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MEXICAN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN THE CENTRAL JESUIT ARCHIVES

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Nearly a decade ago I compiled a brief outline of the principal collections of Hispanic Americana in Italy, indicating their contents and listing the more important guides, catalogues, inventories and calendars.¹ In the present article I should like to discuss at greater length and in more minute detail the Mexican *Jesuitica* preserved in one of the two major sections of the Central Jesuit Archives, the *Achivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (regularly abbreviated ARSI).² I shall here exclude for the present not only the very extensive Fondo Gesuitico³ also housed

¹ I published this study in "Research Opportunities in Italian Archives and Manuscript Collections for Students of Hispanic American History," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIX (1959), pp. 428-463 (cited henceforth as HAHR); the research for it was made possible through a generous John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship (1957-1959).

² A general outline of Jesuit Hispanic Americana on microfilm in Saint Louis University is furnished by John F. Bannon, S.J., "The Saint Louis University Collection of Jesuitica Americana," HAHR, XXXVII (1957), pp. 82-88; pp. 85-86 deal with the ARSI.

³ There are two Roman collections so designated: (1) the Fondo Gesuitico of archival material (mainly from the Jesuit Procurator General's office), entrusted by the Italian State to the care and administration of the Jesuit Order; (2) the Fondo Gesuitico of manuscript works, belonging to the old Collegio Romano, now the Biblioteca Nazionale, of Rome. On the first, see the article by E. Lamalle, S.J., "La documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le 'Fondo Gesuitico' aux Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus," *De Archivis et Bibliothecis missionibus atque scientiae missionum inservientibus* (Rome, 1968: vol. XXI of *Euntes Docete*), pp. 131-176. Much more has been written about the second, e.g.: Carl R. Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1911), pp. 218-220; José Gómez Pérez, *Manuscritos españoles en la Biblioteca Nacional Central de Roma: Catálogo* (Madrid, 1956); Tullio Tentori, "I manoscritti di interesse americanistico esistenti nelle biblioteche ed archivi italiani: i manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1953), pp. 263-277; Eulalia Guzmán, *Manuscritos sobre México en archivos de Italia* (Mexico City, 1964), pp. 147-166; cf. my "Research Opportunities," pp. 430-431, and "Clavigero and the Lost Sigüenza y Góngora Manuscripts," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, I (1959), pp. 59-90. As will be indicated, copies of some of the Fondo Gesuitico (BN) manuscripts are preserved in the Bolton Papers.

and administered at Jesuit Headquarters, but likewise all Mexican *Jesuitica* which have accumulated after the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814.⁴

I shall not consider here the historical evolution and formation of these archives, a task already performed in part by others.⁵ Obviously it would not be practical to attempt to point out all the scattered pertinent documents. Inasmuch as the Jesuits who worked in colonial Mexico came from nearly every European country, but especially from the Spanish Provinces and later from those forming part of the Holy Roman Empire, the catalogues of all these Provinces of their origin are key sources of information. What is said about the catalogues of the non-Mexican Provinces is also true of all other sections of material.⁶

The documents to be calendared in the present article were studied for the critical edition of the *Historia* by Alegre,⁷ and all the Mexican *Jesuitica* until the close of 1590 have been printed in the three volumes of *Monumenta Mexicana*;⁸ the Florida documents appeared in *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572)*.⁹ Where apropos, I shall indicate other important textual and cartographical reproductions.

The reader will be interested in knowing that the key materials and inventories mentioned in this article are available (on microfilm) for consultation by scholars in the Knights of Columbus

⁴ See the excellent outline compiled by the former archivist of the Central Jesuit Archives in Rome, Joseph Teschitel, S.J., "Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)," *Archivum* (Paris, 1954), pp. 145-152. The first part of the article lists the key collections constituting the ARSI of the old Society (1538-1814); and the second, that of the restored Order (since 1814).

⁵ No complete history has been written of the ARSI; the early years (1538-1548) have been studied in minute detail by Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Anfänge des Römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu, 1538-1548," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XII (1943), pp. 89-118.

⁶ Many of these sources are indicated in the four volumes of Alegre, *Historia*, and in the four tomes edited by F. Zubillaga (full titles in notes 7-9).

⁷ Francisco J. Alegre, S.J., *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*, nueva edición por Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., y Félix Zubillaga, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome, 1956-1960). Abbreviated: ABZ.

⁸ *Monumenta Mexicana*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, S.J., 3 vols. (Rome, 1956-1968). Abbreviated: MM.

⁹ *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1572*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, S.J. (Rome, 1946); abbreviated: MAF. Before publishing these documents, Zubillaga had used them in his doctoral dissertation, *La Florida: La misión jesuitica (1566-1572) y la colonización española* (Rome, 1941).

Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University. Some of the key Mexican *Jesuitica* — the annual letters and the historical documents — were obtained by Dr. Bolton, who had them photostated, transcribed in considerable part, and some even translated into English; all of this material is now in Part I of the Bolton Papers in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. I shall identify the more significant items in the course of this article.¹⁰

Without further preliminary observations, let us see what key documents are available in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* section of the Central Jesuit Archives for Mexican colonial history.

There is a general inventory for this most important collection: *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Inventarium*. It was compiled during the years 1910 and 1911, and revised in 1935; in the course of subsequent years a few corrections and additions were made. The volume is made up of 153 folios. There is a general table of contents at the beginning of the inventory and a more detailed alphabetical index of proper names at the end. A microfilm copy of this inventory is available at the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library in Saint Louis University.

The arrangement of the inventory reflects the organic arrangement of the archives themselves: the five Assistances of the old Society of Jesus (Italy, Portugal, Spain, France and Germany), subdivided according to Provinces (thus, Mexico comes under Spain); then follow the documents dealing with the general and Provincial Congregations; the materials having to do with the Institute of the Order; complete and partial manuscripts bearing on the History of the Society of Jesus: Jesuit correspondence (*Epistolae Nostrorum*); non-Jesuit correspondence (*Epistolae Externorum*); Biographies and Biographical data (*Vitae*); Jesuit

¹⁰ I shall have occasion to cite the typewritten catalogue, *Key to the Research Materials of Herbert Eugene Bolton*: Part 1, compiled by Vivian C. Fisher (signed September, 1941); abbreviated in the present article as Fisher, *Key*. According to Dr. Bolton, "By actual count, the Collection contains more than 146,000 pages of archival materials" (Fisher, *Key*, p. iii). Bolton consulted the Central Jesuit Archives while they were housed in the Ignatiuskolleg, Valkenburg, Holland; they are now in Rome, at Borgo Santo Spirito 5. The ARSI documents in the Bolton Papers — in the form of photostats, transcripts and English translations — are catalogued under the following numbers: 22, 56, 196, 201, 206, 255, 260, 270, 275, 280, 281, 810, 811, 818; the Fondo Gesuitico (BN) are found under: 47, 48, 327, 335, 342. There do not seem to be any copies of documents from the other Roman Fondo Gesuitico, although Dr. Bolton consulted it during his visit to Rome.

manuscript works (*Opera Nostrorum*); Controversial or Polemical documents (*Polemica*); Miscellaneous manuscripts.

The key block of material on the Mexican Jesuits is found on folio 59, "Provincia Mexicana".¹¹ It is made up of 24 volumes; all are handwritten materials except numbers 9 and 11, and a few scattered printed items to be noted in the course of the article.

The first three volumes are letters of the Jesuit Generals to superiors and subjects of the Mexican Province. They are termed "Registers" and contain the copies of the original letters; today carbon copies would be made. The years covered by the volumes are: 1576-1599, 1600-1637, and 1668-1687.¹² The destruction or sequestration of the missing volumes causes a great loss of most vital historical data; fortunately, some of the original letters are preserved in the Archivo General de la Nación and other centers.

Numbers 4 to 8 inclusive contain the triennial catalogues of the Mexican Province.¹³ As the term indicates, these catalogues were compiled every three years, and sent to Rome on the occasion of the Congregation of Province Delegates (*Congregatio*

¹¹ The Philippines were a mission and Vice-Province dependent on Mexico from 1581 to 1605; even after that date, when they were made a Province, much documentary material on these islands and the Marianas found its way into the section of *Mexicana* in the ARSI because the missionaries who went to the islands regularly passed through Mexico, where they maintained a hospice — here transients could stay while awaiting the Manila Galleon — and a treasurer's office, as also lands to help finance the Philippine Province.

¹² The three volumes of MM publish all *Mexicana* in the ARSI to the end of 1590; I edited some of the letters of this series in *Kino Reports to Headquarters* (Rome, 1954), and *Correspondencia del P. Kino con los Generales de la Compañía de Jesús, 1682-1707* (Mexico City, 1961).

¹³ Their data have been drawn on for the biographical notices in ABZ I-IV, MM I-III, MAF, my two studies, "Jesuitas portuguesas na Nova Espanha," *Brotéria*, LVII (1953), pp. 547-564, and "Pioneer Jesuit Apostles among the Indians of New Spain (1572-1604)," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* XXV (1956), pp. 574-597, and in the volume soon to be published: A. F. Pradeau and E. J. Burrows, S.J., *Sonoran Missions and Missionaries*. The most extensive and detailed biographical data appear in a work still in the course of publication: Francisco Zambrano, S.J., *Diccionario Bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, 8 vols. to date (Mexico City, 1961-1968), The Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library has a microfilm copy of my unpublished alphabetical inventory of the Mexican Jesuits compiled from all of the ARSI Mexican catalogues; a type-

Procuratorum). The data supplied were given on printed forms, which varied slightly through the years; the key headings were: name, place of birth, age, state of health, entrance into the Order (date), religious profession or vows (date), studies made and academic degrees obtained, work done or positions held in the Order.¹⁴ The archives in Rome contain a nearly complete series of these triennial reports; only a few are preserved in Mexico City. All Jesuits are listed according to the place of ministry. The years covered by the Roman catalogues are as follows: number 4 begins in 1571¹⁵ and goes through 1653; number 5 goes from 1659 to 1687 inclusively;¹⁶ number 6, from 1690 through 1723; number 7, from 1726 through 1748; number 8, from 1751 through 1764. Besides the key data indicated above, there were numerous "Supplements" added to the general report: character estimate, financial status of the entire Province and of each house, dates of vows or religious profession, dates of ordinations to major orders (the priesthood included), death notices, and other similar information.

In addition to the triennial catalogues, a briefer report was compiled each year. This gave only the name of the individual Jesuit, the position he held or the work he was doing, and to what house he was attached; in the case of superiors, some lists added the date of their appointment. Nearly all these briefer reports (*catalogi breves*) have been lost; at the end of volume 8 is an incomplete series with many lacunae: the first is that of 1583 and the last of 1755.

written copy of this inventory is available at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society (Tucson, Arizona).

¹⁴ MM I-III publish several of such catalogues.

¹⁵ On the dorso of the volume and in its index the earliest document is given as 1580, but the first catalogue was drawn up in 1571 and published under that date in MM I, pp. 6-9.

¹⁶ ABZ III, pp. 353-358, reproduces the Spanish text of the 1662 catalogue on the Jesuit Indian missions taken from folios 104-107 of this volume. I translated the document into English and published it in *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, 1965), pp. 34-37, and included the accompanying map (Plate IV, facing p. 32) (abbreviated: KC), which H. E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York, 1936 and 1960), p. 606, attributed to Kino. I published the map in two other books: *P. Francisco Maria Piccolo, Informe del estado de la Nueva Cristiandad de California* (Madrid, 1962), at the end of the volume (abbreviated: *Piccolo*); and *La obra cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús, 1567-1967*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1967), II, no. 5.

Volume 9 is a printed item: *Catalogus personarum et officiorum Provinciae Mexicanae Societatis Jesu in Indiis, 1764*.¹⁷ It is arranged in the form of a *Catalogus brevis*, as explained above.

Volume 10 is a manuscript catalogue of the Mexican Province, possibly the original, which was later printed.¹⁸ It records the status of the Mexican Jesuits on June 25, 1767, the day of their arrest with a view to their expulsion. Besides specific data on each member of the Province (name, place of birth, date of birth, date of entrance into the Order, vows or grade in the Society, house to which he was attached), numerous other lists add to this key information: the houses and missions with lists of their respective communities, date of death of each member of the Province, lists of the Jesuit passengers sent into exile, etc. The catalogue was begun by Rafael de Zelis shortly after the expulsion in 1767, and was continued through 1820 by other Mexican Jesuits.

Volume 11 is a printed copy of the preceding item (Mexico City, 1871).¹⁹ Mariano Cuevas, S.J., reprinted the first part of the catalogue in his *Tesoros documentales de México, siglo XVIII* (Mexico City, 1944), pp. 231-293.

Volume 12 is similar to the manuscript catalogue (volume 10), but in the form of a *catalogus brevis* of the exiled Mexican Jesuits with lists of the deceased.

Volume 13 is a fragment of a larger work, namely the history of the exile of the Lower California Jesuits in 1768-1769. The fragment is in Latin, bearing the title *De exilio e California*. It is either part of a Latin original (not known to be extant) or is part of the translation of the original. Both the complete Spanish work in two volumes and the Latin fragment are in the same

¹⁷ Edited anew by N. León, *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVIII*, tercera parte (Mexico City, 1906), pp. 76-118, explaining his motive: "Por ser raro y contener muy interesantes noticias este folleto he creído conveniente reproducirlo aquí". An outline of León's edition of this catalogue was published by R. Valles, *Índice de impresos de la Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVIII del Dr. Don Nicolás León* (Mexico City, 1946), pp. 16-18.

¹⁸ Rafael de Zelis, *Catálogo de los sugetos de la Compañía de Jesús que formaban la Provincia de México el día del arresto, 25 de junio de 1767 . . .* (Mexico City, 1871). Despite the statement on the title page that the catalogue was "terminado el 23 de agosto de 1786", the pertinent information is carried through 1820. The author, one of the exiled Mexican Jesuits, left the Order in Bologna while a seminarist, continued his studies for the priesthood (diocesan), and died in Bologna on June 25, 1798, twenty-one years to the day after his arrest as a student in Tepotzotlán, Mexico.

¹⁹ See the preceding note.

identical handwriting;²⁰ the later manuscript bears the name of the author of both, namely Jaime Matheu, a Jesuit missionary from Lérída, Spain, who was working in the Tarahumara missions in Mexico when the 1767 decree of expulsion reached him.

Volume 14 is a huge tome of 661 folios containing a series of annual reports on each one of the Mexican Jesuit houses, beginning in 1574 and extending through 1622.²¹ The volume has at the beginning a good modern index (typed), listing each letter and indicating the date, author and language (Latin, Spanish,

²⁰ Designated as manuscripts 1411-1412 (3540-3541) of the Fondo Gesuitico (BN) and entitled *Destierro de misioneros de la América Septentrional Española. Por Dn. A. S. olim misionero de Norogachic en la Provincia de la Tarahumara Alta. Divido en dos Partes*. Peter M. Dunne, S.J., in the article, "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain," *Mid-America*, XIX (1937), pp. 3-30, was the first to interpret the initials A.S. of the title as Antonio Sterkianowski, not realizing that such a name in Zelís, *Catálogo*, p. 136, from which he took his information to identify the author was a mis-print for Antonio (Anton) Strzanowski (given correctly on p. 40), nor was he aware that the Latin fragment on the same subject and in the same hand was signed by Jaime Matheu (Mateu, in modern spelling), nor did he know that Mateu had been credited by the contemporary bibliographer, Ramón Diosdado Caballero, S.J., with the authorship of this work, nor did he take into consideration the fact that a non-Spaniard of brief residence in the isolated Indian missions of northern Mexico could never have written Spanish with such propriety, nor did he reflect that the initials had been used to deceive Spanish spies who would have had any Spanish subject severely punished for writing such an anti-Spanish account of the expulsion. The work had been consulted by Father Dunne from the Bolton Papers (item 335: Fisher, *Key*, p. 54) in 390 pages of photographs and 571 of translation; the *Key* correctly assigns the manuscript to the Biblioteca Nazionale of Rome, but Father Dunne in the article placed it in Florence. The manuscript was used most frequently from the Bolton Papers by A. F. Pradeau in his monograph, *La expulsión de los jesuitas de las provincias de Sonora, Ostimuri y Sinaloa en 1767* (Mexico City, 1959). Fish, *Guide*, p. 219, lists the work but makes no attempt to identify its author. Guzmán, *Manuscritos*, pp. 151-158, after attributing the work to Antonio Strzanowski, reproduces the series of chapter titles. Tentori, "I manoscritti", pp. 271-272, lists the two volumes and discusses their authorship in the light of the information I had given him.

²¹ In the Bolton Papers there are complete photostat copies and partial transcripts of all the annual reports from the ARSI, Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library (Chicago), etc. For studies and textual reproductions of the annual reports (*anuas, cartas anuas, annuae litterae, litterae annuae*), see ABZ I-IV, MM I-III, Zambrano, *Diccionario*, II, pp. 533-675, III, pp. 469-473. For early printed condensed versions in Latin and similar series, see L. Polgár, S.J., *Bibliography of the History of the Society of Jesus* (Rome-Saint Louis, 1967), pp. 130-137.

Italian). The title on the dorso and elsewhere is not accurate, *Mexicana, Annuae, 1574-1614*, inasmuch as the letter placed under the year 1600 was written in 1622 or slightly later. These annual accounts were compiled in Mexico City from the more detailed reports sent in from each house and mission; hence it is not surprising that the date of the compilation is regularly one year later than the events recorded in the message. The annual letters are regularly signed by the Provincial in Mexico City, although many others furnished the information. The 34 letters which make up volume 14 cover events in the Mexican Province during the following years: 1574 (two versions), 1577, 1580 (about), 1581, 1582, (Spanish and Italian texts), 1583, 1584, 1585, 1591, 1592, 1594-1595, 1595, 1596 (Spanish and Latin texts), 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600-1601 (two versions), 1602 (about), 1602-1603, 1604 (two versions), 1605, 1606, 1609, 1610 (Latin and Spanish versions), 1611, 1612, 1614, 1622 (or slightly later). Obvious shortcomings of such materials are: (1) the reports were written to "edify" the readers in Europe, hence the pious and marvellous events are emphasized; (2) although the work of the individual Mexican Jesuit is reported in great detail, his name is regularly omitted.²²

Volume 15 is a large tome of 552 folios which continues the series of annual letters begun in the preceding number. At the beginning of the tome there is a typed general index. The last two reports belong to special categories, as will be explained; the other 17 letters cover events in the Mexican Province during the following years: 1615 (Spanish and Latin texts), 1616, 1617, 1618, 1622, 1624, 1625, 1628, 1643-1644, 1646-1647 (Latin and Spanish versions), 1648-1649 (Latin and Spanish texts), 1650-1651, 1653 (two different versions). An exceptionally long report — 350-538 folios — covers the years 1615-1648, summarizing the events of the Mexican Province year by year. The last report in the volume is that of the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla, dealing with the years 1674 through 1680. After this date there are no more *Litterae annuae* preserved in the Central Jesuit Archives in Rome except for a short series to be listed under volume 18.

Volume 16, entitled *Documenta historica*, contains 60 precious historical items, which make up a total of 192 folios. Most of the

²² The annual reports were one of the main sources of Alegre, *Historia*; by means of other sources it was usually possible to identify the anonymous Mexican Jesuits.

documents are letters or brief reports. Because of their exceptional importance, I shall list them here, indicating the sender, the intended recipient, a brief idea of the contents where warranted, the place and date of writing when such is given, the folios taken up, and correcting when necessary the typewritten index found at the beginning of the volume.

The first three documents have to do with the Florida mission, the tragic prelude to the successful Mexican enterprise: a letter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Governor of Florida, to Father Diego de Avellaneda, Andalusian Provincial in Seville (and later Visitor of the Mexican Province), from San Agustín, Florida, October 15, 1565 (ff. 1-3);²³ a letter of Father Antonio Sedeño to Francis Borgia, Jesuit General in Rome, from Havana, November 17, 1568 (ff. 4-6v); a message of Father Juan B. Segura to Borgia, reporting on the unsatisfactory conduct of one of the missionaries, from Santa Elena, Florida, July 5, 1569 (ff. 7-7v).

The next document — preserved only in two Italian copies of the lost original — is the earliest extant account of the voyage of the 15 founding Jesuits to Mexico and their pioneer apostolate: it is a letter of Father Pedro Sánchez, Mexican Provincial, to Borgia, reporting to him in official capacity, from Mexico City, March 8, 1573 (ff. 8-19v).²⁴

Teófilo Ciotti was a pioneer Italian laybrother. The present volume contains two of his letters written from Puebla to Father Fabio de Fabiis, Roman Provincial: the first is dated 1590 (ff. 24-24v) and the second May 30, 1591 (ff. 27-28v).²⁵

Ciotti's two epistles are interrupted by a laudatory Latin account of the death of Father Juan de Montoya, who died in Peru in 1590 (ff. 25-26). The inclusion in a volume of Mexican materials of a document which apparently has nothing to do with the history of New Spain was obviously due to an oversight.

Considerable uncertainty and even rivalry attended the definitive establishment of the two Jesuit schools in Michoacán: Pátzcuaro and Valladolid (modern Morelia). This condition is reflected in the following three items: a joint letter in the name

²³ I published the Spanish text with an English translation and study in "Quadricentennial of the Arrival of the First Jesuits in North America," *Manuscripta*, XI (1967), pp. 45-48. All other Floridian *Jesuitica* were edited by Zubillaga in MAF.

²⁴ See above, note 8.

²⁵ "Fabys" in both text and index.

of the community of the school in Valladolid to the Visitor Avellaneda, from Pátzcuaro, November 19, 1591 (ff. 31-32v); an account of the disagreement of the two *colegios* (two documents, undated: ff. 33-35v); testimony of the benefactor Don Diego Pérez Negrón in favor of Valladolid, dated December 13, 1591 (ff. 36-37v).

The second Provincial Congregation of the Mexican Province was held in 1592; I have listed below its official documents preserved in the ARSI. The present volume contains three other pertinent items: a list of requests and petitions drawn up by the laybrothers of the Province and sent to the Congregation in 1592 (ff. 38-39v); the same Congregation officially requests Father Avellaneda to authorize the founding of the Professed House (*Casa Profesa*) in Mexico City: dated January 24, 1592 (ff. 40-41v); the text of the decision made by this Congregation to the effect that Jesuits are not to accept the position of parish priests in Tepotzotlán or elsewhere in Mexico (ff. 42-45v).

Father Diego de Avellaneda, formerly Provincial of Andalusia in Spain, was appointed in 1590 official representative or delegate of the General with the title of Visitor (*Visitor* in Latin and *Visitador* in Spanish). Numerous letters and other documents came from his pen: a letter to Claudio Acquaviva,²⁶ Jesuit General, discussing the orders he has issued to the Mexican Province, from the estate called Jesús del Monte, near Mexico City, October 9, 1592 (ff. 29-30v); a letter to Philip II, reporting on the opposition of other Orders to the establishment of the Professed House, from Mexico City, March 1, 1592 (ff. 48-48v); an extensive message to Acquaviva, reporting on the apostolate in Mexico and the Philippines, from Mexico City, March 1, 1592 (ff. 49-52v); another letter to Acquaviva, on the founding of the Professed House, from Mexico City, March 2, 1592 (ff. 57-59v); another message to Acquaviva, on the learning of native languages by the Mexican Jesuits, from Mexico City, March 11, 1592 (ff. 60-61v); a letter to Acquaviva, reporting on the Philippines²⁷ and Japan, and enclosing part of a letter of Father Alonso Sánchez, from Mexico City, March 21, 1592 (ff. 62-63v); three lengthly accounts to Acquaviva, reporting in detail on the Mexican Province, from San Juan de Ulúa, near Veracruz, Mexico, June 27, July 2 and 5, 1592 (ff. 84-102v); and finally, a very ex-

²⁶ The index regularly refers to him as "Acquaviva".

²⁷ As mentioned above, note 11, the *Mexicana* in ARSI contain numerous documents on the Jesuits of the Philippines.

tensive and detailed series of regulations for the Mexican Province schools, ordered by Avellaneda and sent from Mexico City in 1592 (ff. 113-130v).

Interspersed with the Avellaneda correspondence is the following material: a decree of Philip II to the Archbishop of Mexico City, from Barcelona, June 1, 1585 (ff. 20-21v); a letter of Father Juan Rogel to Acquaviva, from San Juan de Ulúa, July 10, 1586 (ff. 22-23v); a personal letter of Father Juan B. Caxina (Cajina) to Acquaviva, from Zacatecas, Mexico, March 30, 1592 (ff. 64-65v); the same writer sends in an undated report on the Zacatecas mission (ff. 65a-65bv); five letters of Father Pedro Díaz, Provincial, to Acquaviva: (1) a report on the Province visitation by Avellaneda, from Mexico City, May 12, 1592 (ff. 68-68v); (2) an account of several Province centers, same place and date (ff. 69-70v); (3) an account of his work in Puebla, from Puebla, June 7, 1592 (ff. 77-78v); (4) his opinion on the founding of Indian schools and residences, from Puebla, June 21, 1592 (ff. 82-83v); (5) a letter on the Indian apostolate in Mexico and on the expenses incurred by Visitor Avellaneda, from Mexico City, July 19, 1592 (ff. 105-106v).

The volume preserves three letters of Father Esteban Páez, Provincial, to Acquaviva: (1) a discussion of Province problems, from Mexico City, March 2, 1592 (ff. 53-56v); (2) a similar message, from Puebla, February 21, 1597 (ff. 158-158v); (3) a letter in which he forwards the latest news from Japan and the Philippines, from Veracruz, December 7, 1597 (ff. 162-162v).²⁸

One of the most prolific writers in the Mexican Province was Brother Juan de la Carrera; the present volume contains two of his accounts: (1) a letter to Father Antonio de Mendoza, relating his 1596 trip with Father Jerónimo Ramírez among the Tepehuán Indians, dated 1597 (ff. 152-157v); (2) a report to the Spanish Assistant to the General, Father Bartolomé Pérez, recounting the establishment of residences, schools and missions (1573-1600), from Puebla, March 1, 1600 (ff. 179-187v).

Four important documents came from the pen of Father Martín Peláez, pioneer missionary: (1) a letter to Acquaviva, reporting on the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City, from where he writes on November 7, 1592 (ff. 109-110v); (2) an account of the martyrdom of Father Gonzalo de Tapia, first

²⁸ These documents are reproduced in ABZ II, pp. 489-490. Páez's letter was almost certainly the first message to reach Europe about the crucifixion of the three Jesuits in Nagasaki, Japan, on February 5, 1597.

Jesuit victim in Mexico,²⁹ to Father Antonio de Mendoza, Spanish Assistant in Rome (ff. 137-144v); (3) a similar account is sent to the Visitor Avellaneda (145-150v); (4) an undated memorial in behalf of the Mexico City Colegio de San Ildefonso (ff. 190-191v).

A list of the remaining documents in volume 16 is as follows: a letter of Father Francisco Ramírez to Acquaviva, reporting on Pátzcuaro, from Michoacán,³⁰ April 26, 1592 (ff. 66-67v); a message of Father Diego de Mesa, reporting to Acquaviva on several Province schools and emphasizing the heavy debt incurred by the Colegio de México, from Mexico City, May 15, 1592 (ff. 71-72v); a letter of Father Pedro de Hortigosa (Ortigosa) to Acquaviva, on condition of studies, from Mexico City, May 24, 1592 (ff. 73-74v); a letter of Father Diego de Zúñiga to Acquaviva, on his voyage from Europe, written in Cartagena (in present Colombia), June 5, 1592 (ff. 75-76v); an autograph letter of Father Juan Sánchez, now Province treasurer, to Acquaviva, from Veracruz, June 20, 1592 (ff. 79-81v); a message of Father Francisco de Guzmán to Acquaviva, requesting personal advice, from Mexico City, July 5, 1592 (ff. 103-104v); a letter of Father Gonzalo de Tapia to Acquaviva, reporting on the Sinaloa missions, from the Villa de Sinaloa, August 7, 1592 (ff. 107-108v);³¹ a letter of Father Diego López de Mesa, reporting on the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City, from where he writes, November 12, 1592 (ff. 111-112v); a message of Father Pedro de Morales to Father Fabio de Fabiis, now Visitor in Sicily, replying to a letter from him, from Puebla, April 28, 1596 (ff. 151-151v); a letter of the Spanish King to the President and *Oidores* of Guadalajara, Mexico, insisting on the importance of the Indian apostolate, from San Lorenzo (El Escorial), July 16, 1597 (ff. 159-160v); a personal message of Father Guillermo de los Ríos to Acquaviva, from Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, November 2, 1597 (ff. 161-161v); an unsigned report on the Jesuit apostolate in Guadalajara and vicinity, from 1590 to about 1591 (ff. 172-177v); two lists: (1) of non-Jesuits buried in the Jesuit church (Mexico City), (2) of such as may be interred in the future in the same church (ff.

²⁹ These are studied by W. Eugene Shields, S.J., *Gonzalo de Tapia (1561-1594), Founder of the First Permanent Jesuit Mission in North America* (New York, 1934).

³⁰ Valladolid (modern Morelia, and pre-Hispanic Guayangareo) was often referred to as Michoacán, the name of the entire region and today one of the Mexican states.

³¹ See above, note 29.

178-178v); an undated memorial by Father Juan de Tovar in behalf of the Colegio de San Gregorio for the natives (ff. 188-189v);³² an account of the Sodality of Nuestra Señora de Cumi established in Japan and Mexico (ff. 192-192v); an unsigned series of regulations extracted from letters and replies of the Jesuit General (ff. 163-171v).

Volume 17 is a huge tome of 614 folios containing 143 documents, most of which are of the greatest importance for Jesuit Mexican history. Because of the vast amount of material contained in this volume, mainly letter and reports, I shall group the documents according to authors and topics and indicate what folios they take up. The volume is designated *Documenta et Historia, 1600-1700*, but at least the first document is earlier. There is a typewritten index at the beginning of the tome.

First, I shall list the letters of the Mexican Provincials to the Generals in Rome. There are six letters from Francisco Váez, reporting on activities of the Province: from Mexico City, February 1601 (ff. 4-5v); Puebla, November 7, 1600, and Mexico City, February 17, 1601 (ff. 6-11v); Zacatecas, Mexico, April 3, 1601 (ff. 12-13v); Puebla, Mexico, February 25, 1602 (ff. 22-23v); Mexico City, April 28, 1602 (ff. 29-30v); same place and date (ff. 31-33v).

Father Ildefonso de Castro, Provincial from 1602 to 1608, wrote 11 of the letters preserved in this tome: from Mexico City, November 4, 1602 (ff. 38-41v); same place and date (ff. 42-43v); six other messages written from the same place, November 8, 1602 (ff. 44-55v); same place, November 15, 1602 (ff. 56-56v); same place, December 1, 1602 (62-63v); same place, April 30, 1604 (ff. 64-64v). Unfortunately, the numerous other letters written at this time by the Mexican Provincials to the Jesuit Generals are not preserved in the Central Jesuit Archives. Father Andrés de Rada, Mexican Provincial, wrote an important letter to Pope Innocent X, from Mexico City, May 16, 1649 (ff. 247-249).

Five royal decrees (*reales cédulas*) dealing with the Jesuit apostolate are preserved in this tome: from Valladolid, Spain, November 30, 1601 (ff. 20-21v); two, dated from Madrid, Sep-

³² This autograph document was used in 1957 to identify Tovar as the writer of the manuscript *Historia de la benida de los Yndios a poblar a México*, in the John Carter Brown Library (Providence, R. I.). When G. Kubler and Charles Gibson published the *Tovar Calendar* (New Haven, 1951), they had not been able to secure any authentic handwriting of Tovar.

tember 6, 1654, and addressed to Father Jual del Real, Mexican Provincial, who answers both of them from Mexico City, June 5, 1655 (ff. 272-273v); Madrid, 1676 (ff. 393-394v), to which Father B. Pardo, Provincial, replies (ff. 395-404v); Madrid, September 21, 1680 (ff. 411-411v).

Ten letters of the founder of the Lower California missions, Father Juan María Salvatierra (Giovanni Maria Salvaterra), are preserved in this tome: (1) to H. Cabero, Visitor, from Santa Teresa de Guazaparis, December 10, 1680 (ff. 412-415v); (2) to the Mexican Provincial, Father Bernardo Pardo in Mexico City, from Santa Teresa de Guazaparis, June 16, 1681, autograph (ff. 452-454v); (3) copy of the same (ff. 456-459); (4-7), an Italian translation of four letters written in Lower California in 1697 and printed in Mexico City in 1698 (ff. 580-595); (8-10) an Italian version of three additional letters from the same missions written in 1699 and printed in Mexico City the same year (ff. 596-611).³³

The tome contains seven letters and reports about the Lower California and Mexican mainland missions written by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Inasmuch as I have published all of them and indicate their precise provenance, it would not seem necessary to repeat the information here.³⁴

The following important letters and reports are from non-Jesuit writers: the Mexican Viceroy (Conde de Monterrey) writes to Father Francisco Vázquez, Provincial, from Chapultepec, Mexico City, March 1, 1602 (ff. 24-24v); the Governor of Yucatan, Antonio de Figueroa, writes to Acquaviva, from Mérida, Yucatan, Mexico, June 9, 1612 (ff. 65-66v); Alonso Alfaro writes to Acquaviva offering to found a college, from Mexico City, May 24, 1617 (ff. 126-127v); the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mexico,

³³ On the two imprints see H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest* (Albuquerque, 1937), pp. 303-307 (nos. 69 and 71). The 1698 item was reprinted in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, 20 vols. (Mexico City, 1853-1857), vol. I of series II; of the second items, the first, second and fourth letters were written by Salvatierra and the third by Piccolo. I edited the latter in *Piccolo*, pp. 138 (facsimile of title page) to 143. The three Salvatierra letters were published in vol. 5 of series IV of the *Documentos* just cited; these and many other Salvatierra letters were edited by C. Bayle, S.J., *Misión de la California* (Madrid, 1946). See below, the text corresponding to note 73.

³⁴ See my *Kino Reports*; its *Supplement* reproduces in facsimile 12 pages of Kino documents from the ARSI.

sent in a report on the Jesuit missions among the Tepehuán Indians, from Durango, Mexico, August 10, 1619 (ff. 128-129v); authorizations given by various bishops, the last of which was issued in Mexico City, April 17, 1641 (ff. 232-237v); authorization of the bishop of Durango, Durango, March 14, 1648 (ff. 246-246v); Don Jerónimo Mascareñas reports on death of Philip IV (ff. 309-311v), a series of extracts from several letters from the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mexico, to the Mexican viceroy and Father B. Pardo, Provincial, about the Jesuit apostolate among the rebellious Indians, from Cobadonga, Mexico, June 24, 1681, to March 8, 1683 (ff. 416-416a); a series of various official documents from the Viceroy to the Governor of Sinaloa, about the northern missions and Lower California, from Mexico City, September 7, 1681, with a reply dated January 2, 1683 (ff. 428-529v); an undated royal order relative to the preceding documents (ff. 430-431v); the bishop of Michoacán writes to Father B. Pardo, Provincial, about the work of the Jesuit missionaries, from Apacingan, Mexico, February 8, 1681 (ff. 433-433v); Lope de Sierra Ossorio, President of Guatemala, writes to the Provincial about the Jesuit apostolate there, Guatemala City, February 8, 1681 (ff. 434-434v); the bishop of Guatemala writes to the same Provincial on the same topic as the preceding letter, from Guatemala City, February 16, 1681 (ff. 435-435v); seven letters from the Bishop of Puebla, six of them to Father Pardo, Provincial, and the other to Father José Vidal, about the 1681 mission preached by the Jesuits in Puebla (ff. 455-455v, 460-465v); the next year (1682) the same Bishop writes to Father Vidal, from Puebla, February 8, 1682 (ff. 477-478v);³⁵ three letters to the Bishop of Michoacán on the Jesuit apostolate: Dan Manuel Pérez Arellano, from Petatlán, Mexico, January 2, 1682 (ff. 473-473v); Don Miguel Flores, from Tupán, Mexico, January 6, 1682 (ff. 474-475v); Father Juan Pérez (from Pinsándaro, Michoacán, February 1, 1682 (ff. 476-476v); also a letter of Francisco Sarasa, Fiscal of Guatemala, on the conversion of the Lacandones, April 25, 1685 (ff. 549-552v); and finally a letter of Manuel de Herrera, Bishop of Durango, May 18, 1688 (ff. 557-558v).

Anonymous or group messages and reports are the following: requests sent by the laybrothers to the Provincial Congregation

³⁵ On this mission, the Bishop of Puebla, and Father Vidal, see my edition: *Kino Writes to the Duchess* (Rome-Saint Louis, 1965), pp. 58, 109-121, 132, 140, 237; and *Kino escribe a la Duquesa* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 65, 161, 167-172, 179-180, 198, 210.

of 1612 (ff. 67-68v); a report on the school in Guatemala City, 1611-1613 (ff. 69-71v); an official transcript of the information on the the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries by the Tepehuán Indians in 1616, Mexico City, May 22, 1624 (ff. 132-189v);³⁶ a series of documents relative to papal and royal privileges of Jesuit schools, November 5, 1624 (ff. 205-222v); two Italian copies of the 1624 contention between the Viceroy and Archbishop of Mexico City (ff. 223-226v); documents, dated 1644, regarding the Jesuit school in Guatemala City (ff. 238-243v); official testimony regarding the martyrdom of Fathers Cornelio Godínez and Santiago Antonio Basilio, dated from Durango, Mexico, May 20, 1655 (ff. 250-271v); a report on extraordinary events which occurred during popular missions, beginning in 1655 and closing with October of 1663 (ff. 290-297v); official documents regarding the founding of the Mexico City novitiate of San Andrés, 1672 (ff. 317-324v); an account of popular missions in Mexico City in 1672 (ff. 327-330v); a report on the Jesuit missions among the Sinaloa Indians (ff. 338-343v); an account of missions preached in the Mexico City jails during May of 1676 (ff. 347-354v); an account of the popular missions preached in Puebla from June 29th to October of 1681 (ff. 438-451v); a copy of the opinion of the *Real Acuerdo* in regard to the missions in the Durango bishopric, Mexico City, July 9, 1683 (ff. 511-511v); a reply of the same tribunal to the Viceroy on the same subject, April 27, 1684 (ff. 528-528v); an account of the mission preached by Fathers Juan Pérez and Juan B. Zappa from 1685 to 1687 (ff. 529-542v); an account of another mission preached by Fathers Zappa and Antonio Ramírez from 1687 to 1688 (ff. 543-548v); a report of the mission preached to the Indians in the Colegio de San Gregorio, in Mexico City, 1689 (ff. 567-577v); an undated and unsigned plan submitted to the Mexican Viceroy (ff. 612-613v).³⁷

The following important documents are reports on Indian missions: an account of Sinaloa by Father Diego de Guzmán to Father Salvador Osorio, Spanish Assistant to the General, from the Villa de Sinaloa, September 29, 1615 (ff. 72-75v); Father

³⁶ Cf. ABZ II, especially pp. 270-278, for account and abundant bibliography.

³⁷ This document is not listed in the typed index. To judge from the script and spelling (*scrupulo* for *escrúpulo*, and *spual* (*es*) for *espiritual* (*es*), the manuscript was written about 1600. It is a vague plan submitted to the Viceroy to get authorization from the King and the Pope to help out the country — Mexico, presumably — temporally and spiritually.

Francisco Lignano writes in Italian on the missionaries slain by the Tepehuanes, from Mexico City, February 12, 1617 (ff. 80-85v); Nicolás de Arnaya, Provincial, sends in a far more complete account of the same topic, from Mexico City, May 18, 1617 (ff. 86-125v); a letter from Father Angelo Balestra to Father Fabricio Banfo, Rector of the Jesuit school in Cremona, Italy, on the Sinaloa missions, from Río Mayo, Sinaloa, August 22, 1619 (ff. 130-131v); Father Alonso Bonifacio, Provincial, forwards a copy of the list of Jesuit missionaries to Father Goswin Nickel, from Mexico City, August 1, 1658 (ff. 274-281v); Father Jerónimo de Figueroa sends in a highly condensed report on the missions among the Tarahumares and Tepehuanes from 1652 to 1662, from San Pablo de Tarahumares, June 8, 1662 (ff. 286-289v); two documents by the same Figueroa suggesting the extension of the Tarahumara mission and the establishment of four mission schools (ff. 331-332v); a letter of Father José de Tardá to Father Jerónimo de Figueroa on new missions, from San Joaquín, Mexico, February 24, 1674 (ff. 344-344v); extracts from letters of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, on the missions in the Mariana Islands (ff. 345-346v); a joint letter written in 1676 by Fathers José de Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara on the Tarahumares (ff. 355-392v); a joint report of Fathers Juan Fernández, Juan A. Ortiz Zapata and Gaspar Tomás on the Salinero and Tepoque Indians, November 7, 1678 (ff. 405-406v); Father Francisco A. Ortiz reports on the missions preached in Nueva Galicia from 1678 to 1683 (ff. 407-408v); an account of the missions preached to the Ures and Seris, written by Father Juan Fernández to Father Tomás Altamirano, Provincial, from Ures, October 7, 1679 (ff. 409-409v); a report on the missions preached by Fathers Francisco Palavicino and Juan Pérez in Michoacán, from Valladolid (Morelia), April 17, 1681 (ff. 418-427v); two accounts of a mission to San Luis Potosí, written by Father Juan Pérez to Father B. Pardo, Provincial, from San Luis Potosí, January 4, 1681 (ff. 432-432v), and February 16, 1681 (ff. 436-436v); Father Juan de Robles informs Father B. Pardo, Provincial, about his lenten missions, from Querétaro, April 12, 1681 (ff. 437-437v); Father Tomás de Guadalajara reports to the same Provincial on the Tarahumara missions, from San José del Parral, December 4, 1681 (in duplicate: ff. 466-467v); Father Jarier Palavicino informs some prelate about the missions he has been preaching, from Teipa, December 23, 1681 (ff. 470-471v); Father Juan Pérez reports

to the Bishop on the missions given along the coast, from Teipa, December 30, 1681 (f. 472); a letter from Father Juan Ratkay to his Austrian Province about the Tarahumara missions, March 20, 1683 (ff. 494-505v);³⁸ Father Juan Anzieta writes to Father B. Pardo, Provincial, about the Sinaloa and Tarahumara missions, Sinaloa, March 20, 1683 (ff. 506-507v); official notice of the mission preached in Colima by Fathers Manuel de Alcalá and Francisco de Almanza, sent to the Bishop of Michoacán, dated April 7, 1683 (ff. 508-509v); Father Juan B. Zappa sends an account to Father Bernabé de Soto, Provincial, about the missions which he and Father Juan Pérez preached from 1685 to 1686 (ff. 553-554v), and also a report of an analogous series from 1688 to 1689, Mexico City, June 30, 1689 (ff. 564-566v); Father Antonio Roxas (Rojas) writes to Father Bernardo de Soto, Provincial, about Father Adam Gilg's entrance into the missions of the Seris and Kino's arriving among the Pimas, from Ures, March 31, 1688 (ff. 559-559v);³⁹ Father José Pallares informs Father B. Soto, Provincial, about his mission among the Batopilas, from Batopilas, April 24, 1689 (ff. 560-561v); Father Juan B. Barli writes to Father Antonio Palavicino, from Guadalajara, January 24, 1693 (the letter as well as the biographical data added to it are in Italian: ff. 578-579v).⁴⁰

The remaining important documents in this tome, not listed thus far, are as follows: Father Alonso Ruiz, Rector, writes a very brief account of the Colegio de Veracruz, Mexico (ff. 1-1v); Father Gregorio López sends an account of the novitiate and third probation in Puebla (ff. 2-3v); Father Pedro Morales writes to General Acquaviva about novices and third probation, from Mexico City, April 30, 1601 (ff. 14-15v); a letter from Father Francisco Ramírez about the new school in Valladolid (Morelia, from this city, May 4, 1601 (ff. 16-17v); a letter from Father Pedro Díaz to Acquaviva about the Colegio Máximo in

³⁸ Ratkay's map drawn by him to illustrate this report was published twice by me: in *Piccolo* and *La obra cartográfica*. A copy of his report constitutes item 275 of the Bolton Papers (see Fisher, *Key*, p. 46).

³⁹ Gilg's map has been published thrice: twice by me, ABZ IV, pp. 144-145, *La obra cartográfica*, II, no. 17; and by Charles C. Di Peso and Daniel S. Matson, "The Seri Indians as Described by Adamo Gilg, S.J.," *Arizona and the West*, VII (1965), pp. 33-56 (the map is between pp. 40-41).

⁴⁰ For numerous references to Barli see my edition of *Eusebio F. Kino, S.J., Vida del P. Francisco J. Saeta, S.J.: Sangre misionera en Sonora* (Mexico City, 1961), p. 200 (Indice). Abbreviated: *Saeta*.

Mexico City, from this city, May 17, 1601 (ff. 18-19v) ; a personal message of Juan de la Plaza to Acquaviva, from Mexico City, April 16, 1602 (ff. 25-26v) ; a letter from Father Diego López de Mesa to Acquaviva, from Mexico City, April 27, 1602 (ff. 27-28v) ; a message from Father Pedro de Secobia about Veracruz, from this city, May 15, 1602 (ff. 34-35v) ; Father Martín Peláez writes to Acquaviva about two members of his community, from Mexico City, November 4, 1602 (ff. 36-37v) ; two personal letters of Father Pedro de Lazcano to Acquaviva, from Mexico City, November 24, 1602 (ff. 57-59v) ; Father Nicolás de Arnaya sends in a Memorial on the importance of the school for Indians in Tepotzotlán, 1616 (ff. 76-77v) ; a letter of Father Juan Ferro to the Fathers Assistant to the General insisting on the importance of learning the native languages, from Pátzcuaro, May 20, 1616 (ff. 78-79v) ; a report of Father Gaspar Varela to Father Agustin Monzón, Spanish Assistant to the General, about conditions in the Province of Sinaloa, from the city of Sinaloa, April 30, 1622 (ff. 190-204v) ; an account by Father Pedro de Velasco of the death and virtues of Father Diego de Torres, Tepotzotlán, December 23, 1633 (ff. 227-228v) ; a letter of Father Juan del Real to Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas, Provincial, from Pátzcuaro, January 10, 1639 (ff. 229-231v) ; a report by Father Alonso de Rojas to Father Baltasar de Lagunilla, Procurator General, concerning Palafox, from Mexico City, May 21, 1647 (ff. 244-245v) ; an account of a religious commemoration, written by Father Hernando Cabero, Visitor, Mexico City, March 19, 1662 (ff. 282-285v) ; a letter from the same to Father José Vidal, from Mexico City, August 15, 1663 (ff. 298-298v) ; confidential instructions sent by the same to Father Vigilio Maes, Visitor of the Tarahumara missions, from Mexico City, November 10, 1664 (ff. 301-303) ; another account by the same about a religious commemoration in Mexico City in 1664 (ff. 305-308v) ; a letter of Father Francisco de Florencia to Gianpaolo Oliva, General, from Rome, February 23, 1671 (ff. 313-314v) ; a letter of Father José Vidal to General Oliva, from Mexico City, April 12, 1671 (ff. 315-316v) ; a letter from Father Francisco Diserino to Father Bartolomé de Cuéllar, from Tepahui, Mexico, June 21, 1672 (ff. 325-326v) ; Father Jerónimo de Figueroa sends an account of the death of Father Pedro de Valencia, from Mexico City, October 1, 1673 (ff. 333-337v) ; a letter of Father B. Pardo, Provincial, to Father Juan Ortiz, from Mexico City, September

21, 1680 (ff. 410-410v) ; a letter of Father Bernardo Rolandegui⁴¹ to Father B. Pardo, reporting on new missions among the Tarahumares, from Mexico City, February 14, 1682 (ff. 479-482v) ; Father Manuel Rodríguez proposes the creation of a new Assistancy for the overseas provinces, dated from Madrid, May 6, 1682 (ff. 483-483v) ; Father Jerónimo presents a series of reasons why the Jesuits should not submit to the Patronato Real in the missions among the pagan Indians, June 29, 1682 (ff. 484-485v) ; an official request of Father Pedro Echagoyan submitted to the XII General Congregation for a new Assistancy in the overseas provinces dated from Rome, July 7, 1682 (ff. 486-487v) ;⁴² a document on the preceding topic signed by Fathers B. Rolandegui, Francisco Borges, and Andrés Serrano (ff. 488-489v) ;⁴³ Father Jerónimo de Figueroa submits to the General Congregation the solution of two problems (the treasurer's office in San Gregorio and the learning of Indian languages), document dated from Mexico City, September 1, 1682 (ff. 490-491v) ; a letter of the missionary Luis Mancuso to the Father Visitor, written from the mission of San Ignacio, but undated (ff. 614-614v).⁴⁴

Volume 18, entitled *Documenta Historica, 1701 - 1773, 1803*, contains 311 folios of most important documents — 45 in number — on the history of Mexico and the present south-western United States. At the beginning of the tome is a type-written index of the contents.⁴⁵

The volume opens with two letters of Kino to Father Tirso González, General ; after several other documents on the northern missions, a part of his Diary follows (ff. 1-4v, 12-17v). Inasmuch as I have published elsewhere these three documents, I refer the reader to that edition.⁴⁶

⁴¹ The typed index reads "Bolandegui".

⁴² Despite the efforts of the overseas Provinces, no new Jesuit Assistancy was created for them in colonial times.

⁴³ Rolandegui was one of the two delegates chosen by the nineteenth Mexican Provincial Congregation to attend to official business in Madrid and Rome. Borges (also called Burges in the documents) represented the Paraguay Province ; Serrano, that of the Philippines. Consult ABZ IV, p. 519 n. 1, and H. de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p. 617.

⁴⁴ This last document in the volume is not listed in the typed index.

⁴⁵ The typed index lists the documents in the same order as the bound volume, which is not always a chronological one.

⁴⁶ See above, note 12.

The Kino manuscripts are followed by numerous other documents on the missions: a letter of Father Juan de Mendoza to González, from Querétaro, April 25, 1702, (ff. 5-5v); Father Pedro de Sandoval asks González for permission to return to the Pimería missions, Puebla, May 20, 1702 (ff. 6-6v); a letter of Father Francisco María Piccolo to González, reporting on the Lower California missions, from Mexico City, May 17, 1702 (copy and original: ff. 7-9v);⁴⁷ a letter of Father Domingo Quiroga to the new Jesuit General, Michelangelo Tamburini, writing about the missions of Lower California and the Pimería, from Madrid, October 16, 1711 (ff. 10-10v).

The next document interrupts the series of mission reports. It is a message of Father Santiago de Zamora to the next Jesuit General, Francis Retz, discussing the establishment of sodalities, from Mexico City, May 7, 1736 (ff. 11-11v).

The mission documents are resumed by Father Juan María Salvatierra's autograph letter to Father Alejandro Romano, Rector of Tepotzotlán, from Lower California (Loreto), October 11, 1711 (ff. 18-19v).

The next long series of documents concerning the northern Mexican missions are reports sent in by their respective missionaries and covering the years 1716-1720 (ff. 20-24; 29-50). For detailed information on each and the texts themselves, I refer the reader to ABZ III, pp. 491-518, where the documents — 24 in number — are reproduced in full.

The reports just explained are interrupted by a document extraneous to the series: The Mexican Viceroy (who is also Archbishop of Mexico City) issues an order regulating the military jurisdiction in Lower California (ff. 25-28).

There follows a series of mission documents: a 1728 report on Sinaloa (ff. 51-52v); an Italian letter of Father Segismundo Taraval to Father Alessandro Laguna, giving an account of part of Lower California, from California, July 25, 1733 (ff. 53-61); the same writer reports to Father José Barba, Provincial, on the martyrdom of Fathers José Carranco and Nicolás Tamaral in Lower California, dated from Mission Dolores, California, October 18, 1732 (ff. 62-63v);⁴⁸ an unsigned Latin report sent to

⁴⁷ I edited this document in *Piccolo*, pp. 100-104.

⁴⁸ The biographies and martyrdom of these two Lower California missionaries were written by Father Juan Antonio Baltasar, S. J., and published by him as a part of the life of Piccolo (Mexico City, 1953), a work I re-edited in its entirety in *Piccolo*, pp. 346-438; the data on Carranco and

Jesuits of the Andalusian Province (Spain), giving an account of the martyrdom of Carranco and Tamaral (see preceding document), from Mexico City, April 25, 1736 (ff. 64-71).

Two very lengthy manuscripts deal with the 1740 uprising of the Indians of northern Mexico during the governorship of Manuel Bernal de Huidobro: (1) the causes of the rebellion (ff. 72-90v), and (2) a study of the revolt, written by Father Mateo Ansaldo, Rector of the main Jesuit college in Mexico City, dated December 5, 1743 (ff. 91-104v).⁴⁹

The Lower California Jesuits were accused of trading with the enemy. They were specifically charged with dealing with the crew of a Dutch ship when the sailors came ashore in January of 1747. The present document is a refutation of this calumny; it is dated February, 1747 (ff. 105-110).

The next document has only a very tenuous link with Mexican history. It is a letter of Father Andrés J. García, Mexican Provincial, to Father Luis de Sequeira, Provincial of China, in reply to one of his recent messages, from Mexico City, March 20, 1750 (f. 111); the next three documents have to do with the granting of spiritual jurisdiction (ff. 112-115v). Later in this same volume there is another document of this same nature (ff. 215-216a).⁵⁰

The following two documents deal with the 1750-1751 rebellion of the Pimas: (1) a recital of the causes of the uprising, sent to the *Audiencia* in Mexico City, 1753 (ff. 116-171v); (2) a letter of Father Carlos Roxas (Rojas) to the Governor, blaming his predecessor, Diego Ortiz Parrilla, for the revolt, and exculpating the Jesuit missionaries accused by the latter, dated 1754 (ff. 172-178v).⁵¹

The next document is a report in Latin on all the centers of the Mexican Provinces covering the years 1757 to 1763 (ff. 179-214).⁵² This is succeeded by a long Italian life of Father Pedro Borrote, missionary with headquarters at the Colegio de Guana-

Tamaral are found on pp. 426-438. Consult also Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1952), pp. 257-267.

⁴⁹ On this rebellion and the corresponding bibliography, see ABZ IV, pp. 389-394.

⁵⁰ Made up of printed forms with the pertinent data added in ink.

⁵¹ Consult ABZ IV, pp. 429-432; R. C. Ewing, "Investigation into the Causes of the Pima Uprising of 1751," *Mid-America*, XXIII (1941), pp. 138-151.

⁵² I edited a similar report under the title, *Misiones Norteñas Mexicanas de la Compañía de Jesús, 1751-1757* (Mexico City, 1963).

juato, written by the Rector of the school, Father Ignacio Coromina, dated June 7, 1762 (ff. 219-254).⁵³

The remaining documents were written by the Mexican Jesuits exiled in Europe since 1767. The Provincial José de Utrera gives an account of the life and death of Father Agustín Antonio Márquez (ff. 256-276v);⁵⁴ a brief Latin account (incomplete) of the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla (ff. 277-279v); Father José Bellido sends to his fellow Jesuits the account of the life and death of three members of the Mexican Province: (1) Father Dionisio Pérez; (2) Father Ignacio Fano, and (3) Brother José de Barragán, all written in 1773 (ff. 280-305).

The volume closes with three items on devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, dated 1803 (ff. 306-311).

Number 19, a cardboard box entitled *Mexicana historia, 1571-1654, 1763*, contains ten manuscripts on Mexican Jesuit history. The documents, although constituting completely separate items, are stamped folio-wise from 1 through 370. The documents have a typewritten index.

The first manuscript, foliated 1-72v, is entitled *Historia de las cosas más dignas de memoria que han acontecido en la fundación, principios y progressos de la Compañía de Jesús en esta Provincia y Reynos de Nueva España*. After the manuscript reached Rome, an index (f. 1) was drawn up; this is an Italian translation of the 30 chapter headings. The manuscript carries no name of the author, but the text is in the unmistakable hand of Father Gaspar de Villerías, official historian of the Mexican Province. It is a good account of the Florida mission and the pioneer years of the Mexican Province; it was written about 1604.⁵⁵

The second manuscript is entitled *Relación breve del principio y progreso de la Provincia de la Nueva España de la Compañía de Jesús*. It was written by one of the founding Jesuits of the Mexican Province, Father Juan Sánchez Baquero. It recounts the history of the Province from 1571 to 1580. Originally paginated 1 through 80, it was later stamped folio-wise 73-112v. The manu-

⁵³ See my monograph, *La obra cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana*, I, pp. 81-83; the biography of Borrote, never published, was most likely written originally in Spanish, the native language of the author.

⁵⁴ Sent out by Utrera to the members of the Mexican Province in exile but not written by him; almost certainly it came from the pen of Francisco J. Alegre, S.J.

⁵⁵ I have prepared the manuscript for publication. Villerías was also the author of *Relación breve de la venida de los de la Compañía de Jesús a la Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1945). The editor, Francisco González Cossío, unaware of its true authorship, published it as a "manuscrito anónimo".

present volume were studied in the editing of ABZ III. Many of the items of this volume are repeated in the 15 printed volumes of the writings of Palafox (Madrid, 1762) and in other manuscript collections and archives, e.g., volumes 13-16 and 20 of *Polemica* in ARSI, and in the Fondo Gesuitico.

Volume 21 lists in alphabetical order the Mexican Jesuits exiled in 1769; volume 22 does the same for 1771; volume 23 lists them according to age in 1769; volume 24 lists them in the same way for 1771.

Many of the most important documents in ARSI for the history of Mexico are those preserved in the collection termed *Congregationes generales et provinciales*, consisting of 100 volumes. Their titles are listed on folios 105-107 of the typed *Inventarium*. All of the documents pertaining to the Mexican Province have been studied in the four volumes of ABZ and many of the texts reproduced there; those of 1577 and 1585 (the First and the Second Congregations) are edited in full in *Monumenta Mexicana* I and II.

Besides the archival material in the strict sense of the term preserved in the ARSI, there is also a collection of complete works in manuscript form termed *Opera Nostrorum* (*Jesuit Writings*). These 335 manuscripts are listed in the general inventory (*Inventarium*) in folios 132-142, and in the more detailed and specialized inventory (*Descriptio Codicum Sectionis "Opera Nostrorum"*), made up of 98 folios.

Four volumes of this collection are pertinent to our theme: numbers 154, 342, 351 and 352.

Volume 154 is Father Manuel-Mariano Iturriaga's manuscript treatise *De scientia media*.⁵⁹ Father Giovanni Francesco, Rector of Fano, Italy, where Iturriaga died in exile on August 31, 1819,⁶⁰ gave the work to Father John Roothaan, General of the Order.

Number 342⁶¹ is an unbound bundle of linguistic material com-

⁵⁹ The general inventory lists this work on f. 136; and the particularized, on f. 25.

⁶⁰ The particularized inventory says that he died on "21. 8. 1819;" I have followed Zelis, *Catálogo*, p. 184. This Manuel Mariano Iturriaga is not to be confused with another Mexican Jesuit of almost the same name, José Mariano Iturriaga (1717-1787), author of the unpublished epic poem *Californiada*. On Manuel Mariano Iturriaga see José Mariano Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional*, 1st. ed., vol. II (Mexico City, 1819), pp. 125-129, 2nd ed., vol. II (Amecameca, 1883), pp. 110-114, 3rd ed., vol. III (Mexico City, 1947), pp. 61-65, no. 1565.

⁶¹ The general inventory lists this work on f. 141; the particularized, on f. 65.

piled by Lorenzo de Hervás y Panduro.⁶² Four of the grammatical treatises are pertinent to Mexico: Maya (which he also calls Yucatan),⁶³ Guaicura (Lower California), Mexican (Náhuatl), and Otomí (termed by him "Otomita"). Much of this material found its way in condensed form into two of his publications: *Catalogo delle lingue conosciute . . .* (Cesena, Italy, 1785), and *Saggio pratico delle lingue . . .* (Cesena, 1787). Analogous material is found in the manuscript section of the Vatican Library. The Náhuatl grammar is taken over from that by Clavigero.⁶⁴

Volume 351 is a small codex bound in leather, bearing the title *Evangelia in lingua Maya*.⁶⁵ The special catalogue, f. 66, attributes the volume to Lorenzo de Hervás y Panduro, who may at one time have had it in his possession but had nothing to do with its composition or transcription. The title is misleading inasmuch as the volume does not contain all the gospels but only those read out on Sundays and major feast days.

Volume 352 is a contemporaneous copy of the earliest form of written Mariana or Chamorro.⁶⁶ It is a work by Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, *De lingua Mariana: Institutiones grammaticales*. I wrote an introduction to the work for vol. 14 of the *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos* (Posieux, Switzerland, 1954), and published the linguistic and catechetical material in my study "Sanvitores' Grammar and Catechism in the Mariana (or Chamorro) Language (1668)," *Anthropos*, XLIX (1954), pp. 934-960.

The cartographical material is preserved with the manuscripts entitled *Historia Societatis*, a collection containing over 200 items. I have studied and published all of the Mexican maps. The reader is referred to the following of my publications: ABZ I-IV, *Saeta, Piccolo*, KC, *La obra cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana*, I and II (full titles in notes 7, 40 and 16, respectively).

Sixteen rare imprints are preserved in a cardboard-covered

⁶² On this great pioneer of comparative linguistics, see M. Batllori, S.J., "El archivo lingüístico de Hervás en Roma y su reflejo en Wilhelm von Humboldt," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XX (1951), pp. 59-116.

⁶³ The detailed inventory lists Maya and Yucatan as two distinct languages.

⁶⁴ On Francisco Clavigero's *Reglas de la Lengua Mexicana* (Cart. XII N. 10 of the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna) and its relation to Hervás y Panduro's summary, see my article, "Hispanic Americana in the Manuscripts of Bologna, Italy," *Manuscripta*, III (1959), p. 140.

⁶⁵ The general inventory lists the manuscript on f. 141.

⁶⁶ Like the preceding item, listed on f. 141 of the general inventory and on f. 66 of the special catalogue.

bundle entitled *I Impressa, México: 1638-1795*.⁶⁷ The first item is: *Informes cerca de las Misiones que tiene la Provincia de la Religión de la Compañía de Iesús de México en el Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya, por el Obispo, y Teniente de Governador de aquel distrito*. This short imprint — two large folios — was reproduced in facsimile in ABZ II, between pp. 592-593.⁶⁸ The next five items deal with the Palafox controversy; all were studied and some partially reproduced in ABZ III. The next two items are both 1702 printings of Piccolo's famous *Informe del Estado de la Nueva Christiandad de California que pidió la Real Audiencia de Guadalajara*.⁶⁹ The ninth item is an imprint in Spanish: *Relación del Célebre Jubileo de las Misiones y Doctrinas, Publicado y administrado por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, este año de mil seiscientos y siete en la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles (Puebla, 1668)*.⁷⁰ The next item is a booklet of sixteen numbered pages entitled *Brevis Relatio Missionum Societatis Jesu in America Septemtrionali in quibus tum excolendis tum extendendis insudat Provincia Mexicana ejusdem Societatis et exhibitio status . . . hoc . . . anno 1691 . . .*⁷¹ The eleventh item is a summary in Latin of the sums of money given by the Spanish Government for the voyages and living expenses of the Jesuit missionaries: *Epitome Rei Numariae quam Catholicici Hispaniarum Reges dicatam habent in viros Religiosos e Societate Iesu transportandos in Indiam ibique alendos*.⁷² The next imprint is the only known extant *Copia de Cartas de Californias escritas por el P. Juan María de Salvatierra y Francisco María Pícolo, su fecha de 9 de Julio deste año de 1699*.⁷³ The thirteenth item is entitled *Carta de*

⁶⁷ The sixteen items have been numbered in sequence for reference and identification: 1 to 3, then 3^a, and 4 to 15 inclusively.

⁶⁸ This item seems to have escaped the notice of all bibliographers: Wagner, Medina, González de Cossío, etc.

⁶⁹ See my critical edition of Piccolo's *Informe* in *Piccolo*, pp. 45-76 (facsimiles of four pages of the two editions, on pp. 30-33); and the edition and translation by George P. Hammond, *Informe on the New Province of California, 1702* (Los Angeles, 1967).

⁷⁰ This imprint is listed by J. T. Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles, 1640-1821* (Santiago de Chile, 1908; reprinted: Amsterdam, 1964).

⁷¹ A. Astráin, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. VI (Madrid, 1920), p. 490 n. 1, cites the Spanish version of this rare imprint.

⁷² Reprinted in Astráin, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 849-857, who attributes it to Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, S.J., and says that the booklet was printed in 1687.

⁷³ See above, note 33.

el P. Juan Antonio de Oviedo de la Compañía de Jesús, Rector del Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo en México en que da noticia a todos los Superiores de esta Provincia de Nueva España de las religiosas virtudes y dichosa muerte de el P. Pedro Spetiali de la misma Compañía.⁷⁴ The fourteenth item, without title, dated 1754, consists of 21 numbered folios, and is a memorial addressed to the Spanish King regarding authorization of foreign Jesuits to go to the overseas missions. The next item, likewise without title, is another memorial addressed to the Spanish King, this time by Father Gaspar Rodero, S.J., treasurer general of the Order's overseas missions, in behalf of the Lower California enterprise. I have edited the entire imprint and reproduced the last page in facsimile in my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 278-303.⁷⁵ The concluding item is a life of the Jesuit priest Pedro Malo by Juan Luis Maneiro, S.J.: Joannes Aloisius Maneirus, *De Vita Petri Mali, Sacerdotis Mexicani* (Bologna, 1795.)⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Neither the date nor the place of printing is indicated; but, inasmuch as Spetiali died on the *Hacienda de Santa Lucía* (near Mexico City) on December 2, 1726, the item was most likely printed in the Capital during year 1727.

⁷⁵ See Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-365 (with the facsimile of the first page). Neither the date nor the place of printing is given; inasmuch as Rodero had his headquarters in Madrid and speaks of "el año pasado de 1736", the imprint must have been composed about 1737 and quite likely appeared in Madrid that year or the next.

⁷⁶ Maneiro is the author of 35 other biographies of Jesuits of the Mexican Province, *De Vitis aliquot Mexicanorum*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1791-1792), and of the Mexican savant, Antonio López Portillo, *De Vita Antonii Lopezii Portilli* (Bologna, 1791). The original manuscript of these 36 biographies is preserved in a codex designated A 1015 in the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio (Bologna), which I study in my article, "Hispanic Americana", p. 137 (full title above, note 64). See also the edition of Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *9 poemas inéditos del P. Juan Luis Maneiro, 1744-1802* (Mexico City, 1942).