

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION
TO TWENTY MANUSCRIPTS OF
CLASSICAL NAHUATL LITERATURE

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This bibliography is offered as a preliminary guide for students and professionals interested in the texts of the indigenous Nahuatl cultures of Mexico. It is the bibliography I would wish to have were I to begin again my own investigations, which were undertaken with only a general knowledge of Nahuatl culture of the kind available to any curious aficionado of antiquities. While many excellent bibliographies of Nahuatl materials are available (see Note), none have indicated clearly for the uninitiated the primary manuscript sources of the literature or what editions of facsimile, paleography, and translation have been prepared from each. And since much of the critical editing has been piecemeal, locating facsimile or paleography of any specific manuscript may require as many as three different references published over a span of perhaps fifty years. Chasing these references from one book to another in pursuit of sources is time consuming and frustrating for students unfamiliar with the literature, especially for those North Americans whose only chance to work in Mexico is through an inadequate travel grant giving them precious little time. This bibliography offers a convenient organization of references which will facilitate location of any source in whatever form the investigator may desire.

Since my own interests in this material are literary and concern poetry in particular, the bibliography will reflect that bias; nevertheless, it will be useful to investigators of ethnology, history, religion, or linguistics. The term "classical" has been arbitrarily adopted to refer to manuscripts composed or redacted during the 16th century, though at least three (nos. 11, 12, and 15) listed here fall outside that boundary. Of these the first two are included because of their direct dependence on earlier indigenous texts, and the third because it represents a folk tradition equally indigenous but poorly represented in the earlier manuscripts. The Nahuatl written throughout the period of the 16th century, in spite of mis-

sionary derivatives, retains the structure and vocabulary of the *pillatolli*, “noble speech,” a rhetorical tradition directly emerging from the literary mainstream of the pre-Cortesian Nahuas. Bautista’s edition of *huehuetlatolli*, “discourses of the elders,” (see entry no. 7) in 1600 provides a convenient terminus for this tradition.

I have replaced the customary alphabetical order with a sequence of my own based on a very general descending order of the relative importance of the twenty manuscripts listed. For reference, an alphabetical listing is added as an appendix. I realize this is a highly subjective classification and directly reflects my literary interests, but the advantage of giving a reader immediate awareness of some general scheme of importance, however provisional, seemed to outweigh the advantage of easier reference in a list of only twenty items. I have no interest in defending this sequence as any final judgment of value. In fact, the last two items on the list, the Sacred Miscellany and MS. no. 303, are probably of considerably more value than several of those which precede them. Since the material they contain is of supposedly European origin and critical attention to them has been slight to say the least, I have placed them at the end. Needless to say, every one of these manuscripts is of immense value to the general corpus of American studies, and each provides some information not found in any other.

There are many 16th century Nahuatl manuscripts—and single editions—not included in this bibliography. While much critical attention has been fixed on the period, it has tended to concentrate heavily on some 10 to 15 of the texts listed here with little or none directed to numerous others. This imbalance has been the consequence of an unofficial division of the texts into two categories: Those judged to be of purely indigenous origin in content, and those considered to be influenced by Christian material. Scholars have universally directed themselves to the former while leaving the latter virtually unread. Single manuscripts are often divided and extracted on the basis of the same judgment. Garibay’s otherwise splendid edition of the Mexican Cantos is flawed by just such a division. The simple fact obscured in this separation of sheep and goats is that no “pure” Nahuatl text exists—with the exception of a few pre-Cortesian pictographic codices. Every written Nahuatl text was recorded after 1521 either directly by a Christian priest, by students who worked directly under priestly supervision, or by former students who had studied in Christian schools long enough to understand the necessity of the new religion. The written language was a personal possession of the noble and priestly class, both before and after the conquest. The Miscellany and MS no. 303 are representative of a large body of 16th century texts of “Chris-

tian" origin, consisting of sermons, epistles, and meditations composed by churchmen for use in the ritual year or in moral education of the "converted" Indians. There is not the absolute rupture of tradition we might expect between these Christian manuals and the more directly indigenous texts. The scant evidence available on this former group, almost untouched by scholars and editors, tells us that it contains works such as the Divine Mirror (*Espejo Divino*) by Father Juan de Mijangos, of whom Garibay says, "Never did the language of the Aztecs rise to such nobility as in the hand of this Augustinian." While we may question the validity of such praise, considering Mijangos was hardly Aztec, there is no doubt that he drew heavily on indigenous tradition as well as on the European. The form of the Mirror, moral dialogues between a father and son, more closely reflects the form of the huehuetlatolli which are the central texts of Nahuatl ethics and moral philosophy, than it does the dialogues of Plato. It would appear that some of Mijangos' teachings may also depend on this indigenous tradition. Only two of these "Christian" manuscripts are noted in the present bibliography and most remain unedited in any form, accessible only to linguists with travel grants. In spite of the European influence and impulse in their creation, these neglected Nahuatl manuscripts may contain significant examples to be considered before a definition of the indigenous style and tradition in literature can be formulated.

Another genre of Nahuatl texts not included here and little discussed is the drama, or *auto* as the Spanish called it. These brief spiritual allegories were products of a unique formal marriage between the spectacles of the indigenous religion and the medieval European miracle play. I refer the interested English reader to Marilyn E. Ravicz's excellent book of translations, *Early Colonial Religious Drama in Mexico: From Tzompantli to Golgotha* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, Inc., 1970). This edition gives versions, without originals, of seven dramas: "The Sacrifice of Isaac," "The Merchant," "The Adoration of the Kings," "The Final Judgment," "How the Blessed St. Helen Found the Holy Cross," "The Destruction of Jerusalem," "Soul and Testamentary Executors," plus a thorough discussion of both Mexican and Spanish antecedents.

Two other manuscripts of this period have been mentioned in passing by various scholars, but to date I have found only one bibliographic note referring to either. Garibay lists the Chronological History of the Tlaxcaltecan Nation (*Historia cronológica de la Nación Tlaxcalteca*) by Juan Buenaventura Zapata Mendoza, a native scholar of Tlaxcala. The original is said to be in the National Library of Paris, MS no. 212 of the Goupil Collection. Photocopies made by Paso y Troncoso can be found in the Library of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto

Nacional de Antropología e Historia—INAH), in Mexico City. The other manuscript, *Annals of the Tepanecs* (*Anales tepanecas*), has some importance for studies of the Tepanec empire which immediately preceded the Aztec Triple Alliance, but has not been published in any version that I am aware of.

This same Goupil Collection of the National Library in Paris contains some 450 items pertaining to the history of Mexico. Unfortunately, due to the ultra-possessive French library system, many of these manuscripts remain inaccessible. Of particular interest is a collection of poems, apparently something like the Mexican Cantos manuscript, of which even so distinguished a scholar as Garibay was denied a copy. Two forays against this stronghold have nevertheless released a number of very significant manuscripts to the public. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Mexican historian and diplomat at the turn of the century, spent years in Europe attempting to recover for his country some of the literary treasures it lost during the colonial regnum. His photocopy collection, now in the archives of the INAH, is an invaluable source of Nahuatl texts otherwise inaccessible. The other scholar to penetrate this collection, Ernst Mengin, has published magnificent facsimile editions of four primary manuscripts, three in Nahuatl (included below) and one in Cakchiquel Maya. For a catalog of the Goupil Collection see: Eugene Boban, *Documents pour servir a l'Histoire du Mexique. Catalogue raisonné de la collection de M. E. Goupil* (ancienne collection J. M. A. Aubin), 2 vols. plus Atlas, Paris, 1891.

Two publications not included in the present bibliography need to be mentioned. Both are by Father Angel M. Garibay Kintana: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*. 2 vols, México, Porrúa, 1953 and 1954; *Llave del náhuatl*, México, Porrúa, 1961. The first is the only complete survey of the Nahuatl texts ever made, and contains selections from nearly every manuscript listed here. The *Llave* is a grammar of classical Nahuatl and contains a section of exercises which gives paleography and translation of parts of many of the same manuscripts, particularly of the informants of Sahagún.

As a final word it must be said that none of these texts can be understood by themselves, nor can the corpus of Nahuatl literature be studied without also examining the numerous Spanish texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relevant to indigenous tradition, such as the *Historia general* of Sahagún, the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the *Crónica mexicana* of Tezozomoc, the *Códice Ramirez*, the works of Ixtlilxochitl, of Durán, Pomar, Motolinía, Muñoz Camargo, Mendieta, and Torquemada, to name only the most significant.

The first three manuscripts listed here are all based on the informants of Father Bernardino de Sahagún and were composed from in-

formation gathered between 1547 and about 1580, primarily at Tepepulco, Tlatelolco, and Tenochtitlan-Mexico, all cities within immediate confines of the Aztec Triple Alliance. The work of Father Sahagún is not only the single most extensive literary source for study of any indigenous American culture, but also an amazing document of that distinctly European phenomenon known as the "renaissance." Without doubt, Sahagún is the founder of the modern science of ethnology. He is the most outstanding personification of a thoroughly humanistic curiosity brought to the New World by Catholic churchmen and gratified under the pretext of "understanding for better evangelization." In spite of their prejudices, various of these churchmen compiled vast collections of linguistic, anthropological, and ethnological data, even while they burned the native libraries and battered down pyramids to form the foundations of churches. Beside Sahagún, the notables are Father Andrés de Olmos (whose principal work is lost); Father Toribio de Benavente, better known as "Motolinía;" and Father Diego de Durán, whose *History of the Indies of New Spain* (*Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*) is one of the most extensive sources available, after the *History* of Sahagún, concerning the society of the Nahuas.

The collection of documents which form the central corpus of Sahagún's work is called the General History of the Things of New Spain (*Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*), the name given to a Spanish version he himself prepared from the recorded accounts of his many native informants. The work is divided into twelve separate books according to subject matter: The gods; the ritual year, its rites, and sacred hymns; origins of the gods; the book of the divinatory calendar (*tonalamatl*) and auguries; rhetoric and moral philosophy (huehuetlatolli); astronomy; life of the noble class; life of the merchant class; origins and history of the Toltecs, Chichimecs, and other peoples of central Mexico; natural sciences; and accounts of the conquest. A better title for this work, as Garibay has suggested, would be "Encyclopedia of the Nahuatl Culture of Tenochtitlan," which it literally is. Probably no work in history comes so close to being the complete "Encyclopedia Britannica" of an unknown universe which Jorge Luis Borges imagines in his story of Tlön Uqbar.

This material is now found in four different manuscripts, the first two in Nahuatl only, the third in Nahuatl and Spanish, and the fourth in Spanish only. The first two are known as the Madrid Codices and appear to be more or less halves of a single work. The first of these is preserved in the library of the Royal Palace in Madrid and is known as the Madrid Codex of the Royal Palace (*Códex Matritense del Real Palacio*). The second found in the library of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, is called

the Madrid Codex of the Royal Academy (*Códice Matritense de la Real Academia*). The third manuscript, known as the Florentine Codex (*Códice Florentino*) and preserved at the Laurentian Library of Florence, has a complete Nahuatl text accompanied by a facing column Spanish version. It is considered a later copy of either the Madrid Codices with additions or a copy of some other lost version of Sahagún's material. Garibay has insisted at various times that the Madrid Codices are a more reliable source of information and represent a superior Nahuatl style, even though the Florentine Codex is thought to be Sahagún's definitive version and is more extensive. Garibay's judgment, however, does not compel universal agreement among contemporary scholars. These first three manuscripts alone contain nearly one thousand folios (two thousand pages) of text in Nahuatl. The fourth, called the Paner Manuscript, the only one which can properly be called a personal work of Sahagún, is a very free Spanish version of the Nahuatl material, very close but not identical to the Spanish of the Florentine Codex. This manuscript is preserved in the library of the Madrid Royal Academy of History and had served as the text for all Spanish editions of Sahagún's work published until 1956 when Garibay prepared his Spanish edition, referring to all four texts.

The so-called First Memoranda (*Primeros memoriales*) are thought to be the notes of Sahagún's first investigations into Nahuatl religion, undertaken about 1547 at the town of Tepepulco. Tepepulco had been a tributary of Texcoco and a member therefore of the Triple Alliance. There, with the assistance of his indigenous students, in formal session with the elders of the town, Sahagún began gathering information on the rites of the Nahuatl religion, the various categories of priests and their functions, formal descriptions of the costumes particular to each god, a summary of the feasts of the religious years, and twenty ancient ritual hymns.

NOTE

Several of the more accessible and useful bibliographies are: J. Ripley, "Bibliography of Nahuatl Source Materials, 1887-1952," *Tlalocan*, 4: 1 (1962); Concepción Basilio, "Bibliografía sobre cultura náhuatl, 1950-1958," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 1 (1959); Concepción Basilio, "Bibliografía sobre cultura náhuatl, 1959," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 2 (1960); Víctor Manuel Castillo F., "Bibliografía náhuatl: 1960-1965," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 6 (1966); Josefina García Quintana, "Bibliografía náhuatl, 1966-1970," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 9 (1971); Miguel León Portilla, Appendix to his anthology *De Teotihuacan a los aztecas*, *Lecturas universitarias* no. 11 (Mexico, 1972).

For a good introductory discussion of the content of the most important Nahuatl manuscripts see: Miguel León Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, trans. Jack E. Davis (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

For a complete annotated bibliography of all editions prepared from the Nahuatl pic-

tographic códices see: Manuel Carrera Stampa, "Códices, Mapas y Lienzos Acerca de la cultura náhuatl," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 5 (1965). The same author has published another bibliography of sources, divided according to the principal cultural areas of Mexico, including both pictographic and written códices as well as Spanish documents relative to the indigenous cultures. This is probably the one other bibliography which comes closest to meeting the need for which the present listing has been prepared: Manuel Carrera Stampa, "Fuentes para el estudio de la historia indígena," in *Esplendor del México antiguo*, 2 vols. (México: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1959), vol. 2, pp. 1109-96.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Title:* Madrid Codex of the Royal Palace (Códice Matritense del Real Palacio). *Origin:* Redacted by Sahagún and students from native informants, mainly at Tepepulco, Tlatelolco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan between 1547 and 1565. *Manuscript:* In the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid. *Facsimile edition:* Paso y Tronsoco, Francisco del. *Códice Matritense del Real Palacio*, vol. 6, parts 1 & 2, and vol. 7. Madrid, Hauser y Menet, 1906. 400 copies. *Paleography:*
 LEÓN PORTILLA, MIGUEL. *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavíos de los dioses*. México, Instituto de Historia, National University of Mexico (UNAM), 1958. Reprinted by Edmundo Aviña Levy. Guadalajara, 1968. This entry and the two following UNAM publications are the result of the Institute of History, Seminar of Nahuatl Studies' project to publish the texts of the Madrid Códices with facing page Spanish translation and notes.
 LÓPEZ AUSTIN, ALFREDO. *Augurios y abusiones*. México, Instituto de Historia, UNAM, 1969.
 GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *Veinte himnos sacros de los nahuas*. México, Instituto de Historia, UNAM, 1958. These twenty hymns appear also as an appendix to Book II of the Florentine Codex and constitute one of the most ancient and hieratic texts in the language. In spite of their brevity—329 lines in all—and extensive commentaries by various German, English, Mexican, and North American scholars, they retain many obscurities.
 ———. "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*. 1 (1943-44): 307-13; 2 (1946): 167-74, 249-54. An excerpt.
 ———. "Relación Breve de las Fiestas de los Dioses," *Tlalocan*. 2 (1946): 289-320. An excerpt.
 SELER, EDWARD. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde*. 5 vols. Berlin, Ascher und Co. and Behrend und Co., 1902-1923.
 SCHULTZE JENA, LEONHARD. *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken*. "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," Bd. 4. Stuttgart, 1950.
 REA, VARGAS, AND PORFÍRIO AGUIRRE, trans. *Primeros Memoriales*. México, 1950-1954. 100 copies. The Nahuatl text in this edition is incomplete and critical judgment has been harsh. "Has no scientific or critical presentation. . . . The paleography is filled with faulty readings"—León Portilla.

Spanish translations:

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Ritos*.

LÓPEZ AUSTIN. *Augurios*.

GARIBAY. *Veinte himnos*, "Paralipómenos," "Relación Breve."

German Translations:

SELER. *Gesammelte*.

SCHULTZE JENA. *Wahrsagerei*.

English translations:

BRINTON, DANIEL G. *Rig Veda Americanus*. "Library of Aboriginal Literature," vol. 8. Philadelphia, 1890. The twenty hymns are the only part of this MS to receive direct treatment in English, and that long ago. Unfortunately, Brinton had access only to corrupt copies of the text and inadequate preparation in the language.

LEÓN PORTILLA, MIGUEL. *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*. trans. Grace Lobanov. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. This is a translation of Portilla's *Literaturas precolombinas de México* and includes only a few hymns.

NICHOLSON, IRENE. *Firefly in the Night*. London, Faber & Faber, 1959. A non-scholarly introduction to Nahuatl poetry, derived almost completely from Garibay and Portilla with a little touch of Séjourné. Nicholson prints many of the hymns but gives no documentation for any of her sources, except to say that Garibay had selected and translated a collection of poems for her to study. She claims to have studied the originals in preparing her English versions.

SPENCE, LEWIS. *The Gods of Mexico*. London, 1923. Gives versions of all twenty hymns, but taken from Selser's German translations.

BARLOW, ROBERT. "Remarks on a Nahuatl Hymn," *Tlalocan*. 4: 2 (1963): 185-92. An interesting version, with extensive commentary, of the hymn to Xipe Totec.

2. *Title*: Madrid Codex of the Royal Academy of History (Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de Historia).

Origin: Redacted by Sahagún and students from native informants, primarily at the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco between 1560 and 1565.

Manuscript: In the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.

Facsimile edition: Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del. *Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de Historia*, vol. 8. Madrid, Hauser y Menet, 1907. 400 copies.

Paleography:

GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *Vida económica de Tenochtitlan: Pochtecaoyotl*. México, Instituto de Historia, UNAM, 1961.

LÓPEZ AUSTIN, ALFREDO. *Medicina Náhuatl*. México, Instituto de Historia, UNAM, 1967. Gives selection of texts dealing with pre-Cortesian medical science.

SCHULTZE JENA, LEONHARD. *Gliederung des alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf*. "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," Bd. 5. Stuttgart, 1952.

Spanish translations:

GARIBAY. *Vida económica*.

LÓPEZ AUSTIN. *Medicina náhuatl*.

German translations:

SCHULTZE JENA. *Gliederung*.

SELER. *Gesammelte*.

English translations:

CORNYN, JOHN. *The Song of Quetzalcoatl*. Yellow Springs, 1930. This is a poetic version of Sahagún's material on the mythic reign of Quetzalcoatl at Tula. An interesting version, but severely faulted by its insistence on Longfellow's trochaic tetrameter line, which Cornyn says is equivalent to a certain Nahuatl rhythm. There is something like a trochee in the Nahuatl, but nothing as heavy or regular as Cornyn's line.

3. *Title:* Florentine Codex (Códice Florentino).

Origin: Redacted by Sahagún and students from native informants at Tepepulco, Tlatelolco, and Tenochtitlan between 1547 and 1580, approximately. This manuscript is a copy, with additional material, of either the Madrid Codices or some lost original.

Manuscript: In the Laurentian Library at Florence.

Facsimile edition: No edition is available. Illustrations accompanying the text are published in Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del. *Códice Florentino*, vol. 5. Madrid, Hauser y Menet, 1905.

Paleography:

ANDERSON, ARTHUR A. O., AND CHARLES DIBBLE. *Florentine Codex*. 12 vols. The School of American Research and University of Utah, 1950-69. This publication contains the complete text of the Florentine MS plus notes comparing alternate readings in the Madrid Codices and appendices of material found only in those manuscripts. All in all the most complete edition of Sahagún's informants found anywhere. The accompanying direct English translation is something not available in any other modern language. It is slightly flawed, unfortunately, by its attempt to reproduce King James English. While the reading of some passages is disputed, this edition is in continuous use by investigators and students at the University of Mexico. A volume containing introduction and index remains yet to be published.

Spanish translations:

ACOSTA SAIGNES, MIGUEL, ed. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. 3 vols. México, 1946.

BUSTAMANTE, CARLOS, ed. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. 3 vols. México, 1829.

GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M., ed. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. 4 vols. México, Porrúa, 1956. This edition is the only one to consult both versions of the *Historia* as well as the Nahuatl originals.

ROBREDO, ed. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. 5 vols. México, 1938.

German translation:

Some portions of this manuscript may be found in the *Gesammelte* of Selser.

English translations:

ANDERSON AND DIBBLE. *Florentine Codex*. Version of the complete text.

LEÓN PORTILLA, MIGUEL. *Aztec Thought and Culture*. trans. Jack Davis. Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1963.

———. *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*. trans. Grace Lobanov and the author. Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1968. Both of these studies by León Portilla contain extensive second-hand English versions (translated through the Spanish) of selections from the Florentine MS.

———. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. trans. Lysander Kemp. Boston, Beacon Press, 1962. This translation of León Portilla's *Visión de los vencidos* contains extensive selections from Book 12 of the Florentine MS.

SULLIVAN, THELMA. "Nahuatl Proverbs, Conundrums, and Metaphors, Collected by Sahagún," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*. 4 (México: 1963): 92-177. A paleographic version with translation of a part of Book 6, folios 185r-215v in the MS. Sullivan, a former student of Garibay, is the only working translator in English who has both excellent preparation and anything like an ear for poetry.

———. "Prayer to Tlaloc," *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*. 5 (1965): 39-55. This is a version, with text, of a long and ancient address to the deity of mountains and rain, found in Book 6 of the Florentine MS, folios 28r-33r.

Note: The facing column Spanish version which accompanies the Nahuatl text in this MS is a summary in most cases, rather than a literal version; much is left out but some comments not found in the original are also added, often of value. This version is not identical to the Spanish text of Sahagún's *Historia* as found in the MS of the Madrid Royal Academy of History and has never been published in its entirety. The two are very close, however, and for all but the most rigorous investigation the numerous editions of the Royal Academy MS will serve for access to the *Historia*.

4. *Title:* The Mexican Cantos (Cantares mexicanos).

Origin: Redacted at various locations around the Valley of Mexico between approximately 1536 and 1597. The major part was probably recorded in the decade of the sixties. Though there is no final evidence, Garibay believes Sahagún or his students are responsible for collection of the material represented in this MS.

Manuscript: In the National Library of Mexico (Biblioteca Nacional), MS no. 1622. 268 folios plus 24 in blank. Contains the following items: The Cantos, 85 folios of lyric poetry, the single most extensive source of this genre in the language; an explanation of the Aztec calendar year in Spanish and Latin, identical to Sahagún's text in the General History; an incomplete description of the divinatory calendar (tonalamatl) in Spanish; a treatise on the Eucharist in Nahuatl; a single huehuetlatolli; a short sermon on *Hic est panis*; a narration of the healing of Jarius's daughter; an exposition of Leviticus 1: 9 in Spanish; a meditation on death in Nahuatl; a life of St. Bartholomew in Nahuatl; 47 fables of Aesop in Nahuatl and adapted to the animals of Mexico; a narration of the Passion in Spanish.

Facsimile edition:

PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO. *Cantares mexicanos*. México, 1904. First 85 folios, the

Cantos, only. A good, legible edition, but too pale to make photocopies from. A rare book. The National Library also has a bound photocopy of the complete MS, very clear, from which good copies could be made. Incidentally, in my brief period of contact I found the staff of the National Library to be very cooperative and accommodating, and can say the same for the library of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. There are microfilm copies of this MS in the Wilbur Cross Library of the University of Connecticut and in the Hillman Library of the University of Pittsburgh.

Paleography:

- BRINTON, DANIEL. *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*. Philadelphia, 1887. Paleography and English version of 28 poems from this manuscript, but prepared from a highly unreliable copy made for Brinton by Galicia Chimalpopoca.
- GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *Poesía náhuatl*, vols. 2 and 3. México, UNAM, 1965 and 1968. Contains paleography and translation of folios 7v-15r, 16v-36v, 53v, 55v-56r, 65r-79v. This is 45 out of 85 folios, but several of the published folios duplicate ones omitted. Folios 80-85 in the MS are entirely duplicates. Garibay's edition is the most extensive and essential version of the Cantos.
- LEÓN PORTILLA, MIGUEL. *Trece poetas del mundo azteca*. México, UNAM, 1967. Paleography, Spanish version, and notes of poems in this manuscript attributable to a known historical poet.
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO. *Cantares en Mexicano*, "Documentos para la historia de México." México, 1899. First 85 folios only. Generally considered very unreliable.
- SCHULTZE JENA, LEONHARD. *Alt-aztekische Gesänge*, "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," vol. 6. Stuttgart, 1957. Paleography, German version and notes up to folio 57v. "The paleography is too literal, without a sense of criticism; the translation is in general acceptable, though not always faithful, . . . his glossary, though complicated, is to be praised, as well as his notes, almost always exact." —Garibay.

Spanish translations:

- GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *La literatura de los aztecas*. México, Joaquín Moritz, 1964. An anthology made up largely of shorter poems from the Cantos.
- . *Poesía indígena*. México, UNAM, Biblioteca del Estudiante no. 11, 1940. An anthology which includes poems from the Cantos.
- . *Poesía náhuatl*, vols. 2 and 3. Garibay's final translations of the Cantos.
- LEÓN PORTILLA, MIGUEL. *Filosofía náhuatl estudiado en sus fuentes*. México, UNAM, 1959. Contains selections only.
- . *Las literaturas precolombinas de México*. México, Editorial Pormaca, 1964. Selections only.
- . *Los antiguos mexicanos através de sus crónicas y cantares*. México, Fondo de cultura económica, 1961. Selections only; significant for its complete version and interpretation of the series of poems composed at the conference of poets at the palace of Tecayehuatzin in Huexotzinco, reputed to have been held about 1490.

_____. *Nezahualcoyotl: Poesía y pensamiento*. Texcoco, Gobierno del Estado de México, 1972. Contains all the poems Portilla believes can be attributed to Nezahualcoyotl in the Cantos.

_____. *Trece poetas del mundo azteca*.

German translation:

SCHULTZE JENA. *Alt-aztekische Gesänge*.

English translations:

BERG, STEPHEN. *Nothing in the Word*. New York, 1972. These translations are free versions of short extracts from Garibay's *Poesía náhuatl*. Berg is the first American poet to attempt a treatment of Nahuatl poetry in anything like a contemporary idiom. He catches some of the angst of the original, in spite of the fragmentary nature of his selections. William Carlos Williams prepared versions of three Nahuatl poems for *Pictures from Breughel* but they lack the immediacy of Berg's versions, though they are more faithful to the form and symbolism of the originals.

BRINTON. *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*. Version of 28 poems, very inadequate as translations, but not worthless as poetry.

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Aztec Thought and Culture*, and *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*. Selections only.

NICHOLSON. *Firefly in the Night*. Selections only with no documentation.

Note: The only other Nahuatl section from this MS to have been published, with paleography only, is: Peñafiel, Antonio. *Fábulas de Esopo*. México, 1895 and 1906.

5. Title: Cantos in Nahuatl: Ballads of the Lords of New Spain, the Manuscript of Juan Bautista Pomar (Cantares en náhuatl: Romance de los señores de la Nueva España, manuscrito de Juan Bautista Pomar).

Origin: Redacted by Juan Bautista Pomar, great grandson of Nezahualcoyotl, probably in the 1580s in Texcoco.

Manuscript: In the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas, Austin. Manuscript consists of two parts: The first contains some sixty poems in Nahuatl, a few of which are also found in the Mexican Cantos MS; and the second contains the "Narrative of Juan Bautista Pomar," a general account of pre-Cortesian life in Texcoco, written in 1582 in Spanish, from the point of view of a mestizo nobleman.

Facsimile edition: No published edition. The library of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia has a photocopy. Both photocopy and MS are lacking folio 33.

Paleography:

GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *Poesía náhuatl*, vol. 1. México, UNAM, 1964. Contains both Nahuatl and Spanish texts of the MS.

Spanish translations:

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Filosofía náhuatl, Las literaturas precolombinas, Los antiguos mexicanos, Nezahualcoyotl, Trece poetas*. All contain poems from this MS.

GARIBAY. *Poesía náhuatl*, 1. Version of complete text.

6. Title: Codex of Chimalpopoca (Código Chimalpopoca). MS in three parts: The Annals of Cuauhtitlan (Anales de Cuauhtitlan), Treatise on the Gods and Rites of the Heathen (Tratado de los dioses y ritos de la gentilidad), and The Legend of the Suns (Leyenda de los soles).

Origin: Part 1: Redacted anonymously in Cuauhtitlan in 1570. Part 3: Redacted anonymously in 1558. Part 2: Written in Spanish by Father Pedro Ponce de León of Zumpahuacan in 1569, and published by A. M. Garibay, ed., *Teogonía*, "Sepan cuantos" no. 37, (México, Porrúa, 1965).

Manuscript: In the Library of the National Museum of Anthropology and History, Mexico City.

Facsimile edition: Velázquez, Primo F. *Códice Chimalpopoca*. México, UNAM, 1945. Terrible photocopy of a sloppy MS.

Paleography:

LEHMANN, WALTER. *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico*, "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," vol. 1. Stuttgart, 1938. The two Nahuatl texts of the MS.

PASO Y TRONCOSO, FRANCISCO DEL. *Leyenda de los soles*. Florence, 1903. Part 3 of the MS only.

Spanish translations:

GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. *Épica náhuatl*. Biblioteca del estudiante universitario no. 51. México, UNAM, 1945. Also *La literatura de los aztecas* and *Poesía indígena*; all three contain selections.

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Filosofía náhuatl*, *Las literaturas precolombinas*, and *Los antiguos mexicanos*. Selections only.

VELAZQUEZ. *Códice Chimalpopoca*. Translation of the complete Nahuatl texts. "Better in many places than Lehmann's [German translation], although not cleared of defects, bad translations and false interpretations. All in all, the most usable until now."—Garibay. Not all scholars accept this opinion.

German translation:

LEHMANN. *Die Geschichte*. Version of complete Nahuatl text with extensive notes. "Good notes, but in many places deficient or erroneous."—Garibay.

English translation:

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Aztec Thought and Culture, Pre-Columbian Literatures*. Selections with extensive commentary.

7. *Title:* The Grammar of the Mexican Language Composed by Father Andrés de Olmos (El Arte de la lengua mexicana compuesta por el padre fray Andrés de Olmos). This is the MS which contains the huehuetlatolli, the "discourses," which Olmos collected and appended to his grammar.

Origin: Collected and redacted by Olmos about 1540-45, probably in Texcoco. The collection consists of 25 "discourses" which were added to the *Arte* when it was completed in 1547.

Manuscript: In the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 145 holograph folios. (MS no. 1477 in the National Library of Mexico also contains an altered version of the first two huehuetlatolli in the Olmos MS. See entry 19 below.)

Facsimile edition: None available. (Remí Simeón has prepared a facsimile of the manuscript which he edited in Paris in 1875, but I have been unable to find a copy of this facsimile and cannot say whether or not it is the Library of Congress MS.)

Paleography:

BAUTISTA, FATHER JUAN, ed. *Huehuetlatolli o pláticas de los viejos*. México, 1600. This is an extremely rare book. Two copies are in the library of Brown University, and one is in the Library of the Museum at the University of Pennsylvania. Bautista added four discourses to the 25 of Olmos; they concern Christianity and its morality and discuss the obligations of ethical education.

PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, ed. *Huehuetlatolli*, "Documentos para la historia de México," Cuaderno III. México, 1901. "Very bad transcription."—Garibay. Neither this nor Bautista's edition were prepared from the MS at the Library of Congress, indicating this collection must have circulated in various manuscript copies.

SIMEÓN, REMÍ, ed. *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana*. Paris, 1875 and 1885. This edition is taken from the MS in Washington but gives text only of the grammar and a supplement on metaphorical phrases.

Spanish translations:

BAUTISTA. *Huehuetlatolli*. Gives a summary version of the first four discourses only. Peñafiel gives the same translation in his edition, though he took it from Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, and Zurita, *Breve relación*, who apparently took it in turn from Bautista (who may have taken it himself from Olmos!)

GARIBAY. *La literatura de los aztecas*. Contains excerpts.

Note: This collection combined with the 40 huehuetlatolli of Book 6 in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* make the principal corpus of the Nahuatl huehuetlatolli. Garibay believes both collections are the work of Olmos, and Sahagún merely obtained the second collection to form the nucleus of his beginning researches in the later 1540s. While certain parallels are evident in the two collections, they clearly represent two different bodies of material, the first being primarily a tradition of the general populace, and the second pertaining to the nobility or *pipiltin* which went to considerable lengths to distinguish itself from the lower classes. These two collections of texts are the interpretive center of the Nahuatl ethic. Garibay and León Portilla have been the authorities on the huehuetlatolli, but Thelma Sullivan is preparing a book which will challenge some current assumptions.

8. *Title:* MS in Nahuatl no. mPM4068.J83 (*Huehuetlatolli*).
Origin: Uncertain. Appears to have once belonged to Father Horacio Carochi.

Manuscript: In the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

Paleography:

GARIBAY, ÁNGEL M. "Huehuetlatolli, Documento A," *Tlalocan*. 1: 1, 2 (1943): 31-107.

Spanish translation:

GARIBAY. "Documento A."

Note: "The present document is not, properly speaking, a huehuetlatolli, but rather a miscellany of formulas of social behaviour which have neither the abundance nor the importance of the huehuetlatolli."—Garibay.

9. *Title:* The Annals of Quauhtinchan: History of the Toltec-Chichimecs (Anales de Quauhtinchan: Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca).
Origin: Anonymous, Quauhtinchan, c.a. 1545?
Manuscript: In the National Library of Paris, Goupil collection, MS 46-58 bis.
Facsimile edition: Mengin, Ernst. *Corpus Codicum Americanorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1. Copenhagen, 1942. This is volume 1 of Mengin's splendid reproductions of four Mexican manuscripts in the French collection.
Paleography:
 MENGIN, ERNST, AND KONRAD PREUSS. "Die Mexikanische Bilderhandschrift Historia tolteca-chichimeca," *Baessler Archiv*, Beiheft 9 (Berlin, 1937).
Spanish translation:
 BERLIN, HEINRICH, AND SILVIA RENDÓN. *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*. "Fuentes para la historia de México," 1. México, Antigua Librería Robrero de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1947. Contains an excellent introduction by Paul Kirchoff.
German translation:
 MENGIN AND PREUSS. "Die Mexikanische Bilderhandschrift."
Note: Garibay has prepared paleography, Spanish version, and notes for three short poems from this MS in the appendix to *Veinte himnos*, 229 ff.
10. *Title:* Some Historical Annals of the Mexican Nation: Annals of Tlatelolco (Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana: Anales de Tlatelolco).
Origin: Anonymous, México-Tlatelolco, 1524?-1528. One of the oldest recorded MSS in Nahuatl, written presumably by an Indian who must have learned the use of Latin characters and alphabet within three or four years of the conquest.
Manuscript: In the National Library of Paris. MS consists of two copies, numbered 22 and 22 bis. Both appear to be copies of an unknown original (Garibay). 22 bis has additional notes.
Facsimile edition: Mengin, Ernst. *Corpus Codicum Americanorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2. Copenhagen, 1945.
Paleography:
 MENGIN, ERNST. *Baessler Archiv*, Band 22, Heft 2-3, Teil 1 (1939).
Spanish translation:
 BERLIN, HEINRICH. *Anales de Tlatelolco*, "Fuentes para la historia de México," 2. México, Antigua Librería Robrero de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1948. Contains also a facsimile of the Codex of Tlatelolco (Códice de Tlatelolco), plus an analytic resumé of the Annals, and an analysis of the Códice, both by Robert Barlow.
Note: Garibay has prepared paleography, Spanish version, and notes of a poem from this MS in the appendix to *Veinte himnos*, 249.
11. *Title:* Chronicle of the Mexican Nation (Crónica Mexicayotl).
Origin: Partially redacted from pictographic codices and partially composed by Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc at México-Tenochtitlan in 1609. Tezozomoc was a grandson of Motecuzoma and great grandson of Axayacatl.
Manuscript: In the National Library at Paris, no. 311.

Facsimile edition: None published. The Library of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, has a photocopy prepared by Paso y Troncoso, Col. PT, leg. no. 21.

Paleography:

LEÓN, ADRIAN. *Crónica Mexicayotl*. México, UNAM, 1949. A fine edition.

Spanish translation:

LEÓN. *Crónica*. Contains two parallel versions of the text, one very literal and the other in clear modern idiom.

English translation:

SULLIVAN, THELMA. "The Finding and Founding of Mexico Tenochtitlan," *Tlalocan*. 6:4 (1971). A poetic version of excerpts from this MS having to do with the myth of founding Tenochtitlan, capital of the Mexica-Aztecs. Sullivan's translations succeed as poems.

12. *Title:* Different Original Histories of the Reigns of Culhuacan and Mexico (Diferentes historias originales de los reynos de Culhuacan y México).

Origin: Redacted and composed by Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (known as Chimalpahin) of Amequemeca-Chalco, around 1650. The MS is extensive, some 280 folios, and made up of eight "Relacions" or chapters of varying length. In addition to transposing the indigenous material at his disposal, Chimalpahin attempts to interweave Biblical and European history to form a vast chronology of both Old and New World cultures.

Manuscript: In the National Library at Paris, Mexican MS no. 74.

Facsimile edition:

MENGIN, ERNST. *Corpus Codicum Americanorum*, vol. 3, parts 1 & 2. Copenhagen, 1949-52.

Paleography:

LEHMANN, WALTER, AND GERDT KUTSCHER. *Das Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*, "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," vol. 7. Stuttgart, 1958. Edition of the second Relación only. This Relación is known as the Brief Memorandum (Memorial breve) and synthesizes much of the rest of the MS.

SIMEÓN, REMÍ. *Sixième et Septième Relations*. Paris, 1889. This edition gives the sixth and seventh Relations only (covering the years 1258-1612), which, with the second Relación, form the bulk of the MS.

ZIMMERMAN, GÜNTER. *Die Relationen Chimalpahin's zur Geschichte Mexico's*, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskund," vols. 38 & 39. Hamburg, Universität Hamburg, 1963 and 1965.

Spanish translation:

RENDÓN, SILVIA. *Relaciones originales de Chalco Amaquemecan*. México, Fondo de cultura económica, 1965. This translation begins with folio 57v of the MS (at the end of the Brief Memorandum) and continues through to the end of the seventh Relación. Though an important contribution to Nahuatl studies, critical comment has often been hostile.

French translation:

SIMEÓN. *Sixième et Septième Relations*.

German translations:

LEHMANN. *Das Memorial Breve*.

MENGIN, ERNST. "Quinta Relación de Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin," *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkund in Hamburg*, 22, Hamburg, 1950. Fifth Relation only.

13. *Title*: Diary of Don Domingo Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin (Diario de Chimalpahin).
Origin: Personal diary of Chimalpahin for the years 1589-1615. This MS is certainly not thirteenth in importance among all the MSS of the 16th century, but it relates directly to the MS of the Different Relations.
Manuscript: National Library at Paris, Mexican MS no. 220.
Facsimile edition: None published.
Paleography:
 ZIMMERMAN, *Die Relationen*, part 2, 37-146.
German translation:
 ZIMMERMAN.
Note: The first two folios of this Diary, covering the years 1577-89, have recently been discovered in the archives of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología (Colección Antigua de Manuscritos Históricos, vol. 256), and published with facsimile, paleography, and Spanish version in *Anales del INAH*, Epoca 7a, Tomo 2 (1969-published 1971), 333-48. This same MS, in folios 1-16, also contains a chronicle for the years 1426-1522, assumed to be also by Chimalpahin. This section is not yet published.
14. *Title*: Book of the Colloquies and Christian Doctrine with which the Twelve Brothers of St. Francis, sent by Pope Adrian VI and by the Emperor Charles V converted the Indians of New Spain, in both the Mexican and Spanish languages (Libro de los coloquios y doctrina cristiana con que los doce frayles de San Francisco enbiados por el Papa Adrian sexto y por el Emperador Carlos quinto convirtieron a los indios de la Nueva Espanya en lengua Mexicana y Espanola).
Origin: Composed from notes and memoranda of the first encounter between the Nahuatl people and the twelve Franciscan priests sent by Pope Adrian VI to evangelize New Spain in 1524. The present MS was redacted in 1564 by Sahagún's students at the Colegio de Santa Cruz, and represents a reconstruction, not a transcription, of those first exchanges in 1524. While only 14 of the original 30 chapters are extant, this text is important for demonstrating the attitude of the Church toward its new mission field, and for a summary outline in Chapter 7 of Nahuatl theology, given by native priests in response to the message of the churchmen.
Manuscript: In the Archives of the Vatican.
Facsimile edition: Nuttall, Zelia. "Coloquios de los doce," *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, appendix to vol. 1. México, 1927. See *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*. A xylographic reproduction of the Nahuatl text only.
Paleography:
 LEHMANN, WALTER. *Sterbende Gotter und Christliche Heilsbotschaft*, "Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas," vol. 3. Stuttgart, 1949. Nahuatl and Spanish text.
 NUTTALL. "Coloquios." Spanish text only; Nahuatl is given only in facsimile.

Spanish translation: A Spanish text accompanies the Nahuatl in MS, and since the conference was bilingual, and both were reconstructed together by Sahagún's students, each is the original depending upon who speaks, Nahuatl or Spaniard. Other Spanish renderings from this text appear in León Portilla's *Filosofía náhuatl*, including an extensive but not complete version of Chapter 7.

English translation:

LEÓN PORTILLA. *Aztec Thought and Culture*.

15. *Title:* Treatise on the Superstitions and Heathen Customs Which Today Persist Among the Native Indians of This New Spain (Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que oy viven entre los indios naturales de esta Nueva España). Commonly referred to as The Conjurations (Los Conjureros).

Origin: Collected by Father Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón between 1624 and 1629 in the area where the states of Guerrero, Morelos, and Puebla border one another. Consists of some 80 magical songs used by shamans for healing, by seducers, by hunters, or by common workers to make their labor easier. This text represents more a "folk" tradition than any mainstream of high Nahuatl culture.

Manuscript: ?

Facsimile edition: None published.

Paleography:

DE LA SERNA, JACINTO ET AL. *Tratado de las idolatrias, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México*. ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, 2 vols, México, Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953-54. In vol. 2, 17-180.

RUÍZ DE ALARCÓN, HERNANDO. "Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que oy viven entre los indios naturales de esta Nueva España," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, 1st ed., (1900), 125-224.

Spanish translation:

LÓPEZ AUSTIN, ALFREDO. "Conjureros Nahuas del Siglo XVII," and "Conjureros Medicos de los Nahuas," *Revista de la Universidad de México*. 24:11 (June 1970); 27: 4 (December 1972). A very literal and competent version, with paleography.

Note: A version prepared by Father Alarcón appears with the text in both the *Anales del Museo* and the edition of Paso y Troncoso.

16. *Title:* Aubin Codex (Códice Aubin).

Origin: Anonymous. Often called the MS of 1576 though it contains accounts covering years from early Chichimec times to 1606.

Manuscript: In the British Museum, London.

Facsimile editions:

AUBIN, J. M. A. *Histoire de la Nation Mexicaine depuis le départ d'Aztlan jusqu'à l'arrivée des Conquistadors espagnols*. Paris, 1893.

DIBBLE, CHARLES. *Códice Aubin*. Madrid, n. d.

Paleography:

DIBBLE. *Códice Aubin*.

Spanish translations:

DIBBLE. *Códice Aubin*. Version of entire text.

GALICIA CHIMALPOPOCA, FAUSTINO. Unpublished version in the archives of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

MC AFEE, BYRON, AND ROBERT H. BARLOW. "La segunda parte del Códice Aubin," *Memorias de la Academia de la Historia*, 6, no. 2, Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, 9. México, 1946.

17. *Title:* Annals of Tecamachalco (Anales de Tecamachalco).
Origin: Anonymous. Tecamachalco.
Manuscript: In the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Facsimile edition: None published.
Paleography:
 PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO. *Anales de Tecamachalco*, "Documentos para la historia de México." México, 1903.
Spanish translation:
 PEÑAFIEL. *Anales*. A species of interlinear translation which contains the barest minimum of sense.
18. *Title:* Documents in Nahuatl Relative to the Toltecs (Documentos en lengua náhuatl relativos a los toltecas).
Origin: Anonymous. Claims to be based on a lost MS of one Benito Iztac Maaechtli of the region of Tlaxcala. Not earlier than 1562. This MS appears to be identical to a narrative known as The Account of the Anonymous Mexican (Relación del Mexicano anonimo). The title "Documents in Nahuatl. . ." is the denomination of only one part of a longer MS in the National Library at Paris.
Manuscript: In the National Library at Paris, MS no. 254.
Facsimile edition: There is a photocopy of 31 folios of MS no. 254, the section known as Documents in Nahuatl, in the archives of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Col PT, leg. 54; a copy made by Paso y Troncoso. (All of the photocopies in the Paso y Troncoso collection are of some archaic type nearly impossible to re-copy.)
Paleography: "Manuscrito en lengua náhuatl," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, Epoca 1, Tomo 7 (1903). This is the MS of the Anonymous Mexican.
Spanish translations:
 "Manuscrito," *Anales del Museo*.
 BARLOW, ROBERT. "Resumen analítico de 'Unos anales históricos de la nación Mexicana,'" in *Anales de Tlatelolco*, ed. Heinrich Berlin, México, 1948. Barlow gives a translation of Chapter 4 of the Anonymous Mexican MS in an appendix to his analysis of the Annals of Tlatelolco. It appears there are strong parallels between that chapter and the information in the Annals concerning the kings of Azcapotzalco.
19. *Title:* Sacred Miscellany (Miscelánea sagrada).
Origin: Anonymous in part, in part by Father Juan de Gaona. Later 16th century. The first 230 folios of the MS contain material Christian in origin, probably by Fr. Gaona. There are 13 folios of discourses in the manner of huehuetlatolli, and then some 25 folios of untitled text. Among the material is an incomplete copy of *Coloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad Cristiana, en lengua Mexicana*, a work composed by Fr. Gaona for use in teaching

Nahuatl, and first published in 1582.

Manuscript: No. 1477 in the collection of the National Library of Mexico, Mexico City. The cataloger of that collection says of this MS: "The calligraphic beauty of this manuscript, as well as the importance of some of its materials, make this book one of the most valuable of those which the National Library guards in its collection of indigenous writings."

Facsimile edition: None. Microfilm copies in the Wilbur Cross Library, University of Connecticut, and in the Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh.

Translations: None.

20. *Title:* MS no. 303 of the Goupil Collection.

Origin: Various. 16th century.

Manuscript: In the National Library at Paris.

Facsimile edition: None published. Archives of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia contains photocopies of folios 81r-126v, Col PT, leg. 66, made by Paso y Troncoso.

Paleography: None.

Translations: The MS contains facing column translation of certain parts. No publications have been made.

Note: The 46 folios contained in the Paso y Troncoso photocopy have these five separate items:

1. "Tesoro dos veces rico aunque sin valor alguno. Maestro genuino del elegantísimo Idioma Náhuatl" (A twice-rich treasure though of no value whatsoever. A genuine teacher of the most elegant Nahuatl). A Nahuatl grammar, written between 1666 and 1704, and concluded at Tlalmanalco. May be derived from a grammar by Father Juan Bautista. 9 folios.
2. "Martirio del niño Cristobalito en Tlaxcala por defender la religión Cristiana" (Martyrdom of the child Cristobalito in Tlaxcala for defending the Christian religion). This is a Nahuatl translation prepared by Fr. Juan Bautista of an account written in Spanish by Fr. T. Motolinía. Facing column Spanish-Nahuatl versions. 9 folios.
3. "Traducción de las vidas y martirios que tuvieron tres niños principales de la ciudad de Tlaxcala" (Translation of the lives and martyrdoms of three outstanding children of the city of Tlaxcala). Translated in 1601 by Fr. Bautista from an account by Motolinía. Facing column Spanish-Nahuatl versions. Incomplete. 7 folios.
4. "Copia de lo más substancial de un quaderno en mexicano" (Copy of the principal part of a notebook in Nahuatl). An annal in Nahuatl without translation for the years 1398-1524. 3 folios.
5. "Nican motecpana(?) in ixquich tlamahuizolli. . ." (Here begins(?) the all miraculous. . .). A poetic account of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe, written in what appears to be metrical lines. Facing each column are extensive grammatical notes in Spanish. No introduction given. Signed with "13^r Luís Lazo de la Vega."

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