The following commentary on a little-known Nahuatl text of the early seventeenth century is divided into two parts, each reflecting the differing backgrounds and interests of the authors. The first part places the piece in the context of the Nahuatl corpus associated with the church and was done by Sell. The second touches on the very important question of its European antecedents and contemporary counterparts and was written by Taylor. The document itself can be found in full transcription and English translation at the end of this essay.¹

A. THE MEXICAN CONTEXT

The Dominican nahuahtlato (expert in Nahuatl; translator) fray Martín de León in the prologue to his sermonary of 1614 listed those whom he considered the more accomplished authors of indigenous-language publications. Among this distinguished company were a number of nahuatlatos. They included the Franciscans fray Alonso de Molina and fray Juan Bautista, and the Augustinians fray Juan de la Anunciación and fray Juan Mijangos. León says about the Jesuits:

Everyday things of diverse languages come out of the great Society of JESUS and they could do much with this on account of having marvelous subjects, for if Father Juan de Tovar (rector of the College of Indians of Saint Gregory) would have applied himself [to writing

¹ Note that all abbreviations in the Nahuatl, Latin and Spanish have been resolved. Transcription and translation of the Spanish and Nahuatl are the responsibility of Barry D. Sell. Normalization of Latin spellings and translations of same courtesy of Stafford Poole, C.M., to whom I extend my sincere gratitude for his generous help.
books] he could have made marvels in this language, although he is very well occupied [instead] in teaching virtue, science and music of all instruments to his Indians.  

Several decades later Father Horacio Carochi, the greatest colonial grammarian of Nahuatl who rarely praised anyone, would laud Tovar as being “eminent in this language.”

Perhaps the greatest compliment paid to Tovar’s abilities was made more than a century after his death in circa 1623. In the mid-eighteenth century Father Ignacio de Paredes evaluated more than 200 years of alphabetical Nahuatl texts. He mentions by name only seven outstanding experts, among them Tovar, in the last published Nahuatl sermonary of the colonial period:

In the language [of this book] I have tried to use the purest, most appropriate and most genuine words, [the same] that the most eminent and classical authors of the discipline used: as are the Bautistas, the Molinas, the Mijangos’s, the Leones, Anunciación, the Carochis and Tovares, with others [who were] native [speakers] of the language, who left us their books (whether printed or manuscript) that conserve in their propriety and elegance this fecund and extremely elegant language. And I have left out on purpose other words that are [currently] used in some places on account of being in reality barbarous and never found in these most celebrated masters of the language.

Tovar’s facility in Nahuatl also is well attested by his role as an expert examiner of Nahuatl manuscripts destined for the press. Except for Maestro (and then Doctor) Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa

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2 “De la gran Compañía de IESVS, salen cada día cosas de diversas lenguas, y desta pudiéran hazer mucho por tener sujetos maruillossos. Que si el Padre Joan de Tobar Rector del Colegio de los Indios de San Gregorio, se vuiera aplicado, pudiera auer hecho marauillas en esta lengua, aunque está muy bien ocupado enseñando á sus indios virtud, sciencia, y musica de todos instrumentos” (León 1614, preliminary leaf, unnumbered).

3 Carochi 1645, 75v. Note that the only other nahuatlatos that he mentions by name in the body of his grammar are his fellow Jesuit, Father Antonio del Rincón (whose faults he generously excuses, e.g., see 58r and 81r-v), and the Franciscan lexicographer fray Alonso de Molina (about whom he makes slighting remarks, e.g., on 3r). Notwithstanding a decided favoritism towards Jesuits, Carochi’s estimate of Tovar was merited.

4 “En el Idioma he procurado usar de las voces mas puras, proprias, y genuinas, que usaron los mas eminentes, y clasicos Autores de la facultad: como son los Baptistas, los Molinas, los Mijangos, los Leones, Anunciacion, los Carochis, y Thobares, con otros naturales en el Idioma, que nos dejaron sus Libros, ó impressos, ó manuscritos; que conservan en su propiedad, y elegancia este fecundo, y elegantissimo Idioma. Y de proposito he omitido otras voces, que se usan en algunos lugares; por ser en la realidad barbaras, y que jamas se hallan en estos celeberrimos Maestros del Idioma” (Paredes 1759b, “Razon de la obra al lector”, preliminary leaf, unnumbered).
he reviewed more high-quality texts than any other official censor of the colonial period. His seal of approval appears in Molina’s revised grammar of 1576 and his *Doctrina cristiana* of 1578, Bautista’s collection of pre-Hispanic high oratory of 1600 and his sermonary of 1606, León’s eclectic *Camino del cielo* of 1611 and Mijangos’ sermonary of 1624.

Tovar is perhaps best known today for being a prestigious early recruit to the Society of Jesus (they first arrived in Mexico in 1572) and for various writings about Nahuas. Modern scholars are almost totally unaware that an extant Nahuatl text by him was widely available to his colonial contemporaries. When the nahuatlato Mijangos published his sermonary in 1624 he included a sermon by Tovar on the Most Holy Sacrament “because I wanted to know how I might properly speak about the [external] appearances of [consecrated] bread and wine.”

One of the most unusual features of the sermon is Father Tovar’s direct reference to his own parish. “Here”, he proclaims at the beginning of his speech, “in San Sebastián Atzaqualco”, the very “tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin.” I have examined all the published and some of the manuscript colonial Nahuatl sermonaries and (unintentional omissions aside) have yet to come across another such specific reference to an individual Nahuas congregation. This was due in large part to the pronounced tendency of authors to make their sermons acceptable in many different Nahua altepetl (cit[y/iies, realm[s]). On any given Sunday or feast day, however, many clerics surely added the names of the tlaxilacallis (barrios, districts, wards [i.e., chief colonial subdivisions of an altepetl]) in which they preached and of their patron saints. At the very least Tovar did so, and Mijangos undoubtedly intended the readers of his sermonary to understand that where Tovar mentioned his specific parish they were to substitute the terms appropriate to their own circumstances.

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5 I leave out of consideration the translations from Spanish into Nahuatl made by Tovar for Archbishop Moya de Contreras which supposedly were published under the title *El catecismo y diálogos* (circa 1573). At present I am aware of no existing copy of this work so it cannot be compared to the text under discussion here.

6 Appendix I. this article, lines 1-3; hereafter referred to as “Lines [fill in the number].”

7 Lines 9-11; edited for purposes of presentation.

8 Such references also are equally rare in the general run of colonial Nahuatl imprints. One of the very few (and only a partial one at that) is in a model testament: the parish of Santa María Asunción [of an unnamed tlaxilacalli] of the altepetl of Tetzoco (Molina 1984 [1569], 61r).
More common in the sermon genre are broader references like Tovar’s mentions of Mexico City and his direct address to “you Mexico.”9 The Mexica Tenochca were the Nahua native to Mexico Tenochtitlan (later colonial Mexico City) who had run the Aztec tribute empire; it was to this Nahua grouping that “Montezuma” belonged. Occasionally such general allusions were left in published collections of Nahuatl sermons, betraying where the official center of Nahua scholarship, preaching and printing (like so much else in colonial life) was located or at least where the authors were mentally placing their censored versions of correct preachable material. Anunciación in his sermonic of 1577 first directs himself to “yn nican Mexico in annahuatlaca” (you Nahua peoples here in Mexico [City]) and later to “yn nican anchaneque, yn anMexicotlaca” (you local residents, you [Nahua? /Indian?] peoples of Mexico [City]).10 León in his sermonic of 1614 addresses himself to “in anMexica, in antenochca in nepapan antlaca” (you Mexica, you Tenochca, and you various [other] peoples/you various Mexica and Tenochca peoples).11

Mijangos would go them one better in his sermonic of 1624. He does not specifically mention one Nahua group in any particular sermon; rather, he dedicates his whole book to the natives of Mexico City! Following the expected “Aduertencias al Lector” for Spanish speakers he has a five-page prologue in Nahuatl directed to his Nahua readers: “BEHOID THE BOOK BELONGING TO and that will be read [by] the Mexica, the Tenochca and all those who speak Nahuatl, who pronounce the language of the Mexica and make their homes everywhere here on the earth of our Lord God.”12 He then begins his remarks by proclaiming “Tlaçotlacae in anMexica” (O dear people, you Mexica/O you esteemed Mexica peoples). He ends with “Onitlacuilo, nican Mexico Tenochtitlan in nehuatl, yn amoteopixcauh. Fr. Iuan de Mijangos” (I, your priest fray Juan de Mijangos, did the writing here in Mexico Tenochtitlan [i.e., the place of the Mexica Tenochca]).13

9 Lines 35-38.
10 Anunciación 1577, 59r and 64r, respectively. Note that he closes one sermon with “yn nican Mexico” (here in Mexico [City]) [ibid., 178v].
11 León 1614, 49r. Note again local references such as “nican Mexico” (here in Mexico [City]) and “Mexicatalpan” (in the land of the Mexica) [ibid., 57r and 99v, respectively].
12 “IZCATQVI IN AMATZINTLI INTEZINCO [sic] POHVI, quimopohuilizque in Mexica, in te
nocha yhan in ixquichtin in nahuatlathohua, in quimotenquixtilia in Mexicatlallolli, in
nohuiampa motlachantlitloque nican yualticpactzinco toTecuylo Dios” (Mijangos 1624, pre
liminary leaf, unnumbered).
13 Ibid., preliminary leaves, unnumbered.
Tovar’s adaptation to local circumstances went far beyond including the name of his parish. He relied heavily on the devices of the traditional Nahua oratory known as huehuetlahtolli, somewhat literally meaning “the old word” but more properly understood as “speeches/admonitions of the elders” or “ancient discourse.” The translators and editors of the most extensive collection of such harangues, Book Six of the Florentine Codex, sum up its principal features as being “extreme formality, floridness, ceremoniousness, effectiveness in command of figures of speech and recourse to parallelism, balance and repetitions.”14 This also accurately describes the Nahuatl of Tovar’s text, although his syntax is considerably more complex at times than that found in other sermon collections. In addition Tovar has more of a propensity than most other clerics to use Nahuatl’s inherent ability to construct complex nominal compounds, a tendency that did not go unnoticed by the greatest colonial grammarian of Nahuatl.15 When nahuatlotos like Tovar properly created and used compounds the Nahuatl was considered “smoother and more sonorous.”16

Tovar was not afraid to borrow from other Nahuatl genres besides the huehuetlahtolli per se. In one passage San Juan “scatters down celestially precious words” and “declares precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams”; elsewhere “fine words drizzle and scatter down as if they were radiant dew and painted gold pendants.”17 This is very far from standard clerical Nahuatl. Even in the Bancroft Dialogues (lessons in polite upper-class metaphorical Nahuatl) there is talk of tears sprinkling and scattering down but not of words.18 Tovar’s stylized passages are far more reminiscent of song/poetry, although not the heavily Christianized original compositions found in fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s Psalmodia cristiana (1583; 1993). The nearest parallels seem to be with material in the Cantares Mexicanos, the most extensive extant collection of seemingly pre-Hispanic-style Nahuatl song/poetry. There the items most often being scattered down, for example, are flowerlike or flowers, sometimes in the company of songs.19 The leap from “songs” to “words” scattering down is not too difficult to imagine, and Tovar

14 Sahagún 1969, 1, note 1.
15 Carochi 1645, 75v.
16 Ibid. See also similar remarks in Rincón 1595, 50v.
17 Lines 40-43 and 81-85, respectively. The citations are considerably edited for purposes of presentation.
18 Karttunen and Lockhart 1987, 130-133.
19 For one example see Bierhorst 1985, 208-209.
may well have seen the *Cantares* or similar material, but there is only enough evidence to suggest that Tovar was borrowing from the genre and not necessarily from this particular source.

For all of Tovar’s expert and generous use of many of Nahuatl’s expressive resources the actual content of the sermon is relatively disconnected from Nahua life, seemingly defeating the need clerics felt to adapt Christian teachings to Nahua sensibilities. Perhaps this was due in part to the nature of the genre itself where the same doctrinal points were relentlessly emphasized and repeated (perhaps to the point of boring regularity) as well as to the unceasing pressure put on all colonial nahuatlatos to stick to the safest authorities and examples available, i.e., stock biblical ones. The very technical nature of the issue being addressed surely added mightily to the abstractness of his presentation. An earlier piece by Anunciación on the very same Latin *thema* (text), on the other hand, yields a very different impression.

For the feast day of the Most Holy Sacrament the Augustinian nahuatlato based his sermon on John 6:56-57: “MY BODY IS TRULY food and my blood is truly drink. He who eats my body and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.”

Here is one of Anunciación’s explanations of the difference between consecrated and unconsecrated bread:

> O MY BELOVED CHILDREN, you already know how it happens here on earth, for in the homes of the nobles and rulers the tortillas that are eaten are of two types. The first type of food is known as fine ground and pure, necessary for the rulers and lords, called pure tortillas. But the second type of tortilla is just full of ashes, not very good, not very pure, nor is it very finely ground; it is called tribute tortilla, crumbly, necessary for the palace messengers and for the lowly household dependents of the rulers. Likewise it spiritually happens, for the tortillas our Lord GOD gives His children and His creatures are of two types. The first one is things of this earth, regarded as tribute tortillas, crumbly, spiritually not very delicious, not very strengthening, not very satisfying nor very consoling. It is necessary for those who desire the things of the earth who do not recognize the food of Heaven as being tasty and sweet. But the second one is called spiritual food, is very pure, very well prepared, very delicious and fragrant, very redeeming, very strengthening in a spiritual manner, and it makes people live healthi-

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20 “CARO MEA, VERE est cibus: et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo. Ioannis capitis 6:56-57” (Anunciación 1577, 84r). Normalization of Latin spellings and translation courtesy of Stafford Poole, C.M.
ly; it strengthens, raises, and consoles people’s spirits and people’s souls. This food is the precious body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.\(^{21}\)

Here is a much more transparent example of Nahuatization and shows how closely clerics could draw abstract doctrine and concrete example together in a (seemingly) effective analogy. It should be noted that the same term is used by Tovar for “bread” and by Anunciación for “tortilla.” Nahuatl tlaxcalli meant “maize tortilla” and early in the colonial period added the sense “[Spanish-style] bread,” the exact translation depending on context.

While the term may be the same in both sermons the manner in which the two priests tied it to their parishioners’ life experiences differed drastically. This was not a matter of expertise in the language but perhaps in part a matter of presentation (and see Taylor’s comments below). Anunciación took a more general approach to his subject and so had more flexibility in how he presented it to his audience; Tovar (apparently under Mijangos’ prodding) set a far narrower task for himself and found himself accordingly limited in his means of expressing himself.

Whatever its limitations Tovar’s sermon continued to be read years after his death. Echoes of the effective analogy he made between the presence of Jesus Christ in each of the consecrated wafers and that of an image in each piece of a shattered mirror\(^{22}\) can be found in Don Bartolomé de Alva’s *Confesionario* of 1634:

> Even though this heavenly bread is in very many parts our Savior Jesus Christ is completely present and whole everywhere in each one of them, perfectly complete everywhere in each host. It is like a clear and beautiful mirror: If it is quite shattered and broken up into a great


\(^{22}\) Lines 160-169.
many parts the sun can be seen in many places. But the sun is undis-
turbed, not broken [or] divided anywhere but very whole in round-
ness, in beauty, in being full of radiance and sunbeams, in esteem, for
it is just the mirror that is broken, shattered, divided up and separa-
ted. Likewise such is our beloved Savior Jesus Christ in Heaven and in
the Most Holy Sacrament. Even though the host is in many parts and
divided up—some are large, some are small—yet He does not divide
up, is not diminished, is undisturbed, is not small in one part and
large in another, for He is everywhere with all His power, honor,
rulership and divinity as He is in Heaven.23

It is only fitting that Alva, a mestizo cleric descended from high
Nahua nobility and an acknowledged master of Nahuatl himself,
should borrow from his illustrious Jesuit predecessor.

B. THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

It is useful to examine the eucharistic sermon by Father Juan de To-
var within the context of the medieval and early modern European
preaching tradition, and most particularly the recent statements
and publications issued by the Council of Trent. This Nahuatl ser-
mon, published posthumously in a sermonary of 1624, is striking
for its experimental characteristics, yet this is precisely what one
would expect to find in post-Tridentine Catholic sermons to non-
traditional audiences. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Ca-
tholics in Europe had changed their homiletic style dramatically,
abandoning the scholastic method of centuries past in response to
both Renaissance and Reformation thought. In accordance with
the newly enunciated Tridentine preaching goals, Father Tovar was
faced with the challenge of teaching a group of Native Americans
whose spiritual beliefs were sometimes far different from those of
most European women and men. The sermon bears the imprint
of all these factors.

The subject of the sermon, an explanation of the operation and
effects of the eucharistic sacrifice, falls clearly within the sphere of
early Tridentine spirituality. Although medieval preachers regularly
explained the meaning of the mass as part of their sermons, the eu-
charistic sermon sui generis came into its own in the first half of the
sixteenth century in response to Protestant attacks on the mass. As

23 Alva 1634, 43v-44v (Nahuatl side); considerably edited for reasons of presentation.
From the critical edition being prepared by Barry Sell and John Schwallier.
the doctrine was reaffirmed by the decrees of the Council of Trent over the next several decades, devotion to the Eucharist increased both in organized activities of the church (such as Corpus Christi processions) and in confraternities dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. If eucharistic piety was only one of many expressions of pre-Reformation devotional practice, it became the centerpiece and fullest expression of preaching and piety in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Jesuits, Capuchins, and other newly founded and re-dedicated orders whose mission was proselytization not only among wavering or ignorant Christians but also among non-Christian peoples, had the unique opportunity to inculcate eucharistic beliefs and respect as the core of the Catholic religion in regions that could idealistically and hopefully be viewed as the new Jerusalem.

The structure of Tovar's sermon fits nicely into post-Reformation Catholic homiletics. In response to repeated attacks by humanists and Protestants alike about the elaborate scholastic structure of division and subdivision and the artificial mnemonic devices, Catholic preachers by the mid-sixteenth century had adopted a freer style that allowed more in-depth explication of Biblical texts and church practices. “Extraneous” discussions of contemporary social behaviors and practices, however much they are useful to scholars studying medieval sermons, now gave way to more strictly Biblical texts that were used to educate listeners in virtue and vice and the Catholic tradition. Father Tovar’s sermon is not significantly different in form from those one would have found preached in Western Europe at the same time.

The theme, taken from John 6:56, leads directly into a discussion of how the food of the Eucharist provides Christ's people with spiritual nourishment. Tovar's explication of how that food is provided and how the people must learn to digest it parallels neatly the 1546 Decretum secundum publicatum in eadem quinta session super lectione et praedicatione issued by Trent. Bishops and preachers were instructed “to preach the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ... to feed the people committed to them... by teaching them those things that are necessary for all to know.”24 Other Tridentine works specified how this should be done to avoid the pitfalls that had faced late medieval and early Reformation Catholic preachers. The Canones Verbi Dei of Cristoforo de Padua insisted on “teaching the faith by proclamation and authority, confirming this with Scripture, substantiating it

from tradition, and... asserting the right to do so on the basis of the apostolic succession, the decrees of the councils, and the writings of the Fathers."\textsuperscript{25} The Jesuits were among the first and most successful to implement the new directives on preaching in their sermons. A treatise by the Jesuit Francisco de Borja urges his colleagues to keep their preaching "center[ed] on the specific doctrine contested by Protestants."\textsuperscript{26} More than in sermons of recent times, Counter-Reformation homiletic tracts and decrees insisted on the importance of rhetoric. As McGinness points out, "all preaching, even that concerned most with imparting knowledge of Catholic truth, ultimately seeks to move or bend the will... Persuasion occurred therefore as one was taught, moved, and delighted."\textsuperscript{27}

A close reading of Tovar’s sermon shows the degree to which he had made Tridentine principles an effective part of his preaching. It is simple and brief,\textsuperscript{28} proceeds from the theme of John 6:56, and substantiates the argument with scriptural texts and the writings of Saint Augustine. Most importantly, Tovar speaks to the people in front of him by adapting the message in a manner that would make the vitally important eucharistic doctrine more comprehensible to them. Medieval preachers had fully realized the importance of this, arguing, like Tovar, that one had to give people nourishment according to their ability to digest.\textsuperscript{29} But this was given new meaning in the Counter-Reformation, as groups like the Jesuits concentrated much of their missionary work on groups that had recently or never experienced the Word.\textsuperscript{30}

Tovar achieves his objective of finding the proper level of sacred eloquence by speaking in language and metaphors that his listeners could easily grasp. If his language is not as earthy as that of Anunciación, who compares the consecrated and unconsecrated bread to tortillas, he nevertheless speaks in images that would resonate with the women and men before him. He does this most obviously by using the metaphor of the eagle, and starting with its specific relation to these people: "It was proclaimed everywhere—O our beloved children!—for here in Atzaqualco, the distinct place of San Sebastián, the royal eagle gave insignia to our altepetl of

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 39.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{28} In contrast to late medieval sermons that were usually one hour long, and sometimes longer, the Counter-Reformation sermon was usually no more than twenty minutes long. Brevity was considered one of the signs of a preacher’s skill (McGinness 1995, 70-71).
\textsuperscript{29} Taylor 1992, 56-60.
\textsuperscript{30} Delumeau 1977, Ch. 4.
Mexico because it is the place of the very tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin.31 A little further into the sermon, he again personalizes the eagle imagery: “You Mexica, you owners of the eagle-insignia, already have heard and known how in Mexico, the place of the royal eagle, the two marvelous eagles San Juan and San Agustín came to a stop so that they could show what they manifest to us, set down before us, our true daily nourishment and the eternal heavenly life-sustaining sustenance.”32 Tovar later develops the eagle imagery by having them confront the sun and having the mother eagle teach her young to fly.33 This type of imagery is specific to the group of people Tovar is addressing; it would have meant little in a sermon delivered to the people of Spain or Italy.

Other metaphors reflect daily life. Tovar uses language that more easily conveys his meaning—as when he speaks of a coating of paint, breaking a mirror, and an infant hanging at its mother’s breast.34 This was precisely the sort of thing late medieval preachers did when speaking to largely illiterate audiences.35 It allowed the preacher to convey difficult theological points in a simple and effective manner. In a similar manner, Tovar explains doctrinal points that late medieval preachers had struggled with—the appearance of bread even after the miracle of transubstantiation, and how Christ is not broken up and in many places even though there are many hosts which are consumed by the faithful.36

This sermon is in many ways an exemplar of Counter-Reformation ideals, especially as adapted for presentation to newly Christianized peoples or those who had not had the Word preached to them regularly. It is brief and to the point, and concerned with teaching one very essential element of the faith. It does so with personalization and metaphors of everyday day. The sermon also delights. The language and imagery is positive and uplifting. In lines 18-22, Tovar exclaims about “[t]hese celestial words, so very great, very high, very elevated, and of great stature.” Later he asks San Juan to “scatter down celestially precious words, let him declare the precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams.”37 The

31 Lines 9-11.
32 Lines 35-38.
33 Lines 177-180 and 187-189, respectively.
34 Lines 77, 164-167, and 126-128, respectively.
35 Néve 1924, "Introduction"; Martín 1988, Ch. 11.
36 Lines 70-74; and 140-146 and 164-167, respectively.
37 Lines 40-43.
purpose is both rhetorical and anagogical, as the preacher spins out phrases that are beautiful in themselves and which take the listener to a higher spiritual plane; again, it is all done with imagery appropriate to the audience. In short, Tovar has learned and implemented the principles enunciated at Trent and afterwards.
1 (212) ESTE SERMÓN PREDICO EL SAPIENTISSIMO Padre Ioan de Tobar, á intercession mia,
2 con desseo de saber yo como diria bien accidentes de Pan, y Vino, y por el mismo caso lo hize
3 imprimir entre estos misos, por que todos se aprovechen del, y de su doctrina.

4 (213) IZCATQVI TEMACHTILLI, YC TEMACHTILOZ IN IHQUAC TLAÇOILHUIQUIXTI Tililo
5 ITLAÇOMAHUIZNACAYOTZIN TOTLAÇOTEMACUITZITCATZIN TO TECUIYO JESU
6 CHRISTO, YEHUATL YC MOTEMACHTILI
7 MOTEMACHTILI MEXICO SAN SEBASTIAN.

7 CARO NEA VERE EST CIBUS, ET SANGUIS MEUS, VERE EST POTUS. IOANNES
8 CAPITULO 6.

9 NOHUIYAN MACHIZTI (TOTLAÇOPILHUANE) CA IN TLAHTOCAQUAUHTLI IN OQNIMOTLAHUIZTI [sic] IN TAUH, IN
10 TOTEPEUH MEXICO, NICAN ATZAQUALCO SAN SEBASTIAN, IYOA, IYEYAN,
11 IPAMPA CA YEHUATL IN HUEL
12 ITLÁXILACTLÁN, YHUAN IPILCHAN IN MOTECUHÇOMATZIN AUN INIC IHH-
13 CAYAN IN MEXICO QUAUHTLI.
14 ONINOQUETZACO, CA NO YÈ ONECHILNAMICTI, YHUAN ONECHITITI IN
15 OHTLI, YC NAMECHOHTLATOCTIZ ITECHPA
16 IIXIMACHOCA, YHUAN INELTOCICA ININ TLACEMPANAHUICAMAHUIZSAC-
17 CRMENTO AXCAN
18 ANQUIMOLHUICHIUILLILIA, IPAMPA CA NICAN NICCAQUI IN ICAQUIZTICA
19 IN NAHUATL IN ITOZQUITZIN IN
20 IHLUICAC HUEY TLÁÇOQUAUHTLI SAN IOANTZIN. QUIMOTENEHUILLIA IN
21 NO QUMIHTALHUI, QUIMOTENQUIXTILI

38 Due to contemporary typesetting practices n for u is an understandable—and fre-
quent—error in this sermon; hereafter noted only with “[sic]”.

TOVAR 1624 - TRANSCRIPTION
inomàtzinco in totlaçoTemaxticatzin\(^{39}\) itechpa inin teotlatlaço-
tlalizSacramento, ca quimihtalhui

in nonacayotzin, ca huel nelli qualoni, auh in neçotzin ca huel
nelli, yhualoni. \textit{Caro mea vere est}

cibus [etc.] Inin ilhuicacayotlalotolli, inic cenca huey huel huèca-
pan, huel panhueticzqui, huel

panquizqui, (\textit{Panhuetzqui panquizqui. Encumbrado.}) niman, ãhuel
caciamati in

totlalticpactlacatlamatiliz, yehica ca huel techonnequi acà oc ce
tlaçoquauhtli

Ilhuicacayotlamatilice techyacanaz, teoyotica techtlachialtiz, te-
chixtomaz, techizcaliz,

techiximachtiz in imelahuaca in icaquiztica inin tlamahuiçollà-
tolli, auh ca ayac oc ce huel

quimochihuiliz inin tequitl, in yuhqui yehuatzin San Augustin-
tzin, nican motlachantilitilitica, ca

ipampa ca inic ilhuicacayotlamatini, yhuan tlateoihtohuani, ca
huel inequixtiltzin in San Ioantzin,

inic no teoyotica tlatoaquauhtli, otocayotiloc, in axcan inic ni-
quitta iz moquetzinohuà, (214) in

omentin ilhuicacayome, mahuizquaquauhtin, itloc inahuac, in
Mexico tlahuizquauhtli,

niquilnamiqui, niquitztomotlalia, ca topan neltia in oquimihtal-
hui in totlaçoTemaquixticatzin.

Vbi fuerit corpus illic congregabuntu\(1\); et aquil (C. Luce caPitulo 17. In

campa yez in

notlaczonacayotzin no oncan mocentlalizque in quaquauhtin ax-
can quihnamoteotpotztoquilique

[sic] in tlacomaahuizquauhtli San Ioantzin, yhuan in San Augustin,
ic in Mexico tlatoaquauhtli

yhuan in ipilhuan quimiximachtilizque inin ilhuicamahuiz-
quauhtlaqualli in itechpatzinco

nelhuayotica in tlatoacihuapilli, tomahuizcennantzin, ma ye-
huatzin topan motlatolti, inic huel

ticanazque, tictoyolotizque in imahuiztlahtoltzin in itlaçocone-
tzin, ma tictonepechtequililican

tictotlapalhuican in itetlauhtilocatzin Aue Maria.

YE oanquicacque, ye oanquimatque in anMexica in anquauhtla-
huiceque, in quenin ihcayan in

\(^{39}\) totlazoTemaxticatzin: read totlazoTemaquixticatzin.
36 Mexico tlahtocauquiahuali omoquetzinocò in omentin tlamahtulcoquauhtin San Ioantzin, yhuan
San Augustin, inic techmotiltitilizque in catlehuatl techmonextilitilizque, tixpan quimotlalizque in
38 nelli, toyolca tonenca, yhuan in cemicac ilhuicayoliuhuani nemohualoni, auh ipampa in, in
39 quexquich axcan nocontenehuaz intentzinco noconcuitiaz nicantiaz, çan moch
inneoncahuillàoltztzin yez, auh ma yehuatzin onmopehualti in ilhuicacayotlamatilice San Ioantzin
41 ma quihualmochayahuili in ilhuicacayoeypolloihiyotl, ma quimotenquixtilizque in teoxiuhtlahtolli in
moch teotonameyocuecuyoca, in huel quimihtalhui, huel ica-
43 macpatzinco oquiz in toTemaquixticatzin, itechpa iximachoca inin mahuizSacramento
to teotlatlaçotlalizquauhtlaqualli.
44 Quimihtalhuia in cemihcac neltiliztlahtoltztzin toTemaquixticat-
zin. Axcan nocontenehua. In
45 nonacayotzin, ca huel nelli qualoni, auh in nezçotzin itech ca, huel nelli ihualoni. Caro mea vere
est cibus [etc.] Niman hualmotlananquililia in San Augustin, qui-
47 nelli tochicahuaca, tohuapahuaca, neltiliztica, huel teyolitia, te-
nemitia. In axcan canel ye
48 otictomacehuique (215) in nelli tlamatiliztonameyotl moteneuhtzinoc San Augustin. ipampa ca
49 teoyotica huel motetlanextilitilia motetlahuililia, huel motetlaiximachtilia, ma
technyolpachihuilltli, quenin inacayotzin totlaçoTemaquixti-
catzin, motenehua in totlattaya
totlachixca, çan moch tlaxcalnecayotl itech conitta. Motlanan-
48 Super Ioannes. Vocatur caro quod non capit caro, et ideo magis non ca-
pit caro quia. Iquin huel
49 conmatiz conixaxiliz in tlalticpac tlacatl, in nacayoque, in çan paninezcayotica tlaiximatih, in ca
51 totlachixca, çan moch tlaxcalnecayotl itech conitta. Motlanan-
53 Super Ioannes. Vocatur caro quod non capit caro, et ideo magis non ca-
pit caro quia. Iquin huel
54 conmatiz conixaxiliz in tlalticpac tlacatl, in nacayoque, in çan paninezcayotica tlaiximatih, in ca
55 huel inacayotzin toTemaquixticatzin intlaxcal neci, quitoznequim
56 quixàxiliá in nacayòque, ye ilhuice inic motquitica, itech moyoltzotzonà motle papalohuia, in
monacayotonehua, auh tlaxcalnezcayo, ipampa ca ahmo tlalti-
pac tlamatiliztica itto, iximacho,
inin tlamahuiçollaqualli, canel ilhuicacayô, inic Ilhuicatlamati-
liztica ixàxilîlo. Auh yehuatl in in
telorlaneltquiliztli motenehua, yehuatl in çan iô huel quiteitti-
tia, quiteiximacthia inin
telanetoquilitzlamahuiçolli, auh ipampa in, Xihuallauh tlanelto-
quiliztica, xihualacî, auh huel
xoconcui xoconana in axcan nimitzonilhuia. Inin Ilhuicac tla-
qualli, cemihcac yolcatlaxcaltzintli,
ca teoihiyotica mochihua. In ihquac in ayamo ipan mihtohua in
iteotlaholtztil toTecuiyo Iesu
Christo, ca çan oc huel tlaxcalli, çan oc yuhqui, çan no
mixcahuitica, yece in ihquac in o
ipan mihto motenquixti in itlaholtztin toTecuiyo, aocmo tlaxca-
lli motenehua, çan ye nelttiliztica
inacayotzin toTemaquixticatzin, tocayotilo, inic huel anquica-
quizque inin tlamahuîçolli
(totlaçopilhuane) monequi anquimatizque. Ca nauhtlamantli
itech ca in tlaxcalli, yehuatl in
iztaca, yhuan in iáhuiyaca, yhuan in ihuelica, no yhuan itilahu-
ca. in inauhtlamanixti, ahmo ye
in toyolca, in toneuhca, can40 yehuatl in tlaxcalyeiiztli iihtic ca.
Inin nauhtlamantli in itech ca in
yolizihiyotl, quiyolitia in tonacayo, toyolca, tonenca motene-
hua auh yehuatl in inacayotzin
toTemaquixticatzin, mocuepa in ihquac imahuiztlaholtztin ipan
mihtohua in tlaxcalli, ahmo ye in
iztaca, ahnoce iyahuiaaca, ahnoçô (216) ihuelica ahnoçô itila-
huaca in tlaxcalli inacayotzin
toTecuiyo mocuepa, ipampa ca mochi in ca çan ipanîcacakoy, 
ipanînezcayo in tlaxcalli, çan
yehuatl in tlaxcalli iyeliz, in tlaxcalyeiiztli motenehua, ipan mo-
cuepa in itlaçonacayotzin
totlaçotemaquixticatzin, ca in tlaxcalli moyelizcahua in ihquac
ipan mihtohua iteotlaholtztin,
auh oncan maquitzinohua in itlaçonacayotzin, auh in oc cequi
in tlaxcalnicacayotl,
paninezcayotl, ca çan ipan pohui in tlapachiuhcayotl, ye motla-
pachotzinohua in

40 can: read çan.
A NAHUATL SERMON BY FATHER JUAN DE TOVAR S.J.

77 toTemaquixticatzin, yuhquinma quimoctitzinohua quimocal-titzinohua inequimiloltzin
78 quimochihuilia in itlaçonacayotzin, o ca yehuatl in in cenca huey tlataçotlalizmahuiznezcatoyt
79 totechpa topampa quimochihuili in çan iceltzin totetlaçotlaca-tzin, cenca otechmocnelili, cenca
80 otlacauhqui in iyololtzin, inic huel yehuatzin, huel inohmatzin-co technomacatzino itech inin
81 cemihcaccayolcatlaqualztzintli, cenca yolihuani tlaxcaltzintli. Auh inic huel anquimatizque in
82 quenin cenca mahuizlaçotli, huel xiccaquican, xinacaçocan, xicnacaztemacan in axcan ye
83 quimihtalhuia, quimotenquixtilia in tlamahuíçolquauhtli Ilhui-cacayotlamatliztica, in màca çan
84 tlanexahuachtli, màçì çan tlapalteocuitlapeyoctli imihiyotzin intlahtoltzin hualtzetzelihi, hualmotepehua. Tlein quimihtalhuia San Ioan itechpatzinco in tlaxcalnezcatotitlan. itech inin
85 mahuizSacramento technomemactitzino, quimihtalhuia, ca ni-can moetzinotica in
86 cemihcaccayolilizTeoihiyotl, in yeeppa moetztica in ayatley on-can, in çan oc yuhqui, oc
87 cactimani cemihcaccayopan teoihiyoyelice. In principio erat Ver-bum, et Verflum erat afrud
88 Deum. Ioannes 1. Yehuatzin in yolilizameyalli, in yolilizyocoyani, in cemihcac teyolitiani,
89 tenemitiani. Auh tlein yc motlananquililia in San Augustin, qui-mihtalhuia. Ecce cibus
90 sempiternus. Psalmum 33. Sed manducant Angeli manducant superne virtutes manducant
91 Cælestes spiritus, et manducant et saginantur, et integrum manet quod eos satiat et letificat.
92 Quis autem homo posset ad illum cibum. [...] Oportebat ergo vt mensa illa lactesceret, et ad
93 parbulos perueniret. Vnde autem sit cibus, lac vnde omnibus [pro: cibus] in lac convertitur nisi
94 per carnem trijciatur nam mater hoc facit quod manducat mater hoc manducat infans sed quia
95 minus idoneus est infans qui pane vescatur [ideo] ipsum panem mater incarnet et per

41 mà: read màca.
humilitatem mamilae et lactis succo [pro: succum], de ipso pane pascit infantem. Ca ye yuhqui,
ca yehuatl in cemihcacayotl, nencayotl, in çan cenca, in mocenytztica. Yece ca intech pouhqui,
intech ihtauhqui, innemac, intonal in Angelome, in Ilhuicacayoiyome, in Ilhuicac tlaca, yehuatl in intlaqual in teyolitia, inyolca, inchicahuaca, inhuapahuaca, innenca, inpa(h)271paquiliz,
Intlanel ixpan xocontlali, xocontecpana in ixquich yecltaquali, çan moch nentiz, ahmo itech ahciz, canel ayamo huel tlaca. Auh ipampa in in ixquich ihuelitzin Dios oquimohuelitiltli in

42 inchicahuaca: read inchicahuaca.
tonan, inic in tlaqualli ãhuel quiqua in piltzintli in yehuatl quiquaz, auh itech
mochichihualayocuepaz, auh imemeyallotitech huamoyaca-
tiz. Auh in yuhqui tlaqualli ãhuel
119 quiqua in piltzintli. In ye itech inan chichihualayoquiz, ac-
mo ohui, imemeyallotitech
120 concamacui contolohua, iyolca ihuapahuaca mochihua, In
mochi in yca inin tlátolli
121 quimonezcatotilia in San Augustin quimihtalhuia. Campa
huallauh? quenin mochihua, inic in
122 tlaqualli ipan chihuallayotl\(^43\) mo(218)cuepa, inin ca yehuatl
yc mochihua, inic in tlaqua
123 inacayotitech maquia in tlaqualli, auh oncan chichihualayo-
quica yehuatl in tenan, iyoca
124 conchihua in, ipampa ca in tlaqualli quiua çan no ye ihuapahuaca iconetzin, mochihua, yece inic
125 aya huellaqua in conetontli, in tlaqualli ãhuel quiqua, yehuatl
conqua in inan, auh itech maquia
126 quimonecatotilia, auh oncan mochichihualayocuepaa in tla-
qualli, niman ichichihualaltitech,
127 imemeyallotitech hualmopilohua, auh yuhqui ica in tlaqualli
omochichihualayocuep, in tenan
128 quichichitlia quihuapahuia in iconeuh. Ica inin machiotl mo-
chipa tiquitia, quimonezcatotilia in
huey ilhuicacayotlmatini San Augustin, in topampa quimo-
chihuili totlaçoTemaquixticaizin,
130 itech inin mahuiztlacelilizSacramento. Ca in yuhqui tlaqualli
ãhuel quiqua in piltzintli, yehuatl
131 conqua in inan, auh inacayotitech chichihualayocuepaa, chii-
chihualayquito, yc huei concamacui
132 in conetontli, in ahuie tlaqua, in ye yuh omitto. Yuhquion in
tohuentetlaçotlacatzin Iesu Christo,
133 oquimocuili in tonacayo,\(^44\) in yuh quimihtalhuia in ilhuicac
tlamatiztecatl San Ioan. In
134 cemihcaccateoyelizhiyotl Dios itlaçóPiltzin, omonachayoitzi-
no, auh itech in itlaçonacayotzin
135 oquimocentlalili in incennencatlaqualtzin, inyolca inhuapa-
huaca in ilhuicac chaneque, auh oncan
136 oquimoyamanili, yuhquinmá quimopahuili, quimochich-
hualayocuepili, inic itech inacayotzin

\(^43\) chihuallayotl: read chichihualayotl.
\(^44\) tonacayo: read tonacayo.
in tehuantin ahtle tohueli, in yuhqui ticonepipiltin, ticoçolme, ye huel ticcamacui tohuapahuaca

mochihua in quimoqualtia, in ahtle inehneuhca, inic ochica-huaque ellaquauhtique,
yollotlahpaltique Angelome, yehica huel monelihtohua. In Angelome inltaqual, ye no quiqua in
tlalticpac tlaca. Auh in quenin ye achtco omihto, ca niman ahmo moxelohua, ahmo
mononquaquixtitzinohua in toTecuiyo inic quimocelilia [sic], quimoqualtia in ilhnicaayome [sic]. ca ye huel mocemiquitica, mocemàcitica in iteoyeltzin, çan no yuhqui inic itech inin
tlamahuiçolSacramento tlacelilitzli techmoceliltia, yhuan techmoqualtillia (219) in itlaçonacayotzin, ca niman ahmo techmoxexelhuilia, ahmo quimonononquaquixtillia, ipampa ca
in quezquican inin Sacramentootitech imahuiznacayotzin techmoqualtililia no izquican mocemitquitzinotica, huel mocenyecttica yca inin neixcuitilli, Achi anquicaquizque inin
tlamahuiçollil. Ye onamechmelahuili in quenin ihiyotzin itlah-toltzin in toTecuiyo, ye mochihua
inin Ilhuicac tlaqualli auh ipampa in itech in toltahtol in tihi-yo, nicmachiotlaliz in quenin yc techmomacatzinohua, ye anquitta anmochtin in quenin namer nonotztica, namechmachihttica.
auh inin notlahtol nictenquixtiuh, in amixquichtin iz ancate mochi ceceyaca anquicaqui,
anquinaraztema, ahmo anquixexeliuhcacaqui, in huehueintin tlaca, in ye huyen coyahuac innacaz, in pipiltototin, in ahmo huey in oc tepitot in tlacaquia, innacaz, mochtin
quinènehacencasaztema, quicemàcicacaqui in axcan nocointnhtiuiuh, noconquetotixtitiui, çan no
yuhqui in techmomacatzinohua toTemaquixticitazin, itech inin mahuiizSacramento, intlanel ahmo
tlapoialtini in quimoceltia, ahmo nonquaquiça, ahmo ni-man moxexelohua, in itlaçonacayotzin,
çan huel ye ceceyaca45 mocemacitica, mocenyecttica inic techmomacatzinohua, intlanel huey,

45 ceceyaca: here and below, read ceceyaca
intlanel tepitzin, intlanel can tlapactzintli nohuian mocemiti-quitzinotica, cecceyanca
quicamàcritica\textsuperscript{46} itech inin Ilhuicac tlaxcalztzintli in yuhqui in mochi notlahtol, in huehue tlacatl
coyahuac inacaz, auh in pilontli can tepiton ahmo nacazco- yahuac, mochintin cecenyaca
quicemàcicacacqui, ahmo moxelihucacacqui in yuh ye omihto.
Auh intla ye mieccan
161 quittinglapanacan quixexelocan inin Ilhuicacayotlaxcalli, ni-
man ahmo ye xexelihui in
162 itlaçonacayotzin totlaçoTemaquixtican, ca can ixquich in
tlaxcalnezayotl panineci motlatlapana,
163 moxèxelohua, ahmo yenhuatzin\textsuperscript{47} in toTecuiyo in yuh tezcati-
tech neci, in ihquac timotezcahuia
164 in ompa tommotta, ca oncan maquia moneycayotia, hualneci
in mixiptla. Auh intlanel xictlapana
165 in tezcatl, in manel mieccan tezcatlapactli (220) itech yetiu-
in mixtelolo, auh oc ceccan in
166 moyac, ahnoço in moten, ça ce ahmo xexelihui in mixiptla,
ça yehuatl in tezcatl xèxelihui, auh
167 itech centel tezcatlapactli ompa cenyetiu in mixiptla. yuh-
qui inin Angelotlaxcalli, intla huel
168 mieccan quitlàtlapanacan, can cecenyaca itech in tlaxcalla-
pactli ceceniyetiuh itlaçonacayotzin
toTecuiyo Iesu Christo. Auh in yuhqui in timochintin tech-
mocennemactitzinohua, cecenycaya
techmocennemactitzino, cecenycaya techmocentlaughtili-
tzinohua. Ye oanquicacque,
oanquimahuicoque in tohueytlaocolilo, tohueyicneliloca
itech inin tlamañuicholSacramento,
tinemactiloque in cenneltococa chicahuacaneltococa, ixima-
choca ixàxililo, yehica itzonco in
notlahtol, nocontenehua in itlahtoltzin Dios. Xihuallauh tla-
netoquiliztica, xihualaci.
Ynhquina [sic] quinmoxochilia in ipilhuantzitzin, inic quim-
 moyehcalhuiiz in
intlaneltoquiliztlachializ, in yuh in quauhtli quinayehecohua
in ipilhuan, ipampa ca in ihquac

\textsuperscript{46} quicamàcritica: read quicamàcritica.
\textsuperscript{47} yenhuatzin: in accordance with Mijangos' general orthographic practices, read yehuatzi.
oquintlapan, ecenycayan quimiztinapalohua, quimixnamictia in tonatiuh, ihuicpa

quimnelauhcatlachieltia. Auh in quàquauhtepitoton, inic ixtlahpaltic, ixchicahuac, huel quixnamiqui in tonatiuh, ahmo ixmimiqui, inin huel quimocuitia, iquauhtapàcolco, concuepa quitlaàcotla, auh in quàquaupton ixcoçotlahua ixmihmiqui, ahuel quixnamiqui in tonatiuh, tlapan quihualmayahui, tlallj yc quihuitequi, quitelchihua. Huel yuh in teoyotica quimochihuilia in tlahtocaauhtli San Augustin, ipampa ca quimoayechalhuia in toltlantoquiliztlachiaaliz [sic], auh in aquis in tech quimotilia in chicahuacateotlantoquiliztli, yc itto iximacho inin

tlantoquilizSacramento huel quimocuititzinnohua itlctzincin inahuactzincin quimotlalilia, auh in aquis tlantoquilizixihtlacauihuicin ixcpoliuhcatlanetoca, tlani quimotlaxilia, iyxitlantzinco quimomayahuilia, ahu yehuatl in quinezcatotia itech xiptla-
tzin, inic iyxitlantzinco mayauhtoque, huetztoque, in tzotzcatlanetocanime, yolpoliuhcatalzecatlanetocanime Hereges motenehua. Auh in quenin in quauhtli in ye imonec(221)yan patlanizcue in ipilhuauquihua, yehuatl quinyolehua, imixpan achat patlani, tlapatpatlatúa in ye motlahpalohua patlanizcue, in ye quitocaznequi in innan, can no ye intlan patlantiuh, yuh-
quinma quimellaauhtuihuicin [sic], huehuèca quinpetzamatiuh inic ahmo momauhtitique, ahu huel ahco huecapan quimàxitia, huel mixtitlan quimbaqui. Sicut aquila prouocam ad volandum puleos suos, et super eos volitam expandit alas suas et assumpsit eos atque portauit in humeris suis. Deuteronomii capitulo 32.

çan no yuhquin inin mahuizlahtocaauhtli, quinmopale-
huilia in ipilhuantitzin, inic huel itechpatzinco mihtohua. In quenin in quauhtli quipalehuia in iconeuin inic patlani, inic ahco quihiuica, can no yuh in San Augustintzin, quinmopalehuilia in ipilhuantitzin, Ilhuicapa quinmohuiquilitiuih, yca imahuiztlahtoltzin quinmoyacanili-
tiuih yca imahuiztlahtoltzin
quinmoyolehuiliuh, itepotzinco, icuexantzinc quoimotlalilitiuh, ixquichica quinmâxitilu in
ompa aocmo nequimiloliztica netlapacholiztica techmottititzinohua in totlaçoTemaquixticatzin,
in iceltzin neltitica\^{48} totetlatcotalatzin, in nican tlalticpac huey tlatláctotlaliznezcayotl
technomaquilia itech inin tlatláctotlalizSacramento, yc techmotenehuiliila techmottitilia, ca
çatepan tictomâcehuitzinozque in ompa itecentlamachtiayantzinco gloria. Amen.

\^{48} neltitica: read neltilitica.
The most sagacious Father Juan de Tovar preached this sermon at my intercession because I wanted to know how I might properly speak about the [external] appearances of [consecrated] bread and wine. And for the same reason I had it printed among these [sermons] of mine so that everyone could take advantage of them and their [good] doctrine.

Here is a sermon with which people will be instructed when the dear feast day of the beloved esteemed body of our beloved Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, is celebrated. With it people were instructed [by] our beloved esteemed father, Father Juan de Tovar, who is very learned in the word of God and looks after things in the [Colegio de] San Gregorio; thus he instructed people in the Mexico [City tlaxilacalli/district of] San Sebastián.

*My body is truly food and my blood is truly drink. John 6:56.*

It was proclaimed everywhere —O our beloved children!— for here in [the tlaxilacalli/city district of] Atzaqualco, the distinct place of San Sebastián, the royal eagle gave insignia to our altepetl of Mexico [City] because it is the place of the very tlaxilacalli and childhood home of Moteuczomatzin. And because it is the place of the eagle of Mexico [City] I came to a halt, for it also reminded me and showed me the road along which I will conduct you regarding the recognition of and belief in this surpassingly esteemed Sacrament.

Today you celebrate its feast day, wherefore here I hear the explanation of the law and voice of the great precious eagle of Heaven San Juan. He expresses what our beloved Savior Himself also said and declared concerning this divinely beloved Sacrament, for He said: My body is indeed food, and My blood truly indeed is drink.

*My body is truly food [etc.].*

These celestial words, so very great, very high, very elevated, and of great stature, can in no way be completely
understood [by] our earthly understanding because it is very necessary that some other precious eagle who is celestially wise will lead us, will spiritually make us see, will open our eyes, will teach us, will make us recognize the correct interpretation and explanation of these marvelous words.

22-25 And no one else can perform this task like San Agustín who makes his home here because he is so celestially wise and speaks divinely about things, for it is the very justification of San Juan who also is called a spiritual royal eagle.

25-26 Today I see that the two celestial beings, esteemed eagles, pause here, close to and near the eagles of the insignia of Mexico [City].

27-29 I reflect on and ponder it, for upon us is verified what our beloved Savior said: Wherever the body will be, there the eagles will be gathered together. Luke 17:37. Where My precious body is, there also eagles will gather.

29-32 Today they [i.e., the eagles] pursued the beloved esteemed eagle San Juan and San Agustín so that the royal eagle of Mexico [City] and her children will recognize—concerning its basis—this heavenly esteemed food of eagles.

32-33 May the queen, the esteemed mother of us all, intercede for us so that we can grasp and memorize the admirable words of her beloved child.

33-34 Let us bow deeply and reverently to her, let us greet her [with] her invocation, the Ave Maria.

35-38 You Mexica, you owners of the eagle-insignia, already have heard and known how in Mexico, the place of the royal eagle, the two marvelous eagles San Juan and San Agustín came to a stop so that they could show what they manifest to us, set down before us our true daily nourishment and the eternal heavenly life-sustaining sustenance.

38-40 Because of this, all I now [go on to] declare I will take and seize from their lips; it will all be the words they bestowed.

40-43 Let San Juan, wise in celestial things, begin; let him scatter down celestially precious words, let him declare the precious gem-like words, all divinely dazzling sun beams, [that] He Himself said, [that] emerged right from the mouth of our Savior concerning the recognition of this esteemed Sacrament, the divine eagle-food of love.

49 tictoyolotique; see the following gloss by don Antonio Valeriano in Bautista 1606, 79: “aoc huel quimoyollotlia (no lo puede tomar de memoria).” See also this passage on p. 281: “Tle yca in timonacazzxalilia, tle yca in ahmo ticmoyollotlia, tle yca in ahmo mhtic tictlalial teutahtolli.”
Our Savior said the eternal words of truth I say today: My body truly indeed is food, and My blood in it truly indeed is drink. My body is truly food [etc.].

San Agustín then answers; he says: It is truly indeed our daily nourishment, truly life-giving, life-maintaining. Now since we already have enjoyed the true sun beam of knowledge called San Agustín—because he spiritually illuminates people, lights the way for people, can make things known to people—let him satisfy our doubts: how is it [that] what is called our vision, our sense of sight, [that] all it sees in the body of our beloved Savior just has the appearance of bread?

He who speaks divinely about things responds and says: When would flesh [in the sense of the worldly person] grasp this: What he called bread is flesh? Augustine, 26th Treatise on John. That is called flesh which flesh does not grasp and therefore flesh does not grasp further because [...]. When can the earthly persons, possessors of bodies and knowledgeable [about] just outwardly appearances, know and completely comprehend that what appears to be their bread is the very body of our Savior?

It means: It is called flesh what the possessors of bodies do not completely comprehend, what is so especially completely entire; they doubt and consume themselves like moths in a flame in what is called flesh, and because of [its] bread-like-appearance this marvelous food cannot be understood and recognized with earthly knowledge since it is celestial, so that it is completely comprehended [only] with heavenly knowledge.

And only this, called divine faith, can show and make people recognize this miracle of faith. And because of this, come, arrive by means of faith, and really grasp what I say to you today.

This heavenly food, this bread of eternal life, is made with the words of God.

Before the divine words of our Lord Jesus Christ are said

50 "The elipsis indicates that the quotation was not completed in the marginal note.... This is from Saint Augustine, Tractatus in Ioannem 26 [26th Treatise on John] in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 35:1612. Augustine's style is often cryptic and difficult to follow" (Stafford Poole, C.M., personal communication).

51 in tlatlizcap tlacalti: although in the third person singular, the plural seems logically called for here, and grammatically the following nacayoque and tlaiximatih are inflected for the third person plural.
over it, it is still just bread, still just so, likewise a distinct thing, but when over it is said and declared the words of our Lord it is no longer called bread, but with truth it is called the body of our Savior.

65-67 So that you can understand this miracle—O our beloved children!—you will need to know that there are four things in the bread: its whiteness, and its fragrance, and its good taste, and also its thickness.

67-68 These four things are not our daily sustenance, rather it is the essence of the bread that is in it.

68-70 These four things in it are the breath of life that gives life to our body, called our daily sustenance, and it becomes the body of our Savior when His esteemed words are said over it.

70-74 It is not the whiteness or fragrance or good taste or thickness of the bread that becomes the body of our Lord, because all of this is just the outward and external appearance of the bread; just the essence of the bread, what is called the bread-essence, changes into the precious body of our beloved Savior, for the essence of the bread remains when His divine words are said over it.

And there He dresses Himself in His precious body, and the other outward appearances of the bread, the external aspects, are equivalent to a coating of paint with which our Savior covers Himself.

It is as though He buries Himself in it, makes His home in it, makes it the burial garb of His precious body.

Now then, this is a very great sign, loving and esteemed, that our only Loving One did regarding us, on our account; we thank Him very much for His great generosity, that He Himself, He in person gave Himself to us in this food of eternal life, this very life-sustaining bread.

81-85 And so that you can know that it is a very esteemed precious thing, listen well, use your ears, fill your ears with what they say and declare today [with] celestial knowledge of the marvelous eagle; as if they were radiant dew, painted gold pendants, their fine words drizzle and scatter down.

85-86 What does San Juan say about the appearance of bread in this esteemed Sacrament?

52 This fortuitous phrasing is borrowed from Paredes 1759, 270: “ipan pohui, ipa momati; (equivale).”

53 Molina 1977, 74v: “O ca yehuad y. mirad pues, que esto es. s. lo que yo dezia. &c.”
He made Himself a gift to us, he says, for here He is, the divine word of eternal life; before Him there is nothing there, it is still just as it was [at creation], still silent; since eternity \(^{54}\) [He] is the owner of the essence of the divine word.

*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. John 1:1.*

He is the fountain of life, the Creator of life, eternally life-giving and life-maintaining.

And what does San Agustín respond with? He says: *Behold the everlasting food.* [Commentary] on Psalm 33. But the angels eat, the powers above eat, the heavenly spirits eat, and eating, they are nourished [or: sated] and rejoice. Any man can avail himself of this food. ... It is appropriate, therefore, that that table give milk and that it come to the little ones. How, then, does food become milk? How is food converted into milk unless it is passed through flesh? Because the mother does this. What the mother eats, the infant eats, but because the infant is less suited to eating bread [therefore] the mother turns this bread into her very self and through the lowliness of the breast and the strength of the milk she feeds the infant with this bread.\(^{55}\)

It is so, for it is eternity and sustenance; He is very complete and whole.

But it belongs and is assigned to the angels, the celestial beings like breaths,\(^{56}\) the people of Heaven, it is their gift and hard-earned property; it is their life-giving food, their daily sustenance and nourishment, their joy, their good fortune, their riches, the pleasures of all angels.

And as to their food: It is not divided up, not distinct, its essence is extremely complete and pure.

Thus he satisfies their doubts.

Then the mirror of knowledge San Agustín says, questioning: This food of theirs, the daily sustenance of the valiant of Heaven, the very stronghearted, the vigorous, the strong-voiced—

When and how could it also become the food of an earthly person that is powerless, reaching a suckling child?

\(^{54}\) *cemihcaccayopan:* see Paredes 1759, 29: “ca cemicacayopan, (desde la eternidad) yè ommoyetzticá.”

\(^{55}\) “This is taken from Saint Augustine’s *Enarratio in Psalmum 33* (Commentary on Psalm 33), Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* 36:303” (Stafford Poole, C.M., personal communication).

\(^{56}\) *Io'ucacayoihiyome:* see Paredes 1759, 28 and 96 for somewhat similar terms.
Likewise he answers, saying: It was necessary that the food of heavenly elder brothers turn into breast milk so that what will be the daily sustenance of earthly people will reach them, like the people of Heaven appear among the little infants and suckling children in the nourishment of our bodies.

He signifies and means by this the nourishment of our spirits and our souls.

And so that you can completely understand it, ponder how our food—with which the bodies of all of us people come to life and live—is a gift that all of us have, but only those whose mouths are strong enjoy its taste, take it with their mouths, eat it, swallow it, and digest it, thus giving life to and animating their bodies.

Thus an especially small child who is in the cradle, weak-mouthed, toothless, whose teeth have not yet come out and grown: Though you set and arrange all [manner of] good food before him, it will all just be in vain, it will not reach him, since he cannot yet eat.

And because of this almighty God provided our mother with the ability to eat the food that the child cannot eat, and it will turn into breast milk in her and it will come out in her milk.

And as the child cannot eat the food it comes out as breast milk in his mother, it is no longer difficult [to eat], he takes it with his mouth and swallows it in her milk and it becomes his sustenance and nourishment.

San Agustín signifies all of this with these words.

He says: Where does it come from?

How does it happen that food changes into breast milk?

This is how it happens: So that he eats the food enters into her body and there it comes out as the breast milk of someone's particular mother who makes it, because the food she eats also becomes the nourishment of her child.

But because the little infant cannot yet eat, the food he cannot eat his mother eats, and it enters her, she makes it part of her body, and there the food turns into breast milk.

Then he hangs at her breast, at her milk, and thus with the food changed into breast milk a mother suckles and rears her infant.
The great celestially-wise San Agustín signifies with this example we always see what our beloved Savior did for us in this esteemed Sacrament of communion.

For as the child cannot eat the food the mother eats it, and in her body it changes into breast milk, comes out as breast milk, so that the little child who cannot eat can take it with his mouth, as has already been said.

In that way our great Loving One Jesus Christ took on our [earthly] body, as the heavenly mirror of knowledge, San Juan, says: God's beloved Child, the eternally divine essence of breath, was incarnated, and in His precious body He gathered together this, the sustenance-food of everyone, the nourishment of the residents of Heaven, and there He softened it.

It was as if He made the mothers chew the food for their children; He turned it into breast milk so that in His body we who are powerless and like small children in cradles can take with our mouths our sustenance, what He provides for eating that is without equal, with which the angels are so powerful, vigorous and stronghearted.

Wherefore it can truly be said: The people of the earth also eat the food of the angels.

And as has already been said, our Lord absolutely does not divide up into portions, He is not in distinct parts when the celestial beings receive and eat Him; His divine essence is just completely whole and pure.

In similar fashion, so that in this marvelous Sacrament He makes us receive communion and He makes us eat His precious body, He in no way divides Himself up for us, He is not in distinct parts, for in as many places as His esteemed body is in this Sacrament He gives to us to eat, also in as many places He is perfectly whole and entirely complete.

You will understand this miracle a little with this example.

I already have declared to you how this heavenly food is made with the fine words of our Lord, wherefore in our fine words I will signify how He thus gives Himself to us.

All of you already see how I inform and teach you, and these words of mine I declare to all of you who are here, all and each one of you will hear them, fill your ears with them, not understanding them in distinct ways —the
adults whose ears are already big and wide, and the little 
children who are small and whose understanding and 
ears are still tiny—all will fill their ears with them in 
equal [measure], will completely understand what I am 
saying and declaring today.

153-156 In like fashion our Savior gives Himself to us in this 
esteemed Sacrament; even though those who receive 
Him are countless His precious body is not distinct, 
absolutely not divided up, but each one is completely 
pure, entirely whole when He gives Himself to us.

156-160 Though it be big [or] small, though it be just a piece [of 
consecrated bread], everywhere each one takes Him with 
his mouth in this heavenly bread He is perfectly com-
plete, like all my words: The adult with wide ears and the 
little child who is small with narrow ears, all and each 
one will understand it completely, not understanding it 
in separate [ways] as has already been said.

160-163 And if they already have repeatedly broken up and divid-
ed the precious body of our beloved Savior, all that out-
wardly appears to be broken up and divided is the 
appearance of bread, not our Lord.

163-164 It is as it appears in a mirror when you look at yourself, 
see yourself there, for there your image enters in and 
makes its appearance.

164-167 And though you break the mirror, even though in many 
places of the fragments are your eyes and in others your 
nose or your lips, your image is not divided up, rather it 
is the mirror that is divided up, and in one fragment of 
the mirror can [even] be your entire image!

167-169 Such is this angelic bread: If they repeatedly break it up 
into very many places, right in each one of the pieces of 
bread is the precious body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

169-170 And thus He fully bestows Himself to all of us, to each of 
us He completely makes a gift of Himself, He entirely 
favors all of us with Himself.

170-173 You already have heard and marveled at the great mercy 
and favor done to us in this marvelous Sacrament, the 
complete and firm belief in it bestowed on us, the recog-
nition of it, its complete understanding, because at the 
beginning of my speech I expressed the words of God: 
Come with faith, arrive.

174-177 It is as if He makes His children burst in bloom so that
He will test their vision with regard to the faith as the eagle tests her children, because after she has hatched them she carries them in her talons, makes them confront the sun, directs their sight towards it.

And as for the eaglets, so that they can boldly and courageously confront the sun, not be blinded by the sun—this she well confesses—she returns him to her aerie, she loves him, but the eaglet who is faint of eye, dazzled by the sun, it hurls him down to earth, strikes him against the ground, despises him.

Just so, in a spiritual manner, does the royal eagle San Agustín, because he tests our vision with regard to the faith and he who sees in it a firm faith in God; thus is seen and known this Sacrament of faith he confesses to Him and places with Him.

And he whose eyes are damaged with regard to the faith, who just confusedly believes, He will cast into the abyss and hurl at His feet; his image signifies that those who are miserably poor in the faith, foolishly confused in the faith, called heretics, will be dashed down and lie fallen at His feet.

And as to how the children of the eagle that she selected will fly at the required time: She encourages them [by] first flying in front of them; [then] they vigorously beat their wings\(^{57}\) and dare to fly [because] they want to follow their mother.

Likewise she flies among them as though encouraging them, carrying them on her back for a long distance so

\(^{57}\) \textit{tlapapallat}: tentative translation. Contextually and grammatically this would appear to be the transitive frequentive of \textit{patlani} “to fly” with the prefixal nonspecific object marker \textit{tla} incorporated. It is inflected for the present indicative, third person plural (the grave accent, along with the acute accent and the letter \textit{h}, is one of the three ways the glottal stop is marked in this sermon and others in Mijangos 1624). Carochi 1645, 73r-v is seemingly clear on the possible derivation of the verb as used by Tovar:


The following entry from Karttunen 1983, 188, also is helpful: “\textit{PAPATLATZ(A)} \textit{vrel} for something to beat its wings.”

All of this is seemingly contradicted by the following passage from Carochi’s list of frequentives: “\textit{Patlani, volar, Pápátlaca, rebolear el aue, temblar el corazón, &c. El activo en tca, no se usa}” (1645, 75r). However, notwithstanding Carochi’s indication, there seems to be no other logical solution to the interpretation of this verb.
that they will not be frightened; she makes them reach upward very high, she makes them enter right among the clouds.

191-192  *Like the eagle encouraging its young to fly and hovering over them spreads it wings, so He lifted them [i.e., the people of Israel] up and carried them on His shoulders. Deuteronomy 32:11.*

193-195 Likewise in the same fashion this esteemed royal eagle helps his children so that concerning what is said—how the eagle helps her child to fly so that it can accompany her upward—San Agustín also helps his children.

195-199 He goes accompanying them to Heaven with his esteemed words, he goes leading them with his esteemed words, he goes encouraging them, placing them in protective fashion on his back and in his lapfolds until he makes them reach where our beloved Savior, in truth our only Loving One, shows Himself to us without burial clothes [or] covering.

199-201 Here on earth He gives us a great token of love in this loving Sacrament, thus declaring and showing Himself to us, for afterwards we will enjoy Him there in His place where everyone is eternally enriched and made happy, [i.e.,] glory. Amen.

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