

THE TRADITIONAL POETRY IN HISPANIC AMERICA AND THE SHIPPING LISTS OF COLONIAL BOOKS DEPOSITED IN THE GENERAL ARCHIVE OF THE INDIES OF SEVILLE

(XVI—XVII centuries)

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Irving Leonard, in numerous works, has published lists of books that were sent from Spain to the New World during the colonial era.¹

The prohibitive edicts, says Leonard, favored the clandestine purchase and dissemination, and in reality, despite the care of the Inquisition in reviewing all the books that were sent to the Colonies, the provisions were not complied with and the books circulated as freely as in Spain.²

Among these books that arrived in the Colonies, there were books of poetry, couplets, songs and romances whose content was not disclosed.

Irving Leonard: "A Frontier Library, 1799," **Hispanic American Historical Review** XX111 (1943), 21-51; "A provincial library in Colonial Mexico," 1802, **Hispanic American Historical Review**, XXVI (1946), 162, 183; "Don Oulxote and the Book Trade in Lima, 1606," **Hispanic Review** XI1-VI (1939-40), 285-304; "On the Cuzco Book Trade, 1606," Hispanic Review, 1X (1941) 359-75; **Romances of Chivaldry in the Spanish Indies with some Registries of Shipments of books to the Spanish Colonies**. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933); "Un envío de libros para Concepción de Chile, 1620" El bibliófilo Chileno, Il: 4 (1948), 33-41, These are some of the most important publications.

Irving Leonard, Romances of Chivaldry... Ibid., pp 45-115, 241. Also José Torres Revello, The book, the printing press and journalism in America (Buenos Aires, 1940), p. 250.

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Most of Leonard and José Torres Revello's lists include poems that go to Mexico and not to the South Seas.³

Numerous lists of books that were sent from Spain to the colonies exist in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville. We decided to examine them in the summer of 1980. Special care was given to those that included books that were sent to the South Seas to determine which works arrived in Peru and Chile, the most remote regions of the Empire in America. Among them we isolate those of a purely literary nature and emphasize poetry. Our intention was to formulate general conclusions regarding what kind of poetry came to the colonies during the seventeenth and seventeenth centuries, and whether such poetry was imported in sufficient numbers to influence traditional colonial poetics.⁴

There are several sections of the Archive that contain documentation on goods sent to America: Contracting, Indifferent General, Consulates and Audience of Lima and Chile. The registers record all kinds of merchandise and they must be carefully examined to isolate the lists of books and among them those that go to the South Seas, although we do not totally exclude those related to other parts of Spanish America.

In **recruitment** there are three series that we examined:

- a) Records of naos. One-way check-ins to the Mainland, the South Sea, Peru and Valparaiso. Sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- b) Property of the deceased. We check the inventories of goods.
- c) Licenses for book shipments. One file, contract 674, gathers the licenses between 1623 and 1739.

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In an unpublished work" "Origin and development of traditional Chilean poetry from the Conquest to the present", I make an account of the type of poetry that was sent, spatially to Mexico, from the sixteenth century onwards, based on the works of Irving Leonard, José Torres Revello and Francisco Fernández del Castillo, Books and Booksellers of the sixteenth century. (Mexican: Publications of the General Archive of the Nation, 1914). I separated the literary material. My conclusions are the following: in the sixteenth century, mainly Romance books, couplets and songbooks were sent; agonies and compositions for "bien morir." The favorite authors are Roscán, Garcilaso, Manrique, Ercilla and Montemayor: in the seventeenth century it is gradually observed that romances, couplets and traditional and other poetry are imported less and less; in the eighteenth century traditional and popular poetry is almost no longer imported.

In a manuscript of the National Library of Santiago de Chile in the O'Higgins Archive (Real Audiencia, vol 1823, piece 1 (Inés D. Henry "Romances y Canciones populares en la primera década del siglo XVII en Chile," Boletín de Filología, XXV - XXVI (1974-75), 309, 326) we see in 24 compositions the influence of classical literature; especially of Ovid, in the pastoral poems.

The fourth volume of Missionaries should also be counted.

In **General Indifferent** we review.

- a) Passenger and cargo relations of ships coming and going from the Indies, 1550-1833. Files 2162-2172.
- b) Departures and budgets of the boats for America 1755- 1819, Files 2173-2208.

Consulates 4.1, cargo and dispatch of merchant ships.

Audience of Lima we reviewed it in part. It contains:

a) Registrations and licenses granted for the South Sea, 1740-1806. Files 1528-1536,

Audiencia de Chile offered us, as an interesting point, files on shipping licenses.⁵

In all this material we find nothing concerning the sixteenth century. In the files related to Peru we find several lists with the heading "to the South Seas" 6

In the documentation there are few works of entertainment and those related to poetry are very scarce. What was going on? Many times book drawers are listed without clarifying their contents. At most they say "current books", which shows once again that the Inquisition is not so strict. (This happens, for example, in Contratación 1745, year 1753.) Nor do lists appear among the belongings of passengers and missionaries coming to the Indies, nor in auction houses. This makes us assume that traditional and popular poetry was spread orally through missionaries, soldiers, loose sheets, contests and poetic academies, we can only rely on this hypothesis. We already know that traditional poetry is alive and abundant in Latin America, Chile being one of the richest regions in this type of folklore.⁷

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Most of this initial information was provided by Miss Solomar, official of the Archives of the Indies in Seville, in letter: Seville February 12, 1980. Quite rightly, when he said goodbye, he indicated to me the possibility of finding information, but not absolute security. Miss Rosario Parra, Director of the General Archive of the Indies, also anticipated that the research would be extensive and dispersed and would force me to consult many files with few results (Seville, February 12, 1980).

The books destined for Peru, surely arrived in Chile almost at the same time. There is flexibility regarding the distribution of books, despite the rules of the Inquisition. See Irving Leonard, Romances of Chivaldry, op. cit. pp 45-115.

See Inés Dölz Blackburn, Critical anthology of traditional Chilean poetry. (Mexico: Pan American Institute of History and Geography. Folklore Committee, 1978).

More material should be found in Peru. It was indicated to me in the Archives of Seville that it would be in the Conventual Archives, the National Archive of Lima, Archives of the Archbishopric of Cuzco and Lima and National Archive of Cuzco, dependent on the House of Culture.

I was especially careful, when reviewing lists of books, to examine those that were going to Peru. My intention was to have a general idea of the books that arrived at the captaincy General of Chile, dependent on Peru and the furthest possession of the Empire in America. It has been verified that the books that were sent from Spain arrived at the same time to all the colonies.⁸

Manuscripts often have no page number, but I indicate pages when they are given. Most of the lists contain religious books. ⁹ If I omit files it is because they do not contain lists of books.

For the record, this is the first time that literary works, including poetic ones, have been extracted from the lists of the General Archive of the Indies of Seville. I present the material in chronological order arranged by me.

Let's examine the ones we could find. Some appear with style proposals:

Imho. Sir:

Don Juan Francisco Cadrón de Cegama I say that in such a customs office in this city I have the books contained in the memory that I present with this one.

I ask and beg you to give me your license so that they can leave customs. 10

1. In 1624, among 140 titles:

Works of Saint Teresa

2 works by Quevedo

2 works of Saint John of the Cross

Irving Leonard, Romances of Chivaldry, pp. 45-115. The manuscripts appear in the handwriting of the time, sometimes being difficult to decipher. Many files were reviewed without positive results. The material I extracted was from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the lists, I separate the general literary material and underline the poetic one.

According to Leonard, 57% to 75% are religious books; 12.5% to 21% have non-literary books and 12.5% to 2.2% give literary books: "On the Mexican Book Trade, 1683," The Hispanic American Historical Review, XIX (1941), 363. I observed there that, among 438 volumes, 13% is literature.

Recruitment 674, p. 10.

15 books of comedies

2 for all of Montalvan

4 Don Quixote stamped, 2 volumes.¹¹

2. In 1669:

a) Among 184 titles are:

Rhymes of Remiguo

Guzmán de Alfarache

Works of Ouevedo

Parnassus of Quevedo

Don Quixote

Virgilio in romance

Books of comedies

Works of Gracián

Politics of Quevedo

Theatre of the Gods

Virgilios

Marcos de Obregón

Arcadia de Lope

New hors d'oeuvres

Spiritual romancer

Various romances¹²

b) Among 128 titles:

Novels by Zerbanttes

To die well

Obidio in Latin

Paletteo and Lazarillo¹³

c) Among 120 titles:

Virgilio in romance

Works of Gracián (2 volumes)

Guzmán

Books of different comedies.¹⁴

d) Among 80 titles:

Novels by Montalván

¹¹ Contracting 674, pp. 33-39. This manuscript appears below the manuscripts of 1669 and 1674.

¹² Ibid., pp 16-18. These books and the following, unless I specify otherwise, are sent to the Indies.

¹³ Ibid., pp 11-12

¹⁴ Ibid., pp 13-15

various novels

Guzmán de Alfarache

Book of comedies

Barium Romances (sic)

Virgil in romanze¹⁵

3. In 1671, among 79 titles:

Don Quixote of La Mancha

Works of Quevedo

2 novels by Montalván¹⁶

4. In 1674, among 150 titles:

various novels for everyone

Guzmán de Alfarache

Don Quixote

Virgilio in romance

Virgilios

Life of Quevedo

Marcos de Obregón

Arcadia de Lope

Spiritual romancer

Various romances¹⁷

5. In 1960, among 168 titles:

Works of Góngora

Calderón, comedies and cars

Don Quixote

Guzmán de Alfarache¹⁸

6. In 1692, among 216 titles, I isolated:

Works of Gracián

Works of Quevedo

The cojuelo devil

Virgilio in romance

Virgilio

Don Quixote of La Mancha¹⁹

7. In 1698, bound for Buenos Aires, between seven drawers of books and 103 titles

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 21

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 25

Recruitment 664, pp 16-18. It is not specified which romances.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp 122-124

¹⁹ Ibid., pp 154-157

there are mostly ecclesiastical works and only 6 Virgilios are recorded.²⁰

Thus, the favorite colonial poetic works of the seventeenth century seem to be by Quevedo, Virgilio, Ovid, Góngora and the anonymous Romancer. The poetry that is imported in relation to the total number of books is very scarce.

8. In the year 1712, among 120 titles:

24 arts of Nebrija

6 dozens of Christian songs

3 bouquets of divine flowers

20 parays of the Christian soul²¹

9. In 1713, among 90 titles:

Works of Quevedo

Works of Don Quixote

Works by Juana Inés de la Cruz

Moltalvan for everyone

Persil and Sigismund (sic)

Works of Gracián

Comedies of Calderón²²

10. In 1713, among 126 titles destined for the South Seas:

Guzmán de Alfarache

Persils and Sigismunda

Bouquet of poets

Works of Saint John of the Cross

Arcadia de Lope

Rhymes of Jokes

Estebanillo de Gonzales

Literary republic

The cojuelo devil²³

11. No date: to "the Kings of the Indies. Among 183 books, there are no poetic works:

The best Guzman

Guzmán de Alfarache

Comedies of Moreto

²⁰ Ibid., pp 169-170.

²¹ Ibid., p. 291.

²² Ibid., p. 292-293.

²³ Ibid., pp. 907-908.

Comedies of Calderón

Works of Quevedo

Novels by Zayas

Works of Cervantes

Works by Montalván

Works by Carvajal

Persils and Sigismunda

Works by Jacinto Polo²⁴

- 12. No date, to New Spain from Cadiz.
 - a) Among 104 titles:

1 Don Quixote

1 work by Jacinto Polo

1 work and **poems of Solís**

1 novel by Cervantes

2 Calderon. Sacramental cars

2 works of Saint John of the Cross

1 works by Gracián

1 Virgilio in romance

1 work of Góngora

1 Persils and Sigismunda

2 El Cid Campeador²⁵

b) Between 6 drawers of books and 40 titles:

Virgilio

Spiritual romances

Hors d'oeuvres and loas²⁶

13. In 1742, among 90 titles, there are few religious and many of a didactic and entertainment nature:

Poems by Solís

Comedies of Calderón

Virgil in romance.

Inca Garcilaso

The Works of Don Quixote

Works of Quevedo

Several novels

Comedies of Moreto

Comedies of Salazar

²⁴ Ibid., pp 907-908,

²⁵ Ibid., pp 310-311,

ibid., p 437. No date.

Cicero in Romance Persils and Sigismunda²⁷ Several loose comedies²⁸

- 14. In 1750, he asked:
 - a) To grant a license to a 200-ton ship to go to the South Seas, to the ports of Concepción de Chile, Valparaíso, Callao, Coquimbo and Arica. Permission to enter and exit without hindrance is requested to sell or leave goods.
 - b) Permission of José Gutiérrez to import "ten rough caxons three at a time in cargo of books seen by the Holy Office" ²⁹
- 15. In 1751, a certain Feliciana Bárbara Guzmán was given permission to embark on the ship Jesús, María y Joseph and to the South Seas "Ten and six rough drawers of half-loaded books seen by the Holy Office."³⁰
- 16. Without a year" "for the South Seas and Lima" 8 drawers of books "marked on the margin and of the authors namely", among 98 titles, only theological, Latin and historical works and Works of St. Teresa are available. There are no poems.³¹
- 17. In 1753, among 600 titles, on a shipment to Cartagena de Indias, one has:

Works of Quevedo

4 Comedies

360 runs

4 Virgilios³²

- 18. Without a year, a man from Lima testifies in the file to carry 3 drawers of books "seen by the Holy Office", The books are not detailed.³³
- 19. In 1754, "seventy-two caxons of printing books from Spain are sent to the South Seas." They are not detailed.³⁴
- 20. In 1753, the commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition "gives Don Bernardo Alvarez Campana a license" to embark.

²⁷ Contracting II, s/p.

²⁸ Contract 1749. s/p.

²⁹ Contracting 1745, s/p. It is not specified which books,

Ibid., /p. It is not specified which books,

³¹ Ibid., s/p.

Indifferent General 2162, s/p.

Contracting 1746, s/p.

³⁴ Ibid., s/p.

"the books of his use which he carries in the trunks of his clothes." 35

In the same year, it is given "to deliver to Don Juan de Echavarría" (...) "a small box of rough books of the size of ten orders seen by the Holy Office with the marl (sic) of the margin.³⁶

Again, in 1753, "as far as the said Holy Office is concerned, I give permission for Don Diego de la Piedra to seize (sic) a drawer of books with a margin mark on the ship named *The Kind Mary* his teacher Don Felipe Luján because he has presented memoria dellos and son de los corrientes."³⁷

21. In 1757, to the Indies, among 12 titles there are only theological works.³⁸ In the same year, a drawer of books is sent from Cádiz to the South Seas. Among 138 titles there are:

Rhymes of the Argensols (sic)

Luján Rules of poetry

Rhymes of Braquillos

All artworks from Juan de Mena

Velázquez: Origins of Castilian poetry

Works by Boscán and Garcilaso

Works by Luis de León

The Araucana

General Romance

Works of Castillejo³⁹

22. In 1758, 17 boxes of books, authorized by the Inquisition, were shipped to the South Seas, "all their own and for their use." 40

In the same year, the same situation is had: mention is made of the sending of a drawer of books "with the mark of the margin on the ship named The Prince Sn. Lorenzo, because he has presented memory of them and they are of the currents." It is not indicated where the passenger is going.⁴¹

- 23. To Callao, in Lima, in 1761 there are:
 - a) among 9 titles, only works in Latin and ecclesiastical.
 - b) among 90 titles, historical, ecclesiastical and Latin works;

Contracting 1745, s/p. The place where they are going is not indicated.

Ibid., s/p. The place where they are going is not indicated,

Ibid., s/p. The place where they are going is not given.

Ibid., Without a page or address,

Contracting 1748, s/p. In addition, Latin, Greek-Latin and French books are sent,

Contracting 1749, s/p. It seems that it is already a general rule to accept the individual's word and the ballots with the lists of books are not required.

Ibid,, sp.

moral compendiums and lives of saints. Poetic, only **hymns in romance**. 42

To the South Seas, in the same year;

- a) among 16 titles, the only literary work is a work by Inca Garcilaso
- b) among 31 titles, only one work by Father Feijoo is given⁴³

Again Callao, in the same year, between 4 drawers of books and 85 titles, there are the following literary works:

Virgilio in romance

Ovidio

The practice of helping to die well

Scholarly Letters of Feijoo V

Scholarly Letters of Feijoo IV⁴⁴

- 24. To the South Seas, on the other hand, in 1762, the following results are:
 - a) among 199 titles in 10 boxes:

Persils and Sigismunda

History of the King Don Rodrigo

Estevanillo

Life is a dream

The vandaless of Italy and the enemy of men

Disdain with disdain

The silly prince

Comedies

Romanzes

Rosaura

Juan de Luzena

Comedies to the Ring

Imitation of Aesop

Marcos de Obregón

b) In a rough drawer with the mark on the margin, among 29 titles:

Feijoo 5 volumes

Works of Gracián⁴⁵

In a shipment of 4 drawers of books to Callao, in the same year, there is no detail of the books. 46

⁴² Contracting 1752, s/p.

⁴³ Ibid., s/p.

⁴⁴ Ibid., s/p.

⁴⁵ Contracting 1754, s/p.

⁴⁶ Ibid., s/p.

The shipments without detailing are the rule rather than the exception, and poetry, little by little, as has been seen, is almost no longer included in them.

25. In 1763, a priest, by order of the Bishop of Santiago de Chile, sent to Callao, to deliver in Santiago, "three drawers of books seen by the Holy Office with the mark on the margin."⁴⁷ There is no detail of the books.

The same year, from Cádiz to Callao, "two rough drawers with fifty volumes and three book sayings are mentioned." 48 The books are not detailed.

26. In 1767, to the Mainland, among 94 titles, we separate the following literary works:

Five hundred comedies. Among them:

Wicks by Bernardo del Carpio

Bernardo del Carpio in France

The Count Alarcos, etc. 49

27. The frigate La Aurora took 3 boxes of books to Valparaiso in 1774. There are no literary works, just as there are none in another file in which three other drawers of books are noted that "are not forbidden books nor ordered to be purged"; but in another file, among 60 titles appear:

Works of Gracián

Poems of Solís

Works of Góngora

Fables of Isopo⁵⁰

28. In Lima, among 108 titles, in 1777, there are only religious works. In another shipment, in the neve The Good Advice, among 35 titles appear works by Quevedo in 6 volumes. In "cajones", to Lima, among 98 titles there are:

Ovid in Latin

Works of Ouevedo

Aesop's Fables

History of Don Quixote

Another drawer of books is not detailed.

In Callao, in the same ship among 42 titles, the only literary work are the fables of Pedro.

Contracting 1755, s/p.

⁴⁷ Ibid., s/p.

Contracting 674, p, 296, The comedies I isolated may have influenced the traditional Romancer. In Chile there is traditional poetry with this theme. See Inés Dölz, Henry "Romances y canciones populares..." op. cit.

Contract 1783. I file without number of pages.

In the same year, in Callao, "four rough drawers with books printed in Spain, seen by the Holy Office" are mentioned, two other instances of four drawers, also do not detail the books.⁵¹

- 29. In other files, without date, there are:
 - a) To Peru, among 48 titles:

Comedies of Calderón

Critical theater of Feijoo

Comedies and Poems of Solís

Virgilio in romance

Inca Garcilaso

The Works of Don Quixote

Epistles of Quevedo

Works of Quevedo

Comedies of Moreto

Comedies of Salazar

Cicero in Romance

Persils and Sigismunda

Several loose comedies

Ovid in romance

- b) In Valparaíso, among 52 titles, no literary work.
- c) To the South Seas among 61 titles

Works of Gracián

Works of the Nun of Mexico

Poems of Solís

Works of Góngora

Fables of Isopo (sic)⁵²

As can be seen, in the eighteenth century the importation of poetic works to the colonies remains scarce and the traditional and popular material that is recorded is almost nil. We can therefore affirm that, at this time, the cultured poetry of Ovid, Virgil, Solís, Góngora, Argensola, Garcilaso, Boscán, etc., must have had little influence on traditional poetry in Latin America.

- 30. In Contratación, 1782, we find several other undated files, detailing scarce literary works:
 - a) in a shipment to Callao, from Caracas, on the ship El buen consejo, among 200 titles you only have **The Araucana**

⁵¹ Contract 1782. The file has no number of pages.

⁵² Contracting 1783, s/p.

- b) among 108 titles in eleven drawers, four fables of Peter and four fables of "Hyssop" (sic).
- c) in another of seventy titles, there is no poetry
- d) of thirty-five drawers of books with ninety-one titles 25 Virgil and 25 Ovid.
- e) among 42 titles, four drawers of books, we have Feijoo and Garcilaso Inca
- f) in seven drawers, of 117 titles: Lazarillo de Tormes and poesías Villarroel⁵³
- In a document of the Audiencia el Cuzco (No. 3, March 14, 1790), among 11 titles 31. are held in the list:
 - 4 Gil Blas de Santillana
 - 6 History of Don Quixote⁵⁴
- Around 1809, a traveler going to Chile does not specify which books he is carrying. 32. It is about Don José Santiago de Aldunate, oidor of Santiago de Chile. He declares that he is about to embark and make a voyage to serve that place. He asks "with the deepest respect, permission for his study and to bring books, clothes, furniture and a servant."55

Documentation that we did not review due to lack of time was: Book sales and Hiring 5217 to 5540, which does not specify where the passengers going to the Indies were going.

We review, **no result**, files indicating what the missionaries were taking to the Indies: Contracting 5547 to 5549 and Consulates 750-762, which declares the cargo of merchant ships. Also Audiencia de Lima 1522, which records registrations and licenses granted to the South Seas; and finally, Contracting 5217 to 5540, revised in part, which gives lists of books, passengers and occupation. Lists are not given in all this material, as well as in Contracting, naos Records, files 1739-1782.

Don Juan Collantes, Vice-Rector of the University of Seville and professor of Hispanic Literature, told me that "the subject is clean and difficult." ⁵⁶ I agree: a sea of documentation in which the findings are scarce and difficult to obtain.

Information obtained thanks to the kindness of Lino Casafranca, a Peruvian student, on a scholarship in Seville during the summer I researched.

⁵³ Contracting 1782, s/p.

Travelers to Chile 446, s/p, the books are not detailed.

Interview, 10 June 1980.

However, the material we have found is enough to affirm that traditional poetry in Latin America is only a product of our bards, who kept a tradition alive, helped, as we have said, by soldiers, missionaries, loose sheets, contests and poetic academies.

Definitely, the poetic material that arrived from Spain to the colonies, as we have documented, could hardly influence the rich and lively vein of traditional poetry, due to the very small number in which it was imported, especially when it came to Peru and Chile.