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TWO COLONIAL NEW MEXICO LIBRARIES

1704, 1776

By ELEANOR B. ADAMS

IN AN EARLIER article, written in collaboration with France V. Scholes,¹ we discussed the information available concerning books current in New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Data about this phase of the intellectual life of the frontier of New Spain are scanty, and the sources for the eighteenth century contain very few references to books. No evidence has been found with regard to books owned by colonists. In general, of course, there would have been little occasion to record the books belonging to private individuals, but it is doubtful that the majority of the Spanish settlers had many. The lack of education among the colonists appears to have been still greater than in the preceding century, and, as before, the friars and the provincial governors were almost the only persons who had received the benefit of any formal academic training. Despite the gradual growth of permanent settlement, life in New Mexico in the eighteenth century continued to be that of an isolated frontier outpost, and the chief contact with the intellectual progress of the outside world necessarily came through the Franciscan missionaries and the governors of the province.

Two lists dated more than seventy years apart must serve as examples of the kind of books imported by these secular and ecclesiastical leaders. The first is taken from an inventory of the property of Don Diego de Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico, made at Santa Fe, April 20, 1704, shortly after his sudden and mysterious death.² The second is a catalogue of the library of the Custody of New Mexico remitted in 1777 to the Provincial of the Franciscan

1. E. B. Adams and F. V. Scholes, "Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII (1942), 226-270.

2. *Ymbentario de los vienes que se hallaron del señor Marques de la naba de Brazinas ya difunto gouernador y capitan general que fue deste Reino de la nueva mexico*-----, Santa Fe Archives, Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, Sec. 100.

province of the Holy Gospel, Fray Isidro Murillo, by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez as part of his report on his tour of inspection of the New Mexico missions.³ These are given in the Appendix exactly as they appear in the documents, with the addition of explanatory identifications of author and title when this is necessary and possible.

Don Diego José de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras, Marqués de la Nava de Brazinas, was born in Spain in 1643. He belonged to an illustrious and ancient family whose members included many great soldiers, churchmen, and administrators prominent in Spanish affairs over a period of several centuries. It is natural that men of such an energetic and enterprising heritage should have turned to the New World in search of even greater opportunities to exercise their talents and fulfill their ambitions. Don Diego was not the first of the Vargas line to come to America, and on his mother's side he was descended from some of the early conquerors. His career in New Spain began in 1673 when he arrived in Mexico City as a royal courier carrying dispatches to the viceroy. For several years thereafter he served in various administrative posts in New Spain. In 1688 the Crown appointed him governor and captain general of New Mexico with instructions to undertake the reconquest. He reached El Paso in February, 1691, and began the difficult task of restoring the rebellious province to the Spanish Crown. After a successful military expedition in 1692, a second expedition entered the province in the autumn of 1693 to resettle it and establish a presidio at Santa Fe. The following three years were spent in subduing the natives by force of arms, refounding the missions, and establishing the colonists in their new homes. Vargas' appointment as governor expired in 1696, and his successor, Don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, arrived in Santa Fe in July, 1697. The new governor turned the colonists against the reconqueror, who spent the next three years in prison. Meanwhile the Crown acknowledged Vargas' achievements by granting him the title of Marqués de la

3. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (cited hereafter as B. N. M.). leg. 10, doc. 48.

Nava de Brazinas and an *encomienda* in New Mexico. Vargas was released from prison in the summer of 1700 and went to Mexico City to defend himself against the charges preferred by Cubero and the citizens of Santa Fe. The authorities in Spain remained unaware of the whole unhappy situation until 1700, and, after reviewing the case, they ordered the viceroy and *audiencia* to settle it as soon as possible. As a matter of fact, steps had already been taken in this direction, and in 1703 Vargas was completely exonerated. In 1697 he had been reappointed to the governorship of New Mexico to succeed Cubero, and he was now authorized to resume the office. He reached Santa Fe late in 1703 and lost no time in re-establishing his authority. The problem of hostile Indians was as acute as ever, and late in March of the following year Vargas led an expedition against the Faraon Apaches in the Sandia mountains. He was not destined to carry it through to a successful conclusion, for he fell ill while pursuing the enemy and died at Bernalillo on April 8, 1704.⁴

The day before he died Vargas made a will at Bernalillo,⁵ leaving in force an earlier will drawn up in Mexico City in 1703. The latter has not been found. Although he made a number of specific bequests of his clothing and personal effects, his books are not mentioned.

There are thirty-three books listed in the inventory of Vargas' property made after his death. In view of conditions on the frontier at that time, however, and the length and dangers of the journey to Santa Fe, it seems a comparatively large number. On the whole it is a curious collection for a frontier library.

The largest group of works concerns the history of the rulers and noble families of Spain and includes López de Haro's *Nobiliario* (1, 4),⁶ *Ilustraciones Genealógicas de los*

4. See J. M. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (Albuquerque, 1940); ———, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande* (Chicago, 1942); L. B. Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XIV (1939), 366-417.

5. There is a translation of this will in R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (1914), Vol. 1, 301-310.

6. The numbers in parentheses refer to the books listed by the same numbers in the Appendix.

Cathólicos Reyes by Garibay y Zamalloa (6), Salazar de Mendoza's *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y León* (13), and Moreno de Vargas' *Discursos de la nobleza de España* (15). Pizarro y Orellana's *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo* (10) carries the story to the New World. Other historical writings deal with the lives of Charles V (5) and Philip IV (18). The large proportion of such works clearly reflects Vargas' aristocratic origin and his pride in it. Still other titles (*Grandezas de Madrid*, *Menosprecio de Corte*, *Tesoro militar de caballería*, a chronicle of the province of Soria, *Solo Madrid es corte*, etc.) increase the impression that this active soldier and frontiersman was not immune from nostalgia for the things he had left behind in order to win new glory for himself and his king at one of the outposts of the Spanish empire. Even his cook book (23) may have had its origin at court. It is a temptation to believe that these books were important to him chiefly as a symbol of a way of life.

Like those of his pre-Revolt predecessors,⁷ Vargas' library contained a few items of politico-moralistic character (7, 8, 14, 29) and a number of standard works on law (3, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25). There are also a half a dozen of the devotional writings found in almost any collection of this kind. Perhaps the inclusion of the *Regla de las cinco órdenes de Arquitectura* (31) arose from practical motives.

Six items deal specifically with America. Solórzano Pereira's *Política Indiana* (19, 25) needs no comment, and we should be surprised if it had been omitted. González Dávila's *Teatro eclesiástico* (12) and Peña Montenegro's *Itinerario* (9) relate to the history and practice of the Church in the Indies and would have been of utilitarian value in a mission province. Vargas Machuca's *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (27) is a learned and comprehensive work in three distinct parts, which include a treatise on military science as well as a detailed description of the Indies. *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo* (10) and the

7. See Adams and Scholes, "Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680."

life of Gregorio López (28) describe the achievements of outstanding personalities in the New World. It is also interesting to note that Vargas owned a copy of the *Mística Ciudad de Dios* (26). Its author, the Spanish mystic, Sor María Jesús de Agreda, was identified as the famous "Lady in Blue" of Southwestern legend who was miraculously transported to that region in the early seventeenth century and prepared the way for the conversion of certain tribes.

Apparently Vargas had no great interest in the lighter forms of literature such as novels or the drama, for there is not one book of this nature listed. He undoubtedly had little time or inclination to read purely for pleasure, and his library is that of a man of action interested in books mainly for their usefulness to him in carrying forward an old tradition in new fields of endeavor.

Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez,⁸ who arrived in New Mexico in March, 1776, where he had been sent as *comisario visitador* of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul by order of his Provincial, Fray Isidro Murillo, divides the "kingdom of New Mexico" and its Custody into two branches. He refers to them as the El Paso branch, consisting of a Spanish villa and four Indian pueblos, and the more important New Mexico branch in the interior, which included three Spanish villas (Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and La Cañada) and twenty-two Indian pueblos. Between the time of his arrival and June 10, 1776, Fray Francisco inspected all but three of the missions belonging to the latter group. A letter which he wrote to the Provincial after he returned to El Paso in May, 1777, and other documents indicate that he was also acting as custodian.

In June, 1776, he made plans for an expedition to Monterey with Fray Francisco Vélez de Escalante, then missionary at Zuñi. After various delays they set out on July 29 with eight citizens who had volunteered to accompany them. After traveling a considerable distance into

8. Unless otherwise indicated in the notes, the following account is based on B. N. M., leg. 10, docs. 42-49, which include letters from Domínguez to the Provincial, the report of the *visita* of the New Mexico missions in 1776, and other letters and papers concerning the New Mexico and El Paso missions.

Utah, they abandoned the idea of reaching Monterey and turned back early in October, despite the protests of some of the soldiers. They reached Zuñi on November 24, and, after resting there until December 13, proceeded to Santa Fe, making several stops on the way. Apparently it was during the return journey to Santa Fe that Domínguez made an informal inspection of three missions he had failed to visit in the spring, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi. He reached Santa Fe on January 2, 1777.

Although the Vélez de Escalante-Domínguez expedition into Utah did not accomplish the results they had hoped for, it was the first important exploration of that region. The two friars recorded their experiences in a detailed diary full of significant descriptive material about the country and its inhabitants.⁹

In May Domínguez returned to El Paso, leaving Vélez de Escalante as vice-custodian. On May 27 he forwarded his report on the interior missions, together with various documents relating to mission affairs, to the Provincial in Mexico City. He had not yet begun his visitation of the missions belonging to the El Paso branch of the Custody but intended to do so immediately, and on June 26 he wrote that the inspection had been finished and that he was drawing up his report.

Domínguez' activities and reports clearly indicate that he was a man of zeal and intelligence. Nevertheless, the letters and report sent from El Paso reveal great weariness and discouragement. He begged the Provincial to allow him to renounce the office of custodian because he felt unable to cope with the problems he had found in the Custody. This unhappy frame of mind may have been partly due to the after effects of the hardships he had undergone during the journey into Utah, but there is no doubt that he had found conditions in both the New Mexico and the El Paso districts far from satisfactory and that it had been impossible for

9. *Diario* in *Documentos para la historia de México, Segunda serie* (Mexico, 1854), Tomo I, 275-558; P. Otto Maas, *Viajes de misioneros franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo México* (Seville, 1915), 89-133; H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, Vol. XXVI, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), 7-17.

him to fulfill certain of the instructions given him by the Provincial. The parish records were incomplete and in bad shape, and, because of their ignorance and lack of interest, he was unable to make use of the testimony of the citizens with regard to births, marriages, etc. He was even informed by the Indians that certain *alcaldes mayores* and lieutenants of the New Mexico pueblos had removed the "libros de administración" from the missions "cuyas hojas se han chupado."¹⁰ Moreover, after an outbreak in 1764, Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín, with the consent of some of the friars, had shut up a number of culprits "en la celda destinada entonces para librería y archivo de esta Custodia, y por su desesperación, o qué sé yo, se chuparon muchos libros y quemaron cuantos había de la administración." Some of the missionaries, especially the friar stationed at La Cañada, were suffering extreme poverty, while others were getting comparatively rich by engaging in commercial activities forbidden to them as members of the Order. The necessity of avoiding public scandal prevented Domínguez from dealing with irregularities in an uncompromising fashion, and this caused him some uneasiness about the milder course of action he was forced to take. To add to his difficulties, he had to defend himself against the complaints made by some of the discontented friars, who attempted to stir up trouble for him in various quarters.

He was also deeply shocked to find how little progress had been made in civilizing the Indians after so many years of Christian teaching. To use his own words:

"Even at the end of so many years since their reconquest, the specious title or name of neophytes is still applied to them. This is the reason why their condition now is almost the same as it was in the beginning, for generally speaking they have preserved some very indecent, and perhaps superstitious, customs. . . .

"Most of them do not know their saints' names and those who know them do not use them, and when we call them by their saints' names they usually have their joke

10. This may mean that they used the paper to make cigarettes.

among themselves, repeating the saint's name to each other as if in ridicule. . . .

"Their repugnance and resistance to most Christian acts is evident, for they perform the duties pertaining to the Church under compulsion, and there are usually many omissions. They are not in the habit of praying or crossing themselves when they rise or go to bed, and consequently they have no devotion for certain saints as is customary among us. And if they sometimes invoke God and His saints or pray or pay for masses, it is in a confused manner. . . .

"They do not confess annually. If the fathers find some who know how to make a proper confession, and these are few, there is rarely anyone capable of receiving communion. When in danger of death they do indeed confess, most of them through an interpreter, since out of all the pueblos only those of Isleta, Nambe, San Juan, and Abiquiu (except at Abiquiu the interpreters are Spanish) do not make use of one, with very rare exceptions, for the fathers find it necessary for clearer explanation.

"They are exceedingly fond of pretty reliquaries, medals, crosses, and rosaries, but this does not arise from Christian devoutness (except in a few cases) but from love of ornament. And these objects are always kept for special occasions, and only when the friars admonish them for not wearing them all the time do they wear them until that little scolding has been forgotten. Then they put them away again until another reproof, and so it goes. . . ."

After a description of the personal habits of the Indians, Domínguez goes on to discuss the use of the estufas and then the various dances. He divides the latter into two groups: those resembling the contredanse or minuets as danced in Spain, and the "bailes de cabellera." He considered the first a fairly harmless social dance, but was strongly opposed to the second.

"The fathers have been very zealous in their opposition to this "baile de cabellera," but they have only received rebuffs, and so the fathers are unable to abolish this custom and many others, because excuses are immediately made on the ground that [the Indians] are neophytes, minors, etc.

"Under such pretexts they will always be neophytes and minors with the result that our Holy Faith will not take root and their malice will increase. May God our Lord destroy these pretexts so completely that these wretches may become old Catholics and the greatest saints of the Church. . . ."

In spite of his feeling at this time, Domínguez apparently spent most of the next twenty years laboring in the frontier missions. On May 1, 1795, he wrote from Janos to the Provincial, Fray Francisco de Cruzealegui,¹¹ asking him to use his influence at the Chapter meeting of 1796 to obtain for him the title of *definidor*. He stated that he had been serving for twenty years as a missionary in New Mexico and as chaplain in presidios of Nueva Vizcaya and that he had documents to prove his merits and services.

Although the report made by Domínguez in 1777 is rather clumsily organized, it is very detailed and conscientious. After a short general statement about New Mexico, each mission is described separately, beginning with that of Santa Fe. In each case there is a careful description of the church, convent, and any other religious edifice, with inventories of their furnishings, equipment, and supplies, statements of income and expenses, services rendered by the Indians, calendar of feasts, and notes concerning the history and organization of the *cofradías*, etc. He also includes data about the location of the pueblos, the physical characteristics and products of the land, the language and customs of the inhabitants, and the number of families living in the mission pueblo and the surrounding area. He gives the name, age, birthplace, and years in the Order of the friars in residence at the time of his visita (most of them were natives of New Spain), and a short summary of their careers as missionaries.

This information is followed by an account of the administration of the mission, which varied little throughout the province. Mass was said on Sundays and feast days, after which the congregation often recited the Chris-

11. Museo Nacional, México, Asuntos 238.

tian doctrine. In addition, the young unmarried people were summoned to recite the doctrine every morning, and sometimes in the afternoon as well. On these occasions the father devoted more or less time to expounding various points. This seems to have been the extent of the instruction given to the Indians. The obstacles in the way of further teaching were great, for in many pueblos the Indians either did not speak Spanish at all, or spoke little and understood less. Moreover, as Domínguez' general statement about the Indians, quoted above, shows, they had little real interest in matters pertaining to the Faith. The results obtained depended largely on the ability and energy of the friar in charge. It is interesting to note that Father Domínguez was very favorably impressed by the régime at Jémez under Fray Joaquín Ruiz. Here certain of the choirboys were taught to speak Spanish well and also to read, in order that they might serve as teachers and interpreters for the other Indians.

"The system here is different, for one of the little choirboys . . . takes the catechism and with it in his hand recites the doctrine with the others. In addition, he (Ruiz) persuades many married people, who do not know it and are very backward in it, to come to recite the doctrine, although this requires repeated efforts."

In his *auto de visita* Domínguez warmly expressed his thanks to Father Ruiz for the good order he had found at the mission.

"His Reverence was most gratified and pleased to see the little teachers of the doctrine so learned and well instructed in Christian doctrine, reading, singing, and the manner of assisting at mass, as well as [to observe] their decorum and modesty, for they resemble novices. For all this he gave many thanks to God and charged Father Ruiz to persevere and to continue the fine régime which he has observed up to now."

In fact he was so impressed by the good friar's methods, which he considered those best suited to the spiritual direction and instruction of the Indians, that he gave strict orders that Ruiz' successors should follow them. In order

that there might be no excuse, he ordered Father Ruiz to write a detailed account and post it in the convent. This case is unique, for in general Domínguez had a low opinion of the instruction given to the Indians.

Only one other school is mentioned in the report. This was a "muy corta escuela de niños," presumably for Spanish children, conducted by the father at the villa of La Cañada. In return the parents of the children made a small annual payment in kind for the maintenance of the priest. Unfortunately this school was already disintegrating because of the mortal illness of the minister.

At the end of the Appendix to this article there is a list of the books found at each mission as shown in the inventories of the sacristies and convents included in Domínguez' report. The number is very small indeed, and, except at Santo Domingo, represents only the essential items for the celebration of the divine offices. Since Domínguez exercised extreme care in recording everything belonging to the missions, we must assume that if there were any other books at the missions, they must have been the property of the friar in charge or borrowed from the library of the Custody. Probably they had their own breviaries. Acoma is the only place where a bookcase is listed among the convent furnishings. The scarcity of books at the missions seem significant in relation to the small amount of formal instruction given to the Indians.

The library and archive of the Custody were kept at the convent of Santo Domingo. The books belonging to the convent itself, including some left behind or donated by various friars, are mentioned in the section of the report which concerns that mission. The catalogues of the library and archive of the Custody are appended at the end of the report. It is not clear whether the prisoners in 1764, already referred to, destroyed any of the library or whether they confined their mischief to the mission records. It will be noted that many of the books were in bad shape when Domínguez saw them.

The catalogue of the library as it existed in 1776 shows two hundred and fifty-six items, including a number of

duplicates. The actual number of volumes, including sets and duplicate copies listed under a single heading, is somewhat larger. Up to the time of Domínguez' visitation it had apparently been the custom for the friars to borrow books from the collections at the Santo Domingo convent without formality. Certain titles were missing from the convent library, and Domínguez therefore issued an order to the resident missionary and his successors not to allow any friar to take books from the mission without leaving a signed memorandum.

We have no information as to how the books were accumulated. Some may have been donated by friars and laymen of the province. Probably a larger number was supplied by the Order. The Crown evidently provided liturgical books and other things in special cases, for in a few items it is specifically stated that the articles are "del Rey."

There are very few works of non-religious character. Virgil (267) and Ovid (276) are the only Latin classics mentioned by name. Two Greek grammars (208) are listed, as well as Nebrija's dictionary (41) and a few other items of this nature (256, 278, 279). The laws and history of the Indies are represented by Solórzano Pereira (50) and Solís (105). Jiménez' translation of Hernández' important work, *Naturaleza y virtudes de las plantas* (197) is the only medical publication. Finally, there was a copy of Philip Cluver's geography (264).

The largest group of writings are of devotional character and include a large and varied assortment of sermons, prayers, etc., a few lives of saints and religious, and some of the works of the Spanish mystics. Then come the theological treatises of various kinds, among which the scholastics are well represented. The collection is rather weak as far as canon law is concerned. The Decretals (157), the Council of Trent (131, 281), and the Mexican Councils (70) are listed, but Fray Manuel Rodríguez (84, 129, 130, 141), whose works had long enjoyed great popularity in New Spain, is one of the few outstanding canonists mentioned. On the other hand, the history and regulations

of the Franciscan Order seem to be fairly well covered. The Custody also possessed a number of Bibles and exegetical writings. In addition to the liturgical books in use at the missions, the library of the Custody had quite a few.

Because of the insufficient data given in the catalogue, it is impossible to determine the exact number of American imprints. In some cases where it is possible to identify author and title, we have no way of knowing whether an American or European edition is referred to. Although most of the books must have been imported from Spain, between twenty and thirty at least are almost certainly of American origin. These fall into several categories and include some of the most famous products of the Mexican press.

Among the first books published in Mexico were grammars and vocabularies of the Indian languages, especially Nahuatl. These, together with a number of doctrinas, catechisms, and devotional works in Indian languages, were written to aid the clergy in their great task of converting and teaching the natives. The Custodial library at Santo Domingo lists a vocabulary (64) and three grammars (110). Other items of this nature are the Dominican Fray Martín de León's *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana* (111), which had wide circulation, and two volumes of sermons in Mexican (179). The Franciscan Fray Juan Bautista's *Advertencias para los confesores de indios* (232) was composed for the same general purpose.

At least four of the liturgical books in the library of the Custody were published in Mexico. These are the manuals of Palafox (161), Contreras (243), and Serra (140), and the *Ceremonial* (271) of the Franciscan province of the Holy Gospel. The manuals in use at the mission pueblos (Vetancurt and Osorio) were also of Mexican origin.

The author who appears most frequently is Fray Clemente de Ledesma (96, 112, 123, 146, 227, 228, 238, 239). Ledesma was a prominent Mexican Franciscan of the late seventeenth century who wrote many religious books of

various kinds. He served as Provincial of the province of the Holy Gospel during 1694-1696.¹²

Devotional works published in Mexico include Barcia's *Epístola exhortatoria* (147), Muñoz de Castro's *Exaltación de la Betlemítica Rosa* (162), Diego López de Andrade's "tomo quaresmal" (289), and the fine sermons of the Jesuit Juan Martínez de la Parra (200), who was a native of Puebla. There are many editions of the *Luz de Verdades*, which was printed in Spain after the first edition appeared in Mexico in 1691-1692.

Other Mexican imprints listed are Hernández' *Naturaleza y virtudes de las plantas* (197), works by Fray Antonio Escoto (265), Borda (274), Velasco (226), and Larraga (221), the "Crónica de Dieguinos" (40), and the *Concilio Mexicano* (70). The life of Father Margil (320), listed as missing from the convent library at Santo Domingo, was also probably a Mexican publication. The dates of the first editions of these American books range from the early days of the Mexican press to the 1760's.

Although the library of the Custody seems a rather haphazard collection in some ways, very weak in certain fields, it covers a wide range of religious thought. Presumably it was reasonably adequate for the needs of the friars it served.

12. Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Becerro General*, MS. in Newberry Library, Chicago.

APPENDIX

I

Año de 1704. *Ymbentario de los vienes que se hallaron del señor Marques de la Naba de Brazinas ya difunto gouernador y capitán General que fue deste Reino de la nueva mexico: los quales rezuio el thenyente General Juan Paez hurtado como su albazea y testamentario y thenedor de vienes que por clausula de testamento deyo dicho señor marques.*

- (1) Mas un libro biejo yntitulado nobiliario genealoxico de los Reyes y titulos de España. [Alonso López de Haro, *Nobiliario genealógico de los reyes y titulos de España*, Madrid, 1622, 2 vols.]
- (2) Mas otro libro biejo flor sanctorum de Villegas. [Alonso de Villegas, *Flos Sanctorum*. The *Primera Parte del Flos Sanctorum* of Villegas was first published in Toledo, 1578. Four to six parts were published and appeared in a number of editions.]
- (3) Mas otro libro biejo segunda parte de las leyes del Reino. [Cf. no. 22, *infra*.]
- (4) Mas otro libro biejo segunda parte del nobiliario genealoxico de los Reyes y titulos de España. [See no. 1, *supra*.]
- (5) Mas otro libro biejo sin principio Ystoria de Carlos Quinto. [Possibly Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, Valladolid, 1604-1606, 2 vols., and later editions; or Pedro de Salazar, *Historia y primera parte de la guerra que don Carlos Quinto, emperador de los romanos, rey de España y Alemania, movió contra los principes y ciudades rebeldes del reino de Alemania, y sucesos que tuvo*, Naples, 1548, Seville, 1552.]
- (6) Mas otro libro biejo ylustraciones genealoxicas de los catolicos Reyes de las españas. [Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, *Ilustraciones Genealógicas de los Cathólicos Reyes de las Españas y de los Christianísimos de Francia y de los Emperadores de Constantinopla*, Madrid, 1596.]
- (7) Mas otro libro ibea (*sic*) prinsipe politico xptiano representadas en cien empresas. [Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un principe político cristiano representada en 100 empresas*, Münster, 1640, Munich, 1640.]
- (8) Mas otro libro biejo y quemadas como veinte ojas en medio de marco aurelio. [This may refer to Fray Antonio de Guevara's famous work, *Libro Aureo del Emperador Marco Aurelio con el Relox de Príncipes*, Valladolid, 1529, and many later editions.]
- (9) Mas otro libro intitulado itinerario para parocos de Yndios.

- [Alonso de la Peña Rivas y Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, Madrid, 1668, and later editions.]
- (10) Mas otro libro biejo intitulado varones Ylustres del nuebo mundo. [Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo, descubridores, conquistadores y pacificadores del opulento, dilatado y poderoso Imperio de las Indias Occidentales: sus vidas, virtud, valor, hazañas y Claros Blasones, Ilustrados en los Sucesos de estas Vidas*, Madrid, 1639.]
 - (11) Mas otro libro yntitulado grandezas de Madrid. [Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la villa de Madrid*, Madrid, 1623.]
 - (12) Mas otro libro apollado biejo intitulado teatro ecclesiastico de la primitiva Yglesia. [Gil González Dávila, *Teatro ecclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1649-1655, 2 vols.]
 - (13) Mas otro libro intitulado origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y leon. [Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y León, con relación sumaria de los Reyes de estos Reynos, de sus acciones, casamientos, hijos, muertes, sepulturas de los que las han creado y de muchos Ricos Homes confirmadores de privilegios, etc.*, Toledo, 1618, and later editions.]
 - (14) Mas otro libro intitulado menosprecio de corte y alabansa de aldea. [Antonio de Guevara, *Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de la Aldea*, Valladolid, 1539, and later editions.]
 - (15) Mas otro libro intitulado discursos de la nobleza de españa. [Bernabé Moreno de Vargas, *Discursos de la nobleza de España*, Madrid, 1622.]
 - (16) Mas otro libro intitulado tesoro militar de caualleria. [José Micheli y Márquez, *Tesoro militar de cavallería antiguo y moderno, modo de armar cavalleros y profesar, según las ceremonias de qualquier Orden militar . . .*, Madrid, 1642.]
 - (17) Mas quatro tomos de la nueba Recopilasion. [*Nueva recopilación*, Alcalá, 1567.]
 - (18) Mas otro libro biejo intitulado istoria de Don Phelipe quarto Rey de las Españas. [Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, *Historia de D. Felipe IV, Rey de las Españas*, Lisbon, 1631, Barcelona, 1634.]
 - (19) Mas otro libro intitulado politica Yndiana. [Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, Madrid, 1648.]
 - (20) Mas otro libro intitulado coronica de la Prouinsia de Soria. [Not identified.]
 - (21) Mas otro libro intitulado primera y segunda parte de la Curia Phelipica. [Juan Hevia Bolaños, *Curia philipica*, Lima, 1603, Valladolid, 1605, and later editions.]
 - (22) Mas otro libro biejo intitulado Recopilazion de las Leyes

- destos Reynos por D. Phelipe segundo nuestro señor. [*Recopilación de las leyes destos reynos hecho por mandado . . . del Rey don Philippe segundo*, Alcalá de Henares, 1569, and later editions.]
- (23) Mas un libro intitulado arte de cosina. [Possibly Francisco Martins Coutinho (Martínez Montañó), *Arte de cocina, pastelería, bizcochería y conservería*, Madrid, 1611, and later editions. The book appears on the lists of various colonial booksellers of Mexico. Martins Coutinho, a Portuguese, was Philip II's cook. He also wrote poetry.]
- (24) Mas otro libro intitulado el deuoto peregrino y viage de tierra santa. [Fray Antonio del Castillo, *El Devoto peregrino y viage de tierra santa*, Madrid, 1654, and later editions.]
- (25) Mas otro libro intitulado politica yndiana. [See no. 19, *supra*.]
- (26) Mas tres tomos de la Madre Maria de Jesus de agreeda. [Sor María Jesús de Agreda (María Fernández Coronel y Arana), *Mística Ciudad de Dios . . .*, Madrid, 1670, 3 vols., and later editions.]
- (27) Mas otro libro intitulado milisia y description de las Yndias. [Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*, Madrid, 1599.]
- (28) Mas otro libro intitulado vida de Gregorio Lopez. [Francisco de Loza, *La Vida que hizo el Siervo de Dios Gregorio López en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España*, Mexico, 1613, and later editions.]
- (29) Mas otro libro intitulado solo Madrid es corte. [Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Solo Madrid es corte*, Madrid, 1658, and later editions.]
- (30) Mas tres libros pequeños yntitulados flor ystorico. [Not identified.]
- (31) Mas otro libro intitulado Regla de las zinco ordenes de arquitectura. [Probably *Regla de las cinco órdenes de Arquitectura de Vignola*, Rome, 1583, Madrid, 1593.]
- (32) Mas un librito intitulado Lus del alma. [Fray Ambrosio Roca de la Serna, *Luz del Alma*, Valencia, 1634.]
- (33) Mas otro librito intitulado combate espiritual. [Not identified.]

II

The Library of the Custody of St. Paul, 1776

Insercion

En la relacion de la Mission de N. P. S. Domingo, al pie del auto de visita, bajo del rotulo: *addicion* dije, hallarse en ella una caja con cosas del Soberano para las Misiones de Nabajo, libreria, y archivo de esta Custodia. De lo que contiene la caja me parece ocioso el detenerme en referirlo, pues en prueba de que se cuida, estan las firmas de los Prelados confesando lo que ai y assi paso a lo demas, que esta sin curiosidad, en orden de juegos.

Libreria

En folio

- (34) Quatro tomos de Teologia moral por Villalobos. [Fray Enrique de Villalobos, *Summa de la Theologia Moral y canónica*, Salamanca, 1622, and later editions.]
- (35) Ortus Pastores: no se ve autor. [Not identified.]
- (36) Questiones de Escoto contra Lombardo. [John Duns Scotus.]
- (37) Dos Panegiricos de Maria Santisima por Fr. Martin Castillo. [Fray Martín del Castillo,¹ *Commentaria in Debboram et Jafelem: sive Panegiricus de S. S. Maria, Domina nostra, in illis Veteris Testamenti heroicis et celebratissimis Faeminis adumbrata*, Seville, 1678, and later editions.]
- (38) Discursos morales por Almonaci. [José de Almonacid, *Discursos para los domingos y ferias principales de la Quaresma*, Madrid, 1676.]
- (39) Practica de curas y confesores por el P. Noidens: en dos tomos. [Benito Remigio Noydens, *Práctica de curas y confesores y doctrina para penitentes*, Madrid, 1658, and later editions.]
- (40) Chronica de Dieguinos. [Possibly Fray Baltaser de Medina, *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de México de Religiosos Descalços de N. S. P. S. Francisco*, Mexico, 1682.]
- (41) Bocabulario de Nebrija. [Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictioniarum latino-hispanicum*, Salamanca, 1492.]
- (42) Un expositivo: sin principio ni fin.
- (43) Logica de Rodrigues. [Not identified.]
- (44) Propugnacion de verdades catolicas por Torrecilla. [Probably a work of Fray Martín Torrecilla of the Carmelite Order. Cf. nos. 51, 114, and 120, *infra*.]

1. Fray Martín del Castillo, who was born in Burgos early in the seventeenth century, had a brilliant career in the Franciscan Order in Mexico, serving as Provincial of the province of the Holy Gospel, rector of the college of San Buena-ventura, consultant of the Holy Office, and *procurador general* in Madrid of all the provinces of the Indies. He was a learned and prolific author. See also nos. 208 and 251.

- (45) Casos de conciencia por Filguera. [Manuel Ambrosio Filguera, *Summa de casos de conciencia que se disputan en la Teología Moral*, Madrid, 1667.]
- (46) Meditaciones de la vida oculta de Christo por Salmeron. [Fray Marcos Salmerón, *El príncipe escondido, Meditaciones de la Vida oculta de Christo*, Madrid, 1648.]
- (47) Obras del P. Ministro Juan de Avila. [Juan de Avila, *Obras*, Madrid, 1588, and later editions.]
- (48) Otro expositivo: sin principio, ni fin.
- (49) Dos tomos de Chronologia de N. P. San Francisco.
- (50) Solorsano, gobierno de Yndias: estar desquaternado. [Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Disputationes de indiarum iure, sive de iusta Indiarum Occidentalium inquisitione, acquisitione et retentione*, Madrid, 1629. Cf. no. 19, *supra*.]
- (51) Consultas Apologicas de Torrecilla. [Fray Martín Torrecilla.]
- (52) Cuarta, quinta & a partes asta la oncena morales de Diana. [Antonio Diana, *Resolutionum moralium pars prima et secunda*, Palermo, 1629. Ten more parts were published 1636-1656. There are many editions of the twelve parts.]
- (53) Monumentos antiguos seraficos acerca de la Virgen: en dos tomos por Astorgá. [Fray Pedro de Alva y Astorga, O. F. M., who wrote many works concerning the Virgin.]
- (54) Secunda parte de la suma de S. Tomas. [St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*.]
- (55) Un tomo de Teologia escolastica: sin principio, ni fin.
- (56) Una Biblia: sin principio, ni fin.
- (57) Logica de Soto. [Fray Domingo de Soto.]
- (58) Un tomo de Teologia por Macedo. [Probably a work of the seventeenth century Portuguese theologian, Fray Francisco de San Agustín Macedo.]
- (59) Segundo tomo moral de Bonacina. [Probably the Italian theologian, Martín Bonacina, d. 1631.]
- (60) Segunda y tercera parte del moral de Corella. [Fray Jaime de Corella, *Suma de la Theología moral*, Barcelona, 1690, and later editions.]
- (61) Dos tomos de teologia: sin principio.
- (62) Constituciones de nuestro orden por Fr. Gabriel Adongo.
- (63) Tercera parte de la suma de San Tomas. [See no. 54, *supra*.]
- (64) Bocabulario Mexicano.
- (65) Segunda parte de los comentarios por Baesa en los Evangelios. [Diego de Baeza, *Commentariorum moralium in Evangelicam Historiam*, 1624-1627, 4 vols.]
- (66) Quatro comentarios de Poncio en la Teologia de Escoto. [Juan Poncio, *Comentarii Teologici, in quibus Subtilis Doctoris Quaestiones in libros Sententiarum elucidantur*, Paris, 1661.]
- (67) Fisica de Soto. [Fray Domingo de Soto, *Super octo libros*

- Physicorum Aristotelis commentaria*, Salamanca, 1555, and later editions.]
- (68) Física de Escoto. [John Duns Scotus.]
- (69) Varios sermones por el Dr. Delgado. [Possibly Antonio Delgado Buenrostro, bishop of Puebla de las Angeles, *Sermones varios*, Seville, 1696.]
- (70) Concilio Mexicano. [Probably Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales primero y segundo celebrados en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de México en 1555 y 1565*, Mexico, 1769; *Concilium mexicanum provinciale III celebratum Mexici anno 1585, ibid.*, 1770.]
- (71) Grammatica especulativa de Escoto. [John Duns Scotus.]
- (72) Otro expositivo: sin principio.
- (73) Conquistas de Filipinas. [Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas: la temporal, por las armas del Señor Don Phelipe Segundo el Prudente: y la espiritual, por los religiosos del Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín: Fundación, y progressos de su Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesús, Parte Primera*, Madrid, 1698.]
- (74) Exercicios quaresmales por Balderrama. [Fray Pedro de Valderrama, *Exercicios espirituales para todos los días de la Quaresma*, Seville, 1602, and later editions.]
- (75) Sesenta y cinco anales de Ubadingo. [Luke Wadding, O. F. M., *Annales minorum*, 1625-1654, 8 vols.]
- (76) Tercer tomo del Dispertador cristiano. [José de Barcia y Zambrana, *Dispertador Christiano de Sermones Doctrinales, sobre particulares assumptos*, 1678-1684, 5 vols., and many later editions.]
- (77) Los Salmaticenses. [*Collegii Salmaticensis FF. Discalceatorum B. Mariae de Monte Carmeli primitivae observantiae Cursus theologicus . . .*, Salamanca, 1631. There are many editions of this work, which comprises a complete course in theology as given in the University of Salamanca during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.]
- (78) Una Biblia.
- (79) Segundo tomo de las sentencias de Escoto. [John Duns Scotus.]
- (80) Resoluciones morales de Diana. [See no. 52, *supra*.]
- (81) Un moralista: sin principio, ni fin.
- (82) Biblia: sin principio, ni fin.
- (83) Historia sagrada de Susana.
- (84) Un tomo de cuestiones regulares, y canonicas. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Quaestiones regulares et canonicas*, Salamanca, 1598-1602, 3 vols., and later editions.]
- (85) Cuarta parte de la Monarquia Ecclesiastica sin principio ni fin. [Fray Juan de Pineda, *Los treinta libros de la Monarquia Ecclesiastica*, Salamanca, 1588, 4 vols., and later editions.]

- (86) Otro expositivo: sin principio, ni fin.
- (87) Tres mas: como el dicho.
- (88) Fr. Tomas Ubaldense de sacramentos. [Thomae Ubaldenis Anglici, *De sacramentis et sacramentalibus*, Salamanca, 1557.]
- (89) Dos tomos de la suma de Teologia de S. Tomas. [See nos. 54 and 63 *supra*.]
- (90) Bocabulario Ecclesiastico: sin fin. [Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella (Maese Rodrigo), *Vocabularium ecclesiasticum*, Seville, 1499, and later editions.]
- (91) Concordancias de la Biblia.
- (92) Controversias Teologicas: sin principio ni fin.
- (93) Marial de Quirós. [Fray Juan de Quirós, *Rosario Inmaculado de la Virgen*, Seville, 1650; *Marial, o segundo tomo de los mysterios y glorias de Maria*, *ibid.*, 1651.]
- (94) Dos tomos moralistas por el P. Tomas Sanches, Jesuita. [Tomás Sánchez, *Opus morale in praecepta Decalogi*, Madrid, 1613, 2 vols.; or *Concilia seu Opuscula moralia*, Lyons, 1625, 2 vols.]
- (95) Silva racional, y espiritual de los divinos oficios.
- (96) Ledesma: moral. [Probably refers to one of the numerous works of the seventeenth century Mexican Franciscan, Fray Clemente de Ledesma. Cf. nos. 112, 123, 146, 227, 228, 238, 239.]
- (97) Primera parte del moral de Fr. Manuel Rodrigues. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Obras Morales en Romance*, Madrid, 1602, and later editions.]
- (98) Un místico: sin principio, ni fin.
- (99) Conferencias morales por Sintseenigo (*sic*). [Not identified.]
- (100) Controversias Teologicas por el P. Rada. [Fray Juan de Rada, *Controversiae Theologicae inter S. Thomam et Scotum*, Paris, 1589, and later editions.]
- (101) Historia de Ester por el P. Bolaños. [Juan de Bolaños, *In sacram Esther historiam Commentarius . . .*, Seville, 1701.]
- (102) Tiara simbolica de S. Pio quinto.
- (103) Otro despertador cristiano. [See no. 76, *supra*.]
- (104) Un tomo de Sanctoral serafico.
- (105) Solis de Yndias. [Probably Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra, *Historia de la conquista de México, población y progresos de la América septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1684, and later editions.]
- (106) Seis expositivos de Salmeron. [Possibly P. Alfonso Salmerón, S. J. (1515-1585), one of the first Spanish exegetes, author of sixteen volumes of Scriptural commentaries.]

En cuarto

- (107) Vida de Fr. Sebastian de Aparicio: en latin. [Nicolaus Plumbensis, *Opusculum vitae Ven. servi Dei Fr. Sebastiani ab Apparitio*, Rome 1696.]
- (108) Discursos predicables por el P. Rota.
- (109) Tesoro de la doctrina por Furlot.
- (110) Tres artes de lengua Mexicana.
- (111) Camino del cielo: en Mexicano. [Martín de León, *Camino del cielo en lengua mexicana*, Mexico, 1611.]
- (112) Quatros tomos morales de Ledesma. [See no. 96, *supra*.]
- (113) Un moral de Fr. Anselmo Gomes. [Anselmo Gómez, *Tesoro de la ciencia moral, y suplemento de las sumas más selectas y modernas*, Valladolid, 1668 (?).]
- (114) Siete libros que tratan de los propociones condenadas por los Papas. [Cf. no. 120, *infra*.]
- (115) Un libro de Christo, y Maria por Fr. Fernando Peralta. [Fray Fernando de Peralta Montañes, *Libro de Cristo y Maria*, San Lúcar de Barrameda, 1626.]
- (116) Echarri: moral. [Fray Francisco Echarri, *Directorio Moral*, Valencia, 1770, and later editions.]
- (117) Acosta: sermones quaresmales.
- (118) Discursos predicables por Pauleti.
- (119) Teologia escolastica de Uberto.
- (120) Dos tomos de propociones condenadas por N. P. Innocencio 11. [Fray Martín Torrecilla, *Consultas morales y exposición de las propociones condenadas por los Santos Padres Inocencio XI y Alexandro VII*, Madrid, 1693.]
- (121) Exercicios quaresmales.
- (122) Sumulas de Moral.
- (123) Seis Dispertadores de noticias morales. [Fray Clemente de Ledesma, *Dispertador de Noticias de los santos sacramentos*, Primer tomo, Mexico, 1695; *Compendio del Dispertador de noticias de los Santos Sacramentos*, Mexico, 1695; *Dispertador de Noticias Theológicas morales que apuntan y despiertan las letras del A, B, C, al Cura y al Confesor*, Segundo tomo, Mexico, 1698; *Dispertador Republicano que por las Letras del A, B, C, Compendia el Segundo Tomo del Dispertador de Noticias Theológicas*, Mexico, 1699; *Dispertador Republicano que por las letras del A, B, C, Compendia los compendios del Primero y Segundo Tomo del Dispertador de Noticias Theológicas*, Mexico, 1700.]
- (124) Sermones quaresmales.
- (125) Meditaciones del amor de Dios. [Possibly Fray Diego de Estella (Fray Diego de San Cristóbal), *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios*, Salamanca, 1576, 1578.]
- (126) Ceremonial de los Papas.
- (127) Un tomo de la scema de Coretla.

- (128) Un tomo de la quaresma de Barcia. [José de Barcia y Zambrana, *Quaresma de sermones doctrinales*, 1686, 3 vol.]
- (129) Explicacion de la Crusada. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Explicación de la bulla de la Sancta Cruzada*, Alcalá, 1589, and later editions.]
- (130) Adiciones a essa explicacion. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Adiciones a la explicación de la Bula de la Cruzada*, Salamanca, 1598, 1601.]
- (131) Concilio Tridentino. [Decrees of the Council of Trent. Many editions.]
- (132) Dos tomos de sermones latinos.
- (133) Certamen Mariano de Arbiol. [Fray Antonio Arbiol y Díez, *Certamen Marianum ubi veritas examinatur in splendoribus Sanctorum et opus mirabile Civitatis Dei*, Zaragoza, 1698.]
- (134) Doce tomos de varios sermones.
- (135) Un tomo de selectos de la escriptura por Pereiro. [Not identified.]
- (136) Dos tomos de discursos morales.
- (137) Laurea evangelica. [Fray Angel Manrique, *Laurea Evangélica*, Salamanca, 1605, and later editions.]
- (138) Fisica de Merinero: dos tomos. [Possibly Fray Juan Merinero, O. F. M. (1583-1663).]
- (139) Cinco tomos predicables por Dias. [Not identified.]
- (140) Dos Manuales de Cerra. [Fray Angel, Serra, *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos a los españoles y naturales de esta provincia de los gloriosos Apostoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Mechuacan conforme a la reforma de Paulo V y Urbano VIII*, Mexico, 1681.]
- (141) Questiones regulares: dos tomos. [See no. 84, *supra.*]
- (142) Tesoro de la ciencia moral. [Cf. no. 113, *supra.*]
- (143) Dos tomos de sermones por Niceno. [Fray Diego Niseno, Hieronymite, (d. 1656), one of the most eloquent preachers of his time.]
- (144) Teologia simbolica.
- (145) Recopilacion de los privilegios de los Menores.
- (146) Dispertador republicano. [See no. 123, *supra.*]
- (147) Epistola exortatoria de Barcia. [José de Barcia, *Epistola exhortatoria*, Puebla de los Angeles, 1693.]
- (148) Varios oficios de nuestros santos.
- (149) Varios mismos de Augustinos.
- (150) Diceptacion mistica.
- (151) Varios sermones de Guerra. [Possibly Fray Manuel Guerra y Ribera, *Sermones varios de Santos*, Madrid, 1677-1680.]
- (152) Celo Pastoral.
- (153) Flores de questiones Teologicas. [Fray José Anglés, *Flores Theologicarum quaestionum in libros Sententiarum*, Caller, 1575-1576, 2 vols., and later editions.]

- (154) Dos tomos de sermones por Garcés. [Possibly Fray Francisco Garcés, O. F. M.]
- (155) Varios oficios de Mercedarios.
- (156) Casos morales.
- (157) Dos tomos Decretales sin principio, ni fin.
- (158) Dos Montenegros de Yndios. [Cf. no. 9, *supra*.]
- (159) Tres Bocabularios Ecclesiasticos viejos. [See no. 90, *supra*.]
- (160) Dialogo entre confesor, y penitente.
- (161) Manual de D. Juan Palafox. [Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Manual de los Santos Sacramentos, conforme al ritual de Paulo Quinto*, Mexico, 1642, and later editions.]
- (162) Exaltacion de la Betlemitica Rosa. [Br. Pedro Muñoz de Castro, *Exaltación magnífica de la betlemitica rosa de la mejor americana Jericó y acción gratulatoria por su plantación dichosa*, Mexico, 1697.]
- (163) Disputas Teologicas: sin autor.
- (164) Dos tomos de platicas por Miranda. [Possibly Fray Luis de Miranda, *Pláticas y colaciones espirituales*, Salamanca, 1617, 1618. Cf. no. 171, *infra*.]
- (165) Erudicion cristiana. [Fray José Luquián, *Erudición christiana, en veinte y cinco discursos devotos muy provechosos para el alma*, Tarragona, 1594.]
- (166) Discursos predicables.
- (167) Instruccion de Predicadores.
- (168) Varios sermones de Cespedes. [Possibly Antonio Céspedes, *Sermones varios*, Madrid, 1677.]
- (169) Dispertador Cristiano. [See no. 76, *supra*.]
- (170) Abecedario espiritual y ley de amor. [Fray Francisco de Osuna, *Abecedario espiritual*. The first part was published in Seville, 1528, and the entire work consists of six parts of which there are many editions. The *Cuarta parte o Ley de Amor* appeared in 1530.]
- (171) Platicas, y colaciones espirituales. [See no. 164, *supra*.]
- (172) Año Apostolico.
- (173) Un libro de oficios sueltos.
- (174) Triunfos de la gracia, y gloria de los Santos.
- (175) Un tomo de oraciones Evangelicas.
- (176) Apologia de confesores regulares. [The Biblioteca Nacional de México has the following: Gabriel Novoa, *Apologia de confesores y predicadores regulares. Respuesta a una consulta en derecho regular, en la que se tratan y deciden todas las dificultades que suelen ocurrir entre los regulares con los obispos y más ordinarios en materia de aprobación y licencias de confesar y predicar*, 2a Imp., Salamanca, 1705.]
- (177) Un libro de Teologia sin principio, ni fin.
- (178) Lexicon Ecclesiasticum. [Fray Diego Jiménez Arias, *Lexicon*

- ecclesiasticum latino-hispanicum ex sacris Bibliis, Conciliis, Pontificorum, etc.*, Salamanca, 1565, and many later editions.]
- (179) Dos libros de sermones en Mexicano.
- (180) Discursos predicables en latin.
- (181) Dos tomos de tentativas Complutensis. [Fray Francisco Félix, *Tentativae Complutensis . . . Duns Scoti mens . . . elucidatur . . . Angelici Doctoris doctrina sponitur . . .*, Alcalá, 1642-1646, 2 vols.]
- (182) Un tratado de voto.
- (183) Un tomo de ortu, et interitu. [Probably a commentary on Aristotle.]
- (184) Los dos estados de la espiritual Jerusalem. [Fray Juan Márquez, *Los dos estados de la espiritual Hierusalem sobre los psalmos CXXV y CXXXVI*, Medina del Campo, 1603, and later editions.]
- (185) Declaracion de los siete psalmos penitenciales.
- (186) Orden Judiciario por Miranda. [Fray Luis de Miranda, *Liber ordinis iudiciarii*, Salamanca, 1601.]
- (187) Sermones de Segura. [Not identified.]
- (188) Conceptos predicables: sin principio, &a.
- (189) Panegiricos de Oviedo. [Juan Antonio de Oviedo, *Panegyricos sagrados en honra y alabanza de Dios, de María Santísima, etc.*, Madrid, 1718.]
- (190) Dos Fueros de la conciencia.
- (191) Tesoro de confesores. [Dr. Juan Daza y Berrio, *Tesoro de confesores y Perla de la conciencia para todos estados*, Madrid, 1648.]
- (192) Apologia en defensa de nuestro orden. [Possibly Gabriel de Guillixtegui, *Apología en defensa de la Orden de Penitencia de San Francisco*, Bilbao, 1643.]
- (193) Resumen moral de Machado. [Juan Machado de Chávez y Mendoza, *Suma moral y resumen brevisimo de todas las obras del doctor Machado*, Madrid, 1661.]
- (194) Vida de Cristo por Villalobos. [Not identified.]
- (195) Una Biblia: sin principio ni fin.
- (196) Tratado de anima. [Probably a commentary on Aristotle.]
- (197) Naturalesa, y virtudes de las plantas. [Francisco Hernández, *Cuatro libros de la naturaleza y virtudes de las plantas y animales que están recibidos en le uso de Medicina en la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1615. Trans. from Latin by Francisco Jiménez.]
- (198) El superior predicando: sin principio.
- (199) Dos tomos de discursos Evangelicos: sin principio.
- (200) Un tomo de las platicas del P. Parra. [Probably Juan Martínez de la Parra, *Luz de verdades católicas y explicación de la doctrina cristiana, que según la costumbre de la casa profesa*

- de la Compañía de Jesús, todos los jueves del año se platica en su iglesia, Mexico, 1691, 1692, and many later editions.]*
- (201) *Tratados del modo de corregir.* [Possibly Gaudentius van den Kerckhove, *Methodus corrigendi regulares, seu praxis criminalis fratribus minoribus propria, omni regulari iudici accomodata.*]
- (202) *Directorii decisiones regulariis.* [Fray Antonio de Hinojosa, *Directorium decisionum Regularium, Madrid, 1627.*]
- (203) Un moralista: sin principio, ni fin.
- (204) Soliloquios de las cosas divinas.
- (205) Una Logica.
- (206) Dos tomos predicables por Niceno. [See no. 143, *supra.*]
- (207) *Tratos, y contratos de mercaderes por un Dominicó.* [Fray Tomás de Mercado, *Tratos y contratos de mercaderes y tratantes, Salamanca, 1569, and later editions.*]
- (208) *Dos grammaticas de lengua griega.* [Possibly Fray Martín del Castillo, *Gramática de la lengua griega en Idioma Español, Lyons, 1678.*]
- (209) Phisica de un Jesuita.
- (210) *Moral de Delgadillo.* [Fray Cristóbal Delgadillo, O. F. M.]
- (211) *Apologia de las obras de Tertuliano.* [Possibly Fray Pedro Manero, *Apología de Quinto Séptimo Florente Tertuliano, presbítero de Cartago, contra los gentiles, en defensa de los cristianos, Zaragoza, 1644, and later editions.*]
- (212) *Delgadillo de Incarnatione.* [Fray Cristóbal Delgadillo, *De Incarnatione, Alcalá, 1653.*]
- (213) *Sermones varios: en latin.*
- (214) *Concilio Tridentino.* [See no. 131, *supra.*]
- (215) Una Biblia.
- (216) *Oraciones Ecclesiasticas.*
- (217) *Questiones morales.*
- (218) *Regla de nuestra religion.*
- (219) *Varios oficios sueltos.*
- (220) *Sermones varios: sin principio.*
- (221) *Veinte, y dos morales de Larraga.* [Fray Francisco Larraga, *Promptuario de la Theologia Moral, Puebla de los Angeles, 1766, and later editions.*]
- (222) *Arte Mexicano.*
- (223) *Triunfos Evangelicos.*
- (224) *El tercer tomo de el hijo de David perseguido.* [Dr. Cristóbal Lozano, *El Hijo de David más perseguido, Madrid, 1740, and later editions.*]
- (225) *Unos discursos morales: sin principio ni fin.*
- (226) *Arte de sermones por Velasco.* [Alonso Alberto de Velasco, *Arte de sermones para saber hazerlos y predicarlos, Mexico, 1728.*]
- (227) *Moral de Ledesma.* [See no. 96, *supra.*]

- (228) Dispertador moral por el mismo. [See no. 123, *supra*.]
 (229) Segunda parte de la Monarquía mística. [Lorenzo de Zamora, *Monarquía mística de la Yglesia, hecha de hieroglyphicos, sacados de humanas y divina letras*. Segunda parte, Alcalá, 1601, Madrid, 1611.]

En octavo

- (230) Dos tomos de sermones por el Granatense. [Fray Luis de Granada?]
 (231) Casos de conciencia por Burgraber.
 (232) Quatro tomos de advertencias para confesores de Yndios. [Fray Juan Bautista, *Advertencias para los confesores de los indios*, Mexico, 1599.]
 (233) Manual de confesores por Ascargota. [Fray Juan de Ascargota, *Manual de Confesores*, Madrid, 1713, and later editions.]
 (234) Concideraciones espirituales: en latin. [Fray Juan de los Angeles, *Considerationum Spiritualium super librum Cantici Canticorum Salomonis in utraque lingua, Latina et Hispana*, Madrid, 1607.]
 (235) Questiones Teologicas.
 (236) Dubia regularia por Portel. [The Biblioteca Nacional de México has the following: Laurentius de Portel, *Dubia regularia tam ad subditos quam ad praelatos, in utroque foro attinentia, fere per compendium resoluta*, Rome, 1712.]
 (237) 5 Morales de Escoto. [John Duns Scotus.]
 (238) Manual de confesores por Ledesma. [See no. 96, *supra*.]
 (239) Dos despertadores morales por el mismo. [See no. 123, *supra*.]
 (240) Siete exposisssiones de nuestra regla por Fr. Martín de S. Jose. [Fray Martín de San José, *Breve exposición de los preceptos que la Regla de los Frayles Menores obligan a pecado mortal, según la mente de los Sumos pontífices, y de San Buenaventura*, Zaragoza, 1638, and later editions.]
 (241) Dos mismos por Navarro. [Fray Pedro Navarro, *Exposición de la regla de Nuestro Padre San Francisco*, Madrid, 1636.]
 (242) Dos morales de Ascargota. [Fray Juan de Ascargota?]
 (243) Manual de Contreras. [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*, Mexico, 1638.]
 (244) Declamaciones de la Virgen. [Possibly Fray Luis de Carvajal, *Declamatio expostulatoria pro immaculata Conceptione Genitricis Dei Marie*, Paris, 1541.]
 (245) Dos manuales de sacerdotes por Arbiol. [Fray Antonio Arbiol y Díez, *Manuale sacerdotum Sacris Scriptoris et Sanctorum Patrum sententiis Illustratum*, Barcelona, 1711.]
 (246) Examen de confesores por Blanco.
 (247) Oraciones latinas: sin principio.

- (248) Dos morales de Salazar. [Possibly Fray Simón de Salazar, *Promptuario de materias morales*, Alcalá, 1674.]
- (249) Otro mismo de Allosa. [Juan de Allosa, *Flores summarum sive alphabetum morale*, Lyons, 1665, and later editions.]
- (250) Catecismo de S. Pio quinto.
- (251) Sermones de S. Pedro Crisologo: sin principio, ni fin. [Probably Fray Martín del Castillo, *Divi Petri Chrysologi Sermones*, Lyons, 1676.]
- (252) Moral de Remigio. [Benito Remigio Noydens.]
- (253) Declaracion de las Epistolas de S. Pablo.
- (254) Tres manuales de confesores por Villalobos. [Fray Enrique de Villalobos, *Manual de Confesores*, Salamanca, 1628, Valladolid, 1628, and later editions.]
- (255) Tratado de las siete palabras de Christo en la Crus.
- (256) Dos explicaciones de la syntaxis.
- (257) Tratado del bien estado religioso. [Francisco Rodríguez, *El libro del bien del estado religioso, compuesto en latín por el P. Hieronymo Plati de la Compañía de Jesús*, Medina, 1595.]
- (258) Dos moralistas latinos: sin principio ni fin.
- (259) Compendio de los Concilios.
- (260) Dos libritos de las Epistolas de S. Geronimo.
- (261) Practica de confesores por Escobar. [Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza, *Examen y práctica de confesores . . . sacados de varios doctores*, Zaragoza, 1632, and many later editions.]
- (262) Itinerario Catolico por Gusman. [Probably Fray Juan Foher, *Itinerarium Catholicum Proficiscentium, ad infideles convertendos, . . . Nuper summa cura et diligentia auctum, expurgatum, limatum ac praelo mandatum per fratrem Didacum Valadesium. . . Ad Reverendissimum Patrem F. Franciscum Guzmanum, omnium Indiarum maris Oceani Commissarium generalem*, Seville, 1574.]
- (263) Sermones latinos del Granatense. [Cf. no. 230, *supra*.]
- (264) Geografia de Cluberi. [Philip Cluver, *Introductio in universam geographiam tam veterem quam novam*, Leyden, 1624, and many later editions.]
- (265) Tratado del confesor solicitante por Fr. Antonio Escoto. [Fray Antonio Escoto, *Scutum Confessionis contra nefarios Sacordotes in Sacramento Poenitentiae ad turpia provocantes*, Mexico, 1703.]
- (266) Suma de las virtudes.
- (267) Virgilio.
- (268) Versos latinos: sin principio, ni fin.
- (269) Epistolas en verso latino: sin principio.
- (270) Compendio moral: sin principio.
- (271) Ceremonial de la Provincia. [Probably Fray Isidro Alfonso

- Castaneira, *Manual Summa de las ceremonias de la Provincia de el Santo Evangelio de México*, Mexico, 1702, 1703.]
- (272) Sermones de Segura. [Cf. no. 187, *supra*.]
- (273) Sermones feriales de quaresma.
- (274) Practica de confesores de Monjas por Borda. [Fray Andrés de Borda, *Práctica de confesores de monjas*, Mexico, 1708.]
- (275) Practica de Exorcistas. [Benito Remigio Noydens, *Práctica de exorcistas y ministros de la iglesia*, Madrid, 1660.]
- (276) Ovidio.
- (277) Humildad del corason.
- (278) Explicacion del arte de Nebrija. [There are many seventeenth and eighteenth century "explicaciones" of Nebrija.]
- (279) Advertencias de la grammatica. [Possibly Bernardino de Llanos, S. J. (1557-1639), *Advertencias de Gramática*, Mexico, 1645.]
- (280) Ceremonial Romano. [Possibly Pedro Ruiz Alcolado, *Ceremonial romano*, Alcalá, 1589; or Fray Juan de Zamora, *El Ceremonial Romano*, Burgos, 1603.]
- (281) Concilio Tridentino. [See no. 131, *supra*.]
- (282) Manifiesto chronologico, y satisfatorio.
- (283) Instruccion de Presbiteros.
- (284) Un tomo suelto de Teologia.
- (285) Manual de confesores por Navarro. [Martín Azpilcueta (Dr. Navarro), *Manual de confesores y penitentes*, 1552, and many later editions.]
- (286) Sermones de adviento por Castro. [Fray Pedro Núñez de Castro?]
- (287) Tercer tomo de la historia de la alma.
- (288) Doce Breviarios viejos.
- (289) Un tomo quaresmal por Fr. Diego Lopez Andrade. [Fray Diego López de Andrade, *Tractados sobre los Evangelios de Quaresma*, Madrid, 1615; *Segunda parte*, Madrid, 1617; and later editions.]

III

Books Found at the Missions in 1776

Villa de Santa Fe

[In the church]:

- (290) Tres Missales viejos con Santos nuestros.
 (291) Un Manual de Osorio servible. [Fray Diego Osorio, *Manual para administrar los Santos Sacramentos arreglado al Ritual Romano*, Mexico, 1748.]

[Capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Luz]:

- (292) Un Missal nuevo con nuestros Santos.

Tesuque

- (293) Un Missal viejissimo.

Nambe

- (294) Un Missal mui viejo.
 (295) Un Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Pujuaque

- (296) El Missal es viejissimo y tiene Santos nuestros.

San Ildefonso

- (297) Un Missal servible.
 (298) Otro mui antiguo.
 (299) Dos Breviarios viejos, que con dho Missal y unos papeles con Introitos, etc. en puntos de solfa sirven a los cantores.

Cañada

[In the church]:

- (300) Un Missal.
 [Capilla del Carmen]:
 (301) Antonio Martín . . . dió a esta capilla del Carmen . . . un missal viejo.

San Juan

- (302) Un Missal servible.
 (303) Otro viejo.
 (304) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]
 [Río Arriba]:
 (305) Missal viejo.

Picuries

- (306) Missal viejo con registros de correas, y adherado por el P. García.
 (307) Manual de Vetancurt, que dio este mismo P. [Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos, conforme a la reforma de Paulo V y Urbano VIII. Sacado de los Manuales de los Padres Fr. Miguel de Zarate, Fray Pedro de Contreras, etc.*, Mexico, 1674, and later editions.]

Taos

- (308) Missal viejissimo.
 (309) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra*.]

Santa Clara

- (310) Un Missal viejo con registros de correas, que el P. Sambrano dio siendo Vice-Custodio.
 (311) Otro tal mas viejo.
 (312) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra*.]

Abiquiu

- (313) Missal servible.

Santo Domingo

[In the church]:

- (314) Un Missal nuevo de nuestro orden, que puso el P. Samora.
 (315) Dos Manuales de Betancurt mui viejos. [See no. 307, *supra*.]

[In the convent]:

- (316) Dies y seis libros de varios tamaños y tiempos que tratan diversas materias por diversos autores, y los han dejado algunos PP. Estan inventariados, y fuera de ellos faltan los que dize en el auto de visita.

[Auto de visita]:

Mission de N. P. S. Domingo, y primero de junio de mil setecientos setenta y seis años. En prosecucion de la visita juridica, que de esta Custodia esta haciendo N. R. P. Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez Predicador del numero en el convento grande de N. P. S. Francisco de Mexico y Commisario Visitador de esta Custodia por N. M. R. P. Ministro Provincial Fr. Isidro Murillo: paso a ver, y vio S. P. R. este Inventario el que aunque concuerda con lo existente, y que pertenece a Iglesia y sacristia; por lo que toca al convento se echan menos los libros:

- (317) Quaresma de Niceno. [Fray Diego Niseno.]
 (318) Oraciones Evangelicas de Fr. Diego Malo. [Fray Diego Malo de Andueza, *Oraciones Evangélicas y Férias principales de Quaresma*, Madrid, 1661-1664.]
 (319) Manojito de Flores.
 (320) Vida del P. Margil. [Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante: delineado en la exemplaríssima vida del Ven. P. F. Antonio Margil de Jesús*, Mexico, 1747; or Fray Hermenegildo Vilaplana, *Vida portentosa del americano septentrional apostol, el V. P. Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús*, Mexico, 1763.]

Por lo que se ordena y manda al P. Misionero actual Fr. Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre, o al que en lo de adelante fuere, que jamas permita, que religioso alguno saque libros de la Mission o de la libreria de la Custodia que aqui se

mantiene, sin que primero le deje por escrito, y firmado los libros, que llevaré, para assi saber de ellos, y cobrarlos. . . .

Sandia

- (321) Un Missal con Santos nuestros, que dio el Rey.
- (322) Otro viejissimo.
- (323) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Albuquerque

- (324) Un Missal bueno.
- (325) Otros dos viejos.
- (326) Manual de Vetancurt. [See no. 307, *supra.*]
[Capilla de N. S. de la Concepción, Alameda]:
- (327) Missal usado.
- (328) Manual.
[Tomé]:
- (329) Missal viejo.

Cochiti

- (330) Un Missal tratado, y sus registros de correas.
- (331) Manual de Ossorio servible. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

San Felipe

- (332) Un Missal viejo.

Santa Ana

- (333) Un Missal bien tratado.
- (334) Manual de Ossorio tratado. [See no. 291, *supra.*]
- (335) El mismo de Vetancurt. [See no. 307, *supra.*]

Sia

- (336) Dos Missales viejos.
- (337) Manual de Ossorio tratado. [See no. 291, *supra.*]
- (338) Dos viejos de Vetancurt. [See no. 307, *supra.*]

Gemes

- (339) Un Missal viejissimo y no tiene Santos nuestros.
- (340) Dos mismos, medios, y desquaternados, de los Nabajoës.²
- (341) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Laguna

- (342) Un Missal razonable.
- (343) Otro viejo.
- (344) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

2. Father Menchero had brought various articles donated by the Crown for use in the Navajo missions. Some of these were in use at Sandia, others were stored at Santo Domingo, and these two missals may have come from the same source.

Acoma

- (345) Un Missal servible, de clérigos.
- (346) Otro mui viejo.
- (347) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Zuñi

- (348) Missal viejo.
- (349) Manual de Ossorio tratado. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Isleta

- (350) Dos Missales viejos.
- (351) Manual de Ossorio. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Pecos

- (352) Missal servible.
- (353) Tres Manuales viejos de Vetancurt. [See no. 307, *supra.*]
- (354) Otro de Ossorio, al que las ratones tienen bien conjurado con sus dientes. [See no. 291, *supra.*]

Galisteo

- (355) Missal servible.
- (356) Manual de Vetancurt, viejo. [See no. 307, *supra.*]