SAHAGÚN'S MANUAL DEL CHRISTIANO
HISTORY AND IDENTIFICATION

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The _Manual del Christiano_ has been included in the bibliography of the works of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, ever since Alfredo Chavero described the manuscript. It passed along with a number of other Sahagún manuscripts which Chavero had obtained from José Fernando Ramírez, into the library of Sr. D. Manuel Fernández del Castillo. The manuscript was later sold at auction by Messrs Puttick and Simpson in their London sale of 1880, where it is described as:

544 MEXICAN. The loose leaves from different Mexican MSS. of the 16th Century (some with beautiful illuminated initials). Four leaves signed Don Martin Enriquez and dated Mexico, 16th of February, 1578, on the last leaf. 4to. These leaves seem to be the remnants of an unknown work of the indefatigable Fr. B. DE SAHAGUN, as the last leaf contains the permission on the Viceroy given to him to print “el dicho Manual del Christiano.” Whether it were ever printed or not we are unable to state, as the present is the only reference to the work mentioned, which we know of.

While most of the Sahagún manuscripts were sold to Bernard Quachrich, the famous London bookseller, and then to Edward Ayer in Chicago, the _Manual del Christiano_ disappeared from view after the 1880 sale. Item No. 544 was sold to Ricardo Heredia y Livermore, conde de Benahavis, a noted nineteenth-century book collector. The Heredia library was sold at auction by the firm of E. Paul L. Huard et Guillemin of Paris in 1891, where the _Manual_ was described as follows:

1 Prof. Louise Burkhart kindly read our manuscript in its final stages and made many useful suggestions, which we gratefully acknowledge. We are responsible, however, for any imperfections and errors that may remain.
3 Puttick and Simpson 1880: 74.
4 Heredia y Livermore 1891-94, 1: 81.
252. FRAGMENTS DE MANUSCRITS MEXICAINS. In-4 de 14 ff. non reliés.

Dix feuillets proviennent de manuscrits mexicains du XVIe siècle, avec des lettres initiales en couleur. Quatre feuillets signés par M. Martin Enriquez et datés de Mexico 16 février 1578, semblent provenir d’un ouvrage inconnu de Fr. B. de Sahagun [sic] “Manuel del Christiano” car sur le dernier feuillet on lit la permission délivrée par le vice-roi d’imprimer ledit livre.

Ces fragments proviennent de la vente Ramirez.

Who purchased item 252 at the Heredia sale is unknown, but the manuscript entered the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France soon after 1899, when Henri Omont 5 published the last complete catalogue of the Mexican manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The last entry in the Omont catalogue is MS No. 401. Manuscript number 402 is the manuscript of the Manual del Christiano.

The manuscript contains twelve folios. The first folio is an unnumbered folio with the following nineteenth century inscription:

Mexican 402

Los manuscritos(?)
[five or six illegible words followed by] de los frailes de los últimos tiempos
10 hojas de diferentes codices Mejicanos del Siglo XVI.
4 hojas que se suponen pertenecer a una obra desconocida de Fr. B. de Sahagún “Manual del Christiano”.

Londres (1880) V. Ramirez £10-10.

The reverse of this folio is blank; folios 1 - 3 are fragments from a Nahuatl version of the Gospels; folio 4 is a fragment from a Nahuatl religious work in two columns; folios 5 - 7 are missing; folios 8 - 10 are additional fragments from the Nahuatl version of the Gospels; folios 11 - 13 contain a Nahuatl text on marriage; folio 14 has the end of the permission (in Spanish) to publish the Manual del Christiano granted by Don Martin Enriquez.

The volume is obviously made up of a number of fragments from several different works. The only stated indication that any of the items might be by Sahagún is that any of the items are the obvious choice as Sahagún’s Manual del Christiano.

A number of Nahuatl orthography in his works is based on the orthography used by Sahagún with other sixteenth century orthography is rather idiosyncratic. It should be remembered that the Nahuatl orthography that any scribe copying Sahagún’s works used is based on the orthography used by Sahagún in his works. Codex uses Sahagún’s orthography in the text of Sahagún’s own work and use this orthography. The only work that is Sahagún’s authorship, or at least, that he used to copy Sahagún’s orthography. Codex uses Sahagún’s orthography in his work. Codex is written by Sahagún, and use this orthography. The only work that is Sahagún’s authorship, or at least, that he used to copy Sahagún’s orthography.

When Sahagún uses text that is a representation of the language “teyoyotica.”

In his use of yoaan an aztec orthography in his work, Sahagún has a strong preference for hoa(n) for -pilhuan; texts from the sixteenth century tend to retain words from the original language.

Table I shows that the text of Sahagún’s Manual del Christiano is by the authorship of Sahagún. The license to print the Manual del Christiano was given to Sahagún in 1578.

The license to print the Manual del Christiano was given to Sahagún in 1578.

6 Chavero 1877: 99.
7 García Icazbalceta: 182.
8 Private communications.
9 See Carochi 1983 or Royal
might be by Sahagún is in the permission granted by Viceroy Enríquez to have Sahagún’s *Manual del Christiano* printed. The marriage texts are the obvious choice as the fragments from the *Manual del Christiano*, Chavero⁶ and García Icazbalceta⁷ both attributed these pages to the *Manual del Christiano*.

A number of Nahua scholars have noted that Sahagún used a unique orthography in his Nahua. We may be able to attribute texts based on the orthography used. A comparison of the spellings used by Sahagún with other sixteenth-century Nahua writers indicates that his orthography is rather idiosyncratic⁸ (see Table 1). However, is should be remembered that the orthography is particular to Sahagún, and that any scribe copying a Sahagún text may or may not have used Sahagún’s orthography. For example, the copyist of the *Florentine Codex* uses Sahagún’s orthography while the copyist of the main body of text of Sahagún’s *Sermones* manuscript (Ayer MS 1485) does not use this orthography. The Sahagún orthography is then proof of Sahagún’s authorship, or at least of one of his pupils, but a different orthography is no proof that it is not by Sahagún.

When Sahagún uses *teujutica* he is possibly showing in this instance a representation of the long /o/ or at any rate a distinctive spelling of “teoyotica.”⁹

In his use of *yoan* and *cemanaoac* Sahagún presents a different representations of syllable-initial /w/.

Sahagún has a strong tendency to drop word-final /n/ (i.e., -pihlhoa(n) for -pilhua(n); the other important authors of the sixteenth century tend to retain word-final /n/.

Table I shows that the Sahaguntine orthography was used throughout folios 11-13. The reference in the permit to publish Sahagún’s *Manual del Christiano* and the idiosyncratic orthography indicate that folios 11-13 are Sahagún’s work, while the subject certainly is what might be expected within a “Manual del Christiano.” There can be little doubt that these folios were part of Sahagún’s *Manual del Christiano*.

The license to print states Sahagún may proceed “ymprimyendo todo en vn cuerpo, conforme al original que a recibido, o por partes y tratados como el dho autor quijiere.” This indicates that the *Manual del Christiano* was composed of a number of different works. Fray

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⁶ Chavero 1877: 99.
⁷ García Icazbalceta: 1886: 265.
⁸ Private communication from Dr. James Lockhart and Barry Sell.
⁹ See Carochi 1983 or Karttunen 1983 for the long vowels in this word.
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* Sermones 1540/48 - Ayer MS 1485 (only marginalia which are in Sahagún's hand).

1548 * Doctrina* - Anonymous (O.P.)
1565 * Doctrinal* - Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación (O.P.)
1569 * Confesionario* - Fr. Alonso de Molina (O.F.M.)
1577 * Sermonario* - Fr. Juan de la Anunciación (O.S.A.)
Juan de Torquemada in the *Monarquía Indiana* gives a list of Sahagún’s works, most of which are lost. The following religious titles are given:

1. Declaracion Parafrastica y el Símbolo de Quicumque vult.
2. Declaracion del mismo Símbolo, por manera de Dialogo.
3. Platica para despues de el Bautismo de los Niños.
4. La Vida, y Canonización de S. Bernardino.
5. Lumbre Espiritual.
8. Espejo Espiritual.
9. Espiritual, y Manjar Solido.
10. Escalera Espiritual.
11. Regla de los Casados.
12. Fruta Espiritual.
13. Impedimento de el Matrimonio.
14. Los Mandamientos de los Casados.
15. Doctrina para los Médicos.
16. Tratado de siete Colaciones, mui Doctrinales, y Morales.

Since the known text is about marriage, it has been assumed that the *Manual del Christians* dealt with matrimonial material exclusively. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno suggests that the three works on marriage, the “Regla de los Casados”, “Los Mandamientos de los Casados”, and the “Impedimento de el Matrimonio”, were part of the *Manual del Christians*. We can argue that not only the three items on marriage were part of the *Manual del Christians* but that in fact most of the titles in the list would comfortably fall within a volume titled *Manual del Christians*. Certainly numbers 2, 5-14 and 16 should be included as likely titles which were individual treatises making up the larger work for which authorization for publication was granted.

From the fragment of text available some determination may be made whether Sahagún merely translated some European original or composed the text himself. Dr. Stafford Poole, C. M., kindly read the text in the hope of spotting some European source and wrote the following:

10 Torquemada 1969, 3: 488.
It is possible that Sahagún borrowed his material from some European source, but I am inclined to doubt it. The language, tone, and emphasis appear to me to be entirely different from that of any standard theological work of the sixteenth century. It lacks the dry, scholastic approach and seems to be more kin to the speeches that Mexica elders used to give. The treatment of marriage is also more pastoral and sympathetic than is usually found in tracts of the times. Though there is the usual, obligatory nod to the superiority of celibacy, in general he seems to be presenting an attractive picture of what marriage should be. Most manuals of that time would have emphasized the dangers in marital relations, specified the times when they could or could not be used, and would more strongly have emphasized a sense of sin. I think that his variance from the standard treatment makes Sahagún somewhat unique.

The pastoral, sympathetic style which predominates in the text is very typical of the known religious works from the pen of Sahagún. They show Sahagún as a sympathetic and caring priest, whose Franciscan philosophy was in touch with the people to whom he ministered.

Commentary

On the basis of the foregoing history and analysis of these fragments, as well as because they were known, described, and identified by such authorities as García Icazbalceta, Chavero, Ramírez, Jiménez Moreno, and others, and because, while the text is untitled, unsigned, and undated, the last folio, part of Viceroy Enríquez's license to publish, both names the author and provides the title of the work, we can surely enough assume that in these fragments we have what remains of the Manual del Christiano. In a schedule of Sahagún's most important known evangelical literary activities it fits as follows:

1540 – Sermonario y Santoral written
1548 – Both extant copies of Sermonario made.

Only four folios of this Life of Those Joined in the following:

Jnje ce cap. 9 yncan quenjìn cenca qualli cenca icteneoalonj yn nenamjctiliztli: aub ynjr mento.

Thirteen reasons are the beginning, its association with Mary and Saint Joseph chapter, which is incomplete on the virtues of chastising by the way it starts part of the Fifth Admonition. The heading and probably most of the text is:

The obligations of the husband to love his wife's soul more...
1559-61 - *Psalmodia Christiana* dictated: text of the *Postilla* dictated

1563 - *Sermonario y Santoral* revised [supervised by Sahagún] (1548a MS)

1564 - *Colloquios* produced

1569 - *Psalmodia* revised

1574 - *Exercicio Quotidiano* produced

1578 - *Manual del Cristiano* (date of viceroy’s license to publish)

1579 - Veintiséis *Addiciones desta Postilla* and *Apéndiz de la Postilla* written

1583 - *Psalmodia Christiana* published

1583 - *Sermonario* revised [not supervised by Sahagún] (1548b MS)

Only four folios of the *Manual* remain; the first of these is titled *Izcatqui y nínemjiliz ynteujutica omonamjictique* (Here is the Way of Life of Those Joined in Holy Matrimony); and of the rest we have the following:

Jnje ce cap.º vncan mjoa yn quenjn cencza qualli cecca tlaçotli cencza iecteneoalaj ynteujutica nenamjictilizli: auh ynjn ca sacramento.

First Chapter. Here it is told in what ways holy matrimony is very good, very precious, very praise-worthy; and this [holy matrimony] is a Sacrament.

Thirteen reasons are given - its having been instituted by God in the beginning, its association with Adam and Eve, Noah, and the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph, its being a Sacrament, and so on, and the chapter, which is incomplete, breaks off at the beginning of a homily on the virtues of chastity, continence, and virginity that might, judging by the way it starts, have shown some resemblance to the latter part of the Fifth Admonition in Sahagún’s *Apéndiz de la Postilla*.

The heading and first part of the fifth chapter are lost, but probably most of the text survives.

The obligations of the married man are its subject-matter. He is to love his wife’s soul more than her body; he is to instruct her in the
knowledge and application of Christian principles and to guide her; he is to provide sustenance and shelter for her and their children; he is never to abandon her, and so on.

Jníc. 6. cap.  
Sixth Chapter. Here are told all the obligations that are the concerns of women because of their marriage.

The married woman is to love her husband's soul more than his body, to see to his physical needs and comfort, to remain chaste, to respect her husband, to satisfy his sexuality, to manage their children and property well and efficiently, and so on. This chapter is complete.

Jníc. 7. cap.  
Seventh Chapter. Here is told what are the obligations of those joined in holy matrimony because of their children, so that they may rear them well, so that they may bring them up well.

After a few lines most of this chapter is lost; it breaks off after mention of the acceptable sexual behavior of married women and of pregnancy.

Perhaps most of the viceroy's license to publish survives. The first part is lost.

So that all that remains of the Manual are these four chapters (three of which are incomplete) and probably the greater part of the license to publish. There is not enough left to justify speculation as to how long the original was nor whether the total subject-matter may have been the same as that of any of the short works that Torquemada refers to in Book xx, Chapter 46, of his Monarquía indiana; possibly the Reglas de los Casados, the Impedimento del matrimonio, or Los Mandamientos de los Casados. 


15 Except, probably, the sermon in his Veintiséis Addiciones (in his Veintiséis Addiciones "en tratado que contiene siete"
16 Sahagún 1548a: fol. 3c, California, Los Ángeles), to which these sermons were intended for use in sex-spex examination before marriage on Nov. 11, 1993.
into parts or treatises, though one would need much more than these four chapters in order to support an opinion on the matter.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the Manual may be compared with Sahagún’s sermons on marriage. An earlier one (headed domíniça 2a. post epíphaniam), on marriage as a Sacrament and its nenamictliliztli... cenca qualli cenca vei ca Sacramento (holy wedlock... is very good, very great; it is a Sacrament). A later sermon (Post quartam dominicam feria 6°), however, contains much that parallels the discussions in the Manual. Though it appears unlikely that Sahagún used the sermon in composing the Manual, it is worth while to compare them.

That the Manual’s two chapters on the obligations of husband and wife are much better organized than the two sections of the sermon devoted to the same subject is not surprising. The sermon was composed almost forty years before the Manual was written and was to be heard by newly and no doubt incompletely indoctrinated men and women; the Manual was obviously written to be studied, probably by men. So in the Manual each chapter develops and somewhat expands eight obligations that emphasize spiritual over physical love, knowledge of Christian principles, chastity, mutual respect, economic support of the family and household management, constancy, and acceptable sexual behavior.

The sermon is built about the same obligations, but whereas the Manual addresses first the men and then the women, separately, as if they were in different rooms, the sermon addresses first the men and then the women, together, as a mixed congregation. If it is less impressive as a literary item, it was probably more effective for the listeners; it is more colloquial, more intimate. For example, while in the Manual the
man “is to seek what his wife needs, for it is, the man’s obligation to be responsible for the work by which he is to produce what his wife and his children need” *(yn oquichtli qujtemuliz yn itech monequi yn jciouah can ynaoatiil yn oquichtli yn qujmocujiJauiz y tlateguija-nolitli ynic qujnexitiz yn itech monequi yn jciouah yn jpitlaoho)*,\(^{19}\) in the sermon the man is told: “it became your obligation to seek for your wife what you need, and you are to support your children. You are to produce corn, beans, chía, chilli” *(monavatíl omochiuh in tictemoliz mociouah itech monequi yvan in mopilhuan tiqintlaiecoltiz tiqnextiz in centli in etl in chian in chili)*.\(^{20}\)

Another point of interest in comparing these two writings is the greater tolerance and flexibility of the *Manual’s* admonitions as compared with those of the sermon, qualities perhaps best noted in matters pertaining to male dominance and female submissiveness. Both are always taken for granted, but the harshness of the one source contrasts with the understanding evident in the other. The following passages illustrate this point. The first is an extract from the sermon:

[Y]ou the man, must love your wife’s soul; most especially you must punish her, afflict her, if she does not do or heed what her soul needs. And you, the woman, must love your husband’s soul, you are to treat it well. If you know that he sins, it is not your obligation to scold him or afflict him. It is necessary only to speak to him calmly, quietly, lovingly. And you must therefore beseech God to have mercy on him. If you, the woman, scold him, if you answer him, you sin greatly. Your deed, like a snake from hell, is frightening...\(^{21}\)

\(^{19}\) Sahagún 1578: fol. 12r.

\(^{20}\) Sahagún 1548b: fol. 83r.

\(^{21}\) *Ibid.*, fol. 85v-86r.

The *Manual* approach...

...yn oquijchtli monequi qujteauh; qujcaoaatiz yo qujmocujiJauiz, ynic qujmocomuaz yvan amo cioahlonj yvan in nectemotzaytaniz tiqintlaiecoltiz. Auh yntlaicoltiz, tenonotzlaz atl, cccece, tzitzicatliz. Auh yntlacoltiz, amo yntlaicoltiz, amo qujteauh qujcaoaatiz, amo qujteauh amo teixpan caoaz yntlaicoltiz, amo yntlaicoltiz yvan caoaz...  

...yn oqujchtli monequi qujteauh yvan in nectemotzaytaniz, amo yntlaicoltiz yvan in nectemotzaytaniz, amo yntlaicoltiz, amo yntlaicoltiz yvan in nectemotzaytaniz, amo yntlaicoltiz yvan...\(^{22}\)

\(^{22}\) Sahagún 1578: fol. 13r.
The *Manual* approaches matters like those somewhat differently:

...yn oquijchtli monequj qujzcaliz yn jciuauh; qujcaoaaltiz yn aquali, qujnonotzaz ynic amo iuh qujchioaz yn amo chioalanj yn jiolitla-colocatzi dios. Auh yntlacamo muzcaliznequj, tenonotzialitzica caoaz, atj, ceec, tzitzicaaltli qujtoctiz: auh yntlacamo ic mozcaliznequj qujtlaztuatziltiz, tel ca;n tlaxicie-coz... auh yntla ytla tlatlaculli ypan caoaznequj, amo teixpan qujchioaz amo teixpan caoaz yn ano-ço qujpinauhtiz...
Admonitions as to sexual behavior, pregnancy, and childbirth are similar in both sources, but here too the tone is less uncompromising in the Manual. Contrast these statements; the first is from the sermon, the second is from the Manual:

in civilat ca iteitlhu ynetoliniliz in iqac otzti in icuac tlacachiva cenca motolinia tlaihiyovia neltamati ipampa in toquichtli monavatil inic titlatequipanoz.

[As for] the woman, it is her work, it is her affliction when she is pregnant; when she bears a child she is much afflicted; she suffers; she is uncomfortable. Therefore, as to the man, it is your obligation to work.  

yn iqac mococoa yn cioatl ano¡;o ie vztli, yn joqujchahuq monequj ypan tlatoz yn icuac paleujloz yn ciuatizintli, ynjc amo tlatequipanoliztica mococolizcuipitz: ahu yn iqac omjxihuq yn ciuatizintli monequj malhujoz ynjc amo tlatequipanoliztica mocoxanizj. In iehoonti oqujchti, yn quali yiollc, cenca qujnimahuq qujnimocuizauqjya yn jnnamjchauq yn iqac vztli, ano¡;o yqac omjxihuq.  

[When the woman is sick or is already pregnant, it is necessary that her husband defend her, so that the little woman may be helped, so that she may not become sick through working. And when the little woman has given birth, it is necessary that she be well treated so that she may not have a relapse because of working. Those men who are good of heart treat their spouses very well, take good care of them when they are pregnant or give birth.]

Two explanations of the difference between these documents have been mentioned above. 1) The Manual was addressed to a literate, select audience; the sermon was meant for a miscellaneous congregation. 2) The sermon was written in 1540 or thereabouts, about ten years after Sahagún arrive in New Spain, the Manual was written in or about 1578, nearly a century later. The Indian population and by then though Nahua society was not what it had been noted by Lockhart, indigenous cultures during subordinated in some ways, the overall picture in the two varied considerably, and a magistrate, Gonzalo Gómez, these people are submissive to be taken too literally in one of the huehuetlaloc; perhaps at about the time they were published at the turn of the title a mother admonishes a daughter, paraphrased Spanish version.

Quando te casares, catada, mas en mandar alegria, no le enojes, ni mucho, puesto que viu con amor, y no le sea! que te manda, porque ha tu marido. Con ello, No le afrentes delante de echaras en vergueuca.  

...Si tu Marido tiene buen cuidado ent...a toda su casa... 

Conclusion

From the small fragments, it is possible to draw many conclusions of many scribes who evidently copied (without revisions) the Ayer MS is dated 1548; the Biblioteca Nacional MSS have the date of 1548, in the latter case, someone with a hand different from that of the original scribes went through it and changed it in 1583, making a minor 'correction' here as he did throughout the MS. The Ayer copy was done under Sahagún's direct supervision on cheaper amatl paper but by an excellent scribe who evidently had the time necessary to do careful work (undoubtedly one of Sahagún's own students or graduates) while the BNM copy was done on more expensive paper, attempted to be fancy, and has the hands
in or about 1578, nearly forty years later, long enough for Sahagún to have become better acquainted with the social arrangements of the Indian population and better equipped to appreciate the fact that though Nahuatl society was as always male-dominated, the position of women was not what a newly-arrived Spaniard might expect. It has been noted by Lockhart, for instance, that "[in both Spanish and indigenous cultures during the postconquest centuries, women were subordinated in some ways, able to assert themselves in others. The overall picture in the two spheres was quite similar, but the details varied considerably", and as illustration he quotes a statement by a magistrate, Gonzalo Gómez Cervantes, which ends by saying: "so that these people are submissive to the will of the women" 27 (a judgment not to be taken too literally). A Nahuatl point of view is suggested in one of the huehuetlatolli compiled by Fray Andrés de Olmos, perhaps at about the time that Sahagún was writing his sermons, and published at the turn of the century by Fray Juan Baptista, in which a mother admonishes a daughter; the following is Olmos's somewhat paraphrased Spanish version of the Nahuatl:

Quando te casares, y tus padres te dieren marido, no le seas desacetada, mas en mandándote hazer algo, oyelo y obedece, y hazlo con alegría, no le enojes, ni le buelvas el rostro, y si en algo te es penoso: No te acuerdes allí de ello. Ni lo tengas en poco, mas antes le honra mucho, puesto que viua de tu hazienda, pónlo en tu regaño y falda con amor, y no le seas fiera, como Águila o Tigre. Ni hagas mal lo que te manda, porque harás peccado contra los Dioses, y castigarte ha tu marido. Con todo esto le di en qué te da pena mansamente. No le afrentes delante de otros, porque a ti te afrentaras en ello, y te echarás en vergüenza...

Si tu Marido fuere simple, o bobo, auísale cómo a de viuir, y ten buen cuidado entonces de el mantenimiento, y de lo necesario a toda su casa...

Conclusion

From the small fragment of the Manual that has survived, it is impossible to draw many conclusions. Like the sermons, it was one of of many scribes who evidently had to do a rush job" (personal communication, Barry Sell, October 8, 1992). The first 30 folios of the ENM MS were apparently copied (without revisions) from the 1540 borrador (ibid, July 9, 16, 23, 1992).


the means of indoctrinating and converting a population totally different from any that these pioneer friars had hitherto dealt with. Of his population, León-Portilla has written:

Hubo ciertamente conversiones, pero también muchos se quedaron sin rumbo, nepantla. Sólo menguado triunfo de los sacerdotes y sabios nativos fue hacer posible el ocultamiento y la preservación parcial de lo propio bajo la apariencia de los nuevos ritos y creencias que el corazón rechazaba como incomprehensibles.²⁹

That Sahagún sensed that he was exhorting congregations many of whose members were still nepantla-in between, still not clearly one or the other-is evident in many of the sermons as well in many parts of such works as his Veintiséis Adiciones desta Postilla and his Apéndiz de la postilla. Whether the same could be said of the Manual del Christiano cannot be argued, since most of it is lost. Circumstances indicate, however, that the almost forty-year interval between the writing of the sermons and the writing of the Manual had modified Sahagún’s reactions to native mores. Not that he was compromising. For instance, the few cases in such a work as his Psalmodia Christiana that in the use of certain figures of speech might appear to suggest the possibility of compromising or giving way are in fact well attested or accepted in the Gospels, liturgy, and hymnology which Sahagún and his colleagues were using and teaching. Nor do they seem ever to have been trapped into debating or arguing, for they were dealing not with questions but with answers.³⁰ As Lockhart has put it in a discussion of the Colloquios, “the friars, rather than emphasizing persuasive arts, immediately undertake detailed instruction on the basic tenets of Christianity”.³¹ In the regards Sahagún was like his colleagues and his superiors; but writings like the Manual show how he was also, as has been noted, the “sympathetic and caring priest, whose Franciscan philosophy was in touch with the people to whom he ministered”.

²⁹ León-Portilla 1974: 33.
³⁰ Prof. Burkhart, however, finds “a lot of ambiguity and double meanings in Nahuatl devotional texts, with the friars unintentionally ‘compromising or giving way’ quite a bit. I agree... that their reluctance to debate reflects the security of their position as providers of answers, but that does not preclude their answers’ being incorporated somewhat differently by Nahuas, and even intentionally recast by their ‘assistants’. These are, of course matters of interpretation.” Personal communication, January 11, 1993.
MANUAL DEL CHRISTIANO

Text and Translation
Nłc ce cap vnca quenjn cenca qualli cę cenca iecteneoalonj yn te namjetitlil: auh ynj mento.
Miec tlamantli ynj quenjn cenca qualli yn nenamjetitlil. Nñc ce ynj neci, yn ca cenca iehoatl yn teujutica nen vel iehoatzi totoejo dio peoaltli oqujmotlalili yn rayso terrenal, yn jquau namjetili yn acho tota, tona yn Adam yoan ntlaamantli ynjc neci, qualli yn teujutica nen ca iehoatl: ca cenca q omuchiuh, ca vmpa y pantzinco yn totoejo di Terrenal. Nñc etlamantli neci, ca ečca qualli yn nenamjetitlil, ca yeho yquac omuchiuh yn jqu cemanaoaq. Nñc nuc ynjc neci cenca qualli tica nenanyctitlil, ca ynj jquac omuchiuh aiculli. Nñc macuñlamantli ca cenca qualli yn teujuticjetitlil, ca iehoatl: ca oapachiuhque cemanaoaq čan iehoantf omonamuq monamjetitj yn Noe, jcioauh: yoan eyntin ype ynciooaq. Nñc chiquac tli, ynjc neci ca cenca teujutica nenamjetitlil:
Here is the way of living of those joined in holy wedlock.

First Chapter. Here it is told in what ways holy wedlock is very good, very precious, very praiseworthy, for this [holy wedlock] is a sacrament.

For many reasons it is evident how very good holy wedlock is. The first reason it is evident that this holy wedlock is very precious is that our Lord God Himself began it; He established it there in the Earthly Paradise when He married our first father and our first mother, Adam and Eve. The second reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is this: it was in a very good place that it occurred, there in our Lord God's good place, the Earthly Paradise. The third reason that it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the very time it occurred was when the world had its beginning. The fourth reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is this: when it occurred sin did not exist. The fifth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: when the people of the world were drowned, the only ones who were saved were married, Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives. The sixth reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very good is that the mother of God, Saint Mary, was married; she was married to Saint Joseph. The seventh reason it is evident that holy wedlock is very

good is this: our Lord Jesus Christ, when he lived on earth, went there to the marriage place; he changed water into wine. The eighth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the benediction is accorded those who marry in the middle of the Mass in the very presence of the most holy Sacrament. The ninth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: the children of those joined in holy wedlock become blessed children, and when [the parents] have been married, [their children] also become children of the holy Church; they are dedicated to Heaven. The tenth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is that it is a Sacrament; it is one of the Seven Sacraments. The eleventh reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: because it is a Sacrament those who are joined in holy wedlock, when they unite their bodies [in coition], do not sin. The twelfth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: thus are generated sociability, blood relationships, and thus one's love of others increases. The thirteenth reason it is evident holy wedlock is very good is this: since those joined in holy wedlock are as one, since they live together, their children are very well brought up and educated. But although holy wedlock is very good, many sorts of misery befall those joined in holy wed­

but although holy wedlock is very good, many sorts of misery befell those joined in holy wed­

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MANUAL DEL CRISTIANO

[Chapter I breaks off here.]

[12r]. . . tlazque yn jnammchoa, yn juh quijlaqotla yn jnacaio. Yn oquichtli monequj quijlaqotlaqaz yn jnacaio yn jciuauh, yoaq yn janjma oc cecq iehoatli quijlaqotlaqaz yn janima yn jciouauh yn amo iuh quijlaqotla yn jnacaio. Yn juh quijlaqotlaqaz yn jnacaio yn oquichtli: çan no iuh quijlaqotlaqaz yn jnacaio yn jnammj yn jciouauh yn çan teju­tjica. Auh yn oquichtli ca ynaoati l yn tejujica quijlaqotlaqaz yn janjm: çå no ynaoati l yn tejujica quijlaqotlaqaz yn jnajma yn jnammj. Ynjc vntlamantli l ynaoati l yn oquichtli, ca iehoatl: ca monequj lock. Therefore chastity, a virgin’s way of life, the maintenance of male virginity, are especially good, surpassingly [good]. For holy wed­lock is like and comparable to tin; the woman who can abstain when her husband has died and the man who can abstain when his wife has died are like and comparable to silver. But a life of virginity, of complete chastity, is like and comparable to gold. Chastity...
make her cease [doing] what is evil, what is not proper. For Saint Paul says: Si mulieres aliquid volunt discere, domi viros suo interrogent. This means: If women wish to know something, in their homes they are to ask their husbands. And if the woman cannot question her husband, he, the man, must question his wife; he is to say: My child, my younger sister, do you know the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Salve Regina? Do you know the Articles of Faith, the commandments of God? And if he is to instruct her, it is to be only gently, only lovingly. Likewise he is to say: My companion, how do you understand the word of God and the commandments of God? Do you understand them properly? What does your heart wish to ask me that I may tell you, if I know it? And if I do not know it, I shall ask a clergyman; then I shall tell you. Third, the man must instruct his wife; he is to make her cease [doing] what is bad; he is to tell her that she is not to do what is illicit, what is offensive to God. And if she does not wish to be instructed, he is to reprimand her verbally, he is to correct her. And if she does not wish thus to be instructed, he is to punish her, though he is to act moderately. Fourth, the man is to respect his spouse, his wife. He is to speak pleasantly to her; he is not to insult her; he is not to shame

her before others. And if he should wish to reprimand her about something sinful, he is not to do so before others, he is not to reprimand her before others nor to shame her; [he is to do this] only in private. Fifth, the man must guide his wife; he is to teach her what she should do, and he is to make her cease [doing] what she must not do. Sixth, the man is to seek what his wife needs, for it is the man's obligation to be responsible for the work by which he is to produce what his wife and his children need, and it is his task to provide shelter for his children. Seventh, the man is never to abandon his wife. They must live together, sleep together, eat together; their possessions are to be [owned] jointly. And if the man is to go somewhere, he is to speak to his wife and tell her that he is to spend several days [away], when he will return, and where he intends to arrive. Only he must not be [away] very long; if he should live there for three months, he would be [away] for a very long time; our mother the holy Church does not wish that a man abandon his wife for a long period of time, even because of gaining a livelihood. Eighth, the man must obey his wife regarding coition, because it is his obligation thus to obey her, and it is also his obligation to go to no other woman. God will greatly favor him who has no other [woman] than
Sixth Chapter. Here are told all the obligations that are the concerns of women because of their marriage.

The women must do eight things on account of holy wedlock, for such was their sacred vow made when they were married. First, the woman married in holy wedlock must much love her husband; it is her obligation, her vow. And in order to love her spouse well, first she must love her husband's soul; then she is to love his body. And in order to love his body well, she is to prepare his drink and his food for him. Especially when he is sick she is to be very careful because of the food, drink, and medicine. And she is to make his shirts and his breeches for him; and when he is sick she is to urge him to make his confession promptly, to prepare himself. And second, a woman must carefully keep her-
ca ynaoatl yn ċan qujxeraujz yn ċnamje: yoan ċnye ċiaac ovjestli quleujez. Auh ytlac aca tlatoan ċanoč pili en ċanoč Castiltecatl: anoco teupixquj, cenca qujcajltlaujltiz ynjc qujchaoz ły tlatalulli, njman amo qujtlacamatiz (ynntlanel yampa qujxemjstiz, yn vel ymac mjigujez). Čnjc etlamantli monequj in iehoatl qujmacaciz qujxliz yn joqojchujz: amo iuhqujinma yiaouh ypan qujmatiz: ca iuhqujizma teujutica ytecoy: ye cenca monequj amo qujqualałcanotzaz, amo qujqualancayttaz, amo qujqualancanqujiz ynjqac caoaz: ċan acoujç qujttaz. Čnjc nauhtlamantli monequj yn ciaatl qujtlacamatiz yn ċnamje: qujchaoz yn tlein ie qujnaoaziz yn qualli. Auh yntla ytlac aquallie yc qujnaoaziz amo monequj qujtlacamatiz. Čnjc macułtamantli monequj ynhie hoatl ciaatl, qujtlacamatiz yn ċnamje, ynjtechpa yn nenepanoliztl (yn yqac pactica ynhie cucuiżtli). Čnjc chiquacen­tlamantli monequj ły iehoatl ciaatl, cenca qujmaujztiliz yn ċnamje; ynjqac qujnotzaz, anoco ynjqac qujnotzaz: iectli tlatołli qujñuha, tetlaçotlaliltatolli ynjc qujnaqujlz e amo tle tepinauhtli tlatollie yca­macpa qujçaz. Čnjc chıcuqacen­tlamantli monequj ły iehoatl ciaatl, cenca qujmaujztiliz yn ċnamje; ynjqac qujnotzaz, anoco ynjqac qujnotzaz: iectli tlatołli qujñuha, tetlaçotlaliltatolli ynjc qujnaqujlz e amo tle tepinauhtli tlatollie yca­macpa qujçaz. Çnjc chiquacen­tlamantli monequj ły iehoatl ciaatl, cenca qujmaujztiliz yn ċnamje: cenemjzque, cenco­chique, centlaquazque, cęeiz ynjntlatquj, çan çettel ize [15v] ynjñooll. Auh ynhie ciaatl yntla quj­ttaznequj ynhie ċnantzi, yntatzi, ano­self [chaste] and take great care of her honor; because it is her obligation to have only one spouse; and to covet no [other] man. And if some ruler or nobleman or Spaniard or clergyman should strenuously urge her to commit a sin, she is by no means to obey him (even if he could kill her because of it, [even] if she should die at his very hands). Third, she must revere and respect her husband. She should not regard him as her foe; but as if he were her spiritual lord. Hence when he reprimands her she certainly must not speak to him angrily, not look at him angrily, not answer him angrily; she is only to look up at him. Fourth, the woman must obey her spouse; she should do what he demands that is good. But if he should demand something evil, she need not obey him. Fifth, this woman must obey her spouse as to coition (when she is content, when there is no sickness). Sixth, this woman must greatly respect her spouse; when he calls to her or when he converses with her with fitting words, she is to answer him with loving words; no offensive words at all are to issue from her mouth. Seventh, the woman must never abandon her spouse. They are to live together, they are to sleep together, they are to eat together. Their possessions are to be [owned] jointly. Their hearts are to be as one. And if the woman should wish to visit her mo-
Ther of her father, or should wish to know her relatives, she is to ask her husband's permission or take him where she wishes to go. She is by no means to go where she is to go impulsively. Eighth, the woman must do her work in order to give comfort to her husband. For the woman's work is to make food and drink, and weave, spin, sweep. She must certainly not be lazy. And she must bring up and take care of her children and guard everything that lies in the house that her husband provides. She must not just thoughtlessly be wasteful. Her spouse must know what she gives to others, even if she gives to her relatives. And when the woman is sick or is already pregnant, her husband must favor her, so that the little woman may be helped, so that she may not become sick through working. And when the little woman has given birth, she must be well treated so that she may not have a relapse because of working. Those men who are good of heart treat their spouses very well, take good care of them when they are pregnant or give birth.

Seventh Chapter. Here are told what are the obligations of those joined in holy wedlock because of their children, so that they may bring them up well, so that they may educate them well.

This marriage is contracted es-
nepilhoatiliztli. Ypampa y, yn oqujchtlı́ y teujutica omonamjetique, cenca monequı́ quinmocuujtlauxque yn jupilhoa: vel achtı́ iehoatl y ciuatl, monequı́ momalhuiz, yn jquac muchioa nenepanoliztli: ynjc amo ytlacaujz, ynjc amo vetziz yn tlacxinachtli. Auh yn jquac ie vztli, monequi yn jxq′ch yn tecoco tetolinj, amı́ qujchioaz vel mopiez, yn jxqujch caujtł vztitiez ynic amo motlaolinjiz: auh yntla motlaolinjiz yntla qujtlacaz yn piltzintlı́, yn j pamięta.

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... so that he may freely have the said Manual del Chnstiano printed by whatever printer he may designate and may wish to do it, over a period of the next ten years, printing it all in one volume according to the original that he has received or in parts or treatises, as the said author may wish. And in the said period of time no other printer or private person may print it or have it printed without the permission of the said Fray Bernardino de Sahagun under penalty of [paying] five hundred pesos in gold to His Majesty’s exchequer and treasury and losing the printing forms and equipment and losing the books found to have been printed without said license. And in executing this I order that no judge or other person may lay an embargo or other impediment on him. Done in Mexico on the sixteenth of February, 1578.

Don Martín Enríquez.

Don Martín Enríquez.
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COMPOSICIÓN Y ALGUHU

INTRODUCCIÓN

Cuando surge la pregunta: ¿cómo se caracterizan, casi siempre, las lenguas donde abunda la composición de palabras mediante la frase \( \text{xiuh} \ldots \)? Las lenguas que nos interesan en este caso son las que los hablantes forman para obtener nuevas palabras como el bor de plata suena como si estuviera compuesto de una composición tanto del verbo como del adjetivo.

El enfoque de mi trabajo se basa en el estudio de las lenguas. Las lenguas van cambiando y evolucionando en el tiempo, y las palabras que forman los hablantes pueden variar. En este caso, especialmente en lo que respecta a la evolución de palabras como \( \text{xiuh} \ldots \).

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Ahora por el mismo motivo, las lenguas romances. Las lenguas romances son aquellas que se habían originado en el periodo en que el latín se iban dispersando en lenguas como el español, francés, italiano, entre otras. En este caso, el pheo, el cahuilla, el cupé, el payute, el yaqui, el o'odham (pima-papago), el guarijio, y el yaqui, entre otras.

En un momento dado, los miembros que hablaban en el protoyutoazteca empezaron a hablar distintos idiomas, y se necesitó de averiguar cuáles de ellos eran los más apropiados para la comunicación diaria. Fue de esta manera que se iban dispersando lenguas como el español, francés, italiano, entre otras.