

CLAVIGERO AND THE LOST SIGÜENZA Y GONGORA MANUSCRIPTS *

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The purpose of this article is twofold: 1. to determine what has happened to this exceptional collection of documents; 2. to find out some of the more specific sources of Clavigero's history of ancient Mexico.

Both Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and Francisco Javier Mariano Clavigero devoted themselves over a period of many years to the study of Mexican antiquities. The first (1645-1700) helped awaken the interest of his fellow countrymen in their ancient and seemingly forgotten culture;¹ whereas Clavigero (1731-1787), through his *Storia Antica*² (*Historia Antigua*),³ soon won an Italian and European audience and

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¹ It was principally through the Italian globetrotter, Gemelli Carreri's *Giro del Mondo*, bk. VI, that Sigüenza's Mexican antiquities became known, to a limited degree at least, outside of his native country.

² See our Bibliography for full titles.

³ Clavigero himself states that he wrote his history of Mexico in Spanish and then translated it into Italian, "Essendomi io prefissa la utilità de' miei nazionali, come fine principale di questa Storia, la scrissi da principio in ispagnuolo: indotto poi da alcuni Letterati Italiani, che mostravansi oltremodo bramosi di leggerla nella propria lingua, mi addossai il nuovo e faticoso impegno di traslatarla in toscano" (*Storia Antica*, I, p. 2). His Biographer and fellow Jesuit in exile, Juan Luis Maneiro, informs us of the circumstances of this same procedure, "Cum igitur annos aliquot incredibiliter desudasset, ...hispano tendem sermone Mexicanorum historiam elegantissime concinnatam absolvit" (*De Vitis*, III, 65 = *Vidas*, 161 = *Humanistas*, 194). From Maneiro we also learn that a native Italian scholar helped Clavigero translate the Spanish text into idiomatic Italian, "Opere demum absoluto... dubium exortum est num typis committeretur hispano quo natum erat sermone; num italice conversum; num vero gallice ob

then a world-wide forum for the pre-Cortesian history of his country.

Sigüenza y Góngora has often been termed "A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century", and such is the sub-title of his most complete biography.⁴ Certainly, his interests covered a wide range: antiquities, mathematics, cosmography, geography, history, linguistics, law, and, of course, literature,⁵ to mention some of the more outstanding. Nor was he satisfied with the merely theoretical and speculative aspects of these branches of learning. It was not even sufficient for him to write about them; he turned explorer in the renowned 1693 expedition to Spanish Florida; he directed one of the numerous efforts to keep Mexico City above water; he introduced prudent social reforms; in the unforgettable night of June 8, 1692, he directed the rescue of valuable documents from the National Palace.

But like so many other historians, Sigüenza y Góngora was too busy gathering material and making it available to others, to find time to publish numerous volumes himself —also too impoverished. In my opinion, his printed works —with one exception, that on the comets— do not show any exceptional depth or particularly progressive or novel point of view. From his extant printed writings, modern scholars would most likely conclude that Sigüenza y Góngora has been very much over-rated. But it must be remembered that the main results of his research in the antiquities of his native land have remained

latiorem hujus linguae propagationem. Hispani quidem typi Clavigero erant in votis ab amore patrio; sed cum id fieri posse tum temporis non crederet, itadicum sermonem antetulit in obsequium cultissimarum gentium apud quas tot jam annos diversabamur. Ergo diu noctuque paucos menses cum desudasset; ut suam latinam historiam hispane Mariana reddidit, suam hispanam Clavigerus italice convertit; quam docto cuidam Italo subjecit ab iis linguae vitiis corrigendam, in quae potuisset incidere peregrinitas" (*De Vitis*, III, 67 = *Vidas*, 163-164).

⁴ LEONARD, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century*. See our Bibliography for his Ph. D. thesis.

⁵ On all these interests, see LEONARD, *Don Carlos*; regarding his literary ability, especially in the realm of poetry, there is a sharp difference among scholars; see González Peña, *Historia de la literatura mexicana*, pp. 120-121, 145-148; Jiménez Rueda, *Historia de la literatura mexicana*, pp. 77, 80-81; Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, *Poetas novohispanos, segundo siglo, parte segunda*, pp. VII-XIV. For Sigüenza the philosopher, theologian and antiquarian, see Gallegos Rocaful, *El pensamiento mexicano*, pp. 42, 58-59, 215, 262-263, 349.

not only unpublished, but also, in greater part, apparently lost.

What has happened to his own writings and to the manuscripts he discovered or acquired from others? To attempt to give a satisfactory answer, it would seem best to distinguish his collection according to the various periods of time: 1. The unpublished writings and the documents collected by Sigüenza 1668-1700. 2. Those willed to the Jesuits and given to them at the time of his death in 1700. 3. Those studied by Boturini 1736-1744. 4. Those seen by Eguiara y Eguren about 1752. 5. Those consulted by Clavigero in 1759. 6. Those transferred to the University of Mexico after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. 7. The state of the Collection in 1780. 8. What remained in 1840. 9. Those that existed in 1847, when they were allegedly shipped to Washington, D. C., by the invading General Winfield Scott. 10. Those that exist today.

1. *The unpublished writings and documents collected by Sigüenza.* "In 1668, at the age of twenty-three, Sigüenza began his studies of the ancient glories of the aborigines of New Spain and this also dates the beginning of the patient and careful collection, at the cost of much diligence and expense, of material of a varied nature pertaining to the Indians. While this was not the first time that this had been done in New Spain, Don Carlos unquestionably brought together, hampered though he was by many other duties and limited resources, the most complete aggregation of original books, manuscripts, maps, and paintings related to native life before the arrival of the Spaniards, that had ever been assembled before his time. He was aided by his association with the De Alva Ixtlilxóchitl family from whom, no doubt, he received instruction in the Mexican languages which he mastered."⁶ It was most likely the son of Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, namely Juan de Alva Cortés, who gave to Sigüenza the documents that formed the nucleus of his collection of Mexican antiquities.⁷ Nowhere, to my knowledge, did Sigüenza or any of his contemporaries draw up a complete list of

⁶ LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, p. 92.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 93 note 8. It would be well, however, to restudy this point in the light of the information furnished by GARIBAY, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, pp. 308-309.

his writings; references in his books and in those who were well informed in his day, have enabled his Biographer to compile 45 items.⁸ For the manuscripts he collected, we must consult subsequent sources. Most helpful would be the original *Memorial* compiled by Sigüenza to accompany his will;⁹ it contained a list of all the manuscripts he intended to give the Jesuits at his death; all efforts to find a copy of this *Memorial* have proved fruitless. In lieu of this document, we must consult his own writings, Boturini, Eguiara y Eguren, Veytia, Clavigero —especially the list published here for the first time—,¹⁰ León y Gama, Boban, Kingsborough, Nuttall, Radin, José Fernando Ramírez, the catalogues of numerous libraries and archives; most of these we shall discuss in the course of this article.

Clavigero's list brings us previously unknown items from the Sigüenza Collection. Even at that, it must be kept in mind that Clavigero is calendaring only "Mexican, Acolhuan and Tlaxcaltecan historians", as is evident from its very title; for the corresponding Spanish and Creole historians, one must add those discussed in his *Storia Antica* I, pages 6-21, or *Historia Antigua* I, pages 31-55. Clavigero seems not to have consulted one of the manuscripts in the Sigüenza Collection, written by an Indian: Pedro Gutiérrez Santa Clara, *Antigüedades Mexicanas*.¹¹ As is evident, such a list as this is a "minimum" catalogue of what originally constituted the Sigüenza Collection.

2. *Those left to the Jesuits in 1700.* Here we can merely cite the document that would list in full the Sigüenza Collection

⁸ LEONARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-209; pp. 210-277 furnish an English translation of the account sent to Admiral Pez of the 1692 riot.

⁹ The will was published in ROJAS GARCIDUEÑAS, *Don Carlos*, and reproduced in DÍAZ Y DE OVANDO, *El Colegio Máximo*, pp. 30-33.

¹⁰ See *infra* Clavigero's list (Document), "Historiadores Mexicanos, Acolhuas and Tlascaltecas".

¹¹ In his *Storia Antica*, I, p. 13, Clavigero states, "De' manoscritti di questo Autore si servì il Betancurt per la sua storia del Messico; ma nulla sappiamo del titolo e della qualità di tal opera, neppure della patria dell'Autore, benchè sospettiamo che sia stato Indiano". Can the entry of Beristain be trusted? We read, "Gutiérrez Santa Clara (D. Pedro), indio principal y erudito de México. Escribió *Antigüedades mexicanas*. Valióse de los Ms. el P. Vetancur. Y éstos paraban en poder de D. Carlos Sigüenza. De ellos y de su autor hacen mención Boturini y Clavigero". (*Biblioteca*, II, p. 269; new edition, number 1438.)

at this period: the *Memorial* included in his will, alluded to above. It is evident from contemporary accounts that numerous manuscripts rapidly disappeared from among Sigüenza's literary treasures; but there is no indication that such removal of documents had to do with the lot willed to the Jesuits. Thus, Veytia¹² noted, "At his [Don Carlos'] death, it seems as if a surprise attack upon his papers had been sounded and everyone got possession of what he could".¹³ Eguiara y Eguren informs us that Don Gabriel, Carlos' nephew, had noted the disappearance of his uncle's *Historia de la Universidad de México*.¹⁴ The critical notes to the writings of Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Torquemada had been removed by Don Gabriel from the Collection before it reached the Jesuits;¹⁵ this manuscript is extant today and forms part of one of the Ramírez lots in private possession.¹⁶ Five volumes in quarto did not belong to the lot willed to the Fathers; Sigüenza had given them to the renowned professor of medicine, Don Ignacio de Anzures; of their content we merely know that the volumes were "made up, for the most part, of productions of Sigüenza, as also of his companions who were united to him through friendship and similarity of interest".¹⁷ Eguiara y Eguren, relying on the statement of Don Gabriel, informs us that the latter, in accordance with Sigüenza's will, consigned to the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo of Mexico City, 28 volumes of his uncle's own writings and of collected manuscripts, as well as his library of some 470 books. This reference will be discussed more fully later in this study.

3. *The manuscripts studied by Boturini 1736-1744*.¹⁸ We assign these years, since they indicate the time span of his stay in Mexico; and, consequently, establish the year limits

¹² Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia; cf. our Bibliography for the title of his history of Mexico.

¹³ QUOTED IN LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, p. 94.

¹⁴ EGUIARA Y EGUREN, *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, p. 482.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, "His nephew Gabriel gave this work to be used by some unnamed friend, a lover of the history of New Spain".

¹⁶ José Fernando Ramírez. The life and work of this scholar are written up by GONZÁLEZ OBREGÓN, *Cronistas e historiadores*, pp. 125-171.

¹⁷ EGUIARA Y EGUREN, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

¹⁸ A brief account of Boturini's life, mission to Mexico and the documents amassed, is given by García Icazbalceta; see our Bibliography.

when he could consult the Sigüenza Collection at the Jesuits. In the 96 pages of his *Catálogo del museo histórico indiano*, Boturini lists and discusses numerous documents, maps, calendars —both originals and copies—, but only rarely mentions Sigüenza. It is not at all certain in every instance, that what Boturini saw of the Sigüenza documents or what he deduces from them, was obtained from the Collection at the Jesuits.

Let's see Boturini's references to Sigüenza. He is cited as his authority for identifying Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl as the author of the *Compendio histórico del reyno de Tetzcuco*.¹⁹ He had in his possession the original manuscript, a sort of rough draft, of the *Fénix del Occidente* attributed to Sigüenza.²⁰ Boturini copied an unspecified number of "frag-

¹⁹ BOTURINI, *Catálogo*, p. 7.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 50, "Original en folio. Además, tengo unos Apuntes Históricos de la Predicación del Glorioso Apóstol Santo Thomás en la América. Hállanse en 34 fojas de papel de China, que supongo sirvieron a Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora para escribir en el mismo asunto la Obra *Fénix del Occidente*, que no he podido conseguir, por no haberse dado a las estampas". SIGÜENZA's, *Libra Astronómica*, published in Mexico City in 1691, gives the full title of the *Fénix del Occidente* (see LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, pp. 97-98, 203, 207). Among the manuscript in the Ramírez Collection and later acquired by Bancroft, is one designated "Fénix del Occidente, Anotaciones". Of it BANCROFT, *History of Mexico*, III, 255, wrote, "Among the manuscripts which have survived the inexcusable neglect of his [Sigüenza's] countrymen, I have had the good fortune to acquire the rare and valuable 'Fénix del Occidente, Anotaciones'". To this LEONARD, *op. cit.*, p. 99, note 25, remarks, "He is mistaken in this, however"; and goes on to cite as proof Ramírez' long essay (*Obras*, II, *Adiciones*, I, 131-166). The Jesuit Manuel Duarte mentioned in the discussion and to whom Ramírez attributes the authorship of the *Fénix del Occidente*, was a lay brother (not a priest as has been written), who resided many years in Mexico as treasurer of the Philippine Jesuits. Numerous documents referring to him are preserved in the Central Archives in Rome. Presumably, the manuscript which Bancroft believed was by Sigüenza and which Ramírez held was by Duarte, is preserved in the Bancroft Library under M-M 297. With it is a map of the valley of Mexico, also attributed to Sigüenza and reproduced as such many times (e. g. LEONARD, *op. cit.*, between pages 84-85; VINDEL, *Mapas*, 181-184, 287, 291-292; for other reproductions, see LEONARD, *op. cit.*, 84-85). As I have shown elsewhere (ALEGRE, *Historia*, II, II, p. 680 note 2), Father Juan Sánchez Baquero S. J. is the author of this map, not Sigüenza y Góngora; it was merely preserved among his papers. The *Apuntes Históricos de la Predicación del Glorioso Apóstol Santo Thomás en la América*, which Boturini possessed "original en folio", is still preserved in the Bancroft Library, under M-M 225 (consulted by the present writer in 1957).

mentos históricos" from the originals that once belonged to Sigüenza, but he fails to inform us in what collection he found them.²¹ In his *Idea de una historia general de la América Septentrional*, Boturini expresses amazement that Gemelli Carreri, who personally knew Sigüenza and received so much help from him for the sixth book of his *Giro del Mondo*, should have fallen into such gross errors regarding the Mexican calendar.²² Boturini thinks that Gemelli Carreri should have been able to consult Sigüenza's *Ciclografía Mexicana* (termed *Cyclografía Indiana* by Boturini), a work which he himself had searched for in vain.

4. *The manuscripts seen by Eguiaara y Eguren about 1752.* We shall allow the Author to speak for himself: "Finally, we add a list of original documents written by others, which Don Carlos acquired at great expense and effort, and which he then willed to the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City. These manuscripts amounted to 28 volumes, which his nephew and executor immediately gave to the learned Fathers, along with 470 choice books, all likewise willed by his uncle, as stated in the dedicatory preface of the *Oriental Planeta*, mentioned above."²³ Of the twelve manuscript volumes in folio, we saw eight in the well stocked and excellently equipped library of that College; the rest eluded our notice; either, because they had been transferred elsewhere, or because they were not marked as belonging to the Sigüenza Collection, or, possibly, were stolen from the library. These eight volumes in folio were entitled *Historia Mexicana*. Two volumes were the *Diario*²⁴ compiled by the Mexican secular priest Martín

²¹ BOTURINI, *Catálogo*, pp. 86, 89.

²² BOTURINI, *Idea*, p. 54.

²³ EGUIARA Y EGUREN had discussed the work earlier in his *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, p. 478. The *Oriental Planeta* (see full title in LEONARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206), came out after the death of Don Carlos, but in the same year (1700), edited by his nephew Don Gabriel López de Sigüenza. Termed an "Evangélica epopeya sacro-panegírica al Apóstol grande de las Indias S. Francisco Xavier", it has seen a modern edition (Madrid, 1931) as part (pp. 121-145) of an edition of his poems (LEONARD, *Poemas de Sigüenza y Góngora*).

²⁴ Published as the first volume of OROZCO Y BERRA, *Documentos para la historia de México*, it has been re-issued in two handy volumes; see our Bibliography under "Guijo".

del Guijo; we shall speak later of him and his literary activity. Three of the volumes were designated *Fragments of Mexican History*. The remaining volumes were of miscellaneous content: ancient history, early writings of Indian authors, in part worked out by Don Fernando de Alva, an Indian of royal lineage and wide erudition, in part collected by him; others were by Don Domingo Chimalpain, likewise an Indian of noble blood and learned; as also by other authors to be mentioned in the course of our *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, and whom the Cav. Lorenzo Boturini made use of to form his *Catálogo del museo histórico*".²⁵

5. *The manuscripts consulted by Clavigero in 1759.*²⁶ The Historian himself gives us the year²⁷ —exactly two centuries ago— when he studied the Sigüenza Collection, and lists specifically the native Authors and their writings. We see that this includes all the works of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl collected by Boturini except the "Dos cantares del célebre Rei Nezahualcóyotl traducidos en poesía Española"; all of Chimalpain's writings except his "Crónica Mexicana en Mexicano",²⁸ although even of this Clavigero believed that he had seen a copy in the Jesuit Colegio de San Gregorio of Mexico City, and this may well have been borrowed from

²⁵ EGUIARA Y EGUREN, *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, pp. 483-484.

²⁶ See *infra*, Clavigero's list (Document). The original, in the hand of Clavigero, is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele in Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1255 (3384) Missioni d'America, documento 5. We have kept Clavigero's spelling, capitalization and emphasis (underscoring through italics); to facilitate reading, we have extended the abbreviations and added modern accentuation and have numbered the authors (where more than one work to an author is attributed, we have indicated the additional ones by "a", "b", etc.). The printed editions of their writings, which are appended immediately afterwards, are correlated with these same numbers. As Clavigero himself indicates at the end of the document, those marked with an asterisk he saw in the Sigüenza Collection at the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo of Mexico City; those with a cross, he saw in the Boturini Collection.

²⁷ CLAVIGERO, *Storia Antica*, I, p. 24, "Il Sigüenza... lasciò [le suddette pitture] in morendo al Collegio di S. Pietro e S. Paolo de' Gesuiti di Messico ...dove io vidi e studiai l'anno 1759". SEE MANEIRO, *De Vitis*, III, pp. 41-42 = *Vidas*, pp. 134-135 = *Humanistas*, pp. 185-186. Other Jesuits, besides Clavigero, consulted the Collection at this time; e. g. CAVO (*Historia*, pp. 270-271, 374-375), ALEGRE (BURRUS, *Francisco Javier Alegre*, p. 504 note 3).

²⁸ CLAVIGERO, *Storia Antica*, I, p. 11.

the Sigüenza Collection. Of "los Señores de Colhuacan", he had consulted their "Historia cronológica de los antiguos Reyes de Colhuacan". Seen in the same Collection was the "Crónica Mexicana" of Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc.

In all, there were nine manuscripts by "Historiadores Mexicanos, Acolhuas y Tlascaltecas" from the Sigüenza Collection that had been studied by Clavigero in 1759. Further, eighteen of the manuscripts listed by Boturini were also known to him. Finally, he mentions four native historians whose writings were familiar to him, which he did not see either in the Sigüenza Collection or in Boturini's *Catálogo*, but elsewhere. These were Antonio Pimentel Ixtlilxóchitl, Father Juan de Tovar S. J., Juan Bautista Pomar and Cristóbal del Castillo.

Of Tovar's history, Clavigero nowhere shows a knowledge beyond the material taken over by José de Acosta S. J. for his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Further, he seems unaware that Tovar wrote two very distinct histories of the Mexicans: 1. the detailed version, at the bidding of the Viceroy Martín Enríquez; unfortunately lost soon after its compilation; 2. the briefer version of which the original text in Tovar's handwriting is preserved in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island USA.²⁹

²⁹ Elsewhere (ALEGRE, *Historia*, I and II; BURRUS, *Two Lost Books; Pioneer Jesuits*), we have give abundant references to the life, work and writings of Tovar. Through the only signed document in the hand of Tovar (published in ALEGRE, *Historia*, I, pp. 552-553), it has been possible to establish that the Carter Brown manuscript is in Tovar's writing; this was confirmed in 1957 by the Librarian Emeritus, Dr. Lawrence Wroth. This is, I believe, an important step forward in studying Tovar's *Historia* in relation to Durán, the *Códice Ramírez*, Tezozómoc, the postulated *Crónica X*, etc. The title of his *Historia* (see KUBLER and GIBSON, *The Tovar Calendar*, Plate I) is in a calligraphic hand impossible to identify; the letters of José Acosta and of Juan de Tovar (facsimiles in KUBLER and GIBSON, *op. cit.*), are in the hand of neither, but are mere copies; the same seems to be true of the script in the calendar portion of the manuscript. From countless contemporary documents, all unanimous on this point, Tovar was born in Mexico City, not in Texcoco. To the eleven works, published or in manuscript, by Tovar, listed in ALEGRE, *Historia*, II, pp. 687-688, it is possible to add three not noticed earlier by the writer: 1. A "flos sanctorum", i. e. a series of lives of saints in *Náhuatl* (cf. a letter of the Mexican Provincial Antonio Mendoza to the Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva, November 30, 1585, "Para los Mexicanos, empieza agora el Padre Juan de Tobar, que [es] escogida lengua, a escrebir su *flos sanctorum* de vidas de santos selectos. Entiéndese que será obra de grandísimo provecho para ellos" (original in the Jesuit Central Archives, *Cod. Hisp.* 131, f. 57)). 2. "En este libro de

Clavigero was likewise unaware of the fact that Fernando (or Hernando), Alvarado Tezozómoc's *Crónica Mexicana* which he had consulted in the Sigüenza Collection and knew was one of the Boturini manuscripts, existed in both Spanish and Náhuatl³⁰ and that the codex in Spanish was in substantial agreement with the histories of Tovar and Durán. Thus Clavigero without fully realizing it, was acquainted with Tovar's history from two other authors: José de Acosta and Tezozómoc.

Another historian whose work may have formed part of the Sigüenza Collection consulted by Clavigero in 1759, but who is not listed in his "Historiadores Mexicanos, Acolhuas y Tlascaltecas", because he was a Spaniard, is Alonso Zorita (Zurita), *Sumaria Relación de los Señores de la Nueva España*.³¹

Of Sigüenza's own unpublished, Clavigero did not consult any in his Collection at the Jesuits; after listing the more important historical works composed by him, he expressed the belief that the only fragments still extant in his own time were such as had been preserved through quotation in the writings of Gemelli, Betancurt and Florencia.³²

6. *The manuscripts transferred to the University of Mexico after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.* Although I have

pláticas [escritas en el Colegio de San Gregorio, se hallan anotados al margen nombres de diferentes padres lenguas; uno de ellos es nada menos que el P. Juan de Tovar". (CUEVAS, *Album*, p. 99). 3. With this as a basis, CUEVAS (*ibid.*) deduces that the "Sermón guadalupano" is also by Tovar. GARIBAY, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 263, agrees that the latter is by Tovar, but shows that it is not a sermon; in fact, offers the suggestive conjecture that this document was the basis of the famous *Relación* (or *Relato*) attributed to Valeriano.

³⁰ See GARIBAY, *op. cit.*, II, 292-307, for an analysis of both chronicles. He shows that though by the same author, they are distinct histories, not a translation one of the other.

³¹ Significant for the sources of his history, are Clavigero's observation in his *Storia Antica*, I, pp. 8-9, "L'originale manoscritto in foglio si conservava nella libreria del Collegio de' SS. Pietro e Paolo de' Gesuiti di Messico. Da questa opera, la quale è bene scritta, è statta presa buona parte di ciò, che abbiamo scritto sopra un tale argomento" [i. e. the Mexican rulers, their laws, customs and tribute]. From Zorita's autograph documents, it is evident that this is the more accurate form, inasmuch as he regularly writes Zorita or Çorita (DOMÍNGUEZ BORDONA, *Manuscritos de América*, pp. 12, 150-151).

³² CLAVIGERO, *Sstoria Antica*, I, pp. 15-16.

seen several manuscript published inventories of the books in the Jesuit Colleges of Mexico City, drawn up by the "Real Junta y Comisión de Bienes Ocupados a los extinguidos Jesuítas", as also of their personal papers, I have no corresponding document for *all* the manuscripts in their respective libraries, much less of the Sigüenza Collection. From the copies of the Sigüenza documents, made in accordance with royal orders³³ issued shortly after this time, we can deduce in part what Sigüenza manuscripts were extant.

7. *The state of the Sigüenza Collection in 1780.* On June 17, 1779, Juan Bautista Muñoz was commissioned by Charles III to write the "Historia del Nuevo Mundo".³⁴ A few months later, the first volume of Clavigero's *Storia Antica* with its long list of writers on Mexican history appeared.³⁵ This had the advantage of indicating in several instances where a given manuscript had been preserved. Orders were then issued for copies of the works listed by Clavigero to be made and sent to Madrid in order to help document the projected history of Muñoz.³⁶ Where important printed works had become exceedingly rare, handwritten copies were to be made and sent on.³⁷

It is evident from the numerous extant letters of Antonio de León y Gama to the exiled Jesuit, Andrés de Cavo,³⁸ resident in Rome, that in 1780 the Sigüenza Collection was still much the same as when Clavigero consulted it in 1795.

³³ The famous "Memorias de Nueva España"; see BOLTON, *Guide*, pp. 20 ss.; Real Academia de la Historia, *Catálogo*, 3 vols., *passim*; Tudela de la Orden, *Los manuscritos de América*, pp. 68 ss.

³⁴ See references given in preceding note. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta's study of Muñoz's efforts is found in the *Revista de Indias* for 1941-1942, and reproduced in part in the above mentioned Academy's *Catálogo*, vol. I.

³⁵ CLAVIGERO, *Storia Antica*, I, 6-26; the corresponding list in the *Historia Antigua*, I, is a mere translation of the Italian, since no copy was found with the original Spanish manuscript of the text; the same is true of volume IV (the *Dissertations*).

³⁶ BOLTON, *Guide*, p. 20.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 22 (such was Sigüenza's *Teatro de virtudes políticas*).

³⁸ Some twenty letters exchanged between these two scholars are being prepared by the present writer for publication during the current year. Some of these letters were used in Pichardo's *Vida y martirio [de]... San Felipe de Jesús*. These six letters are in photostat form in the library of the University of Texas, Latin American Collection; the remainder are in Rome.

This we judge from the writings he quotes and discusses: they are the same as those known to Clavigero.

But during the ten years between 1780 and 1790, all the Sigüenza and Boturini manuscripts disappeared from the University; some were sent to Spain (originals and copies); many were removed by Mexican scholars, none more zealously than León y Gama himself. He worked feverishly to copy the texts and the easier Indian codices; he hired an artist to copy the more difficult codices. Let us look at one of the pertinent texts a passage of one of the letters of León y Gama written from Mexico City on August 19, 1796, to Cavo in Rome:

"Sobre lo que V. me dice de impedir que salgan de aquí los monumentos mexicanos,³⁹ ni soy árbitro para ello, ni es ya tiempo. Habrá 5 años que se llevaron a España todos los que existían en la Universidad; pero hay dispersos algunos en poder de particulares. Cuando se pusieron en ello, que fué el año de 80, ocurrieron varias personas y sacaron lo que quisieron; pero tuve la fortuna de que declararan las más de las pinturas y los manuscritos mexicanos como cosas que no entendían; y los dos Doctores Bibliotecarios, que eran amigos, me los fueron franqueando sucesivamente para que los copiara. Año y medio tuve en casa a un hábil Pintor, que me los copió exactamente, mientras yo hacía lo mismo con lo manuscrito y aun aquellas pinturas que me parecían menos difíciles; estándome en estas operaciones hasta la

³⁹ This was the burden of an ever recurring theme in Cavo's letters to León y Gama. Upon the death of the latter, Cavo wrote to Pichardo, the heir to León y Gama's papers, on February 15, 1803, "Suplicio encarecidamente a V. R^a oculte todos los monumentos que poseía [León y Gama], como códigos, pinturas antiguas, etcétera; no sea que tengan la misma suerte que tantas preciosidades que se han traído de ese reyno a sepultarlas en los archivos de Madrid. Conozco que este encargo es inútil; pues V. R^a, como único que llena el vacío de nuestro amigo, tendrá grande interés en conservarlos". Again, on March 1, 1803, he writes even more insistently, "Me tiene con cuidado el temor del enagenamiento de los códigos, pinturas y papeles que dexó nuestro amigo. Porque oigo que el Príncipe de la Paz [Napoleón] forma una rica librería que quiere adornar con cosas antiguas. Si a sus orejas llega la noticia de lo que el difunto poseía, es capaz de pedirlo; y carecería nuestra patria de tan preciosos monumentos. V. R^a, que es el depositario de todo, en ese caso, me creo que dará copias, quedándose con los originales. Este mal es irremediable; pues parece que no se tira a otra cosa que a sacar de ese reyno quantos monumentos se descubriese de la grandeza y literatura de los antiguos mexicanos".

media noche y días festivos, que era el tiempo que me dejaban libre mis precisas ocupaciones. Con estos documentos y con los que antes había adquirido y otros que conseguí después, me dediqué a procurar su inteligencia, y de la lengua mexicana, que ignoraba. Pero porque no se me olvidara aquello que iba descubriendo, fui formando varios apuntes; y de este modo me fui insensiblemente metiendo en escribir una historia de la Nueva España; pero considerando lo que exigía unos crecidos costos que mis cortas facultades no podían soportar, me suspendí, no obstante que tenía ya escrito mucho”.

Father José Antonio Pichardo, Oratorian and Superior of La Profesa in Mexico City, likewise studied the Sigüenza Collection and made copies of its documents. At the sudden death of León y Gama on September 12, 1802, it was learned that he had willed all papers to Pichardo and appointed him his executor.⁴⁰ Pichardo, busied from 1808 with the vast undertaking for the Spanish government of determining the limits of Louisiana and Texas,⁴¹ died on November 11, 1812.

Evidently León y Gama's papers, along with many of Pichardo's, got into the hands of the former's family, inasmuch as Aubin, who had come to Mexico in 1830, was able to buy from the León y Gama family part of the considerable collection that he took back with him to France in 1840. His report leaves no doubt, “Je pus acquérir une partie des manuscrits et des peintures de la succession des fils du célèbre astronome Gama, si bien apprécie par M. le baron de Humboldt. Plus tard, un grand nombre de chroniques en *náhuatl*, ou mexicain, écrites par les premiers indigènes initiés à l'usage de nos lettres, étant devenues ma propriété, je me décidai à apprendre cette langue”.⁴²

All these manuscripts were purchased later by E. Eugène Goupil and donated to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where they are preserved today, and from it numerous copies both photostatic or on microfilm and in transcript form have been made; not a few have seen publication. Boban catalogued

⁴⁰ Pichardo's letter to Cavo, dated February 21, 1803.

⁴¹ His extensive report was translated, annotated and edited by Hackett under the title, “Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas”, 4 volumes; see our Bibliography, entry “Pichardo”.

⁴² BOBAN, *Catalogue*, I, p. 24.

this considerable collection in two volumes; from it, we see that both original manuscripts and copies that once belonged to León y Gama and Pichardo and consequently ultimately of the Sigüenza Collection at one time in the Jesuit College as also of the Boturini manuscripts, are still preserved in the Goupil Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

8. *The state of the Sigüenza Collection in 1840.* Would one be justified in concluding that, with a portion of these manuscripts going to Spain 1780-1790 and another to Paris in 1840, the Sigüenza Collection disappeared from Mexico? No, for among the manuscripts extant in several collections, it is evident that various items escaped; these were in considerable part later taken by José Fernando Ramírez to Europe. So rich a collection was this, that a good size book was printed to list them;⁴³ and yet in his possession were precious manuscripts not listed for sale. At the time of his death in Bonn, Germany, on March 4, 1871, a lot was claimed by the family and shipped back to Mexico. Thus it is that manuscripts in various libraries and in private possession are from the Sigüenza Collection, obtained via Ramírez. Such manuscripts, of course, survived the 1847 invasion and thus our next question is already, in great part, answered.

9. *Those that existed in 1847, when they were allegedly shipped to Washington D. C. by the invading General Winfield Scott.* Father Mariano Cuevas S. J. seems to have been the first to claim that the Sigüenza Collection given to the Jesuits

⁴³ Entitled *Biblioteca Mexicana*, its 165 pages list 1290 items; some of these were purchased by the Agent of Bancroft, and are now in the Bancroft Library. In reference to our present theme, we note that the Ramírez catalogue offers copies of the *Sumaria relación* of Fernando Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, also a document in Náhuatl by him, *Ilmatzin ihuan Piltontli*; *Fragmentos de la Historia de Tlaxcala* by DIEGO MUÑOZ CAMARGO: *Alcaldías mayores y corregimientos que proveen los Señores Virreyes*, 3 leaves in folio, original of Sigüenza y Góngora (this manuscript is now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library; see BUTLER, *A Check List*, p. 150, number 1220); the Bartolomé de Alva documents (translations of comedies) are in the Bancroft Library (see GARIBAY, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, pp. 391, 395). Elsewhere I have dealt with the precious manuscripts of the four Mexican Councils, at one time part of the Ramírez Collection, now in the Bancroft Library (see BURRUS, *The Author of the Mexican Council Catechisms*).

in 1700 and then transferred to the University at the time of their expulsion in 1767, was shipped to Washington by Scott in 1847 to form part of the Archives of the State Department, where the Mexican Minister is credited with having seen them some time before the end of 1851.⁴⁴

Father Cuevas' statement has been echoed by others: (a) Frances Parkinson Keyes, in her *The Grace of Guadalupe*, avers, "After the death of Valeriano... his [Valeriano's] manuscript passed first into the hands of Don Fernando de

⁴⁴ CUEVAS, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, I, p. 279, note 8, "Como [Sigüenza] dejó sus mejores manuscritos en 28 tomos reunidos, al Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo de la Compañía de Jesús, ahí quedaron hasta la extinción. En esta fecha pasaron a la Universidad pero siempre formando grupo aparte. Este grupo de preciosos manuscritos fué trasladado a Washington por el General Scott en 1847 y formó parte del archivo del departamento de Estado donde lo vió nuestro Ministro en esa Nación, Don Luis de la Rosa, según lo dice en carta reservada. (Archivo General de la Nación.—Asuntos diversos, Caja No. 6, 1846-1851; Carta No. 19). Hizo reclamaciones nuestro gobierno. El americano prometió devolverlo, protestando contra la acción de Scott, y en efecto... no ha devuelto nada". LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, p. 95, note 13, states, "I have written to authorities in Washington D. C. on this matter and have had a personal representative there to investigate, but the efforts thus far to locate the material which Cuevas alleges is there, have been vain. It has also been impossible to locate in Mexico City the letter to which he refers". BOLTON, *Guide*, pp. 252, 261, had recorded the presence of letters of such a nature, but without specifying in detail their content. The most thorough investigation was effected by Roscoe R. Hill, who gives us the results of his efforts in *The Odyssey of Some Mexican Records*. With his study he publishes the inventory of the documents returned and the correspondence regarding them. Dr. Hill concludes, "In this inventory there is no indication whatever of the presence in the [American] Legation [in Mexico] of the [Sigüenza] materials contained in the four boxes which were forwarded to La Casa Profesa [in Mexico City] in 1854. The obvious conclusion, therefore, is that the boxes were returned to the Jesuit Society. Thus was ended the odyssey of those Mexican records which General Scott carried from Mexico to Washington in 1847" (*op. cit.*, p. 45). To conclude this subject, there is one more piece of evidence that should be taken into consideration. V. SALADO ALVAREZ, *Breve noticia*, pp. IX-XII, 1-24, lists on p. 9, a "Serie de noventa y dos documentos" in Library of Congress, Washington, and observes, "Parece que estos papeles fueron tomados en la ciudad de México, durante la guerra con los Estados Unidos; que permanecieron muchos años en la Secretaría de Guerra, en Washington, y pasaron de allí a la del Estado [i. e. Department of State]; últimamente pararon en la *Congressional Library*, por disposición del Presidente Th. Roosevelt". This series, designated "Jesuitas" are of very much the same nature as those returned in 1854. Salado Alvarez' words published in 1909, were written in 1908, more than a half century after the reported return of the Jesuit documents.

Alva Ixtlilxóchitl and then into the hands of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora... On his death Sigüenza willed the Valeriano manuscript to the College of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, whence it was later transferred to the University of Mexico, along with other papers belonging to him. In 1847, during the war between Mexico and the United States, all Sigüenza's papers were taken from the archives of this institution and carried off by the conquerors. Mystery enshrouds the final fate of the Valeriano document, which has not been seen since, though it has been variously reported as buried in the State Department, the War Department, the National Archives, and several public and private libraries: Its rediscovery would be an event of utmost importance...".⁴⁵ (b) Clementina Díaz y de Ovando in her *El Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo*, p. 33, after citing Sigüenza's will donating the manuscripts and books, concludes, "El acervo de libros y manuscritos que Sigüenza legó al Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo está hoy perdido, parte fué saqueado por los yanquis en 1847". (c) Alfonso Junco wrote in his *Un radical problema Guadalupano*, "El original [del manuscrito de Valeriano] que perteneció a Sigüenza se ha perdido hasta hoy, con un gran lote de inestimables documentos que aquel sabio reunió en su vida benemérita, los cuales legó al Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, pasaron luego a la Universidad, emigraron subterráneamente y acaso anden ahora desperdigados y de incógnito por Estados Unidos y Europa".⁴⁶

It is clear from the list of books and documents that were sent to Washington and later restored, that none came from the Sigüenza Collection.⁴⁷ The important documents by their very titles show that they came from the treasurer's office of the Jesuit Order in Mexico; from the *Procuraduría*, to use Spanish term.⁴⁸ Father Cuevas seemed to think that the Sigüenza Collection given to the Jesuits in 1700 had the original Valeriano manuscript; he and those who have repeated his statement, were apparently unaware of the 1780-1790 shipments to Spain, of the León y Gama and similar extractions

⁴⁵ QUOTED IN HILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁶ Text given in TORROELLA, *El nican mopohua*, unpaginated *Prólogo*.

⁴⁷ HILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54.

⁴⁸ Its documents had been recommended to Alegre as a key source for his history of the Mexican Jesuits (BURRUS, *Francisco Javier Alegre*, p. 454).

during the same decade, of the Aubin purchases and shipment to Paris.

As may be seen from the preceding portions of the present study, by 1847 the Sigüenza Collection had ceased to exist as a separate and intact lot; in fact, from 1780 on, as León y Gama so convincingly indicates. As we have seen—to sum up this phase of our study in a few words—what was not sent to Spain 1780-1790, was distributed among various scholars in Mexico City; much of the latter was taken to France in 1840; of the remainder, José Fernando Ramírez took a large portion to Europe which is widely scattered today.

10. *What exists today of the Sigüenza Collection?* The greater part of the documents obtained by Aubin in Mexico 1830-1840 are still extant; it is, as we have seen, the E. Eugène Goupil Collection in the Parisian Bibliothèque Nationale. Copies or copies and originals of various Sigüenza documents⁴⁹ are also found in the Archivo General de la Nación⁵⁰ and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Museo Nacional)⁵¹ of Mexico City; in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago;⁵² in the New York Public Library;⁵³ in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California;⁵⁴ in the Huntington Library of San Marino California;⁵⁵ in the University of Texas, Latin American

⁴⁹ For extant Mexican codices, see LEÓN-PORTILLA and MATEOS HIGUERA, *Catálogo de los códices indígenas del México antiguo*.

⁵⁰ See BOLTON, *Guide*, especially pages 20 ss.; LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, pp. 187-189, 202-209.

⁵¹ GONZÁLEZ ORREGÓN, *Cronistas e historiadores*, pp. 163-166 and personal research in 1956.

⁵² BUTLER, *A Check List*, p. 150 numbers 1220 (see *supra*, note 43) and 1221. Many of the pertinent manuscripts from the Goupil Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris are to be had at the Newberry Library (Ayer Collection) through the Wi E. Gates' photostats.

⁵³ Printed and handwritten inventories in the manuscripts división of the New York Public Library, consulted by the present writer in 1957. See also TORROELLA, *El nican mopohua, Prólogo* (the Library in question is referred to as the "Archivo de Nueva York") and CUEVAS, *Album*, 97 ss. (called "Biblioteca del Estado en Nueva York").

⁵⁴ LEONARD, *Don Carlos*, pp. 187-189, 202-209; see *supra*, notes 20 and 43.

⁵⁵ Verified through personal reseach; copies seem to be of a later period than other repositories mentioned in this same paragraph.

Collection, Austin, Texas; ⁵⁶ in the British Museum, London; ⁵⁷ in the Biblioteca del Palacio, ⁵⁸ the Biblioteca Nacional ⁵⁹ and the Academia Real of Madrid ⁶⁰ of Madrid. In private collections, there is some of the original material of the Sigüenza Collection; such documents, as far as I have been able to establish, are mainly from the Ramírez Collection.

Before bringing this sketchy to a close, a brief word on the original Valeriano manuscript in Mexican. To state at once the conclusion of the discussion of this topic, it seems certain that if the manuscript ever formed part of the Sigüenza Collection in possession of the Jesuits, it ceased to do so some time before Boturini consulted it. This seems certain beyond all doubt from his own words in two passages of his *Catálogo*.

On page 86, he states, "Por unos Fragmentos Históricos, que copié de sus Originales del célebre Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, me consta que D. Antonio Valeriano, Originario de *Atzacaputzalco*, Indio Cazique, y Maestro que fué de Retórica en el Imperial Colegio de *Tlatilulco*, escribió la Historia de las Apariciones de Guadalupe en lengua *Náhuatl*, y el mismo Sigüenza, baxo de juramento confiesa, que la tenía en su poder de puño de D. Antonio,"⁶¹ que quizás es la

⁵⁶ CASTAÑEDA and DABBS, *Guide*, p. 146, number 1712-1717; the last item includes a portion of the manuscript *Piedad heroica*, in Sigüenza's own hand.

⁵⁷ GAYANGOS, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, II, p. 311, ms. copy of part of the printed *Libra Astronómica*.

⁵⁸ DOMÍNGUEZ BORDONA, *Manuscritos de América*, number 369 (Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl); 334, doc. 10 (SIGÜENZA's, *Descripción de Panzacola*); 151, 366, 367 (Alonso de Zorita).

⁵⁹ PAZ, *Catálogo*, p. 211, number 383, "Camino que el año de 1689 hizo el Gobernador Alonso de León desde Cuahuila hasta hallar cerca del Lago de San Bernardo el lugar donde habían poblado los Franceses. Original. Plano dibujado con esmero. Al pie lleva la firma y rúbrica de Sigüenza, y el año 1689. Una hoja en folio".

⁶⁰ Real Academia de la Historia, *Catálogo de la Colección de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz*; see in vol. III the index for pertinent manuscripts; Tudela de la Orden, *Los manuscritos de América*, pp. 68 ss.

⁶¹ Boturini is citing this from the published *Piedad heroica*, paragraph 114: "Digo y juro que esta relación [Guadalupeana de Valeriano] hallé entre los papeles de D. Fernando de Alva [Ixtlilxóchitl], que tengo todos... El original en mexicano está de letra de D. Antonio Valeriano, indio, que es verdadero autor." GARIBAY, *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, pp. 263 ss. subjects this text to a penetrating analysis.

que imprimió el Bachiller Lasso de la Vega, y puede con el tiempo repararme la Divina Madre para que pueda fundar mejor su Historia; y nótese, que tengo en mi Archivo Firmas de dicho D. Antonio para cotejarlas igualmente con su Historia Original, siempre que pareciere."

On page 46, "*Original en 4. Un Librito de cuántas de Tributos del año 1574 de la Parcialidad de San Pablo Teocaltitlan de México en 27 fojas útiles de papel Europeo, aunque le falta el principio. Nótese, que se hallan aquí unas Firmas Originales de Don Antonio Valeriano, Governador que fué de los Indios Mexicanos, e Historiador de las Apariciones de mi Madre, y Señora de Guadalupe*".

Not only did Eguirra y Eguren not list any original Valeriano manuscript in the Sigüenza Collection when he consulted it about 1752, but what is more significant, under the entry in his *Bibliotheca Mexicana* of "Antonius Valerianus",⁶² shows that he knows of Sigüenza's statement about the latter having seen the original Mexican manuscript, yet does not state that he himself had ever seen it.

Clavigero's silence is not particularly significant, inasmuch as he is listing authors who have written on the more general history of the ancient Mexicans.

León y Gama's silence, on the other hand, is, in my opinion well nigh conclusive proof that in his time the original Valeriano manuscript was neither in the Sigüenza Collection or in any other to which he had access. He composed a detailed history of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the original draft⁶³ and text⁶⁴ of which are extant today; yet nowhere is there any statement or even hint that he has seen the original Valeriano account. Repeatedly, in his letters to Andrés de Cavo⁶⁵ he asks for documents concerning the apparitions and devotion; he insists that the documents be of the sixteenth century; he gives minute account of what he has and what he

⁶² *Op. cit.*, paragraphs 416-419; Valeriano's writings are discussed in paragraph 419.

⁶³ The title page is reproduced in CUEVAS, *Album*, between pages 192-193; the entire manuscript is preserved in photostat in the University of Texas Library, Latin American Collection, and was consulted there in 1958 by the present writer.

⁶⁴ In the Goupil Collection (Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris).

⁶⁵ See *supra*, notes 38-39 and corresponding text of the article.

wants; ⁶⁶ but here again, nothing about the original Valeriano manuscript. The precious original being in Mexican, León y Gama could have easily removed it from among the documents of the University set aside for shipment to Spain, as he informs us he did with such manuscripts that were unintelligible to the Commissioners.⁶⁷

DOCUMENT

HISTORIADORES MEXICANOS, ACOLHUAS Y TLASCALTECAS ⁶⁸

1. Don Fernando Pimentel *Ixtlilxóchitl* de la Casa Real de Tezcuco.—Cartas al Conde de Benavente y al Virrei Don Luis de Velasco sobre la descendencia de los Reyes de Tezcuco y otros puntos interesantes de dicho Reino, en respuesta a las que dichos Señores le habían escrito †.⁶⁹

2. Don Antonio Tobar, Cano, *Moteczuma, Ixtlilxóchitl*, descendiente de las dos Casas Reales de México y Tezcuco.—Carta sobre el mismo asunto de las precedentes: y una y otras escritas, a lo que parece, a mediados del siglo xvi †.

3. Don Antonio Pimentel *Ixtlilxóchitl* de la Casa Real de Tezcuco.—*Memorias curiosas de aquel Reino*.

⁶⁶ That others were aware of his writing this history and hence would have informed him of the Valeriano original, is evident from the fact that Fray Servando Teresa de Mier from his semi-seclusion in Spain wrote to Juan Bautista Muñoz, "He oído que el célebre astrónomo Mexicano Gama está escribiendo o ha escrito sobre la tradición de Guadalupe. Este es un hombre de un juicio sólido y versado en antigüedades Mexicanas; pero temo que faltándole la clave de este negocio que ministra el informe del Virey Enríquez, toda mención de aparición de la Virgen la ha de tomar por aparición de la imagen. Este es el resvaladero". (Original manuscript copy of his letters; this is the third in the series).

⁶⁷ See *supra*, note 38.

⁶⁸ We have described this document *supra*, note 26.

⁶⁹ As Clavigero himself explains at end of this document, the cross indicates that he saw the corresponding manuscript in Boturini's Collection; the asterisk, that he consulted it in the Sigüenza Collection at the Jesuit College.

4. Don Fernando de Alba *Ixtlilxóchitl* de las Casas Reales de Tezcuco.—*Relaciones Históricas* escritas por orden del Virrei Conde de Montereí, a principios del siglo xvii †.

(^a) *Item: Historia de los Señores Chichimecas* † *.

(^b) *Item: Sumaria Relación de los Reyes Chichimecas* † *.

(^c) *Item: Historia General de la Nueva España* † *.

(^d) *Item: Compendio Histórico del Reino de Tezcuco* † *.

(^e) *Item: Dos cantares del célebre Rei Nezahualcóyotl*, traducidos en poesía Española †.⁷⁰

5. Don Domingo de San Antón-Muñón Chimalpain, noble Mexicano.—*Crónica Mexicana* en Mexicano, que comprehende todos los sucesos de aquella Nación desde el año de 1068 hasta el 1587 †. Esta obra, según me parece, estaba también en la librería del Colegio de San Gregorio de México.

(^a) *Item: Historia de la Conquista de México*, en Mexicano, escrita a fines del siglo xvi † *.

(^b) *Item: Historias originales de los Reinos de Colhuacan y de México y de otras Provincias, en Mexicano* † *. [f. 1.]

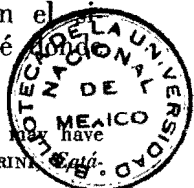
6. Don Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc.—*Crónica Mexicana*, escrita acia el año 1598 † *.

7. Don Tadeo de Niza, noble Tlascalteca.—*Historia de la Conquista de México*, escrita el año 1548, por orden del Virrei, y firmada de 30 Señores Tlascaltecas †.

8. Don Juan Ventura Zapata y Mendoza, Señor Tlascalteca.—*Crónica de Tlaxcallan*, en Mexicano, que comprehende los sucesos de los Tlascaltecas desde su llegada a la tierra de Anáhuac (hoi Nueva España) hasta el 1689 †.⁷¹

9. Diego Muñoz Camargo, mestizo Tlascalteca.—*Historia de la Ciudad y República de Tlaxcallan*, escrita en el siglo xvi †. Desta obra hubo varias copias; pero no sé por qué paran.

⁷⁰ Clavigero does not assign any reason for the double cross; he may have thus wished to indicate two copies in the Boturini Collection. BOTURINI, *Antología*, p. 8, says that he possessed the "original en 4".



HISTORIA

10. Los Señores de Colhuacan.—*Historia crónológica de los antiguos Reyes de Colhuacan* † *:

11. Don Pedro Ponce, Indio noble y Cura de Tzompahuacán.—*Relación de los dioses y ritos de la Gentilidad Mexicana* †.

12. Don Gabriel Ayala, noble Tezcucano.—*Apuntes de los sucesos de la Nación Mexicana desde el año de 1243 hasta el 1562* †.

13. Padre Juan de Tobar, de la Casa Real de Tezcucó, Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de México, y después fervoroso Jesuita, trabajó por orden del Virei don Martín Enríquez la *Historia Mexicana*, de cuyos manuscritos tomó el Padre Acosta la mayor parte de lo que trae de la Historia antigua de aquel Reino.

14. Don Juan Bautista Pomar, descendiente por línea bastarda de la Casa Real de Tezcucó. Escribió sobre varios puntos de la Historia de aquel Reino. [f. 2r.]

15. Cristóbal del Castillo, mestizo Mexicano.—*Historia de la venida de los Mexicanos a la tierra de Anáhuac*. Escribió en el siglo XVI. Esta obra estaba en la librería de Tepozotlán,⁷² y sospecho que se pasó al Colegio Máximo.

Omito otros muchos por ser anónimos. Los que están notados con † estaban en el Museo del Caballero Boturini; los que llevan * son los que dió el sabio Sigüenza a la librería del Colegio Máximo de los Jesuitas de México.

⁷¹ This is the reading in Clavigero's autograph list; in the *Storia Antica*, I, p. 10, he gives the year 1589, and this was so translated for the *Historia Antigua*, I, p. 36. BOTURINI, *Catálogo*, p. 35, assigns the year 1689.

⁷² Usually written "Tepozotlán". In this town had been located for nearly two centuries the novitiate of the Jesuits in Mexico, its language school for the training of its men in Náhuatl and Otomí, and a school (San Martín) for Indian children. Its once precious Indian manuscripts have been widely scattered and in great part destroyed; a few surviving manuscripts are preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City.

PUBLISHED EDITIONS OF THE WRITINGS LISTED BY CLAVIGERO ⁷³

Of 1 and 2 Boturini possessed the "originales en folio" (*Catálogo*, p, 2). I find no published version of their writings. Or the next, 3, no mention is made in Boturini, nor do I find any edition of this work. Beristain, *Biblioteca*, new ed. number 2397, lists no printed version but merely states that both Torquemada and Clavigero made use of his manuscript.

4. These were issued in two volumes, under the title *Obras históricas de Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl*, publicadas y anotadas por Alfredo Chavero. Tomo I: *Relaciones* (Mexico City, Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1891). Tomo II: *Historia Chichimeca* (*Ibid.*, 1892). Boturini *Catálogo*, pp. 6-7, discusses the manuscript copies in his collection.

5. Of Chimalpain I find the following editions and studies: Simeón, *Les annales mexicaines de Chimalpahin* (*sic*), where he studies the second, sixth and seventh *Relation* of Chimalpain, but notes "Nous possédons une transcription complète des 1^{er}, 6^e et 7^e relations" from the Aubin (later Goupil) Collection. Siméon published from the transcription he mentions the sixth and seventh *Relations* under the title *Annales de Domingo Francisco de San Anton Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhthlehuantzin: sixième et septième relations (1258-1612)* (Paris, Bibliothèque linguistique américaine, 1889). León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl*, p. 333, lists a text I have not been able to see at first hand: Domingo Chimalpain Cuauhthlehuantzin, *Diferentes Historias originales de los reynos de Culhuacan y México, y de otras provincias*. Übersetzt

⁷³ In the case of printed editions of the writings of the authors listed by Clavigero, we give the full title; of other publications, we give the shorter title and refer the reader to our Bibliography for additional information. The numbers in parentheses refer to the writers and their works as catalogued in Clavigero's list (Document). We have omitted indicating the presence of the original and/or copy in the Goupil Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, inasmuch as such information would demand considerably more space and on the other hand can be readily obtained from the index of the second volume of BOBAN, *Catalogue*.

und erläutert von Ernest Mengin (Hamburg, 1950). Clavigero follows in his titles Boturini, *Catálogo*, pp. 15 numbers 1 and 2; p. 17 number 12; Siméon noted in his first study cited above, p. 5, that it is extremely difficult to work out the exact correspondence with the texts extant today. Chimalpain is studied by Eguiara y Eguren, *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, Texas ms., folios 136v-137v.

6. Hermando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, escrita hacia el año de 1598. Notas de Manuel Orozco y Berra (Mexico City, Editorial Leyenda, 1944); in the Biblioteca del estudiante universitario, número 41, prólogo y selección de Mario Mariscal (Mexico City, Universidad Nacional, 1943); Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica Mexicayotl*, traducción directa del náhuatl por Adrián León (Mexico City, Imprenta Universitaria, 1949); the frontispiece of this last publication is a portrait of Tezozómoc with the legend "Nahuatlato Albarado". Boturini had both the Spanish and the Náhuatl texts (*Catálogo*, pp. 17 and 77 respectively).

7. Boturini, *Catálogo*, pp. 76-77 number 3, possessed the original, "Tomo 20 en folio. Original. Don Tadeo de Niza de la Parcialidad de *Tepetipac* de *Tlaxcallan*, por expreso orden del Gobierno el año de 1548 [escribió sobre la conquista], y firmaron su Historia como 30 Caziques Tlaxcaltecos, que assistieron y mandaron las Tropas Auxiliares de la República en [la] Conquista". I find no printed edition of his work.

8. Boturini, *Catálogo*, p. 35 (cf. p. 76), indicates that he possessed the original of this work. I know of no printed edition.

9. Boturini, *Catálogo*, pp. 34-35 (cf. p. 76), had the original in his possession. I find two editions of Alfredo Chavero under the title *Historia de Tlaxcala* (Mexico City, 1892 and 1947). See our Bibliography for Carrera Stampa's and Gibson's studies of this historian. Eguiara y Eguren writes a brief entry in his *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, Texas ms., folios 82v-83.

10. Boturini, *Catálogo*, p. 16 number 9, states that he had "una copia en folio" of "Una *Chronología Histórica de los antiguos Reyes de Culhuacan*, a quienes sucedieron los Reyes Mexicanos, escrita por los Señores de *Culhuacan* en lengua *Náhuatl*, y papel Europeo". I find no printed edition.

11. His work was published in the *Anales del Museo Nacional* (Mexico City, 1892); it forms the second part of the so-called *Códice Chimalpopoca* (named after the translator), and is preserved in the Museo Nacional. There is another edition, which I have not seen: Don Pedro de Ponce; Jacinto de la Serna; Fray Pedro de Feria, *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, Ediciones Fuente Cultural, no date). Boturini, *Catálogo*, pp. 17-18 number 13, had a copy of Ponce's work; this was later used by León y Gama in his *Descripción de las dos piedras*, number 62.

12. Boturini, *Catálogo*, pp. 15-16 number 4, lists as a "Copia en folio, Apuntes Históricos de la misma Nación [i. e. mexicana] en lengua *Náhuatl*, y papel Europeo, su Autor Don Gabriel de Ayala, Noble de *Tetzcuco*, y Escrivano de República". I find no printed edition.

13. Part of Tovar's second history (the first was lost) was published as *Historia / De los Yndios / Mexicanos / Por / Juan de Tovar / Cura et impensis / Dni. Thomae Phillipps Bart. / Typis Medio-Montani [i. e. Middle Hill] / Jacobus Rogers / Impressit / 1860*. The entire original manuscript is preserved in the John Carter Brown Library. The calendar portion of the same manuscript was edited with an English translation by Kubler and Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar*. From another manuscript of the same history, found by José Fernando Ramírez in the Convento Grande of the Franciscans in Mexico City, an 1878 edition was issued under the title of *Codice Ramírez*; there is a modern edition: *Codice Ramírez: Relación del Origen de los Indios que habitan esta Nueva España según sus Historias* (Mexico City, Editorial Leyenda, 1944).

14. Juan Bautista Pomar, *Relación de Texcoco*, en Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City, 1891).

15. *Migración de los mexicanos al país de Anáuc: Fin de su dominación y noticias de su calendario. Fragmentos históricos sacados de la obra escrita en lengua náuatl por Cristóbal del Castillo a fines del siglo XVI*. Los tradujo al castellano Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (Florenia, Tipografía de Salvador Landi, 1908). This publication is in the series "Biblioteca Náuatl", vol. V, cuaderno 2, and takes up pages 41-107.

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⁷⁴ We list only a few items of more direct pertinence and assistance in compiling the present study.

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⁷⁵ We list here only such works as have proved of particular help in the present article and have not been cited full elsewhere.

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