particular, the 1544 catechism repeatedly urges its audience to ‘turn Christian’ (*tornarse christiano*), while the 1548 version tends to substitute one or another more specific requirement of Christian identity. Where the 1544 text informs the Indians that they, too, may go to heaven “si quisierdes ser amigos de dios y os tornardes christianos: y le siruierdes y guardaredes sus mandamientos” (a j v), the 1548 catechism gives much the same list, albeit without the idea of ‘turning’, “if indeed you wish to be the beloved of Dios, and if indeed you wish to be Christians, and if you wish to serve Dios, if indeed you wish to keep His commandments” (“yntla uel amitlaçouan aieznequi in dios / yuan intla uel anchristianome ayeznequi: yuan intla anquiltayecultiznequi in Dios / intla uel anquieliznequi yn itenauatiltcin,” and in Spanish, “si quereys ser amigos de dios: y si quereys ser verdaderos christianos: y si quereys seruir a Dios / y si le quereys obedecer y guardar sus mandamientos”: sermon 1, fol. xij r), but where the 1544 version states that they will go to hell “si no os hazeys amigos de dios: y si no os baptizardes y os tornardes christianos: porque todos los que no son christianos son enemigos de dios” (a ij r), the 1548 edition shifts to “if you do not know and if you do not believe in the true Dios, and if you do not keep His commandments” (“yntlacamo xicmixmachilica yuan yntlacamo xicmoneltoquítica in nelli dios / yuan yntlacamo xicpiaca yn itenauatiltcin,” and in Spanish, “si no conoceys y si no creeys al verdadero dios: y si no guardays los sus mandamientos”: sermon 1, fol. xij r), and where God’s friendship is to be attained, according to the 1544 catechism, introducing the next topic of instruction, “si creyerdes en el y os baptizardes y tornaredes christianos: y supierdes aquellas cosas que los christianos han de saber y creer: y guardarlas” (a ij v), the 1548 catechism omits mention of the sacrament in favor of a bipartite division into believing “everything which the other beloved of Dios, the true Christians, believe,” and keeping “everything which they keep” (“ym yxquich quineltoca yn occequintin yn ytlaçouan in dios y nel christianome ... yn yxquich quipia yeuhantín,” and in Spanish, “todo aquello que creen los otros amigo[s] de Dios y fieles Christianos ... todo lo que ellos guardan”: sermon 2, fol. xv r).

¹⁰“[P]orque en la congregacion que los señores obispos tuieron se ordeno que se hiziesen dos doctrinas: vna breue y otra larga: y la breue es la que el año de .M.d.xlvj. se imprimio. Manda su señoría reuerendissima [Zumárraga] que la otra grande puede ser esta: para declaracion de la otra pequeña.” *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, colophon, fol. clvj v.

survive, and the other available evidence is not always easy to reconcile, but the most plausible interpretation is that there were actually four catechisms printed under the congregation's auspices between 1546 and 1548, one pair in Spanish and another pair in Nahuatl or Nahuatl and Spanish, joining the already existing Spanish-language pair of Córdoba's catechism and Zumárraga's *Doctrina breue muy prouechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a la fe catholica y a nuestra cristiandad en estilo llano para comun inteligencia* of 1543-44, probably the catechism for the advanced mentioned in the 1544 edition's colophon. In terms of content, however, the 1548 bilingual *Doctrina* is comparable to, and in length is some twenty-percent shorter than, the Spanish-language beginners' catechism of the bishops' pair, the 1546 *Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera para gente sin erudicion y letras: En que se contiene el catecismo o informacion para indios con todo lo principal y necessario que el christiano deue saber y obrar* with its supplement.

Whatever its strengths or weaknesses, however, it appears to have filled a need, being reprinted with corrections in 1550, in three typographically distinct editions produced in rapid succession,¹¹ and it was still in use even outside the order two decades later in 1569, when the secular parish priests of Atitalaquia, in the modern state of Hidalgo, Iguala (Guerrero), Teutenango (Mexico), and probably Nochtepec (Guerrero) referred to it in their responses to an archepiscopal survey.¹² Oddly enough, there also exists a manuscript

¹¹For typographical details on all four editions, see García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 15(15), 82-84, and no. 19(18), 86-89; Millares Carlo and Calvo, no. 14-17, 75-92; and Zulaica Garate, no. 12-14, 53-60.

As José Salvador y Conde has pointed out, the Franciscan Five Wounds were gouged out of the title-page block before its reuse in the second two of the three editions of 1550 (the first of the three, unknown to Salvador y Conde, uses the block in its original form), presumably due to the end of Zumárraga's patronage with his death on 3 June 1548, though the text of the colophons was never changed: José Salvador y Conde, OP, "La doctrina española-mexicana de 1548 (Estudio bibliográfico y doctrinal)," *Misionalia hispanica* 3, no. 8 (1946): 321-82, at 330. García Icazbalceta and Millares Carlo and Calvo both reproduce all four title pages and colophons.

¹²*Descripción del arzobispado*, 49, 100, 132, 170. The priest of Nochtepec refers to "otras dotrinas antiguamente hechas por frailes dominicos en el año de mil é quinientos y cuarenta é siete" (*ibid.*, 132).

copy of the work made in 1775, ms. JGI 976 of the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin.¹³

Martín de León, OP, *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana*

At 160 small quarto folios in Roman type, not counting front and back matter, “everything which a Christian ought to believe, know, and do,” as the full title of this work has it, turns out to cover a fair range of material, including elements drawn from the tradition of sacramental manuals and guides for parish priests: a Nahuatl expository catechism of ninety-five folios, a Spanish guide to the prehispanic calendar of feasts, a pair of bilingual confessional interrogatories accompanied by Spanish advice to confessors and Nahuatl model discourses for their use, a set of bilingual instructions for communion and the visitation of the sick, a Nahuatl model testament, a bilingual art of dying, a set of Nahuatl rules for serving God, a set of Nahuatl prayers memorializing the Passion according to the seven canonical hours, the Latin responses for serving at mass according to the Dominican and Roman rites, and a brief set of Spanish instructions for the marriage ceremony.

While the dedication of León’s 1614 sermon collection comments that archbishop Guerra, the dedicatee of the *Camino del cielo*, “on account of his early death and many illnesses could not make the distribution which he wished” of that work,¹⁴ the volume was remembered and recommended as late as 1766¹⁵ - though whether or not this may in fact reflect an inverse relationship to actual usage is another question, since this lack of initial

¹³John F. Schwaller, “Guías de manuscritos en náhuatl conservados en: The John Carter Brown Library (Providence, Rhode Island); The Benson Latin American (Texas, Austin),” *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 21 (1991): 309-37, at 334.

¹⁴“[P]or su temprana muerte y muchas enfermedades no pudo hacer la distribución que quisiera.” As quoted in Medina, *La imprenta*, no. 281, 2: 64.

¹⁵By Andrés de Arze y Miranda, bishop-elect of San Juan de Puerto Rico and former parish priest of Indian parishes in the diocese of Puebla: Taylor, *Magistrates*, 153 and n. 11, 601.

'distribution', one suspects, may have left many copies in the relatively protected institutional libraries of Mexico City, to be consulted by other authors and researchers, and many fewer out in Indian parishes to be worn out, damaged by water or insects, or more generally used up and forgotten. Not only does the *Camino del cielo* appear in a catalog of the library of the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City compiled between 1748 and 1758,¹⁶ but a 1768 sales listing of the contents of the library of the Jesuit college of San Gregorio in Mexico City lists seventeen copies.¹⁷ The late-seventeenth-century Franciscan chronicler Agustín de Vetancurt¹⁸ and the mid-seventeenth-century diocesan priest Jacinto de la Serna¹⁹ both made attributed use of the *Camino del cielo*'s discussion of the prehispanic calendar, accompanied in the latter case by words of praise for the general utility of the volume; one of the grammatical notes at the front of the volume was cited, to dispute it, in a 1753 Nahuatl grammar,²⁰ and two eighteenth-century Jesuits included León's name in lists of earlier masters of Nahuatl style (where it may be the sermon

¹⁶Francisco Morales, OFM, "Impresos y manuscritos en lenguas indígenas en la antigua biblioteca de San Francisco de México," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 26 (1996): 367-97, at no. 26, 384.

¹⁷Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 8, 365. The property of the Jesuits was taken over by the Crown following their expulsion in 1767.

¹⁸Agustín de Vetancurt, OFM, *Teatro mexicano: Descripción breve de los sucessos exemplares de la Nueva-España en el Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias*, Colección Chimalistac de libros y documentos acerca de la Nueva España, ed. José Porrúa Turanzas and José Porrúa Venero, no. 8-9; ed. José Porrúa Turanzas, José Manuel Porrúa Venero, and Enrique Porrúa Venero, no. 10-11 (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1960-61), vol. 1, pt. 2, tratado 2, cap. 5, 355.

¹⁹Serna, cap. 7, § 1, 318-22, and see also the commentary on the dissimulation of old rites under cover of the feasts of the new saints at § 2, 327, supplemented from other sources but still visibly indebted to León. Choosing fullness of information over consistency, Serna also provides an anonymous second version of the calendar, differing somewhat from León's, at § 2, 322-26.

²⁰Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 58; the grammar in question is Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, *Arte novísima de lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: José Bernardo de Hogal, 1753).

collection as well as or instead of the *Camino del cielo* which they have in mind);²¹ but with the exception of Serna's recommendation, direct testimony of pastoral use, as opposed to availability for purposes of erudition, is mostly lacking. Among modern scholars of Nahuatl literature, Barry D. Sell and Ángel María Garibay K. have agreed, from their very different perspectives, in characterizing León's language as competent in a pragmatic register, but without the rhetorical elaboration of his contemporaries Juan Bautista and Juan de Mijangos.²²

Pedro de Gante, OFM, *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana*

The Franciscan Pedro de Gante's 1553 *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana* is the second-oldest complete surviving indigenous-language work of the Mexican press, after the Dominican *Dotrina* of 1548,²³ and like the Dominican doctrines, the late version of

²¹Ignacio de Paredes, SI, *Promptuario manual mexicano* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1759), as discussed and quoted in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 114 and 215, n. 1; and Nicolás Vázquez, SI, in Biblioteca Nacional de México, ms. 1481, as discussed and quoted in Moreno, no. 57, 108-10, and Ángel María Garibay K., *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, vol. 2, *El trauma de la Conquista (1521 - 1750)*, Biblioteca Porrúa, no. 5 (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), 203.

²²Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 209; and Garibay K., 2: 193.

²³There also exists, bound with the New York Public Library's copy of the Dominican doctrine of 1548, a fragment of what is a typographically distinct but textually identical edition of the 1578 *Doctrina christiana muy vtil*. While García Icazbalceta, who was not aware of the 1578 edition, suggested a date of the 1550s for the fragmentary edition (García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, app. 2, no. 10, 496-97; also Millares Carlo and Calvo, no. 21, 94-95), Resines argues that the fragmentary edition must postdate the 1578 edition, on the grounds of the lack of any indication in the latter that it is a reimpression (Resines, "Introducción," in Pareja, 9-79, at 37-39). Given that the fragmentary edition, like that of 1578, uses Roman type for the Spanish text (while in both cases retaining semi-gothic type for the Nahuatl text), it cannot be much older than 1554, the first appearance of Roman type in a dated survival of the Mexican press, but whether the date should be placed closer to 1554 or to 1578 is an open question. On the one hand, the association with the doctrine of 1548 would suggest an earlier date, and the lack of a notice of reimpression ("ahora nuevamente impresa" or the like) scarcely seems definitive when the two confessional manuals of Alonso de Molina, significantly more substantial works than this one, were reprinted at the same press in 1577 and 1578, from two known earlier editions, without such a notice (García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no 44(43)-45(44), 190-92, no. 62-63, 220-21, no. 86(75), 283, and no. 88(76), 285-86). On the other hand, if archbishop Moya de Contreras is to have "ordered" the work, as claimed in the title, in any sense broader than merely having it reprinted, it must postdate, if not his consecration in 1574, at least his arrival in Mexico in 1571 as inquisitor of the newly established Inquisition. Further, as discussed in Appendix III, I would suggest that the Jesuit Juan de Tovar is at least as likely an author as Resines's

material demonstrably already in circulation for some time. Approximately the same length at 162 numbered monolingual folios in octavo, in semi-gothic type, as the Nahuatl text of the bilingual catechism of 1548, and plentifully illustrated with over fifty small and medium-sized woodcuts, the volume can be divided into two roughly equal portions, one catechetical and one devotional, prefaced by an unfoliated Latin liturgical calendar²⁴ and followed by a Nahuatl table of contents and Spanish colophon. While the first half of the volume (eighty-six folios) contains the “Christian doctrine” proper, made up of a longer catechism in question-and-answer form (albeit with the rapid disappearance of any attempt at the illusion of conversation) and a shorter catechism (“Doctrina tepiton” or “little *doctrina*”) repeating and summarizing the previous material without dialogue, the second half (seventy-six folios) contains an instruction on daily examination of conscience and prayers of contrition, a guide to confession, a guide to hearing mass as a recapitulation of the life of Christ, instruction on proper preparation for the receipt of the Eucharist, the Crown of Our Lord, the Crown of the Virgin, the prayer of St Gregory, an office memorializing the passion, a profession of faith for daily recitation, a prayer to be said at nightfall, a prayer to one’s guardian angel, a group of prayers and reflections before sleep, an art of dying well, instruction on the obligations of a server at mass, prayers at meals, a meditation upon hearing the clock strike, and finally, a framework for rehearsing the

candidate, the Franciscan Francisco de Pareja, which if correct would also point to a date in the 1570s. The same text is also found in a trilingual edition, surviving in one incomplete copy now in the library of the University of Texas at Austin, the Doctrina christiana, muy vtil, y necessaria en castellano, mexicano y otomi: Traduzida en lengua otomi por el muy .r. padre fray Melchior de Vargas, de la orden de sant Augustin, prior de Atocpan: Ordenada por mandado del yllustrissimo y reuerendissimo señor don Pedro Moya de Contreras, arçobispo de Mexico, del consejo de su magestad: Y con licencia impressa of 1576, containing a dedicatory letter by Vargas to the archbishop dated 22 August 1576 making it clear that the Otomí version is newly translated, but without information on the origin of the Spanish and Nahuatl versions: for a description of the exemplar, including a transcription of the dedication, see García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía, no. 79(70), 276-77, and for the identification of the text as the same as that of the 1578 bilingual edition, see Resines, Catecismos, 223-26.

²⁴Of Franciscan milieu; compare to the calendar in the Mexican Manuale sacramentorum of 1560, influenced by the uses of Toledo and Seville. Gante, A j v - A viij v; Manuale, 296-303; and on the sources for the latter, Baumgartner, 2: 91-94.

elements of the catechism in meditations and examinations of conscience for the days of the week.

There exists an incomplete copy, now in the Huntington Library, of an earlier edition of similar content, somewhat briefer, of around 1547, and the report of a fragment of a yet earlier edition, in an unidentified private collection, perhaps from around the very beginning of the functioning of the Mexican press in 1539 or 1540, as well as a large fragment of what appears to be a later edition, modeled on that of 1553, in the collection of Salomón Hale.²⁵ In what may or may not be a reference to an early version of the same work, the Augustinians resolved in their first provincial assembly, in 1534, that until the order could produce its own catechism, the native catechists who instructed the children after mass should do so “in accordance with the *doctrinal* of fray Pedro de Gante,”²⁶ and the Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada appears to describe Gante’s catechism as still in use at the time of his writing, in the early seventeenth century.²⁷ The 1768 sales

²⁵García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 14(14), 80-81, and app. 2, no. 28-29, 502-3; Millares Carlo and Calvo, no. 23, 96, and no. 25-26, 99-104; and Zulaica Garate, no. 17, 67-68, and no. 19, 69-71.

Another octavo monolingual Mexican doctrine, probably of the 1540s, of which a fragment exists in the John Carter Brown Library, though it has been said to be similar to Gante’s doctrine, appears to represent a different work: see the pages reproduced in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, plate 153-54, with the description at app. 2, no. 9, 495-96, and in Resines, *Catecismos*, 62, with the description at 61-62; also a description in Millares Carlo and Calvo, no. 20, 93.

²⁶Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 10, 50. As Grijalva reports the acts, one of the Augustinians, Agustín de Coruña, is said to be working on a replacement catechism at the time of the assembly, but this work, if completed, has disappeared.

²⁷“Lo principal, en que ponian su cuidado, los Ministros de aquellos tiempos, era en el Catecismo: dandoles à entender, como eran Christianos, por ser Bautizados, con el Agua del Espiritu Santo, y saber la Señal del Christiano, que es la Cruz, y como en ella, nos redimiò Christo, y signarse con ella: y en suma, lo que ha de creer todo Fiel Christiano. Esto todo, en su Lengua, y luego el Credo en Latin, despues buuelto en su Lengua (que este orden guardaron, en sus principios, porque en ambas lo supiesen) los Mandamientos, que avian de guardar, Sacramentos, que avian de recibir, y los Pecados Mortales, que avian de huir, y evitar, y como ay dos maneras de Oracion, vna Mental, y otra Vocal: y como de las Oraciones Vocales, es la mas excelente el *Pater Noster*: y luego la Salutacion de Nuestra Señora. Tras esto, les enseñavan como avian de vivir ordenadamente, y lo que debian hacer, y Reçar, quando se avian de acostar, y lo mismo al levantarse, por la mañana. Como se avian de aver en la Iglesia, y en el oir de la Misa: y como avian de bendecir la Comida, y las Gracias, que à Dios debian dar despues de aver Comido.

listing of the contents of the library of the college of San Gregorio in Mexico City included three copies.²⁸

Juan de Mijangos, OSA, *Espejo divino en lengva mexicana*

More a guide to Christian living than a work of dogmatic instruction, the Augustinian Juan de Mijangos's 1607 *Espejo divino en lengva mexicana, en que pveden verse los padres, y tomar documento para acertar a doctrinar bien a sus hijos, y aficionallos a las virtudes* is the longest work under consideration, at 560-odd quarto pages of monolingual Nahuatl in Roman type, and also the work with the greatest literary aspirations. Written in the form of a dialogue between a father, Agustín, and his son, Juan, employing the forms of traditional Nahua polite speech, and going to noticeable effort, by the standards of the genre, to sustain the illusion of conversation, the volume recounts the instruction given over a number of days by the Christian father to his equally Christian but not entirely mature young-adult son, leading him to give up his heedless ways and preparing him for a life of virtue. After an initial explanation of the duties of parents for the instruction of their children (cap. 1), Agustín instructs Juan on the horrors of sin (cap. 2-4), on death and the remembrance of death (cap. 5-8), on the Last Judgement (cap. 9-12), and on heaven and hell (cap. 13-15). Following on Juan's consequent resolution to reform his life, expressed at the end of chapter fifteen, the discussion then shifts to the subject of how to do so: through prayer (cap. 16-17), through the remembrance of death

Como se avian de aver en la Calle, y por los Caminos asimismo, saludar al que topavan, è humillarse à las Imagenes, y Cruces: como avian de guardar sus Animas, de los malos pensamientos, y sufrir, y tolerar los males, por Amor de Dios. Todo lo qual, se les enseñava, por preguntas, y respuestas: que es Doctrina, que hasta oy dia, corre, y està Impresa, por Fr. Pedro de Gante, vn Lego de los primeros, y gran Ministro de esta Conversion, y por el P. Fr. Alonso de Molina, y el Señor Obispo Çumarraga, y otros de otras Ordenes." Torquemada, lib. 16, cap. 8, 3: 154-55.

Susanne Klaus also lists Gante as one of Juan Bautista's predecessors whom he names as sources in the prologue to his 1606 sermon collection, but the Pedro de Gante mentioned there by Bautista is a Nahua assistant, the Flemish friar's namesake: see Klaus, *Uprooted Christianity*, 114; and Juan Bautista, OFM, "Prólogo [to the Sermonario]," in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 179(115), 474-78, at 475-76.

²⁸Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 8, 365.

(again: cap. 18), through rejection of earthly goods (cap. 19), through the remembrance of Christ's Passion (cap. 20), through penitence for sins (cap. 21-22), through hearing the divine word (cap. 23), through confession and communion (cap. 24), and through the rejection of loose living and evil company (cap. 25). On this general foundation then come the specific virtues in which the Christian must strive to progress, while struggling against their contrary vices: the three theological virtues (cap. 26-29), the seven virtues which are contrary to the seven deadly sins (cap. 30-36), prudence (cap. 37), truthfulness (cap. 38), gratitude (cap. 39), and appropriately placed at the end of the volume, perseverance (cap. 40). Neither a brief catechism for memorization nor any devotional miscellany are included.

According to the Independence-era Mexican bibliographer José Mariano Beristáin de Souza the work was reprinted in 1626,²⁹ but no copies of this edition are now known. The *Espejo* is one of the works praised in the prologue to León's sermon collection of 1614,³⁰ and Mijangos was remembered and cited as an expert in Nahuatl by the mid-eighteenth-century Jesuit Ignacio de Paredes and by Paredes's contemporary Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, a member of the secular clergy,³¹ though the *Espejo* appears in neither of the eighteenth-century library catalogues previously mentioned. Garibay K., for all that he rarely met a work he did not like, gives Mijangos his highest praise.³²

Bernardino de Sahagún, OFM, *Colloquios y doctrina christiana*

Finally, this study considers the various surviving fragments associated with the

²⁹Beristáin de Souza, no. 1964, 3: 251.

³⁰Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 207.

³¹*Ibid.*, 114, 186-87, 215, n. 1, and 227, n. 263.

³²Garibay K., 2: 195-98.

Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún's *Colloquios y doctrina christiana con que los doze frayles de san Francisco enbiados por el papa Adriano Sesto y por el emperador Carlo Qujnto convertieron a los indios de la Nueva España en lengua mexicana y española*, prepared for the press several times between the 1560s and the 1580s but never published, supplemented by the one work of this polymathic author which did make it to publication in his lifetime, the *Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de los sanctos del año, en lengua mexicana* of 1583, and a handful of his manuscript sermons.³³ In the front matter to the surviving text of the *Coloquios*, written in 1564, Sahagún appears to envision a work in four books, of which the first two would have been contained in the complete *Coloquios* manuscript: first, the colloquies strictly speaking, or "all the talks, confabulations, and sermons which there were between the twelve religious and the principals and lords and satraps of the idols until they yielded themselves to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and asked with great insistence to be baptized," and second, the baptismal catechism, "with which all adults who want to be baptized are to be first instructed."³⁴ The third book should be a history of the conversion, but since Motolinía has written much on this subject, Sahagún has decided not to duplicate his effort, but to go on to the fourth book, "a declaration or postil of all the epistles and gospels of the Sundays and major feasts [*las*

³³A good recent overview of Sahagún's doctrinal works, with a highly misleading title as it has nothing to do with the *códices matritenses* (of the *Historia general*), is Arthur J. O. Anderson, "Las obras evangélicas de Sahagún y los códices matritenses," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 29 (1999): 143-62; idem, "Sahagún's 'Doctrinal Encyclopaedia,'" *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 16 (1983): 109-22, is an older effort along the same lines. A summary listing of the Sahaguntine manuscripts in general, though not of their complicated publication history (or lack thereof), can be found in Eloise Quiñones Keber, "The Sahaguntine Corpus: A Bibliographic Index of Extant Documents," in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Klor de Alva, Nicholson, and Quiñones Keber, appendix, 341-45.

³⁴"[T]odas las pláticas confabulaciones y sermones que vuo entre los doze religiosos y los principales y señores y sátrapas de los ydolos hasta que se rindieron a la fe de nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo y pidieron con gran instancia ser bautizados."

"[C]on que todos los adultos que se qujeren bautizar an de ser primeramente instruidos."
Sahagún, *Coloquios*, al prudente lector, 40 and 75.

dominicas] of all the year (which is the preaching that has been customary until now), very appropriate in language and matter to the capacity of the Indians, which is being polished and should be another volume by itself, so that this one will not be very large.”³⁵ Of this work, the one surviving manuscript, a fair copy, contains the Spanish-language front matter, including a table of contents for the first two books, the bilingual text on facing pages of the first thirteen chapters of book 1, and on the final verso the Nahuatl text of the fourteenth chapter.³⁶

Following the friars’ opening account of their voyage (cap. 1), the pope who sent

³⁵ “[U]na declaración o postilla de todas las epístolas y evangelios de las dominicas de todo el año (que es la predicación que hasta agora se a vsada) muy apropiadas en lengua y materia a la capacidad de los yndios, la qual se está limando y sería otro volumen por sí, por que este no sea muy grande.” *Ibid.*, 40-41 and 75, quoted at 41 and 75.

³⁶ In a passage over which much ink has been spilled, Sahagún states in the Spanish-language front matter that “[h]ará a el propósito de bien entender la presente obra, prudente lector, el saber que esta doctrina con que aquellos doze apostólicos predicadores - de quien en el prólogo hablamos - a esta gente desta Nueva España començaron a conuertir a estado en papeles y memorias hasta este año de mil y quinientos y sesenta y quatro, porque antes no vuo oportunidad de ponerse en orden ni conuertirse en lengua mexicana bien congrua y limada: la qual se boluió y limó en este Colegio de Santa Cruz del Tlatilulco este sobredicho año con los colegiales más hábiles y entendidos en lengua mexicana y en la lengua latina que hasta agora se an en el dicho colegio criado; de los quales uno se llama Antonio Valeriano, vezino de Azcapuçalco, otro Alonso Vegerano, vezino de Quauhtitlán, otro Martín Iacobita, vezino deste Tlatilulco y Andrés Leonardo, también del tlalilulco. Limóse asimismo con quatro viejos muy pláticos, y entendidos ansí en su lengua como en todas sus antigüedades.” *Ibid.*, 40 and 75.

Like the apparition of the Virgen of Guadalupe, the historical occurrence of something approximating the drama of the *Coloquios* has against it a deafening silence in the contemporary historical record (see e.g. Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, ed. Ángel Delgado Gómez, Clásicos Castalia, ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente, no. 198 (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993), cuarta relación, 454-524, and especially the request for friars at 517-20; and Díaz del Castillo, cap. 171, 542-43, and cf. also cap. 208-9, 692-96), and the earliest chronicler to refer to such an event, the Franciscan Jerónimo de Mendieta, writing in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, explicitly cites Sahagún’s writings on this subject only to give a version of the friars’ first discourse which diverges notably from that in the surviving manuscript of the *Coloquios* (Mendieta, lib. 3, cap. 13, 1: 356-58, repeated by Torquemada, lib. 15, cap. 11, 3: 23-25). In my judgement the essential responsibility for the text we have should be ascribed to Sahagún (and/or his assistants), albeit inspired in part by ‘old papers’ like those which Mendieta seems to be using, but for the debate see Garibay K., 2: 242-46; J. Jorge Klor de Alva, “La historicidad de los Coloquios de Sahagún,” *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 15 (1982): 147-84; Miguel León-Portilla, “Estudio introductorio,” in Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 13-29; Ana de Zaballa Beascochea, “Una reconstrucción crítica del libro de los Coloquios de Bernardino de Sahagún,” in *Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo*, 819-41, at 822-23 and 828; and *idem*, *Transculturación*, 53-62, 109-51, 189-94, and 203-49.

them (cap. 2), the existence and origin of Scripture (cap. 3), monotheism (cap. 4), and the kingdom of heaven and the Church (cap. 5), the *principales* (cap. 6) and the *satrapas de los ydolos* respond with particular emphasis on the question of the number of gods (cap. 7). The Twelve then provide a renewed explanation of the existence and qualities of the one God (cap. 8-9), creator of the angels (cap. 10). The Indians' gods are the fallen angels, the narration of whose fall (cap. 10) is followed by that of the 'parliament' (*cortes*) in which they resolved to seek humanity's ruin (cap. 11), contrasted with the reward of the faithful angels (cap. 12), to which succeeds the creation of the world and of man (cap. 13). Then come in rapid succession and as illustrations of demonic enmity toward man the Fall, the death of Abel, the Flood, and the confusion of tongues (cap. 14), concluding with further emphasis on the theme of the demonic identity of the Indians' gods (cap. 15). After "the altercation which there was between the principals and the satraps of the idols, occasion taken from what was said in the preceding chapter, to wit [*conviene a saber*] that their gods were not powerful to free them from the hands of the Spaniards" (cap. 16), the friars discuss the name of Jesus, presumably as a manifestation of power contrasted to the demons' powerlessness, and "when His kingdom began here in the world, which is the Holy Catholic Church" (cap. 17), followed by the at least equally pressing points of divine justice (cap. 18), divine intervention in temporal affairs (cap. 19), and divine favor toward the Spaniards (cap. 20). Apparently convinced by these arguments, the Indians at this point announce their surrender (cap. 21), allowing the Twelve to express their pleasure at this decision (cap. 22) and to support it through the narration of further scriptural examples of the Lord's favor toward those who believe in Him (cap. 23), the thanksgiving of the Israelites to God upon being freed from Pharaoh, presumably as a model for the Indians upon being freed from the devil's clutches (cap. 24), and doubtless as the complement to this gratitude, the giving of the Law on Sinai (cap. 25). The Indians express their thanks for this instruction (cap. 26), and the friars drive the lesson home with further scriptural

examples of the punishments inflicted by God on those who do not keep His law (cap. 27), followed as the last doctrinal point by the Incarnation, to which the chapter title, at least, does not add either the Crucifixion or the Resurrection (“our Lord God, for the great love which He has to men, became man in this world and conversed among men”: cap. 28). The book then ends with the friars instructing the *principales* and *satrapas* to assemble their idols and their wives and children (cap. 29), and with the speech the friars make to them upon fulfillment of these instructions (cap. 30), on an occasion which one assumes would also have included the destruction of the gathered idols.³⁷

The second book begins with the immortality of the soul and free will (cap. 1), the necessity of obedience to the Church of Rome for salvation (cap. 2), the fourteen articles of faith (cap. 3-4), the love of God as found in the three commandments of the first tablet and the five precepts of the Church (cap. 5), the love of neighbor as found in the seven commandments of the second tablet and the fourteen works of mercy (cap. 6), and hope and the joys of heaven (cap. 7). After an interruption for “the great lament which the hearers made, grieving for their past deception all the time that they served the idols” (cap. 8), the friars move on to what seems to be an extended treatment of the sacraments, beginning with baptism (cap. 9), then the mass and Eucharist (cap. 10), followed by, seemingly out of order, the *Per signum crucis*, Our Father, and Apostles’ Creed (cap. 11) and the sermon for the newly baptized (cap. 12), before returning to marriage (cap. 13), communion (presumably now the receipt of communion, as opposed to the sacrifice of the mass: cap. 14), penance (cap. 15), followed by the seven deadly sins (cap. 16), and

³⁷ “[L]a altercación que vuo entre los principales y los sátrapas de los ydolos tomada ocasion de lo que se dixo en el capítulo precedente: conviene a saber que sus dioses no fueron poderosos para los librar de las manos de los españoles.”

“[Q]uándo començó su reyno acá en el mundo, que es la Sancta yglesia cathólica.”

“[N]uestro Señor Dios por el gran amor que tiene a los hombres, se hizo hombre en este mundo y conuersó entre los hombres.”

Sahagún, *Coloquios*, sumario de los capítulos, 41-42 and 76-77.

confirmation (cap. 17), followed by the enemies of the soul (cap. 18). Finally Sahagún recounts “how the wives of the principals were baptized and were married after having well examined which were their true wives” (cap. 19) and “how [the friars] took leave of the baptized to go to preach to the other provinces of this New Spain” (cap. 20), before ending with a chapter “on the much which the Indians of these lands owe to the kings of Spain and to all the kingdom of Spain” (cap. 21).³⁸

The projected *postilla* on the Sunday epistles and gospels does not survive, but there do exist a set of Nahuatl *Adiciones a la Postilla* and part of a Nahuatl *Apéndice* to the same work, both dated 1579 in the Spanish-language prologue to the former work.³⁹ The *Adiciones*, of which there are either twenty-five or twenty-six depending on which of the two sets of divisions found in the single manuscript is used, are a series of brief discourses on the three theological virtues and the four last things intended to supplement the *Postilla* with a set of additional material relevant to any or every epistle and gospel, and with the lion’s share of attention going to the various forms of charity. The *Apéndice*, of which survive part of the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh of an original seven ‘collations’, is a set of much longer discourses, placed in the mouth of ‘Mother Church’, which draw on the prehispanic moral and religious teachings collected in the *Historia general*, Sahagún’s

³⁸ “[E]l gran llanto que hizieron los oyentes doliéndose de su engaño pasado todo el tiempo [que] sirvieron a los ydolos.”

“[C]ómo se bautizaron las mugeres de los principales y se casaron después de aver bien examinado cuáles eran sus verdaderas mugeres.”

“[C]ómo se despidieron de los bautizados para yr a predicar a las otras Provincias desta Nueva España.”

“[D]e lo mucho que deuen los yndios destas tierras a los reyes de España y a todo el reyno de España.”

Ibid., 42 and 77.

³⁹Sahagún, “Las veintiséis adiciones,” Spanish prologue, xxxiv and 2.

'ethnographic' magnum opus,⁴⁰ in order to refute or correct them.⁴¹

Finally the *Psalmodia christiana, y sermonario de los sanctos del año, en lengua mexicana: Ordenada en cantares ò psalmos: Para que canten los indios en los areytos, que hazen en las iglesias*, printed in 1583 but circulating in manuscript for some twenty years before that,⁴² and the license and approbation of which include the *Coloquios*,⁴³ is not directly related to either the *Coloquios* or the *Postilla*, but offers another illustration of Sahagún's doctrinal approach, and one which sheds light on some aspects not found in the other Sahaguntine texts examined here. A volume of 240 folios in quarto, in large Roman type and containing over fifty generally fairly large woodcuts, it is made up of sets of 'psalms' intended to replace the Indians' traditional songs and dances for use on the major feasts of the year, along with an introductory section which presents the basic catechetical formulae in the same format. The title notwithstanding, it is not in fact a sermon collection as such, nor do the 'psalms' have anything to do with the biblical Book of Psalms, but much of the text is based on the compilation and translation of scriptural and liturgical

⁴⁰There is no comprehensive edition of this work, which exists in several versions and in Nahuatl and Spanish. References in this study are to the Nahuatl text in Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, and to the Spanish text in Sahagún, *Historia general*.

⁴¹Anderson, "Sahagún's 'Doctrinal Encyclopaedia,'" 122, has speculated that the *Apéndice* may have been written for the instruction of the Nahua students of the college of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco.

⁴²Arthur J. O. Anderson, "Introduction," in Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, xv-xxxv, at xv-xvi; Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, prologo al lector, 8-9.

⁴³Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, 4-7. For the debate on the reasons for the non-publication of the *Coloquios*, see Anderson, "Las obras evangélicas," 148-49; and J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Sahagún's Misguided Introduction to Ethnography and the Failure of the *Colloquios* Project," in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún*, ed. Klor de Alva, Nicholson, and Quiñones Keber, 83-92. In my judgement neither of the two main theories, suppression by higher authority and voluntary withdrawal by the disillusioned author, is sufficiently well-supported by the evidence to outweigh the default explanation of lack of resources, to which a great many projected works of less renowned sixteenth- and seventeenth-century friars fell victim.

material,⁴⁴ framed by more freely composed sections, and the style is frequently indistinguishable from prose.

The *Psalmodia* was recommended by the Third Mexican Council in 1585,⁴⁵ and an early-seventeenth-century Jesuit miscellany manuscript makes use of it in several places,⁴⁶ while the 1768 sales listing of the contents of the library of the college of San Gregorio in Mexico City included nine copies.⁴⁷ Given low marks for literary quality by Garibay K., who judges it by the standards of the prehispanic canon,⁴⁸ it is called by Louise M. Burkhart “a fascinating hybrid literary form and an outstanding work of Nahuatl literature.”⁴⁹

There are two manuscripts of Sahagún’s sermons, one in the Newberry Library, Ayer ms. 1485, and one in the Biblioteca Nacional de México, ms. 1482. The Newberry manuscript, a competent scribal copy, was made in 1548, although on an autograph cover sheet Sahagún gives the date of composition as 1540, and contains two sets of autograph annotations and revisions, one set probably made about the time of the copy and a second set dated 1563. The Mexican manuscript, a hastily-done presentation copy for an unknown recipient, was made in 1588 and shares the unrevised text of the Newberry manuscript for the first fifteen sermons, extending from the First Sunday of Advent through the fourth

⁴⁴A fact overlooked by many of those who have commented on the eighteenth-century denunciation of the volume to the Inquisition.

⁴⁵Anderson, “Introduction,” xvi.

⁴⁶Biblioteca Nacional de México, ms. 1476: Moreno, no. 50, 91; Burkhart, *Before Guadalupe*, text 2.1, 25, and text 7.2, 108-10.

⁴⁷Sell, “Friars, Nahuas, and Books,” app. 8, 365.

⁴⁸Garibay K., 2: 100.

⁴⁹Burkhart, “The Amanuenses,” 342.

Sunday after Epiphany, after which it diverges completely. Juan Bautista, who used the sermons for the four Sundays of Advent and for the feast of St Andrew in his 1606 sermon collection, had a copy containing both sets of revisions.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Burkhart, "Doctrinal Aspects," 73; Klaus, Uprooted Christianity, 56-59 and 115; Moreno, no. 47, 87-89; and Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 73 and 106, n. 130. The first nine of these sermons, from the First Sunday of Advent through the Sunday within the Octave of Christmas, are transcribed from the 1548/63 manuscript in Klaus, Uprooted Christianity, app. 2, 280-320; English summaries of the sermons are provided in the body of Klaus's work (at 63-90, alternating with analysis), but these summaries, as well as being less than fully accurate in their catalogue of items mentioned, generally omit the connecting argument which makes sense out of them, rendering them practically useless. The sermon for the Fourth Sunday of Advent is also transcribed from the same manuscript in Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," app. 7, 354-64, with an English translation by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Barry David Sell, and the body of the sermon for Christmas Eve (minus the introduction) and the full sermon for the First (Midnight) Mass of Christmas are transcribed from the 1588 manuscript in Georges Baudot, "Los huehuetlatolli," at 272-85, with a Spanish translation.

APPENDIX II

THE 1548 *DOTRINA CHRISTIANA* AND LEÓN'S *CAMINO DEL CIELO*

Ninety years after Pedro de Córdoba's death, the basic structure of the catechism which bears his name, originally designed for introducing the rudiments of Christianity to the Indians of the Caribbean, was employed once more in the expository catechism of León's *Camino del cielo*. Expanded and entirely rewritten from a linguistic standpoint, and freed from the earlier work's scruples about the passing introduction of advanced topics (e.g., the Incarnation) before their explanation, but otherwise unaffected in argument and structure by its audience's several generations of Christian instruction, the heart of León's work is nonetheless an unacknowledged (and apparently unnoticed) reprise of the Dominican catechism of 1548.¹ An opening statement of authority leads to a reminder of the labors undergone by the priests come from across the sea,² followed by the promise of the riches of heaven and the affirmation that the path to attaining these riches begins with the knowledge of the places created by God, a knowledge unknown to the ancestors.³ For León these are the three places of heaven, hell, and earth, rather than the 1548 catechism's

¹Given the conventional nature of this genre, the 'adaptive reuse' might not have been considered worthy of comment by others at the time, and would have become increasingly difficult to discern as ever more copies of the 1548 catechism, already in 1611 linguistically superseded and visibly old-fashioned, must have worn out or been discarded - though León's own failure to bow in the direction of his revered predecessors is somewhat surprising - but I have in any case come across no one who takes note of the fact, either among León's contemporaries and successors or among modern scholars.

²León, fol. 7r; *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 1, fol. xj r.

³León, fol. 7r-7v; *Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 1, fol. xj r - xij r.

two places of heaven and hell,⁴ but the order of explication of the shared material is closely parallel, including such characteristic notes as the Indians' obligation to be grateful to God for sending them the friars to save them from hell,⁵ and a concluding return to the theme of heaven singling out for mention the existence of an individual palace for every one of its blessed inhabitants.⁶ The arrival of the Christian priests is one of the manifestations of the divine Creator's omnipotent care for His world which illustrate the first article of the

⁴León, fol. 7v-10v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 1-2, fol. xij r - xv r.

To the extent that its location is specified, purgatory is generally considered in the Spanish and Mexican catechetical literature to be a region of hell in the broad sense, located above hell proper and below the limbo of the children, not an independent portion of the universe like that which Dante envisions: see Córdoba, Doctrina, d j v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 30, fol. cxxj r - cxxij r (where purgatory and the limbo of the children have unaccountably switched places); Juan de la Anunciación, OSA, "Catecismo en lengua mexicana y española breve y muy compendioso, para saber la doctrina cristiana y enseñarla," partial ed., Spanish only, in Durán, Monumenta, 1: 629-63, at 637-38; Meneses, lib. 2, 4th article of the humanity, cap. 2, 464-66; and for an earlier period, cf. Ariel Guance, Los discursos sobre la muerte en la Castilla medieval (siglos VII - XV), Estudios de historia (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1998), 218-28.

Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 213-14 and 232, n. 347, suggests that this tripartite division is closer to prehispanic Nahua conceptions of the ordering of the world than a bipartite division into heaven and hell, but while there may be some truth to this to the extent that traditional Nahuatl rhetoric tends to emphasize the location of human life on this earth, while a significant strain of European ecclesiastical rhetoric, well-represented among the early modern friars, tends to view this life only as a brief waystation on the road to salvation or damnation, Sell's evidence for a traditional tripartite division appears to be misapplied. The discussion he cites, Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, "Preliminary Study," in The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues, ed. Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, Nahuatl Studies Series, ed. James Lockhart, no. 2, UCLA Latin American Studies, vol. 65 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), 1-104, at 36, deals with the description of the Christian God, probably through the transfer of prehispanic divine epithets, as lord of heaven, earth, and hell (*mictlan*, the place of the dead), a theologically accurate description but one which rings oddly to an ear accustomed to the usual European pairing in this context of heaven and earth, without mention of hell (a pairing also plentifully found in the text under discussion, a set of examples of polite conversation probably first compiled in Tetzco in the 1570s, under Franciscan auspices); what is at issue, in other words, is the inclusion of the underworld within the realm of divine providence, not the inclusion of the earth.

⁵León, fol. 8v-9r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 1-2, fol. xij r - xiiij r.

⁶León, fol. 10r-10v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xiiij v - xv r. Cf. John 14: 2.

divinity,⁷ and His goodness and mercy provide the occasion for a contrast between the bloody rites and human sacrifices of the Indians' old gods and His easy yoke.⁸ The assignment of good and evil angels to each person appears at the end of the account of the Fall,⁹ under the fifth article, and is followed by a discourse against idolatry and a call for the destruction of idols, for their substitution with the frequentation of the local church, and for gratitude for all the gifts of God's creation,¹⁰ reproducing in detail one of the 1548 doctrine's more notable divergences from a systematic exposition of the articles. The limited range of variation from the narrative structure offered by the articles themselves in the articles of the humanity offers less scope for definitive correspondences, but here too suggestive parallels can be found,¹¹ and while the greater expansiveness of León's treatment in the remainder of the catechism tends to mask signs of direct dependence on the sometimes sketchy 1548 text, the two not only follow the same basic order of articles, Commandments, sacraments, works of mercy, deadly sins, and prayers (omitting in this list material found in one but not the other), but share two distinctive peculiarities far more easily explained through use by León of the earlier work than through identical independent divergences from the customary logic of the catechetical formulae:¹² the treatment of the

⁷León, fol. 11v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 2, fol. xvj r - xvj v.

⁸León, fol. 13r-13v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 3, fol. xvij r - xix r.

⁹León, fol. 23r-23v; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 8, fol. xxxviii r - xxxix v.

¹⁰León, fol. 23v-25r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 8-9, fol. xxxix v - [xlj] r .

¹¹León, fol. 29v-30r, 33v, 34v-35r; Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 11, fol. lj r - lj v, and sermon 13, fol. lx r - lx v and lxj v - lxij r.

¹²Compare to almost any of the other catechisms mentioned in this study (the Doctrina cristiana: Mas cierta y verdadera is a special case).

precepts of the Church between the sacraments and the works of mercy, rather than after the Ten Commandments,¹³ and the treatment of ecclesiology following the works of mercy, rather than linked to the articles of faith.¹⁴

¹³The 1548 catechism does not in fact in treat the precepts of the Church as such, but the regulations for fasting and abstinence are attached to the end of the section on marriage, the last of the seven sacraments, by association of ideas with the topic of Indian privileges: Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 27, fol. cxij r - cxiiij r. While the precepts of mass attendance, confession, and communion appear in substance under the third commandment and the respective sacraments, the tithe goes unmentioned, leaving this digression as the only independent treatment of the material that, though not so labelled here, would normally fall under this heading. See León, fol. [74]v-[76]r.

¹⁴Dotrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana, sermon 32, fol. cxxv v - cxxviii v, where it is the third in a series of miscellaneous topics following the works of mercy, and León, fol. 79v-80r, where it is directly connected by association of ideas with the final work of mercy, prayer for the living and the dead.

APPENDIX III

SIGNATORIES TO THE *TEOTLACATL* DECLARATION

The names of the signatories to the *teotlacatl* declaration are printed as follows, horizontal bars included:

Fr. Francisco de Solís.
Fr. Hieronimo de Çarate.
Fr. Francisco de Rojas.

Fr. Francisco Muñoz. Prior.
Fr. Diego de Contreras. Maestro.
Fr. Alonso de Solís.

Iuan de Touar.
Diego de Santestean.

Iuan de Ledesma.
Augustin Cano.

Francisco de Medina.

Fr. Iuan Baptista de Mondragon Superior.

I have been unable to find any information on Francisco de Rojas and Alonso de Solís, but the grouping of signatures suggests that the former is a Franciscan, like Francisco de Solís and Jerónimo de Zárate, and the latter an Augustinian, like Francisco Muñoz and Diego de Contreras. The four non-mendicants in the central register are Jesuits, and Mondragón is a Dominican. Medina is the most problematic case, with plausible but non-definitive reasons to identify him both as a Franciscan and as a member of the secular clergy.

Francisco de Solís, OFM

He provided an approbation for his fellow Franciscan Juan Bautista's 1600

Huehuetlahtolli and for his 1606 *Sermonario en lengua mexicana: Primera parte*.

Charles E. Dibble, "The Nahuatlization of Christianity," in *Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún*, ed. Munro S. Edmonson, School of American Research, Advanced Seminar Series, ed. Douglas W. Schwartz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 225-33, at 228-29. Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 61, 105, n. 95, and 144.

Jerónimo de Zárate, OFM

He was one of the Franciscan sponsors of the Nahuatl confraternity of Our Lady of

Solitude at its foundation in 1591 at San José, the indigenous parish attached to the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City, and is mentioned by the Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada, in his 1615 *Monarquía indiana*, as in charge of the Indian ministry at San José in the early 1590s and as guardian of Cuernavaca in 1604, in episodes suggesting that he was known for both good relations with the Nahuas and organizational skills.

Transferred in 1595 from San José to Cholula, he served a second term at San José beginning in January 1611, only to be removed from office in April of the following year after being charged with multiple abuses, including having several parishioners publicly stripped and whipped, revealing people's sins from the pulpit, and engaging in unscrupulous practices in the collection of testamentary bequests while failing to perform the corresponding masses. By Holy Week of 1613, at the beginning of April, he seems to have returned to his functions at San José, but a month later he was definitively transferred to Teohuacan.

He provided an approbation, dated from Tetzaco on 24 November 1610, for León's 1614 *Primera parte del sermonario del tiempo de todo el año, duplicado, en lengua mexicana*, and wrote a letter printed as a kind of supplementary approbation in the front matter of the Augustinian Juan de Mijangos's 1624 *Primera parte del sermonario dominical, y sanctoral, en lengua mexicana*, where he is described as "tan Docto, tan Eminente Lengua Mexicana, y tan gran Ministro."

Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, séptima relación, 2: 266-69. Idem, "Das Tagebuch," 37-146, at 40, 41, 44, 94, 102-3, 104, 109, 120, 121, 123, and 125. Medina, *La imprenta*, no. 281, 2: 63. Mijangos, *Primera parte*, ¶ 4 r - ¶¶ 1 r. Torquemada, lib. 5, cap. 27, cap. 35, and cap. 60, 1: 653, 669, and 728-29.

Francisco Muñoz, OSA

Born in Mexico, he professed on 15 April 1574, taking the name of Francisco de la Concepción. He was a chronicler of the province, and in 1598, while prior of Acatlan, was also named chronicler of the province of the Philippines; his chronicle does not survive as such, but was used by Grijalva. Already master of theology by the university of

Mexico, in 1609 he was granted the title and privileges of supernumerary master in the province by Paul V. While prior of Jonacatepec he underwent surgery for cataracts, with limited success, having been threatened with removal from office for his poor sight. In 1611 he presided over the provincial chapter at the nomination of the prior general and was named prior of San Agustín in Mexico City. The provincial Andrés de Bazán tried to remove him from the latter office on the same grounds of poor sight, sending him to Ocuituco, but he successfully appealed to the general in Rome and had been reinstated by the time he was elected provincial in 1614, only to see the legality of that election challenged on different grounds, albeit unsuccessfully; to judge from the account of the mid-seventeenth-century chronicler Esteban García, he seems to have been something of a magnet for the more turbid aspects of Augustinian internal politics, and not always as an innocent bystander. He died in Mexico City on 20 June 1616.

I have found no direct evidence regarding his degree of proficiency in Nahuatl, but his assignments as prior suggest at least conversational competence: while Acatlan, in the modern state of Hidalgo, was predominantly an Otomí area, with some Nahuatl-speakers, Jonacatepec and Ocuituco, both in the modern state of Morelos, were Nahua areas.

Beristáin claims that his *Historia del orden de s. Agustín de la Nueva España* was printed in Valladolid in 1619, in folio, but there seem to be no grounds for such a statement.

America pontificia III, no. 458, 291. Beristáin de Souza, no. 2091, 3: 302-3. Chimalpahin, "Das Tagebuch," 134. García, cap. 31, 108; cap. 39, 118-20; and cap. 41, 125-27. Gerhard, no. 21, 91-94; no. 22, 94-98; and no. 110, 335-38. Federico Gómez de Orozco, "Los provinciales de la provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Nueva España," in Grijalva, *Crónica*, app. 3, 505-37, at 519-20. Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 2, cap. 17, 206. Ruiz Zavala, 1: 311-12; and 2: 20-23, 25-26, 325, 339, and 575. Gregorio de Santiago Vela, OSA, "Historiadores de la provincia agustiniana de México en los siglos XVI y XVII," in García, vii-xxi, at xii-xiii.

Diego de Contreras, OSA

Born in Mexico, he professed on 8 April 1572. Between 1587 and 1590 he substituted in the chair of Scripture at the university of Mexico for his fellow Augustinian

Melchor de los Reyes. He received the licentiate in theology from the university of Mexico in August 1593, at which time he was using the title of *praesentatus*, and the master's in theology from the same institution in September of the same year, receiving the rank of master in the order the following month. He was provincial from 1599 to 1602, prior of San Agustín in Mexico City from 1596 to 1599 and again from 1608 to 1611, and a diffinitor at the provincial chapter of 1611. He also served as prior of Culhuacán and of Guadalajara, and became a *calificador* of the Holy Office prior to June 1601, when he used the title in signing an approbation for the Franciscan Juan Bautista's *Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales*. In 1609 he won the university chair of Scripture *en propiedad*, holding it until he was presented to the archbishopric of Santo Domingo in 1612. He was consecrated in Mexico City in November 1613, by archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna (not, as is sometimes reported, in November 1612 or by archbishop García Guerra, who died in February 1612), and did not leave for his archdiocese until May 1615. He died in a shipwreck in the Bahamas on 24 April 1618.

His expertise in Nahuatl is witnessed by his approbations for two of Bautista's other publications, the 1605 *Vida y milagros del bienaventurado sanct Antonio de Padua: Primer predicador general de la orden del seraphico p. s. Francisco: A quien el papa Grego. 9. por la alteza de su sabiduria, y excelente doctrina, llamò Archa Testamenti: Compuesta en lengua mexicana* and the 1606 *Sermonario en lengua mexicana: Primera parte*.

America pontificia III, no. 541, 341, and no. 546, 343. Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 2, * 2 r - * 2 v. Chimalpahin, "Das Tagebuch," 87, 116, 129-30, 139, and 143. Jesús R. Díez Antoñanzas, "Colación de grados de teología en la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (siglo XVI)," in *Evangelización y teología*, ed. Saranyana et al., 1167-84, at 1175. Idem, "Relación de teólogos de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (siglo XVI)," *ibid.*, 1141-65, at 1163. García, cap. 22, 71-72; cap. 31, 108-9; cap. 43, 131 and 133; and cap. 55, 170-72. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 125-26, 413-14, and no. 174(116), 446. Gómez de Orozco, 518-19. Grijalva, *Crónica*, lib. 2, cap. 13, 180; and lib. 4, cap. 15, 415. Medina, *La imprenta*, no. 219, 2: 22; and no. 227, 2: 30. Leticia Pérez Puente, "Las cátedras de la universidad de México: Entre estudiantes y doctores," in *De maestros y discípulos: Siglos XVI - XIX*, ed. Leticia Pérez Puente, La Real Universidad de México, Estudios y textos, no. 7 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Estudios sobre la Universidad, 1998), 15-60, at 51. Ruiz Zavala, 1: 416-17; and 2: 14, 16, 24, 289, 339, and 461.

Juan de Tovar, SI

A native of Mexico and already a diocesan priest and member of the Mexican cathedral chapter, he became one of the first novices accepted by the Society of Jesus in Mexico City, entering on 3 July 1573, taking first vows exactly two years later, and professing with the fourth vow on 19 January 1592. Renowned for his skill in both Nahuatl and Otomí, he signed approbations for the 1576 second, revised edition of the Franciscan Alonso de Molina's *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana* and his 1578 *Doctrina christiana, en lengua mexicana muy necessaria: En la qual se contienen todos los principales misterios de nuestra sancta fee catholica*, for the Franciscan Juan Bautista's 1600 *Huehuetlahtolli* and 1606 *Sermonario en lengua mexicana: Primera parte*, and for the Augustinian Juan de Mijangos's 1624 *Primera parte del sermonario dominical, y sanctoral, en lengua mexicana*, as well as for the *Camino del cielo*, where he went beyond the usual commonplaces to make a particular recommendation of León's treatment of Trinitarian questions. In light of León's concern for 'idolatrous' practices, it might also be noted that he is said to have preached an anti-idolatry campaign around 1605 in Zumpahuacán, a Nahuatl-speaking district south of Mexico City, together with his fellow Jesuit and expert in Nahuatl Antonio del Rincón and at the request of the secular parish priest of the area. In 1606 he was named rector of the Jesuit Indian college of San Gregorio, a position he continued to hold until disabled by ill health and failing sight around 1620.

The only surviving Nahuatl work from Tovar's own pen is a Corpus Christi sermon included in Mijangos's sermon collection (and recently transcribed and translated into English in Sell and Taylor), but his fame as an expert in the language, at least within his own order, earned him citation as an authority in the Jesuit linguist Horacio Carocho's Nahuatl grammar of 1645 and continued inclusion in a list of masters of Nahuatl style in the 1759 *Promptuario manual mexicano* (a Nahuatl sermon collection) of yet another Jesuit, Ignacio de Paredes, well over a century after his death on 1 December 1626. In a

comparable list found in the prologue of his 1614 *Primera parte del sermonario del tiempo de todo el año, duplicado, en lengua mexicana* León suggests that Tovar preferred the active ministry to writing, being occupied “enseñando à sus indios virtud, sciencia, y musica de todos instrumentos.” Around 1600 he in fact composed a handbook of musical instruction and an Otomí catechism, with a view to the publication of both, but there is no evidence that either was ever printed, nor are the manuscripts known.

According to one Jesuit chronicler, however, Tovar was the author of a Nahuatl catechism “en forma de diálogo breve” which was so successful that archbishop Pedro Moya y Contreras “hizo y mandó que los dichos diálogos de el catechismo compuestos por el p. Tobar se imprimiessen a su costa y se diesen a los indios de gracia para que los supiesen y se imbiassen a todos los Vicarios y beneficiados de su Diócesi, mandando a todos, so graves penas, que assí los enseñassen a sus feligreses.” No copy of this work is known, but it is tempting to identify it with the anonymous 1578 *Doctrina christiana muy vtil, y necessaria, assi para los españoles, como para los naturales, en lengua mexicana y castellana, ordenada por mandado del illustrissimo y reuerendissimo señor don Pedro Moya de Contreras arzobispo de Mexico, del consejo de su magestad, y con su licencia impresa*: it is in question-and-answer form, imposed for use by the archbishop, and small enough at 16 folios to be given away in reasonably large quantities. The use of the IHS monogram on the title page, furthermore, though not as distinctive of the Society of Jesus as might be supposed - it also appears in Mexican Franciscan imprints, in the tradition of Bernardino de Siena - is at the least not in contradiction with Jesuit authorship.

Sell and Taylor see the influence of Tovar’s Corpus Christi sermon in the mestizo diocesan priest Bartolomé de Alva’s 1634 *Confessionario mayor, y menor en lengua mexicana: Y platicas contra las sup[er]sticiones de idolatria, que el día de oy an quedado a los naturales desta Nueva Espa[ña], è instruccion de los santos sacramentos &c*, in the use of the analogy of the presence of an entire image in each piece of a broken mirror to explain

the entire presence of Christ in each piece of the broken Host, but the analogy is in fact a traditional one, criticized by Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa theologica*, pt. 3, q. 76, art. 3, and Alva's employment of it shares little in detail with Tovar's. On the other hand, Tovar's sermon did receive sufficient notice to be included in a mid- to late-seventeenth-century manuscript sermon miscellany of Jesuit milieu, where a heading indicating the existence of the printed version leaves unclear whether the imprint or a manuscript was the source.

Finally, as the author early in his career of a lost Spanish-language work on Nahua history, Tovar is perhaps best known to modern historians for the so-called *Códice Ramírez*, the epitome of his Dominican kinsman Diego Durán's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme* which he supplied sometime in the mid-1580s to the Peruvian Jesuit José de Acosta for use in the latter's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, explaining that his own manuscript was no longer in his possession and that Durán's account was closest to what he remembered.

Alva, 148-49. Beristáin de Souza, no. *123, 5: 52. Ernest J. Burrus, SI, "Two Lost Mexican Books of the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 37, no. 3 (August 1957): 330-39, at 330-33. Rosa de Lourdes Camelo and José Rubén Romero Galván, "Estudio preliminar," in Durán, *Historia*, 1: 15-49, at 33-35. Horacio Carocho, SI, *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaracion de los adverbios della* (Mexico City: Por Iuan Ruyz, 1645; facsimile reprint, *Arte de la lengua mexicana: Con la de [sic] declaración de los adverbios della: Edición facsimilar de la publicada por Juan Ruyz en la ciudad de México, 1645*, with an Introduction by Miguel León-Portilla, *Facsimiles de lingüística y filología nahuas*, no. 2, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993), lib. 4, cap. 1, fol. 75v. Chimalpahin, "Das Tagebuch," 91. *Descripción del arzobispado*, 184. Dibble, "The Nahuatlization," 228. *Doctrina christiana muy vtil. Francisco de Florencia*, SI, *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesvs: De Nveva-Espana, dividida en ocho libros: Tomo primero* (Mexico City: Por Iuan Ioseph Gvillena Carrascoso, 1694; facsimile reprint, *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesvs de Nueva España*, with a Prologue by Francisco González de Cossío, *Colección de grandes crónicas mexicanas*, ed. Manuel Septién y Septién, no. 2, Mexico City: Editorial Academia Literaria, 1955), lib. 3, cap. 8, 144; and lib. 4, cap. 11, 261. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, no. 78(69), 275; no. 89(77), 286; and app. 1, no. 77, 491-92. Gerhard, no. 52, 170-72. Kubler and Gibson, 9-21. León, f. iij v. Medina, *La imprenta*, no. 227, 2: 30. Mijangos, *Primera parte*, f. 3 r - f. 3 v and 212-21. Moreno, no. 58, 110-11. Federico Beals Nagel Bielicke, "El aprendizaje del idioma náhuatl entre los franciscanos y los jesuitas en la Nueva España," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 24 (1994): 419-41, at 430-33. Barry D. Sell, "The Classical Age of Nahuatl Publications and Don Bartolomé de Alva's *Confessionario* of 1634," in Alva, 17-32, at 24-25. Idem, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 60 and 105, n. 85; and 114 and 215, n. 1. Sell and Taylor. Serna, cap. 2, § 3, 287-88.

Diego de Santesteban, SI

He had an academic career in the Jesuit colleges of Mexico City, Lima, and Seville, and was described by a 1645 chronicler of the Mexican Jesuit province as led to such a peripatetic life by his role as a valued counselor of viceroys. Several manuscript volumes of his expositions on Aquinas survive in the Biblioteca Nacional de México.

He signed an approbation of the *Camino del cielo*, but stated that he had reviewed only the Spanish-language parts of the volume, suggesting a lack of expertise in Nahuatl.

León, J ij v. Andrés Pérez de Ribas, SI, Historia de los triunfos de n. s. fe entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe. Páginas para la historia de Sinaloa y Sonora (Mexico City: Editorial Layac, 1944), lib. 7, cap. 15, 2: 256. Jesús Yhmoff Cabrera, Catálogo de obras manuscritas en latín de la Biblioteca Nacional de México, with David Castañeda Medrano, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Serie Guías, no. 4 (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975), no. 478-480, 324-326.

Juan de Ledesma, SI

Born in Mexico City, he entered the Society of Jesus at the age of fifteen and spent the bulk of his adult career on an academic path at the college of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City, leaving at his death on 12 October 1636, at the age of sixty-three, fourteen manuscript volumes of the fruits of his lectures, of which one volume now survives in the Biblioteca Nacional de México. At least one of his Spanish-language sermons made it to the press in pamphlet form, the *Sermon predicado en la santa yglesia cathedral de Mexico: En la nueva institucion de la fiesta del Santissimo Sacramento, que por cedula de Su Magestad Filipo III. nuestro señor se ha de hazer cada año à los 29. de nouiembre en accion de gracias à Nuestro Señor por auer lleuado en saluamento el año pasado de 1625. los galeones de la armada real de la carrera de las Indias, y flota desta Nueva España*, published in Mexico City in 1627, and his reputation for sanctity was sufficient to motivate the reported printing of a biographical (or hagiographical) relation shortly after his death, probably from the pen of the Jesuit chronicler Andrés Pérez de Ribas, who overlooked geography to devote to Ledesma two chapters of his 1645 *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe: Conseguídos por*

los soldados de la milicia de la Compañía de Jesus en las misiones de la provincia de Nueva España, otherwise dedicated to the northern missions.

He did not preach in Nahuatl, but he was renowned for his diligence in hearing confessions in that language and for his renovation of the church of San Gregorio, the Indian college that was San Pedro y San Pablo's neighbor and poor relation. Perhaps reflecting his especial expertise in confession, he also provided approbations for the mestizo secular priest Bartolomé de Alva's 1634 *Confessionario mayor, y menor en lengua mexicana: Y pláticas contra las sup[er]sticiones de idolatria que el dia de oy han quedado a los naturales desta Nueva Espa[ña]*, è *instrucion de los santos sacramentos &c*, and for the likewise secular priest Francisco de Lorra Baquío's *Manual mexicano, de la administracion de los santos sacramentos, conforme al Manual Toledano: Compuesto en lengua mexicana* of the same year.

Alva, 55. Beristáin de Souza, no. 2602, 4: 213. Florencia, lib. 3, cap. 6, 133; and cap. 21, 203. Medina, *La imprenta*, no. 394, 2: 132-33, and no. 446, 2: 153-54. Pérez de Ribas, lib. 7, cap. 15-16, 2: 254-71. Yhmoff Cabrera, no. 296, 210-11.

Agustín Cano, SI

He entered the Society in Mexico City in 1576 around the age of fifteen, having been one of the first *colegiales* of the college of San Pedro y San Pablo at its foundation in 1573, and appears to have followed an academic career, lecturing on Scripture for many years in Mexico City and dying on 23 September 1622 as rector of the Jesuit college in Valladolid de Michoacán.

Though it is quite likely that he would have learned at least some Nahuatl as a child growing up in a prosperous Mexico City family, I have found no evidence attesting to his proficiency or lack thereof.

Beristáin de Souza, no. 619, 2: 37. Florencia, lib. 3, cap. 14, 167; cap. 19, 189. García, cap. 68, 206.

Francisco de Medina

Though this signatory appears in the list ungrouped with any other and without the

title of 'fray' which marks all the mendicants (and distinguishes them from the untitled Jesuits), it is highly tempting to identify him with the Franciscan of the same name, guardian of the convent of Tepepulco, who published a Nahuatl life of St Nicholas of Tolentino, *La vida y milagros del glorioso s. Nicolas de Tolentino, de la orden de sanct Augustin doctor de la Iglesia: Traduzida en lengua mexicana*, in Mexico City in 1605. On the other hand, although the 'fr' of 'fray,' the 'fr^{co}' of 'Francisco,' and the left-hand downstroke and swirls of many rubrics offer plausible scope for confusion in this regard, it also seems reasonable, in light of the demonstrable inclusion of all four major religious orders ministering to the Nahuas on the list, to use the absence of a friar's title to identify Medina as a member of the one significant group not otherwise represented, the diocesan clergy.

The name is a common one, as witnessed not only by the multiple Medinas to be found in the bibliography of this study, but also by the multiple Francisco de Medinas who were members of the Franciscan order in New Spain in the second half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. In 1542 and in 1578 a Franciscan with this name traveled from the peninsula to New Spain; in 1582 a friar with this name, variously listed as a Franciscan and as a Dominican, was granted a royal license to return from the peninsula to New Spain at his own expense; in 1588 a friar with this name, almost certainly a Franciscan, assisted at a deathbed in Xochimilco; and in 1609 a Franciscan with this name was granted a royal license to return from New Spain to the peninsula because of old age; and while all of these could just conceivably be the same long-lived and much-traveled person, the only Francisco de Medina who appears in a 1570 catalogue of the Mexican province is recently ordained to the priesthood, and hence cannot plausibly be the one who traveled from the peninsula in 1542. Another Franciscan with this name, resident in the province of Castile in the mid-1560s, was part of the commission which examined the

record of Diego de Landa's inquisitorial activities in Yucatán, although if this Medina had any direct New World experience qualifying him for this role, it goes unmentioned in Landa's own, highly abbreviated account of the proceedings.

In the late 1580s a diocesan priest with this name appears as *curavicario* of Tuzantla in the diocese of Michoacán, an area of mixed Nahuatl- and Tarascan-speakers.

Castro y Castro, 517-18. Carmen Cebrián González, "Referencias dominicanas en los cedularios del Archivo General de Indias (siglo XVI): I. Expediciones y viajes," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo, 835-59, at 849, no. 109. Gerhard, no. 53, 172-74. "Informe biográfico y lingüístico del p. Jerónimo de Mendieta, OFM, sobre los 238 franciscanos pertenecientes a la provincia del Santo Evangelio, de Méjico," in Castro y Castro, app. 1, 557-68, at 565, no. 161. Landa, cap. 19, 33. Medina, La imprenta, no. 224, 2: 28-29. Francisco Morales Valerio, OFM, "Criollización de la orden franciscana en Nueva España: Siglo XVI," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo, 661-84, at 675. Rafael Mota Murillo, OFM, "Contenido franciscano de los libros registro del Archivo General de Indias: 1551 - 1650," in Actas del III Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo, 1-181, at 62-63, no. 115. Idem, "Contenido franciscano de los libros registro del consejo de Indias de 1551 a 1600," in Actas del II Congreso internacional sobre los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo, 85-203, at 198, n. 87. John Frederick Schwaller, Partidos y párrocos bajo la Real Corona en la Nueva España, siglo XVI, with Anne C. Taylor Schwaller, Colección Científica, Fuentes, Historia económica de México, no. 104 (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1981), 440. Vidas y bienes, vol. 2, no. 35, 284-87.

Juan Bautista de Mondragón, OP

He signed an approbation of the *Camino del cielo* on 17 June 1611, from the convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City and using the same title of subprior with which he signed the *teotlacatl* declaration. Apparently recognized as a Dominican expert in Nahuatl, as well as conveniently resident in Mexico City in these years, he also provided an approbation, dated 25 October 1610, for León's 1614 *Primera parte del sermonario*.

A married sister of his was resident in Mexico City in 1611, and probably for at least some years previously, but while this indicates ties to local society, it does not permit any conclusions regarding his place of birth or education.

Franco, lib. 2, cap. 36: 330. León, ¶ iij r. Medina, La imprenta, no. 281, 2: 63.

APPENDIX IV
TRINITARIAN TERMINOLOGY

The declaration on the use of *teotlacatl* printed in the front matter to León's *Camino del cielo* was not the only proposal circulating in the early years of the seventeenth century for the revision of Trinitarian terminology in Nahuatl. In his 1600 *Advertencias para los confesores de los naturales*, the prolific Franciscan author and compiler of Nahuatl religious works Juan Bautista makes several criticisms of previous practice, beginning with the standard formula taught to and learned by the Indians, "In Dios, ca Tetzatzin, Tepiltzin, Spiritu sancto: ey p[e]rsonas, çan ce huel nelli teutl Dios tlahto huani" ("Dios is Father, Child, *Spiritu Sancto*, three *personas*, just one indeed true Lord God Dios"). Though capable of interpretation in the orthodox sense originally intended, the formula is in fact interpreted by most Indians, Bautista claims, to mean that there are Three Persons, only One of Whom, the Second, is the True God. To amend the formula, Bautista proposes to compensate for the ambiguity, introduced (in his view) by the lack of gender marking in Nahuatl, by exploiting a different Nahuatl linguistic peculiarity, the existence of a class of numeral forms indicating joint or group action ('both', 'all three together', etc.): the resulting formulas read, approximately, "Dios is Father, Child, *Spiritu Sancto*, three *personas*, just one indeed true God Dios all three [*imeixtintzitzin*]," and "Dios is Father, Child, *Spiritu Sancto*, just indeed alone Lord God Dios. Dios is Father, Child, *Spiritu Sancto*, all three [*imeixtin*] *personas* just indeed alone Lord Dios, for all three [*imeixtin*]

personas are just indeed alone the Lord God Dios all three [*imeixtin*].”¹ As noted by David Tavárez, the same group plural is applied to the Trinitarian persons in the Dominican Domingo de la Anunciación’s 1565 *Doctrina christiana breve y compendiosa*,² and it can also be found in the Dominican catechism of 1548, in Sahagún’s *Psalmodia christiana*, in the *Exercicio quotidiano* reworked by Sahagún in 1574, in a 1587 testament from Dominican-administered Coyoacán, in a 1609 testament from Franciscan-administered Tlaxcala, and in the Franciscan-influenced Chimalpahin’s *Primerarelación* (ca. 1607-37), as well as in León’s model testament.³ Bautista accepts without comment the ubiquitous loanword *persona* - though he objects to a much less common Nahuatl coinage which he says is used by some preachers to mean ‘triune’, *meteihttica*, arguing (accurately) that it in fact means ‘said in three ways’, with the resulting implication that the Three Persons are rather one person with three names⁴ - but *tlacatl* (‘person’) appears paired with the Spanish

¹“In Dios, ca Tettatzin Tepiltzin, Spiritu sancto, ei personas, çan ce huel nelli teult Dios in huel imeixtintzitzin,” and “In Dios, ca Tettatzin, Tepiltzin, Spiritu sancto, çan huel iceltzin teult Dios tlahtohuani. In Dios, ca Tettatzin, Tepiltzin, Spiritu sancto, imeixtin personas çan huel iceltzin Dios tlahtohuani. Ca in imeixtin personasme ca çan huel iceltzin teult Dios tlahtohuani in huel imeixtin.” Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 31, fol. 51v-52v; and as Bautista practices what he preaches, see also the doctrinal interrogatories at *ibid.*, no. 28, fol. 37v and fol. 41r-42r. *Imeixtintzitzin* is the reverential form of *imeixtin*.

²Tavárez, 26.

³*Doctrina christiana en lengua española y mexicana*, sermon 4, fol. xxj v - xxij v. Sahagún, *Psalmodia*, in die transfigurationis Domini, psalm 5, 218-19. Sahagún, “Exercicio quotidiano,” clxxxiii, cxcviii-cxcix, and ccvii, and 180, 190, and 196. *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 2, no. 34, 276; and vol. 3, no. 4, 58-59. Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, primera relación, cap. 2, 1: 44. León, fol. [139]r.

⁴Bautista, *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 31, fol. 52v-54r.

I have not come across *meteihttica* in use elsewhere, but Tavárez points out Molina’s translation of *eittitica* as “es trino en personas” (Molina, *Vocabulario*, pt. 2, fol. 28r; and see also fol. 35r, *yeittitica*, “es trino,” the same word with variant orthography) and suggests that this is a related term, by way of an emendation to *eihottitica*, translated by him as ‘he/she is caused to be called in three ways’ (Tavárez, 30-31; note that this emendation is really the addition of one letter, the ‘o’, not two, since the ‘h’ is a glottal stop generally unmarked in Molina’s orthography, whether there or not). However, Bautista himself uses *eittitica* and its unitary counterpart *cettitica* (‘uno’ as opposed to ‘trino’) with approval elsewhere in the *Advertencias*, pt. 1, no. 28, fol. 41v, and the analysis which Tavárez applies to these terms is in my opinion a mistaken one.

term in the *Exercicio quotidiano* and in Chimalpahin⁵ and alone in a 1610 testament from Franciscan-administered Cempoala,⁶ and *teotlacatl* can be found used alone in a 1569 document from Tlaxcala and paired with *persona* in a 1570 testament from Tenango del Valle,⁷ both Franciscan areas. In the period following the publication of the *Camino del cielo*, *teotlacatl* can be found in the diocesan priest Sáenz de la Peña's 1642 sacramental

Tavárez analyzes *meteihtotica* into the reflexive prefix *m(o)-*, the numeral *e-* ('three'), the personal indefinite object prefix *te-*, the root verb *-ihtoa* ('to say'), the ligature *-ti-*, and the instrumental postposition *-ca*, but on the one hand, verbs do not take postpositions, and on the other hand, *-ihtoa* does not take more than one object (and even if it did, the incorporated noun *e-* should come between the object prefixes and the root verb, not between the two object prefixes *m(o)-* and *te-*). By my analysis, *-ca* is the verb 'to be', appearing here in composition as an auxiliary, and more importantly, *ete-* should be taken together as the numeral 'three' combined with the numeral classifier for discrete things, and read as an incorporated instrumental, leaving *m(o)-* to occupy the one object slot: hence, since the reflexive has passive force in this case (in both Tavárez's opinion and mine), 'it/they is/are being said as three things' or simply 'it/they is/are said as three things', with emphasis on the continuing quality of the saying.

For *eittitica* or *eihtotitica*, Tavárez analyses his emended version as the numeral *e-*, the root verb *-ihtoa*, the causative suffix *-tia*, and, as above, the ligature *-ti-* plus the instrumental postposition *-ca*. In addition to repeating the problem of a postposition with a verb, in supposing a causative verb ('he causes someone to say something') Tavárez now has not a surplus of objects but a deficit of them, nor is there any ground for his reading of a passive sense. By my analysis of the non-emended version, again taking *-tica* as ligature plus auxiliary, *ei-* is the numeral (which can be written as *(y)e*, *(y)ei*, and *(y)eyi*) and *-(t)ti* is a verbalizing suffix meaning to be or to become the thing signified by the root word (which can be a noun, adjective, adverb, or numeral): hence, 'it/they is/are becoming three' or 'it/they is/are three', which even if not a perfect rendition of the almost-impossible-to-translate 'triune', is also far from the least successful effort on display here.

It should be noted that Tavárez frames his analysis according to the system used by J. Richard Andrews in his *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1975), in the style of the modern discipline of linguistics, while I have 'translated' that analysis here into the terms of the more traditional or humanistic grammar which I prefer, as found particularly in my indispensable reference grammar of choice, Thelma D. Sullivan's *Compendium of Nahuatl Grammar*, trans. Thelma D. Sullivan and Neville Stiles, ed. Wick R. Miller and Karen Dakin (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988).

⁵Sahagún, "Exercicio quotidiano," cxxxix, clxxx-clxxxii, clxxxvii, cxciii, cxviii-cxcix, and ccvii, and 152, 178, 180, 182, 186, 190, and 196; Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones*, primera relación, cap. 2, 1: 48.

⁶*Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 6, 74-75.

⁷*Vidas y bienes*, vol. 2, no. 1, 66, and no. 17, 154. The Tlaxcallan document is the 1569 presentation and transcription of what is said to be a testament of 1523, but the latter date should be taken with a large grain of salt.

manual⁸ and in the occasional later testament from Franciscan and Dominican areas alike.⁹

⁸Sáenz de la Peña, fol. 47r and 71r.

⁹Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 553, n. 218, mentions several eighteenth-century examples, one of which also uses *imeixtin*, from Dominican or mixed areas, interpreted by Tavárez, 35-36, in light of his belief in the strictly Dominican origin of *teotlacatl*; on the other hand, *teotlacatl* also appears in a 1663 will from Franciscan-administered Ocotelulco and a 1672 will from Franciscan-administered San Miguel Coatlinchan, as well as in wills of 1680 and 1691 from Dominican-administered Tepetlaoztoc: *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 1, Ocotelulco, no. 1, 182; and vol. 3, no. 26, 272-73; no. 31, 318-19; and no. 38, 354-55. A 1680 will from San Andrés Calpan, a Franciscan *doctrina* secularized in 1640, uses both *teotlacatl* and *imeixtin*, and a 1699 will from Cholula, another Franciscan *doctrina* secularized at the same time, uses *teotlacatl*: *Vidas y bienes*, vol. 3, no. 30, 298-99; and no. 50, 418-19.

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