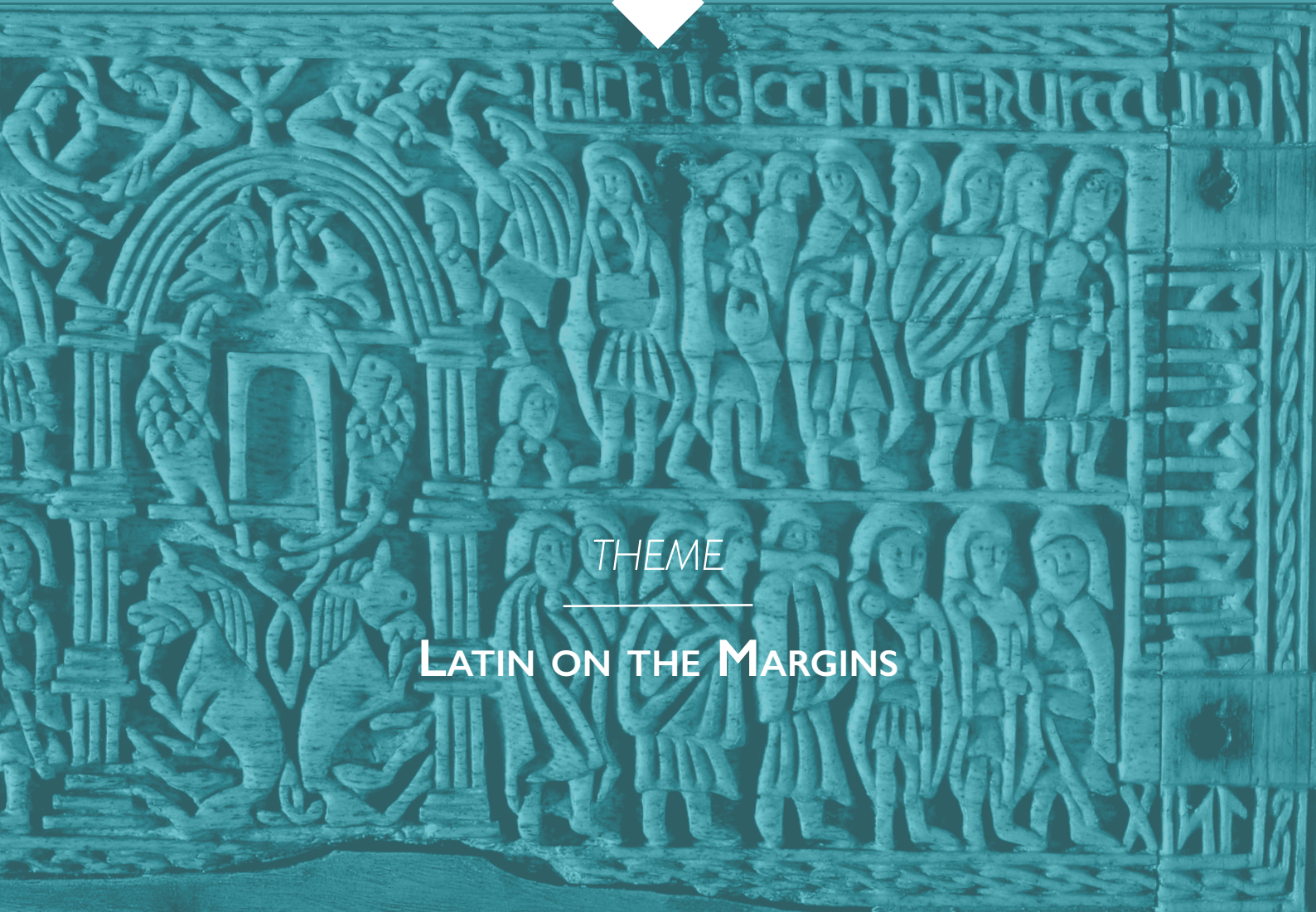


ISSUE 2. NOVEMBER 2019



# JOLCEL

JOURNAL OF LATIN COSMOPOLITANISM  
AND EUROPEAN LITERATURES



THEME

LATIN ON THE MARGINS

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Cover image: The back panel of the Franks Casket - The Auzon Casket (early 8th century). London, British Library, 1867,0120.1, licensed under Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

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## Editorial Note

The image on the cover of this second issue of JOLCEL shows a detail from the so-called Franks Casket, an early eighth-century Anglo-Saxon chest made out of whale's bone, possibly designed to hold a psalter. This artefact constitutes a truly breath-taking nexus of cultural traditions, juxtaposing tableaux as varied as Romulus and Remus being suckled by the she-wolf, the mythical Germanic Wayland the Smith at work on his anvil, and the Adoration of the Magi. The scene which has been reproduced here depicts the consequences of the Roman emperor Titus' sacking of the city of Jerusalem. The inscription in the upper right-hand margin starts out in the Latin tongue and script: "hic fugiant hierusalim" ("Here flee from Jerusalem..."). This phrase is then continued vertically, still in Latin but rendered in Anglo-Saxon runes: "ƿ|ī|tƿ|tƿ|r|m|," which can be transcribed as "(h)abitatores" ("...its inhabitants"). If we also were to take a look at the left side of this panel (not included here), we would encounter further runic inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon that describe the ancient siege itself. Clearly, Latin and its cultural past are being represented here as being part of a larger and more complex whole, a whole in which, at first sight, they do not even seem to occupy a central position.

This leads us to the present volume's overarching topic, 'Latin on the margins', which has its earliest origins in the *Telling Tales Out of School*-conference organised by RELICS in 2017. It might come as a surprise to the reader that, only having arrived at our second issue, we turn to the aspect of Latin on the margins. However, by placing these topics at the centre of our journal, and in dialogue with texts that are traditionally considered key texts of the Latin tradition, we seek to reconsider the aspect of centre versus margin in Latin literature, with a particular focus on how education in Latin played a crucial role in this.

Indeed, the three articles we present to the reader in this issue deal with texts that are generally viewed as examples of the use of Latin in the margins. The margins in question are either geographical ones (Tlatelolco in Mexico City) or chronological ones (nineteenth-century Sweden). This issue hopes to show that what we have come to define as 'marginal' is only a question of perspective. In the formation of writers that we consider today to be at the margin of the Latin tradition, Latin education still was—or had recently become—a central element.

Andrew Laird (Brown University) and Heréndira Tellez Nieto (Cátedras Conacyt), in their respective articles, draw attention to the College of Tlatelolco, located in Mexico City. The use of Latin for the instruction of the Nahua peoples was never regarded as a 'marginal'



phenomenon; on the contrary, Latin was a crucial medium to enhance mutual understanding, which in turn created a new and vibrant dynamic, far from Europe. This explains how Tlatelolco became a new centre for the study of the Latin language and its literatures, in interaction with the indigenous traditions of native Mexicans.

Chronologically and geographically, nineteenth-century Sweden is, undoubtedly, at the margin of the Latin tradition; but, as Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich (Lund University) explores in his article, for someone like Carl Georg Brunius, author of the longest Latin poem ever written in Sweden, the attempt to rewrite Nordic mythology in classical Latin hexameters probably felt more like a natural reflex than as an anachronism. By reinterpreting the classical echoes in the epic *De diis arctois* as more than mere “metrical necessities,” Vetushko-Kalevich seeks to give new meaning to the poem.

Finally, in his illuminative response to the articles of this issue, Alejandro Coroleu (*ICREA*—Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) reflects more deeply on the consequences of this thinking in terms of what he calls “beyond Europe, beyond the Renaissance, and beyond the vernacular.” He makes a plea for the inclusion of these texts that are usually left out of the picture, in order to get a better insight in the aspects which make the Latin tradition a cosmopolitan one.

The second issue of JOLCEL focuses on texts from the (early) modern period, but intentionally goes beyond those of the Italian humanist ideals. The articles analyse the use of Latin in contexts where the idea of *translatio imperii* is at first sight no longer a logical one: the Latin tradition has to impose itself on already existing traditions, such as the Nahua mythology or Nordic sagas. Interestingly, this imposition soon shifts to a renegotiation of the hierarchy of traditions. Latin, then, becomes a medium in which new traditions emerge.

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NOVEMBER 2019

# JOLCEL

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## CURRENT CONTRIBUTION

Andrew Laird, “From the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540) to the *Espejo divino* (1607): Indian Latinists and Nahuatl religious literature at the College of Tlatelolco,” *JOLCEL* 2 (2019): 2-28. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.v2i0.8522.

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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).

\*

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

ANDREW LAIRD

*BROWN UNIVERSITY*

## 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).

\*\*\*

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.<sup>1</sup> But the Franciscan friars who founded and taught at the College had an agenda of their own: they needed the assistance of informed native speakers of Mesoamerican languages—especially Nahuatl which was perceived as a potential *lingua 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> 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. Joaquín 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 Máñez, 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *lingua general* in New Spain.

those adopted in European schools.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Günter Zimmermann, *Briefe der indianischen Nobilität aus Neuspanien an Karl V und Philipp II um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (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)," *Renaissanceforum* 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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[ia] [...]<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> The classical and humanist predilection for *ad sensum* rather than *ad verbum* translation for the sake of elegance went back to Cicero.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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 ineltocatzin*’, ‘the faith in which God is believed in’, and I

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

<sup>7</sup> Bautista, *Huebuetlabtollí* (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).

<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.”<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately, the Nahuatl 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 laboravi ut 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 procuravi, que omnia correcta iudicio 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 [...]<sup>12</sup>

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 Nahuatl students really achieved.<sup>13</sup> They were not theologians but linguists, with a valuable range of broader

<sup>10</sup> Bautista, *Sermonario*, 475.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 476: “Es de muy buen entendimiento y razón, y sabe su lengua e idiotismos de ella con gran propiedad.”

<sup>12</sup> “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).

<sup>13</sup> This misconception persists, despite the Franciscan consensus against ordination of the Indians indicated in Mendieta, *Historia* 4.23, 450; see n. 61 below: Raphaële 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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*.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

b) Newberry Library, Chicago: *Incipiunt Ep[isto]le et Eva[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.<sup>18</sup> Earlier scholars made the same case, attributing the writing of both documents to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.<sup>19</sup>

c) Biblioteca Capítular, 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.

<sup>14</sup> Bernardino Biondelli, *Evangelarium, 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 Evangelario náhuatl de la Biblioteca Capítular de Toledo (Mss 35–22),” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 113, nos. 3–4 (2018): 656–89.

<sup>15</sup> Biondelli, *Evangelarium*, 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.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> Biondelli, *Evangelarium*, xiv.

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

<sup>19</sup> 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.

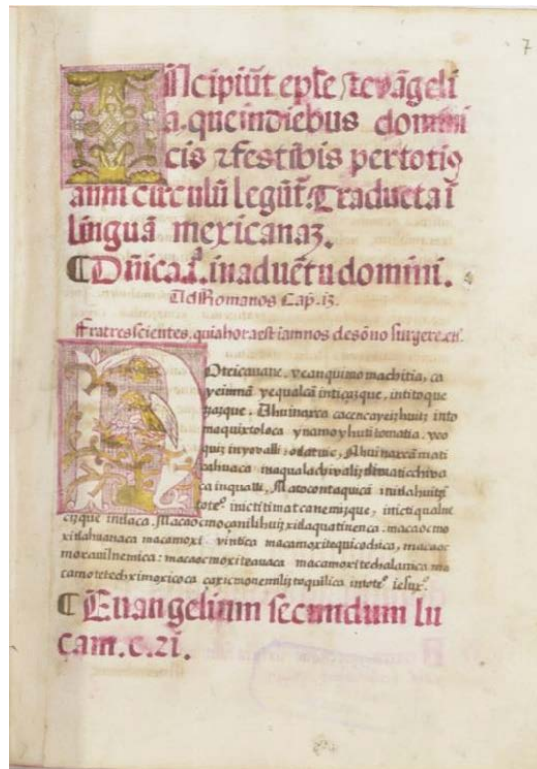


Figure 1: Ms. 35-22 Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, *Epistole et Evangelia* fol. 7r. (© Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo / Proyecto Filología Bíblica en Lenguas Indoamericanas).

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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

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

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> “Brothers, knowing that it is now the hour for us to arise from sleep, / For now our salvation is nearer than when we believed.”

<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

b) Chicago

Noteyccauane, yeanquimomachitia, cayeimman ye qualcan  
intiçazque, intitoquetçazq[ue].

Auh ynaxcan cacenca yeizuitz intomaquixtiloca, 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.*<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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:

<sup>23</sup> Biondelli, *Evangeliarium*, 251 has: *Noticcabuane, yeanquimomachitya, cayeimman yequalcan intiçazque, intitoquetzazque. Aub inaxcan cacenca yeizca intomaquixtiloca, inamoyuh yehuecauh iniqua çanoc titlaneltocaya.*

<sup>24</sup> Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introductions*, 83-4 (my emphasis).

<sup>25</sup> 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*.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup>

*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.”<sup>32</sup> The Nahuatl *tlatolli* was the obvious term to convey *verbum* or

<sup>26</sup> “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*.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> 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.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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.”

<sup>31</sup> “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, aubindios ca yebuatl intepiltzin. / ininmoyetzticatca inipanpeuhcayotl itlantzinco indios*. (Initial capitalization is as in the manuscript.)

<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

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 Aelamitæ, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Judæam, et Cappadociam, Pontum, et Asiam,  
Phrygiam, et Pamphyliam, Aegyptum, et partes Libyæ, quæ est circa Cyrenen, et advenæ Romani,  
Judæi quoque, et Proselyti, Cretes, et Arabes: audivimus eos loquentes *nostris linguis* magnalia Dei.<sup>34</sup>

Icmochintin cenca miçahuiyaya, tlamahuiçohuaya, quitohuaya: Tlaxiquimittacan: inixquichtin *tlatobua*, cuix amo Galileatlaca?  
Quenin mochihua axcan, iniquac *tlatobua* 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 inJudrome, yuan proselites inCretes yuan Arabiatlaca, inizquican inaltepetlipan tihualehua, timochintin oticacque *totlatol* inicquitenehua, inicquitenquixtya incenca mahuiçauhqui inoquimochihuili totecuyo dios.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup> 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

<sup>33</sup> Mark Christensen, *Nabua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), explores the significance of many comparable examples.

<sup>34</sup> “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.”

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

<sup>36</sup> The interpretation of the Babel story in Erasmus, *Lingua* (Basel, 1525), 131-2 was recalled in Fray Alonso de Molina, *Aquí comienza 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: *paschæ celebrandæ locum de signo aquæ ostendit, exinde pentecoste ordinandis lavacris lætissimum 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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*.<sup>39</sup> 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.”<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

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

<sup>37</sup> 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), letiloca (nullius significationis) pro neltioca (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.

<sup>38</sup> Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: Introductions*, 54.

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> Sahagún, *Psalmody christiana*, (Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 1583), trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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

<sup>42</sup> The most popular was Fray Ambrosio Montesinos, *Epistolae et 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, *Erasmus y España*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007), 44-8.

<sup>43</sup> Robert E. McNally, “The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles,” *Theological Studies* 27 (1966): 204–27.

<sup>44</sup> Mendieta, *Historia* 4.44, 551: “Fr. Luis Rodriguez tradujo los proverbios de Salomon de muy elegante lengua, y los cuatro libros del *Contemptus mundi*.”

<sup>45</sup> David Tavárez, “A Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon,” *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 4 (2013): 759–62.

<sup>46</sup> McNally, “The Council of Trent,” 226-7.

<sup>47</sup> 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 Beristáin 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].

<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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 hábiles y entendidos en lengua mexicana y en la lengua latina*].<sup>50</sup>

The collegians involved were named as Antonio Valeriano of Azcapotzalco, Alonso Vegerano of Quauhuitlan, 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.<sup>51</sup> 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:

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

<sup>50</sup> Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 75.

<sup>51</sup> 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 transfuncionalización de la palabra indígena," in *La otra Nueva España. La palabra marginada en la Colonia*, ed. Mariana Maserá (Mexico: UNAM, 2002), 211-34; Citlalli Bayardi, "Figuras retóricas en el *Coloquio de los Doce*," in *El Colegio*, ed. Hernández and Máñez, 123-48.



qujmnotlapalhu j in teupixque, tlatlatlauhti, achi veyx yn jtlatol [...] <sup>52</sup>

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.” <sup>53</sup> 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. <sup>54</sup>

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. <sup>55</sup> The founder

<sup>52</sup> “He greeted the priests, he entreated, his speech was a little long.” Sahagún, *Coloquios*, 144.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> 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*.

<sup>55</sup> 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*.<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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).<sup>59</sup>

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 Zárata.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> The Nahuatl text has never been translated and no Latin or vernacular source for this work has yet been successfully identified.<sup>62</sup> 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

<sup>56</sup> Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 44-51.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals," 211.

<sup>59</sup> Trexler, "From the Mouths of Babes," 551.

<sup>60</sup> Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana, en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: en casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1582). Zárata'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).

<sup>61</sup> 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; Beristáin, *Biblioteca*, 1:340 printed part of Gaona's response to Fray Jacobo Daciano's rejected propositions.

<sup>62</sup> 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.

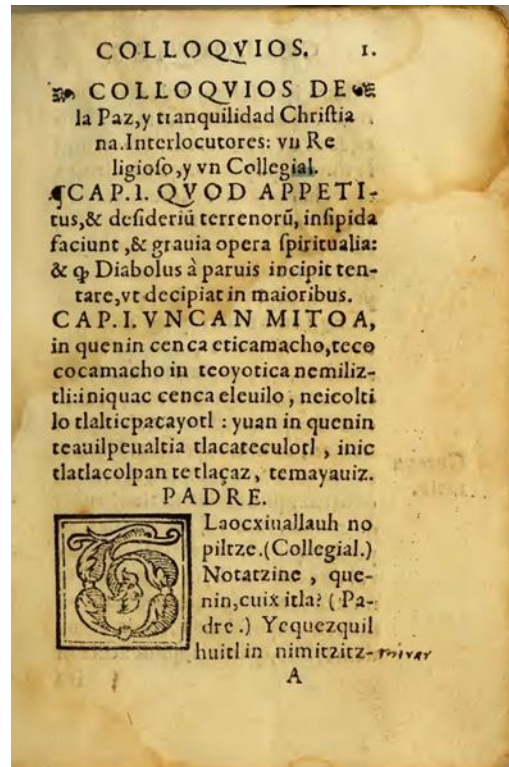


Figure 2: Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana*, Mexico City, 1582, fol. 1r (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

be considered as a possible influence: Gaona, who had studied in Paris, would have known Guibert’s treatise which continued to circulate widely.<sup>63</sup>

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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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*,

<sup>63</sup> 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.

<sup>64</sup> Gaona, *Colloquios* (1582), fol. 23: *Macamo nimitzteneutli icenca vei tlamatini Platon, amono nimitzteneuiliznequi in Pythagoras, noyebautl in Architas, noyebuatl 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”).

<sup>65</sup> 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.

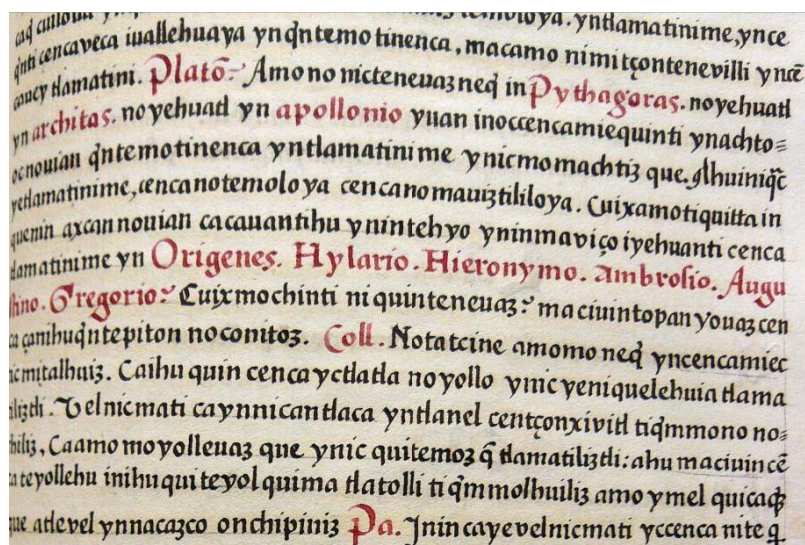


Figure 3: Ms. 35-22 Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, fol. 271r, Gaona, *Colloquios*. (© Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo/Proyecto Filología Bíblica en Lenguas Indoamericanas).

disparages the pagan philosophers.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

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*.<sup>68</sup>

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.<sup>69</sup> This was a new departure: marginal notes printed in Latin

<sup>66</sup> 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 reprobis* (“Laertius provides the Philosophers” [\*lives and sayings\*]. / There are things you may approve, there are more to reproach”).

<sup>67</sup> “*Omnia mea bona, mecum porto*, which means ‘All that is mine, is alone what I have and hold.’” Gaona, *Colloquios* (1582), fol. 106.

<sup>68</sup> 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).

<sup>69</sup> 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



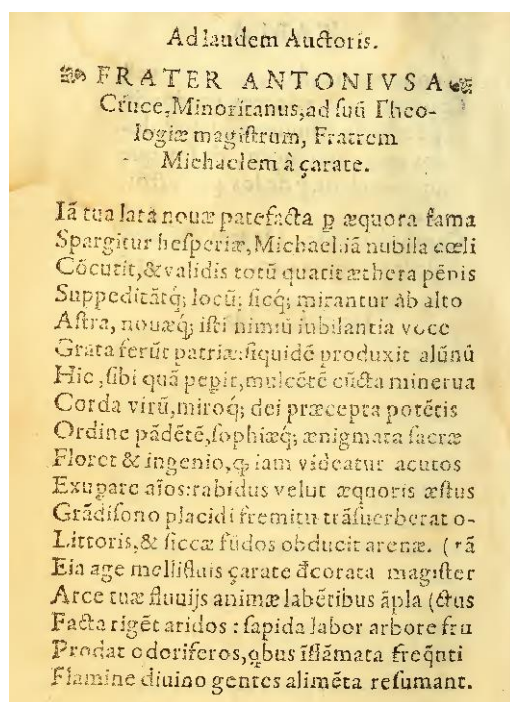


Figure 4: The hexameter verses by Fray Agustín de la Cruz, prefacing Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana*, Mexico City, 1582 (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

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 Nahuatl 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.

<sup>70</sup> 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 tlaçazcaltiloni teyotica tezc atl toçayotilo, nepanotl mononotzihui ce tlaçatl tettatzin itoca Augustin yhuan ce tlaçatl ipiltzin, itoca Joan.<sup>71</sup>

David Tavárez has observed that a metonymy for wisdom, *in coyauac tezc atl necoc xapo*, “the wide mirror polished on both sides,” had designated the teacher’s words in the Nahuatl version of *De contemptu mundi*.<sup>72</sup> 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.”<sup>73</sup>

The *Espejo divino* is a textual cornucopia, interspersing prayers and sermons with the preceptive dialogues between father and son.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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 *Huebuetlahtolli*, “Speeches of old,” published by Fray Juan Bautista (see fig. 5).<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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,

<sup>71</sup> “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).

<sup>72</sup> 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 *Psalmody christiana* (1583).

<sup>73</sup> Nicholas Saunders, “A Dark Light: Reflections on Obsidian in Mesoamerica,” *World Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2001): 220–36.

<sup>74</sup> Garibay, *Historia*, 693–6 gives a useful conspectus of the work’s content.

<sup>75</sup> 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).”

<sup>76</sup> Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *Huebuetlahtolli. 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.

<sup>77</sup> Drawing from previous studies, Mónica Ruiz Bañuls, *El huebuetlatolli como discurso sincrético en el proceso evangelizador novohispano del siglo XVI* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2009) considers the relation of Bautista’s *Huebuetlahtolli* to its antecedents, as well as its evangelical function.

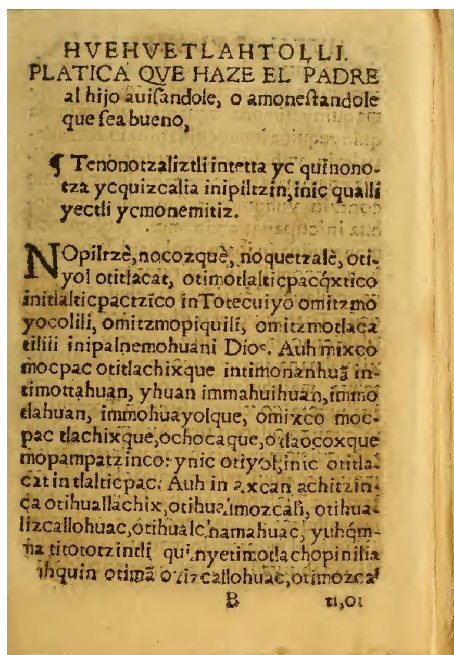


Figure 5: Fray Juan Bautista, *Huebuetlahtolli*, fol. 1 (© By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

and most of them addressed Christian themes.<sup>78</sup> 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.

Moreover, like those dialogues, the *Huebuetlahtolli* 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.”<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup> 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

<sup>78</sup> Bautista, *Huebuetlahtolli*, *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.”

<sup>79</sup> Bautista, *Huebuetlahtolli*, (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.

<sup>80</sup> 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 qujnientos 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*.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> The very existence of written literature was also subject to grammar, because the most fundamental, atomic unit of grammar was the alphabetic letter, *littera*.<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup>

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.<sup>85</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> 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.

<sup>82</sup> W. Keith Percival, *Studies in Renaissance Grammar* (Warminster: Ashgate, 2004); Téllez Nieto, “La tradición gramatical.”

<sup>83</sup> 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.

<sup>84</sup> “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 Umanistici Piceni* 31 (2011): 303.

<sup>85</sup> “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.<sup>86</sup>

The application of humanist learning to dialogues in Nahuatl and even to Bautista’s *Huebuetlah tolli* 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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup>

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.<sup>89</sup> But the traditions and practices of Christian humanism—grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, poetics, antiquarianism, translation and textual

<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>87</sup> 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.

<sup>88</sup> Laird, “Universal History,” 98-100.

<sup>89</sup> As well as Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs* and Christensen, *Nabua 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: Nahuatl-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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# JOLCEL

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## CURRENT CONTRIBUTION

Heréndira Téllez Nieto, “Latinidad, tradición clásica y *nova ratio* en el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco/ Latinity, Classical Tradition, and *nova ratio* in the Imperial College of Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco,” *JOLCEL* 2 (2019): 30-55. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.v2i0.8505.

## NOTE

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# Latinidad, tradición clásica y *nova ratio* en el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco\*

HERÉNDIRA TÉLLEZ NIETO

*CATEDRÁTICA CONACYT*

## ABSTRACT

This article offers a new perspective on the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco. On the one hand, it studies hitherto inedited sources and manuscripts; on the other, it reinterprets some well-known facts. I will highlight the main purpose of the Colegio in Tlatelolco and the development of the courses taught there, particularly those based on the *nova ratio nebrisensis*. Indeed, for friars arriving to the New World, the example of the universities and colegios where they had studied themselves was the one they were most familiar with. The cornerstone of these studies were the pedagogical reforms by the Spanish humanist Elio Antonio de Nebrija, which they followed closely for their grammatical and didactic ideas. Nebrija was considered the main representative of the Spanish Catholic humanism favoured by the Crown. In this article, I will analyse traces of this *nova ratio* in the works of the friars and students of the Colegio in Tlatelolco.

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*In mieclamantli tlamatiliztli ybuquimma  
mieclamantli xochiquauitl ycenca vel itech  
tlamochiua, yuan yn tlamatiliztli cenca eleuiloni.*

— Fray Juan de Gaona<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Muchas clases de sabiduría hay, como clases de árboles floridos y de árboles frutales, y así también la sabiduría es cosa digna de desearse,” fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz y tranquilidad christiana*, ms. Biblioteca Capitulada de Toledo, 35-22, fol. 265r.

## Introducción

La enseñanza de la lengua latina fue el *axis* de los estudios en Europa desde la Antigüedad hasta el Renacimiento y, al descubrirse el Nuevo Mundo, este no fue la excepción; así, pocos años después de que fuera sometido el imperio mexica, el mayor de Mesoamérica, se comenzó a impartir una educación de tipo europeo a los indígenas que comprendía desde escuelas básicas hasta el primer colegio de artes y oficios creado por fray Pedro de Gante (†1572), San José de los Naturales (ca. 1526),<sup>2</sup> donde fray Arnaldo de Bassacio (†1542) habría impartido la primera cátedra de latinidad en el Nuevo Mundo.<sup>3</sup>

Los resultados satisfactorios de aquella escuela habrían animado a los misioneros a proseguir con la formación de los indígenas instituyendo un ‘Colegio Mayor’ que logró formalizarse en 1536: el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco, institución que resulta fundacional y fundamental en la historia de México, como culminación de un mestizaje novohispano donde lograron coexistir las antiguas tradiciones clásicas y cristianas con las mesoamericanas. Su importancia ha quedado reflejada en numerosas investigaciones;<sup>4</sup> sin embargo, el tema, lejos de agotarse, se enriquece cada año.

Este artículo presenta una nueva perspectiva, a partir del descubrimiento de fuentes documentales y manuscritos hasta ahora inéditos, así como la reinterpretación de datos conocidos, y se centrará en los siguientes tópicos: propósito y fundación del Colegio (1); antecedentes: descripción de los antiguos *calmecac* o escuelas prehispánicas (2); los colegios hispanos de los siglos XV y XVI (3), donde se analizará un aspecto que ha pasado completamente desapercibido: las coincidencias entre el currículum educativo vallisoletano con el tlatelolca, especialmente la ‘Cátedra de Leyes y Cánones’ o Derecho, perpetuamente ignorada.

Además, se revisará la formación de los profesores, educados ellos mismos en las mejores escuelas europeas de la época: Salamanca, Valladolid y París (4), así como el material didáctico que se utilizó en Tlatelolco, gran parte fundamentado en la *nova ratio nebrissensis* (5),<sup>5</sup> de la que también son deudoras algunas de las obras indo-latinas de Tlatelolco:<sup>6</sup> gracias a esta

<sup>2</sup> En realidad, la primera escuela de tipo europeo en América, de enseñanza básica, la fundó en Texcoco el mismo Gante y el esquema se repitió en otras parcialidades, Ignacio Osorio Romero, *La enseñanza del latín a los indios* (México: UNAM, 1990), xx; sobre Gante, véanse Sarah M. Burns, *Fray Pedro De Gante and Early Education in New Spain* (Chicago: Loyola University, 1937), 29-39; Ascensión Hernández Triviño, “Fray Pedro de Gante (1480?-1572): la palabra y la fe,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística* 9 (2014): 32-36.

<sup>3</sup> Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana (ms. México, 1596)*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (México: F. Díaz de León y Santiago White, 1870), lib. IV, cap. 15; Juan de Torquemada, *De los veintitún libros rituales y monarquía indiana* (Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez, 1723 [1615]), lib. xv, cap. 43; Agustín de Vetancourt, *Menologio franciscano* (México: María de Benavides, 1697), 91.

<sup>4</sup> Véanse Alfredo Chavero, “Colegio de Tlatelolco,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 40 (1902): 517-529; Francisco Borgia Steck, *El primer colegio de América: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (México: Centro de Estudios Franciscanos, 1946); Robert Ricard, *La conquista espiritual de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000 [1944]); Miguel León-Portilla y Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, *El Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (Tlatelolco, México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1990); Pilar Gonzalbo, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial* (México: El Colegio de México, 1990), 111-134; Jesús Bustamante García, *Fray Bernardino de Sabagún: una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y su proceso de composición* (México: UNAM, 1990); SilverMoon, “The Imperial College of Tlatelolco and the Emergence of a New Nahua Intellectual Elite in New Spain (1500-1760)” (Tesis doctoral, Duke University, 2007), entre otros.

<sup>5</sup> El término fue acuñado por Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres, “Las ideas lingüísticas y gramaticales de Antonio de Nebrija: la *Nova Ratio Nebrissensis*” (Tesis doctoral, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992), aquí se utiliza para referirse al conjunto de estudios que tiene como base a Nebrija.

<sup>6</sup> Hasta ahora el catálogo más extenso de obras latinas de posible origen tlatelolca se encontraba en Andrew Laird, “Nahuas and Caesars: Classical Learning and Bilingualism in Post-Conquest Mexico; An Inventory



Figura 1: Iglesia de Santiago Tlatelolco (Archivo particular HTN).

formación renacentista, los frailes pudieron educar a los jóvenes tlatelolcas en el más moderno sistema de la época y con herramientas didácticas que superaban a los tratados medievales y escolásticos, dando como resultado una generación de indígenas eruditos. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, al igual que más tarde haría fray Juan Bautista Viseo,<sup>7</sup> siempre destacaron la importancia de estos jóvenes.<sup>8</sup> Desafortunadamente, no se incluye aquí el análisis sobre los colegiales por cuestiones de extensión.

## 1 El Colegio de Tlatelolco

La narración sobre la fundación del Colegio de Tlatelolco ha sido repetida en numerosas ocasiones, con los mismos detalles aportados por los primeros cronistas franciscanos;<sup>9</sup> sin embargo, en el siglo XVIII fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa (1697-1776), bibliotecario, notario apostólico y revisor del Santo Oficio, presentaba algunas puntualizaciones, hasta ahora inéditas, con información que había recopilado a partir de “dos

of Latin Writings by Authors of the Native Nobility,” *Classical Philology* 109 (2014): 150–169.

<sup>7</sup> Juan Bautista Viseo, *Sermonario* (México: Diego López Dávalos, 1606), prólogo.

<sup>8</sup> Sobre la importancia de los indígenas en el proceso de cristianización, véanse Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); David Tavárez, “Nahuatl Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars and the *Devotio moderna* in Colonial Mexico,” *The Americas* 70, número 2 (2013): 203–235.

<sup>9</sup> La inauguración formal se realizó el 6 de enero de 1536, día de la Epifanía o fiesta de los Reyes Magos de Oriente; para resaltar la importancia institucional, en la celebración participaron los principales dirigentes políticos y eclesiásticos: don Antonio de Mendoza (1490-1552), virrey de la Nueva España, fray Juan de Zumárraga (1468-1548), obispo de México, y don Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal (1490-1547), obispo de Santo Domingo y ex presidente de la Segunda Audiencia de México; en Tlatelolco, fray Alonso de Herrera (†1565) predicó el sermón inaugural y el refectorio se estrenó con un banquete que ofreció Zumárraga; fray Pedro de Rivera (s.d.) cerró el acto con otro sermón: Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. 15, lib. V, cap. 23; Torquemada, *De los veintiún libros rituales*, lib. xv, cap. 43; Agustín de Vetancourt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México* (México: María de Benavides, 1697), 68; Ricard, *La conquista*, 335ss.; León-Portilla y León-Portilla, *El Colegio Imperial*, 38.

corpulentos bultos de cuadernos antiguos, que abarcan como resma y media de papel, que se guardaron en el Colegio de Tlatelolco cuasi doscientos años, hasta el de 1756, que se me entregaron para este archivo de Provincia,”<sup>10</sup> y que resultan de notable interés:<sup>11</sup>

El año de 1535 en que el marqués del Valle [Cortés] se regresó a España, el excelentísimo señor, don Antonio de Mendoza, primer virrey y protector amantísimo de los indios, *constándole por experiencia el aprovechamiento de los indios, grandes y pequeños, ya en la doctrina cristiana, ya en todas artes y oficios*—que les enseñó el venerable padre fray Pedro de Gante a quien para doctrinarlos dotó Dios conciencia de ellos y del idioma—, *ya en el aprovechamiento en la gramática el año de 1534, porque venido en 1530 el venerable padre fray Juan [sic] de Bassacio, de la provincia de Aquitania, tomó a su cuidado enseñar a los niños y jóvenes la lengua latina*; los mismos religiosos excitaron a su excelencia que mandase edificar un colegio de indios en la parte de Tlatelolco, donde desde el año de 1527 tenía ya la religión edificado convento, para que en el dicho convento lograsen los indios el aprovechamiento en la latinidad...<sup>12</sup>

La pretensión de formar a los jóvenes, “niños de diez a doce años, hijos de los señores y principales de los mayores pueblos o provincias de esta Nueva España,”<sup>13</sup> bajo un esquema europeo y con conocimientos del latín, tendría como finalidad que accedieran a los campos pedagógico, jurídico, así como al estudio de los textos sagrados.<sup>14</sup> Estos objetivos, que los indígenas pudieran colaborar en la elaboración y difusión de obras evangelizadoras en lenguas vernáculas y preparar jueces y gobernadores de alto nivel para la ‘República de indios,’ fueron expresados sin ambages por los propios frailes:

El Virrey D. Antonio de Mendoza, de buena memoria, dejó fundado un colegio cuya vocación es de Sancta Cruz, para que allí se recogiesen hasta ochenta indios, muchachos traídos de los pueblos principales de la Nueva España, a los cuales se les enseñase gramática y otras ciencias, conforme a su capacidad, *con intento que estos indios, sabiendo latinidad y entendiendo los misterios de la Sagrada Escritura, se arraigasen en la fe más de veras y confirmasen en ella a los otros que no sabían tanto, y ayudasen a los Religiosos que no entendían bien la lengua, interpretando al pueblo en ella lo que les dijeren... y han servido de intérpretes en las Audiencias y han sido hábiles para encomendárseles los oficios de jueces y gobernadores y otros cargos de la República, mejor que a otros*, de manera que no fue frustrado el intento del que fundó aquel colegio, ni el de los antiguos y santos frailes que entendieron en ello.<sup>15</sup>

Los estudios servirían más tarde para proponer una ‘Cátedra de Leyes,’ como lo afirma De la Rosa—a raíz de una crítica hacia Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero,—enfaticando que incluso Hernán Cortés (†1547) llegó a considerar una idea similar, aunque la existencia y fundación del “Imperial Colegio bajo el patronato de la Real Corona,” que habría precedido nueve años

<sup>10</sup> Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Vindicias de la verdad* (ms. Bancroft Library) (México, 1773), 121.

<sup>11</sup> De esta narración cabe destacar que desde 1534 se impartían clases de latinidad; hasta ahora solo Chavero (“El Colegio,” 520) había señalado que la fecha de apertura del Colegio era confusa y que las actividades escolares se habrían desarrollado por lo menos desde 1535.

<sup>12</sup> Rosa Figueroa, *Vindicias de la verdad*, 121. Las cursivas, en esta cita y en las subsiguientes, son de la autora.

<sup>13</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. 15.

<sup>14</sup> En Europa y España, el estudio exegético de la Biblia no estaba reservada exclusivamente a los clérigos y religiosos, buena muestra de ello es Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522) y el círculo de eruditos relacionados al cardenal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517).

<sup>15</sup> Joaquín García Icazbalceta, edición, *Códice franciscano. Siglo XVI*, en *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, volumen II (México: Francisco Díaz de León, 1889), 70.

a esta disposición testamentaria, no permitiría que “habiendo ya un colegio constituido con la venia del emperador,” se construyera otro:<sup>16</sup>

[Fernando Cortés] en su regreso a las Indias, prevenido de la muerte en Sevilla y otorgando allí su último testamento, miércoles 11 de octubre de 1547 [...] legó por la cláusula 9 las rentas de todas sus casas que miran a la plaza mayor en México [...] y aseguró rentaban cuatro mil ducados, los que expresó era su última voluntad se erogasen en acabar este hospital [de Nuestra Señora], *labrar en Coyoacán el Colegio de estudios para niños indios nobles, con cátedras de Leyes y Cánones*[...].<sup>17</sup>

Estos testimonios obligan a replantearse el verdadero propósito de la institución, pues aunque numerosas veces se ha señalado que la finalidad era la formación de un clero indígena, esta posibilidad se vio pronto frustrada, como lo enfatiza Laird,<sup>18</sup> no solo por la objeción de los españoles, sino por la propia resistencia de los frailes, como se puede advertir en las palabras de fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590):

A los principios, se hizo experiencia de hacerlos religiosos, porque nos parecía entonces que serían hábiles para las cosas eclesiásticas y para la vida religiosa; así, se dio el hábito de San Francisco a dos mancebos indios, los más hábiles y recogidos que entonces había y que predicaban con gran fervor las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica a sus naturales... hallóse por experiencia que no eran suficientes para tal estado, y así los quitaron los hábitos y nunca más se ha recibido indio a la religión, ni aún se tienen por hábiles para el sacerdocio.<sup>19</sup>

Esta posición será sostenida algunos años más tarde por fray Juan de Gaona (1508-1560), discípulo de Pedro de Cornibus (†1549) en la Universidad de la Sorbona y profesor del Colegio de Tlatelolco,<sup>20</sup> uno de los religiosos que más se opondría a la ordenación de sacerdotes indígenas. El testimonio de esta política franciscana de mediados de siglo XVI habría quedado reflejada en el opúsculo “*Antidota quarumdam propositionum cuiusdam famigeratissimi Theologi... Mexici Kal. Maii 1553*.”<sup>21</sup>

Con dicha obra, Gaona ganaría la amarga disputa que había sostenido contra fray Jacobo Daciano (1484-1566), danés llegado a la Nueva España en 1542 y evangelizador de Michoacán, quien pugnaba por que a los indígenas se les otorgaran todos los sacramentos,

<sup>16</sup> Rosa Figueroa, *Vindicias de la verdad*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *Escudo de armas de México: celestial protección de esta nobilísima ciudad, de la Nueva-España, y de casi todo el Nuevo Mundo, María Santísima en su portentosa imagen del mexicano Guadalupe... aparecida el año de 1531 y jurada su principal patrona el pasado de 1737* (México: viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal, 1746), 406.

<sup>18</sup> Véase Andrew Laird, “From the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540) to the *Espejo divino* (1607): Indian Latinists and Nahuatl religious literature at the College of Tlatelolco,” en este mismo volumen.

<sup>19</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España: Códice Florentino*, <https://www.wdl.org/es/item/10621/view/1/165/>, 1577, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 73. En adelante, *Códice florentino*.

<sup>20</sup> Georges Baudot, “La biblioteca de los evangelizadores de México: Un documento sobre Fray Juan de Gaona,” *Historia mexicana* 17, número 4 (1968): 610-617, afirmaba que Gaona comulgaba con las ideas de Erasmo, sin advertir que el evangelizador provenía de la escuela de Pedro de Cornibus, enemigo del propio Erasmo. Es más probable Gaona tuviera estos libros para realizar alguna especie de Antídotos contra Erasmo, como había hecho Diego López de Zúñiga en las *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Novi Testamenti* [sic] (1520).

<sup>21</sup> José Mariano Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional, ed. facsimilar* (México: UNAM, 1981 [1816-1821]), t. 1, p. 420.





Figura 2: Fray Jacobo Daciano, convento de Tzintunzan, Michoacán (© Archivo particular HTN).

incluyendo la ordenación sacerdotal.<sup>22</sup> Aunque no conocemos en detalle los argumentos que aportaba Gaona—los manuscritos se perdieron en el siglo XIX—es muy probable que la simple pretensión de crear un clero indígena fuera considerada una forma de luteranismo del fraile venido de aquellas tierras reformistas.

Resulta importante matizar, en este sentido, que, si bien durante los primeros años de evangelización las ideas de Erasmo pudieron tener cierta influencia en hombres como Zumárraga, con la llegada a Nueva España de frailes provenientes de París, de donde se le expulsó, así como los de Valladolid, epicentro de fuertes críticas,<sup>23</sup> sus ideas comenzaron a ser duramente cuestionadas.

La simple sospecha de que fray Jacobo Daciano, quien llegó a tierras mexicanas huyendo justamente de la persecución luterana en su patria,<sup>24</sup> abrigara tal doctrina, habría llevado a Gaona a expresar estas duras palabras contra él: “Pater Jacobe, religiose, senex, sacerdos, et quondam mihi amicitia coniunctissime: Te quam humillime rogo, quid est causa ut adeo acerrime in omnes nos inveharis, et pertinaces et hereseos crimine irretitos confingas?”<sup>25</sup>

Este escrito coincide, además, con la fecha de la prohibición definitiva de ordenar

<sup>22</sup> Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen, *Fray Jacobo Daciano* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán, 1992), 201; Alberto Carrillo Cázares, “La utopía de fray Jacobo el Danés y su lucha por un clero indígena,” *Revista Relaciones* 33, número 130 (2002): 189-216.

<sup>23</sup> Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950 [1966]), 823-26, 255, 239ss.

<sup>24</sup> Carrillo Cázares, “La utopía de fray Jacobo el Danés,” 201.

<sup>25</sup> “Padre Jacobo, viejo y religioso sacerdote, alguna vez muy unido a mí por amistad: te ruego humildemente, ¿cuál es la causa de que a tal punto, acérrimo, nos ataques a todos y pretendas con acusación de herejía que estamos atrapados y pertinaces?” Beristáin, Biblioteca hispano-americana, Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, t. 2, p. 19. Las fuentes de Gaona en esta cita: Quint. Inst. 4,3:7, Jer. Ep. 60, Cic. Lig. 6:18.



Figura 3: Escudo franciscano, Convento de Tlatelolco (© Archivo particular HTN).

sacerdotes indígenas por parte del Concilio provincial de 1555.<sup>26</sup>

Sin embargo, si aquel *desideratum* no prosperó, los jóvenes fueron de gran ayuda en la elaboración de obras religiosas: baste como ejemplo la traducción de las *Epistolae et Evangelia* en náhuatl, donde participarían por lo menos dos tlatelolcas: Hernando de Ribas y Pablo Nazareo de Xaltocan.<sup>27</sup>

La cita de De la Rosa, por otra parte, sobre los estudios de derecho proporciona un fundamento más al temor de los españoles, que veían como se cristalizaba el objetivo de preparar políticos y administradores indígenas de alto nivel, y resulta coherente con la oposición al proyecto franciscano:

Luego que venimos a esta tierra a plantar la fe, juntamos a los muchachos en nuestras casas, como está dicho, y los comenzamos a enseñar a leer, escribir y cantar; como salieron bien con esto, procuramos luego de ponerlos en el estudio de la gramática... Los españoles y los religiosos que se supieron esto reíanse mucho y hacían burla, teniendo muy por averiguado que nadie sería tan poderoso para poder enseñar gramática a gente tan inhábil, pero trabajando con ellos dos o tres años vinieron a entender todas las materias del arte de la gramática y a hablar latín y a entenderlo, y aún a hacer versos heroicos. Como vieron esto por experiencia, los españoles seglares y eclesiásticos espantáronse mucho, como aquello se pudo hacer... *Como vieron que esto iba adelante, y aún tenían para más, comenzaron así los seglares como los eclesiásticos a contradecir este negocio y a poner muchas objeciones contra él para impedirle.*<sup>28</sup>

En estos testimonios, si bien en algunos apenas esboza la idea sobre la formación de juristas, permiten deducir que la educación en el colegio era plenamente europea. Y, sin

<sup>26</sup> Antonio Lorenzana, edición, *Concilios provinciales primero y segundo, celebrados en la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de México* (México: Imprenta del Superior Gobierno, del Br. D. Joseph Antonio de Hoyal, 1769), 106.

<sup>27</sup> Heréndira Téllez Nieto y José Miguel Baños Baños, “Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas: el Evangelario náhuatl de la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo (mss. 35-22),” *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique* 113, nos. 3-4 (2018): 665ss. Es preciso anotar que desde la Edad Media hubo traducciones bíblicas en lenguas vernáculas, como las eslavas del siglo IX; más tarde, la versión hispana de *Epístolas y Evangelios* de Ambrosio de Montesinos. Los evangelizadores americanos habrían tomado como modelo la Biblia Políglota Complutense para componer las versiones en náhuatl, purépecha y otomí.

<sup>28</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 80v.

embargo, desde el siglo XVI los propios frailes franciscanos difundieron la idea, quizá como una ‘estrategia discursiva’,<sup>29</sup> de que el colegio para niños indígenas de Tlatelolco tenía como antecedente la educación prehispánica, como señala específicamente Sahagún:

A los principios, como hallamos que en su República antigua criaban los muchachos y las muchachas en los templos y allí los disciplinaban y enseñaban la cultura de sus dioses y la sujeción a su República, tomamos aquel estilo de criar los muchachos en nuestras casas y dormían en la casa que para ellos estaba edificada junto a la nuestra...<sup>30</sup>

A partir de entonces, sobre este pasaje se construirá una idea canónica que ha pervivido hasta nuestros días: que el Colegio de Tlatelolco tuvo como modelo las antiguas escuelas prehispánicas o *calmecac*. En este sentido, resulta de interés conocer el funcionamiento de las instituciones educativas prehispánicas y compararlo después con las escuelas hispanas, específicamente con los colegios renacentistas españoles.

## 2 La educación prehispánica: *calmecac* y *telpochcalli*

En principio, es necesario enfatizar que los datos y descripciones de las antiguas escuelas prehispánicas provienen de los propios cronistas franciscanos por lo que, al igual que otras materias, pasaron por el tamiz ideológico de los frailes, incluido Sahagún, quienes pudieron interpolar el mensaje cristiano en las narraciones, ya sea por su propia perspectiva cristiana, o bien, como se ha señalado antes, como una estrategia para formar a los jóvenes en una especie de ‘seminarios’, forzando la comparación con los centros prehispánicos y destacando aquellos puntos en que existían coincidencias.

De acuerdo con tales testimonios, las ‘escuelas’ prehispánicas recibían a los niños, entregados por sus padres desde pequeños, para ser criados allí bajo la más estricta vigilancia y adquirir una formación destacada que les asegurara un lugar en el sistema político-religioso mexica:

Después de que el niño ya se había criado, los padres que tenían deseo que viviese, para que su vida se conservase, prometíanle al templo, donde servían los dioses. Y esto, la voluntad de los padres, o los prometían de meter en la casa que se llamaba *calmecac*, o en la casa que se llamaba *telpochcalli*... y si era mujer, era servido [sic] del templo que se llama *cihuatlamacazqui*.<sup>31</sup>

Estos ‘colegios prehispánicos’ eran dos instituciones “que pueden vincularse con la educación formal”<sup>32</sup> dentro de un “Estado consciente de la importancia que implica la educación de los niños y jóvenes para la consecución del futuro.”<sup>33</sup> Su funcionamiento, pues, estaba sujeto a las reglas del Estado político-religioso mexica: se trataba de una institución superior en la que los jóvenes se comprometían al servicio del Estado.

<sup>29</sup> Estas ‘estrategias discursivas’ están comprobadas en varias investigaciones, véase Patrick Johansson, “Las estrategias discursivas de Sahagún en una refutación en náhuatl del libro I del *Códice florentino*,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 42 (2011): 139-65.

<sup>30</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 74v-75r.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. VI, cap. 39, fol. 176r.

<sup>32</sup> Alfredo López Austin, *Educación mexica. Antología de documentos sahuaguntinos* (México: UNAM, 1994), 12.

<sup>33</sup> José María Kobayashi, *La educación como conquista. Empresa franciscana en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1996 [1974]), 49.

Kobayashi<sup>34</sup> ha definido tres funciones principales de las escuelas mexicas: la educación para la clase gobernante (“en aquel lugar se criaron los que rigen, señores y senadores y gente noble, que tienen cargo de los pueblos, de allí salen los que poseen ahora los estrados y sillas de la República”), en segundo lugar, la formación de los cargos militares de relevancia para el Estado (“también los que están en los oficios militares, que tienen poder de matar y derramar sangre allí se criaron”), y finalmente, como centro de formación religiosa (“los señores o principales o viejos o ancianos, ofrecían a sus hijos a la casa que se llama *calmecac*, era su intención que allí se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los ídolos”).<sup>35</sup>

El *calmecac*,<sup>36</sup> habría sido, pues, el lugar donde se formaban los ‘sacerdotes’, *tlamacazque* o *quaquacuilti*, y, siempre siguiendo a Sahagún, tendría una disciplina muy parecida a los monasterios católicos, pues la ‘humildad’ y ‘castidad’, así como la penitencia, resultaban fundamentales: “si le prometían [los padres] a la casa que se llamaba *calmecac*, para que sirviesen a los dioses e hiciesen penitencia y viviesen en limpieza, y en humildad, y en castidad, para que del todo se guardasen de los vicios carnales.”<sup>37</sup>

Sahagún realizó un detallado inventario de las costumbres “que se guardaban” en el *calmecac*: de las quince, las primeras siete corresponden a los servicios que prestaban a la casa; a partir de la octava se refiere los sacrificios que se realizaban en honor de los dioses y finalmente, a partir del número trece, hace alusión a la educación formal, entre ellos el ‘buen hablar’ (*in qualli tlatolli*) o la oratoria, los cantos, la astrología e interpretación de los calendarios.<sup>38</sup>

Por su parte, el *telpochcalli*<sup>39</sup> era un tipo de escuelas más común que el *calmecac*. A pesar de diversas contradicciones entre los cronistas, parece que se distinguía del anterior debido a que los alumnos no estaban internos y podían seguir una vida familiar. Otra diferencia sustancial entre ambas era la formación intelectual, pues en el primero eran obligatoria las artes del *tecpillatolli*, mientras que en el segundo, las artes para la vida diaria y la guerra.<sup>40</sup> Las niñas tenían un lugar especial y con el tiempo se convertirían en *cibuatlamacazqui*, que Sahagún describe como “vírgenes religiosas”; estas niñas eran entregadas a la guardiana o *ichpuchtiachcauh*, y como parte de su educación debían “deprender a cantar y a danzar, para que allí sirviesen al dios que se llama *Moyocuya* y *Tezcatlipoca*”.<sup>41</sup>

La formación en estas instituciones, pues, daba como resultado, según las crónicas de los frailes, una educación muy semejante a la de los monasterios; a dicha forma de enseñanza parece hacer alusión Sahagún cuando habla de “aquel estilo de criar los muchachos en nuestras

<sup>34</sup> Kobayashi, *La educación*, 61; en este párrafo se retoma la idea del autor mencionado, pero las citas se han confrontado con el original sahoguntino.

<sup>35</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. VI, cap. 40, fol. 179r; lib. III, apéndice, cap. 7, fol. 35r.

<sup>36</sup> De acuerdo con diversos autores, *calmecac* significa “hilera de casas”, aunque se le ha relacionado con el linaje. Para Sahagún (*Códice florentino*, lib. VI, cap. 40, fol. 179v), el *calmecac* era “casa de lloro y de tristeza”; Alonso de Molina en el *Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana*, ofrece dos posibilidades: “calmecca tlatolli: palabras dichas en corredores largos, y tórnase por los dichos o ficciones de los viejos antiguos”, o bien “mecatica niteuitequi: azotar a otro con cuerdas o disciplinas”, este significado podría ser “casa de disciplinas”, tal como lo define Kobayashi; véanse Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana* (México: Antonio de Espinoza, 1571), fol. 12r y fol. 55r; Kobayashi, *La educación*, 61.

<sup>37</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. VI, cap. 39, fol. 176r.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. III, apéndice, cap. 8, fol. 37r-39r.

<sup>39</sup> Etimológicamente casa de jóvenes (*telpochtli* = joven varón, *calli* = casa) o bien “casa del dios Tezcatlipoca”, Kobayashi, *La educación*, 70-71.

<sup>40</sup> Miguel León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (México: UNAM, 2006 [1956]), 224.

<sup>41</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. VI, cap. 39, fol. 176v; lib. VI, cap. 39, fol. 177r. Aunque no es muy claro, parece que las jóvenes podían acceder a la versión femenina del *calmecac* o del *telpochcalli*, la única diferencia es que las primeras vivían sin salir de la institución y en el segundo caso, podían regresar a sus casas a dormir.





Figura 4: Telchpolcalli, *Códice Florentino*, lib. iii, apéndice, fol. 31v. <https://www.wdl.org/es/item/10614/view/1/64/>.

casas<sup>42</sup> y que, como se ha dicho, se consagró como idea fundacional en la historiografía mexicana. George Baudot incluso llegó a afirmar—idea que se ha repetido incorrectamente numerosas veces—que debajo del Colegio de Tlatelolco se encontraba el calmecac donde habría estudiado el emperador Cuauhtémoc, una idea que se ha perpetuado hasta ahora:

...su ubicación [del Colegio] ya revestía significados simbólicos de la mayor importancia. Tlatelolco, ciudad gemela de México en la época prehispánica, había contado con una institución de enseñanza mexicana muy famosa, un *calmecac* que había tenido entre sus alumnos al último emperador legítimo prehispánico, el *tlatoani* Cuauhtémoc.<sup>43</sup>

Sin embargo, datos históricos y arqueológicos actuales parecen refutar tal teoría: no hay ninguna evidencia arquitectónica en el conjunto prehispánico de Tlatelolco que señale la existencia de tal *calmecac*.<sup>44</sup> Y, aunque sin duda, las escuelas prehispánicas fueron importantes centros para la formación política y religiosa de la clase gobernante mexicana, algunos conceptos moralizantes<sup>45</sup> que manejan las fuentes novohispanas sugieren que una parte de la narración fue interpolada. La conclusión más obvia es que los frailes dieron una imagen cristianizada

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 75r.

<sup>43</sup> Georges Baudot, “Las crónicas etnográficas de los evangelizadores franciscanos,” en *Historia de la literatura mexicana*, ed. Beatriz Garza Cuarón (México: UNAM-Siglo XXI, 1996), 299.

<sup>44</sup> Tlatelolco era solo una ciudad aliada de Tenochtitlan, el verdadero “corazón de la gran capital azteca,” donde existían hasta siete *calmecac* (Alfredo López Austin, “El templo mayor de México-Tenochtitlan según los informantes indígenas,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 5 (1965): 75-102) donde es más probable que asistiera el *tlatoani*. Por otra parte, las evidencias arqueológicas de Tlatelolco solo han demostrado que había una estructura dedicada a Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl: un templo-calendárico, un edificio mayor llamado palacio o *tecpan*, otro templo dedicado a Xochipilli, incluso existe un *tzompantli* o muro de cráneos. Salvador Guilliem Arroyo, *Zona arqueológica*: [<http://www.tlatelolco.inah.gob.mx/index.php/recorridoss/zona-arqueologica>].

<sup>45</sup> Para los pueblos prehispánicos la sexualidad y la fertilidad resultaban fundamentales, tanto en vida común como en el culto religioso, donde existían diversas deidades con connotaciones sexuales. Por otra parte, los gobernantes tenían la facultad de contraer matrimonio con varias mujeres, aunque a estas se les exigiera pureza para resguardar el linaje. Sobre el tema, véase María J. Rodríguez-Shadow y Lilia Campos Rodríguez, edición, *Género y sexualidad en el México antiguo* (México: Centro de Estudios de Antropología de la Mujer, 2011).



Figura 5: Zona arqueológica de Tlatelolco (© Archivo particular HTN).

del *calmecac* para asemejarlo a las escuelas que ellos conocían. Con todo, una parte de la cosmovisión indígena de estos centros pervivió y se mezcló con la educación europea.

### 3 El Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Valladolid

Más allá de la estrategia discursiva de fray Bernardino, en la forma de educación ‘monástica’ del Colegio de Tlatelolco se puede reconocer también la influencia de los Colegios mayores instituidos en España desde mucho tiempo atrás, cuyos centros eran bien conocidos por Sahagún y sus otros compañeros, quienes habían estudiado en las mejores universidades europeas.<sup>46</sup> El nombre del colegio por sí mismo es un referente al famoso colegio vallisoletano donde se formó el presidente de la Segunda Audiencia de México, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, promotor del colegio tlatelolca, y otros destacados miembros del gobierno de la Nueva España.<sup>47</sup>

Aquel Imperial Colegio de Santa Cruz de Valladolid fue propuesto por el cardenal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-1495),<sup>48</sup> a imitación del Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca; en 1479 obtuvo las licencias de Sixto IV y se inició la construcción de las instalaciones. La obra se concluyó en 1493 y al año siguiente, inspirados siempre en el colegio salmantino, se formalizaron las constituciones.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> León-Portilla ya había notado la posible influencia de los colegios renacentistas en Tlatelolco, sin embargo no había una referencia directa a los estatutos del colegio vallisoletano. León-Portilla y León-Portilla, *El Colegio Imperial*, 38; por su parte, Kobayashi había señalado los posibles paralelismos entre el Colegio Real de Santa Cruz de Granada para los “moros granadinos” y el instituido por Zumárraga en México. Kobayashi, *La educación*, 102-3.

<sup>47</sup> El propio Fuenleal había escrito al emperador el 8 de agosto de 1533 refiriéndole que había instituido una clase de latinidad para los indígenas: Cartas de audiencia, Archivo General de Indias, México, 68, R.3, N.10.3 Sobre Fuenleal, véase Miguel León-Portilla, “Ramírez de Fuenleal y las antigüedades mexicanas,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 8 (1969): 9-49; Heréndira Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical clásica en la Nueva España: el Arte de la lengua mexicana de fray Andrés de Olmos* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2015), 15.

<sup>48</sup> No debe confundirse al Cardenal Pedro González de Mendoza con su sobrino Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, II conde de Tendilla (†1515), padre del virrey de la Nueva España, Antonio de Mendoza y Pacheco (1490-1552).

<sup>49</sup> Francisco Verde-Moro, *Anales del Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz de Valladolid (ms. BNE, MSS/9746)*; Isabel Pendás García, “Los colegiales mayores de Santa Cruz de Valladolid,” *Investigaciones Históricas* 4 (1983): 123-58.



Figura 6: Valladolid. Ilustración: *Raccolta di le piu illustri et famose Città di tutto il Mondo*, Donato Rasciotti, Francesco Valegio, Venecia, 1598 (© British Museum).

Durante los primeros años, únicamente se admitió a veinte colegiales que disfrutaban de una beca, dado el carácter inicial de “fundaciones benéficas”, ya que el objetivo principal “era ayudar a los estudiantes pobres que hubieran demostrado inteligencia y aplicaciones notables.”<sup>50</sup> Con el tiempo, este requisito de pobreza fue cambiando, pues los colegiales conllevaban ya un indudable prestigio: muchos de los alumnos de Valladolid acabaron ocupando puestos importantes en la administración del Estado así como en las tierras recién descubiertas.<sup>51</sup>

Y es que el colegio vallisoletano, además de proporcionar una educación formal, donde el latín era fundamental, también se caracterizó por la severa disciplina de los estudiantes, a quienes, además, se les exigía el celibato:

El colegio se rigió, en cuanto a su organización interna, por una regulación específica que recordaba sobremanera la disciplina conventual: rezos canónicos, lecturas sacras, toque de campana, etc. todo ello respondiendo a un ideario de formación intelectual a través de la piedad. En consonancia con esos principios, se exigían el celibato y la clausura nocturna, valorándose sobre todo el silencio a horas determinadas, por su aprovechamiento para el estudio, e incluso para la vida ascética... dentro del edificio los colegiales debían hablar en latín y, durante una determinada época del año, exponían temas y tesis—para su discusión—en el refectorio, tras las comidas.<sup>52</sup>

El currículum educativo estaba en función de las materias que se impartían en la universidad: Teología, Leyes, Cánones o Medicina, además de las materias de Humanidades y Filosofía. Los cursos iniciaban, al igual que los universitarios, el día de San Lucas, 18 de

<sup>50</sup> El Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé de Salamanca, fundado por Diego Anaya, se remonta a principios del siglo XV, Julio Puyol, “El Colegio de Santa Cruz y los Colegios Mayores,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 94 (1929): 793-837.

<sup>51</sup> María del Carmen Martínez Martínez, “Los colegiales de Santa Cruz de Valladolid y su proyección en América,” *Estudios de historia social y económica de América* 5 (1989): 90-104.

<sup>52</sup> Jesús María Porro Gutiérrez, “La Universidad, la Chancillería y el Colegio de Santa Cruz: algunos juristas señalados del Valladolid del siglo XVI,” *Estudios de historia social y económica de América* 5 (1989): 105-12.



octubre, hasta el siguiente 8 de septiembre, que comenzaba un periodo vacacional. Las clases se impartían diariamente, y una o dos veces por semana se examinaba a los alumnos por medio de exposiciones a las que seguía una serie de cuestionamientos, tal como se haría al final del curso.<sup>53</sup>

La vida diaria en el Colegio de Santa Cruz de Valladolid, al igual que en la mayoría de los colegios mayores, era muy rigurosa y las actividades comenzaban al despuntar el alba; el relato resultará necesario para entender posteriormente el propio funcionamiento de Tlatelolco:

desde el 1° de mayo al 1° de octubre levantábanse a las cinco de la mañana y a las seis comenzaba el paso en cada una de las Facultades, que duraba hasta las ocho; a esta hora iban los colegiales a la Universidad para asistir a las cátedras de Prima, y al regresar, si quedaba espacio, dedicábanlo al estudio en sus celdas hasta el mediodía, que era la hora de comer, acto que se verificaba en comunidad, leyéndose mientras tanto por el colegial de turno en el libro que escogía el rector; terminada la comida, concedíase una hora de recreación; a las dos o tres volvían a la Universidad para oír las cátedras vespertinas y tornados al Colegio, pasaban en recreación el tiempo que restaba hasta el toque de oraciones, al cual se cerraban las puertas de la calle y rezaban todos la Salve en la capilla; acabado el rezo, retirábanse los colegiales a sus habitaciones y estudiaban hasta las nueve, que era la hora de la cena; después de ella, entraban a conversación en la celda del rector o en la del maestro de ceremonias, y a las diez se tocaba recogimiento y silencio. Desde el 1° de octubre al 1° de mayo, todos los actos que quedan referidos se retrasaban una hora...

Los días festivos (que, como la tarde de los jueves eran de asueto) asistíase a la misa en comunidad y en determinadas festividades comulgaban todos los individuos de la casa. Juntos también, o de dos en dos, paseaban esos días, y las licencias para salidas extraordinarias, sobre todo de noche, no debían concederse sin causa muy justificada.<sup>54</sup>

Como se puede ver, en el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Valladolid se regía realmente por una vida ‘monástica’, misma que más tarde imperará en Tlatelolco.<sup>55</sup> Las similitudes entre ambos colegios no quedan allí: aunque en principio Valladolid tenía restringido en los primeros años el número de colegiales, en ambos casos se pretendía que fueran jóvenes de elevada capacidad intelectual, con los estudios básicos concluidos, y aunque en Tlatelolco se prefirió a los hijos de las familias más influyentes de la nobleza (*pipiltin*, en náhuatl), también se acogieron algunos plebeyos (*macebualtin*) que ya habían comenzado su aprendizaje en las parroquias de sus respectivos pueblos y que habían demostrado elevada capacidad intelectual.<sup>56</sup>

Un dato más que acerca a Tlatelolco con Valladolid es la finalidad de educar a los colegiales como posibles académicos y jefes de gobierno: el Colegio de Valladolid, además de otorgar becas ejerció una “especie de patrocinio” ayudando a los colegiales cuando solicitaban la oposición a una cátedra o un empleo civil. Muestra del poder que llegaron a ejercer los colegios mayores en España, es la gran cantidad de alumnos que obtuvieron

<sup>53</sup> Puyol, “El Colegio de Santa Cruz y los Colegios Mayores,” 808.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>55</sup> Kobayashi consideraba que el Colegio de Tlatelolco resultaba muy suave en comparación con el *calmecac*: “Nosotros, además, que ya conocemos la vida en el *calmecac*, nos damos cuenta de que los frailes eran incapaces de practicar la misma austeridad y rigurosidad que los sacerdotes mexicas de la mencionada institución docente.” Kobayashi, *La educación*, 179.

<sup>56</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. 15.



cargos públicos de reconocimiento,<sup>57</sup> como Fuenleal,<sup>58</sup> quien accedió a una beca primitiva. De igual forma, varios de los colegiales tlatelolcas obtuvieron los máximos cargos en la ‘República de indios’.

Finalmente, no deja de ser notable la semejanza entre el currículum educativo que se impartió en ambas instituciones y que tenía tres fundamentos: (1) la tradición grecolatina (2) las innovaciones renacentistas (3) el humanismo hispano de los siglos XV y XVI y la *nova ratio nebrisense*.

En este sentido, es importante destacar el perfil de los frailes que enseñaron en la Nueva España antes de abordar el currículum tlatelolca, pues ellos mismos fueron hombres educados en la más pura tradición humanística española, deudores de Elio Antonio de Nebrija, quien había llegado a “debelar la barbarie” después de estudiar en Italia,<sup>59</sup> y de la reforma cisneriana que permitió al clero acceder a una formación de nivel superior;<sup>60</sup> esta influencia notable en las universidades hispanas resultará fundamental en América.

#### 4 Profesores de Tlatelolco

El humanismo bizanto-italiano de los siglos XIV-XV fue el pilar de las tradiciones humanísticas que se desarrollaron en Europa durante el siglo XVI. Los trabajos sobre la lengua griega de Manuel Crisoloras (1350–1415), Teodoro de Gaza (1400–1475), Constantino Láscaris (1434–1501) y Demetrio Calcóndilas (1423–1511) fueron el precedente inmediato de los estudios filológicos que más tarde desarrollarían autores como Nebrija o Erasmo.<sup>61</sup> Estos primeros humanistas renovaron e innovaron los métodos didácticos para la enseñanza del griego lo que, a la postre, obligó también a reformar la enseñanza del latín durante el siglo xv, campo en el que destacaron Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444), Guarino de Verona (1374–1469), ambos discípulos de Crisoloras, Juan Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) o Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494).

Deudor de esta tradición humanística, en Antonio de Nebrija convergirán las mejores teorías renacentistas. Las reformas propuestas por él en las universidades españolas, desde Salamanca hasta Alcalá—fundada en 1498 a instancias del cardenal Cisneros y en funcionamiento a partir de 1508,—no se entenderían sin las enseñanzas de los bizantinos e italianos. Junto a él, figuras como Lucio Marineo Sículo (1444–1533), Lucio Flaminio Sículo (1480–1509), Arias Barbosa (1460–1540) y Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán (ca. 1478–1553)<sup>62</sup> serán el fundamento del humanismo español en el que acabarán formándose los profesores del Tlatelolco, Bernardino de Sahagún, Andrés de Olmos, y Francisco de Bustamante (†1562).

<sup>57</sup> De los 718 jóvenes que figuran en los Anales entre finales de los siglos XV-XVII, 429, casi un 60%, llegaron a ocupar “las principales magistraturas y los más altos empleos civiles y eclesiásticos del Reino”: Puyol, “El Colegio de Santa Cruz y los Colegios Mayores,” 812, 805.

<sup>58</sup> Muestra del apego que Fuenleal sentía por su antiguo colegio se refleja en las importantes donaciones que envió a este centro estando ya en América: “Cuando pasó a las Indias envió a esta casa 178 mn y después nos dio 580 ducados, de los cuales se compró renta para distribuciones de los colegiales que se hallaren presentes”, Verde-Moro, *Anales*, 14r.

<sup>59</sup> Félix G. Olmedo, *Nebrija [1441–1522]: Debelador de la Barbarie, comentador eclesiástico, pedagogo-poeta* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942).

<sup>60</sup> Jesús Bustamante García, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y su proceso de composición* (México: UNAM, 1990), 17ss.

<sup>61</sup> Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez, “Antonio Nebrija’s biblical scholarship,” en *A Companion to Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 55–72.

<sup>62</sup> Luis Gil Fernández, *Nuevos estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2011), 36, 40, 47.

Sahagún, el fraile que más vinculado estuvo al colegio—desde su fundación en 1536 hasta 1540, posteriormente de 1545-1558, 1561-1565 y finalmente desde 1570 hasta su muerte—había estudiado en la Universidad de Salamanca pocos años después de que el propio Nebrija enseñara en ella.<sup>63</sup>

Olmos (ca. 1499-1572) se graduó en Valladolid, cuna de grandes legistas, donde, además de la propia universidad, se encontraba el Colegio de la Santa Cruz, del que ya se ha hablado. La influencia vallisoletana, así como la importancia de la *ratio* nebrisense en Olmos y, por lo tanto en sus alumnos, está plenamente documentada, a pesar de que él estuvo únicamente durante los primeros años, pues abandonó el colegio en 1539.<sup>64</sup>

Bustamante, toledano de pura cepa, residió y profesó en su ciudad. En 1541 fue nombrado custodio del convento franciscano; ese año conoció a Martín Sarmiento de Hojacastró (†1558) y Jacobo de Testera (†1544), Comisario General, quienes habían regresado a Europa para participar en el Concilio de Mantua. Ya en México, ostentó los cargos de Comisario General (1547 y 1561), y custodio de la Provincia (1555 y 1560). Regresó a España en 1561 para tratar “negocios del bien público” y murió en Madrid en 1562.<sup>65</sup> Aunque no hay mayores datos sobre su formación, desde tiempos remotos Toledo fue cuna de grandes estudiosos e incluso, Cisneros llegó a reunir allí a los filólogos que prepararían la Biblia Políglota, entre ellos Nebrija.<sup>66</sup> Y fue, precisamente él, quien llevó a Toledo la primera traducción de las Sagradas Escrituras en náhuatl que encontraríamos en 2012 en la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo.<sup>67</sup>

Pero, además de la escuela humanista española, en Tlatelolco se afincó una corriente educativa también de gran prestigio: la formada en la Sorbona, representada por Juan de Gaona, llegado en 1538, y Juan Focher (†1572),<sup>68</sup> quienes habían estudiado Leyes, Cánones y Teología en la Universidad de París, donde, por cierto, también Ignacio de Loyola estudió (1528-1535). Y, a la postre, esta vinculación de Gaona y Focher con la Sorbona, institución que, se debe reiterar, desde principios del siglo XVI se había convertido en un foco anti—erasmiano—él mismo tuvo que viajar a Turín para obtener allí “el bonete de doctor”, que no le hubiera sido posible en París, donde el propio Cornibus se declaraba enemigo del reformador,<sup>69</sup> —resultó decisiva, no solo en la vida de Gaona, sino también en la de los indígenas al prohibirles el ingreso al sacerdocio, como se ha visto.

Y, aunque la filiación del primer profesor de latinidad y encargado de elaborar la primera versión de las *Epístolas y Evangelios* en náhuatl,<sup>70</sup> fray Arnaldo de Bassacio no se conoce con certeza, el hecho de que procediera de la provincia de Aquitania y que fuera experto en teología permite suponer que procedía de la universidad de París.

<sup>63</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. 15; Bustamante García, *Fray Bernardino de Sabagún*, 16; Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sabagún, pionero de la antropología* (México: UNAM, 1999), 77ss.

<sup>64</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. 15; Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*, 40.

<sup>65</sup> García Icazbalceta, *Códice franciscano*, 70; Vetancourt, *Menologio franciscano*, 116.

<sup>66</sup> El estudio de Pedro Martín Baños, en Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Apología, estudio de Pedro Martín Baños*, ed. and trans. Baldomero Macías Rosendo (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2014), 59ss., resulta fundamental para conocer el contexto de los estudios bíblicos nebrisense y cisnerianos, tan poco conocidos.

<sup>67</sup> Sobre el amplio legado de Cisneros, véase descripción del manuscrito en Juan Pedro Sánchez Gamero, edición, *Catálogo de la exposición Cisneros, Arquetipo de Virtudes. Espejo de Prelados* (Madrid: Cabildo Primado de Toledo, 2018), 384.

<sup>68</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. V, cap. 46, 49. La fecha de llegada de Focher es imprecisa, sin embargo, el *Enchiridion baptismi adulatorum et matrimonii baptizandorum* (BNE, ms. REs/168) está firmado en el convento michoacano de Tzintzuntzan en 1544.

<sup>69</sup> Antonio Alburquerque, *En el corazón de la Reforma: Recuerdos espirituales del Beato Pedro Fabro, S.J.* (Bilbao: Sal Terrae, 2000), 30.

<sup>70</sup> Téllez Nieto y Baños Baños, “Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas,” 665ss.

## 5 La *nova ratio nebrisensis* en Tlatelolco

Otro lugar común en la historiografía sobre el colegio es la idea de que el currículum escolar tlatelolca tenía como base el escolástico-medieval conformado por el *trivium* y *quadrivium*. Más allá de esta simple idea, las referencias mencionan, además del *trivium* (“saber gramática, lógica y retórica”),<sup>71</sup> otras materias como la botánica, la medicina (“enseñóseles también un poco de tiempo a los indios la medicina, que ellos usan en conocimiento de yerbas y raíces, y otras cosas que aplican en sus enfermedades...”),<sup>72</sup> e incluso astrología y teología, en concreto, la “teología escolástica”.<sup>73</sup>

Desde luego, la Jurisprudencia o Derecho fueron fundamentales en Tlatelolco, además de los testimonios presentados, la pretensión de formar abogados, queda de manifiesto en el hecho de haber enviado en 1568 a Pedro Juan Antonio, colegial tlatelolca, a Salamanca para que estudiara Derecho civil y canónico.<sup>74</sup>

Estos datos enriquecen el currículum de Tlatelolco y nos muestran una *nova ratio* alejado de los estudios medievales y escolásticos, más acorde con la tradición renacentista de los colegios mayores y las nuevas universidades humanísticas surgidas en Italia y España a principios del siglo XVI.<sup>75</sup>

Pero más allá lo que se puede colegir de los testimonios antes proporcionados, el currículum tlatelolca se puede corroborar en los propios escritos de frailes y alumnos. Muestra de ello será fray Andrés de Olmos, quien en la Epístola nuncupatoria del *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, cita textualmente algunas fuentes, entre ellas nada menos que el Apocalipsis (“magnum fuisse proelium” [12:7]), las *Sátiras* de Persio (“velle suum unicuique fuit” [5,53] y “curta supellex” [4,52]), las *Verrinas* de Cicerón (“magnum verum maximum” [2,59]), además de Livio [1.33,4], Tácito, *Historia* [4,35], y, por supuesto una de las más famosas citas de Terencio (“omnes, cum valemus, recta consilia ægrotis damus”), a quien llama “comico referente.”<sup>76</sup>

Asimismo, en los prólogos del *Arte* no olvida su deuda con el maestro: “En el arte de la lengua latina creo que la mejor manera y orden que se ha tenido es la que Antonio de Lebrixa sigue en la suya.”<sup>77</sup> Esta influencia nebrisense en las obras gramaticales es un aspecto fuera de cualquier duda, pues además de Olmos, tenemos el *Vocabulario trilingüe en español, latín y náhuatl*, muy posiblemente de Sahagún, que es una copia de textual del diccionario de Nebrija con glosas en náhuatl.<sup>78</sup>

Pero volviendo a Olmos, no solo consultó las *Introductiones latinae*, sino que probablemente las fuentes citadas como Persio, hubieran sido tomadas de los comentarios de Nebrija, *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis grammatici in A. Persium Flaccum Poetam satyricum interpretatio*, 1503, o la edición, *Auli Flacci Persii satyrici ingeniosissimi & doctissimi Satyræ*, junto a Filippo Beroaldo *et. al.* (París, Badius Ascensius, 1523) donde aparecen las mencionadas frases (fol. cvi [4,52] y cXVII [5,53]).

<sup>71</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 71r.

<sup>72</sup> Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 71r.

<sup>73</sup> Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, lib. X, cap. 27, fol. 71r; García Icazbalceta, *Códice franciscano*, 70.

<sup>74</sup> Borgia Steck, *El primer colegio de América*, 52.

<sup>75</sup> Rosa Figueroa, *Vindicias de la verdad*, 121, añadía también que Cortés pidió específicamente que en el colegio propuesto “se guardasen los estatutos del Colegio de Santa María de Jesús de Sevilla,” un dato más que demuestra la influencia de los colegios hispanos en América.

<sup>76</sup> Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*, 257-61.

<sup>77</sup> Fray Andrés de Olmos, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, ed. Ascensión Hernández de León-Portilla y Miguel León-Portilla (México: UNAM, 2003), I:1,7-8; Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*, 90ss.

<sup>78</sup> The Newberry Library, ms. Ayer 1478; Heréndira Téllez Nieto, *Vocabulario trilingüe en español, latín y náhuatl atribuido a Sahagún* (México: INAH, 2010).

La prominencia de Nebrija gramático en Tlatelolco se observa incluso en el número de ejemplares que poseían: en el conteo de 31 de julio de 1572, había tan solo tres vocabularios de Nebrija y cuatro gramáticas y para el recuento 13 de diciembre de 1584 eran cinco las gramáticas y dos los vocabularios; no todos los ejemplares se preservaron: en ese tiempo un vocabulario y una gramática nebrisenses se perdieron o “se habían gastado por ser viejas.”<sup>79</sup>

Los estudios de retórica, también presentan reminiscencia de la *ratio nebrissensis*. Hay que recordar que Nebrija desde 1513 ostentaba dicha cátedra en Alcalá para la que escribió un manual conformado por fragmentos de Aristóteles, Cicerón y Quintiliano, en específico, la *Invención retórica* y la *Instituto oratoria*. En este compendio, que destaca por ser el primero en “haber recuperado a Aristóteles, el gran sistematizador de la preceptiva retórica con su codificación de la tarea argumentativa, la estructural y elocutiva,” a pesar de no seguir sus palabras literalmente, sino la doctrina (“non autem desumpta ex Aristotele, cuius doctrinam potius quam verba secutus”), Nebrija va a retomar las seis partes del discurso: “Caput XII. De sex orationis partibus. Inventio, inquit Cicero, in sex orationis partes consumitur: in exordium, narrationem, divisionem, confirmationem, confutationem et conclusionem.” (*Rhet. Her.* I.4); la descripción del *sermo* en cuatro partes: “Sermo dividitur in partes quattuor: dignitatem, demonstrationem, narrationem, iocationem [...]” (*Rhet. Her.* III.23), y aquí mismo se hablará de la *amplificatio*, *cohortatio* y *conquestio*.<sup>80</sup>

Nebrija va a tratar también los tres géneros, entre ellos el judicial (cap. xxiv) y, desde luego, este libro junto con el *Vocabularium utriusque Iuris* (1512), y las *Annotationes in libros Pandectarum* (1489-1508)<sup>81</sup> debieron resultar fundamentales para los colegiales que estudiaban derecho; este conocimiento del *Digesto* se reflejará en las cartas de un colegial, Pablo Nazareo de Xaltocan, una prueba más de que, en efecto, hubo estudios jurídicos en Tlatelolco:

Ut, ait Caesar Flavius Iustinianus in suo proemio Institutionum: “et princeps romanus victor existat, non solum in hostilibus praeliis, sed etiam per legitimos tramites calumniantium iniquitates expellat, et fiat tam iuris religiosissimus quam victis hostibus triumphator magnificus”.<sup>82</sup>

La propia estructura de las cartas de Nazareo refleja también el conocimiento de las partes del discurso antes enumeradas, y cabe aclarar que, a pesar de que hubo otros tratados sobre el tema, en ellos no se encuentran todos los autores que compendia Nebrija. Desafortunadamente, más allá de las gramáticas y vocabularios, hasta la fecha no se ha buscado la influencia nebrisense en otras obras novohispanas. Sin embargo, la importancia de Nebrija debe ser revisada, pues no solo hay testimonios en la Nueva España, sino que su

<sup>79</sup> Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed. “Códice de Tlatelolco” [“Códice Mendieta. Documentos franciscanos siglos XVI y XVII, 2 t.”], en Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, vol. 5, (México: Francisco Díaz de León, 1892), t. II, 255ss.

<sup>80</sup> Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Retórica*, ed. and trans. Juan Lorenzo (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2007), 16, 17, 74, 144.

<sup>81</sup> Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Annotationes in libros Pandectarum*, ed. Antonio García y García, trans. Arantxa Domingo Malvadi (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1996).

<sup>82</sup> “Pues, como dijo Cesar Falvio Justiniano en el proemio de sus Instituciones: ‘el príncipe romano salga victorioso no sólo en las contiendas bélicas, sino también rechazando a través de las vías legales la iniquidad de los calumniadores, y se haga tan respetuoso de la ley como triunfador de los enemigos vencidos,’” Pablo Nazareo, *Cartas*, Ms. Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México 168 (México, 1556/1566); Günter Zimmermann, edición, *Briefe der indianischen Nobilität aus Neuspanien an Karl V und Philipp II um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (München: Klaus Renner, 1970), traducción de las *Instituciones*: Pedro E. León M.

influencia fue notable en otros hombres de su época, tanto en la gramática, retórica como en la filología bíblica:

Probado está sin embargo que Erasmo siguió a Nebrija en la cuestión de la pronunciación del griego clásico y probable es que se dejase inspirar por él en su revisión del *Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis* de William Lily. Tampoco hay que olvidar que la expresión “Vetus et Novum Instrumentum” aparece ya en la *Apología* de Nebrija a Cisneros, ocho años antes de que Erasmo la utilizara para designar su primera edición del Nuevo Testamento.<sup>83</sup>

Y, puestos a buscar las fuentes europeas de la retórica indo-latina, es necesario aclarar que, si los *Huebuetlabtoll* de Olmos tuvieran alguna, sería nebrisense, pues, dejando a un lado consideraciones sobre la finalidad moral o el reflejo de la ‘cosmología indiana’, es imprescindible reconocer que estas pláticas están estrechamente relacionadas con el *Arte* y su fuente, el *Liber quintus*, *De prosodia*, de la *Introductiones*, así como la *Retórica*:

Y es que Olmos presenta estos *Huebuetlabtoll*, no solo como la mejor demostración de la elegancia de la lengua náhuatl (y por ello comparte características estilísticas con las metáforas o textos cortos del capítulo 8 del libro III) sino también como una excelente ilustración de las reglas propuestas en la gramática, por más que quepa la duda de si dichas pláticas son creaciones a medida de las reglas gramaticales propuestas o la fuente última de la que Olmos sacó no pocos de sus ejemplos. En efecto, es posible que la organización de las pláticas esté en parte influida por la retórica clásica, que tan bien conocía Olmos, pero lo cierto es que muchas de las frases, colocaciones y estructuras sintácticas reflejan claramente la realidad del náhuatl en un registro elevado, con lo que dichas pláticas cumplen la finalidad por la que Olmos las incluye como apéndice: ejemplificar con textos reales pero elaborados las reglas gramaticales contenidas en el *Arte*.<sup>84</sup>

Pero más allá de Nebrija, los colegiales tlatelolcas conocieron también de primera mano a los autores clásicos y medievales tamizados por los humanistas italianos y españoles:<sup>85</sup> Polibio, *De primo bello Punico* [traducción del griego al latín por Leonardo Bruni Aretino]; Plutarco, *Paralelia* [traducción latina de Guarino Veronese] (1498); Boecio, *De consolationem philosophie cum commento angelici doctoris Thome de Aquino* (1495); Egidio Colonna, *Regimiento de los Príncipes* (traducción, Sevilla, 1494 [orig. 1292]); Antonio Cayllaut, *Aurea expositio hymnorum* (París, 1492); Dionisio Cartujano, *De fide catholica dialogion octo libris partitum*; Marciano Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. De Gramatica, Dialectica, Rhetorica, Geometria, Arithmetica, Astonomia et Musica* (1500).

No faltaron tampoco los autores renacentistas: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie cum demonstrationibus in formis arborum designatis; eiusdem de montibus & sylvis de fontibus [...]*

<sup>83</sup> Carlos Gilly, “Otra vez Nebrija, Erasmo, Reuchlin y Cisneros,” *Butlletí de la Societat Castellonenca de Cultura* 74 (1998): 259-340.

<sup>84</sup> Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*, 243. Desafortunadamente, las pláticas originales de Olmos son prácticamente desconocidas (solo se consultan en la edición de Juan Bautista Viseo). Dada la complejidad de la obra, no se analizaron en la Tesis doctoral, pero sí se preveía la necesidad de realizar una edición crítica, que se presentará próximamente.

<sup>85</sup> La biblioteca tlatelolca ha sido ampliamente reseñada a partir del trabajo de Miguel Mathes, *Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco: la primera biblioteca académica de las Américas* (México: SRE, 1982), cabe destacar, sin embargo, que lo que se conoce y conserva en bibliotecas como la de Sutro, en California, es solo una parte del rico acervo, pues sabemos que hacia 1750 fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa habría reunido en el convento de San Francisco de México más de siete mil libros.

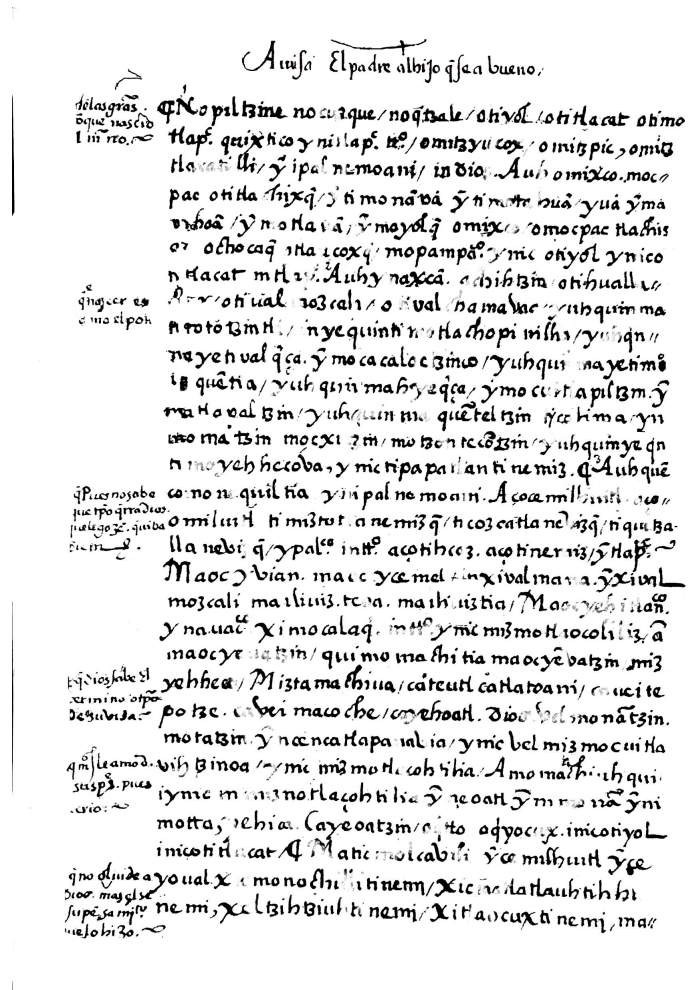


Figura 7: Huebuetlatolli original de Olmos (Archivo particular HTN).

(Venecia, 1494); Pedro Apiano, *Libro de la cosmographia* (1548); Filippo Decio, *De regulis iuris* (1528); Marsilio Ficino, *Epistolae* (1497), la gramática griega de Nicolás Cleynaerts (1493-1542), *Institutiones ac meditationes in graecam linguam* (Lyon, 1557).<sup>86</sup>

La influencia de todos estos autores se verá reflejada en las propias creaciones indo-latinas de Tlatelolco,<sup>87</sup> entre las que se pueden mencionar las siguientes:

- a) *Obras latinas de los evangelizadores:*
  - 1) Julián Garcés, *De habilitate et capacitate gentium* (Roma, 1537).<sup>88</sup>
  - 2) Cristobal Cabrera, *Dicolon icastichon*, (México, 1540).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Mathes, *Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*; Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Diccionario bibliográfico alfabético e índice syllabo repertorial de quantos libros sencillos existen en esta librería de este convento de NPS Francisco de México (ms. BNM)* (México, 1753-1773), Además de Sutro, existen ejemplares tlatelolcas en la Biblioteca Britanica y la Biblioteca Nacional de México, donde he consultado algunas de estas obras.  
<sup>87</sup> Sin contar con las obras escritas en español, como gramáticas y vocabularios, catecismos y las cartas de indígenas en español o náhuatl.  
<sup>88</sup> Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales*, 16-29; Andrew Laird, “Humanism and Humanity of the Peoples of the New World: Fray Julián Garcés, *De habilitate et capacitate gentium*, Rome 1537,” *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 34 (2014): 183-125.  
<sup>89</sup> Andrew Laird, “Classical Letters and Millenarian Madness in Post-Conquest Mexico: The Ectasis of Fray Cristóbal Cabrera,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23 (2016): 1-31.

- 3) Juan Foher, *Enchiridion baptismi adultorum et matrimonii baptizandorum* (Tzintzuntzan 1544).<sup>90</sup>
  - 4) Andrés de Olmos, “Epistola nuncupatoria,” *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México, 1547).<sup>91</sup>
  - 5) Bernardino de Sahagún, “Prólogo al libro VI,” *Historia general*.
- b) *Traducciones de obras grecolatinas y renacentistas al náhuatl y obras en náhuatl a partir de fuentes clásicas:*
- 1) *Vocabulario trilingüe en español, latín y náhuatl* (copia del *Vocabulario hispano latino* de Antonio de Nebrija [1520] con glosas en náhuatl).<sup>92</sup>
  - 2) *Incipiunt Epistolae et Evangelia, quae in diebus dominicis et festibus per totius anni circulum leguntur, traducta in linguam Mexicanam*.<sup>93</sup>

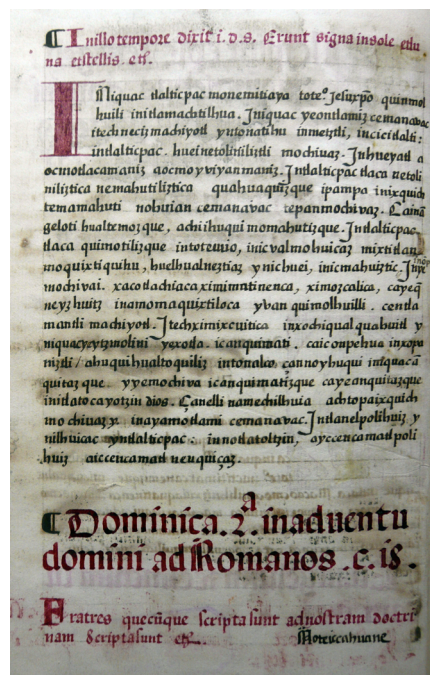


Figura 8: *Epistolae et Evangelia*. Ms. 35-22, fol. 1v (© Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo).

- 3) *Nican ompehua in zanzanillatolli in quitlali ce tlamatini itoca Esopo in temachtia inemata memiliztli* [Aquí comienzan las Fábulas de buen ejemplo de un sabio llamado Esopo, que enseñan a vivir con sabiduría].<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Juan Foher, *Manual del bautismo de adultos y del matrimonio de los bautizandos (Enchiridion Baptismi Adultorum et Matrimonii Baptizandorum)*, Tzintzuntzan 1544, ed. Fredo Arias de la Canal et al. (México: Frente de Afirmación Hispanista, 1997).

<sup>91</sup> Ms. Res168 BNE; Ms. 304 BNP; Ms. caja 1, # 761 Colección Especial de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Virginia; Ascensión H. León-Portilla Miguel & de León-Portilla, *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: UNAM, 1993), 5-8; Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*, 257.

<sup>92</sup> Téllez Nieto, *Vocabulario trilingüe*.

<sup>93</sup> Bustamante García, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, 116ss. Téllez Nieto y Baños Baños, “Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas.”

<sup>94</sup> Téllez Nieto, *La tradición gramatical*; Andrew Laird, “A Mirror for Mexican Princes: Reconsidering the



- 4) *Contemptus mundi*.
  - 5) *Imitatio Christi*.<sup>95</sup>
  - 6) *Ex libro qui inscribitur speculum sæcularium et mundi huius amatorum* (Dionysius van Leeuwen).<sup>96</sup>
  - 7) *Proverbios de Salomón*.<sup>97</sup>
  - 8) Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz y tranquilidad christiana*.<sup>98</sup>
- c) *Corpus latino de los colegiales tlatelolcas*
- 1) Juan de Tlaxcalla: *Verba sociorum domini Petri Tlacauepantzin*.<sup>99</sup>

*Verba sociorum domini Petri Tlacauepantzin: —*

*In dñeas cognomine, tlaxotlac, natus est tullam, et agens gumtum et gungua  
gestimim amum. Dixit hęc. Dña mulier que vocatur, azraxochi, possedit hos  
agros, Acocolco, su, et tecontepac, tlanguixtiloia, et yzta hacualla, qui guiden  
agri, mortua muliere dña azraxochi, habiti sunt in possessionem et culti sunt  
a tollanensibus. In huc hacaratzin autem constitutus dñs super oppidum, tolla,*

Figura 9: *Verba sociorum*. AGN; reproducción digital a partir del original (© Heréndira Téllez).

- 2) Antonio Cortés Totoquiuhatzin: *Carta al emperador ‘Sacra Catholica Caesarea Majestati. Antonius Cortes, Rector populi de Tlacoban, omnesque alii concives humili servitium impendunt [...]’*.<sup>100</sup>
- 3) Hernando de Molina, Baltazar Hernández, Antonio Valeriano, Francisco Plácido, et al.: *Carta ‘Invictissimo Hispaniarum Regi ac V. Caroli Imperatoris heredi felicissimo Philippo Azcaputzalcani ...’*.<sup>101</sup>
- 4) Pablo Nazareo de Xaltocan, *Cartas*.<sup>102</sup>
- 5) Antonio de Valeriano, *Carta*.<sup>103</sup>
- 6) Juan Badiano & Martín de la Cruz, *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis*.

Context and Latin Source for the Nahuatl Translation of Aesop’s Fables,” en *Brief Forms in Medieval and Renaissance Hispanic Literature*, ed. Barry Taylor y Alejandro Coroleu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2017), 132-67.

<sup>95</sup> Tavárez, “Nahua Intellectuals.”

<sup>96</sup> Ms. Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, 35-22, fol. 327v-333r; Téllez Nieto y Baños Baños, “Traducciones bíblicas en lenguas indoamericanas.”

<sup>97</sup> David Tavárez, “A Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon,” *Ethnohistory* 60, número 4 (2013): 769-72.

<sup>98</sup> Ms. Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo, 35-22, fol. 265r-326v; Fray Juan de Gaona, *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana, en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: en casa de Pedro Ocharte, 1582).

<sup>99</sup> Laird, “Nahuas and Caesars,” 152.

<sup>100</sup> Zimmermann, *Briefe der indianischen Nobilität*, 2-4; Andrew Laird, “Nahua Humanism and Political Identity in Sixteenth-century Mexico: A Latin Letter from Antonio Cortés Totoquiuhatzin, Native Ruler of Tlacopan, to Emperor Charles V (1552),” *Renaissanceforum* 10 (2016): 127-72.

<sup>101</sup> Pedro Carrasco, “The Extent of the Tepanec Empire,” en *The Native Sources and the History of the Valley of Mexico*, ed. Jacqueline de Durand-Forest, International 204 (Manchester-Oxford: BAR, 1984), 73-92.

<sup>102</sup> Osorio Romero, *La enseñanza*.

<sup>103</sup> Viseo, *Sermonario*, prólogo.



## 6 Decadencia del Colegio de Tlatelolco

A pesar de la importancia cultural del colegio—que, como se ha visto, logró la coexistencia de dos culturas ajenas produciendo notables obras tanto de los frailes que aprendieron las lenguas nativas, como de los indígenas latinizados,—tras la primera década de esplendor que siguió a su fundación, es decir, de 1536 a 1546, la oposición al Colegio por parte de los españoles al sentir amenazado el régimen colonial llevó a los frailes a distanciarse progresivamente de él, aunque sin abandonar el proyecto educativo. Su gestión quedó entonces en manos de los propios colegiales (ellos elaboraron un reglamento y eligieron rector, consejeros y profesores, siguiendo de nuevo el modelo de Valladolid y otros colegios europeos), una situación que se prolongó durante casi veinte años, tiempo durante el cual sufrió las consecuencias de una administración poco eficiente, y, cuando en 1572 volvió a funcionar bajo la tutela de los frailes, no pudo ya recuperar la gloria de los primeros tiempos.

## Conclusiones

La historiografía tradicional, durante siglos, ha repetido la idea de que el Colegio de Tlatelolco se creó con el propósito de formar sacerdotes indígenas, pero la relectura de las fuentes permite afirmar que esa intención se desvaneció muy pronto y que los propósitos fundamentales fueron formar ayudantes para la evangelización, futuros profesores y cuadros que pudieran ocupar los más altos cargos en la ‘República de indios’. En este artículo se ha demostrado que, para ello, además de la latinidad, se impartieron otras materias, como el Derecho, un aspecto que no se habían tenido en cuenta con anterioridad.

Además, se ha cuestionado otra idea tradicional, que Tlatelolco habría tenido como principal influencia la educación prehispánica. Sin restar importancia a aquellas escuelas y su función dentro de la sociedad mexicana, se ha podido observar que la propia descripción de estas había pasado por el tamiz ideológico de los frailes. Sin embargo, más allá de la estrategia para incorporar a los jóvenes a las nuevas escuelas propuestas por los frailes, existía la pretensión de crear escuelas de corte europeo, específicamente bajo los modelos que les eran conocidos: los Colegios mayores.

A la luz de este análisis, difícilmente se podrá equiparar el estilo de enseñanza de las escuelas prehispánicas con el Colegio de Tlatelolco, cuyo fundamento fue, sin duda, el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Valladolid, donde estudiaron varios de los principales dirigentes políticos y religiosos españoles llegados a América, entre ellos, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal.

Y es que, para los frailes llegados a América, no habrá un ejemplo más próximo que las universidades y colegios donde ellos mismos se habían formado, cuya piedra angular era Elio Antonio de Nebrija, reformador de la latinidad y el humanismo español, a quien siguieron muy de cerca, no solo porque sus ideales gramaticales y didácticos estuvieran en boga, sino también por un gran sentido patriótico: los españoles necesitaban adeptos a la corona, una monarquía católica, y Nebrija era el gran representante de ese humanismo católico español. En las obras escritas, tanto de los frailes como de los colegiales, se pueden observar visos de la *nova ratio nebrissensis*.

Este artículo enumera someramente una parte de la producción indo-latina del *scriptorium* tlatelolca con la intención de enfatizar la necesidad de estudiar y analizar estos textos. Y, aunque la importancia del Colegio de Tlatelolco nunca ha sido puesta en duda, estos nuevos testimonios, la mayoría todavía inéditos, abren la posibilidad de realizar nuevas investigaciones e interpretaciones. Sobre todo, son muestra de las ‘muchas clases de sabiduría’—prehispánica, grecolatina, humanística y cristiana—que coexistieron en Tlatelolco.

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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 “From the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540) to the *Espejo divino* (1607): Indian Latinists and Nahuatl religious literature at the College of Tlatelolco” by Andrew Laird (pp. 2-28) and “Latinidad, tradición clásica y *nova ratio* en el Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco” by Heréndira Téllez Nieto (pp. 30-55). The response piece is “Beyond Europe, beyond the Renaissance, beyond the Vernacular” by Alejandro Coroleu (pp. 73-77).

# Nordic Gods in Classical Dress: *De diis arctois* by C. G. Brunius

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## ABSTRACT

The 19th century in Sweden, like in many other European countries, saw a large decline in the quantity of Neo-Latin literary production. However, a range of skillful Latin poets may be named from this period: Johan Lundblad, Johan Tranér, Emil Söderström, Johan Bergman and others, engaged as well in translating from Swedish into Latin as in composing poems of their own. It was also in the 19th century that the longest Latin poem ever written in Sweden came out – *De diis arctois libri VI* by Carl Georg Brunius (1792–1869), remarkably neglected by the scholars, although it was published twice during the lifetime of its author (1822 and 1857).

The subject of the poem fits perfectly in the intellectual movement of the period, namely national romantic interest in the Nordic antiquities. The six books represent a summary of Eddaic mythology from the creation of the Universe until the Ragnarök.

Brunius' admiration for the Scandinavian Middle Ages is apparent; later it turned out to be productive in architecture, the field in which Brunius is most remembered nowadays. Brunius does not seek to turn Scandinavian gods into Greek ones. He accurately follows his sources (both the prosaic and, to a somewhat smaller extent, the poetic Edda) in content, sometimes even in wording. However, it should be born in mind that the writer was a classicist by his education. Although many compositional traits of ancient epos are lacking in the poem, it is full of the allusions to classical authors at the phrasal level. Some of them are formulaic verse elements, others deliberate and exquisite quotations. It is this elegant combination of close adherence to the sources with the use of the ancient authors (Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid, Horace) that the paper is mainly focused on.

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As a result of Swedish defeat in the Great Northern War in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Latin lost its role as a vehicle of political and military propaganda. Sweden was reduced to a minor state again, and many of the conditions that had caused the heyday of Swedish Neo-Latin just before the war now disappeared. Almost simultaneously, in 1723, a debate started on its hitherto unchallenged role in the Swedish educational system: in Lund, a proposal was made to give university lectures in Swedish instead. The proposal

was refused, but many exceptions to the general habit of lecturing in Latin emerged already by the middle of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the debate went on: in the 1730s, publisher Lars Salvius promoted the use of Swedish at the universities through his newspaper *Tankar öfver den swenska economien* (“Thoughts on Swedish economy”). In 1748, a special educational commission, created three years earlier, suggested that it should be allowed to defend dissertations on natural history, physics, mathematics and history in Swedish. The proposal was refused, and for some time dissertations were still written and defended only in Latin. An exception was made in 1786, when King Gustav III visited Uppsala and was present at some of the defenses. Otherwise, just a couple—among several thousands of dissertations—were written in Swedish in the eighteenth century, and that only after special permission.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a continuation of lively debates on the role of Latin in Swedish newspapers. The opponents of Latin claimed that it took much time to learn, and that this time should be used more efficiently; international science and scholarship were less and less Latin, and thus its role as an indispensable tool of academic communication was undermined. This argument was sided by other motives, namely political (the promotion of vernacular was regarded as important for national prestige), pedagogical (to learn one’s own language first was thought to be more useful) and social (as learning vernacular instead of Latin contributed to the social equality). The supporters of Latin claimed that it would be more difficult to learn other languages without Latin and that Latin academic writings could hardly be translated into modern languages due to the lack of terminology.

As a result of a reform in 1807, Latin disappeared as a teaching language at school (where teaching was entirely in Latin from the fourth year onward throughout the eighteenth century), although it continued to hold a relatively strong position in education until the middle of the nineteenth century. At the universities, lectures given in Latin became rare by the end of the eighteenth century, and some decades later they disappeared altogether.

In other aspects of university life, Latin gradually retreated by the middle of the nineteenth century. The inaugural lectures were held in Latin until 1838. In the official invitations to academic festivities, the shift from Latin to Swedish took place in the 1830s and the 1840s. The exams and thesis defenses were held in Latin until the university reform in 1852. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Swedish was increasingly being used in some disciplines, especially when the dissertation could be of some direct practical use, although before the reform of 1852, seventy to seventy-five percent of the dissertations were still written in Latin.<sup>1</sup>

Not only did Latin suffer in academic context, the production of Neo-Latin literature also suffered greatly.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, its internationally most well-known authors, Emmanuel Swedenborg and Carl von Linné, wrote after the Great Power period, but it is not the elegance of their Latin that they are mostly remembered for. Latin poetry suffered decline, and such prosaic genres as, for instance, historiography ceased to exist at all.<sup>3</sup> Latin maintained its

<sup>1</sup> For further details on the position of Latin in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, see Emin Tengström, *Latinet i Sverige. En kulturhistorisk översikt* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1973), 72–105; Emin Tengström, *Broar till antiken. Antikens inflytande på svenskt samhälls- och kulturliv 1780–1850* (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället, 2014), esp. 108–55.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720. Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2004), 9, 20.

<sup>3</sup> The last historiographer of the Realm to publish his main work in Latin (*Sueciae historia pragmatica*, 1731) was Jacob Wilde, who occupied this post from 1719 to 1755. His successor, Olof von Dalin, who wrote among other things a historical work *Svea Rikes historia*, counts as one of the pioneers of the late modern Swedish language.



position in oratory, but it was mainly restricted to universities.

Nonetheless, the nineteenth century may somewhat paradoxically be regarded as a sort of Silver Age of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry, the Golden one being the end of the seventeenth century. The overall quantity of the material is considerably smaller, but a wide range of highly productive and skillful authors may be mentioned: Johan Lundblad, Johan Tranér, Emil Söderström, Christian Fahlcrantz, Johan Bergman and others.<sup>4</sup>

Some differences may be noted in comparison with the seventeenth century. One can be aware of a stereotype still flourishing even among some classicists, that Latin verses in modern time were only written by some marginal highbrow academicians. This is not the case if one considers the seventeenth century, when the ability to write verses was a normal trait of any intellectual and several brilliant political careers were made by means of demonstrating Latin eloquence, among other things by writing Latin verses (Erik Lindschöld and Olof Hermelin may serve as Swedish examples here).<sup>5</sup> Regarding the nineteenth century, however, the aforementioned stereotype is significantly more likely. Latin poetry at that time was mainly written by university professors or priests, and their glory was almost exclusively limited to a circle of their students and colleagues. One extreme example is probably Emil Söderström: he lived in the countryside as a priest and composed Latin poetry, both elegant classical hexameters and medieval-inspired hymns, as a sort of hobby. Some public renown came to him only in his later years and posthumously.<sup>6</sup>

Thematically, the Latin poetic production underwent some changes. Occasional poetry remained the main genre, but previously it was mostly represented by poems on birth, marriage, and death. In the nineteenth century, the range of subjects is somewhat more diverse; Johan Lundblad, for instance, wrote some poems on contemporaneous political news, as in 1804, when rumors about the murder of Napoleon reached him and he wrote a poem about it. The rumors turned out to be false, so he wrote another one to correct himself.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, genres such as epigraphical poetry—i.e. poems carved on gravestones—virtually disappeared. When one enters a Swedish church and is lucky enough to find a poetic inscription in Latin, it always originates from the period between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century.

While some genres disappeared and others underwent changes, a new phenomenon in this time were translations of Swedish poetry into Latin. Already in the eighteenth century, Samuel Älf translated some poems by Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht and Olof von Dalin.<sup>8</sup> In the nineteenth century, Swedish romanticism provided classicists with a rich trove of materials to render into Latin: K. E. A. Söderström translated *Hanna* by the famous Finno-Swedish poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg; Esaias Tegnér's *Nattvardsbarnen* (“Children of the

<sup>4</sup> The main survey of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry of the nineteenth century is Johan Bergman, “Den latinska diktningen i Sverige. Kortfattad historik, jämte några anmärkningar beträffande C. E. A. Söderströms skaldskap,” in *Valda dikter, hufvudsakligen latinska, af C. E. A. Söderström* (Nyköping: Aktiebolaget Södermanlands Läns Tidnings Tryckeri, 1895), LIII–LX; see also Tengström, *Broar till antiken*, 121–23.

<sup>5</sup> Hans Helander, “Latin,” in *Från Nyens skans till Nya Sverige. Språken i det Svenska Riket under 1600-talet*, ed. Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 2012), 127.

<sup>6</sup> Julius Centerwall, “Söderström,” in *Nordisk familjebok. 28:e bandet: Syrten-Vikarna – Tidsbestämning* (Nyköping: Nordisk Familjeboks Förlags Aktiebolag, 1919), 183–84.

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Lundblad, *Poemata et orationes. Tomus I* (Hamburgi: F. H. Nestler, 1821), 137–40; also printed in: Johan Bergman, *Suecia Latina. Valda prov på svensk medeltidslatinsk och nylatinsk litteratur* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1918), 98–100.

<sup>8</sup> Tengström, *Latinet i Sverige*, 86.

Lord's Supper"), known to the English speaking world through the translation by Henry Longfellow from 1841, was already translated into Latin (as *Juventus eucharistica*) in 1833–35 by Johan Tranér. A reviewer of this translation suggested that it was even better than the original. A masterpiece of Erik Johan Stagnelius, the epic poem *Wladimir den store* ("Vladimir the Great"), was translated by Per Johan Peterson, professor of Latin in Uppsala, and published in four parts as university dissertations in 1840–42.<sup>9</sup>

A particular stronghold of Neo-Latin poetry in nineteenth century Sweden was the University of Lund. The person regarded as the main reviver of Latin eloquence and poetry there was Johan Lundblad (1753–1820). As an early nineteenth-century professor of Latin eloquence and poetry, Lundblad contributed to such a blossoming of Latin speech in Lund that "[n]ot to talk or to write in Latin skillfully, correctly and classically was considered to be almost disgraceful for a student.", as Tegnér, one of Lundblad's students, puts it.

As a consequence, the first half of the nineteenth century saw an impressive variety of productive Latin poets in Lund. Matthias Norberg, professor of Oriental languages and Greek, imitated Horace and Phaedrus; besides that, he also translated Anacreon, Bion and Moschos into Latin. Apart from translations of Greek lyrical poets into Latin, the professor of Greek Carl Wilhelm Linder also left us a fictional letter from Ovid's wife to her exiled husband. One of Lundblad's successors as professor of Latin eloquence and poetry, Johan Gustaf Ek, translated parts of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, the most renowned product of Swedish Romanticism, into Latin. Just like Peterson in Uppsala (see above), Ek published his translations as student dissertations. The metrical variety in these translations resembles Tegnér's original: Ek uses hexameters, elegiac distichs, Asclepiadean verses and Sapphic stanzas.<sup>10</sup>

One of Lundblad's successors in Lund was Carl Georg Brunius. He was born in 1792 in Tanum by the western coast of Sweden in the family of the priest Gomer Brunius. Thanks to his father, who gave his children a perfect home education, Brunius already acquired a decent command of Latin in his childhood. In 1803, he enrolled at the university of Lund. Initially, Brunius studied Law, but Johan Lundblad, after seeing his Latin verses, persuaded his father that the boy should change to Classics. The change was successful: in the 1810s, Brunius produced a large amount of Latin poetry, highly esteemed by both Lundblad and Tegnér (then professor of Greek). In 1814, he translated the second book of Apollonius' *Argonautica* into Latin, and in 1815 became associate professor of Greek. The defense of the thesis he wrote to obtain this position is said to be the first time in a long while that Greek speech was heard at the university of Lund. At the same time, Brunius became interested in Nordic antiquities, primarily after journeys to his home region undertaken in 1814–16, where he examined ancient stone carvings.

In 1824, Brunius succeeded Tegnér as professor of Greek. However, during the time of his professorship, Brunius' interests were turned away almost entirely from classical languages towards architecture. Similarly to Tegnér, who is well known as a Romantic poet, but hardly as a professor of Greek, Brunius is mainly remembered in our days as an architect and a historian of architecture. In the 1830s, he became the supervisor of the reconstruction of Lund cathedral, a task on which he worked for the following quarter of a century. Numerous churches in Scania (and elsewhere) were either reconstructed or built by him. Among his creations in Lund, one may still see his own house and that of the bishop.

<sup>9</sup> For a short—but the only existing—survey of Latin translations of Swedish poetry see Tengström, *Broar till antiken*, 123–27.

<sup>10</sup> Bernd Roling, "Charles Baudelaire und Carl Georg Brunius: Bilder des Mittellateinischen im 19. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 41 (2007): 271–73; Tengström, *Broar till antiken*, 126.

Both in his practice and in his writings, Brunius was a faithful and probably the most famous advocate of medieval style in Swedish architecture. He was also the first to produce systematic descriptions of Swedish medieval buildings, as a result of his numerous journeys throughout the country from the 1810s to the 1860s.

His passion for architecture is also said to have brought Brunius to his death. In 1858, he went into retirement from his professorship at the university, and the year after, he abandoned supervising the construction of the cathedral, leaving guidelines for its continuation. His successor, young Helgo Zettervall, was critical of Brunius' views and of his activity for the restoration of the cathedral. The conflict between the two lasted throughout the 1860s. Zettervall's main goal was to supply the cathedral with new towers—those we see today. The older ones, which despite Brunius' efforts were in a very poor condition, had to be demolished. In the autumn of 1869, on the day after Zettervall's plan was confirmed by the cathedral council, Brunius, who forcefully opposed it, suffered a stroke and died some days later.<sup>11</sup>

If we now turn to Brunius' less famous legacy, that of the Neo-Latin poet, we see that the main bulk of his production was written in the 1810s and 1820s, and published in 1857 as *Poemata, partim iam ante, partim nunc primum edita* (“Poems, partially before, partially now for the first time edited”).<sup>12</sup> Almost half of the volume is occupied by an epic poem, first published in 1822, which is regarded as the longest Latin poem ever written in Sweden.<sup>13</sup> It is entitled *De diis arctois libri sex secundum Eddas concinnati* (“Six books about the Norse Gods arranged according to the Eddas”) and contains 2820 hexameters in its original version (the edition from 1857 has a slightly shortened dedication and thus contains 2814 verses).<sup>14</sup>

The main content of the six songs is entirely based on Old Norse mythology as represented in the *Poetic Edda* and the *Prosaic Edda*, the latter being used more systematically than the former. Brunius did not adopt the kind of historicizing framework with the myth of migration of the Æsir to the North that was popular among Gothicists in his day. We do not know if Brunius used the brand-new Swedish translations from 1818 and 1819,<sup>15</sup> or earlier Latin and partial Swedish ones. In any case, the thread of the story follows the original very accurately, although the material is arranged differently, namely in a chronological manner. *De diis arctois* consists of a sequence of loosely connected myths; in this respect, it resembles Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, although apart from a couple of cases prompted by his sources, Brunius is not as careful as the great Roman poet to make the transition from one episode to another as smoothly as possible.

<sup>11</sup> Bo Grandien, *Drömmen om medeltiden. Carl Georg Brunius som byggmästare och idéfömedlare*. (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1974), 511; For biographical details, see the same book and Otto Rydbeck, “Carl Georg Brunius,” in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon. 6:e bandet: Brant – Bygdén* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1926), 506–14. The grave of Brunius in the eastern cemetery in Lund is a rare exception of what we have said above regarding the disappearance of verse inscriptions in Latin around the middle of the eighteenth century, it being decorated with two distichs: “Qui quondam fuit hic opifex Graecaeque professor / Linguae, Romanus quique poeta fuit / Et cui firma manent monumenta per oppida perque / Rura aedes, jacet hoc Brunius in tumulo” (“Brunius, who once was an architect and a professor of Greek here, who was a Latin poet, whose monuments in cities and churches in the countryside stay firm, rests in this grave”).

<sup>12</sup> Carl Georg Brunius, “De diis arctois libri sex secundum Eddas concinnati,” in *Poemata partim ante, partim nunc primum edita* (Lund, 1857), 1–95.

<sup>13</sup> *Hexaemeron* by Andreas Sunesen, also written in the province of Scania, is longer (8040 verses), but at the time of its composition Scania was part of Denmark. See Grandien, *Drömmen om medeltiden*, 44.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from punctuational habits and several orthographical points, there are more than a hundred small changes in the second edition compared to the first one. These changes are, however, not substantial and in most cases encompass only one or two words.

<sup>15</sup> Arvid August Afzelius, trans., *Sæmund den vises Edda. Sånger af Nordens äldsta skalder* (Stockholm: Deleens och Granbergs Tryckerier, 1818); Snorri Sturluson, *Edda samt Skalda. Öfversättning från skandinaviska forn-språket*, trans. A. J. Cnattingius (Stockholm: Elméns och Granbergs Tryckeri, 1819).

The main subject of the first book is the creation of the universe. It narrates the birth of the giant Ymir, his slaying by Odin, Vili, and Vé; his bones are transformed into mountains, his blood into water, his brain into the heavens, and so on. Then follows a catalogue of the gods,<sup>16</sup> based on the catalogue used in the *Prosaic Edda*, but shortened in comparison with it. The end of the book contains the joyless predictions given to the gods by the Norns.

The second book begins with the construction of Asgard by a giant. Despite a harsh deadline (compensated by the terrible demands he lays down to the gods), he almost manages to finish it in time, but is impeded by the god Loki, who turns himself into a mare and deprives the giant of his stallion Svaðilfari. The next episode contains Loki's robbery of the apples of Iðunn, which gave eternal youth to the gods. The gods kill the giant Þjazi, who forced Loki to rob the apples, but to avoid revenge from his daughter Skaði, they give her permission to marry one of them. Skaði has to choose a bridegroom by only looking at the legs of the gods, and believes that the most attractive ones belong to the beautiful Baldr:

Eligit acclamans: 'Vitio te corporis omni,  
Te, Balder, credo solum caruisse per aevum!  
Sed Freiae genitor (pro caeca potentia fati!),  
Sed largitor opum, venti moderator et ignis  
Undarumque fuit, lecti cui foedere iuncta est'<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Skaði has to marry the sea god Njörðr. With the husband living by the sea and the wife preferring the mountains, the marriage becomes an annoyance for both. The end of the second book contains the story about the disappearance of Thor's hammer: the giant Þrymr demands to marry the goddess Freyja in return for the hammer, but Thor disguises himself as Freyja and kills the giant at the wedding party.

The third book describes the death of Baldr and is therefore the most dramatic one. Baldr's mother Frigg makes every object on earth vow never to hurt him, but she omits the mistletoe. As the treacherous Loki becomes aware of this, he makes a spear of this plant, and while the gods are having fun throwing and shooting things at the seemingly invulnerable Baldr, puts it into the hand of the blind god Höðr, who unwillingly kills the former.

Circumstant fratres. Non vox, non fletus in aula,  
Non gemitus. Tandemque: 'Quid est, moestissimus, Aesi?  
Hoedus ait, Numquamne placent conamina nostra?'  
Ecce tacent, saevusque gelat praecordia terror'<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> As for the treatment of proper names, Brunius usually adapts the Latin a-declension for female names (with several exceptions, e. g. 'Sifis' for Sif and 'Scade', gen. 'Scades' for Skaði) and o-declension for most of the male names. Those ending in -i in Old Norse (-e in Swedish) belong, however, to the third declension: 'Locho', gen. 'Lochonis', 'Brago', gen. 'Bragonis' etc. Brunius is, however, far from consequent. The variety of models may be illustrated by the names 'Mjöllnir', 'Skirnir', 'Mímir' and 'Ægir': in Brunius' Latin they become 'Miolnus', 'Scirnerus', 'Mimer (gen. Mimis)' and 'Aeger (gen. Aegri)' respectively. The prosody in the names is applied without respect to the vowel length in Old Norse, but it remains consistent for every name, without exceptions.

<sup>17</sup> "She makes her choice exclaiming: 'I believe, Baldr, that you are the only one whose body has always been flawless!' But it was—ah, blind power of fate!—the father of Freya, the lavish donor, the master of the winds, of the fire and of the waves, to whom she was united by the bond of marriage," Brunius, "De diis arctois," 24.

<sup>18</sup> "The brothers stand around him. No voice is heard in the yard, no cry, no groaning. And at last the gloomy Höðr says: 'What is it, Æsir? Do you never like our attempts?' See, they are silent, and the savage fear chills his heart", *ibid.*, 41.

Hermóðr, son of Odin, rides out to ask the underworld goddess Hel to release Baldr. Her condition is that every object on earth has to mourn Baldr’s death. They do, but again with one exception: Loki.

The fourth book starts off with the love story of the god Freyr and the giantess Gerðr. After long negotiations through his servant Skírnir, Freyr finally wins the consent of his beloved, albeit with nine days of respite. “Mihi lux spatiosior anno est”, sighs Freyr,<sup>19</sup> and this is one of the numerous instances where Brunius follows the wording of his source quite closely: “Oft mér mánaðr minni þótti en sjá half hýnótt” (“A month has often seemed to me shorter than that little night”) are the final words of the Eddaic *Skírnismál* (“Sayings of Skírnir”). The next part of the book is occupied by Thor’s journey to the land of the giants. They make a mockery of him again and again: the powerful blows of Thor’s hammer are perceived by the giant Skrímir to be the stings of a mosquito, the giants easily win all the competitions against Thor and his companions, and he is not even able to lift their cat or to wrestle down the old woman whom they set up against him. The next day, Skrímir reveals his tricks: the old woman was Old Age itself, the horn which Thor has failed to quaff, was connected to the world ocean—his efforts being quite remarkable nonetheless (“pelagi siccata bibente / Litora te, surguntque novae de fluctibus orae”).<sup>20</sup>

In the fifth book the feast of the sea giant Ægir is used as a framework for further stories the gods tell each other, e.g. about the emergence of the mead of poetry. The final of the recited episodes, based on *Hymiskviða* (“The lay of Hymir”) from the *Poetic Edda*, is the story about Thor’s failed attempt to catch the world serpent Jörmungandr.

Book six starts with Loki insulting all the gods. This episode is based on *Lokasenna* (“Loki’s wrangling”). Loki quits the summit of the gods and tries to hide in various ways, for instance by turning himself into a fish, but he is finally caught and bound with the entrails of his own son. Thereafter, the poet proceeds to Ragnarök: the gods fight their final battle against the giants and other monsters and perish.

Iamque vorant solemque lupi lunamque rapaces,  
Ex altoque cadunt stellae, spumantibus undis  
Et subsidit humus; mox tellus aequora coelum  
Conflagrans flammis, immensa quoque moenia mundi<sup>21</sup>

After the great fire, a lovely new world emerges. The final verses are a praise to the places where the author himself was born (“regio Gothicae dulcissima terrae, Vichia”).

The verse technique of Brunius is highly refined and quite representative of his time. Sometimes he makes use of exquisite metric devices, such as having five dactyls in a hexameter, with the same aim as the classical authors, namely to underline the speed of what is going on.<sup>22</sup> Thus talking about the goddess Gná riding through the sky he puts it: “Saepe fatigat equo patuli vaga nubila coeli”(8) And when Ragnarök is coming and the gods are in a hurry, the text goes: “Nulla mora; unanimes superum sua quisque capessunt.”<sup>23</sup> Also the opposite

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>20</sup> “As you drank, the seashores were drained, and new banks rise from the waves.”

<sup>21</sup> “And the rapacious wolves are already devouring the sun and the moon, the stars are falling from the sky, and the ground becomes covered by the foaming waves. Soon the earth, the sea, the sky and all the immense structure of the world burn down in flames,” Brunius, “De diis arctois,” 94.

<sup>22</sup> About this and the following device, see for instance George Duckworth, *Vergil and classical hexameter poetry. A study in metrical variety* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> Brunius, “De diis arctois,” 92. Here, and in the following citations of Brunius’ epic, I have opted not to give an English translation of the Latin source text because the main aim is to point out either stylistic or intertextual features.

device, spondaic hexameter, is used, creating an additional effect of slow motion: “Haeret mentis inops, et circumfert obtutu.”<sup>24</sup> One of Brunius’ favorite devices is repeating a word in a different metrical pattern, a feature in which he must have followed Ovid:

Quas ardes terras testor, mea sidera testor (16)

Laetatur salvo, laetatur hirundine salva (23)

Nec vani crepitus: istum letalibus istum (27)

The word list of the poem is quite classical, with only occasional instances of unclassical words like *revisitare* or *ferocire*.<sup>25</sup> On the phrasal level many formulas are borrowed from classical authors: *cognomine dicunt* (6; see Verg. *Aen.* I.530), *est locus* (13, IV.69, VI.289; see Enn. *Ann.* I.20, Verg. *Aen.* I.530), *tractusque maris coelumque profundum* (14; see Verg. *Ecl.* IV.51, Verg. *Georg.* IV.222), *discrimina rerum* (15; see Verg. *Aen.* I.204), *terraque marique* (21, 26; see Lucr. III.837, Verg. *Aen.* X.162), *ignis edax* (54, 67; see Verg. *Aen.* II.758, Ov. *Met.* IX.202), *lacrimis effatur abortis* (37, 75 with *exclamat*; see Verg. *Aen.* XI.41, Ov. *Met.* I.350), *vix ea fatus erat* (77; see Verg. *Aen.* I.586, Ov. *Met.* XV.843 ) etc. The hexameter clausula “Neptunia / Cyllenia / Aquilonia proles”, popular in ancient poetry (Prop. I.20.25, Verg. *Aen.* IV.258, *ibid.* VII.691), is modified into *Laufeia proles* (17) when talking about Loki or *Odinia proles* (28) when talking about the sons of Odin.

If we now turn to the specific authors who influenced Brunius, Virgil and Ovid are the most significant ones. Already the first line after the dedication, “Principio neque terra parens neque caerulea terram” (3), displays a collocation from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* (v. 178), *terra parens*. Most of the formulaic expressions I have just enumerated are also best represented in Virgil.

Brunius also follows (and in fact surpasses) Virgil in his love for short parenthetical comments like *mirabile visu, horrendum dictu, si credere dignum est*, etc. There are about fifty such expressions in the text of the poem, and Brunius clearly seeks not to use one and the same phrase of this kind more than twice. The only exception I have managed to find is *mirum* (21, 57 and 94). Sometimes these parenthetical expressions seem to be out of place: *horresco referens* (67; see Verg. *Aen.* II.204, Aeneas describing the death of Laocoon) is put into the mouth of a giant explaining Thor his own tricks.

Words that Brunius could find either only in Ovid or primarily in Ovid, are, for instance, *flammifer* (5), *revocamina* (18), *fontanus* (37) and *resequor* (40). Likewise, Ovidian phrases are not uncommon: *mentis inops* (21, 43; see Ov. *Met.* II.200), *cornua lunae* (26; see Ov. *Met.* III.682), *vera fateri* (50; see Ov. *Met.* VII.728) etc. Among many ways to mark the end of a direct speech, *hactenus* is specifically Ovidian (21, with a subject 55 and 81; see Ov. *Met.* II.610).

An important model, especially in the first book, which deals with the creation of the universe, but occasionally elsewhere, is Lucretius. From him, Brunius borrowed vocabulary connected with what might be called natural science: *primordia rerum* (3; see Lucr. I.55), *semina rerum* (4; Lucr. I.59), *vitalibus auris* (7; Lucr. III.577), *solis radiis* (5; Lucr. II.126), *luminis oras* (5; Lucr. I.22), *lunaeque meatus* (37; Lucr. I.128).

Some cases of correspondence to the phraseology of Silver Latin poets may also be found,

<sup>24</sup> Brunius, “De diis arctois,” 43.

<sup>25</sup> The former is attested just once, in Pliny the Elder (XVIII.13); all the instances of the latter (in Cato, Gellius and Apuleius) are enumerated in OLD s. v.

but they are not numerous and may sometimes be accidental.<sup>26</sup> On certain occasions, there are more exquisite models: thus, talking about Odin's visit to the well of Mimir where he acquired knowledge in exchange for his eye, Brunius describes his condition afterwards with an adjective *sapientipotens* which he could only have found in Ennius (Enn. *Ann.* VI.198).

Let us now turn to the quotations and allusions. Some of them are quite obvious and refer to well-known passages from canonical authors. About Baldr is told in the catalogue of gods in the *Prosaic Edda* that he is the best god and that he is praised by everybody. Brunius considers this close enough to the way in which Lucretius invokes Venus in the opening line of his poem:

Balder, Frigga, tuus, divorum hominumque voluptas (7)

Aeneadam genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas (Lucret. I.1).

To describe the malicious and treacherous god Loki further on in the same catalogue, a phrase from Horace is used:

Ingenio fallax, caput insanabile, Locho (8)

Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,  
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile numquam  
Tonsori Licino con miserit (Hor. *Ars* 300)

When it comes to Loki's wife Sigyn, she is called "worthy of a better husband" in a phrasing close to the one used by Ovid in an address to his wife, who was "worthy of a less miserable, not of a better husband":

At Signys sorti miserabilis invidet huius,  
Digna viro meliore frui (9)

Digna minus misero, non meliore viro (Ov. *Trist.* I.6.4)

The forest where Loki hides when he is transformed into a mare is borrowed from the opening line of the third book of Ovid's *Amores*:

Frondebat multos incaedua silva per annos (18)

Stat vetus et multos incaedua silva per annos (Ov. *Am.* III.1.1)

When Loki as mare seduces the stallion Svaðilfari who carried the materials for the construction of Asgard, the desperate builder follows the exclamation of Pandion in the Ovidian story of Procne and Philomela:

[...] Ingens advolvitur astris  
Clamor: equam linquens mihi, Suadilfare, redito (19)

Si pietas ulla est, ad me, Philomela, redito! (Ov. *Met.* VI.503)

After the death of Baldr in the third book, his mother Frigg goes mad and talks like Virgilian Dido:

<sup>26</sup> As for example in Brunius, "De diis arctois," 5, where "telluris in imis / Visceribus" resembles Sil. I.232: "Visceribus lacerae telluris mergitur imis".

Quo feror! Ah ubi sum? (43)

Quid loquor? aut ubi sum? (Verg. *Aen.* IV.595)

In the fourth book, Thor desperately struggles against an old woman who eventually turns out to be Old Age itself, and Thor's condition in this struggle is miserable enough to compare him to Hector as Aeneas saw him in his dream in the second book of the Aeneid:

[...] Quantum mutatus ab illo est  
Qui coeli perterricrepis convexa pererrat  
Limitibus, gaudetque polos involvere flammis (65)

Ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo  
Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli (Verg. *Aen.* II.274–75).

Finally, the exclamation *Hunc ego!*, uttered by Thor in the fifth book, is clearly modelled on the famous Virgilian *Quos ego!* (I.135). A funny detail is that in Virgil, the sea god Neptune is speaking, whereas in Brunius the sea god Aegir is the object of Thor's anger.

Sometimes Brunius uses the phrases from the classics in such a way that their meaning is changed:

Forsetes, placidi dulcis genitoris imago (7)

Obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago (Verg. *Aen.* II.560)

*Imago* in Brunius' text means "copy", i.e. Forseti "looks like" his father, while in the Virgilian model *imago* is "a picture in the imagination",<sup>27</sup> i.e. Aeneas "is thinking of" his father.

Et nil praeter equam toto videt aequore demens (18)

Disiectam Aeneae toto uidet aequore classem (Verg. *Aen.* I.128)

*Aequor* means "plain field" in the text of Brunius (it is the aforementioned story of the stallion Svaðilfari pursuing the *mare*), whereas in Virgil it has the more usual meaning "sea".

Sometimes the phrase is put into such a context that considering its model may create an almost comical effect. Asgard, the fortress of the gods, cannot be overrun, as its builder promises: "Vobis aliud (date praemia) condam, / Uno adiutus equo, non exsuperabile castrum" (17). But is it then someone like the poor Sisyphus who is supposed to attack it? This seems to be suggested by the source of the clausula: "Immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum" (Verg. *Georg.* III.39).

Hercules characterizes himself as *indefessus agendo* in Ovid: "Defessa iubendo est/ Saeva Iovis coniunx: ego sum indefessus agendo" (Ov. *Met.* IX.198–99). A slight change made by Odin in his respectful address to Hel, goddess of the Underworld, thus feels quite ironic: "Verum etiam divos, o indefessa nocendo" (40).

Of a similar kind is the expression *hircorum domitor* as an epithet of Thor (45), modelled after the Virgilian formula *equum domitor* (Verg. *Aen.* VII.189 etc.)—the change again sounds ironic. Another example is from Frigg's speech to her dead son Baldr:

[...] Mihi cur liventia brachia tendis,  
Amplexusque petis nostros, dulcissime rerum? (43)

<sup>27</sup> OLD s. v. *imago* 9 ("A duplicate, copy, reflection, likeness, image") and 6 ("A representation to the imagination, mental picture") respectively.



Has she in her grief forgotten that *dulcissime rerum* is only attested in the speech of a nasty person immortalized by Horace after meeting him on the Via Sacra (Hor. *Serm.* I.9.4)?

Did Brunius have some different sense of humor than we today? Or did he really want to add irony into his poem? In any case, it is very difficult to regard the whole poem as a mock epic. A solution that the examples of change in meaning or inappropriate context may suggest is that he did not often think about which context exactly his phrases came from and used them indiscriminately. However, the following examples demonstrate that Brunius was extremely deliberate in choosing his wording. Here I treat the instances where the allusion to certain classical passages is somewhat less obvious (although equally certain) than in the set of examples quoted above.

[...] Subitum tamen effugit aequor  
Cum consorte tori Bergelmus, et inde gigantum  
Servatur suboles (4)

*Consors tori* looks like just one of many ways of denoting “wife”. But as soon as one remembers the original context in Ovid, one is struck by the fact that it is the same as in Brunius, namely it is a wife of the only male who managed to save himself from the flood:

Hic ubi Deucalion (nam cetera texerat aequor)  
Cum consorte tori parva rate vectus adhaesit (Ov. *Met.* I.318–19)

Further on in the first book, Odin talks about how villainous the giants are and concludes his speech with the decision to punish them:

[...] Mihi cedere, divi,  
Stat terris Thursosque procul terrere profanos (13)

Apart from a hint of Virgilian *Procul, o, procul este, profani!* (Verg. *Aen.* VI.258), this last line of the speech contains the word *stat*, and this *stat* is supposed to recall another *stat*—the one from the concluding line of Jupiter’s speech in the *Metamorphoses* on how villainous and deserving of punishment the humans are:

[...] Dent ocius omnes,  
Quas meruere pati, (sic stat sententia) poenas (Ov. *Met.* I.242–43)

Njörðr is complaining to Skaði about the inhospitableness of the mountains:

Hic tardius horae  
Labuntur, saltusque acres ululatibus implent  
Triste lupi (25).

At first glance, *Ululatibus implent* is only accidentally identical with the clausula from an Ovidian verse: “Ut clamata silet, montes ululatibus implent” (Ov. *Fast.* IV.453). It is not difficult to imagine such a clausula being coined independently, and while in Brunius’ text the subject is *lupi*, in Ovid it is applied to friends of Persephone. However, one should remember the story of Skaði and Njörðr as a whole: Skaði became Njörðr’s wife against her will, and, being a giantess, she liked the mountains much more than the sea where Njörðr belonged, so they decided to change their residence every nine days. Does this story not bear some resemblance to the one of Persephone and Hades?

Another, similar instance is the following: “Contundit sponsum consanguineamque catervam” (32). *Consanguinea caterva* denotes the giants around Þrymr, who stole the hammer of Thor and requested to marry the goddess Freya in return. Thor dressed himself as

Freya, came to Þrymr as a bride and after obtaining the marriage gift, i.e. the hammer, killed Þrymr and his *consanguinea caterva*. The expression is deliberately coined to recall the Ovidian *consanguinea turba*: ‘Et consanguineae quondam centesima turbae’ (Ov. *Her.* XIV.121)—as Hypermnestra calls her sisters—the Danaids, and thus to recall the general context, i.e. a bloody marriage.

I would briefly touch on two more examples. The solitary isle of Lyngvi where the gods enfettered the monstrous wolf Fenrir is modelled after the abode of Morpheus from the Ovidian story of Ceyx and Alcyone:

Est mare cimberia caligine triste, profundo  
In medioque iacet penetrabilis insula semper  
Flatibus infecunda cavisque asperrima saxis (35)

Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,  
Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,  
Quo numquam radiis oriens mediusve cadensve  
Phoebus adire potest: nebulae caligine mixtae  
Exhalantur humo dubiaeque crepuscula lucis (Ov. *Met.* XI.592–96)

Another monstrous wolf Garmr, the guardian of the Underworld, resembles the Arcadian king Lycaon, turned into a wolf in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*:

Venit obvius illi  
Ore canis rabido, maculatus pectora tabe.  
Exululat, saevisque ciet latratibus umbras (39).

Exululat frustra loqui conatur: ab ipso  
Colligit os rabiem solitaeque cupidine caedis  
Vertitur in pecudes et nunc quoque sanguine gaudet (Ov. *Met.* I.233–35).

Finally, my three last examples show how Brunius depicted the Underworld so that it could conform to the Virgilian one from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. The couch of Hel is made as purplish as Charon’s boat:

E ferrugineo surgit regina cubili (39)

Et ferruginea subuectat corpora cumba (Verg. *Aen.* VI.303)

Some architectural details of her palace are adamantine:

Mox stridet duris adamantina ianua mortis  
Obiicibus (47)

Porta aduersa ingens solidoque adamante columnae (Verg. *Aen.* VI.552)

And the long list of unpleasant beings that meet up with Odin’s son Hermod in the Underworld is clearly inspired by what awaited Aeneas there, although there is almost no verbal correspondence between the passages:

Hic somni cernit nocturna cubilia circum  
Mille vagas species variis animalia formis  
Insanamque famem mala monstra cruentaue bella  
Infandas curas inflammatosque furores  
Morborumque genus saevas scopulisque latentes  
Insidias tumidasque minas subitosque timores.  
Ultrices tandem poenas curvamque senectam,  
Innixam baculo, praetervolat alite cursu,  
Ingentisque quatit pontis pendentia saxa (45)

Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci  
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,  
 Pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus,  
 Et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,  
 Terribiles uisu formae, Letumque Labosque;  
 Tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis  
 Gaudia, mortiferumque aduerso in limine Bellum,  
 Ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens  
 Vipereum crinem uittis innexa cruentis (Verg. *Aen.* VI.273–81)

It is almost needless to say that there are no traces of all these details in the relevant passage of the *Prosaic Edda*.<sup>28</sup>

The poem of Brunius did not cause much discussion even in the time of its publication. However, some replies are noteworthy. Esaias Tegnér, working at that time on *Frithiofs saga*, suggested in a letter to Brunius that a Nordic subject did not fit the classicistic form. The superiority of the Romantic treatment of the theme, he claims, had been demonstrated for instance by Oehlenschläger's *Nordens Guder* ("The Gods of the North"). Tegnér admitted nevertheless that the poem had some beautiful passages.

Peter Wieselgren, a famous historian and social activist, praised Brunius' language and verse technique, but supposed that writing Latin poetry in the nineteenth century was a waste of one's talents. The publisher and politician Lars Johan Hierta, upon receiving a copy of Brunius' poem as a gift, remarked that its only drawback was that it was not two thousand years old.<sup>29</sup>

A very negative attitude is observed in *Svensk literatur-tidning* ("Swedish literature journal"), the main forum for the Romanticists, where a review of the poem appeared shortly after its first publication. The reviewer claims that there is no need for rendering Scandinavian myths in Latin, as there were already Swedish, Danish and German translations of the *Eddas*; that the Latin language does not fit the Nordic subjects; that the Latin poetic mode is based on the Greek one and is therefore separated from its vernacular speech from the very beginning. According to the reviewer, the abstractedness and lack of poetic freedom in Latin verse only become more apparent when it is used to treat Nordic material. If the Eddaic myths were to be faithfully perceived, there should be a basis in the form of memory and tradition, and this tradition could only exist in the myths' original form and language. Another objection of the reviewer was that Brunius often added details to the passages where the Eddaic original was concise, whereas this conciseness in particular provokes the reader's own imagination and is therefore to be regarded and preserved as an important poetic device.

Brunius responded to this criticism, quite typical of his time, in the newspaper *Stockholmposten*. His poem, as the author explained, was not intended to be a tool to facilitate contact with the ancient Nordic world, but rather a work of art in its own right. The additions were thus justified, too, for they filled the scanty lineaments of the source.

The most positive judgement of *De diis arctois* was the one expressed by Achatius Kahl, a theologian and a classicist, some decades later in his essay on the decline of Latin in Swedish universities. He ranked Brunius as one of the foremost Neo-Latin poets ever and suggested that his choice of the subject was fine: if Ovid himself had heard in his exile about the deeds and adventures of Thor, Odin and Freyr, he would have thought them worthy of a similar

<sup>28</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (København: Gyldendal, 1931), 67.

<sup>29</sup> Grandien, *Drömmen om medeltiden*, 44-46.

poetic monument.<sup>30</sup>

Still, such a book hardly matched the ambitions of the Romantic age, and soon fell into oblivion, despite the second publication. At the end of the nineteenth century, Johan Bergman, the last significant Neo-Latin poet in Sweden, did not even mention it in a survey of the history of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry. His acquaintance with Brunius' poetry did not go further than the fact that Brunius had been praised by Tegnér for some of his Latin verses.<sup>31</sup>

There still have not been any serious comprehensive studies on the poem, and it is only briefly mentioned in biographical literature on Brunius, as well as in general surveys of the history of Swedish Neo-Latin.<sup>32</sup> One exception is an article by Bernd Roling, published in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* a decade ago.<sup>33</sup> Roling offers a thorough account of the mythological sources of each story in the poem and an accurate paraphrase of it. His general judgement, however, is, in my opinion, highly questionable. Admiring Brunius for his close adherence to his mythological sources, Roling downplays the role of the classical heritage in the poem:

Vermeintliche Latinisierungen wie die Apostrophierung des *alfäðr* Odin als dem *moderator Olympi* verdanken sich eher metrischen Notwendigkeiten. Lateinische Patronymica wie die Umschreibung Lokis als *Laufeia proles* oder *Farbautiades* sind in Wirklichkeit bereits durch den Sprachgebrauch des altnordischen Originals vorgegeben.<sup>34</sup>

Of course, these specific examples cannot be refuted and Brunius is far from turning his Nordic gods into classical ones, but I do hope that I have shown that the presence of the classical heritage is felt throughout the poem, not only through language and style but also through conscious allusions. In a number of cases, Brunius seeks to hint at the resemblance between the classical and the Nordic myths, while in others, he further heightens the resemblance by adding details from canonical authors—and this is somewhat difficult to explain in terms of *metrische Notwendigkeit* (“metric necessity”). The feature to be admired in the poem is, in my opinion, this fine combination of accurate renderings of the source material with the diction of and allusions to Virgil, Ovid and others.

<sup>30</sup> Alfred Sjödin, “Anakronistisk kosmopolitism: Carl Georg Brunius’ *De diis arctoïis*,” *Edda* 105 (2018): 125.

<sup>31</sup> Bergman, “Den latinska diktningen i Sverige,” LVI.

<sup>32</sup> Rydbeck, “Carl Georg Brunius,” 508; Grandien, *Drömmen om medeltiden*, 44–46.

<sup>33</sup> Another exception is the recent article by Alfred Sjödin, where the public reaction to the poem is analyzed in terms of the so-called ecologies of world literature. Sjödin, “Anakronistisk kosmopolitism.”

<sup>34</sup> Roling, “Charles Baudelaire und Carl Georg Brunius: Bilder des Mittellateinischen im 19. Jahrhundert,” 264.

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# JOLCEL

JOURNAL OF LATIN COSMOPOLITANISM AND  
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## CURRENT CONTRIBUTION

Alejandro Coroleu, “Beyond Europe, beyond the Renaissance, beyond the Vernacular,” *JOLCEL* 2 (2019): 73–77. DOI: 10.21825/jolcel.v2i0.11556.

## NOTE

This contribution is the response piece to a larger dialogue of three articles that form the current issue of *JOLCEL*. The other contributions are “From the *Epistolae et Evangelia* (c. 1540) to the *Espejo divino* (1607): Indian Latinists and Nahuatl religious literature at the College of Tlatelolco” by Andrew Laird (pp. 2-28), “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).

# Beyond Europe, beyond the Renaissance, beyond the Vernacular

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The three articles clustered in this second issue of *JOLCEL* take us on a very long journey from sixteenth-century Mexico to nineteenth-century Scandinavia. Though restricted to two distinctive geographical areas and chronological periods, the panorama that is evoked by the three pieces gathered around the topic of Latin in the margins is extremely wide-ranging. The texts by Andrew Laird, Heréndira Téllez Nieto and Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich illustrate the significance of Latinity for understanding the (early) modern world from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Moreover, they testify to the ubiquity of the Latin language, omnipresent across (early) modern society for educational purposes and written communication. They also constitute a clear proof of the increasing scholarly interest in the vast world of Neo-Latin in its global dimension and research potential.

The focus of Laird and Téllez Nieto's contributions is the world of learning in the Imperial College of Santa Cruz at Santiago Tlatelolco, where Latin was integral, alongside Nahuatl, to the culture of the institution. As explicitly acknowledged by their authors, both pieces complement each other in their examination of the central role played by Latin in sixteenth-century Mexico. Moreover, the two essays by Laird and Téllez Nieto successfully present the writings of indigenous scholars as fascinating examples of the cross-fertilization of Latin and Nahuatl rhetorical patterns. In her article Téllez Nieto challenges traditional paradigms and long-established ideas of the scholarship concerned with the College of Santa Cruz, which has tended to overemphasise the substratum provided by pre-hispanic education. By contrast, Téllez Nieto draws the reader's attention to the dialogue between Mesoamerican forms of knowledge and Renaissance European humanism, upon which the curriculum adopted at Tlatelolco was based. She shows how the plan of studies prescribed for the Nahua collegians at Tlatelolco was modelled on the pedagogical methods in use at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Valladolid, where several distinguished members of the ruling classes of post-conquest New Spain had been trained. The guidelines for Latin instruction at Tlatelolco virtually echoed those of Valladolid; teaching would include the precepts of Antonio de Nebrija's *nova ratio*, the reading of Cicero and Quintilian's rhetorical works, and regular translations exercises from Latin into the vernacular. As argued by Laird in his own investigation of the pedagogical routines prescribed for the indigenous scholars educated at Santa Cruz, the bulk of Latin texts rendered into Nahuatl stemmed from the body of Biblical literature and of Christian



humanism. This is not surprising, given that the Franciscan friars who founded the College in 1536 required “precise translations from Latin of the religious texts that were needed for the conversion and ministry of indigenous populations”.<sup>1</sup> The profile of the institution examined by Laird is that of an academic setting in which Latin culture was vitally important to the evolution of Nahuatl literature, in a manner reminiscent of the development in the early modern period of whole new forms and genres in the various European vernaculars through translation and the Renaissance techniques of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.

Imitation and translation continued to provide a key to the progress of Neo-Latin literature, chiefly poetry, in the centuries to come. Vetushko-Kalevich’s article takes us to Sweden, the nation under the noble Arctos, i.e. the Great and Lesser Bear, signs that revolve around the Pole star (see Virg., *Georg.* I, 245-46). Although Latin held its strong position in Sweden up to the end of the Great Nordic War in 1721, indeed with a special tenacity, by the mid eighteenth century it had lost its status as Swedish politics’ and education’s main language, overtaken by the vernacular. Despite the general decline, verse production in Latin was still encouraged at academic institutions such as the University of Lund. As late as 1822, the Lund-educated architect and antiquarian Carl Georg Brunius (1792-1869) published an epic on northern gods entitled the *De diis arctois*, which was modelled both on collections of Old Norse anonymous poems and on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, as shown by Vetushko-Kalevich’s thorough examination of the dense base of hypotexts underlying Brunius’ six books on Nordic mythology, imitation of the classics (above all, Virgil, Ovid and Lucretius) was at the heart of Brunius’ highly refined verse technique. As with so many Neo-Latin authors he expected his allusions to and borrowings from earlier Latin writers to be recognised and valued.

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In nineteenth-century Sweden, appreciation of Brunius’ compositional technique was, however, rather meagre. In the last paragraphs of his paper Vetushko-Kalevich reviews (mostly negative) contemporary responses to the *De diis arctois*. In spite of the occasional praise received from fellow Neo-Latin writers, Brunius’ poetic endeavours came under virulent attack from the quarters of Romantic literary criticism, which dismissed his skill merely as the result of painstaking application, rather than the product of innate genius. Brunius’ choice of language, therefore, placed him firmly in the margins of the literary canon of his age. His fate is, in this respect, not different from the one befallen to so many practitioners of Neo-Latin verse and prose, whose craft was very often deemed artificial and fruitless or went simply unnoticed to critics.

Needless to say, Neo-Latin has its roots in the first humanists’ opposition to the Latin of late medieval intellectuals. Inevitably, scholars have tended to pay almost exclusive attention only to the major intellectual figures of the time. But if we wish to understand fully what Latin really meant during the (early) modern period, our inquiry should also include minor individuals equally engaging with the tenets and literary genres of Latin humanism. These are most commonly schoolmasters confronted with the harsh reality of teaching the rudiments of the Latin language, who are rarely afforded the part they deserve in accounts on the “dynamic role of Latin as a cosmopolitan language within European literary history”, to quote the premise of this journal. On this point this respondent concurs with Juliette Groenland, who has argued persuasively for the need to bring the contributions of more lowly-ranked Latin humanists to the fore in order to assess how humanist ideals were put into practice

<sup>1</sup> See Laird, 3

in the Renaissance classroom.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the academic recognition of Latin humanism knew no institutional or social hierarchy. It took place at university and school level, and it was fostered by high-ranking individuals and by less celebrated printers, humble grammar masters and even humbler elementary teachers alike.

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Despite noble calls to cross academic boundaries and to avoid linguistic divisions, approaches to the literary culture of Renaissance, Baroque and modern Europe have tended to concentrate exclusively on vernacular literatures, to the detriment of the vast corpus of Latin literature produced between ca. 1450 and 1800. In many European countries the rich output of Latin literature during these centuries did not emerge in a setting in which Latin was the only written language. Rather, the development of Neo-Latin poetry, prose, and drama was inextricably linked to (and usually in competition with) the inevitable spread of the vernacular in all spheres of life. Throughout the period the relationship between the two literary traditions was, however, never one way. Though several authors shunned the vernacular tongue altogether or decided to use it reluctantly and rarely, even their literary output was heavily influenced by the tastes and styles of the dominant vernacular culture. Conversely, those authors writing almost exclusively in the vernacular inevitably looked to their Latin counterparts for models and inspiration. Together the three articles published here reveal how, well into the eighteenth century, the school and university curriculum guaranteed that even prose writers and poets who could not write as confidently in Latin as they did in the vernacular could at least trot out the odd Latin elegiac for their friends or compose the occasional letter in Latin; alongside rudimentary exercises in Latin verse and prose composition, they were also schooled in the reading, interpretation, translation and imitation of the classical and humanist authors considered suitable literary models for their own writings. Loath to make any distinctions between ancient and modern—or Latin and vernacular—texts, they regarded literary imitation as a process that transcends the boundaries of time and language.

If the language selected by Brunius may have resulted in his exclusion from the canon of Swedish literary culture, the temporal and spatial coordinates he occupied have undoubtedly reinforced his marginal status within the historiography of Neo-Latin literature. Although scholarly interest in Neo-Latin literature has increased exponentially in recent years, there is still a tendency to restrict the study of Neo-Latin letters to works written in the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries, certainly for those countries that generated a conspicuous amount of Latin writing at that time, such as Italy, France, and the German-speaking territories. Yet, while the Renaissance as a cultural movement produced by far the greatest number of Neo-Latin texts, Neo-Latin literature ran well beyond the Enlightenment.<sup>3</sup> Stretching the chronological scope of Neo-Latin studies must go hand in hand with geographical expansion. As the three essays gathered in this second issue of *JOLCEL* aptly demonstrate, Latin was a prestige language even in those countries that produced far fewer Latin works in terms of quantity (as in the Americas and Asia), thus confirming Paul Gwynne and Bernhard Schirg's *dictum* that "we no longer talk of the 'lost Renaissance of Latin literature', but instead of

<sup>2</sup> Juliette A. Groenland, "Humanism in the classroom, a Reassessment," in *The Making of the Humanities. Volume 1: Early modern Europe*, ed. Rens Bod, Jaap Maat, and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 199–229.

<sup>3</sup> Ingrid De Smet, "Not for Classicists? The State of Neo-Latin Studies," *The Journal of Roman Studies* LXXXIX (1999): 208.

the ‘Empire of Latin’”.<sup>4</sup> The conclusion drawn from the three pieces under review is that in these areas Latin itself came to assume very similar functions to these it possessed in (early) modern Europe.

As with exploration of the ‘otherness’ of women’s Latinity or the construction of the non-European in Latin humanism, research into the Latin writings produced in the New World or in other regions beyond Europe should not be only a methodological *desideratum*. Rather, examination of this corpus has an intrinsic value and may prove extremely rewarding. The essay contributed by Andrew Laird, who in the past has written extensively on the symbolic value of acquiring Latin for indigenous Mexicans of the sixteenth century, has in this respect important implications.<sup>5</sup> Among other things, it shows how attention to the periphery, where new ideas were very often adopted in the educational curricula in a less resistant or conservative manner than sometimes acknowledged, may challenge our ideas on the intellectual and social context in which a given Latin work was created.

Let me illustrate this with an example. Among the texts discussed by Laird in his essay are Fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Colloquios y doctrina christiana* (1564) and two incomplete but distinct Nahuatl translations of Thomas à Kempis’ *Contemptus mundi* or *Imitation of Christ* dating from the 1560s. Whereas the title of the former clearly evokes Erasmus’s *Colloquia familiaria*, the two versions of Thomas à Kempis are related to the dissemination in New Spain of the *devotio moderna*, a quasi-monastic movement based on a personal relationship with God and an active demonstration of love towards Him, which is known to have exerted considerable influence upon Erasmus. The high degree of exposure enjoyed by Erasmus’s views on the Bible and by the principles of the *devotio moderna* in Mexico during the second half of the sixteenth century contrasts with the careful path contemporary Spanish Biblical scholars were forced to tread between their orthodox views (or the demands imposed on them by the ecclesiastical authorities) and the high praise which Erasmus’s philological and historical approach to the study of the Holy Writ after all merited. The Valencian historian Pere Antoni Beuter (1490/1495–1554), professor of Scripture at the local university, constitutes a good case in point. In 1547 Beuter published a tract entitled *Annotationes decem ad Sacram Scripturam*, aimed at his own students. When discussing the authenticity of a sample of biblical passages Beuter shows his acquaintance with Erasmus’ edition of the New Testament. He recognises the value of Erasmus’s Biblical scholarship but does not—cannot—fully endorse it. Beuter’s ambivalent attitude towards Erasmus is at its most obvious when—after advocating the collation of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts in those cases where the Latin text appears to be corrupt—he takes precautions and adds carefully, “as long as pure manuscripts may be found which are not suspect of having been forged by heretics or perfidious Jews” (fol. 167r). Contrary to the more permissive and dynamic state of affairs prevailing on the other side of the Atlantic, in a Spain which was gradually leaning towards the Counter-Reformation praise of Erasmus’s scholarly endeavours proved far too dangerous since it may have been misinterpreted as an endorsement of his religious views.

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Gwynne and Bernhard Schirg, eds., *The Economics of Poetry: the efficient Production of Neo-Latin Verse, 1400–1720* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018), 7.

<sup>5</sup> See Andrew Laird, “Latin in Cuauhtémoc’s Shadow: Humanism and the Politics of Language in Mexico after the Conquest,” in *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Ruys (Tempe/Turnhout: Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages / the Renaissance / Brepols, 2010), a volume which explores some of the themes discussed throughout this response.

The contributions submitted to the second issue of JOLCEL offer a truly cosmopolitan map of (early) modern Latinity and shed light on a range of questions closely intertwined with the topics covered by this journal. First and foremost, they explore the symbiotic relation between Latin and the vernacular. In his piece Vetushko-Kalevich illustrates the dynamism demonstrated by Latin in nineteenth-century Sweden even at a time when a vibrant modern language was already prevailing. The two essays on the Imperial College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco show that translation from Latin at Santa Cruz—an academic institution imbued with the principles of Christian humanism—was the main outcome of the indigenous' acquisition of the language. Translation led in turn to creation of literature in Nahuatl, and there is no question that Laird and Téllez-Nieto's articles will hold the greatest interest for scholars in the field of colonial studies and the study of the native tongues of New Spain. Moreover, together the three pieces help rehabilitate textual traditions which, until very recently, have been displaced from the canon of Neo-Latin studies. They also constitute a potent reminder of the perils of distorting European literary identity by ignoring the rich Latin tradition which ran in tandem with the achievements of the vernacular. It might be expected, then, that a great many scholars will discover much of value in the studies presented here.

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