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BOOKS IN NEW MEXICO, 1598-1680

By ELEANOR B. ADAMS
and FRANCE V. SCHOLES

DURING the past few years interest in the intellectual history of the Spanish colonies has grown rapidly. One manifestation of this interest is the increasing number of studies on the book trade and the importation and distribution of books, especially in the major colonies and centers of population such as Mexico and Peru. These have already refuted the conventional notion that the scientific, philosophical and literary works current in Spain and Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were seldom available in or even permitted to enter the colonies.¹ But it is equally important, perhaps even more important, to know what books reached the outlying areas which did not enjoy the same facilities for formal academic training as were to be found in the richer and more populous districts. On the frontier the dissemination of ideas and the degree of intellectual enlightenment necessarily depended in great measure upon the kind of books imported and circulated and their influence upon the people who owned them, and through them, upon others. The unlettered, of course, formed the major part of the population. Those who owned books in large or small

1. F. Rodríguez Marín *El "Quijote" y Don Quijote en América* (Madrid, 1911); [F. Fernández del Castillo, ed.], *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (México, 1914); [E. O'Gorman, ed.], "Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales, 1585-1694," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, X (1939), 661-1006; I. A. Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies with some Registros of Shipments of Books to the Spanish Colonies* (Berkeley, 1933); ———, "A Shipment of 'Comedias' to the Indies," *Hispanic Review*, II (1934), 39-50; ———, "Notes on Lope de Vega's Works in the Spanish Indies," *Hispanic Review*, VI (1938), 277-293; ———, "Don Quijote and the Book Trade in Lima, 1606," *Hispanic Review*, VIII (1940), 285-304; ———, "Los libros en el inventario de bienes de don Pedro de Peralta de Barnuevo," *Boletín Bibliográfico . . . de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima*, Año XIV (1941), 1-7; ———, "Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII (1942), 5-33; O. H. Green and I. A. Leonard, "On the Mexican Booktrade in 1600: A Chapter in Cultural History," *Hispanic Review*, IX (1941), 1-40; J. Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Buenos Aires, 1940).

numbers were few, but what books there were reached the people in some form, by loan to those who could read, or, more indirectly, by the conversation and discussions of those who had read them, colored inevitably by their personal reactions and interpretations.

This was the case in New Mexico in the seventeenth century. As the northernmost outpost of Spain in North America, it was an isolated frontier colony cut off from the rest of New Spain by vast stretches of territory inhabited by hostile Indian tribes. Since it possessed but few easily exploitable resources, its economic importance was small and it attracted relatively few colonists. Not many of those who came had enjoyed much, if any, academic training. A certain number of mission schools were founded within the province, especially during the first three or four decades after the establishment of the colony, for the purpose of teaching the elements of Christian doctrine and rudiments of reading and writing. No formal education beyond this existed.

Information concerning books that were brought to New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 consists of scattered incidental references in various contemporary sources, citations of works which are found in documents dealing with the never-ending Church-State controversy, and a few lists of volumes in the possession of certain provincial governors. Additional data may have been recorded in private papers and in the local Franciscan archives as part of inventories of church and convent furnishings, but these records, along with the provincial governmental archive, were destroyed in 1680. As might be expected, most of the books were in the possession of the Franciscan friars and the provincial governors. Undoubtedly the colonists owned more books than are noted in the contemporary sources that have been preserved, but the number was not large in any case.

In the appendix we have compiled a list of references to books, usually in the form or phraseology employed in the

documents. Most of the references and citations give incomplete or inexact data concerning author, title, or both. In such cases identification of author and title has been made, in so far as this was possible on the basis of the bibliographic facilities at our disposal. Numbers used in the text in connection with authors or titles refer to items listed by the same number in the appendix.

The Franciscan friars constituted the most learned group in the province. A considerable number had been educated in Spain, where they had entered the Order before going out to the New World. Most of the others had been trained in the colleges and seminaries of Mexico City, Puebla, or other educational centers of New Spain. Several had achieved some prominence in the Order before entering the New Mexico mission field; others were rewarded by promotion or preferment after their years of service in the province. Fray Tomás Manso, who served for years as director of the mission supply caravans, was elevated to the see of Nicaragua, and according to tradition Fray Alonso de Benavides became archbishop of Goa. Fray Francisco de Ayeta, who played such a prominent role in local affairs both before and after the Pueblo Revolt, was appointed special representative of all the Franciscan provinces of New Spain at the royal court. But no less worthy of mention as intellectual leaders in New Mexico are men like Fray Esteban de Peréa, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, and Fray Antonio de Ibargaray—to note only a few—who spent the best years of their lives in the province.

The friars who accompanied the Oñate expedition were undoubtedly the owners of most of the books taken to New Mexico when the province was founded, but unfortunately the documents relating to the expedition contain no lists describing the kind of books they had. It may be assumed that most of the books were bibles, breviaries, missals, and ecclesiastical treatises of various descriptions, but the inventories, if we had them, would probably reveal that some

of the friars brought with them classics of Latin and Spanish literature and a few volumes on medicine, science or pseudo-science, and other mundane subjects. The earliest documentary evidence concerning books imported by the Franciscans is found in the treasury accounts of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, which sometimes record in considerable detail the kind of supplies purchased at royal expense for friars sent out to the province and for those already serving in the missions. The book items refer, however, only to the purchase of breviaries, missals, and choir books of various kinds. (See appendix, items 1-10). Works of non-liturgical character were apparently privately owned, or were supplied at the expense of the Order for convent libraries.

It would be interesting to know what books were brought to New Mexico by Fray Esteban de Perea, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Alonso de Benavides, and other leaders in the early missionary history of the province, but the documents record no information on this point. The only reference we have to a book owned by one of the early friars relates to a work on astrology said to be the property of the lay brother Fray Alonso de San Juan, who came to New Mexico before the end of the Oñate period and took an active part in mission affairs for some thirty years. In 1626, when Benavides was investigating conditions in the province, a certain Lucas de Figueroa gave the following testimony:²

He states and solemnly declares that about a year ago, having entered the house of a Mexican Indian called Pancho Bolon, a smith in this Villa [of Santa Fe], he found there a book of astrology and secrets of nature and of other strange things. Since the aforesaid Indian did not know how to read, this declarant asked for the loan of it and took it from him. He kept it about five or six

2. The record of Benavides' investigation is found in *Archivo General de la Nación, México* (cited hereafter as A. G. M.), *Inquisición*, tomo 356. For a secondary account of the investigation and the causes which prompted it, see F. V. Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, X (1935), 195-241; and *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque, 1937), Ch. III.

months, at the end of which time Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother of St. Francis in this Custody, carried it off, saying that it was his. During the time that this declarant had it, he found in it the account of the planets at all hours, prognosticating according to the nature of each planet the aspect and character of the persons who were born under each planet, foretelling how long they might live and certain future events in the course of their lives. He did this once on the basis of the time of her birth as told to him by a woman of this Villa called Ana Ortiz, and he informed her that apparently she had had an illness, according to what the influences of her sign indicated for her. She replied that this was true and that she had had it at the time he named. He also told her that she would be very fecund. In the same way he prophesied the birth of a child, daughter of Francisco de Almazán, a resident of this place, foretelling several events which were to befall him, and other similar things. And although it is true that this seemed to him to be proper curiosity and he manifested it as such, he always believed and understood that everything was subject to the will of God and made this clear to all those with whom he dealt.

These remarks illustrate the influence that a book of esoteric character might have on a relatively unlettered colonist. Figueroa's confession was undoubtedly prompted by knowledge that Benavides, who was acting under authority as Commissary of the Holy Office, was inquiring into the prevalence of superstition, and it was this factor that was responsible for the witness' final affirmation that all things were subject to God's will and that he had emphasized this point in the prognostications he had made.

The convent libraries, made up of books received or inherited from private owners and works purchased at the expense of the Order for general use, constituted the most important collections at the disposal of the friars. Each mission must have had a few books, but the most extensive collections were undoubtedly those kept at the convent of Santo Domingo, ecclesiastical capital of the province, and at

the convent of Santa Fe. The inventories of these collections, which once comprised part of the Franciscan archives, are irretrievably lost, but fortunately we have other records which provide considerable evidence concerning their contents.

The most important source of information is a series of opinions and letters written by Fray Juan de Vidania c. 1640-1641 at the time of a bitter controversy between Governor Luis de Rosas and the Franciscans. This controversy was precipitated by numerous incidents involving the authority of the custodian as local head of the church, questions of ecclesiastical immunity and privilege, and similar problems. At the height of the dispute the province was divided into two hostile camps. The convent at Santa Fe was closed, and all of the friars in residence there, except Vidania and a lay brother, who were staunch supporters of the governor, were expelled from the Villa. Most of the friars and a group of colonists who espoused their cause assembled at Santo Domingo, whence the custodian, Fray Juan de Salas, fulminated excommunications against Rosas and his Franciscan allies. In a series of opinions, drafted at the request of the governor, Vidania formulated arguments to support Rosas' actions and to challenge the validity of the prelate's edicts. These views were also reiterated in letters to Salas and other friars.³

In these papers Vidania cited numerous authorities in such a way that it may be inferred that in most cases he had their writings at hand for reference. The documents not only contain many verbatim quotations but have numerous marginal notes giving author, brief title, or both, and frequently the volume, chapter, section, or other appropriate subdivisions of works cited to support arguments in the text. Some of the books that he used may have been in the library or archive of the Casa Real, but most of them are of

3. Vidania's opinions and letters are found in A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595. For an extensive account of Rosas' controversy with the friars, see Scholes, *Church and State*, Chs. V, VI.

such character that they probably belonged to the library of the Santa Fe convent.

Among the works quoted or cited we find Aristotle's *Topics* (13), Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (20), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (36). The Church Fathers are represented by St. Augustine's work, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (43). The documents also contain references to St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, but it is difficult to determine whether Vidania had their writings at hand, or used references to them in other works. St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* (44) is cited several times.

Justinian (27) appears two or three times, and there are numerous references to the *Nueva Recopilación* and to special royal cédulas and ordinances. Villadiego's *Instrucción política* (55) and Hevia Bolaños' *Curia philípica* (26), which deal with Spanish civil procedure and administration, are cited, but it is interesting to note that Solórzano and Castillo de Bobadilla are not mentioned. Politico-moralistic writing is represented by Fray Juan Márquez' *Gobernador christiano* (30).

There are numerous citations to the Decretals and other parts of the *Corpus juris canonici*, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and various papal bulls. The references to jurists and canonists cover a rather wide range. The Italians are represented by Baldo (16), Bartolus (17), Bellarmine (19), Cajetan (21), Panormitanus (37), and Silvestro Mazzolini (48). Among the Spaniards we find Soto (49, 50), Suárez (51), Covarrubias (22), the celebrated Azpilcueta Navarro (32), and others of lesser renown. The *Quaestiones regulares* (41) of the Portuguese Franciscan Fray Manuel Rodríguez and his *Adiciones* to his treatise on the Bull of the Crusade (40) are referred to again and again. Finally, we have several citations to Fray Juan Focher (24), Fray Alonso de la Veracruz (54), and Fray Juan Bautista (18), well known for their services in Mexico in the sixteenth century.

This is not the place to analyze Vidania's interpretations of canon law and his use or misuse of the authorities he quoted or cited. Only a trained canonist would be qualified for such a task. It will be interesting, however, to note what his brother Franciscans thought of his learning, and what he, in turn, thought of his critics. In a letter to the Franciscan Commissary General of New Spain, one of the friars wrote:

This said Fray Juan de Vidania was the fountain head and teacher of this conspiracy. He is false in everything, and for the Latin solecisms in the letter he wrote Your Reverence alone, he deserved to be deprived of the service of the altar and divine office. And for the falseness with which he cites the sacred canons and holy scripture, he should be deprived forever of the opportunity to read sacred canons and holy scripture, since he has so falsely applied what he reads.⁴

Vidania's contempt for his critics is reflected in all of his writings, but especially in one of his letters which illustrates his power of sarcasm, and, incidentally, provides interesting side lights on his acquaintance with books and authors. Referring to a certain friar who was especially active in challenging the validity of his propositions, he said:

This grammarian . . . is so ignorant that he has not even read the *Categories* or *Predicaments* of Aristotle, or the *Perihermenias* and *Topics*, or even the common-places of Cicero. And so he frequents the haunts of the vulgar and unlettered . . . composing syllogisms to make it seem that what I have done was fallacious and sophistries of little substance. . . . What an ignoramus I am, for I believed that one could not know these things without knowing the philosophers! . . . In vain I pondered the commentaries of the philosophers, and without reason did my teacher guide me through the cate-

4. Fray Bartolomé Romero to the Commissary General of New Spain, October 4, 1641. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (cited hereafter as A. G. I.), Patronato, leg. 244, exp. 7.

gories of Porphyry ⁵ to the logic of Aristotle! And, leaving aside these humane branches of study, in vain and without cause did I have for my masters in holy theology the most learned Valencia ⁶ and the greatly-renowned Leiva,⁷ not to mention others! The erudition of my teachers and continual meditation from my early youth up to my present age upon the lesson to be found in various branches of moral and scholastic learning and evangelical discourse has availed me nothing. There, indeed, have we found a perfect and whole man without his having been taught by anyone. This must be some divine spirit or fantastic deity who surpasses and conquers Tully in eloquence, Aristotle in arguments, Plato in wisdom, and Aristarchus in erudition.

This outburst illustrates the invective power of Vidania's pen and explains, in part, why Governor Rosas valued him as an ally.

In the end Vidania suffered disgrace for his defense of Rosas and his disobedience to the custodian's decrees. A formal investigation of his conduct was made in 1641, after Rosas had been removed from office, and he was sent to Mexico City for trial by the Holy Office. One source states that he escaped during the journey to New Spain;⁸ another records that he was finally punished (*penitenciado*).⁹

The documents relating to the Church-State controversies of the 1660's also contain some information concerning books in the possession of the friars, but it adds very little

5. Porphyry's *Isagoge*, or Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle, was translated into Latin by Boethius and had great influence upon the development of scholasticism. Among the works of Father Pedro de Fonseca, a famous Portuguese Jesuit theologian of the sixteenth century, whose philosophical writings were widely disseminated and reached many editions, is a treatise called *In Isagogem Porphyrii*. Domingo de Soto also wrote a treatise *In porphyrii Isagogen Aristotelis*, Venice, 1552.

6. Possibly Father Gregorio de Valencia, a prominent Jesuit theologian of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was sent to Germany to teach theology and to work against the influence of Luther, and later summoned to Rome by Clement VIII. He died in Naples in 1603. He was the author of both controversial and scholastic works.

7. Probably Diego Covarrubias y Leiva (1512-1577), the eminent Spanish theologian and jurist, professor of canon law and author of books on a wide range of subjects.

8. A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, exp. 7.

9. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 629, exp. 2.

to the data found in the Vidania papers. We find numerous references to the decrees of the Council of Trent and to various papal bulls, especially the *Omnimoda* of Adrian VI on which the custodians based their authority as ecclesiastical judges ordinary, but citations to canonists are rare. In a petition defending his jurisdiction as ecclesiastical judge, the vice-custodian, Fray García de San Francisco, cited Baldo, Navarro, and Panormitanus.¹⁰ We also have an account of a theological dispute at the Santa Fe convent during which a volume by the canonist Fray Manuel Rodríguez was taken down and consulted to settle a point at issue.¹¹ All of these writers are cited in the Vidania papers and these later references to them serve as additional evidence that Rosas' advocate had his authorities at hand. The only references to works not previously mentioned relate to three books apparently owned by Fray Nicolás de Freitas, director of the Santa Fe convent in 1622-1663, and Fray Felipe de la Cruz, a lay brother resident at the convent of Santo Domingo in 1662.¹² (See appendix, nos. 57-59.)

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Finally, the journal of Governor Diego de Vargas concerning the reconquest of New Mexico records the discovery of certain books that had undoubtedly been kept in the convents of the Zuñi area. On November 10, 1692, he arrived at Corn Mountain, on the top of which the Indians of the pueblo of Alona then were living. The following day he ascended the rock, and in one of the rooms of the pueblo he found various ecclesiastical ornaments and seventeen books. With one exception, a volume of Quevedo's works, they were of religious character.¹³ (See appendix, nos. 60-76.)

In the documentary sources for the period prior to 1659, we have noted only three references to books in the possession of provincial governors. The first tells of a work en-

10. This petition, dated in July, 1660, is found in A. G. M., Papeles de Bienes Nacionales, leg. 1214, exp. 6.

11. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

12. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 507, 587.

13. A. G. I., Guadalajara, leg. 139. Passage translated in J. M. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (Albuquerque, 1940), 199-203.

l. e.
 titled *Práctica criminal eclesiástica* (77) owned by Governor Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614).¹⁴ His possession of a book of this kind fits in with statements made by Vidania in his opinions in defense of Rosas to the effect that Peralta was a *bachiller* and that he had been trained in canon law (*bien entendido y graduado en canones*).¹⁵ Peralta's term of office was characterized by a violent controversy with the Franciscan prelate, Fray Isidro Ordóñez, who was bold enough to arrest the governor and hold him in jail for several months.¹⁶ Subsequent to the arrest Ordóñez and Fray Luis De Tirado, minister at the Santa Fe convent, ransacked Peralta's papers and personal effects, and Tirado kept the book noted above.

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1
 The second reference relates to books in the hands of Governor Juan de Eulate (1618-1625). Governor Eulate, like Peralta, was involved in controversy with the friars, who accused him, among other things, of asserting authority over the local prelate, even in spiritual affairs, and of propositions contrary to the Faith. Eulate's attitude toward ecclesiastical authority was inspired in part by an exaggerated notion of his authority as representative of the king, and by disputes with the friars concerning the general direction of Indian affairs. The erroneous propositions ascribed to him were the result of his fondness for theological dispute and his delight in shocking his listeners by proclaiming scandalous and unorthodox views.¹⁷ It is obvious that he had more than ordinary interest in doctrinal matters and politico-ecclesiastical problems and it is not surprising, therefore, to find references to his ownership of ecclesiastical books. Unfortunately, the sources do not record their titles, and only one author is noted—the Portuguese canonist, Fray Manuel Rodríguez.¹⁸

14. *Relacion verdadera q. el p.^o predicador fr. Fran.^{co} Perez guerta de la orden de S.^t fran.^{co} guardian del convento de galisteo hizo al R.^{mo} Comiss. Gen.^l de la dha. orden de la nueva esp.^a 1617?* A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 316.

15. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595.

16. See Scholes, *Church and State*, Ch. II.

17. *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

18. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.

In 1656 Juan Manso de Contreras, brother of Fray Tomás Manso who successfully directed the mission supply service for a quarter-century, became governor, and he served the average three-year term. His successor, Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, conducted his *residencia* with considerable severity and held him in jail until the summer of 1660 when he was able to escape to Mexico City. Among the effects which he left behind in his cell in the Casa de Cabildo in Santa Fe was a book entitled *Jornadas para el cielo* (79),¹⁹ one of the numerous devotional works of the popular Franciscan preacher, Fray Cristóbal de Moreno.

Such is the information at hand concerning books owned by governors who served prior to 1659. The paucity of the data is undoubtedly explained by the character of the available documentary sources for this period, which deal mostly with special incidents or special phases of administration, in which references to books in the possession of provincial governors would be only incidental. Except for Manso we have no inventories or lists of the property and personal effects of the dozen or more persons who held office, and even in Manso's case the list is obviously incomplete.

The two immediate successors of Manso were Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) and Diego de Peñalosa (1661-1664). These men became involved in prolonged controversy with the friars and were eventually tried by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. López' wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche, also stood trial before the tribunal.²⁰ The records of these cases and the prolonged litigation over the property of the defendants constitute the most important block of sources at present available on the history of New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt, and they throw a flood of light on every phase of social life in the province. The papers contain detailed inventories of the property and personal

19. A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286.

20. For a lengthy account of the administrations of López de Mendizábal and Peñalosa, see Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Albuquerque, 1942), Chs. II-X.

effects of the two governors, including numerous books of various kinds.

Bernardo López de Mendizábal was a native of the province of Chietla in New Spain. He received an academic education in the Jesuit colleges of Mexico City and Puebla, and in the Royal University where he studied arts and canon law. After spending a few years in the galleon service, he went to Cartagena where one of his cousins was bishop. At the latter's request he prepared to enter the priesthood, but finally abandoned this vocation and married the daughter of the local governor. His wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche, was a native of Italy, where her father had held an administrative post before his transfer to Cartagena. Her mother was an Irish woman who had been reared in the household of the Marqués de Santa Cruz in Spain. Eventually López returned to Mexico where he held office as *alcalde mayor*, first in the province of San Juan de los Llanos, and later at Guaiacocotla. In 1658 the viceroy, Duque de Alburquerque, named him governor and captain general of New Mexico.

From the beginning of his term of office López antagonized both the Franciscan friars and many of the soldier-colonists. He introduced innovations in the system of Indian labor, increasing the wage scale for household servants and farm laborers and reducing the number of Indians in service at the missions. Instead of supporting the friars in their campaign against Indian ceremonial dances, he authorized the public performance of these pagan ceremonies in all of the pueblos. He also called into question the authority of the custodian as ecclesiastical judge ordinary, and in the summer of 1660 actually forbade the prelate to exercise such authority pending a decision by the viceroy on the subject. Resentment against López' governmental policies was accentuated by his personal conduct, negligence in the observance of his religious obligations, and by tactless remarks which many persons regarded as bordering on unorthodoxy and heresy. The gossipmongering servants at the Casa Real

made things worse by reporting incidents which many persons professed to regard as evidence that both the governor and his wife were practicing Jews.

The friars sent lengthy reports to Mexico City, and in 1661 López was replaced as governor by Diego de Peñalosa. The *residencia* proceedings which Peñalosa conducted were unduly severe, and at times were characterized by fraud. In the midst of the trial ex-governor Manso returned bearing edicts of the *audiencia* calling for a review of his own *residencia* and settlement of claims he had made against López. To satisfy these claims, part of López' property was embargoed, and in the inventories made at the time we find the first references to books in his possession. (See appendix, nos. 80-87.) The books and other property were placed in deposit with a local citizen, and there is evidence that that part of these goods, including most of the books, were later taken over by Peñalosa.²¹

The complaints against López filed by the friars had also been referred to the Holy Office, and in the spring of 1662 the tribunal issued orders to arrest him and his wife, Doña Teresa. Execution of these decrees was carried out on August 26, 1662, by Fray Alonso de Posada, the local prelate and commissary of the Inquisition. The property remaining in López' hands was embargoed in the name of the Inquisition, and elaborate inventories were made preparatory to shipment of the property to Mexico City. In these lists and in copies later filed during litigation in the viceregal capital, we have additional lists of books belonging to the governor and Doña Teresa.²² (See appendix, nos. 88-103.) Additional evidence concerning their book holdings is also found in the lists of personal effects in their possession when they entered the jail of the Inquisition, and in numerous inci-

21. Record of the property embargoed to satisfy Manso's claims appears in A. G. M., Tierras, tomos 3268, 3286.

22. The lists of goods, including books, embargoed by Posada after the arrest of López and his wife appear in A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3283.

dental references and passages in the trial proceedings.²³ (See appendix, nos. 104-107.)

The lists of their books show an extremely large proportion of religious and didactic works. In spite of the accusations that they neglected their religious duties and were even suspect in the Faith, Doña Teresa, at least, seems to have been devout enough after her own fashion. She excused their irregularity in attendance at mass on the grounds of illness and the fact that she was unaccustomed to the severity of the New Mexico climate. Their critics made a particular point of an incident which took place while the procession was passing the Casa Real on Good Friday, 1661, accusing them of disrespect for the religious ceremony. Their replies are in essential agreement. Both state that they were ill, and she adds that she was reading aloud to him "the passion of Our Lord," while he identifies the book as Fonseca, *Discursos morales para las ferias de la Cuaresma* (82). They alleged the same reason for their absence from the reading of an Edict of the Faith, and in reply to the criticism on this point and to the charge that she had never been known to show particular devotion to any saint, Doña Teresa more than once went into considerable detail on the subject of her favorite devotions, the *cofradías* to which she belonged, and the devotions and bulls pertaining to them which she used. She listed among her favorite prayers those in the *Perfecto Cristiano* (106), and this book was one of the three she had with her when she was admitted to the jail of the Inquisition in April, 1663. In November of the same year, at one of her audiences before the tribunal, she asked to be allowed to have this work.

It is interesting to note that an edict of the Holy Office to withdraw from circulation certain litanies, books, and other things was read in Santa Fe during López' stay in New Mexico. He and his wife were present, and she testifies as follows:

23. The trial proceedings of López are found in A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, 593, and 594. The *proceso* against Doña Teresa is in *Ibid.*, tomo 596.

And in addition, when Fray Diego de Santander read the first edicts, I handed over to him the Office of the Pure and Immaculate Conception of Our Lady and that of the Glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, and some Litanies of the Most Sweet and Lovely Mother of God, and the Memorial of the five greatest sorrows of the Most Holy Virgin, because all these were among those which the edict of this Holy Tribunal ordered taken up; and as a faithful and Catholic Christian, obedient to its commands, I was the first to give them up, although they had been among my particular devotions.

She also claimed that she had been in the habit of reading devotions to her attendants and presented them with extra copies of certain ones which she happened to have. Apparently they had also brought almanacs with them, for Doña Teresa remarked that in case of doubt as to whether a certain day was a Church feast, the guardian would send to ask them to look at their *calendarios*.

In his testimony concerning López' conduct on the way to Mexico City, Fray Salvador de Guerra says that he was told by a certain lay brother, Fray Felipe de la Cruz, who had the task of bringing food to the prisoners during their stay at the convent of Santo Domingo, that Don Bernardo had asked him for a spiritual book to read. Fray Felipe brought him Molina's *De oración* (59), but said that López was not satisfied with it and asked him to find a *libro de romances* because Molina was too spiritual for him. In his defense López contradicted this, saying that he read the book two or three times and kept it until the day he left Santo Domingo without asking for another, "nor did he scorn it; indeed he loved it because it affected him deeply."

Although the number of secular books listed as the property of Don Bernardo and Doña Teresa is not large, they had some of the outstanding and most influential works current at the time. In general there was no occasion to cite them in the controversies, accusations, and replies recorded in the documents, but it seems likely that they were read

and enjoyed, for unless they suited the needs and taste of their owners, there would have been little point in carrying them on the long and arduous journey to New Mexico.

The practical usefulness of certain items, such as a book on surgery (90) and Argüello's treatise on public documents (100) makes further comment on them unnecessary; and since there is evidence that the works of Nebrija, especially the grammar and vocabularies, were popular among educated persons in the colonies and were imported in large numbers, it is not surprising to find that López owned his Latin vocabulary (87). The possession of such historical works as a life of Philip the Prudent (92) and the chronicle of the Augustinian Order in New Spain (97) is in keeping with López' interests as a widely travelled man who had held military and administrative posts of various kinds. The same is true of a book in Latin called the *Prince* (86). Although other books, including Machiavelli's famous work, fit the description given, it may have been Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresas*. A copy of this turns up later in Peñalosa's possession (129) and there is ample evidence that he kept such of López' books as took his fancy. In fact he probably acquired some of the volumes which are listed only among his property when he ransacked López' residence on different occasions, and he may even have taken books kept for reference in the library or archive of the Casa Real at the time when he carried off a large part of the local archive. Saavedra Fajardo's brilliant work enjoyed great popularity, and in view of Peñalosa's literary tastes, as shown by the inventories of his books, especially his predilection for Gracián, it is likely that this book would have appealed to him if he found it among López' belongings. López owned another book dealing with the same general subject, which was among his personal effects when he was brought to the jail of the Holy Office in Mexico City. This was Fray Juan Márquez' *Gobernador Christiano* (107), one of the many Spanish works written to refute Machiavelli's *Prince* by setting forth the virtues of the ideal Christian monarch.

The López inventories show only four books designed more for amusement than instruction. One of these was Cervantes' *Don Quijote* (81). Unfortunately, we have only the single reference to it at the time it was embargoed by Peñalosa's order in July, 1662. There is no further record of what happened to it, but it is likely that it remained in New Mexico. Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* (94) and a book of *Comedias* by different authors (99) were taken to Mexico City with the rest of the property embargoed by order of the Holy Office, and they were eventually returned to Doña Teresa.

Only one of the four, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (104), is mentioned other than in the inventories. Doña Teresa had a copy of this in Italian, which had been given to her by her father, and her reading of it gave rise to much speculation and suspicion. It is unlikely that her fondness for it would have aroused so much comment if her critics in their ignorance had not seized the opportunity to ascribe the worst possible motives to her obvious enjoyment of a book concerning the contents of which they had only her word to go on. Although she told at least one of her accusers that it was in Italian and concerned love, they professed to believe that because of her character and conduct it was sure to contain "English heresies" and that she must be a heretic too. It is not difficult to understand why Doña Teresa inspired suspicion and dislike on the part of the citizens of Santa Fe, for in that rough and isolated frontier community she must have seemed a very exotic personality. A fine lady by birth and upbringing, well travelled, apparently educated above the average according to the standard of the time, she made no attempt to conceal her impatience with the follies and ignorance of her servants and neighbors. They, in turn, could hardly have been expected not to resent her superiority and strange ways, especially since she used little tact in her relationships with them. Many of the accusations against her and her husband were based on modes of life so foreign to local custom that they were believed to be Jewish rites.

Her reading of a book in a tongue unknown to them was merely one item in a long list of actions misunderstood and criticized because they were out of the common in that place and time. Nevertheless these accusations were incorporated in the formal charges against her, and her replies not only throw light upon conditions in New Mexico but reflect her own knowledge and opinions concerning the value and standing of what she read.

Her principal reason for reading Ariosto was to practice the Italian language which she had learned as a child, and her father had given her the book so that she would not forget it.

But the said book contains nothing against our Holy Faith but only what the books called romances of chivalry usually contain: enchantments and wars. And sometimes she could not help laughing when she was reading those things.

On another occasion she wrote:

If the book had been evil, [my father] would not have permitted me to read it, nor would he have done so, for he was a very good Christian. And this book, according to what I heard from him and other persons, has been translated into our Castilian language, like the Petrarch, of which it is a companion volume although the style is different.

It is quite clear that it never entered her head that the book in itself might be frowned upon as improper reading for good Catholics, let alone that it might actually be forbidden. This may serve as some commentary on how dead the letter of the laws forbidding the exportation to the New World of romances of chivalry and similar fiction was, even though clerical opinion in Spain itself tended to consider such works dangerous to the morals of the majority because of inability to distinguish facts from fiction. Moreover, this aspect of the matter did not come up in her hearings before the tribunal of the Inquisition. The fiscal's charge was founded, not upon the identity of the book as the *Orlando furioso*, but

upon the statements of witnesses concerning the probable heretical nature of a book in an unknown tongue which they had seen Doña Teresa read. He added that the charge could not be dismissed until "it is proved what the book is and it is examined and found to contain no tainted doctrines condemned by our Mother the Church." To this she replied as follows:

She said that the book referred to in the charge can only be the one she has already mentioned . . . , that it is current and widely read in both Italy and Spain by persons who understand it, for at the beginning of each chapter there is a statement called the allegory which says that only the good is to be taken from it and not the bad; and it inculcates great morality and good doctrine; and God help the witness who had such suspicions.

Later on, written statements which she made in her defense show the influence of her lawyer. In them she reiterates her declaration that the book was "the works of Ariosto, which are not condemned," and qualifies the testimony of her accusers as "not testifying but jumping to a rash conclusion and injuring me." Then she goes on to say:

But the chief thing is that in order to be able to proceed with this charge, it was absolutely necessary to prove what this book was and that it was heretical or condemned, because owning and reading books, even though they may be in a foreign language, for the Italian, or Tuscan, language is not unintelligible or unknown as the charge says, are not prohibited but regularly allowed and permitted. The witness was under obligation to say that it was a forbidden book and the charge should have been based on this condition and proof of it, for to presume such a thing is a violation of law, which regularly allows books. And no book is assumed to be forbidden unless proof is offered, especially in this kingdom where the vigilance of this Holy Tribunal is so astute in the examination and expurgation of books and in withdrawing from circulation those which should not be current. . . . And it is not the obligation of the accused, but of the

plaintiff, who is the fiscal, to prove that it is forbidden, because even if forbidden books are found in anyone's possession, it is necessary to prove two things in order to give origin to presumption of heresy: first, that the books are by a heretical author; second, that the person who has them knows this. Moreover, there is still a dispute among the doctors as to whether the presumption which arises from this is valid. But in this case there can be none, nor any motive for suspicion or surprise that, knowing the Italian language, I should have a book in it, nor is it my fault that the servants who saw me read are ignorant.

Here the matter rested, for in December, 1664, the proceedings against her were suspended and some of her own and her husband's property, including the books taken by the Holy Office (see appendix nos. 88-103) was returned to her. Don Bernardo had died in prison on September 16, 1664, before his case was settled. Some years later, in April, 1671, a sentence absolving him was pronounced by the Inquisitors, and his remains were transferred to the convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City for ecclesiastical burial.

Diego de Peñalosa, the successor of López de Mendizábal as governor of New Mexico, was an adventurer who had an eventful career in various parts of the New World and later in London and Paris. A native of Lima, he spent his youth in that city and in La Paz, where his family had property holdings and enjoyed a certain local prestige. He was tutored by one of his uncles who was in holy orders, and later studied "grammar and rhetoric" with the Jesuits in Lima. His public career began as *regidor* of La Paz, and when only eighteen years of age he served as *procurador* of that city in litigation before the *audiencia* of Charcas. Later on, while serving as *alcalde provincial* of the *Santa Hermandad* in the La Paz area, serious complaints were filed against him and he was summoned before the viceroy in Lima. To escape arrest he took refuge in the Augustinian college, and a short time later his friends put him on board

a vessel for Panama. From there he travelled to Nicaragua and spent some time with the bishop, who was his uncle. From Nicaragua he went to Mexico, where he held office as an *alcalde mayor*, and in 1660 he was appointed to the governorship of New Mexico.

His chief aim as head of the provincial government was personal profit and gain, and in pursuing this end he did not hesitate to employ fraud or misuse the authority of his office. He took advantage of his position as judge of *residencia* to acquire a large amount of property belonging to López, and when he learned that the latter was about to be arrested on orders from the Holy Office, he seized more of his belongings. Father Posada, as agent of the Holy Office, demanded return of López' property, but Peñalosa refused to comply and hurriedly sent off a large part of it for sale in Parral. The prelate acted with dispatch and had the goods embargoed at Parral before they could be sold. This action aroused Peñalosa to bitter anger and hostility against the prelate, which resulted in strained relations during the spring and summer of 1663. In the autumn the situation was aggravated by the fact that Peñalosa gave orders for the seizure of a colonist who had taken refuge in ecclesiastical sanctuary. Posada made repeated demands for the return of the prisoner, and was ready to impose excommunication if the governor failed to comply. Peñalosa now resorted to violent measures, arrested the prelate, and prepared to expel him from the province. But he finally backed down and negotiated a peaceful settlement of the issue.

During these hectic months he had also aroused considerable resentment in other ways. He made extravagant statements concerning the nature and extent of his authority as governor, and allegedly made scurrilous remarks about the prelate and the tribunal of the Holy Office. Friar and colonist alike were scandalized by a certain levity which characterized his conversation on religious topics, by his coarseness of speech, and the brazen manner in which he flaunted certain phases of his personal conduct. Realizing

that his position had become untenable and desirous of disposing of such property of López as still remained in his hands, he left for New Spain early in 1664, before his successor arrived.

Reports of Peñalosa's activities had already reached the Holy Office, and these were supplemented by a mass of testimony later submitted by Father Posada. An order for Peñalosa's arrest was issued by the Inquisition on June 16, 1665, and the next day he entered the jail of the tribunal. His property was placed under embargo and detailed inventories were made of the furniture, clothing, arms, and other personal effects found in his residence in Mexico City. The lists include many books on a wide range of subjects. (See appendix, nos. 108-151.) Although some of these may have been purchased after his return to Mexico City, it may be assumed that he had many of them with him in New Mexico. Some of the volumes (117, 122, 129, 150) had formerly belonged to López de Mendizábal, and the list probably contained others that he had taken on various occasions when he seized López' property. In any case he had a larger library than López. In addition to the property listed in the inventories, he made a statement concerning things which he had given as security to various persons in Mexico City. One item says that a certain Diego de Rojas held "many books and other things."

Like López and his wife, Peñalosa had in his possession a fairly large number of strictly devotional works, some of which he undoubtedly had taken from them, but the remainder of his library was more varied and extensive. The collection includes moral and political philosophy and satire, a miscellaneous collection of historical works, some books on theology and law, a treatise on horsemanship, Nebrija's grammar and vocabulary, an *Estilo de Cartas*, an *Arte poética* and Gracián's treatise on rhetoric, plus one pastoral and one picaresque novel and a volume of *Comedias*.

The lists indicate an especially strong interest in politico-moral philosophy. We have already mentioned the possibility that his copy of Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresas políticas*

(129), which was dedicated to Prince Baltasar Carlos and dealt with the education and obligations of a prince, had originally belonged to López de Mendizábal. Whether it was acquired in this way or in more legitimate fashion, it fits in with one of the largest single sections of Peñalosa's library. He owned almost all of the works of the Aragonese Jesuit, Father Baltasar Gracián, including the *Héroe* (111), the *Discreto* (112), the *Oráculo Manual* (113), the *Político* (127), and his masterpiece, the *Criticón* (110), all of which exalt the virtues of the outstanding individual at the expense of the common herd. The cruel satire of Quevedo, two of whose books are listed (143, 147), is also impregnated with scorn of the vulgar. Less important works belonging to the same general category are Núñez de Castro's *Séneca impugnado de Séneca* (135) and López de Vega's *Heráclito y Demócrito* (136), which is in the form of dialogues between a courtier and a philosopher. One of the two books by Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta* (124), consists of satirical sketches of life in Madrid, and his *Errores celebrados* (141) contains maxims, witty sayings, etc. There is also a translation from the Italian called *Letras humanas* (145).

The historical works he owned fall into two groups. His career as a public official in the Indies explains his ownership of such items as Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* (119), Vargas Machuca's *Milicia Indiana* (116), and less general works such as a chronicle of Mechoacán (115) and Villagrà's *History of New Mexico* (125). In addition to these, he had a volume called *Viaje del Infante Cardenal* by Aedo y Gallart (137), and a translation of Count Mayolino Bissaccioni's *Civil Wars of England* (134). Apparently he was much interested in the latter, for it was among the books he asked for while he was a prisoner in the jail of the Holy Office, describing it as "the imprisonment and death of the King of England at the hands of the Parliament." Perhaps he was vain enough to draw some comparison with his own situation.

Both Peñalosa and López dabbled in literary composi-

tion. Most of it, according to the documentary sources, was in the form of poetical satire against the clergy. Unfortunately, none of these efforts are preserved in the records of their trials, and there is no way of judging how talented they were in this direction, but we may assume that Peñalosa made use of his treatises on poetry and rhetoric and similar works.

Apparently Peñalosa had done enough reading on ecclesiastical subjects and canon law to feel that he was qualified to argue with the local clergy on points of doctrine and ceremonial, as well as to insist upon having his own way in matters involving civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He aroused great resentment on both counts. In a petition to Peñalosa's successor, Governor Miranda, Father Posada said that the former governor's procedure could not be excused on the ground of ignorance since he had acquired sufficient knowledge and experience in judicial posts of responsibility to know better. Another indignant friar, Bernardo López de Cobarrubias, testifying against Peñalosa at the convent of Santo Domingo in January, 1664, spoke his mind in no uncertain fashion:

Item, the declarant asks this Holy Tribunal to take from the said Don Diego de Peñalosa all the books he has, both moral and expositive, because he is too much inclined to censure the priest's manner of saying the mass, whether it is good or bad, and whether he performs the ceremonies well or badly. . . . And let him be asked how he understands matters of morality having to do with cases of conscience, because he sets himself up as a synodalist desirous of examining the priests, his purpose being to mock and scoff at their persons and at what they know or do not know.

In another connection, with regard to some rather dubious documents found among Peñalosa's papers, the Inquisitors took pains to set him straight on the subject of forbidden reading:

They also told him that he was not to read papers or books that did not carry the approval of the Holy Mother Church, the place where they were written or printed, the name of the printer or scribe, the author's name, and authorization.

From time to time during his imprisonment Peñalosa requested permission to have certain books. These petitions were usually unsuccessful, and it is possible that part of the reason lies in the foregoing. Shortly after he was admitted to the jail he asked for the *Horas del oficio de Nuestra Señora* (108) and Saavedra's *Empresas políticas*. This request was denied, and a little over a week later he tried again, asking for the *Sermons* of Nájera (123), with no greater success. About a year later, in July, 1666, a second request for the *Empresas* was ignored. In September, 1667, no action was taken on a note to the tribunal in which he asked to be allowed to have the *Heráclito y Demócrito* and the "Imprisonment and death of the King of England" already referred to, but about three months later the rather pathetic appeal for "a book to read" was finally granted and the tribunal said that he might have a "spiritual book."

The sentence of the court was pronounced on February 3, 1668. He was subjected to a heavy fine, perpetual ineligibility for military and political office, and banishment from New Spain and the West Indies. On the following day he took part in an *auto de fe* and made formal abjuration of his errors. Toward the end of the year he set sail from Veracruz, apparently for Spain, but several months later he turned up in England where he tried to obtain support for an attack on the Spanish Indies. Failing in his efforts, he moved on to Paris where he continued his intrigues against the Spanish Crown. He died in France in 1687.

In addition to books privately owned, the provincial governors had the use of volumes kept in the library or archive of the Casa Real in Santa Fe. By virtue of their office the governors served as superior judges in civil and criminal cases affecting the secular jurisdiction, and it was

necessary to have on hand legal and administrative treatises for reference in the conduct of judicial business. As already noted, some of the works cited by Vidania in his defense of Rosas may have been in the archive of the Casa Real. In 1663, during the dispute over violation of ecclesiastical sanctuary, Peñalosa wrote a letter to Father Posada in which he cited various authorities (155-159). One was the *Summa* of Silvestro Mazzolini, also cited by Vidania in 1640. In his testimony before the Holy Office, Peñalosa also mentioned the *Curia philípica* (152), Solórzano's *Política Indiana* (153), and a treatise on procedure by Monterroso (154), all of which had apparently been at his disposal in Santa Fe.²⁴

The documentary sources at present available record few references to books owned by soldiers and colonists. The lists of personal effects of members of the Oñate expedition reveal that Capt. Alonso de Quesada had "seven books on secular and religious subjects," and that Juan del Caso Baraona, an enlisted soldier, owned "five medical books by recognized authorities."²⁵ A document of 1636, giving an inventory of the property of a certain Francisco Gómez de Torres, deceased, lists a "volume of devotional papers."²⁶ Francisco de Anaya Almazán, who served as secretary of government and war for several governors, was the owner of a copy of the *Curia philípica*.²⁷ Such, in brief, is the record for the period prior to 1660.

In 1662 four New Mexico soldiers—Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán (son of Francisco), Diego Romero, Nicolás de Aguilar, and Francisco Gómez Robledo—were arrested by the commissary of the Holy Office and sent to Mexico City for trial.²⁸ The lists of personal effects in their possession

24. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

25. A. G. I., México, leg. 25. Apparently Juan del Caso had more than an ordinary layman's interest in medicine, for he also had various kinds of medications and a few surgical instruments. He may have been a barber-surgeon.

26. Biblioteca Nacional, México, leg. 1, doc. 8.

27. Trial proceedings in the case of Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán, A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 586.

28. See Scholes, *Troublous Times*, Ch. VIII.

at the time of their entry into the jail of the Inquisition show that the first three had one or more books. As might be expected, they were all of religious character, such as catechisms and books of prayers and devotions. (See appendix, nos. 164-170). It is interesting to note that Nicolás de Aguilar, who had three books, including a copy of the Gospels, later told the Inquisitors "that he could not read or write, that only now was he learning his letters."²⁹

The trial proceedings indicate that in some circles in New Mexico there had been considerable debate on doctrinal matters, especially with regard to the spiritual relationship contracted by the priest, the baptized, and the sponsors as a result of the sacrament of baptism. The principal charge against Anaya was that he had denied the teachings of the Church on this point, and both Romero and Gómez were accused of similar views, although the major charges against them were of another character. In testimony before the tribunal both Anaya and Romero admitted that they had expressed erroneous views concerning spiritual relationships, but alleged that their ideas had been derived from certain books (authors and titles not given). Romero, for example, told the court that he had had no deliberate intention of opposing the teachings of the Church, but had "misunderstood" what he had read on the subject. His excuse probably had some validity, for according to his own testimony "he could read and write but very little and badly."³⁰ But the Inquisitors had little patience with these excuses, as is evidenced in their denunciation of Anaya for "going about on his own authority, introducing himself as a learned doctor, and engaging in disputes on matters that were not for him to decide."³¹ The sentence of the court in Anaya's case called for public abjuration of his errors before his fellow citizens in New Mexico. Romero, who was found guilty on other charges as well as the one discussed above, was banished from the province.

29. A. G. M., *Inquisición*, tomo 512.

30. A. G. M., *Inquisición*, tomo 586.

31. Scholes, *Troublous Times*, 190.

Despite the punishment meted out to these offenders, the colonists continued to engage in dispute on doctrinal matters and to read theological books which they were ill prepared to interpret or understand. In 1669 Fray Juan Bernal, commissary of the Holy Office, wrote to the Inquisitors as follows:

I consider it an extremely undesirable thing that certain laymen of this kingdom should have in their houses *Summas de Theologia Moral*, because they do not understand what they read in the Summas or grasp the meaning as they should because of the manner in which the summarists express it by question and interrogatory, which these readers take for affirmation. . . . Fray Diego Parraga has told me that it was a shame that certain secular persons of this province had Summas, because, being ignorant people, they wanted to be taken for men of knowledge, learned and well read, saying in their ignorance things offensive to pious ears, which they justify by the Summas, and the reason is that they do not understand them.³²

The interest in theological questions, illustrated by these remarks and by the proceedings against Anaya and Romero, is not surprising. New Mexico was a mission province, in which the conversion and indoctrination of the Indians was supposed to be the most important objective of governmental policy and administration, and it was inevitable that religious matters should have formed an important topic of discussion in all circles. The friars, inspired by zeal to teach the Indians and give them an understanding of basic religious truths and dogmas, naturally kept a watchful eye on the colonists, and challenged ideas and practices that might undermine the loyalty of the Indians to the new ways. Conscious of the supreme importance of their mission, they were also quick to defend the privileges and immunities of ecclesiastical status and the jurisdictional authority of the Church. On the other hand, the missionary program fre-

32. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 583, exp. 3.

quently ran counter to the interests of the governors and colonists, giving rise to the unseemly disputes and controversies which characterized the history of the province during this period. Thus it was unavoidable that the colonists should display considerable interest in all manner of religious questions. Not content to accept the pronouncements of the friars on such subjects, they tried to form their own judgments on the basis of such books and tracts as were available. Unfortunately, they lacked the specialized training and education necessary for the proper interpretation of the books they read.

Bernal's remarks, quoted above, constitute an interesting commentary on the general situation in New Mexico, but they have even wider significance as an indication of the kind of books regarded as especially dangerous by the tribunal of the Holy Office. The Inquisitors, charged with the duty of keeping watch over books that circulated in the colonies, were chiefly concerned about works of a doctrinal character which might be misconstrued by the unlearned and inspire unorthodox views. In denouncing the misuse of the *Summas de theologia* in New Mexico, Bernal gave expression to this basic attitude toward books and their readers, a point which is also illustrated by the nature of the books Doña Teresa de Aguilera gave up when the edict against prohibited reading was published in Santa Fe in 1662.

APPENDIX

I

BOOKS OWNED OR USED BY THE FRANCISCANS

A. *Entries in the Treasury Accounts Recording Purchase of Liturgical Books for the New Mexico Friars. 1609-1628.*¹

- (1) Por nueve brebiarios a diez pesos cada uno—XC pesos. (Purchased in 1609.)
- (2) A Diego Riuro, librero, quatro cientos y ochenta pessos y quatro tomines, los trecientos y treinta pesos dellos por seis libros grandes sanctorales de canto a cinquenta y cinco pessos cada vno, y los ciento y cinquenta pessos y quatro tomines restantes por siete misales grandes del nueuo reçado a veintiun pesos y quatro tomines—CCCCLXXX pesos IIII tomines. (Purchased in 1611.)
- (3) Por onze breuiarios de los reformados con oficios de S.^t fran.^{co} en nueue pesos cada uno—XCIX pesos. (Purchased in 1625.)
- (4) Por onze misales de los nueuamente reformados encuadernados a quinze pesos cada vno—CLXV. (*Id.*)
- (5) Por cinco libros manuales a doze reales cada uno—VII pesos IIII tomines. (*Id.*)
- (6) Por cinco libros antifonarios conpuestos por Fray Geronimo Çiruelo de la Orden de San Francisco en un cuerpo—XL pesos. (*Id.*)
- (7) Por cinco libros santorales de misas y visperas a quarenta pesos cada uno—CC pesos. (*Id.*)
- (8) Por onze libros de canto santorales a quarenta pesos cada uno—CCCCXL pesos. (Purchased in 1628.)
- (9) Por diez y ocho misales grandes a XVIII pesos cada uno—CCCXXIIII pesos. (*Id.*)
- (10) Por diez y ocho breuiarios de los buenos a once pesos cada uno—CXCVIII pesos. (*Id.*)

1. Compiled from the treasury accounts in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 711-728. Detailed accounts of purchases of supplies for the New Mexico missions are not recorded subsequent to 1628. After that date lump sum payments were made in accordance with an agreement negotiated in 1631 by the treasury officials and the Order. Although this defined in detail the kind and amount of supplies to be provided each triennium, actual purchase of the supplies was left to the *procurador* of the Order. The agreement provided, however, that each friar going to New Mexico for the first time should receive "one missal with the office of the Order" and a breviary, and that three books of chants should be provided for every five friars sent to the province. Cf. F. V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, V (1930), 96-113.

B. *Fray Alonso de San Juan. 1626.*²

- (11) Un libro de astrologia y secretos naturales y cosas curiosas. [Not identified.]

C. *Citations to Books and Authors in the Opinions and Letters of Fray Juan de Vidania, c. 1640-1641.*³

- (12) Frat. Joseph Angles, in Flores Theol. [Fray José Anglés, *Flores theologicarum quaestionum*, Salamanca, 1575-76, and later editions. Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.]
- (13) Aristo. de locis topicis; Aristoteles. la regla topica. [Probably Aristotle's *Topics*.]
- (14) Armila, ver.^o apelatio n. 67. [Not identified.]
- (15) Avila, de censuris ecles. [Padre Esteban de Avila, *De censuris ecclesiasticis tractatus*, Lyons, 1608, and later editions.]
- (16) Baldo. [Reference to the Italian jurist P. Baldo.]
- (17) Bartolus. [Reference to the celebrated Italian jurist.]
- (18) p. fr. Ju.^o 2. p. f. 383; fr. Ju.^o Ba.^a 2. p. f. 261. [Fray Juan Bautista, *Advertencias para confesores de naturales*. Primera parte, Segunda parte, México, 1600, 1601.]
- (19) Velarmino, de doctrina xp.^{na} [Refers to one of the Spanish versions of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's *Dichiarazione più copiosa della dottrina cristiana*, 1598.]
- (20) Jul. Ces. de bello gal. L. 4. [J. Caesar, *De bello gallico*.]
- (21) Cayetano. [Reference to Cardinal Tomaso de Vío, known as Cajetan because of the place of his birth.]
- (22) Cobaru.^s [Probably refers to the Spanish canonist Diego Covarrubias de Leiva.]
- (23) Concilio Tri.^o SS. 22. 25. [Decrees of the Council of Trent.]
- (24) Pat. Focher, in itinerario. [Fray Juan Focher, *Itinerarium catholicum proficiscentium ad infideles convertendos*, Sevilla, 1574.]
- (25) D. Ant. de Guebara, in epistolas. [Fray Antonio de Guevara, *Epistolas familiares*, Valladolid, 1539.]
- (26) Ju.^o Euia Bolaños, in philipica curia. [Juan Hevia Bolaños, *Curia philipica*, Lima, 1603, Valladolid, 1605, and later editions.]
- (27) Ley 27 de Justiniano. [Reference to the *Corpus juris civilis*.]
- (28) fr. Pedro de Ledesma, tomo 3 de la caridad; Ledesma, sumario de penitentie sacramento, pag. 794. 1 casu; Ledesma, de escandalo. [Probably references to a work or works of the

2. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.

3. Compiled from text references and marginalia in the MS., A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595. In certain cases we have given more than one citation to the same author or work.

Spanish Dominican Fray Pedro de Ledesma, for many years professor at Salamanca.]

- (29) fr. Yldefonso de Noreña, q. 6. de privilegis incommunic.^e; p. fr. Alfonsus de Loreña, in compendio ind.^o; p. fr. Yldefonsus de Loreña, in explicatione bula Pio 5. [Not identified.]
- (30) fr. Ju.^o Marques, en el gouer Christ.^o [Fray Juan Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, Salamanca, 1612, and later editions.]
- (31) Miranda, en la esplicacion. [Fray Luis de Miranda, *Explicación de la regla de los Terceros*, Salamanca, 1617.]
- (32) Dr. Nauarro; Nauarro, q. 2. pag. 42; Nauarro, c. 27. de censuris; Nauarro, q. 29. ar. 2. f. 297. [These citations probably refer to one or more works of the famous Spanish canonist Martín de Azpilcueta, known as Dr. Navarro.]
- (33) Juanetin niño, en la regla; Pat. fr. Juanetin Niño, en explicatio Regulae. [These citations may possibly refer to *Las tres partes de las Chronicas antiguas de la Orden de los frayles de . . . S. Francisco, del R. S. D. Fr. Marcos, obispo del Puerto*, Salamanca, 1626, translated by Fray Juanetín Niño. Niño was also author of *Aphorismi superiorum etiam et inferiorum, pro concordia, pace et tranquillitate reipublicae conservanda*, Barcelona, 1625.]
- (34) Ley 5. tit. 1. lib. 7. Recop. [*Nueva recopilación*, Alcalá, 1567.]
- (35) fr. Fran.^{co} Ortis lucio, Regula cap. 10. [Probably Fray Francisco Ortiz Lucio, *Compendium declarationum*, Madrid, 1584, 1585. Treatise on the Rule of St. Francis.]
- (36) Metamorfosios de Ouidio. [Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.]
- (37) Panormitano. [Reference to Nicolás Tudeschis Panormitanus, Italian canonist and archbishop of Palermo, frequently cited as Abbas. His principal works were commentaries on the *Decretales* of Gregory IX and the *Clementinae*.]
- (38) Pat. P. de Riudaneyra. [Reference to the Spanish Jesuit Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra.]
- (39) Ricardo, in 4. dist. 18, art. 4. quest. 4. cap. [Not identified.]
- (40) fray M.^l R.^s adiciones. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Adiciones a la explicación de la Bula de la Cruzada*, Salamanca, 1598, 1601.]
- (41) Questiones Regu. f. Manuel R.^s T. 1. q. 35. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Quaestiones regulares et canonicae*. Salamanca, 1598-1602. 3 vol.]
- (42) D. Sa. de sent. excommu.^e f. 107; D. Manuel Sa, de censuris. [Dr. Manuel Sa was a Portuguese Jesuit who wrote various treatises on ecclesiastical subjects in the early seventeenth century. The works referred to in the citations given above have not been identified.]
- (43) D. Augustinus, L. 22. contra faus. [St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, *Contra Faustum manichaeum libri XXXIII*.]

- (44) S. Tho. 2. 2. q. 7. ar. 4 (and other similar citations). [St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*.]
- (45) Salc. in pract. crim. c. 52. p. 188. [Ignacio López de Salcedo, . . . *Practica criminalis canonica* . . . , Alcalá, 1565, and later editions.]
- (46) Serati Maricani, inquisition; Maricani, Enquiridion. [Not identified.]
- (47) Silva, l. 2, caso 233; Silva, l. 1, caso 326. tractatus 17 (and other similar citations.) [Possibly refer to Pedro de Silva, *Varios tractatus juris*, Madrid, 1628.]
- (48) Sylvestro, ver. bellum; Sylvestro, ver, priuil. [Probably refer to the *Summa Sylvestrina* of the Italian Dominican theologian Silvestro Mazzolini.]
- (49) Soto, in justicia y jure. [Fray Domingo de Soto, *De justitia et jure*, Salamanca, 1556, and later editions.]
- (50) Soto, in 4 sent. dis. 18. q. 1. art. 5. [Fray Domingo de Soto, *In quartum sententiarum commentarii*, Salamanca, 1557-60.]
- (51) de sacramentis del p.^e suares. [P. Francisco Suárez, *de sacramentis*.]
- (52) Torneira, in tra. 1. prelatorum. [Fray Antonio Delgado Torneira, *Avisos y documentos para prelados*, Toledo, 1579; *Regla y arancel de prelados*, Toledo, 1598.]
- (53) fr. Al.^o Vega. cap. 25. de concyencia erronea, f. 694; Vega, cap. 85. caso 59. fol. 845. de excomm.^e [Probably refer to the writings of Fray Alonso de la Vega, Order of the Minims. His principal work was *Summa llamada sylva y práctica del foro interior, utilíssima para confesores y penitentes*, Alcalá, 1594, and later editions.]
- (54) Pat. Veracruz, in 1 p. especul, conjugiorum. [Fray Alonso de la Veracruz, *Speculum conjugiorum*, México, 1556, and later editions.]
- (55) Villadiego, in Politica. [Alonso de Villadiego Vascañana y Montoya, *Instrucción política y práctica judicial conforme al estilo de los consejos, audiencias y tribunales de corte, y otros ordinarios del reino, utilíssima para los gobernadores y corregidores y otros jueces ordinarios y de comission* . . . , Madrid, 1612, and later editions.]
- (56) Villalobos, tra. 18. cap. 21. com. 4. [Not identified. Compare no. 120, *infra*.]

D. Fray Nicolás de Freitas. c. 1662-1663.⁴

- (57) Directorium curatorum. [Dr. Luis Juan Villeta, *Libro intitulado Directorium Curatorum compuesto por el illustre y reve-*

4. Trial proceedings against Diego de Peñalosa. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

rendíssimo Sr. D. Fr. Pedro Martyr Coma Obispo de Elna, nuevamente traducido de la lengua Cathalana en vulgar castellano, Barcelona, 1566, and many later editions; or possibly a work of Cardinal Bellarmine. See no. 95, infra.]

- (58) Libro [de sermones] de fray fulano Márquez. [Possibly a work of Fray Juan Márquez, author of *El gobernador christiano*, who was a famous preacher.]

E. *Fray Felipe de la Cruz. 1662.*⁵

- (59) Molina, de oracion; Molina, de Contemplacion. [Fray Antonio de Molina, *Exercicios espirituales de las excelencias, provecho y necesidad de la oración mental*, Burgos, 1615, and later editions.]

F. *Books Found by De Vargas at Zuñi in 1692.*^{5a}

- (60) Vn misal mui bien tratado; no de los mui modernos.
- (61) Vn libro enquadernado de la semana santa.
- (62) Otro libro que se intitula fauores del Rey del cielo hecho a su esposa Santa Juana de la Cruz. [Fray Pedro Navarro, *Favores de el Rey de el cielo, hechos a su esposa la Santa Juana de la Cruz*, Madrid, 1662.]
- (63) Otro libro que se intitula segunda Parte del itinerario ystorial en que se trata de la vida de xpto. [Possibly P. Alonso Andrade, S. J., *Itinerario Historial que debe guardar el hombre para caminar al cielo*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1642, and later editions.]
- (64) Otro libro que se Yntitula los libros de la madre santa theresa de Jhus. [Los libros de la M. Teresa de Jesús, Salamanca, 1558, and later editions.]
- (65) Mas otro libro que se intitula manual de administrar los sacramentos a los españoles y naturales de esta nueva España. [Possibly Fray Pedro de Contreras Gallardo, *Manual de administrar los Santos Sacramentos a los españoles y naturales desta nueva España conforme a la reforma de Paulo V*, México, 1638.]
- (66) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula ynstrucion spiritual para animar al que a la Religion biene y Profesa en ella. [Not identified.]
- (67) Otro libro sin Pergamino y falto de algunas ojas que se Yntitula meditacion del amor de dios. [Possibly Fray Diego de Estella (Fray Diego de San Cristóbal), *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios*, Salamanca, 1576, 1578.]
- (68) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula en la Primera foxa que la faltan

5. Trial proceedings against López de Mendizábal. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, exp. 1, 594, exp. 1.

5a. A. G. I., Guadalajara, leg. 139.

- las demas Primera Parte de la Venida de Xpto y de su vida y milagros. [Cf. no. 63, *supra*.]
- (69) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula manual de administrar los santos sacramentos a los naturales y españoles de esta nueva spaña. [Cf. no. 65, *supra*.]
- (70) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula declaracion copiosa de la doctrina xptiana Compuesta por horden del Beatissimo Padre Clemente octauo. [One of the Spanish versions of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's work. Cf. no. 19, *supra*.]
- (71) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula Directorium Coratorum, instruccion de curas Vtil y Prouechoso Para los que tienen Cargo de almas. [See no. 57 *supra*, and no. 95, *infra*.]
- (72) Mas otro libro que se intitula Confesionario en lengua mexicana y Castellana. [Probably by Fray Alonso de Molina or Fray Juan Bautista. See no. 131, *infra*.]
- (73) Mas otro libro falto de ojas al principio y al fin que se Yntitula declaracion de la Doctrina Christiana. [Cf. no. 70, *supra*.]
- (74) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula mementos de la misa. [Possibly Pedro de la Fuente, *Instrucción de religiosos y declaración de los mementos de la misa*, Sevilla, 1616.]
- (75) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula obras de Queuedo. [Probably Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas.]
- (76) Mas se halla otro libro de la Dominica y adbiento sin encuadernar. [Probably a book of sermons or devotions for the Sundays of Advent.]

II

BOOKS OWNED OR USED BY GOVERNORS

A. *Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614)*.⁶

- (77) Practica criminal eclesiastica. [Not identified. Cf. no. 45 *supra*.]

B. *Juan de Eulate (1618-1625)*.⁷

- (78) Un libro del doctor fr. Manuel Rodríguez. [Cf. nos. 40, 41, *supra*.]

C. *Juan Manso de Contreras (1656-1659)*.⁸

- (79) Un libro maltratado jornadas para el cielo. [Fray Cristóbal Moreno, *Libro intitulado Jornadas para el cielo*, Zaragoza, 1580, and later editions.]

6. Pérez Guerta, *Relación verdadera*. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 316.

7. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.

8. A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286.

D. *Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) and his wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche.*⁹

- (80) Vn libro grande yntitulado Vida de Xpto. de medio pliego; otro libro en medio pliego intitulado tersera parte de la uida de Xpto; la tersera y segunda parte de la bida de Xpto de Fonseca. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Primera parte de la vida de Christo*, Toledo, 1596; *Segunda parte . . .*, Toledo, 1601; *Tercera parte . . .*, Madrid, 1605; *Quarta parte . . .*, Madrid, 1611. The different parts are separate treatises, and each part was republished in later editions. Apparently only the second and third part were taken at this time, for the first part was later embargoed by Posada. See no. 96, *infra*.]
- (81) Libro yntitulado Don quijote de la Mancha. [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.]
- (82) Libro yntitulado discerto para todos los ebanjelios en quartilla; una quaresma de fonseca. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Discursos para todos los evangelios de la Quaresma*, Madrid, 1614.]
- (83) Libro yntitulado primera parte de los discursos de paciencia en quartilla; primera parte de los discursos de la paciencia xptiana de çarate. [Fray Fernando de Zárate, *Discursos de la paciencia christiana*, Alcalá, 1592, and many later editions. An edition of Valencia, 1602, is entitled, *Primera parte de los discursos de la paciencia christiana*.]
- (84) Otro grande yntitulado primera parte de la suma de medio pliego; una suma de ledezma. [Either Fray Pedro de Ledesma, *Primera parte de la Summa en la qual se cifra todo lo que toca y pertenece a los sacramentos*, Salamanca, 1598, and later editions; or Fray Bartolomé de Ledesma, *Suma de casos de conciencia*, México, 1560, Salamanca, 1585.]
- (85) Vn libro en medio pliego titulado bitorias de Xpto; bitorias de Xpto de Loaisa. [Fray Rodrigo de Loaisa, *Victorias de Cristo nuestro Redentor*, Sevilla, 1618.]
- (86) Libro en latin yntitulado el prinsipe. [This may be Diego Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano representada en 100 empresas*, which appears in the Peñalosa list (see no. 129, *infra*). There were many editions of this work. which was translated into various languages. A Latin version

9. Nos. 80-87 were included in the embargo of López' property on July 17, 1662, and in the list of the same goods on deposit with a citizen of the province, September 11, 1662. The brief descriptions vary in the two lists. In the second list the names of authors are usually given and for this reason we have included descriptions from both lists. Nos. 88-103 are found in the list of property embargoed by Posada after the arrest of López on August 26, 1662. A. G. M., Tierras, tomos 3268, 3283, 3286. Nos. 104-107 are taken from references found in the trial proceedings against López and Doña Teresa. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, 593, 594, 596.

was published at Brussels in 1640, the same year as the original Spanish appeared.]

- (87) Un vocabulario de lebrixa en latin. [Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictioniarum latino-hispanicum*, Salamanca, 1492.]
- (88) Un quadernito de officios de santos.
- (89) Vn libro de a quarto yntitulado muerte de Dios por Vida del hombre. [Fray Hernando Camargo y Salgado, *Muerte de Dios por vida del hombre, deduzida de las postrimerías de Cristo Señor nuestro . . .*, Poema en décimas, Madrid, 1619.]
- (90) Otro del mesmo tamaño de Sirujia en Romance. [Many books on surgery were published in Spanish during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. At least two were printed in Mexico, and the lists of books in the hands of Mexican dealers show that a fair number of Spanish imprints were also available there.]
- (91) Otro del mesmo tamaño de la Vida de Santa Theresa. [Among the most important works published during this period on the life of St. Theresa are: P. Francisco de Ribera, S. J., *La vida de la Madre Teresa de Jesús*, Salamanca, 1590; Fray Diego de Yepes, *Vida, virtudes y milagros de la bienaventurada Virgen Teresa de Jesús*, Madrid, 1595; and Fray Juan de Jesús María and Fray Juan de San Jerónimo, *Compendium vitae B. Virginis Teresiae a Jesu*, Rome, 1609.]
- (92) Otro de la vida de Don Phelippe el Prudente del mesmo tamaño. [Possibly, Lorenzo van der Hammen y León, *Don Felipe "el Prudente," segundo de este nombre, rey de las Españas y Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1625; or Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Philipe segundo, el prudente*, Cuenca, 1621.]
- (93) Otro libro de a cuarto maltratado yntitulado Mexia del matrimonio. [Fray Vicente Mexía, *Salvdable instrucción del estado del matrimonio*, Córdoba, 1566. Said to be the first book in Castilian printed there. Or Luis Mexía, *Colloquio intitulado institución del Matrimonio cristiano*, Valencia, 1528. Trans. of Erasmus.]
- (94) Vn libro pequeño de Marcos de Obregón. [Vicente Espinel, *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*, Madrid, 1618.]
- (95) Otro libro pequeño en romance yntitulado directorium curatum (que parece cartilla). [See no. 57, *supra.*]¹⁰

10. The references to this book are somewhat confusing. Although Pedro Martyr Coma's work was widely current and at least eighteen Spanish editions had appeared by the early 1620's, in his testimony concerning Anaya's erroneous views with regard to spiritual relationships López attributed the copy he used to Bellarmine: "He does

- (96) Otro libro de a folio Intitulado Primera parte de la Vida de Xpto. [See no. 80, *supra*.]
- (97) Otro maltratado de a folio Intitulado Prouincia de San Agustin de la Nueva España. [Fray Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España*, México, 1606.]
- (98) Vn libro de a quarto roto sin pergamino en Octabas.
- (99) Vn libro muy maltratado de diferentes Comedias. [Probably a volume of one of the collections of plays which were published in Spain during the seventeenth century. See Julio Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, Tomo IV (Madrid, 1916), 5-28; and George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, (6th ed., Boston, n. d.) Vol. III, Appendix, F.]
- (100) Otro librito yntitulado Examen de Escribanos de Argüello. [Possibly Antonio de Argüello, *Tratado de escrituras y contratos públicos*, Madrid, 1620, 1651.]
- (101) Vn sermon sin pergamino a San Phelippe Neri de Don Anttonio Peralta Castañeda. [*Sermon del glorioso San Phelippe Neri, fundador de la Congregacion del Oratorio. Predicole el Señor D. Antonio de Peralta Castañeda, . . . En la fiesta, que en el Convento de Carmelitas Descalças celebró a su inclyto patrono la charitativa concordia de sacerdotes. . . .*, México, 1652.]
- (102) Vna cartilla de muchachos. [Many *cartillas*, or primers, were printed in Spain but as a result of the kind of use they received most of them have disappeared.]
- (103) Un diurno pequeño viejo.
- (104) Ludovico Ariosto. *Orlando furioso*.
- (105) Un libro encuadernado en tablas intitulado officium beate mariae Virginis impreso en Antuerpia, Año de mill y seiscientos y cinquenta y dos.
- (106) Un libro pequeño aforado en tablas que se intitulaba el perfecto Xptiano impreso en Seuilla, Año mill y seiscientos y quarenta y dos. [Fray Juan González de Critana, *El perfecto cristiano*, Valladolid, 1601, and later editions.]
- (107) Un libro intitulado el Gouern.^{or} Xptiano. [Fray Juan Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*. See no. 30, *supra*.]

not remember whether he summoned him (Anaya) for the purpose, or whether he came to see this confessant on other business, but one night when they were in his reception room, this confessant said to him, 'Come here, Cristóbal, who gets you involved in arguments with the friars, and, according to what I hear, such an error as that the priest does not contract spiritual relationship with the baptized and his parents? The ones with whom he does not contract it are the god parents, nor do they contract it with each other. And if you wish to see it in plain Spanish, and if you do not know it, bring that book which is over there on that table.' And the book was *Directorium Curatorum* by Bellarmino." A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 594.

E. *Diego de Peñalosa Briceño (1661-1664).*¹¹

- (108) Dos libritos de officio menor de la Virgen.
- (109) Otro librito pequeño yntitulado el Comulgatorio. [Baltasar Gracián y Morales, *El comulgatorio*, Zaragoza, 1655.]¹²
- (110) Dos libros de a quarto yntitulados el Criticon, Primera y segunda parte. [B. Gracián, *El criticón*, 1651-57. Three parts.]
- (111) Otro librito pequeño yntitulado el Heroe de Lorenço Gracian. [B. Gracián, *El Héroe*, Madrid, 1630, Huelva, 1637.]
- (112) Otro pequeño yntitulado el discreto. [B. Gracián, *El Discreto*, Huesca, 1646.]
- (113) Otro pequeño yntitulado el oraculo. [B. Gracián, *El oráculo manual*, Huesca, 1647.]
- (114) Un libro de a quarto yntitulado la Jineta de España. [Pedro Fernández de Andrada, *Libro de la gineta de España*, Sevilla, 1599; *Nuevos discursos de la gineta de España*, Sevilla, 1616.]
- (115) [Libro yntitulado Cronica de Mechoacan. [Fray Alonso de la Rea, *Chronica de la Orden de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco, Prouincia de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Mechoacan en la Nueva España*, México, 1643; or Fray Juan González de la Puente, *Primera parte de la Chronica Augustiana de Mechoacan . . .*, México, 1624.]
- (116) Otro [libro intitulado] Milicia Yndiana. [Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias . . .*, Madrid, 1599. This work is in three parts: *Milicia Indiana*, *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, and *Compendio de la Esfera*.]
- (117) Un libro de a quarto yntitulado Discurso para todos los Euangelios de la Quaresma. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca. See no. 82, *supra*.]
- (118) Dos libros de a folio yntitulados Perfecto Prelado primera y segunda parte. [Pedro de Reina Maldonado, *Norte claro del perfecto prelado en su pastoral gobierno*, Madrid, 1613.]
- (119) Dos cuerpos de libros de a folio Primera y Segunda parte de Monarquía Indiana. [Fray Juan Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, Madrid, 1613.]
- (120) Otros dos libros de a folio Primera y segunda parte de Villa-

11. From lists in A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286. When Peñalosa's property was appraised early in July, 1669, by order of the Holy Office, before being put up at public auction, the appraisers refused to set a value on the books, "por no ser de su facultad." The auction went on throughout the summer of 1669. On July 13 Fray Francisco de Ayeta, *procurador* of the Convento Grande de San Francisco in Mexico City, later a custodian of the New Mexico missions, bought "43 books, large and small, by different authors," for 46 pesos.

12. This is the only book Gracián published under his own name. The first part of the *Criticón* appeared under the pseudonym García de Marlones, and the rest of his works carry that of Lorenzo Gracián Infanzón.

lobos. [The description of this work as in two volumes in folio makes it probable that it is Fray Enrique de Villalobos' *Summa de la theología moral y canónica*, Lisbon, 1623, and later editions, all of which are in two volumes folio.]

- (121) Otros dos cuerpos de libros de a folio primera y segunda parte de fray Manuel Rodriguez. [Undoubtedly one of the works of the Portuguese canonist Fray Manuel Rodríguez. Cf. nos. 40, 41, *supra*. Another of his works is entitled, *Obras morales en romance*, Madrid, 1602, 2 vol. folio.]
- (122) Vn libro encuadernado en tabla de a quarto que su titulo es Vocabulario de Anttonio de Nebrija. [Cf. no. 87, *supra*.]
- (123) Un libro de a quarto aforrado en pergamino yntitulado Sermones Varios de Naxera Segunda parte. [Padre Manuel de Nájera, *Sermones varios*, Alcalá-Madrid, 1643-58, 4 vol.]
- (124) Otro libro pequeño de a octabo aforrado en pergamino yntitulado el dia de fiesta. [Juan de Zabaleta, *El Día de fiesta por la mañana*, 1654; *El día de fiesta por la tarde*, 1660.]
- (125) Otro librito del mesmo tamaño con algunas ojas maltratadas del principio, y todo ello esta y al folio primero dice Historia de la Nueva Mexico por el capitan Gaspar de Villagra. [Gaspar de Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva México*, Alcalá, 1610.]
- (126) Un Arte de Anttonio de Nebrisa Vien tratado. [Antonio de Nebrija, *Arte de la lengua castellana*, 1492.]
- (127) Un librito pequeñito yntitulado el politico. [B. Gracián, *El político don Fernando el Católico*, Zaragoza, 1640.]
- (128) Vn librito pequeño de a quarto empeçado a apolillar yntitulado Comparaciones o similes para los vicios y virtudes. [Juan Pérez de Moya, *Comparaciones o símiles para los vicios e virtudes: muy útil y necessario para predicadores*, Alcalá, 1584. Another list of these same books gives this title and also "otro librito Yntitulado Similes de Moya." It is difficult to determine whether the same book was listed twice by mistake or whether there actually were two copies.]
- (129) Un libro de a cuarto yntitulado Ydea de un principe politico Christiano, etc. [Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Ydea de un príncipe, político cristiano representada en 100 empresas*, Münster, 1640, Munich, 1640. A Latin version appeared at Brussels the same year. Cf. no. 86, *supra*.]
- (130) Un librito maltratado de a quarto con algunas ojas rotas yntitulado Seremonial de la missa.
- (131) Otro de a quarto de pocas ojas viejo y algunas dellas rotas que parece es Cathecismo en Mexicano y Castellano. [For data concerning the numerous cathecisms and *doctrinas* of this kind published during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,

see: P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, Tomo II (Tlalpam, D. F., 1922), 399-424; Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI*, Primera parte (México, 1886); and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española* (4a ed., Madrid, 1918), Tomo III, 307-317.]

- (132) Y atado con un cordonsillo de gamuça quince foxas sueltas que son de la Sagrada Escritura que se llebo el dicho Alguacil Mayor.
- (133) [Un libro] de a quarto yntitulado leyes penales. [Possibly Francisco de la Pradilla Barnuevo, *Tratado y suma de todas las leyes penales, canónicas, civiles y de estos reynos, de mucha utilidad y provecho para los naturales de ellos, pero para todos en general*, Sevilla, 1613.]
- (134) [Un libro] de a quarto yntitulado guerras de Ynglaterra. [Mayolino Bisaccioni, *Guerras civiles de Inglaterra, trágica muerte de su rey Carlos*, Traducción del toscano al español por D. Diego Felipe de Albornoz, Madrid, 1658.]
- (135) Otro libro del mesmo tamaño de Ymprenta y atitulado Seneca Ympugnado. [Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Séneca impugnado de Séneca en cuestiones políticas y morales*, Madrid, 1650.]
- (136) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Eraclito y democrito. [Antonio López de Vega, *Heráclito y Demócrito de nuestro siglo . . .*, Madrid, 1641.]
- (137) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Viaje del Ynfante Cardenal. [Diego de Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje del infante cardenal Don Fernando de Austria, desde 12 de abril 1632 que salió de Madrid con . . . Felipe IV, su hermano, para la ciudad de Barcelona, hasta 4 de noviembre de 1634 que entró en la de Bruselas . . .*, Antwerp, 1635; *Viaje y guerras del Infante Cardenal . . . hasta vientiuno de setiembre de mil seiscientos treinta y seis*, Barcelona, 1637.]
- (138) Otro libro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Arte de Ynjenio. [B. Gracián, *Arte de ingenio, tratado de la agudeza en que se explican todos los modos y diferencia de conceptos*, Madrid, 1642.]
- (139) Otro del mesmo tamaño aforrado en tabla maltratado, que tiene por principio Regy Secularis inmortalis y su autor Arias Montano que todo esta en verso latino con estampas. [Benito Arias Montano, *Regi Seculari S. Humanae Salutis Monumenta*, Antwerp, 1571.]
- (140) Otro de octavo yntitulado experiencias de amor y fortuna. [Francisco de Quintana (pseudonym, Francisco de las Cuevas or de la Cueva), *Las experiencias de amor y fortuna*, Madrid, 1626.]
- (141) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado errores celebrados. [Juan de Zabaleta, *Errores celebrados de la antigüedad*, 1653.]

- (142) Otro del mismo tamaño yntitulado Estebanillo Gonzales. [*Vida y hechos de Estevanillo González, hombre de buen humor*, Antwerp, 1646.]
- (143) Otro yntitulado Juguetes de Quebedo. [Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, *Juguetes de la niñez y travesuras del ingenio*, Madrid, 1633.]
- (144) Otro del mismo tamaño yntitulado Estilo de Cartas. [Possibly Gaspar de Tejada, *Estilo de escreuir cartas mensajeras . . .*, Zaragoza, 1547; Juan de Leras, *Estilo de escribir cartas*, Zaragoza, 1569; Tomás Gracián Dantisco, *Arte de escribir cartas familiares*, Madrid, 1589; Juan Vicente Peliger, *Formulario y estilo curioso de escribir cartas missivas*, Madrid, 1599; or Juan Páez de Valenzuela y Castillejo, *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir cartas misivas y responder a ellas*, Córdoba, 1630.]
- (145) Otro del mismo tamaño yntitulado Letras humanas. [Diego de Agreda y Vargas, *Lugares comunes de letras humanas*, Madrid, 1616.]
- (146) Otro del mismo tamaño yntitulado Arte poetica. [Probably Juan Díaz Rengifo (Diego García Rengifo), *Arte poética española*, Salamanca, 1592.]
- (147) Otro del mismo tamaño Yntitulado Marco Bruto de Quebedo. [Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, *Primera parte de la vida de Marco Bruto*, Madrid, 1644.]
- (148) Otro del mismo Tamaño Yntitulado, digo que no tiene Titulo por estar dos foxas cortadas de el Principio Manuscrito, Y en la Primera foxa dice la Pasion de Xpto Señor Nuestro &a. y pasadas tres foxas empiessa lo foliado hasta el numero 101 y despues hay Tambien dos foxas manuscritas.
- (149) Un libro de Comedias de diferentes autores. [See no. 99, *supra*.]
- (150) Otro libro de a folio yntitulado Vitorias de Xpto de Loaisa. [Fray Rodrigo de Loaisa, *Victorias de Cristo nuestro Redentor*, Sevilla, 1618. See no. 85, *supra*.]
- (151) Un quadernito de a octabo sin cubierta ympresso en Madrid 1656 por Fray Martin del Castillo yntitulado Propal estrapetalí. [Fray Martín del Castillo was a prolific religious writer of the seventeenth century. He became provincial of the Franciscan province of the Holy Evangel of Mexico and rector of the Colegio de San Buenaventura.]

F. *Books cited by Peñalosa, probably in the Casa Real.*¹³

- (152) Curia filípica. [See no. 26, *supra*.]
- (153) Solorzano. Política indiana. [Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, Madrid, 1648.]

13. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

- (154) *Practica de Monteroso*. [Gabriel de Monteroso y Alvarado, *Práctica civil y criminal*, Valladolid, 1566.]
- (155) Sylvestro in sum. verbo immunit. [See no. 48, *supra*.]
- (156) Antonio Gomez, 3. to var. c. 2. vers. 4. [Probably Antonio Gómez, *Variarum resolutionum juris civilis communis et regii libri III*, Salamanca, 1552, and later editions.]
- (157) 1. Rebuf. 2. tom. ad. leg. gallic. de immu. nuni. eccles. art. 1. gl. 1. num. 2.¹⁴ [Probably refers to a work of Pierre Rebuffe, French juriconsult of the sixteenth century.]
- (158) Julio Claro, in prac. lib. 5. [Probably refers to a work of the Italian juriconsult Chiaro (Clarus or Claro).]
- (159) Tiber. Dec. 2. to. crali. 6. c. 28. num. 23. [Probably refers to Tiberius Decianus. *Tractatus criminalis utriusque censurae duobus tomis distinctus*, Venice, 1580, and later editions.]

III

BOOKS OWNED BY COLONISTS

A. Alonso de Quesada.¹⁵

- (160) Siete libros divinos y humanos.

B. Juan del Caso Baraona.¹⁶

- (161) Cinco libros de medicinas de graves autores.

C. Francisco Gómez de Torres.¹⁷

- (162) Libro de papeles de devocion.

D. Francisco de Anaya Almazán.¹⁸

- (163) Un libro que se llama Curia Filipica. [See no. 26, *supra*.]

E. Diego Romero.¹⁹

- (164) Librito de diferentes oraciones y devociones.

F. Nicolás de Aguilar.²⁰

- (165) Un libro intitulado Catecismo en lengua castellana y dentro del otro libro muy pequeño intitulado Instruccion para examinar la conciencia.

14. We are not entirely certain of our reading of this citation which appears as a marginal note.

15. A. G. I., México, leg. 25.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Biblioteca Nacional, México, leg. 1, doc. 8.

18. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 582, exp. 2.

19. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 586, exp. 1.

20. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 512, exp. 1.

- (166) Un librito impreso de los quatro evangelios.
- (167) Un libro pequeño aforado de tablas negras pequeñas muy viejo que al principio no tiene titulo y al medio parece ser de exercicios y consideraciones.

G. *Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán*.²¹

- (168) Un catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina sancta impreso en Madrid año de mill seiscientos y cinquenta nueve.
- (169) Un libro a quarto intitulado trauajos de Jesus. [Venerable Tomás de Jesús, *Trabajos de Jesús*, 1602, 1609.]
- (170) Otro libro pequeño intitulado breve catecismo.

21. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 582, exp. 2.