Sahaguntine studies have long been handicapped by availability only of inaccurate publication or by unpublished texts of the magisterial *Historia General (Universal)* missing from such publications.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

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 Considerable unpublished independent research by Charles Dibble and the writer now rather firmly establishes the Tolosa manuscript as a later, but nearly contemporary copy (1580-1588?)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

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


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

1. Book II, Prologue

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

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

2. Book IX, Prologue

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

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

3. Book XI, Prologue

This text does not previously appear in any of the editions. It precedes the table of contents of Book XI.

The existence of the Prologue in Book XI of the Florentine Codex has been demonstrated by the Mexican Estudios Americanistas, as evident from the comparative listing of Sahagún’s separate volumes and 12 of Book XI.

As evident from the comparison of the Prologue in Book XI to the Prologue of the Florentine Codex, it is lost, and all four volumes were bound into the present four volumes.

4. Book XII, Al

Neither the Florentine Codex nor the Prologue for Book XII contain the Prologue for Book XII. Writing in French from Moscow for an Italian journal, the Mexican Francisco del Paso y Troncoso transcribed the Prologue in modernized Spanish for an 1896 publication. There he also demonstrated that vestiges of the original four volume manuscript described by Sahagún remain in the Florentine Codex, which at some point was bound into the present four volumes.

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

3. Book XI, Prologue

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

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

4. Book XII, Al lector

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>General Division</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Historia Moral</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Libro primero, en que se trata de los dioses: que adoran los naturales desta tierra que es la nueva españa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Segundo libro, que trata del calendario, fiestas y ceremonias, sacrificios y solemnidades: que estos naturales, desta nueva españa hazian a honra de sus dioses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Libro tercero en que se trata de los lugares donde yuan las animas de los defuntos y de la[s] esquias que los hazian y de las historias de algunos dioses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Comienza el libro quarto, de la astrologia, o arte adiuvatoria Yndiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Quinto libro que trata de los agueros y pronosticos que estos naturales toman en algunas aues, animales y saundixas para adiuvar las cosas futuras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historia Moral</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Libro sexto de la Rhetorica y philosophia moral, y Theologia de la gente mexicana donde ay cosas muy curiosas tocantes a los primores de su lengua y cosas muy delicadas tocantes a las virtudes morales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Historia Natural</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Libro septimo, en que se trata de la astrologia y philosophia natural que alcanzaron estos naturales desta nueva españa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Libro octavo de los reyes y señores, y de la manera que tenian en sus electiones y en el goujerno de sus reynos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Libro nono de los mercaderes, officiales de oro y piedras preciosas, y plumas ricas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historia Natural</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Libro decimo de los vicios y virtudes desta gente indiana y de los miembros de todo el cuerpo interiores y esteriores y de las enfermedades y medicinas contrarias y de las nacionales que a esta tierra an venjdo a poblar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Libro undecimo que es bosque, jardín, vergel de lengua mexicana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Historia Natural</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>El doeno libro tracta de como los espanoles conquistaron a la ciudad de Mexico</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

published in 1840 for recent editors of the general reproduction of the Book, which is found in the Flore.

5. Book VI, Dedic

This unfoliated text is in Latin. It was Garcia Icazbalceta manuscript, but of the dedication includes this one as in the case of record it can

6. Final Comment

Purposely the Garcia Icazbalceta four volumes, is manuscript, but of the date completed, analysis of the date of completed, analysis of the introductory materials in the

Carlos M. de Mexico. . . fundado o sea: historia original equivocado concepto de . . .

Both Saignes with the 1585 Prolog (and quite different)

Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta 2nd ed., Mexico, 1951

Edward King, Londres, 1830, [v. 1-7 omits substitued for "fratril"
published in 1840 from an unknown and now missing copy. Various recent editors of the *Historia General* have included it, although they generally reproduce for their publication the earlier Tolosano version of the Book, which itself is an edited text, omitting various things found in the Florentine Codex, and changing others.7

5. Book VI, Dedicatory Letter

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

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

6. Final Comment

Purposely the General Prologue (preceding Book 1) and its accompanying note “To the Reader” have been excluded from treatment here. They warrant special, and distinct consideration. At the moment there is some question about corroborating a date in figures (1579?) in the Prologue, which has important implications for fixing the date of completion of the Sequera Codex. When this matter is clarified, analysis of this and perhaps other Prologues and introductory materials is merited.

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

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


Appendix A. Translations

1. Book II. Florentine Codex, Spanish

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

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

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

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

When Father Fray Francisco Toral (the one who gave me this task) had completed his term in the [Franciscan] Chapter, they moved me from Tepepulco. Bringing all my writings, I went to live in Santiago del Tlatelulco,
where (after bringing together the leaders) I proposed to them the matter of my writings, and asked of them that they assign me some skilled principal men, with whom I would review and discuss the writings I brought from Tepepulco.

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

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

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

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

They saw them and gave a report on them to the council of the same Chapter, stating how they appeared to them. They said in the council that they were writings of much esteem, and in order to complete them they should be supported. To some of the councilmen, it appeared to be contrary to [vows of] poverty to expend monies on writing those works. Thus they ordered that the author dismiss his scribes and that he alone should write in his own hand that which he might want in them. He, as he was more than seventy years old, and because of trembling of his hand, was able to write nothing,
nor could he succeed in getting dispensation from this command. The writings remained more than five years without anything being done on them.

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

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

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

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

2. BOOK IX, PROLOGUE

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

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

After this, natural matters are treated, and this in Book vii. Then [are treated] lords, kings, governors, and principal persons; then the merchants who, after the lord, serve the republic. They are depicted in Book viii. There are feathers, gold, c., with their characteristics, conceptions, and differentiations, and also in Book x, where are described medicines against the diseases of people, and a generation of people, etc., and the third volume.

The fourth volume treats of birds, plants, and trees. Thus when this land was known, when this land was explored, and when this land was written about, we have all this.

All these Books contain.

3. BOOK XI, PROLOGUE

It is not so that there are no comparisons that are used language. With its exterior forms, as we are known and common to hortatory, it is found in all this land. The language, very correct it would be opposite of the creatures, so that anything whatever has the meaning of “god,” in some beauty, or at least for a proper. That this it can be inferred or for a bad one. That this name, “teupiliztli” or “bad boy.” Many meaning of which it is extremely good or bad.

Thus this present of names and term concerning the things.

4. BOOK XII, TO THE INDIANS

Although many have followed the account of the Mexican language of the very Indians, the language of was
command. The writings on them, elected as Custodian, and as Provincial, made a summary chapters of each Book, and in the Books. Father Gonzálem de Men was known what was in the Books, Father, author, and dispersed by many religious and turned to the General censure, and at the books recovered. After came into the author's were any one who would until Father Commissars and saw them. for to translate them was necessary to write chance in the other, in Señor don Juan qusted them. He had the mentioned Father understood that this, over many years. It has been put in the

History is that initially their sacrifices, and. These matters are Book v, which treats All these five Books the rhetoric and moral or many forms of very theological even monies. In this same orators were held. Book vii. Then are; then the merchants

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

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

3. BOOK XI, PROLOGUE

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

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

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

4. BOOK XII, TO THE READER

Although many have written of the conquest of this New Spain in Spanish following the account of those who conquered it, I wanted to write it in the Mexican language, not so much to draw out truths from the account of the very Indians who were found in the conquest but more to put down the language of war and of the arms which the natives use in it, in order
that from thence one can extract vocabulary and ways of stating, proper for speaking about this topic in the Mexican language.

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

5. BOOK VI, DEDICATORY LETTER

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

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

Sequera, Commissary
the exception only of
happiness.

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

fol. 1v Prologo

Todos los escriptores trabaxan de autorizar, sus escruturas, lo
mejor que pueden: vnos con testigos fide dignos: otros con otros
escriptores, que ante dellos an escrito, los testmonios de los quales
son aujdos por ciertos: otros con testimonjo, de la sagrada escrip­
tura: a mj an faltado todos estos fundamentos para autorizar, lo
que en estos doze libros, tengo escrito: y no hallo otro fundamento,
para autorizarlo: sino poner aqui, la relación que
hize: para saber la verdad, de todo lo que en estos libros he es­
crito. Como en otros prologos desta obra he dicho: a mj fue man­
dado por sancta obediencia, de mj prelado mayor que escriujese
en lengua mexicana, lo que me pareciese, ser vitil: para la doctrina,
cultura y manutenencia, de la crostianidad, destos naturales, desta
nueva españa: y para ayuda de los obreros, y ministros, que los
doctrinan: recebido este manda­miento, hize en lengua castellana,
vna mnunta o memoria de todas las materias de que auja de tratar:
que fue lo que esta escrito en los doze libros: y la postilla, y
canticos: lo qual se puso de prima tigera, en el pueblo de tepe­
pulco, que es de la proujncia de acolhuaca, o teczucu: hizose desta
manera. En el dicho pueblo hize juntar, todos los principales, con
el señor del pueblo, que se llamaua don diego de mendOña, hombre
anciano, de gran marco, y habilidad, muy esperimentado, en todas
las cosas curiales belicas y politicas, y aun ydolatricas. Aujendo los
juntado, propuseles lo que pretendia hazer: y pediles me diesen
personas habiles y esperimentados, con qujen pudiese platicar y me
supiesen dar razon, de lo que les preguntase: ellos me respondieron
que se hablarian, cerca de lo propuesto, y que otro dia me respon­
derian: y ansi se despidieron de mj. Otro dia vinieron el señor, con
los principales: y hecho vn muy solenne parlamento, como ellos
entonces le vsauan hazer: señalarome, hasta diez o doze principales
ancianos, y dixerome, que con aquellos podia comunicar y que
ellos me darian razon, de todo lo que les preguntar. Estauan tambien
alii hasta quatro latinos: a los quales yo pocos años antes auja
enseñado la gramatica, en el colegio de santa cruz en el tlaxtulco:
Con estos principales, y gramaticos tambien principales, platique
muchos días, cerca de dos años, siguiendo la orden de la ministra, que yo tenía hecha: todas las cosas que conferimos, me las dieron por pinturas, que aquella era la escritura, que ellos antiguamente usaban: y los gramáticos las declararon en su lengua, escribiendo la declaración, al pie de la pintura: tengo aun ahora estos originales. También en este tiempo di la postilla y los cantares: escribieronlos los latinos, en el mismo pueblo de tepepulco. Cuando al capítulo donde cumplió su hebdomada, el padre fray francisco toral, el cual me impuso esta carga: me mudaron de tepepulco, lIeuando todas pidiese a mi escrituras, fui a morar a santiago del tlatelulco: donde jun­ que quisiese tratar de las principales, los propuse el negocio de mis escrituras, y por temblar los demande me señalasen algunos principales habiles, con quien examinase y paticase las escrituras que de tepepulco traya escripi­ tas. El gobernador con los alcaldes me señalaron, hasta ocho, o diez principales, escogidos entre todos muy habiles en su lengua, y en las cosas de sus antiguallas: con los cuales, y con quatro o cinco colegiales, todos trilingues; por espacio de un año, y algo más en­ cerrados en el colegio: se examinando, declaro y añadió, todo lo que de tepepulco truaxe escrito: y todo se tornó a escriuir de nuevo, de muy letra porque se escriuió con mucha priesa: en este escrutinio o examen el que mas trabajo de todos los colegiales, fue marthin jacobita, que entonces era rector del colegio, zoeno de tlaltiulco, del barrio de sanctana. Auyendo hecho lo dicho, en el tlaltiulco vine a morar, a sanct francisco, de mexico, con todas mis escrituras: y los cantares: y se hizo un arte de la lengua mexicana general en un vocabulario apendiz: y los mexicanos enmendaron y añadióse muchas cosas, a los doze libros quando se yua sacando en romance: de manera que el primer cedardo por donde mis obras cirnijeron, fueron los de tepepulco: el segundo, los de tlaltiulco: el tercero, los de mexico: y en todos estos escrutinios vvo gramati­ cos colegiales. El principal y mas sabio fue antonjo valeriano, vezino tenja noti, de azcaputzalco: otro poco menos, que este fue alonso vegerano, padre fray de quauhtitlan: otro fue martín jacobita, de que arribe dixo. Todt hize mencion: otro pedro de san buenauentura, vezino de quauhti­ tan: todos espertos en tres lenguas, latina, espanola y indiana. Los escribanos, que sacaron de buena letra todas las obras son: diego de grado, vezino de tlaltiulco, del barrio de la conception. Bonifacio maximiliano, vezino del tlaltiulco, del barrio de sanct martin. Matheo seuerino, vezino de suchimilco, de la parte de villac. Desde las es­ crituras estuieron sacadas en blanco, con el fusor de los padres arriba nombrados: en que se gastaron hartos tomijnes con los es­ crijentes, el autor de las demanda al padre comissario fray fran­
NÁHUATL

mjnuta, me las dieron, donde jun­traya escrip­hasta ocho, o en su lengua, y con quatro o cinco año, y algo más en­añadia, todo lo que escriujr de nueuo, de este escrutinjo fue martjn de tIa tilu1co, en el tlatilulco todas mjs escrip­repase a mjs solas lerreillld~,r, y diujdilas capitulos: y algunos siendo proujncial de mexico, el pa­en blanco, de y saco en blanco la lengua mexicana erumendaron y aña­se yua sacando en donde mjs obras los de tlatilulco: vuo grama­valeriano, vezino alonso vegerano, de que arribe vezino de quauhti­y indiana. Los las obras son: diego conception. Bonifacio sanct martin. Matheo vllac. Desde las es­fauor de los padres tomjnes con los es­comissario fray fran­
cisco de ribera que se viesen, de tres o quatro religiosos paraque aquellos dixesen, lo que les parecia delas, en el capítulo proujncial que es un prologue: los quales las vieron y dieron relación delle­ al definitorio, en el mismo capítulo: diziendo lo que les parecia, y dixeron en el definitorio, que eran escrituras de mucha estima y que deujan ser fauorecidas: paraque se acabasen. Algunos de los de­finjedores les parecio que era contra la pobreza gastar dineros en escriujiendos aquellas escrituras: y asi mandaron al autor, que des­pidiese a los escriuianos: y que el solo escriujse de su mano, lo que quijiese en ella. El qual, como era mayor de setenta años, y por temblor de la mano no puede escriujr nada, nj se pudo al­cançar dispensación deste mandamiento: estuieronse las escrituras sin hazer nada en ellas mas de cinco años. En este tiempo, en el capítulo siguiente fue elegido por custos custodum, para el capítulo general: el padre fray miguel nauarro, y por proujncial el padre fray alonso descalona. En este tiempo, el autor hizo vn sumario de todos los libros, y de todos los capitulos de cada libro, y los prologos, donde en brevedad se desu todo lo que conti­en en los libros. Este sumario lleuo a españa el padre fray miguel nauarro, y su compañero el padre fray hieronymo de mendita: y asi se su­po en españa, lo que estaua escrito acerca de las cosas desta tierra. En este medio tiempo el padre proujncial tomo todos los libros al dicho autor y se esparzieron se por toda la proujncía, donde fueron vistos de muchos religiosos, y apruados por muy precios y prouchose. Después de algunos años bolujendo de capitulo general, el padre fray miguel nauarro: el qual vino por comjssario destas partes, en censuras, torno a recoger los dichos libros: a petición del autor, y desque estuieron recogidos, day a va año poco mas o menos, vinjeron a poder del autor. En este tiempo ninguna cosa se hizo en ellos: nj vuo qujen fauoriese para acabarse de traduzir en romance: hasta que el padre comjssario general fray Rodrigo de sequera: vino a estas partes, y los vio, y se contento mucho dellos: y mando al autor que los traduzese en romance: y proveyo de todo lo necessario, paraque se escriuiesen de nuevo. La lengua mexicana en vna coluna y el romance en la otra, para los embiar a españa porque los procuro el Illustrissimo señor don Juan de ouando, presidente del consejo de indias: porque tenja noticia destos libros: por razon del sumario que el dicho padre fray Miguel nauarro auja lleuado a españa, como arriba se dixo. Todo lo sobre dicho hace el proposito de que se entienda que esta obra a sido examjnada y apurada por muchos, y en mu­chos años, y se an passado muchos trabajos y desgracias hasta po­nerla en el estado que agora esta.

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

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

La orden que se a tenjdo en esta historia es que primeramente en los pri­meros libros se trato de los dioses, y de sus fiestas, y de sus sacrificios, y
de sus templos, y de todo lo concerniente a su servicio, y de esto se escri-
uyeron los primeros cinco libros: y dellos el posterior: fue el libro quinto,
que trata de la arte adiuvatoria, que también habla de las cosas sobre-
naturales: todos estos cinco libros se pusieron en un volumen. El sexto libro
que hae volumen por sí trata de la rhetorica y philosophia moral que estos
naturales alcanzaron, y donde se pone muchas maneras de oraciones muy
elegantes y muy morales, y aun las que tocan a sus dioses y a sus ceri-
monjas se pueden desir muy theologales: en este mismo libro se trata de
la estmación en que se tenían rhetoricos y oradores. Después de esto se trata
de las cosas naturales; y esto en el séptimo libro: y luego de los señores,
reyes, y gobernadores, y principales personas: y luego de los mercaderes, que
después de los señores, capitanes y hombres fuertes son los mas tenijdos en
la república: de los cuales se trata en el octavo libro, y tras ellos los
oficiales de pluma, y de oro, y de piedras preciosas: de los cuales se trata en
el noveno libro, y las calidades, condiciones, y maneras de todos los oficiales,
y personas, se trata en el libro decimo, donde tambien se trata de los miem-
bros corporales y de las enfermedades, y medicinas contrarias: y tambien
de las diferencias y diseriedades, de generaciones de géites que en esta tierra
autan, y de sus condiciones: estos cuatro libros constituyen el tercero volu-
men, que es este. El quarto volumen se trata de las cosas mas baxas que
son los animales, aues, yeruas y arboles, que constituye el duodecimo libro.
En el libro duodecimo se trata de las guerras quando esta tierra fue con-
quistada, como de cosa orrible y enemiga de la naturaleza humana: todos
estos libros constituyen el quarto, y posterro volumen.

3. BOOK XI, PROLOGUE

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

Prologo

No cierto es, la menos noble júia: de la predicación evangelica [es?] * 
cimiento de las cosas naturales: para poner ejemplos, i comparaciones [sic]:
quanto mas familiares a los oientes i por palabras, i lenguage mas usadas,
entrellos, dichas: tanto seran muchas uezes que se pudieron i prouechosas.
A este proposito se hizo, ia tesoro: en harta costa, i trabaxo este libro en
que estan escriptos en lengua mexicana: Las propriedades i maneras exte-
riores, i interiores que se pudieran alcanc;ar: de los animales, aues, i peces:
arboles, i ieruas, [i flores?] * mas conocidos i usados, que ai en toda esta
[tierra].

4. BOOK XII, AL LEG

Aunque muchos
segun la relacion de
mexicana no tanto
hallaron en la conquis
guerra, y de las qu
se puedan sacar vo
guia mexicana cer
conquistados supiel
 ellos durante la gran
tas razones de
esta historia, la qu
en la misma consi
de buen juizo y qu

5. BOOK VI, DEDICA

Integerrimo Patris occidentalis orbis ter-
vrâq, felicitatem o
Habes hic admon
quisdem acerímo,
'est: sunt et aliij se
In quatuor volumn
vi: grandi tripudio
vt pote nullatenus
fratibus peruenja

* [——?], not visible because word bound in right margin.
Transcribed from microfilm, July 18, 1969, by Howard F. Cline.
en este nombre, teupiltzintli, niño muj lindo: teuhpiltontli, muchacho muj terrible] * o malo. Otros muchos vocablos, se compone desta misma manera: de la significación [de los?] * quales se puede conjecturar: que este vocablo teutl quiere dezir: cosa estrema de [bien?] * o en mal. Así que el presente volumen se podrá tener, o estimar como un tesoro de los [nombres?] * i vocablos desta lengua mexicana i vna recamara, muj rica de las cosas que ai en esta [tierra?].

4. BOOK XII, AL LECTOR

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

5. BOOK VI, DEDICATORY LETTER (Florentine Codex)

Integerrimo Patri Fratri Roderico de sequera, generali comissario omnjum occidentalis orbis terrarum, vno dempto Peru Frater Bernardinus de sahagun vtraq. felicitatem optat.

Los colores, núm
dordial en los co
mágico del nativo
una función preci
prema trinidad del
días, la fusión de la

La vida materia
antoja un mural con
en que se logra la a
y cada uno de los
y su razón de ser, y
idad y belleza al co
idad indígena. No ca
armoniosa y total en
base de la integrid

El simbolismo de
ado en observaci
parte esencial de lo
exóticas: el canto.

Las observaciones
miento y Religión,
turas clásicas meso