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Note

This contribution is part of a larger dialogue of three articles and one responding piece that form the current issue of *JOLCEL*. The other contributions are "Latinidad, tradición clásica y *nova ratio* en el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco" by Heréndira Téllez Nieto (pp. 30–55) and "Nordic Gods in Classical Dress: *De diis arctois* by C. G. Brunius" by Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich (pp. 57–71). The response piece is "Beyond Europe, beyond the Renaissance, beyond the Vernacular" by Alejandro Coroleu (pp. 73-77).

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From the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540) to the *Espejo divino* (1607): Indian Latinists and Nahuatl Religious Literature at the College of Tlatelolco*

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Abstract

In 1536, fifteen years after the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Imperial College of Santa Cruz was founded in Santiago Tlatelolco, an Indian enclave to the north of Mexico City. The students at the college, who were drawn from native elites, received an advanced education in Latin from Franciscan missionaries. The present discussion will explain why such a training was provided to those indigenous youths, and clarify the nature of their accomplishments (1). A discussion of the translations of biblical texts into Nahuatl made at the College of Santa Cruz (2) will be followed by a survey of original religious texts produced there in the Mexican language, many of which had identifiable Latin precedents (3). The concluding section then offers some tentative general reflections on the part played by Latin Christian humanism in shaping early Nahuatl literature, arguing that it bears some comparison to the way Latin had already underscored the development of vernacular literature in early modern Europe (4).

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An astonishing quantity and variety of Latin humanist writing emerged from post-conquest New Spain, ranging from satirical poetry and tracts on the rights of Indians to studies of philosophical logic, rhetoric and natural history. But such writings, composed by and for members of highly educated elites, represent only one aspect of Latin's reach and influence in the early colonial period. Although Spanish and indigenous languages were the standard vehicles for inculcation of the Christian religion and for the exchange or transmission of

* I would like to thank Heréndira Téllez Nieto for her assistance, as well as David Tavárez who also offered valuable insights on an earlier draft. It will be evident how much parts of this essay owe to discoveries made by each of them. I am also grateful to Simon Ditchfield, Ed Carter, Sofia Guthrie and Jaspreet Singh Boparai, and especially to Louise Burkhart for her comments on the final version of this paper.

knowledge, Latin still remained of fundamental importance as the language of the Church and of education. Confessionals, catechisms and *artes* (manuals) of Amerindian tongues, for example, even when written in the Spanish vernacular, all presupposed and demonstrated the centrality of Latin. Another illustration of this is provided by the institution of the College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, where Mexican students, trained in Latin, were engaged in the production of Christian texts in Nahuatl and sometimes in other Mesoamerican languages.

The present discussion will describe the translation of Latin sources into Nahuatl in Tlatelolco and show how Latin learning also provided a matrix for the creation of an original Christian literature in the Mexican language. The opening section (1) will explain why indigenous scholars were educated at Santa Cruz and clarify the nature of their accomplishments. A brief description of biblical translations made at the College (2), will be followed by a survey of some texts which were authored for the first time in Nahuatl—in addition to those which had identifiable Latin models (3). The concluding section (4) will offer some tentative general reflections on the part played by Latin Christian humanism in shaping early Nahuatl literature, arguing that it bears some comparison to the way Latin had already underscored the development of vernacular literature in early modern Europe.

1 Status of the Nahua scholars and their work

The Imperial College of Santa Cruz was inaugurated in 1536, at Santiago Tlatelolco, a native enclave to the north of Mexico City. The purpose of the institution was to prepare students, drawn from the Nahua nobility, for a career in public service as magistrates and community leaders. In this way the Spaniards could consolidate their control over Mexico's newly subjugated population by creating an appropriately trained 'Indian' governing class.[1] But the Franciscan friars who founded and taught at the College had an agendum of their own: they needed the assistance of informed native speakers of Mesoamerican languages—especially Nahuatl which was perceived as a potential *lengua general* of New Spain—to make precise translations from Latin of the religious texts that were needed for the conversion and ministry of indigenous populations.[2]

The Nahua collegians at Tlatelolco were aware of their high social standing and their noble ancestries, but the world of their ancestors was something of which they could have had no personal experience or memory: born after the Spanish conquest, separated from their parents at an early age and fully Christianised, they studied a curriculum based on

[1] Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introductions and Indices*, ed. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1982), bk. 10, "*Relacion*," 82-5; and Fray Gerónimo Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, ed. Joaquin García Icazbalceta (Mexico: Porrúa 1993), 4.15, 414-18 are informative contemporaneous accounts of the College's history and operation; see further José María Kobayashi, *La educación como conquista: Empresa franciscana en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1974), 157-61; Andrew Laird, "The Teaching of Latin to the Native Nobility in Mexico in the Mid-1500s," in *Learning Latin and Greek from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Elizabeth P. Archibald, William Brockliss and Jonathan Gnoza (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 118-35; Esther Hernández and Pilar Máynez, eds., *El Colegio de Tlatelolco: Síntesis de historias, lenguas y culturas* (Mexico City: Editorial Grupo Destiempos, 2016). Heréndira Téllez Nieto's important study in the present volume draws on new sources.

[2] Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008) surveys broader contexts for translation of the Christian message. Francisco de Solano, ed., *Documentos sobre política lingüística en Hispanoamérica (1492-1800)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), 45 presents Fray Rodrigo de la Cruz's 1550 letter to Charles V, recommending that Nahuatl be adopted as a *lengua general* in New Spain.

those adopted in European schools.[3] That curriculum, a version of the trivium streamlined by Erasmus' and Vives' methods for acquiring fluency in Latin, was designed to equip the students to serve as useful deputies in a Christian colonial society. A few surviving examples of letters and other writings by *alumni* of the College provide clear evidence of their skills at communication in Latin, which were also recognised outside Franciscan circles.[4]

The primary motive for teaching composition in Latin was (as it still is) to ensure that pupils could readily read and understand it. The proficiency they acquired enabled them to make appropriate and reliable translations of Christian texts into their own languages. For the Indian students, the challenge of making these translations lay not in comprehending the Latin source texts—they would have come to understand these at least as well as their Franciscan instructors—but in finding the appropriate idioms to convey the content in Nahuatl. That process involved not only the correct identification of corresponding terms but also a capacity for innovation and circumlocution in situations when, as will be shown in examples to follow (2), no direct correspondents existed.

It was necessary to ensure that renderings of Christian texts were free from error or potentially perilous misunderstandings. Writing in the 1570s, the renowned missionary linguist Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who had been involved with the College of Santa Cruz from its foundation, described the vital assistance of the indigenous scholars in the preparation of evangelical material:

> They have helped and still help in many things in the implanting and maintaining of our Holy Catholic Faith, for if sermons, *postillas* and catechisms [*doctrinas*] have been produced in the Indian language, which can appear and may be free of all heresy, they are those which were written [in collaboration] with them. And they, being knowledgeable in the Latin language, inform us as to the properties of words, the properties of their manner of speech. And they correct for us the incongruities we express in the sermons or write in the catechisms.[5]

Some thirty years later, Fray Juan Bautista Viseo, who oversaw the publication of numerous religious works in Nahuatl at the College, also emphasised the importance of the assistance he received from native Latinists in the Prologue to his *Sermonario en lengua mexicana* (1577). There he provided more detailed information about particular individuals:

> I have been helped in this task by some accomplished natives very well trained in Latin, especially by one Hernando de Ribas (one of the first sons of the Royal College of Santa Cruz founded in the Convent of Santiago Tlatilulco in Mexico) local to the city of Tetzcuco, a very good Latinist, who with great dexterity could translate anything from Latin and from the Spanish vernacular [*romance*] into the Mexican language, paying more attention to the sense than the literal meaning. What he wrote

[3] Richard C. Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes: Christianization by Children in New Spain," in *Church and Community 1200-1600: Studies in the History of Florence and New Spain* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1987), 549–74.

[4] Günter Zimmermann, *Briefe der indianischen Nobilität aus Neuspanien an Karl V und Philipp II um die Mitte des 16 Jahrehunderts* (Munich: Klaus Renner, 1970). See also Andrew Laird, "Nahua Humanism and Political Identity in Sixteenth-Century Mexico: A Latin Letter from Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin, Native Ruler of Tlacopan, to Emperor Charles V (1552)," *Renaessanceforum* 10 (2016): 127-72; Laird, "Nahua Humanism and Ethnohistory: Antonio Valeriano and a letter from the rulers of Azcapotzalco to Philip II, 1561," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 52 (2016): 23-74. The Azcapotzalco letter is quoted in the final section (4) of this discussion.

[5] Sahagún, Florentine Codex: Introductions, 83-4 (my emphasis).

> and translated for me on various things amounted to thirty hands of paper... With his help Fray Alonso de Molina put together his Mexican *Arte* and his *Vocabulario*, Fray Juan de Gaona his *Dialogos de la paz y tranquilidad del alma* [sic], and I have compiled a *Vocabulario ecclesiastico* (which I think is very necessary for preachers), and most of the *Vanidades* by Estel[l]a [...][6]

The capacity for "paying more attention to the sense than to the literal meaning" (*atendiendo más al sentido que a la letra*) is a quality Bautista praised in comparable terms elsewhere.[7] The classical and humanist predilection for *ad sensum* rather than *ad verbum* translation for the sake of elegance went back to Cicero.[8] But the importance of the application of that principle to the rendering of sacred texts in late antiquity tends to be overlooked by early modern intellectual historians. *Ad sensum* translation had had a different function for Jerome and early Christian authors, who eschewed literal translation not for stylistic reasons, but because they were aiming at fidelity to their original sources—and this concern was still shared by the Franciscan missionaries in the 1500s.[9]

As well as revealing more about individual Nahua scholars than any other source, Bautista's Prologue is of value because it specifies the skills which were required of the native translators. A description of the ways in which the friar was assisted by Antonio Valeriano, Sahagún's best known collaborator, gives way to some illuminating reflections:

> He helped me a great deal, both with specific things I consulted him about and with the etymology and meaning of many [Nahuatl] terms, explanations of which have gone into the text of my *Sermonario*, better to advise ministers who would not be able to discover them without effort. That is because in today's world the Indians whom one can ask things about their language are so few that they can be counted, and many of them employ corrupt forms of speech, just as Spaniards do. This is something that anyone whose knowledge of this language has an accurate and systematic grounding is bound to notice; and so it is necessary to proceed cautiously in asking things and getting advice, especially about words and expressions involving mysteries of the faith and moral matters. I have come across an Indian with Latin and a good degree who, in conversing with me, said '*Dios italneltoquilitzin*', which means 'the faith which God believes', when he should have said '*Dios ineltococatzin*', 'the faith in which God is believed in', and I

[6] Fray Juan Bautista, *Sermonario en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: Casa de Diego López Davalos, 1606), fol. vii v, reproduced in Joaquin García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), 474-5., fol. vii v, reproduced in Joaquin García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), 474-5.

[7] Bautista, *Huehuetlahtolli* (Mexico, 1601), fol. 77 (see section 4 below) remarked on Fray Andrés de Olmos' translation of the Mexican *pláticas*: "Las quales romanço de la lengua Mexicana sin añadir, ni quitar cosa que fuesse de substancia: *sacando sentido de sentido, y no palabra de palabra*" (my emphasis).

[8] Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum* 5.14 is the *locus classicus*; compare Pliny, *Epistles* 7.9.2-3. Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 164-77 shows how humanist translation *ad sensum* could convey the meaning of the source text in a less precise manner, sometimes omitting or altering passages in favour of greater elegance and fluency; see also Annet den Haan, *Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament: Translation Theory and Practice in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2016).

[9] Jerome, *Chronicle of Eusebius*, *Praefatio*. This important difference is discussed in William Adler, "*Ad verbum* or *ad sensum*: The Christianization of a Latin Translation Formula in the Fourth Century," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John Reeves and John Kampen (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1994): 321-48; see also Aline Canellis, "Jerome's hermeneutics: how to exegete the Bible?" in *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Tarmo Toom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 49-76.

> could find many examples of this sort of thing.[10]

These considerations lead Fray Juan Bautista then to single out the ability of another assistant of Sahagún as a scribe, editor and typesetter: Agustín de la Fuente, a native of Tlatelolco and teacher at Santa Cruz, was praised for his "excellent comprehension, reasoning and precise knowledge of his language and its peculiarities."[11]

Unfortunately, the Nahua scholars could never be credited as authors or co-authors of the texts on which they worked. Their translations and writings were either anonymous or attributed to individual Franciscans directing the particular enterprise: in the latter case, though, the friars often named their Indian collaborators in their prefaces, sometimes providing extensive acknowledgements. But there was at least one native translator, Don Pablo Nazareo of Xaltocan, who drew attention to his own efforts, as part of a Latin petition he made to Philip II:

> sic noctes, diesque summopere laboraui vt que per anni totius discursum in ecclesia leguntur euangelia et epistolas in linguam maternam traducerem, nec hec solum sed et complurima alia e latino in nostram ydioma transferre procuraui, que omnia correcta judicio ac censura peritorum, precipue theologie candidatorum, nostraeque lingue peritorum passim habentur apud fere omnes sacros concionatores, religiosos et clericos qui nostra opera fruentes, sudorisque nostri fructum degustantes multis prosunt indiarum incolis [...][12]

Endeavours in translation such as those Nazareo described continue to receive scant recognition. Historians concerned with Nahuatl texts written at the College of Santa Cruz have focussed largely on material of putative pre-Hispanic origin: the ethnographic appeal of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* or 'Florentine Codex' has diverted attention from dozens of diligently prepared Nahuatl texts on Christian themes—including those overseen by Sahagún himself. A widespread misconception that the College of Santa Cruz was founded to train an indigenous clergy (and that it failed in such an unlikely objective) has also diminished understanding of what the Nahua students really achieved.[13] They were not theologians but linguists, with a valuable range of broader

[10] Bautista, *Sermonario*, 475.

[11] Ibid., 476: "Es de muy buen entendimiento y razón, y sabe su lengua e idiotismos de ella con gran propiedad."

[12] "So I toiled to the utmost night and day, to translate the Gospels and Epistles into my mother tongue to be read in church over the course of the whole year. Not only these: I also took the trouble to translate a very large number of other texts, all of which have been emended in accordance with the discretion and judgment of experts, especially those qualified in theology and acquainted with our language. These translations are now widely circulated amongst almost all the holy preachers, friars and clergy who are helping many inhabitants of the Indies by using my works and sampling the fruit of my labour..." Nazareo, *Invictissimo Hispaniarum … domino Philippo*, Mexico, 12 February 1556, fol. 2, in Zimmermann, *Briefe*, 20-1 (my transcription and translation).

[13] This misconception persists, despite the Franciscan consensus against ordination of the Indians indicated in Mendieta, *Historia* 4.23, 450; see n. 61 below: Raphaèle Dumont, "Teatro en Tlatelolco. Los indígenas salen a escena" and Otto Zwartjes, "Métodos de enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas en la Nueva España: El Colegio de Tlatelolco," in *El colegio*, ed. Hernández and Máynez, 103, 190; Aysha Pollnitz, "Old Words and the New World: Liberal Education and the Franciscans in New Spain (1536-1601)," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (2017): 133: "The initial impulse for founding the Colegio de Santa Cruz may have been the creation of an indigenous clergy." Even that more cautious position is not supported by the sources cited: Rodrigo de Albornoz's proposal in a 1525 letter to Charles V, in Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional, 1914), 2:285, is unconnected to that foundation in 1536; Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, *History of the Indians of New Spain*, ed. Francis Borgia Steck (Washington, DC, 1951), 297 [3rd treatise, chapter 12], a general encomium of the

learning. Their activities in this respect can be seen as analogous to those of many Christian humanists in Europe—of whom Valla, Nebrija and Erasmus are now the best known. Such individuals belonged to the laity but dedicated their philological and textual scholarship to the translation and transmission of scripture and Christian literature, sometimes authoring treatises of their own on religious subjects.

2 Biblical translation

A large number of translations of lectionaries, or books of Epistle and Gospel readings, into Mesoamerican languages were made in sixteenth-century New Spain. There are at least twenty extant examples from the 1500s, mostly in Nahuatl, which have been barely studied, individually or collectively.[14] Three early Nahuatl manuscripts, however, each unsigned and undated, have received some scholarly attention:

a) Milan: *Sequuntur com[m]unes epistole de apostolis*

   This is the first and only Nahuatl lectionary to have been edited—by the Italian philologist Bernardino Biondelli in 1858.[15] An annotation on the second folio states that the manuscript was held by Fray Diego de Cañizares from 1552, providing a firm *terminus ante quem*.[16] Biondelli argued in the Latin introduction to his edition that the selection and order of lessons pre-dated the strictures of the Council of Trent in 1545, and he cited further palaeographical evidence in support of this view.[17]

b) Newberry Library, Chicago: *Incipiunt Ep[isto]le et Eua[n]gelia*

   John Frederick Schwaller discerned marginal notes in Sahagún's hand "in the period up to about 1563," and argued that the Chicago manuscript was a prior draft of the Milan lectionary.[18] Earlier scholars made the same case, attributing the writing of both documents to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.[19]

c) Biblioteca Capitular, Toledo: *Incipiu[n]t ep[isto]le et eva[n]gelia*

Indian students' abilities, does not address the question of their admission to the priesthood. See Laird, "The Teaching of Latin," 121-3.

14 Bernardino Biondelli, *Evangeliarium, epistolarium et lectionarium Aztecum sive Mexicanum, ex antiquo codice depromptum* (Milan: Typis Jos. Bernardoni Qm. Johannis, 1858) is an important and informative introduction; Jesús Bustamante García, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y su proceso de composición* (Mexico: UNAM, 1990), 91-157 considers the Gospels; Heréndira Téllez Nieto and José Miguel Baños Baños, "Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas: el Evangeliario náhuatl de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo (Mss 35-22)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 113, nos. 3-4 (2018): 656-89.

15 Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 1-425. The international project, *Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas* (led by Heréndira Téllez Nieto, Fernando Nava and others) has instituted investigation of this and related manuscripts.

16 Cañizares was appointed as a censor to correct Latin bibles in Yucatan: AGN Inquisición, vol. 76, exp. 31, cited in Martin Austin Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 142.

17 Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, xiv.

18 John Frederick Schwaller, *A Guide to Nahuatl Language Manuscripts Held in United States Repositories* (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2001), 8–9.

19 Alfredo Chavero, *Sahagún* (Mexico City: Vargas Rea, 1948), 30; Luis Nicolau d'Olwer and Howard F. Cline, "Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499-1590 and His Works," in *Handbook of Middle America Indians* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952), 13:204.

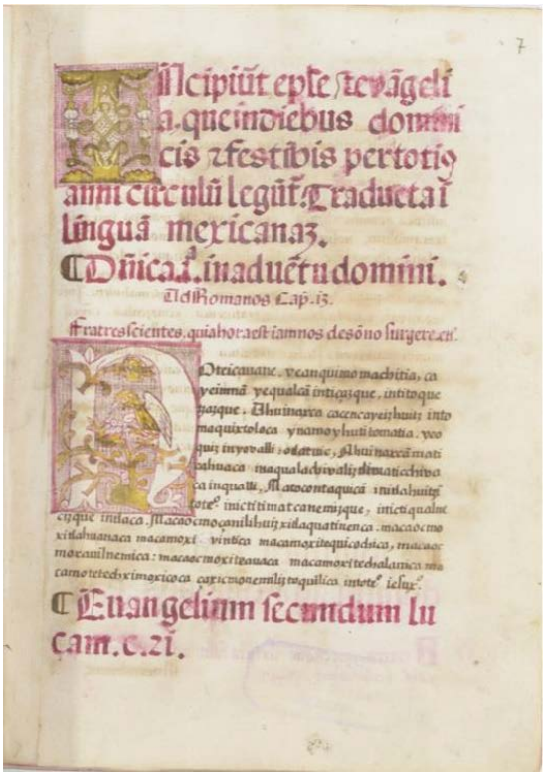


Figure 1: Ms. 35-22 Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, *Epistole et Evangelia* fol. 7r. (© Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo / Proyecto Filología Bíblica en Lenguas Indoamericanas).

Heréndira Téllez Nieto, who discovered this manuscript (see fig. 1), has shown that it was definitely copied by 1561, the year in which it was brought to Spain by Fray Francisco de Bustamante—and it could have been copied several years before.[20]

In accordance with the Roman Rite, lectionaries customarily begin with the Sunday Epistle and Gospel readings at the start of the church liturgical year on the First Sunday of Advent, opening with the Epistle from Romans 13: 11-14. The initial verse (13: 11) of that reading is as follows:

> Fratres: Scientes, quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere.
> Nunc enim propior est nostra salus, quam cum credidimus.[21]

Here, as on some other occasions, the Latin text of the Roman Rite diverges slightly from the Vulgate.[22] The three manuscripts detailed above provide slightly different Nahuatl renderings

[20] Heréndira Téllez Nieto, "La tradición gramatical clásica en la Nueva España: estudio y edición crítica del Arte de la lengua mexicana de Fray Andrés de Olmos" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2015), 171.

[21] "Brothers, knowing that it is now the hour for us to arise from sleep, / For now our salvation is nearer than when we believed."

[22] The Vulgate has: *hoc scientes tempus quia hora est iam nos de somno surgere. Nunc enim propior est nostra salus quam cum credidimus.* It is important to be aware that the entire running Latin text provided in Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, is different again: it is a careful, close translation from the Nahuatl of the Milan lectionary to enable the modern Latinate reader to understand it. Thus, the Latin version of Romans 13:11 in Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 251 reads: *Mei fratres, jam scitis, quia venit hora venit tempus expergiscamur, surgamus. Nunc enim magis proxima est nostra salus, quam longinquam usquedum credebamus.*

of the verse. These are as follows (with the orthography and spacings between the words as they appear in the original manuscripts):

a) Milan

Noteiccauene [sic], yeanquimomachitia, cayeymman yequalcan intiçazque, intitoquetzazque.
Auh inaxcan cacenca yeyzca yntomaquixtiloca, ynamoyuh yehuecauh iniquac canoc titlaneltocaya.[23]

b) Chicago

Noteyccauane, yeanquimomachitia, cayeimman ye qualcan intiçazque, intitoquetçazq[ue].
Auh ynaxcan cacenca yeizuitz intomaquixtilloca, yn amo yuh titomatia, yeoquiz in youalli: otlatuic.

c) Toledo

Noteicauane, yeanquimomachitia, ca yeimman yequalcan intiçazque intitoquetzazque.
Ahuinaxcancacencayeizhuitz intomaquixtiloca ynamoyhu [sic] titomatia, yeoquiz inyoalli: otlatuic.

There are discrepancies between these versions. The most notable is in the Milan manuscript where the last part of the second sentence is different from the others: *ynamoyuh yehuecauh iniquac çanoc titlaneltocaya*. But, in general, despite the different orthographic conventions in play, these versions exhibit remarkable uniformity, given the real potential for far more radical variation afforded by translation from Latin into a very different Mexican language. Such uniformity suggests the translations had a common provenance. That provenance can only have been the College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, as Sahagún indicated in his account (excerpted above) of the important role indigenous collegians had in the preparation of evangelical material:

> And whatever is to be rendered in their language, if it is not examined by them, if it is not written congruently in the Latin language, in the vernacular [*romance*] and in their language, cannot be free of defect. *With regard to orthography, and good writing* [*buena letra*], *there are none who write it other than those reared here*.[24]

The difficulties faced in Christian antiquity by the first translators of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin without doubt acquired a new salience in Mexico.[25] The most familiar and foundational phrases in liturgy could be challenging. *Ecce agnus Dei*, "Behold the Lamb of God," from John 1:36 was uniformly rendered:

[23] Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 251 has: *Notciccahuane, yeanquimomachitya, cayeimman yequalcan intiçazque, intitoquetzazque. Auh inaxcan cacenca yeizca intomaquixtiloca, inamoyuh yehuecauh iniqua çanoc titlaneltocaya*.

[24] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introductions*, 83-4 (my emphasis).

[25] See n. 9 above, and also n. 32 below on the sixteenth-century reprise of the ancient controversy about John 1:1. A significant allusion to Jerome's controversial Vulgate translation of the Hebrew *qiqqayon*, "gourd," as *hedera*, "ivy," in Fray Cristóbal Cabrera, *Meditatiunculae* (Valladolid, 1548) (fol. 75v), a book of poems composed in New Spain, is discussed in Andrew Laird, "Classical Letters and Millenarian Madness in Post-Conquest Mexico," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 24, no. 1 (2017): 88-9.

> Izcatqui in yichcatzin *Dios*.[26]

The Franciscans used the Spanish *Dios* as the word for God in Nahuatl, to avoid any confusion or association with pre-Hispanic conceptions of the divine.[27] But [*y*]*ichcatzin* was the possessed form of the noun *ichcatl*, a word for cotton or wool which had come to designate sheep, an animal introduced to Mexico by Europeans. Once established, equivalences such as this would soon have become absorbed by converts who came to be familiar with many new expressions.[28] Some must have been obvious choices, like *ātequiā*, "water-sprinkle," for baptise; while others were less so, such as *nezcaliliztli*, "a reviving" or "coming to one's senses," for resurrection.[29] It is likely that as Nahuatl-speakers accommodated these usages in the context of their conversion, the language they employed in other situations may have undergone change as a result.

The Nahuatl lectionaries sometimes show more notable departures from the text of the Roman Rite. The traditional opening verses of John 1: 1-2 for the Christmas mass, for example, were in precise accord with the wording of the Vulgate:

> In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum:
> Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.[30]

But those verses were given in Nahuatl as follows:

> In ipan peuhcayotl moyetzticatca in tepiltzin Dios, auh inyehuatzin itlantzinco catca inDios, auh inyehuatzin inipiltzin Dios cateotl.
> Inin moyetzticatca inipan peuhcayotl itlantzinco inDios.[31]

Verbum, the Word, which had long replaced *sermo*, discourse, as the standard equivalent to *logos* in the Greek text of John's Gospel, was thus translated as *tepiltzin Dios*, "God the Son," or literally, "God the child."[32] The Nahuatl *tlatolli* was the obvious term to convey *verbum* or

[26] "Here is God's sheep." Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 241 [my translation]. The text of the Toledo lectionary, fol. 168v, only differs in orthography: *Jzcatqui ynichcatzin Dios*.

[27] Verónica Murillo Gallegos, "En náhuatl y en castellano: el dios cristiano en los discursos franciscanos de evangelización," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 41 (2010): 297-316 is a valuable study; see also Georges Baudot, "Dieu et le Diable en langue nahuatl dans le Mexique du XVIème siècle avant et après la conquête," in *Langues et cultures en Amérique Espagnole coloniale*, ed. Marie Cécile Bénassy-Berling, Jean-Pierre Clément, and Alain Milhou (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1993), 145-57.

[28] José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute* 4.9.2 (writing in the 1580s) commented that missionaries should not be concerned if equivalents or correspondents for some terms could not be found in native languages: on this basis, Simon Ditchfield, "Translating Christianities in an Age of Reformations," *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017): 164-95 argues that physical "translatability" of material devotional objects and representations, rather than of texts and languages, brought about the successful diffusion of Catholicism.

[29] David Tavárez, "Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahua Texts, 1547-1771," *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (2000): 21-4.

[30] John 1:1–2. "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. / The same was in the beginning with God."

[31] "In the beginning was God the Son, and he was with God, and the Son of God was divine. / In the beginning this one was with God." Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 376 (my emphases); Toledo Ms. 7r: *INipanpehucayotl moyetzticatca in tepiltzin itlantzinco catca indios, auhindios ca yehuatl intepiltzin. / ininmoyetzticatca inipanpeuhcayotl itlantzinco indios*. (Initial capitalization is as in the manuscript.)

[32] The Latin translation of John 1:1 was debated in the 1500s, as it was in Christian antiquity. Erasmus considered the correction of *verbum* to *sermo* in his *Apologia de In principio erat sermo*. The Church Fathers Tertullian and Cyprian had regarded *sermo* as customary, although Erasmus noted that Tertullian preferred *ratio* ("reason") to *sermo* ("speech"): Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, "A Conversational Opener: the Rhetorical Paradigm of John 1:1," in *A Companion to Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism*, ed. Walter Jost and Wendy Olmsted (Wiley and Sons, 2008), 60-79.

sermo, but it must have had a value which was deemed inappropriate or insufficient for the sense of the Incarnate Word.[33]

On the other hand, forms and cognates of *tlatolli* commonly recur elsewhere in the lectionaries, and they denote language as well as speech in the reading from Acts 2 for the Feast of Pentecost:

> Stupebant autem omnes, et mirabantur, dicentes: Nonne ecce omnes isti qui *loquuntur*, Galilæi sunt?
> et quomodo nos audivimus unusquisque *linguam nostram*, in qua nati sumus?
> Parthi, et Medi, et Aelamitae, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Judaeam, et Cappadociam, Pontum, et Asiam,
> Phrygiam, et Pamphyliam, Aegyptum, et partes Libyae, quae est circa Cyrenen, et advenae Romani,
> Judaei quoque, et Proselyti, Cretes, et Arabes: audivimus eos loquentes *nostris linguis* magnalia Dei.[34]
>
> Icmochintin cenca miçahuiyaya, tlamahuiçohuaya, quitohuaya: Tlaxiquimittacan: inixquichtin *tlatohua*, cuix amo Galileatlaca?
> Quenin mochihua axcan, iniquac *tlatohua* cecenyaca, ticcaqui *intotlatol* in ipan otitlaque?
> Inyehuantin parthos, yuan medos, yuan Elemitas, auh inyemochintin ompa inchan Mesopotamia, Judea, yuan Cappadocia, Ponto, yuan Asia
> Phrigia yuan Pamphilia, Egipto, yuan inixquichtin ompa hualehua Lybia, inachi itlanca Cyrene yuan inRomatlaca inhueca hualehuaque,
> Noyehuantin inJudiome, yuan proselites inCretes yuan Arabiatlaca, inizquican inaltepetlipan tihualehua, timochintin oticcacque *totlatol* inicquitenehua, inicquitenquixtya incenca mahuiçauhqui inoquimochihuili totecuyo dios.[35]

The gift of tongues was obviously connected to the missionary enterprise. The influence of Erasmus' moral interpretation of the Babel story pervaded prefaces of *artes* and vocabularies of Amerindian languages, but importance was also attached to Pentecost for its original association with baptism in Christian antiquity.[36] A short clarificatory phrase in verse 11 of the Nahuatl reading above may be relevant to these considerations, as it makes the biblical text inclusive of native Mexicans: *in izquican in altepetl ipan tihualehua*, "we come forth from all *altepetl* (towns)." The fact that this additional phrase—which was never in the Latin source—appears in other manuscript translations of the same passage from Acts is important: it suggests that all the lectionaries now known shared a common model, despite

[33] Mark Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), explores the significance of many comparable examples.

[34] "And they were all amazed, and wondered, saying: Behold, are not all these that speak Galilean? / And how have we heard, every man our own tongue wherein we were born? / Parthians and Medes and Elamites and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, / Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome / Jews also, and proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians: we have heard them speak in our own tongues the wonderful works of God."

[35] Acts 2: 7-11; Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 319-20 (my emphases). For verse 8, Biondelli had *mipan* for *inipan*.

[36] The interpretation of the Babel story in Erasmus, *Lingua* (Basel, 1525), 131-2 was recalled in Fray Alonso de Molina, *Aqui comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana* (Mexico: Juan Pablos, 1555), "Prólogo al Lector" (unpaginated) and Fray Maturino Gilberti, *Arte de la lengua de Michuacan*, (Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1558), fols. 1v-2r. Tertullian, *De baptismo* 19: *paschae celebrandae locum de signo aquae ostendit, exinde pentecoste ordinandis lavacris laetissimum spatium est*. "By the sign of water, [our Lord] showed the place for the Passover to be celebrated. After that, Pentecost is the most felicitous period for arranging baptisms."

the apparent variations between them. Different manners of transcription are more likely to be the cause of those variations than a succession of recensions. In the absence of much needed further investigation, the Nahuatl "*Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540)" can be provisionally conceived of as a single work rather than as a plurality of separate translations.

Dictation would have been the quickest way of obtaining multiple copies and that might well account for differences of orthography between manuscripts as well as errors within them.[37] Sahagún recounted preparing in exactly this manner a commentary in Nahuatl on the Epistles and Gospels, along with a set of religious canticles:

> Also at this time I dictated [*dicte*] the *Postilla* and the *Cantares*. The Latinists wrote them down, in the same village of Tepepulco.[38]

The *Postillas sobre las Epistolas y Evangelios de los Domingos de todo el año*, thus written in collaboration with "four Latinists [who] taught grammar in the College of Santa Cruz in Tlatilulco," were supplemented with an "appendix" which incorporated admonitions in a similar style to the traditional Nahuatl discourses Sahagún would later assemble and translate in his *Historia general*.[39] Some religious canticles in Nahuatl published more than 20 years later as the *Psalmodia christiana* (1583), were designed to supplant older Nahuatl songs "which praised false gods."[40] These new *cantares*, which were to be sung on feast days through the year, transmitted biblical stories and the exemplary lives of saints. Further digests and retellings of biblical episodes and saints' lives and exegeses of specific passages of scripture, for which the same or other Indian collaborators must have given their assistance, were written in Spanish and Nahuatl.[41]

The use of scripture in such texts, like the incorporation of Gospel and Epistle readings in the Nahuatl lectionaries, had been permitted, but translation of the Bible became increasingly controversial over the course of the sixteenth century. The issue loomed large in debates about biblical reform at the Council of Trent in the spring of 1546. Cardinal Pacheco had vehemently opposed the translation of scripture into any mother tongue, deeming that in itself to be an "abuse," but his views met with much opposition, and the Council made no pronouncement on the matter. Vernacular *Epistolas y Evangelios* remained popular in Spain

[37] Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, xvii deemed that dictation accounted for the nature of the scribal errors he corrected in the Milan manuscript: "Sed ipsa errorum indoles clarius ostendit codicem ex dictantis voce fuisse exaratum. Sic exempli gratia, chipahuac (purus) pro chicahuac (fortis) is solus scriberet qui male vocabulum aure perciperet, non vero qui tanto magisterio veste mexicana Biblia sacra adornavit. Sic tletl (ignis) pro tetl (lapis), leltiloca (nullius significationis pro neltiloca (in fide), nenepil pro menepil (lingua), caetera de genere hoc." Transmission involving dictation can also explain variations in other Nahuatl manuscripts: Andrew Laird, "A Mirror for Mexican Princes: Reconsidering the Context and Latin Source for the Nahuatl Translation of Aesop's Fables," in *Brief Forms in Medieval and Renaissance Hispanic Literature*, ed. Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2017), 136.

[38] Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introductions*, 54.

[39] Sahagún, *Adiciones, Apéndice a la postilla y Ejercicio cotidiano*, ed. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Mexico: UNAM, 1993). The collection of traditional Nahuatl speeches in the *Historia general* are presented in Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Book 6, Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*, ed. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1969); see further section 3 below.

[40] Sahagún, *Psalmodia christiana*, (Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1583), trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

[41] The Biblioteca Nacional manuscript (Ms. 1628 bis.) and Bancroft M-M 464, including accounts of the healing of Jairus' daughter, a Nahuatl narrative of the Passion and exposition of Leviticus 1: 9, are described in Andrew Laird, "A Mirror for Mexican Princes," 133-5. Mark Z. Christensen, *Translated Christianities: Nahuatl and Maya Religious Texts* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 15-26 includes a Nahuatl narrative of Paul's conversion which was loosely based on Acts 9.

at any rate, and the steady run of new printed editions continued unabated through the 1550s.[42] The preparation and dissemination of vernacular bibles was neither condoned nor condemned, so that different jurisdictions could be directed to act in accordance with their specific needs.[43]

It would have been in the wake of this compromise that Fray Luis Rodríguez, some time before he left New Spain in 1562, undertook the translation of the Proverbs of Solomon into Nahuatl.[44] A variorum manuscript presenting lemmata of the Vulgate text of Proverbs 2: 1 – 15: 23 with a Nahuatl translation and commentary was discovered and identified in 2013 as a copy of Rodríguez's work, dating to the mid-1500s.[45] This unusual example of a version of a sustained passage of scripture is of interest because it shows how European conventions of scholarly biblical exegesis could be applied in Nahuatl—at least before legislation moved towards the explicit suppression of such endeavours.

In 1564 Pope Pius IV had published the bull *Dominici gregis custodias* which stated that the reading of vernacular bibles required the written permission of a local bishop or inquisitor.[46] Rodríguez's Nahuatl text of the Proverbs of Solomon was banned in 1577—the same year in which the Suprema, or General Council of the Spanish Inquisition, extended the prohibitions of the 1559 Index to ban a manuscript translation of Ecclesiastes "into an Indian language," along with all translations of the Bible in Amerindian languages.[47] In 1577 the Mexican inquisitors circulated a questionnaire to friars adept at Nahuatl, including Sahagún and Alonso de Molina, in order to establish which books of Holy Scripture had been translated, and whether their suppression would have any detrimental consequences for the indoctrination of the Indians.[48] While the Indian Pablo Nazareo had proudly called attention to his translations of the Gospels and Epistles in his letter to Philip II in 1556, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's later testimonies in the 1570s were far more circumspect, giving emphasis to production of sermons and catechisms instead.

3 Religious Literature in Nahuatl: Translations and New Compositions

It might be assumed that the restriction of biblical translation greatly reduced the need for native scholars to know Latin. Yet Latin was indispensable, even for the rendering of Spanish texts into Nahuatl. This can best be illustrated by a well-known example of missionary literature, the *Colloquios y doctrina christiana*, completed in 1564 under the

[42] The most popular was Fray Ambrosio Montesinos, *Epistolas y euangelios* which went through more than twenty editions between 1506 and 1558: Clive Griffin, *Los Cromberger: La historia de una imprenta del siglo XVI en Sevilla y Méjico* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1991), 188; Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007), 44-8.

[43] Robert E. McNally, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles," *Theological Studies* 27 (1966): 204–27.

[44] Mendieta, *Historia* 4.44, 551: "Fr. Luis Rodriguez tradujo los proverbios de Salomon de muy elegante lengua, y los cuatro libros del *Contemptus mundi*."

[45] David Tavárez, "A Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 4 (2013): 759–62.

[46] McNally, "The Council of Trent," 226-7.

[47] The banning of the Nahuatl Proverbs of Solomon by the inquisitors Alfonso Granero Davalos and Alfonso Fernandez de Bonilla is recorded in AGN, Inq., vol. 450, exp. s/n, fols. 575-6; the interdict on Ecclesiastes is in AGN, Inq., vol. 1A, exp. 41. Both documents are cited by Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition*, 153. According to José Mariano Beristaín de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional* (Mexico: A. Valdes, 1816-1821), 2:248, Fray Luis Rodríguez was also the translator of Ecclesiastes: David Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars and the *Devotio moderna* in Colonial Mexico," *The Americas* 70, no. 2 (2013): 203-35 [215, n. 46].

[48] AGN, Inq., vol. 43, exp. 4, fols. 133-36. Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition*, 306-7, nn. 69-70 dates and quotes the document.

direction of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.[49] The title itself evoked two texts in the Christian Latin tradition, both very pertinent: Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* which championed the benefits of classical rhetoric for preaching, and Erasmus' *Colloquia familiaria* which was devised to develop students' Latin in practical situations. Sahagún's *Colloquios y doctrina christiana* thus provided an account of the initial exchanges between the first Franciscan missionaries and the Mexica leaders in order to supply preachers with the kind of language and arguments they needed to present Christian doctrine in their ministry. The manuscript presented the original Spanish text and what might be termed an 'active' Nahuatl translation—one that would show how the content could be expressed in Nahuatl idiom.

In the Prologue, Sahagún explained how the text was prepared:

> There was no opportunity before for the present work to be placed in order, or converted into a form of Mexican which would be suitably congruent and polished. It was thus translated and polished [*se boluió y limó*] in this College of Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco, in the above stated year, with the collegians most adept and accomplished in the Mexican language and in the Latin language [*los colegiales más habiles y entendidos en lengua mexicana y en la lengua latina*].[50]

The collegians involved were named as Antonio Valeriano of Azcapotzalco, Alonso Vegerano of Quauhtitlan, Martín Iacobita of Tlatelolco and Andrés Leonardo, also from Tlatelolco.

Scrutiny of any surviving part of the *Colloquios y doctrina christiana* soon reveals why such proficient Latinists were required to turn the text from Spanish into Nahuatl, and the celebrated speech in chapter 7 in which a Mexica 'satrap' defended his gods will be briefly surveyed here. Declaring that he will reply to and contradict the words of the missionaries with two or three arguments, the representative of the Mexica sets about opposing the charge that the powers worshipped by his people are not gods: their ancestors told them no such thing, and the gods live amidst flowers and greenery in Tlalocan, a realm unknown to mortals. His refutation consists of three admonitions: it would be unwise to change laws of ancient standing; the gods might be provoked and the people rise up; it is advisable to proceed slowly and calmly. These appeals to what is practical, safe, and prudent correspond to the *topoi* of *utile*, *tutum*, and *prudens* in European classical oratory.

The speech is widely revered as an authentic articulation of "Aztec thought" by scholars who presuppose that the Nahuatl text was the source text for the Spanish, despite Sahagún's clear testimony to the contrary in his Prologue.[51] Yet its formal refutation of the friars' argument is in the style of a dialectical *disputatio*, and its structure—an *exordium*, *partitio*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, and conclusion—conforms perfectly to the *dispositio* ("layout") recommended by Cicero and Quintilian. Clinching evidence of European artistry is the mention in Spanish of "captando la benevolencia" for which the Nahuatl text could only provide a loose equivalent:

[49] Sahagún, *Coloquios* [sic] *y doctrina cristiana*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico City: UNAM 1986).

[50] Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 75.

[51] J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "La historicidad de los Coloquios de Sahagún," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 15 (1982): 142-84; Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963), 62-70; Georges Baudot, review of Sahagún, *Coloquios, Vuelta* 13.1 (1987): 48-9; Danièle Dehouve, "Un dialogue de sourds: Les *Colloques* de Sahagún," in *Les rituels du dialogue*, ed. Aurore Monod Becquelin and Philippe Erikson (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2000), 199-234; Patrick Johansson, "Los Coloquios de los Doce: Explotación y transfunctionalización de la palabra indígena," in *La otra Nueva España. La palabra marginada en la Colonia*, ed. Mariana Masera (Mexico: UNAM, 2002), 211-34; Citlalli Bayardi, "Figuras retóricas en el *Coloquio de los Doce*," in *El Colegio*, ed. Hernández and Máynez, 123-48.

qujmmotlapalhuj in teupixque, tlatlatlauhti, achi veyx yn jtlatol [...][52]

The application of dialectic and rhetoric to the satrap's speech depended on knowledge that could only be acquired from sources and manuals in Latin—it was for this reason that the indigenous scholars who produced the Nahuatl text needed to be "'adept and accomplished in the Latin language." Such sustained application of classical rhetoric to texts in Nahuatl has important implications: on the level of discursive organization at least, such a text must have represented something strikingly new, as Latin learning had a part in transforming the Nahuatl *tlatolli* into a Latinate *oratio*. The *Colloquios y doctrina christiana* was by no means the only text which involved this process, akin to what the missionaries called "reducción."

The prohibitions of scriptural translation probably contributed to the generation of a more original, or at least a more diverse Christian literature in Nahuatl from the 1560s to the early 1600s. The very fact that doctrines, confessional manuals and lectionaries had been among the earliest texts to be written in Nahuatl may have had the effect of dignifying subsequent texts in the language by association, enhancing them with an aura of canonicity and authority. In contrast to far more numerous writings in Spanish which were often of a functional or ephemeral nature, works in Nahuatl—very much like those in Latin which they replicated—would be perceived as more hallowed vehicles of wisdom, painstakingly crafted and composed.

Two incomplete but distinct Nahuatl translations of Thomas à Kempis' *Contemptus mundi* or *Imitation of Christ* dating from the 1560s, are a case in point: "these translations elevated the humble *Imitatio* to the place of Scripture or of a received commentary on it, following the model of the catena in medieval and early modern scholarly texts."[53] At least parts of two popular books in Spanish which had been closely modelled on Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* also seem to have been put into Nahuatl: Fray Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación*, first printed in Salamanca in 1554, and Fray Diego de Estella's *Libro de la vanidad del mundo*, originally published in Toledo in 1562. There are Nahuatl renderings of the "nocturnal meditations" from Luis de Granada's text in Fray Juan Bautista's *Libro de la miseria y brevedad de la vida del hombre y de sus postrimerías* (1604). Granada's authorship of those sections was not acknowledged but Bautista did report in the prologue to his *Sermonario en lengua mexicana* (quoted in (1) above) that the native Hernando de Ribas helped him to translate "gran parte de las *Vanidades* de Estela [sic]"—although the translation was never printed and is not extant.[54]

This cluster of Nahuatl texts has been convincingly identified by David Tavárez as evidence of a concerted attempt to propagate tenets of the *devotio moderna*, which had originated among the Brothers of the Common Life in Windesheim in the Netherlands.[55] The founder

[52] "He greeted the priests, he entreated, his speech was a little long." Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 144.

[53] Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals," 215-18 describes the manuscript versions of Books 1-2 of Kempis' *Imitatio* in the John Carter Brown Library and the version of Books 1-3 of the four books in the El Escorial monastery library, noting at 234 that the latter was produced before 1570. Mendieta, *Historia* 4.14, 411 recounted that he himself took to Spain this text "in lettering by an Indian, well formed, even and gracious" in that year and later mentioned the earlier translation initiated by Fray Luis Rodríguez (before 1562, when Rodríguez left Mexico for Spain) which was left unfinished and "recently" (shortly before 1595) completed by Fray Juan Bautista.

[54] Bautista, *Sermonario*, fol. viii r, quoted in part (1) above. Bautista goes on to state Don Francisco Bautista de Conteras, native governor of Xochimilco, also assisted with the translation of the *Vanidades del Mundo*.

[55] Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals;" Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the 'Devotio Moderna'* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965); John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: the* Devotio moderna *and the world of the later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

of that quasi-monastic community, Gerard Groote, stressed the importance of learning as well as private contemplation: Thomas à Kempis, Andreas Vesalius, Rudolph Agricola, Martin Luther and Erasmus were among the Brothers' associates or pupils. That movement for simple piety and apostolic renewal had found an enthusiastic reception in Spain where the popularization of mysticism followed that of scripture and patristic writing, owing much to the wide appeal of Kempis' *Imitatio*.[56]

The passage of the *devotio moderna* to Mexico may have begun even earlier, with the arrival in 1523 of the first Franciscan missionaries: Fray Johann Dekkers, Fray Johann van den Auwera and a lay brother, Pieter de Muer or Pedro de Gante, a renowned teacher of the Indians who possibly received his own education from the Brothers of the Common Life in Flanders.[57] But the later status of the movement in New Spain, and the implementation of its practices in the College of Santa Cruz would have been a concern for the viceroyalty as well as a potential issue for a counter-Reformation Inquisition: the indigenous students were expected to put their talents to the service of the colonial hierarchy rather than to develop a contemplative, intellectual faith.

Yet it is evident that many of the disciplines of the *devotio moderna*, which included penance, prayer, meditative reading, scholarly work and, notably, the copying of manuscripts, were being fostered in the College at Tlatelolco. Tavárez has also linked two original Nahuatl dialogues which originated there to the movement, suggesting that both of them were modelled on book 3 of Kempis' *Imitatio*, in which Jesus was in conversation with a disciple.[58] The first, Fray Juan de Gaona's *Colloquios de la paz*, has a collegian being instructed by a friar or *Padre*; while Fray Juan de Mijangos' *Espejo divino* consists of a set of conversations between a natural father and his son. Indians were expected to treat and address friars as "fathers" (or *padreme* in Nahuatl).[59]

Hernando de Ribas, the Nahua scholar who assisted Fray Juan Bautista, helped Gaona prepare a manuscript in the 1540s, which was later published in 1582 as *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana* (see fig. 2), with significant revisions by Fray Miguel de Zárate.[60] Despite external evidence for Gaona's skill as a dialectician, the twenty exchanges which make up the work are didactic expositions rather than philosophical disputations.[61] The Nahuatl text has never been translated and no Latin or vernacular source for this work has yet been successfully identified.[62] But the *Tractatus de pace* by the thirteenth-century Franciscan Guibert de Tournai has many themes in common with the *Colloquios de la paz* and should

[56] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 44-51.

[57] Justino Cortés Castellanos, *El catecismo en pictogramas de Fr. Pedro de Gante* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1987), contains a succinct account of Gante's life drawn from the surviving Latin versions of his letters and other primary sources.

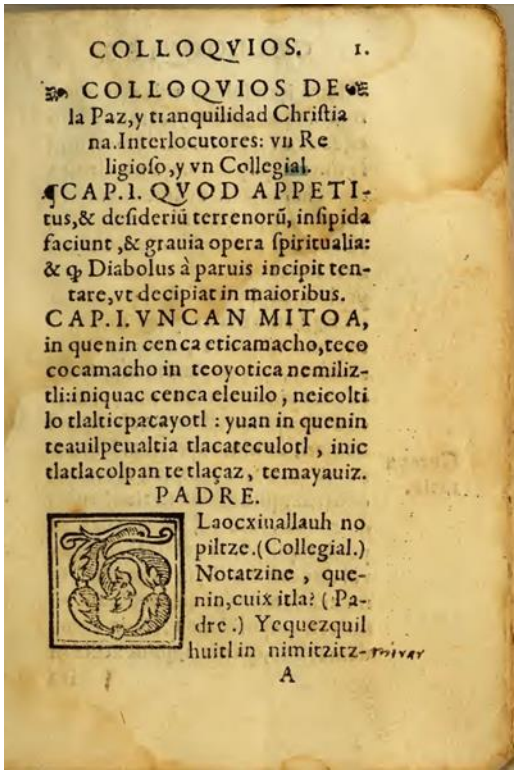
[58] Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals," 211.

[59] Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes," 551.

[60] Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana, en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: en casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1582). Zárate's prologue of the printed edition conveys that the original version was written forty years earlier: this has now come to light as a section of the Toledo Ms. 35-22, uncovered by Heréndira Téllez Nieto (see n. 20 above).

[61] Mendieta, *Historia* 4.15, 415 credited Gaona with teaching rhetoric, logic and philosophy, and at 4.23, 450 recounted his victory in a dialectical *disputatio*, convincing his opponent that the church was right not to accept natives to the priesthood; Beristaín, *Biblioteca*, 1:340 printed part of Gaona's response to Fray Jacobo Daciano's rejected propositions.

[62] Ángel María Garibay, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, 3rd ed. (Mexico City: Porrúa, 2007), 689-90. Despite "affinities" with Fray Juan de los Angeles discerned by Román Zulaica Gárate, *Los franciscanos y la imprenta en México en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Pedro Robredo, 1939), 189, the *Colloquios* cannot have been influenced by Angeles' writings which only began to circulate widely in the 1590s.



COLLOQVIOS. 1.

COLLOQVIOS DE la Paz, y tranquilidad Christiana. Interlocutores: vn Religioso, y vn Collegial.

CAP. I. QVOD APPETITUS, & desideriũ terrenorũ, insipida faciunt, & grauia opera spiritualia: & q. Diabolus à paruis incipit tentare, vt decipiat in maioribus.

CAP. I. VNCAN MITOA, in quenin cenca eticamacho, teco cocamacho in teoyotica nemilizli: iniquac cenca eleuilo, neicolti lo tlalticpacayotl: yuan in quenin teauilpeualtia tlacateculotl, inic tlatlacolpan te tlaçaz, temayauiz.

PADRE.

Laocxiuallauh no piltze. (Collegial.) Notatzine, quenin, cuix itla? (Padre.) Yequezquil huitl in nimitzitz-

A

Figure 2: Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana*, Mexico City, 1582, fol. 1r (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

be considered as a possible influence: Gaona, who had studied in Paris, would have known Guibert's treatise which continued to circulate widely.[63]

The lack of an obvious model for the *Colloquios* is all the more remarkable given that classical figures are named in the earlier manuscript of the Nahuatl text (see fig. 3) as well as in the embellished printed version. In Chapter 5 "on the varied forms of knowledge in the soul ... and the desirability of knowledge," the Greek "sage" (*tlamatini*) Plato is invoked along with Pythagoras, Archytas and Apollonius of Tyana.[64] Traversari's Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*—listed as "*Diogenes de vitis*" in a 1584 book inventory at Tlatelolco—would have provided those names.[65] A fragmentary epigram on Diogenes Laertius by Fray Cristóbal Cabrera shows that the *De vitis* was available to Franciscans in Mexico by the 1540s, but Cabrera, unlike the *Padre* in Gaona's *Colloquios*,

[63] Guibert de Tournai, *Tractatus de pace*, ed. Ephrem Longpré (Quaracchi, Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1925). Georges Baudot, "La biblioteca de de los evangelizadores de México: Un documento sobre Fray Juan de Gaona," *Historia mexicana* 17, no. 4 (1968): 610-17 throws some definite light on other texts read by the friar.

[64] Gaona, *Colloquios* (1582), fol. 23: *Macamo nimitzteneutli icenca vei tlamatini Platon, amono nimitzteneuiliznequi in Pythagoras, noyeautl in Architas, noyehuatl Apolonio* ("Let me not refrain from praising then the great sage Plato, nor should I omit to mention Pythagoras, nor another, Archytas, nor another, Apollonius").

[65] The inventory entry from the *Códice de Tlatelolco* is in *Códice Mendieta: Documentos franciscanos*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico: Francisco Díaz de León, 1892), 2:259. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae et sententiae philosophorum*, trans. Ambrosius Traversarius (Rome: Georg Lauer, 1472) was quoted in Nahuatl by Chimalpahin, in his first *Relación* in the early 1600s: Andrew Laird, "Universal History and New Spain's Indian Past: Classical Knowledge in Nahua Chronicles," in *Antiquities and Classical Traditions in Latin America*, ed. Andrew Laird and Nicola Miller (Chichester: Wiley, 2018), 99.

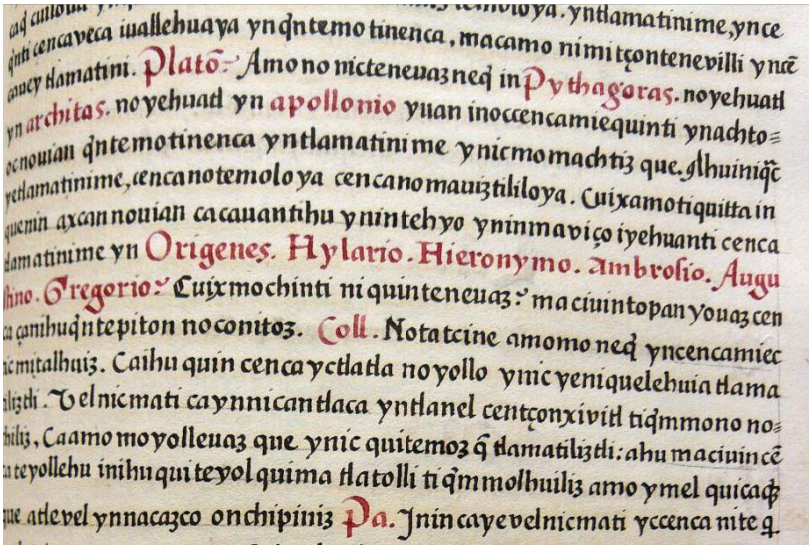


Figure 3: Ms. 35-22 Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo, fol. 271r, Gaona, Colloquios. (© Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo/Proyecto Filología Bíblica en Lenguas Indoamericanas).

disparages the pagan philosophers.[66] The *Colloquios de la paz* printed in 1582 also elaborated on Hannibal and Alexander as cautionary *exempla*—Alexander for the impetuous killing of his friend Clytus, in chapter 13 "on the definition of patience"; and the unworldliness and poverty of Stilpho, Diogenes the Cynic, Zeno and Socrates are recalled in chapter 17 "on the loss of temporal things." But a remark attributed to Stilpho, conveying that he only needed eloquence and wisdom rather than material possessions, is *not* in Diogenes Laertius:

> Omnia mea bona, mecum porto. quitoznequi. Inixquich naxca, çan nitic in nicpie.[67]

Seneca the Younger had ascribed such a comment to Stilpho, but the precise Latin wording used here must come from a Renaissance digest or commonplace book, possibly Erasmus' *Adages* or Alciati's *Emblemata*.[68]

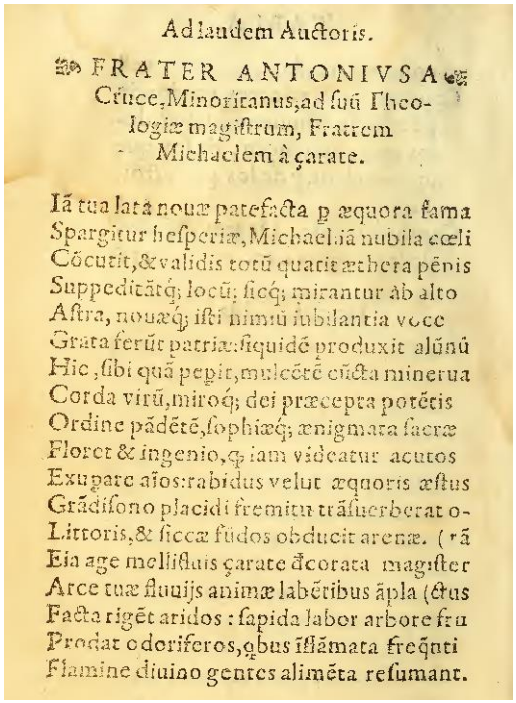
Even though it was primarily an instructive guide to spiritual discipline, the printed edition of the *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana* drew attention to the work's literary or rhetorical qualities—perhaps to detract from any potentially controversial asceticism in its content.[69] This was a new departure: marginal notes printed in Latin

[66] Fray Cristóbal Cabrera, *In philosophorum … opera*, Vatican Library ms. Vat. Lat. 1165, fols. 105r-9r, epigram 43, entitled *In Laertium*, might thus be reconstructed: *Philosophorum [*vitas et dicta*] Laertius offert. / Sunt quae forte probes, sunt mage quae reprobes* ("Laertius provides the Philosophers" [*lives and sayings*]. / There are things you may approve, there are more to reproach").

[67] "*Omnia mea bona, mecum porto*, which means 'All that is mine, is alone what I have and hold'." Gaona, *Colloquios* (1582), fol. 106.

[68] The earliest version of the statement as *nam omnia mea, mecum porto* attributed to Bias of Priene in Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 1.8, was recalled in Alciati's *Emblemata* as *Omnia mea mecum porto*, and quoted and linked to Bias in Erasmus, *Adagia* 4.4.9. The words attributed to Stilpho by Seneca the Younger excluded *porto* (*omnia bona mea mecum sunt* in *Epistulae morales* 1.9.19 and *omnia mea mecum sunt* in *De constantia sapientis* 5.6).

[69] In contrast, the printed marginalia in Sahagún's *Psalmodia christiana* (see n. 40 above) which appeared in 1583, the following year, contain only explanatory glosses, mostly liturgical excerpts in Latin, and there is no attempt to signal any poetic or rhetorical virtues in the preliminaries. The evangelical function of the work



Ad laudem Auctoris.

FRATER ANTONIVS A Cruce, Minoritanus, ad ſuũ Theologiæ magiſtrum, Fratrem Michaelem à çarate.

Iã tua lata nouæ patefacta p æquora fama
Spargitur heſperiæ, Michael, iã nubila cœli
Cõcutit, & validis totũ quatit æthera pẽnis
Suppeditãtq; locũ; ſicq; mirantur ab alto
Aſtra, nouæq; iſti nimiũ iubilantia voce
Grata ferũt patriæ: ſiquidẽ produxit alũnũ
Hic, ſibi quã pepit, mulcẽtẽ cũcta minerua
Corda virũ, miroq; dei præcepta potẽtis
Ordine pãdẽtẽ, ſophiæq; ænigmata ſacræ
Floret & ingenio, q̃ iam videatur acutos
Exupare aĩos: rabidus velut æquoris æſtus
Grãdiſono placidi fremitu trãſuerberat o-
Littoris, & ſiccæ fũdos obducit arenæ. (rã
Eia age melliſluis çarate ẽcorata magiſter
Arce tuæ fluuijs animæ labẽtibus ãpla (ẽtus
Facta rigẽt aridos: ſapida labor arbore fru
Prodat odoriferos, q̃bus iſtãmata freq̃nti
Flamine diuino gentes aliměta reſumant.

Figure 4: The hexameter verses by Fray Agustín de la Cruz, prefacing Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana*, Mexico City, 1582 (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

highlighted *exempla*, *comparationes* or *figurae* in the Nahuatl text. A set of Latin poems was specially composed by Fray Agustín de la Cruz to frame the 1582 publication: elegiacs and Sapphic stanzas were addressed respectively to the *opus* and to the reader, while his introductory hexameters, *Ad laudem Auctoris* (see fig. 4), praised the editor, Fray Miguel de Zárate, without any mention of Juan de Gaona, let alone of the native translator.

Fray Juan de Mijangos' *Espejo divino*, first published in Mexico City in 1607, was also written in collaboration with a Nahua assistant who was emphatically thanked by Mijangos on the last page of the volume:

> The Corrector of the Language was Agustín de la Fuente, native of Santiago Tlatelolco, very skilled, (who, in this work and in all the others done by Father Fray Juan Bautista of the Order of the seraphic father Saint Francis, has helped a great deal and served our Lord) may He reward him and keep him many years.

A still more profound acknowledgement to Agustín de la Fuente is implicit: the *father* whose dramatised discourse constituted by far the greater part of the book is named "Augustin." The son, to whom he offered guidance, was called Joan, a variant of Mijangos' own Christian name, Juan. The apparent homage could reflect Agustín de la Fuente's seniority in age—he had assisted Fray Bernardino de Sahagún more than 20 years earlier—and it could also be a tribute to the Indian's learning.[70]

The title, *Espejo divino*, "Divine Mirror" might appear to recall the convention of didactic *speculum* or "mirror" literature, which had originated in the Middle Ages and continued into the 1600s. Yet despite the variety of medieval and Renaissance *specula* for priests and

may have rendered such 'aesthetic' justification unnecessary, although the associated Nahuatl sometimes digresses markedly from the declared liturgical model.

[70] Compare Bautista, *Sermonario*, on Agustín de la Fuente quoted in (1) above.

princes—of history, chivalry, human life, salvation, morality, government and so on—no prior publication in Europe was ever entitled *Espejo divino* or *Speculum divinum*. The Spanish title was a loose gloss of a coinage on the first page of the Nahuatl text:

> Nican vmpehua (tlaçomahuiztlacaè) ontzinti, centlamantli tenonotzaliztlahtolli, intlacahuapahualoni tlacazcaltiloni teoyotica tezcatl tocayotilo, nepanotl mononotzihui ce tlacatl tettatzin itoca Augustin yhuan ce tlacatl ipiltzin, itoca Joan.[71]

David Tavárez has observed that a metonymy for wisdom, *in coyauac tezcatl necoc xapo*, "the wide mirror polished on both sides," had designated the teacher's words in the Nahuatl version of *De contemptu mundi*.[72] That translation, dating from the 1560s, was a crucial precedent for Mijangos' text and the title of the latter thus derived from the longstanding Mexican association of the mirror with divinity (and divination), exemplified by the name of the all-knowing pre-Hispanic deity Tezcatlipoca, "Smoking Mirror."[73]

The *Espejo divino* is a textual cornucopia, interspersing prayers and sermons with the preceptive dialogues between father and son.[74] Printed marginal notes do not just highlight similes: they contain Latin citations of scriptural passages and sources ranging from Saint Augustine to Seneca and Aesop—large portions of some biblical books can be reconstructed from the Nahuatl translations.[75] The conversation in the *Espejo divino* was designed to be engaging as well as enlightening. The reprinting of the book in 1626, nearly twenty years after its first publication, indicates that its appeal endured.

The contrived elegance of the *Colloquios de la paz* and the *Espejo divino*, quite absent from the austere Latin texts likely to have inspired them, invite comparison with another Nahuatl work printed in 1601 at the Convent of Tlatelolco: the *Huehuetlahtolli*, "Speeches of old," published by Fray Juan Bautista (see fig. 5).[76] The speeches the volume contained were presented as the talks [*pláticas*] native fathers and mothers gave to their children, and rulers to their subjects. Such *pláticas* had already attracted the attention of missionaries and chroniclers, notably Fray Andrés de Olmos, whose collection apparently provided the basis for Bautista's.[77] But Bautista had "added and inserted new, important and necessary contents" so that the 29 speeches in Nahuatl and six translations in Spanish conveyed a Christian message,

[71] "Here begins (o dear revered one), originates, a set of words of admonition, for the bringing up of people and the raising of people, called a *Mirror through Holiness*, [in which] one person, a father named Augustin and [another] person, his son named Joan, go on counselling one another." Fray Juan de Mijangos, *Espejo divino* (Mexico City: Diego Lopez Davalos, 1607), fol. 1 (italics are mine).

[72] Tavárez, "Nahua intellectuals," 224-5 further remarks that Sahagún employed the metonymy for wisdom associated with the Tezcatlipoca's attributes of knowledge and prescience in *Historia general* Book 6 and that he used the same expression as an epithet for Christ in the *Psalmodia christiana* (1583).

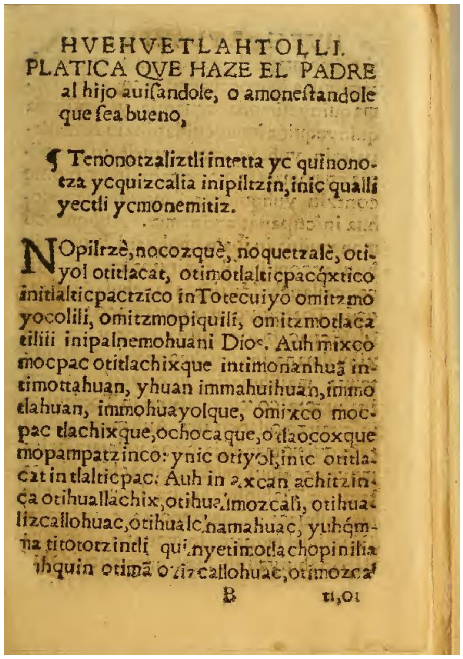
[73] Nicholas Saunders, "A Dark Light: Reflections on Obsidian in Mesoamerica," *World Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2001): 220–36.

[74] Garibay, *Historia*, 693-6 gives a useful conspectus of the work's content.

[75] Barry D. Sell, "Perhaps our Lord, God, has Forgotten Me," in *The Conquest All Over Again*, ed. Susan Schroeder (Brighton / Portland / Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 193 oddly states that there are no glosses or even marginalia in the *Espejo divino*. Spanish glosses for Nahuatl words also appear in the body of the text, e.g. *Espejo divino*, 42: "muchihuanih (durables)."

[76] Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *Huehuetlahtolli. Testimonios de la antigua palabra. Recogidos por Fray Andrés de Olmos hacia 1535*, trans. Librado Silva Galeana (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011) has a facsimile of Bautista's 1600 volume. The subtitle was not Bautista's: "HVEHVETLAHTOLLI" is in the running head of the 1601 imprint, but the original title page is lost.

[77] Drawing from previous studies, Mónica Ruiz Bañuls, *El huehuetlatolli como discurso sincrético en el proceso evangelizador novohispano del siglo XVI* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2009) considers the relation of Bautista's *Huehuetlahtolli* to its antecedents, as well as its evangelical function.



HVEHVETLAHTOLLI.
PLATICA QVE HAZE EL PADRE
al hijo auiſandole, o amoneſtandole
que ſea bueno,

¶ Tenonotzaliztli intetta yc quinono-
tza ycquizcalia inipiltzin, inic qualli
yectli ycmonemitiz.

NOpiltzè, nocozquè, noquetzalè, oti-
yol otitlacat, otimotlalticpacáxtico
initlalticpactzîco in Totecuiyo omitzmo
yocolili, omitzmopiquili, omitzmotlaca
tiliii inipalnemohuani Dios. Auh mixco
mocpac otitlachixque intimonanhuã in-
timottahuan, yhuan immahuihuan, immo
tlahuan, immohuayolque, omixco moc-
pac tlachixque, ochocaque, otlaocoxque
mopampatzinco: ynic otiyol, inic otitla-
cat in tlalticpac. Auh in axcan achitzin-
ca otihuallachix, otihuaimozcali, otihua-
lizcallohuac, otihualcnamahuac, yuhém-
ma titotozindi quinyetimotlachopinilia
ihquin otimã otlizcallohuac, otimozca-
B ti,oi

Figure 5: Fray Juan Bautista, *Huehuetlahtolli*, fol. 1 (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

and most of them addressed Christian themes.[78] Although they are in monologue form, the discourses—of fathers to sons, of sons to fathers and (implicitly) of missionaries to converts—show an obvious community with the dialogues of the *Espejo divino* and the *Colloquios de la paz*, in terms of the pious instruction they provided.

Moreoever, like those dialogues, the *Huehuetlahtolli* are also commended by their editor as much for their style as for their moral quality: Bautista thus highlighted the "cultivation, urbanity, respect, courtliness, good diction and elegance in the speech of Indians of old" and later commented that "the Mexicans had seemingly learned and imbibed all the colours of Rhetoric."[79] These commendations recalled the way Sahagún had framed his own larger manuscript collection of apparently more authentic Nahuatl *pláticas* which he himself translated into Spanish in 1577.[80] That collection had been calculatedly entitled *Rethorica, philosophía moral, theologia de la gente mexicana* and later appeared as the sixth book of the *Historia general*—the only book in the twelve-book history to be dignified with an elegant dedication in Latin. The effect of the Latin verse panegyrics which heralded the printed version of Gaona's *Colloquios de la paz* only five years later was rather similar. The general trend is clear: Nahuatl texts were becoming aestheticised and endowed with the hallmarks

78 Bautista, *Huehuetlahtolli, Aprobación del Doctor Francisco de Loya* (unnumbered folio): "El Padre Fray Joan Bautista... con mucha erudición a añadido y puesto cosas nuevas, importantes y necesarias [...] sin tener cosa que contradiga a nuestra Religion."

79 Bautista, *Huehuetlahtolli*, (third unnumbered folio of Prologue, verso): 92r. The case made in Pollnitz, "Old words" for an Erasmian contextualisation for this work prompts some caveats: Erasmus' pervasive influence on earlier missionary linguists had dramatically declined by the time of Bautista, who was born in 1555; and *qualli tlatolli*, good speech, is not an exact Nahuatl cognate (p. 146) of *bonae litterae*, good literature, as the latter connoted written discourse.

80 Sahagún produced the Spanish version of the *Historia general* in collaboration with native Latinists, but he specified in the colophon of the sixth book (*Florentine Codex*, bk. 6, 260) that this translation was his own: "Fue traduzido en lengua española por el dicho padre bernardino de Sahagun: despues de treynta años, que se escriujo en la lengua mexicana: este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setenta y siete."

of Christian humanist literature.

4 Closing reflections: Latin humanism and Nahuatl literature

The standard use of the term *gramática* for "Latin" in the sixteenth-century Hispanic world reflected the general identification of the Latin language with grammar itself. Latin was not seen as the historical source of the romance vernaculars, but as an artificial medium which was refined from every language: though it had to be learned and acquired, it was a universal *langue*.[81] Everyday spoken tongues, whether they were European or Amerindian, could only be systematised by *artes*, which were based on the categories of grammar or Latin.[82] The very existence of written literature was also subject to grammar, because the most fundamental, atomic unit of grammar was the alphabetic letter, *littera*.[83]

Nahua scholars who recognised Latin as the language of the church and of knowledge, and who had also seen how its alphabet (which the Spaniards called "Latin" or "Roman") could be used for other languages, including their own, attached importance to *litterae*, letters:

> praedecessores suae tempore gentilitatis fuere admodum rustici, abiecti, nudi et corporis et animae dotibus, inter quas primas habent virtutes ac litterae, quas profecto ne per somnium quidem novere.[84]

From letters and words (*dictiones*) to discourse (*oratio*), Latin laid the ground for writing in Nahuatl because the traffic of written translation was almost always in one direction—from Latin, or from Spanish *via* Latin, to Nahuatl (with Spanish texts rendered into Nahuatl often being adapted via Latin). The collegians of Tlatelolco, who were trained to play an instrumental role in the indigenous government of Mexico as *regidores* and judges, were just as instrumental in facilitating the government of Nahuatl by Latin.

Yet the texts surveyed above show that Latin's capacity to govern Nahuatl was not comprehensive or complete—and could sometimes be threatened. Just as the earliest missionary linguists soon found that the distinctive "excellences and design" [*primores y buen artificio*] of Nahuatl challenged the universality of Latin, the Mexican tongue could not always compliantly convey the language of scripture: thus there is some irony about the lack of an equivalent for the *Verbum* or the Incarnate Word in John 1: 1.[85] Conversely, the potency of *teoyotica tezcatl* indicates that it was the source for the formulation of *Espejo divino* in Spanish, and not derived from it.

[81] Angelo Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists: Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 31-61.

[82] W. Keith Percival, *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* (Warminster: Ashgate, 2004); Téllez Nieto, "La tradición gramatical."

[83] Fray Maturino Gilberti, *Grammatica Maturini* (Mexico City: Antonius Espinosa, 1559), fol. Vr followed Perotti's 1473 *Rudimenta grammatices*: "There are four parts of grammar, namely the letter, such as *a*, *b*, *c*; the syllable, such as *ba*, *be*; the word, such as *Pater*, and speech [*oratio*] such as *Pater noster qui es in caelis*." The partition ultimately derived from Priscian's *Institutiones*, bk. 2.

[84] "Our ancestors, in the time they were pagan, were very simple, lowly and bare of ornaments for body and soul alike, including the most important ones: moral virtues and letters, which they certainly did not come to know even in their dreams." Rulers of Azcapotzalco, *Invictissimo Hispaniarum Regi […]*, Seville, Archivo General de Indias, Legajo Mexico, 1842, (1561) fol. 1, ed. Andrew Laird, "Aztec Latin," *Studi Umanisitici Piceni* 31 (2011): 303.

[85] "Primores y buen artificio": Fray Andrés de Olmos, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, ed. Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla and Miguel León-Portilla (Mexico: UNAM 2003), 59 [Prologue to the Second Part], 44r.

One consequence of all the first printed texts in Nahuatl being *Doctrinas* and *Confesionarios* was noted in (2) above: the 'canonisation' of such texts through translation also elevated the language of Nahuatl itself. The effect of translating texts from modern European languages into Latin was actually comparable—as well as enhancing the status of a given text, the translation affirmed and contributed to the standing of the target language as a medium. The authority and importance of the Nahuatl lectionaries was signalled by their fine lettering and occasional decorative illumination: the copy of the *Epistolae et Evangelia* recently identified in the Chapter Library of Toledo Cathedral is particularly striking (see fig. 1). The careful design and execution of the manuscripts containing translations of the Proverbs of Solomon and the *De contemptu mundi* also indicate the high value accorded to their content.

The original Nahuatl dialogues described above—the *Colloquios y doctrina christiana*, *Colloquios de la paz* and the *Espejo divino*—were adorned in quite a different way, with explicitly signalled rhetorical flourishes and evocations of classical as well as Christian sources. An obvious mechanism for this accommodation was provided by the versatility of dialogue:

> In the sixteenth century in particular, everything from rhetorical handbooks to medical treatises to travel narratives to manuals on duelling to erotic fiction to utopias can be found in dialogue form. Dialogue became a convention, even an institution for representing the margins of what could be represented in the Renaissance literary system of generic codes and forms. That dialogue would also gain greatly in prestige in the eyes of the Renaissance from its origins in ancient Greek and Roman philosophy is not hard to understand.[86]

The application of humanist learning to dialogues in Nahuatl and even to Bautista's *Huehuetlahtolli* could be seen as a kind of reverse appropriation rather than as a demonstration of Latin's capacity to govern Nahuatl. The vernacular literatures which had emerged in Europe in the previous centuries had depended on Latinate conventions of genre, rhetorical structuring, poetical devices and classical references. As there had been no alphabetically written texts in Mexico before the Spanish incursion, such conventions were automatically commandeered for the far more rapid institution of a Nahuatl literary canon within only fifty years.[87] The process would continue in the 1600s: the indigenous author Chimalpahin superimposed the annalistic format of Isidore of Seville's *Chronicon* on the model of indigenous records (which employed a pictographic year-count) in order to construct his *Relaciones*. That Mexican history in Nahuatl employed classical *exempla* and comparanda, and even cited authors like Sophocles and Diogenes Laertius.[88]

Latin and Nahuatl alike were integral to the culture of the College of Santa Cruz, where the two languages had a sustained and intensive connection. Ethnohistorical research on colonial Mexico has naturally accommodated study of Catholicism and the missionary enterprise in New Spain.[89] But the traditions and practices of Christian humanism—grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, poetics, antiquarianism, translation and textual

[86] Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 7-8; compare Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Dialogue," *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989): 1-12.

[87] It is important to recognise that the formulaic styling of oral performance and indigenous modes of expression were also incorporated into colonial alphabetic texts: the *pláticas* which were assembled by Sahagún in his *Rethorica, philosophía moral, theologia de la gente* are an important example.

[88] Laird, "Universal History," 98–100.

[89] As well as Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs* and Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms* (see n. 2 and

scholarship—are no less crucial. Recognition of their relevance and of the importance of Latin culture to Nahuatl literary history will afford new insight on the works produced by Franciscans and native Mexican scholars in Tlatelolco. The 'wide mirror polished on both sides' could be a perfect symbol for the knowledge of both Nahuatl and Latin which is required for this clearer understanding.

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n. 33 above), important studies include Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995); Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); David Tavárez, *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

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