“The prologue ‘To the Prudent Reader’ with which Sahagún preceded the text of the Coloquios shows us that the plan of the work was vast”, Nicolau D’Olwer writes; 1 “it was to be part of a sort of doctrinal encyclopaedia...” The plan was to follow his Coloquios y doctrina christiana, which he was arranging and compiling in 1564, with, in order, a catechism or doctrina, a chronicle of evangelism in New Spain, and “an explanation or commentary (una declaración o postilla) of all the epistles and gospels in the scriptural texts for all the Sundays (dominicas) of the year... very suitable in language and subject matter to the abilities of the Indians...” 2 The compilation of the chronicle was abandoned even as its place in the scheme was announced, since Motolinía had already written one. The commentary or Postilla was planned to be a major work so large as to need a volume to itself, and for various reasons consideration of it has become so complicated as to be a stumbling-block for the bibliographer. 3 Whether it is what is sometimes known as the Beltrami Codex that Biondelli published in 1858, 4 the Sermónario and Santoral written in 1540 and corrected and expanded in 1563, 5 or a different and now lost collection of Epístolas y Evangel...
ljos dominicales, there still exist what appear to be the complete text of the twenty-six Additiones to the Postilla (1568? 1577?) with an incomplete copy of the same in whose title appears the statement that it is the declaració breue de las tres virtudes theologales; and a part of the Apendiz (1579), which originally contained seven tenonotzaliztl or admonitions, of which only the fifth (incomplete), sixth, and seventh remain.

These Nahuatl writings of Sahagún were a part of the body of devotional works that such missionaries as Sahagún, Olmos, Molina, Mendieta, and probably most of the regular clergy then in New Spain considered essential for the effective conversion of recently or still pagan populations then and for a long time to come speaking their native languages. During the two decades between 1560 and 1580 Sahagún succeeded in writing or compiling a great deal of such material before the ecclesiastical and crown policies that had at first encouraged such activities in the end stifled them. While it had still seemed possible that strict application of these policies of suppression might be mitigated in New Spain, the Cantares (published in 1583 as the Psalmodia), the Coloquios and Doctrina, the Sermonario, and the Postilla with its Additiones and Apendiz were completed, as well as the Ejercicio cuotidiano, to mention works that today exist complete or in part and can be assigned dates with some certainty. Sahagún's colleagues appear to have encouraged him consistently in these efforts, if the Informe de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio al Visitador Lic. Juan de Ovando, published as the Código franciscano, is an indication. This report, written, García Icazbalceta thinks, by Mendieta, names both Frs. Alonso de Molina and Bernardino de Sahagún as the best nahuatlatos:


7 These make up Ayer MS 1486, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. I am indebted to Mr. Wayne Rowet of the College Library, University of California, Los Angeles, for a copy of this MS. — See also Nicolau D'Olive and Cline: "Sahagún", p. 206, and Jiménez Moreno, Fray Bernardino, p. 16-17.


Sahagún's evaluation of his own work in Book x of the General History:

Although preaching is continued it must appear very clear that none will understand the aforesaid Mexican language as well as [people] of the theologic offices at variance with the other. And the people of the future administering the Sacraments to those who in the future will be catechized in the said language as well as the natural speech of the Indians, already beginning to come...

For these works it can be said that literary style. Dibble and Mikkelsen: "La hualtization of Christianity" México: the Work of Sahagún 1974, p. 230-232.
...they are the ones who can translate anything into the Mexican language and can write in it, as they have done for many years and do today without tiring. It would be a great service to God, to His Majesty, and to the natives if the Viceroy were ordered and the Prelates of the Order were advised that while these two monks are still alive (for both are now old) they be accorded all the assistance and favor possible to devote themselves to writing in the aforesaid Mexican language, for to do so will greatly enlighten those who in the future are to undertake to preach and to administer the Sacraments to the natives of New Spain; for I realize that none will understand the secrets and qualities of the aforesaid language as well as these two, who have achieved it from the natural speech of the old natives, which the younger ones are already beginning to corrupt.

Sahagún's evaluation of his own efforts appears in his prologue to Book x of the General History of the Things of New Spain:

Although preaching is considered to be evangelical and apostolic, it must appear very clear that the preaching of Catholic preachers should be of vices and virtues, encouraging the one and discouraging the other. And the most constant should be the urging upon [people] of the theological virtues and dissuading them from the vices at variance with them. (And of this there is much material in the first six Books of the [General] History and in the Postilla dealing with the epistles and the gospels for all the Sundays of the year which I prepared...).

For these works it can be said that Sahagún developed his own literary style. Dibble and Mikkelsen, in their studies, are impressed by differences that they attribute, in the Sermonario and Santoral, to the absence of most of the parallel structures and figures of speech usual in the later Huehuetlatolli and in Book vi of the General History, and, in the Postilla, as due to Sahagún's "maintaining a degree of independence between the History and his 'Doctrina.' The limited use of Nahuatl literary style in the 'Postilla' is consistent with views he expresses elsewhere concerning the need...
to avoid names and terms recalling the paganism to be extirpated. "Perhaps", Dibble continues, "he equated many of the metaphors with the cantares at the end of Book 2, which he recorded but failed to translate..."

It certainly was not that Sahagún (or he and his alumni of the Royal College of Santa Cruz) were unequal to the task of reproducing the literary forms of preconquest Aztec masters. If the occasion demanded the old florid style, if rhapsodizing was called for, it was forthcoming, as it occasionally was in the Psalmodia. Some examples follow.

The canticle to be sung In die sancti Bernardini begins thus:

Ma ticmauigoca in quetzalueuetl Let us praise the quetzal-cypress
in tizinitzcanpucohod in quimoxo- The trogon-celba tree that God
altilia in toctuco Dios our Lord made bud
in iehoatl in sant Francisco He who is Saint Francis
Nouian cemanaacot motecoolhua- All over the world their cover
li immalacaio Their shadow protects all children of the holy Church...

In die Pentecostes is celebrated with a canticle that begins thus:

Ma oalmoquetza ma oncaoani in Let our golden upright drum be
totocuictlaueueuh set erecto Let be famed
ma ic onauialo Let there be joy with it
ma onlagmillini in tolchihiu- Let our two-toned drum of jade
teponaaz reverberate in precious sound
ma netotilo Let there be dancing
ma onnetlamachtilo... Let there be gladness...  

For the Dominica in Septuagesima a song of lamentation or tlapococlcuicatl opens the canticle:

Tla xiccaquica Hear this
in antepilhoa You who are children
in anchristianome You who are Christians

11 Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: Psalmodia Christiana y sermonario de los sanctos del año, en lengua mexicana, México, Pedro Ocharre, 1583, fol. 89 v.
12 Ibid., fol. 92 v.
onteuixioachpixau onquetzal-
mazquitzetzeltli in choquiz in
itlaocul in tonantzi sancta igle-
sia

no yoa xicchocaca
ma icnotlamati in amoiollo
In quali icti tepilhoa in iquac
choca tlaocula innaoa intaoa
c a no yoa icnoia in iilo... 

The weeping of our holy mother
Church rains gently down in
precious turquoise drops
Her pity rains down like wrist
bands emplumed with fine plumes

You must weep for her too
Let your hearts become sad
When parents weep tears
When pity they show
The hearts of good children as
well show their ruth... 13

An the celebration In die stigmatum beati Francisci begins thus:

Vel ontlauiastoc in nepapan su-
chitl
centlamiento in elosuchitl
in cacaosuchitl
in mecaosuchitl
Alleluia
In cacaosuchitl
in tapalizquisuchitl otlatatzcati-
man i oncucuepunpointoc
Alleluia alleluia...

The various flowers lie truly
gleaming
Magnolias lie all spread about
the ground
With lexarza flowers
With vanilla flowers
Aleluya
Lexarza flowers
Bourreria flowers are sparkling
Each one lies bursting open
Aleluya aleluya... 14

But such examples are rare. For most of the Psalmodia the liter-
ary style, as Garibay has pointed out, makes it evident that it is
Sahagún, not an Indian, who speaks. 15 As for the twenty-six addi-
tions to the Postilla, Dibble's study of them establishes that their
language has "no indication that he incorporated the richness of
metaphor contained in Book 6" of the General History, which he
may have recently been translating into Spain; 16 "rather, it compares

13 Ibíd., fol. 32 v.
14 Ibíd., fol. 172 v.
15 Angel M. Garibay K.: Historia de la literatura náhuatl, México, Editorial Po-
16 Dibble: "Nahuatlization", p. 230. The Postilla, according to Sahagún's own
statement in the Prologue to Book II of the General History, was begun when
he first presented his minuta or memoria to informants in Tepepulco, presum-
ably in 1558. It was reorganized in 1576-1578. If the Additiones, however, were
written in 1579, as may be inferred from internal evidence, Sahagún's memory
in this regard to the 1540 manuscript... In fact, he yielded less to the Nahua literary style than did Olmos in the Christian sermons of the Huehuetlatolli..."

It is true that the style of composition in the *Additones* to the *Postilla*, compared with that of the examples just given and with native poetry, is stark. Such parallel constructions as are to be found are formulae rather than ornaments — moteuopa in nis in noiollo (my face, my heart are afflicted); qualli ieciti and in aqualli in aieclii (good, righteous and their opposites); cenca ic tipapaguiz, timoiollaliz, timotlamachtiz (you will greatly rejoice, you will be consoled, you will delight), and others of similar pattern. In the *Ejercicio cuotidiano*, which may not have been intended as a part of Sahagún's doctrinal encyclopaedia but was written (or rather, rewritten) in the same epoch (1574) and is therefore mentioned with those writings, there is a little further relaxation of Sahagún's literary austerity and of his stricter scruples. God is referred to as totecuiyo ipalnemohuani (our Lord through Whom there is life) as well as teotl dios. The holy Virgin is addressed with a pretty figure of speech: huel titla~ochalchihuitl titexihuitl (you are indeed as precious jade, as fine turquoise). And in connection with the descent of the Holy Ghost we are given a description reminiscent of a figure of speech (machiotlatolli) in Chapter 43 of Book VI — omatzayan in ilhuicatl (the heavens split open). But for the most part the parallelism formulae are used as in the *Additones*.

In content, these manuscripts are quite different. The *Ejercicio cuotidiano*, with, after an untitled prologue, seven sections each with its scriptural quotation and its translation and commentary, its meditations, prayers, and exhortations, revolves about the life of Christ, the qualities and sorrows of the Holy Virgin and St. Joseph, the importance of the Three Kings and of St. John the Baptist, the nature of God and the Trinity, the place of the church and its commandments, and the like, and emphasizes the last supper, the Passover, and communion though not the crucifixion itself. It would be interesting to compare it with similar devotional works current in Europe in late medieval or early renaissance times. As it is in

of the contents of Book vi, translated into Spanish in 1577, could have been fresh. But they may have been written in 1568, as Nicolau D'Olwer and Cline, with a query, suggest, Nicolau D'Olwer and Cline, "Sahagún", p. 204-205.

A prologue and twenty-six "additions", an occasional, very brief bibliographic note, present quite detailed explanations of the theological virtues and of Heaven, and death and the translation of holy writings. The comment that they often rendtion of the following "ex toto corde tuo, etc." is

quitzonquej. In tinopiltzin, moquatequj, yn nouje oth tii: in ie tinomaceo, in piltzin: yzca in motequj, mocahuitl in sicnonemjil, jxqujch cahuji tinemjil, motech monequj, yn ticmonemjli, in motequj, yn motoquj, yn mostzin, much ica moiollo...

17 Ayer MS 1484, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. I am indebted to Dr. Charles E. Dibble, OAA, for a copy of this MS.

18 Ayer MS 1484. The quotion is no foliation.
the manuscript, it is in beautifully correct and legibly written Nahuatl, and what Sahagún says of it (in Spanish) at its close suggests that he must have felt some pride in its production:

I found this exercise among the Indians. I do not know who produced it nor who gave it to him. It had many errors and incongruities. But in truth it may be said that it was rewritten rather than that it was corrected. In this year of 1574. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.

Both the twenty-six additions to the Postilla and the Apendiz are more complicated works, although in both literary style and content the Additiones can be compared with the Ejercicio. Both of these works promote what Sahagún considers most important in the passage already quoted from Book x of the General History: they urge the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity), and attack "the vices at variance with them", as the subtitle of the Additiones indicates — declaracio breue de las tres virtudes theologales.

A prologue and twenty-five subsequent chapters make up the twenty-six "additions", and the instructions and exhortations, with occasional, very brief biblical quotations and their translations, present quite detailed explanations of what is meant by each of the theological virtues and end with powerful descriptions of Hell, Heaven, and death and the Last Judgment. It is notable that the translations of holy writ usually incorporate so much explanatory comment that they often cannot be taken as true translations. The rendition of the following example, "Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, etc." is fairly typical:

quitoznequj. In tinopiltzin yn oti-
moquatequj, yn noujc otimonetol-
ti: in ie tinomacoeal, in ie tinop-
piiltzin: yzca in motequiuh, in
monoaotil in ticomnomiztiz: yn
jxquijh cahuji tinemjz. Cenca
motech monequj, yn ticmotla
tiliz in moteouh yn motlatoca-

tzin, much ica moiollo... Thas is, you who are My son, who
have been baptized, who were
promised to Me, who already are
My vassal, who already are My
son, here is your task, your obli-
gation that you are to adopt as
a way of life all the time that you
are to live. It is very necessary
for you that you love your deity,
your Lord, with all your heart...18

18 Ayer MS 1406. The quotation is from Chapter 5 of the Additiones; there is no foliation.
Some real complications are in the *Apendiz* of seven "admonitions", of which, as has been noted, the first four and the beginning of the fifth are lacking. The sixth and seventh of these admonitions were written with Book VI of the *General History* in mind, as is stated in the heading introducing the seventh:

Nican vmpeoa ynic chichontlantli tenonotzalizti ynic yehuatzin tonantzín sancta yglesia Romana quimmononochilia y nican nueua España tlaca, yn itechpa ie ucuaui tlamanitilizti ynic quinnetoltiaia inpilhuan ynic vmpe caalaquizque yn i calmecac, anoço vncan in telpochcalli, yn iuh ycuiliihtoc yn ipan yc umpohualli Capítulo ynic chiquacenteti amontl, yn itechpa tlaao in Rethorica, yoá philosophy, yhuan theologia in quipiaia nican nueua España tlaca...

The sixth admonition makes use of the twenty-second chapter, without its being so noted in the heading of the section, which merely states:

...Itech omocuic in tenonotzalizti, injc iehoantl veuetque quinno notzaia intelpuchhoa, in jampa in teixpa nematanemjilzti.

Here begins the seventh admonition by which the holy Roman Church admonishes the natives of New Spain concerning the ancient customs when they promised that their children would enter the calmecac or there into the telpochcalli, as it lies written in the fortieth chapter of the Sixth Book, which tells of the rhetoric, and the philosophy, and the theology which the natives of New Spain guarded...

The sixth admonition makes use of the twenty-second chapter, without its being so noted in the heading of the section, which merely states:

...Itech omocuic in tenonotzalizti, injc iehoantl veuetque quinno notzaia intelpuchhoa, in jampa in teixpa nematanemjilzti. It has been taken from the admonitions with which the old men admonished their older boys for the purpose of [their] living prudently in the presence of others. 20

For the purpose to which Sahagún put these extracts from Book VI, he followed advice given in the chapter heading of Chapter 19 of that book, which reads: "This discourse especially should be memorized, if it is to be used for instruction, for it is a very good discourse; but that which is not necessary is to be changed. It is especially useful...

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20 *Ibid., (Apendiz).*


22 Manuel Ballesteros Galán, *Institución "Fray* MS 1486 (note at end 23 *Ayer MS, 1486.*

24 *Read ann.*
for the older boys, for the older girls." 21 One notes, however, the remark, referring to the Apendiz, that these works are exclusively for the use of priests and preachers. 22 Chapter 22 is quoted consecutively, almost completely, with a few brief omissions (some of which are obviously due to hasty copying), and with some additions suitable to the instruction of young Christians. Chapter 40 is also quoted consecutively and almost completely. Omissions are fewer; there are numerous errors and one or two substitutions as in Chapter 22. The second person plural replaces the singular number of Book VI.

So in this admonition he writes:

...ca ypampa y namechilhuia y, huel muchi inlatol in vehuetque ca in quallito, ca in thiaeiqui quinelohuan ym amo qualij, namechmelahuilizquia... ...for this reason I tell you this, that [in] indeed all the discourses of the old men that were well said, that were righteous, they were wont to mingle what was evil, which I would explain to you... 23

And in his seventh admonition he prefices its long attack upon calmecac and telpochcalli as inventions of Lucifer with the following statement:

...ypampa ...yn amelahuilozque 24 yhuā an nemachi tilozque, namechpohuiliznequi yn ixquich y nícmati yn oncā muchihuaya ynic vnca calaquia in calmecac in telpuchcalli ca one chihuitelahu que in vevetque yn oncā omohuapahuque yn oncā onenque in muchi vnca oquittaque ahu ca yn... ...because...you are to be informed and warned, I wish to narrate to you all that I know that was done there when they entered the calmecac [or] the telpochcalli. The old men who had been taught there, who had lived there, as they departed told me all that they had seen there.

22 Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois: Vida y obra de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, León, Institución "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún", CSIC, 1973, p. 79; Ayer MS 1486 (note at end of Prologue).
23 Ayer MS, 1486.
24 Read anm-.
quac omoquatequique in ye otechtzincó 25 pachihuque. to.⁹
dies, oncach pohuilique y namech-
pohuiliznequi ynic amo amotla-
pololtitimizque 26 yn itechpa yn itlamanitiliz catea yn ipá in cal-
mecac yhuan in telpochcalli.

And when they were baptized, when they approached our Lord God, then they narrated what I wish to narrate to you, so that you may not live in forgetfulness of what their customs were in the calmecac and in the telpochcalli.⁶⁷

At the end of this passage on calmecac and telpochcalli he repeats: "I wish to tell you, concerning their customs, what was good, what was evil, in what they did" (namechnolhuíliznequi in quenami yntlamanitiliz in tein quallj in tein aquallj in quichihuaya). ²⁸

What survives of the fifth admonition contains no overt reference to Book VI of the General History, but the weeping, penances, and vigils of small children, admiration of prehispanic priests for their chaste lives, and belief in the Tlalocs and their work, found in Chapter 20, are denounced. So are beliefs in the blessed state of small children dying young (if unbaptized), in their "Tree of our Sustenance" (tonacaguahuitl), and in the blessed state of the "good in heart" after death (if unbaptized), as described in Chapter 21. It seems quite likely that the missing first through fourth admonitions must also have contained ideas taken from Book VI.

As to other subject matter in this Apendiz: to continue with the fifth admonition, the rest of that section develops a long discussion extolling chastity and virginity and denouncing the sensual (especially sexual) pleasures. The seventh, after the attack upon the ancient calmecac and telpochcalli as inventions of Lucifer (that is, Tzecatlipoa), for the purpose of denying happiness to children (for Tzecatlipoa's pleasure) and training them to honor the devil, denounces the dances (netotiliztli) for the same reason, and then the sort of ritual sadness (tlavcuyaliztlj yn ehoquiztlj yn elfifiviliztlj) cultivated and praised by preconquest Aztecs (in contrast with spiritual sadness, tesiutica tlavcuyaliztlj, as preached by St. Paul). Likewise evil, excessive joy (amo qualli or tpc papaquiliztlj) is similarly contrasted with spiritual joy (tesiutica papaquiliztlj). The sixth admonition, as has been noted, is largely composed of the warnings against sloth;

²⁵ Read itech- or aitech.
²⁶ Read anmo.
²⁷ Ayer MS 1486.
²⁸ Ibid.

unbecoming deportment with strangers, one's sup-
procrastination; unbecoming eating habits and undul-
ing hospitality, familiar to
These are sometimes in
prayer and exhortations

We have considered
numerical order because
different as to merit qu
unbecoming behavior in

yn ipampa ye amotlā

The passage in the ma
someone had decided no
no more illegible than th
immediately after the w
been used, even though

The text, which dra
Tla xicmocaquiticá y
şopilhuá ¹⁰ ca yn yehua
tilteca en Españoles ¹¹ ye
yn iyeliz quinenehuiia
miztli ca chicahuac ca t
 ti ca tequani yn iştch'
cenca quimacaci, ahu
huantin yn amoyeliz y
cayo yuhquima tocht
yyeliz intla yehuatl in
mochichihuaznequí in
qua, ahu y mitzá ahv

¹⁰ Ibid.
¹¹ Read anmo.
¹² The tilde is omitted i
unbecoming deportment; bad habits of speech; undue familiarity with strangers, one's superiors, and women; gossip and loose talk; procrastination; unbecoming dress; and unbecoming, unpleasant eating habits and unduly trusting and undiscriminating acceptance of hospitality, familiar to us in Chapter 22 of the General History. These are sometimes interrupted by brief instructions on Christian prayer and exhortations to chastity and continence.

We have considered the sections of the *Apendiz* out of their numerical order because the sixth ends with a discussion so uniquely different as to merit quoting at length. The admonitions against unbecoming behavior in public break off with this statement:

yn ipampa ye amotla cate in castilteca quezquj camatzintli na-mechcaquitiz: ynte amo yntech antlapololitzque.

Because there are Castilians among you, I shall inform you in a few words how not to lose good judgment among them. 29

The passage in the manuscript has lines drawn through it as if someone had decided not to use it, but since the text is there and is no more illegible than the rest of the manuscript, and since it follows immediately after the undeleted text just given, it may well have been used, even though it seems, perhaps, somewhat uncharacteristic of Sahagún.

The text, which draws his sixth admonition to a close, follows.

Tla xicmocaquitica yn anotla-çopilhuila 26 ca yn yehuatín in castilteca in Españoles 27 yn innacayo yn iyeliz quineheuilia in castilla miztli ca chicahuac ca temamauiti ca tequani yn ixq'chtin yokque cenca quimacaci, auh yn ame-huantin yn amoyeliz yn amonacayo yuhquima tochtlí ynaçaio iyeliz intla yehuati in tochtlí ye mochichihuaznequiz in tlein qui-qu, auh y miztli ahuel quimo.

Listen, you who are my beloved children. In body [and] in nature the Castilians, the Spaniards resemble Castilian mountain lions. They are strong, terrifying, man-eating. All animals fear them. But you in your nature, in your bodies, are as rabbits' bodies [and] natures are. If the rabbit wishes to array itself in the way [the mountain lion does, it will need (??)] what [the mountain lion]

29 Ibid.
26 Read amna.
31 The tilde is omitted in the MS.
eats. But it cannot become a mountain lion in body, for it only eats herbs and the mountain lion eats men's flesh. And if the rabbit wishes to live like mountain lions, [the mountain lion] will eat [the rabbit]. You are also like that if you will array yourselves as Spaniards are arrayed. If you will live as Spaniards live, or if you wish to speak as they speak, it all makes them laugh, as they wish. But although your nature and Spaniards' nature go their separate ways, a Christian life makes your souls one with the Spaniard. As a Christian he becomes a lamb; and the Indian as a Christian also becomes a lamb. Thus your souls become as one. And they love each other, they are happy; because both resemble lambs they love each other, they are happy.

The good Indian Christian loves the good Spanish Christian, and by this love God commands us to come together. The Indian, if Christianity is not in him, is like the rabbit; he flees from the Spaniard. The Spaniard who is not a good Christian is just like the mountain lion. The Indian fears him, is terrified before him, thinks he is to be eaten. Christianity unifies us people of the world whose natures go many to be regarded as reciprocal in meaning rather than just reflexive.

The texts we have - Apéndiz, may well be in toye[liz] 33 cenca ná quistican.

Yn onamechihuij yn anto pilhui 26 yampa oniquitl en amo cenca anquimocuitl en amon tejetemihuij en ca amo no y tlaqzquila, amon ymauli, amo no anquimocuitl en iuh intlapiquihuij en iuh nenemini en Españoles yntla noce yuh antetoquequ en iuh intlapiquihuij, ca mochi tevetzquitl ynic nequui aub macihuij en amoyeliz iuh yhua en Españoles 33 nonoqua quiztica y en yehuati in xpiánonenemiztili quiçetilhuij en amanima yca in espaniol ynic xpiano ychcaconetl mocihuij, aub in yndios ynic xpiano ca no ychcaconetl muchiua yc mocetilia en amanima, aub ca motlaçotl 34 motlacamatli yehica ca neneuhque ca ym otlanamixtli yechacocone ca motlaçotla motlacamatli in qualli xpiano iñjio quiçetotla in qualli xpiano castilecatl aub ynin tetlaçotlalitlizli yc techmonahuatlilhuij en dios ynic titocentlalitlizque aub in yehuatl indio en amo ytech ca in xpiánoyoł, yuhqui tochti yxpampa yehuaya in Español in Español in amo qualli xpiano, ca iñjio miztil ca quimacaci momahuatl xypañqualcamati en indio: ca in yehuatl in xpiánoyoł techetilhui in ticemanaahuac titlahca ca

22 Read amo-
23 The tilde is omitted in the MS.
24 Read motlaçotl: probably the verb is to be regarded as reciprocal in meaning rather than just reflexive.
This I have said to you who are my beloved children because I have said that you are not to concern yourselves much about the array of Spaniards, nor their food, nor their drink; nor are you to imitate the way they speak, nor are you to imitate the way they live. Only this is especially necessary for you: what your grandfathers trained you in, as is said above. As to the Christian life, imitate the good Christians, those of righteous life who live according to God's commandments, who do not get drunk, who do not steal, who do not mock one. As to your array, as I have said, you are to wear shirts, you are to wear knee pants (zaragüelles), you are to wear hats, you are to wear shoes. The things that the old men did not know of as they departed are the things that ornament you before God and before the people of the world. This is all my discourse about prudence as to your bodies:

The texts we have dwelt upon in greater detail, those of the Apendiz, may well be those of greatest interest in this sampling of
Sahagún’s doctrinal encyclopaedia. From Mendieta 38 and even more so from Sahagún himself, 39 we know of the importance he placed upon the Royal College of Santa Cruz and the indoctrination and education of the youths sent there. The twenty-six additions to the *Postilla* and the *Ejercicio cuotidiano* are obviously written for the indoctrination of adults (although occasionally reference is made to adolescents, even young ones). But the instruction in the *Apendiz* is all of a type suited to young people (mostly boys) of an age suitable for admission as students in the Royal College of Santa Cruz. Of the subject matter taught, even as late as the 1570s, we know something, for the general curriculum is well known. As for other details we are not fully informed, aside from such data as Sahagún gives and such generalizations as the remark made in the *Códice franciscano* 40 that “besides Latin... they learn the Castilian language and much good behavior and good habits”. From the summaries of the subject matter in the sections of the *Apendiz* that still survive, and from the passage quoted above, it is hard to avoid theorizing that they were meant to orient or guide the young Aztec students, and to have been developed in the Royal College for that purpose.

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39 Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: “Author’s Account Worthy of Being Noted”, index and preliminary volume of the *Florentine Codex*, in press.
40 *Códice franciscano*, p. 63-64.